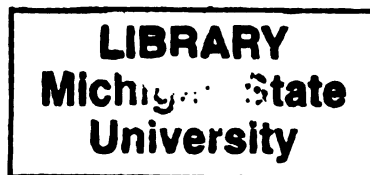


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**TONGASS, THE PROLIFIC NAME, THE FORGOTTEN TRIBE: AN
ETHNOHISTORY OF THE TAANTAKWAAN TONGASS PEOPLE**

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Daniel Monteith

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**TONGASS, THE PROLIFIC NAME, THE FORGOTTEN TRIBE:
AN ETHNOHISTORY OF THE TAANTAKWAAN TONGASS PEOPLE**

By

Daniel Monteith

A DISSERTATION
Submitted to
Michigan State University
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ABSTRACT

TONGASS, THE PROLIFIC NAME, THE FORGOTTEN TRIBE: AN ETHNOHISTORY OF THE TAANTAKWAAN TONGASS PEOPLE

By

Daniel Monteith

Anthropological and archeological sources indicate that the Tongass Tlingit people of southern southeast Alaska have been a Kwaan or Tlingit group for hundreds if not thousands of years. Regardless, of this scholarly recognition, the federal government has not acknowledged the Tongass as a tribe. This research utilizes contemporary ethnographic fieldwork and is complimented by archeological, archival, and ethnohistorical sources to document the Tongass or TaantakWaan cultural identity.

This study focuses on how culture and identity is created and maintained for the Tongass people. The driving forces behind both the individual identity and the group identity or sense of community for the Tongass are: (1) Tlingit kinship and social organization; (2) the transmission of knowledge; and (3) their connection to the land and resources. These three aspects of Tongass cultural identity are intertwined. This study concentrates on how the Tongass TaantakWaan people are perceived as a distinct community by themselves and others.

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Dedication

A_x Lingit X'oon_x'i

My Tlingit Friends

Many Tongass may be glad that their story is finally being told. Others may be upset that I am telling their history and will say they should be the ones telling the story. To this I respond their history is theirs to be recited when, where, and by whom the Tongass choose. However, the anthropological endeavor has always strived to capture the multiplicity of voices to convey a better human understanding. In the Tlingit tradition it is my understanding that when a history is told by an outsider it brings balance and lends more credibility than if it is told by themselves. I hope this shall help in their path to Federal Acknowledgment should this be a course they choose. To any inaccuracies or mistakes I accept full responsibility. Any credit or glory should go to the Tongass, the Tlingit, my mentors, and the Good Lord.

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Tlingit Language and Orthography

The Tlingit language used in this work unless quoted directly from another author or source is the modern Tlingit orthography as established in the following sources:

Tlingit Verb Dictionary (1973) by Gillian Story and Constance Naish

Tlingit Spelling Book (1984), *Haa Shaku, Our Ancestors :Tlingit Oral Narratives* (1987),

Haa Tuwunaagu Yis, for Healing Our Spirit, Beginning Tlingit (1991), *Haa Kusteeyi,*

Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories (1994) by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer.

Symbol	Pronunciation
‘	Glottalized (“pinched”)
<u>K</u> (underlining)	uvular
<u>kw</u>	uvular, rounded
. (period)	Glottal
l	lateral
dz, ts, ts’,s, s’	alveolar

For a more detailed pronunciation guide and instructions on the Tlingit orthography refer to Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1991:71). In recent years linguists working on the Tlingit language have developed a “more user friendly” orthography for the computer. Most of the elders among the southern Tlingit are still not familiar with this new orthography so I have used the “Dauenhauer” orthography, which has been the convention for years. This research where possible also uses the Tongass dialect (Leer 1978). Special thanks goes to Tongass elder Esther Shea for her years of instruction in the Tlingit language, and Tongass dialect. Gunalcheesh!

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In this age when people are highly mobile and technology, communications, and economics are connecting populations all over the globe, anthropologists are pondering how to better conceptualize and study culture, identity, and space. Anthropological theory has been moving away from depicting culture as “bounded”, “whole”, and “separate” and is developing a perspective which examines culture as a concept of identity, place, and difference (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). In the past, culture change has been viewed as a loss of identity, tradition, and authenticity (Harkin 1997:47) and as a process of becoming a part of the world capital economy. In Southeast Alaska, many of the early anthropological accounts depicted the Tlingit and Tongass people as bounded homogenous groups.

This research investigates the identity of the Tongass and their sense of community by examining multiple discourses. The discourse about Tongass history and identity contain reoccurring themes about the relationship of their social organization to the land and resources. The focus of this analysis will be on a series of multiple discourses by the Tongass or about them which have been asserted or contested about

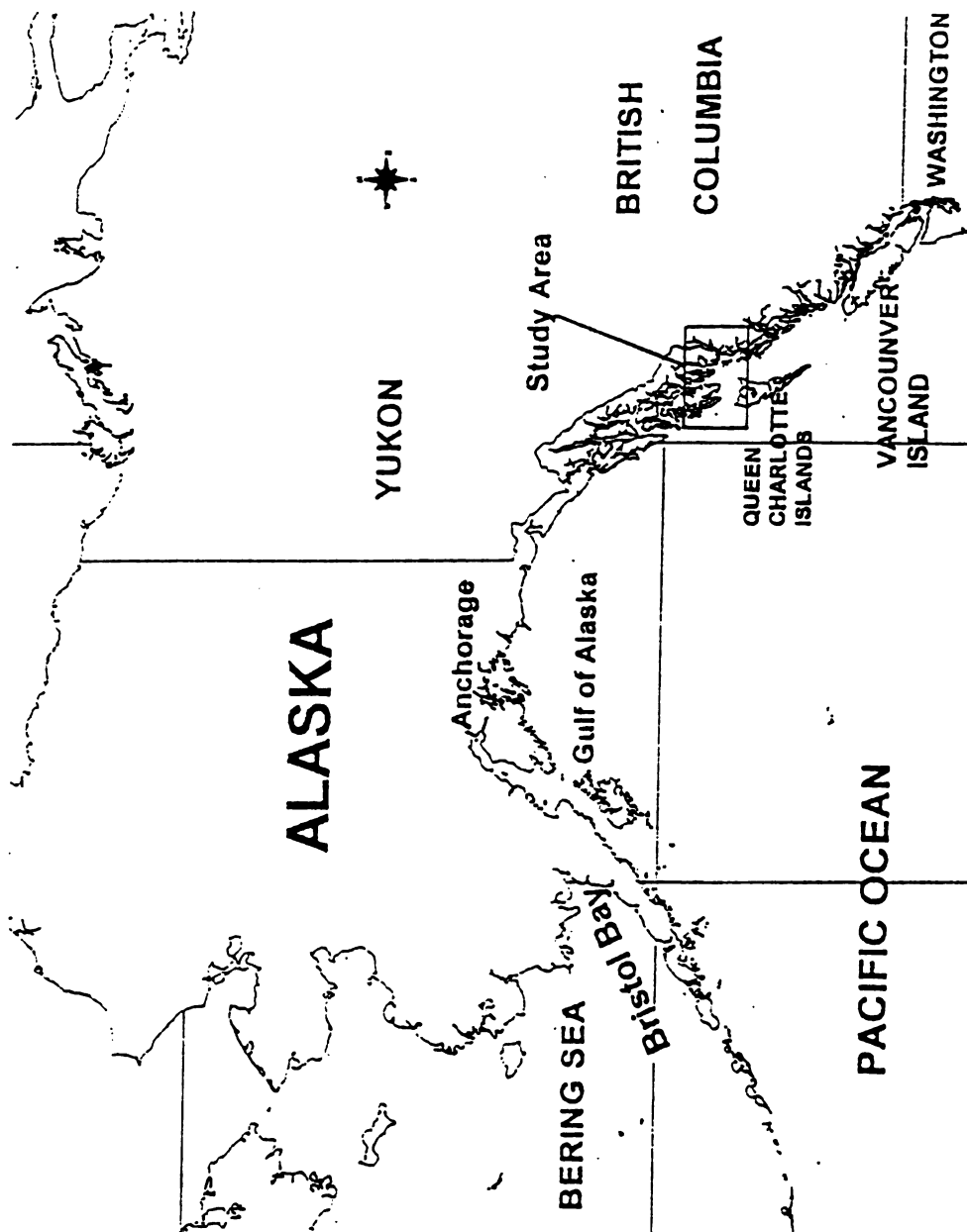


Figure 1 - Study Area Map, Large Scale

their identity, their history, and their relationship to the land and resources. Through the study of discourse a new and evolving way of examining cultural change and identity. Discourses can be seen as the “building blocks or atoms of shared culture” and it is the study of discourse from as many perspectives as possible that “produces the beginnings of an understanding of culture” (Silverstein 1996:1 & 4). Using discourse to study culture and identity provides a dynamic and interactive framework with other cultures and identities.

The theoretical framework and motivation for this research comes from recent works in anthropology which are converging on some new ideas about how to observe and discuss the concept of culture. This research draws from several recent theoretical sources from the post-modernists and neomodernists perspectives. In recent years the post-modernist and neomodernist have been grappling with and reevaluating the concept of culture and cultural differences. As a discipline we are re-examining how to study, analyze, and represent complex cultures that are integrating, changing, and “deterritorialized” with other cultures (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:3).

While anthropologists have worked all over the world for over a century there has been a great deal of work done in Southeast Alaska among the Tlingit. Many of the early anthropologist depicted the Tongass and the Tlingit as a bounded group that inhabited Southeast Alaska. The Tlingit people have inhabited Southeastern Alaska for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. The Tongass tribe is also referred to in the Tlingit language as

the Tanyatak kwaan or Taantakwaan (Swanton 1908:396). The Taantakwaan is one of the southern kwaans¹ or groups of the Tlingit. The other Tlingit groups in the area are the Sanya kwaan (Cape Fox), the Stikine kwaan, the Henya kwaan, and the Kuiu kwaan. Native neighbors from different “nations” or linguistic groups are the Haida, Tsimshian, Nisga, and Tsetsaut. Archeological sources conservatively indicate a continuous occupation of some Tongass sites for at least several centuries (Langdon 1979; Wooley and Haggarty 1989; Davis 1990). According to both classic and modern anthropological sources, the Taantakwaan is one of the major tribes of the Tlingit people (Emmons 1990; Swanton 1908; Krause 1979; Krieger 1927; Dorsey 1898; Waterman 1922; Goldschmidt and Haas 1946; Olson 1967; Sealaska 1975). Today the largest number of Tongass live in the Ketchikan area, where they comprise only a very small minority of the population.

In anthropology, examining how group identity is formed and or transformed has been a classic question for the discipline. Early anthropological accounts depict tribal peoples as bounded homogeneous groups with specific geographic boundaries (Fox 1991:191). In few other cultural areas can one study as large a historical spectrum of anthropologists’ works as on the northwest coast of America. Since the beginning of American anthropology, anthropologists have been doing fieldwork among the Tlingit and the Tongass.

¹

Kwaan is a geographic group or division among the Tlingit. It mean “people of” in the Tlingit language. The term is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

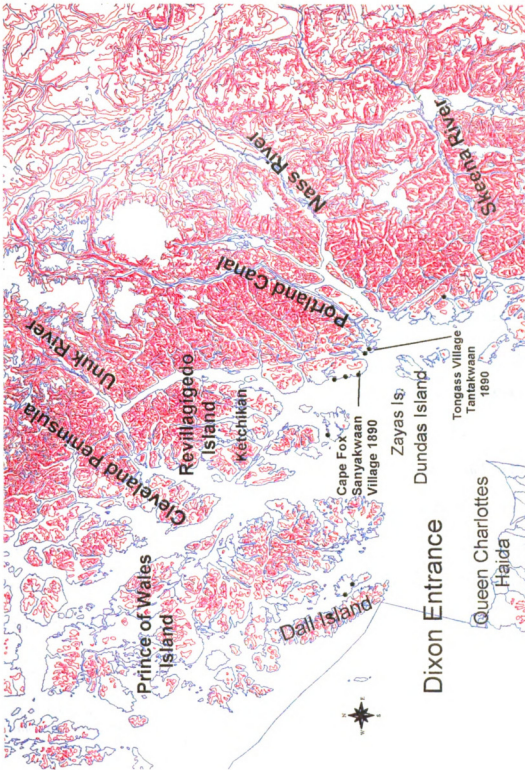


Figure 2 - Tongass Area Map

Arguably the first formal study of the southern Tlingits was not by an anthropologist but by Aurel Krause, a German scientist who conducted investigations with the Geological Society of Bremen on a Scientific Expedition in 1881. Even though he was not formally trained as an anthropologist, he wrote about the social organization and customs of the Tlingit. Following in the same German scientific tradition was the founding father of American anthropology, Franz Boas. His writing about the Tlingit was not as extensive as his work on the Tsimshian or Kwakiutl, but research ties to the southern Tlingit were strong. Boas' main informant and contributor was George Hunt, whose mother was Mary Ebbits of the Tongass. Boas wrote about the Tongass in his monograph on *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) and *Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingits* (1917). While Boas only spent a short time among the Tlingit, his students who followed him made major contributions. For the next few decades, the anthropologists doing work with the Tlingit traced their academic descent back to Boas.

Swanton, a student of Boas, produced two major monographs about the Tlingit. Both monographs² contain several narratives about Tongass clans that are used in the discussion about Tongass discourse in this study. Swanton's work also provides the foundation for the discussion of Tlingit social organization. I critically analyze

² *Tlingit Myths and Texts*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 39. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 39. (1909) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office. and "Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationships of the Tlingit Indians". In *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1904-1905*, 391-512. (1908) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Swanton's work on social organization with Garfield, Olson, de Laguna, and my own fieldwork. All of these authors reflect certain biases or familiarity towards central and northern Tlingit communities, which will be discussed in chapter two on social organization.

In the early 1900s, T. T. Waterman recorded and wrote a monograph which contained several hundred Tlingit place names in southern Southeast Alaska. Waterman's research provides a rich record of Tongass discourse about how they define and describe land, geography, space, and ownership. His work contains over 900 place names. While his orthography was problematic he recorded place name information from southern Tlingit elders that has not been surpassed. This research has continued to be used by new generations of scholars and Tlingits and provides background information for Chapter 4 of this study about the notions of Tlingit place.

The next anthropologists to do major work among the Tlingit were students of Boas and Kroeber. Garfield, a student of Boas emerged during the 1930s to work among the Tlingit. The communities she was most familiar with were Tsimshian communities that bordered the Tongass, however, some of her key ethnographic informants were Tongass elders or descendants of the Tongass people. Her monographs and field notes about the Tongass poles and stories provide some of the discourse used in the chapter about the Seward potlatch and shame pole.

Olson, a student of Kroeber, and a contemporary of Garfield worked with clan

leaders and elders during the 1930s recording many clan narratives. Even though Olson did not publish a great deal on his fieldwork among the Tlingit his notes contain many clan histories. Olson lived in Kluckwaan³ where he interviewed and talked to many elders about the old Tlingit clan histories. Olson also had a few key informants among the Tongass, who told him some of the southern Tlingit stories. His work provides a comparative body of literature to the works of Swanton, Waterman, and Garfield on the narratives of the Tlingit. Olson's work remains some of the most thorough and detailed on the southern Tlingit.

By the 1940s Goldschmidt and Hass produced a report for the Commission of Indian Affairs on the "Possessory Rights of the Natives of Southeastern Alaska". This report was prompted by the Tlingits pursuing land and resource claims with the federal government. The study provided a wealth of qualitative data on hunting, fishing, and gathering areas for the Tlingits, but was never published. The report discussed ownership of different land and resource areas as belonging to different Tlingit communities rather than Tlingit house groups, clans, kwaans, or tribes. This period reflects a shift in discourse about who the federal government was recognizing as the local power and authority for the Tlingit.

³Kluckwaan is a Tlingit village just a few miles outside of Haines, Alaska. During the historic period it used to be a main village. A few Tlingits still live there today, and there are several clan houses that are actively used.

In the late 1950s, Drucker wrote a monograph about the history of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and the Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS). By the 1950s, the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood was an influential political lobbying group. This monograph remains an important piece about modern culture change for the Tlingit. Drucker's historical monograph about the Tlingit was a departure from the synchronic perspectives of the Boasians and the functionalists. His work was based on interviews with Tlingit elders and leaders and archival research of records of the ANB and ANS. I use this monograph in this research not only as a historical framework but as a record about the discourse used by the ANB and ANS and their role in actively attempting to change Tlingit culture while maintaining a sense of identity and place.

A growing body of anthropological literature about Native Americans, the Tlingits, and the Tongass continued to portray these people as living in the past. With the exception of the more contemporary ethnographies, most of the monographs were written from functional and structural perspectives. These early ethnographies made great contributions and the compilation of these ethnographies provides a rich record of Tlingit culture. Most of the early anthropological literature did not, however, portray many of the actual changes that were occurring for the Tlingit at the time the anthropologists were doing fieldwork. The ethnographic present for many anthropologists' ethnographies appeared to be set in the 18th or 19th centuries, even though many had done work in the past few decades.

In the 1960s and 1970s, there were two distinct traditions that became apparent in the anthropological accounts of the Tongass and the Tlingit. One tradition was the publishing of the translations of French structuralism represented by the masters themselves, Mauss and Levi-Strauss; the other tradition was the eclectic American anthropological perspective, which was represented by de Laguna. Mauss' theories about the potlatch, gifts, and reciprocity remain some of the most insightful symbolic anthropological work done on the subject. The notion of the potlatch as being a total social phenomena is one that has been quoted by both scholars and Tlingits. Mauss defines the potlatch as follows:

For the potlatch is more than a legal phenomena; it is one of those phenomena we propose to call 'total'. It is religious, mythological and shamanistic because the chiefs taking part are incarnations of gods and ancestors, whose names they bear, whose dances they dance and whose spirits possess them. It is economic; and one has to assess the value, importance, causes and effects of transactions which are enormous even when reckoned by European standards. The potlatch is also a phenomenon of social morphology; the reunion of tribes, clans, families and nations produces great excitement (Mauss 1967:36).

Mauss' emphasis on reciprocity is especially important in light of what Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1990) state as two of the main features of Tlingit culture: ownership and reciprocity.

Levi-Strauss' work, originally published in French in 1975, on Northwest Coast social organization focuses on what he called house type societies. He believes the house has a life of its own which transcends descent and marriage. He argues heirloom

possessions descend through the house more than through a descent line *per se* (Levi-Strauss 1982). His analysis provided new anthropological insights about the structure and significance of the house in Tlingit social organization, and compliments the concept of *at.oow*, ownership, that Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1990) discuss. Levi-Strauss' discussion of the symbolic aspects of Tlingit houses will be discussed in the following chapter on social organization.

Following in the structuralist tradition Levi-Strauss dealt with very specific ideas about the structure of Northwest Coast cultures, but he also seemed to be developing new ideas. While Mauss developed the importance of the concept of the gift and reciprocity, Levi-Strauss had claimed "that if mythic structures parallel social structures, it was not because myth reflected society, but because both myth and social organization shared a common underlying structure" (Ortner 1984:137). In fact his writing in *The Way of the Mask* seemed to deal specifically with some of the criticisms of structuralism that had emerged by the 1970s.

There was strong reaction against structuralism by the early seventies. Two interrelated features—denial of the relevance of an intentional subject in the social and cultural process, and the denial of any significant impact of history or 'event' upon structure (Ortner 1984:138).

If Levi-Strauss' writing had overlooked the interplay between history and structure, he did not forget it in *The Way of the Mask*. In this book, he explores the origin and history of the copper. He, also examines and acknowledges that different events can and do have

an impact on Tlingit property laws.

Among the Haida and Tlingit, the hybrid character of the property laws is the result of various factors: abandonment of ancient lands and acquisition of new ones by occupation or usage, concession of land to immigrants, transfer of titles in compensation for murders or other damages, annexation by neighbors of rights or titles left without heirs, etc (Levi-Strauss 1982:171).

Levi-Strauss' "universal grammar of culture" (Ortner 1984:137) and discussion of Tlingit social organization and kinship provide fertile ground for debate about theory and ethnographic specifics of the Tlingit. The structuralists, Levi-Strauss and Mauss, shed new light on some of the symbolic and ceremonial aspects of Tlingit life that the functionalists did not discuss.

In marked contrast with Levi-Strauss' French structuralism, De Laguna's orientation follows in the American tradition. While her American mentors Boas, Benedict, and Reichard had a significant impact on her work, she acknowledges the influence of Danish anthropologists Therkel Mathiassen and Kaj Birket-Smith (de Laguna 1977:11). Her work was based much more on years of fieldwork than on powerful theories. De Laguna's fieldwork among the Tlingit began in Yakutat in 1949 (de Laguna 1972:ix) and has continued into the 1990s with her editorial work on Emmon's (1991) manuscripts *The Tlingit Indians*.

The holistic nature of De Laguna's work, which not only requires a knowledge of the four sub-disciplines but actually uses archeology, cultural anthropology, linguistics, and physical anthropology in research and analysis, is reflective of her generation of the

last great generalist anthropologists. De Laguna's work is a unique blend of symbolic anthropology and cultural ecology. She utilizes history, archeology, geology, and biology to support her conclusions. Her work would even weather the post-modernists' critiques about the necessity for reflexivity and acknowledging the contributions of ones informants and collaborators (de Laguna 1972:v-x). However, even De Laguna's (1972) three-volume monograph, which was a very detailed work about the Tlingit, did not give one a very clear impression of how the Tlingits live today (i.e., her ethnographic present), nor did it give the reader a good idea about how the culture was changing.

In the late 1970s, Kan began doing research among the Tlingit his works are full of rich ethnohistorical detail and symbolic and interpretive analysis. After a decade of ethnographic work Kan discussed the problems with his predecessors works.

While de Laguna's (1960, 1972) remarkably detailed works on the culture and history of two Tlingit villages, Angoon and Yakutat, are aimed at reconstructing their eighteenth- and nineteenth-century histories, native representations of post contact events involving whites are given short shrift" (Kan 1991:383).

It is this gap in the research that motivates this work to include a great deal of description and discourse about the cultural changes for the Tongass during this century.

Langdon also began work in the 1980s and started as an archeologist oriented towards a cultural ecological perspective. Langdon's later material has many good insights about the possible contradictions in Southeast Alaskan Native communities after the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). Specifically, Langdon described

how the native village corporations established under ANCSA led to both personal and community contradictions between subsistence activities and corporate economic development. He was one of the first anthropologists doing work in Alaska to point out some of the obvious structural and functional differences and contradictions between Tlingit social structure and the twentieth century bureaucratic social and political structure in Tlingit communities. This research will examine these structural contradictions between twentieth century bureaucratic structures versus Tlingit organization. The Tongass situation is unique. They have been affected by public policy differently than other Tlingit tribes and communities. Kan and Langdon were the first two anthropologists doing work among the Tlingit to examine modern issues, particularly with respect to native and non-native interaction.

By the late 1980s the Dauenhauers' began recording and examining different kinds of Tlingit discourse. Tlingit discourse about clan and kwaan histories is integral to understanding individual and group identity. Presently, they have produced three large volumes of Tlingit texts transcribed in the original Tlingit with a translation in English on the opposing page. Their work of transcribing and translating Tlingit discourse will provide fertile grounds for analysis for future generations of Tlingits and scholars, and has elevated Tlingit discourse to a new level of importance. The Tlingit discourse about clan and tribe histories link individuals to their clans through names and discourse that has been inherited from their ancestors. This knowledge and respect for the ancestors is

acted out in the Tlingit potlatch and is in part what Kan (1989) refers to as the “symbolic immortality” of the Tlingit. These histories are learned and transmitted in both informal and formal settings.

By the late 1980s, the Dauenhauers’ work in recording Tlingit discourse brings to life many of the things that Mauss, Levi-Strauss, and Kan state but now we hear it from the native voice using their own discourse. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1990) state the “two main features of Tlingit culture and oral tradition [are] ownership and reciprocity (popularly called ‘balance’)” (p.13). This study will discuss in detail how ownership and reciprocity are two of the most important features in the transmission of knowledge for the Tongass. They explain that one of the most important concepts is called *at.oow*, which, as they explain it, is both “tangible” and “intangible” property, such as “songs, stories, artistic designs, personal names, land, and other elements of Tlingit life” that are considered “real or incorporated property” (ibid). One key aspect is the respect for the ancestors, to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors, and the history of the house and clan. Clan and house property and regalia are symbols of persons, places, objects, events, and spirits. The histories of these clans and houses are perpetuated through reciprocity with clans from the opposite side or moiety (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990:13).

How each Tongass clan acquired ownership of land and resource areas is an important aspect of their history. Thornton’s (1997) recent work on Tlingit geographic knowledge discusses how Tlingit geographic knowledge is “organized along two

fundamental axes: social structure and subsistence production” (Thornton 1997:295). He discusses how every Tlingit has “sociogeographic ties to places”. Thornton’s work is compatible with the recent theoretical anthropological approach used in this research. He discusses how Tlingit people have ties and knowledge about geography through their place in the kinship and social organization. This knowledge about the geography includes a knowledge about the history of the land and the resources that come from those areas. This research will examine the Tongass and their “sociogeographic ties to place”, as well as the discourse that asserts their historical claim to these areas.

All of these ethnographies give me many insights into Tlingit culture and Tongass identity, as well as providing a detailed diachronic perspective. The multiple anthropological accounts about the Tlingit also provides a intellectual history of the discipline. Looking at the history of anthropology with respect to one particular group not only reveals the shifting paradigms of the discipline and the infinite perspectives of ethnographers, but also furthers an understanding of how our discipline’s work can impact the people we are studying and how we as anthropologists influence the general public. The anthropological discourse about the Tongass has played a significant role in their identity. Some of the discourse they would assert as true, while other discourse they would contest as being incorrect.

While the anthropological literature about the Tlingit provided significant contributions to this work there are some recent theoretical ideas in anthropology and

ethnohistory that have also been influential to this research. In order to examine the identity and sense of place and community of the Tongass through asserted and contested multiple discourses I have drawn on an array of theoretical sources in anthropology. The theories and methodologies utilized in this research began quietly long before the post-modernists and neomodernists, by some scholars doing work with Native Americans using multiple discourse to better examine culture change and identity. Drowned in the wake of interpretive anthropology Fogelson coined the term “ethno-ethnohistory”⁴ and methodological perspective which strived to “designate a ethnohistory written from the native point of view” (Fogelson 1974:106). The key ingredients to this ethno-ethnohistory or anthropological ethnohistory are intensive fieldwork, control of the native language, use of a native time perspective, and work with native documents⁵ (Ibid). It was in the 1970s that ethnohistorians doing work in North America began to “write the history of their traditional subjects from the native’s point of view” (Cohen 1981:233-234). Fogelson’s article examines how the Sequoyah Myth of the Cherokee becomes “demythologized” and how certain aspects are “remythologized” by recent authors. My work will examine how several Tongass narratives have been “decontextualized” and

⁴ Fogelson coined the term ethno-ethnohistory approximately ten years before Clifford Geertz gave his distinguished lecture on “anti-anti relativism” for the American Anthropology Association meetings, in Chicago, in 1983.

⁵ Native documents are defined as narratives already “extant” or “even purposefully collected”. Examples given are the Sequoyah Myth of the Cherokee and Winnebago Myths collected by Radin.

“recontextualized” and in Fogelson’s terms this ethnohistory of the Tongass may be considered a anthropological ethnohistory of “retribalization”⁶ (Fogelson 1974:105-107).

By the mid 1980s the chasm between interpretive anthropology and political economy had led to some anthropological scholars stating that the discipline was suffering from a “crisis of representation” (Marcus and Fischer 1986:1). Marcus and Fischer advocated a post-modernists perspective to bridge the chasm. Following the crisis of representation came the “predicament of culture”. Clifford’s *Predicament of Culture* and his insightful views on modern cultures and ethnography helped to focus the research goals of this dissertation. In this book, Clifford examines the question of cultural identity by using multiple discourse about the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe of Massachusetts (Clifford 1988:277-346).

Clifford prefaces his book with, “it is easier to register the loss of traditional orders of difference than to perceive the emergence of new ones” (Clifford 1988:15). This research, paraphrasing Clifford, contends with the issue that it is easier to register the loss of a traditional tribe than it is to perceive the maintenance and transformation of a group. Clifford states these concerns about the *Predicament of Culture* which are concerns I have of this study:

⁶ Fogelson defines retribalization as: “the process or ability to trace and legitimate descent,.... to trace descent to a single known and documented group” (Fogelson 1974:111).

Perhaps this book goes too far in its concern for ethnographic presents-becoming futures. Its utopian, persistent hope for the reinvention of difference risks downplaying the destructive homogenizing effects of global economic and cultural centralization. Moreover, its Western assumptions that assertions of “tradition” are always responses to the new (that there is no real reoccurrence in history) may exclude local narratives of cultural continuity and recovery (Clifford 1988:15).

Clifford goes on to state that the goal of his book is to “open space for cultural futures, and for the recognition of emergence” (Clifford 1988:15-16). This study examines cultural futures and acknowledges the emergence of the Tongass.

The same year Clifford’s book was published Fogelson made a presidential address to the American Society For Ethnohistory about the “Ethnohistory of Events and Nonevents and in his speech he discussed the value of analyzing narratives or discourse as “both intra- and interpersonal communication” (Fogelson 1989:140). Fogelson developed the theoretical concept of what he called events and nonevents. Events are “drawn from many levels, go in divergent directions, recognize different time scales, and crisscross one another. Events do not generate the narrative, but events are selected to cohere to a story line, frameworks, or plots that result in intelligible narratives” (Fogelson 1989:141). Fogelson developed a series of definitions of what are nonevents. Fogelson, in defining nonevents, asked the questions about “the authority of history: who determines it? Who sets the criteria? Or in a literal sense, who possesses history?” This research draws upon Fogelson’s ideas about events and nonevents in the conceptualization and theories about Tongass identity and discourse.

After the “crisis in representation,” a new group of anthropologists met at the School for American Research. The group’s discussions began with the recognition of the “crisis of representation” and the “politics of poetics” (i.e., politics of ethnography as text) and outlined ways of “recapturing anthropology”(Fox 1991). Fox, one of the participants of this seminar was concerned with “how anthropologists can work in and write about the world at present.” He stated that “our ‘present’ appears to be substantially different from the ‘present’ that our predecessors confronted, even a short time ago” (Fox 1991:1). Appadurai, another participant in this seminar, stressed the dilemmas faced by ethnographers today by stating: “there are some brute facts about the world of the twentieth century that any ethnography must confront. Central among these facts is the changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity” (Appadurai 1991:191). Indeed I have confronted changing social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of the identity of the Tongass, but I would argue that these brute facts Appadurai discusses are “facts” that even our predecessors a 100 years ago faced. Examining cultural communities in any homogeneous form is simply not possible, and I would question whether there ever was any homogenous group.

The neomodernist like Fox and Appadurai are thinking of many new ways of examining group identity and culture. Fox and Appadurai have developed a useful concept in understanding and tracing a particular culture among modern “indigenous” groups. They viewed culture or group identity like a landscape, or to borrow a phrase, an

“ethnoscape”. Appadurai and Fox have dealt with the complex matrix of cultural identities by stating that we must examine the “landscapes of group identity” or “ethnoscapes”:

groups migrate, regroup in new locations, reconstruct their histories, and reconfigure their ethnic ‘project,’ the *ethno* in ethnography takes on a slippery, non-localized quality, to which the descriptive practices of anthropology will have to respond. The landscapes of group identity-the ethnoscapes-around the world are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous. (Fox 1991:191)

This research responds to the “slippery” quality of group identity by examining the group identity and the discourse of the Tongass historically and today. The concept or idea of looking at the Tongass identity or the Tongass ethnoscape over time is a new and revealing way of examining identity and the dynamic nature of culture.

The Tongass identity or Tongass ethnoscape provides a possible example for Appadurai’s description of a ethnoscape. Appadurai states that ethnoscapes are landscapes of people who make up our shifting world, such as “tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups” (Appadurai 1991:192). In some respects an ethnoscape is a useful category for examining group identity, but many Native American groups maintain a special link to the land through their history and discourse. The Tongass fit Appadurai’s definition of an ethnoscape in the sense that they are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous. The concept of ethnoscape does not work well with the Tongass because

their ties to the land and resources set them apart from many other ethnoscares. During the historic times the Tongass moved to Ketchikan and quickly became a minority group, the Tongass people maintain their ancestral links to the land through their resource use and discourse.

In the 1990s *Recapturing Anthropology* and other anthropological works began moving beyond the post-modernist perspective looking for a new way of envisioning culture and culture change. Sahlins writes in his piece “Goodbye Triste Tropes” (1993) that we must go beyond the postmodernist perspective, and use history to discover “continuity in change, tradition in modernity, even custom in commerce” (Sahlins 1993:25). He states:

In the midst of all the hoopla about the new reflexive anthropology, with its celebration of the impossibility of systematically understanding the elusive Other, a different kind of ethnographic prose has been developing more quietly, almost without our knowing we were speaking it, and certainly without our knowing we were speaking it, and certainly without so much epistemological angst. I mean the numerous works of historical ethnography whose aim is to synthesize the field experience of a community with an investigation of its archival past.

As I proceed with this study, I strive to invigorate my field experience with historical inquiry. Sahlins states it is “history that awakens us from our dogmatic slumbers” (Sahlins 1992:25). This research uses ethnohistory to shed new light on past ethnographies, multiple discourse, and my own fieldwork experience.

In discussing how the Tongass negotiate culture change it is useful to examine the

theoretical works of Comaroff and Comaroff whose neomodernists⁷ perspectives emphasize the “complex fusion of what we call modernity and magicality, rationality and ritual, history and the here and now....” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:5). For the Tlingit, the complex fusion of the modern world blends contrasting perspectives such as: world economy and reciprocal obligations between moieties, profit objectives of Native corporations and subsistence hunters needs, clan ownership of histories and heritage tourism, ascribed clan leaders and elected officials, and (federal) tribal acknowledgement and the Tlingit notion of a kwaan. When examining the history of the Tongass, we can see at least two competing social structures and ideologies emerge.

In recent years the post-modernist and neomodernist thinkers have been grappling with and reevaluating the concept of culture and cultural differences. In this theoretical discussion I turn to Gupta and Ferguson who are proposing we go beyond the concept of culture. They borrow a quote from Clifford’s “lament” that “culture remains a deeply compromised idea I cannot yet do without” (Clifford 1988:10). Gupta and Ferguson concur that post-modernism has made contributions by helping anthropologists rethink

Such notions as surveillance, panopticism, simulacra, deterritorialization, postmodern hyperspace, borderlands, and marginality - forces us to reevaluate such central analytic concepts in anthropology as that of “culture” and, by extension, the idea of “cultural difference” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:33).

⁷ Comaroff and Comaroff define themselves as “emphatically neomodern (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:ix)

Gupta and Ferguson critically examine the issues of culture and culture change and propose two broad sets of issues “in which an ethnography of cultures might proceed” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:3). The first question pertains to “place” and “the way that culture is spatialized”. The second issue deals with the relationship between power and culture. They state that once we get past the boundedness of culture we can deal with issues of contested relations between difference, identity, and place. They emphasize and I would reiterate as true in this research that the relationship between culture and place is not a “natural fact” but part of ongoing social, political, and historical processes. In this research on the Tongass I am using multiple discourses to understand the processes that have shaped the unique relationship between the Tongass and their sense of place and identity.

While *Culture, Power, and Place* emphasizes contested relations of identity and place, another recent work edited by Field and Basso (1996), *Senses of Place* examines the relationship between identity and place using both symbolic analysis and discourse. They state the goal of their essays is “to move beyond facile generalizations about places being culturally constructed by describing specific ways in which places naturalize different worlds of sense” (Field and Basso 1996:8). This way of examining place seems similar or at least complimentary to Gupta and Ferguson.

Out of these collected works I have found reasonably good working definitions of place, displacement, and places of exchange. One of the contributors, Casey defines

place as the “most fundamental form of embodied experience-the site of a powerful fusion of self, space, and time” (Field and Basso 1996: 9). In this research I will illustrate how the Tongass notion of self and place is tied to their kinship, history, and discourse. In Field and Basso displacement is described as being just as powerful a “attachment” as experiences of “rootedness”. In the case of the Tongass we will see how their displacement from traditional lands add to their feelings of attachment to certain areas. Geertz introduces the idea that there can be places of exchange which is a concept I will explore with respect to the Tongass. As we will see throughout this ethnohistory the Tongass live in and around a very dynamic “place of exchange”. Both *Senses of Place* and *Culture, Power, and Place* lay a solid foundation of recent theoretical ideas about identity and place for this research on Tongass identity. An integral part of Tongass identity is there attachment to the place around them.

As well as the theoretical ideas for exploring identity and place this research will utilize the analysis of “discourse” or “dialogues of history” to develop a better understanding of culture change and identity for the Tongass. Two recent sources establish the theoretical groundwork for this research. Harkin (1997) *The Heiltsuks: Dialogues of Culture and History on the Northwest Coast* and Silverstein’s (1996) *Natural History of Discourse* use of discourse and history to examine culture change and identity as a dialogue between multiple cultures or voices. These dialogues between voices represent an exchange of perspectives which are “an ongoing series of culturally

embedded communicative acts that presuppose previous acts and constrain new ones”

Harkin 1997:i). Harkin’s research examines the changing views of the Heiltsuks through their interaction with Euro-Canadians. *The Natural History of Discourse* concentrates on how to analyze and interpret discourse to better understand culture as a social construction. These two sources are not radical departures from the earlier works of Fogelson and Sahlins⁸ but attempt to bring to the forefront of anthropological theory the dynamic perspective of culture by using ethnohistory and discourse as a tool for understanding how identity and culture is articulated.

This research examines the identity and sense of community of the Tongass over time using multiple discourses as a window of understanding. This work is divided into three sections: Chapters Two through Four examine the role of social organization, discourse, and notions of space (land and resources) on the construction of Tongass identity. The next section (Chapters Five through Ten) is a ethnohistorical analysis of events, nonevents, and discourse from the initial European contact up to the Tongass residing in Ketchikan. The final part examines how Tongass views of identity had to change during this Century in order for them to be able to assert their rights, claims, and identity in American society (Chapter 10-12). Chapter 11 concentrates on renaissance of contemporary Tlingit culture and Tongass identity.

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Fogelson, Sahlins, and Silverstein, all colleagues at the University of Chicago have worked with many students doing ethnohistorical research on Native Americans. Michael Harkin is a student of all three.

Chapter 2

TAANTAKWAAN IDENTITY, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, AND KINSHIP

An understanding of non-Western histories requires not only the generation of documents and an expanded conception of what constitutes documentation but also a determined effort to try to comprehend alien forms of historical consciousness and discourse.... Such an approach insists on taking seriously native theories of history as embedded in cosmology, in narratives, in rituals and ceremonies, and more generally in native philosophies and world views. (Fogelson 1989:134)

When one examines historically the identity, social organization, and kinship of the Tlingit and Tongass we can see a shift in power and authority, from house groups and clans to kwaans or tribes. In the last twenty five years there has been a shift in power to native village corporations.⁹ While this research traces a shift of power and authority from house and clans to tribal and corporate groups one can not understand Tlingit social dynamics even today without understanding traditional Tlingit identity and social organization. Loyalties and decisions are often made on the house group level and clan

⁹ Native village (for profit) corporations were established in most communities in southeast Alaska under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), in 1971. ANCSA established a village corporation for Saxman, but not for Ketchikan. The corporations will discussed later in Chapter 2.

level even today.

An essential part of Tongass and Tlingit identity both past and present pertains to an individual's position in the social organization and kinship. Tlingit social organization has been described as having six levels (Thornton 1997:295). The six levels of identity: the Tlingit people or "nation", the moiety, the kwaan or tribe, the clan, clan houses, and the individual.

The first level of identity is being Tlingit. The Tlingits have been labeled a discrete linguistic group by anthropologists since Boas and Kroeber. In recent times the Tlingits have been called a nation of Native peoples, or the Tlingit nation. The concept of the Tlingit nation has been reinforced in many ways in recent years.

The next level of identity is one's association with a moiety. The moiety is an exogamous division of clans which the Tlingits describe as the division between the "Ravens, and their opposites". Examining Tlingit social organization, especially the moiety, is an integral part of understanding the concept of reciprocity or "balance".

The third level is the kwaan, which is a geographic division or area in which clans from both moieties live. The Taantakwaan is a specific example of a Tlingit kwaan. From the beginning of European contact the Taantakwaan became known as the Tongass tribe. From the initial contact by explorers and traders there seems to be a desire by these people and governments to deal with kwaans or tribes. Kwaans, during contemporary times, have been commonly referred to as a tribes or sometimes villages.

The clan is the next level of identity. Today there are three clans among the Taantakwaan: the Gaanax.adi (Raven), the Teikweidi (Brown Bear), and the Dakl'aweidi (Killer whale). These clans also have house groups in other Tlingit villages to the north. Each clan is made up of several houses which have a distinctive history and place among the clan. The Tlingit name for clan house is *hit*, which simply means house. Houses are usually comprised of several extended families. Usually there is a hierarchical order among the families of the house. The hierarchy is based on a age grade system or by order of birth of females within a family and house. The eldest daughter having the highest status among extended families.

The final level of identity would be the individual. Each individual usually has a Tlingit personal name. These names are viewed as owned by the clan and have been inherited from the “ancestors” or decedents of the clan. The name literally and symbolically link you to those ancestors who possessed your name. These different levels of individual identity or personhood are brought out even today in formal discourse at potlatches. At potlatches and other public events individuals will be introduced as they arrive at the gathering. Even today when someone is introduced by their Tlingit name many elders will know the individual clan, house, and genealogy.

If an individual was to give a formal speech they might repeat who they are and where they come from. A proper introduction would begin with the individual identifying himself, by stating his Tlingit personal names. Most Tlingit speakers would

recognize the name and know what house and clan the individual is from. Nevertheless, the speaker would continue by stating his clan, kwaan, and town affiliation. Then the speaker might identify his father's people and grandfather's people. After the speaker acknowledges his/her genealogy he/she would acknowledge the host and may discuss how he/she is related to the hosts of the event and thank them for their invitation.

The beginning of a proper formal introduction sounds like this (Tongass dialect):

Daanee <u>k</u> w yoo xat dwasa <u>k</u> w	my name is
Xoots naa <u>x</u> xat sitee	I am of the side (moiety)
Tei <u>k</u> weidee ka Sanya <u>k</u> waan aya xat	my clan and <u>k</u> waan (tribe) is
ka dleit <u>k</u> aa yat <u>x</u> 'i	I am a child of the (my father's side is)....
Saxman <u>x</u> ' yei xat yatee	I come from (village)

Often times personal names are also names of geographic locales which are owned by the clan. When these names are stated at potlatches it reinforces the ownership of these areas by a particular clan. This identity places an individual not only within the social fabric of Tlingit culture, but places a person within a "sociogeographic web of relations indexed by geographic names" (Thornton 1997:295).

The "Lingit" People and Language

The Tlingit people inhabit the region that is today referred to as Southeastern Alaska. Today, as in the age before Euro-American contact, there are Tlingit villages or concentrations of Tlingits in communities from Yakutat in the north all the way south to the southern border of Alaskan (sometimes the traditional territory goes beyond the Alaska-Canadian border in the south). The region of all the Tlingit communities

comprises approximately 500 miles north and south and 120 miles east and west. These numbers emphasize the vastness of Southeastern Alaska and the Tlingit cultural area.

The Tlingit language and the Tongass dialect are an integral part of the Tlingit and Tongass identity. Their language and dialect sets them apart and distinguishes them from other neighboring groups. Linguistically the Tlingit language is considered a Na Dene language. Linguists who have examined and analyzed the different dialects usually consider the Tongass dialect as one of the older dialects of the Tlingit language (Krauss 1980:34). There is a specific dialect called the Tongass dialect. It is different from other Tlingit dialects because it has “a system of vowel nucleus modification which is basically non-tonal” (Leer 1978:9). Leer states that the vowel nucleus modification closely resembles a system used in the Eyak language.

This fact is especially significant in view of the fact that the Tongass community is located at the southernmost end of the Tlingit territory, and shows signs of long association with the Tsimshians, whereas the Eyak homeland is located at the northernmost end of the Tlingit territory, the southernmost of the known Eyak settlements being at Yakutat, where according to local tradition Tlingits from the south moved in next to the Eyaks in comparatively recent times. Hence it seems out of the question that the common features of the vowel nucleus systems of Eyak and Tongass Tlingit are due to areal contact in recent times; it seems much more likely that this system which has given rise to the tone systems in most Tlingit and in Athabaskan (Leer 1978:9).

Both Leer and Krauss concur that Tongass Tlingit may be one of the older dialects (Krauss 1980).

Today the Tlingit people are often referred to as the Tlingit nation, especially by

other Alaskan Natives or Canadian Native groups. Whether or not, the Tlingits are consciously making an effort to build nationalistic feelings among the Tlingit tribes is not certain but they do have many of the trappings that have been characterized as such. In particular the Tlingit people even have a song they call the Tlingit anthem. About 1990, Austin Hammond (Daanawak, Tlingit name), a raven leader of the Lukaax.adi dedicated a song called Ch'a Aadei Yei Oona Tee Gaa-xawe, to all the Tlingit people as a national anthem. The anthem was originally composed by a Tlingit named Joe Wright (Aanteeyeilee, Tlingit name).

Moiety or Phratry?

The moiety structure is another aspect of Tlingit culture that differentiates them from their neighbors like the Tsimshian and other groups. The moiety is the social unit that helps maintain the balance in Tlingit life. Moreover, the Tlingit follow a matrilineal descent rule and the moiety is an exogamous grouping of clans, which was referred to by Emmons as a "marriage group" that "had neither head nor authority" (Emmons 1991:22). The term moiety has not always been the word used by anthropologist to describe the Tlingit exogamous marriage groups. Many early anthropological sources use the term phratry instead of moiety. In recent years in the anthropological literature, the term phratry has been replaced with the kinship term moiety (Kan 1989:24; Emmons 1991:22). "All of Tlingit society is organized in two reciprocating divisions called moieties (moiety: meaning 'half', or 'one of two equal parts', and defined as 'one of two basic

complementary tribal subdivisions') (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990:6). The moiety seems to be a more accurate anthropological term to use to describe this kinship group.

