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KLONDIKE GOLD RUSH NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT



By

Thomas F. Thornton

With contributions by

Deborah McBride
Saurabh Gupta
Carcross-Tagish First Nations
Chilkat Indian Village
Chilkoot Indian Association
Skagway Traditional Council

FINAL REPORT
August 2004

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Front cover photo:
Maggie Kadanaha works in front of her house in Skagway, weaving baskets for tourists. She also displays examples of her moccasins, as well as her clan emblems (including the frog). Maggie (b. 1873) was a central figure in the Skagway community from 1930, when she moved there from Klukwan, until her death in 1957. She was a beloved figure, perhaps the most visible and industrious member of the Native community between 1930 and 1955. Maggie was considered an outstanding craftswoman by Natives and non-Natives alike.

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park
P.O. Box 517
Skagway, Alaska 99840-0517

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Dear Reader:

I am pleased to provide you with a copy of "*Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*" written by Thomas F. Thornton, with contributions by Deborah McBride, Saurabh Gupta, the Carcross-Tagish First Nations, Chilkat Indian Village, Chilkoot Indian Association, and the Skaqua Traditional Council.

The Coastal and Inland Tlingit and Tagish of the greater Chilkoot area have deep and profound ties to the landscape now encompassed by the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, the Skagway Historic District and White Pass National Historic Landmark, and the Dyea and Chilkoot Trail National Historic Landmark. Before, during, and after the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897-1898, the indigenous peoples on both sides of the present international border lived off these lands, surviving and flourishing despite the onslaughts of both nature and man. This ethnographic overview and assessment aims to serve as a building block toward further understanding of the rich Native history and cultural values within the park and as a catalyst for further collaborative efforts with area tribes and First Nations.

We welcome your comments. If you would like additional copies or have comments, please contact the park at the address above or phone (907) 983-2921 or visit our web site at http://www.nps.gov/klgo/.

Sincerely,

Jim Corless
Superintendent

Enclosure

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A Note on the Pronunciation and Spelling of Native Words

With one exception, the spelling of Tlingit words conforms to the accepted popular orthography first developed by Constance M. Naish and Gillian L. Story and revised by Jeff Leer and Nora Marks Florendo Dauenhauer in 1972 (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, *Beginning Tlingit*. Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1991). The exception concerns the uvular (or "back of the throat") consonants that in the earlier orthography were represented by an underlined g (g), k (k), and x, (x). Because of difficulties in using the underlined characters on maps and in databases, the underline has been replaced by an "h" after the consonant. Thus, g becomes gh, k become kh, and x becomes xh.

Coastal Tlingit has four long vowels and four short vowels, represented and pronounced as follows:

Tlingit Vowel	As in the English	Tlingit Example
A	Was	tás (thread)
Aa	Saab (a Swedish automobile)	taan (sea lion)
E	Ten	té (stone)
Ei	Vein	yeis (horse clams)
I	Hit	hít (house)
Ee	Seek	s'eek (black bear)
U	Push	núkt (male grouse)
Oo	Moon	xóots (brown bear)

Vowels may be pronounced with either a high (á) or low (à) tone. In northern Tlingit the low tone is unmarked. In southern Tlingit both tones are marked.

Important Native concepts and names for places are italicized in the text. Personal and social group names, however, are not.

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In Skagway I was aided by members of the Skagway Traditional Council and am especially grateful to STC's President, Lance Twitchell, for his support of the project. I am also indebted to the many residents who sat for interviews, including Richard Dick, Si Dennis Jr., Dorothy Dennis, Andrew Beierly, Pete Johnson, Minnie Stevens, Ada Haskins, Barbara Kalen, Anna True, and others (Appendix C, List of Contacts, Interviews). I also received invaluable assistance from the City of Skagway, especially from Judy Munns and Deb Hewlitt of the City Museum, and former Mayor Stan Slemer.

In Haines and Klukwan, I wish to thank the Chilkoot Indian Association and Chilkat Indian village tribes, including especially staff members Debra Schnabel, Dianna Kelm (who assisted with interviews), Dave Berry, Harriet Brouillette, and Georgianna Hotch at CIA, and Marsha Hotch (who also assisted with interviews) and Pat Warren at CIV. I am also thankful to those who sat for interviews (Appendix C, List of Contacts, Interviews) and otherwise shared resources. After the preliminary research, Lee Heinmiller, Hank and Edith Jacquot, and David Light helped fill in important gaps. Marilyn and Paul Wilson, who grew up in Skagway and remembered much, were generous not only with their knowledge, but with subsistence provisions (smoked salmon, especially).

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The coastal and inland Tlingit and Tagish of the greater Chilkoot area have longstanding and profound ties to the landscape now encompassed by the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park. For hundreds, if not thousands, of years before the 1890s gold rush, the indigenous peoples on both sides of the present international border inhabited these lands and engaged in increasingly dynamic patterns of subsistence production and trade. By the time of contact in the eighteenth century, the Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit had established large villages along the Chilkat River, including at Klukwan and modern day Haines and Chilkoot Lake, and smaller settlements at Dyea and Skagway, and had developed the Chilkoot Trail into an important trade route to the Interior. The interior Tlingit and Tagish groups maintained strong ties to the coastal Tlingit through intermarriage and trading partnerships. When Russian and Euro-American traders reached the Upper Lynn Canal in the early nineteenth century, Chilkat and Chilkoot Natives pursued trade with the newcomers, but aggressively defended their right to regulate commerce with the interior peoples throughout the Chilkat, Taiya, and Skagway valley passes, including the Chilkoot Pass, known in Tlingit as *A Shakee* ("On Top of It"). They were largely successful in this effort despite incursions into their trade by foreign ships along the coast and the Hudson Bay Company in the Interior. The Tlingit control over access to the Interior effectively prevented intensive contacts with the majority of inland Tlingit and Tagish Indians until the 1880s, when Tlingit control (erroneously termed a "monopoly") over the passes was effectively usurped by an increasing flow of miners seeking fortunes of gold and backed by government authority and the modern firepower of the American military.

In the gold rush stampede of 1897-98, the once peripheral communities of Dyea, Skagway, and Carcross became core areas in the industrial capitalist economy. The sudden influx of some 50,000 people through the area created a demographic stress of unprecedented proportions. The consequences of this stress were much more than economic. Diseases devastated Native groups, lands and resources were degraded, and basic social institutions and patterns of life were thoroughly disrupted. At one level, both the coastal and interior groups adapted to these stresses amazingly well, establishing vital economic roles as guides, packers, and laborers in the new gold rush economy, and seeking the benefits of new religious and educational institutions, while at the same time attempting to retain a high degree of cultural autonomy and political sovereignty. The cumulative impacts of the gold rush were transformative, however; and when the great stampede was over by the turn of the century, and the non-Native population dwindled, Natives found that they could not return to their aboriginal economy. The Tlingit trail system had given way to the White Pass railroad, and the greater Chilkoot landscape had become integrally connected to the capitalist world system and was controlled by non-Native state and private interests. Natives throughout the region sought to balance their interests through a mixed economy, partially dependent on traditional patterns of hunting, fishing, gathering and trade, but increasingly dependent on the developing commercial wage economy.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Skagway-Haines economy developed more rapidly than that of the southern

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In the first half of the twentieth century, the Skagway-Haines economy developed more rapidly than that of the southern

Yukon, due to the earlier development of the commercial fishing, timber, mining, transportation, and tourism industries on the coast, as well as the establishment of the military at Port Chilkoot. Alaska Natives participated in these industries, especially the commercial fishing and canning industry. Natives were hired as section hands and laborers on the White Pass and Yukon Route Railroad, too, which brought a small number of Native families to settle permanently in Skagway. The opening of the Pope Pius X Mission boarding school in the 1930s brought an additional influx of Natives, some of whom made Skagway their permanent home after graduation. Another vital industry in the area was tourism, and Native women in particular were instrumental in supplying tourists' demands for Indian handicrafts. During this time, use of the Chilkoot Trail all but ceased as a transportation and trade corridor among Natives, as they could take the train. But use of either side of the trail for subsistence hunting and gathering, trapping, homesteading, recreation, and commemorative activities at gravesites continued.

World War II constituted a second "rush" to the greater Chilkoot area, as tens of thousands of U.S. troops poured into Skagway, northern British Columbia, and the Southern Yukon Territory to construct roads and other transportation infrastructure to support the war effort. The effects of this second rush were especially pronounced on Yukon Indians due to the construction of the Alaska-Canada highway, which effectively reorganized many patterns of life among interior Natives. Although government and other services improved as a result of the highway and subsequent development, diseases and other economic and social problems devastated many families, as their mobility and cultural institutions were severely altered. Road connections also changed the patterns of interaction between interior and coastal communities, especially after the Klondike Highway was completed to Skagway in the late 1970s.

In the contemporary era, the boom and bust economy of natural resource exploitation has been buffered to some extent by the steady growth of tourism since the 1970s. The founding of the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park (KLGO) and its joint management of the Chilkoot Trail with Parks Canada has helped to anchor tourism in the communities adjacent to the trail. To date, however, Natives have played a relatively minor role in this development. Individual Native entrepreneurs have become involved in tourism but local tribes have remained largely on the sidelines. With increased political sovereignty and cultural revitalization among Alaska Native tribes and Yukon First Nations, and burgeoning popular interest in, and mandates for, multicultural understandings of history, area Natives are poised to play a larger role in the developing tourist economy and in the cultural resource and heritage management efforts of the KLGO and Parks Canada. This ethnographic overview and assessment aims to serve as a building block toward further understanding of the Native history and cultural values in the KLGO and as a catalyst for potential collaboration with area tribes and First Nations in that effort.

PROLOGUE: BORDERLANDS OF HISTORY

In 1998 the 100th anniversary of the Klondike Gold Rush was celebrated at the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park (KLGO) in Bennett, British Columbia. In his address for the August 5th dedication of the new "Klondike Gold Rush International Historical Park," Carcross-Tagish First Nation Chief Andy Carvill offered this incisiveness about the nature of the surrounding landscape as a symbol: "As we look back to the time when our two heritages met on the Chilkoot [Trail] a century ago, we must acknowledge that this trail has become a difficult symbol." Elaborating more forcefully, he observed,

> It is good that we can talk openly here about the hardships and the horrible inequalities that came to this community at the time of the Gold Rush. By speaking with each other and working together, we can heal the damage to our culture that continues today, with this mis-dedication, the mis-naming of this place as "the Klondike Gold Rush International Historical Park." The Carcross/Tagish First Nation looks forward to when this trail will be re-dedicated as our traditional trade route, in honour of its long-time use by our people. (Carvill 1998)

Indeed, of the three U.S. National park units that have arisen on appropriated aboriginal lands in Southeast Alaska and Southern Yukon, the KLGO may be the most problematic in terms of its representation and incorporation of Natives because, as Carvill suggests, it valorizes a colonization event that brought profound stress, loss, and change to local Alaska Native and Canadian First Nations peoples. KLGO is the last of the three Southeast parks to undertake a major ethnographic overview and assessment of Native history and culture. Historically, like nearly all of the U.S. and Canadian national parks, each of the three Southeast Alaska parks has emphasized certain dominant images of Native Americans at the expense of others. These "imagined" Natives remain key symbols that continue to play important roles in park interpretation, narratives, and iconography.

Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (GLBA) memorializes the wilderness and scientific vision of John Muir, the "Discoverer of the Bay," at the expense of the aboriginal Huna Tlingit, whose homeland and subsistence "icebox" it was and remains in spite of the National Park Service (NPS) efforts to limit "consumptive" human uses of the park and relegate the Hunas' presence to images of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Thornton 1995, 1999b). As an example, David Bohn's (1967) 160-page guidebook, *Glacier Bay The Land and the Silence*, includes only two images of the Native Tlingit: one is a rendering of a Tlingit woman from a 1786 expedition; the other is a gravestone depicting the legendary Tlingit Kooshdakaa or land-otter person (the deceased is not even identified). More recent guidebooks are a bit more inclusive but generally have followed suit; the absence of the present day Tlingit is striking. The "silence" it seems is at least in part due to the fact that local Tlingits are repeatedly portrayed as having all but died off, despite being several thousand strong in the region. In reality, it is the imagined Indian — the noble savage — that has died off (or been killed off, really), while the living Tlingit are considered "fallen," victims of the corrosive and assimilative effects of "civilization," and thus "gagged" and removed from the sacred wilderness

cathedral, and locked out of the grand scientific laboratory, as if their presence in living vocal form (as opposed to quaint historical images), would contaminate the space. Only in the past several years has this attitude toward Natives begun to change, with some headway having been made through a recent (September 2000) Memorandum of Understanding signed between the Hoonah Indian Association and GLBA.

Similarly, Sitka National Historical Park (SITK) has its symbolic problems with Indians. Until recently the park primarily commemorated two disparate things, both of which local Tlingits found rather distasteful: an odd collection of totem poles, cobbled together by former Territorial Governor Brady for the 1904 World's Fair, that are non-local in origin and design (most came from Haida Country, farther south), and the commemoration of the Battle of 1804 in which Sitka Tlingits (at least in the official portrayal) suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Russian colonizers. Unlike the 2.8 million acre wilderness of GLBA, the geographic scope of SITK is small, about 100 acres, encompassing the battle site and a coastal totem walk, and at a separate site, a restored Russian Bishop's House. Yet like the Glacier Bay portrayal, the Indian iconography here too has been, at least until recently, dominated by "noble savage" themes. Once vanquished, it seems, the Indian can be appreciated for his artistry and war-making. But unlike Glacier Bay, where local Tlingits essentially have had little or no presence except via circumscribed or illegal food gathering forays back to their "icebox," Sitka Tlingits chose to actively recolonize their little town park by establishing an Indian Arts Center in the Visitors Center, thus making their living presence known through local artists and interpreters (Hope in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:779-784). This living presence, among other things, has led to the introduction of local Tlingit art into the park (Thornton 1998b).

In contrast, at KLGO, the local Tlingit/Tagish presence was long ago extinguished (at least on the U.S. side) by the gold rush development of Skagway (Shghagwei, "Rugged") and Dyea (Dayei, "To Pack") and especially the Chilkoot Trail (A Shakee, "On Top of it [the Mountain]"), which turned seasonal Native villages into frontier cities and their aboriginal trade routes into "gold roads" for fortune-seeking white miners from the south. In this park, it is the rapacious gold rushers who are honored for their indomitable spirits and incredible exploits in the pursuit of precious metal. While silent on the present day Tlingit and First Nations peoples, the park's interpretive displays do immortalize the historical Tlingit traders who carved out the "grease trails" (as the interior trade routes are dubbed due to the seal and fish grease that was traded from the coast for furs, and other commodities from the Interior), attempted to monopolize them, and, once defeated in their territorial designs with the aid of the U.S. military, were reduced (Tlingits and interior Natives) to the status of contract "packers," for hire by invading whites —valets for the gold rush, if you will. It is a disturbing portrait; even the "noble savage" symbolism does not seem to apply. For the Tlingit, at least, were not harmless "children of nature," but rather ferocious and exploitative middlemen in an incipient capitalist exchange economy fueled by the early fur trade. In a way this image of the Native helps to set up and justify the coastal Tlin-

gits' ultimate demotion (or perhaps I should say "fall," given the Edenic iconography of parks) in the park's meta narrative from the exalted status of capitalist controllers to a more humble wage-laboring purgatory as "packers" for white stampeders as the gold rush exploded in 1898. Still, anecdotes and photos reveal Natives labored stoically, carried large loads, and were often well-paid for their work; Tlingits especially drove a hard bargain for their services, sometimes leaving cheapskate gold panners high and dry with their supplies. Thus the strong-backed, entrepreneurial, indigenous packers take their place alongside the white gold diggers, frontier traders, bootleggers, gamblers, pimps, whores, lawmen, and other eccentric characters in the Park Service's pageant of frontier history.

But neither of the Native roles is examined in much detail, and the packer role proves to be short-lived. By 1900, with the advent of the White Pass railroad, Tlingit packers are altogether out of a job; and Natives are further marginalized on the borderlands of history. They become, to rephrase Eric Wolf, "The People with No More History." It could be argued that, inasmuch as the park commemorates only the gold rush period, this is not inappropriate. But that is a myopic and narrow view. Instead we must ask: Why commemorate only the brief gold rush period in the first place? What is being celebrated, and what is being ignored? A good deal of what has been celebrated in connection with the gold rush to date has been bound up with prevailing themes of a national identity—e.g., the frontier spirit, rugged individualism, and so on—at the expense of minority peoples' identities and histories. Recently, revisionists have begun to examine the cultural and political forces involved in the commemoration process itself, and how contests over meaning in historical commemoration get played out along ethnic, regional, national, and other lines (cf. Cameron 2000, Neufeld 2001, 2002, Marsh 2001). Neufeld (2002:27) poses the key question pointedly: "Has national commemoration actually contributed to the destruction of aboriginal culture through its power of defining what has meaning and what has not?"

In this context, the prospect of recovering Native history may seem daunting and the idea of "re-colonizing" the park hardly worthwhile. But to local Natives (and hopefully to the parks, too) these are worthwhile projects because, as Chief Carvill suggests for the neighboring Carcross Tlingit and Tagish people, their history and identity are at stake—a history and collective identity that did not begin or end with the gold rush, is not synonymous with U.S. or Canadian history, and which continues to flourish today. The imagined Indian may be an exotically appealing icon to the annual onslaught of 750,000 or so fleeting tourists, eager to consume the local flavor; but, as we shall see, the actual Natives are really much more interesting and diverse than their commemorated caricatures, and their stories offer valuable ideas about how to improve the park's interpretive, cultural and natural resource programs.

As a prelude to this larger project, let us briefly explore the lives of two legendary gold rush figures, Lunáat' ("Chilkoot Chief") and Keish ("Skookum Jim"), from multiple, contesting perspectives.

In the "official" gold rush history the coastal Tlingit chief Lunáat' is a tragic foil for the gold rush stampede heroes. He stands

as an obstacle—an ambitious young chief trying to protect a fragile trade route monopoly in the face of an enormous onslaught of tens of thousands of white stampeders (some 30,000 by 1898).[3] Born in the 1850s, Lunáat' was only in his twenties when he began to direct the affairs of his Lukaaxh.ádi Raven clan with the encouragement of the elder *hit s'aati* or "house master" (Tlingits have decidedly mixed feelings about the word "chief"). Daanawáakh's (a.k.a. Silver Eyes, "Daana" being the Tlingit rendering of "dollar").[4] In the end Lunáat' is a tragic figure who fights valiantly, but in vain, to manage the flow of whites and even his own people amid the rapid change. When John Healy, a white Dyea merchant, attempted to seize control of the packing industry in 1887 by charging tolls on the Chilkoot Trail, Lunáat' refused to allow it and asked the U.S. government to acknowledge his claim. Although he successfully foiled Healy's toll road, eventually the pressure was too great. By 1888 even non-local Tlingits were flooding into the area and pushing to pack. Lunáat' would not let them without proper tribute, and a "Packer War" ensued in which Lunáat' and several others were killed. This is where Lunáat's and the Native history end. Lunáat' is doomed as the naïve but tragically committed (even perhaps a bit arrogant and greedy) noble savage willing to fight for his land, even if it means fending off modernity.

Lunáat's actual response to the takeover of his trail is more nuanced than the portrait of the monopolistic "chief" sketched above, however. To begin with, the Lukaaxh.ádi chief did not immediately respond to Healy or the Sitkans' threats with violence. He first attempted to explain his position in detail. He did this orally and in writing, and his [translated and transcribed] letter (as we shall see below) to the American government in 1899 is revealing of Tlingit conceptualizations of property, liability, and stewardship. In his letter, Lunáat' emphasizes his clan's right to request permission and compensation for trail use from visitors, in part because he must maintain a "good road" and assume personal responsibility and liability for those who travel on it. Thus, Tlingit property rights were not exclusive or monopolistic per se, but actually were rather porous as long as the local tribe's covenant with the land was acknowledged, preferably through a social tie, or, in the case of strangers, payment or gift. As Lunáat' put it, "We make our trail for our own use, if others wish to use it should they not compensate us for our labor? The white man builds a wharf and all who lands goods over must pay" (*Alaska Free Press*, 5/14/1887). There is another irony here, too, beyond the ethnocentric misrecognition of monopoly, namely that, while Tlingit communal property rights were sacrificed in the name of common property rights (everybody uses the trail) for the purposes of entering the Klondike, once on the goldfields, it was the miners that shut many Natives out of their own territory by staking exclusive monopolistic claims to the treasures that lay there (or mostly didn't, it turns out). In this light, one could argue that Tlingits like Lunáat' anticipated the "tragedy of the commons" that so often accompanies unregulated access to precious, limited resources and infrastructure, and sought to avoid it through appropriate regulation. At least many of his descendants see it this way and still recognize Lunáat' as a good Tlingit leader and steward, as did some of his contemporaries in the American government, though the latter

always accepted uncritically, that, as one put it, "the development of the interior cannot be retarded by this ownership of the trail by the Chilkoots" (quoted in ABT 1904).

The second figure I want to discuss, Skookum Jim Mason (Keish), was more lucky and more liminal than Lunáat', at least during the gold rush period. Indeed, a recent Native-produced biographical film on Keish is subtitled "A Man in Two Worlds" (1999). Born about the same time as Lunáat' in the mid 1800s, Jim Mason earned the superlative "Skookum" (Chinook for "strong') for his ability to pack loads of well over 100 pounds over the Chilkoot Trail, described by one writer as "the toughest 33 miles anywhere." Before packing for miners, Skookum Jim had packed furs and trade goods up and down the trail for himself and his family. With coastal Tlingit and interior Tagish ancestry, he could invoke ties to access both sides of the trail and thus roamed rather freely compared to other interior Indians.

In the master narrative of the park, Skookum Jim is the Indian guide and co-discoverer of gold (with George Carmacks). He is depicted not only as strong/Skookum but also as quasi-shamanic, for he is lead to the gold by "frog helper," a kind of guardian spirit. Significantly, he is not cheated out of the gold by the white man Carmacks (who marries his sister Kate), but shares in the claim and becomes a wealthy man, obtaining many of the trappings of "civilization," such as three-piece suits and a large western-style house. In contrast to Lunáat', Skookum Jim is an Indian we can identify with, rather than pity. He's a Horatio Alger type, who played by the rules and, with a little luck, made it in the white man's world end of story.

Again, the rest of the story paints a more multi-dimensional and interesting man. As the biographical film and the work of Cruikshank and her Yukon collaborators (1992, 1998) clearly demonstrate, among his people, Keish is celebrated not for his success in prospecting or adaptation to white culture, but rather for his exceptional knowledge, skill, and social responsibility toward his extended family. He is also remembered for his luck, through the acquisition of the frog helper and his encounter with the mythical Tlanaxeedakhw, the "Wealth-Bringing Woman" whom he can't quite seem to catch, which, in Tagish metaphysics, perhaps explains why he was not able to hold on to his wealth. Most of all, however, Skookum Jim is remembered for taking care of his family. After the gold rush until his death in 1916, he continued to travel long distances throughout the Yukon, Alaska, and British Columbia, visiting and caring for relatives, especially his sisters—including Kate who was unceremoniously dumped (in favor of a white woman) by George Carmacks not long after his big strike—and his only daughter, whom Jim left a large trust fund that was eventually used to endow The Skookum Jim Friendship Center, "a non-profit organization committed to a vision of bettering the spiritual, emotional, mental and physical well being of First Nations peoples, fostering the way of Friendship and understanding between people." This unique outreach agency, the enduring stories of Jim, as well as his many descendants are perhaps the greatest testimony to Skookum Jim's character, not as "an Indian who wanted to be a white man," but as an exceptional Tagish-Tlingit man who "walked in two worlds" and, like Lunáat', tried to take care of his family.

In sum, national parks and Natives are both powerful symbols in our nations' conscience and history. Symbols necessarily condense meaning and carry ambiguity, and they can also unnecessarily oversimplify. In

his article on commoditization, tourism, and image building in the Klondike, Jarvenpa (1994) reports that for tourism promoters in Dawson, Yukon, an "infatuation with material wealth and the ethic of individualism, are codified in the image of the sourdough, an amplified symbol of EuroCanadian and Euramerican achievements and Gold Rush history that, in turn, provides a compelling focus of attention for tourists." The same could be said of the image of the "Indian Packer." But such unifying themes do not necessarily breed unity, especially when the narratives of some segments of the community are twisted, truncated, or tossed aside into the borderlands of history. The challenge for the Park Service, it seems, is "to accept the kaleidoscope of our past" and embrace its diversity and complexity through constructive dialogue and collaborative relationships with Native peoples who inhabited those parks (cf. Keller and Turek 1998). Natives themselves are beginning to question the state's intellectual hegemony as it is manifest in our parks. Is it not fair that they want to represent themselves, to tell their own histories, and to be stewards—like Lunáat' and Skookum Jim—for those of us who wish to traverse these trails? As Chief Carvill (1998) envisioned at the gold rush centenary:

> We look forward to when we will have, as promised, an equal partnership as stewards of this place that is so important to both of our histories, and so important to our history together...Our people have much to offer the Yukon Territory, Canada, and the United States.
>
> It will be good to honour together how our heritages met 100 years ago. It will be good to repair what has been damaged and to move forward together. It will be good to see this trail and this land cared for in the ways of our tradition...It will be good to see people moving in our land who respect and understand the difficult heritage we share. It will be good to see those people moving in our land with peacefulness, and with hope that we can make such a difficult symbol, the Chilkoot Trail, good for all of us again.

(Footnotes)

[1] Among the most formidable obstacles was the rendering of his name in English, of which I count more than a half dozen spellings, with the Tlingit lateral "L" being variously rendered as Thl, CL, and KL, and the long vowels as single "o," double "o," "u," and double "a," with several of these iterations preserved today as surnames.

[2] This name illustrates the other side of the phonetics coin, where Tlingits had difficulty reproducing the English double "l" consonant, thus converting it to an "n". The name was born of the Daanawáakh 's fondness for a pair of ornate silver-rimmed glasses, given to him by a Russian, which he liked to sport for effect on ceremonial occasion despite the fact that they rendered him nearly blind (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994).

Chapter 1: Project Background

Introduction

In July 2000 Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park (KLGO) and the Alaska System Support Office of the National Park Service issued a Scope of Work calling for the production of an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, documenting Alaska Native and Canadian First Nation uses of the Chilkoot Trail and surrounding areas and identifying groups affiliated with the park. As emphasized in the Prologue, KLGO's focus to date has been primarily on the white stampeders, with only passing reference in the park's materials and interpretive displays to local indigenous peoples' prehistory, involvement in the gold rush, and post-gold rush fate. One reason for this is that the existing information on Natives is diffuse and rather fragmentary. Another is that the history of Native peoples not been the dominant focus of the park. This project is a concerted effort to fill these gaps, and its overarching objective is to document the cultural history of Native residents of the area and the relationships among the different indigenous groups who have used the trail. The project seeks to provide not only a single, detailed narrative of the Native history and use of the land but also suggestions for further research and recommendations for development of the park's interpretive programs and management of cultural resources.

Another important aim for KLGO in initiating this project is to foster research collaboration between the NPS and local indigenous groups. To this end, the principal investigator (PI) worked closely with area indigenous organizations, especially Alaska tribal and First Nations governments in Canada, including the Chilkat, Chilkoot, and Skagway Tlingit tribal governments of the Alaska coast and inland Tlingits, and Tagish Athabaskans located primarily in Southern Yukon, Canada, in the vicinity of Carcross. These entities were invited to assist in all phases of the research, including research design, data collection, write-up, and review of the draft report. Effort also was made to allow the results of this project to dovetail with objectives and existing projects of local tribes and First Nations.

This report is the main product of the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, although future products are also envisioned. To this end, the report seeks to synthesize prior ethnographic and historical literature and oral historical interviews into a narrative useful for park managers, local indigenous peoples, and the interested public alike, and which will yield materials for improving the understanding and portrayal of local indigenous peoples by the park and NPS.

In accordance with the Scope of Work, this report emphasizes five broad areas of interest:

1. Native uses of the Chilkoot Trail and surrounding areas during the pre-contact period;

2. Native uses of the trail and surrounding areas just before and during the gold rush;
3. Native uses of the trail and surrounding areas after the gold rush;
4. Native peoples' contemporary uses of the trail and surrounding areas;
5. Traditional ecological knowledge, particularly concerning environmental and ecological changes (plants, animals, weather, landscape) that have occurred in the region since before the gold rush.

The report also includes an annotated bibliography that critically evaluates significant sources of information about the culture and history of the Native people surrounding KLGO, and an assessment and prioritization of ethnographic work that needs to be completed in the future to meet legal mandates, policy directives, or management needs.

Study Objectives

Specific objectives identified in the initial Scope of Work and endorsed by local tribes and First Nations include the following:

1. Develop a written report that documents Native history and culture in the region and general historical period of the gold rush and identifies groups affiliated with KLGO.
2. In partnership with Alaska Native and Canadian First Nations people, work with NPS staff to add a Native voice to interpretive materials about the history and cultural context of the gold rush.
3. Create a collaborative process that stimulates consultation between the NPS and local Native groups.

Similarly, the scoping document notes that "NPS managers will benefit from working in partnership with indigenous organizations to achieve common goals of historical and cultural documentation." At the same time "better communication between the NPS and indigenous people will benefit tribal organizations as they learn of potential funding opportunities (e.g., NAGPRA or historical preservation grants) and pursue projects of mutual interest."

Methodology and Plan of Work

This project was carried out using standard ethnographic research techniques. These included a review of the existing published and archival literature concerning the history and use of the greater Chilkoot Trail landscape; consultation of the appropriate anthropological and sociological literature on the Tlingit, Tagish, and Southern Tutchone; historical political and economic systems and social change; interviews with Alaska Natives and Yukon First Nations peoples of the area and others knowledgeable of the history of the park; and participant observation of selected cultural institutions and events. Interviews with informants were semi-structured and carried by the PI, as well as local interviewers, based on a set of topical questions that were reviewed by all local indigenous governments and the representatives of the park.

The plan of work for the research was divided into four Milestones. Milestone 1

was to produce an appropriate research design. The PI produced a research design after meeting with National Park Service (NPS) personnel and separately with representatives of the following Alaska Native tribal and Yukon First Nations governments: Chilkoot Indian Association (Haines, AK), Chilkat Indian Association (Klukwan, AK), Skagway (Skaqua) Traditional Council (Skagway, AK), and the Carcross Tagish First Nations (Carcross, Yukon Territory). A key objective of this project is to foster research collaboration between the NPS and local indigenous groups and to "create a collaborative process that stimulates consultation between the NPS and local Native groups." Following suggestions made at the June 2000 pre-work meetings, the PI wrote in August to leaders of all of the local tribes/First Nations–including Skagway Tribal Council (STC), Chilkoot Indian Association (CIA), Chilkat Indian Village (CIV), Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Alaska (T&H), and the Carcross-Tagish First Nations (CTFN) outlining the project and seeking their input and collaboration in carrying out the research. Each received a copy of the 19 July 2000 revised statement of work (SOW) and the following requests for input:

a) comments on the project's objectives and areas of study. Are there additional objectives or areas of study that you feel should be part of the project? Are there ways that this study can dovetail with your existing needs or projects?
b) ways that your organization would like to be involved with the research. Are there specific tasks that your organization can assist with or facilitate? Are there steps that we can take to ensure substantive involvement?
c) ways that we can collaborate to produce high quality and useful final products. What specific outcomes would your organization like to see from this project and how might we work together to produce them?

The letters also included contact information for the principal investigator and a pledge to follow-up by phone, which I did in late August and September. We received one formal letter of response from Mr. Richard Stitt, Self-Governance Coordinator at T&H (7 September 2000), who expressed general concern about the lack of information concerning the prominent role that local Tlingit played in the Skagway-Chilkoot Pass area and support for the project's objectives. Mr. Stitt stated that the local Skagway Traditional Council (STC) should have a prominent role in the project and that it was also good to include Haines and Klukwan people.

Follow-up consultations and plans for collaboration with particular tribes/First Nations were carried out during the first fieldwork phase of the research in September 2000. The following individuals and organizations were contacted in person or by phone or letter to discuss the project (Appendix C, List of Contacts, Interviews has further information):

- **Carcross-Tagish First Nations**: Mr. Andy Carvill (Chief), Mr. Danny Cresswell, (VP), and Ethel Tizya (Executive Assistant), Ms. Heather Jones (Council Member), Ms. Leslie Hamson (Independent Researcher), and Corrine Kendall

(Executive Assistant and Director of Administration).

- **Chilkoot Indian Association**: Mr. Lee Clayton (President), Mr. Dave Berry (VP), Ms. Georgianna Hotch (Tribal Secretary), Ms. Harriet Brouillette (Environmental Planner).
- **Chilkat Indian Village**: Mr. Joe Hotch (President), Ms. Marsha Hotch (Environmental Technician); Ms. Pat Warren (Planner).
- **Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska**: Mr. Richard Stitt (Self-Governance Coordinator).

UAS (University of Alaska Southeast) student Deborah McBride was hired in September 2000 to assist with various research tasks. Ms. McBride was engaged primarily in collecting source material at the Alaska State Historical Library and in transcribing interview tapes from the fieldwork. She also was the lead author of the section on the Haines Mission. We also undertook valuable consultations with appropriate personnel in the KLGO and NPS regional office (see contacts list), as well as with Mr. Dave Neufeld of Parks Canada. In addition, during a September 2000 trip to Whitehorse, the PI met with Dr. Julie Cruikshank, Sarah Gaunt, and Sheila Greer, all of whom have been engaged in research on the Native history of the greater Chilkoot Trail area and offered valuable suggestions for pursuing the research.

In addition, important archival sources of information were identified and contacted or visited, including the following (with notes on contacts and dates visited):

- **Alaska State Historical Library**, (Manuscript and Photograph Collections, visited by Deborah McBride)
- **Carcross-Tagish First Nations Archives** (utilized by Carcross Tagish FN research staff)
- **Central Council of Tlingit and Haida** (Allotment, Tribal Governance Archives, not visited)
- **National Archives, Anchorage** (Bruce Parham, archivist; visited by PI in February, 2001)
- **Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park Library/Archives** (visited by PI September 2000)
- **Sealaska Archives** (Curry-Weissbrodt, Historic Sites, visited by PI in September 2000)
- **Sheldon Museum and Cultural Center** (Cynthia Jones, director, visited by PI in September 2000)
- **Skagway City Library** (visited by PI in September 2000)
- **Skagway Museum and Archives** (Judith Munns, director, visited by PI in September 2000, Summer 2001, 2002)
- **Skookum Jim Friendship Centre** (Maria Benoit, exec. director, visited by PI in September 2000)
- **University of Alaska Archives, Fairbanks** (India Spartz, archivist, visited in March 2001)
- **University of Washington Archives** (visited in January 2001)
- **Yukon Archives** (Linda Johnson, director; Diane Chisholm, assistant territorial archivist; Angela Wheelock, assistant; visited by PI in September 2000).

Phase I of the fieldwork took place from September 9-26, 2000, and included visits to Juneau (September 9-12, 17-18), Skagway (Sept 13-16), Carcross (Sept 15), Haines-Klukwan (Sept. 19-21, 24-25), and Whitehorse (Sept. 22-24). Phase II of the fieldwork took place in 2001-2002 and included visits to Anchorage and Fairbanks (March 2001), Skagway and Juneau (June 2001, 25th Anniversary of KLGO), and Juneau, Haines, Klukwan, and Skagway (August 2002). For the August 2002 field trip, the PI was accompanied by Saint Lawrence University student Saurabh Gupta, who received a university grant to help compile a multimedia atlas based on results of this project (Gupta and Thornton 2003). We met with Steve Henrikson of the Alaska State Museum and viewed collections related to Skagway, Dyea, and Carcross-Tagish. We also conducted archival research in the Alaska State Historical Library, interviewed several local Tlingits with ties to the Chilkoot area, and interviewed elders in Haines, Klukwan, and Skagway. During this trip the PI also hiked the Chilkoot Trail and interviewed KLGO and Parks Canada staff on the trail, and Carcross-Tagish elder Edna Helm at Bennett.

Milestone 1 of the project was completed in November 2000 (Cooperative Agreement was officially signed on September 30, 2000) and provides a detailed research design with the following elements, as specified in the SOW.

1. an outline of major report topics
2. a list of key sources
3. a prototypical consent form that pr serves informants' intellectual property rights
4. a schedule for accomplishment of tasks (revised and extended in September 2001).

This design became the basis for further fieldwork and archival research. A second phase of fieldwork was initiated after a subagreement was forged with the Carcross-Tagish First Nations in March 2001. The CTFN agreed to carry out interviewing of elders in their community. Ms. Corinne Kendall worked with the PI and University of Alaska Southeast to fashion this subagreement. CTFN hired David Gatensby and Sophia Smith to carry out the interviews in Carcross. Tapes and notes and transcriptions (if recorded) of interviews were sent to the PI on 26 June 2001. A similar subagreement with Skagway Traditional Council was sought but not negotiated in time to meet project deadlines.

Milestone 2 and 3 of the project were completed in February 2003 with the submission of the draft report and references cited. Milestone 4, a review and comment on the report by the NPS staff, indigenous communities, and other interested personnel, was completed in September 2003. As part of this milestone, the PI and Saurabh Gupta attended a special meeting on 30 May 2003 at the Skagway Traditional Tribal Council headquarters (figure 1) in Skagway to present the draft results of the research, present a prototype of the Chilkoot Trail cultural atlas, and seek feedback on the preliminary products. This meeting was attended by representatives from Haines (Ray Dennis, Lee Heinmiller, and David Light), Klukwan (Marsha Hotch, partial), Carcross-Tagish (Andy Carvill, David Gatensby, Jeremiah Gatensby, James Kashuk, Corinne Kendall, and Crystal Reid),



Figure 1. Lukaaxh.ádi clan leader Ray speaks to Elder Jessie Johnnie (seated) and other Alaska Native and Canada First Nations participants at a Skagway Traditional Council intertribal meeting in Skagway, May 30, 2003. Left to right: Jeremiah Gatensby (hat), David Gatensby, Ida Calmegane, Crystal Reid (standing), Ray Dennis, Lance Twitchell, Jessie Johnnie (seated), and James Kashuk, and unidentified participant (lower right). (Saurabh Gupta photo)

Skagway (Lance Twitchell, Lilly Tuzroy-luke). Milestone 4 review was completed by NPS staff in August 2003. With the PI having responded to the reviews and incorporated the suggested changes as appropriate, the completion of this final report marks Milestone 5 of the project. Recommendations for further research and implementation of the research findings are included in the concluding section of this report.

The Gold Rush and Indigenous Peoples in the Context of World History and Globalization

In addition to making the history of indigenous peoples more complete and relevant to the mission of the park, it also important to acknowledge the relation of both indigenous peoples and the Klondike Gold Rush to larger events and processes in world history. Although the Klondike Gold Rush was a singular and in many ways unparalleled event, it was hardly the only gold rush, colonization, or stampede for riches that took place during that period. Indeed the mid- and late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were marked by a number of gold rushes in

Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and other North American frontiers besides the Alaska-Yukon, including Arizona, British Columbia, California, Colorado, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming. The forces that produced these dramatic movements of people, money, and resources to mineral yielding locales around the world also produced major transformations of the physical, economic, political, and sociocultural landscapes in the areas they occurred. In that sense, the Klondike Gold Rush should be understood within the context of world history (Coates 1998) and the world capitalist system (Wallerstein 1974, 1979, 1991), the tentacles of which by the end of the nineteenth century extended to the farthest reaches of the earth. While a full-scale world systems analysis of gold rushes is beyond the present study, it is important to focus on our unit of analysis, the Native communities associated with the Chilkoot Trail, with the capitalist world system in mind. For the involvement of Natives with this system did not begin or end with the gold rush, it was well established beforehand. Even before the first whites reached the shores of Chilkat country, the influences of the world system were already being felt by Natives of the greater Chilkoot Trail region through trade networks and the vectors of such infectious diseases as smallpox and influenza. And long after Dyea faded into a ghost town, the capitalist world system continued to penetrate and remake the Chilkoot region through the intense summer tourist trade and other commercial enterprises.

The world capitalist system may be defined as a global set of economic relations, driven by profit seeking and capital accumulation, which render societies and nations economically and politically interdependent. What are the key characteristics of the world capitalist system as it developed, particularly between eighteenth and twentieth centuries? They include the following (Wallerstein 1991:267-68):

- the ceaseless accumulation of capital as its driving force;
- an axial division of labor in whic there are core, semi-periphery and periphery zones, with a corresponding tension between the core (which controls the capital and means of production and exchange) and the periphery (which supplies the material and/or labor resources for production) due to unequal exchange favoring the core;
- the large and continuing role of non-wage labor alongside wage labor;
- the correspondence of the boundaries of the capitalist world-economy to that of an interstate system composed of sovereign states;
- the system originated largely in Europe in the sixteenth century and then spread throughout the globe via a process of successive "incorporations" of new areas and peoples;
- the existence in this world system of hegemonic states, each of whose periods of full or uncontested hegemony has, however, been relatively brief (e.g., Spain in the seventeenth century, Great Britain in the nineteenth century; the U.S. in the twentieth century);
- the non-primordial character of states, ethnic groups, and households, all of which are created and

recreated:

- the fundamental importance of racism and sexism as organizing principles of the system, and the increased vulnerability of victims of this discrimination;
- the emergence of antisystemic movements that simultaneously undermine and reinforce the system; and
- a pattern of both cyclical rhythms and secular trends that incarnates the inherent contradictions of the system and accounts for systemic crises.

The Alaska-Yukon gold rush was produced in part by the quickening pulse of a capitalist world system thirsty for mineral and pecuniary resources to drive its circulatory web of production and exchange. This thirst helped fuel demand for gold, driving prices as high as $16 an ounce. In the 1890s, the best and worst elements of the world system were evident. The blossoming of the "Gilded Age" had led to a rapid expansion and industrialization of the economy and generated tremendous wealth and increased social stratification, defined at the extremes by a rich capitalist class and a poverty-stricken urban working class. The Panic of 1893 came as seismic shock, plunging America into the deepest economic depression it had yet experienced. Satterfield (1983:26-27; see also Berton 1958:100-103) captures the mood in his popular historical guide of the Chilkoot Trail:

> Like most depressions that century, it was caused by an overexpansion of the railroads, wild speculation by enthusiastic businessmen, and uneasiness on the part of European businessmen that caused them to sell American bonds, which in turn drained gold from the U.S. treasury. By 1894 thousands of businesses had failed and four million men were looking for work. The panic was directly responsible for the success of the Populist Party, which almost pushed William Jennings Bryan [famous, among other things, for his "Cross of Gold" speech in the 1896 election emphasizing the economic vulnerability posed by tying currency to gold] into the presidency in 1896 and again in 1900.
>
> It was a desperate time, and American citizens had even fewer federal and state social welfare programs to fall back onto than during the Great Depression in the 1930s. One of the most desperate reactions was Gen. Jacob S. Coxey's Industrial Army, formed in 1894 to march on Washington, D.C., and demand that Congress give relief to starving workers....
>
> ...The American dream had turned into a nightmare for immigrants...there was a general paranoia...Insanity and mental breakdown was rampant. Thousands were afflicted with what came to be known as cabin fever, but instead of being trapped in a small cabin by winter, they were trapped by geography and poverty. Some social historians

> have called the 1890s a period of psychic crisis for the country...

Amid all this stress, and with the U.S. Treasury virtually drained of gold, the news of big gold strikes in the Klondike in 1896-97 was welcomed as a beacon of hope, a new frontier, a sign of a turnaround. Again, Satterfield (1983:18-19) sums up the mood: "A national restlessness was set into motion by the gold rush, and it gave vent to the feeling that the country should get moving again. It offered hundreds of thousands of square miles of open country, a new frontier to cross and conquer. It became the last great migratory impulse for North America." Perhaps as many as half a million men and women started out for the Alaska-Yukon goldfields, but only about 50,000 made it to the base of the Chilkoot Trail (Berton 1958). Of this group, approximately 25,000-30,000 crossed the Chilkoot successfully into the Klondike goldfields, while another 5,000-10,000 stampeders entered via the White Pass (K. Gurcke, pers. comm. 2002). And of this more select group of men and women (mostly men), only about 400 struck it rich, although altogether some $300,000,000 worth of gold was wrought from the Klondike fields by 1900. Many of those stampeders who did strike gold fit the rugged individualist frontiersman and rags to riches stereotypes, but as a whole they represent a small minority of the gold rush population. Even among those who profited, most were not stampeders, but rather assumed associated business roles, such as that of the peddler, trader, saloonkeeper, madam, and so on. Thus, as Berton (1985) suggests, "It was certainly one of the strangest mass movements of human beings in history."

With such formidable obstacles to success, we might wonder what drove so many to risk so much. Was it simply a combination of restlessness and hope as Satterfield suggests? To what extent did myth, lore, and exoticism play a luring role? Self-delusion? All of these would seem to be contributing elements in a chemistry that is difficult to assay. Certainly stampeders were driven by a variety of motives, but the majority seems to have shared a vision of wealth that defied hard economic facts and logic. As Coates (1998:28) has written, "What is appealing about the gold rushes –the Klondike the best among them –is that it reveals the human capacity to be irrational, to believe in a fantasy even of one's creation. Mass participation in a gold rush must defy the economist's explanation–much like joining in a vast pyramid scheme or succumbing to a gambling addiction." At the same time, "It is this very irrationality that makes the stampeder such an attractive figure, particularly to the armchair observer, who lives out his fantasy through the life and times of one who dared to believe in the unreasonable." In this sense the stampeders' vision was quite distinct from that of the indigenous inhabitants of the region, who knew the realities of their territory if not those of the capitalist world system as manifest in the roller-coaster gold rush economy.

The Klondike gold rush also benefited from another tool of the emerging world economy: global media. In addition to its natural appeal to the press as a set of exotic and adventurous stories, made all the more appealing by the sensational journalism of the era, the stampede was enlivened and enlarged by the media's new global reach. As Coates (1998:29) points out,

> Much had changed between the

discovery of gold in California and the Klondike strike. The development of transcontinental telegraphy, for one, ensured that the Klondike story whipped around the world with rapier-like speed. The story, grabbed and embellished by local newspapers, given a regional twist whenever possible, swept through country after country, passed by word of mouth and subjected to the inevitable exaggerations. The Klondike was followed with a sense of immediacy that was unusual in world history, with newspapers following the story with rapt attention, books rushed into print to guide stampeders on their way, memoirs produced as soon as the miners and journalists had a chance to write. The gold rush itself was an example of the growing interconnection of the world's media and of the continuing fascination with both the precious metal and those who threw their bodies and resources into the pursuit of personal wealth.

The impact of the media was not limited to luring stampeders. It also served as a vehicle for stimulating large flows of capital into the region, much of it from investors who never set foot in the Klondike. Such flows of capital, fueled by speculation, further magnified the impact of the gold rush as an economic development.

Gold was particularly coveted because it had monetary status in addition to its aesthetic and commercial values; indeed it was the foundation that braced the major paper currencies of the world, including the U.S. dollar. In this sense it is perhaps the quintessential world-system resource. Thus, it is no surprise that profit seekers went to the ends of the earth to find it. It is also significant that the "ends of the earth" by the time of the nineteenth century gold rushes were already colonized by the core states, including Great Britain and the emergent U.S. Alaska and the Yukon, like the goldfields of New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa, represented the "peripheries" of colonial empires and hegemonic states.

The earlier fur trade of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be productively viewed within the same paradigm, only in that case the hegemonic state was Russia (later with competition from Great Britain and America) and the "gold" was precious fur, especially that of the sea otter. Similarly, the post-gold rush developments of commercial fishing and fish processing, timber, mining and oil development, transportation, and tourism have also developed within the dynamics of an evolving capitalist world system.

The main effect of the capitalist world system on indigenous peoples of Southeast Alaska and Southern Yukon has been similar to that of Natives and ethnic minorities in other parts of the world. Initially, they were not given equal rights, protection, or opportunity within the emerging capitalist economy, and consequently lost much of their land and resource base. Non-Native prospectors and developers, aided by the power of technology and the political, legal, military, economic and cultural apparatus of the state, saw to this. Instead, indigenous peoples of Alaska and the Yukon suffered increased vulnerability to the health, economic, political, and sociocultural shocks, stresses, and risks. But Chilkoot area Natives were not simply passive victims of a monolithic global

process; rather, as we shall see, they were, in a variety of ways, active agents in resisting and adapting to the rapidly changing conditions brought on by the gold rush. Thus, this report attempts to analyze not only the shocks, stresses, and risks brought on by the gold rush, but also Alaska Native and Yukon First Nations responses to them.

Chapter II: Origins, Prehistory, Geography

The Physical Setting

The Chilkoot Trail is a bridge between ecological and cultural regions: the temperate rainforests of the rugged Pacific Northwest Coast and the cold subarctic interior mountains, plateaus, and valleys of the Canadian Cordillera. The homeland of the coastal Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingits, in northern Southeast Alaska or "the Panhandle," as it is often called, lies along the northeastern edge of the Pacific rainforest and Northwest Coast culture area. Here the warm Pacific currents and insulating effects of the high coastal mountains combine to buffer temperature extremes and boost precipitation. Dense spruce, hemlock, and cedar forests and the mountainous terrain made inland travel difficult except along waterways. The largest mainland rivers, including the Stikine, Taku, Chilkat, and Alsek, provided access to the Interior through the mountain barrier. Maritime travel was facilitated by the wide Alexander Archipelago, which parallels the coast and creates sheltered passages, channels, and bays.

There are three important micro-environments in Southeast Alaska: the southern, northern, and gulf-coast regions. Frederick Sound is the dividing line between northern and southern Southeast Alaska, while the gulf coast commences north of Cross Sound. Ecologically, Frederick Sound is the break point for migrating salmon stocks and the availability of red cedar, which is rare in northern Southeast. The climate of southern Southeast Alaska is also milder than the northern and gulf coast portions of the region. Kroeber (1939) suggests that in the pre-contact period, the milder southern climes may have supported higher population densities than those in the north. The subregional divisions also correlate with important subcultural distinctions, as in the dialects of the Tlingit language, particularly in the break between southern and northern Tlingit speakers at Frederick Sound.

A similar gross distinction can be made between the island and mainland environments in terms of their balance of resources. Although fish, game, and plants abounded throughout the coast, some resources, such as marine mammals and edible seaweeds, were more plentiful on the islands (and gulf coast), while others, such as eulachon and mountain goat, were found almost exclusively on the mainland. These micro-environmental variations in the distribution of natural resources contributed to cultural differences in production and the establishment of complementary trade networks between various Tlingit groups. For example, people from Haines or Klukwan might trade eulachon oil for herring eggs from Sitka. The same principles provided the impetus for trade with foreign groups in the Interior and elsewhere on the Pacific coast.

As anyone who has hiked the Chilkoot Trail toward the Interior knows, the transition from the coastal coniferous forest to the subarctic plateau occurs rather rapidly as one gains elevation. Arthur Krause's guide over the Chilkat Pass, Jelchkuehu (Yelguxu, or "Raven's Slave") took note of the abrupt transition as means of contrasting his beautiful homeland

in the Chilkat Valley to the tundra passes of the interior subaretic (Krause 1981:67; McClellan 1975:6). Dense, thick, dark green fir gives way to the browns and gray-greens of cottonwood, dwarf willow, and alpine ground cover, such as reindeer lichen. At the height of land, the trees have yielded altogether to rock and alpine tundra, affording striking views of the Southern Yukon plateau and its surrounding mountains and interior valleys. One also feels the dryness in the air. Moving down into the Interior, black and white spruces gradually appear, accompanied by numerous species of poplar, birch, and willow, as well as lodgepole pine and other evergreens. Mountain streams gather glacial and rain runoff and build into major tributaries and several large lakes that form the headwaters of the Yukon River watershed. These waters, however, do not carry salmon; only the Yukon and Alsek drainages allow for the penetration of Pacific salmon into the Southern Yukon. Similarly, the rich intertidal and sea resources have been left behind. Large fauna, including moose, caribou, mountain goat, and mountain sheep, are present along with smaller furbearers and a variety of plant resources; but their supply is generally less abundant and distribution generally less dense than subsistence resources on the coast. Another major difference is the extreme weather. In addition to being much drier, the Interior is subject to wide ranging temperatures, especially in winter when the thermometer may plummet to -60 degrees Fahrenheit or lower, in contrast to the temperate coast, where winter temperatures often remain above freezing.

These major environmental differences, in turn, define key differences in the culture areas, including population density, sedentism, subsistence orientation, and social structure. While the Northwest Coast culture area, with its wealth of salmon and sea resources, supports dense populations of up to 1,000-2,000 in areas such as Chilkat-Chilkoot, the same land area in the Interior supports only a few hundred persons at most, and the sparse distribution of resources necessitated a more nomadic orientation and flexible social structure.

Sources of History: Oral, Written, and Scientific Traditions

The pre-contact history of Southeast Alaska and the Southern Yukon is difficult to reconstruct. The term prehistory is often used to refer to history before written records; but it is a contested term, as First Peoples do not make a distinction between prehistory and history and often find it invidious toward their own oral histories. Three separate sources of knowledge exist that help us understand the occupancy and lifeways of the earliest peoples on the land: the scientific or archaeological record, the written historical record, and oral tradition. Each system of knowledge has its advantages and disadvantages in terms of the material it provides and the processes by which the material is gathered, represented, and handed down. The scientific record, established through archaeological and other formal investigations provides depth of timeframe and precision of location and identification of material remains, but is limited in scope only to those few sites that have been preserved, discovered, and investigated. The written historical record tends to be more accurate as to chronology and timeframe, but is quite shallow in depth (confined to the past 200 or so years -considerably less in some areas)

and frequently limited or biased in terms of its insights on Native peoples. Oral traditions from Native peoples offer a deeper time perspective than written records and place special emphasis on Native history on the land, but often lack calendrical chronologies of events and have their own culturally specific norms of construction and transmission that Euramerican scientific and historical traditions do not recognize. Weaving the threads of evidence from all of these traditions can be productive in establishing a more complete and balanced history of an area and its people. However, one must also be cautious about extracting quick answers from oral tradition without understanding the cultural context and central questions that inform it. As Cruikshank (1991:142; also McClellan 1970, de Laguna 1960), points out, "Like any system of knowledge, oral tradition has particular goals, methods, and questions, but they differ from those of Euramerican science or history. Beginning with different questions, oral tradition, science, and history provide us with different, but equally valuable, ways of understanding relationships among environment, animals and humans."

Coastal Tlingit Origins

The exact origins of the Tlingit in the greater Chilkoot area are difficult to pinpoint due to the paucity of dated archaeological sites in Chilkat/Chilkoot territory and the difficulties of linking contemporary ethnic groups to past settlements on the basis of limited material remains. Besides the archaeological record, we also have indigenous oral histories to consult, particularly those of the matrilineal clans (or sibs), which trace the events and flows of particular Tlingit groups through time, although often with limited temporal clues. This section draws from both the oral and written records.

Archaeological investigations of northern Southeast Alaska suggest evidence of human occupation dates to approximately 10,000 years based on excavations by Ackerman (1968; also Davis 1990) at Ground Hog Bay in Icy Strait, approximately 90 miles southwest of the Chilkoot Trail. The development of the complex of traits associated with modern Northwest Coast peoples, including settlement orientations and subsistence technologies, has been traced back approximately 5,000 years (Fladmark 1975) and divided into three evolutionary periods (Davis 1990): Early (5,000-3,000 BP [before present]), Middle (3,000-1,300 BP), and Late (600-200 BP). The 5,000-year benchmark is linked to the stabilization of the shoreline and maturation of riverine habitats, which, in turn, led to the increased productivity of anadromous fish, especially salmon. But the picture is far from complete; and even within Southeast Alaska, recent studies suggest that environmental change was highly variable across the region (cf. Moss 1998).

Before Ackerman's findings many archaeologists (cf. de Laguna 1960) held that northern Southeast was settled relatively late in prehistory. Although recent investigations point toward a much greater antiquity of human occupation in the Icy Strait and Hidden Falls (on northwest Baranof Island) areas of northern Southeast, they do not conclusively demonstrate long-term habitation by Tlingits or proto-Tlingits in the Chilkat/Chilkoot region. Some researchers posit that the northern Lynn Canal was not settled until perhaps as recently as 300-400 years ago (cf. Sackett 1979) because no prehistoric archaeological

sites dating beyond the Late Northwest Coast period have been discovered on the coastal side of the Chilkoot Pass. The paucity of sites may be partly due to the geomorphology of the region and the fact that active glaciers have removed much of the soil deposits where early remains would normally lie (cf. Cooper 2001). However, the recent uncovering of two prehistoric sites, including a rock shelter on the Chilkoot Trail (Rasic 1998, SKG-148) dating to the mid-nineteenth century, and a shell midden on the east side of the Taiya River Valley across the river from the Dyea townsite (Environaid 1981, Ertec 1983), suggests that further archaeological investigations will likely shed more light on pre-gold rush Tlingit activities along the trail. Such investigations may well revise these estimated dates of occupancy.

Tlingit oral history bolsters the archaeological record in suggesting that the upper Lynn Canal was settled relatively late compared to other areas. The coastal Tlingit "Box of Daylight" creation story, variations of which are told throughout Northwestern North America, typically localizes Tlingit beginnings and the origins of the present world at Nass River (Naas') in what is now British Columbia. There a wealthy man, called Naas' Shak.aankawu (Nobleman of the Head of the Nass River), lived in darkness with his beautiful daughter and hoarded boxes of treasures–including the sun, the moon, and the stars–until the trickster Raven sets about to steal these elements, first by transforming himself into a spruce needle to be ingested by the daughter. The daughter subsequently gives birth to Raven in human form, whereupon the Trickster commences to release each of the elements by deceiving and manipulating his indulgent grandfather. The story culminates with the liberation of daylight that pours forth from the opened bentwood box and lights the world; causes non-human creatures to take their rightful places on land and in the sea; and frees Raven to transform himself back into bird form and fly on to create more cosmic mischief and change.

As this story demonstrates, Tlingits, like archaeologists, possess an evolutionary framework for the development of their culture and environment. However, Tlingit periods of history, both in the Interior and on the coast, are based on fundamentally different temporal categories (de Laguna 1960:128; McClellan 1975:70-72). These categories may be distinguished as follows:

1. Early Mythic Time–emphasizing the creation of basic universal elements such as the moon and stars;
2. Raven Mythic Time–focusing on the activities of the trickster-demiurge Raven whose activities transform the world;
3. Legendary Time–detailing the origins of clans and events associated with their development, acquisition of crests, and so forth;
4. Historical Time–emphasizing events, and so forth, that can be traced to specific culture bearers.

The first two categories are often referred to collectively as *tlakw* stories among the Tlingit and Tagish, or *k'udin kUndUR* among the Tutchone, meaning "long ago" stories. We use the terms "myth" and "mythic" in the anthropological sense of denoting sacred narratives of a people, or as Chilkat elder Agnes Bellinger (n.d.) puts it, stories containing the

"historical events, great ancestral deeds, and the philosophy of the times." These categories of myth are not immutable, nor can they be easily correlated with Western chronology. The issue is further complicated by the fact that stories in the Early Mythic time are sometimes re-appropriated and re-localized within local clan histories and geographies under Legendary Time, or in correspondence with biblical events and chronologies (Kan 1991). Thus, although clan migration stories suggest relatively late settlement of Chilkat/Chilkoot country, stories of Early Mythic Time and Raven Mythic Time are linked to the area. For example, Krause (1956:184-85) recorded the following Early Mythic Time account of the origins of thunder and earthquakes during his stay in Chilkat in 1881-1882:

> A great chief had a daughter who was desired by many men as a wife, but he was too proud to give her to anyone but another chief. He owned an ugly dog who one night in the guise of a man went to the daughter and asked her if she would have him as a husband. Since he had a handsome appearance, the girl agreed and later she gave birth to puppies, eight in all. The father flew into such a rage that he and his whole tribe abandoned the daughter, destroyed the food supplies, and put out the fires in order to leave her to starve. A sympathetic relative hid some embers and food under the threshold so that the chief's daughter could make a fire and have some food until she could catch salmon for herself and her dog children. As long as she was away from the house her children played with each other in human form, the seven boys around the fire, while the little girl watched at the door for their mother's return. When she saw her coming they all returned to their dog forms. But one day the mother quietly stole home and saw her children in human form with their dog clothing hanging on the wall. She then threw these into the fire and the children remained human.
>
> The youngest of the sons was Chlkajágo [Lk'ayáak'w] and he was a mighty hunter who killed all dangerous animals on land and in the sea. Once Chlkajágo persuaded his brother to play with the ring of the great bear. This was a shiny ring with a sharp edge which attracted people toward it against their will. Chlkajágo and his brothers were cut in two by this ring, all except the eldest who was a shaman. He took the ring and broke it in two pieces and threw it into the sky where it became the rainbow. Then he gathered the remains of his brothers and brought them back to life.
>
> Chlkajágo was in love with his sister and was ridiculed for it by his brothers who tried to cure him of it. One day they smeared their elder sister's bed with pitch and when the following day they found the buttocks of their brother covered with it, they laughed at him. In shame Chlkajágo fled to the peak of a high mountain near Sitka (Mt. Edgecumbe) and here said to his sister, "We must part, but you will hear my voice." The sister thereupon sank into a deep hole to the bottom of the mountain and the brother transformed himself into a bird, and flew westward where, as the thunder, he speaks to his sister.

In this case, the geographic clues, specifically the reference to the high mountain near Sitka (Mt. Edgecumbe) and the fact that it is almost identical to one recorded in Sitka by Veniaminov ([1840:1984:412], suggest that the story does not originate in Chilkat country, but migrated here along with the narrator's people from Sitka.