Swanton (1908:398) states that the one phratry is known as the Raven, while the other is referred to as Wolf and is called the Eagle in the northern Tlingit area. While Swanton's statement makes a neat and simplified way of looking at Tlingit kinship, most of the Tlingit (especially in the southern area) who are of the opposite moiety to the Raven would prefer to have the moieties referred to as the "Ravens and their opposites". This is because some of the clans do not come under the crest of the Eagle or the Wolf. Among some of the clans I worked with in the Tongass area, there is a strong feeling that anthropologists have incorrectly labeled these moieties as Raven and Wolf/Eagle, and as such have perpetuated some wrong ideas.

Among the Sanyakwaan or Cape Fox tribe of Tlingit, there is a clan known as the Neix.adi. This clan has often been misunderstood and misinterpreted in the anthropological literature. The Neix.adi have been mistakenly described as a "third group" in the Tlingit kinship system that "intermarried with both Raven and Wolf moieties but had the Eagle as a crest and Eagle personal names" (Emmons 1991:22). This clan's three main crests are the Eagle, the Beaver, and the Halibut, but it is clear that in kinship terms they are considered part of the Raven (moiety) side. In reviewing many family genealogies, among the southern Tlingit, I observed that the most common marriage practice for the Neix.adi was for them to marry "opposites of the Raven".

Elders discuss a proper marriage for a Neix̱.adi as being wedded to the "opposites of the Raven". Many highly respected marriages of the Neix̱.adi were to people of the Teiḵweidi clan (the "Brown Bears", which are "opposite of the Ravens") of the Sanyaḵwaan (Cape Fox tribe) and Taantaḵwaan (Tongass tribe). Furthermore, Neix̱.adi clan members perform the duties of the opposite moiety for the "Bears"¹⁰, at potlatches, ceremonies, and funerals.

There may be many reasons for the inaccuracies in the anthropological literature pertaining to the southern Tlingit. The primary reason is most of the anthropologists doing fieldwork among the Tlingit have worked or are working in the central and northern communities. T. T. Waterman, Viola Garfield, and Ronald Olson, who did work in southern Tlingit communities, did not do a great deal of research on kinship and genealogies in the southern area. Waterman (1922) did an in-depth piece on Tlingit geographical place names, which has over 900 Tlingit place names in southern Southeast Alaska. Olson only published one manuscript in the University of California Berkeley Anthropological Papers series. Olson's field notes are some of the best ethnohistorical materials we have for the southern Tlingit.¹¹

Garfield published more on the Tlingit, but her best insights were in non-Tlingit

¹⁰ Teiḵweidi clan that is unquestionably in the anthropological literature and according to tradition designated as opposites to the Ravens.

¹¹UCB. Bancroft Library, Ronald Olson field notes on Microfilm.

communities. In looking carefully at Garfield's field notes, she spent more time in Tsimshian communities and only had relatively short visits and interviews with the Tongass and Cape Fox Tlingit. From examining her field notes, one can assume she was familiar with the Tsimshian language but did not know Tlingit. All her interviews with Tlingit-speaking elders were done through a Tlingit interpreter. Another factor that may have had an impact on her fieldwork was that when Garfield was doing fieldwork in Ketchikan she did not seem to have had much contact time with the Sanyakwaan and Taantakwaan people.

As a result the gaps in the research on the southern Tlingit and the emphasis of fieldwork in the central and northern Tlingit communities, I believe there have been some misunderstandings and incorrect interpretations of the kinship and social organization of the southern Tlingit. In this research one can see that anthropologists have played a role in recontextualizing discourse about Tlingit social organization. This has caused some interesting situations in how the Tongass and Cape Fox Tlingit interpret and reinterpret their own culture. Many of the Tlingit people who read the anthropological literature are offended by the misinterpretations because this literature presents Tlingit stereotypes. Simply put, there are regional cultural differences among the Tlingit, and many of the early anthropological sources tend to generalize too much about Tlingit culture or hypothesize about certain aspects of southern Tlingit culture without sufficient ethnographic grounding. These misinterpretations cause problems when the younger

generation of Tlingit, who do not have elders to teach them their clan histories, begin reading these ethnographies to learn their history. This anthropological discourse frustrates the elders who feel it perpetuates inaccurate information and degrades the history of the Tongass.

Kwaans / Tribes

According to several anthropological sources, the Tlingit people were divided into approximately fourteen different tribes or geographical divisions, the most southern of which is the Tongass Tribe (Swanton 1911:396-397; Emmons 1991:9; Olson 1967; Krause 1979). According to Swanton, these tribes had at least one winter camp and specific resource areas that were used during the spring, summer, and fall. The fourteen geographical groups were recognized as follows (Swanton 1908:396-7). Swanton emphasizes how each tribe not only had specific territories, but had a specific meeting place or village site during the winter months.

Each one of these divisions or tribes had at least one winter village and a section of coast on which the people camped every summer or back of which they hunted in winter. The number of permanent towns as well as their location varied considerably from time to time (Swanton 1908).

Table 1 - Kwaans/Tribes

Geographical Group:	Swanton's Orthography:	Modern Orthography:
Tongass	Tanga'c qoan	Tanta <u>k</u> waan
Sanya or Cape Fox Indians	Sanya qoan	Sanya <u>k</u> waan
Henya	Henya qoan	Heenya <u>k</u> waan
Kuiu	Kuiu qoan	
Kake	Keq! qoan	Keik <u>k</u> waan
Sumdum	S!aodan qoan	
0 Stikine	Staq! hin qoan or Cq!at qoan	
Taku	T!aq! qoan	Taku <u>k</u> waan
Auk	AK! Qoan	Auk <u>k</u> waan
Hutsnuwu	Xuts!nuwu' qoan	Xoots noowu <u>k</u> waan
Chilkat	Djilqat qoan	
Yakutat	Yaqudat qoan or laxayik qoan	

Other authors have stressed the political importance of the kwaans or tribes of the Tlingit. Andrew Hope's statements before the Senate Interior Subcommittee on Indian Affairs describes how the word tribe has become a term that has substituted for the Tlingit word kwaan.

It was local clan division in the village that had political significance. The "kon", among the Tlingit and Haida, had geographical significance... in describing the Tlingit and Haida, each of the "kons" comprising the local clans in a particular geographical area has frequently been referred to and called a "tribe". There are 14 such "kons", or so-called "tribes", among the Tlingit and Haida in southeastern Alaska.¹²

Olson's definition of a Tlingit kwaan is similar and compatible with Hope's definition. Olson emphasizes how it is an important geographic social unit, he supports the notion that the Tlingit people on the whole are a nation or linguistic group of people who are unified by language and comprised of several tribes.

The Tlingit, then, are not a single tribe but a group of tribes (geographical divisions) who occupied the southeast coast of Alaska. The Tlingit "tribes" are merely geographical groups. A Tlingit thinks of himself largely as a member of a clan.... Neither Tribe nor town had, or has any formal organization, and ownership of land was by clans and households rather than by tribe. Thus the term "tribal territory" does not apply in the usual sense. The chiefs were clan chiefs, not tribal chiefs. If some outranked others in influence, it was because of greater wealth, and more numerous clansmen, plus a greater degree of "highbornedness" through a line of distinguished ancestors within the maternal line (Olson 1967:1).

The point that should be emphasized here is that it was on the kwaan or tribal level that a

¹²

UWA. William Paul Papers, Box 5, Andrew Hope's statements before the Senate Interior Subcommittee on Indian Affairs.

clan found "the opposite" clan to provide the necessary balance in Tlingit life and culture.

There is without question room for debate as to whether or not the word kwaan and tribe are synonymous. Clearly the terms are not synonymous, but over time have taken on similar meanings. As mentioned earlier, the Tongass people are also referred to as the Taantkwaan people in the Tlingit language. However, as nations began competing for trading on the Pacific Northwest Coast they felt compelled to establish agreements and treaties with the Tlingit kwaans. During the 19th Century, the term tribe begins appearing in the literature as a reference to Tlingit kwaans. While one could argue that these terms had different connotations and came from different cultural contexts with loaded meanings, gradually the two terms began to be used by both English speakers and Tlingit people interchangeably.

The term tribe as a reference to Tlingit kwaans was also prominent in the anthropological literature. Sahlins (1968) in his book entitled *Tribesmen* states, "the western fringe of North America from California to southern Alaska was occupied in aboriginal times by tribes without agriculture or husbandry" (Sahlins 1968:39). The Tongass tribe fits Sahlins definition of a tribe as a "constellation of communities and relations between communities" (Sahlins 1968:49). The common usage of the term tribe by anthropologists and bureaucrats has contributed to its wide acceptance.

We will see in this study how the political role of the kwaan or tribe in the discourse began to increase while the role of the clan and house group diminished as the

Tongass became more involved with European and Americans. The political dynamics between tribes, clans, and houses changes in the Tlingits discourse with Europeans and Americans. Nevertheless, in inter Tlingit discourse each Tlingit person first and foremost is accountable to and maintains their identity through their clan house. The clan is usually the highest level of leadership and ownership. Some exceptions occur in Tlingit history when the kwaan comes together to enforce or protect property, people, and rights against other kwaans. An example in the Tongass discourse is how the clans came together to battle against the Stikine kwaan or Tsimshian groups. Leadership on the tribal level is usually by consensus of the clan and house leaders ("hitsati"), although occasionally a village "big man" ("Aankaawoo") will emerge as a leader or, more accurately, a facilitator among the clan and house heads of a village.

Clans and Clan Houses

While kwaans play a role in politically uniting clans of the opposite moieties, it is on the level of the clan that ownership and identity are determined. Central to a Tlingit person's identity is his/her clan identity. Emmons clearly states the importance of the clan as follows:

the tribe is but an accidental geographical grouping of independent clans, without power or authority [of its own]. The phratry is an imaginary relationship from a distant past whose only function is [to regulate] marriage, but the clan is the active principle of life, the law, and the religion of the Tlingit (Emmons 1991:23).

Many things in Tlingit life were owned by a clan or houses within a particular clan.

“Things claimed by the various clans range from clan emblems and crests to “real estate” and intangibles such as house and personal names, legends, songs, dances, and so on” (Olson 1967:37). The Tlingit people are matrilineal; therefore, one gets his/her clan identity from the mother’s side. Knowledge for the Tlingit is transmitted along the same lines as identity. In other words, key groups in the transmission of Tlingit knowledge are the house and clan groups. It is this knowledge that enables the clan and house groups to take on a life of their own. The Tlingit term for house is *hit*. Levi-Strauss states Northwest Coast people are representative of what he calls house type societies. He believes the house has a life of its own, which transcends descent and marriage. He argues heirloom possessions descend through the house more than through a descent line per se (Levi-Strauss 1982).

Levi-Strauss’ theories about house type societies that have property that descends through the house works well with the Tlingit concept of *at.oow*. *At.oow* is a concept in Tlingit culture that refers to not only house and clan property, but to land, songs, stories, crests, names, images, regalia, and even the ancestors themselves (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990:13-23). *At.oow* is a fundamental aspect of ownership and rights to specific discourse.

It is on the clan level that leadership is a combination of ascribed status and achieved status. In other words, a clan leader usually comes from a high status family from the highest ranked house of a clan. However, sometimes even on the clan level

there is not a consensus among the houses as to an overall clan leader, so there remain simply leaders of each clan house. Often clans have had leaders who have emerged through achievement and charisma. Each clan usually has several houses that are comprised of extended families. Each house usually has a history of origin that places it within the larger context of the clan history and links that house and its members to specific territories and rights. The clan house leaders, *hitsati*, are responsible for perpetuating and maintaining the discourse for each clan.

Among the Tongass, there are four of the oldest Tlingit clans (Swanton 1908:408). The four clans are the Ganax.adi, the Kiks.adi, the Teikweidi, and the Dakl'aweidi (ibid). The Ganax.adi and the Kiks.adi are clans from the Raven moiety, while the Teikweidi and the Dakl'aweidi are the opposites of the Ravens. Each of these clans is made up of several house groups. Olson states that the Taantakwaan had seventeen houses at the village of "Katdukun" (Tongass Island Village). He states eight were Ganax.adi, six were Teikweidi, and three were Dakl'aweidi houses. Each of these house groups traces its territory to different areas (see Table 2 on the following page).

Table 2 - Ganax.adi Houses of the Taantakwaan at “Katdukgun” Tongass Island

“Ganwutlacihiit	“Pulling Ashore House” or “Drifted Ashore House”
Yeilhit	“Raven House”
Sakhit	“Starfish House”
Yeilsaxkhit	“Raven’s Bones House”
Nuhit	“Fort House”
Kadjukhit	“Kidjuk House”
Tanhit	“Sea Lion House”
Xashit	“Skin House”

Several of the houses will appear at different times during this ethnohistory. The “Ganwutlacihiit” [Ganwulshi hit] or “Drifting Ashore House” was one of the Taantakwaan houses group that relocated to Ketchikan and was located down on the tidal flats near the mouth of Ketchikan Creek. Kadjukhit or Kadjuk [Gijook hit] house is a Ganax.adi house that is well-known among non-natives in Ketchikan as the “Johnson House”, because he was the caretaker of the house until the late 1930s.

Olson recorded (1967) a few Teikweidi houses that were located at the village on Tongass Island village (see Table 3 - Teikweidi Houses of the Taantakwaan).

Table 3 - Teikweidi Houses of the Taantakwaan

Teikweidi Houses of the Taantakwaan

Katshit	“Kats house”
Ganaxhit	“Valley House”
Xootshit	“Bear House”
Xetlxit	“Thunderbird House”

Emmons states the Teikweidi clan was recognized as having originated among the Tongass, and members had moved north to Sitka and eventually to Yakutat. "Although not all those at Yakutat who called themselves Teqwedi [Teikweidi] were Tongass Tlingit, still it is reasonable to suppose that the leading aristocrats of that clan were of Tongass descent" (Emmons 1991:316-317). Olson states that because of the antiquity of the Teikweidi it is regarded as one of the oldest and, at one time, most powerful clans (ibid). The origins of the Teikweidi and their migration and settlement northward has been verified at recent public gatherings by prominent elders from Angoon, Sitka,

Yakutat of the Raven side.¹³

The actual numbers of the Dakl' weidi people among the Taantakwaan today are very few. I will discuss in the ethnohistorical section how the locations and resource areas of the Dakl'weidi Taantakwaan were in areas where they may have suffered from high mortality rates during the 1800s due to smallpox. The houses among the Dakl'aweidee that were recorded by Olson and his informants were (see Table 4):

Table 4 - Dakl'aweidi Houses of the Taantakwaan

Dakl'aweidi Houses of the Taantakwaan

(Tongass Island village)

Keethit	"Killer Whale House"
<u>Goochhit</u>	"Wolf House"
Gaskohit	"Gasko" House

Within each kwaan clan house groups are the basic Tlingit social unit. According to the anthropological literature the actual number of clan houses among the Tongass

¹³ Respected elders from the Raven side told these stories and clan gatherings in recent years.

remained fairly constant throughout the 1800s. Both Olson and Waterman recorded seventeen different clan house groups. While sources are in agreement about the number of house groups the estimates of the number of people who belonged to each house group has varied a great deal in the anthropological literature. Today, the number of people who are part of a clan house group range from just a few individuals to as many as a few hundred among the largest houses.

Individual Identity, Tlingit Personhood

Individual Tlingit identity is traced back to each one of the different levels already discussed in this chapter: moiety, kwaan, clan, and house. Since the Tlingit are matrilineal and names, identity, and inheritance is past on through the mother's line, Tlingit personal names are an important part of ones identity and gives an individual immediate affiliation or recognition with a particular house and clan. These personal names are owned by clans and passed on down through the generations like property. These names link an individual to all the ancestors that came before them who had that name. Many times I heard Tlingit elders say if a person did a good deed that the person was adding to the history of the name. This is all part of the concept that Kan calls "symbolic immortality" among the Tlingits. A Tlingit person is symbolically linked to the ancestors through his/her name.

Even though the Tlingits are matrilineal, respect to ones father's "side" (house, clan affiliation) and ones grandparents' side is a key part of Tlingit identity. These

paternal and grandparent kinship affiliations may help an individual gain access to their land or resources. The Tlingit refer to their father's side as *yatx'i* meaning "I am a child of the (name of father's) clan". Often an individual may know his father's clan songs and history, because being from the opposite side (moiety) they may be asked to sing a song or recite a story for his father's clan at a formal event.

There is a relationship between identity and space for the Tlingit that occurs on both an individual level and on a group level. For Tlingits part of their relationship between land and themselves is linked to their concept of *at.oow*. *At.oow* is a Tlingit term which refers to all clan property, land, resources, names, regalia, and even the ancestors themselves. Individual personal names are clan *at.oow* and sometimes are the same as geographic place names. This links that individual not only with that place, but to the history of that place, to each ancestor that possessed that name prior to the living namesake, and the house and clan that owns the name and place.

The ownership and claim to these names is asserted through formal discourse at potlatches. When an individual who bears the name of a place is introduced that introduction reinforces the house and clan ownership of both the name and the geographic location. Often times ceremonial regalia will bestow names that are personal names that may also link to a specific geographic location. Regalia has clan crests which are symbolic representations of particular stories and histories. When that regalia is brought out and worn or danced at formal gatherings the story or history of that object is

told. The name of a individual becomes symbolic reminder which are brought out at formal gatherings to assert that history.

Many of these aspects about personal names and clan at.oow (property) play a significant role in the strong feelings about why Tlingit buried human remains should be left alone and “objects of cultural patrimony”¹⁴ should be repatriated under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Since personal names are passed on from one generation to the next disturbing buried human remains runs the risk of disturbing a possible namesake ancestor. Furthermore, the interest in repatriating Tlingit objects of cultural patrimony is not as much an issue of empowerment as it is an issue of reintegrating those objects which are the symbolic representations of specific discourse and histories back into the the Tlingit social setting before the narratives are forgotten.

As part of the analysis of this study, I will examine how the power, authority, and responsibility concerning the transmission of knowledge and discourse have shifted to a certain extent from the house groups and clans to the clans and kwaans (i.e., tribes, villages, and corporations) during the historic period.

In this century there have been many complex layers of social and political organizations that have become part of Tlingit and Tongass identity. Many of these

¹⁴

“Objects of cultural patrimony” are a particular category of materials as specified in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act that would include items like Tlingit clan regalia.

organizations were developed as a result of congressional action and has created multiple social and political structures and organizations that create possible contradictions or competition for the Tlingits. These multiple structures and their influence on Tlingit life has not been discussed a great deal by anthropologists. A discussion of these complex structures is essential to understanding contemporary Tongass identity and social organization. The historical, social, and political impact of these new structures and organizations will be discussed in the ethnohistorical section of this research.

Contemporary Social and Political Structures

Since the 1900s there have been many organizations that were formed to promote certain political action or were the result of specific political legislation. In most Tlingit communities there are at least four basic political structures. One political structure is the municipal government of each community. The second, is the political structures that have been established under federal legislation. The third, political structure is the native village corporations, most of which were formed under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The fourth, kind of organization is the native non-profit and philanthropic organizations. It is essential to understand these different structures in order to be able to interpret the contemporary identity, politics, and discourse of the Tlingit.

Most Tlingit communities have a municipal government. The municipal governments are usually made up of a mayor, a city council, and usually a professional

city manager. The structure and function of the municipal government is politically an American development is a non-native form of government in philosophy, power, and authority. In the first half of the century with the prompting of missionaries, school teachers, and territorial officials most communities developed formal municipal governments with mayors and city councils.

In most Tlingit communities are the numerous Native political organizations. Arguably the most powerful organizations from a federal perspective is the tribal council established under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), and as such are called IRA tribal councils. The Indian Reorganization Act which was enacted by Congress in 1936 made provisions for tribal (IRA) councils to be formed in most communities in Southeast Alaska. These tribal councils are suppose to legally and politically have a government to government relationship with the federal government. It is through the IRA councils that tribes can pursue federal Indian program grants.

Another federally recognized tribal entity is the regional Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska. The Tlingit and Haida Central Council is a regional council which is formally called Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska (CCTHITA). The council officially met for the first time in 1941 to pursue land claims issues with the federal government. Historically this council was originally established by the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood to deal with land claim issues. This council is federal recognized, but in recent years seems to be losing

some power, authority, and federal funding to local IRA tribal councils. The interest in the local IRA tribal governments parallels other federal efforts to decentralize government programs and channel funding directly to local communities.

In 1971, congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act that established a regional native for profit corporation called Sealaska Corporation. The act also formed for profit village corporations in most communities in Southeast Alaska. The act provided for a corporation in Saxman, which became Cape Fox Village Corporation. Five communities with significant Alaska Native populations were excluded: Ketchikan, Haines, Wrangell, Petersburg, and Tenakee Springs. The exclusion of Ketchikan meant the Tongass people had to enroll in the category of at large members, or be excluded. The Tongass who lived in Saxman in 1971 were eligible to enroll in the Cape Fox Village (ANCSA) Corporation. Since a village corporation was not established in Ketchikan under ANCSA many Tongass did not get enrolled for a number of reasons. This acknowledgment and enrollment problem has been the issue of a Congressional study.

The most prolific and influential philanthropic organization among the Tlingits and in every community is the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and Sisterhood (ANS) which was formed in 1912. It was formed with the encouragement of church leaders to pursue land, resource, and civil rights issues. In recent years many native non-profit corporations have emerged. Many of these organizations were the direct result of ANCSA that encouraged the formation of non-profit corporations to assist with the social

and cultural missions in the communities. In recent years there has been many other non-profit organizations have that have organized with specific missions and objectives.

While these organizations have a vital impact on Tlingit and Tongass identity, place and discourse this complex social and political structure brings about many contradictions with the traditional Tlingit social structure.

Throughout this ethnohistory, the reader will see different Tongass leaders emerge from the different clans. The Tongass leaders will play influential roles in dealing with social, political, and economic issues of their people. Especially during times of stress, the house and clan leaders seem to play pivotal roles. To make sense of the decision-making hierarchy involved in Tlingit politics even today it is essential to know the relationship among moieties, tribes, clans, and houses. The clan and clan house groups play a significant role in Tlingit politics because many clan houses discuss and make decisions as a group. The Tlingit house groups and clans often form powerful voting blocks and lobbying groups in contemporary Tlingit communities.

The study of how Tlingit social and political organization changes over time has not been extensively studied with respect to one particular Tlingit group. The changes will map out how the Tongass have responded to social and political changes while at the same time maintaining the identity and sense of community.

Chapter Three

TONGASS DISCOURSE: THE FLOOD, CHARTER MYTHS, AND THE FIRST WHITE MEN

This research so far has examined the relationship between identity and social organization. For the Tongass there are several historical narratives which describe events that link their identity and kinship groups to the ancestors and specific geographic places. Three of the most prominent stories in Tongass discourse are represented by three story poles. These stories have become part of the discourse of the Tongass and have been used to assert that they have lived in southern Southeast Alaska since “time immemorial”. The first narrative is about the Tlingits’ story of a flood. The next type of narrative describes the events after the flood. This type of narrative would fit the category anthropologists describe as charter myths. One charter myth is the Kats story that represents the story of how the Teikweidi clan acquired the Brown Bear as one of their crests. The “Proud Raven” pole, known popularly as the “Lincoln Pole”, represents the story of the sighting of the first white man coming to the Tongass Territory.

There are many other poles that represent other important historical events. These poles are undeniable claims to certain lands and areas and link houses, clans, and kwaans to these places through historical events. The pole itself becomes a symbolic reminder

and record of the story or history. These poles are not only regarded as reminders of specific events or official Tlingit records but are considered legal verification and documentation according to Tlingit law. When each pole is raised there is a potlatch to commemorate the event. At a dedication potlatch a speaker from the opposite tells the narrative about the pole. Furthermore, money and gifts are given to guests of the opposite clans to witness and verify these histories and legal claims. The guests then go back to their village and tell the stories.

There are many ways in which the Tlingit clan histories and other stories have been conveyed. The clan histories have been passed on from generation to generation through the use of oral narratives in both formal and informal settings. In the formal setting of a potlatch, clan histories are told. Often clans have personal names and regalia that are symbolic representations and reminders of historical events. When these clan stories, names, and regalia are brought out at potlatches, the stories behind these symbols are told. The guests of the opposite moiety, who hear the histories and stories, are given money and gifts to acknowledge, remember, and verify such histories.

While telling clan histories in formal settings has become an integral way of handing down knowledge, the informal setting is just as important to the transmission of knowledge. Usually the designated history teller trains for years, listening to the story and retelling the narrative, in informal settings. Clan elders will pass on stories by telling the stories repeatedly to younger listeners. In this fashion the histories are passed on to

younger speakers until they can repeat the narratives accurately.

Speakers from the opposite moiety tell the histories of other clans and the accuracy of the recitation of story is crucial. If important details are excluded or if the story is told improperly it is a serious mistake for the speaker's clan, and the clan whose history is being recited. The clan of the speaker would be shamed and would have to possibly pay out money to "wash away" the shame. Because of the importance of the speaker's role, he is usually compensated for a job well done. However, both the clan who owns the narrative and the teller (opposite clan) have some power over the way a story is told. Discourse is publicly verified and legitimated without the acknowledgment of people from the opposite moiety. The narrative goes through a process of what Silverstein calls entextualization as it is reinterpreted and told again. In fact the symbolic representation of the discourse in poles and in regalia, I would argue is a complex form of entextualization. In this manner, clan histories have been transmitted for hundreds or thousands of years through oral narratives.

Tongass narratives or discourse have a "natural history" (Silverstein 1996). The narrative is told originally and then goes through a process of "replication" and "entextualization". Then the discourse is decontextualized and recontextualized when it is represented in a carving on a pole. The replication of the discourse through the symbolic representation in a carved pole and when it is recited at a potlatch reaffirms the narrative. The clan who owns the story or in which the story is about has both the owner

and the teller (opposite clan) have some power over the way the story is told.

The archeological history of the Tongass people is virtually unexplored. Much of the "prehistoric" or, more aptly, pre-"Euro-American" contact history relies heavily on oral histories. The small amount of archeological information available indicates that there was constant and continuous occupation along the coast of southern Southeastern Alaska for thousands of years. The Tongass tribe and its clans have oral histories that link the tribe to their traditional areas. These stories contain information about their ancestral lands. The more archeologists and geologists study the ethnohistorical record and make discoveries, the more the Tongass and Tlingit oral narratives are being authenticated by the scientific community. Olson states confidently that Tlingit stories can be for the most part considered historical fact:

I agree with most other students of the culture of the Northwest Coast area that many places the legends of tribal break-up, of migrations to new places, of ancient settlements and the like, have a basis in historical fact, if due allowance is made for a certain amount of inevitable distortion inherent in all oral tradition ... there is every reason to believe that the histories as given are reasonably factual with the qualifications, and bearing in mind the inevitable clan bias, I feel that these accounts can be accepted as having a large core of historical fact. (Olson 1967:82)

The historical detail and accuracy of the Tlingit narratives is a testimony of their ability to transmit knowledge from generation to generation, and the social organization that provides the mechanism.

The Flood

As a common starting point for clan histories, the Tlingit elders usually tell a story about a period a long time ago, when there was but one group of people in Southeastern Alaska (Emmons 1991:25). These people all spoke the same language and lived in “harmony”.¹ During this time, there were no clans, tribes, or different languages. Then a catastrophic event (some elders state a natural catastrophe such as a great flood, others state a great war) occurred.¹⁵ The story of a flood is one of the most significant narratives or stories among the Tlingit. It was after the time of the flood that the Tlingit clans developed distinct histories.

There are many recorded versions of the Tlingit story of the flood. Each clan has their narratives about the events before, during, and after the “flood”. One version of the flood narrative was told by C. W. Brown from Ketchikan and was recorded by Linn Forrest, who was a area supervisor for the Ketchikan area of the Tongass National Forest. This account of the great flood has been kept in the vertical files of the area archeologist. This is the story written by Forrest, unedited and uncut.

My story as told me [C. W. Brown], and which has been handed down even until now is about the trouble caused by the flood. And so the tide began to rise; each day coming a little higher but failing to go back down to its original low tide mark. Seeing this the people realized there was a

¹⁵ When I had informal discussions with elders about the different versions of the flood story, they had heard told by their elders, there were two common elements people living in harmony and communicating using the same language.

flood. Soon their houses were flooded and they were forced to get into their canoes. They fashioned a strong rope of cedar bark and taking this with them headed for the highest mountains on the mainland up around Behm Canal. Their plan was to make the line fast to the highest mountain. Even now there is evidence of the flood on the highest peaks and rocks have been up where the cedar rope was made fast. Still the tide continued rising but not all of the mountains were covered. I am sure there was a great deal of trouble and self protection for as the story is told it was only those who had dogs in their canoes that were saved.

Aside from the misery of the rain and storm the wild animals caused considerable trouble. Most dangerous however, were the trees which popped to the surface, coming up by the thousands from the area below which once had been beautiful forests. Wolves and grizzly bears were also heading for the highest bits of land. Everyone and everything fought for life.

Finally it stopped raining. A streak of sunshine broke through the clouds and all was quiet. They were saved!

They were alive! Here and there a mountain peak could be seen above the flood. Those that were saved thanked their spirit for being alive! Here and there a mountain peak could be seen above the flood. Those that were saved thanked their spirit for being alive and a song was composed of the sun tide.

Song of the Flood
If I could but see (make ready now)
If I could but see (make ready now)
This man's world (make fast now the lines)

Those that were saved were very much afraid, afraid even to move. All sorts of thoughts entered their minds. Thoughts of the loved ones, brothers, sisters, mother, and fathers. They were gone, gone.¹⁶

It is important to note that the Tlingit stories of the flood are part of their oral tradition, and do not seem to be the product of Christianity. Some of the early missionaries and ethnographers recorded different clan stories of the flood, even before Christianity was

¹⁶ UWA. Viola Garfield Papers, Accession number 2027-72-25, Box 1

prevalent among the Tlingit groups. However, there is no doubt that the Christian story of the flood has had an impact on some versions of the story of the flood.

When one compares the ethnohistory of the Tongass (i.e., Brown's story of the flood) with recent findings in geology and archeology in southern Southeastern Alaska, one can find some compatibility between the two histories. Some anthropologists believe that the events before, during, and after, the flood "describe early post glacial environments and events" of the Late Pleistocene (Harris nd:1). According to geologists, about 10,000 to 12,000 years ago there was a great change in the massive glaciers that were located in Southeastern Alaska. At this point, many of the glaciers began to recede and the sea level rose a few hundred feet in some places, changing the landscape from the past age.

Pacific coast sea-level sequences also reflect the varied interplay of isostatic, eustatic, and tectonic factors. Most areas close to the main Coast Range and centers of regional glaciation exhibit extremely high relative sea-levels before about 10,000 B.P. accompanied by rates of uplift in some cases so rapid that significant vertical changes in sea-level would have been readily apparent to any human observers in just a few years. (Fladmark 1983:73)

Fladmark illustrates a significant rise in sea levels of approximately thirty meters in the Juneau area between 11,300 B.P. to 10,000 B.P. On the Queen Charlotte Islands, there are sequences of rapidly rising relative sea-levels between 8,000 and 9,000 B.P.(Fladmark 1983:74).

Compare Fladmark's assessment, "significant vertical changes in sea-level would

have been readily apparent to any human observers in just a few years” (ibid), with

Brown’s story of the flood:

and so the tide began to rise; each day coming a little higher but failing to go back down to its original low tide mark. Seeing this the people realized there was a flood. Soon their houses were flooded and they were forced to get into their canoes. They fashioned strong rope of cedar bark and taking this with them headed for the highest mountains on the mainland (Brown n.d.).

Whether or not this geological series of events coincides with the Tlingit ethnohistory remains to be seen, but the comparison is compelling and interesting. Other anthropologists more conservatively believe the events surrounding the flood refer to the “mini ice age” about 1,500 to 2,000 years ago (De Laguna 1972).¹⁷ More geological and archeological research is needed to determine the extent of sea level changes.

At the time of the great flood, the people that inhabited the lowlands retreated to the mountain tops. The people tell that during this time many of the animals and people were killed by the flooding. Only a few who sought refuge on the mountain tops survived. It is from this time after the flood that the Tlingit people believe the development of Tlingit clans began. Each of the different clans has migration stories about how they descended from their respective mountain tops and traveled down the different major rivers in Southeastern Alaska and northern British Columbia.

¹⁷ In personal discussions with Robert Ackerman at the Paleo-Beringia Conference 1997 he stated that he believes many of the stories from Tlingit myths about glacial events and changes in sea level correspond to the mini ice age.

When the Tongass people came down from the mountain tops after the flood, they followed the Skeena, the Nass, the Unuk, and Stikine rivers. The Teikweidi clan of the Tongass people claimed to have sought refuge on the mountains around the headwaters of the Unuk, Nass, and Skeena Rivers. Once the waters receded, the Teikweidi people made their way down the Unuk River. At the mouth of the Unuk River, the Teikweidi had a large village. This was located at Burroughs Bay, and from this village the people spread out to many places and villages in southern Southeastern Alaska.

After the time of the flood, the Tlingit clans began to really emerge as distinct social groups for the Tlingit people. Swanton and Emmons develop a strong case that the Tlingits originated from the interior and eventually migrated out to the coast via the Nass or Skeena rivers (Emmons 1991:8; Swanton 1908:407). According to Swanton, during this time, the Tlingit began to develop ideas about clan territories and linked these areas to their distinctive histories and origins. Swanton states: “the Tlingit quite uniformly trace the origin of nearly all their clans to the Tsimshian coast ‘below Port Simpson’; that is, to the neighborhood of the mouth of Skeena River” (Swanton 1908:407). Emmons states:

The Tlingits are unquestionably of interior origin, and came down the rivers to the coast in the early days as small families or bands in search of better food conditions than those afforded by their own country. The older and more important clans that constitute the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska unanimously refer to the Tsimshian territory [Nass and Skeena River areas] as their former home from which they wandered north. The continuous northward migration that for years had been peopling the islands and coasts of southeastern Alaska. (Emmons 1991:8)

Swanton and Emmons, however, may have oversimplified the question of the origins of the clans by prioritizing the above mentioned versions of the origins of the Tlingit.

The mistake Swanton and Emmons may have made was overlooking other stories about the origins of the Tlingit that they themselves recorded. In light of recent archeological and paleontological discoveries, I believe the peopling of Southeast Alaska was very complex and that the answers all along have been recorded in the different Tlingit oral narratives. Emmons contradicts his earlier statement about the origin of the Tlingit with this comment:

An indefinite idea seems to have pervaded the minds of the older generation of Tlingit that they were preceded in Alaska by an earlier race, yet if there ever were such previous inhabitants of Southeastern Alaska, these people have long since been driven out, exterminated or absorbed by the Tlingit clans which, as independent wandering bands, met, combined and settled to form the Tlingit tribes. (Emmons 1991:25)

Swanton, only a page after he writes that the Tlingit clans originated from around the Skeena River, writes a different story of origins. He states the Tlingits have their

traditions regarding the origin of the two clans [the Teikweidi clan and the Ganax.adi clan] first mentioned point unanimously to Prince of Wales Island and Kuiu (Swanton 1908:408)

On the northern end of Prince of Wales Island, human remains were found which were dated to approximately 9,730 years ago (Fiefield 1996:5). This date is the oldest known date for human remains in Southeast Alaska; and it is one of the oldest dates of human remains in North American. Through isotope analysis of the skeletal material the

individual had subsisted primarily on a marine diet. In association with the human remains was a lithic point which archeologists agree fits the same approximate time period as the human skeletal remains. According to archeologists, the human remains and lithic point would be part of the “Paleomarine tradition”. This and other paleomarine sites may relate to Tlingit discourse recorded by Emmons. Emmons’ Tlingit informants told him about a earlier “race” of inhabitants that were “driven out, exterminated, or absorbed [maybe through an event like the flood] by the Tlingit clans which, as independent wandering bands, met, combined and settled to form the Tlingit tribes” (Emmons 1991:25).

Davis, in his article “Prehistory of Southeastern Alaska”, published in volume seven of *the Native American Handbook*, develops a typology for classifying archeological sites of the Northwest Coast.

Table 5 - Davis’ Prehistoric Chronology

Davis Chronology	
Paleomarine tradition	9,000-4,500 B.C.
Transitional stage	4,500-3,000 B.C.
Developmental Northwest Coast stage:	Divided into three phases
Early phase	3,000-1,000 B.C.
Middle phase	1,000 B.C.-A.D. 1,000
Late phase	1,000 A.D. to European Contact
Historic period	

Davis proposes the sequence on the basis of a number of prehistoric and historic native sites investigated and reported upon. While the Davis chronology is useful for categorizing archeological sites and materials, it has certain weaknesses because it classifies anything from approximately 5,000 BP to 1,000 BP as the developmental Northwest Coast phase (Davis 1989). In particular, I believe the term “developmental” implies a cultural evolutionary perspective and is not a particularly useful term.

Moreover, the developmental phase discounts the Tlingit oral tradition by underestimating the length of occupation of the Tlingit people in Southeastern Alaska. The Davis’ use of the term prehistory is an outdated discourse because it implies anything prior to European contact in the Alaska as being before their was history. This research clearly makes the point that the Tongass and the Tlingit have a historical discourse that preceeds European contact. The Davis’ archeological chronology contests the Tongass and Tlingit discourse that clearly states their presence in Southeast Alaska since time immemorial.

When we examine the information about the Tlingit story of the flood more closely we see many subtleties that may have interesting parallels in the geological and historical events of the region. Further archeological and geological investigations may reinforce these narratives. Important to our understanding of these stories is realizing these narratives have been filtered through many layers of interpretation, including: new languages, interpreters, and recorders. The result may have been that the ethnographer or

person recording the oral narratives edited important details that may be significant to understanding the paleo-environmental period. An ethnographer in the early 1900s may have seen the narratives as reinforcing notions of race, culture, and evolution through such a biblical event as the flood, whereas, an ethnographer in the 1990s finds documentation for a theory about glaciation, sea level changes, and the peopling of Alaska and the Americas.

What remains relatively constant in the discourse about the flood is the basic meaning for the Tlingit. These narratives represent a history of the Tlingit clans, a story in which the clans descend from higher ground to live in a territory they are already familiar with but that has changed dramatically. For the Tongass “some of the people (clans) were not able to find their original homes but they did find the five old villages” (Olson 1967:36). On their way back to their old villages “they sang a song, ‘I don’t believe the place is dry where I am going to walk’” (ibid). They rebuilt these villages and “here they were living when the whites came” (ibid).

The story of the Great Flood is an oral tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation. Many Tlingit believe this was just one of many types of floods (using the term “flood” figuratively) that have thrown their people into chaos. The catastrophes they are referring to are the flood of smallpox and other diseases, the flood of Euro-Americans, alcohol, the flood of ideological challenges (i.e., Christianity, English), the flood of modernity, environmental degradation, AIDS, and drugs.

Many of the Tlingit people believe that as each clan emerges from these new periods, there are both positive and negative consequences that confront the people. There is a feeling of chaos at first, followed by a period in which the clan must reassert its history, territory, and traditions. In recent years many of the Tlingit clans have asserted that these narratives about the flood are stories that give them a unique and very ancient tie to the land. It is this resilient clan history and identity that is at the heart of the Tongass people.

Charter Myths of the Tongass Clans

There were many factors during the proto-historic and the "historic contact" period that contributed to the Tongass peoples' moving from one territorial area to another. The charter myths or totemic of the Tongass contain both mythic and historical qualities. According to the Tongass narratives, after the flood the clans migrated out to the different river mouths and islands. These charter myths explain the clans' connection to specific places. These narratives also explain where and how some of their names were derived and how certain clan crests or totemic animals were acquired. The geographic locations where Tlingit clans acquired their totemic crests are areas of special respect and importance to them. These connections are reinforced by both oral and written discourse today. The discourse about a clan identity and relationship between a geographic location and clan crest is customarily told at Tlingit potlatches.

Kat's Story

For the Teikweidi clan, Burroughs Bay on the Unuk River was and still is an important territory. Burroughs Bay is the place where the Teikweidi clan established one of their first villages after the time of the flood. Olson states that the "Tekwedih" were numerous and owned many places, including the Unuk River and the entire watershed. The name Unuk was most likely derived from the Tlingit word Djunax. Olson (1967:4) states that the name Djunax is shortened from Djunanax which means "by dreams", because the place was discovered by a man dreaming of the area. At one time one of the largest Teikweidi villages were located along the Unuk River. The people from there were known as the Djunax Kwaan. Three rivers that still retain their Tlingit names in this watershed are the Unuk, the Caxta, and the Cahini rivers.

A Tongass elder, Pete Williams, told Waterman (1922) how the Teikweidi got their crest, "They said Black [Brown?] Bear married one of our women group, this is where the Tekwiti got their bear totem" (Waterman 1922:15). Swanton recorded the story of how the Teikweidi clan received the Grizzly-Bear crest (see Figure 3, the Kats pole, on the page 69). The story occurs on the Unuk River and helps one understand the clan's strong affinity to this area.

A man belonging to the Te'qoedi went hunting on Unuk (Dju'nax) river, and came to a bear's den. While he was examining it the male bear threw him inside. Then the bear's wife dug a hole in the ground and concealed him there. When the male bear came in he said, "Where is that man that I threw in here?" "I haven't seen anyone. you haven't thrown anybody in here." "I did. I threw a man in here." The male bear became angry at her

denials and left her, upon he had a family at home.

Meanwhile the man's four brothers looked for him continually, keeping away from their wives so as to find him, but in vain. They could see his tracks in the snow, but they could not discover where they led to. They suspected the truth, because other hunters had also been captured there by animals, and the shamans told them that this had happened to him. As soon as they left the town with their dogs, however, the she-bear could feel it made them pass by.

But the youngest boy had not searched. Finally he started off too, and the bear felt that he was coming, but she found that she could not make him turn aside and said to her husband, "Well! we are caught." The dogs scented him, and when he looked out, there was his own dog barking. He called to it by its name, Man-for-the mountains (Cayis!-xwa). Then his brother knew what was the matter and came to the mouth of the den with his spears, determined to bring back his brother alive or dead. When the man saw his youngest brother outside he said, "Stand right there. Don't do any harm. I am here. Although I am with this wild animal, I am living well. Don't worry about me any more." When he was first taken into this den it looked like a den and nothing more, but that night he thought that he was in a fine house with people all about eating supper, and his wife looked to him like a human being.

In May, when the bears were about to leave their dens, his wife said, "Now you can go to your village. Take good care of your little one. Don't go near your wife. Don't look toward her even." So he went to the place where his brothers were living and said, "Tell my wife not to come near me for a while. She must have pity on me. Ask her to stay away." Then he began to go off hunting. He had luck from his bear wife, and killing seals was nothing to him. One day, while he was out, he saw some bear cubs coming toward him and presently found that they were his little ones. Then he gave them all the seals he had killed. He fed them every day. When his younger brother went hunting with him and the cubs came running toward the canoe, he would say, Don't be frightened. Those are your children" (meaning "your brother's children").

By and by his human wife came to him. She was angry with him and said, "Why do your children starve on my hands?" What are you doing feeding cubs instead of my little ones?" After that though he did not dare to say a word to his wife, he began feeding her children. He thought, "I wonder



Figure 3 - Photo, Kats Pole, Teikweidi Clan, Saxman

what will happen to me now for feeding the little ones."

Presently he went hunting again and again took some seals to his cubs. As he was going toward them he noticed that they did not act the same as usual. They lay flat on the ground with their ears erect. Then he landed, but, when he got near them, they killed him. It is on account of this story that the Te'qoedi claim the grizzly bear. (Swanton 1911:228-229)

Other versions of the story tell that after the man was dead, the woman (wife), who was a bear, walked up into the mountains, and as she walked towards the mountain, she sang a song of mourning. The elders say this is the song the Teikweidi still sing today when they sing a mourning song.

The charter myth of the Teikweidi is a good example of how clan crests, songs, names, and places are all interwoven into their historical discourse. This discourse is reinforced through the visual arts of crests and poles, and through music with the mourning song. The poles and songs not only serve as reminders but also foster an emotional link to these geographical places. In Tlingit discourse it would not be proper to tell one sides' (moiety) charter myth, the Teikweidi, without telling the other sides charter myth or story.

Ganax.adi Origins

The Ganax.adi clan, which represents the Raven side of the Tongass people came down the Nass River and moved northward many believing they settled first on the Cleveland Peninsula, around the Port Stewart area (see Figure 4 on the following page). They were believed to be the first people to come down and inhabit the area of the

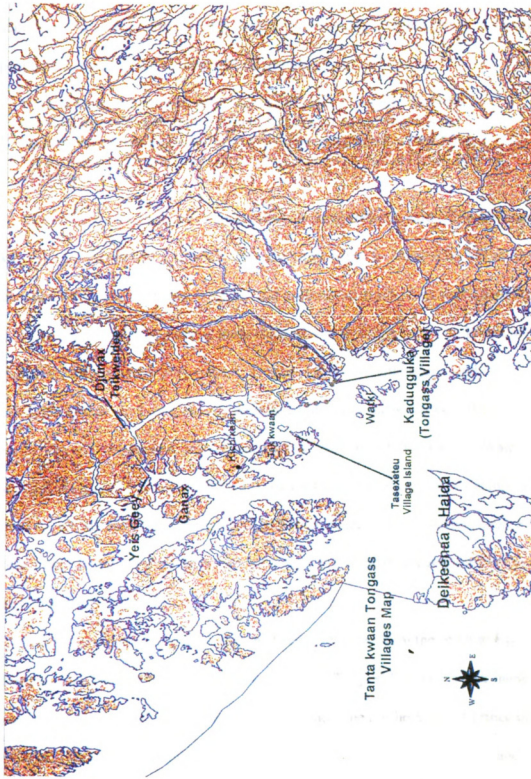


Figure 4 - Tongass Clan Areas: Ganax and Unuk Map

Taantakwaan. Some accounts state that the Port Stewart area is called Ganax in Tlingit.

The people from there are the Ganax.adi (adi meaning people of Ganax).

The same clan may have several legends of place of origin. Thus the Klawak Ganaxadi trace their origin to Kanaganut Island whereas the Tantakwan Ganaxadi believe they came originally from the Taku River. Yet both claim to come from Ganax (Port Stewart) in Behm Canal! (Olson 1967:25)

From Ganax the Ganax.adi people spread to many different parts of Southeastern Alaska. "The Ganaxa'di of Tongass tell the same story as the Wrangell Kiks adi about the marriage of a woman of their clan to a frog, and probably claim the frog also" (Swanton 1908). From the coastal river mouths these clans moved to Moira Sound on Prince of Wales Island, Duke Island, Village Island, Tongass Island, Annette Island, and Revillagegido Island. As I have already mentioned Swanton states that both the Teikweidi clan and the Ganax.adi clan origins "point unanimously to Prince of Wales Island and Kuiu Island" (Swanton 1908:408). He continues by telling two different stories of the movement of the Ganax.adi. The first story tells about how the Ganax.adi migrated from "Ta'qdjik-an" on the northwest side of Prince of Wales and that they were the "first to settle at Tongass".

In the second version he states that the Ganax.adi came from the south to Kuiu and then migrated back to Tongass. Swanton states the Teikweidi received their name from an island called "Teq" (Teik), which he locates near the northern end of Prince of Wales Island. Most of the islands around the northern area of Prince of Wales Island

have Tlingit names other than Teik̓. It is possible that the names have changed. Another possible explanation is that this area refers to an island or area that is very old and refers to the time before the rise and change in sea level. In some of the recent work on the Queen Charlottes some of the scientists believe that it is possible that some of the Haida myths refer to islands and land masses that are now underwater.

The Ganax.adi and Teik̓weidi were using the westerly islands for numerous resources very early in the Proto-historic. During the time of the flood the Ganax.adi sought refuge around the mountaintops on Revillagegido Island. After the flood the Ganax.adi made their way down from the mountains and settled on some of the different islands and back at Port Stewart.

"The First White Men" Story

The third story in this chapter deals with the Tongass discourse about their first encounter with Europeans. This section presents a couple of different versions of the "First White Men" story. Many of the Tlingit tribes have very vivid narratives about their initial contact with Europeans. The sighting of the "First White Men" for the Tongass Tlingit is an important and well-known story. In fact, a Tongass man by the name of Yeil Jeeyi, a chief of the Ganax.adi (Raven) clan, commissioned the carving and erecting of a pole, the "Proud Raven Pole" (see Figure 5 on the following page). The Proud Raven Pole commemorated the event when his clan's people had sighted the first white men in the area. The pole was carved with a raven at the bottom and a white man

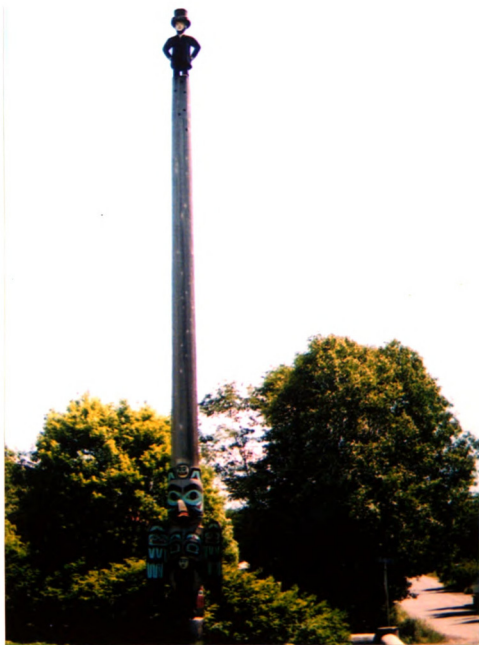


Figure 5 - Photo - "Proud Raven Pole", the story of the first white men

at the top (Paul 1971:6-8). This pole is often been described by the Tongass as the "Story of the First White Men".

The First White Men narrative is the discourse that represents their first encounter with Europeans. For the Tongass the important points of the story are the Tongass people the Tongass people involved, the location, and the emotions of bewilderment, apprehension, excitement. The discourse about the story of the first white men would be what Fogelson would call an epitomizing event" (Fogelson 1989:143). Fogelson states epitomizing events are narratives that condense, encapsulate, and dramatize longer-term historical processes. Thus the Tongass First White men narratives represents a body of discourse that describes the Tongass perspective of the initial encounter Europeans. I believe some of the versions of this narrative condenses, encapsulates, and dramatizes several or a period of encounters with the Europeans.

Louis Shotridge, the Tlingit historian, wrote an account entitled, "When Tan-t'aquan Met the White Man". He writes that "Xa-xa.n" of the "te.que.di" and "Attce.yi", his brother-in-law, went out sea otter hunting. "Their camp" was on the southern shore of [Photo of the "Proud Raven Pole", The Story of the First White Men.] "Ye.x", Duke Island. The sea otter hunting was disappointing because they only got two otters. That night they drifted in their canoe.

At-tce.yi, steerman, was looking around, and then spoke "I never knew that such an island was in this position, or have I been deceived by my eye-sight?" (Shotridge

n.d.:1). Sa-xa.n looked around and also stared at the object. "There over the horizon appeared an object, it does not look like an island, if it had looked like one, it can never be one, because such had never been heard or known of in the position" (ibid). Xa-xa.n spoke to his companion and said: "No, it is not an island... It may be that a living sea monster has sensed our presence, an octopus perhaps, such monsters are often deceiving" (ibid).

The two hunters knew they were in no position to flee. As the object got closer, it looked like a great sea bird. Then the great sea bird made a direct course for them. At that moment Xa-xa.n told At-tce.yi in a calm manner, "much depends upon thine courage my friend, and thou can wish for no other to die with than thine beloved brother-in-law" (ibid). Finally, the great object came in close range and the two hunters could see that the "great monster was but a floating town". Eventually their canoe was "hoisted aboard".

The Shotridge's version of the Tongass First White men narrative seems slightly romanticized when compared with other versions. From a perspective of Tlingit discourse Shotridge's account lends credibility to the Tongass history. Due to the fact that Shotridge was Tlingit from one of the northern tribes speaks well in confirming (at least in Tlingit culture) the validity of this story from a southern group. The first encounters with the Tongass by Europeans from the European discourse will be discussed in the chapter five.

The narratives of the flood, the charter myths and the First White men is discourse

that describes a great deal of Tongass history prior to their contact with Europeans and Americans. This discourse and the representation of these stories in the various Tongass poles have been used to assert their ownership and rights to these areas in both Tlingit and Euro-American settings. In the following chapter, “Notions of Tlingit Space”, the link between discourse, land, and resources for the Tongass will be examined. The Tongass respect, ownership, and management perspectives about the land and resources stem from the discourse outlined in this chapter. The narratives cited in this chapter and the notions of Tlingit space in the following chapter give the Tongass perspective of their history world view prior to and up to the arrival of the Europeans, and sets the stage for chapter five on the Euro-American discourse. The narratives discussed in this chapter represent a line of discourse that the Tongass and Tlingit use to assert that they have utilized and managed the land and resources in the area “since time immemorial”.

Chapter Four

NOTIONS OF TLINGIT SPACE: LAND, RESOURCES, AND OWNERSHIP

The social and political organization and discourse discussed in the previous the chapter plays a key role in defining ownership and use of resource areas. Knowledge of Tlingit and Tongass social organization and Tlingit kinship is vital to understanding the relationship between house, clan, and tribe with respect to property, land, and resources. The Proto-historic period is a time in which the Taantak~~u~~waan clans migrated and maintained several village sites the reasons for their links to different areas has been outlined in a few narratives in the previous chapter on Tongass discourse. We will see how in practice ownership and leadership occurs on the clan level, but the ~~u~~waan or tribe is an integral political and geographical unit.

While both classic and modern anthropological sources promote the idea of the Tlingit ~~u~~waans, clans, and houses as having distinct bounded territories the modern day reality is much more complex. Today, a majority of communities in southeast Alaska have a long history of Tlingit occupation, but in any of the larger towns the Tlingit population comprises a minority. Regardless of this minority representation each Tlingit

community is an integral part of the social and economic network of all the Tlingit communities.

Within this cultural and geographic area, there is great ecological and climatic diversity. Southeast Alaska is an area comprised of numerous islands that are part of the Alexander Archipelago. The coastline and beaches are usually rocky and rugged. In this area, there are dramatic gains in elevation from the shoreline to the mountains. Sometimes the mountains reach heights over 3,000 feet, all in a very short distance. At these northern latitudes, a few hundred feet can make a significant climatic and ecological difference.

In addition to significant differences in ecology and climate due to altitude, there is a great deal of variation from the outer (westerly, exposed coastal) islands to the interior mainland. In particular there is a significant reduction in rainfall as one moves from west to east in the region. Throughout the entire region it is a rainforest climate. The annual precipitation ranges from 80 to over 200 inches in the region.

When one moves north to south within Tlingit country, one finds numerous variations in the type and abundance of flora and fauna. Despite the geographic vastness and ecological diversity, the Tlingits are united by a common language, culture, and kinship and have maintained a distinct culture from pre-European contact times to the present. Traditionally each Tlingit clan and community owned and managed certain fishing territories (Krause 1979, Swanton 1908, Garfield 1947). Access to these resource

areas by outsiders was limited to clan or village members. The house group or clan managed highly efficient fish weirs or traps along rivers and creeks. Outsiders had to obtain permission prior to using the area. Therefore, the use of resource areas by outsiders became a form of Tlingit exchange between different clans. Archeological and ethnohistorical evidence supports the assumption, with few exceptions, that this method of fishing and regulation, supported large harvests of salmon for hundreds of years (Ackerman 1968, De Laguna 1960, De Laguna 1964).

Each Tlingit community fills a unique micro-environmental niche. For example, certain resources may only be found in harvest able quantities in one or two communities. These unique resources are traded or exchanged among neighboring communities. Many of these unique exchange items took on a ceremonial significance over time. If one community was removed from the exchange network, crucial resources could be eliminated from the system. Long before Euro-American contact, the Tlingits had developed a sophisticated level of knowledge, ownership, and management of resources and exchange networks in their region .

The Tongass tribe, their clans, and houses traditionally laid claim to a large geographic area of southern Southeastern Alaska and was known at one time as one of the larger geographical Tlingit tribes. Garfield states in her field notes that the Tongass were one of the "largest of the Tlingit tribes in the old times".¹⁸ Their area ranges from the

¹⁸UWA. Viola Garfield Papers. Accession number 2027-72-25, Box 1, Folder 15. Notes on "Ownership and Food Producing Areas".

Unuk River in the north and east, to Dundas and Zayas Islands in the south. According to Tlingit oral histories, the Tongass territory even extended as far west as Prince of Wales and Dall Island (Emmons 1991:6,9).

The early neighboring tribes were the Stikine Kwaan to the north, the Henya and Klawock to the west, and the Tsimshian people to the south (see Figure 6 on the following page). The Sanyakwaan were the closest neighbors of the Tongass and the clans of each kwaan had territories that were intertwined and in some cases overlapping. Many anthropological, archeological, and ethnohistorical accounts tell about the Haidas and Tsimshian movement into the Tongass territory. According to several anthropological sources, in the "late Prehistoric" or "early historic" period the Haida Kwai migrated from the Queen Charlotte Islands to the villages on Dall Island, Long Island, and Prince of Wales Island (Langdon 1979; Langdon 1986; Emmons 1991:6). However, some Haida clans have stories referring to their presence on Prince of Wales Island during the time of the flood, which of course would put them on Prince of Wales Island long before Euro-American contact.

While the Taantakwaan people made many long-term settlement movements, they also made cyclical seasonal migrations to harvest, exchange, and trade. In closely examining the Tongass settlement patterns, we will see how many different factors influence their decisions to move from one settlement to the next. These movements I label as long-term cyclical settlement rotations or migrations. Many times they probably

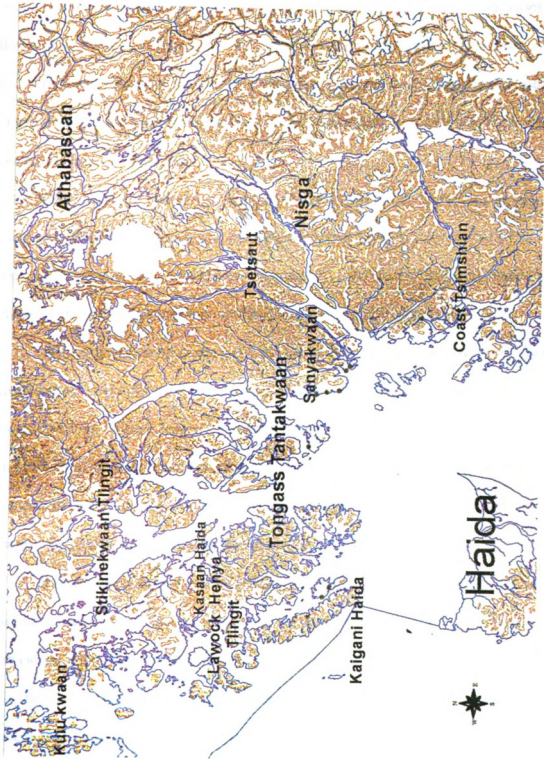


Figure 6 - Tongass and their Neighbors

moved to a new village site to increase their resource opportunities and in some cases to allow resource areas to rejuvenate. Often we look at salmon and salmon streams productivity as a reason for movement. While this may have been a significant reason for some movement, another reason may have been the availability of red cedar for building houses, canoes, and other items.

Other reasons for these long-term settlement rotations or migrations may been associated with inter- or intra-group conflicts. There are at least a few stories in the Tongass discourse about conflicts between groups in a particular village that caused a schism. Other narratives mention conflicts with other neighboring groups.

With respect to subsistence areas and movements classic anthropological sources have often referred to kwaans as being equivalent to one village or “winter village” (Swanton 1908). The concept of a kwaan being a single village seems to be an over simplification. Some kwaans moved so they could maintain or improve their proximity to a trading center, moving closer to these trading centers strategically protected their interests by forcing neighboring groups to go through them as an intermediary.

It seems likely from the archeological record and the oral histories that a kwaan may have been comprised of more than one village group, each with several houses and fish camps. Each of these locations, whether it was a fish camp or winter village site, had specific resources that were important in the regional exchange system. Anthropologists have described Tlingit settlement patterns by referring to the kwaan as being the

equivalent to one village or "winter village"(Swanton 1908). Through archeological and ethnohistorical investigations I believe the Taantak_waan maintained multiple villages until the middle of the nineteenth century. The evidence indicates at least a few winter village sites being occupied at the same time by the Taantak_waan people. Even as late as the 1900 census information, we see that specific Taantak_waan house groups are residing in Ketchikan, Saxman, Metlakatla, and Yes Bay, just to name a few. These Tongass families tend to speak of these areas as their home.

In this research on the Tongass a _waan represents a political and economic conglomerate of clans rather than one single geographic village. This difference in a _waan being a single village or multiple villages may also reflect a historical change in _waan. The oral histories tell about how groups or villages migrated or moved from one village to the next. The Tongass people have their territorial areas which they are historically linked to which they seasonally used to gather different resources.

Subsistence Cycle

A great deal of the early anthropological literature about the Tlingit examined the seasonal hunting and gathering cycles. The early authors emphasized that the Tlingits movements and migrations from place to place were motivated by their subsistence cycles. Subsistence activities were no doubt one of the most compelling reason for seasonal movements within their territory. Anthropologists and historians have often cited the abundant environment as the reason for the sophisticated social and cultural

organization on the Northwest Coast. Sahlins says:

The combination of tribal structure and hunting-fishing-gathering production is, however, exceptional. It usually depends on the existence of one or two surpassingly abundant wild foods -e.g., fish (especially salmon) which in the American Northwest... when taken in their season afford something like an agricultural harvest. It might be said of these people that they practice a "natural agriculture".

Sahlins emphasizes that it takes not only a great deal of technological ingenuity, but also a high level of social and political organization and coordination to harvest, process, store, and trade surpluses of resources that need to be harvested in great quantities in a rather short period of time. He states even though there is great abundance on the northwest coast we "should not slight the peoples competence" and that the people of the coast "capitalize on unusual opportunities" (Sahlins 1968:40). The social and political organization of the Tlingit that I discussed in Chapter Two not only played an important role in defining ownership and use of resource areas, but these social units also managed the resources and ultimately had to make decisions both seasonally and long-term about resource management. Sahlins discusses the complexity of the decisions and the impacts these decisions can have on tribal groups:

the natural food supplies available to local groups of hunting-gathering tribes are subject to much seasonal and annual variation. The community at one time well off may find itself at another beset with serious shortages. Affording no secure fund of power by disposition of which a "core area" might dominate surrounding settlements, these uncontrollable variations afford no effective basis for centralized regional politics. Along the Northwest Coast, chieftains or "nobles" birth were influential in the several lineages ("houses") and villages. But none could continuously maintain supremacy over a tribal region, any more than the salmon would

run in abundance year in and year out in the streams claimed by any one chief. Moreover, the mobility of the hunter, here more restricted than usual but nevertheless periodically evident.... Families disperse to favored food-getting haunts in certain seasons, putting themselves out of touch and beyond central control. A long-term decline in local food resources induces permanent emigration, undermining the support of would-be chiefs and changing radically the local and regional correlation of forces (Sahlins 1968:40).

The winter months are a time when the Tlingit stay close to their winter village home. The weather and rough seas make venturing far from home difficult and dangerous. However, during the months of January and February, the Tongass get many foods from the beach. During these months, there is little concern about red tides so clams, cockles (*Cardium corbis*), muscles, chitons (*Mopalia mucosa*), dungeness crabs (*Cancer magister*), and sea cucumbers (*Stichopus californicus*) are harvested. Fresh shellfish adds variety and supplements the winter diet of stored fish and game. Also there use to be significant runs of steelhead (*Salmo gairdneri*) that provided a fresh source of meat during the winter months. Most of these resources were usually gathered close to the winter villages.

By March and April, the runs of "oolichan" (*Thaleichthys pacificus*) and herring (*Clupea harengus*) are a focus of the subsistence activities in southeast Alaska. The Tongass people split their time between pursuing herring roe and oolichans. A favorite food among the Tlingit people is herring roe on hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla*) branches or kelp (*Macrocystis pyrifera*). Another important food item that is collected during this time is oolichans or candle fish (sometimes spelled eulachons in old sources). Oolichans

are harvested both for eating and for the oil that can be rendered from them.

Oolichan oil is one of the favorite "traditional" food condiments. Oolichan oil is an important food additive and condiment for most subsistence foods. The oil is used on fish, rice, and potatoes, and for dipping herring roe. The Tlingits use oolichan oil on foods in much the same way as others might use butter or margarine today. Oolichan oil is also believed to be a healthy supplement to the diet, similar to the way some people talk about cod liver oil. Elders will still tell you when you are first coming down with a cold or flu to take a spoonful of oolichan oil. Oolichan oil or grease is considered a special commodity because it is also an important ceremonial item, which is given as a gift and served at potlatches.

The largest oolichan runs in the Tongass territory were on the Nass River, the Unuk River, and the Chickamin River. Tongass natives also went to the Nass River to smoke ooligans and gill net for fish. They were able to use these areas because they inter-married with the Nass River people and, therefore, had the privilege to fish in this area. In Chismore's account of travelling to the Nass, he refers to the area as the "hereditary fishing domains of the "nasscar, hydah, chip-se-an and Tongass tribes".¹⁹ They also used to trade with the Nass River people. Some of the Teikweidi have returned to the Nass River area for potlatches and have commented on how people recognize the old clan names (personal names) and how they have some of the same names up there.

¹⁹UCB. Bancroft Library, Chismore 1881:4, Microfilm P-K 219 v.2

The Unuk River is an important area to the Teikweidi people, both in their hearts as a place of origin and beginning where according to their discourse they got the Brown Bear crest, and also an area of great economic importance. Many people still go up to the Unuk River for oolichan fish. This is still one of the most important fisheries resources because of the oil that is rendered from the fish. During the Proto-historic period, the Unuk River provided a route that people used to get back and forth into the interior for trade. These trails were called the "grease trails" which referred to the oolichan oil or grease that was transported along these routes.

Shortly after the oolichan runs, herring roe was collected from the Cat Island area. Herring roe is also harvested on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island. Specific clans and clan houses had ownership to these areas. Therefore, certain social groups may have specialized in the harvest of either oolichans or herring roe. Then those groups would have used the highly sought after items to trade for the other items. The harvesting of these two precious resources by different groups may have also alleviated some of the pressure of harvesting different resources during the same season. This ownership and trade of precious resources created a balanced and reciprocal exchange relationship between groups. During the historic period many Tlingit elders have stated that the herring roe fishery was transplanted to the Kashakes area.

Most of the anthropological literature about the Tlingit focuses on fishing and overlooks the significance of gathered plants and foods. An item that was gathered or

collected on the low tides from March to June was black seaweed (*Porphyra spp.*). It was picked from the rocks during some of the especially low tides in the spring. Then after large quantities are collected the seaweed is laid out in the sun to dry. There are many good locations for seaweed. Seaweed is gathered around Prince of Wales Island, Duke, and Dundas and Zayas Islands, just to name a few prime locations. The resource use of Dundas and Zayas Islands continued through this century. According to the Goldschmidt and Hass report a native of the wolf clan formerly owned a place at the cannery on Wales Island (1946:142). The Tongass people formerly went to Zayas Island not only to gather seaweed but to catch halibut in the spring(Ibid). They have ceased to go there since the international boundary has been established. On Dundas and Zayas Islands, Tongass natives also gathered sea gull eggs. The Tongass had a number of “houses” on Dundas and Zayas (Ibid). During the historical period they more than likely cohabitated with some Tsimshian groups.

At the same time many of the Tongass gathered seaweed they would also gather bird eggs. The eggs were collected from the nesting areas where seagulls and other birds would lay their eggs. Each egg was tested to see if it had a baby chick in it or not. Great care was taken to see if the eggs float in water. The ones that floated were good for eating. The eggs that sunk had chicks and were taken back to the nesting areas where they could hatch. Most of the eggs that were collected were eaten fresh.

An activity that complimented the gathering of seaweed and bird eggs was halibut

(*Hippoglossus stenolepis*) and king salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*) fishing. May and June are particularly good months for fishing for halibut and usually mark the beginning of the king salmon fishing season. Many of the main creeks traditionally had good king salmon runs. Halibut fishing was an important supplement to the diet, and the halibut was usually eaten fresh before the harvesting salmon began. Some of the best halibut areas are around the southern most islands. In particular the Tongass areas around Tongass Island, Duke Island, Cat Island, and Annette Island may have been ideal for catching some of the large halibuts that were migrating in from the deeper ocean floors during the spring.

The Nass River and Portland Canal was just one of many areas where the Tongass fished for kings and gathered berries during this time of year. The areas along the Unuk River, the Chickamin River, Mountain Point and Carroll Inlet on Revillagigedo Island, and Moira Sound on Prince of Wales were some areas where the Tongass "traditionally" fished for king salmon. In these areas, they also had established fishing grounds for halibut. Halibut was often fished during the late spring early summer.

By June and July, the runs of sockeyes (*Oncorhynchus nerka*) begin. The Karta River has large runs of sockeye salmon. The peak of the runs of sockeyes on the Karta River are usually around July 4th. There are also large runs of sockeyes on the Sarkar and Staney Creeks on Prince of Wales Island. The Tongass also fished many streams in the the Moira Sound area for sockeyes. There are at least five sockeye streams in Moira

Sound: one at Port Johnson, North Arm, at Nowiskay Cove, at Kegan Cove"

(Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:144). All these sockeye creeks were claimed by the Tongass people, particularly the Raven, Ganax.adi. Nowiskay and Kegan are anglicized versions of the Tlingit names. These place names are also personal names still used by the Taantakwaan.

Other significant sockeye runs that usually occur slightly later than on Prince of Wales Island occur on Revillagegido Island in Carroll Inlet. On the mainland, Yes Bay, on Cleveland Peninsula, usually has large runs of sockeyes. The runs in Yes Bay usually occur after the runs on the Karta River. The Unuk, Chickamin, and Nass rivers had runs of sockeyes but the fish usually return around the month of August. By mid to late August, the coho salmon (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) begin to return to the creeks. Numerous smaller creeks had significant runs of pink salmon (*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*). Ketchikan Creek was a significant pink salmon creek. According to some elders, the name of the Creek was a name describing the smell of the pink salmon that used to wash up on the banks (Williams 1978).

The activity of gathering berries and plants occurred through the summer and fall. Most of the common varieties could be found in abundance on just about any of the big islands in southern Southeast Alaska. The Tlingit were aware of the fact that different kinds of berries may have better seasons on different islands due to micro-environmental variations from island to island. In addition, some years are better than others years for

certain species of plants and berries. Salmon berries (*Rubus spectabilis*), thimbleberry (*Rubus parvi-florus*), Alaska blueberry (*Vaccinium ovatum*), red huckleberry (*V. parvifolium*) are just a few of the main varieties of berries that are collected. Today the Tlingits keen awareness of intra-regional variations in growing cycles may be the result of quicker, easier travel from island to island, but I believe the Tlingits were well aware of this in the past.

Another important collecting activity was the gathering of cedar bark and spruce roots. While the demand for bark and root products probably necessitated some year round gathering, the preferred gathering season was usually spring. Spring was the preferred time because the inner bark of the cedar was soft and pliable from the sap flow. Southern Southeast Alaska has the distinct advantage of having areas in which western red cedar (*Thuja plicata*), yellow cedar (*Chamaecyparis nootkatensis*), and Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*) grow. Red cedar is preferred for its straight true grain. As one moves farther north in Southeast Alaska, red cedar becomes rare. Yellow cedar has a grain that carvers believe tends to twist more readily than red cedar. Yellow cedar tends to be a little harder wood. Bark from both of these trees is collected for making all sorts of items. The roots from the Sitka spruce are used as a fine weaving material. Sitka spruce was also tapped for its sap. The sap or pitch from the Sitka spruce was used as a multi-purpose sealant and adhesive. The pitch was harvested by cutting an alcove into the tree. The alcove that was used for pitch usually did not kill the tree. In my archeological

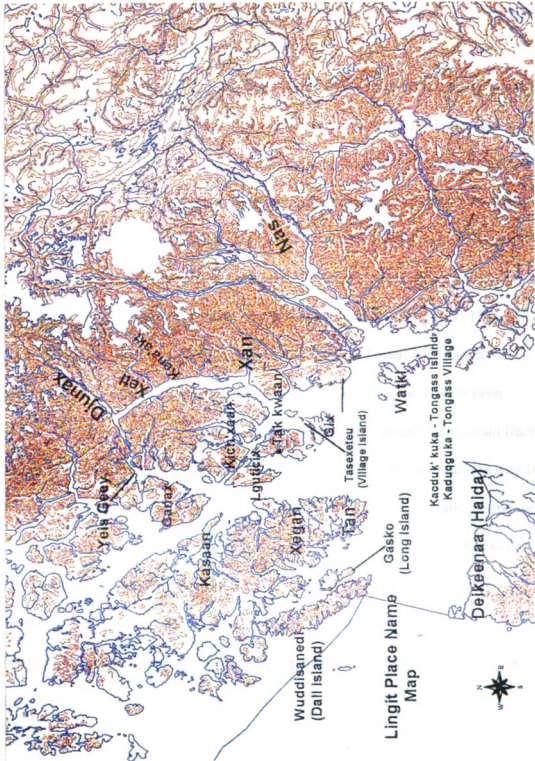


Figure 7 - Lingit Place Names Map

surveying, I recorded many alcove trees that were several hundred years old with alcoves that may have been at least a couple hundred years old.

In late summer and early fall, the clans would return to rivers along the mainland to fish for sockeyes, cohos, and pinks. Yes Bay was an area that served as a boundary between the Teikweidi clan and the Ganax.adi clan (see map on the previous page). The modern name for Yes Bay was derived from the Tlingit name, which was Yeis Geeyi [geeyi meaning bay in Tlingit]. During the period after which there was a village at Yes Bay, the area was still used by the native people for fishing. Smokehouses were owned and maintained by the Tlingit in this area in the fall (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:140). This is an important mountain goat hunting area. Mink, land otter, and marten were trapped in this area (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:140). Yes Bay has always been historically an important fishery because it was a place where several clans could freely use the territory. Ownership, regulations, restrictions, and depletions of salmon runs in other areas have increased use and competition in Yes Bay. The Unuk area, to the west of Yes Bay, was an area that many of the Teikweidi people would use in the fall to fish for salmon, particularly cohos. It was also a good area to pick and gather low-bush cranberries (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*) and crabapples (*Pyrus fusca*). It was also an important hunting area, where people could go up into the mountains of the "mainland" and hunt for mountain goat. Many years they would establish trap lines and trap for marten and mink.

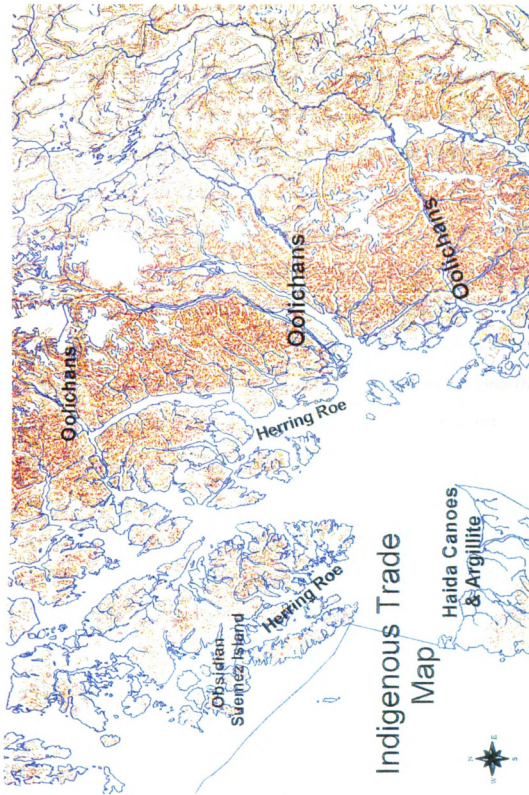


Figure 8 - Indigenous Trade Map

South of the Unuk River is the Chickamin River, located north of Walker Cove on Behm Canal. The Chickamin River is called Xilx ("Xetl" Tlingit spelling according to Olson) in Tlingit, which means place of foam, or where the river foams up. The Chickamin River is all part of the Teikweidi clan territory, which stretches from south of Walker Cove to land along Behm Canal north and west of the Unuk River. The Chickamin River was and is an important oolichan creek for the Tongass and Cape Fox people. Olson states that a Tlingit man dreamed of a river where there was a great deal of foam floating down the river and that this area belonged to the "Xetltekwedih". This area is an area that the Kats Hit (Kats, name from the story of the man who married the bear, hit is the Tlingit word for house). Tongass elders, Martha Casello and Esther Shea (Kats hit, Teikweidi), and her family continue to use this area for hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Usually no later than September or October, the hunters begin hunting deer and bear. Bear taken during this time of year are believed to have more of a fish flavor than bears taken in the spring. Bears in the spring are sweeter tasting, but bears in the fall were important for their fat. The fat from the bears taken in the fall was used for many things.

During the fall and winter, deer hunting provided variety to a diet heavy in preserved fish. Moose and mountain goat were hunted by those groups who got to the mainland during the fall. Moose is important not only for meat, but its thick hide is ideal

for making strong, durable moccasins and other clothing. Sometimes several layers of moosehide were put together to make a flexible type of armor. Mountain goat was hunted for both its meat and for the wool. The wool is used in both "Chilkat" weaving and "Raventail" weaving. Often wool was collected off the branches of trees and bushes because during the summer when mountain goats are shedding, the animals leave large patches of wool when they brush up against branches.

Places of Exchange, Indigenous Trade

A discussion of Tlingit notions of land and resources would not be complete without examining the relationship between social relations and indigenous trade networks among neighboring groups. The Tongass people and their villages were located within a major trading sphere on the Northwest Coast. Due to their important geographic location, the Tongass enjoyed a unique niche in both the regional "indigenous" trade and the emerging "world system" fur trade. Specifically, the Nass River and the Portland Canal area were important resource areas in the indigenous trade for the Tongass, Cape Fox, Nisga, Tsetsaut, Tsimshian, and Haida, just to name a few (see Figure 8 on the following page). Once the Spanish, Russians, and British arrived, they quickly realized they would have to regard the Tlingits as an "independent tribe". The Tlingits experience in the regional economy and their central location enabled them make a quick transition from the "indigenous" regional economy to the world economy of the fur trade in the late 1700s and early 1800s. Drucker supports this viewpoint:

The Tlingit with their aboriginal interest in goods as wealth, and their long experience at acquiring desired objects through trade, seem to have made a very easy initial adjustment to the early phase of the industrialized economy which had come to them (Drucker 1958:10).

We know from the archeological materials found in many sites up and down the Coast that the indigenous regional economy had extensive networks. Obsidian from regional sources appears in numerous archeological sites from Southwestern Alaska to Washington. The most famous obsidian quarry is Mt. Edzizza, which is located around the headwaters of the Stikine River. Material from the Edzizza quarry show up as far south as northern Washington. Sumez Island is a second less known source of obsidian in the Southeastern Alaskan region and is just off the west coast of Prince of Wales Island. Just recently samples from the Sumez Island source have been taken and typed. The extent of the obsidian trade from the Sumez source is being studied and analyzed (Moss and Erlandson 1992:89-95). Recent archeological findings indicate that Sumez obsidian was being used on sites on Prince of Wales Island as early as 10,000 years ago.

While the obsidian trade is recorded in the archeological data, the oolichan trade is better documented by oral histories and ethnohistorical research. In the Tongass area, oolichan fish were caught along the Nass, the Chickamin, and the Unuk rivers. The runs of oolichans come very quickly and in large quantities. Although oolichans are found in vast amounts, harvesting this resource required mobilizing a large number of people to fish and process the oil. Chismore (1881), a doctor at Fort Tongass, was fascinated by this industry. He wrote about the oolichan trade:

Though found in many other streams [oolichans] from Puget Sound to Sitka, they are taken here in far greater quantity than anywhere else on the coast. Here it is that the bulk of the fish grease is made, the distribution of which forms, probably, the best example of an inter-tribal commerce -- prosecuted long before the advent of the whites, and still in existence, substantially unchanged -- that can be found upon this continent. (Chismore 1881:4)

Chismore talked about the oolichan oil being transported via canoe to Sitka in the north and Puget Sound in the south. The precious oil was transported inland "borne upon the backs of men, it goes, no white man knows how far; certainly to the headwaters of the Fraser River and the Arctic slope" (ibid). Chismore further remarked how it was traded from tribe to tribe increasing in value as it got further from the source. From the observations Chismore made of the oolichan trade, he estimated it as an "ancient" one, and oolichan oil or grease still remains one of the most important regional food and trade items among native communities today.

Many of the Taantakwaan Tongass tribe territories or traditional use areas fall within the modern day boundaries of the Tongass National Forest or Misty Fiords Wilderness Area. The Taantakwaan peoples' efforts to use or occupy these lands have been altered by extensive federal and state regulations, laws, and policies. Despite the regulations, laws, and policies, the people still maintain the history, knowledge, and use of these areas to the extent possible. While they no longer hold legal title to many of these lands and resource areas the Tlingit and Tongass still consider these territories belong to particular houses, clans, and kwaans. These areas link them to the places where

clan mythic charters occurred and places of origin for various houses and clans, giving these lands and resource areas added symbolic dimensions with respect to identity and ownership.

Chapter 5

Euro-American Discourse During the Fur Trade

Previous chapters have examined Tongass discourse about land, resources, and the first encounters with Europeans. As the age of discovery gave way to the flood of European and American traders to the coast, a complex dialogue of discourses began between the Tlingits and Euro-Americans about identity, land, space, and resources. When one examines the discourse and interaction during the fur trade there are a few key developments. The discourse and politics about tribes begins. During the fur trade period the Europeans and Americans develop a discourse about tribes to refer to the Tongass and other Tlingit kwaans. Discourse about economics and trade relations become much more abstract. Also, the drastic reduction among the Tlingit due to smallpox may have eliminated entire house groups and their discourse and histories. During this period we see the asserted and contested ideas and definitions about ownership of land and resources. During the fur trade period the dialogue between Euro-Americans and the Tongass begins. This dialogue between cultures has had a dynamic influence on the social construction of Tongass identity, place, and discourse.

The first expedition to reach Alaskan waters was that of Vitus Bering and Alexei

Chirikov in 1741. Chirikov in the *St. Paul* traveled very close to the Tongass and their neighbors. Bering was commanding the *St. Peter*, which had seventy-five men, and Chirikov was commanding the *St. Paul*, which had seventy-six men aboard. On June 19th due to stormy weather and disagreements between Bering and Chirikov, the two ships became separated. The *St. Paul*, commanded by Chirikov, sighted land on July 15 “near what is now called Cape Addington” (Hulley 1970:47), on Noyes Island. The possibility of the Tongass observing these first visitors is possible. Some of the clans of the Tongass utilized these areas for certain resources. In the next two days, they moved northward until on July 17 at latitude 57 degrees and 15 minutes (most likely around Sitka Sound), Chirikov sent the ship's mate Dementief with a longboat and ten men ashore. The first boat never returned. So after a few days, Chirikov sent another boat ashore with the boatswain and six men. That boat never returned. Eventually Chirikov made his way back to Petropavlovsk. Some of the men from Bering's ship finally made it back to Petropavlovsk. They had brought with them a few sea otter pelts that were traded to the Chinese market. In China the furs were sold for a very high price. This prompted a rush for furs in the Russian Far East.

The Russians gradually worked their way across the Aleutians and on to Kodiak Island in the quest for sea-otter furs. Long before the Russians arrived in southeast Alaska to trade they may have made a significant impact on the Tlingit population. In 1769, a smallpox epidemic originated on the Kamchatka Peninsula, which spread to

Alaska via Russian explorers (Boyd 1996:309). Specifically, smallpox spread to the Aleutians and south Alaska, and it is possible it spread down the coast to Southeast Alaska (ibid). Archeological evidence supports the idea that indigenous trade networks extended from Southwest Alaska to Southeast Alaska, connecting these two regions. The question remains whether or not the smallpox epidemic of 1769 reached Southeast Alaska. Boyd suggests that alternative multiple sources of smallpox from “the Northern Plains or Kamchatka - cannot be ruled out” (Boyd 1996:314). If the epidemic did not reach Southeast Alaska, it was only a decade later that smallpox was directly introduced to the Tlingits.

Over thirty years passed after Chirikov’s expedition before other explorers reached Southeast Alaskan waters. In 1774, Juan Perez in the *Santiago* reached the northern tip of Graham Island of the Queen Charlotte Islands. In July, Perez made contact with the Haidas and traded with them. He noted that the Haidas had some iron and copper articles (Dean 1993:105). They reached the latitude of approximately 55 degrees north latitude, near what is called today Bucareli Bay. However, this expedition never sighted or entered Bucareli Bay. Rather the expedition traded with the Tlingits around Forrester Island. Journals report that “the natives approached the ships in their canoes, throwing feathers [most likely eagle down] into the air while singing with their arms outstretched in the form of a cross as a sign of peace” (Gormly 1978:158). An interesting observation by the Spaniards was “the Indians already possessed some iron,

lead, and copper as well as half a bayonet, a piece of sword, iron arrow heads, and copper jewelry. The Spaniards speculated about the possible origins of this metal, deciding that at least some of the weapons must have come from a launch lost from Chirikov's vessel during the Russian expedition in 1741" (Archer 1980:132).

The Spanish continued exploring Bucareli Bay and the areas surrounding Prince of Wales Island in an effort to claim as much territory as they could for Spain. They were attempting to beat the Russians to these areas and make quick claims to the territories. In 1775, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and Francisco Antonio Maurelle were aboard the *Sonora* and a second ship the *Santiago* under the command of Don Bruno Heceta (Ackerman 1985:8). Heceta was the leader of the expedition. In a heavy storm in the last days of July, the two boats were separated. On August 13th, Quadra reached 55 degrees 40 minutes north latitude. He then sailed as far north as the Sitka area, making landfall on August 15th just off San Jancinto (Mt. Edgecumbe) where Quadra "observed a fortified native lodge" (Dean 1993:105). Quadra then headed south and, on August 24th, entered Bucareli Bay. On that day, they claimed possession of it and named it Entrada de Bucareli (Gormly 1978:158). As they headed south, they landed once again on Forrester Island. According to Ackerman, the "first cultural contact in 1775 introduced smallpox to the Tlingit (Niblack 1890:237 [citing Portlock 1787])" (Ackerman 1985:9). Boyd states, "my position on origins and dating [smallpox] is as follows: "Numerous lines of evidence suggest that smallpox was introduced to the

Northwest Coast with the 1775 Bruno de Hezeta-Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra expedition" (Boyd 1996:314).

The question remains if smallpox was introduced on this expedition did it have a significant impact on the Tongass. Forrester Island was the place claimed by the Yesku hit house of the Taantak_waan (Waterman 1922; Olson 1967; Emmons 1991:6-9). The Yesku hit house was documented by Waterman (1922) and other anthropologists as one of the houses that were present at the Tongass village on Village Island. Emmons (1991:6-9) states that Forrester Island was used and claimed by the Tongass. Olson (1967) talks about the Taantak_waan traveling back and forth from Forrester Island in some of the narratives he recorded. Little information or descendants from this house exist today. It is possible that the house group was hit hard by the initial smallpox epidemics and that the survivors were absorbed into other clan houses.

To the east of Forrester Island is Dall Island; it is referred to as Wuddisanedi by the Tlingit and is described by some of the Tlingits as being a place of significance of the Teik_wweidi clan of the Tongass tribe (Emmons 1991). Dall Island is an area in which there have been various encounters with outsiders. Emmons states:

Something to this effect was told me by a very intelligent older man of the Tlingit tribe of Tongass, who said that in the earliest days a few people from seaward were driven ashore and settled on Dall Island off the southwestern coast of Prince of Wales Island. The name of these foreign people was given Wish-shun-ade, "something very old, either man or animal" [i.e. animate; wudisanedi, "old age beings"?]. These people are supposed to have been ancestors of the Ta-qway-de] (Emmons 1991:9).

Dall Island called Wuddisanedi in Tlingit is a place where the Tongass have a great deal of knowledge about and traveled to, but by the historic period, there was a prominent Haida village on the southeastern tip of the Island. The Haida village was called Kaigani and was one the most visited Native villages around the Dixon Entrance area. The reason for its high visitation rate was no doubt its location as being the first village as one enters Dixon Entrance from the north. One advantage Kaigani did not provide was adequate sheltered bays for ship anchorage.

As ships move around the southern tip of Dall Island into to the more sheltered waters, they can see Long Island. Long Island lies between the southern end of Dall Island and Prince of Wales Island. These bays were areas where ships could anchor when seeking sheltered anchorages. Long Island, referred to as "Gasko" in Tlingit (Olson 1967:11), was the house name of "Gasko hit" of the Dakl'aweidi of the Taantakwaan clan. Therefore, Forrester, Dall, and Long Island were areas that are part of the Tongass discourse. The introduction of smallpox to the people of these islands may have had a significant impact on the Tongass.

A few years passed by before the Spanish were able to set sail for another expedition to Alaska, but in the meantime word of the previous explorations reached the British and Russians. In 1778, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, under the command of Captain Cook, refitted and traded with the natives of the Northwest Coast, particularly in Nootka Sound. "Crewmen bought sea-otter skins - literally off the Indians' backs - for

scraps of iron; more were purchased later in Cook Inlet for glass beads” (Gibson 1992: 22). An interesting note about Cook’s visit to Nootka Sound was that he found that the Natives had some metal and two silver spoons (Archer 1980:134). While Captain Cook did not make any real contact with the Tongass, one of his crew members George Vancouver would later spend a great deal of time in the Tongass area. The interaction and experience Vancouver had on the Cook expedition to the Northwest Coast had a significant impact on the way he would conduct himself on his later voyages to Southeast Alaska.

In 1779, a third Spanish expedition set sail for Alaska. The Spanish were interested in possibly establishing a northern naval establishment in Bucareli Bay. However, “Cook suggested that if it had it not been for the British threat to the south, the Spanish might have made this bay their northern naval establishment, which might have severely curtailed Russian expansion in the Alexander Archipelago” (Dean 1993:105). The 1779 expedition was led by Ignacio de Arteaga, who was captain of the *Princesa* and Bodega y Quadra was captain of the *Favorita*. In May the expedition reached Bucareli Bay,

where it was promptly struck by an unidentified epidemic and the afflicted were put ashore in a barracks erected for the purpose. In this state of weakness, the Spanish were threatened by a large number of Natives (Kaiganis?), and forced to take a hostage to win the freedom of two sailors taken captive. After restoring the two to freedom and manumitting five slave children (Native), the expedition continued north (Dean 1993:106).

The first trading encounters for the Tlingit with the Europeans was treated with a

great deal of ceremony. Artega's expedition describes one of these ceremonial trading encounters with the Tlingit:

The Indians welcomed the two ships from their canoes - singing and scattering down from a dead sea bird into the air and over their heads as a sign of peace. The twelve men and women in the first greeting party were painted red and black colors

This account by Artega sounds very similar to the greeting the Perez expedition received at Bucareli Bay.

In 1779, there were other events besides Artega's expedition to Bucareli Bay that would have a significant impact on the fur trade. The most significant was that the crew from the Cook expedition sold the sea otter skins in Canton, China. The profit margins were so high that the news of what the Canton market was willing to pay started a run on furs from the Northwest Coast. By "the end of 1779 the expedition's prime skins brought \$120 apiece in Canton for a return of ninety pounds on an investment of one shilling (or "an astonishing profit" of 1,800 per cent!)" (Gibson 1992:22). Captain Cook concluded "there is no doubt that very beneficial fur trade might be carried on with the inhabitants of this vast coast" (ibid). Cook made observations that the Natives of the Northwest Coast were "self-sufficient" and a "trade with foreigners would increase their wants by introducing new luxuries amongst them" (ibid). Reports from the Cook expedition prompted several British trading vessels to frequent the Northwest Coast.

In 1786 Captain James Hanna anchored in Nootka Sound for five weeks and collected 560 skins, which made from \$20,600 to \$24,000 in Canton (Gibson 1992:23).