But the origins of other natural phenomena are more difficult to sort out. For example, the myth of Kanagu, progenitor of the north wind, is firmly localized in Dyea:

> A local myth is connected with a rock in Dejah [Dyea] Valley which is supposed to be a woman turned to stone who, under the name of Kanuga [Kanagu], is regarded as the bringer of wind. In the months of February and March, 1882, when there were exceptionally strong winds, it was said among the Chilkat that Kanuga was angry at the whites and that the object of her wrath was the anemometer at the trader's at which the Indians cast awesome glances. (Krause 1956:185)

John Marks, a member of the Luknaax.ádi clan that traditionally controlled this area, told a similar version of this in 2000 (interview), noting that Kanagu turned to rock "on the beach" at Dyea and that the Luknaax.ádi carry a name, Daaxhakawa.ook ("Barnacles on the Legs"), that references this event.

The Raven (or Crow in the Interior) cycle of stories typically originates in the vicinity of the Nass River with the Box of Daylight story, in which Raven transforms himself into human form and connives to liberate the sun, moon, and stars from his grandfather's box of possessions. After escaping through the smoke hole, Raven moves on about Southeast; and his deeds and marks upon the landscape are evident throughout the region. Several sites are associated with Raven in the Chilkat/Chilkoot area, including the "Chilkat Pass," which is said to have been created by Crow (Raven): "Even today you can see the stone house he built and the place where he slid and stuck his cane through a rock," reported McClellan's informants (1950:62). It was here that Raven also taught the Tlingit how to put up food and raise tobacco for interior trade (Swanton 1909:89). Another site is "Raven's Luggage," a rocky section of the Chilkoot River below Chilkoot Lake where many of the larger boulders came to be owned and named by Tlingit families, who used them as platforms for spearing fish. As the story goes, upon returning with his wife from a successful salmon harvest upstream, Raven overturned his canoe; and his pack of salmon fell into the water, turning into one of these boulders. This rock is there today and Raven's salmon are still visible in it (in Sackett 1979:54-55). There is also "Raven's Swing," a small valley between two peaks on the eastern shore of upper Lynn Canal, where the trickster was said to have rigged a swing (map, #161). As Agnes Bellinger (n.d.), a Kaagwaantaan elder with ties to both the Chilkat and Chilkoot communities, points out:

> The Raven was the Tlingits' creation hero. Although the creation stories run parallel to the Bible stories, Raven was not a deity to be worshipped. He also did not create the world; he obtained things that already existed and belonged to someone else. Raven was a very cunning, conniving trickster who was capable of transforming himself into anything he desired.

Beyond Raven's work, Emmons (n.d.) noted the multiplicity of connections to the landscape displayed among the Chilkat and Chilkoot in the many localized legends that "surround the natural borders of this country." For example, on the peak of a lofty mountain (Mt. Ripinsky, *Gheisán*) is believed to be a canoe containing two men stranded here and turned to stone after the flood. "No one is permitted by the spirit of the mountain to reach them as the clouds settle down upon approach. But they have been seen from a distance." The forbidding Interior is memorialized in a carving belonging to the Frog House, which represents "*Contealth* (sp.?)," a giant cannibal crushing a Tlingit in his arms. The giant is said to have lived between

the Chilkat and Yukon valleys (perhaps on Iron Mountain above Klukwan), part of the Gaanaxteidí trade zone, where he ambushed travelers and consumed all those he caught until he was finally outsmarted, captured, and burned by members of the clan, whereupon his ashes turned to mosquitoes that continue to prey on humans today (Swanton 1909, Boas 1917, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987, Keithahn 1945:137).

Similarly, the name Skagway is reportedly derived from the following legend of the anthropomorphic landscape:

> One day a little girl appeared in the village, no one knew from where. She was adopted and grew up to be very beautiful. As she belonged to no clan, she was simply called Skagway ("The beautiful one"). In time she was married by the Young Chief Gwn yah, and their life was as others until one day coming in from the hunt tired out of sorts he spoke hastily to her...She walked out of the house and up the valley to where the mountain barred further progress, where the rock wall opened and she disappeared forever. But when the North wind blows down from the White Pass, laden with the chill of the north, it was believed to be the breath of her spirit and the people would go out of their houses and, stretching out their arms to the ice blast would cry, 'Eshon on hoon Schagway' [Eeshan uhan Shgagwéi]/ [H]ave mercy on us Skagway." (Emmons, n.d.)

At the level of Legendary and Historic Time, we find oral historical evidence of Tlingits moving north into the Chilkat and Chilkoot areas from other parts of Southeast Alaska. As the Chilkat Native, Louis Shotridge (1920:24) recounts in his "Ghost of Courageous Adventurer:"

> Chilkat is not the original home of the Tlingit Indians: they immigrated to this region from the south, and like any immigrants who have found themselves in a strange country, when they came to settle at the head of Lynn Canal, they did not know that the adjacent regions were inhabited. Their inland hunting grounds, for some years were confined to the neighboring mountains, but the interior of the country was shut off by ice, that is by glaciers that filled the canyon passages at the head of the Chilkat River. The geographical knowledge of the people who were inhabiting the Chilkat region when the Tlingit arrived, did not cover more than a narrow strip of land toward the northern interior....
>
> Efforts were made, in the way of expeditions, to become more familiar with the new country, but nothing new or important was discovered until a small party of men, under the leadership of a Shungukaydi [Shangukeid] man by the name of Kayi-shawyi [Gaay Shaayi] (Eagle-head), ventured over what is now known as the Saint Elias Range...
>
> When explorers returned to Kluckwan [Klukwan], the old native town on the Chilkat River where I was born, only very few of the men survived to receive the honors of discovery and the prospect of acquiring riches...The survivors on their return told their story and made known the inhabited regions of the west coast [Yakutat, Copper River, etc.]. They also brought back iron and ivory [and knowledge of copper], articles previously unknown to the Tlingit people.

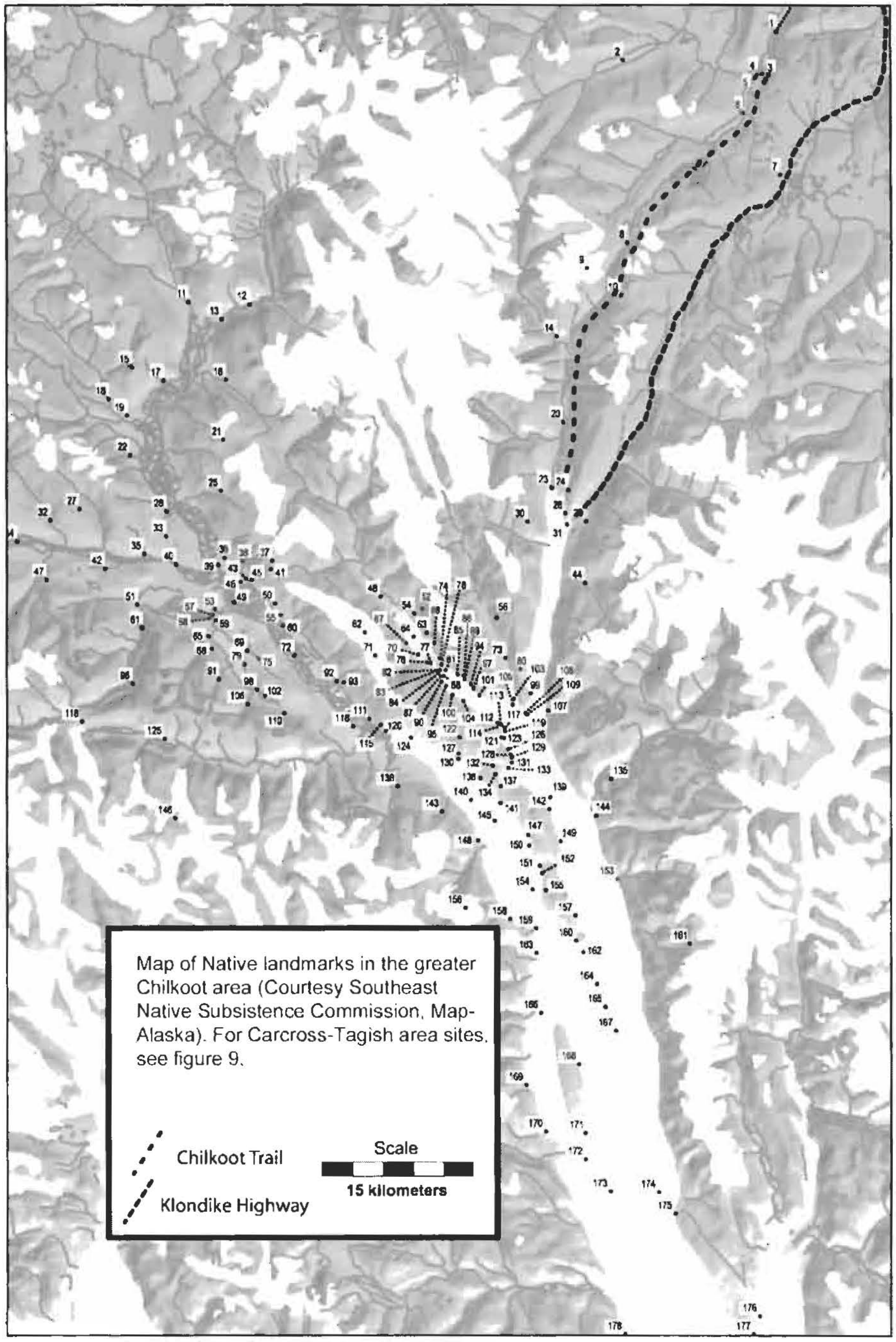
From further details in Shotridge's account, it appears that the Tlingit explorers pioneered a route to the Interior that closely approximates what was to become known as the Chilkat Trail. This trail forked just after Chilkat summit, with the western fork proceeding over the Saint Elias Range and through a large ice field (called *Chaan*) toward Neskatahin on the Tatenshini-Alsek River watershed, and the eastern fork heading into the Interior toward Kusawa Lake (figure 2). It was

Native Landmarks

Number	Correct Name	Translation
1	Natasahéeni (Carcross)	Going Through Narrow Water
2	Shaanaxh Áayi	Valley Lake
3	Té X'aayi Lutú	Rock Point Nostril
4	Ch'akhúxh Anaxh Dul.adi Yé	? Place
5	Tl'óoxh'u Héeni	Murky Creek
6	Tl'óoxh'u Áa	Murky Lake
7	Áax'w Sáani Xhoo	Among the Little Lakes
8	A Shakée	On Top of It
9	Shaa Shakée	On (top of) the Mountain
10	Khutàs Ká	On (Mountain) Pass
11	T'ahéeni	King-Salmon River
12	Koosawu Áa	Narrow Lake
13	Xhalak'ach'l'eedí	Porcupine Tail?
14	Kaxhla Khu.aa	Puking Into
15	Xíxch'i Shaayi T'éik	Behind (or back of) Frog Mountain
16	Xóots Héeni	Brown-Bear River
17	X'aask'i.áa	Lake at the Base of the Waterfall
18	Yeil Héeni	Raven Creek
19	Chookan Áa	Grass Lake
20	Dayéi Héen	Dayéi [Dyea] Creek
21	Xh'akashaanáxh	Valley at the Mouth
22	Tsikhéeni	Roasting-Spit River
23	Dayéi	To Pack
24	Nákhw Héen	Narrow [Tagish?] Creek
25	Yaxh Kei Dlakwt Aan	Land Where (Sheep??) Scratch Up the Side
26	Náxhk'w	Narrow [Tagish?]
27	Sit'i Shaanáxh	Glacier Valley
28	Xunt'i Áa	? Lake
29	Shghagwei	Rugged Place
30	Kanagoo Yahaayi	Kanagu's Place?
31	Yakwdeiyi.áa	Canoe Road Cove
32	Yakwyaaxh	Alongside Boat
33	Séet Xh'ayík	Entrance to the Strait
34	L'ehéeni	L'e River
35	Kaxwéixh Kóoghu	Cranberry Pit
36	Ghatxh'ayeehéeni	Ready for Sockeye to Eat River ?
37	Ch'ak'ilú	Beak of Small Eagle
38	Dakhshaanáxh	Inland Valley
39	Xh'akwhéenak'u	Little Spawning River
40	K'ideiyi Héeni	Path at the Base of It (?) River
41	T'ukyík	In the Cradleboard
42	Ayaan Héeni	Tutchone River
43	Kei Daxhakji Héen	River That Keeps Retreating Upward
44	Kasadaayi Héen	Flowing Creek ?
45	Íxht'i Daakeidí	Shaman's Coffin
46	Tlákw.aan	Eternal Village
47	Xhalak'ach' Héeni	Porcupine River
48	Goonk'	Little Spring
49	Ghathéeni	Sockeye Creek/River
50	Neixinté Xh'áak	Bluestone Valley
51	Eey Xh'é	Mouth of Rapids
52	Jánwu Deiyí	Goat Trail
53	Tayayee	Lying in Wait for Rock
54	Aasnoowta.aan	Town at the Back of Aasnoowú
55	Khaatx'waaltú	Rock Slide
56	Dayeisáank'i Héen	Dayeisáank'i River
57	Yeil Teiyi	Raven Rock
58	Aan Yanaade Héen	River Headed Toward the Village/Land
59	Guchk'ihéeni	River at Base of Hill
60	T'a Noow	King Salmon Fort
61	Dzixhkhú	Moose Emerging?
62	Dakhshaa	Inland/ Mountain Interior

Number	Correct Name	Translation
63	Daak Uwa.iyi Yé	Place Where Rocks Slid Out
64	Lkhootká Áa	On Top of Lkhoot Lake
65	Ch'áak' Héeni	Eagle River
66	Léikh'wk'	Little Redsnapper
67	Goonák'w	Little Spring
68	Ghaataa Xh'ayahéen	Creek at the Entrance of Trap(ping grounds)
69	Kaghitx'áat'I	Loon Island
70	Xh'aakw X'aayi	Sockeye Point
71	Cháatl Ist'eixhi A Káa Wlilaayi (?) Shaa	Mountain on Which a Halibut Fisher Melted
72	Jilkháat	Cache
73	Dayeisáank'i	Dyea Little Cove
74	Shakuwúxh'k'u	Large Flat Rock Canoes Passed Over (Little 'Wide-Head')
75	X'éitaa Héeni	Cutthroat Creek
76	Shakda.ishk'??	Around the Top of the Little Fish Hole?
77	Khaa Dlaak' A Kaaxh Wudutaaghi Té	Rock Off Which a Person's Sister Was Speared (or pushed with a pole or spear)
78	Tsísk'u Ghíl'i	Owl Cliff
79	Áa Ká	On the Lake
80	Khaas'eiltseen Ghil'i	[Chookaneidi Man's Name] Cliff
81	T'áax'aa Gheiyák'u	Mosquito's Little Bay (bight)
82	Yéil Daa.áaxhu	Raven's (Dryfish) Bundle
83	Khuwakaan Teiyi	Deer Rock
84	Ldus'k'ihéen	Body of Water that Dries Up after Snow is Gone ?
85	Tsaa Teiyi	Seal Rock
86	Ghil'yaká	In Front of the Cliff
87	Kéet Áak'u??	Killerwhale Little-Lake
88	Saak Shú Aani	Hooligan Camp
89	Kwaan Haat Jiwdagoodi	Epidemic Came to Fight/Make War
90	Kichgalshú Éesh Aani	[Man's name - Bert Dennis' Father ?]
91	Watkalch'áal'	(River) Having Willows at its Mouth
92	Xh'akw.áayi	Spawning-Humpy Lake
93	Cheech Ghil'k'i	Little Cliff
94	Nánde Aa Kéet Aak'u	North Killer Whale Lagoon
95	Shaak'w Seiyi	Area Below (and sheltered by) Little Mountain
96	Ghil' Xh'áak	Between Cliffs
97	Ixde Aa Kéet Aak'u	Further Down (South) Killer Whale Little Lake
98	Aanwán	Edge of Village/Land
99	Chaatl Shakaxaakwk'ú	Cut Off Skull of Halibut
100	Éech' Xágu	(Igneous) Rock Beach
101	Ts'eigheenk'i Yé	Magpie Point
102	Áa Yuwaa Héeni	Belly Portion of a Lake River
103	Dayeisáank'I	Dyea Little Cove
104	Taxhéil	White Rock (It's Soft)
105	Yoo Luklihashgi X'aa	Point That (Looks Like It) Floats Up and Down
106	Xh'akwhéeni	Spawning-Humpy Creek
107	Dayéi Xh'akax'áas	Waterfall at the Mouth of Dyea
108	Dayéi X'aa Lutú Eech	Reef at Dyea Point
109	Dayéi X'aa Lutú	Dyea Point Nostril
110	Shakkwásk'i	Little Pisspot ?
111	Áanák'w	Little Village (?)
112	Gil'k'i Seiyi	Area at Base of Little Cliff
113	Xh'usyeixhwudutee Aani	Sam Jacob's Point
114	Tléikhw Xágu	Berry Sand-Beach
115	Ghíl'k'i Seiyí	Area Below Little Cliff
116	Kéet Séedak'u	Little Strait
117	Wooshdakhanté	Quarreling Rocks
118	Aanaxhnoowú	Fort Between Towns
119	Tan.aani	Fish always Jump at this Point
120	Saak Aani	Eulachon Grounds
121	Téeyi Héenak'u	(Community) Soaked Dryfish Creek

Number	Correct Name	Translation
122	Gheisán	Top of Bay
123	Tan.aani Gheiyi	Tan.aani Bay
124	Dükh X'aayí	Cottonwood Point
125	Dakhhéen	Inland River
126	Tan.aani Lutú	Fish Always Jumping Point
127	Jánwú Ghil'i	Goat Cliff/Bluff
128	Dei Wát	End of the Trail
129	Núktik' Shakée	Above Núktik'
130	Yandeist'akyé	Place Where Everything Drifts Back Toward Shore
131	Núktik' Lutú	Nukdik' Point
132	Gheisán Aan	[Mt Ripinsky] Land
133	Núktik'	Grouse
134	Deishú	End of the Trail
135	Wulix'áasi Héen	Cascading River or River that Has Waterfall(s)
136	Khaach Kulnux'ákh'w	?
137	Agóon	The Isthmus
138	Kaltsexhx'i Héen	Kicking River
139	Ketlghaxhyé	Place Where Dog Cries
140	Jilkháat Wát	Mouth of the Chilkat
141	Laxhách' T'áak	Back of Laxhách'
142	Khuxhdeinú	Whirlpool/Eddy
143	X'asdahéen	Waterfall Creek
144	X'áas'ahéen Wát	Mouth of Wulix'áasi Héen
145	Laxhách'	?
146	Dakhheen Shaa	Inland River Mountains
147	Ghagaan Gooni	Sun Spring
148	Ldeiniyé	?
149	Yéil Háatl'i	Raven Excrement
150	Náxhk'w	Little Dwelling Place?
151	Léixh'w Noow	Ochre Fort
152	Tlekhwxágu	Berry Sand-Beach
153	Xixch' Kanduwataayi Yé	Place Where Frogs Drift in Bunches
154	Lanéesi	?
155	Si.áat'i Goon	Cold Spring
156	Lkoodaséits'k	?
157	Goon Héeni	Springs River
158	Náanaxh.á Jighei	Northern Crook-of-Arm
159	Sít' X'aayi	Glacier Point
160	Yoo Lititgi X'aa	Undulating Point (rocking like a wave)
161	Yéil Ax' Sh Wulgheighi Yé	Place Where Raven Swung
162	Ayiklutú	Point of/Inside It
163	Éexnaxh.á Jighei	Southern Crook-of-Arm
164	Aanyakax'áat'i	Island in Front of the Village
165	Ligooshi X'áat'	Island With a Thumb (or dorsal fin)
166	Yaana.eit Xágu	Wild Celery Spit (or sandbeach/sandbar)
167	Kadagoon	That Which Has Springs
168	S'alwán	? [Sullivan?]
169	S'alwan T'áak	Back Side of S'alwán
170	Cháas' Héeni	Humpy River/Creek
171	Shakóoxh' T'áak	Back of Wild Celery Urnbrel
172	Shakóoxh' T'áak	Back of Wild Celery Umbrel
173	Jilkhatká	On (top of) Jilkháat
174	Lkhootká	On (top of) Lkhoot
175	Kháak'w Xhanseiyi	Area Below By the Little Man
176	Daxhanáak	? Between
177	Axh'aká (Daxhanaak Xh'aka)	The Mouth/Estuary
178	Lkhoot Saayee	The Crook of the Knee of Lkhoot


Map of Native landmarks in the greater Chilkoot area (Courtesy Southeast Native Subsistence Commission, Map-Alaska). For Carcross-Tagish area sites, see figure 9.
Chilkoot Trail
Klondike Highway
Scale
15 kilometers

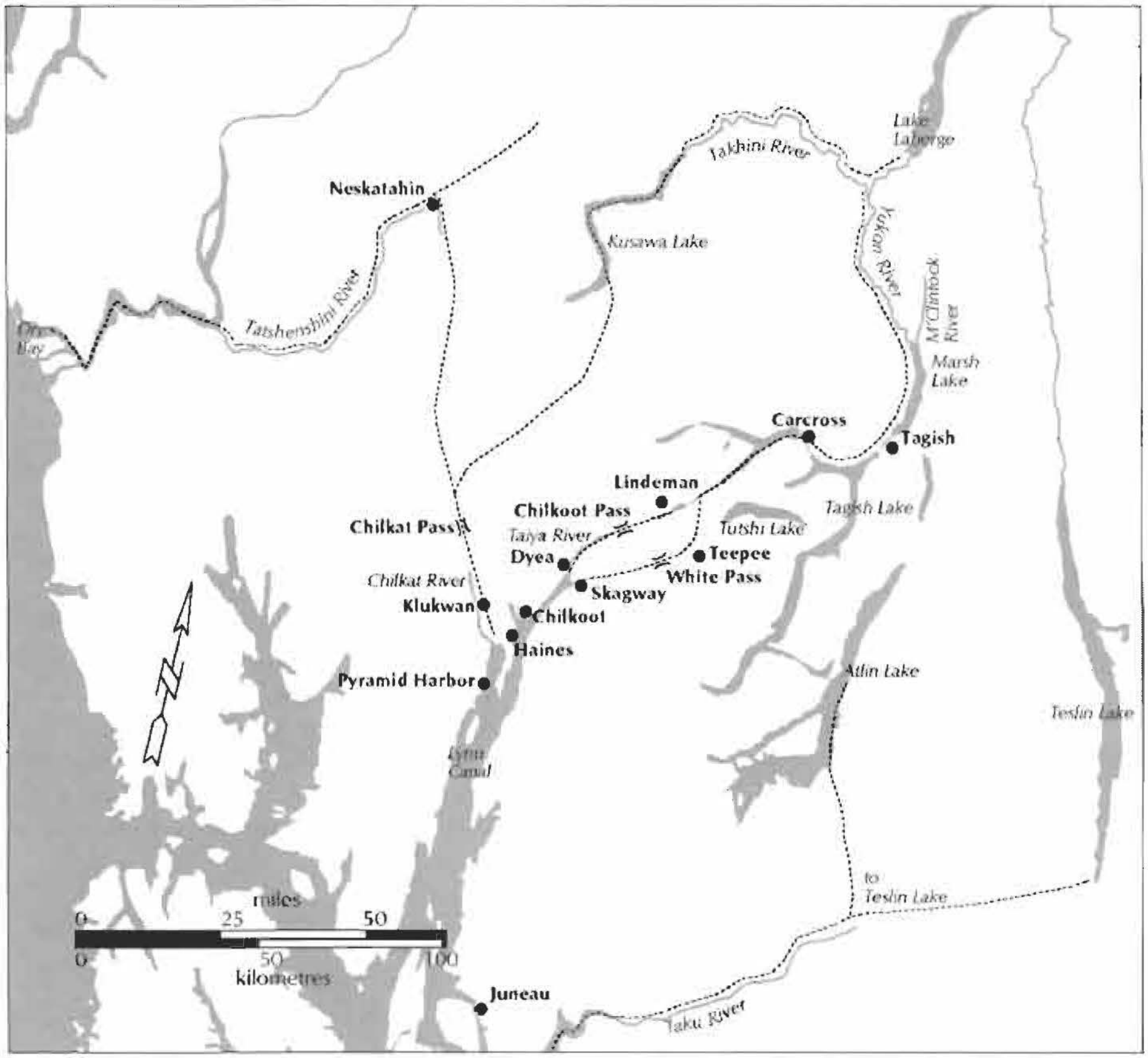


Figure 2. Interior trade routes (Neufeld and Norris 1996. P. 25. Courtesy Lost Moose Publishing, Whitehorse, YT, CAN, and Parks Canada.)

on this eastern fork that Chilkat guides led the explorer-trader Jack Dalton and his party to the Interior in 1890 (Glave 1890), laying the groundwork for the development of the "Dalton Trail." Chilkat warriors also took this eastern route, which closely parallels the Haines Cutoff Highway of today, in 1852 when they sacked the Hudson Bay Company outpost at Fort Selkirk in retaliation for the company's interference with their interior trade (Davidson 1901, below). What is not clear is how many years elapsed between the founding of the trail in Shotridge's account and the 1852 expedition. Unfortunately, a similar Tlingit discovery narrative of the Chilkoot Trail has not been recorded, although we can infer that it was pioneered by similar means, but perhaps later than the Chilkat Trail due to the Chilkoot's ruggedness and more remote location relative to the key settlements at Haines and Klukwan.

Important clan narratives are the intellectual property of the social group and are iconically embedded in the clan's material possessions, such as regalia, totem poles, and the like. The above narrative, for example, is linked to an ornamented dagger called "Ghost of Courageous Adventurer." The collective term for this combination of material and intellectual property in Tlingit is *at.óow*, literally "owned things." *At.óow* are sacred possessions of the tribe. Historic *at.óow* from Chilkat thus reference key historical events and migrations of the local clans. The best accounts of these migrations come from Shotridge, the Chilkat Native turned anthropologist, and George Emmons, a Navy lieutenant turned ethnologist who also spent significant time in Chilkat/Chilkoot country. As a clan relative of the Kaagwaantaan narrator, and bearer of the prestigious name (or title) first bestowed upon the protagonist, Shotridge was in a unique position to receive and interpret the following narrative concerning the history of a valuable *at.óow*, the Eagle Hat (collected by Shotridge at Klukwan c. 1915). The narrative details the origins and development of the Chilkat clans of the Eagle moiety and how the famous Eagle Hat was dedicated by the Kaagwaantaan at their prior home at a place called "Clay-point Fort," probably *S'e Shuyei [Noow]* (End of the (Clay) Mud [Fort]), an early Tlingit settlement at the entrance to Glacier Bay:

> ...our party called together the people from other towns to celebrate the new Eagle House at Clay-point Fort. The last ceremony was then drawing to a close, each of our men had sung his song...and it was about dawn of the next day when Youwok stood by the great pile of his own property. On his head was placed the new Eagle Hat the same one there before you. In concluding his speech, before the distribution of the main offering among the guest party, personal names were bestowed on those members in whom all hopes of progress were centered, names to commemorate important events which had occurred in our affairs. At last the spokesman announced the new name of the young chief...Situwu-kah [Stuwuka], [Astute Man], Tae-quedi! [Teikweidi], Nach.ádi! [Neix.ádi], Naes-adi! [Naas.ádi], Yan-edi! [Yanyeidí] and Chukan-edi! [Chookaneidi]. [Original clans.] In your firm grasp is now the object of your desire. Who is there to dispute your claim to its ownership when ye bear forth into life the Eagle?

On the Raven side, few clan histories covering migrations of Chilkat-Chilkoot area groups have been published. However, Chilkoot Lukaaxh.ádi elder John Marks (personal communication) offered this brief account of his clan's diaspora and travels from

their origins in Thomas Bay, near Petersburg.

> The late Khaayaan was my aunt [Florence Wright]. The name comes from *Khaatx'waaltú* [Village on Chilkat River]. For some reason, they were very rich. They also seemed to have a mind of their own...which is how we gained two other clan names. Khuyeikhádi and Noowshakaayee.
>
> The clan house we have now at Haines comes from this house.
>
> It too was first built at *Khaatx'waaltú* and at [the] time was Raven's Wing House.
>
> Then it was moved to 3-and-a-half mile and renamed Two Door House, for they had added another door.
>
> Yeill Kijee Hít, and Daxx'awool Hít. Those Sitka Kaagwaantaan also have a house by this name. Finally one of my great uncles was sitting [by the] side of the road crying. They asked him what's wrong. His reply, "Our clan house-they're going to tear it down, so they can build a road [Haines Highway]. [They had a] quick meeting [and the] vote was to move it once more, to Haines. It seems everyone had died off and the house stood empty for years. Till my brother Austin [Hammond] cleaned it up....
>
> Khaadashaan [Paul Wilson's name] [was] a name we kept from the old homeland, Thomas Bay. When we were still called Taalkhweidí. We had had a very bad war with Kake (my Aunt Jessie's name [comes] from that time. Tinaaxhdust'eix, "Pound to Copper"). When peace [was] made, they gave us [a] new clan name, Lukwaxh.ádi [Lukaaxh.ádi]. *Lukwaxh* was the name of a river in Duncan Canal.
>
> Winter, [the] entire bay would freeze solid, couldn't get out. We've got to find a new place.
>
> We stopped many places, but no not good.
>
> Excursion Inlet Land Otter House didn't want to leave.
>
> Okay [they said], we'll just name you Khuyeikh.ádi.
>
> Their reply: "so we'll name you all Ghathineidí [for] Ghathéeni, in Glacier Bay [Bartlett Cove area]-some wanted to stay there too.
>
> At last Chilkat River.
>
> They stay there too.
>
> They studied the river-at last they agreed [to settle] over there. *Yandeist'akhyé* was born. They say it looked like a natural fort. While there, our young men teenagers had gone on [a] hunting trip.
>
> They came across a shaman in a little lean to. He was lying next to a fire. One of the guys says, "I wonder if an arrow would go into his belly?"
>
> They were playing around, when one of the arrows cut loose, so they all let go.
>
> The body made it back to Klukwan.
>
> Next thing we know there was a war party there by us.
>
> For some strange reason no one knew that the Ghaanaxhteidí were on Chilkat River.
>
> There name at [the] time was T'ik'eidí.
>
> And on Chilkoot side [were the] Chookaneidí.
>
> [Their] village [was called] *Aashoowta.aan*, "Tree Fort."
>
> The trees were huge, and they used it as a fort.
>
> This was located on [the] north side of [Chilkoot] Lake.
>
> There is a cliff named *Ghaneix Gil'i*.
>
> Ghaneix was hunting mountain goat he got stuck on a cliff.
>
> They took his mother to the site. He'd shout a question to his mother: "Mother when was I born?" She stalled for as long as she could finally she said, "This is it my son. This is it." He jumped from [the] cliff and a tree growing out of [the] cliff caught him.
>
> No way to get the body. Mother

> talked to Ravens: "Eat Ghaneix in two, so we can have his body..." which is how they got the body.
>
> They named the cliff his [i.e., for him], *Ghaneix Gil'i.*

Although these narratives give us some clue as to the origins and development of particular possessions and social groups, we still lack many temporal clues as to when the particular clans moved to Chilkoot and Chilkat territory from Glacier Bay and other locales.

Inland Tlingit and Southern Yukon First Nations Origins

The archaeological record in the interior of Southern Yukon is generally similar to that of Southeast Alaska in that it reveals human presence in the area dating back some 8,000-10,000 years BP. But while no sites of this antiquity have been found to date in the Chilkat-Chilkoot areas of the coast, an 8,000+/- year old site has been located near Annie Lake in Southern Yukon Territory within 50 miles of the Chilkoot Trail (Hare 1995:129; Cooper 2001:5). Another 7,200-year-old camp has been located in the southwest part of the territory at Canyon Creek, on the Aishihik River. The periodization of the interior cultural sequence is different from the evolution of the coastal cultural sequence because it is less integrally linked to the emergence of salmon habitat. The comparative cultural sequences are summarized in table 1.

Despite similar antiquity of habitation, as in Southeast, it is difficult to link present-day peoples to the material remains found at these early sites. Like the coastal Tlingit, the interior Tagish and Tlingit have oral tradition that traces the emergence of their environment to a Trickster figure that brings daylight into the dark world. But in the Interior it is Crow, rather than Raven, who unleashes the sun, moon, and stars by opening the box of daylight (Sidney et al 1977:1-21; Cruikshank 1991:46) and also brings fire and fresh water into the world (Smith in Cruikshank 1991:14-17). Significantly, the myth is usually not localized at a particular place in Yukon Territory, perhaps an indication of its origins elsewhere.

Other narratives, however, firmly inscribe the inland Tlingit and Tagish worlds within the Yukon in mythic time through the naming of places and their correlation with historical events, such as the appearance of moose in the Southern Yukon. The opening of Angela Sidney's "Animal Mother's Mountain" story is a good example of this:

> After those animals were born,
>
> [Animal Mother] made a big swing for them, a trampoline.
>
> She called it *akeyi*, that's *denk'e*, Tagish language.
>
> She made big sport day for them because she's going to leave them.
>
> Falltime, she made it from bull moose skin.
>
> There's no moose before that! Where she got that, I don't know!
>
> Anyway, that's the story. It was a bull moose skin.
>
> She put it up right in the middle of Bennett Lake.
>
> It had four strings.
>
> One went to Grey Mountain, *Takaadi T'ooch'*. That means "Charcoal Mountain" in Tlingit.
>
> One went to Fourth of July Mountain *Médzih Dzèle'*–that means "Caribou Mountain" [Tagish]
>
> And one went to that mountain we call *Chili Dzèlé'* [Tagish]- "Gopher Mountain."... (Cruikshank 1991:29)

The interspersing of Tlingit and Athabaskan languages (Tagish and Southern Tutchone) in this narrative is not unusual and is itself symbolic of the mixing and shifting of cultural and linguistic groups in the Southern Yukon. As McClellan (1975:xix) observes, the very division of the inland Tlingit, Tagish, and Southern Tutchone into three groups

> ...is basically a linguistic one, for it is impossible to distinguish "tribes" on the basis of group awareness of political or social unity. Rather than designating large social groupings or units, the Indians themselves focus on individuals or on moiety or sib affiliations which cut across all local groupings. The entire population of the area probably never exceeded a few hundred persons.

Relationships Between People

Coastal Tlingit Social Structure

Like many Native American groups, the Tlingit of Southeast Alaska traditionally were organized into corporate descent groups, known as clans. The 70 or so Tlingit matrilineal clans comprised not only the foundation of personal and social identity, but also the central units of governance, through which such vital political functions as land tenure; resource production, distribution, and trade; and war and peacemaking were managed. However, clans' sociopolitical prerogatives were severely undermined by the forces of Western contact and colonization beginning in the eighteenth century. By the early 1900s conditions were so stressful that a syncretic revitalization movement, the Alaska Native Brotherhood, was launched by Alaska Native leaders seeking to replace factious clan-based governance with a unified political organization that could more effectively advocate on behalf of Natives within the dominant society. It is significant that the founding of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, the central vestment of the ANB uniform, and the launching of the first land claims suit against the U.S. government are all closely associated with Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit country.

This political revitalization movement from within was followed by two important institutional reform movements imposed from without by the federal government in an effort to create greater isomorphism between federal and Native institutions. The first was the Indian Reorganization Act of 1936, which enabled the formation of tribal governments at the village level (or *kwéan* in Tlingit). The second was the landmark Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, which laid an entirely new socioeconomic organization on Alaska Native regions and villages in the form of for-profit corporations. While the imposition of these new governing entities might have spelled doom for the clans as political organs, in fact it has not. Indeed, at the dawn of the new millennium, the clan system remains a vital component of sociopolitical organization and is itself being revitalized. This section examines the major forces in the evolution of Tlingit polities from a political-ecological perspective, focusing on the distribution of power and control over scarce resources among various levels of the Tlingit sociopolitical organization. In subsequent sections I will take up the continuing evolving relationship between the coast Tlingit and interior Native polities vis-à-vis the state and federal governments.

Table 1. Environmental and Cultural Sequences in the S. Yukon and S.E. Alaska Coast

Date	Coastal Environmental Sequence	Coastal Cultural Sequence	Interior Environmental Sequence	Interior Cultural Sequence
200-100 BP	Warming; glacial retreat	Late Northwest & Historic Periods [Rock Shelter on Chilkoot Trail; historic period sites showing Euramerican influence, trade goods, etc.]; depopulation from 10,000 to 4,000	Warming; Lake Alsek formed	Bennett Lake, (trade goods); Shifting emphasis from caribou toward moose.
1,000-200 BP	Little Ice Age (c. 1,300-1,800); advance of glaciers at Glacier Bay; emergence of the Skagway Valley floor	Late Northwest Period. Tlingit expansion north to Chilkat Yakutat and Interior. Population of c. 10,000 by early 18th century; use of metal (copper), basket style fish traps, etc.; increased trade, and warfare (fort sites)	Little Ice Age (c. 1,300-1,800) Kluane Lake drainage shift from coast to Interior (c. 300 BP)	Ashihik; addition of copper arrowheads.
Middle (3,000-1,000 BP)	Warming period; glacial retreat	Middle Northwest Period. Perfection of mass salmon harvest and preservation techniques; increased settlement and regional trade	Onset of neoglaciation; eruption of White River Volcano (1,200 BP) covers much of S. Yukon in ash.	Ashihik (c. 1,200-300 BP); addition of bows and arrows
5,000-3,000 BP	Warming period; development of anadromous fish riverine habitats	Early Northwest Period; population expansion; development of mass salmon harvest techniques (weirs), microblades; cordage and weaving; population expansion	Transition from warmer drier climate to cool and wet (c. 3,300 BP)	Taye Lake; notched point blades; cold weather adaptation
12,000+ -5,000 BP	Retreat of Wisconsin Glacier, onset of warming period	Paleo-Indian; maritime adaptation ; obsidian microblades	Retreat of Wisconsin Glacier; onset of warming period	Old Crow, Paleo-Indian; obsidian microblades

Sources: Cruikshank (1991), Davis (1990), McClellan (1987), Moss (1998), Moss and Erlandson (1992)

Ecosystems and Sociopolitical Evolution

The links between the evolution of indigenous sociopolitical systems and ecological factors governing key natural resources have long been recognized in anthropology (Steward 1955; Service 1962). In the Native North American culture area known as the Northwest Coast, stretching from northern California to Southeast Alaska, researchers have posited a strong correlation between abundant natural resources and complex forms of sociopolitical organization (Kroeber 1939; Drucker 1951, 1983). Ethnographers proposed that large quantities of localized resources, particularly salmon, allowed Northwest Coast societies to support higher populations and sedentism; and that, in turn, led to the development of more complex social and political institutions. These features helped to define the Northwest Coast tribes as unique among hunting and gathering peoples.

In contrast, most of the world's foragers, including those of the subarctic culture area encompassing the Southern Yukon Interior, maintained a sociopolitical structure that was characterized by a high degree of egalitarianism, mobility, flexible band groupings, and informal political institutions. Northwest Coast groups, on the other hand, boasted formal local and regional sociopolitical structures and a high degree of social stratification, including slavery.

Yet, while the basic assumption about the relationship between Northwest Coast ecological abundance and sociopolitical complexity is ultimately valid, it does not go very far toward explaining the proximate causes for the evolution of very diverse political systems within the culture area through time. More recently, Northwest Coast scholars have begun to consider these issues in detail and have emphasized a range of important socioecological factors as contributing to the unity and diversity of political development among various Northwest groups (Suttles 1968, Fladmark 1975, Schalk 1977, Richardson 1982, Drucker 1983, Ames 1994, Matson and Coupland 1995, Moss 1998, Thornton 1999b, Ames and Maschner 1999). These factors include:

> 1) macro-environmental changes;
>
> 2) spatial and temporal variation in resources;
>
> 3) increased availability of and reliance upon marine resources, especially salmon,
>
> 4) the advent of preservation and storage techniques,
>
> 5) the production of surpluses for trade, and
>
> 6) conflict and stresses related to sedentism, population growth, environmental circumscription, and resource competition.

These factors combined in different ways at different times to produce eventually a variety of complex foraging societies along the coast.

Similarly, although subarctic ecology, with its comparatively dispersed resources, correlates with a more flexible and dispersed sociopolitical structure, this does not go very far in explaining the diverse political systems that have developed through the years. For example, as we shall see, one major influence on interior peoples' social systems over the last 200 years has been "Tlingitization," the adoption of elements of Tlingit language and culture as a response to contact and trade with the coastal groups. Mrs. Lucy Wren (CTOHP 1980s, Greer 1995:16) describes the evolution of the Tlingitization process in the Interior:

> Those men [and women, see below] come from Atlin, from Tlingit all over, they get married to them [Tagish]. That is how the Tlingit language and things

> start [in this area]. But my grandma never talked to me in Tagish language, just Tlingit language. My mom too. That's how we were raised up.

Strictly speaking, then, there is no such thing as a pure aboriginal or "traditional" form of governance among the Tlingit, Tagish, or any other group. Rather, these political systems have been evolving continuously over the last 5,000-10,000 years. What is more, they continue to evolve in response to the current environment, a landscape in which valuable resources are gained not just through the domestic production of natural resources and regional trade and ceremonial networks, but also from the state and federal governments and participation in the global economy and international social movements.

Because of the influence of the coastal Tlingit sociopolitical system on the interior peoples in the contact and pre-contact eras, and because of its structural complexity, the following discussion emphasizes coastal Tlingit organization with comparative reference to the interior groups.

Coastal Tlingit Sociopolitical Organization in the Aboriginal and Russian Eras (1750-1867)

The earliest recorded encounters with the coastal Tlingit occurred in the mid-eighteenth century when Russian and other European explorers began to journey along the Northwest Coast of America. They were followed by European and American traders who tended to interact with their Tlingit business partners in relatively instrumental and coequal ways. Until the Russian American Company's colonization of Sitka in the early nineteenth century, contacts were largely limited to trading encounters. Even so, whites were quick to recognize the complexity of Tlingit sociopolitical organization, which included a nobility (assumed to be "chiefs"), a slave strata, and powerful roles for women (de Laguna 1983).[1] At the same time, there also was a great deal of misrecognition on the part of the newcomers as to the degree of division and relationships and prerogatives among the various levels of Tlingit sociopolitical organization. For example, early visitors typically assumed that each Tlingit village had a single chief.

There were in fact six major levels of political organization at the time of contact (figure 3), which can be ranked from broadest to narrowest as follows: nation (*Lingit*), moiety (no generic term), village/region (*khwáan*), clan (*naa*), house group (*hit*), and person (*khaa*) (Thornton 1997). Some might object to "person" being considered a political unit, but when we consider that persons were ranked within Tlingit society and bestowed with hereditary names and titles of political significance that necessitated and publicized political identity as an element of personhood, it seems logical to include it.

1. Nation. Tlingits can be said to have constituted a nation only in the weakest sense during this early contact period. Although they recognized a certain degree of unity among them, including a distinct language, geography, and culture, they were not governed, as some Westerners mistakenly supposed, by a single leader or government. Indeed, at the time of contact, Tlingit culture was in a period of northern expansion; and with few exceptions, villages and social groups were becoming increasingly scattered and fragmented rather than unified. Consider that the village of Yakutat, at the northern frontier, stood several hundred miles

and a journey of many days from Cape Fox, at the southern boundary of Tlingit Country (*Lingit Aaní*). Such expansion and distancing favored differentiation over unification. Significantly, there is no generic term for "nation" in Tlingit; and foreign nations, such as the Tagish, typically were conceptualized as khwáans or clans.

Similarly, in the Southern Yukon most Athabaskan speakers might refer to themselves as *dan* or *den*, which, like *Lingit*, means "the people." But there is little sense of belonging to a nation-like group with fixed boundaries. Rather, they are more likely to identify with lineages that may transcend rigid territorial boundaries. Thus, Southern Tutchone Athabaskans might characterize themselves in moietal terms (Crow or Wolf), while Tagish and inland Tlingit might emphasize matrilineal clan affiliation (Cruikshank 1991:62).

2. Moieties. Moieties formed a vital component of Tlingit identity but played only a minor role in polities and governance. Just as khwáans categorized people as inhabitants of certain regions, moieties (from the French term for "half") identified Tlingits as members of two major super matrilineages, Raven (Yeil) or Eagle/Wolf (Ch'áak'/Ghooch), under which the approximately 70 major clans were grouped.[7] Some evidence suggests that the moieties evolved from two ancient clans, the Laayineidi (of the Raven side) and the Shangukeidí (of the Wolf side), as the Tlingit, lacking a generic term for moiety, used these clan names to label the two superlineages (Swanton 1908:423; Shotridge 1920; de Laguna 1972:450).

In the Interior, moieties are enshrined in mythic time, as the following excerpt from a story by Angela Sidney (1977:3) reveals:

> After, he [Yéil, Crow, or Raven on the coast] walks around, flies around alone.
> He's tired he's lonely he needs people.
> He took poplar tree bark. You know how it's thick?
> He carved it and then he breathed into it.
>
> "Live," he said. And he made a person.
> He made Crow and Wolf too.
> At first they can't talk to each other
> Crow man and woman are shy with each other–look away
> Wolf, same way too.
>
> "This is good," he said. So he changed that.
> He made Crow man sit with Wolf woman
> And he made Wolf man sit with Crow woman.
> So Crow must marry Wolf and Wolf must marry Crow.
>
> That's how the world began.

The story stresses the rule of exogamy, or marrying outside of one's lineage, which is common to both the coast and interior groups. Thus, although politically weak, moieties were important threads that linked and organized members of disparate communities and clans into opposing but reciprocating "sides" that carried out major ceremonial exchanges through such rituals as marriage and the potlatch. Although they had the advantage of providing a vast network of relatives, moieties had no singular leaders or governing authority beyond that of their constituent clans.

3. Khwáans. Europeans sometimes

mistakenly assumed that Tlingit villages, or khwáans, were governed by autonomous political units like those found in Western towns and villages. Here again the reality was more complex. The term "khwáan," derived from the verb "to dwell," simply marked Tlingit individuals as inhabitants of a certain geographic region, typically the totality of lands and waters controlled by clans inhabiting a particular winter village (at other times groups were typically dispersed into seasonal subsistence camps). Khwáans themselves typically did not act as political entities; unlike Western town and village governments, there were no khwáan councils or assemblies to issue ordinances, mete out punishments, or raise revenues. All of these activities were carried out at the clan level, although, as we shall see, the khwáan was to emerge as a major political entity in the twentieth century.

The term khwáan was also extended to reference a people beyond the boundaries of Tlingit ethnicity or territory. Thus, white men in Southeast Alaska became known as Gus'kikhwáan ("People Dwelling in the Clouds"), while the Tagish were known as Tagish Khwáan.

4. Clans. The exogamous, matrilineal clan (also termed sib) is the oldest and most basic unit of Tlingit social structure and the foundation of both individual and group identity. Tlingits consider a person to be a member of his or her mother's clan, a child of the father's clan, and a grandchild of other clans. Traditionally, this identity formed the basis for nearly all forms of social action. Clans or their localized segments, known as house groups, owned and maintained use rights to physical property, including salmon streams, halibut banks, hunting grounds, sealing rocks, berrying grounds, shellfish beds, canoe-landing beaches, and other landmarks, as well as symbolic property, such as names, stories, songs, regalia, crests, and other cultural icons, including clan ancestors. These possessions, or *at.óow*, comprised the foundation of Tlingit identity, and each clan was conceived of as having not only its exclusive property, but also its own unique "personality" and ways of being (de Laguna 1972: 451). Virtually all legal and political authority was vested in the clan. Clans or their localized segments, rather than regional "tribes" or khwáans, made war and peace, conducted rituals, and organized material production. Traditionally, in times of conflict, loyalty and "patriotism" were always with the clan, a reality that created inherent structural tensions in inter-clan contexts, such as marriage, residence, and ritual (de Laguna 1983). The centrality of the clan is further reflected in the fact that closely associated foreign groups, like the Haida (Deikinaa, "Way Outside Clan") and Southern Tutchone Athabaskans (Gunanaa, "interior Clans"), were conceived of as clans (although not Tagish or white men, perhaps because they lacked the clan-moiety structure).

Major crests, also considered *at.óow*, were the dominant symbols of the clans. Incorporated into artistic designs, songs, and other symbolic forms, crests, observes de Laguna (1972:451), "Are, from the native point of view, the most important feature of the matrilineal sib or

lineage [i.e., clan], acquired in the remote past by the ancestors and determining the nature and destiny of their descendants." This combination of heritage and destiny, or *shagóon*, is believed to be embodied in clan possessions and also in the social group members themselves. Each crest has a story "behind it" that evokes elements of the present landscape in relation to the distant past. Major crests of the coastal and interior matrilineal clans are listed in table 2.

An important but often overlooked aspect of clans is their geographical basis. Two aspects of clan geography are particularly significant: origin and distribution. Origin refers to the location where the clan was founded as a distinct social group and is typically from where it derives its name. The majority of Tlingit clans adopted their names from the geographic areas they inhabited, and the linguistic construction of such clan names invoked a sense of belonging or being possessed by the named place. For example, Ghaanáxh.ádi, the Tlingit name for Port Stewart in Behm Canal, was settled by a Tlingit group who then became the Ghaanáxh.ádi, literally the "beings of" (or "possessed by") Port Stewart. An offshoot of this group, the Ghaanaxhteidí settled at the head of the same bay, and later migrated north, eventually establishing the famous Whale House of Chilkat. These origin sites were often taken as crests by the clan and also were considered sacred property (*at.óow*). Clans not named for natural sites often took their identity from some aspect of the village geography, such as an architectural feature of their clan house (for example, the Kaagwaantaan or "Charred House People") or its location within the village (for example, the Deisheetaaan or "End of the Trail House People"). The linguistic homology between clan names and sacred geography served to reinforce strong material, social, and spiritual ties to place among clan members, and the understanding of these ties was considered to be an essential component of one's heritage and identity (*shagóon*).

The geographic distributions of clans are noteworthy because of their discontinuity in space. Segments of a single clan are typically dispersed in several, often non-adjacent, communities or khwáans. For example, the Shangukeidí are found in the northern khwáans of Chilkoot and Dry Bay, and the southernmost khwáans of Tongass and Henya, but nowhere in-between, except Kake. This dispersed network of multi-local clans, which evolved through the twin processes of fission and migration, and perhaps confederation in the case of Shangukeidí, contributes to a social geography with its own spatial logic and unity. As de Laguna suggests (1960:17-18), the logic and unity of the clan geography has a profound influence on a Tlingit individual's basic knowledge of physical geography and the history behind it. Thus, through his clan's oral traditions, a Chilkoot Shangukeidí may possess a sense of his clan's historical geography in the vicinity of Ketchikan and Klawock, despite the fact that those sites lie hundreds of miles to the south, and he personally may have never traveled to them (compare de Laguna 1972: 225-226). Similarly, a Carcross Deisheetaan may have knowledge of her group's historical ties to Angoon and migration to Interior via the Chilkat River, as evidenced by elder

Angela Sidney:

> One time, long ago, a chief of the Deisheetaan nation [clan] -that's us- came in from Angoon. That chief's family sailed up the Chilkat River; they stayed there with the Chilkat people...maybe for two months. When they're going to head back, here that Chilkat chief's son has fallen in love with that Deisheetaan's chief's daughter! Well they got married...her children grew up around Taku River. [When they were grown] her three girls married [inland] to Tagish, to Teslin, to Telegraph Creek.
>
> It was the women who came up here, who married up here, but it has to be a man who claims the country...To tell the truth of it, I met someone last summer [1980] from coast people. I told him that I'm Deisheetaan shâa [woman] from Angoon. "Oh my," he said, "My great-grandmother told me, 'Two women went that way, inland. Two or three. They got married inland!' Now I'm glad to meet you." He shakes hands with me. I know now that coast people are our relations. (*in* Cruikshank1990:37-39)

Because the social body of the clan has ties to these places, so too do its individual members, despite their relocation, segmentation, or other distancing in space. These multiple ties to place are embodied in the clan's *at.óow* and *shagóon*, including names, ancestors, regalia, songs, stories, and the like. Tlingit history and geography, then, must be read through the clans. Both male and female clan leaders carried special authority and titles and to this day are referred to as *Naasádehàni* ("Clan Head) and *Naa Tlaa* ("Clan Mother") respectively in Tlingit.

Since descent was reckoned through the mother, but males were largely responsible for laying claim to territory and public offices such as *hít s'àati*, the mother's brother, or maternal uncle (*kàak*) played an important role in training her children, the future generations of the matrilineage. Mrs. Ida Calmegane (in Greer 1995:18), the Deisheetaan daughter of Angela Sidney, explains how Kak.ashgok (Khaaxh'achgóok), who lead a crew of packers on the Chilkoot Trail, trained his nephews.

> That Kakas gok, he was really big, big chief [*Naasàdehàni*], down in Alaska, and he had lots of people working for him, his nephews, all his nephews. Long time ago the uncles, they used to be responsible for their nephews, they have to train them because the Tlingits believe that a father is not very stern with his own children...so his [wife's] brothers is always responsible for training the boys.

Clans also were measured in relation to each other according to their wealth, power, and prestige. Marriage could boost a lineage's status. McClellan (1981: 475) describes the rules and strategy behind this for the inland Tlingit.

> Rules of clan and moiety exogamy meant that (a) husband always belonged to a lineage and clan of one moiety, while his wife and children belonged to a clan of the opposite moiety. The matrilineally related males who most often acted together were brothers, and maternal uncles and nephews, but a man's paternal grandfather and his son's sons might also be included. This was because ideally two lineages should exchange spouses from generation to generation so that persons bearing the same names, with their associated ranks and prerogatives, produced offspring whose names also remained constant but whose ranks might rise if they successfully met the requirements of their ascribed status.

Thus, the status of an individual's father's clan could be as important in determining individual status as the rank of the mother's.

Table 2. Carcross, Chilkat, Chilkoot Clans with Place Affiliations and House Groups

Clan	Moiety	Translation	Place Affiliation/ Origin	Khwáans, Interior Villages	Chilkoot, Chilkat Houses	Major Crests
Atdóokuhittaan	Raven/ Crow (Interior)	People of the Dóokuhittaan	Dóokuhittaan (Skin House)	Teslin, Carcross?	?	?
Chookaneidí	Eagle/ Wolf	People of Chookanhéen	Chookanéen (Beach Grass Creek, Berg Creek in Glacier Bay)	Carcross, Huna, Sitka	No longer resident in Carcross	Brown Bear
Daghisdinaa	Eagle/ Wolf	People of Daghis [a creek] or Dakséet [a Channel]	A Creek in the Interior, north of Skagway; or Eastern Passage/Blake Channel near Wrangell	Chilkat, Dry Bay	Xeitl Hit (Thunderbird House), Shis'gi Hit (Sapling House)	Thunderbird
Dakhl'aweidí	Eagle/ Wolf	People of Dakhl'eiw	Dakhl'eiw (Glacial Sandbar on Stikine River)	Atlin, Carcross, Chilkat, Angoon, Teslin, Tongass,	Ch'eet Hit (Murrelet House), Tleilu Hit (Moth House), Kéet Gooshi Hit (Killer Whale Dorsal Fin House), Kéet Khwáani Hit (Killer Whale People House), Kéet L'óot'i Hit (Killer Whale Tongue House), Kéet Déxh'i Hit (Killer Whale Backbone House)	Killer-whale
Deisheetaan (Tukhweidí)	Raven Crow (Interior)	People of Deishu Hit	Deishu Hit (End of the Trail House, village of Angoon)	Angoon, Atlin, Carcross, Teslin	Deishu Hit (Angoon).	Beaver
Ghaanaxh.ádi	Raven Crow (Interior)	People of Ghaanaxh	Ghaanaxh (Port Stewart, near Ketchikan)	Chilkoot, Taku	Ishkahit (Taku >Teslin)	Ish
Ghaanaxhteidi	Raven Crow (Interior)	People of Ghaanaxh Tá	Ghaanaxh Tá (Head of Port Stewart)	Chilkat	Yaay Hit (Whale House), Xh'aakw Hit (Freshwater Sockeye House), Xh'aak Hit (Ravine House), Khutis' Hit (Looking Out House), Xixch'i Hit (Frog House), Ishkahit (House on the Salmon Hole in the River)	Whale, Frog
Ishkahittan (or Ishkataan)	Raven/ Crow (Interior)	People of Ish	Ish (Fish Hole)	Atlin, Carcross, Teslin	Ishkahit	Ish, Salmon?

Clan	Moiety	Translation	Place Affiliation/ Origin	Khwáans, Interior Villages	Chilkoot, Chilkat Houses	Major Crests
Kaagwaantaan	Eagle/ Wolf	People of the Scorched House (Kaawagani Hit)	Kax'noowú (a House at this settlement)	Carcross,Chilkat, Chilkoot, Huna, Sitka, Yakutat	Gooch Hit (Wolf House, [Chilkat]), Kéet Hit (Killer Whale House, [Chilkat]), Ligooshi Hit (Killer Whale Dorsal Fin House, [Chilkat]), Xóots Hit (Bear House, [Chilkoot]), Ch'aak' Hit (Eagle House, [Chilkoot]), Kaawagaani Hit (Charred House, [Chilkoot]). Not present in Carcross since early 20th century	Brown Bear, Wolf
Lukaaxh.ádi	Raven/ Crow (Interior)	People of Lukaaxh	Lukaaxh (Duncan Canal)	Chilkoot, Chilkat	Yéil Hit (Raven House, [Chilkoot]), Yéil Kiji Hit (Raven's Wing House, [Chilkoot]), Shaa Hit (Mountain House, [Chilkoot]), Kooshdaa Hit (Land Otter House, [Chilkoot]), Geisán Hit (Mt. Ripinsky House, [Chilkoot])	Sockeye Salmon
Kookhittaan	Raven Crow (Interior)	People of Kóok	Kóok (Cellar)	Atlin, Carcross, Teslin,	?	Crow with 3 young
Naach'uneidí	Raven Crow (Interior)	People of Naach'uhéen	Naach'uhéen (a creek in Whitewater Bay, Admiralty Island)	Chilkat, Angoon	?	?
Noowshaka. aayi	Raven Crow (Interior)	Noowshaka. aayi [People]	Noowshaka.aayi (Fort on Top of the [Chilkat?] Lake	Chilkat	?	?
Shangukeidi	Eagle Wolf	People of Shánkw	Shánkw (Saint Phillip Island, near Klawock)	Chilkoot, Dry Bay, Henya, Kake, Tongass	Kaawdliyaayi Hit (House Lowered from the Sun)	Sun, Brown Bear
Yanyeidi	Eagle Wolf	People of Yán	Yán (Hemlock)	Atlin, Carcross, Taku, Teslin	Yayuwaa Hit (House between the Forks [Teslin, Taku])?	Groundhog

*Source information: Hope and Thornton (2000:150-151), Emmons and de Laguna (1991), McClellan (1975), Greer (1995).

5. Houses. As Tlingit society expanded demographically and geographically, clan lineages were both aggregated (into the above-mentioned super matrilineages or moieties) and subdivided into localized matrilineages known as houses (*hít*) or house groups. House groups were not as prevalent among the more dispersed interior Tlingit and Tagish social units, but were fundamental to coastal Tlingit settlements and the organization of labor. The Tlingit term refers to the residential houses themselves, which traditionally were named and sheltered members of a matrilineage or sib and their conjugal families. Where clans were small, residing in a single multi-family structure, the clan and house group were effectively the same entity. But population and other pressures naturally lead to the formation of new houses and sublineages eventually. House leaders carried the title of *Hit S'áati* or "Master of the House."

The Yanyeidí clan's history is illustrative of how a house group becomes named and eventually forms a clan. According to Mrs. Elizabeth Nyman (Nyman and Leer 1993), a Yanyeidí elder from Atlin, the Yanyeidí took their name from a hemlock tree, which they were cutting down to make a house when their adze broke. At that time the river was bisected by a glacier with people living on both sides. Mourning the loss of their adze, the people on the upriver side of the glacier were heard by those on the downriver side, and eventually the two peoples were united when the downriver group crossed the glacier to meet those on other side. They also brought with them adzes, and thus the upriver people were able to finish building their hemlock house. "So that we will have a name to be called by, this is hemlock house," Xuts, the leader of the upriver group, proclaimed. As the lineage expanded, other houses were built, and they became known collectively as the Yanyeidí or "Hemlock House People," a clan.

House groups had both a physical and sociopolitical reality. Physically, houses, like clans, were always intimately linked to their place of origin, even if the original house itself was destroyed or relocated. Sociopolitically, a Tlingit was always a part of his or her mother's house, regardless of where he or she resided; the only exception to this was when a sublineage formally established a new house in the context of a potlatch (Mauss 1967, Kan 1989). The house group was also the core unit in the domestic mode of economic production. While the physical reality of the multi-family clan dwelling has been replaced by nuclear family dwellings, the sociopolitical house is still recognized and matrilineal ties are still reckoned through it. House groups maintain their integrity not only through the framework of kinship and ancestry (*shagóon*), but also through leadership (*hít s'áati*), property (*at.óow*), and coordinated social, ceremonial, and economic activities.

6. Persons (*khás*). Finally, at the level of personhood, all Tlingits were bestowed with birth names that were considered *at.óow* of the house or clan and inherited matrilineally. As components of personhood, names not only distinguished clan/house identity, but also hereditary social rank, as the names

themselves had different values (Emmons 1991:261). The lowest ranking members of coastal Tlingit society, slaves (*gux*), were not always given proper Tlingit names because of their status as property rather than persons within the political system. In contrast, the high-ranking members of free society, the *Aanyádi* or "Children of the Town" were given the more valuable names at birth. As a consequence, birth names ultimately placed significant constraints on their carrier's future political status. Below the *Aanyádi* stood the commoners (Oberg 1973), the largest strata of the social structure, whose names were typically selected by oldest women or clan mother of the mother's group and ritually bestowed through a potlatch.