A year later Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon traveled to the Coast. Both kept detailed journals of their travels. Portlock sailed north up to the Sitka area. He surveyed and charted Portlocks and Gouldings Harbors on Chichagof Island in August 1787, but more importantly, he made some detailed observations of some of the Tlingits in villages where he traded. Portlock's expedition and journal provides material to analyze Tlingit demographics, populations, and the epidemiology of diseases during early European contact. Here is an excerpt from his journal entry for August 12, 1787:

We arrived at the Indian's habitation about noon, and found one small temporary house, and the ruins of two others which had been much larger, and appeared to have been made use of as winter habitations; the uprights or supporters were still remaining, some boards that were intended for a floor. On the beach was a large boat, at three smaller size; the large boat capable of holding thirty persons, and the others about ten people each. From this circumstance I expected to have seen a numerous tribe, and was quite surprised when I found that it consisted only of three men, three women, the same number of girls, two boys about twelve years old, and two infants. One of the women was very old, I should think not less than eighty. (Portlock 1968)

Smallpox must have had a dramatic effect on the Tlingit population and social organization. According to Boyd, there were three important factors that made smallpox particularly devastating: 1) the "sudden catastrophic" decline; 2) the repetition of epidemics among new generations; and 3) the high mortality rate of the disease.

Direct contact by Indians of the Northwest Coast culture area with Euro-American began very late in 1774. Therefore, documentation of the contact process is relatively good. It appears that the introduction of Old World diseases was similarly late and coincided with contact. Evidence for depopulation from the initial outbreaks is limited to descriptions of abandoned villages and native recollections, but high mortalities from the

later epidemics are well documented in the Indian censuses and estimates compiled by the Hudson's Bay Company and early government officials..... Other new diseases that contributed to Northwest Coast Native American population decline included measles, influenza, dysentery, whooping cough(Boyd 1992:249).

Portlock's account, combined with the Spanish accounts of sickness aboard different vessels of the 1774, 1775, and 1779 expeditions, provides enough evidence to convince most scholars that smallpox was introduced in the 1770s.

Portlock's observations and theories about the origins and spread of smallpox among the Tlingit are helpful in making epidemiological assumptions.

I observed the oldest of the men to be very much marked with the small-pox, as was a girl who appeared to be about fourteen years old. The old man endeavored to describe the excessive torments he endured whilst he was afflicted with the disorder that had marked his face, and gave me to understand that it happened some years ago. This convinced me that they had had the small-pox among them for some distant period. He told me that the distemper carried off great numbers of the inhabitants, and that he himself had lost ten children by it; he had ten strokes tatooed on one of his arms, which I understood were marks for the number of children he had lost. I did not observe any of the children under ten or twelve years of age that were marked; and as the Spaniards were on this part of the coast in 1775, it is very probable that from them these poor wretches caught this fatal infection. They, it should seem, are a nation designed by Providence to be a scourge to every tribe of Indians they come near, by one means or other (Portlock 1968:271).

Portlock's perspective about the epidemiology of smallpox is quite astute with respect to modern theories of the disease. Compare Portlock's citation with Boyd's historical analysis of sequence for smallpox on the Northwest Coast.

Smallpox epidemics appeared roughly every generation--the first, in the late 1770s following direct contact, over the entire coast, and others in

1801, 1836-1838, 1853, and 1862-1863..... This interesting sequence appears to have been created by the dual factors of introduction from an outside source plus presence of a large enough pool of non-immune susceptibles in the Northwest born since the last epidemic (Boyd 1992:249).

While Portlock indicates that some of the villages might have “happily escaped the disorder”, this is likely a misconception based his on limited observations.

A number of the Indians who visited us from the eastward were marked with the small-pox, and one man who had lost an eye gave me to understand that he lost it by that disorder; but none of the natives from the westward had the least traces of it. I cannot account for this circumstance any other way than by supporting that the vessel from which these unfortunate people caught the infection, was in a harbour somewhere about Cape Edgecombe; and perhaps none of the natives further to the westward than this Sound had an opportunity of having any intercourse with her, and by that means happily escaped the disorder. (Portlock 1968:271-273).

Smallpox is highly contagious and can be transmitted through the air or by close contact or touching. It could have easily been transmitted through the trade networks, even by the exchange of items touched by an infected individual.

When smallpox hit the Tlingits for the first time, the mortality rate must have been high. I believe every Tlingit village was impacted because of the interconnectedness of Tlingit social organizations and villages. Boyd supports my theories that smallpox was transmitted from community to community. He states: “my impression from this accumulated evidence on mobility, settlement, social contacts, and epidemiology is that, if virgin-soil smallpox were present at or just before contact.... it would be virtually impossible for it to bypass the areas in-between” (Boyd 1996:314).

The impact of the “sudden catastrophic” decline of the Tongass due to smallpox must have had a profound effect on the transmission of knowledge. Entire house groups may have been wiped out or nearly decimated. It is not clear whether there were enough survivors to perpetuate the house group, or whether the members of these houses were incorporated into other clan houses. With respect to discourse the question remains were there knowledge bearers, or people knowledgeable of house and clan histories, that could pass on this information? How were some houses able to perpetuate themselves and their histories while others literally died out?

It is interesting to note that some of the house groups that are virtually extinct are also the house groups that trace their territories back to areas where some of these initial smallpox epidemics may have been introduced by the Spaniards in the 1770s.

Specifically, the Yesku hit house (Forrester Island), the Wuddisanedi of Dall Island, and Gasko hit house (Dakl'aweidi clan, Long Island) of the Taantakwaan may have been casualties of the smallpox epidemics. If there were members of these houses who survived, I would argue that these few remaining members were incorporated into other houses within their clans. Another possibility is that the strains on the society due to the epidemics inhibited the transmission of knowledge to the point that some houses could not perpetuate themselves.

By the late 1700s, several European monarchies were promoting the exploration of Southeast Alaska in the quest for the Northwest Passage and new territories. Another

motivation for Europeans and Americans to sail to Southeast Alaska was the pursuit of “soft gold”: the quick fortune one could get trading for sea otter furs. There was great fervor among the explorers and traders during this period. Captain George Dixon (1968) captures the intensity of the European explorers in his Introduction to His Writings in *A Voyage Round the World; but More Particularly to the Northwest Coast of America*.

In the early periods of Navigation; it does not seem that the extension of the Commerce was altogether the aim of the enterprising Adventurer; and though generally patronized by reigning Powers, where these designs originated, yet, a thirst after glory, and a boundless ambition of adding to the strength and extent of territory, on one hand, or rapacious desire of accumulating wealth, or perhaps the fame of making discoveries, on the other, appear to have been the only objects in view (Dixon 1968:vi).

Dixon’s discourse captures the motivation of many of the Euro-Americans and sets the stage for tension between nations in the Nootka Sound Controversy.

Nootka Sound Controversy

In 1789 and 1790 the Nootka Sound Controversy and the agreement that followed the incident would change the nations that would interact with the Tlingit and the Tongass. A Spanish expedition under Martinez arrived in Nootka Sound on May 5, 1789. Martinez eventually seized four trading vessels: two vessels flying the Portuguese flag and two vessels flying the British flag. The seizure of the four vessels sparked a great deal of tension between Britain and Spain, but on October 28, 1790, Spain signed the Nootka Sound Agreement with Britain. The Agreement established that “each nation was to have equal rights to navigate, trade, and fish in all unoccupied places or make

establishments north of California” (Hulley 1970:105). With the Nootka Sound Agreement signed between Spain and Britain, the British sent Captain George Vancouver to explore and chart the unexplored and uncharted parts of the northern Pacific Coast.

Vancouver Voyage

While some of the earliest encounters were made by Spanish expeditions around the outer islands of Forrester, Dall, Long, and Prince of Wales, many historians think the story the Tongass tell of the first white men may have been an encounter with Captain Vancouver's expedition. At the time of Vancouver's voyage, the Taantak_waan people had various permanent winter village sites and would paddle to the Nass River for the eulachon runs. They maintained certain rights to the great eulachon fishery, “a very valuable property” (Paul 1971:10). One year, enroute to the Nass River, a party of Taantak_waan travelers “beheld a wondrous site”, at Cape Numberland on Duke Island (ibid). The people saw a “great ship with white sails and carrying white men” (ibid). Paraphrasing William Paul, this was a “great event worth remembering”, and the story was told and retold until the story eventually became recorded on the poles. This initial encounter became an epitomizing event which was signified later by the carving of the Proud Raven Pole.

Waterman writes about the historic event from the brief account he collected from Pete Williams of the Tongass people in 1922. Pete Williams version of the First White men narrative describes the encounter the Tongass people had off the coast of Duke

Island with "Captain Cook". Waterman recorded this description:

Yelkaikan "Raven Town" on North Pass Yeil k'ai'k = raven's voice. Tlingit landed here first of all and named it tlexi took the people around Cape Chacon going to find salmon creeks went to Duke Island. Built camp peoples missed their sons went s. to Kaskige (Stone Rock Bay) where they camped. That night heard voices, saw island way off (that was Duke Island). Strong hearted man took canoes. Were made in those days of rotten logs, soft easy to work with stone tools. They went to Duke Island, landed say y. men, had drums were singing. Here pointed on shore son was who had fine beach of island. call it xekan "go back tell all people move on this island" All people same. Soon saw strangers, so made fort, 1/4 m. from sand beach at Cape Numberland, where high rock. Saw Captain Cook, who was on way to Alaska. Capt. Cook stopped (Waterman 1922:13).

In some of the Tongass accounts of the first white men narrative, they identify the Captain as Captain Cook. Historians think the Tongass informants may have Cook for Vancouver, because Captain Cook never got into the area of the Tongass people. The Tongass oral tradition talks about a ship captain's folding telescope that had been given or traded to a Tongass chief. According to the accounts Captain Cook was etched on the monocular.

Quite clearly in many respects Vancouver's motivations for exploring the Northwest Coast were driven by his desire to complete the "researches" of geography and waterways of the area that he had begun under the tutelage of Captain Cook (Lamb 1984). Ultimately he was determined to search out any possibilities for a Northwest Passage. In Vancouver's own words we see that he was motivated by the spirit of discovery. Vancouver wrote this in the dedication of his journal of his discoveries:

Under the auspices of YOUR MAJESTY, the late indefatigable Captain Cook had already shown that a southern continent did not exist, and had ascertained the important fact of the near approximation of the northern shore of Asia to those of America. To those great discoveries the exertions of Captain Vancouver will, I trust, be found to have added complete certainty, that within the limits of his researches on the continental shore of North-West America, no internal sea or other navigable communication whatever exists, uniting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans (Lamb 1984).

In 1793 Vancouver's expedition made its way to Alaskan waters. In Vancouver's journal, he writes about his first probable encounter with the Tongass people. Captain Vancouver most likely met the Tongass people in July of 1793. He writes about an encounter he had with the Tlingits near the entrance to Portland Canal as follows:

Whilst we lay to wait the boat's return a few of the natives visited the ship in five or six canoes; they brought little to dispose of, yet appeared to be anxious that we should remain in their neighborhood (Vancouver 1984:988).

A short while later, he made a landing in which he encountered more "natives".

Vancouver was one of the first Europeans to describe Tongass fishing. In July he recorded this event:

On going ashore, we found a small canoe with three of the natives who were employed in the taking of salmon which were in great abundance, up a very fine run of fresh water that flowed into the cove. Some of these fish were purchased with looking glasses and other trinkets. They were small, insipid, of a very inferior kind, and partaking in no degree of the flavor of European salmon (Vancouver 1984:990).

Could the looking glass that the Tongass traded for in this encounter have been the one referred to by the Tongass oral accounts as told by Peter Williams to T. T. Waterman?

On Wednesday the 24th of July 1793, Vancouver passed Brooke Island and Alice Arm. There he stopped and made contact again with "natives". Vancouver described his encounter as follows:

We stopped to dine about a mile short of the low border of land, which composed the head of the arm. Here we were visited by seven of the natives who approached us in a canoe with much caution, and landed some of their party a little distance, whilst the others advanced, seemingly with no small suspicion of our mendly intentions, this, however, was soon removed by the distribution of some trivial presents amongst them, and their reception being made known to their companions who had landed, these without the least hesitation joined our party also. They were well prepared with arms, consisting of long spears, bows, and arrows, together with an iron dagger, that each man wore about his neck and wrist. The chief of this party was soon pointed out, who by means of signs easily understood, desired to partake of our repast. He was given some bread and dried fish, and afterwards a glass of brandy, all which were much relished by himself, and two or three of his friends. These people differed very little from the generality of the circumjacent natives, and rather seemed to be an exception to the trivial difference pointed out in those few inhabitants who visited us in Fishmonger's cove... with many signs, to solicit us to visit their habitations, pointing out their situation to be on the low land, at the head of the arm; but as it was out of our route, we declined their invitations, and with a favorable ebb tide, returned towards the entrance of the arm, being accompanied by these our new acquaintances, who were soon joined by another party. from the village in a smaller canoe. On finding, however, that we did not return for the purpose of trading, they all retired to the village (Vancouver 1984:991-992).

For about a month between the first of August and the fifth of September, Vancouver's expedition slowly worked its way through many territorial areas of the Tongass. Vancouver passed by Tongass Island through Behm Canal, which he named. He dealt with fog, strong currents, and sometimes rowed most of the day because of little winds. He was charting Behm Canal the whole way. Vancouver noted what appeared to

him as abandoned village sites at Burroughs Bay at the mouth of the Unuk, and around Yes Bay.

There seems to be a few possible explanations for these abandoned villages. One explanation would be the villages only appeared to be abandoned because the people were off at various fish camp locations for the summer. The second possible explanation fits with the discussion about smallpox. Maybe the Unuk River village was abandoned after smallpox had ravaged the village. Another possible explanation is that the people of these villages relocated to a different site.

Finally in September, he arrived at the village of Port Stewart. Between September 2nd and 5th the Vancouver expedition made contact with Tlingits from Port Stewart. On the 4th of September the expedition met "250 Indians". On that same day Johnstone who had been conducting survey work returned to the ship, and on the 5th of September Vancouver left Port Stewart. Port Stewart and Helm Bay were referred to by ethnographic sources as a major village site of the Ganax.adi clan. As previously stated, the ethnohistory indicates that this area may have been the home and "place of origin" of the Ganax.adi clan of the Tongass people. In 1793, the records from Captain Vancouver's voyage indicate there was possibly large native village in the area of Port Stewart (Olson 1967).

Vancouver's exploration was only the beginning of British interest in Southeast Alaska. Vancouver was very successful in charting the waters of Southeast Alaska, and

his charts were an important part of the success of the British in Southeast Alaska. Most historians and chart makers agree that Vancouver's nautical charts were of the highest quality. Cartographers are amazed with the precision and accuracy. This was an art he learned well in the British Navy and under the tutelage no doubt of Captain Cook.

Vancouver's charts were of such high quality and accuracy ship captains of many different countries used them for probably over hundred years. The charts were not the only valuable record these early explorers left behind. The ship logs and journals from this period of exploration provide the earliest written ethnographic information of the Tongass and the Tlingit. These historical sources supplement the native oral histories, and provide ethnohistorians with a wealth of discourse from Europeans and Americans about the first impressions of the Tlingit people.

After Vancouver's explorations the British began to increase their economic endeavors on the coast. Vancouver points out that the economic relations with the Northwest Coast were two way.

A mutual intercourse has been also established, in many instances, on the solid basis of a reciprocity of benefits; and the productive labour of the civilized world has found new markets for the disposal of its manufactures. Nor has the balance of trade been wholly against the people of the newly discovered countries; for whilst some have been enabled to supply their visitors with an abundance of food, and the most valuable refreshments, in exchange for iron, copper, useful implements, and articles of ornament; the industry of others has been stimulated to procure the skins of animals, and other articles of a commercial nature; which they have found to be eagerly fought for by the traders who now resort to their shores from Europe, Asia, and the eastern tide of North America (Vancouver 1967:i).

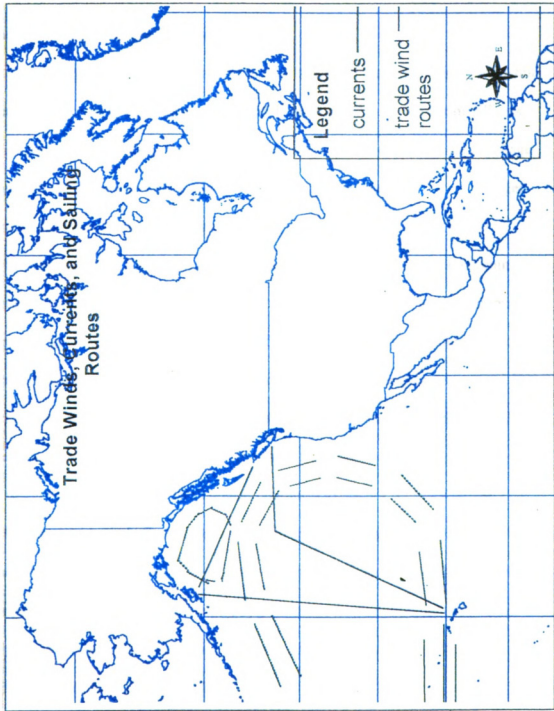


Figure 9 - Trade Winds, Currents, and Sailing Routes - Map

After Vancouver the age of discovery and exploration gave way to full scale economic involvement on the Coast for several sea faring countries including Britain, Spain, Russia, France, and the United States.

Throughout this era, the spheres of interaction and trade goods increase, while there is a decrease in the total population of the region and total number of villages. Moreover, during the early “historic” age, the Tongass movements, choice of village sites, and the decisions when to move to new villages become part of a much larger sphere of interaction with the Europeans and Americans.

By the end of the 1700s, the age of discovery gave way to a period dominated by entrepreneurs and traders. For the Tlingits, the novelty of the first white visitors and explorers gave way to a whole new arena of trading relations. These trading relations were not based on reciprocal social obligations or with close neighboring groups, but were forged with the trading ships and posts established in their territories. For the Tongass these new trading partners were people from distant lands, who were motivated by world economic factors. The Tongass continued to enjoy a trade advantage into the early American period. Europeans and Americans used Tongass locations as key trading places beginning as early as 1774, when the Spanish first came to Southeast Alaska. The Tongass territory and the area around Dixon Entrance became a natural port of entry as ships followed the trade winds and currents (see Figure 9 on the previous page) from the Orient, Hawaii, and the Gulf Alaska.

When one examines the discourse and interaction during the fur trade the development of the concept of the tribe begins. One of the most profound developments during this period was the Anglo-European idea of the Taantakwaan as a tribe. As nation-states began interacting with indigenous peoples, the nations began to create the concept of tribe because the Europeans wanted to trade and negotiate with centralized political entities.

The historian Dean (1993), who has examined Tlingit and Tsimshian interaction in the early fur trade along the coast, hypothesized that Tlingit social organization and political power was decentralized to the point that it was difficult for the Euro-Americans to manipulate them politically or economically. Dean felt this came at a price, however, for the Tlingit:

the Tlingit tribe, which featured even stronger tendencies toward decentralization than did their southern neighbors, making their society less able to resist invasion, but paradoxically that harder to manipulate (Dean 1993:63).

It was the "decentralization" of Tlingit social organization that motivated the Europeans and Americans to create a dialogue based on centralizing power to the kwaans and calling them tribes.

Early Alaskan scholars, such as Petroff, depicted the Tlingits as dependent upon the Russians. Petroff writes the following about the interaction between the Russian-American Company and the Tlingit:

Russia left the people of Alaska to the iron rule of a trading monopoly invested with judicial powers, while the courts of appeal were so far away that they were out of reach of anybody but the all-powerful company (Petroff 1892:629).

It is debatable whether the trading monopoly in the colony was able to maintain either an "iron rule" or a trading monopoly. Other countries began and continued to trade with the Tlingits after the Tlingit territory had become a Russian colony. Gibson (1978), a historian, dismisses this viewpoint and, through ethnohistorical research, demonstrates that the Russians, who were the first Europeans to attempt to colonize Southeastern Alaska, were dependent upon the Tlingit people for food, resources, and information about the land. Several Russian accounts discuss the Tlingits' prowess in trading, as well as their military dominance. The Russian official Captain Golovin, in his final report of Russian-America, wrote in 1867 that the Tlingits were "self administered, in accordance with their own customs, and the Company has only a very limited authority over ones who settle near our redoubts and forts" (Dmytryshyn 1979:31).

Gibson's study is important to understanding the Tlingit because it documents their adeptness in exploiting a mixed economy, which has continued to the present. Gibson's findings indicate that researchers who use dependency theory to describe the Tlingits' interaction with the Russians or other Euro-American groups have probably overlooked a wealth of ethnohistorical sources. These sources indicate that the Tlingits were influential "rational" actors in the regional economy and actively participated in their introduction into the world economy. Gibson points out in *Otter Skins, Boston*

Ships and China Goods (1992) that the twenty men who occupied Fort Simpson were very dependent upon the Native population for food. He lists the some of the provisions purchased from the Natives in 1837 as follows:

842 bushels of potatoes, 568 deer, 60 beaver, 621 pounds of meat, 178 geese, 90 ducks, 1 swan, 2,236 eggs, 1,113 halibut, 7,918 salmon, 58 cod 240 flounder, 61 bushels of small fish, 36 crabs, 212 1/2 pounds of grease, 24 gallons of cranberries, and 36 blueberry cakes (Gibson 1992:245).

The introduction of Alaskan fish into the world market began in Southeastern Alaska during the initial Euro-American contact period, when the Tlingits caught and traded fish for European goods. In addition to using the fish for subsistence, ceremonial exchange, and trade in the regional economy, the Tlingits began to trade fish with the European and American fur trading ships and trading posts. It is true that the Tlingits were already catching a surplus of fish, which was traded within the regional native economy. The regional indigenous trade had a symbolic or ceremonial aspect of forging peace alliances between trading partners. During the fur trading Russian-American period, the Tlingits began trading in the world market, and the flow of goods became more distant and abstract. Some of the salted fish that the Tlingits had caught and traded to the Russians even made its way to Moscow and St. Petersburg, where it was served as an exotic fare.

For many of the trading vessels that frequented the area, fish that was caught and traded to the ship captains and their crews was not exotic fare but became a main staple of their rations. As well as, salmon, halibut, cod, herring and other fish, the Tlingits traded

venison, clams, ducks, geese, fire wood, and wood for timbers, spars and masts to repair and build ships. The goods were exchanged in large quantities; Gibson (1992) states that the trading vessel *Hamilton* traded for 66 deer in an eight-day period around Kaigani (Gibson 1992:243).

The Tongass area became one of the only tax-free, low cost anchorages for ships coming to trade on the coast. "By 1829 Tongass was the only place on the northern coast where trading vessels could wood and water free of charge; elsewhere they had to pay in goods" (Gibson 1992:126). Located in close to Fort Simpson, the Tongass were in an enviable trading location; however, this location and the intensity of interaction may have led to their dramatic decline in numbers due to epidemics of various diseases.

By the 1830s, the fur trade no longer had as many dangerous encounters at the side of ships like the episodes the early explorers and traders encountered which is described earlier in this chapter. In his writings from 1836 from *Oregon Territory and British North American Fur Trade*, John Dunn wrote this about the Tongass people and their visits to the Hudson Bay trading post at Fort Simpson.

About the month of September, various tribes who are friendly with the Nass Indians, visit the fort, and encamp around it: then the fort is surrounded with hundreds of Indians. The principal tribes visiting at this time, are the Tongarse [Tongass], Kegarnie [Kaigani Haida], Port Stewart [Ganax,adi Tongass], and Stikein [Stikine or Stikine Kwaan]...(Dunn 1836:281).

Fort Simpson was a very popular place among the various Native groups of southern Southeast Alaska and Northern British Columbia.

There was a great deal of competition between the British at Fort Simpson, the American trading vessels, and the Russian trading posts to the north. Each group of fur buyers used different techniques for developing loyalty and trading relationships. Fort Simpson developed patronage by its central location and its employees intermarrying with Native peoples. The United States trading ships enjoyed success in trading through their mobility. Simply put, they went to the Native fur traders. The Russians relied on diplomacy and tribute.

According to historical records, some of the Tongass people may have even intermarried with workers of the Hudson Bay Company. “Most of the men employed by the company here take wives, principally from Tongarse [Tongass], and Kegarnie [Kaigani] tribes” (Dunn 1836:284). Many of these Tongass people who inter-married with company employees probably lived at Fort Simpson.

While the Tongass people’s networks of interaction were rapidly increasing, some of the Tongass leaders emerged in the historical documents as prominent political figures. These Tongass figures, as well as being important political figures, were acknowledged as the authorities of Tongass culture and knowledge in interactions with the Europeans and Americans. The Tlingits not only had potlatches with other neighboring Native groups but they were accustomed to feasting and potlatching with the Russians. In the 1830s, the Russians began holding feasts for the Tlingits. The Tongass people were accustomed to preparing and attending feasts for visiting dignitaries.

The Russians' motivation for holding feasts with the Tlingits was to promote trading, and because they "sought to modify the political order of the Tlingit kwaans by elevating Tlingit chief(s) to act as an intermediary" (Dean 1991:358). At least two Tongass chiefs were recognized and awarded medals by the Russian government as leaders who were "Allies of Russia"(Dean 1991:346). The first Tongass leader who was awarded a Russian medal was Chief "Nekut". He died of smallpox shortly after being awarded the Russian Medal in 1836. Neegut died of smallpox in an epidemic that dramatically swept all of the Northwest Coast in 1836. In 1836, Dunn wrote, about the Tongass, "they were very much afraid of the smallpox, which, in 1835 had made dreadful ravages amongst them" (Dunn 1836:284). Nekut's successor "Anuta" [Aandaa?] was also awarded a Russian medal (Dean 1991:346, 365).

The epidemic of 1836 was just about the time the Tongass began a mass migration from Village Island to Tongass Island. This movement may have been directly related to the epidemic and change in leadership. Dunn states this about the Tongass territory in 1836:

The principal harbour of Tongarse, which lies within the Russian territory, is round like a bason, with a sandy bottom; the soundings from eight to twenty fathoms. The land, for some distance, is low interspersed with the usual sorts of wood found in these latitudes. The interior is dotted with small plains and lakes. The soil is good. Deer, salmon, with various other fish, as well as wild fowl, abound here. This harbour is said to be the best on this part of the coast whence to obtain spars, and other wood, for shipping. The Americans as well as the British were prevented visiting these harbours for trade, as the Russians began to cast a jealous eye upon them, and set armed vessels in the various ports, which they called their

territory, for the protection of their trade. Therefore the company and Americans had to confine themselves within the 54 degrees of latitude (Dunn 1836).

Gibson, who has examined many of the historical ships' logs from early fur trade days, discusses three Tongass village sites. "Clemencitty", Clemens City or "Tlehonsiti" Harbor was located on Tongass Island very close to Fort Simpson. The name Clemencitty, he believes, comes from the Tlingit word for armor (clemens or, in Haida, clamons)" (Gibson 1992:80). Gibson goes on to say this armor was made out of elk hide and was traded from Washington. The Tlingit words for armor I have found or heard are x'aan or yinaa.at (Naish and Story 1976:80). Gibson's explanation leaves room for interpretation and more research.

During the first part of the Nineteenth century there may have been multiple Tongass village sites. Many of the historical records and ship logs mention a few different locations for the Tongass. Another important village site during this period is referred as Tumgarse or Tomgass, which Gibson locates on Annette Island. He also mentions that the Tongass area was a favorite area for reprovisioning timbers for the trading vessels. "Tongass Harbour on Revillagigedo Channel, the most popular wintering place for American ships, was reputed in the middle 1830's 'to be the best place on this [northern] part of the coast whence to obtain spars, and other wood, for shipping" (Gibson 1992:243). Tongass was the only place on the northern coast where trading vessels could get wood and water without being heavily taxed (Gibson 1992:126).

Another tongass village site that is discussed frequently in the historical documents is Port Stewart. Port Stewart is mention in Dunn's account of Fort Simpson. He dedicates a few pages to describing an incident between clans of the "Tongarse" (Tongarse was a common spelling for the Tongass during the period) and the "Port Stewartites" (Dunn 1836:289-290). Most likely he was referring to an incident between the Tongass Teikweidi ("Tongarse") and the Tongass Ganax.adi clan ("Port Stewartites"). I bring up this incident not to dwell on inter-clan conflict in the tribe but to document the existence of at least two Tongass villages. One village was at Port Stewart and the other Tongass village was most likely at Village Island. Each village seems to possibly be dominated by one particular clan, although spouses were more than likely from the opposite clan.

This early historic village site on Village Island may have been referred to as the Tongass Village in much of the historic material (especially in the 1830s). The Americans commonly referred to the village on Village Island and the village on Tongass Island interchangeably. Both villages were called "the Tongass village" by traders. For the Tongass, there may have been some overlap in occupation between Village Island, Annette Island, and Tongass Island. The terms used in the historical documents sometimes do not refer to a specific geographic location rather they refer in most cases to the Tongass people's tribal identity. Variations of the terms used to refer to the Taantakwaan people in the southern island area are Tongass, Tangas, Tangass, Tomgass,

Tongarse, Tumgarse, and Tungass-kon. The reason for the variations in terms applied to the Tongass people is twofold. One, there were no standardized spellings and the writers of these historical documents (i.e., ships' logs and journals, diaries, fort records and bureaucratic documents) used individualized phonetic spellings of Tlingit words. Second, the different terms may refer in some cases to the Tongass people's movement from one village to the next (e.g., from Tumgarse Harbor on Annette Island to Tongass Island) occupation of multiple village sites.

Village Island was a permanent site of the Tongass people prior to their most recent historical to migration Tongass Island (KET-013, Sealaska site #248). There were approximately seventeen clan houses located at the historic village sites (see Table 8 on the following page). Village Island was occupied during the height of the fur-trade with the Europeans and Americans. The village most likely had a series of occupations, and the most recent period of occupation was just prior to moving to Tongass Island (Goldschmidt and Haas [Joseph Johns] 1946:142; Sealaska 1975 [Frank Williams]). In Tlingit the village was called Tasexeteu (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:142). Village Island is a large historic village site with a great deal of documentation. According to Henry Denny, Village Island village was last inhabited about 1836 (Sealaska 1975).

Table 6 - Clan Houses, Village Island

Clan Houses of the Tantakwaan, Village Island (Waterman 1922)		
Tlingit House Name	English Translation/Clan Crest	House Territory
"Gutc hit" [Gooch hit]	Wolf house	
"Kit" hit [Keet hit]	Killerwhale house	
Yesku hit	Wolf house	Forrester Island house
Anxiak Hit	middle (of town) house	
Canex hit	Mt. Basin house, Bear water	
Kats hit	for kats, the bear "hero" house	Unuk and Chickamin
"Hinka", [Heen ka Hit]	Stream-over House or House	First house spanned
Xetl hit	Thunderbird House bear/wolf	
Hutsyati hit [Xoots yadi	bear cub house, bear	
Yel tsaqi hit" [Yeil tsaqi	Raven bone house	
"Yel" hit [Yeil hit]	Raven House	
"Kitcuk hit"/ Kadjuk	"Golden eagle"	Chief Johnson's people,
Nu hit	Fort House, "refers to raven's	
Xas hit	moose house, "Raven &	
"Qa xa wut naqi hit"	over war there get on house,	
"Tan nasi Hit"	Sea lion gut, "ridge pole	
Tan Hit	sea lion house,Eagle and Sea	

Smallpox Epidemic of 1862-1863

The Tongass had moved from Village Island to Tongass Island after the smallpox epidemic of the 1830s. Less than thirty years after the last epidemic and the move to Tongass Island another smallpox epidemic would strike. In the 1860s, smallpox once again took its toll on the population. Estimates are that over 20,000 Indians, which some

state was nearly 60 percent of the pre-epidemic total, died in British Columbia and the Alaska Panhandle (Boyd 1985, 1990, 1992; Duff 1964). Boyd, who has done extensive research on this epidemic, states that smallpox was introduced by someone on a ship that had arrived from San Francisco and docked in Victoria. "The disease rapidly spread to the crowded Indian encampment on the city's outskirts. Instead of quarantining the Indians, the authorities evicted them, and fleets of Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Kwakwaka'wakw traders sailed back to their homelands, taking the epidemic with them" (Boyd 1992:251). Among the Tongass' neighbors to the south, Boyd estimates 80 percent drop in population due to smallpox. Boyd makes the case that among Tlingit and Tsimshian populations the mortality rate may not have been as high because the Tlingits had been exposed to smallpox 24 years prior (ibid).

This epidemic may have reduced the numbers of the Tongass once again. In my analysis, the epidemic of 1862 and 1863 coincides with the approximate time the Tongass left Annette Island. According to oral histories, Taakw kwaan was burned by warring Tlingits from the north (Leer 1976:32-46). None of the Tongass were killed because they were off gathering foods. The Tongass from Taakw kwaan retreated and gathered at Goochlaakanoow ("wolf snout fort"), on Duke Island. Frank Williams, Ganax.adi (Raven clan), Teikkweidi yadi ("son of the Teikkweidi", father's side) of the Taantakkwaan, told this story. His house was the Shaa'nax hit (Ravine House), and had "fourteen platforms" or living levels; which would make it a house of many people. Another house

from Taakw kwaan was Heenka hit ("stream over", first house spanned a stream at Taakw kwaan) (Waterman 1922).

Besides the movement and consolidation of some Tongass villages, there were many other changes that occurred during the fur trade period that had major effects on the Tongass discourse and identity. There were obvious economic changes in addition to subsistence needs and the needs of the indigenous regional economy, the Tlingit began acquiring items through and for trade in the world market. The trading for the goods was not a radical departure from the "indigenous" regional trade that existed prior to Euro-American contact. The Tlingits traded for iron, guns, Hudson Bay blankets, molasses, liquor, tea, coffee, tobacco, beads, and many other luxury goods. The trade of iron and guns substituted for the trade of native copper and obsidian used in manufacturing stone tools and weapons. The trade of Hudson Bay blankets and European fabrics replaced the trade for Chilkat blankets and mountain goat wool, hides, and furs. These new items were not always perfect substitutes and didn't always replace the need or desire for the regional materials. In fact some of the old items crafted from indigenous materials inflated in value because of the time and quality to produce such items (e.g., Chilkat Robes). From the Tlingit, the Europeans and Americans wanted furs, foodstuffs, freedom from aggression, and information about the land.

Besides the economic changes, there were many changes in social and political relations during the fur trading period. One might assume that during this period there

were great pressures on the Tongass to harvest greater quantities of fish and game. While there was a significant depletion in sea otter, many other resources, I believe, may have not suffered the same sort of depletion. The reason may have been the dramatic population decline due to infectious diseases. Moreover, the regulatory mechanisms of social organization and kinship probably monitored and enforced healthy stocks of fish and game.

As a result of the rapidly expanding international fur trade and the Tongass role in the commerce of Southeast Alaska, the Tongass social and economic sphere of interaction increased. The Tongass villages were located in sheltered waters where trading vessels from many different nations anchored. Being so close to one of the favorite tax-free anchorages for trading ships gave the Tongass a distinct trade advantage. During the early "historic" age, the Tongass movements, choice of village sites, and the decision when to move to the new villages, both seasonally and historically, became part of the larger sphere of interaction with the Europeans and Americans. It also meant the Tongass were exposed to many different cultures, languages, and ideas. One area in which the Tlingits seemed particularly reluctant to incorporate new European and American ideas into their own framework is language. While many new languages were introduced during this period, the Tongass and other Tlingits learned Russian and English, but only incorporated a few words ("borrowed" words as linguists term them) into Tlingit.

The impact of trade and language during this period was probably less than that of the introduction of many new diseases. New diseases, such as smallpox, have been estimated to have killed forty to ninety percent of the population. Even a forty percent reduction in the Tongass population would have created a possible decrease in the number of villages and a decrease in the density of surviving villages. The impact of *kwaan* (Tlingit word for smallpox not to be confused with kwaan) on the Tongass people is a prominent part of the Tongass discourse during this period. Smallpox probably had a significant impact on the transmission of discourse, because as the spheres of interaction and trade goods increased, the number of villages, total population, and population density of villages decreased.

Chapter 6

For God and Country, From Fisher people to Fisher of People

In 1867 when the United States purchased “the administrative rights to Alaska the emphasis in dialogues for the Tongass shifted from the European and American traders to the federal government and the military of the United States. The early dialogues in history between the Tongass and the United States government are represented in both archival documents and oral histories that are represented by story poles commissioned by leaders of the Tongass tribe.

When in 1867 the United States purchased the “administrative jurisdiction”²⁰ over Alaska, it gave them jurisdiction over 586,400 square miles for \$7,200,000, a price of two cents per acre (Farrar 1937; Hinckley 1972:21,26; Shiels 1967). A few years earlier, the Civil War had ended and a nation at peace had assigned its military to control Alaska. “General Halleck began formulation of the plans for the military occupation of Alaska immediately after the Senate approval of the Treaty of Cession on April 9, 1867” (Price 1990:24).

²⁰

Today many of the Tlingit people emphasize that the United States did not purchase Alaska, but purchased the “administrative rights” from Russia. They assert they never sold or alienated their land.

The first troops that were ordered to Alaska consisted of 275 men, rank and file. They proceeded there under the command of Bvt. Major General J. C. Davis, in command of the 23rd Infantry. A post was established at Sitka on October 29, 1867. The formal transfer of the ceded territory took place at 3:30 P.M. October 18th, 1867, at Sitka, and the military, commanded by General Davis, took formal possession of the country, property, and archives. The only post occupied by the troops in 1867 was Sitka, but during the next three years Fort Kenay, Kodiak, Tongas, and Wrangell were established.

The United States decided to establish a fort at Tongass Island to protect its boundaries. The reasons for maintaining a fort on Tongass Island were political and economic. Tongass Island is located at the southern border between southeastern Alaska and what is now Canada. Politically, the fort maintained the southern end of the border against the British. Economically, the fort was used in an attempt to curtail the smuggling of illegal goods into the United States territory. The initial contact with the Tongass tribe and the United States federal government began with the establishment of Fort Tongass on Tongass Island.

Another reason for maintaining a military post on Tongass Island was to prevent an "Indian war". In particular, H. W. Halleck, the Major General and Commander of Alaskan operations, was concerned about the possibility of an "Indian war" and the impact it would have on the settlement of the region. Halleck states "it is probable that our people will attempt settlements here.... should such a ceded country be resisted by the

Indians in our own territory, or in British Columbia, a serious Indian war, with numerous complications, may ensue".²¹ The actual likelihood of an Indian war was very small.

There is a great deal of literature that I believe over emphasizes and dramatizes Tlingit warfare. A few Tlingit oral narratives describe events when clans and kwaans would engage in full-scale battles or wars with rival groups. In these conflicts numerous lives were taken on both sides. The usual inter-group confrontations involved avenging the death of a fellow clan member and not all-out war (Boas 1916; Emmons 1990; Swanton 1908).

In order to understand the Tongass peoples interest in having a military post we must closely examine some of the economic and political events of the time. All too often sources emphasize the conflict with the Stikeen people as the primary motivation for the Tongass tribe encouraging the government to establish a post for military protection.

At this time the Tongass natives had a feud with the Stikeen Indians who dwelt in the north; the Tongass had recently inflicted a defeat on their enemies and were now expecting an attack in their own territory. The state of war explained the action of the canoe, which we had seen guarding the harbour and, as we were told, kept watch day and night for the dreaded Stikeens. The Tongass had, however, not much reason for alarm since the American troops would not have allowed a conflict between the two tribes so near their camp, and would certainly have taken the side of the Tongass Indians (Teichmann 1963).

²¹ NAWDC. Boundary Commission Papers. Envelope 8, Folder 14. Colonel Scott's Report on the Indians, 1867. Headquarters Military Division of the Pacific, San Francisco, California. September 3, 1867.

Teichmann places more confidence in the military administration of the fort than the Tongass did. The fact that the Tongass kept their own lookout I think is indicative of their confidence in the United States military's protecting them from reprisal. From the official records from Fort Tongass it is clear that the post was poorly run and mismanaged both financially and defensively.

Throughout the history of Alaska the discourse of the federal government providing protection for the Tongass was also perpetuated by Judge Wickersham. The discourse about the Tongass seeking protection from other Tlingit groups was no doubt made popular by Judge Wickersham's famous revisionist historical explanation of the Tongass Lincoln Pole (Proud Raven Pole). The Proud Raven Pole presents to the Tongass the story I have already discussed about the First Whitemen. Wickersham stated that the fort was established because the Tongass were seeking protection from warring rival groups. This refers to the ongoing conflict between the Stikeen kwaan and the Taantakwaan. Wickersham's explanation does not make sense because one of the other forts was established at Wrangell. Which group, then was the federal government protecting or was the military attempting to protect boundary interests and quell Native skirmishes on all sides?

Military officials seemed quite concerned about reported conflicts between Native groups near the boundary line. This no doubt was a contributing factor in the decision by the military to establish a fort on Tongass Island. Colonel Scott's Report on the Indians

in 1867 indicates that the United States motivation for establishing a fort on Tongass Island may have been as much to prevent the Tongass and other Tlingit groups from making “hostile incursions” to British Columbia and Washington” as it was to protect them:

It is said that Indians, living near the boundary line between northern British Columbia and the ceded Russian American possessions, have made several hostile incursions into the settlements in British Columbia and Washington Territory, which hostile incursions might have been checked, or prevented, by proper military force in the vicinity of Fort Simpson or Portland Canal. To accomplish this object; it may be necessary for the United States to establish a military post within their own territory, on the north side of Portland Canal. You will carefully inquire into this matter.²²

Fort Tongass was established in the spring of 1868. The Fort Tongass journal entry states the military post was established at Fort Tongass Island on April 29, 1868 (15 miles northwest of Port Simpson 54 degrees 46 minutes north latitude 130 degrees west longitude). The Fort was commanded by Captain C.H. Pierce with a personnel of 9 enlisted men, 5 commissioned, and 117 aggregated.²³

Now that I have outlined some of the motivation for the United States in establishing a fort on Tongass Island, let us examine the Tongass role in constructing the fort and motivation in maintaining a community on Tongass Island. The Tongass say that many of their people had moved from Village Island to Tongass Island prior to the

²² NAWDC, Washington D.C. Boundary Commission Papers. Envelope 8, Folder 14. Colonel Scott's Report on the Indians, 1867. Headquarters Military Division of the Pacific, San Francisco, California. September 3, 1867.

²³ FA A. Returns from Military Ports, Fort Tongass. Drawer 11, M-617, Micro-film Roll 1,274.

United States' purchase (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:142; Sealaska 1975). Emil Teichmann visited Fort Tongass a few days after the soldiers had arrived to establish the fort. Teichmann (1963) verifies the existence of the Tongass village within a few days after the soldiers landed to set up the fort. Captain J. W. White of the Marine Cutter *Wayanda* also verifies the existence of the Tongass people on the island as the soldiers were setting up a fort. In fact, according to the fort journals, the Tongass helped by supplying timber and labor for the construction of the fort. The Tongass people not only assisted with the construction of the fort, but the military inhabitants of the fort relied heavily on the Tongass people for subsistence:

The commissariat of the troops consisted of provisions which they had brought with them, and game and fish sold by the Indians, of which there seemed great abundance (Teichmann 1963).

The establishment of the fort on Tongass Island provided military protection, trade advantages, and a variety of wage labor jobs. Drucker states "within a few years after the United States acquisition... the Tlingit were busying themselves with every job they could get" (Drucker 1858:10). The actual Fort Tongass journals indicate that Tongass "Indians" were paid wages for assisting in the construction of the fort. Construction of the fort went on from May of 1868 through November of 1868. In June of 1868, 14 "Indian laborers assisted in the construction; in August, 20 Tongass helped; in September, 18 worked as laborers; and in November, 20 men were paid for their work on the fort."²⁴

²⁴FA A. Returns from Military Ports, Fort Tongass. Drawer 11, M-617, Roll 1,274

The Tongass not only took advantage of the Fort as a center for trade of their foodstuffs, but also encouraged the establishment of a fort for several reasons. The correspondences and records from the commanders indicate that the Tongass people were employed in cutting and supplying timber and firewood for the Fort.²⁵

The correspondences and records from the commanders also indicate that the Tongass people were employed in cutting and supplying timber and firewood for the Fort.²⁶ Other Tongass people were ship pilots and interpreters for the American ships making passage through the new territory (Teichmann 1963:127-128). One such person was "Charlie" Kainook (Kinninook?), who is mentioned in an excerpt from Teichmann's Journal.

After the fort was established on Tongass Island there was a great deal of direct interaction with the federal government. One of the most significant events between the Tongass and the federal government was the potlatch was given by Chief Ebbits for the when Secretary of State Seward came to Alaska. On May 13, 1868, the Wayanda visited the Tongass. Commander White refers to Chief Ebbits as "friendly" and "well-disposed".

On the 13th of May, 1868, I reached Fort Simpson, Hudson Bay Company's post, and proceeded next morning to Fort Tongass, Clement Village; on sounding out the passages and anchorage off the fort, found no good harbor except for a very small vessels. Visited the Indian village; found them friendly and well-disposed, was informed by the chief "Ibbits"

²⁵NAWDC. Notes Letters Received Fort Tongass July 1868-Sept. 1870 RG Row39, compartment 27, part V

#393, Stack area 9w-2,

²⁶NAWDC. Notes Letters Received Fort Tongass July 1868-Sept. 1870 RG Row39, compartment 27, part V

#393, Stack area 9w-2,

[Ebbits] that his tribe numbered about 145, being a portion of the Tongas tribe proper.²⁷

An important note here is that the entry indicates the Tongass at the fort are only a portion of the tribe proper.