In the Interior, Mrs. Angela Sidney (in Cruikshank 1989:67) described the importance of naming this way:

> You've got to give kids a name as soon as they're born. Otherwise they get lost their spirit gets lost that's what they claim...Some women have two Indian names. They get one when they're a baby, and another one when they make a potlatch for her brother. When you give a child a name, you can only use a name of someone related to you. Every nation [clan] has its own names, and you have to use the right name.

According to CTFN (2001:14), at Carcross names were usually given at "a head stone potlatch...to see that everyone knows the new member of the clan, and what their name was going to be. This too was a very spiritual event for our people, and one to be looked at with a great deal of respect." In addition to *at.óow* names, original pet names were also given, often by the father's side of the family and typically inspired by unique characteristics of the child.

Social status was not wholly the product of one's name, birthright, or ascription. The highest ranking names of a particular lineage were reserved as titles and were given only to high born members (or, rarely, to exceptional commoners) who merited chiefly status through their own achievements. These were almost exclusively men whose achievements were measured by their success in organizing and intensifying economic production and expanding the redistribution of goods and sociopolitical alliances through trade, marriages, ritual potlatching, and other means. As elites, these titleholders also controlled clan *at.óow*, including the distribution of non-material possessions, such as clan histories, songs, stories, names, and other specialized knowledge. In many ways, these leaders resembled the so-called "Big Men" of Polynesian societies (Johnson and Earle 1987). In return for some measure of economic control, Tlingit elites provided their clan members with security, prestige, social networks, and valuable non-local goods. If they failed in these duties, or otherwise shamed their clan, status could also be taken away (CTFN 2001:10; Oberg 1973).

Traditionally, then, one's clan, moiety, and individual status could be reckoned from a person's name. European naming practices have confused matters. As Carcross-Tagish elder Ida Calmagane (interview) put it, "The white man came, and they just give anybody any name, any kind of name." In contrast to the singular matrilineally inherited Native names,

Europeans began giving Natives anglicized first and last names in the nineteenth century, with the surnames being patrilineally inherited in direct conflict with the aboriginal way. Perhaps in response to this, some new naming patterns emerged, including a practice tying a person's first name (not patrilineally inherited) to his or her land. Examples of such naming include: Atlin Billy, Berners Bay Jim, Sheep Creek Mary, and Taku Jim (Thornton 1995; Greer 1995:23). This pattern of naming provided better resonance of individuals' ancestral and practical ties to land than the Euramerican way.

To these fundamental social units should be added three other important dimensions of Tlingit, Tagish, and Tutchone social structure during the pre- and early contact period: slavery, shamanism, and gender. It is not clear when slavery emerged as an institution on the Northwest Coast, but oral and archaeological evidence suggests that it predates eighteenth century contact by at least several hundred years and perhaps several millennia (Ames and Maschner 1999). Nineteenth century estimates of the Tlingit slave population vary widely, but in most khwáans it did not seem to exceed 10 percent of the overall population. Tlingit slaves were typically captured in raids or wars from neighboring groups as far south as Puget Sound or purchased from the Haidas; and slave status was also considered hereditary (Emmons 1991:40-41). Donald (1997) argues persuasively that slavery evolved on the Northwest Coast as a means for elites to maintain and enlarge their economic and sociopolitical status by capitalizing on slave labor to intensify economic production for exchange. Slaves were not only instrumental in harvesting resources but also in defending and processing them. Especially in "patchy" resource areas such as salmon streams, where runs were concentrated in time and space, this slave labor could boost production vastly. In addition slaves performed a variety of other menial tasks in attending to their wealthy owners and served as a kind of currency in the ritual economy, wherein they might be sacrificed or freed to consecrate certain transactions, such as the raising of a house. Inland Tlingit also possessed slaves, which were considered a sign of personal and social group wealth and prestige. "[T]he more slaves that you would sacrifice, or set free was also a sign of wealth" (CTFN 2001:23). Despite the emancipation of southern slaves in the Civil War of 1863, slave holding continued among Tlingits into the late nineteenth century. The Chilkoot leader, Daanawáakh, drew praise from missionaries when he released all of his slaves after embracing Christianity in the 1880s (Hinckley 1996:276).

Shamans were powerful individuals with extraordinary powers for sensing, interpreting, and influencing nature. They specialized in bridging the world of humans and that of the spiritual world. Marginal but potent figures in society, shamans could wield extraordinary power in certain contexts, such as famine, illness, or warfare. Their powers were both inherited and cultivated through training and ritual withdrawal and preparation. According to McClellan (1981:479), "A shaman ideally acted for everybody's benefit, controlling the weather, locating game, healing sickness, or dueling with threatening shamans from elsewhere. Successful shamans gained prestige and wealth but also risked accusations of witchcraft. Most shamans were men, since reproductively active women were

believed to offend animal spirits." Shamanism declined in the post-contact era, as it proved less effective in healing than Western medicine, less efficacious in battle than modern weapons and communications, and less than tolerable in the face of Christian missionizing.

Women held high status in Tlingit and Athabaskan society and were a dynamic force in social life. In Tlingit, women were called *shaa* and were referred to as a separate collective within the clan structure, as in Yandishaa "Women of the Yanyeidi." While Tlingit women typically (excepting the absence of a suitable male heir) did not assume formal offices or titles beyond that of matrilineal "clan mother," they exerted enormous influence in economic, political, and social spheres, and could also become powerful shamans within the spiritual realm (de Laguna 1983:81-82). Women regulated and managed household production and finances and also intra- and interethnic trade. Vancouver (1801 IV: 254-255, de Laguna 1983:81) was among the earliest to remark upon the powerful role of women in Tlingit country, observing in 1793 that,

> In all the commercial transactions the women took a very principal part, and proved themselves by no means unequal to the task. Nor did it appear that either in these or in any other respect they were inferior to the men: on the contrary, it should rather seem that they are looked up to as the superior sex, for they appeared in general to keep the men in awe, and under their subjection.

At the same time, perhaps because of their individual power but collective lack of office, women (like shamans) were seen as destabilizing forces and sources of conflict; thus, oral histories tend to scapegoat women as the causes of natural disasters, internecine warfare, and other calamities (Swanton 1909).

A report by the Carcross Tagish First Nation (CTFN 2001:12) sums up the important status of women this way: "The role of women was crucial to the traditional way of life...Their role was to advise the leaders about the direction they should take...Not only that but they also did a lot of the organizing and held essential skills for the survival of everyone and they even had time to raise their nieces. Over time the roles have changed, and more women are taking the responsibilities of being in leadership."

A final level or sociopolitical organization found among the coastal Tlingit and other Northwest Coast groups was the federation or confederation (Drucker 1983). These aggregations of clans were forged primarily for the purposes of war and ceremonial activities and may have become more important after the devastating depopulation that resulted from early nineteenth century epidemics, especially the smallpox outbreak of 1835-37, which reduced the Tlingit population by half or more in some regions (Boyd 1999). However, federations did not constitute permanent political entities, but rather temporary alliances designed to achieve short-term political goals. Even major military alliances such as those formed to destroy early Russian outposts at Sitka in 1802 (which included Chilkats [Herman Kitka, interview]) and Yakutat in 1805 were temporary and fragile. As de Laguna (1983:79) points out, "Some Sitkans

simply absented themselves from the fight, and remained friends with the Russians; victorious clans at Yakutat fought over the booty taken. There were no long-term stakes to support a political union."

Still, with the exception of Sitka, where the Russians reasserted control of the village in 1804, Tlingit political acumen and military strength were enough to keep Russian expansion in check. Tlingit clans continued to govern themselves and their aboriginal territories with little disturbance, beyond the quasi-political impacts of trade and disease, until the end of the Russian era in 1867. The Chilkat and Chilkoot were especially recalcitrant and held out until the advent of the gold rushes of the 1880s.

Later, under stresses from colonialism and Euramerican hegemony, both the coastal Alaska Native and the interior Yukon Indians formed a different kind of federation, brotherhoods, to pursue social and political aims for the betterment of their people. The Alaska Native Brotherhood was formed in 1912, largely by Tlingits; and the Yukon Native Brotherhood was formed in 1973.

Ethnogeography

Much is made of the close physical, social, and spiritual ties that indigenous peoples have to the natural world. This worldview stems from the fact that Native peoples tend to imagine themselves as organic inhabitants of a community of beings, including both human and non-human persons, which non-Natives often blithely simplify as "the environment." Ethnogeography refers to Native peoples' perspectives on the landscape in contrast to geographers' or non-Natives' descriptions. This perspective can be gleaned through a number of frames, including names on the land, concepts of place, homeland, and territory, and activities on the land such as settlement, migration, trade, and subsistence. Subsistence and trade are treated in detail in the sections below. The map and discussion in this section emphasize Native place-names (ethnotoponymy) and historic and contemporary sites, settlements, and territories of Southeast Alaska Native and Southern Yukon First Nations peoples.

Place-names

Native place-names are powerful and dynamic "linguistic artifacts" on the land. To those who can understand and interpret them, names speak volumes about the natural and cultural history of a region. As potent symbols place-names also evoke strong memories and feelings among those who know the geography and history they reference. For this reason, place-names are cherished among Native American peoples, who have a high appreciation of what they signify and, especially, the role they play in referencing individual and collective experience, cultural identity, and sense of being (Thornton 1997a, 2004).

De Laguna (1972:58) stressed the importance of place-names in her magisterial study of the Yakutat Tlingit:

> The ties between the people and the land are close, and no mere geographical description is adequate unless it attempts also to display the associations which make the *Lingit-aní* ["Tlingit-land"] a Lebensraum ["Living space"]. These associations are in part conveyed by the names given to places, sometimes descriptive of the locality, sometimes referring to historical or legendary events which have occurred here. Even

> when the names are in a foreign tongue they serve as reminder of those who once occupied the land and are now gone...The human meanings of the landscape...involve not simply places visited and transformed by Raven in the mythical past, but places hallowed by human ancestors. For individuals of course, the world has special personal meanings, for there are places about which their grandparents and parents have told them, spots they have visited in their own youth, or where they still go. None of these personal associations are completely private; all are intermeshed through anecdote or shared experiences. Not only is the world the scene of happenings of long ago, yesterday, and tomorrow, but it has human significance for what it offers in food resources, scenery, easy routes for travel, or places of danger.

Native geographic names and their cultural associations are not only important tools and signposts in the construction of individual experience, but also in narrative, story, and other forms of verbal art and everyday speech. People learn to think "with" the landscape and not just "about" it (Momaday 1974, Cruikshank 1990, Basso 1996, Thornton 1997b).

Fortunately, in the Chilkat-Chilkoot and Southern Yukon areas many of the Native names of the land have been retained, despite the enormous selective pressures working against them. In addition to those elders who remember aboriginal toponyms, several projects in recent years have attempted to document Native place-names using popular writing systems developed in recent years. In coastal Southeast Alaska, the Southeast Native Subsistence Commission, in conjunction with local tribes, recently completed a place-name inventory of the region, recording more than 3,000 names, including more than 200 in the Chilkat-Chilkoot region (SENSC 1995-2002). Similarly in the Interior, Angela Sidney (1980) and other elders have worked with anthropologists and linguists associated with the Yukon Native Language Center to document hundreds of Tlingit and Athabaskan place-names. As a result, we have a much more complete inventory of coastal Tlingit and Southern Yukon First nations' names than that captured by official government maps and gazetteers (Orth 1967, Wonders 1987).

We are fortunate, too, that some early non-Native explorers in the region were attentive to place-names. Geographer George Davidson was one of them. In 1869 Davidson and the Chilkat Ghaanaxhteidi leader Koh-klux (also known as Chatrich', appendix A) made one of the first detailed maps of the Interior through a unique exercise in cross-cultural collaboration. Davidson's mission was to map what to Americans had previously been *terra incognita*, namely that region under the St. Elias and Yakutat Ranges and the Yukon River extending down to Chilkat territory. In a wonderful exercise in intercultural communication, he engaged the Chilkat leader to work with paper and pencil for several days creating a map of this area. As Davidson tells it, the endeavor "cost him and his two wives two or three days' labor with pencil and no rubber... It began at Point Seduction, in Lynn Canal, with islands, streams and lakes; and with mountains in profile (1901: 76)." To this Koh-klux added information about distance (in terms of a day's travel by foot), camping places, and geographic names. Needless to say, Davidson was quite impressed. For his part, Koh-klux was equally impressed with Davidson's ability to

transcribe Tlingit sounds on paper, such that he could read Tlingit place-names back to the chief in his own tongue; and Koh-klux desired very much to learn how this was done. We are fortunate that this collaborative research was recorded and can be used by Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingits and interior groups as a source of aboriginal place-names, historic trails, trade routes, and other valuable information.[3]

Another explorer who was sensitive to indigenous names on the land was Edward J. Glave, who accompanied the Frank Leslie Exploring Expedition to the Interior in 1890. Reporting on the local geography, he wrote:

> Throughout my letter I have retained the native names of geographical points wherever I could learn them. In my opinion, this should always be studied. The Indian names of the mountains, lakes and rivers are natural land marks for the traveller, whoever he may be; to destroy these by substituting words of a foreign tongue is to destroy the natural guides. You ask for some point and mention its native name; your Indian guide will take you there. Ask for the same place in your substituted English and you will not be understood. Travelling in Alaska [sic] has already sufficient difficulties, and they should not be increased by changing all the picturesque Indian names. Another very good reason why these names should be preserved is that some tradition of tribal importance is always connected with them. These people have no written language, but the retention of their native names is an excellent medium through which to learn their history. (*in* Cruikshank 1991:113)

Unfortunately, other explorers were anxious to ignore or remove the Native names in favor of their own monikers of discovery. The great explorer and travel writer Eliza R. Scidmore commented on the unfortunate tendency of Euro-Americans' ignoring the indigenous geographic nomenclature in favor of giving landmarks "the name of some inconsequent and now forgotten statesman whom it seemed officially desirable to flatter at the time," (1896:143). Among others Schwatka was guilty of this pattern, dismissing the Native names as "difficult to pronounce," and naming such landmarks as Watson River, Marsh Lake, Nares Lake, and Wheaton River for European and American academics, scientists, explorers, and military men (Cruikshank 1991:110).

The information that place-names reveal about the natural environment is rich and varied. Embedded meanings reference plants, animals, minerals, topographic and hydrographic features, navigational landmarks, and other salient elements of the landscape.

> Athapaskan place names themselves often encode precise information about geology and land forms. Place names in Athapaskan languages tell of the presence of obsidian in the Aishihik Valley, copper near the White River, red ochre on the Nisling and Donjek rivers, and Flint at several places on Kluane Lake. The Tuchone name for Mendocina Creek, Tthekál Chú, refers to the thinly split rocks, tthekál, that are found there and are useful for tanning skins. The Tlingit name that Angela Sidney gives for one of the mountains in the Animal Mother story, Takaadi T'ooch', refers not merely to color but to an actual source of charcoal. A point of land at the north end of Marsh lake is named Mbésh Ta'áy, "where the knife edge extends out" (Tagish), and Litaa Yak'áts'i Shaa, "knife edge mountain" (Tlingit), because as one travels north by boat on Marsh Lake, it appears to rest against the water like the edge of a knife. (Cruikshank 1991:28)

The accompanying map shows the location

of key named sites in the vicinity of Chilkoot Trail.

Place-names also offer clues as to aboriginal territorial boundaries, although, as the above examples illustrate, the boundaries are not neat; the nomenclatures of different groups overlap. The redundancy of Tagish and Tlingit place-names on the landscape, and the pragmatic use of Tagish names in certain contexts and Tlingit names in other contexts by speakers of both languages further puzzled early explorers like Schwatka (1893:189). He remarked,

> The Chilkats, who are, as it were, the self-appointed masters over the docile and degraded "Sticks" or Tahkheesh [Tagish], have another. Oftentimes the name of a geographical object is the same in meaning, differing only according to the language. More often the names are radically different, and what is most perplexing of all, the Sticks [Tagish] will give the same name as the Chilkats in the presence of the latter, thus acknowledging in the most humble and abject way their savage superiority.

McClellan's informants (1950:130) specifically attributed the prevalence of Tlingit names throughout the Southern Yukon to the fact that the "Chilkat traded in the country for so long."

Chilkat-Chilkoot Khwáan Settlements and Ethnogeography

The Chilkat (*Jilkaat*, "Salmon Cache") Tlingit, whose territory was centered in northern Lynn Canal, are well known from ethnological studies made by Krause (1956), Oberg (1973), and others (e.g., Willard 1884, Emmons 1916, Sackett 1979). According to Emmons ([n.d.]) the Jilkaat are "so called from their old custom of caching in pits on the river's bank in front of their houses in the late fall the frozen salmon packed in layers of snow and ice for winter consumption." The river is similarly named for "its wealth of fish" and those who dwelled there took their name from it accordingly.

Within the American era (since 1867), the Chilkat Khwáan has been regarded by many as the wealthiest and most powerful Tlingit group. This is especially impressive given that evidence for Tlingit settlement of the area points to a very recent date, perhaps within the last 300-400 years (Sackett 1979: vii). The Chilkat's high status was a product of their control over trade to the Interior—a virtual "monopoly" that survived the Russian occupation of the coast and Hudson Bay Company infiltration of the Interior, and was not penetrated until the gold rush era at the end of the nineteenth century.[4] Before then, the Chilkat controlled the lucrative fur trade with the interior Athabaskan groups and profited handsomely in their role as middlemen. Their geographic position also gave the Chilkat overland access to the Gulf of Alaska coast via the Alsek River, another important corridor to the Interior.

As a consequence of the Chilkats' unique position as middlemen, their territory extended much farther inland than other khwáans. While hunting and fishing rights were centered in northern Lynn Canal and its tributary watersheds north of Berners Bay, exclusive rights were claimed over trade routes as far inland as the upper basins of the Yukon River. A significant portion of the traditional khwáan today lies in Canada, and a highway links Haines and Klukwan, the modern Tlingit settlements, to the Interior. Subsistence production, however, continues to be focused in northern Lynn Canal, espe-

cially the Chilkat and Chilkoot Rivers and their tributaries. As Emmons (n.d.) noted, the extent of this hunting and fishing territory is comparatively small vis-à-vis other khwáans, and is "in no way commensurate with their population or importance" that was a function not of the khwáan's geographic size, but its strategic position as a gate to the Interior. The productivity of the two major rivers and their watersheds also provided sufficient quantities of salmon and other resources to support large populations in year-round villages. Their orientation toward interior trade routes and the bountiful rivers with all five species of salmon plus eulachon, which were productive almost year-round, meant that Chilkat and Chilkoot settlement and subsistence patterns were significantly different from other khwáans, particularly the more maritime island groups.

Chilkat and Chilkoot khwáans consisted of four large villages and numerous seasonal camps centered on the Chilkat and Chilkoot Rivers. The Chilkat and Chilkoot groups are represented as distinct groups with separate territories, though recent investigations have found considerable overlap in their use areas (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998 [1946]). Both were considered part of a single khwáan (Emmons n.d.), and it may have been internal troubles that led to the bifurcation into two distinct subgroups. The Chilkoot, according to Emmons, were originally composed of a single clan, the Lukaax.ádi. The Chilkat, on the other hand, consisted of six major clans, all of whom had established themselves elsewhere before migrating to the area: Ghaanaxhteidi, Ghaanaxh.ádi, Kaagwaantaan, Shungukeidí, Dagisdinaa, Dakhl'aweidi. The first three groups were migrants from the coast to the south, while the latter three reportedly came originally from the Interior. Also present at one time at Chilkat were the Naach'uneidí and Noowshaka.aayí, though never in great numbers. Despite the distinction in identities, there was considerable contact and intermarriage between the Chilkoot and Chilkat groups.

Major Villages of the Chilkat/Chilkoot

With abundant sources of food available from the major rivers and rugged territory beyond the riverine banks, Chilkat and Chilkat Tlingits did not venture far to obtain much of their food, and thus their villages were comparatively large and occupied much of the year. The villages and camps along the major rivers were connected by a network of trails. *Deishú*, or "End of the Trail," now known as Haines, marked the southern terminus of this trail system that stretched all the way to Klukwan and beyond on the north bank of the Chilkat River and also linked to *Lkoot* Village on the Chilkoot River. Sackett (1979:60) was told by elders Mildred Sparks and Paul Phillips that people often used this trail system "to travel between Klukwan and Chilkoot Village, walking from Klukwan to *Deishú* and then proceeding to Chilkoot by canoe–thus eliminating the hazardous canoe trip around Seduction Point." In explaining the meaning of the Tlingit name for this Seduction Point, Evans Willard and Tom Jimmy (SENSC 1995-2002) referred to these hazards:

> *Ayík* [part of the name for Seduction Point] is, you gotta get ready; it's a very very stormy place there. *Ayíkluti*, you gotta be ready when you go around there, either wind, north or south wind, and the tides are strong there, and you always find... great big seas there, big, high waves.(EW) *Yayíkluti*, which is

> Seduction Point, and the story that I heard that went along with this, was that when you go across that point in a canoe, and the low tide is coming in, it's like you hear voices, somebody inside a canoe, yayik is the word for canoe, it's derived from that, and that's the story I heard about that (TJ).

Major villages in Chilkat and Chilkoot included the following.

- Klukwan *Tlákw:aan*, ("Eternal Village," map, #46). The largest and oldest village in the khwáan was located some 20 miles upriver from Lynn Canal, this year-round settlement reportedly had 500-600 residents living in 65 community houses in 1881 (Krause 1956). This was the site of the famous Ghaanaxhteidí "Whale House of Chilkat," so vividly characterized by Emmons (1916). The village was located far upriver for three reasons. First, there are few productive salmon tributaries below Klukwan, while there are many above it. Second, the location provided a large safe eddy for landing canoes and protection from the fierce southeast winds that batter Lynn Canal. Third, the location provided convenient access to interior trade routes and hunting grounds where mountain goat, deer, and furbearers were taken. Klukwan remains a vital Tlingit village today. Elder George Stevens (interview) relates how people first came to Klukwan, a narrative he gave to federal Fish and Game officials as proof of his people's sovereignty over local fisheries:

> I finally decided to go represent Klukwan. Yeah, that new federal official, Fish and Game... Looked like a guy you can't touch with a ten foot pole. After he got through judging the convention, the chairman got up, "Anybody out there want to ask questions?" ... When my turn came, I came right out. I didn't beat around the bush, but I requested an answer for it when I get through with it. Long time ago–I'll cut that story short, too. A trouble brewed in Sitka, family feud. This one particular man was, the chief announced he's gonna be an outcast ... From Sitka he took four of his nephews. They scouted from Sitka through Chatham Straits and finally they got to Haines where Haines is now. They landed on that beach there. He took two of his nephews, "[Tlingit, 235], Look around, look around. See what's around here." They all came back and one nephews says, "[Tlingit, 237], big river on that side." Now, he told his boys to go to work on cutting green poles... Yeah, that's how it came about. This story told to me by Tom, my uncle, too...
>
> They scouted that river from Deishu which is now Haines, kept going up this river, little other town. They look it [over], they scout it. Finally they stopped at 19 miles; they camped there. But that evening they made a, they ate. While they were eating he was telling his nephews,

"Tomorrow I want you to look over that place up here." That's Klukwan now. The next day they loaded up their canoe, the young men, they poled up here, they were somewheres here (Margaret Stevens adds, "Slide area" [*Khaatx'waaltú*]). They came back in the evening. He told his nephews: "Nephews," while they were eating, "[Tlingit, 270], and I told you boys to scout that country up here." One says, "Oh, [Tlingit, 272], they got everything there. Fish, porcupine signs, look up the mountain, Oh Geez, mountain goats, you go right along beach, lots of bears, lots of fresh water coming down off the mountain." Next day they're somewheres along the bank here, river bank... "Ah ha," he says... He stooped down; he put up his arms and let the sand run from his hands. He was saying, "[286] mountain [Tlingit, 288]." In Tlingit what he was saying, "It's ours." Then he walked to the riverbank, he scooped up handful of water. Also the whole valley he circled, he was saying, "[Tlingit, 292]." And I asked the official, "What I want to know is, today, that river that drains through the Klukwan Village, does it belong to the federal or does it belong to the state or does it belong to the people of Klukwan?" That guy didn't answer my question. He relayed the answer to me through the Executive Committee.

- *Khaatx'waaltú* ("Rock Slide Point," map, #55). Just below Klukwan, also on the east bank of the Chilkat River, was the town of *Khaatx'waaltú*, named for the lateral moraine at the foot of which it was built. This village was founded by residents of *Yandeist'akhyé*, a village near the mouth of the Chilkat, who established a fishing camp here that later grew into a village. The village grew to a population of 125 (Petroff 1884) with 8 houses, before it was destroyed by a mud slide in the 1890s (Emmons n.d., Sackett 1979:51).
- *Yandeist'akhyé* ("Where Everything from Afar Drifts on Shore" or "Point Caught"–Emmons, n.d.; map, #130). This village, located at the mouth of the river at the present site of Haines Airport, was the other large settlement on the Chilkat. *Yandeist'akhyé* took its name from the point on which it stands, which "turns the course of the river from above and obstructs the tide from below and so catches the drift from both directions" (Emmons n.d.). Formed by a glacial moraine, this bank also provides shelter from the southeast winds and ready access for boats. Between these two settlements there was an important eddy or pool in the river called "*Khauk uy ah*" ([Changing Color] Salmon Lake"), where sockeye salmon would collect after ascending into the fresh waters of Chilkat River and begin to change color (Emmons n.d.). *Yandeist'akhyé* also to grew to be very large with 150-200 inhabitants and 16 houses recorded in 1880

(Petroff 1884). The area embracing *Yandeist 'akhyé* is known as *Gheisán Aan* ("Gheisán Village or Land"). Gheisán is the name of Mt. Ripinsky behind the village. Austin Hammond relates the following story about this place:

> While we were living at *Yandeist 'akhyé*, there was a war. We call that place "War Canoe Cove." My people didn't know warriors had come in canoes from the south. When they were cooking a big pot of food together, here they came. "Hoo-oo-oo," they were yelling and my people started running. We ran right up on top of Gheisán. When they got on top, the shaman asked his attendant, "Where's your drum?"
>
> The young man said, "It's still down there."
>
> The shaman said, "You better go get it. I'll sit here."
>
> He sat with the blanket over his head, and he's still going to start singing, tapping the ground. By doing this he is going to keep the eyes closed of the ones who came in the war canoes, so they won't see him and he won't fall. The shaman said, "As soon as you get down there put your hand through the strap and start beating the drum. I'll take care of it from there."
>
> So the young man went down. All the enemy was there. He did just what the shaman told him. He put his arm through the strap and started beating the drum. The drum was about flying with him on top of all the willows. And the enemy didn't get a chance to get him. He kept running right up that cliff. That's how strong our shaman is. That's how some of our people were saved.
>
> We use that name because we were safe there, and because we belong to that place.
>
> Since that time we have been using these songs. Our old-timers used to sing together when they were cooking a big pot of boiled fish, bear meat, or mountain goat. They would even sing together while they were eating—having a good time. Sometimes we get lonely when we sing the songs—lonely for our departed loved ones who taught us the songs. (n.d. Gheisán Dancers brochure)

There is currently an effort to restore a community house at the site of *Yandeist 'akhyé*.

- Chilkoot Village (*Lkoot*, possibly "Storehouse," or "Place of Abundance of Food"–Emmons n.d.; map, #64). Situated on the Chilkoot River between Lutak (*Ltu.aak* "Inside the Nose") Inlet and Chilkoot Lake, this village was smaller than either *Tlákw.aan* or *Yandeist 'akhyé* and

inhabited mainly by the Lukaax̲.ádi, who Emmons (n.d.) believed migrated north from the Stikine River. Elder John Marks (personal communication) believes that the Lukaaxh.ádi settling first at Duncan Canal (*Lukaax̲*) near Petersburg, later moved north where some settled at Excursion Inlet (*Kuyeik̲'*) and took the name Kuyeik̲'ádi ("People of Excursion Inlet"), while others continued north to Chilkoot. The Chilkoot is a short but productive salmon river, fed by Chilkoot Lake, where prized sockeye salmon spawn. Large boulders in the lower river were owned and used as platforms for harvesting salmon with spears (Sackett 1979: 52). Like *Khaatx'waaltú*, this village never grew large, possessing only 8 houses and 120 inhabitants according to Petroff's (1884) report on the 1880 census, but was subsequently ravaged by disease and damaged by mudslides and eventually abandoned as people became consolidated in the larger settlement of Haines by the 1930s. According to elders Mildred Sparks and Richard King (Sackett 1979), survivors of the mudslide composed the following mourning song in their grief:

> You broke my heart
> My daughter
> Oh, my son
> Answer me
> Where can I find you?

When the road leading to the state campground was built in the 1960s, some key landmarks associated with this village were damaged or destroyed including the Ghuwakaan Teiyi or "Peace Rock," the remains of which were subsequently cobbled together and marked by a road sign.

In addition to major lineage houses, originally built of logs and hand-hewn timbers and housing up to 10-30 persons, each village also had its associated storage structures for food, canoes, and other supplies. Indeed the name Jilkaat may derive from the significance of storage facilities, including pits and caches, in these trading communities.

Except for shamans, who were typically buried in remote areas with favorable "lookouts," the dead were cremated before the Christian era. Villages inhabited after the arrival of missionaries have associated graveyards.

Along with these four "major permanent villages," there were at least five smaller villages whose history before contact has been documented almost exclusively by oral tradition (Sackett 1979: 59). Among the more permanent of these were villages at Dyea at the base of the Chilkoot Trail and a village at Skagway River near the modern city of Skagway (James Lee in Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:101). These minor villages, most of which were inhabited year round, are sketched below, based on information from Sackett (1979) and other relevant sources (e.g., Swanton 1908):

- *Deishú* ("End of the Trail," map, #134). Described as an old "Chilkat Village" at Portage Cove, four miles east of *Yandeist'aklyé* (Young 1915), *Deishú* was not populated during the contact period until the establishment of the Presbyterian Mission (Chilkoot Mission) there in 1880 (see

below). The Presbyterians' decision to place the mission at a neutral site was a strategic attempt to escape the traditionalism of the village and also the appearance of favoring a single village. As the missionary, Mrs. Eugene Willard (1884:47) remarked: "Each of these villages has its chief or chiefs and medicine men, each its distinct nobility, and each its own interests and jealousies of all the others." Renamed Haines by the Presbyterians, this settlement grew rapidly to a population of 106 by 1890, largely at the expense of Chilkoot and *Yandeist'akhyé* villages (Sackett 1979).

- *Tan.àani* ("Jumping Fish Land," map. #119), located at Tanani Bay, like *Deishú*, was situated in a bay with southern exposure to Lynn Canal and not along the major riverways. The antiquity of this village is said to be contemporaneous with *Yandeist'akhyé* and Chilkoot villages, although it is not mentioned in the census (Sackett 1979). Elder Joe Hotch (SENSC 1995-2002) says of the name: "[I]t's the place the fish jump...when they're jumping, we are supposed to say 'Ey Ho!,' you see a fish jump, 'Ey Ho,' they know they're being appreciated so they keep jumping, and I guess our people say it so they can know which way it's going (laughs), just keep saying 'Ey Ho,' and that's the way they want to be talked to, the fish want to be appreciated." Tanani Point was called Tan.aani Lutú: or Fish Jump Point.[5]
- *Shkaltsexx'i Héen* ("Kicking Itself Water," map. #138). This village takes its name from the Kicking Horse River and was said to have been located at the confluence of this tributary and the Chilkat River, across from 9-mile Haines Highway. It was reportedly devastated by an epidemic of smallpox, probably in 1836 (or perhaps in 1775), in which only one woman and her child survived. The aboriginal population is unknown. Sackett (1979:59) recorded the following narrative from Chilkat elder Mildred Sparks about this tragic event and the courageous survivors:

> Smallpox came along and wiped everybody out except one young woman and her child. Everybody was moving down from Klukwan to 7-mile and 9-mile [during the eulachon seasons in late May or early June], and they didn't see smoke coming from the houses. When they went through the houses, they found no one. Just that one woman and her child survived. (There are still skeletons around there.)
>
> The woman lived there with no transportation, no nothing; and she was courageous and she was brave. Even now I teach my children and grandchildren that the Chilkat are known to be courageous and brave.
>
> So, this one woman who lived through all those deaths said her prayer every morning when she got up. The Indians have a God of their own, *ax shageinyaa*, and a prayer of their own, just like the Bible. She would thank God in her own way, the way it was done before religion [Christianity] came along.
>
> Courageous, with nobody around until all these canoes came down to 7-mile and 9-mile across the river[:] she saw the people get

> out of the canoes and look in the houses. She happened to be on the north side and she told her child, "Quiet, these people know."
>
> When they found her, she tried not to cry. She just grieved in her Indian way until she saw the people and heard the word *ceshan* which means "have pity." *Ceshan*, that broke her heart. All the days she spent without anybody she did not shed a tear. But that word broke her lips, so she cried.

Eulachon pits, house and skeletal remains are said to remain at the site, but the site has not been excavated or its materials radiocarbon dated.

- Dyea or *Dayéi* ("To Pack," map. #23). This small village was located on the Taiya River at the present site of Dyea. According to Sealaska's (1975) survey and Sackett's (1979: 60) sources, the village was occupied year round at one time, but by the time of the gold rush and the founding of modern Dyea, it was used primarily as a fishing camp for salmon and eulachon and a staging area for trade expeditions to and from the Interior. Due to the lack of an overland trail from Chilkoot to Dayéi and the difficulties (e.g., stiff winds and strong tides) of marine travel in Upper Lynn Canal, key landmarks, rest stops and points of refuge were named along the water route to aid navigation (map). For example, the point on Dalasuga Island opposite Seduction Point was called *Yoo Lititgi X'aa*, or "Undulating Point," a reference to its wave like movements in particular weather conditions. As Joe Hotch (SENSC 1995-2002) explains:

> "It's all cliff...[but] between there is sand, and when the north wind is blowing, the sand goes this way [south], and when the south wind is blowing, it goes this way [north], and we call it *Yoo Litigi X'aa*." It moves south when the north wind is blowing, and it moves north when the south wind is blowing. A similar bellweather, *Yoo Lihashgi X'aa*, or "Floating Point," marks the entrance to Taiyasanka Harbor. According to Anna Katzeek, "[W]hen the tide is up it looks like it floated, and when the tide goes down it looks like it separated, so they call it the Floating Point. Taiyasanka Harbor itself was called *Dayeisáank'i*, a reference to its proximity to Taiya Inlet (also known as *Dayéi*). The bay offered safe harbor to canoes traveling north and, according to Anna Katzeek, signaled that Dayéi was "just right over [there]; if you go on the other side will be *Dayéi*, toward Skagway...The opposite side of *Dayéi*, that's what *Dayei sáank'i*, [refers to]...there's a mountain, and there's Dayéi on this side. We used to go to those places." Closer still to the village of Dyea, in Taiya Inlet itself, lay another refuge place for inclement weather: *Dayéi Xh'ákax'áas*. As John Marks notes, "...they had kind of a place where they had a stop off. If it was real bad weather, you could spend the night there or whatever. Kind of like a little dinky village." As noted, above, Dyea itself was considered the home of Kanagoo, "the child of the North Wind."

There seems to be little doubt that Dyea was a permanent village at one time, if we understand "permanent" to mean regularly, but not necessarily constantly, occupied. In addition to Sackett's (1979) informants, Jack David (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998: 101) states unequivocally that it was considered a permanent village in Chilkat Territory:

> I was born in Klukwan seventy-eight years ago [1868]. I heard from my father and grandfathers now dead that the Chilkat people's land extended from Seduction Point to the tip of Sullivan Island, up the Chilkat River and Chilkat Valley, up the Chilkoot River and up to Skagway and Dyea. At Dyea there was a trail which went up to the Interior Indians who were met at *Lutsis Aan.*
>
> I remember also when the Tsimshians came to trade at Klukwan, which was a trade center for people from all over. The Tsimshians didn't go up the Dyea pass or beyond Klukwan...There was also a permanent village at Dyea [and] at the mouth of the Skagway River.

In their statement concerning Dyea to the team investigating Native cemetery and historic sites for Sealaska Corporation (Wilsey and Ham 1975: 578), Si Dennis Sr. and Mildred Sparks both referred to Dyea as an aboriginal village site, "a large fishing village," according to Mrs. Sparks, with a cemetery along the Taiya River. The report notes, however, that much of the physical evidence for the prehistoric and historic village site "may be lost due to the eroded river bank." Si Dennis elaborated on the nature of Dyea in the video *Skagway Memories* (1998):

> Although Dyea was considered better than this [Skagway] valley because it had a lot less wind, it was never really used as a village, only by a few that didn't care to live in villages but would rather be by themselves. My grandfather, Nahku, lived there practically all his life, and in fact the long bay that's between Dyea and Skagway is named for him on the charts. Five or six families lived out there year round, mainly for subsistence.

Si Dennis' grandfather, Nahku, filed for a homestead at Nakhu Bay (also known as Long Bay) in 1895 but was not successful in securing the property. Interestingly, in Tagish Nahku means a "narrow" place for crossing (Nakhu, Cruikshank 1990:298), a good description of Long Bay as it splits Dyea from Skagway.

By 1887 Skagway had become a moderate sized village of 138 Natives (Spude 1980:xi), many of whom had come to work the packing trade and acquire goods at the newly opened Healy & Wilson trading post.

- Skagway or *Shghaghwei* ("Rugged" or "Wrinkled-Up," also rendered by Emmons as "the beautiful one" [see above], map, #24). Most of our informants (SENSC 1995-2002) agreed that the name of this settlement refers to the effects of the strong north wind on the waters of Lynn Canal, which generates rugged seas and "wrinkled up" waves. But Emmons (n.d.) was told that the name was derived from "the collecting of the clouds on the

mountains top back of the valley." Governor John Brady offered a different story: "The Natives call this stream Skugua. This name has been in use since the crow [Raven] made the earth and the Thlingits. A woman was drowned in this river and her name was Skugua. On the banks of the river lived a man named Ken-noo-goo, or North Wind. Skugua came to him and became his wife" (*Skaguay Alaskan* 1985). Herman Kitka Sr. of Sitka provided yet another variation, closer to that of Krause (1956) that tells of a Tlingit warrior who became stuck trying to move up Taiya Inlet in the face of a stiff north wind. He spoke to this wind like a woman and gave her the name, Shgagwei. The woman of the north wind responded and appeared to him, and finally, after five days, the wind slowed. This was said to be her children's doing. The term Kanagu, then, refers to the children of Shgagwei and also the calm ripples that run along the water "like steam" after a stiff north wind has blown.

Unfortunately, little is known about the size, location, or character of this settlement. There was said to be a small settlement at the mouth of the Skagway, which most informants agree was only seasonal. J. Bernard Moore (1968:91ff), among the first whites to visit Skagway in 1887 with his father, Captain William Moore, the founder of Mooresville (Skagway's first European name and one of only a few examples of an English place-name that lost out to a Tlingit one in popular usage), mentions finding old camps, dugout canoes, blazes on trees, and some deadfall traps in the vicinity of Skagway on their first visit, including a camp "just above the upper point of the bay," that was maintained by an Indian named Nan-Suk, who the Moores employed as a laborer during their first stay. Figure 3 shows a view of a small cluster of Native dwellings on the east side of the Skagway River, but it is unknown how long this village existed or if it was moved to that location within historic times. Si Dennis noted that his father, Bert Dennis, remembered, Skagway Valley when trees grew down to the beach before Captain Moore even built his cabin. He used to come over here with his dad as a small boy." The area was desirous for hunting, especially mountain goats, and also for harvesting and drying salmon, berry picking, and other activities. As was the case with the Dennis family, it may be that camps at Skagway typically were used in conjunction with those at Dyea. The whole area between Chilkoot Inlet and Dyea, including the seasonal camp and hunting and fishing grounds at Skagway, was controlled by the Lukaaxh.ádi clan until the beginning of the gold push period in the late 1890s when the population of both communities swelled as points of departure for gold seekers.

Settlements in the Interior

Major settlements in the Interior really did not exist in the pre-contact period because such living arrangements were not



Figure 3. "Indian Town" at Skagway, 1897 (East of the railroad, above the wharf)
(LaRoche, #2086, Library of Congress #LC-USZ62-69436, KLGO SV25-1430)

adaptive to the exigencies of making a living in this harsh subarctic environment. Flexible subsistence patterns called for flexible and mobile living arrangements. Thus settlements and their inhabiting groups were often temporary and fluid in their make-up. Before the gold rush, permanent house construction was not common except in those areas that could support a higher degree of sedentism, such as the upper Taku River. Otherwise people moved with the ebb and flow of key resources, often staying in lean-tos and other temporary shelters or camps. As one of McClellan's (1975:233) consultants put it: "That's why so many Indians traveled in the old days -to see if they can improve. If the people starved here, then they'd move, and they'd never come back."

Modern First Nation villages in the Southern Yukon are a product of post-contact consolidation of aboriginal peoples around places that provided key services, such as trading posts, schools, and religious worship. Some of these are villages that grew up proximate to traditional settlements, such Careross-Tagish, and others were built anew for special purposes, such as the mining town of Atlin. Modern villages include the Southern Tutchone communities at Aishihik, Burwash Landing, Champagne, Dalton Post, Hutshi, Klushu, and Neskatahin, the primarily Tagish settlement at Careross, and the inland Tlingit communities of Atlin and Teslin. Like the modern Tlingit villages at Dyea, Haines, and Klukwan, those in the Interior typically have burials and graveyards associated with them, dating to the Christian era, or in the case of shamans, perhaps earlier. Other important components of the built environment included the various storage structures and racks for preserving fish, meat, and other goods for future use or trade. All three tribes

had underground, surface, and raised caches (McClellan 1975:247).

The historical development, lay-out, and composition of these villages (up to1951) are described in detail in McClellan (1975: 233ff). Hence, only those adjacent to the Chilkoot Trail will be reviewed here. Among these, Tagish and Carcross are the most important villages in the historic era. In the nineteenth century, the Tagish River between Tagish and Marsh Lake was the main settlement where families gathered for trading and seasonal celebrations. The place-name Tagish in the Tagish language refers to the sound of the break-up of river ice in the spring. When the first outsiders came through the Carcross-Tagish area in the 1880s, they found the people who lived here were bilingual, speaking both the Tagish and Tlingit languages. By the early twentieth century, however, families that knew Tagish were beginning to speak Tlingit with their children; and only the elderly people were speaking Tagish among themselves. As Mrs. Lucy Wren (CTOHP) described it, "Those men come from Atlin, from Tlingit all over, they get married to them. That is how the Tlingit language and things start [in this area]. But my grandma never talked to me in Tagish language, just Tlingit language. My mom, too. That is how we were raised up."

- *Tagish* (Taageeshi) referring to the sound of the ice breaking up on Tagish River (McClellan 1975:582 n.34a)), the chief nineteenth century gathering place of the Tagish people, was at the confluence of Tagish and Marsh Lakes. The name itself is significant in that it represents one of the few place-names that reference the sound of a natural phenomena—the break-up of ice on the Tagish River- -using onomatopoeia. Although salmon do not reach into Bennett Lake, they run into Marsh Lake on their return to the McClintock River (*T'ahéeni*, "King Salmon River") for spawning. In 1887, before the gold rush, George Dawson (1889) described the village as consisting of two "roughly built" permanent houses, which he characterized as similar to coastal Tlingit dwellings. He estimated that perhaps 70-80 people lived there belonging to 15 families. Several years later, Sola, a British prospector, noted that festivals and councils were held at one of the Tagish houses and that there were burial grounds "on both sides of the river at the site (McClellan 1975:40). Inhabitants of Tagish moved to Carcross after the White Pass railway linked this town to Skagway in 1900, as trade commodities, schools, churches, and other goods and services were more readily available there. Significantly, however, ranking members of the dominant clans in the village, Dakhl'aweidí and Deisheetaan (Tukhweidí) clans maintained houses in Tagish long after the majority of the population had moved to Carcross; and McClellan (1975:41) reported four "dead houses" containing Chinese chests or Tlingit-style wooden boxes filled with the ashes of cremated humans" in 1950. In the 1940s some graves were moved from the area when their destruction was threatened by the eroding banks of the nearby river. Angela Sidney (in Cruikshank 1990: 40), among others, claimed, "It was the Dakhl'aweidí who owns Tagish; they were the first to make their village there." Although this form of discovery ownership was recognized, McClellan (1975:

42) suggests, "Such ownership was nominal at best. Until the registration of traplines, lands not being actively exploited lay open to anyone who wished to move into them, for in such a small group, kin ties could easily be manipulated to substantiate one's hunting or trapping rights." Ida Calmegane (interview) described Tagish territory this way:

> My Grandmother, Maria Johns lived until 1955, and she talked about the Tagish Kwan country. Its from the top of the Chilkoot Pass; and it goes all the way to Pelly Banks in Selkirk, and it goes into Ross River and to Watson Lake around Liard, and around up into around the Teslin area, Johnson's town they used to call it. It used to be the big settlement there, the Tagish people, Johnson town they used to call it. People used to have a big camp there. Tagish was the main gathering place. They moved to Careross, the Tagish people, when they put the railroad through. It all went around towards Atlin and that area. They used to get to Taku River. But they gave up that area, the Daklaweidi people. This was all Daklaweidi country at one time. They gave that area up to the Taku River Indians because they had trouble that one time. Long time ago when they had trouble the whole clan was responsible for it. So they had to pay it back. When we were growing up, we were taught not to insult anybody or talk to anybody or anything like that. Right from the time we were able to understand our tribe our clan, we knew that the head of our clan was Uncle Johnny, Johnny Johns. We knew that if anything happened, my mom always told us all of us had to pay; everyone had to pay. We knew that we had to be careful, always.

- *Carcross* (*NatsxA héen* ?, "Going through Narrow Water." Tlingit; T'odAzani, "Sand Blowing all the Time," Tagish?), on Lake Nares is a contraction of Caribou Crossing. Herds of caribou used to swim the waters at this junction, although few have been seen in the area since 1920 due to changes in habitat and perhaps other factors (McClellan 1975). Before becoming the main village of the former Tagish residents, Careross was a camping place and subsistence site for families in the territory. Like Dyea, the size of the town swelled with the gold rush, but soon reverted to a size approximating its original status. In 1950, McClellan estimated approximately 112 Natives living in the village. The Tukhweidí branch of the Deisheetaan clan were said to "own" Careross and lands to the south according to a territorial regime similar to that of the Dakhl'aweidi at Tagish (McClellan 1975:42).

Numerous other settlements are recorded but, with the exception of those that grew up in the post-contact period (such as Atlin and Bennett), most are small or less integrally tied to the greater Chilkoot landscape. Populations of many of the smaller settlements are recorded in the Population section below.

Population

Population figures are not available for all communities over time, but table 3 lists available census data from selected sources for Chilkoot Trail area communities since the nineteenth century. Generally speaking, census data show two major demographic trends: 1) severe population loss due to epidemic diseases and 2) population consolidation at major villages that provided modern goods and services such as

Table 3. Coast Tlingit and Select Interior Tlingit, Tagish, and Tutchone Populations, 1740-1990

Community	1740	1838	1840	1861	1880	1890 (1898)	1900	1910	1920	1950	1990
Klukwan					500-600	320		245	167	91	129
Katkwaltu (*Khaatx'waaltú*)					125	70	Abnd' after 1890s slide				
Yindastuki (*Yeindust'akhyé*)					150-200	143				Abnd' c. 1930	-
Chilkoot					120	106 (Haines Mission)	-	-	-	-	-
Kicking Horse River (*Shkaltsexx'i Héen*)	?	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dyea					138 (1887)	(5,000-8,000) Includes non-Natives	18 Indians	2-3(post 1903)			...
Skagway						(8000-10,000) Includes non-Natives	3117 (109 Indians; 4 mixed)	872 (45 Indians;12 mixed)	494 (13 Indians; 11 mixed)	758	692
TOTAL CHILKAT	400?	498	200	1,616	988	812	694				
TOTAL TLINGIT	10,000	5,455	4,800	7,839	6,431	4,501		4,458			15,000

Community	1740	1838	1840	1861	1880	1890 (1898)	1900	1910	1920	1950	1990
Carcross										112	
Tagish					70-80 (1887)						
Bennett											
Hutshi							200			1 family (1940)	
Aishihik							250			65 (1967)	199 (incl. Haines Junction & Kloo Lake)
Klukshu							80				
Selkirk area					200					256 (1967)	306
Neskatahin							100 (1902)				
Atlin										55	161 (1978)
Teslin							30			150	250 (1978)

Sources: De Laguna (1990), McClellan (1975, 1981), Spude (1980:xi), K. Gurcke (pers. comm. 2002), Norris (1996), Spude (2002), and U.S. Census data.

schooling. According to Boyd's (1999) recent study of infectious diseases on the Northwest Coast between 1774 and 1874, epidemics of smallpox, measles, and influenza were largely responsible for an 80 percent decline of the Native population during that period. Less is known about the quantitative degree of depopulation in the Chilkoot area, but it is perhaps as high as 50 percent. Oral history, related by Mrs. Sparks (see above) suggests that smallpox epidemic (of 1838?) was largely responsible for the abandonment of the small village at Kicking Horse River (*Shkaltsexx'i Héen*); similarly an influenza epidemic in 1917-18 was responsible for the depopulation of Yindustaki. Karl Gurcke (personal communication) notes, "The travelogue entitled a *Day in Skagway* has several brief scenes of Yindustaki. The village looks completely deserted but in one of the scenes, a sad little boy is looking into the camera. The film was taken in 1918 and it appears that the epidemic had already taken its toll." These are astonishing declines and represent unparalleled demographic disasters and cultural catastrophes the scale and effects of which are still not well understood. The cultural stress wrought by diseases ultimately had profound effects on key cultural systems, such as religion, health care, and subsistence. The consolidation of nomadic populations into relatively stable, permanent settlements is similarly dramatic and no less profound in its effects on cultural institutions, especially in the Interior.

Relationships to Land and Resources

Coastal and Interior Subsistence Geography

The Chilkat clans did not maintain and defend exclusive seasonal salmon fishing territories to the extent that other coastal Tlingit groups did because the major rivers provided a superabundance of all five species of salmon, rendering the costs of territorial defense unnecessary (Dyson-Hudson and Smith 1978). However, prime salmon and eulachon fishing spots along these rivers were claimed by different groups, as were berry picking sites (Thornton 1999b), shellfish beds, and other patches that afforded predictable and abundant (but not superabundant) resources. Eulachon, a small, oily smelt also known as candlefish, were typically harvested in dipnets and rendered into oil, which is highly prized to this day (Betts 1994). These sites were highly valued because they provided the best access for netting the eulachon and in some cases also for spearing king salmon (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998). Thus they were not only utilized but defended and in some cases even fortified by stockades (Emmons n.d.). Perhaps the most famous one was at 7-mile Haines Highway at a place called Dok Point (*Duk̲ X'aak'ák'u*, "Little Cottonwood Point"), which was originally owned by the Chilkoot Lukaaxh.ádi but

was later taken over by the Klukwan Ghaanaxh.ádi [Ghaanaxhteidí] after some "trouble" between the two groups. This place at one time served as a dividing line between the Chilkat and Chilkoots, and forts were erected above and below it including one at 9-Mile called *Aanak'w Noow* ("Small Land Fort"), owned by the Ghaanaxhteidi and one just below 7-Mile called *Tlaxaneis Noow* ("King Fisher Fort"), owned by the Lukaaxh.ádi, and others (Emmons n.d., Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:27-36).

Hunting territoriality was more complex. D.S. Davidson (1928:18ff) made a detailed analysis of hunting territories in the Chilkat-Chilkoot area in consultation with Louis Shotridge, as part of a broader comparative work on hunting territoriality in aboriginal Northwest North America. He observed among the Chilkat,

> In addition to family plots over which there are clan restrictions as to ownership....we also find hunting territories which are owned outright by individuals. On the accompanying map [figure 4] eight such districts are indicated by cross-hatching. These are family hunting territories in the sense of the term used for the eastern part of the continent and differ only in that the family does not occupy its territory the year round, but only during certain seasons or when short expeditions in search of food are required. At other times the people dwell in their village homes. In respect to the individual holding the clan of the owner exerts no control, and so a father can leave such estates to his sons in spite of the fact that the latter belong to a different clan. (1928:21)

The latter "individual holding" system may have evolved in the post-contact era as a means of controlling trapping grounds, and seems not to have been applied in the vicinity of the Chilkoot, where clan or matrilineal territoriality prevailed. Davidson further classifies hunting territories into several types: 1) districts that are oriented primarily along key fisheries "along the banks of streams which flow into the greater waterways" (1928:22); 2) districts for mountain-goats and other large game that lie "far back in the mountains (such as the upper reaches of Katzehin River), and 3) unrestricted areas for hunting smaller animals that are generally taken "wherever profitable."

Hunting territories could also be leased to members of any clan if they applied to the owner clan's "headman" or *hits s'aati* for permission (Davidson 1928:22). "Usually no rental price is determined but there is a tacit understanding concerning the tribute to be paid to the clan, the amount depending, of course, on the success of the hunt." This leasing and royalty arrangement also applied to fisheries (cf. Langdon 1989). Those who refused to ask permission from or pay royalties to the clan leader were considered "poachers" and might be punished or held liable for a portion of their catch. Thus Tagish resident Skookum Jim Mason worried, after opportunistically killing two bears near Skagway, that he might have to pay a "royalty" to the Chilkoot Tlingit clan that controlled the territory and asked Bernard Moore (1968:155-56), whom he was

Chart 2.

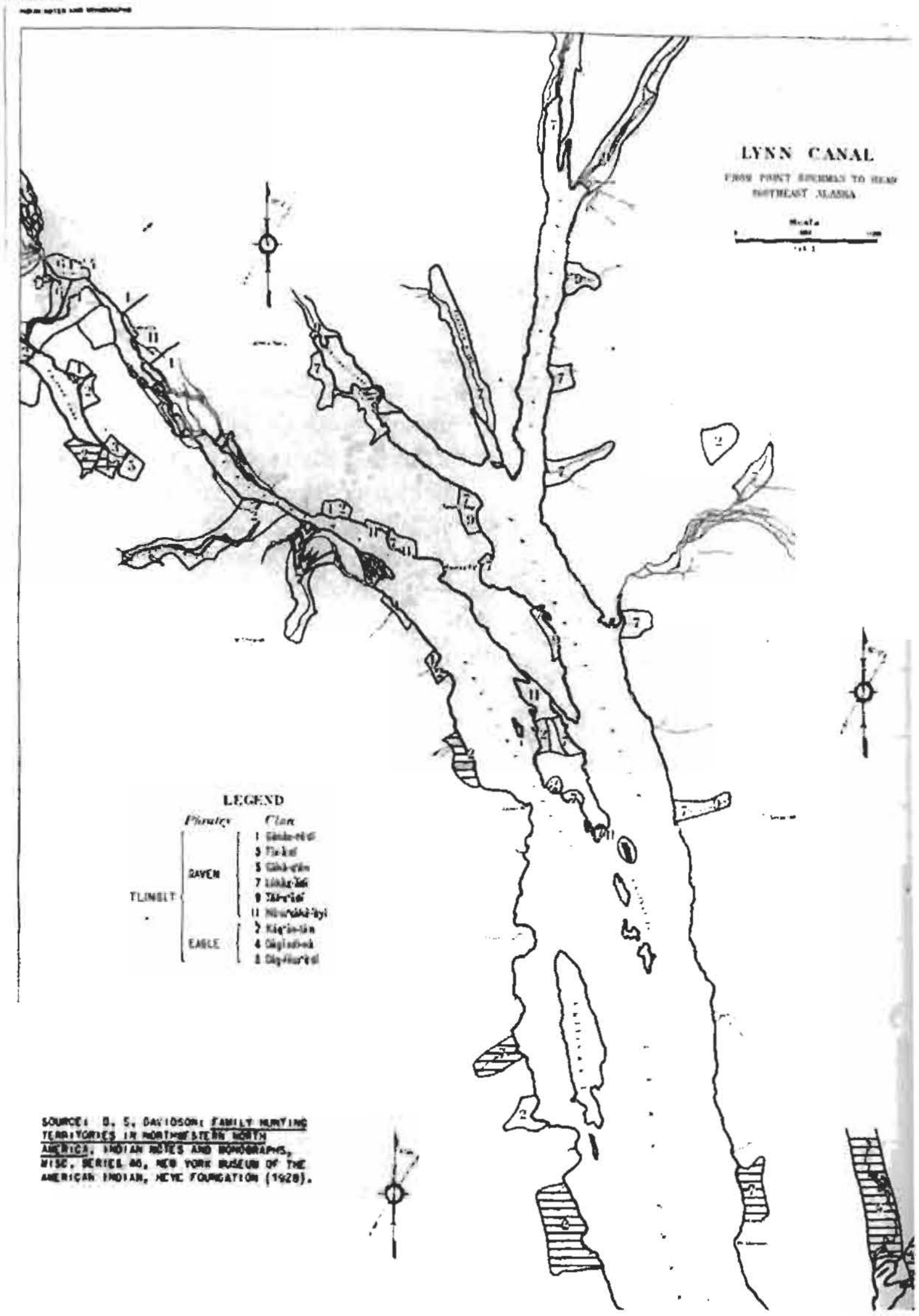


Figure 4. Davidson's mapping of Chilkat-Chilkoot territories (Davidson 1928)

traveling with, to stop well outside of Haines so he could process the game without detection.

In the Interior the situation was different. With fewer patches of predictable, abundant resources, mobility was higher and territoriality less restrictive; and flexibility and sharing were adaptive. This fact is stressed by contemporary Careross-Tagish elders, such as Annie Auston (interview):

> In the early days the Native people that lived here they shared it amongst their selves, like a trap line for example. They all worked together. There were no fences and there were no main governments. They did have their traditional government but they all shared things. When the fish was running up at West Arm, the community people from here all used to go up there and would set their nets and put up fish for the winter and bring it back. They would share it with their elders. They used to do things together and take care of the whole community. They used to always ask for permission to hunt in one another's territory. Always respectful of one another. They always talked things out. They had to get along because they needed each other. My mother used to tell me that they always got along together. I remember when I was a kid I would go on the train up to Bennett, even further. We would go up there to pick berries all the time. There never used to be barriers.

Similarly, settlements were more flexible in their setting and composition, a fact also underscored by Mrs. Auston (Interview) when speaking of pre- and post-contact habitation sites.

> I know that there were a lot of little settlements inland. A lot of these communities were along the rivers. That is how the people traveled...From this area it started from Bennett. It used to be a real big camp site. They used to call it "tent city." This is where they did a lot of building (boats and rafts) and they came on down through this area. There used to be Conrad, down to Tutshi, through Tagish and Marsh Lake. At that time Tagish was a big area. They had a trading post and the mounted police. Conrad was for mining with the prospecting. There was also the Montana Mountain. Conrad was a booming place too. You can hardly tell now.

Both coastal and interior groups covered large territories in their quests for food, materials, and trade goods. The following sections evaluate subsistence patterns through a variety of frames.

Subsistence Seasonal Round

Production is the interaction of humans and nature (Polanyi 1944:130). It includes not only hunting, fishing, and gathering of foods, but also the manufacture of such things as technologies and art. At its broadest level, production also involves the construction of symbols, including place-names and place images, whose bearing on human relationships to place has been emphasized above. This section focuses on subsistence production, particularly the harvest and processing of food. In the pre- and early post-contact Tlingit economy, food production was not only the dominant project in terms of time allocation, but also in Tlingit ideology. Subsistence remains an economic and ideological foundation today. As Tlingit elder Herman Kitka (interview 1998) puts it: "If we didn't put up our foods, we wouldn't have a culture."

Today, as in the past, specific foods are harvested and processed at specific times of year, depending on abundance, distribu-

tion, accessibility, and need. Typical Tlingit seasonal rounds have been described by various ethnographers (e.g., Krause 1956, Oberg 1973, McClellan 1975), reflecting late nineteenth and early twentieth century patterns. It is important to be cautious in generalizing from these composite views, as every family's seasonal round varied both within and between years, depending on a variety of ecological and socioeconomic factors such as weather, resource abundance and needs, kin responsibilities, and non-subsistence activities. Moreover, it should be noted that by the time the earliest ethnographic descriptions of seasonal rounds were recorded, both the coastal and interior groups were heavily oriented toward the commercial fur trade economy, and traditional subsistence patterns had already been significantly altered.

One frame for understanding subsistence patterns is to catalogue the major resources harvested and when they are taken. Table 4 shows a portfolio of more than 100 plants and animals used by Chilkat-Chilkoot and interior First Nations people for food and manufacture. This list is not comprehensive, but includes all major sources of wild foods. The variety of resources on the coast was greater than in the Interior, as well as more predictable, thus supporting higher populations and a more complex socioeconomic organization.

A second way to view subsistence activities is by the calendar. Table 5 is organized according to the Tlingit calendar of moons (roughly corresponding to months) for Klukwan recorded by Oberg (1973). The Tlingit calendar begins around July 1, when clan and house groups commenced their move from the village to salmon harvesting locales around Chilkat Khwáan. Interior Tlingit activities are also included, based on descriptions in McClellan (1975).

Table 4. Coastal Tlingit and Interior First Nation Resource Harvests with Seasonality

Resource	Tlingit Name	Scientific Name	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter
FISH						
Cod, black	Ishkeen	*Anoplopoma fimbria*	x	x	x	x
Cod, ling	X'áax'w	*Ophiodun elongatus*		x	x	
Cod, Pacific	S'áax'	*Tadus macrocephalus tilesius*	x		x	x
Flounder	Dzánti	*Platichthys stellatus*	x	x	x	x
Halibut	Cháatl	*Hippoglossus stenolepsis*	x	x	x	x
Herring	Yaaw	*Culpea harengus pallasi*	x	x	x	x
Herring eggs	Gháax'w	*Valenciennes*	x			
Eulachon	Saak	*Thaleichthys pacificus*	x			
Red snapper	Léik'w	*Sebastes ruberrimus*	x	x	x	x
Salmon eggs	Kaháakw	All salmon species		x	x	
Salmon, chum	Téel'	*Oncorhynchus keta*		x	x	
Salmon, coho	L'ook	*Oncorhynchus kisutch*		x	x	
Salmon, king	T'á	*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*	x	x	x	x
Salmon, pink	Cháas'	*Oncorhynchus gorbushka*		x		
Salmon, red	Ghaat	*Oncorhynchus nerka*	x	x	x	x
Smelt	Sháach'	*Thaleichthyes pacificus*	x			
Steelhead	Aashát	*Salmo gairdneri*	x			x
Trout, Cutthroat	X'éitaa	*Oncorhynchus clarki*	x	x	x	x
Trout, Dolly Varden	Xh'wáat'	*Salvelinus malma*		x	x	
LAND MAMMALS						
Beaver	S'igeidí	*Castor canadensis*	x		x	x
Black bear	S'eek	*Ursus americanus*	x	x	x	x
Brown bear	Xóots	*Ursus arctos*	x	x	x	x
Caribou	Watsíx				x	x
Deer	Ghuwakaan	*Rangifer tarandus*			x	x
Fox	Naaghas'éi					
Land otter	Kóoshdaa	*Lutra canadensis*	x		x	x
Lynx	??ga?k					
Marmot	S'aaxh		x		x	x
Marten	K'óox	*Martes americana*	x		x	x
Mink	Nukshiyáan	*Mustela vision*	x		x	x
Moose	Dzisk'w					
Mountain goat	Jánwu	*Oreamnos americanus*	x		x	x
Mountain sheep	Wanadóo				x	x
Muskrat	Tsín					
Musk ox	Xaas					

Resource	Tlingit Name	Scientific Name	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter
Porcupine	Xhalak'ách'				x	x
Rabbit	Ghàaxh		x		x	x
Squirrel	Tsálk	*Tamiasciurius hudsonicus*	x		x	x
Squirrel, ground	Kanals'áak		x		x	x
Weasel	Dáa		x			x
Wolf	Ghooch	*Canis lupus*	x			x
Wolverine	Núskw		x			x
MARINE MAMMALS						
Seal, fur	X'óon	*Callorhinus ursinus*	x			x
Seal, harbor (hair)	Tsaa	*Phoca vitulina*	x		x	x
Sea lion	Taan	*Eumetopias jubata*	x		x	x
Sea otter	Yáxwch'	*Enhydra lutris*	x	x	x	x
BIRDS						
Bird eggs	K'wát'	Mostly gull species	x			
Canada goose	T'aawák	*Branta candensis*	x		x	
Ducks	Gáaxw	various	x		x	
Grouse, spruce	Káax' (female), Núkt	*Canachites canadensis*	x		x	x
Ptarmigan, willow	X'eis'awáa	*Lagopus lagopus*	x		x	x
INTERTIDAL						
Abalone	Gúnxaa	*Haliotis kamtschatkana*	x	x		
Clams, butter	Gáal'	*Saxidomus giganteus*	x	x	x	x
Clams, littleneck	Tl'ildaaskeit	*Protothaca staminea*	x	x	x	x
Clams, horse	Yeis		x	x	x	x
Cockles	Yalooleit	*Clinocardium nuttali*	x	x	x	x
Crab, Dungeness	S'áaw	*Cancer magister*	x	x	x	x
Crab, king	X'éix	*Parlithodes camtschatica*	x	x	x	x
Gumboots (chitons)	Shaaw	*Katherina tunicata*	x	x	x	x
Octopus	Náakw	*Octupus dofleini (Hiederma)*	x	x	x	
Sea cucumbers	Yéin	*Parastichopus sp.*	x	x		
Sea ribbon	K'aach'	*Rhodymenia palmata (Palmeria palmata)*	x			
Sea urchins	Nées'	*Strongylocentrotus purpuratus*	x	x		x
Seaweed, black	Laak'ásk	*Porphyra sp.*	x			
Seaweed, hair	Né	*Obelia*	x			
Seaweed, yellow	Tayendi	*Fucus distichus (gardneri)*	x			
Shrimp	S'éex'at	*Pandalus sp.*	x	x	x	
PLANTS & BERRIES						
Alder, red	Shéix'w					

Resource	Tlingit Name	Scientific Name	Spring	Sum-mer	Fall	Winter
Alder, beach	Keishish					
Birch	At Daayi					
Carrots, Indian	S'in	*Daucus carota L.*	x			
Cedar, yellow (bark)	Xháay (Teey)					
Cottonwood	Dúkh					
Crabapple	X'ús (Kaxwats', Oberg)					
Devil's Club	S'áxt'	*Oplopanax horridus*	x	X	x	x
Ferns, (roots/ fiddleheads)	K'wálx	*Polypodiaceae (family)*	x			
Firewood	Gán	*Various*	x	X	x	x
Goosetongue	Suktéitl'	*Triglochin maritima*	x			
Hemlock (bark)	Yán (Sáx')	*Tsuga heterophylla*	x			
Hudson Bay tea	S'ikshaldéen	*Ledum palustre*	x	X	x	x
Maple	X'aalx'éi					
Mountain Ash	Kalchaneit					
Rice, Indian	Kóox	*Fritillaria camschatcensis*	x			
Saxifrage (heart-leaved)	Katkashaaya Náakw	*Saxifraga nelsoniana (s. punctata?)*	x	X		
Skunk cabbage	Xh'áal'	*Lysichiton americanium*	x	X	x	
Spruce	Shéiyi	*Picea sitchensis*	x	X		
Wild (Indian) celery (cow parsnip)	Yaana.eit	*Heracleum lanatum*	x	X		
Wild sweet potato (sweet-vetch)	Tséit	*Hedysarum alpinum*	x	X		
Wild rhubarb	Tl'aak'wách'	*Rumex sp.*	x	X		
Willow	Ch'áal' (xi'sis in Oberg)					
BERRIES						
Bearberries (a.k.a. stoneberries or kinnikinnick)	Tinx	*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*		X	x	
Blueberry, (generic and oval-leaved)	Kanat'á	*Vaccinium ovalifolium*		X		
Blueberry, Alaska (ripens later)	Naanyaa Kanat'aayí	*Vaccinium alaskaense*		X	x	
Blueberry, bog	Ts'ékáxk'w *or* Láax-wlu (McClellan 1975: 201)	*Vaccinium uliginosum*		X	x	
Blueberrry, dwarf	Kakatlaax	*Vaccinium caespitosum*		X		
Cloudberry, yellow	Néx'w *or* T'á Kahéakw ("Salmon Eggs")	*Rubus chamaemorus*		X		
Cranberry, bog	K'eishkahéagu	*Oxycoccus microcarpus*		X	x	

Resource	Tlingit Name	Scientific Name	Spring	Sum-mer	Fall	Winter
Cranberry, highbush	Kaxwéix	*Vibrium edule*		x	x	
Cranberry, lowbush (duckberry? Oberg)	Dáxw	*Vaccinium vitis*		x	x	
Current, gray	Shaax	*Ribes bracteosum*		x	x	
Current, swamp	Kaneilts'ákw	*Ribes lacustre*		x	x	
Elderberry	Yéil'	*Sambucus racemosa*		x		
Huckleberry	Tleikatánk	*Vaccinium parvifolium*		x		
Jacobberry	K'eikaxetl'k	*Cornus Canadensis*		x		
Mossberry	XitliwAs'i (McClellan 1975:201)	*Empetrum Nigrum L.*		x		
Nagoonberry	Neigóon	*Rubus Arcticus*		x		
Nettleberry	Xaxiyuleko? Oberg			x		
Pigeonberry	Xel taktsasi ? Oberg					
Raspberry	Tlekw Yádi	*Rubus idaeus (pedatus)*		x		
Redberry	Slaki?bayolelho ? (Oberg 1973)			x		
Rose hip	Khanyeilw.aas'i (McClellan 1975:201)	*Rasa* species		x		
Salmonberry	Was'x'aan tléighu	*Rubus spectabilis*	shoots	x		
Saskatoon berry	Gaaxw Wakhxh' (McClellan 1975:201)					
Serviceberry	Gaawákh					
Soapberry	Xákwl'i	*Shepardia Canadensis*		x		
Strawberry	Shákw	*Fragaria chiloensis*		x		
Swampberry	Nuxh ? Oberg			x		
Thimbleberry	Ch'eexh'			x		

Sources: McClellan (1975, 1981), Cruikshank (1990, 1991), interviews.

Table 5. Chilkat-Chilkoot Area Harvest Calendar

Chilkat Moon (Emmons 1991) / Oberg (1973)	Chilkoot Moon (Emmons 1991)	Month	Coastal Subsistence (Chilkat-Chilkoot, Oberg 1973)	Interior Subsistence (Carcross-Tagish) c. 1920s (McClellan 1975)	Related Activities in the Historical Period
Asxukw dist (Drying moon)/ Tlexa	*Aatxhaan (Smoking salmon)*	July 1	Salmon and salmon egg harvests at Chilkat, Chilkoot, Taiya, Skagway and other local rivers; berry picking and plant gathering; ceremonial gatherings, trade, and slave raiding	Lake fishing and berry picking and plant gathering near Carcross; small game hunting; "vacation" & ceremonials	Guiding for tourists and sport hunting and fishing; deep sea subsistence fishing associated with commercial fishing activities
Shaaxeiyi (New snow on mountains?)/ Eskudisi	*Khuk'eet (Berry picking)*	August 2	Salmon harvesting with increasing emphasis on storage at Chilkat, Chilkoot, Taiya, Skagway; berry picking and plant gathering and storage (salmon eggs mixed with berries); deer, black bear, and mountain goat hunting commence	Lake fishing and berry picking and processing near Carcross; small game hunting and fur drying	Seasonal wage employment; guiding for tourists and sport hunters and fishers
S'aax tlaa dist (Groundhog mother moon)/ (Nuskeah	*Kaxweix (Highbush cranberries)*	September 3	"of the greatest economic importance" (Oberg 1973: 73). Intensive harvesting and drying (open air and smokehouses) of salmon for winter and ceremonial use; berry picking and plant gathering and processing. Minimal ceremonialism	Travel to Tagish and Little Atlin; fish for dogs; small and big game (goat and sheep); process and cache dried mea.	Seasonal wage employment; guiding for tourists and sport hunters and fishers
Dis Tlein (Big moon)/Takuna	*Khusi.dat K'ick'w (Little cold)*	October 4	Coho salmon and other late run fishing; short trading expeditions to the Interior; peak hunting of deer and mountain goat; memorial parties ("potlatching") begin; shellfish gathering especially on large tides. Plant harvesting and wood gathering; marine mammal hunting	Small and big game hunting, drying, and caching of meat; bird hunting	Seasonal wage employment; guiding for tourists and sport hunters and fishers

Chilkat Moon (Emmons 1991) / Oberg (1973)	Chilkoot Moon (Emmons 1991)	Month	Coastal Subsistence (Chilkat-Chilkoot, Oberg 1973)	Interior Subsistence (Carcross-Tagish) c. 1920s (McClellan 1975)	Related Activities in the Historical Period
Khukahaa dis (digging or scratching moon)/ Kisina	*Dleit K'àck'w (Little snow)*	November 5	Peak season for memorial parties and ceremonies; some harvest & processing of late coho salmon; deer hunting;; flounder, herring; shellfish gathering especially on large tides	Complete drying and caching of meat for winter use; set-up food caches, tents, and brush camps in 10-mile radius; men trap wolf, coyote, lynx; women snare hares and trap mink and weasel; moose and caribou hunted throughout winter; ceremonial "potlatches."	Seasonal wage employment; commercial trapping
Tsaanàxh disi (Hair seal through head [hair shows on young seals in womb])/ Tledusa	*Khukaxeit (Digging/ scratching furrows)*	December 6	Ceremonies continue; bark and root harvesting, wool and weaving manufacture; porcupine quill decoration; trees harvested for canoe-making and house posts; spearing flounders	Trapping and winter hunting continue; ceremonies held.	Seasonal wage employment; winter trolling; trapping
T'awák disi gGoose moon) Dagadusa	*She warchel [?] (leaves falling)*	January 7	Few ceremonials. Emphasis on manufacturing such as weaving, basket-making, totem, canoe, and regalia production; spearing flounders.	Few subsistence activities other than opportunistic hunting; emphasis on manufacturing and maintenance of gear	Seasonal wage employment; winter trolling; trapping
Sha yana kluck (?)/ Neskadusa	*Khati Kächk'u (small weather)*	February 8	Cod, halibut, and red snapper and herring fishing in inlets; flounder and trout fishing in rivers; small game hunting and fur-bearer gathering; shellfish harvesting	Few subsistence activities other than opportunistic hunting; emphasis on manufacturing and maintenance of gear	Seasonal wage employment; winter trolling; trapping
Héen taanàx kayaani (Plants grow underwater) / Kasaka	*K'úxw (Marten)*	March 9	Cod, halibut, and red snapper and herring fishing in inlets; trout fishing in rivers; shellfish harvesting; bear hunting and small game hunting; subsistence trapping; marine mammal hunting.	Women set out muskrat traps; move to additional trapping cabins; trading post expeditions by young men with furs; move along lakes for beaver and muskrat trapping; fish for dog food	Seasonal wage employment; winter trolling; trapping

Chilkat Moon (Emmons 1991) / Oberg (1973)	Chilkoot Moon (Emmons 1991)	Month	Coastal Subsistence (Chilkat-Chilkoot, Oberg 1973)	Interior Subsistence (Carcross-Tagish) c. 1920s (McClellan 1975)	Related Activities in the Historical Period
Jinkaat aa (tenth thing)/ Tsinkada	*Kahaakw. ish ([Eulachon] spawn [fish] holes)*	April 10	Cod, halibut, and red snapper and herring fishing in inlets; trout fishing in rivers; shellfish harvesting; small game and bird hunting; marine mammal hunting	Continue to run traplines; move to additional trapping cabins; trading post expeditions ("when there's a crust" on the snow) by young men with furs; move along lakes for beaver and muskrat trapping; fish for dog food; travel to Tagish by cached boat and foot; trade furs; net whitefish, trout, and sucker; dry them for dogs	Seasonal wage employment
Jinkaat wanák aa (Ten and extra one)/ Tsinkadunaxa	*Kayaani (Green plants)*	May 11	Eulachon oil production; hemlock bark gathering and processing; green stem plant (e.g., salmonberry shoots, wild celery), herbs and root gathering and processing; cod, halibut, and red snapper fishing and herring oil and egg gathering (where available) in inlets; trout fishing in rivers. Subsistence trapping; trading trips	Continue trapping, drying, and caching muskrat, beaver and other small game; freshwater fishing	Seasonal wage employment and commercial fishing
Jinkaat wanák déixh (Ten and extra two)/ Tsinkadunaxadixa	*Xhàat (Salmon)*	June 12	Fishing, hunting, and trapping primarily for direct consumption; little processing for storage; trade, feasting, war and slave-raiding expeditions; house building and repair.	Move back toward Tagish and Carcross; trade fur for supplies; freshwater fishing	Seasonal wage employment and commercial fishing

Sources: Emmons (1991), Oberg (1973), McClellan (1975, 1981) and interview data.

From these views several patterns are evident. First, although the combined list of food resources exceeds 100 species, the breadth was significantly lower among interior groups, who relied on fewer resources for survival. However, trade with coastal groups allowed inland Tlingits, Tutchone, and Tagish groups to expand their portfolio and thus increase their ability to survive in the challenging Yukon subarctic. Tlingits, on the other hand, were less dependent on trade for food staples and, instead, pursued mainly luxury goods.

Second, the Chilkat-Chilkoot subsistence patterns were more oriented toward salmon than most other groups. This is partly due to the bounty and diversity (five species) of salmon available in the Chilkat and Chilkoot watersheds, and the high trade value of dried salmon also increased its

importance in the economy. It is also a function of the relative dearth of accessible sea mammal resources, particularly harbor seal, which were heavily exploited by island and outer coast Tlingit groups. This is especially true for the upriver Klukwan Chilkat; indeed, Oberg hardly mentions sea mammal hunting in his overview of Chilkat subsistence. Harbor seals may have been more plentiful and harvestable in the vicinity of Dyea and Skagway than at Klukwan or even Haines, making Dyea and skagway attractive as seasonal camps (see narrative of Paddy Goenette below).

Below are some more specific commentaries on key classes of resources in both the coast and interior economies.

Salmon. Krause (1956:120-121) describes three methods for harvesting salmon on the Chilkat River: spears, hooks (gaff), and traps.

> The salmon spear consists of a shaft eleven to sixteen feet long, at the end of which is a long iron, formerly bone, point that has many barbs and rides loosely (plate II, fig. 5). The fish is speared from a canoe. The point, which is fastened to the shaft by means of a leather thong, detaches itself and is held in the flesh of the fish by its many barbs. In this way the salmon does not break the shaft while wildly thrashing around.
>
> The second, a very primitive way of catching salmon, is generally done from shore, but in shallow water a canoe can also be used. The fisherman lowers a long pole with an iron hook (plate II, fig. 3) into the water and pulls it toward him over the pebbly bottom with a motion similar to that of raking. The muddy waters of the Chilkat River are not generally favorable for this method, but the numbers of ascending salmon are so great that often enough one of them is caught by the hook.
>
> Most common is the salmon trap. Its erection is also very simple. A fence with some openings is stretched across a stream, preferably at rapids. In front of these, upstream, woven baskets are placed (plate II, fig. 7) which are built very much like our fish weirs and serve the same purpose.

Despite Krause's comment on the "primitive" nature of the gaff, and its poor adaptation to the silty waters of the Chilkat, this technology remained a popular and efficacious means of procuring salmon until very recently, when its use was effectively outlawed by sportfishing regulations, much to the consternation of local Natives. In 1931, the ethnographer Oberg (1973:xii) found the gaff to be a crucial tool for his own survival:

> I was told that late in October and early November there would be a run of coho salmon in the Chilkat River. When the fish arrived I got one of the Indians to show me how to catch them. Standing in the water near the bank he watched until he saw a salmon near the surface, often with his dorsal fin showing. He would then place his fourteen foot gaff about four feet above the fish and let the current take it over the fish. A firm yank would then impale the fish onto the gaff hook. With a little practice I was able in less than a week to catch 150 salmon. The fish froze almost at once and I was able to load them on the dog sled and take them to the cabin, where I stacked them on the platform with my meat supply.

Oberg also observed that barbed spears were still used to catch salmon in 1931 and that fish also were taken by club if they could be driven close enough to the bank to be "clubbed and picked up by hand." (1973:71).

Krause notes, "While the fishing is done by men, the women do the cleaning with the use of a crescentic knife [ulu] set in a round handle" (plate II, fig. 10).

In the Interior both men and women fished for salmon, but the supply was more limited. One of the few areas around Tagish where salmon were plentiful was Marsh Lake at the head of the Yukon and McClintock rivers. Annie Auston (interview) recounts:

> My mom used to tell me about when she used to row from Carcross to Marsh Lake to put up salmon. That would usually take about three days, stopping along the way. My mom was born down in Marsh Lake. Coming back it would take about 4 days. A long time ago the people were strong and weren't affected by alcohol and things like that. They had to think about everything.

Non-Salmon Fish. On the coast, the most critical non-salmon fish resource for Chilkat-Chilkoot people was eulachon (also spelled "hooligan;" candlefish). Chilkat elder Joe Hotch (Betts 1994:17) tells the story of how the first eulachon came to the Chilkat-Chilkoot watersheds. The story suggests an early experiment in aquaculture and the importance of shamans in the traditional economy:

> A woman from Nass River was married to one of our men here in the village. The first year she spent here, springtime came and she said, "Gee, I wish I was eating those hooligans in Nass River," and there was no hooligans here in Chilkat or Chilkoot River. And her husband says, "Well, maybe next year we'll work on it." So she explained what time of year the hooligan appear in Nass River. So even a month before then this man she was married to got a spirit man [shaman], and got his nephews, and took them down, traveled to the Nass River; not just a days' trip, it must have taken them a long time to get there. So they got there just in time and the hooligans were arriving at the Nass River, and they got their supply to bring home. So the spirit man says "Well, we're gonna tow one home." So he got a tendon off an animal here and got ready to tow that one hooligan up there. He tied it around the head, and towed it up there. And this is how our people understand how our hooligans arrived on the Chilkat and Chilkoot, through the spirit man; and we were just blessed at that time to have such people to meet our needs.

Chilkoot elder Austin Hammond relates another story that links the strength of the eulachon's spirit to Raven and his release of the box of daylight at Nass River.

> But Raven asked for some. "Give me some of your hooligan." Nobody even listened to him. Keep catching that hooligan. When he keep asking, he says, "if you don't give me some hooligan I'm going to break daylight on you." Some people talking: Gootxh Naas Shagi Yátk'u..."where is that Nass child from?" That river they call Nass. So he keep asking, he didn't open. "No, don't give him any." Then he pulled it, the box half way, the daylight came up. Everybody started yelling...ahhh...run behind the trees, some of them running up. Then he pull it back again. And that hooligans just thick there. And he keep asking, he keep asking for some. Nobody give them any. That's why he opened that box. Ok. You could say, "You asked for it." He opened it. Everything running up the woods, like brown bear, fox, whatever goes up to the trees. Some sea lion, seal, killer whale, fish, they're jumping in the water. And that hooligan, in that daylight, that's the reason why they got more spirit. They're in that daylight.

This is also why eulachon have their distinctive color and composition. While other animals scurried upland or seaward, eulachon remained where they were and absorbed the daylight.

Eulachon have remained a central component of the fishing and trade economy ever since. Oberg observed (1973:69):

> By far the most important oil fish is the eulachon, an extremely fat fish about four inches in length. In May, these fish crowd the mouths of the large rivers for the purpose of spawning, and the Indians for miles around gather to catch them and to reduce them to oil. The eulachon is caught with a small dip net. To a hoop about three feet in diameter, a cone-shaped net is attached, the bottom of which is opened and closed by means of a string. While one man guides the canoe, the other dips the net among the closely packed fish swarming around the boat. The net full of fish is deposited in the boat by opening the hole in the bottom of the net.
>
> When a canoe load of fish (eulachon) is brought to the shore, the women and old men put them into canoes which have been cleaned for the purpose. Fresh water is poured in and then heated stones are used to bring the fish to a boil. After several hours of boiling the mass is permitted to settle and cool. The oil is then skimmed off the surface of the water with large horn spoons and stored in seal bladders. The old people believed that if the fish were allowed to decay a little the oil would be better.

This "decaying" or "aging" period can be as long 7-10 days. Today 55-gallon drums and other materials have replaced dugout canoes as eulachon-rendering vats. The modern harvesting and processing techniques are well documented by Betts (1994). In 1990, she found local Tlingits still utilizing harvest sites between 2-Mile (Jones Point) and 9-mile on the Chilkat River, including some of the traditional settlements, such as Yindustki-Smokehouse Village (4 Mile) and Dok Point (7 Mile). On average about 600-800 fish (or roughly 100 pounds of whole eulachon) were reduced to produce one gallon of oil. Less is known about historical production of oil at Dyea or Skagway: but eulachon were taken in both the Skagway and Taiya Rivers, and the Skagway River run was known for its winter run, supplying rich sustenance during an otherwise lean period in terms of food sources (Paul and Marilyn Wilson, interviews).

Like five-species salmon streams, eulachon streams were rare and highly prized. The Chilkat and Chilkoot both supported major runs of eulachon, and their quality was considered among the best in Tlingit territory, rivaled perhaps only by the famed Nass River eulachon. Minor eulachon runs have been documented elsewhere in Chilkat-Chilkoot territory, including Taiya River, Skagway River (Richard Dick, interview), Herebee River, and the Berners and Lace Rivers at Berners Bay. Historically, eulachon was primarily a source of oil, although the fish were also consumed smoked and dried. Much like seal oil eulachon "oil was consumed with dried foods, and was used as a preserving medium, a ceremonial item, and a medicine. Its trade was tightly controlled to other coastal groups and to inland groups along established routes, which became known as grease trails after historic contact (Collison 1941; Krause [1956] [1885])" (Betts 1994:12). Eulachon oil remains a popular trade item today and is often sold at Native food fairs and fundraisers, with a quart jar fetching up to $40. Trade of eulachon oil and other resources is discussed in detail in the section on trade.

Eulachon was not only an important item of trade, but a "first fruit" of the harvest season, in that it marked the beginning of the return of fish stocks and the advent of a new season of subsistence activities after a long winter. Individuals interviewed by Sackett (1979) recounted:

> ... seeing more than a hundred tents set up during the eulachon season in the first decades of this century and recall hearing stories from their grandparents about obtaining eulachon there when children. This was also a festive time in the camps when the families visited and shared their food. Children would go up into the mountains for snow to mix with eulachon oil and berries for making [Indian] ice cream. People would visit from tent to tent, sharing in the eating of fresh fish and eulachon oil. The eulachon season was the first major subsistence activity after a relatively quiet winter and provided an opportunity for everyone to spend time together outdoors.

Terrestrial Mammals: Reliance on land mammals was generally higher on the mainland coast and in the Interior than on the islands. The importance of land mammals as subsistence and trade items in Chilkat-Chilkoot territory was partly a function of ecological niche:

> The mainland villagers living in the river valleys were in a different ecological area than the villagers of the warmer, moister, and more heavily wooded islands. In the long, cold, damp winters the Tlingit wore fur and hide clothing. The best furs and hides for these purposes were obtained in the mainland, and these villages specialized in the making of rabbit and marmot skin blankets, moose hide shirts, trousers with stockings attached, leggings, and moccasins. Hides for the making of these articles were also prepared and exchanged. These hides and furs were in considerable demand in the islands where rabbit, marmot, and moose did not exist. Deer hides, while used on the islands, were inferior to those of the moose and caribou. In the way of food, the mainland villages produced the highly prized eulachon oil, dried eulachon, and cranberries preserved in oil....
>
> In exchange for these commodities, the islanders produced dried venison, seal oil, dried halibut, dried king salmon, dried herring, dried algae, clams, mussels, sea urchins, preserved herring spawn, and numerous other sea products. (Oberg 1973:107-08)

Moose, in particular, has become increasingly important as a food source as its presence has grown in both the Interior and coastal areas. Before the introduction of firearms in the mid-nineteenth century, land mammals were taken by a variety of means, including bow and arrow, spear, deadfalls, and snares.

In the Interior, the people moved in accordance with animal food supplies. Perhaps because supplies were more capricious, enormous ritual prescriptions and proscriptions surrounded their treatment (McClellan 1975). Paramount above all was that animals be treated with respect, because their spirits were strong and they possessed keen powers of perception including the ability to understand human speech and motives. Similarly, humans had to learn to listen to animals and understand their communication. It was believed that if the animals were offended they would no longer make themselves available to hunters. Annie Auston (interview) notes,

> With the animals you had to, our people were taught to be very respectful to animals. In the early days they would talk to them, they would be able to understand, and the people would be able to understand what they were saying. My grandmother Annie used to talk to the owls, and they would talk back to them. They were said to be able to understand people talking to them. That was part of the early culture

> where you had to be respectful to the animals. We used to feed them. You have to pay attention to their communication. What kind of sounds they are making. You have to know what they are saying, what they mean. Have to respect all animals no matter what it is. You have to be respectful to mother earth for growth, health and wellness. Not to damage the plant life, and everything. Be respectful of all things.

The relationship to animals, as with fish and plants and other elements in nature, was a moral one. Despite introduction of modern technologies, this relationship remains critical; traditional ecological knowledge is still the best "technology" for success. Mrs. Auston (interview) makes this point in relating a story about another important animal resource for interior peoples: mountain sheep.

> There is different times my grandma Annie and grandma Patsy when they travel around to the West Arm area ...they were watching the sheep come down to the water and they said "do you think we could get them," "how can we get them we have no guns, all we have is knives." "We have to wait for the wind," they took everything into consideration. "I will jump out and you will grab one." And they did what they had planned and they got the sheep. They used to do those kinds of things; they had to think of ways of doing stuff. There was a lot of respect for the animals. Even for bears, if you come across a bear you talk to it. Mostly in the early days the animals would go away, now I don't think that I could trust them. We must make sure that the animals don't go extinct. That is why our First Nation is trying to bring back up the Caribou population. Things are changing.

Plants and Berries. Berries and other plant foods were key dietary staples on the coast and the Interior. As with terrestrial mammals, among plants, many species not typically found on the islands, such as nagoonberries, bearberries, soapberries, and other varieties were readily available in Chilkat-Chilkoot territory, and thus highly prized. The role of berries in coastal Tlingit economies has been neglected to some degree (Thornton 1999b), as they not only provided a sizeable contribution to the diet in terms of edible weight, but also were critical sources of nutrients, such as carbohydrates and vitamins A and C. As abundant and predicable "patchy" resources, like salmon streams, berrying grounds were not only owned but also managed to control supply and demand. Among the best descriptions of the technology, rules, and festive spirit that surrounded berry picking is Shotridge's (1921:172-73) account of high bush cranberry harvesting at Chilkat.

> After the products of the summer season had been laid in store for winter, the principal one among those gathered during the autumn was *kawhueh'*, a red, juicy berry that is sometimes called "high bush cranberry."
>
> There were quantities of *kawhueh'* to be found almost anywhere along the Chilkat River, but some picking grounds were handier than others. Hence, in order to give everybody an

equal chance,...a day was announced by the "townsmen" (town council) for what was termed "pickers' stampede," and until that day no one was allowed to go for the berries.

When it came to the provision with regards to the maintenance of life there was no exception made in the rules which governed the economic life in Chilkat: the nobleman, the townsman, the rich, and the poor enjoyed equal rights, but it also became necessary to adopt rules which protected these rights. Near the day of the pickers' stampede slaves were stationed to guard the best picking grounds against a greedy or selfish person, who would sometimes steal ahead regardless of the rules; if any violator was caught picking there, before the day set for all, he never escaped his punishment at the hands of the authorized guards, which was, sometimes, besides losing all the he had picked, to have his canoe destroyed...

...The occasion inspired them somewhat as the white man's patriotic celebration does him, one joined whether or not it benefited him.

A number of different baskets were designed specifically for the harvest and transport of various berries, many of which are detailed in Shotridge's article. These included the flat, open *táal*, favored for harvesting soapberries (Thornton 1999b), the *xeitgatana*, worn around the neck to free both hands for picking, and *chewkaet* (sp?) the name of which refers to its being "always on the side" of the picker, as well as a variety of larger baskets for hauling the fruits. Chilkat elder Mrs. Mary Williams (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998: 106) stated in 1946: "Dried berries were pressed into cakes and stored in wooden boxes. Blueberries were preserved in eulachon oil, but now we use crocks instead of boxes. We used to put it in cans and sell it to the Angoon and Hoonah people for about six dollars for a five-gallon can. Also, some of the people sold cakes of dried blueberries."

In the Interior, berries were long recognized as a dietary staple and those not found on the coast served as important trade goods. Mrs. Winnie Atlin (in Greer 1995:90) recalls the festive spirit surrounding berry picking at Bennett:

The exciting time up there in Bennett is August, when there's a lot of people come up, picking berries. There's mostly women, all the women go berry picking. They go all the way up to Fraser. Most of them take the train from Bennett,... They go by boat from Careross to Bennett, and then they take the train. The younger people walk with dogs. We always had dogs for protection, because there's a lot of bears. A lot of bears after the berries.

Other favorite locales included High Bridge (south of Bennett), Log Cabin, and Fraser (Greer 1995:91).

As on the coast, berries were dried and often mixed with animal fat and fish oil or eggs. Ida Calmegane (interview) remembers,

Well, people picked berries just like they do now. They picked them, then they used to dry them. I remember my grandmother drying soapberries. They just put it on a big tarp or blanket and lay it out in the sun and let the sun dry them. Once it was dry, they were able to keep them for years after that.

Sometimes, according to Dora Wedge, berries were mixed with meat to make "a pemmican-like dish" (Greer 1995:93).

Sometimes that meat is dry, they pound it up on the rock, they just make powder like, and they put it in the moose stomach again. They put in the moose stomach and lots of berries around, blackberries and cranberries. I pick that, and they put it in there and it just cook up the berries like, and it's frozen...

> Well I figure it's about two cups of meat, like, and maybe a cup of berries, maybe two cups of berries, and the grease, just enough to cover it too...
>
> On the trail you take that, you slice it, or you take a chip off. It's just like candy, you take it. It's better than even chocolate.

A coastal Tlingit elder from Sitka added, commenting on dried strawberries, "It tastes better than candy...And it doesn't take too much to fill you up...and it gives you a lot of energy." (Herman Kitka, interview).

Mrs. Lucy Wren (in Greer 1995:94) suggests that failure on the part of younger generations to pick certain berries according to prescribed traditions has degraded the fruits' habitat in the area around Bennett.

> They used to pick blueberries at Bennett, all the womens. Blueberries, lots, even around the [railroad] track. This time, hardly any blueberries there...
>
> [Don't] break them bushes, that what my old people use to tell us. You kids, don't do that. That blueberries going to move away if you do that...So we never touch it, just pick it, eh.

This observation suggests that berry patches were managed and conserved in order to maintain supplies, a finding that has been corroborated on the coast (Thornton 1999b).

Other important plant foods and medicines included numerous annuals, perennials, and roots, such as alder, cedar, devil's club, ferns, Hudson Bay tea, spruce, wild celery, wild rhubarb, willow, and others (table 4).

Shellfish: The importance of shellfish in the coastal Tlingit diet has also been underemphasized. Recent archaeological investigations by Moss (cf. 1994) have shown that shellfish, particularly butter clams (*Saxidomus giganteous*), comprise a substantial part of faunal remains in the region. Moss argues that because of male hunting and fishing bias in ethnography and the similarly low status of "beach foods," largely gathered by women and slaves, in Tlingit subsistence ideology, their critical contribution to the economy has been neglected. Oberg records that shellfish were an important food staple, even for the upriver Klukwan Chilkat, and were gathered during all seasons of the year except the summer months. They were even more important to coastal Tlingit groups. As trade goods to the Interior, smoked cockles were especially esteemed (J. Marks, interview) and were therefore harvested in great quantities. Shellfish harvests appear to have declined somewhat in the post-contact era.

Mussels may have been of particular importance in the Dyea area, where they are found in abundance. NPS archaeologist Karl Gurcke (personal communication 2003) notes,

> Archeologists working for Ertec (1983:IV-16 – IV-21) tested the Dyea shell midden (located 50 meters south of the 8.0 milepost, Skagway-Dyea Road) with three small shovel test holes and one 1m by 1m by 50 cm deep test pit. The shells recovered from the test pit included: 1) blue mussel (*Mytilus edulis*), large barnacle (*Balanus sp.*), shelled gastropod – either moonsnail (*Polinices* sp.) or whelk (*Nucella* sp) and littorines (*Littorina* sp.). The mussels comprised the majority of the sample although they don't mention totals or weights. About half of the site, probably more, had been destroyed by the road.

A third way to analyze subsistence patterns is in terms of time allocation to various activities. Oberg (1973) is the only ethnographer to construct a rigorous time-activity portrait of a Tlingit group, the Chilkat of Klukwan in 1931-32. His calculations are

reproduced in figures 5-7. As with our generalizations about seasonal activities, Oberg's generalizations about time-budgeting for Klukwan are not strictly applicable to other communities, due to local environmental and economic variations. They also represent the temporal commitments of a post-contact, mixed economy, though the study was done in the depression era and in a community that was still quite isolated and regarded as "old-fashioned."

Figure 5 shows the relative amounts of time spent each month on gathering various classes of resources. It shows that larger amounts of time are spent on activities in the spring and late summer-early fall, as compared to summer and winter. This is partly a function of the later runs of salmon (heavy in late August and September) in the Chilkat River, as well as the efficiency of salmon harvesting as compared to other activities. In historic times, it might also reflect Chilkats' participation in the wage economy, such as commercial fishing. Some of Oberg's data conflict with statements by informants of Goldschmidt and Haas, a decade later. For example, several informants note winter harvests of sockeye salmon at Chilkat Lake (cf. 1999:102). Figure 6 displays time spent on processing various types of resources for storage. Again the heaviest commitments are in spring and late summer-early fall. Figure 7 shows that time not spent in harvest and processing activities is not simply leisure time, but also time devoted to manufacturing, trading, and ceremonialism. Trading trips were carried out in June, July, and October. Ceremonial activities were held not only in the late fall and winter months but also in the summer before the salmon runs peaked.

Together, these three analytical frames provide a composite sketch of the breadth, duration, and intensity of subsistence activities over a given year. Missing from these idealized portraits of the seasonal round, however, are the settings of production, the places in which subsistence activities occur. Every production activity or project takes place in one or more specific locales that are intimately linked as sequences of activity and pathways of travel in human memory. The phenomenology of production is perhaps best captured in "subsistence texts" that reflect the specific locales (geographic loci of production, trade, and so on), paths (routes of travel), and projects (activities) that particular individuals maintained. These relations of production are captured in the following two narratives, one from coastal Tlingit and one from the interior Tlingit Tagish, which are also mapped (figure 8). Together they offer an additional frame through which to comprehend historic subsistence patterns in the Chilkoot area.

Text 1- Paddy Goenette (Guneit', Kaagwaantaan, Lukaaxh.ádi yádi, b. 1860). Although he died a half century ago, Paddy Goenette is still remembered with fondness by people in Haines and Klukwan. Walter Goldschmidt (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998: xxx), who with interpreter Joseph Kahklen Sr. recorded Paddy's narrative on possessory rights in 1946, described him as "a most wonderful old guy... He had hunted, fished and trapped throughout Chilkat and Chilkoot...was sound of mind and body, and in great good humor. He dramatized with his hands so well I could sometimes figure what he said before Joe had made his interpretations." His statement to Goldschmidt and Haas follows:

Figure 5. Relative Time Spent (%) on Key Activities (after Oberg)

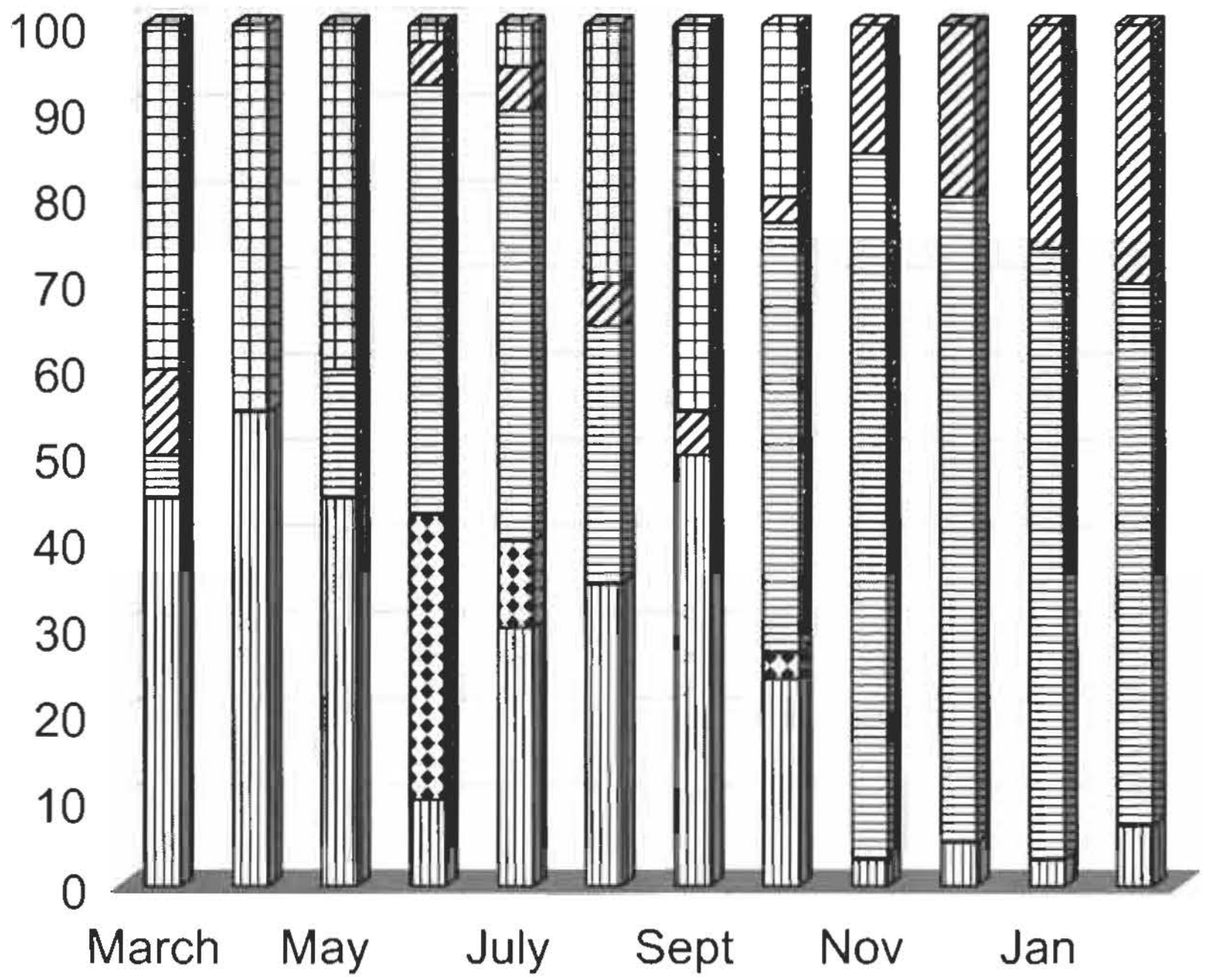


Figure 6. Time Spent (%) for Resource Gathering c. 1930 (after Oberg)

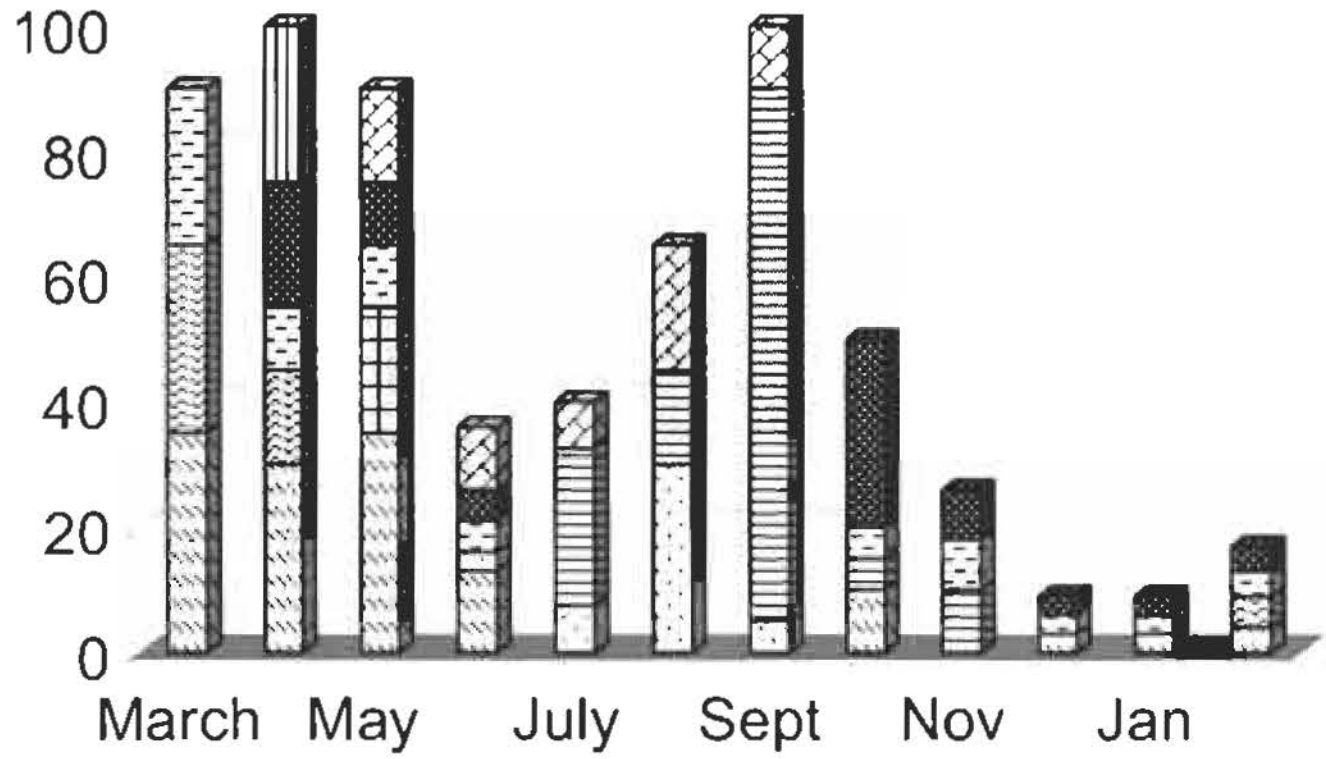
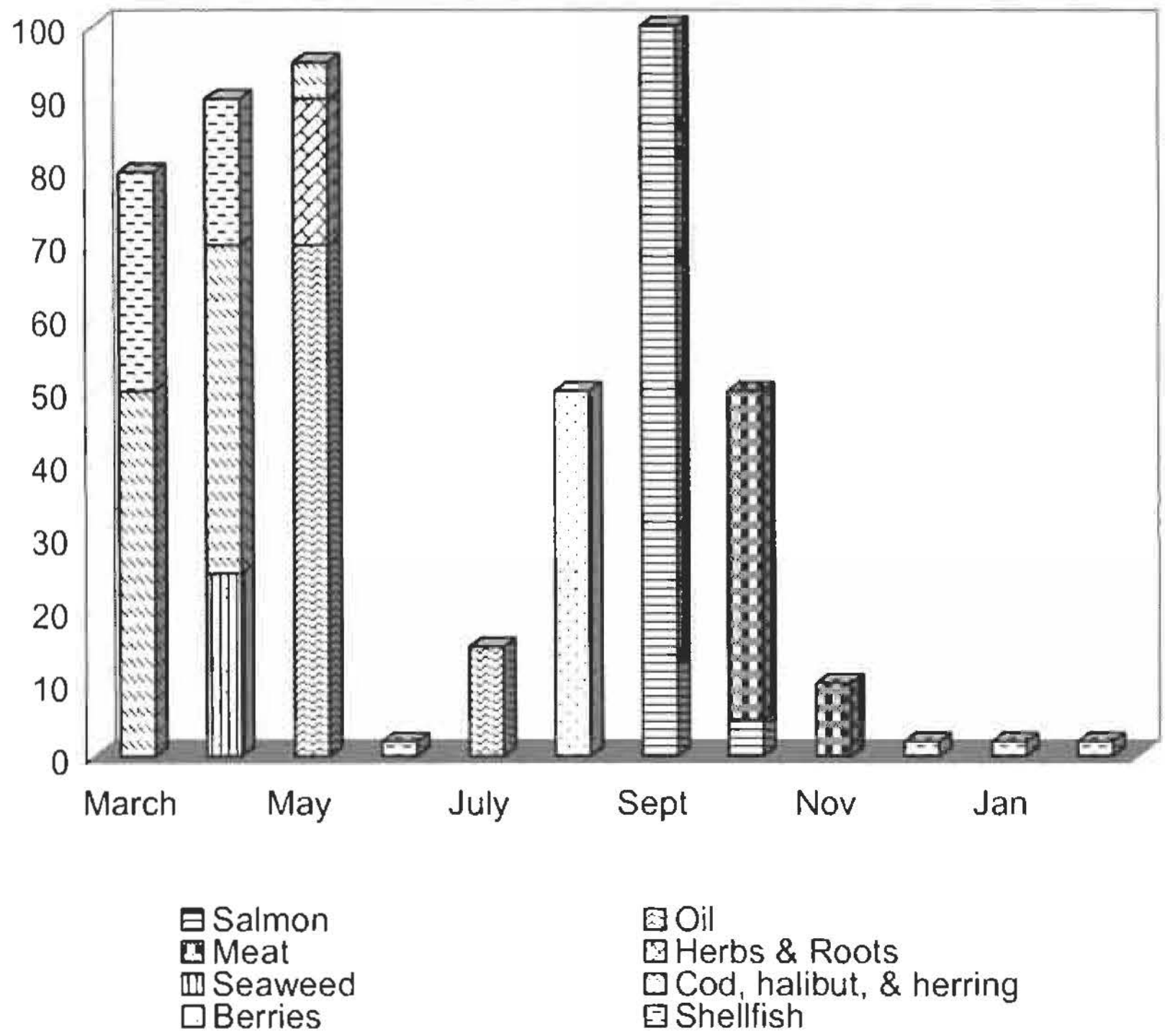


Figure 7. Time Spent (%) on Storage Activities (after Oberg)



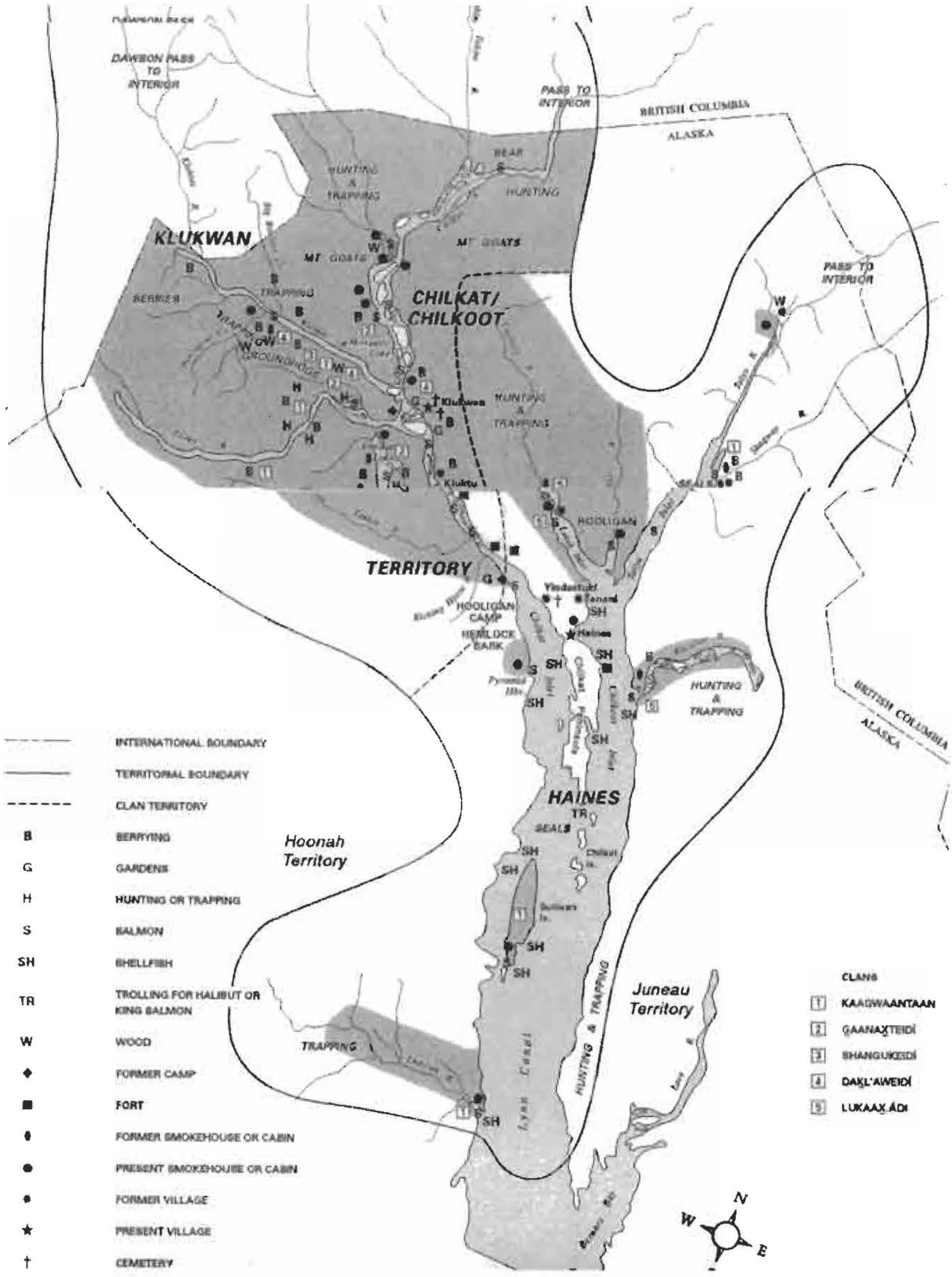


Figure 8. Geography of Patty Goenette's Subsistence Round, early 1900s (from Goldschmidt and Haas 1998)

I was born at the village of Chilkoot, and am a member of the Kaagwaantaan clan.

Chilkoot Village is situated just below Chilkoot Lake. My people lived there before me. There were about thirty houses at this place when I was a boy. We used the Chilkoot River up as far as the falls, which were called *Aanákw*. At this place, they smoked goat and bear meat. There were camps here which were used for shelter. There is a legend about a man named Xauts* [spelling uncertain], who belonged to my father's clan, the Lukaaxh.ádi which says he was the first man to come to that place. Now, all the people from the Haines area use this place.

Dyea and Skagway are claimed by my people. There are three streams at Dyea, and there are three smokehouses there. The people did not live there the year around, but used the place a great deal. All three of these smokehouses were owned by Lukaaxh.ádi people. They controlled a large area of land. This place was used for berries as well as for smoking fish. The Indian people also hunted there and smoked meat. They generally went up there in the fall of the year. Some of the people would go up to pick berries and then rush back to Chilkoot to put them up. During the hunting season, however, they stayed up there a long time. We used to get seals at Skagway when I was a boy. I remember one man who lived there the year around, because things were easy to get. This man was related to my father. We would hunt seals in the fall. He hunted up the Skagway River. There was a big smokehouse on an island up the Skagway River where a stream comes in from the Southeast. This place is called *Yh'wat'héeni* ["Trout Stream"]. This was a good place to get mountain goats. The Skagway Area belongs to the Kaagwaantaan clan.

Below Skagway, there is a big falls called *Dayei Xh'akax'áas*. There was a house there where the people of the Lukaaxh.ádi clan would spend the night. There was also a smokehouse for the preliminary drying of meat. They would also go up above the falls to a lake. The Katezhin River was claimed by the Lukaaxh.ádi clan. From this place, they obtained cranberries, goat, cohos, and salmon trout. They had a big log building at the mouth of this river which they used for head quarters when they were hunting. They would go up the river about four miles. I used to trap in this area for marten, wolverine, and lynx. I also hunted goats there. These animals were found on the way down to Berners Bay, but we did not have any permanent places below there...

I have a cabin on Sullivan Island River. I have papers on this place. We used to gather cockles and mussels all the way from Sullivan Island to the mouth of the Chilkat River. We also got ribbon seaweed in this area. We got black seaweed on the west side of Chilkoot Inlet and around Nukdik [*Núktik'*] Point. Black seaweed was obtained in May and June. Many Natives are gathering it from this area right now. They used it for soup. We gather Indian rice and wild rhubarb at Taiyasanka [*Dayeesdank'i*] Harbor and at the Katzehin River.

We obtain crabs and halibut in Lynn Canal. We dry halibut along both shores. We get crabs by spearing them from boats at low tide. We get flounders in the same way. Nobody had special property rights to halibut. We gather hemlock bark and scrap the inner fibers and dry them or eat them fresh. We used to get them off the trees that stood where the Army post is now. Before my time, there was a village there. I saw remains of the houses. There was a fort out on the point. The town was called *Xaclanauk'a'an** *[Xáat'Lunaakxa.áan?* "Town Below the Point of the Island"?]. There was also a big village at Tanani Point, which was cleaned out by an epidemic. The village

was called *Tan.aani* and there were four houses there in my time.

We get hooligan at Chilkoot Bay, right at the village. We get needlefish at the mouth of the Chilkoot Lake. We dry these in long strings.

Both the Kaagwaantaan and the Lukaaxh.ádi clans claim to have been the first to settle at *Yeindust'akhyé*. These are the only clans which really counted at this village. The latter clan was also at Kluktu [*Khaatkh'waaltú*]. There was a boundary line between the *Yeindust'akhyé* and the Klukwan people about at Seven-mile Camp. It is difficult to determine a boundary because the same clans lived in both places.

People used to come from other Indian villages to trade. Places like Angoon and Hoonah. They would bring foods not available here -black seaweed with a different flavor, dried cockles, devilfish, etc. and would trade these with the local people. They would buy dried sockeyes, cranberries preserved in hooligan oil, furs, and Chilkat blankets. If they had connections with our tribe, they might go hunting, if they got permission. When a visitor asks permission to join a hunting party, we generally allow him to go along. Sometime, when a white man would come and want to live among us in a friendly way, we would let him do so. We assumed that the whites would not take title to the land, and we resented it when they afterwards grabbed the land and took title to it.

Summer before last, I smoked fish at Chilkoot, hunted, and gathered berries there. Occasionally, whites came up there to hunt bear. About ten years ago, several whites built a cabin on Chilkat Lake. I reported this to the U.S. Commissioner and told him that they did not have the permission of the Indians to build on Chilkat Lake. The Game Commissioner saw to it that they did not continue at this place. Jack David and Johnny Mark trapped at Chilkoot Lake last year. In recent years, most of our hunting and fishing has been at Chilkoot.

In recent years, the game laws have reduced the amount of hunting and trapping by Natives. We used to get the amount we needed, but now we are afraid to get more than the limit. Most of our fishing is done at Chilkoot, but we also fish in the streams from Chilkoot to Berners Bay for king salmon, halibut, and [also pick] berries; and we hunt seals throughout this area. I see the people from here bringing them in, and they tell me where they get their fish and game.

We used to get wood from the hill in back of Chilkoot village, on the left side going up. We went half a mile up in summer, and further than that in the winter when we could slide the wood down. We got spruce, which was used for fuel and building houses and making canoes. Cottonwood was also used for making canoes. I used to make them with my father at Dyea. We would get the wood from the river, load the cottonwood on canoes, and bring it back here. The Athabaskans used to come down there to trade for white man's clothes. We sold Chilkat blankets to other people on the coast in the villages of southeastern Alaska. I used to trade with the Athabaskans myself. I went by foot as far as the Tanana River in Yukon Territory. This trading stopped about the time they found gold in Juneau. We would go over the Dyea pass and come out at Tagish Lake. This was Athabaskan territory.

There was a graveyard for *Yeindust'akhyé* people between the military post and Haines Mission. When I was a young man, bodies were cremated, and the remains buried at Tanani Point, behind the village. At the mouth of the Chilkoot River, across from the village, was a graveyard that belonged to the Lukaaxh.ádi clan. The fences can still be seen there. There are also people of other clans buried there. We used to bury Indian doctors in the caves around Chilkoot Lake. I saw one of my uncles buried there when I was a young man.

> These are on the west side of the lake. There is also a cemetery for Native people at Skagway [Dyea?]
>
> I go up to Chilkoot Village every summer to see my cabin and to smoke fish. I have not been there much lately because I am too old. Johnny Mark Thlunaut trapped there last winter and used the cabin, which he bought from James Klanotte about two years ago. There are still smokehouses at Chilkoot. I haven't smoked fish there for three years but I have gone there since that time.
>
> There used to be a smokehouse at the head of Chilkoot Lake, at the mouth of the stream, but I think this is down now. I built a cabin up there when I staked a gold claim.
>
> There is a cabin at Taiyasanka Harbor, near the mouth of the Ferebee River, on the east side. James Klanotte and his family camp at this smokehouse every summer. In the fall, they get fish and hunt goats there. The last time I saw them was two years ago.
>
> There are two log cabins for hunting goats and bear on the upper side, near the mouth of the Katzehin River. These are owned by Lukaaxh.ádi Natives from Haines. I used to hunt, but have not been hunting there for a long time and haven't seen anyone hunting there recently.
>
> Jack David's father has a log house at the southern end of Sullivan Island on a little cove. He uses this for hunting seal, bear, and other animals. I hunted there up to five or six years ago. I buy seals from Jack David, and he tells me they hunt there all the time. (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:108-109)

This narrative is remarkable for its breadth of activities and territory covered, but also in its notes about changes in subsistence patterns over time, from the pre-gold rush era to the post gold rush era and into the mid- twentieth century. It is also explicit about key activities at Dyea and Skagway, including trade, seal hunting, cottonwood harvest, canoe making, salmon and other fishing and fish processing, berry picking, and dwelling. In a supplementary statement concerning Chilkoot-Chilkat land rights made in 1947, shortly before his death, Goenette (1947) offers additional details of traditional subsistence patterns at Dyea and Skagway:

> Our clan [Kaagwaantaan] also claimed and used in putting up food Dyea and Skagway. There were three fish streams at Dyea and we had three smoke houses. We didn't live there the year around but we used this place a great deal. The laquakadi [Lukaaxh.ádi] (Raven) who controlled large areas of land claimed the three streams and owned the houses. We went to Dyea usually in the fall of the year to pick high bush cranberries and when we have picked sufficient amount, we would rush back to Chilkoot where the berries were prepared and preserved in (h)ooligan oil. During the hunting season, our stay at Dyea was usually longer, as the meat we secured had to be smoked and dried.
>
> As a boy, I remember an Indian man by the name of Aeqel [sp?] lived at Skagway the year round because it was easy to get food there. Aeqel was my father's tribal grandson in Indian custom. The Skagway area was claimed by the Kaqwanton [Kaagwaantaan] clan. We hunted seals in the fall of the year in the Skagway area. There was also a big smoke house at the Skagway River where the stream comes in from the southeast at a place called Qut'hini (*Xh'wáat'Héeni*) trout stream. This was also a good place to get mountain goat. A man by the name of Masuq' also hunted in this area. We used to go as far as the above mentioned stream.
>
> Below Skagway, there is a big falls, "Gaikag/as" [*Dayei Xh'akax'áas*]. The Suqushadi [Lukaaxh.ádi] clan had a house at this point which was often used for overnight stopping place. There were smoke houses up where they hunted

used for preliminary drying of meat to reduce the weight for packing out. We used to go as far as the lake at the head of the falls...