Once the fort was established, the Tongass had many visiting dignitaries. When the Revenue Cutters visited the Tlingit villages it was considered an important ceremonial and political event. The following is an excerpt from a letter from the Revenue Cutter Service to the secretary of the Treasury about the Revenue Steamer "Wayanda" under the command of John W. White in 1868:

At all the Indian villages or settlements where we stopped we held communication with the natives, and at a number of the places held council with the Indian chiefs, usually in the largest log hut in the village. The chiefs met us dressed in their best outfits (generally a new blanket profusely decorated with pearl or bone buttons and a headdress of colored cloth bands or feathers) and the officers of the vessel were in full uniform. On such occasions the meetings were by appointment. Mats were placed upon the floor and all sat down except the common natives who stood up in and about the hut. Speeches were made by some of the Chiefs, their language being interpreted by our pilot. The Indians desired to know(n) all about our visit in their waters. Our commander replied through the interpreter, informing them that our presence was for the purpose of examining into their condition and explaining to them that they were then under the jurisdiction of the United States, as their part of the country, as well as, a large additional part had been purchased from Russia by our government. At some of the settlements the head men informed the Commander that they had heard that the "Boston men" (by which name all of our people were known to them) had purchased the country, and hoped

^{27N} NAWDC. From the Official Reports of Captain J.W. White, Commander of the United States Revenue Steamer Wayanda. Reports of the United States Revenue Cutter to the Treasury Department. For a full report see Special Document number 8, 40th Congress. 3rd session and Special Executive Document number 179, 46th Congress 2nd session.



Figure 10 - Seward Pole, Saxman

that we were all good people and that we would get along peaceably. We stopped several days at each settlement where there were a considerable number of Indians and made inquiries as to their understanding of the transfer of the country from Russia to the United States.²⁸

The visits by the Revenue Cutters were something most Tlingit chiefs probably did not take lightly because the report goes on to say how they were involved with removing certain chiefs.²⁹ The chiefs that were recognized by the commanding officers of the ship were given papers by the officers authorizing them to act as chiefs. According to the report, they were generally presented with a cutlass and, on some occasions, with an old uniform cap, if one was available, as badges of authority.

Let's look more closely at the reasons for the Tongass giving a potlatch for Seward. Among the Tlingit, there were many reasons for having a feast or potlatch. Too often the Seward potlatch is viewed solely from a political perspective. The Tlingit potlatch, as both Mauss and Kan state, is a "total social phenomena", and to separate "politics" from "religion" would not be in holding with the Tlingit "spirit" (Mauss 1967; Kan 1989:7). Kan explains that there are also spiritual reasons that Tlingit individuals give away wealth at potlatches. He states:

Because spirits of the dead liked to return to persons who were 'clean' and 'showed respect' by giving away wealth in feasts, there was considerable moral and practical pressure on the aristocrats to remain pure, and train knowledgeable and clean heirs, and continue potlatching (Kan 1989:101).

²⁸

NAWDC. From the Official Reports of Captain J.W. White, Commander of the United States Revenue Steamer Wayanda. Reports of the United States Revenue Cutter to the Treasury Department (1903). Pp.3-4.

²⁹ NAWDC. Reports of the United States Revenue Cutter to the Treasury Department (1903) Pp.5-6.

Understanding this spiritual way of thinking for the Tlingit is important in understanding the motivation of Chief Ebbits in the Seward Tongass potlatch. I believe the spiritual reasons had a significant influence on Ebbits's throwing a potlatch for Seward. Garfield (1961) summarizes the potlatch as follows:

In the summer of 1869 Seward visited the Territory and stopped at Fort Tongass. While there he was entertained by Chief Ebbits, who spread luxurious furs for him to walk on. A handsomely carved and painted chest covered with furs was his seat of honor, and Ebbits presented him with an ornamented hat, the furs and chest, and other gifts. Some years later, probably about 1885, the Seward pole was carved to commemorate the visit. The Secretary of State is shown sitting on the carved chest, wearing the spruce-root hat with ringed crown that is the mark of an influential and wealthy man. According to tradition Seward did not repay either the courtesy or the generosity of his hosts, and the pole served to remind the Tongass people of the fact. No crest or other symbolic carvings were added to the slender shaft on which Seward sat for so many years above the deserted village. (Garfield 1961:55-56).

In another account of the Seward potlatch by Garfield,³⁰ she gives more detail about the potlatch.

Shortly after the purchase of Alaska a fort and custom's office were established on Tongass Island near the large Tlingit village of the same name. In the summer of 1868, William H. Seward visited the territory which he had been instrumental in acquiring for the United States. He probably was never aware that his visit was commemorated with a pole. While at the Fort he visited a prominent Indian chief who brought out his most elaborately carved box for a seat. He laid furs for his distinguished guest to walk upon and covered the seat with the finest furs the village had to offer. When the visit was over he gave the furs to Seward. The guest unfamiliar with native etiquette, did not reciprocate. Seward was then carved, sitting on his seat of honor and wearing a potlatch hat, given him by the chief, and placed high on the top of a tall, undecorated column.

³⁰ UWA. Garfield Papers, Box 2, Folder "Whiteman on Totem Poles"

Thus the chief publicized the fact that he had entertained the distinguished visitor and the fact that the guest had not reciprocated.³¹

It is clear that Garfield emphasizes different points about the potlatch in her two different accounts, but the key elements of the story remain. The Tongass potlatch for Seward is another epitomizing event for them. The potlatch and the subsequent story about the Tongass people receiving nothing in return has become a significant discourse. They were seeking recognition and interaction with the government of the United States. The government dignitaries who attended the potlatch clearly did not understand the reciprocity involved in accepting such gifts and recognition. A reproduction of the pole, the Seward Shame pole, that Garfield refers to as being commissioned by Chief Ebbits and erected on Tongass Island can be seen in Figure 10 on the following page.

As well as political issues, the Tlingits had certain reasons for forging peaceful relations with the Revenue Cutters. Natives had been smuggling "King George" blankets from Fort Simpson, B.C., because they brought higher prices and were preferred to the "Boston" blankets.³²

All too often sources emphasize the conflict with the Stikeen people as motivation for the Tongass tribe encouraging the government to set up a post for military protection, or economic reasons to enjoy trading advantages. I believe a less discussed but more compelling reason for the Tongass people being interested in having a fort on Tongass

³¹ UWA. Garfield Papers, Box 2, Folder "Whiteman on Totem Poles"

³² NAWDC. Reports of the United States Revenue Cutter to the Treasury Department (1903) Pp.6-7.

Island was to have close access to American medical care and vaccinations for their people. Small pox was still a major concern and was probably killing off the Tongass people at a staggering rate. In November 1868, the "entire command vaccinated owing to prevalence of small pox at neighboring posts". The records show no evidence that they vaccinated the Tongass people. One can see the importance of medical assistance to the Tongass people in this short passage from Emil Teichmann's diary in 1868:

The relations of the military officials with the Indians were very good, thanks to the medication of the doctor, who enjoyed in the settlement a respect which was not common amongst the Indians in consequence of some successful operations and cures which he had performed, and his reputation had already spread beyond the boundaries of Tongass. Strange Indians now came from great distances to be treated by the white Medicine Man, and his services among the natives were the acceptable because they were given gratuitously. Medicine was also supplied without charge to the natives who he befriended. The diseases most prevalent amongst them were scarlet fever, small pox, skin complaints and rheumatic affections. The Indians never reached an advanced age, fifty years seemed to be about the limit (Teichmann 1963).

There were no indigenous cures for small pox and some of the other respiratory diseases that ravaged the Tongass and Tlingit people.

Another possible reason for wanting the fort is what happened at Angoon and Kake. While the Tlingits were not afraid of the United States military rule, gunboat rule was nothing to be taken lightly. Possibly the Tongass had seen too much of this gunboat rule in British Columbia and chose to deal directly with the military. In 1869, the United States government had fully implemented a "gunboat" policy for dealing with Tlingits in Southeast Alaska. In February of 1869, a Tlingit from the village of Kake killed two

white traders. The Tlingit did this in retaliation for a fellow villager who had been killed by a soldier in Sitka. General Davis reacted by sending the naval vessel USS Saginaw to visit the village of Kake. The instruction to Commander Meade of the USS Saginaw was "to investigate the whole affair and to inflict punishment on the guilty parties, if necessary" (Price 1990:27).

On February 15, 1869 the USS Saginaw proceeded to one of the Kake villages.

Upon their arrival the USS Saginaw bombed and burned down several structures.

Sent armed boat crew and seven soldiers ashore to destroy one of the Kake villages. Burned four houses with their contents and destroyed six canoes, leaving one house and one canoe belonging to a friendly Indian woman... came to off Kehou settlement on Kuprianoff Island... Opened fire on settlement with shell. At 12:45 sent armed boat crew and 15 soldiers ashore to destroy village. Burned 15 houses and contents. (Price 1990:27)

The next day, February 16th, the USS Saginaw continued to bomb the Kake people into submission by cruising into Snug Harbor (Security Bay) and proceeding to:

open fire on one of the Kake villages with shell... At 11:40 sent armed boat crew and 16 soldiers shore to destroy village. Burned 10 houses and contents... At 1:30 sent two armed boats with 15 soldiers in charge of an officer to search for an Indian village said to be farther up the bay... at 4:40 boats returned having destroyed two stockades and on fishing ranch [fish weir] about six miles up the bay. (Price 1990:28).

Kake was one of the United States Navy's most brutal display of power, although there would be other incidents that were similar. This incident, no doubt, was something that all Tlingit people quickly heard news about. Not until 1877, when the military administration gave way to a new administration, there was an end to "gunboat policy".

The year following the bombardment of Kake the Tongass people watched Fort Tongass close in 1870, only a couple years after it had opened. The fort was closed for several reasons. Mismanagement and corruption at the fort by its officers was one of the major problems. Several of the soldiers were brought up on charges of different sorts. There were also allegations of the soldiers not working. Many of the subsistence tasks that were customarily taken care of by the enlisted men were neglected. The military was constantly buying supplies, timber, and wood from the Tongass. After public pressure about too much money being spent on the territory and continued financial problems and corruption, the fort was closed.

Even though the fort closed in 1870 the Tongass people maintained the village on Tongass Island for more than twenty years. The story of the Tongass potlatch did no end. The Tongass people continued to wait for a return potlatch from the Secretary of State William Seward or his clan, the United States.

In 1877 the United States made a transition in administrative policy in Alaska. The shift was from a one of military and naval control to an administration oriented towards commercialization and missionization. In June 1877, the orders were carried out to remove the troops.

The troops were finally withdrawn from Alaska Territory on June 14, 1877.... An agreement was reached between the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Treasury that a revenue cutter should take the place of the troops on the departure of the latter from Alaska. This agreement was

carried out, as shown by the following General Orders No.1, Headquarters Military Division of the Pacific, April 23, 1877. ³³

The emergence of the Revenue Cutters patrolling the Alaskan waters was symbolic of the shift in administrative philosophies of the federal government. There was a growing interest in developing fishing and mining interest in Alaska. As part of the new territorial administration missionaries quickly began establishing missions in many large Native settlements in Alaska. In many cases, the religious leaders and business people collaborated to achieve a common goal. As a result, many of these business and religious leaders became political officials in the period following the military occupation of Alaska. As a result both business people and missionaries had a major influence on politics in the territory.

One of the primary goals of the missionaries was to teach the Tlingits to read and write English. The American missionaries philosophy towards education was very different from the Russians and British. The difference in educational philosophies between the Russians and Americans was in "Russian America brought Natives into the middle management of the colony (and left the rest relatively alone), education in the American period became compulsory and brought alienation and exclusion from the larger American society" (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1996:64).

One of the most influential religious and political leaders in Southeast Alaska

³³ NAWDC. Boundary Commission Papers. Envelope 8, Folder 14. Report of the War Department. Subject: The Occupation of Alaska by the United States Troops in 1867, and Their Withdrawal from that Country in 1877. Adjutant General's Office, Washington, March 31, 1903.

was Sheldon Jackson. In 1877, Sheldon Jackson made his first visit to Alaska to establish the Presbyterian Church. A year after his first visit to Alaska, Jackson helped establish a training school in Sitka. From about 1877 to 1883, Jackson served as the Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions in Alaska (Case 1984:198). This training school would become the regional boarding school for training and schooling Tlingits and other Alaskan Natives.

During the same year the training school in Sitka was established, the first American companies began operating canneries in Alaska. The hiring practices of the canneries was quickly scrutinized by the Tlingit. A cannery in the Sitka area and another at Klawock began operations. The Tlingits fiercely protested Chinese laborers being hired for cannery work, however the canneries threatened to call in Naval gunboats if the Tlingits did not stand down.

As schools, canneries, and missions were being established, the Navy was once again brought in to maintain administrative control of Alaska. The period beginning in 1879 and continuing until 1884 has been called by some scholars the period of "Naval Rule" (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1996:50). "Mission schools were established as Protestant Forts to protect Natives" (ibid). During this period, the missionaries of Alaska expressed a sense of urgency about teaching the Tongass about Christianity. Jackson viewed the introduction of Christianity as imperative and the only way of saving the Tlingits from extinction. Jackson reported, "All I have to say is this, that a good man be

sent to our neighbors, the Tongas. The way is open. If you strike now you will get them. They will soon be gone if not rescued" (Jackson 1880:266). For Jackson, Christianity was also a way of protecting the Tlingits from the new influences that were seen as "bad for them".

We have been over to Tongas, but they say to us, you are English and we are American. We wish you would send them an American preacher. They have a great deal of whiskey at Tongas, and it is bad for them. It was bad for us a few years ago. Now that our hearts are changed, we feel for those people that once were our enemies (Jackson 1880:271).

Jackson's pleas for missions became more passionate after the discovery of gold in 1880 in Juneau.

From 1880 onward, as the mining in the Cassiar area of British Columbia began to slow down, miners began moving north in search of gold. The miners proceeded to mine for gold and other minerals along the river routes of the Taku, Stikine, and Unuk rivers. American canning companies also began establishing operations all over Southeast Alaska. Within a few years, the Tongass and Cape Fox would have direct competition and fierce confrontations with canning companies and miners along their traditional fishing grounds of the Naha, Boca de Quadra, Yes Bay, Ketchikan and the Unuk River.

The American salteries and canning companies in Alaska began in 1881. Quickly several canneries opened up in the Tongass area. According to excerpts from a report from William Gouveneur Morris, who was a special treasury agent to the Secretary of the

Treasury state that fishermen from are “quite sanguine that they have acquired a very valuable property”.³⁴ Several new sites had been chosen for 1882 and would be opened by parties from San Francisco. Another cannery operation located near the Tongass was a cannery at Boca de Quadra, operated by the Cape Fox Packing Company. Boca de Quadra is a place traditionally claimed by the Kik’s.adi clan. Members of the Kik’s.adi clan from this area intermarried with people with the Tongass.

While the 1880s brought increased resource competition for the Tongass. Through Jackson’s lobbying efforts, Congress passed the Alaska Organic Act on May 17, 1884, and Naval Rule gave way to a civilian administration. Jackson lobbied for the Organic Act by giving lectures about Alaska across the United States. The Organic Act made new provisions for Alaska. One of the key sections of the Act, section 13, pertained specifically to education.

Make needful and proper provisions for the education of the children of school age in the Territory of Alaska, *without reference to race*, until such time as permanent provisions shall be made for the same.... (Case 1984:198).

The Act provided 640 acres of land for “mission stations previously established ‘among the Indian tribes’” (Case 1984:198). The Act also provided for a governor, a judicial system, and federal mining laws. The Act also mandated that a commission report on the conditions of the Alaskan Natives be drafted (Price 1989:43).

³⁴NAWDC. Records Relating to the Alaska Boundary Commissions and Arbitrations Documentary Evidence Submitted with United States Case and Countercase, Box #5, Envelope #8, Folder #11.

By the 1880s the Tongass were interested in establishing a school on Tongass Island. Prior to 1884, according to Education Reports some Tongass “cross[ed] over to British Columbia, and [found] school privileges at Port Simpson, a station of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada”.³⁵ Following the Organic Act of 1884, a school was established on Tongass Island. The first teachers at the Tongass mission school were Tlingit, a young couple named Louis and Tillie Paul. Louis Paul Pyreau, whose mother was from the Dakl’aweidi clan of the Tongass, and Tillie Kinnon was “Raven” of the Teeyhittan. By this time period it was becoming clear that it would be necessary for the Tongass children to get a formal American education for them to remain competitive in the economic arena. The school at Tongass was the first school established for the Tongass community, however, it only operated for a couple of years before it closed.

The year after the mission school at Tongass opened (1885), Jackson was appointed as the General Agent for Education in Alaska. Also, during the year of 1885, a commission was established, as was prescribed under Section 12 of the Organic Act of 1884, to report on the conditions of the Indians. The report, dated June 30th, was by a committee that consisted of Governor John Kinhead, U. S. Marshall Morrison C. Hillyer, and District Court Clerk Andrew F. Lewis. According to Price (1989), the report consisted of a petition from Sheldon Jackson, S. Hall Young, E. S. Willard, and J. Loomis Gould (p.43). The report and the subsequent petition recommended citizenship,

³⁵ United States Bureau of Education Report 1892. Pg.1742

land titles, and protection of the fisheries occupied by the Indians before the advent of the whites (ibid).

While the report cited specific recommendations, it also portrayed the “colony” of Metlakatla as the only successful colony on the North Pacific Coast (Price 1989:43). Ten months after Kinhead was appointed as Governor to Alaska, President Grover Cleveland replaced him with A. P. Swineford. Kinhead’s remarkably short term of office was the result of a disagreement and a false arrest of Jackson. Jackson’s false arrest led to prominent national Presbyterian church officials pressuring the President to remove Kinhead from office. The Presbyterian Church had become not only a very powerful and influential force in national politics, but also in Alaska.

By the mid 1880s, there were church missions established in numerous locations. Just south of the Alaskan border near Port Simpson was a Tsimshian village called Metlakatla. A Christian missionary by the name of William Duncan had established a mission there. In just a short time Metlakatla had become a “model” of a successful Native “colony” to many non-Natives. After a while, however, Duncan had a falling out with the CMS Church. Then Duncan encountered problems when he tried to get land from the Canadian government. These problems, coupled with a desire on Duncan’s part to be further away from the evil influences of the trading posts, led him to search for a solution and a place to begin a new mission town for the Tsimshian of Metlakatla, British Columbia.

While many new missions were opening, there were also several new canneries established in Southeast Alaska. The summer of 1886 was the last summer the Cape Fox Packing Company operated a cannery at Boca de Quadra. That cannery was sold and moved to Tongass Narrows. As the Boca de Quadra cannery moved to Tongass Narrows, a company by the name of Rhode & Johnson opened a saltery at Yes Bay. During these years there was no record of compensation or payment for the lands or use of the fish streams by the packing companies to the Tlingit people.

In December 1886, Professor S. A. Saxman was placed in charge of the public school at Tongass. While Saxman was busy with taking over his duties and developing ideas to establish a new mission and school for the Tongass, William Duncan was lobbying in Washington for a place to set up a mission community in Alaska. On December 10, 1886, Duncan met with President Grover Cleveland, in Washington D.C., to request land to establish his mission.

Later that winter, in January of 1887, Saxman and Paul went out searching for a location for a new village site suitable for a school and mission for the Tongass. Saxman and Paul never returned; it was presumed that they had been lost at sea. In 1887, after the death of Louis Paul, William Duncan was meeting with Tillie Paul. It was at that time that Tillie Paul shared the dream of beginning a new mission around Port Chester on Annette Island (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1996:484).

By the summer of 1887, the Tongass and Cape Fox had grown intolerant of

cannery companies and miners trespassing on their lands and around their fishing streams. In June of 1887, several Tlingits denied access to miners who were using the Unuk River to ascend to their mining interests. Tensions between Tlingits and non-Tlingits had been mounting since the first miners and canneries entered the area. On June 1, 1887, Territorial Governor A. P. Swineford wrote a letter to the Executive District Office in Sitka and Lt. Commander J. C. Newell, the commanding officer of the U.S.S. Pinta. He stated that he had received a letter from Loring stating that there was “trouble brewing with the natives at the mouth of the Junoc [Unuk] River”. Swineford requested that a war ship be sent “to teach the natives a lesson-- or rather, to remind them that the government is not mindful of their misdeeds”.³⁶ According to Swineford’s letter, the trouble centered around a “Indian chief called Johnson who controlled the natives in that section” and the letter discussed how this group “drove all the men away from a fishing establishment” at the mouth of the Unuk River. Swineford’s letter to Lt. Commander Newell was prompted by a letter Max Pracht, Superintendent of the Alaska Salmon Packing and Fur Company wrote. Pracht wrote:

It has been a matter of complaint, and a sore grievance among the miners, prospectors and others, who during the last few years, have sought to open and develop the rich placer diggings of Juneau [Unuk] River, that the self-styled local ‘Tyee’, a Siwash of evil repute called ‘Johnson Old Man’, with the assistance of his numerous ‘tillicums’, consisted of several generations and branches of the ‘Johnson’ family, has attempted, and in

³⁶ National Archives, Washington D.C. Boundary Commission Papers. Envelope 8, Folder 13. Letter from A.P. Swineford, Governor to J.C. Newell Lt. Commander. Commanding U.S.S. Pinta. Sitka, Alaska. June 1, 1887.

several cases prevented the ascent of the steam by miners:- has threatened destruction upon those who should again attempt the ascent, and it is alleged and believed, though for the want of eye-witnesses, not proven, that he is the identical Siwash who robbed and burned the miner's cabins on the river in the fall of '84, and is now said to be ready, for want of the proper restraining influence, (a wholesome fear of the white man -, to enter upon a season of arbitrary dictation to the compliance of his unreasonable and unacceptable demands or in default thereof to 'clean out' all the white men upon his 'illihie', as he chooses to call all that territory including Burrough's Bay -- all that portion of the Juneau River within the boundaries of Alaska, all that portion of Behms Channel bounding Revilla Gigedo Island upon the east, and extending from the southern extremity of Hassler Island to the north of Revilla Gigedo Island, a distance of about 80 miles.³⁷

Both communications mention that two or three years previous the group had burned a miner's house and his provisions. The Unuk River incident was just one case that demonstrated the increased competition over river and stream rights between the Tlingits and non-native commercial fishing and mining interests.

Note how Pracht appealed to Governor Swineford for military intervention.

Pracht, like many other non-natives of this period, appealed to the governor by rhetorically waving the banner of God and country, requesting that a man of war be sent to "convince" the Tlingits "there is a power beyond and superior to themselves".

It is therefore the prayer of your many subjects, who are trying to develop this part of the vast Alaskan wilderness, that you send one of the two men of war, supposed to be at your disposal, to pass a visit to the disturbed district mentioned, and by her presence, by moral persuasion or if needs be, by a little desirable artillery practice, convince these unworthy,

³⁷ NAWDC. Boundary Commission Papers. Envelope 8 Folder 13. Letter to Governor A.P. Swineford from Max Pracht, Superintendent of the Alaska Salmon Packing and Fur Company. Loring, Alaska. May 27, 1887.

ungracious and ungrateful squatters upon the public domain of the United States (for be it remembered these Johnsons do not live on or upon this vast stretch of country but at Cape Fox Town, claiming dominion only because of it being their self-appropriated so-called Hunting Grounds) that there is a power beyond and superior to themselves, which the white man respects and the Siwash must obey.

Pracht's quote is an excellent example of how the issues of resource competition are directly related to different cultural definitions of land and resource ownership. Pracht comes to an erroneous conclusion that the Cape Fox people live only at Cape Fox and is mistaken in saying that he is only dealing with the Cape Fox people. According to Tlingit notions of property Johnson and his family did have a legitimate claim to the above stated areas. The Tongass connection to these areas both legally and mythically has been already outlined in previous chapters.

Political and economic relations changed for the Tlingit after Alaska became a territory of the United States. The Tlingits political and military prominence decreased under the territorial military rule of the United States. Economically, the Tlingits began competing against American entrepreneurial companies for fish, minerals, and lumber. American commercial fisheries began in the 1870s when the first canneries opened in Southeastern Alaska. The Tlingits' interaction in the fishing industry was limited to wage labor jobs in the cannery and only then when the companies did not simply bring in Chinese laborers. Since the Tlingits were not considered United States citizens, they had a difficult time making any claims to fishing areas or mineral sites. Instead many American companies and entrepreneurs made claims to logging, mineral, and fishing

sites. The Tlingits shifted from being owners to laborers during the early territorial days. Thus, the Tlingits' main role in the new fishing industry was as fishers or wage laborers for the canneries.

Much of the early commercial salmon catch in Southeastern Alaska was caught in the large fish traps that were located along mouths of rivers and streams. The use of fish traps and fish weirs was also a common method used by the Tlingits. The early commercial fish traps and weirs employed all the same strategies and were similar in style. Because of the Tlingits' knowledge of the design, construction, and site location of fish traps, the canneries would sometimes hire Tlingits to make their fish traps. The canneries almost always used established Tlingit fishing grounds.

These traps decreased the need and expense of buying fish from fishers or hiring fisher people to provide a supply of fish. Once the companies "owned" the fish traps and areas, they effectively controlled the supply of the product, as well as the production process. In order to control all aspects of the industry, the companies even brought in Chinese laborers, over whom they had control. Therefore, the fish packing companies quickly seized virtually total control of the resource and industry.

Prior to the commercial application of the fish traps, the Tlingits preferred this method because they could carefully control the escapement of different salmon runs on each river. The fish traps were efficient for harvesting great numbers of fish using only a few people to operate the trap. The traps allowed the Tlingits to catch a desirable

quantity for preparation and storage.

As well as being an efficient means of catching fish, the trap was also an effective way of managing and regulating the harvest. The Tlingits use of fish traps allowed them to select the desired species, size, and sex of fish they needed and release enough to continue the longevity of the run. Tlingit management, regulation, and ownership of fish traps and weirs was vastly different from the American canning companies philosophy. The Tlingit system was based on their social organization, spiritual views, and a long term familiarity and interest in perpetuating the resource. The American companies regarded the Alaskan fisheries as a open frontier and were motivated by short term economic profits.

During the formative stages of the American commercial fishery, we see the Tlingit people being forced out of participation, ownership, and regulation of fisheries resources. Many new fish traps were placed by American canning companies in areas that were traditionally Tlingit fishing areas. The canneries were initially interested in using the fish traps for their highly efficient means of harvesting large quantities of fish, but seldom managed the runs wisely. A growing number of Tlingits worked for wages for the canneries in Southeastern Alaska. They tended the traps, worked on boats, or worked in the canneries. Gradually many of the Tlingits were replaced as cannery laborers by others who were willing to work for less money. Despite the Tlingits participation in the new and developing commercial fishing industry, they continued to

fish and hunt for a majority of their own food. The Tlingits continued participation in subsistence harvesting helped them survive many of the market fluctuations of the commercial fisheries.

Early ethnographic studies of the Tlingits demonstrate how the Tlingits organized socially to harvest the salmon runs. Fish traps and the rights to fishing areas were owned and protected by a particular clan:

Each Tlingit house group usually had its salmon creek or portion of a salmon creek with accompanying smokehouse, whither the people resorted in spring and summer to dry fish, to hunt and trap..... Clans that owned no land must resort to the common grounds or wait until the owners of others were through with them (Swanton 1908:425).

Swanton romanticizes about the days of old when the Tlingits owned and managed the salmon resources, "property rights except in time of war, or occasionally in time of potlatch, were respected with a care which many in the same region would rejoice to have prevail at present day" (ibid). These customs and traditions of the Tlingits were challenged by the American canning companies, because both had to compete for the same resources.

Garfield's work examines the clan system of the Tlingit and describes their legal theory about property ownership. Garfield states that bays, streams, and other resource sites were the private property of specific house groups or local clans. The Tlingit when talking about property would state "that the people were in the areas they claim before the Deluge and went back after the flood subsided" (Garfield 1947:451-452).

Legal theory to the contrary, territories have changed hands. Migrations have accounted for the abandonment of former territories and acquisition of new ones.... In many cases migrants were extended fishing, hunting, and home-sites rights by the people among whom they settled The migrants built homes, camps, and smoke-houses and established property rights to the available (Garfield 1947:452).

Garfield says that often titles to property were transferred to settle a debt. "The extinction of a local house or clan group has also resulted in the taking over of their property by other groups" (ibid). This background about Tlingit property and ownership provide some insights about why the Tongass and Cape Fox people reacted so strongly about encroachments on their fishing areas in 1887.

While encroachment on land and resource areas was occurring more frequently for the Tongass by companies and individuals a whole new level of federal take over and designation of lands was developing. Duncan's discussion with Tillie Paul about Port Chester made a lasting impression on him. Duncan apparently liked the idea and proceeded with this location for his mission. Another account by Merrill E. Gates suggests he might have suggested Annette Island as a place for Duncan's new "colony".

Gates states this about the choosing of the new Metlakatla:

When he [Duncan] was considering the question of removing his people from British Columbia to Alaska I counseled and aided him. When he sought a suitable site for his colony in Alaska, I directed him to his present location, having myself discovered its advantages while looking for a good place at which to start a mission.³⁸

³⁸ NAWDC. Records to Alaska. Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Concerning Metlakatla 1887-1933. Microfilm 1333. Letter from Merrill E. Gates, dated March 18, 1901.

Duncan probably received many suggestions on where to establish a new mission. The establishment of this new mission would have a significant impact on Tongass land and resource rights.

In 1887, Henry Wellcome wrote a book *The Story of Metlakatla*, to help rally popular support for Duncan's idea of moving a mission to Alaska. In Wellcome's book, he wrote a passionate patriotic plea for the United States to give Duncan land for his mission.

A civilized Christian community of native British Columbians, is now seeking refuge under the American flag from gross, and malicious persecution, of Church and State. This people, only thirty years since, consisted of some of the most ferocious Indian tribes of this continent, given up to constant warfare, notorious for treachery, cannibalism, and other hideous practices. Although incurring great personal risk, and several times narrowly escaping assassination, Mr. William Duncan, with rare fortitude, and genius, began single-handed a mission among them: he educated them, and taught them Christianity, in the simplest possible manner; at the same time gradually introducing peaceful industries; and by these means he wrought in a single generation a marvelous transformation. A work that stands absolutely without parallel in the history of missions (Wellcome 1887:vii).

While Wellcome's book gave a very derogatory and racist account of the Tsimshians, the book sold very well and had a large readership, and probably perpetuated an unfortunate stereo type of Alaskan natives.

In the introduction of the book, he includes a letter from five prominent British Columbian merchants, politicians, and clergymen. The letter, entitled "To the Lovers of Civil and Religious Liberty in America," asks Americans not to forget their pilgrim roots.

Like the Pilgrim Fathers of old, this afflicted but prospering and thrifty flock seek refuge from grievous wrongs, and hope to find it under the American flag... They prefer abandoning the home of their fathers, and the precious fruits of their industry, to submitting to the violent seizure of their land, and the intolerable stings of religious greed, and interference... We therefore, most respectfully commend Mr. Duncan, and his mission, to such brothers and friends in our sister country-the land of the free-as may be disposed to use their influence, in aid of the oppressed (Wellcome 1887:xi).

The discourse used by Duncan and his supporters emphasized the hope of religious civil liberties for the Tsimshians. Politically the Metlakatla Tsimshian issue provided the federal government with the opportunity to appear favorably over the Canadian government. By 1887 the group of Tsimshian people with the prompting of Father Duncan moved from their old Metlakatla village near Port Simpson to the location of the Tongass tribe village of Takkw^uaan on Annette Island. On August 7, 1887, Duncan arrived on Annette Island, and it was written by Jackson that

Duncan arrived, and amid general rejoicing and the firing of guns the "Stars and Stripes" were floated over these people, that thus publicly transferred their allegiance from Canada to the United States" (Jackson 1893:1741).

The summer of 1888, after Duncan relocated to Annette Island several companies began operating canneries in Tongass and Cape Fox fishing areas. Cape Lees Packing Company built a cannery at Burroughs Bay at the mouth of the Unuk. Close by the saltery at Yes Bay converted to a canning operation under the ownership of the Boston Fishing and Trading Company. Also in 1888, the Alaska Salmon Packing and Fur Company of San Francisco opened a canning operation at Loring. For the Tongass the

competition for resources was exacerbated by the increased competition in the labor force. From 1887 to 1889 the Tongass Packing Company used almost exclusively Chinese labor in its operations.

It is clear by now that the Tongass were experiencing encroachment on and appropriation of their lands by miners, missionaries, and fish packers all around them. Metlakatla was the first of only two statutorily created Alaska Native reserves. It is an anomaly on the Alaska scene and came into existence just for years after Congress passed the General Allotment Act of 1887, which was designed to break up Indian reservations. One can only speculate that the remoteness of Alaska, along with the missionary zeal of William Duncan and his supporters, were responsible for its creation (Case 1984:87).

The Tsimshian people were not the only group that would move because of the encouragement of the missionaries. It would only be a few years before the Tlingits residing at Tongass village and Cape Fox village would move to Ketchikan and Saxman, respectively. Prior to the two tribes move the Tongass and Cape Fox had a few more major feasts or potlatches. These potlatches would be the last ones that would be held without the scrutiny of the missionaries. One potlatch in 1891 is part of the oral tradition of the Olafson family. The story of the 1891 potlatch is told by A.G. Olafson, of the Sanya kwaan or Cape Fox people. The story was written down some years ago so that younger generations could read it. The account gives the reader many good insights about the protocol and events that occur at a potlatch.

The following story was written by A.G. Olafson:

A Potlatch, 1891

In the Fall of the year 1891, two Cape Fox Indian messengers were sent to the Tongass Indian village with word, that a Potlatch would begin just as soon as the Tongass Indians arrived there. The Tyee (chief - chinook jargon) of the Tongass Indians gave orders to his people to get ready, as everyone would leave in the morning. Early the next day each brought along his trinkets and gifts. Upon leaving for the potlatch from the Tongass Indian village, one of the two Cape Fox messengers had to remain at the village until the people returned.

Twelve canoes left with about ten men to the canoe. The Tongass Indians arrived at the Cape Fox Indian village at dusk. before landing, a black wooden ball was thrown ashore, This ball was immediately shot to pieces by the Cape Fox Indians eliminating the bad spirit. Then the Tongass Tyee's canoe landed first. The two Tyees greeted one another in their tribal custom. After the greetings were finished, the Tongass were then asked to the community house to partake of the evening meal. The Tongass and Cape Fox Indians tribesmen sat around in a large circle on the floor, while the women served crackers, meats, home grown vegetables and tea. After the evening meal, the first night's gifts were exchanged. speeches were made by the visiting and home tribe; then blessings were said, and all retired for the night.

The following day games were played and gifts of the day were exchanged. When evening came the Potlatch for the second day commenced with the serving of food consisting of crackers, fish, and seaweed soup. Then the dishes of each person were set in front of him. To the side of the dishes was stacked what ever presents was given him or her. The presents consisted of blankets, beads, trinkets, and calico cloth. The big Tyee of the tribe usually received the most.

The third and fourth days of the potlatch were the same as the second day. Upon the fifth day the evening meal was served a little early. The exchange of gifts was more plentiful. Dancing and singing commenced. Every one noticed that the potlatch was getting better every minute. Now the ladies were standing in a row to one side singing and swaying to and fro, while the men hopped, jumped, twisted and sang, imitating the birds and animals. This was done to the beat of a drum. After the dancing and singing all retired for the night.

The sixth day more gifts were given and games on the beach played until evening. then the meal of barbecued deer meat, vegetables, crackers, and Indian Tea, widely known as "Hudson Bay Tea" was served. After the evening meal was finished gifts and trinkets were again exchanged. A shadow show was put on. A large canvas sail was stretched from one side of the house to the other.

Lights from candles and oil pots were used to create shadows opposite the side of the audience, which was seated on the floor in the dark.

The first pictures were seen One small hat and pot belly sitting by a fire, holding a pair of tongs. Third one sat in a chair, with his long neck protruding from drooping thin shoulders. There was a large opening, at the end of his neck which was supposed to be his mouth. The pot belly shadow fed him with round red rocks rolled down his throat. He began to expand, He burst! The lights and fire went out, and lo! the patient was still held upright in his chair. The eye sockets were empty and red. The doctor after showing the eyes to the audience, took the eyes and washed. Then he grabbed one eye pushed it into its socket and then he put the other eye into the remaining socket. He then took a bottle and some cloth strips and bandaged his patient's eyes. The doctor then made Indian medicine over his patient. Soon the bandages were removed. Lo, and behold! the patient's eye lid flickered! He opened them! "Ah!," he cried, "I can see! I can see! Thank you my great medicine man. My life you have saved. My vision you have restored. My life is yours to command! Thus ended a perfect operation and act two.

More candles and oil pots were lighted and the drums start-sounding a tune for another song and dance. After the dancing and singing was over and every one happy and laughing, the Cape Fox he held up his right hand signaling for quiet. He said, "There is little time left of this night, and we have not yet given respect for our six white brothers in the audience. Let use put on an act for their special benefit. All applauded and agreed. During this time an interpreter explained every thing which had happened. This special act for the whites who were in attendance was soon ready. This was the shortest act of all. The Cape Fox Tyee signaled the actors. The door was closed. Every one remained quiet. A knock was sounded at the door. The tyee said, "Enter". No one entered. Again the knock was sounded, "who's there? Still there was no answer. Everyone was quiet and in great expectancy for the door to be opened and someone to enter, but alas, no one entered. Another knock was sounded, the third time. The

Tyee said more harshly, "come in". Still no one entered, "open the door and let him in, " stated the Tyee. The door was opened and in strutted a large bird. The neck was straight and the head, which was a skull, turned slowly from side to side. It did not recognize anyone because it did not see anyone it knew. The Tyee said, "Hello," no one answered, "What do you want? Who are you."? Still there was no answer. "Do you wish something to eat or drink? Can you not speak"? Still no answer. The Tyee was disgusted because the bird looked like a white man and didn't understand about Indians, so he told them to throw him out. He was roughly thrown out the door was slammed. Every one cast sly glances at the white people who were laughing gleefully and holding their sides. While they were laughing the drums started sounding. Everyone was taking part in the last dance. The women were all standing in a row to one side swaying and singing, while swinging their arms to and fro. The men jumping, twisting, turning, stamping, howling, imitating different birds and beasts. After the dancing and singing were finished the two Tyee gave their blessings and happiness to each other and their tribe's men and women. They gave their blessings to the white people. They bade each and everyone goodnight and retired. Thus ends the perfect evening of the sixth night of the Potlatch.

Early on the morning of the seventh day everyone was up, even the dogs. Gifts of all sizes, shapes and form exchanged hands. Trinkets, blankets, beads, skins, crackers in large boxes, dogs, calico and gingham clothes, everything was stowed away, the two tribes of men and women ate their farewell dinner and were ready to depart. "Hold on! What is that? A woman of the Cape Fox tribe?" "Yes", I believe she has had one too many. She staggered toward the Tongass Tyee and stopped, "So you think you are a big man. You think you are smart, You think I forget? No, no, not me, I don't like you. I'll tell everyone about you". The Tongass Tyee and followers of his tribe looked embarrassed and rushed to the canoe, grabbed twenty blankets and returned. "Here are twenty blankets my dear lady. Accept them and let us part as friends". The lady grabbed the blankets and rushed to her house and stored them away. She then returned with the required number of blankets. These he eagerly submitted to the lady. She took the blankets and returned home. She went to bed forgetting all.

The Tongass Indian tribe then went to their canoes and were ready to leave. The Cape Fox Indians and Tyee walked to the edge of the water, raised his right hand in a gesture and said, "Fast and safe voyage, my dear friends".

The Tongass Indian Tyee was also standing...and said. "God bless you my friend; May you have a long and happy life!" They were off with a splash of paddles. So ended one of the last potlatches given at the Cape Fox village in the fall of the year 1891 by the Cape Fox Indians and the Tongass Indian Tribes.³⁹

This potlatch was probably one of the last major feasts held at the old historic village sites. By 1893, the number of potlatches declined because the people were asked by missionaries to no longer hold potlatches. The purpose and function of the potlatch was misunderstood by the missionaries, and so they strongly discouraged the Tingits from holding these events.

Missionization of the Tongass

By the early 1890s, the Tongass people, ravaged by waves of epidemics of infectious diseases, agreed to relocate to one of their old traditional use areas known as "Kich Xaan", the name of which would later be anglicized to Ketchikan. They moved at approximately the same time as the Sanya kwaan or Cape Fox Tlingit moved from their village to Saxman. The planning for the move actually began in 1886 when the well-known Tongass leader, Louis Paul, disappeared in an expedition to Ketchikan with a missionary named Mr. Saxman. The purpose of their trip was to explore Ketchikan as a

³⁹ This potlatch account was written by A. G. Olafson (Tlingit). The following acknowledgement in quotes is the from the original manuscript: (Mr. Olafson) writes from authentic information. As many of his relatives took part in the above. To him we give full credit, for the story. We thank him for this generous contribution". The written account of the story of the potlatch I found in the records from several different sources: U.S. Forest Service Ketchikan Area Office Archeological Files, Kaa Tl'Atk Development Corporation Cultural Archival Files, and Ketchikan Indian Corporation Johnson O'Malley Educational Files. The story was never published in a formal publication.

new location for a village, mission, and school. While Marsden and Jackson wrote that the Tongass and Cape Fox people were "clamoring" for Christianity, according to Tongass discourse the two tribes were particularly interested in the promise of medical attention and vaccinations against small pox and other infectious diseases. The tribes were still being hit hard by various epidemics.

The events leading up to the Tongass relocating to Ketchikan actually began five to six years before the Tongass resettled at their old fishing grounds called Kich x'aan. They had fished the Ketchikan Creek, and it was owned, at that point, by Geetwein of the Ganax.adi clan (Leer 1978:20-23). Ethnographic sources state that the Tongass had established a fort at Ketchikan and lived there during a major battle with the Tsimshian during the proto-historic period (Olson 1967). In 1888, the Tongass Packing Company began operation on Tongass Narrows near the mouth of Ketchikan Creek.

At the time the Tongass Packing Company decided to establish an operation at the mouth of Ketchikan Charlie Dickson, known as "Paper Nose Charlie" by American settlers was living there with his family. A. W. Berry, manager of the Tongass Packing Company allegedly made a deal with the Tongass Tlingit by the name of Charlie Dickson. Barry acquired a deed for some shoreline property for one hundred dollars. This deed and transaction supposedly transferred the shoreline property to Berry. There are many aspects of the legalities of this action that are suspect. Berry did not receive legal title to the Charlie Dickson deed until April 17, 1888. Berry, however had

prematurely sold the land for ten thousand dollars to the Tongass Packing Company on March 24, 1888, thus, making the conveyance by Berry to the Tongass Packing Company null and void.

In addition, there are other aspects about these documents and this transaction that should be questioned. Charlie Dickson did not sign his name to this document but wrote an X in lieu his signature. There is no mention of whether a translator was present or if there was a proper reading of the document. Since Dickson was not able to write or sign his name to the document, it is unlikely he was able to read the document without assistance.

The Dickson case and other cases of land loss and encroachment for the Tongass may have increased their interest in having a mission school built for them. Throughout the 1880s, the Tongass had witnessed encroachment on their fishing grounds by fish packing companies, questionable land transactions, and Congressional action that declared Annette Island, their former territory, a reservation for Tsimshian emigrants from British Columbia. It was quickly becoming apparent that reading and writing and an understanding of American politics, business, law would be essential to their cultural survival. Furthermore, the importance of missionaries as a political lobbying force for Native communities had proven to be very powerful and effective.

On November 18, 1892, the Tongass Packing Company conveyed a deed for the lands to Clark and Martin. Shortly after that, on December 13, 1892, the Tongass

Packing Company wrote another deed conveying the land to George W. Clark and Michael E. Martin. At the time the shoreline property changed hands from the Tongass Packing Company, Sheldon Jackson was making a plea for funding to establish a mission and school for the Tongass. According to Jackson's Education Report for 1892-93, the Tongass were still living on Tongass Island and numbered 273. In 1892 the Jackson Report requests funding for schools:

New schools are urgently needed in at least six places (Kotzebue Sound, Nuklukayet, St. Lawrence Island, Kenai, Nutchek, and Tongas), having more than 600 children with no school privileges (p.1746).

The report for the following year (1893-1894) states:

For seventeen years past the Cape Fox and Port Tongass natives have been clamoring for a missionary. They were so few in number that the church would not be justified in establishing two missions (p.1432).

By the early 1890s, the Tongass people were ravaged by waves of epidemics of infectious diseases. Even as late as the 1860s, there had been a smallpox epidemic. With no permanent mission being located on Tongass Island since 1886, there must have been a significant number of new infants who had not been vaccinated for smallpox. Many Tlingits were also dying from tuberculosis and measles. Therefore, the idea of moving to a mission where medical attention and vaccines were available was an added incentive for the Tongass to relocate.

According to Jackson's report, the Tongass and Cape Fox convened in 1895 to discuss moving to a new location in order to be close to a school, medical care, and a mission.

In 1894 the two tribes again became clamorous for a missionary, and on the 4th and 5th of July, 1895, I held a convention with them on the subject. A site was selected and the people agreed to abandon their present villages and build upon a new site in order to have school and church privileges. In moving to the new place they sign a paper, similar to that required for settlement in Metlakatla" (Jackson 1895:1432).

The Metlakatla agreement required every residence to sign a document which stated that the individual would refrain from many of their "heathen customs", and would participate in Christian activities. A similar agreement was asked of the Tongass and Cape Fox when they moved to Ketchikan (see figure 11 - Photo of early days of Ketchikan, Houses on tidal flats and Creek).

I am struck how the Tlingit people faced many changes in their culture during this period. Many other anthropologists have examined culture change and the effect of Christianity, but in examining the transmission of knowledge and culture change, Geddes, doing fieldwork in another part of the world wrote this:

A thorough attack on the Land Dayak theory of disease,... could ruin their religion, and with it would go much of their present ceremony and fun. The apostles of Christianity feel justified in making such an attack. We shall pass over the fact that they strike their first blows with the weapons of rationalism. We can only hope that they will carry their attack through, giving the people new joys and new art to make up for what they will have lost. A humble anthropologist had better meddle less deeply (Geddes 1973:XV).