...The Athabascan Indians used to come down here with their furs to trade with us for white man's clothes, etc. We would, in turn, go inside by foot to trade with them. We would go as far as Takiach (Tagish) Lake. I went several times myself. This trading between Athabascans and our people ended with the discovery of gold in Juneau.

> The land and waters on which I hunted and fished were also used and occupied from time immemorial. I have been told by elderly people now dead.

According to Chilkoot elder David Light (2002:28), Goenette, whose Tlingit name was Gun.éit (Kaagwaantaan, Lukaaxh.ádi yadi), "was believed to be 100 years old when he died."

Text 2– This text is less a narrative and more of a composite sketch composed of narrative excerpts and abstracts from elder Angela Sidney's (1980) work with the Yukon Native Language Centre to document indigenous place-names for her book *Place Names of the Tagish Region, Southern Yukon*. It was composed by Julie Cruikshank (1991:66-67), who worked closely with Mrs. Sidney and also mapped the sequence of her activities (figure 9). She notes, "Even though she [Mrs. Sidney] is talking about the year 1912, here, she is describing a pattern of movement similar to that followed by her parents and their parents during the nineteenth century."

> She begins by situating her account at a particular time: "This is 1912 I'm talking about, when we went to Black Lake, *Tooch Aayi*. She describes moving in that year with her parents and her older brother from Tagish (1) and Careross (2) to *Taaghahi* (3), then on to Millhaven Bay (4), then to *Tooch Aayi* (5), then back to Careross and Tagish.
>
> The following year, 1913, she spent the summer with her Marsh Lake cousins, camping at the foot of Marsh Lake, where the McClintock River enters that lake (6). In autumn, they moved up the lake to Judas Creek (7), then hunted up the mountain behind that creek, then crossed Marsh Lake to camp at Otter Beach, *Kooshdaa Xaigu* (8), where they visited her uncle Whitehorse Billy's family before returning to Careross. They remained there because her aunt, her father's sister, was ill.
>
> In 1914, they went to Whitehorse (9) in March or April, then returned to Marsh Lake in summer to camp with her cousins again. By then, Angela was twelve, old enough to look after children, so she was sent to Ten Mile, *Tsuchs'uayi* (10), near Careross, to care for her two small cousins while her uncle Patsy Henderson and his wife worked each day on their fox ranch. At the end of the summer, she returned to Marsh Lake until her father came, and they all went up the McClintock River (11) to fish camp. "I remember I felt just like I was home while I was there," she says.
>
> That summer, they went to Whitehorse and climbed high up to Fish Lake (12), where her sixteen-year-old brother Johnny was trapping. After a brief visit, Angela and her mother took the younger children and moved back to stay with friends in the valley, near Whitehorse. In 1915, they returned to Careross and in springtime Angela was "put away" in seclusion, as was customary for young women of her age.

Her account goes on, incorporating most of the 230 names for places she has mapped.

Together, these data suggest that after the gold rush trade and travel between the Interior and the coast began to decline, despite the fact that individuals and families both on the coast and in the Interior continued to travel widely in their seasonal round of subsistence activities. The impact of the gold rush and other post-contact events on subsistence and trade activities is discussed in more detail in the sections below.

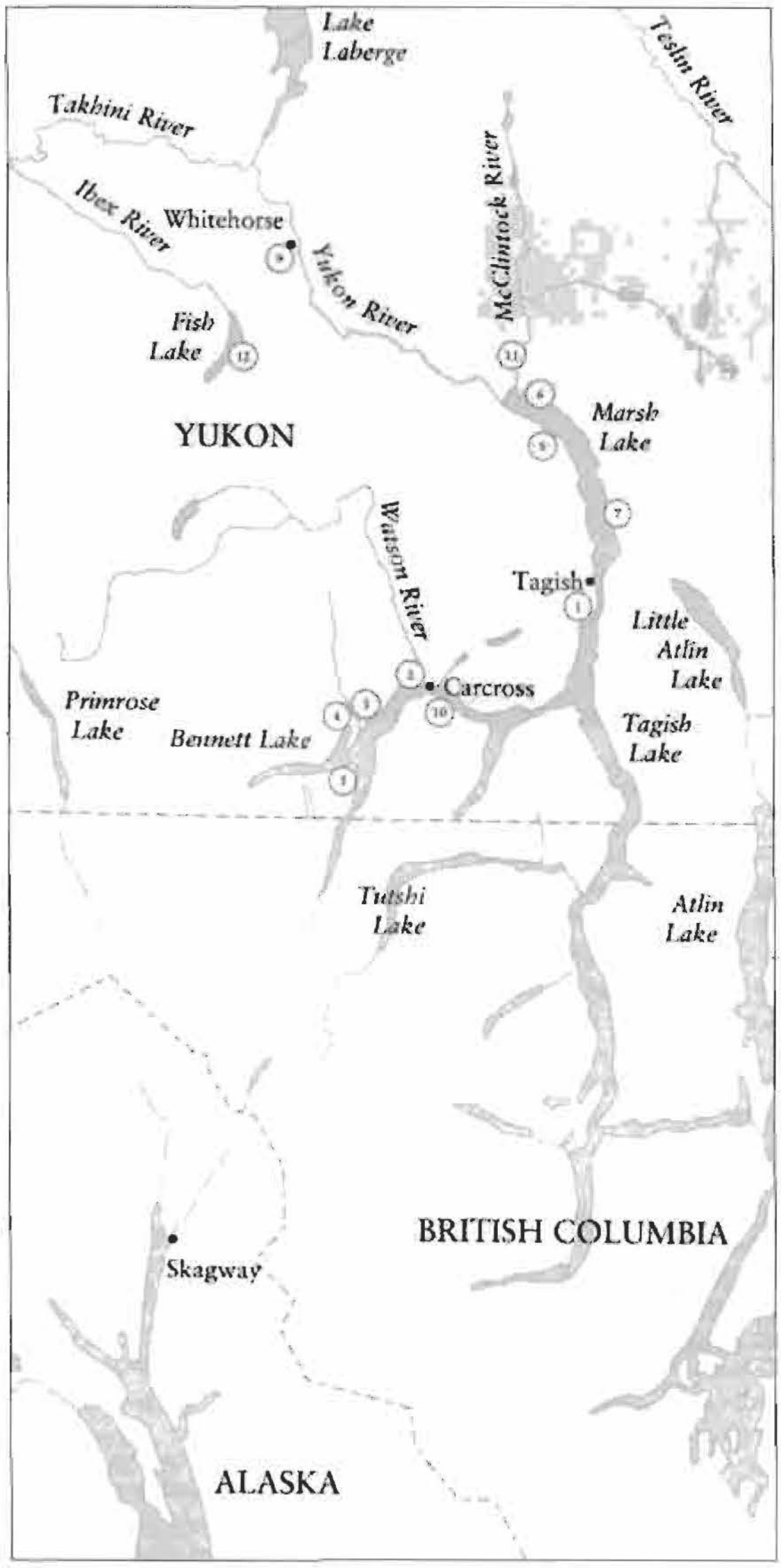


Figure 9. Geography of Angela Sidney's Subsistence Round (from Cruikshank 1990)

Trade and Intercourse

The external relations of both the coastal Tlingit and peoples of the Southern Yukon were largely structured by trade activities (McClellan 1964; Oberg 1973; McClellan 1975:501). It is widely documented that major trade trails between the coast and the Interior existed before the time of contact. According to Stanley James, 248 trails have been documented between the coast and the inland (CTFN 2000:21). The major trade routes to the Interior were largely controlled by the coastal Tlingit. Southern Tutchone, Tagish, and inland Tlingit, in turn, were able to dominate Athabaskans living farther inland in the White River and Pelly River areas (McClellan1975:501). As figure 2 shows, the major trade corridors included all of the larger rivers–Stikine, Taku, Chilkat, Alsek as well overland routes extending from smaller rivers, such as the Chilkoot Trail from Taiya River at Dyea and the White Pass from Skagway River (although the latter was not favored). There were also marine lines of trade between coastal communities, including island communities such as Sitka and Angoon with mainland communities such as Klukwan and Wrangell. This section explores trade in the pre-contact and early contact periods.

Oberg (1973:105-106) notes that coastal intertribal trade was more hostile than the Interior but that interior routes were geographically more difficult to navigate. He observes.

> These trading expeditions were of no mean proportions. On both land and sea great distances had to be traveled. The Sitka, Hoonah, and Klukwan villagers had to travel about three hundred miles to reach the Haida and Tsimshian, and in the fur-trading days they even undertook voyages of a thousand miles to the Victoria and Puget Sound trading posts. Even in their large and well-manned canoes, weather was a constant source of danger. Trading expeditions generally took place in May, June, and July when strong westerly winds blew constantly. (Trading was undertaken at this time because the important food gathering activities of hunting and fishing had to begin in July, or with the first run of salmon. Futhermore, when furs became an important article of trade, the winter's fur supply was available to the first trader that came along with the right trade goods.)

How did these trade routes originate? Undoubtedly there were multiple means and points of contact. In Shotridge's "Ghost of Courageous Adventurer" narrative, presented above (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 2003), it is the Tlingit adventurer who finds Gunana (interior Indian) trade partners. According to another narrative from Klukwan, however, the potential for trade with the Gunana was also realized when members of the interior group ventured to the coast and were spotted and captured by local Tlingits.

> A long time ago there was near Klukwan an old village that has since been covered by a slide [probably *Khaatx'waaltú* ("Rock Slide Point")]. The Tlingits lived there along the Chilkat River with the mountains (sh'aa shaa) in the background.
>
> From time to time they could make out strangers (guna kw'aan), watching them from the top of the mountain above their village. Being a warlike people they believed this could mean but one thing. They were being spied upon. Not wanting to be overcome by other people, they sent up some young men. Time and time again their attempts to capture the strangers were unsuccessful. When they got up there the strangers would be gone.

> After much planning and thinking, it was decided to leave some food, trinkets, and tobacco for the strangers...
>
> In due time, all things were ready and gifts were put where the strangers had been observed watching them.
>
> The Tlingits now proceeded to wait and watch for the next visit. A man was posted to watch the mountain. In time, he saw the strangers at the top again. The village was notified about the strangers. Nothing was to change in the village. Everything went on as usual, so as not to raise the suspicions of the people who were spying on them.
>
> The people (ʻaan kʼeeni) took gifts, ate the food and tried to eat the tobacco. The tobacco made them sick (yanikw). When they were staggering from the effects of the tobacco, the signal was given.
>
> The young men went up the mountain and captured (hʼas awashʼaat) the strangers.
>
> They turned out to be Natives from the Whitehorse, Yukon Territory area. After capturing them, the Tlingits became acquainted with them and started trading with them for moose hides, furs, and caribou skins.
>
> The Tlingits, then, ended up being friends with the Gunanas, or Athabascans. (Ackerman 1975:65-67)

Alternatively, some oral history suggests that the earliest traffic was in humans, specifically interior peoples, such as the Dahklʼaweidí migrating to the coast via the mainland rivers (the Stikine in the case of the Dahklʼaweidí) and, coastal people, such as the Deisheetaan, migrating to the Interior. The contact, communication, and "exchange" of people (through migration, intermarriage, slave trade, and so forth), in turn, set the stage for the "communication" and exchange of goods. A dialectical relationship then developed in which the material exchange of goods and services facilitated and reinforced human communication and exchange (intermarriage, and so on), and human exchanges facilitated and reinforced material trade.

The well-known story of *Khaakeix ʼwti* in northern Southeast Alaska illustrates this model of contact and the development of trade with the Interior, only this time it is the Tlingit that ventures into the Interior. *Khaakeix ʼwti*, also known as "the man who killed his sleep," lived in the vicinity of Glacier and Dundas Bays and is said to be the first Tlingit to journey among the Athabaskans for trade. There are several versions of the story, but in each version, *Khaakeix ʼwti* kills his sleep, which appears in the form of a bird (possibly a reference to an epidemic), and then begins to journey north either via the coast or through a mountain pass (de Laguna 1972:90-91; Thornton 1997; Cruikshank 2001:385) and eventually into the Interior via the Alsek River. There, perhaps first near the mouth of the Alsek at Dry Bay village (*Guseixh ʼ*) and then upriver at the Southern Tutchone village of Shawshe or Neskatahin (later Dalton Post), he discovers the Gunana, or interior Indians [possibly Southern Tutchone] and lives among them for two years, teaching them how to trap salmon and harvest and prepare other foods more productively. In exchange, he receives knowledge and goods from the Athabaskans, including information about sources of native copper (especially at Copper River) and other commodities. The basis for a trading partnership develops and is cemented through marriage (in some versions he marries a Gunana chief's daughter and in others two sisters) in which he receives moose skins, marten skins, beaver skins, and two copper spears (worth two slaves), all key articles of trade, from his wife's family. During his two-year stay at

Alsek, trading relationships are strengthened, and other Tlingits visit, including a slave from the Chilkat who comes over the glacier from Lynn Canal (Swanton 1909:162).

After two years, *Khaakeix 'wti* returns with the Athabaskans to Glacier Bay. In the Kaagwaantaan version of the story, *Khaakeix 'wti* returns overland with his newfound partners and wealth and reaches the coast at *Chookanhéeni* (Beach Grass Creek, now called Berg Bay), home of the Chookaneidí (People of *Chookanhéeni*) clan; but the Chookaneidi shun the visitors, telling them instead to head across the bay to *L'eiwshashakee Áan* (Glacial Sand Hill Town at Bartlett Cove). There they encountered the proto-Kaagwaantaan who embraced their new relations. Later, after the advance of the glaciers in Glacier Bay (another story, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987:245-292), *Khaakeix 'wti* and his group moved with the Kaagwaantaan to *Lulxáigu* (Fireweed Pebble Beach), where they built several large houses and a fort (*Kaxh 'noowu*, Grouse Fort) and sponsored lavish potlatches with their newfound wealth from the interior trade. One of these houses was damaged by fire and, consequently, earned the name *Kaawagaani Hít* or "Burned House." It is for this house that the Kaagwaantaan are named. Afterward some of the Kaagwaantaan (Burned House People) moved to Klukwan and Sitka and other places (Thornton 1997).

The importance of this pre-contact oral history for the Tlingit is emphasized in the lessons drawn from the story. "He sent the Athabaskans away," is a Tlingit aphorism that describes a person who is unlucky or unwise in business, as the Chookaneidí are said to have been in this version of the story (Swanton 1909:160). In addition to the Kaagwaantaan, the L'uknaxh.ádi (centered in Dry Bay and Yakutat) and Ganaaxhteidí (centered in Klukwan) of the Raven moiety also cite this story as origin of trade with the Interior, or how the Tlingit "caught" the Athabaskans (Swanton 1909:160; McClellan 1975). The L'uknaxh.ádi version recorded by (Swanton 1909:160), also emphasizes the taking of male Athabaskan trading partners. Such relationships gave them a tremendous advantage in accessing resources–especially native copper,[9] interior animal furs and foods that were otherwise difficult to obtain on the coast–in exchange only for goods they wanted to trade. Chilkat Tlingits told Emmons (n.d.), "Before the advent of Europeans, they procured caribou and moose skin and the pelts of smaller mammals for clothing from the Yukon and Alsek Basins, and float copper from the White River Valley." Goat wool, lichen dyes, birchwood bows wound with porcupine gut, and decorated moccasins are also mentioned as aboriginal trade goods (Oberg 1973:108; Greer 1995: 25), as is flint, which, interestingly, is tied to a (perhaps a now- extinct coast Tlingit) group that is believed to have penetrated the Interior and established a year-round settlement at Nuquwa'ik (Nooghaayík) on a tributary of the Alsek River, 30 miles southwest of Neskatahin. It was here, according to Annie Ned (Cruikshank 1991:280), "Tlingit people first saw chips coming down from upriver. People making rafts, I guess, and the chips floated down... That's when they met these Yukon Indians. Yukon people are hunting, and they've got nice skin clothes – Oh, gee, porcupine quills, moose skins, moccasins! Everything nice! The Tlingit "saw those clothes and they wanted them! So that's how they got it...snowshoes and moose-skin

clothes—all warm—parky, caribou parky, caribou blanket, caribou mattress." According to Glave and Champagne oral historical accounts (McClellan 1975:28) there was

> An old coast tribe called Nua qwas [Nughwa.as?]. Many years ago these people penetrated the Alseek country in search of flint from which to make weapons and tools. A few miles downstream from here is a mountain called Kleeea [?] where the flint stone is reported to have been found by them. These Nua Qwas were met by the interior Indians, the Gunena, who had moved south for the salmon-run up the Alseek and a trade sprang up between the two tribes, the Gunena exchanging their furs and skins for the Nua Qwas' seal oil. (Glave 1890: 376)

In exchange for interior commodities, Tlingits offered: dried salmon, dried seaweed, herring oil, eulachon oil, seal oil, spruce root baskets, cedar boxes, fungus (for red paint, medicinal herbs and roots (good for stomach medicine), native tobacco (*ganch*, sometimes mixed with clamshells), dried clams, smoked cockles, cedar boxes, abalone, dentalia, and other manufactures (J. Marks interview, Greer 1995:25ff; McClellan 1975; Van Stone 1982). After contact, these goods were supplemented with a variety of European products acquired from white traders on the coast, among the most important of which were guns and ammunition, which arrived before the white man (Annie Ned in Cruikshank 1991:280).

While the Tlingits, perhaps chauvinistically, emphasize the things they taught the Athabaskans and the advantages they gained in trade, Athabaskans, in contrast, stress their own advantages in the encounter, noting that the first Tlingits to arrive were poorly suited to the Interior and did not possess key skills for survival. McClellan's (1950:98) Tagish informants reported that Tlingit traders sometimes "came into the country and brought their wives and children to spend the winter. Then they camp near Tagish families," and "the Tlingit did not really know how to cope with the environment and the Tagish had to help them because they were like little babies."

At one level, then, the earliest interactions were marked by mutual interest and gain, or what game theorists would call "non-zero sum" interactions. But oral historical accounts seem to agree that it was the coast Tlingit who were the initiators and controllers of the major channels of trade, including the Chilkat and Chilkoot trails. As Annie Auston relates:

> It was the Southeast Alaska and the Tlingit people from the coast. They were the ones that started that coming inland and trading with the Athapaskan people. This is where they brought the shells, seaweed, and fish-oil inland, because we wanted those things. What they gave back was the furs and skins. The Tlingit people were the ones that started it. And they were the ones that were in control of those passages. There were three passages that I know of. There is the Chilkoot that comes through here, and then the Chilkat up around Haines, and then there is the Taku. The Tlingit people along the coast controlled it. They didn't let the white people in until around the Gold Rush. They did allow just a few like the fur traders and missionaries...

Eventually, a network of land trails developed connecting the Alsek River and Yukon River drainages to Chilkat country via Nooghaayik and the Chilkat Trail. As Greer (1995:31) points out:

> The Chilkat was actually at least two trails: the western portion of which

led to the Southern Tutchone village of Sawshe or Neskatahin, later Dalton Post, situated on the Tatshenshini River. From Shawshe the trail went north via Dezadeash Lake to Hutshi and then north or northwest, via Aishihik, to the Fort Selkirk area on the Yukon River. The eastern Chilkat route also went through Southern Tutchone lands to Kusawa Lake. From Kusawa the Chilkats travelled down the Takhini River to the Yukon River to other trading destinations.

The latter, or eastern trail, later became known as the Dalton Trail, for the trader Jack Dalton, who founded Dalton Post. The western trail is likely of greater antiquity due to the aboriginal importance of copper, which came from Copper River via a route through Yakutat and Dry Bay. Localization of Raven (Crow) legends also supports this. It is said that on the western Chilkat Trail," even today you can see the stone house he built and the place where he slid and stuck his cane through a rock" (McClellan 1950:62). In addition, Swanton's (1909:89) Wrangell informant, Kadishan, credited Raven with finding the Chilkat Pass and teaching the people how to put up food and produce indigenous tobacco for trade. McClellan (1975: 502) hypothesizes "Turning their attention from Yakutat the aboriginal source of copper and otter pelts the Chilkat expanded their trading activities towards the Yukon and even began to establish trading settlements such as *Nooghaayik* on the Alsek drainage." By this logic, one would assume that the more northeasterly, overland Chilkoot Pass was opened even later than the Chilkat. But this is difficult to confirm.

Olson (1936) gathered an account of the pre-gold rush trading customs on the Chilkat Trail in an interview with Yandestuki village resident Joe Wright ("Skookum Joe") in the early 1930s. Charlie Jimmie Sr. heard a lot about Wright, said to be a real "tough guy," from Austin Hammond, whose father, Tom Phillips, was imprisoned with Wright on a murder charge around 1911, though both were released and returned to Haines (L. Heinmiller, personal communication). Joe Wright became well known not only for his physical prowess in packing and as "anchor for the winning Native tug of war team" against the local Fort soldiers, but also for the mournful song he composed upon his release from McNeil Island, concerning the demise of his people, which later became the Tlingit National Anthem.

Although Wright was born in 1867, and grew up in the post-contact era, he emphasized trading patterns and protocol of the pre- and early contact period. Many of the same customs prevailed on the Chilkoot Trail. According Skookum Joe, while the Lukaax.ádi owned the Chilkoot Trail over by Dyea, rights to the Chilkat Trail were shared by the Dakhlawedí and the Ganaaxhteidí of Klukwan. Rights were passed on from uncle to maternal nephew and "in theory" were exclusive, although "[i]n practice there were few restrictions on trade. Those who belonged to the clans mentioned inevitably had blood relatives and relatives by marriage in the other clans and their requests to participate in the trading could not well be refused. The leader of an expedition, however, was invariably a chief of one of the 'owning' clans, and most of the participants of these clans." A typical trip might include, in addition to the chief, "five to ten younger men of the household, and coastal Tlingit women seldom traveled the trail. Slaves were also said to pack for the wealthy chiefs

(Emmons 1991:55). Skookum Joe noted that trips were made once or twice a year, usually in midwinter (January-February, according to Emmons (1991:55)) when the "deep snow of the passes was packed hard by high winds." Other sources suggest that these trips were small-scale and preliminary to the more substantial spring trips when the winter fur harvest was complete (April or early May before eulachon fishing). Trade trips were also said to have been taken in summer (before heavy salmon fishing, according to Oberg) and fall, especially October (Emmons 1991:55; McClellan 1975). It may be that all but the winter trade trips had ceased on the Chilkat Trail within Skookum Joe's lifetime, or were carried out by other groups.

The time and place of future trips typically was agreed upon beforehand and the Chilkat-Chilkoot would signal their presence by smoke signals or "firing a large tree" (Emmons 1991:56-57). McClellan (1975: 504) comments,

> Actually, the *gunana* [interior Indian] habit of moving about was very inconvenient for the coastal trading parties... It meant that in addition to carrying trade articles, they also had to pack a good supply of salmon for food. The Chilkat experienced real hardships and sometimes lost their lives in the snow and fog of the mountain passes. Throughout the journey, nobody was allowed to wash. Possibly this was a preventive magic against melting snow and avalanches.

Krause (1981) reports that other ritual preparations were also undertaken to ensure safety, including fasting and numerous taboos and behavior prescriptions to ensure good weather. The Krause brothers were sanctioned several times for violating these rules by doing such things as "drag[ging] a dead porcupine through the snow instead of carrying it" and washing a mountain sheep in salt water, thereby "causing the bad weather" (1981:38).

According to Skookum Joe, the trip over the Chilkoot Trail generally took four days to Bennett Lake (in contrast to about 20 days to reach Kusawa Lake via the Chilkat Trail). "A fleet of umiak-like boats was kept there and in them they voyaged to the foot of the lake where lived the Tagish"." Olson (1936) suggests that the boats were perhaps the only skin boats used by the Tlingit (though we also find reference in Yakutat Tlingit oral history) and were made with walrus hide secured in trade from Yakutat, although moose and caribou hides may also have been used (McClellan 1975:512).

Skookum Joe stated that some members of the Chilkoot Trail expeditions would continue beyond Tagish by means of raft to the village of Tutkenkwa'n (King Salmon People), "a day's journey farther on," and sometimes as far as "Xlek!kakwa'n (Paint People) or even to the country of the Ayan in the vicinity of Dawson" (1936:214). This was confirmed by McClellan's (1975:515) Southern Tutchone informant:

> [T]he "Chilkat" came inland via the Chilkat Pass to Lake Kusawa and then went on to Lake Laberge, where they built skin boats and went down the Yukon to the mouth of the Pelly River...However, he added that the Chilkat would then go up the Pelly River to Pelly Banks and cross the Pelly Mountains to McConnell's River. Here they again made boats in which they floated down the Nisutlin River to Lake Teslin. They finally "went out" again by way of the Teslin River to Lake Laberge, Kusawa Lake, and the Chilkat Pass. Sometimes they went up the Pelly only as far as Ross River before they

ent over to the Nisutlin. On other trips they packed across directly to the Pelly from the Montagu on the Nordenskiold River, presumably via the Dalton Trail. Occasionally they went only as far as Carmacks. If they came to Teslin, they reached there in the fall and, according to the informant, "They would trade here if they want to." Their wares were the usual guns, ammunition, axes, calico, blankets, tobacco, and matches.

In addition to controlling the temporal and spatial dimensions of trade, Tlingit also sought to control its social and economic dimensions. The social dimensions were managed through partnerships based on real and fictive kinship ties. As Annie Auston (interview) notes, "They had to have partners Tlingit partners and the Tagish people. They traded down here (Tagish)." If possible a trade partner would belong to the same moiety if not the same clan and was called *axh yakhàawu* (translated by Olson [1936] as "my own man" and by McClellan (1975:506) as "my respected friend") or *woos'yakhàawu* ("mutually joined together" (Emmons 1991: 57)) by Tutchone as ca'Urn ("my trade partner") (McClellan 1975:506). In contrast to the more informal and individualized intracoastal Tlingit trade, commercial interactions between coastal and interior trade partners were ritualized and cemented with gifts. As Olson (1936) describes,

> The Tlingit, upon arrival, ranged themselves in a line at the edge of the village. The men of the village formed a line facing them a few paces distant so that each elder stood opposite his trading partner. The villagers then did a dance accompanied by a song, music being furnished by a drum. The local chief then made a speech, given to me as, "I am glad you have come. My people have been getting ready [etc.]." The Tlingit ranking chief (his partner) answered, "Yes we are here. I remembered that we promised to come this month." The Tlingit chief then asked for the drum and his party sang a song and danced.
>
> Each householder of the village then escorted his partner and his partner's men to his house. As soon as they were inside, the Tlingit took all the packs except his own and the food pack and gave them to his partner, saying, "Here, my partner these are for you." The head of the house took them and, without examining them, placed them in a small storage room in the corner of the log house.
>
> The two chiefs then took the seats of honor at the rear of the house, with the host's wife at his right. The others ranged themselves on either side. The Tlingit chief then went to his own pack, took out a bundle of leaf tobacco, and, after carefully closing the bag, gave the tobacco to his host. The host and his wife smoked while the others of the household prepared food for the guests. After they had eaten, the guest chief ordered one of his men to open the food pack. This usually contained such exotic items as rice, sugar, tea, and coffee. The Tlingit men then cooked a meal for their hosts.
>
> After a time the entire village and the guests assembled for such games as blanket-tossing in a moose skin and broad-jump contests in which both men and women joined. (The chiefs, however, never participated). During and after these games the Tlingit men paired off with the females of the village and "took them into the woods." It was said that neither husbands nor parents objected to this...
>
> Two or three days usually elapsed before actual trading was begun. During this time the travelers rested, renewed acquaintances, and so on. The host and wife secretly inspected the contents of the gift packs during this interval. The host's son or nephew was then told, "To-

> morrow you go." This was an order to go to the hidden cache of furs (usually in an elevated storehouse) some miles distant and bring in the catch for the year. Most of the furs were piled in a corner of the house and some of the finer ones were hidden away in a storeroom. The chiefs again took the seats of honor and a son or nephew of the host started piling furs in front of the guest chief. "It used to make us glad," said my informant, "when we saw that half the pile of furs was worth ten times the value of what we had brought." When the host thought enough furs had been given, he said, "What do you say, partner?" If there was no answer, he piled on more furs.
>
> This was the crucial phase of the trading. On the one hand the host did not wish to offend his partner by appearing stingy and on the other the guest was careful not to seem greedy. When reluctance to give more furs became evident the guest chief went to his pack and took out such gifts as cloth shirts and dresses, bundles of leaf tobacco, vermilion, and so on, but carefully left other things in the pack. These gifts he distributed to various members of the household. The host thereupon ordered that more furs be added to the heap. He then asked, "What is it that which you have left in your pack, partner?" When shown the remaining gifts he said, "Put it on my side." He then went to the corner storeroom, where he had concealed some exceptionally fine furs. These he gave to his guest. His wife would produce moccasin boots and a caribou-skin shirt that she gave to the guest to put on. Finally she usually gave him a robe of ermine skins for his wife. It is noteworthy that the final exchanges involved a pseudo giving back and forth, each party knowing full well that he would receive more.
>
> During the time that trading was in progress the younger men of both parties were careful to take no part in the proceedings. At best the young Tlingit were permitted to take along only a few articles of their own. These they might trade with the young men of the village, but this was done semi-secretly at meetings out-of-doors. Such unofficial exchangings often led to the formation of "partnerships" later in life.
>
> When the trading which had been going on in each house was completed, everyone feasted. After the feasting, as many as could get in assembled in the largest house in the village of the chief. There the Tlingit ranged themselves on one side of the room, the villagers on the other. Speeches were made and the hosts were requested by the guests to teach them several songs. These the Tlingit later sang at festivals in their own villages, it being considered a great thing among them to be able to sing a "new" song or perform a "new" dance. After a day or two spent mastering the new songs, the Tlingit party made ready for the return. Each host was expected to supply his house guests with food for the trip, and his wife often presented them with a quantity of spruce gum for chewing. Arrangements for a subsequent trading expedition were completed and the party set out for home.

Many of these interior songs, learned through trade, are still sung on the coast. As a genre, they are sometimes referred to as "trade songs," and each song has a story. McClellan (1975:506) concludes, "There is no question that story telling was an important feature of the general festivities attending trading, and we know that when the Stikine Tlingit traded with the Tahltan they too held regular story-telling contests that lasted several days (Teit 1917:428-429). It is said that in these bouts the Tlingit proved to know many more stories than did the interior people." At a 1999 gathering at the Sheldon Museum in Haines (March 12, 1999), Pete and Dixie (Rachel) Johnson, Tlingits from

Haines, presented several songs associated with a Kakadehni, a leader of the "Raven Tribe" (Lukaxh.ádi or Gaanaxhteidí?) who led trade expeditions to the Interior and met a tragic death returning from a trading trip.[8]

[Pete]: Kakadehni [Khaa Kaldeini] was [a] man that was a great pride. And he was here when there [were] no houses around here [downtown Haines], only trade. They used him for trading. The Tribal houses were located along the beach from where the outer bar is, out towards the Raven House. And we had a quite few Tribal houses there at the time. Kakadehni had many nephews in the village. And one of his nephews came up to him and said, "Uncle it is time to go trading." And so Kakadehni looked at his nephew for awhile, and he said, "You're right, nephew, it is time to go." And he says, "We can't go right now. We're going to have to work real hard, this year and next year, preparing this, gathering the food that we're going to use, and nephews are going to have [to] work hard along with me. And so all the nephews agreed, working real hard. And they worked hard, gathering all their trade foods together, all winter. And still Kakadehni wouldn't go. And his nephews were getting restless, and told him, "Uncle, you think we should start up now?" And Kakadehini says "No. Be patient. Wait. We'll go when the time is right. If we go too soon, we're going to be caught in a storm on the pass." And so they waited. And they didn't have calendars like they do now. And so, he told his nephews that, "Keep an eye on the [*yaana.eit*, or wild celery] .... "When it's about that tall," he said, "then we'll go." And so the nephews kept an eye on it and Kakadehni did also. And pretty soon Kakadehni called his nephews and told him [them] to get ready. "Time to go." And so they started getting all their trade goods in separate packs and they started out. They started walking and they walked all the way into the interior without any mishaps and got into where the Interior Indians were, and they started their trading.

And the trading was going real good. The Interior Indians were very happy about it. And so they decided they were going to reward Kakadehni and the reward was going to be some songs that they wanted to teach him. And so they called him aside, and told him that they were very happy with the way the trading was going and that they would like to teach him some songs to take back to his people. And so Kakadehni agreed, and they started learning songs that they were teaching. After he had them memorized real good, Kakadehni was the one that was anxious to get back home. And so he started rushing his nephews, asking them to hurry, because it was starting to get later in the year now. And finally they were all done with trading and they started back.

And on the way back, they had nothing exciting happen until they got up on the Summit [of Chilkat Pass?]. When they got up there, Kakadehini injured himself and so as injuries go, it wasn't really too bad, but at that time it was because they couldn't call an ambulance or call a helicopter to come pick him up or anything like that. And so, they started building a shelter and they started gathering wood. And Kakadehni is the one that asked his nephews to do this for him, because he knows that he was not going to be able to continue on his journey. And so he called the nephews around him and he told them, I'm not going to be able to, well he didn't tell them that. He said, after they got all the wood and the shelter built, then he asked them to leave a little food also. And then he asked his nephews to learn the songs that he was going to teach them. And so he sat his nephews around him and he started to teach them the songs, the Interior songs. And after they memorized them real good, and Kakadehni was happy that they knew, then he told his

nephews to go on without him.

(Rachel [Dixie] begins singing a haunting tune in the background as Pete continues with the story)

He said, "I have shelter here, and I have some food that you left me, and you have lots of wood here." So take these songs and go back down to Haines before the storms start hitting. And they were very reluctant to leave. Finally Kakadehni convinced them that they should go. And so they finally started the journey back home. The story goes that when they were out of sight, that Kakadehni built a big fire, threw lots of wood on the fire, and then threw himself on the fire also. When the nephews reached the village, Deishu, people asked them, "Where's your uncle?" And so the nephews told all the people that, "We had to leave our uncle behind. He injured himself. But we built him a shelter and we cut him lots of wood and we left him some food. And we'll go back and get him in the springtime." The nephews, the people in the village, Deishu, they knew then what happened to Kakadehni, because the storms are very severe up there on the pass. It's very hard to survive. (Rachel's haunting song concludes with louder singing and drumming. Then both sing, and Pete accompanies with dance.)

According to John Marks (interview), they found the Lukaaxh.ádi leader's body the following spring at a place called *Chaatl Téisi* ("Halibut?") near the summit of Chilkat Pass, where they "used to get red rock to make face paint."[9]

Tlingit control of the relations of trade through ritual exchange and partnerships helped to supplement and extend their territorial control over the "grease trails" like the Chilkoot. As a result, trade became a process of Tlingitization. In addition to the Tlingit-like potlatch ceremonialism surrounding trade and the extension of Tlingit-like clans and reciprocating moieties to the Interior, Tlingit language also became the language of trade, as Chinook was not used. The reciprocal partnerships that developed through ceremonial trade of material and symbolic (e.g., songs, stories) goods eventually led to more exchanges, including intermarriage. In addition to the taking of interior women "into the woods" as a kind of "Arctic hospitality" (although McClellan's (1975:508) informants dispute that it was "hospitality"), intermarriage also became a strategy for enhancing control over trade. Olson (1936) notes "Tlingit men often married women of the interior tribes for the sole purpose of securing greater trade advantages. Such women usually mained with their kinsmen and saw their husbands only once or twice a year." These men usually had wives and families in their home villages but "only a foolish woman would object to her husband's having another wife in the interior country. It meant that he would be able to bring home more furs." The reference to furs suggests that this practice of intermarriage may have arisen as a supplement to partnerships in the more competitive post-contact fur trade era. Lunáat' for example, was said to have two wives in the Interior, as well as one in Chilkoot. Another strategy of intermarriage was for Tlingit men to arrange for marriages of their sisters to interior Athabaskan partners (Cruikshank 1991:8).

Although coastal Tlingit women rarely made trade trips to the Interior, they still exercised significant power within this economic domain and could revoke deals that did not meet their terms. Emmons (1991:

56) states, "If a sale had been consummated in her absence, she might repudiate the transaction and demand the money back." Traveling in Alaska in 1877, E.S. Wood (1882: 333) wrote of Tlingit women's authority as "unquestioned" and their veto as "never disregarded," citing examples of some his own trade deals with Tlingit men having been nixed by their wives. He concluded that this behavior was part of a general code in trade that allowed Tlingits "to undo a contract at any time, provided they could return the consideration received." In one case, this involved a Chilkat trader returning over 600 miles from his village to Fort Simpson to revoke a trade deal made on skins, after failing to garner as much for them as he paid in the Interior.

Other Elements of the Human Landscape

In addition to habitation, travel, trade, and subsistence geography, graves were another important element in the human landscape. In the pre- and early post-contact era, most Tlingits were cremated and their ashes buried, often in ceremonial boxes within (or beneath) trees behind the village. Only shamans were treated specially, their remains being placed in caves or openings upon promontories or natural lookouts. Many of these grave sites are recorded in the Sealaska's historic sites survey (Wilsey and Ham 1975). However, there are no shaman or pre-Christian burial sites identified for Dyea or Skagway.

With adoption of Christian customs, burials and graveyards were established. Paddy Goenette, of Haines, commented on the change of customs and locations of key Chilkoot graveyards in his 1946 statement to Goldschmidt and Haas (1998:109)

> There was a graveyard for *Yeindust'akhyé* people between the military post and Haines Mission. When I was a young man, bodies were cremated, and the remains buried at Tanani Point, behind the village. At the mouth of the Chilkoot River, across from the village, was a graveyard that belonged to the Lukaaxh.ádi clan. The fences can still be seen there. There are also people of other clans buried there. We used to bury Indian doctors in the caves around Chilkoot Lake. I saw one of my uncles buried there when I was a young man. These are on the west side of the lake. There is also a cemetery for Native people at Skagway [Dyea?]

The latter may be a reference to the cemetery above the old Healy & Wilson trading post. According to archaeologist Karl Gurcke (personal communication 2002), there are at least seven cemeteries in the Chilkoot area:

> At Dyea there are/were at least four cemeteries. The first was the wholly Native cemetery located just above the Healy & Wilson trading post. This washed out along with the trading post many years ago. Then there is the Town Cemetery (sometimes also called the Native Cemetery). Natives were buried in it both during and after the gold rush. It might have been a segregated cemetery during the rush but certainly not after. This cemetery is mostly washed out but remote sensing in 1999 has indicated that at least 3 graves remain. Then there is the Slide Cemetery for the victims of the April 3, 1898 avalanche on the Chilkoot Trail. A few others, who died of other causes, were buried there after the avalanche but I think all the individuals buried there are whites. Finally there is the Relocated Cemetery. This is where the marked graves from the Town Cemetery were move to in 1978. It is located just east of the Slide Cemetery and some

> of the graves moved were Natives. It is also where the Matthews grave with its recently reconstructed headboard and fence is located. This is also where the Dyea Johns memorial stone is located. There is also a small cemetery at Sheep Camp with at least two graves and an isolated grave on the trail north of Sheep Camp along the Chilkoot Trail but these are undoubtedly gold rush era graves. On the Canadian side, there are gold rush cemeteries at Lindeman and Bennett and an isolated grave near historic Happy Camp. There are three cemeteries in Skagway – 1) the Gold Rush Cemetery, 2) the Pioneer Cemetery, and 3) the Modern Cemetery. I believe that there are Natives buried in both the Pioneer and Modern cemeteries and possibly the Gold Rush Cemetery although I have never done any study of this. Although there may be cemeteries or isolated graves up the White Pass Trail, none has been found yet.

Judy Munns (personal communication to Karl Gurcke 2003) adds, concerning Native burials in Skagway,

> In the Pioneer Cemetery [there] are a number of gravestones for Native burials, including Maggie Kadanaha. They appear to be clustered together but I am not certain that they were neeessarily in a separate "section." They do not appear to be isolated in any way from other burial plots or sections.

Even those graveyards that have been eroded or overgrown remain a part of the human landscape for Tlingits and perhaps non-Tlingits, as well. Concerns about erosion of the Native graves at Dyea are discussed in the next section.

A similar pattern of cremation, supplanted by Christian burials prevailed in the Interior. When asked how the construction of Christian cemeteries affected Native burial practices, elder Kitty Grant (interview) commented, "I think it bothered them [the older people] because they used to burn their people. I know they did in Ross River and all those places. Then they would gather the bones. If you didn't have certain kind of heat your bones won't burn. So the bones used to be gathered and put them in little fancy boxes and then put a Spirit House over top of it. There is lots in Tagish and Marsh Lake." The "fancy boxes" were by the time of the fur trade era often of Chinese provenance, brought through Russian trade with the Chilkat-Chilkoot and over the trails. Ida Calnagan (interview) observes, "They had a cemetery over before the gold rush even happened. And you can still see a couple of old houses there. They had lots of old trunks, they called Chinese trunks... The people brought it over when they were trading with the Russians. They used to cremate people at that time. It's when the Christian people came over they started burying people at that time. Before that they used to cremate them."

The Tagish similarly cite the graveyard at Dyea as a special historical site. Several other cemeteries were also mentioned in our interviews, including one near Tagish.

> I know there was a cemetery in Tagish right along the river bank. There is still a few fences up. A few years ago they tried to fix it and take care of it. All along down Marsh Lake there was some cemeteries too. I am not too sure exactly where. (Annie Auston, interview)

There are likely other gravesites in the park and greater Chilkoot environs that have yet to be documented.

Traditional Knowledge Concerning Gold (Ethnomineralogy)

Traditional knowledge about valuable natural resources, such as key fish, wildlife, flora, and minerals, was treasured among both Alaska Natives and Yukon First Nations people. Such environmental (or ecological) knowledge, or TEK, can be defined as "The cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment" (Berkes 1999:8). A wealth of TEK has been collected in ethnological works by Cruikshank, de Laguna, Emmons, Krause, McClellan, and others.[10] One key question that has not been addressed in detail, however, is how much TEK existed about gold and gold mining among the aboriginal peoples of Southeast Alaska and Southern Yukon.

Gold was called góon in Tlingit (Ida Calmagan, interview). According to Winnie Atlin (interview), this name was given after the arrival of whites. Before that they "had seen gold but thought it was rocks." William Atlin (interview) adds, "They just knew it was a shiny rock. There was one man that took some gold from a creek and took it back to Marsh Lake. When he got there he pounded the soft rock and made a pipe cleaner out of it. They knew what lead was, it was up at Millhaven Bay." Generally, interview data suggest that gold was valued little before the arrival of whites. For example, Annie Auston (interview), speaking of the Tagish area people remarks, "They knew about the gold but it didn't excite them very much until after the gold rush. Then they realized how important gold was." Fanny Smith (interview) similarly comments, "Nobody knew nothing about the gold. Might of seen it but didn't think nothing of it." And Frank James observes that gold "was not a special substance until the gold rush. Copper was the main thing." While copper was undoubtedly more valued aboriginally, coastal Tlingits are said to have collected and worked gold into ornaments, such as bracelets, necklaces, nose rings, and the like (Richard Dick, interview). McClellan (1975:319) notes,

> One Southern Tutchone from Champagne and one Inland Tlingit from Atlin were noted for their skill in making jewelry of both silver and gold during the first part of this century. So far as I know they were the only two interior natives who made ornaments of modern metals. Their designs were mostly floral, although the Inland Tlingit man made a few pins representing clan crests, e.g., gold nugget frog for an Ikitan [Ishkeetaan] and *yEyuwa* mountain for a New *yEnyedi* [Yanyeidi] woman.

A good number of coastal Tlingits have become proficient at silver and goldsmithing, but this seems to have been largely a post-gold rush phenomenon.

(Footnotes)

[1] Although the issue of gender, and in particular the role of women in the gold rush, has received some attention recently (for example, Mayer 1989), little analysis has been done on the role of Native women in the gold rush era.

[2] With one anomalous exception, the Neix.ádi (probably of Tsimshian origin, Olson 1967), who called themselves Eagles and intermarried with both Raven and Wolf.

[3] Another early Indian map was drawn by an unnamed Chilkat man, who furnished it to Captain Dodd of the *Beaver* about the same time (McClellan 1950:181; Whymper 1869:228-229). For more on Koh-klux, see Higgs (n.d.).

[4] It should be added that the Chilkat were tenacious in defense of their territory and trade rights. During the

fur-trade era there was reportedly a ban on white men in the Chilkat territory (Beardslee 1882); similarly, when the Hudson Bay Company established a trading post at Fort Selkirk on the Upper Yukon in 1847, the Chilkat leader "Chatrich" (Emmons n.d., Davidson 1901) considered it an affront to his trading rights and sent a party to destroy it in 1852. On another occasion a Chilkat war party reportedly took possession of a Hudson Bay Company ship in Pyramid Harbor (Emmons n.d.)

[7] Emmons (n.d.) also recorded another interpretation of this name, meaning "hollow or empty referring to an empty canoe, as in winter when the float ice filled the head of Chilkoot Inlet and those coming from the southward had to leave the canoes here and travel by trail to the village above. The canoe was then emptied and turned over on the gunwales." Though elaborate and revealing of the human geography of the area, no present day Tlingits we interviewed translated the name this way.

[8] For more on Copper River trade, see Pratt (1998).

[9] As with gender roles, the evolution of indigenous music during the gold rush period (including the important genre of trade songs) is a topic worthy of further study, although sources are limited. For a general reference to music in the gold rush era, see Murray (1999). Recently some works have been published on Native sports and recreation during the gold rush (e.g., Heine and Wamsley 1996).

[10] In another session at the Sheldon Museum (18 May 1998, Tape #98.042.2001), a similar version of the story was told by Paulina Phillips with Dixie Johnson singing.

[11] Mr. Marks also noted that the trade song contained "interior" [Tagish? Tutchone?] words, which he could not translate. When he performed the trade song with the Geisan Dancers at the Eskimo Olympics in Anchorage in the 1970s, an interior Indian approached him afterward and stated it was also their song.

[12] For a critique of TEK studies, with special reference to Northwest Canada and Southeast Alaska, see Nadasdy (1999), Cruikshank (2001) and Hunn et al. (2003).

Chapter III: Early Contact and Gold Rush Period (1800s)

Early Native Response to Non-Natives in Chilkat/Chilkoot & Southern Yukon

The first responses of the coastal Tlingit and interior Natives to the penetrations of whites into their country were generally peaceful, if not always friendly, unless their territorial and prerogatives rights were violated. Both groups were used to dealing with "outsiders" largely through the medium of trade. Russians ran afoul of the Tlingits on the coast at Sitka in 1802 and at Yakutat in 1803, by trying to set up settlements and exclusive trading rights without Tlingit permission, and were promptly attacked. On the other hand, Tlingits had been dealing peacefully with Americans and European traders decades before the Russians' arrival. In fact, Alexander Baranof, the head of the Russian American colony in Alaska, at first had trouble securing any sort of trading relationship with the Tlingits, because they were obtaining better goods (including ammunition and weapons) and terms from the American and European traders (cf. Krause 1956:30-31).

The earliest references to Chilkats is in a 1788 report by the Russian explorer Gregory Shelikof who, with Captain Ismailof, met the Chilkat chief ""Ilchak"" in Yakutat Bay (Emmons n.d, Krause 1956). The Chilkat leader, identified by Emmons as "Yeilchak [Yeil Xaak] (Raven's scent)," a prominent head of the Ghaanaxhteidí clan, had come with a group to trade. Emmons remarks that Ismailof "erroneously represents the Yakutats as subjects of the Chilkat chief, which could not be, as each Tlingit tribe was an independent geographical division, regardless of what its size or strength might be." The misinterpretation may have been partly a function of the high status the Chilkat Ganaaxhteidí leader had earned through trade. According to Krause (1956:28),

> Chief Ilchak from the Chilkat River...was supposed to rule over all Kolushans [Tlingits] who live along the coast to Yakutat Bay, and who this year, as was annually their practice, with one hundred and seventy souls of both sexes, excluding children, came in bidarkas [canoes] to this place for trade and to see his people. To Ilchak the Russian gave as a token of esteem a Russian crest in copper and a picture of the heir to the throne on which the following was inscribed in Russian and German: 'In the year 1788, in the month of June, seamen of the Shelikof and Golikof Company, steersman Gerassim Ismailof and Dmitrii Bocharof, in their galleon *The Three Apostles* with forty men on board, found themselves in the bay called Yakutat by the heathen, where through the kindly and friendly relations with Chief Ilchak and his subjects, the Kolushan people, they carried on an agreeable trade and at last brought them under the protection of the Russian Imperial throne in commemoration of which they gave the estimable chief a Russian copper crest and a copper engraving of the likeness of the Imperial Highness, the heir to the Russian crown; therefore all Russian and alien ships coming here are warned to establish friendly relationship with this chief, using only such caution as is necessary; the steersmen who lay here from

> the 11th to the 21st of June with their galleon noticed no ill-natured behavior on the part of the chief and his people and happily returned to sea."

The coin imprint (copper engraving) is important not only as a token symbol of friendship and dominion, but as recognition of the authority of the Chilkat leader in trade. It was typical of the Russian intercourse with the Natives, which generally was to recognize their autonomy and authority over lands and resources while at the same time trying to build a monopolistic trade partnership. This was successful to a large extent. Indeed the Russians only had problems when they tried to settle in Tlingit areas, such as Yakutat and Sitka, or blatantly ignored Tlingit prerogatives. Dispossessions of lands or and possessory rights was not the Russian's goal; rather it was trade. And it was not the Russians that dominated the Tlingit, but rather the Tlingit that, to use Golovin's word, "tolerated" the Russians. Even trade was carried out largely on Tlingit terms. Gift giving, for example, was expected as a matter of protocol. Thus, Captain Belcher, visiting under the auspices of the Russians, had to give gifts to the local Tlingits for permission to get even water and wood at Yakutat Bay (Krause 1956:115). As late as 1821, Lieutenant Lazarev reported that Russian trade with Tlingits was "very insignificant" due to the competition and more favorable prices paid to the Tlingits by American traders. Meanwhile, the Russian America became increasingly dependent on local Tlingits for supplies of basic subsistence resources, including fish, deer, plants (especially potatoes and berries), wood, and charcoal (Gibson 1987:89ff).

In fact there was little direct contact with the Chilkats and Chilkoots before the mid-nineteenth century. And what little there was suggests that from the advent of contact, the Tlingit appeared as wealthy and territorial. Emmons (n.d.), who first visited in 1882, observed, "From our earliest acquaintance with Alaska the Chilkats have held the first place among the Tlingit, politically, socially, and numerically. Their isolated position at the head of the inland channels and their independent and aggressive reputation did not invite strangers; consequently, they were little influenced by civilization until the discovery of the gold fields." The first actual visit to Chilkat-Chilkoot country came in July 1794 when Vancouver's Lieutenant Whidbey piloted a boat to the head of Lynn Canal where he encountered more than 100 Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingits who informed him of eight important chiefs who lived in and controlled the area. One of the Chilkat leaders soon appeared grandly, wearing a mountain sheep robe and an elaborate headdress of copper and fur, and bearing gifts of sea otters skins for Whidbey, who described him as "dressed in a much more superb style than any chief we had hitherto seen on this coast, and he supported a degree of consequence, and personal dignity, unusual to be found amongst the chiefs of Northwest America" (Vancouver 1794:176). Although friendly at first, the Tlingits apparently became hostile, perhaps due to insufficient acknowledgement of their prerogatives, and the next day amassed some 200 men, apparently with designs on plundering the visiting ships. Whidbey wisely decided to retreat back toward Stephens Passage and was pursued by the Natives as far as Berners Bay (Emmons n.d.).

Despite hostile encounters, the Russian-American Company named one of its schooners "Chilkat" and directed its person-

nel to trade with the Chilkats. The company's governor wrote to the commander of the Chilkat in 1835, "It is desireable that you should be able to find the Chilkat Kolosh in their summer places before they leave for hunting expeditions in the interior; consequently, finding that it is useless to stay longer at Taku sail for Chilkat and according to the promise give you last year trade furs with them [,] remaining as long as you deem necessary at the gathering places" (ABT 1904:274).

The next significant encounter between the Russians and the Chilkat took place in 1838.

As a prelude to Russia's leasing of the Alaska littoral to the Hudson's Bay Company, the pilot Lindenburg carried out a reconnaissance of Chilkat country, which marked the boundary between ostensible Russian and British holdings. In 1902 Emmons (n.d.) collected a first-hand account of Lindenburg's visit from "a very old native woman" named Shu he hee (?), the daughter of the Ghaanaxhteidí Chilkat chief Skatelahka (?) who guided the Russian pilot on his survey.

> I was a little girl when the Russians came to my country and went up the Chilkat River. I remember their coming to (Pyramid Harbor). They first landed about the big ice (Davidson Glacier) and walked along the shore until they reached Pyramid Harbor, and their boat followed along the shore. They had to come to the place before but this time said they would measure the river. They built a house of chartl (willow) tree trunks this time, which was named Chartl nu (willow fort). When I was out gathering 'tut bark,' (icinglass) for the Russian chief, my father sent for me to sew his moccasin that was broken and as they were in a hurry to leave in the Russian boat. I went with my father. There were on the boat also, the Russian Captain, three other Russians and a Sitkas man. Tchw wark [?], half Russian. We started up the Chilkat River and camped that night just beyond Indastahka [Yindestuki], on that shore and stayed there two days. We then went to Tuhkah goo [*Duk X'aak'ik'u*, "Little Cottonwood Point"]--the eulachon grounds this side of windy point--on the same bank of the river, where we remained two days. From there we went to Clau nu (Sand fort) [Law Noow] and camped there for two days and from this place we sailed up directly to the Yehlh thleene (Bear creek) [Raven's Creek?] camping over night, and at Kun nah thluck wark [?] (about half way between Klukwan and Yehlh thleene). The next day, my father, the Russian Chief, and two other Russians started up the river on foot and were away for three days, returning on the fourth day to camp and afterwards we returned to Pyramid Harbor. All the way up the river the Russians measured the river with a piece of leaden line. They threw the lead in the water and when they got to the end of the line they hauled it in and drove a stake in the water, and they did this as far as they went. They also cut crosses on the trees all the way up the river. When we got back to Pyramid harbor, I overheard my father tell my mother that the Russians had made argwaye (monuments) of piled up rocks where they had gone on foot up the River and the Russians built the 'Ta hit' on the summit.

Among other things, this account is important for its identification of the "Ta hit" or "Stone houses" with the Russian reconnaissance. Emmons describes these as three "great slabs of granite from four to six feet in dimensions with a thickness of four inches tapering to the top, and leaning against each other with a ring of boulders supporting them on the bottom. The markers were positioned

near but not on mountain summits (at Chilkat Pass?) to maximize visibility."

This encounter marked the end of substantive contact with the Russians, who gradually ceded their interests, first to the Hudson's Bay Company through the 1840 lease of the littoral, and then to the U.S. with the 1867 sale of the Alaska territory. Although they had little direct contact with the Chilkat, as noted above, the Russians became highly dependent on Tlingit production and trade networks throughout the region, not just for profitable commerce, but also for their very survival. At the same time, especially after 1820, Tlingits and their interior trade partners became increasingly reliant on Russian and other Euramerican goods acquired in trade. But at least until the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Yukon in 1848, the interior trade was strictly controlled by the Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit. As Annie Auston (interview) states,

> It was the Tlingit people on the coast they were the ones that controlled these passes. They kept the white people out for a certain length of time and then they let them come in. The Tlingit people used to trade with the Russian people. They used to get guns, and gun powder, axes, and blankets, etc. and they traded inland with the Athapaskan. And the inland people traded the furs and skins for the seaweeds, fish-oil, and shells and those things. They don't get soapberries down there. Right now the Tlingit people still love getting soapberries. That is what they did was trading in the early days. That is how it all started until the Gold Rush...

Both the Russian and Euramerican traders' desire for furs (and thus the middlemen Tlingits' too) and the interior Natives' appetite for foreign guns, ammunition, axes, and fabric, blankets, and other goods served to intensify and expand Tlingit intercourse with the interior Natives. Emmons (1991:56) remarks that, "Upon the coming of trading vessels, the value of furs greatly increased, and this trade was proportionally augmented while the acquisition of iron and steel made copper valuable only for ornamental purposes." With the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and, later, the gold rush prospectors, competition increased. The Tlingit monopoly over the Chilkoot and other trade routes was challenged and numerous conflicts arose.

While the Russian-American Company's fur interests were primarily in sea otter, the HBC coveted beavers, marten, fox, land otter, and other terrestrial furbearers. The lease of the littoral gave the HBC, in exchange for 2,000 otter skins per year, rights to use the coastal land from 54°40' to Cape Spencer, but not the Alaska archipelago, which the Russians maintained (Krause 1956:44). During 1840, the HBC established forts at Stikine River (Wrangell) and Taku Harbor (south of Juneau and Taku River) to facilitate Tlingit trade. However, shortly afterward the company changed its coastal strategy away from sedentary forts in favor of ships due to expense and safety concerns over forts in Tlingit land, and because the Tlingit already were highly mobile in their pursuit of the best prices for their goods (cf. Klein 1987; Dean 1994). Of the company's two vessels, one was stationed at Pyramid (Labouchere) Harbor at the mouth of the Chilkat River, while the other remained at Port Simpson in present-day British Columbia (Emmons 1991:56). Fort Taku was closed in 1843, after only three years, and Fort Stikine disestablished in 1848.

Meanwhile, the HBC continued a successful penetration of the rich fur grounds

of interior Northwest Canada. Their first trading post in the Yukon was established at Frances Lake in 1840 by Robert Campbell. In July 1843, at the forks of the Pelly and Lewes Rivers, Campbell found people well-positioned for subsistence and trade, and with plenty of time for "a lot" of dances, "a pastime of which they are passionately fond and in which they no doubt often indulge as they appear from various circumstances and also from such large parties being always together to be strangers to the want of food so common on this side of the mountains, a good inducement to promote...merry making" (*in* Cruikshank 1991:86). He also found the locals, his prospective clients, honest to deal with and disposed to direct trade. In contrast, his first impression of his rival Tlingit traders was strikingly negative.

> One evening early in August when a good many local Indians were about us, we heard a noise of shouting and singing up the Lewes. The [interior] Indians said they were Chileats [sic] and advised us to hide our working tools and everything moveable unless we wished to have them stolen by the strangers who were adept at pilfering. They also gave us a ready hand to put everything out of sight, which was hardly done when the Chileats arrived, about 20 in number, and a hard-looking set, on several rafts on which they had drifted down the Lewes from near its source. We soon found out their thieving propensities which were in marked contrast to the honesty of the native Indians.
>
> The Chileats belong to the coast Indians along the Lynn Canal who long carried on a bartering trade with the Indians in that quarter, the only articles from the outside world--indifferent though they were to quality--these poor Indians ever obtained in trade [were (?)] from the Chileats, whose motto was "might is right" and who were civil only when they were the weaker party. (*in* McClellan 1975:503)

According to Ogilvie (*in* Dall et al. 1898, McClellan 1975:512) the Tagish also complained "bitterly" about the "Chilkoot tyranny," and their chief "Klohk-shun," referred to Chilkoots as "all the same dog" imitating the snapping of a vicious dog as he spoke.

Still, contact with Southern Yukon First Nations was minimal until 1848, when Campbell founded a larger trading post at Fort Selkirk. This post effectively served as an "end run" around the Chilkat lands and trails and had the effect of curtailing their stewardship of trade because it afforded the interior groups the opportunity to trade directly with the HBC. It also marked the beginning of the first, albeit short, sustained contact between whites and Southern Yukon natives. Needless to say, all of this was done without formal notification or permission from the coastal Tlingits or Southern Yukon Natives, who also traded with the Fort Selkirk area natives.

If he was not previously aware of this transgression, Campbell quickly learned of the extent of the Tlingits' trade network, their competitive edge, and their desire to preserve their trading rights. In 1851 he wrote to Fort Simpson (Cruikshank 1991:86):

> I am sorry to report that a large party (31) of trading Indians from the coast who visited the Pelly and remained here 'til they got their loads traded made a clean sweep of all of the furs and leather of the surrounding vicinity. Some of the same Indians even went down the river near a hundred miles. This long established traffic, the very low price at which they dispose their goods, and their acquaintenance with language and the habits of these tribes afford them facilities for trade we are all deprived of...

The Tlingits were able to out-compete the

HBC not only because they had been there first and had established social (ceremonial and marital) as well as economic partnerships, but also because their operation was more efficient. Campbell remarked on the high quality of Tlingit trade goods, too. By this time, these goods included fine Euramerican manufactures such as metal kettles and pots, muskets and ammunition, calico and beads, handkerchiefs and woolen blankets, baking powder and sugar, molasses and liquor, coffee and tea, looking glasses and mirrors, needles and thread, matches and hardware, knives and steel traps, hatchets and axes, vermilion and wooden boxes (McClellan 1975, Mahoney 1870). Campbell was also impressed by their pack loads, several of which he weighed at "90 & 100 lbs. each & upwards" (Johnson and Legros 2000:45). Clairvoyantly, one HBC official warned Campbell in early 1852, "You will be troubled by the incurrences of the Indian traders from the coast who can dispose of their goods at a far cheaper rate than we can afford to sell ours. It strikes me forcibly that were the post from 60 to 100 miles down the river, it would be better situated for trade and more out of the sphere of these traders." Although the HBC officials worried over economic incurrence, they underestimated the Tlingits' resolve to protect their market share and trade relationships through political confrontation as well.

This confrontation came late in 1852 at Fort Selkirk. After several seasons of competition from Campbell, who collected 600 beaver and numerous other furs from the Athabaskans during 1850-51, Tlingits increasingly were finding their trade partners with nothing to trade and in possession of Euramerican goods such as guns, tobacco and powder, and "Hiaqua" shell obtained from the HBC post (McClellan 1950:182). The rule had always been that an interior host "was expected to trade with the same Chilkat trader every year. Indeed, should he be caught dealing with anyone else, his regular partner would invariably start a fight over the matter" (McClellan 1975:506). In this case, the Tlingits decided to seek justice from the invading HBC traders. Traversing the Chilkat Pass via Kusawa (Arkell) Lake from Klukwan, a group of 27 Chilkats, lead by the Ghaanaxhteidí chief Chatrich (also known as Koh-klux), arrived at Fort Selkirk on August 20th. From this point the oral and written historical records differ as to exactly what happened. Campbell claims he was seized by the Chilkats and "dragged and pushed toward the bank" all the time "ward[ing] off" knife thrusts. He reports that he and his trappers managed to escape. However, according to oral historian, Mrs. Rachel Dawson, Campbell was actually rescued by her Athabaskan grandfather, a Northern Tutchone chief, "...who dominated trading for his group which was located near present Carmacks. He was the famous chief Lingit Tlein, the 'banker,' who was said to have had Tlingit relatives and to have married either 8 or 20 wives" (McClellan 1975:503). Mrs. Dawson (Cruikshank 1991:87), who was born at Fort Selkirk, relates:

> My grandfather, mother's father, got his name from the Hudson's Bay man Robert Campbell. That time when the Alaska Indians came to burn down his post, my grandpa saved him. He hid him and tied him to a boat and pushed him out into the river. So he saved his life.
>
> At that time, Indians had no white-man name. So Robert Campbell said to my grandpa, "Because you saved me, you have my name."

> My grandpa tried to tell him to come back [to Fort Selkirk]. But Robert Campbell, the white man, was afraid. So my grandpa Campbell gave him some dry fish. That Hudson's Bay man went away and he never came back. I guess maybe he went to build a post somewhere else.

In fact, we learn from the written record that Campbell tried to muster support to recapture and rebuild the fort. As Cruikshank (1991:87) notes, "Robert Campbell walked thousands of miles, first to Fort Simpson, and then to Minnesota to try to convince his superiors, particularly Governor Simpson, to retaliate against the Chilkats and to resupply his Yukon post. The company had already decided, though, that the Yukon operation was unprofitable, and Campbell never returned to the Yukon." The Tlingits, in turn, held onto their monopoly for another three decades.

Another matter that is not clear is just what the Tlingit intended. Did they come solely to "raid, plunder, and burn" the village as some written accounts suggest (Jarvis in Cruikshank 1991:87), or did they only burn, and this only after diplomatic efforts failed? We do know that they came bearing trade goods, and letters, including a reprimand for the commander of the HBC vessel the Beaver (often anchored at Pyramid Harbor), who reported that the Tlingit "had been particularly unruly and thievish, even on the coast" (McClellan 1975:503). But the Tlingit may have mistaken this as a letter of support for their rights. Did they attempt to present this letter as part of a larger case for why Fort Selkirk should stop competing for trade? In other words, was there some kind of miscommunication that caused the Tlingit to become violent? Some oral sources suggest that Tlingits, although menacing, were actually not responsible for ransacking the fort. Annie Auston states,

> There's a big story about the Tlingits chasing out the Hudson's Bay people, from Pelly. But they were daneing they had their masks on and they could scare anybody. Those guys really didn't know what was going on. They had their war masks on. Those traders got scared and they took off. They left everything in that store. The Tlingits didn't ransack; it was the people from down around that area. After those guys ran away and left that store there then those guys went and picked up some stuff. When the next traders came around they started tearing down the buildings for firewood, but they never came after them with spears and stuff. That came out in Rupert's workshop we did about two years ago [1996] at the Yukon College. It's really ironic that the Tlingits were getting blamed for that trading post in Selkirk. They got blamed for it but they just danced.

However, if not responsible for looting, the Tlingit were apparently responsible for setting fire to the fort, because, as Tagish elder Patsy Henderson (Kulseen, McClellan 1975: 511) states, "They were jealous of the store." George Davidson's (1891) 1869 ethnogeographical interview with Koh-Klux himself, suggests that the Tlingit party came via the Chilkat Pass, sought support for their case against the HBC among the people of the Yukon, before confronting the HBC directly, and later burning the fort and returning to Klukwan via what would become the Dalton Trail. But unfortunately, the interview is silent on details of the actual encounter and whether it featured dancing. If so, one wonders, what dances? Perhaps Athabaskan dances obtained through trade, or the "Dance of the Gunanaa" (Gunanaa Leixhí) or "Ayan-ootea" ("Imitating-faminite," Shotridge 1919:212-214; also recorded as

Aayán Leixhí, or "Down-river" dance "from the Athabaskan word meaning "others," Emmons 1991:451), said to mimic life of the interior peoples as they moved about in search of food (McClellan 1950:187). Dancing and the display of other sacred at.óow would have been a legitimate Tlingit means of stating their history and claims to trade in the Yukon.

It is also not clear exactly who participated in the raid besides Koh-klux or Chartrich.[1] But in all likelihood all 27 members of the raiding party were associated with Koh-klux's clan, the Kaagwaantaan, and perhaps affiliated Eagle clans, such as the Dakhl'aweidi. Koh-klux remained an important leader in the negotiations with the United States to open Chilkat territory, including the interior trails, to trade and prospecting. Seidmore (1899:94-95) summed up his career this way:

> Kloh-Kutz, Chartrich, or Hole-in-the Cheek, their [Chilkat Tribe's] great head-chief was a hero worthy of [James Fennimore] Cooper, and of the best type of Chilkat warriors. His father [actually he himself] was one of the bands that went over and destroyed the H.B. Co.'s Fort Selkirk, on the Yukon in 1851, because of interference with their trade; and Kloh-Kutz drew for Professor Davidson the first map of the passes leading from Chilkat Country to the Yukon. The great astronomer first knew him in 1867 and when he returned to observe the total eclipse of the sun in 1869, Kloh-Kutz made the party his guests, and established them in the council-house at Klu-Kwan. Mr. Seward spent eclipse-day (August 8, 1869), at Klu-Kwan, escorted up and down the river by war canoes manned with the flower of Chilkat chivalry. These people commanded the admiration of all whites who knew them before the canneries and miners came, and contact with civilization wrought their ruin...Lieutenant Emmons learned much of them before their decadence, and as proof of their friendship was permitted to buy Kloh-Kut's ancestral narkheen (naaxein) or dance-blanket after the chief's death.[2]

In his relations with the U.S., Koh-klux maintained the same resolve to ensure that his rights over the trail were not usurped. To this end, he kept the Hudson's Bay flag seized at Selkirk, an English officer's uniform he had obtained, and later a tattoo reading "SEWARD" on his arm, as emblems of his authority. The first two emblems were displayed on Koh-klux's first encounter with Captain Howard's Revenue Marine in 1867, which he assumed was a trade ship. As Howard relates the story (Morris in ABT 1904: 467-468)

> At 1:30 five large war canoes came alongside, one with the Hudson's Bay Company's flag flying, and Jack, pilot and interpreter, in full uniform of an English officer, came on board. The head chief [Chasquit, or Koh-klux] soon arrived with his wife, (daughter of the great chief of the Stikines) and were received in the cabin, where I had a long "talk" with him. He is a very quarrelsome Indian and tries one's patience exceedingly. Whisky not being given him he was much incensed and said, "If I had no presents, coats, trousers and shirts, why come? Talk without whiskey was nothing: s'pose plenty whiskey and presents, then talk good."
>
> I was well aware of the character of this chief, and knew it was necessary to secure his good opinion and friendship for the Bostons (Americans), otherwise it would be unsafe for any small trader with the flag of the United States to go there.
>
> I felt exceedingly the want of presents for such occasions. I have not, however, asked the department for any,

nor the power to purchase. Whisky I had, but would not give him any, knowing it was the intention of the department to prohibit all traffic in it.

After an hour's talk he was convinced the ship was not a trader. But the great American (Boston) chief sent to talk with him; that presents would be made him, provided he was true to the new flag; also being assured that traders would come at the proper seasons. Presenting him with a handsome and new overcoat – lined with red broadcloth and fully trimmed with braid –tobacco, molasses, and biscuit, an American flag and staff, which was fitted in the bow of his canoe, he departed much better disposed than I had anticipated. Several minor chiefs and friends of his (Chatoquit) were made suitable presents, and all departed at sunset kindly disposed toward their new rulers.

Evidently the Selkirk flag was kept as a commemorative symbol–perhaps an *at.óow* of Koh-klux's clan of Tlingit defiance of white incursions and claims over trade within their territory. Undoubtedly, Koh-klux accepted the American flag in a similar vein rather than as polite recognition of "their new rulers" as Howard suggests. In 1898, a Northwest Mounted Police officer named A.M. Jarvis reported a visit with the son of the Chilkat chief who headed the 1852 "raid," who showed him a flag seized at Fort Selkirk (Cruikshank 1991:87). Emmons (ABT 1904: 403) similarly reported "in the village of Kluckwan one of the principal chiefs preserves as a trophy an English flag, captured at Fort Selkirk…in 1852 when a Chilkat war party captured and destroyed that post of the Hudson's Bay Company." Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of the Selkirk flag are unknown.[3]

It is also significant that Campbell could not get the local Yukon Natives to pursue the Chilkat invaders. They argued quite logically that since Campbell himself no longer had supplies of white men's goods, they might again have to depend on the Chilkat. Given the choice, they apparently preferred Chilkat dominance with trade to no trade at all (McClellan 1975:503-04). And this choice served them well, as Tlingits remained steady trade partners with the Athabaskans until the beginning of the gold rush era. In fact, this was the last major threat to Chilkat-Chilkoot trade dominance until the late 1870s, well into the American era.

Meanwhile, the Chilkats continued their trade largely as before, with extensive exchanges. An 1867 Coast Survey reported "over 2300 martens or Hudson Bay sables" taken by HBC in trade with Chilkats at Pyramid Harbor (ABT 1904:342). By then the old technologies, including bows, arrows, and intricately constructed deadfall traps were quickly being replaced by guns and steel traps, which the Krauses reported were "coming into greater use from year to year" (Krause and Krause1995:88). Some of the most detailed accounts of coastal-interior trade dating to this era come from oral historical accounts. Patsy Henderson, the nephew of Skookum Jim, related the following history of trade:

> My father's father told me about this…about the traders coming in this country. He says that when he was young, the traders came. Just one would come [his trade partner?] And after a while they would go back again. They don't tell other white men. They come back with more stuff. Pretty soon lots of different people come in from outside. Maybe Russians--two or three different people. Then the white men come in. The prices really climbed up-one marten skin for one box of matches. For

a muzzle loader, you stand up silver fox furs as high as the barrel. If you didn't have silver fox, they wouldn't trade. Just high skins—no muskrat or mink were wanted at that time. No tee squirrel market that time either. They heard about people at Fort Selkirk—the H.B.C. came and put up trading posts. It was before me. And after a while, the Indians went trapping. After a while, the Tlingit Indians from Haines [Klukwan], they set fire to the store that was there. The Tlingit were jealous of the store, because all the Indians would go to the store. They pack up from Haines to Champagne and down the river. Lots of them starved going back to Haines. It's a long way. They would come to Tagish too. Lots of them—maybe a hundred. Each man had a pack on his back. They traded out of doors. They spread out things all around them, each man…They would just trade skins…Beaver skin was too heavy for them to pack back to the coast. They would buy marten and lynx. These are easy to pack and not heavy. One marten skin would buy a cheap cloth shirt in my time. Before my time it would cost two marten skins for a shirt.

The same man would come back every year. He would come to his friends. You would keep your furs for your trading partners. He might come after other people come to trade, but you kept your furs for him. The older people still talked Tlingit good then. We are lost like half-blood now…

The Haines Indians did not go to Pelly. We went that way from Tagish. We would pack our store on the back—gun, shells, tobacco—things we could pack on our back. They would pay lots of furs to us for those things. I would get more for them than I paid. I would buy from the coast people when they come in, and then I charge more for the things at Pelly because I had to pack the things there. We got a foot trail. It goes Teslin way and then to Marsh lake. I've been to Pelly Banks and Ross River. Ross River Indians are "Stick Indians." We would trade up there in summer or in the winter with a dog team; then we would not have to pack on the back. The Indians there would be glad to see us. They want to smoke. That time were lots of beaver there…We leave them be. The skin was too heavy.

Daddy, if he got a lot of stuff, he would have three or four packers. He would pay them in furs. His nephews would pack for him. When they have trouble, my daddy looks after them. A man looks after himself now. He doesn't take care of his nephews any more. (McClellan 1975:510-511)

Another account of this era was recorded by Mrs. Annie Ned (Cruikshank 1991:298-301) in a narrative entitled "My Husband's Shagóon:"

> My Husband's father had Coast Indian name—Goonxaktsáy. Coast Indians gave him that one when they came to trade…
>
> Those days one man had one partner. First time Coast Indians trade, they brought in different colored blankets—red blankets, yellow blankets, blue blankets. No duty that time they pack!…
>
> My father-in-law's country, Paddy's father's country, is right here. Steamboat Landing—*Dinchigà*, "driftwood creek." It's just like a bridge there where the driftwood builds up. Two rivers meet there—Lake Arkell River [Takhini River], *Dìnì Chù*, and Mendenhall River *Chènk'ätla Chù*… Long time ago, king salmon used to go up *Chènk'ätla Chù* to Ten Mile Lake, but in my time there were too many beaver and king salmon didn't go through. My father-in-law moved here when he married Paddy Smith's mother. He lived this side [north side] of Mendenhall River, *Chènk'ätla Chù*. After I stayed with my husband, Paddy Smith, we had house other [south] side of the river.
>
> Long time ago, Coast Indians used

to come here — to *Dinchigà* — to trade. This is my father: he stayed here all the time. There's a graveyard up above there…

Before the Coast Indians — before guns — they had a ranch for moose at Lake Arkell. They've got a corral there where they set snares. I never saw caribou snared—that's before my time — but I knew that kind [of snare]. *Everybody* came there—lots of meat, lots of fish. Everybody helped together. Sometimes they go to Klukshu, to get fish…

The corral was down at Lake Arkell, at *Nakhu*, at the narrows…

That narrow place just goes across there. They put fishnet there — that's why they got it there. They made sinew themselves, early days. When Coast Indians came that time they got [sting] fishnet. …

Coast Indians come to this Yukon in April. They would start off from Klukwan. That [Kusawa] River comes down behind that mountain like this, way down to Klukwan. Well, they came up. They walked this way. They pulled things on the ice. They've got a trail from Klukwan, see? Where the river comes down. Glacier there, too, at the head of the lake, on the top of the mountain. Then they come here by Lake Arkell, down this way. Now this time you can't go that way. Only one way now. There's a car trail now.

They don't call it right. Lake Arkell — *Koosawu Aa*, they call it, "long ways lake." At the head of Lake Arkell there's lots of wood where the river comes in. Coast Indians made rafts, not boats. Rafts work better than boats on Lake Arkell: when waves come, boats have to pull out. But when they make rafts, nothing is wrong with them. They take out tree roots, split them, put them in water. Then they twist willows, tie up green trees. Then they tie every log together, tie up, tie up. Then they come on this Takhini River, on rafts. Then they go to Lake Laberge: the [Tlingit] man who trades there stays there; the others go on to Fort Selkirk. That's as far as they go.

I saw one man from Haines [who used to trade here]. His name was Lootáax. He said when he saw smoke fire [on Yukon River], that's the time he used to like. Then he knew people were there. That's the time he's satisfied.

There's another way Coast Indians used to go to Hutshi: they went by Dezadeash Lake, on foot trail [Chilkat Trail]. They made birch toboggan — no nails. It's strong! They tied it up with moose skin; then they came to Aishihik, to Hutshi. People there know Coast Indians are coming when they hear guns. Yukon people have gray silver fox; they use that to buy guns. The buy their outfit— sugar — nobody knows sugar. People start singing, "They're coming now!" Everybody's happy when they hear it! …

From Hutshi they go to Lu Shaw — Fifty-Two Mile — they call that lake…one day's walking. Lots of fish there, whitefish. Then they go to Selkirk. Everbody has got what they bring. At first these Yukon people don't want it…But they learned, they learned Coast Indian talk.

Coast Indians pack their own food when they come. They kill something when they are traveling. They've got one hook for fish, big trout. They don't get stuck. White man gets stuck!

When Coast Indians came, they wanted Yukon woman. White man too, they wanted Indian woman. Without it, they can't survive. Me, I'm Yukon woman!

Coast Indians used rafts, but in Yukon they made moosehide boats…Coast Indians never made it though; they've got no moose; they can't kill moose up there. They just make rafts; they came they came down to Selkirk the long way, and then they walked back.

These accounts are important not only for their specific information on Tlingit-Tagish

trade practices, prices, and routes traveled, but also in affirming the role of the Tagish as intermediaries with the Pelly River Athabaskans. Patsy Henderson's narrative suggests the pattern of trade between these two groups was remarkably similar to the Tlingit-Tagish pattern, with trade partnerships and names, ceremonial exchanges, and demand for European manufacturers, such as beads and calico by the interior-most groups: importantly, however, these trade expeditions included women (McClellan 1975:514-15). The accounts also suggest that the custom of barter as opposed to trade for cash persisted much longer in the Interior, where, as Fanny Smith (interview) recalls, "Everything was traded for fur." Another unit of value among furs was the so-called "made-beaver," a reference to a dressed beaver skin (McClellan 1975: 511).

The period between 1830 and 1880 was perhaps the peak of coastal Tlingit-interior Native trade and intercourse. Demand for furs remained relatively high, and Tlingits made healthy profits from trading furs for coastal Tlingit and European goods. We get further information on prices from the trader Frank Mahoney (1870:20), who recorded the following in 1869-1870 (also Emmons 1991:445; Greer 1995:36).

Depending on how you figure it, Chilkat-Chilkoot profits could be as high as 2,000 percent. As Greer (1995:35-36) points out, however, strictly economic evaluations as "exchange of goods only" misses the fact that interior peoples "had other motives for participating in the trade, and gained other benefits." She suggests "a more balanced approach to assessing the benefits obtained by the parties involved in the trade" that considers sociocultural factors as well.

> ... It is unfair, however to refer to all this as profit, given the work and danger involved in carrying the European trade goods into the interior and packing the furs back to the coast. In fact high profit margins were characteristic of the entire North American fur trade. The American George Davidson estimated

Table 6. Prices for Furs Negotiated by the Tlingit c. 1870

Item	Chilkat-Chilkoot Buying Price from Interior Natives	Chilkat-Chilkoot Selling Price to non-Native traders
Marten	$0.50	$2-3.00
Mink	0.25	0.25-1.50
Lynx	0.20	--
Silver fox	1.25	4.00
Red fox	0.25-0.50	0.75-1.00
Cross fox	0.25-0.50	1.50-2.00
Wolverine	0.37	--
Black bear	0.50-1.50	1.50-3.50
Brown bear	0.50	0.50-2.50
Grizzly bear	0.50-1.50	1.00-3.00
Beaver	0.20-0.40	0.80-1.00 per lb
Land otter	0.50	1.50-$2.00
Hair seal	--	0.08-0.10
Deer hides	--	0.15-0.20

> that the Hudson's Bay Company was making at least 100 percent profit in its fur trading efforts out of Fort Simpson...

Indeed both the Russian-American Company and the HBC found profit margins were not so high when the expenses of running their operations, including gift-giving and ceremonial exchanges, travel and defense costs, and so on, were factored into the balance.

It is important to note that the Tlingit, too, were exploited and cheated in trade. Krause reported 1881-82 prices showing considerably smaller profit margins based on Tlingit sales of fur to a local trader representing the Northwest Trading Company. There were other monopolistic schemes as well.

> The price of goods is fixed by the company in American money as well as the value of furs offered in exchange. However, they are not paid in cash but given tickets of various colors, worth one, one-half, one-fourth, one-eighth dollars, and which can be exchanged for merchandise at any of the company's factories. Since the goods were twenty-five to fifty percent above the prices in Portland or San Francisco, the price actually paid for the furs seemed greater than it really was. It was a common practice on the part of the traders in dealing with the Indians to use substandard weights and measures. An 'Indian' yard had thirty-five inches (instead of thirty-six inches) and an 'Indian' pound had fifteen ounces (instead of sixteen). (Krause 1956:133)

Another key element in the trade after 1830 was alcohol. While the Russians banned alcohol trade, with the blessing of many Tlingit leaders, demand remained high; and American and English traders furnished supplies of the contraband. By 1836 Russian-American Company Board of Directors (ABT:290) were complaining, "The losses suffered by the Russian-American Company, thanks to the violation of the Treaty by the English, are very important both from a material and moral aspect. The sale of gun-powder and rum by the English to the natives, has not only diverted their trade from us to the English ships standing in our straits, but has caused the natives to turn against us and call us oppressors, the opposite of the English who provide them with all they want." Thus, in 1835 the Russians withdrew the privilege of free navigation of their waters by American traders due to the "sale of firearms and spirits to the natives by unscrupulous traders" (ABT 1904:321). The situation only worsened when the Tlingit learned to make their own brew. As Krause notes,

> The Tlingit have a great desire for alcoholic beverages, although they only became acquainted with them through the Europeans. However, in his day Langsdorf says that they refused brandy, supposedly because they were afraid of losing their faculties and falling into the hands of the Russians, but soon afterward alcohol became the most desirable item of trade and the greedy fur traders found that with it they could break down the shrewdness of the Indians in barter. Although later both the Russian and American governments positively prohibited the sale of liquor to the natives, they succeeded in gaining possession of it through bootlegging (smuggling), but the worst situation is that they have learned to prepare an intoxicating drink themselves. A white trader, named Brown, a discharged soldier, who had long manufactured liquor secretly, taught them the art. The distilling apparatus was made of a petroleum can, and either the hollow stem of giant kelp (*Macrocystcis pyrifera* Ag.) or even angular pipes of tin pieced together served as tubes. When the agents of the Northwest Trading Company no longer gave the natives molasses, they used, in addition to sugar,

> potatoes and other products with starchy content for fermentation. The Killisnoo were the first to manufacture this product called "hutschinu," and it was scarcely palatable to a European. It was made not only for private consumption but also for trade. The Chilkat took it as their costliest barter goods to the Interior Athapascans and received valuable furs in return. In Klukwan we found a "still" in almost every house.

Perhaps because it was considered illegal and immoral (at least in Christian terms), McClellan notes that informants often downplayed the alcohol trade. Yet "The Chilkat righteously told the Krauses that they brewed powerful drink only because the poor gunana suffered from an overpowering thirst for it. They had also discovered that their interior trading partners valued one small bottle of 'hooch' far more than a whole load of powder, shot blankets and hardware..." (1975: 504). Krause labeled the results of alcohol consumption "pernicious," leading to "wild passions" and crime. Alcohol was also used as a tool to cheat Indians in trade. General Jefferson Davis observed that, "when not drugged with liquor, the Indian looks out very well for himself in making bargains... [but]...when under its influence he is easily cheated and robbed of all he has" (Emmons 1991:54).

Opening Up the Country and Disciplining the Natives, 1868-1895

Tlingit leaders were both bewildered and insulted by Russia's sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867. A U.S. Treasury Department agent at the time correctly discerned that their "dissatisfaction...did not arise from any special feeling of hostility, but from the fact that it was sold without their consent" (*in* Hinckley 1996:76). The Tlingit position was "that their fathers originally owned all the country, but allowed the Russians to occupy it for mutual benefit in that articles desired by them could be obtained from the Russians in exchange for furs...." But Russia had no right to sell the territory because, save for a portion of Sitka town, they did not control, much less legally own, any of it. From a Tlingit perspective, Russia not only sold a territory it did not legally own, but did so without consulting the owners, and pocketed all the proceeds of the illegal sale. This lack of legitimacy of the transfer of Alaska remains an issue among Tlingit leaders to this day. Alaska's Treaty of Cession itself contained only brief mention of Natives: "The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may, from time to time, adopt in regard to the aboriginal tribes in that country."

As it turned out, Tlingit leaders had good reason to be concerned, for the sale ushered in a new era marked not by "mutual benefit" but increased colonization, domination, and exploitation resulting in severe ecological, political, economic, and cultural stress. Between 1867 and 1877, Alaska was ruled by a military regime that proved ill equipped to deal with these stresses and whose violent and reactionary tendencies greatly exacerbated problems. The military saw itself as keepers of law and order and sometimes even played a constructive role in brokering peace, as in Secretary Seward's and General Davis's successful 1868 effort to forge a compensatory settlement of 36 blankets for the death of three Chilkats at the hands of the Sitka Tlingit in 1868 (ABT 1904:499; Seward 1972 [1896]). Within a few years of its takeover, the military ini-

tiated bombardments against four major Tlingit villages, Kake, Angoon, Wrangell, and Yakutat, typically in response to Tlingit infractions "provoked by the misconduct of the white population" (Bancroft 1960:723). The military also did little to counter, and in some cases abetted, trafficking of liquor among Alaska Natives. Surveying the situation in 1869, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Vincent Colyer (Hinckley 1996:80) called for the military's removal: "A greater mistake could not have been committed than stationing troops in their [Alaska Natives'] midst. They mutually debauch each other, and sink into that degree of degradation in which it is utterly impossible to reach, either through moral or religious influences."

Tlingit territorial encounters with Americans stemmed as far back as 1807, when a Boston brig visited Lynn Canal and 70 Chilkats were reportedly killed in an attempt to "board and loot her" (Seidmore 1899:94). Although they were hospitable in guiding early prospectors and government officials, like Davidson, they remained territorial. When employed as resource guides to help locate sources of gold, they insisted on controlling development and trade and sharing in the profits. As early as 1869, Koh-Klux was leading prospectors to mineral deposits in the Interior. William Henderson wrote to *The Alaska Times* on August 13, 1869, that after a delay to record the solar eclipse at *Khaax'waaltú*, "the chief [Koh-klux] says he will go with us, and appears to be as much interested in the gold, silver, copper or coal as we are. He gives us good encouragement. The Indians are all very friendly with us and have been ever since we got here." Henderson lived for a period with Koh-Klux and noted that the leader was planning a trip to Sitka and San Francisco for trade but "there is but little trade here at present, as there are but few skins." The Chilkats were even carrying the mail for the military government over the passes to the Yukon River. But leading the prospector to minerals was not the same as letting him extract them. When Tlingits saw early prospectors pocketing gold, however, they sometimes became angry. According to another report in *The Alaska Times* (Sept. 25, 1869), Tlingits asked visiting miners, upon their discovery of valuable minerals, if they "intended to build houses," and then threatened violence against them if they did so, stating that they "didn't want the Bostons to live there and they would not let them," and even threatening to cut off the head of the military governor, General Davis. Such reports raised calls for a strong military presence at Chilkat and other resource rich areas.

Non-Native Alaskans and incoming fortune-seekers appreciated the military's big stick in clearing the path for development. At Chilkat-Chilkoot, this meant opening up the trails to the Interior and bringing the unruly Chilkat under U.S. control. As one local paper put it, "There must be government and the strong hand of power to enforce the law, spread civilization and extend our trade and commerce" (Hinckley 1996:80). In addition to the military, the civilizers came in the form of missionaries and schools and the fortune-seekers in the form of commercial fishers, miners, and loggers, who were followed by waves of homesteaders, fox farmers, and other settlers. At first Tlingits tried to deal with these newcomers much as they had dealt with the Russians, doing business as best they could on their own terms. But beginning in the 1870s the local Tlingits'

authority was challenged very directly by the U.S. military regime, and gradually they were overwhelmed.

Of course, the Tlingit were already familiar with American traders, who had plied their waters for nearly a century. The Tlingit had successfully guarded their trade, lands, and waters "by stories of the dangers of the route and by threats of violence" (Beardslee in ABT 1904:377).[4] The United States was to respond in kind. "They are proud and independent in manner, and are said to cherish peculiar hatred to Americans," wrote Colonel Robert Scott (ABT 1904: 353) in 1867. The Tlingit may also have been wary, if not vengeful of the Americans because of the 1807 massacre. Scott warned, "About seventy of their forefathers were killed some sixty years ago by the crew of an American brig, and a desire for revenge is still cherished by them. Small parties of Americans should be very cautious in dealing with these Indians."[5]

Yet the Tlingit were made vulnerable by a combination of factors, including declining fur prices, a measles epidemic, and increased pressure to open their interior trails to whites for mineral prospecting. As early as 1868, a year after the American transfer, the situation in Chilkat was bleak. Captain J.W. White (ABT 1904:471; White1868), commander of the U.S. revenue steamer *Wayanda*, reported arriving at Chilkat on May 12, where he found. "An epidemic of measles had lately visited this people. (This disease we found at Fort Simpson in the spring, and it has since made its way through nearly every tribe up to this place.) In nearly every house we found some who were yet suffering from its effects." He added that "During this season only two small trading vessels have visited this region, and the natives complain that they can not find market for their furs nor obtain goods needed for themselves and for trade with interior Indians. I promised, if possible, on my return to Sitka to induce some trader to visit them with such articles as they required." Agent Morris (1879:39), remarking on changes of the 1870s similarly noted. "The trade with the Chilkat Indians has, until a very few years past been most valuable, they have the riches, most costly, and valuable furs of any tribe in Southeast Alaska. Lately it has not been so much sought after owning to the low price of furs." These stresses might have contributed to an exacerbation of intra-ethnic tensions during this period among and between clans in the various villages (for example ABT 1904: 365-366). Fear of the Chilkat was so strong that even Captain White insisted "that one or two chiefs and a "shawman" (Indian doctor) should remain on board of the ship, in effect as hostages, until his shore parties returned safely" (ABT 1904:475).

Nevertheless, White predicted that, "These people, though independent in manner, when treated properly will be found well disposed and quite docile." But General Davis (ABT 1904:356) was not so sure. In early 1869 he reported,

> The principal chief of the Chilcots has been here for some weeks past with a party on a trading visit. He is a very haughty and imperious man, and has been accustomed to having things his own way, heretofore, wherever he went, both among the whites and Indians. This is his second visit here, during both of which he has been treated with kindness and consideration: but this kind of treatment he seems to have evidently misconstrued into fear or timidity on our part, and became more impertinent from

day to day until New Year's day, when he and a couple of other minor chiefs undertook to disarm the sentinel at the main entrance into the Indian village. They succeeded in wresting the musket from the guard and made off into the village...I confined him and his principal confederates in the affair in the guard-house, where they still remain.

Cholckeka [James Hotch] is known as the most powerful and vindictive chief on the coast here. Knowing his history and power, I have watched him and treated him accordingly. I think I have got him in the right place, and will endeavor to bring him to a proper understanding of the authority of the United States.

Similarly, an editorial in the July 1869 *Alaska Times* complained about the lack of docility among the Chilkat Tlingit who carried on "a very large trading business...chiefly in furs and skins, the market, however, is not accessible to every one. The Indians rule and their fashions are law in that land... At present the Indians govern to suit their own interests" (in Neufeld and Norris 1996:34).

Disciplining the Tlingit to accept U.S. authority was to become the theme of the 1880s. It began with a build up of military and governmental surveillance in the area, a policy that had been recommended by numerous visitors. Special Agent H. H. McIntyre, for example, noted:

> It is a well known fact that with the single exception of a village on the Tchilkat River, there is not one Indian town on the coast that may not be destroyed in a few hours by an armed vessel, and as soon as this has been accomplished by the peculiar nature of the country the natives unable to subsist in the interior are completely at our mercy. (*in* Hinckley 1996:75)[6]

Secretary of the Navy Charles Darling (ABT 1904:361) stated in 1903, "For some years it was the practice to have the naval vessels stationed in Lynn Canal for the preservation of order," and the vessel logs show this in the form of increased arrests. Koh-klux, Daanawáakh , and numerous other prominent Tlingits were jailed or detained during this decade. At the same time, the military presence facilitated penetration of the country. Thus, in 1868 General Davis (ABT 1904: 355) recommended "with the Chilkats to send an exploring party up that river to the Yukon and even down it with perfect safety. This country has never to my knowledge been explored." As a first step toward this campaign to "open up" the country, he noted, "A discharged soldier from this command is now with these tribes some distance up the Chilkat River... an old miner ... the Indians induced ... to go with them into their country and prospect it. They assured me that they would return him here all safe."

The first step toward opening the Chilkoot Pass came around 1874 when prospector George Holt, along with guide Chilkoot Jack and two Indians slaves, crossed the "Chilkat" (probably the Chilkoot) pass to reach Marsh Lake (Dawson 1887-88:179). Holt was likely the first white man to traverse any of the Chilkat-Chilkoot passes and return successfully. How he negotiated passage with the Tlingit is not altogether clear, although it is obvious that he sought permission from Chilkoot Jack (Lukhaax.ádi?) and paid the guide for his services. Apparently he reached as far as Marsh Lake and Teslin River, and upon his return told grand stories about discovering gold. But subsequent prospectors failed to find its source "and Holt was killed by Indians in Alaska before anyone could extract

the information from him" (Friesen 1981: 13). One who was inspired by his "embroidered tales" was George Pilz who led his own expedition to Chilkoot in 1878, but was made to abandon the effort by the "hostile and now vigilant Indians who maintained their hold on the route" (Friesen 1981:13). In 1880, a personal appeal to the Chilkats to allow whites passage made by Captain Vanderbilt of the Favorite also was rejected, the Tlingits "assigning as their reason for so doing the risk of whites interfering with their trade with the Sticks, and also that they did not wish the whites to come to them because they would bring liquor and debauch their women" (Beardslee 1882:63).

Partly in response to the Pilz incident as well as pressure from other prospectors to enter the Chilkat Country, the U.S. Navy, under Captain L.A. Beardslee, moved to intervene. When Edmund Bean in 1879 proposed to lead 19 miners on another expedition the following year (Neufeld and Norris 1996:42). Beardslee held a public meeting and had the miners draw up a letter promising to "behave orderly" and that "no spirituous liquor shall be carried by any of us into the Indian country for the purpose of trade or barter with the Natives." In return for these pledges, Beardslee agreed to provide escort to Chilkat and letters of introduction. Reluctant to use direct force, Beardslee tried a diplomatic approach. To begin with, he capitalized on his personal relationship with Koh-klux whom he had helped to "keep order" in the village, after a "big fight" had erupted the previous fall between the Dakhlaweidí and the Ghaanaxhteidí in which a number on both sides had been killed, "the inciting cause having been a barrel of molasses with which Klotz-kutch had given a pot-a-latch" (Beardslee 1882:60). Koh-klux himself was wounded, receiving a bullet hole in his cheek. Having sent a force of 30 men, including Koh-klux's nephew, Dick, to quell the situation, Beardslee asked in return for an invitation for white miners to be allowed over the interior passes. Receiving this invitation upon the return of his force in February 1880, Beardslee set the stage to test the tenuous agreement. He took nothing for granted, however, and carefully scripted how the formal entry into Chilkat-Chilkoot territory was to take place in a letter to his envoy Lieutenant McClellan.

> Your crew will consist of 13 sailors of this ship, and Indians, Dick and Shukoff. Your boat will be armed with the Gatling gun, and small arms for each person....
>
> On reaching the Chilkhat village, you will allow no one to land until permitted by yourself; and will, through an officer and Indian Dick, arrange with the Chilkhat chiefs for an interview as soon as possible....
>
> At this interview you and such officers as may accompany you will wear uniform and side arms... The nature of this interview will be as follows: Say to them that last fall, when Klotz-Kutch was wounded, I sent with a party of Indians who wished to come and help him, Dick, his nephew, in who both he and I have confidence: I also instructed Sitlsa [sic] Jack and Stickeesh to talk with the Indians and advise them to stop drinking hoo-che-noo and fighting.
>
> That when these men came back, they informed me that the Chilkhat chiefs invited the white men to come among them and prospect their country, and promised them welcome and assistance. This invitation and promise I have given in their name to the miners and now they have come in consequence. Tell them that had they not sent this invitation, these people would not have come, therefore they must treat

> them as guests; and that all the miners have promised me to live peaceable and friendly with the Indians. Act throughout on the assumption that you have no doubt as to their keeping their promise. If, however, it becomes manifest that they will not do so, inform them that you will return and report to the government their failure to keep their word, and that in future, no Chilkhat Indian will be allowed to land at Sitka for trade or other purposes; that I will not give those who are here employment…
>
> …Wishing you a pleasant and profitable trip, and that the results will be the opening of the interior to the whites…

The genius of Beardslee's approach was that it capitalized on Tlingit cultural logic, namely that the white miners in their territory would be there only with their invitation and permission and as their guests. Beardslee also emphasized reciprocity, pointing out how he had aided Koh-klux and now expected return on this investment, and mutual social ties to Koh-klux's nephew, Dick. Also implicit in the agreement was that the miners, in behaving orderly, would not engage in any unauthorized trade with the interior Indians.

This last provision became a sticking point when two miners not party to the original agreement subsequently joined the group and undertook to trade with the "Stick Indians." Koh-klux sent communication to Beardslee that he, "send or come and take these men away, for he was afraid they would be killed." Beardslee again showed great diplomatic skill in arranging a peaceful adjudication of the issue through a personal interview with the accused and with the Chilkat-Chilkoot chiefs. He also helped settle an ongoing war that had erupted more than a year earlier between the Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingit. Avenging the wounds of his uncle, Koh-klux's nephew, Yakekoko had killed the perpetrator, a Chilkoot man named Kootsnatz, thus "creating a riot" and initiating a new round in the "blood feud." Beardslee arranged for peaceful adjudication and a settlement was reached in which Koh-klux was to pay 200 blankets in compensation for the loss of life among the Chilkoot. He ended this tour de force with an exhibition of "the howitzer and Gatling, firing a number of rounds from both; the action of the Gatling, which was mounted on a pivot block aft, so that we could sweep two-thirds of the horizon, was particularly interesting to them, as it taught them what one man could do to a fleet of canoes coming from all directions." His message having been loudly received, Beardslee pronounced his mission a success, having achieved "a treaty of peace and the quelling of a war which had already put a stop to all trade, and had endangered the lives of United States citizens and which might have been prolonged indefinitely" (1882:74). Collector Morris similarly remarked on how effective was the display of the Gatling in "the edification of the Natives." As Hinckley (1996:179) points out, "Patently he believed Alaska's 'dangerous savages' must be regularly intimidated.More recently, Smith (2001: 23) has reflected:

> When you look closely at the muzzle of a Gatling gun, it is not difficult to accept the idea that it was a deadly weapon of intimidation. Just imagine the smoke, volume and velocity of flying lead that ten rotating barrels could deliver in seconds. Think of the sheer havoc a fusillade of bullets could make as they splintered their way through the sides of a wooden canoe. Beginning in 1880, this level of weapon added a new dimension to the meaning of "gunboat." All villages of the original inhabitants accessible by salt water throughout the Alexander Archipelago were to face this

threat.[7]

These events and subsequent successful expeditions by miners quickly established the Chilkoot as the preferred trail for reaching the Yukon goldfields. The route was shorter and provided more opportunities for reprovisioning at fur-trading posts along the Yukon River system. "By 1887 about 250 miners were in upper Yukon and most of them had arrived via the Chilkoot Pass. Not until 1890 did white men first cross the Chilkat Pass, although Krause had almost reached the head of Kusawa under the guidance of Chief Shotritch's son, Jeehtaleh in 1881" (McClellan 1950:190). Following Shotritch's nephew Lunáat', Krause had earlier successfully crossed the Chilkoot, where he met a party of white prospectors who had preceded him (Krause 1981).

The earlier opening of the Chilkoot Trail might also have been a strategic move on the part of Daanawáakh, the Lukhaax.ádi leader, who realized that good profits could be made from the packing trade. But, as Arthur Krause (1981:64) reported, the Chilkoots were cautious and sought to control the opening of the Interior as much as possible.

> Although the Chilkoot Indians welcome the arrival of miners as a good chance to earn money, they, nevertheless, are worried that these might compete in their trade with the Gunana [interior Indians]. Chief Don-e-wak, therefore, sent a letter to the miners, declaring that he and his people alone are entitled to this trade. Should any of the miners need a piece of leather to mend his clothes he should not pay more than 10 cents in tobacco for a piece of tanned reindeer skin. They asked me, too, upon my return whether I had met the Gunana and they were relieved to hear that I brought back from excursions only weeds and a few bird skins but no black fox or beaver. With increasing concern the local Indians hear of reports that white traders are coming higher and higher up the Yukon River. The destruction of Fort Selkirk... by the Chilkats in 1851 can definitely be attributed to the same trading jealousy.[8]

It might be said that the strategy Daanawáakh and his cohorts pursued was in effect an effort to discipline white men, increasingly disrespectful of Tlingit territorial prerogatives, in the practices of Tlingit socioeconomics and trade. This meant honoring their "contracts" and exchange networks with other Natives as well as their responsibility and liability (as hosts and stewards) for those crossing their lands. Tlingit law held that the clan was responsible for people on their lands and could be held liable if they were injured or if their property was stolen, lost, or damaged. Failure to "take care" of one's guests could bring not only shame but also vengeance and demands for compensation. This principal of Tlingit liability still prevailed in the late nineteenth century as evidenced by the blood feuds in Chilkat and elsewhere. In addition to the profit motive, Daanawáakh and Lunáat' also maintained that liability made it imperative that local Tlingit packers carry visitors' loads on the trails. Tlingits simply could not fathom a notion of common property rights that would free them from this liability. Ultimately Tlingits had to be dispossessed of the ideas of communal property and common liability in favor of a common property and individual liability paradigm, a re-education process that took some time (and may yet be unfinished).

Lunáat', often described as the second in command to Daanawáakh (although of a different clan of the opposite moiety), increasingly took responsibility for manag-

ing the trail as Daanawáakh became weaker with age (Appendix A, List of Key Clan Leaders). Although the trails were now open, additional issues arose over prices for packing and other access. Again the U.S. government intervened to discipline the Natives. Lieutenant Nichols wrote to Daanawáakh and Lunáat' in 1885 warning, "This country is free to all white men to go through in the pursuit of their business... If any of the white men desire to do their own packing they must not be interfered with...and the white chief who governs the whole country is very angry with you for this ill treatment of peaceable people passing through your country." Two years prior, in 1883, E.C. Merriman (ABT 1904:429), Commander of the U.S.S. Adams, wrote a letter of reference for Daanawáakh, expressing that he had been disciplined for charging high royalties to whites and would not do so. The letter read in part that previously, Daanawáakh had "charged a royalty of $15 for allowing white men to pass through his country," but, "After talking to him he promises never to do so again. He appears to be anxious now to be recognized as an especial friend of the whites. I would advise white men to listen to him, as he has much influence among his people. I have given him a "talking to," and he expresses a great desire to be looked upon as the protector of the whites living in or passing through this country." Despite its dubious contents, the leader often proudly displayed the letter to visitors as proof of his legitimacy and standing with the U.S. government. Krause (1956: 116) remarked on this tendency:

> He [the Tlingit] puts great value on letters of recommendation of such whites as are in his opinion in high and influential positions. Such letters are carefully put away and on occasion shown to strangers to impress them with the importance of the owner. Frankly sometimes the contents of the letters are not such as to help give the desired impression. Among the documents of chief Don-e-wak, which in good Tlingit tradition he did not bring forth until the second or third day, there was a statement that he owed a certain firm so and so many dollars for tobacco; another mentioned his weakness for making love to white women.

The quest of Tlingit leaders for legitimacy and recognition in the eyes of whites ultimately played into the hands of the disciplining forces of the American military and civil establishment. Key leaders within the Native ranks were co-opted as a local police force and as representative of the "Great Chief" from Washington. Once co-opted, they became easier to control with "carrots" of prestige and perks and "sticks" consisting of disciplinary measures or threats to withdraw support.

At the same time, as demand for packers increased with the opening of the Chilkoot, local packers were naturally in a good position to prosper. Successful packers could earn as much as six to eight thousand dollars per year, a large sum in the nineteenth century. Even rugged individualist prospectors, anxious to get to the gold but unfamiliar with the terrain and saddled with outfits averaging some 400 pounds, were easily persuaded to hire the Tlingits (Neufeld and Norris 1996:44). The Natives' position was enhanced not only by the simple laws of supply and demand and their territorial and trade rights claims, but also by their unparalleled skills as packers and local knowledge as guides. Even seasoned military men and explorers, such as Frederick Schwatka (1888: 13, 23-24), who at first shuddered at hir-

ing Chilkoot packers who would "take no less than $9-12 per 100 lbs" and yielded no bulk discount for his large party and load of roughly two tons, quickly came to admire their packing prowess.

> The amount some of these packers carry seems marvelous and makes estimates for pack mules or trains therefore seem superfluous. Their only packing gear is a couple of bands, one passing over the forehead, where it is flattened out into a broad strip, and the other over the arms and across the breast, the two meet behind on a level with the shoulder, and are there attached to lashings more or less intricate, according to the nature of the material to be transported. If a box or stiff bag, the breast band is so arranged in regard to length that when the elbow is placed against it (the box) the strip fits tightly over the extended forearm across the palm of the hand bent backwards. The head-band is then the width of the hand beyond this. At least I saw a few Indians arranging their packs and their harness according to this mode. The harness proper will not weigh over a pound, and the lashing according to its length. The strip across the head and breast is of untanned deer skin about 2 inches wide, with holes or slits in the ends protected from tearing out by spindles or bone or ivory.

Indeed, Tlingits were trained from an early age to engage in the rugged physical tasks involved in packing. Parties often consisted not only of men, but also women, children, slaves (at least through the 1870s) and dogs (increasingly after the demise of slavery) (figure 10). Frederick Funston (1896:2-3) reported that his expedition "divided our goods into seven packs and engaged five men and two women to carry these loads to the summit of the pass....The Indians supported the loads on their backs by the aid of deerskin bands, passing across the forehead. Several children carried on their backs light loads, consisting of food and cooking utensils for the use of the Indians, while two of the dogs also wore packs." Pack loads varied from 36 to 137 pounds, with boys carrying the lighter loads and men the heavier, according to Schwatka. J.B. Moore (in Greer 1995:50) recorded, "Native women and their young daughters and sons from ten years of age were also packing from fifty to seventy–five and one hundred pounds on their backs for miners, earning from ten to twenty dollars per day." Ogilvie (1913:132-134), the Canadian surveyor, made the crossing with the legendary Tagish-Tlingit packer Jim Mason (Keish, "Lone Wolf" [Johnson 2001:160]) and dubbed him "Skookum (the Chinook term for strong) Jim" for his feat of carrying 156 pounds of bacon over the pass in a single trip. He noted, "This might be considered a load anywhere on any roads, but over the stony moraine of a glacier, as the first half of the distance is, and then up a steep pass, climbing more than 3000 feet in six or seven miles, some of it so steep that the hands have to be used to assist one up, certainly is a stiff test of strength and endurance." Perhaps the highest claim for a Native packload was made by a very experienced witness, John Healy, the co-founder of the Healy and Wilson trading post at Dyea, who credits men with carrying up to 225 pounds and "whip[ping] the whole business over in two camps, camping the day at Sheep Camp" (Healy 1929:115; Greer 1995:50). Years later Berton (1985:244-245), without citing a primary source, recorded, "An Indian packer managed to reach the summit with a three-hundred-and-fifty-pound barrel on his back," and also, "A Swede named Anderson and a Siwash Indian called Jumbo each made



Figure 10. Barefoot Tlingit boy packer at Dyea (Courtesy of KLGO)

one trip from the Scales to the summit on a bet with a staggering three hundred pounds. They returned in a dead heat, whereupon the Swede immediately hoisted a second three hundred pounds on his shoulders. The Indian stared at him in dismay and retired from the contest."

In addition to supporting tremendous packloads, Tlingit impressed their clients in other ways. Funston (1896:2-3) remarked on the Chilkoots' mountaineering skills:

> At the Scales 'As soon as the Indians ascertained that the crust of the snow was hard and unyielding they divided the packs, leaving nearly half of their loads at the foot of the ascent....The two women who had accompanied us thus far now returned to Sheep Camp, and one of the men, producing a strong plaited line of rawhide, about one hundred feet long, which he had brought with him, passed it under every man's belt, lashing the nine of us together about 10 feet apart. The man at the head of the line carried in his hands one of our hatchets, and as we advanced cut footholds in the ice and hard-packed snow.' They proceeded to 'zig-zag' up the pass, arriving 6.5 hours after leaving Sheep Camp. After a half hour's rest the Indians returned for the remaining packs and arrived up the pre-cut path two hours later.

Schwatka (1885:18) observed, "The stunted branches of trailing vines and their roots, and even on their hands and knees, were often used in the steepest ascents. Many of them had rough alpenstocks cut in the Dayay [Taiya] Valley with which they steadied themselves in bad places, and on the snow covering the mountain sides trails were made by advance parties arranging footholds inclining inwards before essaying them with their packs." In addition, he

> noticed that day [June 11, 1883] that the Indians in following a trail on snow

> up hill, or on a level, or even a slight descent always follow in one another's tracks as much as possible, so that my large packing train made a trail that could easily be accounted for by supposing that only five or six Indians had passed over it. When going down a steep descent, however, each one makes his own separate and distinct trail, and they scatter out over many yards. I thought this worth recording in estimating their numbers under such circumstances. (1885:20)

Tlingits were also experts in guiding canoes upstream and in constructing raft and skin boats for use in the Interior. Miner Ed Lung (*in* Spude 1980:61) in 1897 admired the canoe handling skills of Joe Whiskers, an uncle of the late Lukhaax.ádi leader Austin Hammond (who also carried the name Daanawáakh):

> The next morning, much to the surprise of all the stampeders, Indian Joe Whiskers brought his canoe around in front of our camp and helped us pack our supplies. Then we started up the rushing Taiya River. As the canyon narrowed down and the water became swifter, the Indian and Stacey got out and walked along the bank, pulling with long ropes, while I stood up in the canoe and pushed and guided the craft with a long pole. The Indian wore a curious harness around his head and shoulders called a "tump line." With this contraption, he pulled with great strength.
>
> Halfway up the canyon, we passed several men who had been deserted by the Indian packers. They certainly were in bad straits!

Tlingits were well aware of the value of their knowledge and skills and made efforts to safeguard it when appropriate. For example, while at Dyea, Ogilvie (1897) heard about another pass [White Pass] to the headwaters of the Lewes River and wanted to send Captain Moore to explore it. However, he could extract little information from the Natives: "None of the Chilkats appeared to know anything of the pass, and I concluded that they wished to keep its existence and condition a secret. The Tagish, or Stick Indians...are afraid to do anything in opposition to the wishes of the Chilkoots, so it was difficult to get any of them to join Capt. Moore." Billie Moore (Captain Moore's son) was able to secure only the most cursory details about the White Pass from Skookum Jim, whom he first met in 1886, and who described to him "a longer route through the mountains but not so high a pass to cross.... [but] would not provide...any further information, protesting that a great evil would befall him if he said any more" (Minter 1987:21).

The problem of desertion or abandonment by packers, mentioned in Lung's account, is a recurrent theme in the literature. It is another source of cross-cultural misunderstanding. Tlingit packers deserted Ogilvie at the summit of the Chilkoot Pass, and he and his men struggled mightily to move their goods even a short distance to Lake Lindeman, with members suffering snow blindness and other ill-effects (another secret of the Tlingit and Tagish was to put a mixture of soot and grease, called *katwat*, on their faces to reduce sunburn and glare) (Greer 1995: 50). There, he had a hard time convincing the Tagish packers to take him onward, due to their fear of reprisals from the Tlingit. Fortunately for his party, Ogilvie was able to prevail upon George Carmack—the white soon-to-be co-discoverer of Klondike Gold, who had married a Tagish woman (Kate) and thus gained influence among them—to procure their packing services for the remaining supplies at $5 per 100 pounds, approximately half of the coastal Tlingit rate. Though this

price rated very high on the interior scale, the would-be packers still balked until

> After considerable ridicule of their cowardice, and explanation of the fact that they had the exclusive right to all working in their own country, the country on the north side of the coast range admitted by the coast Indians to belong to the Tagish tribe just as the coast tribes had the privilege of doing all the work on the coast side of the mountains, and that one of their number was already working with me unmolested, and likely to continue to do so, nine of them came over, and in fear and trembling began to pack down to the lake.

While whites typically considered such actions as examples of the Indians' dishonesty, failure to abide by contracts, laziness, cowardice, fraudulent and deceitful tendencies, Tlingits had their own reasons for discharging their obligations. As noted above, in Tlingit a contract for goods or services was a "living" exchange that was subject to renegotiation, depending upon certain conditions, such as weather, illness, treatment by their clients, and so on. While packers could clearly be exploitative, especially in a "packers' market," just as whites were in a "buyers' market," in other situations the impetus for desertion or abandonment was more likely cross-cultural miscommunication about the terms or the very nature of contracts.

At the same time, there are stories of incredible loyalty on the part of Native guides and feats above and beyond the terms of any contract. Such was the case with Tom Williams' Chilkoot guide ("Indian Bob"), who led Williams on a dangerous trip over the pass to Dyea in the winter of 1886 to secure much needed supplies and relay the message that gold had been discovered in the Interior. Severe conditions led to hunger, hypothermia, and exhaustion, as well as the death of their dogs. Williams collapsed just over the pass and would have died if his guide had not carried him on his back down the steep slopes of the summit to tree line, where a sled was secured from some prospectors and used to drag Williams the rest of the way to Healy & Wilson's trading post. Unfortunately, Williams died after two days, never recovering enough to explain why he had made the trip. But his Indian guide effectively relayed the message by reaching into a sack of Healy's beans and flinging a handful to the floor: "Gold," he said. "All same like this!" (Berton 1958:16-17).

Conflicts over contracts became the focus of another important event, the Bishop Seghers affair. Reportedly the bishop was assaulted by a Tlingit chief (likely Lunáat'), and the incident prompted Governor of Alaska, A.P. Swineford, to take disciplinary action against the Chilkoot Tlingit. Billie Moore witnessed the incident at Dyea in 1886.

> ...Jack Wade, John Burke, and a man called Joe, came in from Haines Mission, which was a short distance below and across the bay, in a canoe. They had gone over there to make arrangements with the natives to pack their outfits over the summit. When the natives arrived, they held a pow-wow, and decided that ten dollars a pack, they had contracted for, was not enough. They insisted on getting thirteen dollars a pack. After talking the matter over with all the men in camp, Wade told the natives that ten dollars was the price agreed upon. "Take it or leave it!" Being told this the natives took to their canoes and went back home.
>
> Two days later they returned. Bishop Seghers, Father Tosi, and Father Robaut, also arrived. Returning home,

> the native(s) had told the bishop, they had decided to come back and carry out their original agreement, but after their arrival, they again refused to pack for less than thirteen dollars.
>
> Quite an argument ensued. The chief then showed a large document, with red and green seals conspicuously displayed, that had been given him by Captain Nichols of the United States steamship Pinta, proclaiming him to be a good and reliable native. Thereupon the bishop told the chief, that he would tell Captain Nichols, that the chief was not a good man, "that he told lies!"
>
> The chief became very angry. Approaching the bishop, he chucked him lightly under the nose. At this, Wade, and the other white men got their rifles and pistols. Healy called Moore over to the store and told him to tell the white men, not to let the natives surround them, as he expected there would be trouble. He said, "Have those that have no firearms come here and get some." There were one hundred and eight natives and only eleven white men present. All of the natives had knives, three had rifles, and there were a number of pistols among them. After much loud talk, the natives all went off some distance and sat down on the ground. Moore and all the white men repaired to Healy's store, with the exception of two, who remained outside on guard. After about two hours and much palavering among the natives, the chief came over to the store and told the white men that they would transfer the packs over the summit for twelve dollars per pack. This price was accepted. (Chase 1947:103-104)

However, this was not the end of the matter, as the bishop reported his mistreatment to Governor Swineford, who, in turn, made a personal visit to Chilkoot to arrest (with the help of Deputy Marshal Healy) and further discipline the chief. According to the governor, when questioned, the Chilkoot leader

> ...did not deny having had trouble with the archbishop, whom I personally know to be a most genial, kind-hearted gentleman, while he boldly asserted the right to exact payment for the privilege of passing through the country he claimed as belonging to him and his people. I therefore, after explaining to him the reason, ordered him to be placed under arrest, and knowing the disposition to suicide of these natives under such circumstances, had him so secured as to prevent him from doing himself a personal injury. I then went on shore and had a "talk" with his people, to whom I explained the intentions of the Government concerning them, assured them of my desire to deal justly and honestly with them but warned them that they must abandon their pretensions of right to collect toll from white men passing through the country inhabited by but not belonging to them in a political sense, and received from them a promise of future good behavior...I concluded to bring the prisoner on to Sitka, though perfectly well aware that there would be no evidence here upon which to hold him for trial. (ABT 1904:483)

Nevertheless, *The Alaskan* (8/14/86) applauded the governor for his swift efforts to ensure that the Indians "behave properly," reasoning that his action "was expedient and therefore right... The protection of whites from Indian aggression is far more important than any sentimental reverence of the red man's peculiar privileges."

By this time, non-local Native packers were already at work on the trail. On June 5, 1886 *The Alaskan* reported that 93 miners had gone over the Chilkoot divide and more were landing below Dyea at Haines, courtesy of the *Ancon*.

> Many of these men, as we learn by letter, get to the Chilcaht [Chilkoot Pass] 'dead broke,' and have to do their own packing of goods over the divide to the

lakes which are the head waters of the river. This requires at least five trips, and it is evident many are coming who have no idea of the country or of the work before them. The Indians have already reaped quite a harvest of silver (not golden – they will not touch it), from their packing – it is thought about $3000, up to the date given; children and dogs are utilized in the business. The numbers who have already gone over the Yukon will establish quite a large trade at the head of Lynn Channel, and a brisk business has set in between there and Juneau. It is probable that at least one of the monthly steamers may go in to the Chilcaht each month. Owing to the amount of snow the packing has been very hard work. The autocratic Chilcahts would have been glad to see the Auks and Takus come in and help them; they were completely "used up" at one time. The Indians keep pace with the refinements of modern civilization, and have learned to "boycott." They tried it very decidedly on a miner who had made himself obnoxious by his too much jawing, and he had to struggle in alone, much against his will. There are about 200 packers at the camp – 60 Chilcoots, 40 Chilkeahts, 13 Sticks, 2 Auks, and about 80 women and children.

This report suggests that Chilkoot Pass packing operations had become integrated, with non-local coastal Tlingit and Inland ("Stick") Tlingit and Tagish packers (Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingits were already highly integrated), apparently due to the high demand, which exceeded the local labor supply. But the Chilkoot packers were still firmly in control, the other groups having secured packing rights only with their permission.

Their control over the trail would be further challenged and eventually broken in the years to come.

Increased Demand, Competition, and the Packer War of 1888

The Packer War of 1888 marked a turning point in the "opening up" of Chilkoot country. The conflict, between local Chilkoot owners of the trail and non-local Tlingits seeking to pack over it, served to loosen the Chilkat-Chilkoot grip over the passes another notch and ultimately paved the way for non-locals to pack over the trail. At the same time, the heretofore carefully guarded Native reservoir of knowledge about alternative trails to the Yukon had begun to be tapped by Captain William Moore, who, under the auspices of the 1887 Ogilvie expedition and with the expert guidance of Skookum Jim, began to explore the potential of *Sha Shakee* (what would become the White Pass) to support a rail or wagon road into the Interior.

A key structural factor in promoting the conflict was the rising demand for packers as miners became increasingly aware of the Chilkoot as a favorable route to the goldfields. Both the frequency and size of these parties increased. Ogilvie's expedition, for example, was a major undertaking, requiring intense negotiations for the services of 120 Indian packers, including men, women, and children. Ogilvie speculated that if he had not had back-up support from U.S. Commander Newell, anchored in the inlet nearby, that things might very well have reached an impasse or otherwise gotten out of hand. As Greer (1995:54) points out, "The massive increase in the packing business seems to have brought the issues of land-use rights to the fore. In 1883 Careross-Tagish people were among those who packed goods from Dyea to Bennett for the explorer Frederick Schwatka. But by 1887, when Ogilvie's

expedition went through, the Carcross-Tagish people only got the contract to pack from the summit to Bennett." This division of labor with the interior Indians probably arose as a result of Tlingit desires to shorten the labor time required to transport goods to the Yukon headwaters so that they might return to Dyea to service more clients, who were reaching the shores of Dyea in ever greater numbers. In 1886 alone, more than 200 miners went over the pass.