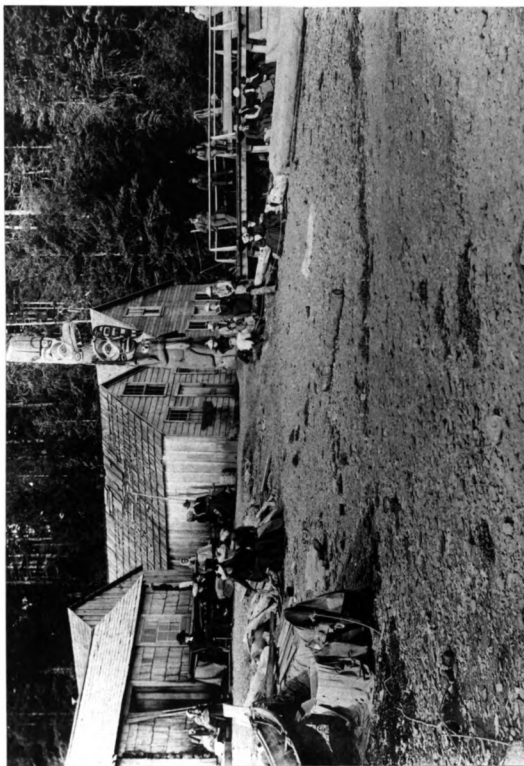


Figure 11 - Photo of early days of Ketchikan, Houses on tidal flats and Creek
(Courtesy of THS)

While Geddes points out the possible voids that could occur for Dayak, I think many anthropologists today have examined how Christianity becomes reinterpreted or blended with cultures in synchronic movements. Clifford points out that

many traditions, languages, cosmologies, and values are lost, some literally murdered; but much has simultaneously been invented and revived in complex, oppositional contexts. If the victims of progress and empire are weak, they are seldom passive. It used to be assumed, for example, that conversion to Christianity in Africa, Melanesia, Latin America, or even colonial Massachusetts would lead to the extinction of indigenous cultures rather than to their transformation. Something more ambiguous and historically complex has occurred, requiring that we perceive both the end of certain orders of diversity and the creation or translation of others (Clifford 1988:16).

The motivation of the missionaries was to christianize and educate the Natives. The missionaries were interested in, as the Comaroffs phrase it, "domesticity". The goal was to transform the Natives from seasonal hunters, fishers, and gatherers into sedentary farmers and industrial workers. The schools and missions played an important role in channeling Native Americans into the wage labor force (Littlefield 1996:100).

Littlefield, who has done a great deal of work on education and its impact on the transmission of knowledge for Native Americans, states:

the boarding school experience facilitated the process of proletarianization, not necessarily by imparting specific vocational skills (which, as already pointed out, were often irrelevant to the emerging labor market), but by imposing the behavioral routines, patterns of social interaction, and personal dispositions necessary for adapting to an industrial economy. To an extent the schools were also successful in instilling the consumer tastes of the mainstream society and in convincing Indian youths that traditional ways were backward and inferior (Littlefield 1996:120).

While Littlefield is speaking specifically about boarding schools in Michigan for the Chippewa, many of the same processes occurred elsewhere. She also argues that these schools increased use of English and imposed cultural hegemony.

The period following the military administration was dominated by the interests of missionaries and entrepreneurs. The administrative policy and general philosophy of Americans towards the Tlingits was motivated by missionary zeal, renewed nationalism, and the cultural ideals of America as the "great melting" pot. In this chapter, I investigated how (paraphrasing the Comaroff's):

the incorporation of the [Tlingit] into a world economy did not simply erode difference or spawn rationalized homogeneous worlds. Money and commodities, literacy and Christendom challenged local symbols, threatened to convert them into a universal currency. But precisely because the cross, the book, and the coin were such saturated signs, they were variously and ingeniously redeployed to bear a host of new meanings as [the Tlingits]... fashioned their own visions of modernity" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:5-6).

The Tongass, during this period, were confronted with the competing ideologies of "money and commodities, literacy and Christendom" (ibid). In this chapter, we saw how non-Tlingits deployed these competing ideologies, and in the following chapters, we will see how the Tlingits "fashioned their own visions of modernity" (ibid).

The Seward potlatch became an epitomizing event for the Tongass that represented dialogues of misunderstandings between cultures that was typical of this period. Seward and the government he represented failed to recognize the assertions.....

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Chapter 9

THE TONGASS RELOCATE TO KETCHIKAN:

“FIELD OF DREAMS”, NIGHTMARES OF TRESPASS

The white settlers arriving in Ketchikan after the turn of the century paid scant heed to the legalities of land ownership. In the GLO [Government Land Office] report, the reporters noted that in its earliest days the white people in Ketchikan organized a baseball team and began using a portion of the beach property that the Natives had formerly used for boat landings, as a baseball park.

-----Bruce Davies

As Ketchikan built a town around this humble baseball field on the tidal flats, the crowds started coming. Ironically, as a new nation was nurturing the growth of new American traditions (e.g., frontier settlements and baseball), the Tongass Tlingit were watching their traditional way of life (e.g., land, resources, and civil rights) erode. The Tongass boat landings gave way to a baseball field, a spruce mill, and a dock. The early history of Ketchikan reads similar to the script from the popular film "Field of Dreams" in which the narrative voice in the film whispered "if you build it, they will come". After the Tongass and Cape Fox people arrived in Ketchikan and Saxman (see Figure 12), the non-Native



Figure 12 - Kashakes Clan House, Built 1894, Saxman

settlers began building a town on the tide flats and area around the mouth of Ketchikan Creek. As a town was built more non-Natives came.

From the 1890s onward the Tongass perpetuate, negotiate, reinterpret, reinvent, and transform their identity and discourse in order to maintain their existence as a group. Some studies have attempted to analyze culture change among the Tlingit but few have attempted to examine culture change as a dialogue between two or more cultures. Most of the Tongass began moving to Ketchikan by 1895. In the early days of Ketchikan, the Taantak^uwaan had a few clan houses, which were built along the mouth of Ketchikan Creek. In Ketchikan the mission and school were sponsored by the Episcopalian church, with Miss Edwards as the first teacher. The Cape Fox moved at about the same time to Saxman. The Saxman mission and school were established by the Presbyterian church under the direction of Edward Marsden. Marsden, (Tsimshian and Tlingit) originally worked with William Duncan but eventually parted service with him and became a missionary with Jackson and the Presbyterian church. There were some differences in style and philosophy between the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian mission policies. The Episcopalians maintained a more permissive policy with respect to the use of native languages in their ministry and schools, whereas the Presbyterians, especially under Sheldon Jackson's policy, permitted English only (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:56).

By 1895 the Saxman mission school had approximately 30 students. In the early days of Saxman, school attendance was highest during the winter months. Spring, summer, and fall were still dedicated to the seasonal subsistence activities. Mr. Young, the new Saxman school teacher, reported his problems about starting school too early in the fall.

J. W. Young, teacher; enrollment 31; population Thlingit. Mr. Young reports as follows: 'I arrived here on Oct. 28, 1895, to take charge of the community, and I may say at the start that my success has been only partial. It takes a good deal of time to get the natives together and build up a town. When I arrived there was no building here except the schoolhouse. The natives have since built seven houses. During three months we had about 50 inhabitants many of them living in tents. That they are anxious to have their children educated was shown by their coming here and coming in tents during the bitter cold weather of January and February, so that they could send their children to school. The children have made very good progress. Many of them had never been in school before. About April 1 the Natives began to go hunting, and by April 15 the town was deserted. They promise that when they have built themselves good houses they will not take the women and children with them when they go hunting. I was very sorry for the children camping in the snow, and that they might be near a school I appealed to Dr. Jackson for funds to build a guest or community house which they could occupy.'⁴⁰

During the early mission school period, the seasonal subsistence cycle dictated the school calendar and seasonal movement of most of the Tlingit families. However, more and more Tongass and Cape Fox were balancing subsistence activities with seasonal wage labor jobs. By 1897 there were many pressures on the mission schools. In the yearly

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U.S. Education Bureau Report on Work in Alaska Education in Alaska the School District Conveyance of 1894-95 (1896), "Children to School

report from the Saxman school, the teacher J. W. Young writes that there were several of the Saxman people that went to Dyea to get jobs as packers and workers for the miners going to the Yukon gold rush.

Young also writes about growing tensions between the Cape Fox and the Tongass. Young states: “the jealousy between the chiefs of the two tribes that we have been trying to gather here caused some trouble and may result in the withdrawal of the entire Tongass tribe” (Jackson 1897-98:1759). Even though the Tongass and Cape Fox intermarried a great deal and had at least one clan in common, they were at times rival groups. The missionaries and church officials chose to ignore these rivalries and conflicts and attempted to bring the two groups to the same mission. However, the majority of the Tongass people settled in Ketchikan, and most of the Cape Fox settled in Saxman.

While the Tongass and Cape Fox were developing new communities, the scientific community was busy taking totem poles, masks, bent wood boxes, and any other regalia they could find at old village sites. Cole (1985) examines this period when museums and universities all over the world were “scrambling for Northwest Coast artifacts”. The Tongass and the Cape Fox had many poles taken during this period (see Figure 13). During the summer of 1899 was a period in which at least eleven poles were taken from Tongass Island and Cape Fox villages.

The Harriman scientific expedition was led and financed by railroad magnate Edward H. Harriman. This expedition took ten poles from the two villages (Gleach



Figure 13 - Photo - Seattle Pole

1995). The poles were cut down at the base in the same fashion as tree falling. Then the poles were hauled down the beach, floated out to boats, and loaded onto the decks of vessels for transport to museums all over the United States. Two poles went to the California Academy of Sciences, two poles to the Field Museum in Chicago, one to the University of Washington, one to Michigan (which later went to the University of Washington), two poles went to the Peabody Museum at Yale, another pole went to Cornell, and two large bears from a grave were kept by Harriman (Gleach 1995). A Tongass Raven pole owned by the Kinninook lineage and dedicated as a memorial to a Tongass woman named “Chief-of-All-Women” was stolen the same summer by some men from the Seattle Chamber of Commerce (Garfield 1980; Garfield 1938; Grinnell 1995).

The Tongass pole was a significant pole in many respects because it represented three stories of the Taantakwaan. The pole had six figures, representing these three stories and the lineage that owned the pole (see Figure 13). The figures were: a woman holding her frog child, the woman’s frog husband, a mink, Raven, a whale with a seal in his mouth, and then the raven figure at the bottom which represented “Raven-at-the-head-of- Nass”. The bottom figure represents the story and character, but also represents the Ganaxadi clans’ connection to the Nass River area (Garfield 1938; 1980).

The pole was stolen when the men were off fishing and the women were working at the canneries. Some of the elders and children were on Tongass Island when the pole

was taken (Garfield 1938; 1980). The pole was taken to Seattle and put up in Pioneer Square in downtown Seattle. Later that fall the pole was dedicated by a large crowd of people from Seattle on October 18, 1899. No compensation was given for the stolen pole.

Beginning in 1900 and continuing for the next several years, non-Native settlers of Ketchikan fought with the saw mill for possession of the tidal flats in order to maintain their baseball field. On February 12, 1900, H.C. Strong, Anna Strong, and Michael E. Martin conveyed the property to Carl A. Sutter. After the property was conveyed to Sutter, the saw mill began to encroach further onto the tide land reservations on Ketchikan Creek.

In Ketchikan by 1902 and 1903, the Tongass joined the baseball team in their legal battle against the saw mill for possession and use of the tidelands. On March 15, 1903, the baseball team had a survey made of the grounds claimed by them and filed plat and field notes as official record (see Figure 14 on the following page). Many Ketchikan residents were as concerned about the baseball field on the tidal flats as they were about the Tongass people's rights to their canoe landings. In 1903, while popular opinion was concerned with the baseball field, the courts recognized and protected the Native use of the area in a lawsuit between Heckman and Sutter. However, little by little the saw mill claimed to have acquired title to lots upland from the beach on the north side of the creek. Smythe (1989) states: "According to the purported deed, two of these lots had been

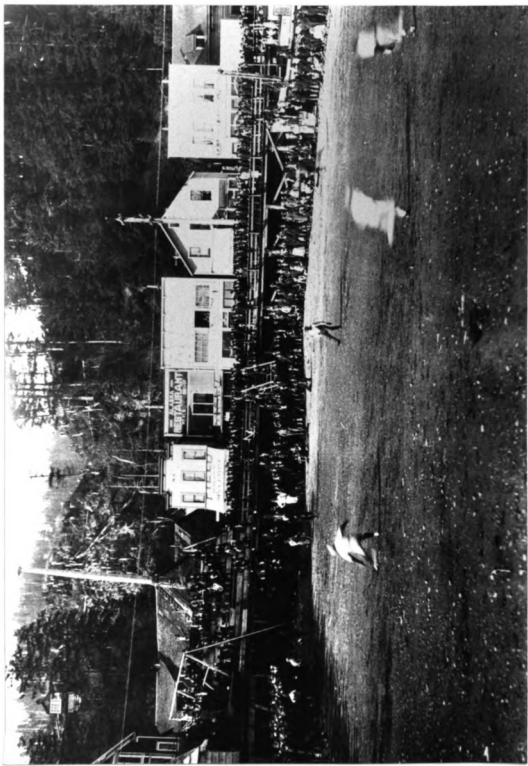


Figure 14 - Photo, "Field of Dreams", Baseball field on tidal flats
(Courtesy of THS)

occupied for 30 years by Chief Kian and his wife. The saw mill claimed that these littoral rights had been purchased from 11 owners in the area, with most purchases occurring during 1903" (Smythe 1993).

Shortly after the saw mill encroached on the tidal flats, the Tongass encountered new land and resource challenges. The next challenge to the Tongass lifestyle ironically would be dealt by a man who admired and recorded a great deal about the Tlingit culture, George Emmons. George T. Emmons played an integral part the administrative process of the proclaiming of the Alexander Archipelago National Forest (Price 1989:72). This forest reserve was the precursor to the Tongass National Forest. The forest reserve has been described as the "final blow to the traditional lifestyle" of the Tlingit (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:39). I would argue that the proclamation of the forest reserve was not the final blow to the "traditional lifestyle", but it intensified the importance of property and resource rights in the home community because the reserve made subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering difficult outside their home community. The declaration of the forest reserve created a whole new category of "public land", which carried with it a new discourse and meaning about access, use, and ownership. The philosophy of public lands versus clan property and territories are vastly different.

While property encroachments and efforts by missionaries to change the style of homes and the layouts of many Tlingit villages was successful, most communities by the turn of the century maintained some clan houses that had traditional style fronts or clan

crests displayed while the rest of the house was constructed in the American balloon frame construction. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, many houses of this style were built as homes for the clan and house headman or *hit satee* and were also used for clan and house ceremonies and functions. The change from multiple family dwellings to single family dwellings (albeit an extended family in many cases) restricted and reduced the role of teaching and opportunities for learning from aunts, uncles, and grandparents in informal settings. In the old clan houses, where multiple families lived, elders would tell clan histories and stories and teach the younger people about social conduct and behavior. Rapidly the setting of the old clan houses as places for teaching were being replaced by school houses. As the multiple family clan houses disappeared the common place to learn Tlingit knowledge became the campfire at the fishing and hunting camps.

At the new mission towns, the single-family houses not only made it more difficult for elders to teach the younger generations about clan information, but also brought more movement and activity out onto the new streets and boardwalks of the town. There was a shift in spatial features of the Tlingit villages. During the period of multiple family clan houses, the informal social spheres and private sphere were within the walls of the clan house. During the missionization period, as families began to live in single-family households, the public sphere in which individuals and groups could socialize was the church, school house, or later, the community hall. The clan houses occasionally still hosted traditional types of activities. The private sphere in this new

spatial layout of the community was at home in the single-family house. It was conducive to the Victorian-style domestic life.

This spatial arrangement had a significant impact on the methods of and locations in which elders could teach the young. It also made it easier for the watchful missionary to observe any unwanted clan activities develop, since they would require a great deal of movement from house to house. Both Foucault (1984) and Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) discuss the impact architecture and space can have on social interaction. The new architecture of homes the Tlingits began living in and the new layouts of the communities no doubt had an effect on the interaction of the Tongass and the transmission of knowledge.

Another excerpt from the report indicates that the Saxman village was “remarkably healthy” and that their village had not experienced the epidemic of measles and grippe that had affected so many other communities. The decision by the Tongass and Cape Fox leaders to relocate to the Ketchikan area had brought the groups some relief from the wave of epidemics. One of the changes the missionaries made, which may have had a positive epidemiological impact on the Tongass but significantly changed many aspects pertaining to the transmission of knowledge and identity was the construction of single family households.

The year of 1904 brought a great deal of tragedy to the native people of the Ketchikan area. For the Tongass people, there were a few key leaders who were removed

from Alaska. One of the important Ganax.adi leaders of the Tongass, George (Bond) Kinninook, was arrested by federal marshals. The Tongass people say he was arrested because he was an important landholder and was not willing to forfeit his clan's property. Emma Williams, his daughter, was very young at the time and remembered when her father was arrested. Why he was arrested was not explained to Emma or her family.

Shortly after the time of George Kinninook's arrest his name appears on the patients list from Crystal Springs Sanatorium. According to records from "Letters received relating to the Alaskan Insane" from Crystal Springs Sanatorium, Mt. Tabor Portland, Oregon, many of these patients were admitted as being criminally insane because they "were speaking in tongues". No doubt George Kinninook and others were speaking in tongues. The Tlingit leaders customarily came from the noble ranks in Tlingit society, and they were expected to be able to speak at least a few languages. He most likely was conversant in Tlingit, English, Tsimshian, and possibly Haida, or at least some of the other languages of the neighboring groups (perhaps Nisga or Tsetsaut or even Chinook Jargon). Regardless, George Kinninook was removed from Alaska and detained at the Crystal Springs Sanitarium February 8, 1904. For most of the Tlingit, commitment to these native sanitariums was almost as sure as a death sentence. Because of the poor conditions, epidemics of infectious diseases circulated through the patients in these facilities, and the separation from family and kin support resulted in an extremely high

mortality rate.⁴¹ During the same year, John McKay and Charlie Klash (who I believe are also important Tongass leaders) were committed to the same sanitarium. Most of them did not survive very long in the sanitarium. While a more rigorous ethnohistorical and archival examination will be required to validate the Tongass oral history, a preliminary investigation of the archival sources reinforces their story.

I bring up this dark history not to capitalize on the sensational but: (1) to note that the removal of these important clan leaders removed key sources in the transmission of knowledge for the Tongass; (2) to possibly shed some new light on some events that have left the families of these individuals understandably angry, fearful, and ashamed; (3) to examine the problems between the Tongass and the federal government over differing perspectives on property ownership; this event represents how cultural and political differences can sometimes be represented as social deviance or mental illness.

The removal of the Tongass leaders illustrates a disparity in law and justice for Natives and non-Natives. In an earlier chapter, I discussed how the powerful Sheldon Jackson was arrested and jailed on false charges. That story had a happy ending for Jackson with the powerful lobbying influence of national Presbyterian church officials literally cleaning house, or least the Alaska Governor's mansion, as a result of Jackson's

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FAA. Microcopy No. 430 Interior Dept. Territorial Papers AK. 1869-1911 Roll 17 Jan. 17, 1905-Jan.21,1911, Letters received relating to the Alaskan Insane Crystal Springs Sanitorium Mt. Tabor Portland Oregon pp.100-102.

wrongful arrest by the governor and his officials. The Tongass and their leaders were not so fortunate.

With the premature passing of these leaders, there was a void in the leadership, ownership, and transmission of knowledge of the Tongass. This event, which can be documented by archival materials, has become what Fogelson phrases a “non-event” for the Tongass. This type of non-event involves “events that actually occur, and can be documented, but are so traumatic they are denied” (Fogelson 1989:143) or are infrequently discussed. Fogelson’s cites the Cherokee removal experience as an example of such a non-event. “It would seem that the removal experience was so degrading, so incredible, so brutally real that it became unreal to the Cherokee mind” (ibid). The Tongass experience of their removal of their leaders, I would argue, is similar. Until recently, many of the Tongass elders responded to questions about this event by stating “we don’t talk about this anymore”. Important in another way is how this event or non-event instilled in many of the Tongass people a very real fear about the possible consequences for standing up for their peoples land and rights.

During the summer of 1904 a tragedy of a different sort occurred. Across Tongass Narrows from Ketchikan, another small community was developing, but on July 5, 1904, a fire destroyed a saw mill and several homes located on Gravina Island (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994). The fire on Gravina Island burned out several Tsimshian families. These Tsimshian were originally from Metlakatla and had

established a sawmill and community on Gravina Island. After the fire, many of the Tsimshians moved to Ketchikan.

While the Tongass were losing land through encroachment and new settlers emigrating to the area, they also lost crucial pieces of land as non-Natives filed quick deeds to mining claims. In 1905 Kate Swanson, a Tongass woman, owned land that was encroached upon by Frank Bold. Frank Bold attempted to make a mining claim on the Swanson's land. The key issue in this case was that the claim should have been invalid because the property was never actively mined. These mining claims required that the filer had to actively work the land; however, the claims were rarely mined, and the activity of a mining claim was rarely verified. During this period, using a mining claim to acquire land from natives was a common practice. The Swanson property was and is prime real estate in the heart of downtown Ketchikan.

After several years of struggle over access and ownership to tideland areas, the Tongass received some federal assistance. On August 5, 1905, the Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ryan, declared all tidelands adjacent to Indian lands a reservation. The Secretary specifically stated: "all the lands in the vicinity of the mouth of Ketchikan Creek which lie between the lands occupied by the natives and the limits of low tide of Tongass Narrows". Despite the encroachments and questionable land transactions, 46 out of 50 of the lots in the "reservation" area or the area called "Indian town" were owned by natives, in 1905.

While the federal tide land reservation policy should have given some relief to the Tongass about land issues, only two years later the establishment of a national forest created major problems for the Tongass people. In 1907, a Presidential Proclamation declared a large portion of Southeastern Alaska as the Tongass National Forest. The Tongass National Forest “included all lands not previously homesteaded or claimed by miners and canneries” (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:40). The Tongass and all the rest of the Tlingit people would have to constantly struggle for the legal rights to pursue any fishing, hunting, or gathering on Forest Service lands. Simply put, the Tlingits had “lost all legal access to their streams and waterways, [and] their land base” (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:40). In the following chapter, the study will examine how the Tongass had fishing and hunting camps burned and were forced them out of their traditional territories (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946).

It was not more than two years after the proclamation of the Tongass National Forest, that the headlines appeared on a feature article in the Home Mission Monthly proclaiming, “A Victory Over Old Customs”. Reverend Edward Marsden was still in charge of the Saxman mission and in 1909 wrote about the status of Saxman. In this article he writes:

The customs of the Tongas and Cape Fox tribes of Southeastern Alaska have been so changed by the power of the Gospel that it is almost useless to speak of them, except for the purposes of comparison between ‘then and now’.... Since the word of God has made its advent among these people, their customs have been modified, or partially observed, and in the

majority of cases abandoned and something better substituted” (Marsden 1909:175-176).

In the same article, Marsden wrote about the formation of two “Christian societies,” which were called the Young Women’s Christian Association and the Young Men’s Christian Association. Marsden discusses how these two groups planned, raised funds, and carried out the funeral arrangements and services. These two organizations took the place of the opposite moiety in providing services for the deceased and their family. In summation of the associations functions in the funeral arrangements for a Tlingit woman Marsden wrote this:

the woman died in the faith and was cared for before and after she died by the good Christians of Saxman, under no circumstances would they mar the clean and blessed memory of the dead by feasts and the giving away of goods. The victory is won over the former degrading customs in regard to the dead (ibid).

On one level the purpose of these Christian Associations was to replace the Tlingit social and kinship system with a substitute system.

These Christian associations (in some communities called brotherhoods and sisterhoods) were developing in each community and were supposed to be strictly Christian organizations. The Tongass response seems analogous to some of the African responses to Christianity. In the African case, Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) point out that Christianity is “variously and ingeniously redeployed to bear a host of new meanings”(p.6). Kan (1985) emphasizes the “paradox” of the brotherhoods by stating “an institution meant to become an instrument of radical sociocultural change helped the

Tlingit to accept Christianity on their own terms and, consequently, contributed to the preservation of some of the important aspects of the traditional (pre-Christian) culture” (p.215).

While Marsden was celebrating a victory over old customs, there was little cause for celebration with regard to secular issues. The trespass and encroachment by the sawmill onto the tideland areas became even more blatant by 1910.

The tactics used by the saw mill people to get possession and control of these tide flats seem to have been somewhat varied but always persistent. At various times they would drive new piles a little farther over these grounds, and extend their log boom. Then they would dump slabs in a heap near the mill or yards, and thus get possession of a further margin that way. Each such step seems to have been met with resentment on the part of the ball team and the people generally; but as the people took no drastic action.

One specific instance will serve to throw some light on the general situation. About two or three years ago, it appears the former manager of the saw mill, a Mr. Burkhart, either himself personally or for his company, attempted to take possession of some of those tide lands at the junction of Mission and Stedman streets. He had made a purported purchase of certain littoral rights at that point from a native. One day he had some piling driven there, with apparent intention of building thereon, or at least of occupying the ground. That night there was a public indignation meeting of citizens, and though it was a wet and stormy night, a party of citizens, including the mayor of the town, went down and sawed off the piling from a few inches to a foot above the ground.

About the year 1910, the saw mill people erected a dry kiln on or partly on the ground included in the reservation. There was much protest from the people, but no definite adverse action taken, as it is claimed the saw mill manager at the time agreed that there should be no further encroachment (Report by Special Agent Lewis 1913).

In 1911 and 1912, the Tongass people protested about the encroachment on their

lands to the Town Council and Townsite trustee. On April 8, 1913, a report was submitted by a special agent and a surveyor from the Department of the Interior to investigate the allegations of encroachment by townspeople. The loss of native lands was significant over the first decade of the 1900s.

Since the building of the dry kiln, a pile of slabs has been extended further out. In the spring of 1912, an old scow derelict was allowed to (or caused to) sink and settle upon and block the ball grounds. And for several weeks in the spring the flats were covered with logs belonging to the sawmill. It appears that persons desiring these obstructions removed could get little satisfaction from Mr. Daly, the manager of the sawmill. The obstructions were finally removed. It is perfectly clear that the Ketchikan Power Company (or sawmill people) intend to appropriate to their own use all these tide flats, mean to appropriate a considerable area, for the ball grounds have been computed to contain about five acres (Lewis 1913:11-13).

Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood

By 1912, the Tlingits were frustrated by battles over land rights and citizenship and, with the encouragement of church officials, united into a new organization called the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood. In many communities, there was already a Christian Association or Brotherhood. In 1912 all the local community groups organized into a regional organization. When the community brotherhoods called "camps," all met together at one annual meeting called the "Grand Camp Convention". The early political success of this new group was aided by the political lobbying of church leaders. On the individual level, Kan (1985) states that "brotherhoods were respectable religious organizations that enabled the Indians to improve their status in communities dominated

by Euroamericans, who perceived native sodalities as indicators of Tlingit 'progress'".

On a group, community, and regional level, the formation of the Brotherhood and Sisterhood was important because it unified and consolidated the power and authority of individual kwaans or communities, while at the same time having the political support of the church officials.

Many Tongass tribe members were active in the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and the Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) in the local Ketchikan and Saxman camps. It was through the ANB and ANS that the Tongass Tribe and all the other Tlingit tribes sought citizenship, land, resource claims, and civil rights. Drucker writes that the local camps were initially based on descendants of inhabitants of the old winter village camps. He specifically states that:

although it would be more efficient for them [Saxman and Ketchikan] to join forces. The Saxman people consist primarily of the old Sanyakwaan or "people of Cape Fox", and the Indian community of Ketchikan consists principally of the descendants of the Tongass group plus a sprinkling of outsiders from various parts of southern Alaska, as well as, a good many Tsimshian from Metlakatla. While Sanyakwan and the Tongass kwan have been neighbors and are considerably interrelated through ties of blood and marriage and have been so for generations, they have regarded themselves as separate groups and continue to do so today. Their local chapters of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Alaska Native Sisterhood are quite separate (Drucker 1958:25).

In the formation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood Camp in Ketchikan, the Tongass not only attempted to maintain a separate identity from the Cape Fox people in Saxman, but were interested in maintaining their own identity within the

Ketchikan camp. Drucker notes that the Ketchikan camp was one of the weaker camps in the early days because, as one of his informants stated, "if we could only have three camps here in Ketchikan, one for Tlingit, one for Tsimshian, and one for Haida, we'd get along fine" (Drucker 1958:75). While many scholars credit the political lobbying of the Alaska Native Sisterhood and Brotherhood with creating an awareness about civil rights and land issues, which ultimately has resulted in a great deal of federal legislation, the ANB and ANS could not act quickly enough to combat a majority of land encroachments in Ketchikan.

In Ketchikan the encroachment of non-Natives on Native land had become such a problem by 1915 that the Department of the Interior sent a Special Agent by the name of Moore to investigate the matter. In Moore's report, he specifically stated "unless action in the matter of compelling the removal of the encroachments, or a survey is made of the reservation at an early date, it will readily be seen that the case will gradually assume larger and more serious complications". The loss of land and property for the Tongass was staggering. As previously mentioned, in 1905 46 out of 50 lots in the reservation area or "Indian town" were native owned, but by 1915 only 13 lots were still owned by natives. Within the next couple of years, many of the Tongass were forced off their properties.

While politics were improving on a regional level, in Ketchikan the Tongass were still faced with complex legal battles over property titles. Certain city officials felt the

city needed more land in order to develop so they began examining ways of acquiring more tax dollars and land. On August 16, 1916, the City Council for Ketchikan approved a resolution to tax residents for improvements for the Ketchikan schools. On December 13, 1916, the City of Ketchikan passed another resolution to tax its resident property owners for a street improvement project. Many of the residents of Ketchikan did not pay these taxes. Furthermore, it was not clear whether or not Natives living on reservation land, who were not considered citizens owed taxes.

Finally in 1917 the United States took the Ketchikan Power Company to court after repeated encroachment upon reservation tidelands. The case of the United States versus Ketchikan Power Company was heard in Ketchikan in May 1917. A restraining order was placed upon any further encroachment upon reservation lands, but the order allowed the Ketchikan Power Company to occupy the land already in its possession.

In November, a restraining order was issued by the court against further encroachment upon the reserved lands, but which permitted them to occupy the land in their possession. The decree was continued indefinitely, permitting either party to take up the matter in the future on 30 days notice. This was a compromise agreement arranged between the defendants and representatives of the General Land Office in Juneau, with the consent of the U.S. Attorney in Alaska included a justification for the compromise, stating in part, "to carry out the full purposes of the bill that was field in this case and have all the structures absolutely removed, destroy a lot of very valuable property, and, as we believe, would accomplish no good purpose and would so far be attempting to institute a policy which seems to never to have been invoked in Alaska, that is, removing all obstructions from all tidelands" (Smiser 1917).

The First Assistant Secretary submitted a letter of approval of the decree to the Attorney

General on March 20, 1918, and Judge Jennings issued the restraining order on May 4, 1918.

In enforcing and deterring trespass and encroachment on the native tidelands in the Ketchikan area, the federal government was negligent. The General Land Office legitimated its no-action policy by stating it did not want to destroy valuable property. Another possible motivation for the federal government's lackadaisical enforcement was that the mill maintained political favor with the government for military and strategic defense purposes. The saw mill may have maintained the favor of the government because it was a potentially vital source of airplane-quality spruce, a factor that can not be taken lightly in 1917, at the height of World War I. In the pages to come, we will see how Southeast Alaska became an integral part of the World War II Spruce Logging Program, a program developed in the early 1940s to maintain a supply of aircraft quality spruce timber for the war effort.

On February 6, 1918, the Council passed another resolution to take action against delinquent taxes. The city then ran an advertisement in the *Daily Progressive Miner* which served as a "Notice of Delinquent Taxes in the City of Ketchikan". After the public notice, the city filed papers as plaintiffs against the "owners of Real Property within the City of Ketchikan upon which the taxes for the years 1916 & 1917, and the Street Improvement Assessments for years 1916 & 1917 are unpaid", with the United States District Court of the Territory of Alaska, Division number 1, at Ketchikan. The

document filed with the District Court ordered that if taxes and interest on delinquent taxes were not paid in full, the several lots and tracts of land in delinquency “be sold by the City Clerk of the City of Ketchikan in the manner provided by law to satisfy and discharge such liens”.

The seizure of Tongass land by the city for delinquency of taxes was legally inappropriate. Some of the lands and tidal areas seized were designated by the federal government as reservation or Indian lands and, therefore, should not be subject to municipal tax. Another problem was the Tongass were not considered citizens and legal title to land was still in question. Another legal question is how could the city tax the Tongass, who were not citizens and did not have legal titles to some of these lands. Furthermore, some of the taxes that were assessed were for improvements for the Ketchikan schools. Tongass children were still segregated from the Ketchikan schools and would not be allowed to attend “white schools” for another 11 years.

Economically and socially there are a few other questions about the retroactive seizure of lands by the City of Ketchikan. Economically, many of these people were seasonal laborers and the timing of the city could not have come at a worse time. The legal action was filed in April was just before the summer incomes would begin. The other economic hardship was that the city was asking for a lump sum of taxes, with no payment plan. Many people during this period were working as seasonal laborers or fishers, and it was probably almost impossible for these people to pay a lump sum of back

taxes. Socially, there is another question regarding the action taken by the City. The City notified the delinquent property owners via the newspaper. Some of the Tongass may not have read or understood English or been in the practice of buying and reading the local newspaper, thus calling into question the effectiveness of the notification by the city.

With the loss of Indian land and industrial development spreading to all the remote areas of the world, many Americans believed that the Alaskan Natives were either going to die out or become assimilated with the dominate American culture. As a result of this belief, the anthropologists of this period were engaged in what has become labeled salvage anthropology. These anthropologists were attempting to record as much about various Alaskan Native cultures and languages as possible. In 1922, Thomas T.

Waterman did fieldwork in southern Southeastern Alaska. Waterman's research involved recording Tlingit geographical place names. After Waterman interviewed a few Cape Fox and Tongass elders, he recorded over nine hundred place names in the Tlingit language. These place names were as diverse as they were numerous. The wealth of place names speaks to the knowledge and understanding the Tongass had of their territory. This study also created an interesting new twist on the transmission of knowledge for the Tongass. Typically, the transmission of knowledge occurred between a couple of generations, one elder communicating with two or three generations. The written record of these place names, however, provided a document that enabled one particular elder to speak directly to a indefinite number of generations. As a result the

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Waterman place names study has become a permanent aspect of Tongass discourse.

Beginning the same year in which Waterman was conducting his fieldwork, the Kian family of the Tongass began taking legal action regarding trespass on family lands. Jennie Lynch, a niece of Chief Kian, hired James Wickersham to be her legal representative in court. Lynch was challenging her eviction from her home (lot 3, block 18). Her eviction came after the death of her uncle in 1922. For the next two years, Lynch would be involved in a complex legal case over ownership of the Kian property.

The battle over the tidelands did not ease or subside. The following year (1923), the Ketchikan Power Company and Ketchikan Spruce Company were cited for contempt of the court order after a lot owner, who lived near the mouth of Ketchikan Creek, had complained of the companies' encroachment upon the tidelands. William Paul, a Tlingit attorney, wrote a document for the Tongass people requesting compensation, moving expenses, and assistance to "build homes, lay out streets, build docks, and to start an industry". Secretary Work, of the Department of the Interior, denied the Tongass request for compensation. Paul countered with an alternative proposal for permission to build structures on the tideland reserve around Ketchikan. Paul's written request was also denied by the Secretary of Interior.

Citizenship, 1924

The year following Paul's request to the Secretary of Interior and only twelve years after the formal organization of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, Alaskan Natives

were able to become citizens. Citizenship was essential to the Tlingits' and Tongass' being able to file legitimate legal titles to their land. By this time, however, a great deal of the playing field, so to speak, had already been lost. Land and resource rights had been taken and infringed upon. Before 1924, the Tlingit people had to rely on friendships with non-Native citizens to file title to land or file claims to resources, such as mining claims and fishing sites (for fish weirs and fish traps). In 1925 Secretary Work wrote about matters concerning the tidelands and stated:

As to the order of withdrawal of August 5, 1905, it might be well to note that this department on June 29, 1915 (44 L. D., 441), held that said order was invalid because the Department has no jurisdiction over Tide lands. Notwithstanding this decision the order has not been revoked. The court in its decision of July 11, 1924, did not pass upon the validity of this withdrawal (Work 1925).

Secretary of Interior Work also made a statement regarding the ownership of the Kian property. After a series of court cases in which Wickersham represented Lynch on the Kian property eviction, finally a letter was directed to Secretary of Interior Work, on April 14, 1925, stating Lynch's ownership of her uncle's property.

After the ANB and ANS settled the citizenship issue they began working on land and resource issues. The ANB and ANS were determined to establish a large scale land settlement for the Tlingit and Haidas. As was apparent from the Jenny Lynch case and the time and expenses involved in one case it was essential that the ANS and ANB lobby for a wholesale solution to land disputes.

As the depression was beginning throughout the nation and the decade was

coming to a close, the ANB and ANS passed a bold resolution. The ANS and ANB had lobbied successfully for citizenship and turned their lobbying efforts and work towards land claims issues. In 1929 the ANB and ANS passed a resolution to begin forming a special council to work on land claim issues. It would be a few more decades before congressional hearings would begin and legislative action take place.

During the 1920s the Tlingits made many educational, economic, and political reforms. This chapter closes with the case in Ketchikan, in 1929, when a Tlingit woman, Nettie Jones, with the legal assistance of William Paul, challenged the school district's attempt to expel and keep her child out of the "white" schools. The Ketchikan schools contended that Native children could go to Native schools and that there was a problem with too many students in the schools. An investigation found that there were plenty of desks open at the Ketchikan school, and that overcrowding was not the issue. The ruling was that Native children could attend the schools of their choice (Drucker 1958:50). This court decision opened many new opportunities and possibilities for all the natives of Southeast Alaska.

Chapter Conclusion

Over approximately a forty-year period, between 1893 to 1929, the Tongass and all Alaskan Natives won the right to be citizens but struggled over land ownership issues. While there were clearly overt attempts to take away land from the Tongass, a great deal of land was acquired as a result of two cultures coming into contact and having very

different definitions of what constitutes land, resources, and ownership. The Tongass lost land because they were not citizens and could not file legal titles to land. They also lost land to non-Natives making mining claims in the area. The Tongass lost many parcels of land in the downtown Ketchikan area after the city confiscated land from property owners who were supposedly in default of city taxes. The Kian property and pole took on a new symbolic meaning in the discourse for the Tongass during this period. The Lynch case was an epitomizing event that represented the attempt to maintain clan property (pole and land) in the face of increasing privatization.

Chapter 8

A SHIFT TO SECULAR FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (1930-1959)

In territorial politics, there was a gradual shift from the influence of mission politics to a secular federal administration during the 1920s. In the period to follow a majority of Tongass people still derived most of their food from the land and sea and worked part-time as seasonal wage laborers or fisher people. This time period goes back to some of the early memories and childhoods of the Tongass elders I have become acquainted with. Many of the Tongass elders have similar stories about how their families went to fishing and hunting camps all over the Tongass territories. The Tongass elders have spoken about the many changes and new obstacles that inhibited subsistence activities. During this period there were many challenges about education, land, and resource rights.

Until 1931 the administrative responsibilities for Alaskan Native Education were under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Education. Much of the early funding for the Bureau of Education schools in the Alaskan territory came from church funding. The

shift in administrative departments overseeing education also gradually brought about changes in philosophies toward education.

In a response to the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood's efforts, Congress passed an act allowing special jurisdiction for Tlingits and Haidas to file suit for land claims in 1935. A year after Congress enabled the Tlingits and Haidas to file suit, Congress amended the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The Act was amended "to take into account the unique needs of Alaska Natives" (Case 1984:10). Alaska undoubtedly received special legislation because it was still a territory and most Alaskan Natives did not reside on reservations. Case states:

Because there were relatively few Alaskan reservations and because Alaskan Natives were perceived as being organized as villages rather than as "tribes" or "bands", the amendments also permitted them to organize under federal constitutions and business charters if they had "a common bond of occupation, or association, or residence within a well-defined neighborhood, community, or rural district" (ibid).

The separate legislation for Alaskan Natives not only created a unique relationship with the federal government but began to firmly establish the new government discourse about Tlingits being organized in villages rather than as tribes or bands.

George Johnson's Last Will

While the government discourse was shifting many Tlingit leaders attempted to assert Tlingit discourse and definitions of property. In January of 1938 George Johnson, an entrusted caretaker and leader of Tongass Ganax.adi clan property, documented his intent to maintain the clan property as such. George Johnson was not a chief of the

Ganax.adi clan, and other clan members emphasize the pole, property (land), house, and regalia in the house were the *at.oow* of the Ganax.adi and not individual property. On January 29th, "Chief" George Johnson (Tlingit name Cut Wain) made out a last will and testament stating "all personal effects which are to be found in my house and on my property and Totem Pole in front of my house in care of Reverend Paul J. Mather and George Keegan and W. M. McCall... All my property will be known as Chief Johnson property Ketchikan forever". The will was signed and witnessed by Stanley Jackson, Thadei, and Cyril J. Zuboff. No note is made as to whether there was any attempt to negotiate some of these matters in Tlingit. From a perspective of Tlingit law, the Kadjuk House and Kadjuk Pole were clan and house property of the Kadjuk House, of the Ganax.adi clan, of the Taantakwaan. It appears from reading the document that George Johnson was trying to establish clan and house property.

Both the Kyan property and Johnson property cases illustrate the complexity of problems for the Tongass people who were confronted with a complex dialogue between two very different conceptions of land, property, and ownership. The Tlingit system of property known as *at.oow* (already discussed at length) emphasizes ownership on the clan house level. The American ideas of property ownership differed from this Tlingit conception. Non-natives in Ketchikan emphasized individual ownership of land and tried to encourage the Tongass to deed their land as such. While many Tongass people, such as Jennie Lynch and George Johnson, attempted to maintain lineage ownership of their

properties, many non-Tongass were trying to transform these properties into lands with individual ownership. In both the Kian and the Johnson cases, the issue was not only over land, but also ownership over totem poles, *kooteeya*. In the 1930s, carving of clan crests, property, and poles would take on a new significance in both Tlingit and non-Tlingit culture (see Figure 15 - Photo, “Chief Johnson House”).

By the 1930s, many Tongass were involved in subsistence as well as working as fishers or seasonal wage laborers in the fishing industry and other industries. Tongass elder Esther Shea, as she was growing up, participated in this way of life. Her father was a commercial fisher and fished out of the Boca De Quadra area. Boca De Quadra was traditionally recognized as Kik’s.adi (Raven, Frog) territory. Many of the commercial Tlingit fishermen I have talked to used to fish only in their traditional areas. The family lived at Boca De Quadra during the summer, and when the commercial fishing season was over, they would head back to Ketchikan and get prepared to go to the Chickamin River area.

The Chickamin River area was a territory of the Teikweidi, Taantakwaan that was the clan area of Esther and her mother Alice Harris. The amount of time they spent each year at the Chickamin area varied, depending on how well the different activities went. Esther regularly went there in the fall. Her brothers and other clan members also went to the Chickamin River to catch oolichan fish in the spring. Her sons still go there most every spring to get oolichans.



Figure 15 - Photo, "Chief Johnson House", Gadjuk House, Ketchikan, Alaska
(Courtesy of THS)

Chickamin River Fish Camp

The Chickamin is an area that has been used a great deal by the Taantakwaan. Elder Esther Shea recorded some of these recollections about what she remembers of the days when she used to go to the Chickamin River. Many Tongass and Tlingit fisher people fished both commercially and for family consumption, the fall season became an important time of year for Tlingit fishers. They not only preserved fish but also hunted for meat for household consumption, for potlatches, and for trading. I have chosen to cite a short narrative told by Tongass elder, Esther Shea about a trip to a subsistence camp on the Chickamin. The following are excerpts about Shea's family's trips to fall camp:

After the fishing season was over in the summer, my father got his seine ready for a trip up the Chickamin River to our camp. Everyone in the family had to help. My six brothers packed our camping outfits and household; big cast iron pots, fry pans, enamelware, big crock containers, and jars. My brothers packed huge traps for bears and smaller traps for beaver, marten, and mink.

The trip started from Saxman and went through beautiful Behm Canal. We saw what is known now as the Misty Fjords. We saw waterfalls coming from the mountainsides into the canal. It took us nine to ten hours to get to the river. We had to catch a big tide to go up the river, otherwise the boat would go dry on the sandbars.

As well as getting fish and game the fall time involved putting up all kinds of food including fruits and berries that were preserved for winter consumption. Furs and skins were also prepared. Many of the skins were probably sold or traded, which brought a source of cash income. During this period there was a division of labor for the extended Tlingit family. Each individual had specific tasks to do. Shea discusses how the whole

family participated in various activities.

We picked wild crab apples by the bucket fulls. My brother, Louie, would tie the branches down for us so it would be easy for us to pick. These my mother put up for winter use. She steamed some crab apples which were put down in ooligan grease. She made apple butter and preserves. We also picked blue currants and that was made into Indian jam.

My father and brothers would go up the mountain near the glacier for goats. The goats were brought down in canoes. The meat was salted, smoked, and canned. The trapped black bear and the meat was smoked. The fat rendered out for use. My brothers trapped and brought home beaver, marten, and mink. Their skins were dried on forms.

We all had chores to do. My chore was to pack wood for the fireplace everyday. We packed water for about half a mile from our house by buckets from a cold spring.

Fall was a busy time for all of us. Sometimes we missed part of the school year in Saxman. We came back from camp when all the food was put up and all the skins were dried (Shea n.d.).

Even school-age children assisted in the family activities. Most of the elders who grew up during this period state they learned many things about Tlingit culture at these subsistence camps. Eventually, when Shea grew older, she went to the boarding school at Sitka. Many of the Tongass were sent to the Sheldon Jackson boarding school in Sitka. Many attended Sheldon Jackson because it was believed to be the best Native school in the region. Many parents encouraged their children to go to Sheldon Jackson School to get the best possible education. At Sheldon Jackson they studied reading, writing, and arithmetic. In addition to the basic curriculum the boarding schools emphasized classes in industrial arts for the males and home economics for the females. The school policy

strongly discouraged Tlingit students from speaking their native language. Students who spoke any Tlingit were punished. This policy had a significant impact on the transmission of knowledge about the Tlingit language.

Just as Tlingit youths of this period were told to stop using their language, they were also encouraged by non-Natives to forget about their clan identities and crests. This repression of clan identities had a significant impact on breaking marriage rules of moiety exogamy. Most missionaries and school administrators were no doubt trying to eliminate the clan and moiety organization because they misunderstood the clan and moiety system and the crests representing each group as form of idolatry. Furthermore, church officials believed the clan system perpetuated long-standing feuds and rivalries. Many of the non-Native administrators failed to see how Tlingit social organization reinforced social responsibilities and reciprocity among clans, communities, and the opposite moiety.

Tongass Participate in Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

One program that created new dialogues between cultures in which the Tongass had to assert and contest their history and discourse was the totem pole resortation projects associated with the Civilian Conservation Corps. in Alaska. While President Roosevelt extended the Civilian Conservation Corps program to Native Americans by April 1933, the CCC program in the Ketchikan area on totem poles did not begin until 1938 (Garfield 1961:v). The CCC program employed several native carvers to make



Figure 16 - Photo, CCC Carvers, Carving Facility, Saxman
(Courtesy of THS)



Figure 17 - Photo - Henry Denny Sr., Teikweidi, CCC Carver
(Courtesy of THS)



Figure 18 - Photo - Charlie Brown and William Brown, Saxman Totem Park
(Courtesy of THS)



Figure 19 Photo - Kinninook Pole, "Seattle Pole" CCC Reproduction, Saxman
(Courtesy of THS)



Figure 20 - Photo - Tongass Pole Ready to Be Sent to Seattle
(Courtesy of THS)

reproductions of poles that were laying at rest at the historic villages of Tongass Island, Village Island, and Cape Fox Village.

During this era, there were many factors challenging Tongass Tlingit culture, in the late 1930s Alaskan Natives were hired through the Civilian Conservation Corp to carve replicas of numerous historic Tlingit and Haida poles. In the following citation, we see the beginning of a whole new era of tourism for Southeast Alaska, one based on visitors coming to see Alaskan Native culture.

For many years the United States Forest Service recognized the necessity of collecting and restoring the totem poles to be found throughout southeastern Alaska if any evidence of this unique art was to be preserved... Since most of these totem poles were in deserted native villages inaccessible to regular steamer routes, the Forest Service desired to locate them more centrally where visitors to Alaska might enjoy these carved memorials (Garfield 1961:v).

Two large totem pole parks were established to display the poles. One park was located in Saxman and the other approximately 12 miles north of downtown Ketchikan. This other park is located near an old “Mud Bight”, and was called “Totem Bight Park”.

There were several Tongass tribe members who actively participated in several Civilian Conservation Corps projects during the 1930s and 1940s. Many of the Tongass men worked as carvers, carving several poles that were raised in Saxman and at “Totem Bight Park (12 miles north of Ketchikan). Many of the poles were reproductions of poles that were originally from the Tongass villages on Village Island or Tongass Island. The CCC projects not only created jobs in the Native community, but also gave an enormous

boost to the tourism industry. As a result of the CCC projects the Ketchikan area has more "totem poles" per capita than any other place in the world.

Even though the CCC projects provided jobs and promoted the transmission of knowledge, some elders believed that the mission of the project challenged Tlingit views. Before the project of retrieving and carving reproductions of the Tongass poles began there was a dialogue between the Forest Service and the tribe about permission, ownership, and cooperation. Garfield wrote this about the project "gaining permission to move the poles was the first task-and a difficult one, because ownership was vested in lineages, not individuals. The excellent cooperation of the natives soon overcame this obstacle" (Garfield 1961:v). While most Tlingits eventually supported the project, there were many who questioned whether or not moving and preserving the poles was the appropriate action because according to Tlingit tradition, the poles should just naturally go back to the earth.

While the CCC work on the poles in Ketchikan and Saxman created jobs and assisted in perpetuating different aspects in Tlingit culture, it also fostered a whole new industry of Native Northwest Coast art and sculpture. In the years following the CCC projects. Some of the Tongass carvers continued to get commissions to carve poles and regalia. This period also marked the beginning of an important transformation in non-Native habits in acquiring Native Northwest Coast art. Museums and individual art collectors began commissioning contemporary artists to carve new objects, rather than

pillaging old villages and graves for Tlingit art.

The perpetuation of Tongass and Tlingit art or *at.ow* has had a major impact in promoting and perpetuating Tongass Tlingit culture. Specifically, certain histories and poles were maintained in the forefront of cultural memory, such as the “Proud Raven Pole” (“First White Men”), the “Seward Pole”, and the Kinninook Pole or “Seattle Pole”. In 1938, when the CCC project was beginning in Ketchikan and Saxman, the Tongass Kinninook pole in Seattle was badly burned. The remains of the pole were sent to Saxman where Tongass Carver Charlie Brown (head carver) led the carving of a reproduction of the pole to send to Seattle. Other carvers who participated were Tongass and Cape Fox carvers, James Starfish, Robert Harris, William Andrews, and James Andrews (Garfield 1980). Eventually a reproduction of the old pole was finished. The reproduction was then loaded onto a barge and shipped to Seattle. The reproduction now stands in Pioneer Square in Seattle. As well as the carving that was being done, there many Tongass people being interviewed about the histories and significance of their poles. Many interviews were conducted by anthropologist Viola Garfield. Other interviews were conducted by Forest Service area supervisor Linn Forrest. The story of the Flood (Chapter 3) was recorded by Linn Forrest from Charlie Brown. Garfield interviewed Mrs. Marsden and others about the Seattle pole. These interviews not only provide a permanent record about the stories and histories of the Tongass, but speak to their knowledge and their ability to pass on these stories from generation to generation.

The philosophy of the CCC pole restoration project was a radical departure from the assimilationists policies of the missionaries. The CCC projects helped promote the training of a whole new generation of artists and carvers in the technical and aesthetic aspects of Tlingit three- dimensional art. The project also taught a whole new generation of Tlingit people the histories and narratives behind these poles. In many cases the replication of the poles, helped perpetuate and rededicate the histories and narratives represented by the poles. The CCC projects also popularized and developed a new level of appreciation of Tlingit art by non-natives. Unfortunately during this period many other aspects of Tlingit culture did not obtain the same level of appreciation by non-natives.

Tlingit and Haida Land Claims

During the period from the 1930s until the late 1960s, the Tongass tribe and its members played a significant role in the Tlingit and Haida land claims with the United States government. William Paul, Sr. and his sons, William Paul, Jr. and Federick Paul, who were Taantak_waan yatx'i ("yatx'i is a term used to refer to someone who is a child of the Taantak_waan or social group through the father's side) were involved in much of the early legal work for the Tlingit and Haida land claims and resource legislation. The leaders of the Tongass tribe who were involved in the Tlingit and Haida land claims were as follows: William Kininook, George Kyan, Willie Brown, Fred Wallace, George Keagan Williams, Joe Starr, Peter Kyan, Mrs. Peter McKay, Andy Moses, Mary Johnson,

Peter John, Joe John, Mrs. Joe John, Herbert Burton, Martha Ridley.

A series of meetings were held on January 2, 1940, and February 6, 1940, by Tongass tribe members for the purpose of discussing the Tlingit and Haida land claims. Tongass tribe leader and member George Keegan from Ketchikan wrote some rather terse words to William Paul on February 9, 1940. In the letter, Keegan expressed concern for the "Simpsonian" people and what compensation they might get in the land claims. William Paul responded to George Keegan with a letter of explanation on March 4, 1940. A special meeting was held on February 26th, 1941, at the Salvation Army Hall in Ketchikan for the purpose of discussing the land claims.

On March 24, 1941, Leonard Allen, the government school principal representing the United States Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs Field Service, wrote a letter to William Paul informing him that "Peter Kyan, alternate committeeman, and member of the Tongass Tribe, will represent his group at the convention".⁴² In 1941, a special council was formed to deal specifically with land issues. The council was called the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Alaska (CCTHTA). This Council would meet and negotiate with Congress for years before they resolved many issues about land claims.

⁴² UWA. William Paul Papers, Box 5.

Fishing and the Alaska Spruce Logging Program During the War

As the United States entered World War II, the Tlingit and Haida land claims with the federal government slowed down. During World War II, the Tlingit and Haida contributed to the war effort by serving overseas and helping at home in Southeast Alaska. The Tlingits participation in the fishing, timber, and shipping industries made significant contributions to the war effort. The World War II period marked a period of intense economic activity for Alaska. The fishing industry was very busy during the war and then after the war suffered a decline from which it did not rebound until the 1970s. The spruce logging program really began development in the timber industry and marked the decline of the commercial fishing industry.

The fishing industry in Southeastern Alaska reached a major peak in production during World War II that only recently has been surpassed. The harvest and production of canned salmon provided meat for military c-ration meals. While fish traps were operated during the war, some of the Tongass people owned purse seiners and fished for the Ketchikan fleet during the war. Many of the women and young people worked in the canneries. At the end of the war, Franklin Roosevelt even made a fishing trip to the Ketchikan area. The Ketchikan Daily News ran an article about how the President got some fishing tips from the Samuel family of the Tongass tribe.

While canned salmon helped feed soldiers on the front and civilians at home, the timber industry supplied Sitka spruce for the construction of some military aircraft. A

program called the Alaska Spruce Logging Program created many new jobs for Tlingits. The Alaska Spruce Logging Program was a federal project initiated in 1942 to insure that the United States had an adequate supply of aircraft quality spruce lumber. At least a few important types of military planes contained spruce frames. During World War I, the readily accessible aircraft-quality spruce had been logged out of Washington and British Columbia. Therefore, the United States looked to Alaska to find aircraft-quality spruce timber during World War II. Because there were few roads, logs were cut near the shoreline and transported via the waterways. Southeast Alaska also had the geographical advantage of being located along the "inside passage" waterway, providing a convenient shipping lane to the Seattle area and the Boeing airplane factory.

As the war was drawing to a close, Commissioner John Collier, Commissioner's Office of Indian Affairs of the United States Department of Interior, wrote an official letter to William Paul and a representative of the Tongass tribe, George Kyan, concerning federal hearings regarding land claims issues on August 2, 1944. This letter acknowledged receipt of four petitions on behalf of four different native groups. One petition being acknowledged was written on behalf of George Kyan, a Tongass tribe leader. The document reads as follows "George Kyan, for and on behalf of himself and members of the Tribes of the Ketchikan (Tongas) Tlingit Alaska Indian Geographical Division".⁴³ These documents asserted the Tongass land claims and requested hearings to

⁴³ UWA. William Paul Papers, Box 5.

hear elders' and leaders' testimonies. Over the next several years, the federal government would hold hearings in several communities regarding land claims.

After World War II, the federal government looked at the success of the timber industry and the declining catches in commercial fishing. It was during this period that the federal government negotiated and established long-term contracts with some timber companies. The long-term contracts made available and sold large quantities of timber on the Tongass National Forest to timber and pulp companies. The motivation of the federal government to sign these contracts was to promote jobs and economic development for Southeast Alaska after the war. Another motivation was a trend in the Forest Service to realize a profit from the timber on federal lands. The long-term (50-year) contracts were negotiated with a few companies to operate pulp mills in several Southeastern Alaskan towns. During this period, there was concern from the Native community that millions of dollars of timber was being harvested from their ancestral lands and traditional use areas. These were lands for which the Tongass and other Tlingits and Haidas were still filing claims with the federal government.

In 1947, the Tongass and other Tlingits and Haida were beginning to rally some political support from the general populace about their land and resource claims. On July 24, 1947, a Seattle newspaper ran an editorial about the politics of pulp in Southeast Alaska.

When the pulp mills began to show an interest in the hemlock of the Tongass National Forest, they refused to enter into a contract to build a

pulp mill and to purchase the timber from the U. S. Forest Service without clear title to the trees. So, in 1947, the U.S. Congress passed the Tongass Timber Act with the help of Governor Ernest Gruening, Regional Forester, B. Frank Hienzelman and delegate to Congress, Bob Bartlett. That law said that the Forest Service could sell the timber of the Tongass National Forest and the proceeds of such sale would decide whether the Indians or the U.S. owned the money thereby garnered. Next year has yet to come. Thus, the expropriation of the entire Southeastern Alaska from the Indians was totally fulfilled.

The writer of the newspaper article, Harold L. Ickes, was in someway familiar with the Tongass tradition of erecting shame poles.

The article continues by suggesting that the Tongass erect another shame pole for the Secretary of Agriculture. The rest of the article was entitled "Beating the Indians to Pulp".

Washington-Secretary of Agriculture Anderson is in a fair way to having a totem pole erected to him by the Indians of Southwest [Southeast?] Alaska. However, he probably will not like it. It is the custom of the Indians in those parts, when a man takes something that does not belong to him, to cut down a big tree, make a totem pole of it, and dedicate it to the person who committed the act. They regard such a totem pole as "strong medicine" and it is suppose to cause one or two results-either the return of the property, or the early demise of the person whom the dedication has been made.

This is an old custom of the Alaska Indians, probably even older than the American custom of possessing one's self of Indian property when he sees anything he wants. The idea of erecting a totem pole to Anderson is due to the fact that the Department of Agriculture, through the Forest Service, is trying to grab some timber lands belonging to the Indians. It has caused to be introduced in the Senate an innocuous sounding resolution, S.J. 118, which has already passed the House as the result of a trick that reflects no credit upon its perpetrator, Congressman Hope.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ UWA. Viola Garfield Papers, Accession number 2027-72-25, Box 1, Hearings on Land Claims .

The article goes on to say that the resolution is intended to permit the Forest Service to sell timber from the Tongass National Forest. He notes that the “ownership rights to great stretches of this forest” belong to the Tlingits and Haidas and were confirmed by hearings the Department of Interior had begun in 1945. The Tongass and other Alaskan Native groups decided instead of erecting shame poles to continue to pursue land and resource claims through legal and political methods. This article reflects a changing level of consciousness among non-natives in the discourse about land claims. The Tlingit claims were beginning to be recognized by the general populace.

Fish Traps

At the same time new long-term (fifty year) contracts were being forged between the federal government and timber and pulp companies to promote economic development, many of the Tongass people were struggling for rights to some of the major creeks and streams in southern Southeastern Alaska. The Tongass were interested in maintaining fish traps along Revillagegido Island and the surrounding mainland. After the large harvests during the war, however, the salmon runs began to decline dramatically. Many blamed the fish traps; others believed that strict management and restriction were essential to supporting sustainable runs. The most devastating traps were owned by large canning companies (Crutchfield and Pontecorvo 1968).

Maintaining their own fish traps was an issue that the Tongass people fought for until the abolishment of fish traps in the late 1950s. In March of 1947, the "Indians of the

Tongas (Ketchikan), Alaska" filed a petition to the United States Department of Interior regarding "matters of Ancestral Rights", for erecting fish traps at their ancestral locations. The document specifically states the "Tlingit Indians of the Tongas" submitted the petition. A portion of the petition reads as follows:

The Indians of Tongas (Ketchikan), Alaska, acting by and through their chairman there unto duly authorized by the council do hereby state that:

1. Said Indians as a community have, from time immemorial, used and occupied the following lands and waters within the Territory of Alaska, the extent of which lands and the character of which uses your petitioners are prepared to show upon hearing duly called, and are substantial.
2. The said Indians have never, sold, ceded, relinquished or abandoned any of said lands and waters.
3. The said Indians have ever protested against all forms of trespassing upon the said lands and waters.
4. The said Indians assert a present claim to the exclusive use and occupancy of the said lands and waters.

Wherefore your petitioners pray pursuant to Section 201.21b of Regulations for Protection of the Commercial Fisheries of Alaska, 1945, promulgated by the Department of the Interior, that a hearing be held at a time and place with respect to the validity of such claim.⁴⁵

The above petition outlined many of the geographic areas of concern in which the Tribe wanted to erect fish traps. Furthermore, this document explicitly states the Tongass did

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UWA. William Paul Papers, Box 5, Notebook 80 "Ketchikan Ancestral Fishing", A Letter to the Department of Interior.

not relinquish or abandon their lands or waters. The Tongass continued to petition to the Department of Interior for their use of fish traps and declare their “exclusive use and occupancy of the said land and water” until traps were illegal.

By 1950, the Tongass had lost most of the clan and communal house properties they had once owned in Ketchikan. The loss was no doubt a result of pressures and challenges to privatize clan property. As I have discussed earlier, the desire to leave clan house properties as such (e.g., Kian and Johnson properties) was resisted by the non-Tlingit legal system. Some Tlingit communities were able to maintain communal properties, but these properties were usually properties established for churches or for community halls for the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood.

In 1950, the Tongass petitioned the Forest Service for land adjacent to the tidal flats of Ketchikan where they could erect a community hall. As a response to the Tongass request from their attorney, William Paul, they received a document from Don Foster, the area supervisor for the Forest Service. The reply, dated August 3, 1950, mentions the on-going 50-year-old legal battle over the tidelands still had not been resolved.

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of July 26 relative to the efforts of the Indians of Ketchikan to construct a community hall on the tide flats fronting their possessions. You suggest that we withdraw our letter of June 13 and come to the opinion that the Indians of Alaska have valid possessory claims.

Under date of June 10, 1946, the Secretary of the Interior approved rules of practice for hearings upon possessory claims to lands and waters used

and occupied by the Natives of Alaska. If the Natives of Ketchikan have used and occupied these tide flats for many years, it is our suggestion that they file a petition for a hearing to determine such claims. As you already know, the Natives may file a petition for a hearing to determine their possessory claims with the Secretary of the Interior on or before December 31, 1950. These claims must be based upon continuous use and occupancy by the Natives since time immemorial, or May 17, 1884, or June 6, 1900, unless they have been forced to stop using any particular area due to the land clearing being taken over by non-Natives.⁴⁶

The letter did not resolve any issues but acknowledged the Tongass claim to the tidal flats and petition for a location for a community hall along the tide flats. Foster not having jurisdiction or authority to act on the matter, he defers the issue to a hearing.

While the Tongass were working on finding a location for a community hall, Ronald Olson used Tongass elder Alice Harris (Kats Hit, Teikweidi, Taantakwaan) as a primary informant for some of his research. In 1954, Olson was doing anthropological research in Ketchikan and interviewed Alice Harris on at least three occasions. In her interview, she talked about the history of Ketchikan. Olson recorded that the Neix.adi owned the area, but “Kuyek” of the Neix.adi gave it to chief Yacnuc of the Ganax.adi clan of the Taantakwaan. Her translation of Ketchikan was “Kitci kan” (Olson 1954). Kitci refers to “when salmon belly ride up and pile on shore” and kan refers “where the sun hits” (Olson 1954). In the Tlingit way, her testimony about Ketchikan being owned by the Ganax.adi is especially interesting and gives the claim legitimacy because she is

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UWA. William Paul Papers, Box 5 Notebook 80 “Ketchikan Ancestral Fishing”, A Letter to the Department of Interior.

speaking on behalf of her opposites, the “Ravens” about their ownership of this area.

According to Olson’s notes Alice Harris was born at Port Simpson when her mother was taken to a doctor to give birth. Harris was one of the Tongass members who had grown up in “Port Tongass”. She discussed the Kats narrative and how the Teikweidi received the brown bear as one of their crests. Olson recorded how the Ganax.adi of the Taantakwaan sought refuge on two mountains behind George Inlet on “Guctaxlik”, meaning in Tlingit to “touch the sky”. In her interview she also said that after the flood they moved to Prince of Wales Island. As I read through Olson’s notes, I was amazed by the detail and by how closely her versions of the clan histories matched the accounts told by Peter McKay (Taantakwaan) to Waterman in 1922. In the decades to follow Alice passed on much of her knowledge to her children and grandchildren.

Chapter Conclusion

From 1930 to 1950s the Tongass continued to work on land claims. During this period the decline of the commercial fishery and the increase in logging intensified the dialogue over resource rights, allocation, and management. Federal discourse about Alaskan Native group identity shifted from the recognition of tribes and bands to recognition of villages. The CCC projects challenged existing notions about clan property and created new dialogues and innovations in Tlingit culture and art. During this period of renewed interest in Tongass poles and discourse non-Tlingit audiences created revisionist histories about the poles that would be contested by the Tongass in the

decades to follow. The CCC projects and the renewed interest in Tlingit culture by non-Tlingits developed the notion of Tlingit *at.oow* (clan property, poles, regalia) as art work and abstracted the cultural meaning and significance of the symbols behind the Tongass discourse.

Chapter 9

STATEHOOD, LAND CLAIMS, AND RECOGNITION (1959-1979)

After Alaska became a state in 1959, there were many new concerns regarding land and resource claims. For the Tongass there were concerns about how the State of Alaska would deal with land and resource issues. For many non-Natives, the biggest rallying point for statehood was the abolishment of commercial fish traps and interests in increasing economic development. The new state was anxious to lay claim to its land holdings and begin leasing rights to drill for oil and extract other resources. Economic development was one of the campaign promises of the Alaskan politicians. Before the state could begin leasing out rights to lands and resources, they needed to settle the claims with the Alaskan Natives. In Southeast Alaska, land and resource claims had been an issue since 1867 and had been pursued on a regional level by the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood since 1912 and the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida since the 1930s.

Even after statehood, the Tongass continued to interact with the federal government, and the political situation for the Tongass became more complex, with multiple layers of government, bureaucracy, and discourse. To the tribal members, the

federal, state, and local governments have chosen to recognize them in various studies and reports, but in terms of federal acknowledgment and land and resource rights, the government has chosen to ignore them. From the 1960s to the present, Tongass elders took an active role in insuring that dances, ceremonies, stories, and language were not forgotten. The efforts by elders seemed to be more pronounced as the younger generations grew up and became immersed in non-Native culture (e.g., through school, radio, and television). This and the next chapter will discuss numerous ways in which the Tongass people have asserted and contested their identity and discourse.

While in the northern regions of Alaska oil rights were the paramount issue, in the Southeast region, the key controversy was over timber rights. The Tlingits were dealing with the federal government over timber rights because over 80 percent of the region is under the jurisdiction of the federal government and most of the lands are administratively handled by the Forest Service. The Tlingits made appeals and claims for compensation for timber commercially harvested on their traditional lands.

Throughout the 1960s, the Tlingit were very concerned about being compensated for timber harvested on their traditional lands. Politicians and bureaucrats were searching for a way to settle these land claims and resource disputes. Native American activism in the rest of the country created a growing awareness that the state and federal governments would have to settle claims. By the late 1960s, Alaskan Natives united in an effort to deal with land claims.

In 1968 one of the first land settlements for the Tlingit and Haida tribes. A meager \$7.5 million for compensation was awarded for the land the market value for the land near the turn of the century. The Congressional action did not adequately resolve the matter and was just the first in a series of congressional land and resource settlements.

Even after the first land settlement the role of the Central Council for Tlingit and Haida has continued because Congress recognizes them as a “governing body” of the Tlingit and Haida tribes (Case 1984:381). As the federal government became more interested in having local communities administer Alaskan Native programs the Central Council of Tlingit and Haidas lost the administrative control of several federal programs.

However, the Department of the Interior has always considered the Central Council as but one recognized tribe among many in southeast Alaska.... the prior organization of IRA tribal governments in southeast Alaska villages might well limit the governing authority” (Case 1984:381).

By the mid 1990s, the Central Council would lose its tribal recognition “as the U.S. government moved to recognize local rather than central units as tribes” (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:98).

Even as more programs were contracted to local organizations the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida continues to this day to administer some of the large federal programs. Tlingit and Haida and other organizations administers federal Indian programs by way of Public Law 93-638, which enables federally recognized entities to make a competitive bid for and win contracts to provide services for federal Indian programs. The Central Council for Tlingit and Haida has been involved with the following direct

programs: human services, education and training programs, community services and natural resources. One successful program has been the Johnson O' Malley Native education program.

The Johnson O' Malley program is a federally funded program and provides money for the education about Native cultures in the public schools. It was also a program in which the state and federal government recognized the Tongass and Tlingit people in a positive manner. The Johnson O' Malley program has not only done a great deal to teach Alaskan Native students about their culture, but it has also provided education to non-Native students about the Native cultures of Alaska. This program provides important knowledge in the transmission of Tongass and Tlingit culture, and it helps non-Native students understand and appreciate Tlingit culture. The Johnson O' Malley program was a program that began to really make an impact in the 1970s.

Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

The 1960s proved to be a decade in which social and cultural programs began to create a positive awareness about Tongass and Tlingit identity. By the early 1970s, the Alaska Natives were negotiating and writing legislation for land claims settlement. On December 17, 1971, Congress enacted the Alaska Native Claim Settlement Act (ANCSA). ANCSA would dramatically change many aspects of how Alaskan Natives interact in the regional economy. ANCSA on the federal side was masterminded by many individuals attempting to open up economic development in Alaska.

The passage of ANCSA was in one sense the capstone or final chapter in

the struggle of an entire generation of Tlingit and Haida people. But in another sense, it created the struggle of the next generation in terms of implementation and management of the settlement. (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:99)

ANCSA claims to have extinguished all aboriginal treaties and claims by awarding the Alaska Natives \$962.5 million dollars and forty million acres of land (Case 1984; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:99). ANCSA was an attempt by the federal government to incorporate the Alaska Natives into for-profit corporations. Twelve regional corporations were formed and over 200 village corporations were established under the Act. The money and land went to these corporations.

There were many challenges and problems associated with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act for the Tongass and Tlingit. ANCSA would create many new influences on the maintenance of identity, the transmission of knowledge, and discourse. The Act had a major impact on subsistence, land ownership and management, economic development, and education, just to name a few areas. The problem with ANCSA for most of the Tongass people and the community of Ketchikan is that they were excluded from the Act. Ketchikan and five other southeast Alaska communities, including Tenakee Springs, Haines, Wrangell, and Petersburg, were not included in the legislation. This meant that many of the Alaskan Natives in these communities were not enrolled in one of the village corporations or the Sealaska regional corporation as shareholders. The only option for the members of the five excluded communities was to enroll as a member at large. Eventually these communities would organize to resolve these issues of

recognition and land claims.

Another sector of the Native population that was excluded from ANCSA was anyone born after December 18, 1971. Today there is a whole new generation of Tlingit who are not shareholders in these Native corporations. Young people who will be the leaders of tomorrow have been excluded. Many young adults today are not part of these corporations. This I believe will have a major impact on these communities, and no doubt on the transmission of new kinds of knowledge about these native corporations. Many of the issues of who can buy or sell stock in these corporations will be a continuing question.

In addition, there have been many other new challenges regarding land ownership and resource management. One of the interesting issues that has not been discussed a great deal in the scholarly literature and is closely linked to the transmission of knowledge is how ANCSA village corporations manage what I will call disenfranchised lands. For many complex reasons, several village corporations were given land that was not traditionally their own land in Southeast Alaska. These corporate lands are quite some distance from the geographic areas of the traditional kwaan territories. Moreover, these non-traditional lands are sometimes a great distance from the home base of these village corporations and modern communities.

One might question what difference it makes if there is a disenfranchisement of land as long as every corporation received its allotted amount of land. I believe the answer to this question cuts to the heart of much of the criticism the Native corporations

have encountered by environmentalists and conservationists. The environmentalists have often been critical of the Native corporations' resource extraction of certain areas. The problem is that because many of these corporations have been allotted disenfranchised lands, they do not have specific knowledge of these areas. In some cases, the village corporations were given rival group territories. There are many cases in which Tlingit kwaans, clans, and house groups have fought to protect the areas around their own salmon streams and sacred lands. The lack of knowledge of these disenfranchised lands and lack of connectedness to these areas does not help in decisions about land and resource use.

Another challenge with respect to making development decisions for the village corporations is maintaining their own identity throughout the management ranks of the corporations. Many village corporations, especially in the early days of ANCSA, did not have experienced corporate managers. Therefore, many villages were forced to hire people from outside of the community and often from outside the region to manage the corporations. The same was true of many of the consultants and specialists that were hired to work for the corporations. Even though every Native corporation has a board of directors comprised of their own people, the corporate managers, consultants, and specialists have a significant impact on the decision making process. Thus, people who did not always share the same vested interest in the land and resources were advising the boards on what they thought were the best decisions for the short-term profitability of the

corporation rather than what represented the best interests of the corporation in the long run.

It is important to examine at this point the role of Native corporations as corporations. Some of the problems with outside corporate managers are disappearing as more qualified people from the communities assume corporate management positions. I believe as more and more Native corporations are predominately run by their own people the corporations will have more chance to maintain Tlingit values and incorporate Tlingit ideas. With some Native corporations, we are already beginning to see this. Even with all of this, the one variable that could have a profound influence on these Native corporations is world economic trends or pressures. One of the challenges will be to see how the Native corporations respond to world economic trends and whether or not they will still prioritize local and regional interests.

Despite the influence the world economy can have on these Native corporations, many have given a great deal of money and resources back to the home community. On the one hand, the Native corporations have provided funding for cultural education and supported cultural activities. Many of the Native corporations assist with educational scholarships, cultural classes, and provide funds for dance groups to travel to celebrations and potlatches. In this respect, the Native corporations have played an invaluable role.

On the other hand, the Native corporations present inherent contradictions in the small Alaskan Native communities (Langdon 1986). Langdon writes that the Native village corporations present contradictions in the community because decisions that an

individual or individuals can make regarding their corporation can sometimes be contradictory to what is in the best interests of subsistence. Corporations by nature must produce a profit and usually promote economic development. Subsistence activities are often adversely affected in times of economic development. One of the growing problems is with habitat reduction in Southeast Alaska. Thus the Native village corporations, as Langdon has cited, bring the contradictions to both the community level and the individual level. For example, a member of the board of directors who is also a subsistence hunter or fisher may make a decision on a matter that is in the best interests of the corporation but has a negative impact on his hunting or fishing.

Whether or not ANCSA has been successful, the majority of Tongass people were not included in this process. While Southeast Alaska has been in the midst of great economic development, the Tongass have been excluded from a part of this process because of the omission of the community of Ketchikan. The Tongass people however, have maintained and invented new ways to continue their transmission of knowledge and assert their cultural identity.

While ANCSA established many contradictions economically it did provide more money specifically for cultural education. As a result of ANCSA, the Sealaska Heritage Foundation was established as a non-profit Native regional corporation for Southeast Alaska. Its mission was to promote the culture and education of the native people of the region. One of the events Sealaska began to sponsor was a biennial celebration of dance. The regional celebration is gathering of dance groups from all over Alaska. Tlingit

family, house, clan, and tribal groups dance and sing their songs. In the 1970s, as this new tradition was beginning, the Tongass Dancers were one of many groups that always participated in the biennial celebration. These celebrations renewed an interest in Tlingit songs and dances. Over the years there has been a steady and significant increase in the number of participants and groups.

ANILCA, 1978

Near the close of the decade, Congress, Native leaders, and public policy makers worked on further legislation about subsistence issues. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act left most of the subsistence issues to be settled in later legislation. The Alaska National Interest Land Claims Act (ANILCA), passed by Congress in 1978, dealt directly with subsistence issues that ANCSA did not address.

As of 1978, subsistence for most Alaskan Natives took on a political definition.

Subsistence was defined by the Alaska National Interest Conservation Act (ANILCA) as:

'subsistence uses' means the customary and traditional uses by rural Alaska residents of wild, renewable resources for direct personal or family consumption as food, shelter, fuel, clothing, tools, or transportation; for the making and selling of handicraft articles out of non-edible byproducts of fish and wildlife resources taken for personal or family consumption; for barter, or sharing for personal or family consumption; and for customary trade (ANILCA, 16 USC 3113).

Congress intended ANILCA to clearly define what constitutes subsistence activities and to be simple for regulation. The definition, however, has been subjected to a good deal of interpretation, and subsistence has become a complicated legal and

political issue. One area where there have been and will continue to be many challenges are the terms “barter” and “trade”.

Part of the reasoning behind ANILCA was that people who lived in non-rural communities had more access to wage-labor jobs and should not be as economically reliant upon subsistence activities. Because southeast Alaska has one of the highest the cost of living indexes in the country, however, many people who reside in non-rural communities still rely heavily on subsistence for food items. Furthermore, within the Tlingit communities, we can not just say that the more someone earns, the less important subsistence is. Some people who earn high incomes give resources they harvest to others who are unable to harvest their own food (e.g., elders, single parent mothers, large families, and handicapped individuals). The act ignored the important role subsistence plays in reinforcing Tlingit social organization and networks and their sense of community.

It was an act that could have had a positive impact on the Tongass and their subsistence concerns, but instead it almost spelled the demise of subsistence for the Tongass. Instead of protecting subsistence, for all Alaskan Natives, ANILCA reconfigured subsistence eligibility as a “rural” or “non-rural” issue. Rural communities enjoy a subsistence priority under ANILCA, whereas non-rural communities do not maintain a subsistence priority. Ketchikan, where a majority of Tongass live, was considered a non-rural community.

The Discourse of Politics and Dancing

Although the military had a significant impact on training Tlingit males to be leaders of this era, these men were also the last generation of males to live with and be trained by their mothers brothers. The Tlingit are matrilineal and the training of males was usually the responsibility of the uncles. In my research of the 1950s and 1960s I found a major shift in the role of the uncles in training young males. It became less common for teenaged males to actually live and train with their uncles. As the role of the uncle decreased, there was an increase in the role of the mother and, in some cases, the maternal grandmother if she was living with the nuclear family. Teaching of the house and clan knowledge more and more became the responsibility of the mother. Most teenage males after this generation remained with the nuclear family during the formative years.

There were also changes occurring in Tlingit families as the nuclear family unit gradually replaced the extended family as the typical economic unit, the exception being subsistence activities. The extended family of grandparents and aunts and uncles was still mobilized during the summer to gather subsistence resources. During the early years of statehood, many researchers studied the viability of subsistence economies. VanStone did a great deal of fieldwork in Southwest Alaska, examining the importance of subsistence to families and communities. VanStone was one of the first anthropologists to use the term "dual-wage subsistence economy" in reference to Alaskan economies (VanStone 1960). VanStone believed that "a successful combination of traditional

subsistence and wage economies allows Native people to retain aboriginal methods of obtaining food and satisfy the wants that have been created by contact with the outside world" (VanStone 1960:190). VanStone's work was not a radical departure from the research done by anthropologists who were describing "mixed" or "dual" economies in different parts of the world.

VanStone argued that the combination of subsistence activities and wage labor is more successful than just a subsistence economy and preferable to a total market economy. VanStone believed a dual economy of both subsistence and market labor is the most stable in the far north. He stated subsistence activities provide a vital supplemental source of food that provides for a family's needs during times of unemployment or inflation in the market economy. Nevertheless, some cash income is necessary for buying market goods. In VanStone's study, we see an operative definition of subsistence being anything not related to market activities. Although VanStone's conclusions were made 30 years ago, they echo the opinions of a majority of Tlingits and Alaskan Natives today. Even today, many jobs in fishing, logging, tourism, and construction only provide seasonal work.

With the hope that congressional legislation would assist in resolving both resource and land claims, the Tongass and other Tlingit communities began focusing time and energy on cultural issues. In the 1960s, subsistence was just one area where Tlingit culture was readily apparent. There was also a revitalization of Tlingit songs and dances. For a few decades, the Tlingit songs and dances had been very repressed. The repression

was in large part due to the church officials', educators, and non-natives negativity about the Tlingit language, songs, and dances. For the generation who were adults in the 1960s many of them had punished in school if they spoke Tlingit. To this generation the Tlingit language, songs, and dances brought back many painful memories.

The Tlingits found new leadership and energy in the 1960s and 1970s from the veterans returning from the Vietnam War. As in the decades after World War II and the Korean War, the returning veterans had new aspirations for their people and their communities. The contributions made by the veterans among the Tlingits has been largely overlooked in the scholarly literature. For the Tongass tribe, at least a few Vietnam veterans have become tribal council leaders, pushing hard for civil rights and land claim issues.

In the early 1960s the Tlingit songs and dances were preformed by just a few in small gatherings or at individual homes. In many cases, it was grandparents teaching grandchildren. From the early days of revitalization, I do not think the elders realized what they were re-initiating. Tongass elder Alice Harris (Kats hit, Teikweidi, Taantakwaan) taught and led a Tongass dance group. Alice Harris was recognized in both the Tlingit community and the academic community (Olson 1954) as a person of high rank and knowledge about the Tongass. The work that began in the 1950s under the leadership of Alice Harris laid the groundwork for the tribal dance group that by the 1990s numbered over 100 dancers. Alice Harris not only taught Tlingit songs and dances, but passed on the clan histories to her children and grandchildren. Esther Shea,

the daughter of Alice Harris, learned from her mother and carries on the song and dance tradition of the Tongass people.

The potlatches during the 1950s through the 1970s seemed smaller and more subdued. These songs, dances, and clan histories that were kept alive during the 1950s through the 1970s were essential to Tlingit identity, of “knowing who you are” and “where you come from”. One of the formal ways these songs, dances, and clan histories were passed on were at potlatches. Many of these gatherings seemed to maintain the balance between the two sides. Most of the elders in Saxman and Ketchikan remember having clan or community dinners. The potlatches or dinners during this period were often run by the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood.

Chapter 10

TONGASS RENAISSANCE (1979-1997)

As Congress was drafting the Alaska National Interest Land Claims Act, Jeff Leer was busy transcribing an important work for the Tongass. Emma (Teikweidi, Taantakwaan) and Frank Williams (Ganaxadi, Taantakwaan), with the assistance of linguist and scholar Jeff Leer published *Tongass Text* (1978). This piece has been cited several times throughout this research and is a valuable linguistic monograph that records the Tongass dialect of the Tlingit language. This important source documents what Leer describes as possibly one of the oldest Tlingit dialects. Leer recorded stories that were told in Tlingit and then provided an English translation on the facing page. Today there are only a few surviving elders who speak the Tongass dialect and, as such, the *Tongass Text* has become a record and tool in teaching the dialect. Students of the Tlingit language, and particularly the Tongass dialect, can use this text for studying the differences in the sounds of the dialects.

Ketchikan Indian Corporation Land Study

While it was apparent that there was a movement that could be described as a revitalization, or renaissance, or reawakening of Tlingit culture, the Natives of Ketchikan were still without a tribal or community land base. Without a land base, it would be

difficult for the Natives of Ketchikan to built any kind of tribal or community center, cultural center, museum, or anything else. Therefore, for several years after ANCSA, several Native leaders in the Ketchikan area continued to pursue land claims issues. In the fall of 1982, a report came out that was the result of the Ketchikan Indian Corporation seeking to resolve numerous legal cases regarding ". . . native lands that had been reservation lands, restricted deeds, and also members Ketchikan Indian Corporation who held legal claims to specific lots in Ketchikan. A litigation report was developed by a local attorney, Bruce Davies, in October of 1982. A summary of the report reads as follows:

This litigation report addresses the question of whether Native possessions in Ketchikan, Alaska, recognized by Federal government action in the early 1900's created any legally recognized ownership rights on behalf of either the Native Community or individual Natives. It is my opinion that several distinct town site lots were identified by the federal town site trustee in the period between 1900 and 1915 with sufficient clarity so that descendants of those Natives occupants could successfully claim title to the parcels identified by the town site trustee as "Native Possessions". A "Native reservation" was also created by the Secretary of the Interior in 1905 covering the tidelands at the mouth of Ketchikan Creek which were being used by the Natives for the landing of their boats. Portions of the reservation were validly conveyed out of the reservation in the intervening years, but large portions were apparently never extinguished by Congressional action.

I believe the Native community may have a valid claim to this reservation area but proving such a claim would be more difficult than proving the claims to individual town sites.

The basis for the claim to individual town site lot arises from the Organic Act for Alaska which guaranteed that the Natives of Alaska would not be disturbed in their possessions.

Whether ANCSA satisfied this claim is uncertain. If you argue that the claim is not a claim based on aboriginal possession but a claim based on "recognized Native possession" you could say that the claim was not extinguished... You could argue that the terms of ANCSA require the Federal government to convey either the reservation tidelands or an area of land equal to that granted to other villages in southeast Alaska to the successor in interest to the original Native Community at Ketchikan (the Tongass Band of Tlingit), namely, the Ketchikan Indian Corporation (Davies 1982).

The problem with the Ketchikan Indian Corporation (KIC) seeking land claims issues with the federal government was there is a lack of historical and traditional foundation. The traditional tribal council of the Tongass tribe was the only entity that could legitimately pursue traditional and historical legal claims to land. Their problem was the federal government did not acknowledge the Tongass tribe, or recognize that KIC was comprised of Tongass members. Thus leaving the Tongass land claims in a double bind in federal negotiations.

Tongass Tribe Files for Non-profit Status

By the mid to late 1980s, the Tongass tribe was still meeting and holding traditional tribal council meetings. In an effort to be also seen as a legitimate non-profit corporation and the tribal council took action. In 1987 the tribal council appointed a committee to write articles of incorporation and form a non-profit entity that could enjoy the benefits of this status under state law. On August 31, 1987, the Tongass tribe became incorporated as a non-profit organization, and articles of incorporation were filed and recognized by the State of Alaska. The traditional tribal council continued to hold



Figure 21 - Photo Modern Kadjuk "Johnson" Pole, Carved by Israel Shotridge

meetings and organize tribal activities. Tribal council members and elders had no intention of changing the role or function of the traditional tribal council but were seeking official recognition from the State of Alaska for business reasons. Part of the reason for the study was to record as much knowledge from as many elders as possible so the information could be taught and passed on in the school and at culture camps for young people.

Kadjuk, “Johnson” Pole Raising and Rededication

As well as being active with many cultural missions the non-profit corporation made new avenues of funding possible for the tribe. In the late 1980s, the Tongass tribe sought out grants and funding to have a reproduction of the "Chief Johnson" pole carved. In Ketchikan there were many poles that were Tongass, but the Kadjuk Pole or “Johnson” pole had become one of the most important symbols for the tribe (see Figure 21, on previous page). The pole was symbolic of both old and new events for the tribe. The oldest symbolism represented the story of the Kadjuk bird and the origins of it as a crest of the Kadjuk house, of the Ganax.adi clan, of the Taantakwaan. The original pole was raised in 1901 and was badly deteriorating. The pole, which is situated on what used to be the high water mark of the tidal flats, is a symbol of the Tongass tribe’s existence in the community of Ketchikan. In the last century, the Kadjuk pole became a symbol both figuratively and literally for the Tongass. Historically, the pole stood on the beach when there was little else on the tidal flats of Ketchikan. Spatially and politically, the pole represented how the Tongass stood prominently when encircled by the tide of outsiders.

In an effort to maintain this prominent symbol the Tribe decided to commission the carving of a reproduction. The tribe received grant money from the Alaska State Council on the Arts to carve and raise a reproduction of the Johnson pole in 1988. Israel Shotridge (Taantakwaan, Teikweidi) a carver from the Tongass tribe, but an opposite of the Raven side was commissioned to do the pole. This event was recognized far and wide by the Native community in Southeastern Alaska. The rededication of the new pole was an event that the State of Alaska recognized. On October 7, 1989, Alaska Governor Steve Cowper declared the day that the new pole would be raised as Chief Johnson Day and recognized the Tongass tribe in their pivotal role in the event. The Ketchikan City Council also recognized the Tongass tribe as the host of the event. The new pole was raised in the same location as the old pole. Therefore, the site remains one of the oldest landmarks in Ketchikan.

Elder Esther Shea has composed a few new Tlingit songs that are the property of that family, the Kats Hit House of the Teikweidi clan of the Taantakwaan. One of the first songs she composed was a carver's song to be sung and dedicated when the Johnson pole was carved. Shea's son, Israel Shotridge carved the reproduction of the Kadjuk "Johnson" pole. When Shotridge carved the pole and Shea (both Teikweidi "Bears") composed a song to dedicate the event for a Raven pole, the balance of the Tlingit moiety system at this event was fulfilled. The new pole, rededication, and new songs reaffirmed the history of the pole at the same time giving it a new story and a new song. The newly composed song dedicated the event and becomes part of the history of the event. Like the

old songs, they are introduced at different events and the composition and ownership of these songs is verified and recognized at potlatches. The revival of Tlingit songs and dances has played an important role in strengthening and encouraging younger generations of Tongass and Tlingit to learn their clan songs, dance, histories, and language. By the late 1980s, the Tongass dancers met regularly on Thursday nights to learn and practice the songs and dances.

Fish Camp Study

By the mid 1980s, it had become quite difficult for many of the Tongass to go to or maintain what they called a “fish camp”. The difficulty was in part due to the increase in state and federal regulations on subsistence activities and the lack of land base in which the Tongass could pursue subsistence fishing activities. Fish camps were places where house groups would go and “put up” (catch and preserve) fish for the winter. The experience would be similar in nature to the story told by Esther Shea I have cited earlier in this study. Interest in a study about subsistence had an added importance in documenting traditional and customary use areas.

In 1980s the Totem Heritage Center in Ketchikan and resident anthropologist Priscilla Schulte worked with several Tongass elders in documenting fish campsites and the kinds of activities that were undertaken at these fish camps. The Tongass tribe elders played an important role in the documentation of this project. The interviews provided a wealth of information that depicted many things about the activities and lifestyle at the fish camps. At fish camp, there was a great deal of instruction about Tlingit culture.

Adults would teach the young about where to find different resources, ownership and respect for resource areas, and management of the fish runs and game. Knowledge also had to be passed on about the proper techniques of fishing, preserving the fish, hunting, butchering game and preparing skins. Knowledge about wild plants and trees and how to gather many kinds of wild plants, fruits, berries, and bark was essential. Not only was there a great deal to understand about subsistence activities, but there was also much to learn about proper respect for the animals, nature, and property. At the summer fish camps elders taught the younger generations about house and clan histories. The difficulties the Tongass experienced in maintaining fish camps most certainly had an impact on their transmission of knowledge about these activities, and the perpetuation of the Tongass discourse about their histories.

The subsistence cycle and the activities related to fishing, hunting, and gathering are still an integral part of the Tlingit life today. This is one area where the transmission of knowledge about resources and resource areas is perpetuated. Knowledge is transmitted from parents and grandparents to children. During the proto-historic period, boys and young men were usually taught this knowledge and skills by their uncles (specifically their mother's brothers). The women and girls were usually taught by the grandmother and aunts from the mother's side.