Such an expanding and lucrative market naturally inspired competition. Thus a second key factor was rising competition for both outfitting and packing rights. In 1886 five independent trading posts sprouted in the Dyea and greater Chilkoot area to supply the seasonal rush of miners with their needs (Neufeld and Norris 1996:44). The most important of these was the Healy and Wilson trading post, established at Dyea in 1884, which transformed Dyea from a seasonal Chilkoot Tlingit settlement into a more permanent and multiethnic community and, more importantly, the central staging area for Chilkoot Pass expeditions. Though fearful of the Tlingit, the interior Indians' desire to trade was strong; and they were drawn to the coastal trading post. But the consequences for traders and tradees alike could be severe if they were discovered. Carrie M. Willard (1995:87), wife of the Presbyterian missionary Rev. Eugene Willard, reported that in 1882 her husband had purchased a squirrel robe from a "Stick" Indian in Haines "for the same price that he would pay either a Chilkat or the [white] trader." Lunáat' was outraged: "He charged us with having robbed the Chilkats, for, said he, 'The Sticks are our money. We and our fathers before us have gotten rich from them. Now you have taken away our riches.'" Similarly, Mrs. Willard's daughter, Mrs. Kotzie Huntly, later wrote that when a five member group of white prospectors (including the "Day boys") sought to use the pass to the Interior without hiring packers, "...right in front of Haines House, Father and Mother barely prevented a real massacre....The Chilcats [through Lunaat'] said, 'No! You pay when you go into King George country—you pay us. Besides the Tananas are our slaves!'" (Auldridge 1959).

As a consequence of these pressures, the Chilkoots found it increasingly difficult to maintain their packing monopoly; they were no longer able to keep up with demand, even with the extension of limited packing rights to their interior trade partners and relatives. As Captain Henry Nichols (ABT 1904) observed,

> There are not Indians enough here now to pack in over twenty five men at a time, as the average is not less than six packs per man; of the present packers, nearly one half are interior or "Stick" Indians, many Chilcoots being out fishing or in the interior on their regular trading trips. Heretofore the Chilcoots have jealously guarded their hereditary privilege of packing and trading over the Shasheki [Chilkoot] pass, not even allowing the Stick Indians to come out. With the small number of miners and others who have gone in they have been able to do this very satisfactorily, but with the sudden and unexpected increase they find themselves unequal to the task: I think too that they recognize the fact that the white man has come and submitting to the inevitable they are perfectly willing that all others shall come in and help and that this business shall be as free to all as is Juneau. It is expected that the Kakes and Auks will come up with the rest expected by the next Steamer.

Itching to get to the goldfields for the short

mining season, gold seekers were angered by the delays and had little understanding or sympathy for Tlingit resource claims. "Backed by the vocal Juneau press, they began to work towards gaining control of transportation into the Yukon" (Neufeld and Norris 1996:46).

With Gatling guns once again employed for emphasis, *U.S.S. Pinta* Commander Nichols and Lieutenant Commander H.M. Dombaugh (ABT 1904:400) had ordered the Chilkoots to stop charging tolls in 1886. *The Alaska Free Press* (5/14/87) fingered Lunáat' as the

> one that makes the demand for toll, and all the miners pay rather than having trouble with the Indians, as this tribe is the strongest one in Alaska. Over 200 men have went in this spring, and combined they have paid one, dirty thieving, Indian about $300 for the privilege of traveling about thirty miles through the woods of Uncle Sam's domain...If there is a class of men in Alaska who need the protection of the government, it is the miners, for it is they who go to the front and cut the first tree and roll the first stone out of the way.

A separate article in the same edition (p. 3) complained, "It is certainly time that those Chilkats were taught that Alaska is not governed by Indians. We don't find fault with our civil officers, but ...We would like to know what all this Indian Police is for, if not to prevent the Indians from committing crime among themselves, and from being a constant source of annoyance to the whites."

To these arguments Lunáat' responded, "We make our trail for our own use, if others wish to use it should they not compensate us for our labor? The white man builds a wharf and all who lands goods over must pay." The Chilkoot leader decided to seek clarification of his people's rights over their traditional lands from the U.S. government, making the following formal statement.

> I. Claanot, Chief of the of the Chilkoot tribe, make the following statement.
>
> Mr. Haley [Healy] wishes to take away our road or trail to the Yukon which my tribe does not like—as we made it long ago and it has always been in my tribe.
>
> We fixed the road good so that the miners would not get hurt—and Mr. Haley is putting sticks or logs on it, so he can get pay for people going in over our trail and we do not want to see that.
>
> When the miners come here I talk kindly to them but some of them begin to swear, and then they say I began the quarrel.
>
> I always treat the miners kindly and when they do their own packing I tell them that they had better let the Indians do their packing so the miners will not hurt themselves on the trail—and some of the miners tell me that it is not my business, which hurts my feelings.
>
> When the miners treat me right, I will and do treat them as my children.
>
> [goes on to detail his fair treatment and whites' mistreatment and lack of respect for Indian trail rights]
>
> When the miners go in I would like them to arrange with me instead of the other men of my tribe so as to save time and misunderstanding-as the Indians come to me anyhow as Chief.
>
> My tribe claims the Winter trail over by the River Schkat-Quay. We have three trails to the Yukon, and we claim all of them...
>
> I have no objections to Stick [interior], Chilcat, or any other Indian or white persons packing over our trails but I and my tribe do object to Haley or any other person claiming our trails and monopolizing the packing.
>
> I ask ($10.00) ten dollars for a half pack to pay me for my general supervision and responsibility of the packing, as

> I feel myself bound to see every man and pack through safe. I have never asked or demanded toll from any person and do not do so.[6]

Lieutenant Emmons, in a letter to *The Alaskan*, showed unusually strong support for the Chilkoots' case. "No one can well deny that in point of justice their claim is well founded," he argued, "but law and justice are not synonymous in dealings with the Native." Emmons, in contrast, believed the Chilkat-Chilkoot Natives were justly entitled to exclusive packing rights at their going rates based upon the fact that it was their land; that they maintained the trade trails under Tlingit law and assumed liability for those who used them; and that they had to labor mightily and skillfully in transporting heavy loads over the forbidding passes. He further criticized the prospectors for having had "a very indefinite idea of the exact meaning of the term "exorbitant" since "$12 to $13 was a miserable equivalent for the packing of a hundred pounds" up the steep slopes. Going a step further, Emmons predicted that "as soon as these people learn the true relation existing between labor and money their demand will be still more exorbitant." Despite the government and military's disciplining efforts, scenarios like the Bishop Segher affair continued to occur, though usually without violence, and miners continued to clamor for intervention against the Tlingits.

In setting up his trading post at Dyea, Healy sought to challenge the Chilkat monopoly directly. Realizing, "At present the only practical relief [from the Chilkat monopoly] is for some enterprising party to construct a pack-trail through the Chilcat [Chilkoot] Pass, place pack-animals upon it, and set the Indians at defiance" (Hunt 1993: 113), he and his partner Edgar L. Wilson became that enterprising party. At first they earned commissions by arranging for prospectors to hire Indian packers. But then Healy went beyond brokering and outfitting prospective miners and started making improvements on the trail with an eye toward realizing his dream of a pack-horse trail. The Indians became concerned about the competition and feared that Healy was trying to take over their trade with the Athabaskans and their packing trail. Lunáat' complained bitterly to the Captain of the *U.S.S. Pinta*, J.S. Newell: "[W]e used to get all the furs from the Stick Indians, but they now trade with Mr. [Healy], which ought to satisfy him without taking our trail." Another concern of Lunáat's was that the loss of revenue from packing and trading was going to put the Chilkoot further in debt to Healy: "My tribe borrowed lots of money from [Healy] and were going to make money by packing to repay Mr. [Healy]" [ABT 1904:394]. But Healy was undeterred; extending his business further, Healy commenced contracting for packers among the interior Athabaskans and other non-local Indians. He aided the Ogilvie party in their effort to contract with the "Stick" packers at the Chilkoot Summit in 1887, despite the latter's fear of reprisals from the Chilkoots.

Meanwhile Lunáat' received a less than definitive answer from the government regarding his claims over the trail vis-à-vis Healy. District Attorney Whitaker M. Grant (ABT 1904:396) wrote,

> As I understand the question, these people [the Chilkoot] do not claim the right to exact toll, but having built this trail at their own expense and in keeping it in repair they do not claim the right exclusively to do all the packing for hire done for other[s] passing over said trail. They claim to have built the trail and to

> have been exercising this right over it for a long time. If the trail was before impassable and has been made so [passable?] by their work...and was first used by them, then they are entitled, in my opinion, to protection in that right until Congress sees fit to act in the matter. I do not believe they have acquired such right as to prevent others passing or doing their own packing over said trail, and this should be explained to them. This trail as I understand was built by them for their own use in carrying on their trade with the natives on the Yukon. It certainly is not just or equitable that others should now avail themselves of the work and expense of these people for the purpose of making money out of it. If this is not one of the rights reserved to them by the Organic Act [of 1884] I don't know what it would include. Their right is somewhat in the nature of an easement acquired by discovery and prescription and protected by the Organic Act and section 1839. As to how they can enforce their right might become a troublesome question.

This verdict did not settle very much, although it may have convinced Healy to abandon his desire to open a toll road. Nevertheless, by 1888 Healy and his partner were operating a pack train of horses to move goods from Dyea to Sheep Camp at a rate of one cent per pound (or $1 per hundred pounds), while Tlingits were reduced to packing from Sheep Camp to the summit.

Finally, in the spring of 1888 Healy went all the way in his efforts to supplant the Chilkoot packing cartel by hiring Tlingits from Sitka to pack a party of miners over the entire pass. It is not clear what brought the Sitkans in the first place, but one source (*Juneau Empire*, June 2, 1977) claims the Sitka Kiks.ádi chief Katlean "decided he might be missing out on a good thing and sent a number of his men under his second-in-command, Chief Jack, to Dyea to get in on the lucrative packing business. Chief George Shotridge (Koh-klux, Ghaanaxhteidí Raven clan), who had replaced his illustrious uncle as the head Chief of the Chilkats, strongly objected to this intrusion and sent his second-in-command, Chief Klanott (Lunaat', Lukaaxh.ádi Raven clan) (figure 11) to Dyea on June 4, 1888." When the Sitka crew of packers arrived for duty, the Chilkoot were waiting. They demanded that the Sitkans either withdraw or pay the Chilkoots 30 percent of their wages for use of the trail. As eyewitness J.B. Moore (1968:105-107) recounts:

> ...we were informed that there had been a big fight near Healy's Post between several members of the Sitka Tribe and the Chilkats [Chilkoots]. And while we were lying there, an Indian named Kosko [Kasko?], who had been shot in the leg, was brought out in a canoe and placed aboard the *Lucy* to be taken to Juneau later....
>
> Quite a number of Indians from Sitka had come to Dyea to pack there for miners going in over that route. This was strongly resented by the Chilkat [Chilkoot] tribe, as the natives of Haines and Dyea are called, and the second chief of the Chilkats [Chilkoots], named Kla-naut, about thirty-eight years old, demanded that the Sitka Indians should either desist from infringing on his people's rights there, or pay him thirty percent on all goods packed by the Sitka Indians over the [Chilkoot Pass] summit to Lake Linderman. This would amount to four dollars and fifty cents on every hundred pounds for the miners were paying fifteen dollars per hundredweight from Dyea to the lake.
>
> This the Sitka chief absolutely refused to do, and put Chief Kla-naut of the Chilkats at defiance, and ordered



Figure 11. Mrs. Louise George Davis, 1882-1972, daughter of Lunáat' (Klanot) and grandmother of Hank and Larry Jacquot. Mrs. Davis was among the first to express concern over the erosion of Indian graves at Dyea, including that of Lunáat', who was said to have been buried near the banks of the Taiya River after his death in the 1888 Packer War. (Courtesy Hank Jacquot)

his own men to proceed to strap on their packs. Sitka Jack's son was also there with his father, a boy about sixteen years old, and was about to strap on a hundred pound pack, when Kla-naut went up to the boy and slapped him in the face.

At this time there were about one hundred Indians (men), all told, assembled a few hundred feet above Healy's store and dwelling, which adjoined.

Sitka Jack, on seeing Kla-naut strike his son, jumped up and made a run at Kla-naut, and a fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued between these two. Both were wounded by each other's knives. When separated, the Sitka chief was escorted and half-carried to a little house nearby and placed in the attic, and a guard of several of his followers was stationed around and near the cabin.

Chief Jack lay up there in the attic all night (this was on June 4th). He was attended by several of his men and women who did all they could for him in helping to staunch the blood from his wounds, and kept him posted continually on what was going on outside.

Chief Kla-naut was also wounded

severely, but not as badly as Chief Jack. There was a great to-do all night long, and many fights between members of these two tribes took place. Later toward morning, it was decided by the majority on each side to have the matter settled by both sides, forming in line with their respective chiefs at the head, and force the issue by fighting it out.

The news of this proposition was carried to Jack and Kla-naut, and a few hours later Chief Jack and Chief Kla-naut appeared at the head of their respective followers in front of Healy's post, a hewn log structure about twenty-five feet by forty feet wide and two stories high. Each one of the chiefs was painted up with his war paint and otherwise decorated, and they advanced toward each other with drawn knives, followed by their men, some of whom had rifles, besides their knives.

A fierce battle took place. Many were severely wounded, and several killed on both sides. The Sitka forces were considerably less in number than the Chilkats.

While the fight was in progress, the two chiefs, Kla-naut and Sitka Jack, closed with each other in a desperate struggle, slashing at each other with their knives, and the blood from their previous wounds started out again from under their bandages.

Capt. Healy, Mrs. Healy, Mr. Wilson, a sailor, and a young man called White and his wife were in the store. Healy stood near the front entrance and the rest of them at the rear of the store, when it appeared that the Sitka chief was getting the best of the fight. The rest of the Indians, at this time, had for some reason or other let up in their fighting — no doubt they were too interested in the outcome of the fight between their chiefs, for those two were off to one side, more to themselves.

All at once Kla-naut staggered, and made a rush to enter the store but did not succeed in gaining entrance, for Chief Jack's forces demanded of Healy that Kla-naut should not be given protection in the store and threatened to burn down his post and buildings if he sheltered Kla-naut in the post, so Healy gave up Kla-naut.

Then the two chiefs went at each other again, both losing blood freely now, but bent on getting the other's life. All at once, Chief Jack dealt Kla-naut a finishing blow over the head with the butt-end of a rifle that one of his men handed him, braining Kla-naut, who fell to the ground. A second later Chief Kla-naut's son, a youngster about seventeen years old, slipped behind Chief Jack and drove a knife into his vitals to the hilt.

Both chiefs were carried off to nearby shacks by their respective followers and died there a short time afterward. Then there was a great to-do: neither side had a chief or leader.

Additional details of the conflict come from a version handed down by Bill Matthews, the "Mayor of Dyea," who was a nephew of Lumáat':

> Bill was the watchman on the wharf where I worked as a teenager, and he loved to talk about the days when he would put 200 pounds of supplies on his back and climb the trail, and he loved to talk of the days before the stampede. He often told of the death of his uncle, Chief Klanott, which he observed as a small boy of 8. Chief Shotridge of the Chilkats controlled the Chilkoot Pass and from the time in 1880 when he allowed the first white men to cross into the interior, his people had packed their supplies. Chief Katlean of the Sitkas realized this was quite lucrative and sent several canoes of warriors to Dyea in 1888 to take part in the endeavor. The Chilkats resented this, and Chief Klanott, who was head of the Chilkats in Dyea demanded that the Sitkas return home and stop infringing on his people's rights...either that or pay the Chilkats 30% of everything they earned.

> Chief Jack of the Sitkas refused and ordered his men to strap on their packs. When Chief Jack's son strapped on his pack, Chief Klanott slapped the boy in the face. When Chief Jack saw what had happened he ran at Klanott and a hand-to-hand fight resulted between the two and they were both wounded by their knives. The men were finally separated and Chief Jack was carried into one of the buildings of Healy's Trading Post. All during the night fights between the two tribes took place and then in the morning it was decided that the two Chiefs would settle the dispute by fighting it out with each other.
>
> The two severely wounded Chiefs appeared at the head of their followers in front of Healey's [sic] Post and advanced toward each other with drawn knives. While the leaders fought their men fought each other and several were killed and many were wounded. All at once Klanott staggered mortally wounded and tried to enter the post. Healy refused to shelter him, so he went at Chief Jack again. Then Chief Jack struck Klanott a blow over the head with the butt end of a rifle that one of his men had handed to him. Klanott fell dead, and a minute later Klanott's son raced forward and stabbed Chief Jack and killed him.
>
> The battle ceased, and both men were carried away by their people. The Tlingits prepared their chiefs for burial and resolved their differences the next day, when it was agreed that all Tlingits would pack over the Chilkoot Pass, and others than the Chilkats would pay part of their earnings as tribute to Chief Shotridge for the privilege. (*Juneau Empire*, June 2, 1977)

Before the settlement, bedlam and fear reigned in the community. Moore (ABT 1904:416) learned "that 14 men had been penned up inside one of the houses belonging to Healy & Wilson and had been compelled to cut loopholes…for their protection, and that the Sitka Indian engaged in the fight had sought entrance into the house of Healy & Wilson, but had been refused." The Chilkoot also demanded a blood ransom from Healy as compensation for Lunáat"s death.

After a tense night, Healy's partner, Edgar Wilson, slipped out of town by schooner to get the authorities in Juneau. When he returned several days later, the tensions had settled considerably, and no arrests were made. The Sitkans were permitted to pack the trail if they paid a royalty. According to Healy (Greer 1995:58) one of the Sitka Tlingits who was present at the time of the Packer War was married to a "Chilkat woman," and thus may have had the right to pack alongside with his sons partly through social ties as well.

According to Angela Sidney (1983, Greer 1995:58), the Lukaaxh.ádi man, Sgeená, who was married to Keish's sister, Aagé, was among those slain. Sgeená "was the father of Louise who, after her marriage to Tom Dickson, raised a large family in the Yukon's Kluane area." Many of the dead, including Lunáat' and Sitka Jack were buried in a makeshift cemetery above the Healy and Wilson post, which later became known as the Native Cemetery. According to Grauman (1977):

> The Dyea town cemetery has often been referred to as the 'Native's Cemetery.' This usage probably arose from the early burial of the two Indian chiefs. Moreover, the cemetery was to the north of the actual townsite of Dyea and, according to location notices in the magistrate's office, the surrounding land was owned by Indians. Chief Isaac's land was described as lying north of Healy and Wilson, and George Brown's land was described as lying between Chief

> Isaac's and an Indian graveyard. Since the town of Dyea was segregated...it appears that the cemetery was located near Indian-owned land. Larry Jacquot of Skagway reports that the graveyard itself was segregated with the white graves on one side and the natives on another. He took his mother, Ruth Donally of Haines, to the cemetery in July 1977, and she could recognize three of the graves. One was Jim Boss, a big chief from Lake Laberge area, but she did not identify the burial place of Larry's great-grandfather or great-great grandfather [Lunaat']....
>
> ...Indians...were buried there until at least 1921.

In fact it appears that there were actually two separate cemeteries, one north of Healy and Wilson and one south of it, each of which came to be known as the Native Cemetery: but the more southern one was also commonly known as the Town Cemetery. NPS archaeologist Karl Gurcke believes that most victims of the Packer War were buried at the Native Cemetery north of Healy and Wilson and that

> there were undoubtedly other Natives buried there, as one gold rush era photograph in our collection indicates. That print shows a Spirit House in Dyea and the caption reads 'Grave of Kluck-Shaw, Tagish Chief, Dyea, Alaska.' This photo was taken by E.A. Hegg in 1898 and the grave was probably located in this cemetery. It is also possible that some, if not all of the individuals memorialized in that stone recently placed in the relocated cemetery, were buried in this cemetery [figures 14 and 36 in appendix B]. The Native Cemetery was completely washed out by the river years ago,.. probably in the teens although I'm not at all sure of the date. The second cemetery — the "Town Cemetery" was located south of Healy & Wilson. I'm not sure exactly when the first bodies were buried there but it was probably during the gold rush. This cemetery was part of the original townsite plot, which was done in October 1897. At first, I suspect only whites were buried in this cemetery with the Natives being buried in the cemetery north of Healy & Wilson's. However, when that cemetery washed away the Natives began burying their dead in the "Town Cemetery." Probably around that same time, the name was also transferred to the Town Cemetery. When Larry Jacquot [in Grauman 1977] talks about taking his mother to the cemetery, he is talking about the "Town Cemetery" as the other cemetery was completely gone by the 1970s. When he talks about the cemetery being segregated, he may be referring to the two entirely different cemeteries because by the time the Natives started using the Town Cemetery, I suspect there were not enough people out there to worry about segregation. When I arrived in 1984, the Town Cemetery was also called the Native Cemetery as Grauman indicates which I believe indicates the movement of both the name and function of the Native Cemetery to the Town Cemetery.

NPS historian Frank Norris (personal communication 2003) adds, "Some people, not knowing of the small Native cemetery, called the Town Cemetery the Native Cemetery to distinguish it from the (all-white) Slide Cemetery, which was established in April 1898."

Some sources, including Healy's biographer (Hunt 1993:125), report an alternative 1888 incident between a "Stick" Indian named "Big Tom" and "Kla-Naut" that erupted over packing rights. But from the account below, it appears that the Stick Indians are really the Sitka Tlingits and Big Tom is perhaps Sitka Jack or his associate.

> Klanot precipitated a tense encounter when he threatened the Stick [Sitkan?] Indians. Healy felt justified giving work to the Sticks. He appreciated their trade at his store: 'We gave the business to the men who in return bought

> our blankets, while the second chief would take all his money and go off on a spree to Sitka and spend it there.' What Healy failed to mention is that by trading directly with the Sticks he cut out the middlemen and got furs for a better price. Because Klanot also felt bitter about Healy's part in his arrest earlier [for assaulting Bishop Seghers], the trader's employment of Sticks particularly annoyed him.
>
> Violence finally erupted when Klanot and other Chilkat packers attacked the Stick's leader, Big Tom. The fight started right in front of Healy's store where the Chilkats menaced the Sticks and Healy. Klanot advanced on the trader menacingly and Healy knocked him down. Big Tom then jumped Klanot. As the men grappled [,] Klanot shot Big Tom with a revolver, but the tough Stick wrestled the gun away and, with the gun empty, smashed in his enemy's skull. Another Stick buried a knife in Klanot's back. By this time Healy had his gun, and he and Wilson tried to stop the fight. They failed and the Chilkats went after Big Tom and the Stick who had killed their chief. A Chilkat later killed Big Tom in the hut where he had taken refuge.

Evelyn Hotch, a Kaagwaantaan elder from Klukwan (with ancestral ties to Sitka) is a great granddaughter of Sitka Jack, who was also the father of Chilkat resident Annie Klaney. Mrs. Hotch (interview) was cognizant of Sitka Jack's ties to the gold rush but did not link him to "Big Tom," and was not familiar with the latter figure. Is it possible that there were two separate incidents, one with the Sitkans and Sticks that together constituted the Packer War?[9]

Collectively, these incidents shocked the public, which had feared violence from the Chilkat for many years. But it also sent a clear message about the Chilkoot Tlingits' resolve, at least under Lunáat', to hold on to their rights over the Chilkoot Trail. It was clear to Alaska's second Governor A.P. Swineford (ABT 1904:484) that more discipline was needed.

> There is but one so-called tribe in the southeastern section with whom there is any trouble to be apprehended....I refer to the Chilkeats [Chilkoots]. They claim the exclusive ownership of the trail over which the miners are wont to pass from tide water to the headwaters of the Yukon River, and it is an open question if their claim be not a just one.
>
> However this may be, they also claim the exclusive right to do all the packing over the trail, in some instances going so far as to resist the white miner's right to carry a pack of his own. They are a fierce and warlike people more so than any other of the native clans of Alaska, and frighten away all other Indians who apply for or undertake to do any of the packing for the white men, for doing which they themselves demand and extort exorbitant prices. As a consequence there have been frequent quarrels between themselves and the white miners, none of which, however, has resulted in bloodshed. But last spring a fight occurred between the leader of the Chileats [Chilkoots] and a Sitka Indian in which the former was killed, and the latter afterwards butchered by the leader's friends. The white miners took no part in the fight, but many were apprehensive of further trouble, their fears only being allayed when the *U.S.S. Pinta* appeared in the inlet.
>
> ...I am apprehensive of more trouble next spring, in which event it is more than likely the whites may be embroiled. If there is any one point in the Territory where a military post should be established and maintained it is among these Chileats. A continuous show of force in that neighborhood would be sufficient to insure their good behavior in the future.

This show of force was realized by additional visits of the *U.S.S. Pinta* and other military vessels, and also by the deputizing of a local marshal, a commission that was sought by Healy and that further consolidated his power in Dyea.

The Haines Mission: Another Disciplining Institution

Another important disciplining and civilizing institution that played a pivotal role in transforming the Natives of the greater Chilkoot area was religion, especially churches and church schools. In 1881 Sheldon Jackson, the leader of the Presbyterian vanguard and later to become the General Agent of Education in Alaska, heralded the arrival to Chilkat-Chilkoot of Mrs. Sarah Dickinson, a Christian Tsimshian educator, who had been assigned to open a school on the grounds of the recently established (1879) Northwest Trading Company in Haines. Jackson had lobbied hard for the school and progressive Chilkat-Chilkoot leaders had requested it too. Jackson's promotion to General Agent came with the passage of the Organic Act, which guaranteed education "without reference to race." The zealous preacher boldly asserted that education must become a top priority. "Shall the Native population be left, as in the past, to produce under the encroachments of the incoming whites, a new crop of costly, bloody and cruel Indian wars, or shall they be so educated that they will become useful factors in the new development" (in Hinckley 1996: 196). In Jackson's vision a Christian education would advance the Natives economically as well as morally and spiritually, while at the same time, shamanism and other "savage" religious values and practices would be left behind.

By 1880, when most other Tlingit villages had Euramerican settlements and resident missionaries, the Chilkat and Chilkoot remained relatively isolated from this influence and continued the majority of their pre-contact, traditional customs. To missionaries like Jackson, it seemed that the Chilkat-Chilkoot were being "left" behind, and perhaps were moving down that costly, bloody path alluded to by Jackson.

The next year, however, white traders and missionaries found their way to the Chilkat Peninsula and began the slow process of converting and assimilating the Natives. Presbyterian missionaries Eugene and Carrie Willard and Northwest Trading Co. representatives George Dickinson (along with his Tsimshian wife, Sarah) were the first westerners to settle among the Chilkat and Chilkoot and the first to significantly challenge their values and practices. The first several years of the Willards' residence resulted in the Tlingits practicing a curious mix of old customs and such Christian behaviors as they chose to adopt. At times the Willards' work seemed to bring genuine, heartfelt change, but pre-contact traditions persisted and Christian influence was often revealed for its superficiality. Many of the customs adopted by the Tlingits were those that served practical purposes and/or reflected elements of the preexisting Tlingit value system.

By the time the Willards left Haines Mission in 1886, however, contact with Western culture was inexorably altering the lives of the Chilkat and Chilkoot by undermining the importance of shamans, challenging certain Tlingit practices deemed superstitious by the missionaries, reeducating the

youth to Christian and Western values, and beginning the reorganization of their lives around the establishment of a new permanent village centered on the mission. Most significant among the missionaries' impacts was the opening of a boarding school for children that superceded much of traditional education. In concert with the missionaries' work, the presence of a trading post and salmon canneries also affected the Tlingit, solidifying their desire for money, alcohol, and the jobs necessary to procure them.

The origin of the Willards' mission began with a trading voyage in 1877. Twelve Chilkats paddled south from Lynn Canal in a canoe "loaded with furs and bound for Fort Simpson" (Jackson 1880:254). While there were closer trading destinations, the Chilkat and Chilkoot were knowledgeable middlemen and often traveled great distances to trade with relatives or buyers willing to pay good prices. This particular voyage was to have a profound effect upon their people, as Dr. Sheldon Jackson joined the party during a stop in Wrangell and traveled with them to visit the Presbyterian mission at Fort Simpson. Along with the traders, among whom was future chief Lunáat', six Christians from Fort Simpson were aboard, matching Chilkat songs with Christian hymns. Jackson confessed an ardent desire to speak to the Chilkats about Christianity but, lacking a common language, found it impossible during the trip (Jackson 1880; Willard 1995).

Upon reaching the fort, however, Jackson's wish to speak with the Chilkats was more than satisfied, for they soon approached him with an interpreter:

> The two chiefs declared their desire to give up the old way and learn the new, which was better; that they were ready and waiting to give up their heathen practices, as soon as a teacher would come and show them how, and they earnestly inquired how soon a teacher would come. (Jackson 1880:259)

Jackson reports that he was plagued with requests for teachers and schools on this trip, receiving one from a group of Haidas near whom they camped en route to the fort, as well as from a group of Tongass Tlingit once they arrived. He promised to pass on the request to the Mission Board, "encouraged [the Chilkats] to believe that a missionary would be sent," and returned to his inspection of Alaska missions (Jackson 1880:260).

When reflecting on the request for teachers, Sheldon Jackson attributed the enthusiasm of the Chilkats to the influence of the Christian Tlingits from Fort Simpson with their exuberant hymn singing and reverence for the Sabbath throughout the canoe trip (Jackson 1880). Carrie Willard, in her 1892 semi-fictional account of the voyage pieced together from the memories of the Chilkat traders themselves, suggests that they did indeed recognize the spirituality of the Christians. Included in her narrative is the story of a man named Kah-sha who undergoes a Christian spiritual transformation while dying on the journey home.

The underlying motives of the request, however, were much more complex, being grounded in Tlingit economies and social status, as well as spiritual interest. Those Tlingits belonging to villages where missions were located had knowledge of customs and language and access to goods that put them at an advantage over tribes without this contact. Carrie Willard allows for this in the Chilkat's request for teachers:

> Next day Yealh-neddy speaks to Kah-sha: 'They say that Fort Simpson never was good for anything till teachers came: now I want a teacher for Chilkat.

> Why can't we have stores and plenty of silver; just as they have here, and better than the Stickeens? I'm going to ask that stranger who came with us if he can't send a teacher to us. I'd like to know their tongue myself. If I had it no trader would ever get the best of me." (1892: 153)

In this brief statement, Yealh-neddy reveals both his wish to compete in status with the Stickeens and his desire to have the same access to Western wealth that villages with missionaries had. Western trade goods, in addition to having intrinsic value for the Chilkats, were also important in trade with Athabaskans. Interior Natives had relatively less access to Western goods, which increased the demand for those furnished by the Tlingit traders and contributed to the Tlingits' profit. Furthermore, British and American traders were aware of the traffic of furs over the passes and regularly visited Chilkat and Chilkoot waters to purchase them. Knowledge of English facilitated this interaction.

Anthropologist Aurel Krause, who studied the Chilkat and Chilkoot for several months shortly after the mission was founded, suggests yet another explanation for the eagerness to have a mission. After six months of attending the church and school prepared for them at Haines Mission, Lunáat' approached the Willards with the complaint that his people had not been compensated for their efforts with building materials "as the Tsimpshian had" (Krause 1970:230). Indeed, it was not until after the Chilkats landed in Fort Simpson and had the opportunity to view the effects of the mission for themselves that they approached Jackson, language problems notwithstanding. In Carrie Willard's letters documenting this event, she reports that Lunáat' remembered Fort Simpson where "the people prayed and then told the missionary, and he gave them [the house] they asked for," (1995:88). In this confession, given in a moment of anger, Lunáat' reveals some of his covert motivation in asking Jackson for a teacher. He clearly anticipated that the new mission would bring him the same economic gains that the mission in Fort Simpson had brought for the Tlingit there. This complaint also reveals an important element of Tlingit culture—reciprocity; in giving something away, a Tlingit expected something of equal value in return. Clearly, Lunáat' expected a more tangible payment in exchange for his piety.

If unaware of the intricacies associated with the request, Jackson did press for a mission on behalf of the Chilkats. In 1879 Reverend S. Hall Young, traveling in the company of John Muir, visited the Chilkat River village of Yindustaki to meet with the inhabitants. In discussing a possible mission site, "such jealousies were found to exist between their petty chiefs, and such rivalry in their desire to claim the mission" that the area known as Deishu was chosen (Willard 1892:255). Located on what came to be known as Portage Bay, Deishu, or "End of the [Chilkat] Trail," was a narrow point in the Chilkat Peninsula that offered convenient portage from Chilkat to Chilkoot Inlet. It was ideal, as it "had no permanent dwellings, and...was considered to belong to all the people rather than to just one of the villages which surrounded the area;" once the locality was agreed upon, "the land was formally presented to the representatives of the Presbyterian Church and plans for a mission began" (Jones et al. 1999:4). Though the missionaries later intended to build a school in Klukwan, the Chilkat winter village, the problem of loading timber up 30 miles of river was

too daunting a task. They, too, decided on Deishu where a mission village might arise made of people "who are most in earnest to hear and learn" and, echoing the decision of Hall and the Chilkats, where they could keep the mission "free from the jealousies of tribe and village chiefs" (Willard 1995:48).

Eugene Willard, his wife Caroline (commonly known as Carrie) and their infant daughter arrived at Deishu in July 1881 and soon occupied a manse built with the financial aid and carpentry skill of Sheldon Jackson himself (Willard 1995). First known as "Chilkat Mission," the name was soon changed to "Haines Mission" in honor of Board of Home Missions Secretary F.E.H. Haines (Willard 1995). The missionaries were preceded only by a Northwest Trading Co. trader, George Dickinson, and his wife Sarah. A Tsimshian woman, Sarah taught school in the months before the missionaries' arrival (Krause 1981). The post was apparently established in part with the hope to profit from the influx of Natives visiting the mission (Jones et al. 1999). Once established, the Willards began attracting pupils for their school, located in one of the two original buildings erected by the traders, and converting the Chilkats and Chilkoots to Christianity and Western culture.

In September 1881, the Willards traveled by canoe up the Chilkat River and stopped at each of the three major villages to hold services. This initial tour was met by great enthusiasm at every stop. In Kakwaltu, the Willards woke early for a sunrise meeting attended by 75 people who gave "almost breathless attention" (Willard 1995:38). After they preached in Klukwan, Chief Tshartrisch urged them to stay through Sunday to teach again, putting his treasure house and provisions at their disposal and giving the largest of his three houses to the mission. Mrs. Willard and her baby Carrie were given the honor of adoption into Tshartrisch's clan that same Sunday. She, in turn, urged them to come live near the mission (Willard 1995).

Despite this positive reception, the first few months after the opening of the mission school were frequently heralded with attendance as low as two or three pupils each day, though a total of 70 were counted through the whole winter season (Willard 1995; Krause 1956). Among these, however, Carrie Willard counts several promising young students who seemed eager to adopt the new ways. Willis, a boy of about 10 years who lived with the Dickinsons, excelled at his studies. On a trip back to his village for provisions, he refused to partake in a celebratory post-salmon-run feast that tempted most of the other students. Instead, he quickly returned to the mission lest he miss school, pleasing Mrs. Willard with his zeal.

Before long, parents began to press their children upon the missionaries, reportedly begging the Willards to keep and educate them. Among the first such parents was Tshartrisch, who requested that Mrs. Willard raise his daughter (possibly Klinget-sai-yat, who became Ben Moore's wife, Minnie Shotridge Moore) "for [her] own and train her to be a good and wise woman" (Willard 1995:29). Lunáat"s nephew and heir was also pressed upon the Willards "to make him a good man" and was taken into their household in 1883.

Those Chilkats and Chilkoots who appeared most eager to change were often young families and chiefs, the latter of whom were frequently the first to agree to missionary requests. The leaders in particular must

have understood the advantages inherent in a Western education. The missionaries carried with them a certain degree of respect and those Tlingits with knowledge of their customs and/or relationships with them earned some degree of status within the Tlingit community. Furthermore, the numbers of westerners entering Chilkat and Chilkoot territory were increasing, the first miners having passed over the Chilkoot Trail in 1880. The chiefs undoubtedly knew that knowledge of Western language and culture would facilitate interaction with the outsiders and contribute to their continued control of the land. While these leaders undoubtedly sought the advantages that their children and heirs would enjoy with a Western education, they also served as an example to their people in agreeing to the missionaries' requests and sending their children to school.

One of the first incidents that drew the interest of large numbers of people to the mission was an epidemic of a disease like smallpox that swept through the Chilkat and Chilkoot villages and rendered dozens sick and dying. Shamans seemed to have little luck in curing them and in late October 1881, people spilled in to the missionaries, "saying that they had heard of the true God and no longer believed in the Indian doctors" (Willard 1995:57). Some had given up on the powers of the shamans; others were impoverished from paying them to no effect. They were desperate and, perhaps remembering Mr. Willard's warnings about living "in antagonism to God," were drawn to the mission as a last hope (Willard 1995:41). Treating them with nourishing food, medicine, and warm clothes, Carrie Willard did all she could, bringing hope to many families and inciting the wrath of shamans whose patients had deserted them and whose powers were being called into question. When she began to tend a particularly sick young boy whom the shamans had declared incurable, they gathered angrily and swore that they "would believe in God if He showed Himself so strong as to heal that boy," (Willard 1995: 59). This threat had the potential to reinstate some of their lost respect if the boy did not recover. Much to the missionaries' chagrin, he died.

Others did, however, improve under the Willards' care, and some that lost family members confessed that they were comforted in their grief knowing that the dead had passed on to be with Jesus. One family, whose son recovered after abandoning the care of the shamans for that of the missionaries, swore that "as soon as [the boy] was well enough, they were coming to the minister's place to live, so that they could go to school and learn more. He...believed no longer in the Indian doctor" (Willard 1995:54). In her semi-fictional book, Carrie Willard describes the plight of the medicine men of Yendostake (i.e., Yindustaki, or *Yeindust'akhyé*), whose village had nearly deserted them for Portage Bay during the epidemic:

> In many cases such patients as had been by their friends expected to die came back to health and strength, and every such case was of course a substantial loss to the medicine-men, not only in the returns which each individual case would have brought them, but also in the growing infidelity regarding their power which each recovery under the missionary's treatment was fostering. (Willard 1892: 264-5)

Not only their wealth but their very identity was threatened by the presence and work of the missionaries.

Thus, there arose an uneasy relation-

ship between the followers of traditional shamanic power and those who were turning to Christianity. Carrie Willard claims that after the sickness passed, fewer Tlingits looked to the Christian God, though "those who do seem to come up to a higher plane than before" (1995:67). This medical conflict embodied the Tlingits' process of change and their questioning of ancient customs as they grappled with a new way of living and viewing the world. Their eagerness to try the healing powers of the missionaries indicates a certain pragmatism in their adjustment to the mission as the situation necessitated it. Their diminished interest in the wake of the epidemic indicates an equal willingness to discard those changes when they no longer served a practical purpose.

In early January 1882, the importance of shamans was again undermined by the words of Chief Tshartrisch himself. Eugene Willard and Aurel Krause traveled to Klukwan and witnessed the initiation of a new shaman. As they watched the dancing, the Dickinsons' son Willy translated Chief Tshartrisch's words: "This initiation [i]s the last of its kind. His people want to live the new way" (Krause 1981:26). A good indication of the developing cultural hybridization, Tshartrisch openly declared his acceptance of the new religion in the midst of unapologetically perpetuating the old, initiating a shaman who could well practice for decades to come. Carrie Willard was further pleased at the appearance of a young girl at the mission whose father was a shaman. Born with curly hair, she was destined for the same occupation as her father and her hair had consequently never been cut. With no warning, she appeared at school shortly after the epidemic with her hair cropped and placed in tidy braids, her future as a shaman impossible (Willard 1995:69).

Another activity that ignited conflict between the missionaries and conservative Tlingits was cremation. In this practice too, small numbers of people dominated by young families and chiefs attempted to abandon their older traditions to adopt those of the missionaries. In pre-contact culture, Tlingits believed that failing to cremate the dead had potentially dangerous ramifications for those left behind as well as for the spirit itself. While Carrie Willard writes that they "did not insist on burial and indeed have said little about it," the missionaries preferred interring bodies (1995:63). Doing so forced the Natives to act against their indigenous beliefs, just as did coming to the mission instead of the shamans for medical care. Just months after their arrival, one young woman who had lost her son came to the Willards without encouragement to ask about burial. At her request, the missionaries explained to her and a group of friends about the Biblical passages referring to burial after which the child was interred. The grandmother was vehemently against it, as were many other local Tlingits.

The funeral and burial was the first of its kind in the area and created a great deal of furor as the winter wore on and people began to blame the burial for the foul weather. Virtually unprecedented snowfalls fell in early 1882, and, as food stores ran out and traveling became impossible due to snow conditions and weather, famine set in and the Chilkats and Chilkoots in and around the mission began to search for the cause. Explanations included the Krause brothers dragging a porcupine across the snow, children making goose-like noises at the mission. Mr.

Willard donning his snowshoes inside, failing to seclude an adolescent girl, and killing an oldsquaw duck (Krause 1993). The most common reason given for the inclement weather, however, was the failure to cremate several bodies, including that of the first boy who was buried. His mother, at great pressure from the rest of the community, stalwartly refused to exhume him, and eventually gained the support not only of her mother but that of Chief Daanawáakh , Lunáat"s uncle, who expressed his own desire to be buried. The others built fires over the known grave sites but were unable to find the last one; when Daanawáakh was away hunting, the mother feared for her life and eventually led the way to the grave. The body was cremated in a great fire on the beach. A year later, after the Willards returned from a winter in Sitka to facilitate Carrie's pregnancy, they found that all buried bodies had been cremated.

Thus, in many respects, the missionaries' influence was tenuous in the early years. Attendance at both school and church was sporadic and the adoption of Western values taken to heart by only a few. Nevertheless, definite changes did slowly take hold. If many maintained ties to spiritual beliefs at odds with those of the missionaries, most Tlingits readily accepted Western dress, having partly made this transition before the missionaries' arrival. The transition to Western clothing intensified during their occupancy, especially in the garments worn to church. Aurel Krause even speculated that the weekly opportunity to wear fine clothing in public was one of the attractions of attending church (Krause 1970). Indeed, Carrie Willard made note of their apparel, describing several well-attired women in church, though always making sure to point out that they were "modestly dressed" (Willard 1995: 83). One woman wore a "skirt of brilliant orange flannel and a loose blouse waist of a light, figured calico. About her neck was a white handkerchief over which was turned a narrow, bright blue ribbon, crossed in front and pinned with my scarlet, flannel needle leaves" (1995:83). On Thanksgiving she noticed the "gorgeous colors of their clothing against the snow" as they walked to church (Willard 1995:81). They readily accepted gifts of cloth, clothing, and sewing lessons from Mrs. Willard (Willard 1995).

When the missionaries returned from the winter of 1883 in Sitka, one of the most striking changes they noticed was the new clothes worn by the Tlingits: "new shawls and prints on wives and children, new cloth suits on some of the boys and men" (Willard 1995:152). In addition to readily adapting to new forms of dress, those who visited the mission, especially the children, began to wear less facial paint. On one occasion, a group of youngsters watched, enraptured, while Carrie bathed and combed the hair of her baby. Receiving combs themselves, they disappeared and returned shortly with washed faces and combed hair, receiving much praise from the missionary. "From that day to this," she recalls, "I have not seen the faces of those children painted, and day after day they regularly, of their own accord, present themselves to show me that they have combed their hair" (1995:27-28). It was often these small changes that were most prominent in the early years at the mission.

The greatest concern that the Willards felt for the Tlingits was the inevitable arrival of the less benevolent trappings of American culture. "We are thankful that God sent us

here before the miners," Carrie confesses, for "If [they] come here in the spring, the evil influences will be greatly increased" (1995:84-85). Alcohol had already posed a problem in some of the villages, which may have contributed to the Tlingits' desire for the mission. The Christian stance on temperance was well known, and the Chilkoot and Chilkat leaders may have seen their influence as positive in the face of increasing alcohol consumption. When writing the preface to Kin-da-shon's Wife 14 years after she left Haines Mission, Carrie Willard attributed the poor state of many Natives at that time to "the devil's missions to Alaska, prosecuted by the whiskey dealer, the license vendor" and other immoral institutions (1892: preface).

Before the whiskey dealers arrived, however, the traders contributed to an increase in alcohol consumption by providing abundant raw material for the production of homemade "hoots-a-noo":

> Before made by long and laborious process from native productions or from sugar and molasses made too costly for frequent use by the difficulty in procuring them from such distances —now became an easily acquired luxury, without which the furnishings of a feast were incomplete. (Willard 1892:252)

The proximity to traders not only affected the alcohol consumption but also the gift distribution at potlatches, which grew "more prodigal," reportedly at the expense of "family comfort" (Willard 1892:252; Wyatt 1987).

The presence of trading opportunities, both those afforded by the Dickinsons as well as subsequent cannery stores, also prompted the Tlingit to earn money. Willard reports, "The Indians are crazy to make money" (1995:167) and counts greed as one of the results of the "devil's missions to Alaska" (1892: preface). Nevertheless, the hunting, fishing, and gathering economy of the Tlingits was one of the key customs that the Willards wished to change, as year-round sedentary life was essential to their assimilation. The fact that many Chilkats and Chilkoots were "waking up to new wants" provided a foundation on which to discourage their seasonal movements; Carrie Willard recognized that supplying them with their new needs was "necessary to the further growth and development of those whom we are trying to bring into the light" (1995:79). Thus the missionaries felt "the urgent need of industries in which the people can engage" (Willard 1995:69).

It is little wonder that such a shift was a priority of the missionaries, as their students and congregation frequently left the mission to procure food at other sites, often missing school and church. By the winter of 1882, Aurel Krause reported that about 200 Tlingits were living around the mission in nine houses, and those local Tlingits were generally quite willing to refrain from working on Sundays as the missionaries requested. However, the Willards woke one morning to find that their village had been almost entirely abandoned. The herring run had begun in Naku Bay, and most of the Tlingits around the mission had canoed down the peninsula to take part in the catch. Determined not to deprive them of Sunday service, the missionaries promptly followed. When they approached the beach where the Tlingit were working, Carrie writes that: "Some of the people were glad to see us, but many looked dark at our coming. They had intended to work all that day" (1995:103). For a culture reliant upon short term seasonal food sources, catching herring during the

run was more important than taking a day of rest on Sunday. Their willingness to refrain from work only when it did not interfere with important events reveals a degree of superficiality [or perhaps practicality] in their observance of the Sabbath. Only by changing the basic subsistence economy of the Tlingits could the Willards hope to stabilize movements and assimilate them.

While the missionaries themselves could do little but encourage this change, the economic institutions soon arrived that offered the necessary jobs. Two salmon canneries opened near the mouth of the Chilkat River in the years following the mission's founding that began to employ Natives. Such labor forced the Tlingit cannery workers to remain settled for much of the summer, preventing them from taking part in many subsistence activities and allowing them and their families to regularly attend church and school.

While the economy was slowly changing, the missionaries soon opened a new institution, which came to have the greatest influence on the local Tlingits of any work undertaken by the mission. While school sessions helped to instill Christian/Western beliefs in the young, Carrie dreamed of a boarding school where she could raise Chilkat and Chilkoot children without the interference of their families. She complained, "Every superstition of the people, every tie, interferes with the plans of missionaries," as even the children whose parents had left them at the mission to be raised were often reclaimed by their families, departed on their own, or were given away as wives (1995: 194). For this reason, Carrie lobbied heavily for a local boarding "Home." After gaining support and funding, construction began in 1883. By that time, she was already raising a few Native children herself, including Lunáat''s nephew, and these children became the first to live in the new facility (Willard 1995).

With the opening of the log Chilkat Children's Home, later known as Haines House, the effects of the mission became truly profound. By educating and raising the children at the mission, teachers and missionaries were able to instill in the youngest generation of Tlingit the values and customs of American culture without as much influence from the families from whom they were separated. In 1883, Carrie wrote, "The girls are becoming helpful in the house—sweeping and chamber work, cooking and care of the kitchen. They do these things well for such young girls" (1995:168). While important for nineteenth century white American women, knowledge of such chores were important only for assimilated Tlingits; by denying them an indigenous education, the missionaries began to sever the link between the mission-educated children and their more traditional relatives. Knowledge of their history as well as Tlingit values, beliefs, and customs, were diminished by living at the mission as the children were immersed not in Tlingit culture but in Western culture.

In light of the eventual loss of pre-contact culture, the question arises as to why parents were willing to send their children to boarding school. In The Emergence of Tlingit Christianity, Bettridge posits that Native parents were aware that such schools were "the single most decisive factor in the loss of their cultural heritage" but suggests that sending Tlingit children to school was a calculated move based on the belief that the advantages of a Western education outweighed

the negative cultural effects (1979:213). As they had recognized at Fort Simpson, schools opened doors to the prestige associated with possessing the education of whites as well as certain immediate and long-term economic advantages. Knowledge of English aided trade with whites, provided a foundation on which to deal with the influx of miners, and facilitated entry into jobs at the canneries that began to play a role in Chilkat/Chilkoot life around the same time that the boarding school opened (Bettridge 1979).

In addition to Haines House, other institutions arose with people to tend them that facilitated the assimilation and conversion of the Chilkat and Chilkoot. Klukwan, unsuccessfully renamed "Willard" by Sheldon Jackson, was the most distant Chilkat village from the mission; Tlingits Louie and Tillie Paul were sent there in 1882 to build a log mission building and begin teaching. Indeed the Chilkat leader Koh-klux had been "anxious that a school be established in the village as they wish their children to be educated in the white man's ways, and at the same time desire to keep them at home" (Emmons ABT 1904:406).[30] Elizabeth Matthews arrived at Haines Mission in the same year to take charge of the boarding school. Demonstrating the persistence of Tlingit culture in the face of repeated Christian indoctrination, some effort was apparently needed to convince the Natives that Matthews was not Eugene Willard's second wife (Jackson 1880; Willard 1995). As noted above, in 1882 and 1883 two major canneries opened in Chilkat Inlet, providing jobs wished for by the Willards and more access to Western material goods.

As soon as tourists and visitors began arriving at the new settlements, the Tlingit took advantage of another opportunity to earn money. Eliza Scidmore stopped at the Pyramid Harbor cannery in 1883 and 1884 and both times remarked that disembarking travelers headed straight for the Native tents where "the wood-carvings and curios that they had for sale were eagerly bought" (Scidmore 1885). Among the articles for sale were pipes, masks, forks, spoons, small totem poles and canoes, carved bone sticks used for marten traps in the Interior, soapstone carvings, and copper bracelets. Scidmore, in fact, remarks that "the Chilkats...sold everything desirable that they owned" (1885). The canneries thus provided regular jobs and avenues for the sale of curios, both of which supported their growing dependence on money and the alteration of Tlingit lifestyle into year-round settlements near Western enclaves.

In 1886 the Willards left Haines Mission in the care of Sol Ripinsky, who taught until the arrival of missionary William Warne and his family in 1891. By the time Warne began teaching, Carrie Willard reports that the structure of Tlingit homes was changing to accommodate the Western ideal of nuclear families that she had often sought to instill in the minds of her congregation: "real homes—Christian homes...are clustering about the missions to the gradual exclusion of the big native house with its homeless inmates" (Willard 1892: preface). A letter from Warne dated Dec. 7, 1896, reports that school attendance had increased to 200 and services had drawn more than 300. He also wrote that an influential man named Kasha had recently renounced the potlatch (Jones et al. 1999). In 1900, not 20 years after Haines Mission opened and taught the first Chilkat and Chilkoot children simple Christian hymns, several trading stores, a hotel, and a "modern

Chilkoot village" of about 80 houses had grown up about the mission (Prentice 1901). Only 10 years later, in the wake of the gold rush, Haines incorporated as a city.

By this time, many Chilkats and Chilkoots had been educated at Haines Mission, including members of several prominent families. Bert Dennis, a member of one of the first Native families to settle permanently in Skagway, was on the school roster in 1895. Louis Shotridge, grandson of the Chief Tshartrisch known to the Willards, was on the same list (Hakkinen and Jones 1997). Perhaps epitomizing the rapid changes headed by mission-educated children, Shotridge became a collector of anthropological artifacts for the Pennsylvania University Museum and confiscated much of the Chilkat and Chilkoot regalia. Far from ignorant of his people's history, Shotridge lauds the bravery of his ancestors and describes in great detail the importance placed upon the treasured pieces that he took. Instead of respecting these tangible connections with his ancestors and his history, the westernized Shotridge sent them away, at times to the weeping of his own relatives (Shotridge 1913-1930; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994:548-564).

Despite the prominence of the mission itself, it was the founding of the Chilkat Children's Home that had the most lasting and profound effect on the Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingit. Living a childhood immersed in protestant American culture, many Natives failed to develop a connection to much of their rich culture and ancestry. The arrival of wage jobs and stores further undermined their traditional economy as they began to remain near Western settlements during the summer season. Much of this change was sought by the Tlingits, many of whom readily altered their more superficial practices to conform to those of the missionaries, though these adjustments were frequently pragmatic and often reflected Tlingit values. More fundamental aspects of their culture also began to change, including beliefs in the importance of the powerful shamans. Realizing that penetration from American culture was inevitable, the Chilkats and Chilkoots recognized the many social and economic benefits to being conversant in such a culture. Their request for teachers and the subsequent founding of Haines Mission ended their cultural integrity and decades of relative isolation from Western influence and paved the way for dealing effectively with the waves of American culture that followed.

The Early Church at Dyea and Skagway and the Interior

The Presbyterian mission would be extended to Skagway and the Klondike in 1897-1898 by the Reverend Robert McCahon Dickey (1997), and other denominations followed. On January 28, 1898, the first Methodist Episcopal Church built in Alaska was dedicated at Dyea. At the same time, the Union Building in Skagway scheduled services for five denominations each Sunday: "Roman Catholic Mass at 7 a.m.; Episcopal service at 11 a.m.; Baptist at 1 p.m.; Methodist at 3 p.m.; Presbyterian at 7:30 p.m." with Sunday school at 2 p.m. (Shepard and Kelsey 1986:148) and "after-meetings" following the service. Dickey (1997:80) reported on the success of these Union services among the Natives with some humor about translation problems in bridging the cultural divide:

> There was generally a group of natives at these after-meetings. At first they took no part, for white people had not

always treated them very courteously. However, the kindness received in the Union Church gradually overcame their diffidence so that they began to feel at home. One of them spoke good English. One night he was persuaded to tell us the story of his tribe. I will only record the part of it that relates to their accepting Christianity, which has some humor in it.

He told how about twenty years before, a member of this tribe had a felt a strange dissatisfaction with the religion of his own people and desire for something different. He had heard about a Christian tribe down the coast a hundred miles [at Metlakatla?]. Alone in his canoe, he made the long journey. Arriving there, he found that he spoke a different language from the natives. By the use of a few English words that he knew and some words common to both tribes, accompanied by gestures, he conveyed the purpose of his visit. These Christian Natives allowed one of their members to go back with him. In time this man learned enough language to give them some Gospel stories. Serious difficulties, however, were encountered in the matter of translation, for example, his translation of the 23rd Psalm. Later he discovered his translation really was understood this way: 'The great Chief is a mighty hunter. I do not like him. He hunteth me on the mountains and drags me down to the sea shore and makes me to lie on the rocks.'

The Indian also told us of an Englishman who juggled his *h's* when he preached to them through an interpreter. He announced his text, 'Hit is I, be not afraid [Matt. 14:27].' The interpreter announced the translation of these words as 'Hit him on the eye, don't he afraid of him.' There was a logic to the error, but it did not fit the text.

The Indians sang very effectively several hymns in their own language and deeply impressed us by their obvious sincerity.

In 1898, the Salvation Army opened a mission in Skagway, where leader Evangeline Booth herself made pilgrimages in 1898 and 1902 and was impressed by the exuberance and zeal of Native converts. A group from the first Salvationist mission hiked the Chilkoot Trail to the Interior, hiring experienced Tlingit packers to carry their supplies. "The Salvationists did not fail to use the opportunity to witness to these natives and among their early converts were some whose name would become entwined with the Army's beginning, including William Benson their leader, and Jim Hanson, Tom [John?] Darrow, Joe Wright and a young Indian woman, who later became Mrs. Captain Fannie Lee. Native leaders would come to play the pivotal role in the rapid spread of the Army in Alaska" (Gariepy 1998:19; Dowling 1986:19). The Salvationists made more inroads on the Alaska coast than in the Yukon interior, where the Anglican Church became dominant in religion and schooling. In 1919 the Roman Catholic Church came to Skagway and later opened a mission school (Pius X, below), which educated Natives from throughout Alaska.

In the Interior, proselytizing efforts began in the 1860s with the Anglican Church's establishment of missions in the Yukon River Basin. Like the Presbyterians in Alaska, the Anglicans early became involved in administering the school system for children as a means of anchoring their missions. The Oblate Order of the Roman Catholic Church also attempted to gain a foothold in the Yukon but was effectively "repulsed by the combined efforts of the Anglicans and the HBC" until the post-gold rush era (Coates 1991:115).

The Discovery of Gold and the Human Flood through the Chilkoot 1896-1900

The discovery of gold in the Klondike is one the key historical events celebrated by both Native and non-Native historical traditions. Although discoveries of gold in the Klondike Yukon rivershed occurred well before the 1896-98 rush, the initial strikes were rather meager, not the "bonanza" required to set off a gold rush. The bonanza did not come until August 16, 1896.

Most versions of the story emphasize the role of three individuals who were present at the discovery: George Carmack, Skookum Jim Mason, and Dawson Charlie (sometimes referred to as Tagish Charlie). The basic story and relationships between the individuals is summarized by Norris (1996: 13-14) in the KLGO Administrative History.

> Skookum Jim, the Tagish Indian who had accompanied William Moore over White Pass nine years before, was the first to locate the pay dirt that commenced the gold rush. Jim had spent much of the time since 1887 in the company of Dawson Charlie and George Carmack. The three were relatives; Jim was Charlie's uncle, and Carmack, a white prospector from California, was married to Jim's sister [Kate]. On August 14, the three were in the Klondike drainage, meandering west from Gold Bottom Creek. Jim killed a moose near Rabbit Creek that afternoon, then went to the creek for a drink. There he saw many golden flakes in the shallow waters. Excited as he must have been, he calmly butchered the moose, then showed the gold to his two partners. Upon seeing the size of their discovery, the three celebrated. They then spent the next two days perusing the creek for the most valuable deposits. Carmack, arguing that an Indian would not be allowed to record a discovery claim, stepped off the largest claim for himself, and secured an adjacent claim besides. His companions took the land on either side.

In this version, Skookum Jim gets credit for the discovery and George Carmack credit for the largest claim. This account is consistent with that put forth by William Ogilvie (1913:125-130), who gathered and weighed the non-Native accounts of Robert Henderson (who directed Carmack to the area and staked a nearby claim at Gold Bottom Creek), and George Carmack against the Native versions of the discovery told by Skookum Jim and Dawson Charlie.

> At the mouth of the Klondike [Robert Henderson] saw George Washington Carmac[k], whom story has connected prominently with the discovery of [gold on] the Klondike ... Henderson, in accordance with the unwritten miners' code, told Carmac of the discovery he had made on Gold Bottom, and invited him to come up and stake. Carmac was then engaged in salmon-fishing with his Indian friends and associates, the male members of whom were Skookum...Jim, and Tagish ... Charlie. As Henderson tells the story, Carmac promised to take it in [his gold, to stake a claim], and take his Indian associates with him, but to this Henderson strongly objected, saying he did not want his creek to be staked by a lot of natives, more especially natives from the upper river. Carmac seemed to be offended by the objection, so they parted.
>
> I have this story essentially the same from both Henderson and Carmac, the latter, of course, laying a little stress on the objection to the Indians. I have had long interviews with both Jim and Charlie, and some of the others camped with them on the Klondike at that time, and reduced the purport of our talks to writing. As I have said, both Henderson and Carmac gave me the same story

about Henderson having told Carmac of the new discovery, and the Indians assured me that they knew 'Bob', as they call Henderson, told George, as they called Carmac, of it and asked him to go and stake on it; that much, therefore, may be assumed without doubt. The stories told me by the Indians may be questioned, but they were very sincere in their tone and assertions when telling me. I took the precaution to interview them separately and afterwards get them all together and criticize and discuss the narrative of each...

Put in as concise terms as I can frame it, Jim's story tells us that he, Charlie, and George were, as we know, camped at the mouth of the Klondike fishing, but as a straight fish diet becomes monotonous in time, in order to procure some variety it was agreed that they would get out some logs, take them down to Fortymile, and sell them to the saw-mill there ... Much depended on Jim in this work, and he did a good deal of examination in the woods around the place to find the best and most convenient logs. This work took him some distance up a creek afterwards known as Bonanza ... He informed me he found some very good logs ... at various places, and in order to learn whether or not they could be floated down to the Yukon, he had to make a close examination of the creek bed. In doing this he said he found some colours of gold at various places in the gravel, and particularly at where claim sixty-six below discovery was afterwards located he found what he considered very fair prospects. He told the fishing camp of this find, but it did not arouse much interest. Jim, according to his own story, was anxious to further investigate, but as George was chief councillor in the camp and did not appear much interested in the matter it was allowed to drop temporarily.

About twenty days after Henderson called at the camp, George told him to get ready for a tramp to find Bob. [The three men] started up Bonanza on the quest, with [prospecting] tools ... for a prolonged stay away from camp, and such provisions as their means afforded...

A short distance below where they afterwards made discovery, both Jim and Charlie told me they, while panning during a rest, found a ten-cent pan ... It was decided [among the trio] that if the Gold Bottom trials failed they would devote further attention to this place...

As they did not find any prospect approaching in value the ten cent pan on Bonanza, they remained a very short time at Henderson's s camp ... Before they got far down [Bonanza] their provisions were entirely exhausted, and as they prospected on their way down, and Jim was hunting for meat, their progress was slow ... Jim at last, when they were all too tired and weak to do further prospecting, got a moose...