Cooperation with the Federal Government and the University of Alaska

In 1989, the Tongass tribe, headed by elder Esther Shea, began participation in a Cooperative Education Program with the United States Forest Service and the University

of Alaska Southeast. This program focused upon Native elders from Ketchikan and the Tongass tribe who taught college students and Forest Service personnel about subsistence foods and activities. The elders and tribal members also assisted with the survey, analysis, and documentation of cultural and archeological resources. This collaboration has continued to the present and has been an important way in which Tongass elders have passed on knowledge about subsistence activities.

The new decade was ushered in by the Tongass' participating in a global event. In 1990, the Tongass tribe participated in the opening ceremonies for the Goodwill Games. The Tongass tribe sent their dancers to perform some of their traditional dances as part of the opening dedication of this important international sporting event. Several dancers participated in this event and it laid the groundwork for the dancers performing at other regional events.

Saxman Subsistence in Jeopardy

The year of 1990 began with the Tongass participating in a joyous international celebration, only to come home to further struggles over subsistence. A discussion of the ethnohistory of the Tongass would not be complete without briefly discussing the influence of public policy and recent research about subsistence by federal and state agencies. As a result of the McDowell, decision the Federal Subsistence Board began regulating subsistence in the State of Alaska on all lands except those lands owned by the state on July 1, 1990. The Federal Board's takeover was a result of a Federal Court

decision in a case ruling that the State of Alaska was out of compliance with Title VIII of the Alaska National Interest Land Claims Act (ANILCA).

The takeover of management of subsistence activities by the Federal Subsistence Board presented new challenges for the Tongass and Cape Fox. On September 26, 1990, the Federal Board included the southeastern communities of Saxman and Sitka on the list of communities considered non-rural. Under this decision, these communities would lose entitlement to a subsistence priority in accordance with ANILCA, and thus any Tongass members who resided in Saxman would be in jeopardy of losing subsistence eligibility.

Saxman and Sitka were designated as non-rural communities. Saxman was designated as a non-rural community on the basis of "a two step methodology". First, the Federal Subsistence Staff Committee determined Saxman was socially and economically integrated with Ketchikan. Their criteria used to determine the extent of integration were: "(1) do 15% or more of the working people commute from one community to another; (2) do they share a common school district; (3) are daily or semi-daily shopping trips made". After the committee determined Saxman was aggregated with Ketchikan, the entire Ketchikan area, including Saxman, was categorized as a "non-rural" area. The three categories of communities are: communities with a population less than 2,500; communities with a population of 2,500 to 7,000; and communities of greater than 7,000 people. Communities with a population of over 7,000 would lose their non-rural status. Communities with smaller populations which "exhibit primarily urban or non-rural characteristics" would also lose their status as rural communities. The characteristics

used by the Federal Board to define a community as rural included: "population, economy, fish and game use, transportation links, community infrastructure, and educational institutions".

The Federal Board's criteria to determine the degree to which Saxman was integrated with Ketchikan raise many theoretical and methodological questions. The criteria the committee used seem arbitrary. Commuting and shopping trips seem inadequate in determining the level of social integration. Another category that the committee used to determine the integration of Saxman with Ketchikan was the fact that the children attend school in Ketchikan and share a common school district with Ketchikan. This is not a decision made by Saxman. State and federal agencies made the decision to integrate the school districts in an effort to improve education standards and save money.

When the Federal Board began survey efforts, investigators failed to consider the time of year the data was collected or who was collecting the data and how that might effect the type of data collected. During different seasons, the number of commuters or shopping trips might vary considerably. The Federal Board's figures regarding commuting and shopping trips was not based on a survey of a random or stratified sample of the population but instead on the testimony of borough officials. Particularly troubling was the fact, that in the Saxman case, officials from Saxman were not interviewed, only Ketchikan officials were questioned.

In December of 1990, the Federal Subsistence Board held a hearing in Saxman regarding their preliminary decision to designate Saxman as a non-rural community. At the hearing, approximately 50 to 75 individuals from Saxman and Ketchikan testified on behalf of Saxman. There were two days of testimonies from Native elders, leaders, and youths about the importance of subsistence and the independence of Saxman as a native community. Many of the short-comings of the federal board and committee's research were pointed out by independent researchers working with the communities or in support of the communities.

The federal study and methods of analyzing subsistence in Saxman leave many questions unanswered. While efforts have been made to collaborate the work of public policy makers, social scientists, and the public, this study left many researchers unsatisfied. Social scientists representing the Southeastern Alaskan communities were quick to point out that the board's use of quantitative and aggregate population figures for determining rural or non-rural characteristics of a community was "simplistic" and "misleading". Furthermore, the board's research was criticized for its choice of market variables that are not necessarily accurate gauges for measuring the viability of a mixed or subsistence economy. Wage employment, taxable income, cost of food index, and cost of electricity were some of the factors used to determine rural or non-rural status. Focusing on those variables and data ignores the social and cultural importance of a subsistence economy and mainly indicates the market aspects of the economy. Most

importantly, the federal study ignores recent research indicating that market and subsistence economies can be mutually successful.

Eventually the board voted unanimously, on December 17, 1990, in favor of allowing Saxman, Sitka, and Kodiak to maintain their subsistence priority in accordance with ANILCA. The decision in favor of maintaining a subsistence priority for these communities was made largely because the different communities had presented volumes of their own research and testimony. What came to light, however, was that the Tlingit communities were relying partly on data from a report done by Goldschmidt and Hass in 1946. The Federal Board pointed out that although the data from the Goldschmidt and Hass report is concise and comprehensive, it is possibly outdated. The President of the Southeast Native Subsistence Commission wanted to update the Goldschmidt and Hass report because it is material that is useful.

The Saxman case only involved some of the Tongass who were residing in Saxman. Most of the Tongass who lived in the “non-rural” community of Ketchikan and are not eligible for a subsistence priority. However, the Tongass tribe leaders and members spoke passionately about the importance of subsistence to the Tlingit people and the community of Saxman. The discourse about who would be eligible to a subsistence priority, under ANILCA, shifted from guaranteeing subsistence to Alaskan Natives (the meaning and intention of subsistence issue in the negotiations of ANCSA) to establishing a subsistence priority based on rural residence.

The summer of 1991 following the subsistence was a busy summer for the Tongass and Cape Fox as they prepared for the “one year party” or memorial potlatch for Martha Shields of the Neix̱.adi clan of the Cape Fox. The Neix̱.adi clan had invited many clans and dance groups from all over Southeast Alaska for the potlatch. Over two hundred guests had been invited for a two- day potlatch. An event of this magnitude requires great amounts of local foods to feed the guests and give as gifts to the guests. The Neix̱.adi clan being considered from the Raven side/moiety (even though their clan and house crests are the eagle, beaver, and halibut) enlisted the help of other Raven clans in amassing food and gifts for the guests. Some of the customary foods gathered and given at Tlingit potlatches today are: salmon, oolichans (“candlefish”) and oolichan oil, halibut, red snapper, clams, sea cucumbers, seaweed, beach asparagus, venison, seal and seal oil, herring roe on kelp, herring roe on hemlock branches, salmon berries, blueberries, huckleberries, thimble berries, and “Hudson’s Bay tea” leaves (also called the Labrador Bay Tea leaf plant). Most of these items could not possibly be purchased in stores. Therefore, preparing for these potlatches requires enormous labor and time to gather and prepare these foods.

In September of 1991, when many people in Saxman and Ketchikan were still busy with the summer activities and jobs, Reynold Denny, Sr., elder and a leader of the Neix̱.adi clan of Cape Fox passed away. Reynold was an elder and a clan leader who still spoke the southern dialect of the Tlingit. The family and clan buried him with chief’s honors, because he was one of the oldest clan members and was acknowledged as a

clan leader. The opposite side, in this case the Teiklweidi from the Cape Fox and Tongass, the Dakl'aweidi, Naan yaa iyee, and many other clan members from the opposite side of the Ravens, quickly joined in to help “lift up” their opposites “in the time of their mourning”. These people helped with a memorial service, as pall-bearers, an all night wake, and the funeral service.

In the “old days,” the opposite clans was in charge of burying the dead. Later, during the missionization period, there was a transition to the Christian associations taking care of many of the funeral services and ceremonies. After the establishment of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood, the local camps were in charge of these obligations. Today, there is a great deal of syncretism of Tlingit culture, Christianity, and pan-Indian movements. The Tlingits never lost sight, however, of the importance of the opposite clan in comforting their friends in times of sorrow.

Reynold Denny passed away on the first Monday of September. Over the next few days, people were notified of his death. People from the opposite side visited the families of the deceased and brought them food and words of comfort. Many hours passed with people just sitting around and comforting one another and telling stories. The services began on Friday after family and friends had adequate time to travel from other communities for the memorial and funeral. On Friday night, the memorial service began at the community hall in Saxman. While people were arriving, some musicians from the Salvation Army played Christian songs. The service began with speakers from the opposite side and church ministers leading the group in prayer and welcoming the

visitors. Most of the service was conducted in English, but Tlingit was frequently used and some elders spoke first in Tlingit and then translated what had been said.

In the middle of the service, the ANB and the ANS local camps held a meeting. The purpose of the meeting is to make a roll call of the members. When the deceased person's name is called out three times, then it is acknowledged and stated that the individual has passed on and that the proper honors be given. Then the meeting of the ANB and ANS is concluded by the members leading the audience in "Onward Christian Soldiers", which is the official song of the organizations.

After the ANB and ANS had done their ceremony, the eulogy was given by Forest DeWitt of the Naan yaa iyee of the Stikine kwaan. Following the eulogy, the members of the Neix.adi and the Raven side gave speeches thanking their opposites for their support and comfort. The Neix.adi were served by their opposites. Following the speeches, there was a viewing of the body. Then after the service there was a meal for all the guests.

Once the meal was completed many of the people went over to the tribal house where the casket was left for the all-night wake. All the pallbearers were opposites of the Raven. The all-night wake was overseen by the opposites of the Ravens, and while family members of the deceased would visit from time to time during the night, none of the Neix.adi stayed all night. At the wake old clan stories were told, as well as stories about contemporary events. Some stories involved recollections of the deceased. Certain Tlingit songs were sung. Also some Christian songs and prayers were done. During the entire night, large platters of food and coffee and juice were put out for the people staying

for the wake. At least a few members remained awake all night. While the wake has certain Christian elements mixed in, there are many older Tlingit elements. At about sunrise, a plate of food and a cup of coffee was prepared and put on the fire. The “traditional” idea is that these things will help the deceased in their journey in the afterlife. Today, food is often put on the fire as a sign of respect, a special gesture, or just a matter of respect by non-traditionalists. At about seven or eight in the morning, the casket was taken out of the tribal house and preparations were made for the funeral service.

The funeral service was held on Saturday afternoon. After the funeral service was completed, a procession of cars proceeded to the cemetery where there was a graveside service. After the grave side service was completed, the families, friends, and visitors returned to the community hall for another meal. At that meal, many prayers and speeches were made by the opposites to comfort the family and friends of the deceased. Stories and memories, especially happy or fun stories about the deceased, were told to bring some comfort and smiles back to the mourners. Then the Neix̱.adi thanked their opposites for their words of comfort, and for the duties they had performed over the past few days.

During sad times like these, the Tlingit community is brought together to pay their respects, fulfill their obligations and comfort those in mourning. In times of mourning the Tlingit community is united in a common goal and there is a real give and take between the two moieties. In this case, the clan in mourning was the Neix̱.adi clan of the

Cape Fox tribe. The opposites of the Neix̱.adi (the “Bears”, the “Killerwhales”, and other clans) from the Cape Fox tribe, the Tongass, the Stikine, and Klawock, to name a few, joined together to “bury the deceased. Even with a great deal of syncretism with Christianity, there is a balance and reciprocity which is achieved with the opposite moiety uplifting, supporting, helping, and comforting the family, house, and clan of the deceased.

Not long after the death of Reynold Denny, the community of Saxman held a “one year party” or potlatch for an elder who had passed away the year before. The Neix̱.adi clan, as a way of thanking their opposites for their services at the memorial service, the wake, the funeral service, and as pallbearers, gave a potlatch. Many members from the Ganax̱.adi and Kik’s.adi clan (both from the Raven side) from the Tongass and other tribes helped the Neix̱.adi in the preparation and hosting of the potlatch.

The Tlingit potlatches of today provide new ground for the age-old debate in anthropology of whether the primary functions of a potlatch is reciprocity or redistribution. Both redistribution and reciprocity occur. Redistribution of resources occurs when regional or what might be called subsistence foods are presented for consumption and as gifts to the opposite moiety. Thus the potlatch facilitates a ceremonial redistribution of subsistence food items to other Tlingit communities. Reciprocity is the motivation for holding the potlatch. The potlatch is a way to repay the opposite moiety for their services in burying the dead. The opposite moiety or guests are also paid for the witnessing and verifying of claims by the hosts. It is potlatches where

the host house and clan will tell their history, bring out their regalia that symbolically represents their history, and pass on their Tlingit names to their young people. Therefore, an essential part of the perpetuation of house and clan balance, and reciprocity with their opposites.

Redistribution may have been very practical for the Tlingit or other northwest cultural groups as a way of dealing with shortages in supplies or resources in specific areas. Today, some might question the necessity of the redistribution of resources through the potlatch. Stores and social welfare programs, while they understandably are not as satisfying a way of redistributing resources, nevertheless fill this role. The potlatch does, however, redistribute local or subsistence foods that cannot be obtained in stores. Many of these foods are preferred foods if they are available.

As I have discussed in previous chapters, certain subsistence items may only be available in certain areas, or certain subsistence food items may be in short supply in specific areas or different years. Thus, there is a very tangible redistribution of subsistence food items through the potlatch system. The activities of collecting and gathering subsistence resources reinforces kinship networks and economic units. Subsistence activities also help perpetuate the knowledge about ownership and management of house and clan resource areas.

Many scholars have written about the potlatch, but Mauss was one of the first to focus on reciprocity. I would tend to agree with Mauss' interpretation of the potlatch by emphasizing the importance of reciprocity to the opposite clan. Reciprocity or "paying

back the opposites" within the Tlingit moiety seems to be the explicit motivation for potlatches, today. The rhetoric or discourse at potlatches emphasizes the importance of thanking and paying back the opposite moiety. I would argue that the reciprocity of the potlatch reinforces social obligations and organization within the Tlingit community.

Later in the fall of 1991, the Saxman ANB/ANS and the Ketchikan ANB/ANS hosted the annual Alaska Native Sisterhood and Brotherhood Grand Camp Convention. This is a regional meeting of all the local ANB/ANS "camps" (camp is a term used to refer to each community's organization). At that Grand Camp Convention, Tongass tribe member, Richard Jackson, was elected as one of the Grand Camp Vice Presidents.

After continuous attacks on their subsistence eligibility and lack of satisfaction on land claims issues, the Tongass tribal council endorsed an application for a federal grant that would assist the Tongass tribe in seeking federal acknowledgment. In 1992, the Tongass tribe applied for a American Native Administrative Grant (ANA) and was awarded a \$100,000 grant to write a tribal history and ethnology, write a tribal constitution and five year work plan, and take an official tribal enrollment.

Shortly after the Tongass tribe announced that it had received the ANA grant, the news made the front page of the *Ketchikan Daily News*. Not more than a few weeks after the announcement and the article, the City of Ketchikan sold a major parcel of property along Front and Mill Streets on the pier that rests over the tidal flats. The land was sold to a developer to build a new retail space and office space. This new development is adjacent to the property on which a new building was being constructed by the federal

government for the Southeast Alaska Regional Visitor Center. The area that, at the turn of the century, was the field of dreams and canoe landings for the Tongass was suddenly worth millions of dollars to the federal government, the City of Ketchikan, and the business developers.

The Tongass tribe had a great deal of interaction with various federal agencies and played an important advisory role in the development, planning, and construction of the Southeast Alaska Visitor Information Center (SEAVIC). The construction of the SEAVIC building was overseen by the United States Forest Service, the Department of Interior, and the Bureau of Land Management. The construction of the SEAVIC Center was a very emotional issue for the Tongass because the federal government was building in the area where the Tongass established their houses in the 1890s. Because of this history there were repeated attempts by the Tongass to have the Forest Service acknowledge the importance of this site, but the Forest Service seemed reluctant to acknowledge the Tongass' request, even in the midst of overwhelming documentation. Instead, some of the organizers managed to sidestep the request and pit the Tongass against other local Native organizations regarding this sensitive issue. The eventual display and exhibit on the Native cultures of Southeast Alaska honored the Tlingits, Haida, and Tsimshian people. No acknowledgment of the specific history of the Tongass was given by the Forest Service. Nor was there any recognition of the use of the name of the Tongass for the National Forest.

In other work with the Forest Service the Tongass was more successful. The

Tongass tribe also worked with the various Native organizations in Saxman in 1992 and 1993, giving input on subsistence issues involved in proposed timber sales on their traditional lands. The tribe worked with the United States Forest Service by providing integral information on various environmental impact statements for long-term timber harvest sales in the Tongass National Forest. The tribe's concerns echoed and supported the concerns of Saxman about subsistence hunting and fishing.

In May of 1993, the Tongass tribe participated in the Tlingit Clan Conference that was held in Haines, Alaska. This conference was organized as a celebration of the clans, but also involved workshops and discussions pertaining to clan histories and traditions. The conference also dealt with issues of how the clans should negotiate certain issues about preserving the culture and dealing with culture change. The clans of the Tongass participated and danced at the conference. The Tongass clans and Cape Fox clans discussed and offered to host the next clan conference in Ketchikan and Saxman.

As the Tongass tribe proceeded with the ANA grant and worked towards federal acknowledgment, it was clear that the requirements for being defined as a tribe according to the Code of Federal Regulations versus the politics of being acknowledged as a tribe by the Solicitors office of the Department of Interior were very different standards. The Tongass began working on writing their constitution and taking their tribal enrollment. Both activities require a tribe do make difficult decisions about membership, tribal organization, political organization, and many other topics. The process of seeking

federal acknowledgment requires a tribe to write their constitution and strictly define their membership. Often the tribe feels it must chose between what was done in the past and is perceived as tradition versus what will be acceptable to the Solicitor's Office, which makes the decisions about federal acknowledgment. Many tribes feel like they must unfairly compromise their traditions. The Tongass definitely struggled with decisions about what was Tlingit tradition versus what would be acceptable under the code of federal regulations and the politics of acknowledgment.

In the summer of 1993, Tongass carver Israel Shotridge finished a replica of a Kyan family pole commissioned by the City of Ketchikan (see Figure 23 on the following page). Peter Kyan, one of Waterman's informants in the Tlingit place names report, was a member of the Kyan, Tongass family. The Kyan family's influence and presence in Ketchikan is well represented by the "Kyan Pole". In fact, two replicas of this pole have been commissioned in this century. Both times the carving of the pole and erection of poles were funded by the City of Ketchikan, thus, in Tlingit law and discourse, re-validating the Kyan's clan story and claims twice over. The most recent replica was carved by Tongass carver Israel Shotridge, and the pole was erected July 3rd, 1993. Once again, Elder Esther Shea composed a Tlingit song for the event.

During the week in which the Tongass were preparing for the Kyan pole raising, the Tongass Seward Pole, opened a new chapter in its history. Descendants of William



Figure 22 - Photo Modern Kyan Pole

Seward were vacationing in Alaska and saw the Seward pole. They asked if they could give a potlatch to the Tongass to “wash away” the shame of their forefather. Since the Seward family descendants were not able to talk to any of the Tongass leaders directly during their day visit to Ketchikan, no immediate reply was given. The Taantak_uwaan are still waiting for further news of a return potlatch. Many of the Tongass feel a potlatch by the immediate family would not suffice to lower the pole. They feel it would take an effort on the part of Seward’s clan (e.g., the federal government) to correct the situation.

The pole represents a story that still has not been resolved for the Tongass people. There are many other poles that denote other important historical events. These poles are regarded as official Tlingit records, and many Tlingit believe these poles should be acknowledged as legal documentation. These poles are claims to certain privileges, resources, and territories according to Tlingit law. It is ironic that one of the Tlingit _uwaans that did as much as it did to seek recognition and respect from the United States and its leaders is one of the groups not only left out of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act but are still struggling for recognition as a tribe.

As the tribe proceeded with the federal acknowledgment process, Elder Esther Shea was recognized for her contributions as an educator in her community, culture, and state by receiving a Alaska Federation of Natives Distinguished Service Award in the fall of 1993. Shea was also recognized for her contributions in education by receiving a

Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters in Teaching by the University of Alaska Board of Regents. The Tongass tribe and its Elders Council have been instrumental in the instruction and education of the southern Tlingit culture and language. Shea assisted in the writing of numerous Tlingit language materials and books. These publications were written in the "Tongass dialect". Shea first started work on these in the 1970s and continues to publish new materials in the Tongass dialect. Elders like Shea have been instrumental in teaching Tlingit culture and Tongass knowledge. She has passed on her knowledge to many younger Tongass who no longer have elders to teach them the old ways and clan histories.

In the early 1990s, Tom Harris (Kats hit, Teikweidi, Taantakwaan), a member of the Tongass tribe, had a niece and nephew who were put up for adoption. As the maternal uncle, Tom Harris attempted to legally adopt the two Tongass children. This was viewed as a proper adoption in the traditional Tlingit way because when a boy became of age he would usually go live with mother's brother to have a male figure of the same clan teach them the clan ways and history. Tom Harris was the grandson of Alice Harris who, as previously noted, was the inspirational cultural leader in the 1950s and 1960s for the Tongass people. Couples from California had already petitioned to adopt the children, and it was clear that the potential California parents had the money and resources to legally battle for the children. The California couples won the custody of

the children, but the California courts allowed the uncle, Tom Harris, to officially adopt and give Tlingit names to the children at a potlatch. The court and the adopting parents also agreed to allow the children to grow up knowing and participating in their Tlingit culture. This was a landmark decision in the California State courts. It was also a major triumph for the Tongass and the transmission of knowledge and maintenance of identity. Even Tongass children who were adopted by non-Native parents could still have access to and knowledge about their culture.

In November of 1993, a potlatch was held to give Tlingit names to the two young Teikweidi Taantakwaan children. Several Tongass members from the Ketchikan area and the Seattle area traveled to Isleton, California, a town where there is presently a small community of over fifty Teikweidi Tongass who are all descendants of Martha Samuels Cosella (Kats hit, Teikweidi, Taantakwaan). The other Tongass children in California are growing up learning Tlingit songs and dances. Most of the children have made regalia to wear at potlatches and celebrations in Alaska. These young people greeted the Ketchikan and Seattle contingents when they got off the plane by singing Tlingit welcoming songs.

After the potlatch in California, Priscilla Schulte, a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alaska Southeast, and ethnographic film maker Ward Serrill had completed a ethnographic video entitled *The Bear Stands Up*. The video focused on the life of Esther Shea. The project was the culmination of several years of research and

collaboration. It was even aired regionally on television on PBS that fall. The video dealt with many topics about the Tongass during the past few decades through the experiences of one elder.

During the Winter of 1994, the Tongass finally saw one of their subsistence proposals come before the Ketchikan Fisheries Advisory Board. The proposal was a request by the Tongass for continued access to the fisheries along the Unuk and Chickamin Rivers. Of particular concern was the prohibition of their oolichan (“candle fish”) fishing along these rivers. After a lengthy debate before the Ketchikan Fisheries Advisory Board, the board voted in support of the Tongass proposal. Only one member abstained from voting in favor of the resolution. After the recommendation of the board, the State of Alaska, Department of Fish and Game tabled the resolution as a result of continued negotiations between the State of Alaska and the federal government over management issues.

In the Spring of 1994, the Tongass tribe experienced a tragic event. Chris Makua, a tribal council member, died on a subsistence trip to Village Island to collect herring roe. It was believed by the Coast Guard who recovered his boat and body that he encountered problems in stormy seas. His body was recovered on Ham Island and then brought back to Ketchikan. After a memorial service and two all-night wakes in which the “Ravens” (moiety) watched over the deceased, Chris Makua’s uncles announced to the people in

attendance at the funeral that he would be buried in his regalia, putting to rest his Tlingit name. They also announced that he would be buried with his ancestors at the traditional Tongass graveyard on Pennock Island across from Ketchikan.

Chris would be the first Tongass to be buried on Pennock Island in several years. This, however, was no small feat and required a great deal of work because the Tongass were not federally acknowledged. Moreover, the Tongass burial grounds were on property under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). The medical examiner would not sign the burial certificate until someone from BLM approved the burial. Even as the funeral service was going on, phone calls were being made to Washington, DC, to get the BLM to sign and approve the burial to the satisfaction of the medical examiner. The funeral and the burial services had already been postponed one day, creating a second all-night wake by the “Ravens”.

The delays were not only emotionally very taxing, but another delay would require that much more work from the Ravens. It would also cost the Bears, the Teikweidi clan, that much more in payment to the Ravens for their services. Towards the end of the funeral service, a phone call came from Washington giving the necessary authorization for the burial. Later that afternoon, Chris Koocheesh Makua, made his final canoe trip to the resting place where he would join his ancestors. The Tongass and Cape Fox Ravens had performed the first burial, of a Teikweidi, in their traditional burial

grounds on Pennock Island in years. A combination of many factors made this important outcome possible for the Tongass. The event had significance in two major ways with respect to the maintenance and creation of Tongass identity: it embraced the continuity of past Tongass traditions of burying the dead; and it reaffirmed their identity and legitimacy with the federal government.

The Tongass tribe continued to struggle with the right to bury people in their traditional cemetery because they are not a federally acknowledged tribe. The Bureau of Land Management told the tribe that if they were not recognized they would have to have another federally recognized tribe officially act on their behalf.

The courage of the uncles, the family, and the clan that decided to bury Chris at the old Tongass cemetery on Pennock Island and the support of the “Ravens” have re-opened this area. In November of 1996, Mae Harris passed away and was buried on Pennock Island. Mae was one of the Teikweidi Bears who during lived the later years of her life lived close to her other family members near Isleton, California. She was also buried with the help and support of the “Ravens”. The Tongass are still working to secure the right to continue to use their family and tribal burial grounds on Pennock Island.

Chapter 11

Asserted and Contested Tongass Discourse and Identity

Throughout this research Tongass identity and their sense of community has been examined through the discourse of many different sources. Some narratives assert Tongass identity while other voices contest aspects of their identity. The Taantakwaan or Tongass have maintained a distinct group identity for hundreds of years. I have documented this identity and sense of community throughout this ethnohistory by using accounts from a variety of sources, including: archeologists, ethnographers, and neighboring groups; documents from explorers, traders, and nation-states; and histories, narratives, properties, and biographies of the Tongass. The Tongass have endured many changes but still maintain strong threads of continuity with the past. The strongest threads are Tlingit social organization and kinship and their discourse about their history, which inextricably links them to the land and resources around them. The Tongass identity and their links to the lands and resources are often not understood or noticed by the general public.

Less apparent to the general public are the internal strengths of Indian societies as expressed through the idiom of kinship, abiding sense of community, in the adaptive significance of what we derogatively view as factionalism, and in the political and legal effectiveness of native advocates (Fogelson).

This culture history of the Tongass examines issues of cultural identity, cultural change, and how one particular group maintains its sense of community even in the face of increasing transnationalism. The examination and analysis of cultural continuity and change among the Tongass places this study squarely among the classic literature of the discipline of anthropology.

Using discourse we see how Tongass identity and their sense of community is a social construction that is a dialogue between multiple cultures. The ethnohistorical question and the contemporary issue or problem of this research pertains to how and why the Tongass maintain their identity and sense of community. The Tongass may give us insights about how different groups act and react to maintain their community. Clearly from the ethnohistorical evidence of this research the Tongass identity and sense of community is not just a contemporary identity created for political empowerment and land and resource claims but one with a long historical tradition and bond with the area they live in and the resources they use. The Tongass identity and sense of community is reinforced by their discourse, social organization, and kinship. To understand the dynamic nature of their identity this research has focused on several Tongass narratives and events and nonevents (Fogelson 1989)

Harkin examines culture change on the Northwest Coast and develops a useful way of examining the history of cultures and their interactions as “dialogues” between cultures (Harkin 1997). Dialogues between cultures Harkin represents as:

The interplay among action and reaction, event and interpretation, structure and praxis, memory and representation, domination and resistance that characterizes the postcontact histories of tribal peoples (Harkin 1997 ix).

Harkin goes on to describe the dialectics of power for Northwest Coast groups, as a basic contradiction between “the uncontrolled exogenous forces and the ordering principle of society” (Harkin 1997:66).

In the final analysis, this ethnohistory provides examples of responses by the Tongass to maintain their culture. Some of these decisions and events strengthen their culture, while others, some might argue, may accelerate their assimilation with the dominant culture. These are “dialogues” between cultures with “dialects of power”. I would argue Tongass and Tlingit culture is just reinvented in new ways “within an ongoing historical process”. Berger and Luckman state that an important idea in their conception of sociology is that it

must be carried on in a continuous conversation with both history and philosophy or lose its proper object of inquiry. This object is a society as part of a human world, made by men, inhabited by men, and in turn making men in an ongoing historical process (Berger and Luckman 1967:189).

Even in the midst of political and economic adversity, the Tongass people place an

importance on Tlingit social organization and kinship, their connection with their local territories and resources, and the transmission of knowledge to maintain their sense of community and identity.

There are several different phases we can examine with respect to identity and discourse. In the early chapters of this ethnohistory, we have examined the social organization and kinship of the Tongass and how each house group and clan becomes connected to various territories and land through different events. Some of these narratives would be called mythic narratives about events or encounters with totemic figures, which become house and clan crests (e.g., the Teikweidi with Kats and the Brown Bear crest). These narratives not only describe how a particular house or clan received rights to and ownership of these areas, but often provide a great deal of practical information about the resources and use of the land. The narratives are histories of the houses and clans, which link these groups to places in a sacred or spiritual way because the place names are also personal names of the ancestors. The crests, which are symbolic representations of the stories, are equivalent to legal deeds to these lands and legitimate rights to use these areas as well as delegate management responsibilities.

While property rights were on the house and clan level, military defense and enforcement of trespass often occurred on the kwaan level. Often houses or clans enlisted aid from other houses and clans within a kwaan. This defensive strategy may account for

the increase in the importance of the kwaan during the fur trade. The Tongass maintained their political control during the fur trade period. Other forces, such as the flood or smallpox, seem almost overwhelming. In these cases, the Tongass had little or no control; all they could do is react to these environmental changes. In some cases, the reaction was to move and develop new villages.

These Tongass and Tlingit ideas of property and resource ownership were challenged in various ways throughout their history by European and American ideas about property and resources. The Tongass claims to land, waterways, and resource areas clashed with European and American concepts of territory and resources for the development of the nation. During the fur trade period, the Tongass were fairly successful in protecting resource and land rights, although many of their economic perspectives were challenged. Nevertheless, the Tongass and Tlingit discourse about ownership of resource areas were lost on nations that were interested in developing new “frontiers.” The discourse used by nation-states in promoting economic and political activities was to declare the resource of the frontier as a common area open to everyone (that is, citizens of the nation or those paying tribute or taxes to the nation).

These competing and conflicting ideologies and discourse did not become a real problem until both sides tried to enforce their policies during the early American period. Most of the areas in which the Tongass people gather resources are places they have used

from "time immemorial". Their belief is that they have an ancestral link to these areas that began during the time of the Great Flood. Their proof of these claims comes in the form of place names that refer to specific geographic places or events. Many of these place names have been passed on from generation to generation within a particular clan as personal names, and many of these names still exist today. The United States enforced its interests with naval gunboats. The Tongass enforced their claims by running trespassers off their land. The Unuk River incident discussed in the chapter for "God and Country", is an example of such a land and resource conflict. Eventually, both sides developed other strategies for protecting their interests.

While there were many classic examples of confrontations developing from different definitions and concepts of land and resource rights, there were also conflicts over the transmission of knowledge and what knowledge should be transmitted. The most direct examples are the establishment of schools by missionaries and educators in the 1880s. In these schools and missions, the Tongass were heavily pressured to speak English. By the time the Tongass moved to Ketchikan, Tlingit was usually only spoken at home and at Tlingit ceremonies.

As the frontier gave way to new settlements, the American philosophy of land for the commons gave way to individual ownership of land for citizens. The Tongass were denied ownership of land because they were not considered citizens. Resource areas

continued to be open to the commons, but by 1907 the United States declared ownership of over 80 percent of Southeast Alaska with the development of the Tongass National Forest. The National Forest furthered the notion that mining, fishing, and timber resources were for the public good, but land was clearly owned and managed by the government. The new land and resource policies rejected Tlingit and Tongass claims and restricted their activities on public lands.

The Tongass also lost more land in the early days of Ketchikan because of conflicting ideas among non-Natives regarding how to administer Indian property and land. The conflict arose over the development of “Indian Lands” and reservations versus legal title to lands by Indians. Simply put, while the federal government did not allow citizenship and did not promote private ownership of lands for Alaska Natives, the municipal government ignored Indian lands, endorsed the privatization of these lands, and retroactively levied taxes on privatized Indian lands in an effort to acquire more land for development. Specifics regarding these conflicting definitions and policies are presented in the chapter, “Field of Dreams, Nightmares of Trespass”. Many of these land issues remain unresolved for the Tongass. The land issues in Ketchikan go beyond aboriginal claims, dealing with legal title issues also.

In Ketchikan, the missionaries influenced both the physical arrangements of the houses and the living arrangements in Tongass homes (e.g., the clan house group no

longer lives together). Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) talk about similar kinds of influences and pressures as being part of the “architecture of modernity,” which they see as eventually leading to new forms of “homemade hegemony” in different parts of the world. The aim of the missionaries was to get the Tongass living in smaller nuclear family households. During this same period, missionaries also tried to repress clan identities because, to many missionaries, the clan crests and identities were mistaken as forms of pagan idolatry. The repression of clan identity was especially apparent at the Indian boarding schools and in church organizations and activities. This led to a whole new generation of Tlingits that socialized and inter-married but did not discuss clan and moiety identities and, as such, many overlooked or repressed the old Tlingit marriage rules.

One of the organizations that enabled the Tlingit to politically lobby for land and civil rights was the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood. The Tlingits, with the assistance and encouragement of church leaders, created new social organizations that were acceptable to the Christian non-Tlingit culture. In many ways, these organizations were very influential in politics and encouraged Native rights, but in other ways, they accelerated the assimilation process. The formation of the ANB/ANS is an example of what earlier anthropologists have called “syncretic” organizations (Wallace 1972; Worsely 1968). The organization blended Tlingit culture with Christianity. The ANS/ANB is a

good example of what Harkin would call the dialogue between cultures and how the dialectics of power play out in social organization. While the ANB/ANS promoted the Tlingits politically, the organization's constitution and meetings clearly advocated an assimilation policy. The constitutions wording did not promote "traditional" Tlingit culture, and the meetings were conducted entirely in English using strict Robert Rules of order. In recent years the ANB and ANS have amended the constitution, eliminating some of the assimilationist discourse.

During this time, there was also a shift in power and authority from the house and clan and kwaan or tribe to the community. Shifting power and authority to the community gave the non-Tlingit population more of a voice in local politics. A community based municipal government versus Tlingit organization allowed non-Tlingits participation and a voice in community politics.

I have already discussed the impact of schools and missions on the educational process for the Tongass, but I have not discussed some of the changes that occurred with respect to the transmission of Tongass Tlingit knowledge. By approximately the late 1950s, there were significant changes in who and how Tongass knowledge was being transmitted. The most significant change was that young men were no longer being trained in the Tlingit ways by their Tlingit uncles. Most of the male elders talked about going to live with or being trained by their mother's brothers. There were many reasons

for this change. No doubt the promotion of nuclear family living arrangements played a role. Another factor was the questions raised by non-Natives about avunculocal residence. Other factors were probably the input from spouses in mixed marriages, the influence of patrilineal American society, and the repression of clan identities. Because of this, the role of the women, especially Tlingit mothers, in the transmission of clan knowledge was intensified. This may also be related to the increase in female elders giving formal speeches, a role women did not occupy formerly even though they were important in public life.

Another factor in the transmission of knowledge for the Tlingit and the Tongass has been the loss of elders able to pass on or teach the traditional knowledge. The generation of elders we encounter now are those who were most strongly pressured to repress Tlingit knowledge and identity. Some clans now do not have enough knowledgeable elders to teach the traditional knowledge. This creates problems in the balance and reciprocity of the Tlingit moiety system. It is bad form to stand up and recite your own history, but sometimes the opposites do not have the necessary knowledge to tell the history and tell it properly.

In recent years, a great deal of power and authority has shifted to the village (ANSCA) corporations and village (IRA) tribal councils. The village corporations have a great deal of economic power in the community, because the corporations have important

land and money. The IRA tribal councils' political and legal power may be increasing as tribal sovereignty has become a reality for many tribes. The Tongass, however, do not have their own village corporation because they were left out of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Moreover, the Tongass do not have their own specific IRA tribal council, even though they have what would be called a traditional tribal council.

Despite these modern organizations, the social organization and kinship is essential to their identity and sense of community. The knowledge of these social ties is articulated in the history that is passed on from generation to generation. The ties of kinship and social organization are reintroduced through social actions. Social actions such as subsistence activities and potlatches emphasize sharing, redistribution, and reciprocity. These social obligations and responsibilities provide the motivation to maintain a balance within the social organization. This link to the land and resources and how it reinforces social organization is what sets the Tongass apart from many other ethnic groups, or "ethnoscapes" or "landscapes of group identity" (Appadurai 1991:192) of the world today. Their connections to the land and resources ground their identity in something much more than just a social, political, or historical construction of identity, but is also linked to unique Tlingit notions of space (land and resources).

The social construction of this Tongass knowledge is not enough without the transmission of this knowledge and the acting out of these relations in the form of

reciprocity in the moiety system. I would assert that Tongass knowledge (e.g., clan histories) and the motivation for transmitting the knowledge have remained consistent even as the methods of transmitting the knowledge have remained consistent even as the methods of transmitting knowledge have changed.

The personal names that are passed on from generation to generation represent a clan prerogative and history. Passing these names on reinforces a powerful connection with the ancestors. This is what Kan (1989) refers to as the symbolic immortality of the Tlingit. Therefore, clan affiliation is essential to not only one's connection to the ancestors, but also to one's identity in the social organization and action of the group. In the chapter about Tlingit social organization and kinship, I explored the idea of how Tlingit personal names become an apt analogy or metaphor for other aspects of Tlingit culture. While it is apparent that some Tongass names have survived for a very long time, others have ceased to be used; some of the meanings have changed, and new names are created to commemorate new events and people. Even though names change in meaning and new ones are created, the sense of ownership and community associated with these Tlingit names are still a strong part of identity. The fact that many Tlingit young people are receiving newly created names is testimony to the way Tlingit culture and Tongass identity is being reinvented. Today Tlingit personal names represent both continuity and reinvention for the culture.

Both state and federal subsistence negotiations have required extensive documentation of "customary and traditional use" (ANILCA), with any gaps in the documentation being interpreted as breaking with tradition. The present Tongass are

riddled with bureaucratic and political challenges. Public policy makers and resource managers have developed strict and prohibitive regulations regarding subsistence for the Tongass.

Resource issues have been a constant struggle. In the previous chapter we saw how intentions of Congress to protect subsistence for Alaskan Natives as established in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act were not carried out in subsequent legislation of the Alaska National Interest Land Claims Act (ANILCA). ANILCA, instead of protecting subsistence for Alaskan Natives, redefines subsistence as a rural/non-rural issue. This is particularly problematic for the majority of Tongass, who live in Ketchikan, which is considered a non-rural community. Regardless, of all these policy problems, the Tongass still attempt to fish, hunt, and gather from their traditional lands for personal consumption, exchange, and ceremonies even in the face of prohibitive regulations. Problems regarding land and resources are further exacerbated because ANSCA did not establish a village corporation for the Tongass, and they are left with little or no cash or land base. Today, the Tongass are caught in a "Catch 22" situation. Even though the Tongass tribe has the traditional and historical basis for pursuing both legal and aboriginal land claims and resource issues, they can not pursue these issues because they have been instructed by the federal government to work through the federally acknowledged tribal IRA council for Ketchikan, Ketchikan Indian Corporation (KIC). The problems the Tongass people have had when they have pursued land issues through KIC, is that does not have the traditional or historical basis for these claims.

In the previous chapter I described many ways in which the Tongass have asserted or contested their identity through the use of discourse. The Tongass discourse that is used are old narratives that discuss their social relations and obligations, as well as, their “rootedness” and “attachment” to the land and resources around them (Field and Basso 1996). Therefore, this research began with the discussion of Tlingit social organization, discourse, and notions of space and discussed how various events and “nonevents” have changed the Tongass situation. Today, at the heart of Tongass identity and sense of community is each and every individual's genealogical ties to the ancestors and Tongass descendants. This kinship places each individual within the Tlingit social organization. These positions have responsibilities within the social framework. Their group identity gives them ties to certain places and resources. The Tongass discourse today responds to and is influenced by the “dominant” society and discourse. Tongass discourse is influenced by dialogues with other cultures. The narratives that resurface and are cited are the ones that assert claims about identity, land, and resources. In many cases the discourse that emerges is contesting or asserting challenges by the dominant culture.

Epilogue

If I have not convinced my critics that Tongass Tlingit identity exists, I will note that "more than a few 'extinct' peoples have returned to haunt the Western historical imagination" (Clifford 1988:16). Clifford bases this statement on Stocking's (1987) research examining the genocidal "extinction" of the Tasmanians. Scientists studied and recorded the life of the "last Tasmanian", but in 1978, a committee of inquiry reported that between 4,000 and 5,000 persons were eligible to make land claims in Tasmania (Clifford 1988:16; Stocking 1987:283).

The history of the Tongass tribe is one of trespass and lack of acknowledgment. It is not a story of a group of "helpless Indians" but rather a history of courage, patience, and perseverance. On the historical eve of recognition for the Tongass tribe, however, many are complaining about the legislative, administrative, and judicial system that might recognize and compensate the Tongass people. The majority that was once a minority in the region now complains that a minority group will be given too much. For years, the Tongass people have been called less than civilized; they have been told to become educated and assimilate. Now that the younger generation has learned all too well from Euro-Americans how to work within "the system" academically, politically, and legally, some outspoken individuals from the majority cry foul. The Tongass Bears'

ears are still poised for word of a potlatch in which Seward's clan, the federal government, will rightfully acknowledge the Tongass tribe.

Some elders believe that bears have a special ability to determine what will occur in the future. A bear's ability to anticipate the change of seasons is just one example. Some think that bears can hear and predict events that will come. What might the bear hear about the Tongass tribe and their identity or what are some predictions about Tongass identity. At this point both the local and national political climate would not support the Tongass effort for federal acknowledgement. Therefore, for numerous reasons the Tongass people have decided to focus their energy on other goals. I predict that even if the Tongass tribe does not receive formal acknowledgement from the federal government they will remain an important social and political entity.

In recent months both the Ganax.adi ("Ravens") and the Teikweidi ("Bears") clans have announced major memorial potlatches for next fall. The announcements were made at a potlatch held by the Neix.adi clan of the Sanyakwaan. These potlatches will be memorial potlatches for deceased clan members. The potlatches will pay back and thank the opposite clans for their help in burying the dead. This will be the first major potlatch for the Tongass Ganax.adi "in quite some time". Not only is this potlatch important in perpetuating reciprocity among the clans, but it is also essential in the transmission of clan knowledge and their history. These announcements indicate to me that the Tongass clans are still very interested in asserting their discourse and identity at formal Tlingit gatherings.

The Ganax.adi and the Teikweidi made their announcements was at the potlatch held this October. The potlatch lasted two days. The Neix.adi believe they had approximately four hundred guests. The guests came from several different villages all over Southeast Alaska. Each guest was served several meals. Dancing and clan stories were told. At one point some Neix.adi clan regalia was brought out and “danced” on a young boy who will become a future leader of their clan. The Tlingit name from one of the recently deceased elders was given to the young boy. Elders from both sides emphasized how important it was for Tlingit culture that the regalia, names, and histories were being passed on. At the end of the potlatch all the guests from the opposite side of the Neix.adi clan were given gifts for attending, witnessing the event, and in payment for their services in burying the dead.

The Neix.adi potlatch and the announcement by the Tongass clans illustrates the strength of some aspects of Tlingit culture. In recent conversations with at least a few Tlingit elders they have indicated a renewed hope in the fact that there are some young Tlingits who are learning the clan names and histories. However, in conversations with elders about teaching the Tlingit language there is great concern this will be lost; especially with the southern dialects. This past winter Emma Williams, a ninety-nine year old woman of the Tongass Teikweidi clan past away. She was one of the last elders who was fluent in the Tongass dialect of the Tlingit language. Most of the Tlingit language instructors feel that there needs to be schools dedicated to immersion programs in the Tlingit language. It is feared that in another ten to twenty years there will not be enough knowledgeable elders to teach the language. Already some communities are

relying on one or two elders to teach the language. While the future of the Tlingit language is uncertain, Tlingit history and discourse survives and is being passed on in both Tlingit and English. The contemporary Tlingit dialogue of history is a discourse using two languages and cross-cutting several cultures. Further research needs to be done on the relationship between the loss of the Tlingit language and the retention and transmission of knowledge about the Tlingit history.

In other areas the Tongass are making steady progress. Even without federal acknowledgement tribal members are working on securing memorandums of agreements with federal agencies to obtain permanent access and ownership of historical burial grounds on Pennock Island. Many Tongass elders have indicated that they would prefer to be buried with their ancestors and family members on Pennock Island. The final chapter in this story is uncertain, but with the assistance of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act and a new age of cooperative management between federal agencies and Alaskan Native organizations it is possible that the Tongass may be able to own and control their own historical burial sites.

The close relationship the Tongass have to their ancestors, kinship groups, and land is central to their asserted and contested discourse about their identity today and will continue to be in the future. While the Tongass Taantakwaan people have been forgotten in some political arenas, their name, social identity, and discourse is prolific and undergoing a renaissance.

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PART III: ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Abbreviations

FAA	Federal Archives, Anchorage, Alaska
NAWDC	National Archives, Washington, D. C.
THS	Tongass Historical Society Archives, Ketchikan, Alaska
UCB	University of California, Berkeley Bancroft Library
UWA	University of Washington Archives

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Tongass Historical Society Photo Collection. The Historical Photos used in this dissertation are courtesy of the Society.

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