... Jim says he called on the others, whom he had left some distance away, to come to him. While waiting for them to come he looked in the sand of the creek where he had gone to get a drink, taking with him a bit of the moose. He found gold, he said, in greater quantities than he had ever seen before. When the others joined him the moose was cooked, and they had a feed. Then he showed them the gold in the sand. They remained two days at this place panning, and testing the gravel up and down the creek in the vicinity. After satisfying themselves that they had the best spot, and decided to stake and record there, they got into a dispute as to who should stake discovery claim, Jim claiming it by right of discovery, and Carmac claiming it, Jim says, on the ground that an Indian would not be allowed to record it. Jim says the difficulty was finally settled by agreement that Carmac was to stake and to record discovery claim, and assign half of it, or a half-interest in it to Jim...

Still, in many popular written accounts, including George Carmack's own

writings and the *Daily Alaskan* newspaper (July 13, 1898), the only true discoverer recognized is Carmack. Is this merely a case of strategic misrecognition, as Ogilvie's assessment seems to imply (in that Carmack claimed right of discovery and Jim agreed "on the ground that an Indian would not be able to stake and record a discovery claim")? Or does such misrecognition indicate more systemic problems in the representation, such as racist "cultural erasure" (cf. Cruikshank 1998) and the privileging of literate accounts over oral ones? Even the greatest popular account of them all, Berton's *The Klondike Fever*, admits that "the record is blurred" (1958:46-47).

The relationships among the protagonists are important because Carmack was not just a white man and Skookum Jim was not simply his guide. As brothers-in-law they had both a history together and responsibilities to each other.

George Carmack

The canonical portrayal of George Carmack in the gold rush is that of the "white man who wanted to be an Indian."

> At a time and place when everyman wanted to be a prospector, Carmack appeared to be a misfit. He alone of all men did not want gold. Instead he wanted to be an Indian in land where the natives were generally scorned by the white man and the word 'Siwash' was a term of opprobrium. His wife, Kate, a member of the Tagish tribe, was the daughter of a chief and it was Carmack's ambition to be chief himself. (Among the Tagishes, descent is through the chief's sister.) He worked with the other Indians as a packer on the Chilkoot Pass, and by the time he moved into the interior with his wife and her two brothers [Skookum Jim and (nephew) Dawson Charley] he had three or four half-breed children. He had grown an Indian-type mustache that drooped over his lips in Oriental style, and when anybody said to him: 'George, you're getting more like a Siwash every day,' he took it as a compliment. He did not in the least mind his nicknames 'Stick George' and 'Siwash George,' for he considered himself a true Siwash and he was proud of it.
>
> While other men scrabbled and mucked in the smoky shafts of Fortymile and Birch Creek, Siwash George was slipping up and down the river with his Indian comrades. His temperament, which was indolent and easygoing, matched that of the natives, who were a different breed from the fiercely competitive and ambitious Tlingit tribes of the coast. (Berton 1958:41)

This is not a flattering portrait, but one consistent with the derogatory view of "squaw men" like Carmack who were typically marginalized by non-Natives of the period (Coates 1991:82-83).

George Washington Carmack had first arrived in Alaska in 1882 as a U.S. Marine on board the ship *Wachusette* at Sitka. According to his biographer, James Albert Johnson (2001:32), Carmack immediately became enamored with the Tlingits.

> The Tlingit Indians lived in [an] area known as the "rancherie," separated from the town by a tall cedar fence. At night, a gate was locked to keep the Tlingits away from the town people. Carmack enjoyed talking with the Tlingits and soon picked up the Chinook jargon the Indians used to communicate with white men. Carmack then turned his attention to the Tlingit dialect, learning enough of that guttural language to carry on an ordinary conversation. He seemed to have a natural flair for new languages.

His facility with languages served him well as he learned to negotiate with the Tlingits and also to gather information about pros-

peeting. It was here that he first heard of George Holt's prospecting and traversing of the Chilkoot, and Carmack resolved to follow Holt's course. After returning south and abandoning the military he returned to Southeast Alaska in 1885. From Juneau, "a pair of Auke Indians offered to move the prospectors and their outfits wherever they wanted to go, but their slim dugout canoes seemed much too fragile for the long trip up Lynn Canal." (2001:40). But Carmack was able to persuade Navy Lieutenant Commander Henry Nichols to transport him and his cohorts to Chilkoot (Haines) where they had been called to quell "a drunken shooting spree" among the Natives and then to Taiya (Dyea) on May 19. There, "They were greeted at the mouth of the river that afternoon by myriad tiny mosquitoes with ravenous appetites." "Only 25 miles to Lake Lindemann," Carmack reportedly shouted as he fended off the bugs. "Let's get going!" (2001: 41).

Shortly afterward, as they made camp, Carmack and his party were greeted by the local Chilkoot leader (Lunáat'?) who arrived by canoe, along with a group of his packers

> Three Indians climbed over the ornate bow decorated with carved totemic figures and walked slowly up the sloping beach. Since he had some facility with Chinook, George Carmack was assigned to negotiate, with the following orders from [partner] Al Day, who had made the journey the previous year: 'Don't take their first offer. Last year we paid $15 a hundred; that's too much.' (2001: 43).

The negotiations proceeded as follows:

> The spokesman for the Indians offered to pack the Day and Carmack outfits over the pass to Lake Lindemann for $15 a hundred pounds. Carmack countered with an opening offer of five dollars. After an hour of friendly dickering, Carmack and the Indian leader agreed the packers would receive eight dollars per hundred. In addition, each packer would be given one cup of flour daily to supplement the dried salmon he took along for food. Carmack agreed to have all the supplies and equipment put up in bundles or boxes weighing less than 100 pounds each. The Chilkoots would supply 40 packers for the Day group and eight packers for the Carmack party.
>
> The Chilkoots were one of the fiercest and most aggressive branches of the Tlingit Indians. Short and stocky with thick chests, massive heads and pale brown faces, the packers swarmed around their leader, the tallest of the lot, who assigned the loads. Four boys, ten or 12 years old, were each given packs of 50 pounds. Eight women, some wearing half a dozen silver bracelets on their arms, carried 75-pound sacks. The men each received packs weighing from 75-120 pounds.
>
> Carmack noticed that the heaviest load was given to a one-eyed young Chilkoot wearing a patched woolen shirt, a small black cap, a headband strap and ragged denim trousers held up with a sinew cord. On his back, cushioned by a blanket, he carried two 50-pound sacks of flour topped with a 20-pound slab of bacon. As did most of his companions, he carried a stout walking stick.
>
> Each Chilkoot woman wore a long full skirt, a cape-like blanket draped over her shoulders and a kerchief covering her head. Both men and women favored native moccasins reaching well above the ankle. Only the white men wore rain clothing.
>
> By nine o'clock the Chilkoots had started up the trail. The long column had traveled less than a mile when it moved past the one-building settlement of Dyea. Founder John J. Healy stood in the doorway of the Healy & Wilson Trading Post and greeted the white men as they

passed.

Carmack found it difficult to keep up with the Indians with an 80-pound load on his back. After traveling six miles over a rocky and hilly trail, his pack straps were digging into his shoulders and his feet hurt. He welcomed the stop for lunch. The white men refreshed themselves with tea and warmed-up bacon cooked the night before; the Chilkoots chewed dried salmon and drank water from a creek. Clouds of mosquitoes lunched on both groups. (2001:44-46)

Carmack's correspondence, summarized by Johnson (2001:46-49) also provides details of the course of the Chilkoot Trail and how Natives negotiated it. For the first several miles, the trail stayed

> close to the winding Taiya River, now a noisy, white-water torrent. Early in the afternoon, the expedition reached a fork in the stream, where the Nourse River empties into the Taiya. The packers followed the smaller Taiya, heading northeasterly toward Chilkoot Pass. Once again, the procession forded the glacier fed river and detoured around a mile long canyon with steep, rocky sides. Before stopping for the night, the hardy Chilkoot pushed on for another four miles…
>
> They camped in a wide valley where the spruce forest came down to the edge of the river. Pitchy dead spruce boughs were plentiful, and soon the campfires sent forth a tear-producing smoke that kept both men and mosquitoes at a distance. Carmack and his companions put up tents; the Chilkoots slept under the trees. Since many of the Chilkoot were insatiable gamblers, they soon had a game going, playing with bone markers and keeping score with willow sticks….
>
> The sturdy Chilkoots, gamblers and all, arose early. Their shouting awakened Carmack…
>
> The party got off to an early start. The Indians wanted to get over the snow-covered approach to the summit before the midday sun turned the crusted snow into slippery slush….
>
> …Carmack struggled toward the top. He marveled at the agility and endurance of the Chilkoots crossing the wind-whipped slope. It took him almost an hour to reach the rim of the summit…
>
> …They pushed on until nine that night, when they reached the shore of Lake Lindemann. Settling down their loads, the packers demanded their pay. Right after supper, Carmack and his exhausted companions went to sleep; the hardy Chilkoots resumed their stick gambling games.
>
> In the morning, the Indians departed for Dyea while the Day and Carmack parties began searching for timber suitable for boat building.

Later in the summer, the party returned, unguided, to the coast via the Chilkoot Trail, having found some gold, but Carmack's share amounting only to a paltry two ounces (2001:53). Still, Carmack seemed bit by the gold fever and resolved to return to the Yukon drainage the following year.

Carmack meets Skookum Jim and Dawson Charlie

In summer of 1886, after paying $10 to have his belongings transported by Auk Indians to Dyea, Carmack decided to pitch a tent near the Healy & Wilson trading post, then the only permanent structure and two-story building in Dyea. Here he met and befriended John Healy, who introduced Carmack to Skookum Jim and Dawson Charlie. As we have seen, Healy's own relationship with the Tlingits was tenuous, for although he cooperated with the local Tlingits in organizing packing, he himself sought to control and profit from use of the Chilkoot Trail and traded directly with interior Natives despite Tlingit objections. According to Carmack,

"Healy had nothing but contempt for the Chilkoots, calling them liars, cheats, and thieves." And, despite being a whiskey peddler (Hunt 1993), Healy "refused to sell them molasses or lemon extract, knowing that they would drink the extract and use the molasses to make a crude alcoholic drink known as 'hoochinoo.'" Nevertheless, Healy thought highly of Skookum Jim and Dawson Charlie, whom he introduced to Carmack as "a couple of honest Indians". Healy described Skookum Jim as "the best damn packer there is. He can lug a 150-pound load over the pass. That's why they call him Skookum Jim." He then introduced Carmack to the "little fellow," Jim's nephew Tagish Charlie, noting, "I got two other Charlie's trading with me so I call this one Tagish Charley. The Chilkoots don't like him. They call him Cultus Charley. a no-good Charley. but he's a good packer and as tough as a spruce knot." (Carmack 1933; Johnson 2001:57-59). Thus we find the origin of the name Tagish Charlie (or Charley) and how, as with so many Indian names, it was given by whites to avoid confusion. Healy's statement also suggests that Charlie did not have the same close relationship to the coastal Tlingit that Skookum Jim, whose mother was Tlingit (clan identity being inherited through the mother in the matrilineal Tlingit system), enjoyed.

Carmack shook hands with Skookum Jim,

> whose frowning expression never changed. He then watched as the two Natives began bargaining with Healy over the price of fox, marten, muskrat, and beaver furs they had brought down to trade.
>
> The trader ran his hand expertly over each fur, appraising it. Then the bargaining began, conducted entirely in Chinook. Carmack had no difficulty following it. When the bargaining ended, Skookum Jim received $125 and Tagish Charley agreed to $100. The two Indians told Healy they were looking for work as packers. He suggested they set up camp near Carmack in back of the trading post. The two Tagish men felt that here they were not likely to be harassed by the Chilkoots, who had dominated and terrorized their tribe for many years. Carmack helped them build a crude lean-to of spruce boughs to keep out the summer rain. Having them as neighbors gave Carmack an opportunity to practice his Chinook. (Johnson 2001:59)

In this camp a friendship emerged, and within a week the three men were on their first packing job together. Carmack was perhaps the first non-Native packer to be professionally employed, and Skookum Jim and Dawson Charlie among the first non-Tlingits to hire on as packers. Their presence effectively challenged the Chilkoots' "packing trust" (which by now included non-Chilkoots but was still managed by the Lukaxh.ádi leaders) and Healy's coordinating of their packing employment put the trader at odds with Tlingit leaders like Lunáat', whose traditional responsibility it was to oversee the trail and organize packing labor. Perhaps this explains the tension between the Tlingit, Healy, and the Tagish duo.

In 1886, the packers earned $10 per hundred pounds carried from Dyea to the head of Lake Lindeman, typically a journey of two to three days, followed by a two day return trip. "Carmack, the only white man packing with the Indians, soon learned that a hundred–pound pack was too much for him. Skookum Jim offered to relieve him of a 20-pound bag of rice; Carmack accepted gladly." (Johnson 2001:59). Eventually Carmack learned the ropes, and with some 200 miners

passing over the trail that season, the trio was never hurting for packing jobs.

At the conclusion of the packing season, Skookum Jim and Charlie invited Carmack to winter with them at Tagish, and together they hiked back over the trail toward the Interior. Carmack recalls a particularly clear day at the summit with all the surrounding environs impressively visible. Seeing his reaction, "Skookum Jim swung his arm in a wide are and then spoke, using a combination of Chinook and English… 'Dis Inchen illahee [This Indian Country.]. Hiyu skookum illahee [Plenty good land]. Hiyu clean [Plenty clean], all same sky [like the sky].'" At Lake Bennett, they uncovered a boat that Jim and Charlie had cached in the brush. They continued their journey by water to Tagish, some 50 miles north "on the left bank of the river-like channel that connects Lake Bennett with Lake Marsh." (Johnson 2001: 61) about 15 miles from the caribou crossing at Careross.

At Tagish, Carmack initially had trouble communicating because, unlike Skookum Jim and Dawson Charlie, few other Tagish residents spoke or understood Chinook. Jim was known only by his Tlingit name, Keish ("Dog Salmon Spawn"?). Carmack took up residence in Jim's community house along with Jim's nephew Charlie and two younger sisters, whom he called Jennie and Kate (he rendered his first wife's Tagish name as Jeeflot [Shaa Tlaa'?]) and struggled to learn the language, but with limited success. Everyone slept on the floor. In the meantime, his hosts outfitted him for the winter, replacing the white man's trousers, leather boots, and cloth coat with caribou skin (fur worn in) pants, knee high caribou skin moccasins, a knee length caribou skin parka, and a hat and mittens made of rabbit skin and trimmed with fur (Johnson 2001:63).

> Carmack adapted easily to the Tagish way of life. He fished, hunted and trapped, all Indian style. Jim showed him how to make snowshoes, using spruce branches for frames and cutting webbing from caribou hide. With Jim's help, Carmack learned how to set traps for fox, wolf, lynx and other fur-bearing animals. After the spring thaw they caught dozens of muskrats and a few beaver.
>
> With the approach of summer, Carmack realized that he had seen the Yukon country in all its seasons. Following the rhythms of nature, the Tagish hunted in the fall, trapped in the winter and took to the river in the summer. (2001:64)

In exchange, Carmack taught Skookum Jim and Charley the art of panning for gold. The trio soon became a quartet as Kate and Carmack grew closer. The group resolved to work another season as packers to earn enough cash to outfit their own prospecting venture.

In 1887, Carmack, Jim, Charlie, and Kate were among the 120 packers hired by the surveyor Ogilvie to ferry his party's equipment across the Chilkoot Trail. When Ogilvie ran into trouble at the summit, his Tlingit packers refusing to pack any farther, Carmack and Healy helped recruit Tagish packers to take the party the rest of the way. When Ogilvie found the Chilkoot Pass to be unsuitable for a road or railway, he commissioned Captain William Moore to survey the White Pass above Skagway, guided by Skookum Jim. The arduous trip took seven days, but, despite the lack of a well-established trail, Moore declared the route to be superior to the Chilkoot. The Native name for the pass, according to Carmack (Johnson 2001: 66), was Shasheki (Shaa Shakee, "On Top of the Mountain") but Ogilvie bestowed upon it

a new name. White Pass, in honor of Thomas White, Canada's Minister of the Interior.

At the end of the 1887 packing season, Carmack built a cabin at Dyea and asked Kate to move in with him. She accepted and the relationship budded into a common-law marriage, which produced a daughter, Graphie, in 1893, but dissolved in 1900 when Carmack left Kate for a non-Native woman. But at this time (1887) the couple worked hard to earn money and outfit themselves for prospecting the following year, while Jim and Charlie returned to the Interior to trap for the winter. Upon their return to Dyea in May 1888, the two trappers sold their furs to Healy and joined with George and Kate to go prospecting in the Klondike. The group, sometimes sans Kate, prospected and trapped for the better part of the next four years but with limited success. In 1892, Carmack decided to open a trading post above Five Finger Rapids on the Yukon River, while continuing to work a nearby mine for coal. In 1896, he closed the trading post and moved his family, including his new young daughter Graphie, whose Tlingit name was Ah-Gegh ("Daughter of the Lake"), to Fortymile. That same year they would hit the jackpot.

Carmack's Version of the 1896 Gold Discovery at Bonanza Creek

Dreams figure prominently in the narratives surrounding the discovery of gold by the trio of Carmack, Skookum Jim, and Dawson Charlie. In June of 1896 at Fortymile, Carmack

> ...experienced a dream so real, so vivid and so exciting that further sleep was impossible. He dreamed he was sitting on the bank of a small stream looking at a school of grayling surfacing in a pool of blue-green water. Suddenly the sail-like dorsal fins of the grayling disappeared and two large king salmon swam into the pool. Their scales were made of shiny flakes of gold, and gold pieces covered their eyes. When he reached down to grab a golden salmon, Carmack awoke to find himself clutching his right ear. (Johnson 2001:83)

To Carmack the dream portended that he would find gold "in close association with salmon in a stream with blue-green water." He determined this to mean not the brownish Yukon, but the clear, blue-green tinted waters of the Klondike River region, from the aboriginal name Thron-diuk (sp.?), meaning "Hammer Water" (Berton 1958: 40). Gathering supplies at Jack McQuesten's Fortymile trading post, Carmack, with Kate and Graphie, poled upriver to the Klondike, where they were soon met by Jim, Charlie, and Charlie's 17-year-old younger brother, Koolseen, whose childhood request for an English name Carmack had obliged by calling him Patsy Henderson.[1] Carmack shared his dream of the golden salmon in the blue-green water; they agreed that it was portentous and were eager to join him in prospecting the Klondike Valley. Jim and Charlie had suffered hard luck since their separation from Carmack. Besides, they knew the Klondike country well from their own travels. They agreed to join Carmack in pursuit of his dream.

A few days later, they had a fateful meeting with another gold rush prospector, Bob Henderson. Henderson told Carmack about a promising prospect he was working, a tributary of the Klondike he called Gold Bottom. According to Carmack's biographer (Johnson 2001:88) the conversation proceeded as follows:

> 'Any chance for us to stake up there?' asked Carmack. Henderson

looked at Jim and Charley before replying.

'There is for you, George. But I don't want any damn Siwashes [Indians] staking on Gold Bottom.'

Carmack's blue eyes widened in disbelief at the callousness of Henderson's remark. Jim's dark face flushed. He clenched his hands as he glared at Henderson. Charley curled his lip and kicked at the beach sand. After a long tense silence, Henderson pushed his boat into the water and started up the Klondike. In the days ahead he would have reason to regret his bigotry.

> 'What's matta dar white man?' asked Jim as the three men walked back to their camp. 'Him killet Inchen moose. Inchen caribout, ketchet old Inchen country, no liket Inchen stake claim, what for, no good.'
>
> 'Never mind,' Carmack said. 'We'll find a creek of our own, and we'll stake on it, you and me and Charley.'"

This they did a short time later, when, after selling logs to fund their prospecting outfit, they headed up toward Henderson's camp. On the way they passed over the small stream that would come to be known as Eldorado Creek and yield the richest gold deposits in the region. Skookum Jim also shot a black bear along the way, steadying his Winchester .44 on Carmack's shoulder and caching the meat for the return trip. They found enough evidence of gold in the creeks leading to Henderson's camp that Carmack told the racist miner of their prospects. On their return trip, Carmack and his partners decided to walk up Eldorado Creek and try a few pans. As they moved downstream, gold began showing up in their pans.

> About a half a mile below the fork, the creek made a sharp turn to the north, and the men climbed the steep bank ahead of them. Carmack looked down at the creek, 50 feet away. A long, narrow strip of bedrock showed its bed.
>
> 'Bedrock,' he [Carmack] shouted. 'If this creek is any good at all, we'll find gold down there.'
>
> Carmack slipped off his pack and scrambled down the bank to the creek. There was something shiny in the shallow water flowing over the rim of the bedrock. He reached down and picked up a gold nugget the size and shape of a wrinkled dime. Placing the nugget between his teeth, he bit it. The nugget bent, and stayed bent. Gold! Carmack held the nugget high in the air and shouted to his companions on the bank.
>
> 'Hiyu gold! Bring pan and shovel. Hurry!'
>
> Charley grabbed the pan and shovel, sliding down the bank so fast that he tripped and fell. Carmack caught him before he rolled into the water. Turning over a flat piece of rock with the shovel, Carmack saw flakes of gold lodged in the crevice. He scooped up a shovelful of crumbling bedrock and tossed it into the pan. Quickly he washed it down. It produced at least a quarter of an ounce of flaky coarse gold.
>
> 'A five-dollar pan,' yelled Carmack. 'We've hit it the golden paystreak!'
>
> Jim stared at the gold. He threw the pan to the ground and leaped high in the air...Charley stared too, slack-jawed with wonder....Carmack...threw the pan to the ground and leaped high into the air. Then he began dancing around the pan, a dance remotely related to a Scottish hornpipe, an Irish jig, and an Indian version of the hula-hula. Jim and Charlie joined him, doing their own interpretations of a Tagish ceremonial dance....
>
> After a supper of bear steaks and tea, the men sat around the campfire smoking their pipes. When the pipes went out, the Indians began chanting songs in Tagish. They sang of feasts and famine together, of hunting for caribou and moose, of journeys together over snow and ice. When the singing ended,

> they rolled themselves in their sleeping robes and went to sleep. (Johnson 2001: 93-94)

The trio did not backtrack to tell Henderson of their discovery, but instead staked their respective claims along the creek, which Carmack officially named "Bonanza" on a small piece of birch bark he attached to his discovery stake (2001:98). Although Charlie wanted to stay and work the claim immediately, Carmack convinced him that it would be more productive to return to the trading post and acquire supplies to set-up a sluicing operation. The trio returned for supplies and to pick up Kate, Graphie, and Patsy. Along the way, Carmack informed others of his discovery and hordes of gold seekers followed their trail to Bonanza Creek. Jim returned ahead of the others to build a sawpit and protect the site from "claim jumpers." When the others arrived they set up two tents, one for George, Kate, and Graphie and the other for Jim, Charlie, and Patsy and began working the claim. They worked together to dig a shaft on Carmack's claim first. When Charlie and Jim became concerned about the small amount of work being done on their claims, Carmack expanded his concept of a partnership to include an equal sharing of the labor and proceeds in exploiting the three claims.

> 'Listen, Jim, and you too, Charley. We find gold together. Now we have to work together to get gold out. I can't work my two claims by myself. I need your help. You fellows can't work your claims alone either. You need my help. That way everybody helps, no fighting. Jim, Charley, George — three partners. Savvy?'
>
> Jim and Charley nodded. Carmack shook hands with each man. Based on this simple verbal agreement and mutual trust, the three partners would, during the next four years, amicably divide almost a million dollars worth of Klondike gold into three equal shares. (2001: 106-107).

Patsy Henderson was able to file a fractional claim the next year, when he was of legal age to file (18), and it was found that Skookum Jim's No. 1 claim (registered as Tagish Jim) was oversized about 61 feet. Tagish Patsy's claim was recorded on March 1, 1897 (Johnson 2001:109).

Skookum Jim's Dream and Account of the Discovery

Like Carmack, Skookum Jim has become a larger than life figure in the history of the Klondike Gold Rush. Berton describes him in legendary terms: "a giant of a man, supremely handsome with his high cheekbones, his eagle's nose, and his fiery black eyes—straight as a gun barrel, powerfully built, and known as the best hunter and trapper on the river" (1958:43). We have already remarked upon the Herculean packing feats that earned him the nickname "Skookum." His prowess as a hunter was documented most vividly by Moore (1968: 153-156) who witnessed Jim's remarkable pursuit of two bears between Skagway and Haines in the summer of 1892.

> ... I noticed a lone Indian swiftly shooting down the current in a small canoe. On his paddling up alongside of my sloop, I recognised him to be my old friend Skookum Jim, or Stick Jim, as my father used to call him; ... (who had) gone through the White Pass with my father in June 1887.
>
> Well, Jim gave me to understand that he would like to accompany me to Chilkat. So we hauled his tiny canoe on board the sloop and started on our way again, calling into Skagway for a few moments on our way down the Lynn Canal and seeing that our log house and

everything there was all right.

We pulled out of Skagway Bay again, and proceeded on down the channel with a light, fair, northerly breeze, gliding along slowly. I was at the helm and Jim and Murphy were lying under the thwarts, napping. When we were down on the channel about four miles below Skagway, near a waterfall, Jim awoke and sat up, and in a little while he was looking intently ahead toward our port shore a few hundred feet away. Suddenly Jim became very excited and remarked, 'I see a bear two.'

Murphy and I looked intently, but could see no bears. But Jim, I could see at once by his earnestness, could not be mistaken, and knowing him to be one of the best hunters in the country I believed that he did see two bears on the beach quite a distance ahead.

He begged me to land a sloop at the steep, rocky shore. This could easily be done, for there was no sea on at all. We moored our sloop, lowered the sail, and let Jim out with his little canoe to paddle quietly along close to the shore for some distance to get nearer the two bears.

Before he started I said, 'Now, Jim, I will remain here one hour. If by that time we do not hear from you or see you, I will hoist sail and leave.

Well, he left, taking his rifle and only four cartridges, and went skimming on down, paddling quietly and hugging the shore closely. Murphy and I proceeded to cook dinner on our little canner charcoal stove, and after finishing dinner we smoked for a while. By this time I thought we ought to hear something from Jim. I unshipped the tiller and began to pound loudly on the gunwale of the sloop to give Jim a warning--if he was within hearing distance that we intended to start again, or to get an answer by way of a gun shot or a shot from him. But no answer came.

We also shouted, with the same results. So we hoisted sail, let go of our shore lines, and swung out from shore. Then, when we were just getting underway and while I was looking way up the mountain for I knew that bears, if Jim really saw any, would make for the hills if he did not get them before they had time to do so I noticed a moving object: but it was so far up the side of the mountain that I could not believe it was Jim.

However, watching intently, I could see the object bending over and stooping, then at times it would disappear altogether. But soon I could see that it was our Jim. He was rolling, pulling, and tugging at a jet-black object which then, of course, I knew must be a black bear, one apparently half-grown.

Murphy and I hurried up to assist him. The mountainside was quite steep, so that we could roll and drag the bear downhill especially now that there were three of us.

During all the time that had elapsed since Jim had left our sloop with his little canoe--over an hour we had not heard a gunshot, and I noticed that Jim's clothes were badly torn in several places and he had scratches on his hands and blood on them. I remarked on his condition, and he said that when the two bears sighted him they at first made for the mountain. Not wishing to take any chances on firing at too long range, he followed them nearly to the snowline and shot and killed the black bear first, and then shot and wounded a very large brown bear.

I said, 'Well, where is the brown bear?'

'Down hill in bushes, but not dead yet,' Jim replied, pointing toward a clump of underbrush a hundred feet or so from the water's edge. Then he told us about his hand-to-hand fight with the big brown bear, and showed us the claw marks on his hands [from] ramming the gun into the bear's throat and striking him on the head with heavy stones, and so forth.

Murphy and I could hardly believe all of this could have happened, espe-

cially in only about an hour and a half. But the evidence was right there before us.

After considerable work, the three of us got the black bear down and loaded it into the sloop. We then followed Jim up the beach a way, after he first took a few more cartridges from the sloop, my little dog Buck following at our heels, sniffing then barking excitedly. I took along a Colt revolver, the only firearm I had at that time.

On nearing a clump of trees and underbrush I heard a great noise of snorting and moaning, and heard the bushes cracking and swaying. Jim quietly leaned forward, parted the bushes, took aim and fired just the one shot. Then the three of us stood still to listen, but the big brown bear lay there, within forty feet of us, still and dead this time.

We went up to it, and my little terrier jumped around and barked loudly and commenced to nip and pull the dead bear's ears. I was surprised too see such a large bear. Both it and the black one had beautiful coats. Jim showed me places on the bear's head where he had bruised him with rocks and slashed him with his knife. ... These brown or cinnamon bears are, as most people know, more precious than the black.

...Jim, of course, felt that he ought to have the proceeds from the sale of the hides. So knowing that he had hunted and killed them and risked his life in doing so, I readily acceded to his request.

He now pleaded for me to run the sloop up into the Chilkoot Inlet north of the Haines Mission and land there on the gravel beach to skin the two bears, quarter the meat and stow it all snugly away under the foredeck of the sloop. This we did. Jim asked this for the reason, as he explained, that he, being a Stick Indian, the coast or Chilkoot Indians if they found out that he had killed these two bears in their territory... would make Jim pay them a royalty. This condition, of course, I knew...

Again we started on our way out of the Chilkoot Inlet without any of the coast Indians seeing our prizes and arrived quietly back in Chilkat Jate in the evening. Jim smuggled his two fine bear skins, one at a time, up to Captain Healy's branch store where they were stowed away for a while till Jim could stretch and dry them.

Jim received $40 for the two skins. This was a cheap price, but under the circumstances Jim did not care to dicker too much and Johnny Healy, as we all knew, was not in Alaska for his health either. We all ate fresh bear meat for a few days. I also gave some to Captain Healy, and some to Mrs. Dickinson, a great friend of my wife's.

In addition to marveling at Skookum Jim's ability to pack 156 pounds of his party's bacon over the Chilkoot Pass in a single load, Ogilvie (1913:132-134) also commented respectfully on his personal qualities and overall character: "After we crossed the summit and while building our boat I employed Jim in various capacities, and always found him reliable, truthful, and competent to do any work I gave him. Afterwards, while working on his claim on Bonanza, I had more experience of him, and it only corroborated the opinion I have expressed of his character." In weighing Carmack's version of the discovery at Bonanza Creek versus that of Skookum Jim, Ogilvie found Jim's version more plausible.

Skookum Jim was also well respected by his own people, although the portrait that emerges from the oral history of his Carcross-Tagish First Nations relatives and descendants is more complex.

Wilkie (1992) has compiled a manuscript entitled "Skookum Jim: Native and Non-Native Stories and Views About His Life and Times and the Klondike Gold Rush," which attempts to flesh out a more complete biography of Jim than the superficial caricatures. The oral accounts of Skookum Jim compiled by Wilkie reveal Jim, not unlike the demiurge figure of Raven, to be both blessed and cursed, intelligent and gifted yet bedeviled by his own curiosity and success. Johnny Johns, sister of Angela Sidney and head of the Crow Deisheetaan of Careross until his death in 1988, told a number of Skookum Jim stories of this humorous genre for the Skookum Jim Friendship Oral History Project in 1973, including "Jim Buys Beans," and "Jim Buys Soap." Curious about the white man's cultural products, Jim buys beans and soap only to find out—the hard way--they are not what he assumed them to be. "Jim Buys Beans" not only emphasizes Jim's curiosity about white culture, but also his pre-Rush involvement in trade at Dyea and the origin of his English name, James Mason.

Jim Buys Beans

I remember another bean story, and Skookum Jim was mixed up in this story too. Of course I wasn't there, this was before my time, but these stories are handed down.

This happened at Dyea, Alaska before they called it Alaska, and I guess before they called Yukon, Yukon.

Dyea is near Skagway, one of the first ports they used to head into the Klondike. But this is before the events of the Klondike days.

Skookum Jim was at Dyea. He and many others used to take in their furs to sell there. At the post there was a white trader named Mason. Mr. Mason, everybody called him, and I think that's how Skookum Jim got his name, James Mason, I think, and I'm pretty sure too.

So this time Skookum Jim and his family, some relatives and many others, they came down to Dyea to trade in their furs to Mr. Mason at the trading post. It could have been 1894 or 95. They'd camp there for a while. Sometimes they would go down to visit friends at Juneau or Haines, and they'd paddle down in their war canoes, and this and that.

One day at Dyea, while his wife was away for awhile, he wanted to boil himself a pot of good home-made beans. So he went down to Mr. Mason at the trading post to get some beans. He sees a big pile of beans there in a barrel, so he says, 'This!' Mr. Mason poured him out some beans with the dipper. 'How much?' he asked.

'This much... Enough.' Then Skookum Jim sees some salt pork there in another barrel. He got some pork, then he goes home to his tent, and put them on his stove. Going to have a pot of beans for supper.

This was early in the day, and he started boiling his beans. Usually, brown beans you know, you change the water once only, but when it came time to change it, the water was extra dark. So he changed it again. He poured that out and put in some fresh water and cooked it some more. The water still got black, so he changed the water again. He was doing that all day, and the beans were also not getting soft.

Then late in the evening he sampled one bean. It didn't taste like a bean and was just as tough as could be. So then he thought he'd better get some help, some advice. He went over to his neighbour's tent where there was a young woman and her husband living. This happened to be Mrs. Johnson, and Billy Johnson.

'Mr. Mason sold me some beans,' he says, 'funny kind of beans. Don't taste like beans, and I changed water in those

> beans ten times today and still the water gets black, and they're still tough. So I wish you'd come over and see what it is, what kind of beans these are.'
>
> So Mrs. Johnson says she'll go over right away, and turns out these are coffee beans. That was it. He ruined a lot of coffee beans and then got no use out of them.

Skookum Jim's story of the discovery and the events leading up to it comes through the oral history passed down by his relatives, including Johnny Fraser, Patsy Henderson, Johnny Johns, Annie Ned, Angela Sidney, Pete Sidney, and Kitty Smith, among others (Wilkie 1992). Like Carmack, Skookum Jim had a foreshadowing experience and dream that led him to the gold. Unfortunately, Carmack's account reveals few of these details. Carmack's narrative only suggests that Jim and Charlie suffered bad luck following their departure from their white brother-in-law, including a frightful encounter with a brown bear on the shores of Dyea that charged Jim and kept coming despite his wounding it with a gun shot, such that he literally had to shove the barrel down the bear's throat while it swiped at him with its massive claws. Jim eventually subdued the bear by dropping a rock "the size of a water bucket" on the bear's head. Jim and Charlie's misadventures led them to consult a shaman, who advised rejoining "their old prospecting companion if they wished to be rid of the evil spirits" (Johnson 2001:85).

It was at Dyea that Jim had another fateful encounter with a powerful creature of the natural world -in Tagish cosmology at least: a frog. Associated with the powerful figure of Wealth Woman (Tl'anaxéedákhw), it was the frog that eventually led him to the gold at Bonanza Creek. Angela Sidney, a relative of Skookum Jim's (her father was his cousin) situates the encounter with the frog at Dyea, just before Skookum Jim's rejoining Carmack.

> To start with, they (Skookum Jim's family) built a little log house there in Dyea. People used to go there a long time ago before Skagway was a city. They had only one store there. They stayed there all the time, Skookum Jim's family. But in fall time the ground is getting frozen already. But it's coast, you know, that different climate.
>
> Here he went to the bathroom outside. When he's coming back, he hears something making noise. "Whoo" just like sand pouring down. So he stopped and listened. Here there was a ditch alongside the house there where they dig up the sand and put it on top of the moss for roofing. That's what they used long time ago.
>
> So he went on the edge and looked down and here sure enough there was a big frog; coast frogs are bigger than this frog you know. Long way from water, too, they said. Here it was trying to jump up and trying to get back. But he fall down, keeping doing that. I don't know how long. Gravel fell down with him. That's what's making the noise.
>
> Anyway, Skookum Jim saw it, so he was looking around for a board. Here he found a board and he shoved it down that hole there and then that frog crawled on that board.
>
> So Uncle Skookum Jim just lifted it up, lifted it up and carry it and took it down to the creek. There must be a creek there. This is Dyea. So anyway, he left it there. He let it go.
>
> And about a year or so after, here he got kicked in the stomach by a drunkard man. And it got festered. Oh, he was sick, they say. It happened somewhere around winter time. He was so sick he couldn't walk no more. And here it broke open toward the outside.



Figure 12. Dyea Frog (Boreal Toad—Bufo boreas boreas) spotted during Ida Calmegane's Plant Walk along Taiya River, May 2003. (Saurabh photo).

That's when my mother was looking after him. Well, he's my Daddy's cousin. Their [Tlingit] mothers were sisters. My mother's got three kids – four altogether with my oldest brother. And she's got one baby and twin girls, four altogether... My mother was looking after them.

Skookum Jim's wife and my daddy, they go pack, pack stuff. They're freighting over the summit toward Bennett. They get paid for packing stuff. Flour, soap, everything like that. And that's what my father was doing, and my mother stayed home and looked after the kids and my uncle Skookum Jim.

And here, one morning in June, his stomach broke out. Sun was way out already when my mother heard Skookum Jim calling her.

"Mrs. John, Mrs. John. La.oos Tláa, La.oos Tláa wake up. Come on."

Well, she got up. She's young person. She jumped up and went over there.

"Look at this thing here."

Here he was too hot, it was just burning, that sore place. So he had his blanket way up and his shirt way open and he pulled off those bandages because it was too hot. He wants to air it, open place.

And here he feels something tickle there. That's why he looked down. Here it was a frog licking that sore place and that's what it was that wakes him up. My mother sees it. Then she just got a board or something and put that frog on that. It never jumped, nothing, just stays like that.

Well, my mother used to have silk thread and beads and stuff too. She was good then. She wasn't blind then. They gave him silk thread and some beads. Swan down feathers, put it all around him too, and then she took it down to the creek and left it there. That's payment for Skookum Jim to that frog. They pay him.

And here, two or three days after he's starting to feel better and that started to heal up too. So it healed up good in no time, just in a week or so. He's all better and he's able to walk around good again.

I don't know how long after that he wants to see his mother. His mother lives at Careross, *Naataase Héen* they call it in Tlingit, "water running through the narrows." Tagish way they call it

Todeziané, "blowing all the time." He wants to see if his mother is okay. It's getting fall time. The ground is frozen already, but no snow yet.

So he went through the pass here (between Tagish and Careross). *Shish Zéitigi*, "grizzly bear throat" they call it, because there's always north wind blowing through there. It's open there too, just like a throat.

So through there he went to see his mother, down in Careross. And here he camped half way, around the first lake from here (Crag Lake) just right in the middle. There's camp places there all the time, brush camp there all the time, and here he camped there. He slept there.

That's the time he dreamed a nice looking lady came to him. Gee she's just pure, just like you can see through her, just like shining, gold shining. He said that lady tells him,

"I come for you. I want you to go with me. I come for you now. I want you to marry me," she said.

And my uncle said, "No, I can't marry you. I got wife already, my wife and children is in Tagish." That's what he dreamed he told this lady, he said.

"Well," she said, "if you can't go with me, I'll give you my walking stick." She gives it to him. Well, that walking stick just looks like gold. Well, he knows gold after that! Just shiny as could be, that walking stick. So he took it. He tells her, "Thank you."

"You save me one time," she said. "I was almost starving and I was just about going to die, and here you saved me one time. And I'm the one that saved you too when you were sick. When you were sick, I saved you, I helped you, I medicine you, that's why you got better."

That's what that lady supposed to tells him, 'cause he dreamed that.

And that lady tells when she gave him that walking stick,

"You're going to find the bottom of this walking stick. You're going to find it this way." So he looked at it and gee, everything is shining, looks like gold. "Look this way" she said pointing towards Atlin, "look this way."

He looks and he sees just like search light coming up.

"That's not for you though; that's for somebody else. You go down this way and you're going to have luck, your walking stick" (toward Dawson). That's what that lady is supposed to tell him.

When he woke up in the morning, here there was snow on top of him, about a foot deep, they say. It snowed that night. I guess he slept open place. He didn't sleep under anything.

After he ate breakfast, he went down to Careross. He got to Careross that night, and his mother and those people they're fine. It's okay. That's after his father died, I guess, because they never mention his father when they tell this story. They just say his mother. Some of her grandchildren are staying with them. There are some other people there too, I guess. But they just mentioned his mother. She was fine, nothing wrong, lots of wood, lots to eat. Everything.

So he just stayed one night and he started to go back and he camped on the way back too. Then he finally got home. He thought he's gone four days.

When he got there they tell him, "What kept you so long then; you're gone eleven days." He can't believe it.

"No," they said, "you're gone eleven days."

Well, after that he forgets about his dream. About a year later, though, that's the time he went down the (Yukon) river. He didn't think any more about it until he went down the river and found gold. (Sidney 1982:81-87)

This version of Skookum Jim's encounter with the frog is very similar to one told by her daughter, Ida Calmegane, upon encountering a frog (figure 12) while leading an ethnobotanical walk at Dyea on May 31, 2003. Mrs. Calmegane's account goes as follows

The old people dug a hole because they built a cabin and they put moss on the roof and then they put sand on top of it so it doesn't leak....How they do it is they put two logs together and then they put another one on top like that and then they keep on doing that. They try to make it as tight as they could so it doesn't leak. On top of all of that they put moss and then they put sand.

And when they were taking that sand they dug a hole, a big hole, and here that frog jumped in that hole. And that's what he heard; every time that frog tried to jump out, he'd just almost reach the top and then the sand would fall down with him again. And he'd jump again, he kept on doing that. And he heard that [frog] making noise. So he got a stick and he brought it back to the riverside, he put it close to the river, this one here [points to Taiya River] is the one they talk about. And here that fall he got some boys, young boys, they were fighting and they were drinking and fighting [oh my, there he goes now]. And somebody kicked him right in the stomach, in the stomach here, and he got sick, really sick, all winter he was sick. In the spring time everybody was packing, my grandmother was there, and everybody else was packing them to Dyea. And she had babies at home, so she couldn't pack. And she was looking after him. And they put up a tent for him because he wanted to go in the fresh air, so they fixed up a tent for him, and he sleeping in there, he couldn't move any more: he was just really sick, ready to die.

And here he took that bandage off. The old people when they put a bandage on anything they always use fur because it doesn't pull apart, and they didn't have bandages or anything. So they put pitch on it, and that's what they use for infection. And it got really hot, he was sweatin', so he took it off, that pitch and bandage, and opened it up like that and bared his chest out and the sun was shining in the tent, really nice and warm. And he went to sleep and all of the sudden he woke up he could feel something just sort of scratching on him, so he looked down on it and he could see the frog sitting there, and it was licking that wound. And it never got scared too, and he wondered about it so he hollered at my grandma. Old people, even when they speak to each other, they don't call you by name, in respect. And so it was his uncle's wife, my grandma, and he hollered at her "Mrs. John, Mrs. John," he tell her. And she come running because he was sick and he wouldn't eat for days. She run in there to see what he wanted, and here he tell her look at this thing. So she look at it, and saw a frog there. The frog just kept on licking that sore. He tell her, "Put it away, put it away good," he tell her. So she went and she got a stick and she put swan down on it. Old people they usually carry everything with them. Swan down is the feathers of the swan, you know, underneath the wings they got soft feathers there. She got soft feathers, and she put it on a stick or something. And she got silk thread. She couldn't say silk thread, so she'd say "slinkie thread." And beads, she put beads on it and everything and then she took that frog and she put it on there and she took it back down to the river by the river, she put it by the river. And she talked to it. Old people, when they do that they say, Awli Kants, or something like that, and they talk to it, talk to it hard. And she said prayers with it and she talked to it really hard, she told them to give them good luck. And she left it there. And then she came home. And he said "What did you do?" And she told him what she did. And they said he never eat or drink for days, he was so sick. And here, after a little while, he asked her for some soup. So she made bone soup for him, really really good. They cooked up the bones and she gave him the broth, she said a couple of cups of broth. And then he went to sleep that night, she said. In the morning he woke

up and he tell her, "Mrs. John I'm really hungry, he tell her. And they said from there on he starts getting better. They thought he was dying and he got better.

And then they moved back to Tagish because that's where they lived, in Tagish. And he's the head, he's the oldest in the family. And his father died, his mother was living and they he had brothers and sisters in Tagish [but staying in Careross]. His mother was in Careross and they were in Tagish. One morning he got up and he told his wife he was going to go to Careross, and she said "What for?" Well, he said, my mother, I want to make sure she's got wood. And she said, "Your brother makes sure she's got wood," she said, "You got sisters there too," she told him. No, he said, it's my job to look after it, and make sure she's got wood. I'm going to go up and get wood for her. So he went and when he got to 12-Mile, halfway between Careross and Tagish he made camp. And he went to sleep. And they said, when he went to sleep, they said, there was that much (about 8-12 inches of snow) on top of him, by the campfire. That's how long he slept. And he didn't even feel that snow when it came down. And while he was sleeping he dreamed this beautiful woman came to him, she just looked golden, with long golden hair and really beautiful. She tell him, I came, I came so you could marry me, she said. And he told here, I got a wife already, I can't get married you. And she told him all kinds of things. And one of the things she told him is she told him to look down, look north. And she showed him a great big gold, golden cane over here. And she tell him, I'm going to give you that one, she said, because you're the one that helped me, she said. You remember, you helped me, she said, in Dyea. She tell him, well that was me, she said. And then I helped you again, she said, in Dyea when you were sick, she tell him. And she said, I'm going to give you this, she said. And she said, "Look over this way, to the south, so he look that way and he could see toward Atlin and there was gold there. And she said this is for somebody else, she tell him. And he said, and she said look in between, she told him, there's one more over this way. Right to this day nobody's found it but my dad and them, my grandpa, his uncle and them told him about a place where they found gold up in the Quiet Lake area. And the summer my dad died, my dad died in June, well that summer he was going to go out with my uncle, Uncle Johnny (Johns?), to find that place. They went out once before but the airplane put them in the wrong place, at the wrong lake. So they walked over and he said they could see that mountain he was going to from the top of another mountain, but if they went over there, they would never have made it back in time for the plane to pick them up. So they never went there and they came back. But there were always going to go back, all the time, to see it.

My grandmother and them, when they went down the river, Skookum Jim's sisters went down the river. And two of them, one of them they never ever found, and one of them was married to George Carmacks. And my uncle Patsy [Henderson], when he talked about it, he always say, "My sister, she married Cheechako, he say. He called Cheechako a white man, eh. Cheechako. It was Skookum Jim that found the gold, but a long time ago they didn't allow us to stake claims and stuff like that, not the first claim or something. That's how come they say it was George Carmacks that found that claim, but it was not, it was Skookum Jim...

It started here with the frog. And my grandma says that because she helped him to put that frog away good and stuff, she said, that's why, she said, we were never hungry, we always had lots to eat and lots of clothes. She said we were lucky we were never hungry, we had enough food and were never ever hungry. We never became millionaires

(laughs) but we always had enough to eat. And she said that's because of that frog we helped.

But then that fall, when Skookum Jim went down the river, after he was looking for his sister, a bunch boats went, Skookum Jim went with his family and Dawson Charlie— they were brothers but they had different names, the white man came and they just give anybody any name, any kind of name. And Dawson Charlie with his family went down there and my grandpa was going and my grandma. And when they got to Lake Labarge my grandpa told my grandma, "Turn around, look at that mountain, he tell her. And so she turn around and look and she saw that mountain, back of Careross, somewhere around there. I'm not sure which mountain because I never tried to look whenever I went on Labarge. Anyway, she started to cry. And he tell her, "Now what's wrong," he tell her. And she said, "You know, she said, your mother is not very well and she's old, she said and my auntie too is getting old, she tell him. And when we go down the river we're not going to come back because when they go way down the river, the Yukon River, they come out in Saint Michaels, in Alaska some place, because they say its too hard too hard to come back up the river. And they are gone, they always go for a couple of years when they go on that trip. And so grandpa just- he make signs to his brothers ahead of him, his nephews ahead of them. And he tell em they're going back. So they turned around and went back. So she tell him, Well, now what you doing, she says. Well he says, I don't want you to be crying all the time, he said. We got to go back, he tells her. And she said they did die at the end, those ladies, those old ladies. And she said that's how we never became rich too.

Yeah, so that's a frog story. And we're told never to bother them, frogs. Any time when we see them, we just leave them alone. They say, if you bother them, it gives you bad luck. And there's a couple of people here that belong to the frog clan [Ishkeetaan].

In both these versions of the story, the climax is not the discovery of gold, but Keish's encounter with the *Tl'anaxéedikhw*, Wealth Woman, and the frog helper, both of whom empower him. Interestingly, in a version told by Si Dennis Sr. (interview with Clay Alderson, 17 April 1991), Skookum Jim's encounter, after helping the frog at Dyea, is with a man (the frog father?). Catharine McClellan (1963) has compared eight accounts of Jim's encounter with the frog in which the basic story of Jim's encounter with the amphibian caught in the dry hole is the same. But she notes some versions include additional encounters between Skookum Jim and the frog spirit, including visits to the frog's house and with the frog-father (Mrs. Annie Ned in Wilkie 1992:46). In return for helping the frog, "Later when he and his friends had been starving for four days, the frog gave him directions first for killing a moose, and then for finding the Bonanza gold. Some years after the Klondyke strike the frog also showed Jim a shining light near Atlin, B.C. which marked even more gold" (1963:124). For McClellan, these various iterations of the frog helper myth were a functional means for Tlingit and Tagish people to give meaning to extraordinary events, such as the Gold Rush of '98, through their own cultural symbols and superhuman figures (such as Wealth Woman and the frog helper) which, in turn, helped "to maintain a valued order in the Tagish world view" (1963:28).

As amphibians, frogs hold a special place in Inland Tlingit and Tagish cosmol-

ogy. This is partly due to their liminality or "inbetweenness" as creatures of the land and the water. As McClellan points out, frogs are also a transitional species between the coast and the Interior. While said to be plentiful at one time around Dyea, they are comparatively rare today (Dorothy Dennis STC interview 2002). On the other hand,

> Frogs are not very numerous in the Yukon, but many Tagish and Inland Tlingit women seem to regard them with an almost pathological fear, a feeling shared by the coastal Tlingit. For example, a Tagish woman told how she once found a wonderful meadow full of flowers and gophers, "like a farm," but it was utterly spoiled for her when she caught a frog in her gopher snare. She made her youngest daughter take it out of the snare. Similarly a young Inland Tlingit woman expressed a great desire to visit Haines in Chilkoot country on the coast— only to add with a shudder that she would be afraid to go because of all the frogs there.
>
> Yet there is some ambivalence of feeling, for the frog in some ways has a position analogous to the owl, and is an animal shaman. Thus, while both Southern Tutchone and Tagish say that frogs bring bad luck and ordinarily they must not be hunted, they declare on the other hand that if someone is sick and "you really offer him [the frog] things...like you pay the Indian doctor" it will help the sick person. In fact, if it is unable to make a cure, according to the Tutchone, when nobody is looking the frog will bring back to camp any beads which may have been offered to it...
>
> But some do acquire the frog as a yek [yeik] and, indeed, the whole Klondike Gold Rush may ultimately be attributed to the frog helper who appeared to Skookum Jim... In Jim's dreams the frog's eyes glittered just like gold nuggets.
>
> Among the Inland Tlingit, the frog is a crest animal of both the koqwhltan (Kookhittaan) and Iekitan (Ishkeetaan) sibs, but especially of the latter. This highly respected crest animal is, however, still so evil in some of its aspects, that a white man who teased some Teslin Indian women with frogs went temporarily crazy soon after the incident. Teslin people tell, too, of the terrible fate of a young girl who married a frog man and had a frog child. (McClellan 1975: 178-179)

Perhaps the frog is symbolic of Jim's own powerful yet liminal status too. Known among his own people as "a man who walked in two worlds" this was doubly true: Married to a coastal Tlingit Lukaaxh.ádi woman (Daakuda.eit, or Mary) Jim moved not only between the coastal Tlingit and interior Tagish worlds, but also between the Native and non-Native worlds.

Encounters with Wealth Woman are similarly portentous. Those who hear her and find her may find wealth and become rich. But Jim and Dawson Charlie sensed her, but did not find her: thus they obtained wealth—gold -but "it didn't last." As Angela Sidney tell it,

> When people go to Skagway,
>
> They always camp at that little lake back of the section house at Bennett [on the White Pass railway].
>
> It's too little to have a name, that lake
>
> They were camping there on the lakeside when they heard that baby crying—
>
> Skookum Jim heard it -- then Dawson Charlie heard it.
>
> Here they got up to go after it.
>
> Patsy [Henderson] went with them
>
> he went a little way, but he got scared, started crying- he was still a kid yet.
>
> "Crazy me," he tells us later.

"That's why I never get rich."

And they tried to chase it around around the lake
It kept disappearing
That's why their money didn't last.
(*in* Cruikshank 1991:128)

In analyzing the stories of Angela Sidney and Kitty Smith (another of Jim's relatives with a similar version of the story), Julie Cruikshank (1998:79-80; also 1990) found that their narratives emphasized themes of social responsibility in addition to Skookum Jim's personal exploits, discoveries, and change. "Keish and his brother both married coastal Tlingit women, but during the 1890s the elder brother died in one of the influenza epidemics sweeping the coast, leaving Jim solely responsible for the safety of his sisters." This point is underscored by Mrs. Sidney herself:

> In the first place, he [Skookum Jim] wasn't looking for gold. Skookum Jim went downriver to look for his two sisters because he missed them. They were gone two years already — no telegram, nothing. He doesn't know if his two sisters are alive or not. That's why he thought he'd go down the river too — to see if he could find his sisters, Aagé and Kate. They were strict about that kind of thing, the old people. (Cruikshank 1990: 63)
>
> He took his wife and his two nephews — Dawson Charlie and Patsy Henderson.

Both Aagé and Kate (Shaaw Tláa, who later married George Carmack) had married coastal Tlingits who later died. Concerned for his sisters' welfare, Jim went to the coast to check on them. As Cruikshank (1998:80) explains:

> In each account, the actual discovery of gold is almost incidental to the point of the main story—Skookum Jim's journey down the river to find his missing sisters. The pattern of a protagonist who uses special powers [such as the Wealth Woman and frog helper] to undertake a journey to find his wife or sisters is familiar in narratives from this region. Oral traditions use metaphors of connection to explain Skookum Jim's actions just as written records rely on metaphors of frontier individualism, but the explanatory narratives in each case reflect different understandings of how society works.

In Jim's case, his misfortune after [the] gold rush, including problems with drinking, money, and the departure of his wife, as well as his seemingly incessant roaming during his post-gold rush years, is also linked to the moral economy of his fleeting interactions with Wealth Woman, rather than his personal shortcomings. For he sensed "Lady Luck" but could not grasp her. As Cruikshank (1998:81) concludes:

> Written accounts, then, portray Skookum Jim in an individualistic frontier genre — as a rather flat and one-dimensional character, "an Indian who wanted to be a white man," the lone prospector-trapper whose efforts are ultimately rewarded. Oral accounts from members of his community who knew him personally describe him as a man impelled by social and cultural motives—a strong sense of responsibility for his sisters and an ability to communicate with and be guided by superhuman helpers. In both versions he exhibits qualities of an "ideal man," but those ideals differ dramatically.

Skookum Jim died on July 11, 1916, in Careross, after a brief illness and attended by his daughter, Daisy.[12] His legacy is strong, however, through his many relatives

and descendants and through the Skookum Jim Friendship Center (opened in 1962, see below) that his estate endowed.

Dawson Charlie (Kháa Ghoox)

The closest nephew to Skookum Jim, Dawson Charlie (Kháa Ghoox), also earned the respect of many as a packer and prospector. Unfortunately, in the written records, his identity is obscured by references to Tagish Charlie, a name he apparently received in Dyea (perhaps to distinguish him from local Chilkoot Charlie's). As Cruikshank notes (1990:360):

> This point may seem minor to an outsider, but it has continued to be a source of intense irritation for elders. The man involved in the discovery of Klondike gold with Skookum Jim was his nephew, Kháa Ghoox, a member of the Dakhl'aweidí clan, who was nicknamed 'Dawson Charlie' by his friends and relatives after the discovery because the gold rush led to the creation of Dawson City. However, because he came from Tagish, he is often called 'Tagish Charlie' in written accounts of the gold rush (for example, in Pierre Berton's popular account, *Klondike*). This causes confusion because an entirely different man, *Yéildoogú* (also known as *Yoonk'i Éesh*), from the Deisheetaan clan already had the name "Tagish Charlie"...To clarify this distinction, two headstones, prominently displaying their different crests have been placed on each man's grave at the Carcross cemetery – a Wolf for Dawson Charlie and a Crow for Tagish Charlie.

Dawson Charlie's legacy tends to be overshadowed by the grandiose stature of Skookum Jim and the fact that he died a premature and tragic death, falling off the Carcross bridge and drowning in the river after drinking and celebrating Christmas with friends in 1909. In her dramatic oral history of Skookum Jim, Mary Martin (1983) implies that foul play might have been involved, but this has never been confirmed. She concludes "He was a good man too, an honest man. [He] had a big frame house over the river, and used to treat people, give dinners and this and that. Never did as much as Skookum Jim though, never had as much ambition." (*in* Wilkie 1992:156).

Kate Carmack (Shaaw Tlaa)

After the death of Kate's first husband, a Deisheetaan man named Kul'tus, she chose to return to her mother in Tagish, rather than stay on the coast and marry one of her husband's relatives, as was the Tlingit custom. It was here that she met George Carmack in the late 1880s when Skookum Jim invited him to spend the winter at Tagish. After they married in common-law fashion, he gave her the name "Kate." Shaaw Tlaa followed George Carmack from Tagish to Dyea to Fortymile, where they set up a trading post and she bore her only child, Graphie Gracie. After the big strike at Bonanza Creek, she followed George to his Klondike claim and helped take care of him and her brother and nephew; she helped support the group by providing goods and services to other area miners in exchange for money. After the gold rush, she traveled to the contiguous 48 states, including California and Seattle, where she gained some notoriety as "the richest Indian woman in the world" and for a drunken outburst at a Seattle Hotel with her brother and sister-in-law (Johnson 2001:124). After the gold rush, she moved to California with her daughter and her niece, Mary Wilson, to the ranch of George's sister and brother-in-law.

It was here that Carmack abandoned Kate and Graphie and took up residence with another woman. Kate returned to Careross in 1901 with Graphie, where they lived in a house built especially for them by Skookum Jim. In 1909, when Graphie reached the age of 16, George sent for his daughter to live with him and his new wife down south. According to Cruikshank's (1990:168) sources:

> Following his financial success, Carmack arranged to have his and Kate's daughter [Graphie Gracie] sent south to the U.S. without her mother's knowledge. This callous removal of a child from her mother's matrilineage was still deeply troubling to women in the community of Careross when I first heard this story in the early 1970s.

According to another niece, Kitty Smith, Kate "didn't get her money, her share, though. She can't know, can't read." (Cruikshank 1991:188). Some suggest Kate never recovered. She lived the remainder of her life, alone, in declining health before finally succumbing to the influenza epidemic of 1918-1920. Angela Sidney recalled (Cruikshank 1990:130),

> That flu got lots of people...my father died; Mr. Shaakóon lost a baby; I lost one. My son Pete and my little sister Dora [Wedge] never got the flu I wonder how come...Lots died in Atlin, too.
>
> My auntie, Mrs. Kate Carmack, died too. I remember my father came back when she died; he came in the evening and my mother was very sick, and he was starting to get sick. Here he came in and told my mother, 'My cousin, my sister Shaaw Tláa my sister's light is on.'[13] And here he broke down and started to cry...and then just two days later he died, him, too.

Buried next to her brother, Skookum Jim, and near Dawson Charlie, Kate's grave was poorly marked and neglected, until 1967 when a headstone was commissioned and placed, on July 1, 1968, on her gravesite. The headstone is inscribed "KATE CARMACKS 1857-1920 Gold I Bring to Crown Him Again," and surmounted by a killer whale engraving in honor of her Dakhl'aweidí clan identity (Wilkie 1992:149-150).

Daughter Graphie Gracie, born at Fort Selkirk, lived out her life in the U.S., marrying Ernest Saftig, the brother of Carmack's second wife, whom she divorced, and later settling in California, where she died at the age of 70 in 1963.

Patsy Henderson's Version of the Discovery

Patsy Henderson, a nephew of Skookum Jim, was the only original member of the Discovery Party (although he was back at camp at the time of actual discovery) to record the history of the discovery on tape. Henderson also worked with the anthropologist McClellan and recorded a version of his encounter with Wealth Woman, an aspect of gold rush history that he "never touched on" in his public lectures to whites (McClellan 1963:122-123).

In the CBC radio interview, Patsy is introduced "As a boy... [who] was in on the discovery of gold on Bonanza Creek, Yukon Territories, August 17th, 1896 along with George Carmack, the discoverer." The narrative itself is very detailed and clearly places each of the major figures in the discovery of the gold rush.

> Way before '98, way before '98, four years before '98 and George Carmack he come from the outside and this Pass, Chilcoot Pass, that's where he

come, George Carmack. When he come around here amongst the Indians Tagish, that the Indian Village from early days, way back, Tagish lot of Indians there and George, he come from the outside, George Carmack, when he come there George Carmack, he stay among the Indians before '98 four years he stay around there amongst the Indians. But the first year George Carmack, he don't understand which way the Indian live. Pretty soon the first year he stay amongst the Indian, George Carmack, he know which way Indians live that time. That time we don't work for nobody, work ourself, but George he like 'em, he don't work for nobody, and nobody boss him, boss his self, he like that. He married Skookum Jim sister, my aunt, Skookum Jim sister, that's my aunt, she married George Carmack. Well he stayed four years around here amongst the Indians and after a while he went down the river, from Tagish, go down the river. When he left here he tell us, 'I go down the river. If I don't like it down the river I'm going to come back next summer,' and he tell us like that when he left. Him and his wife go down the river. When he went down the river he don't come back on two years, we got no way to hear him. That time before '98 this country, not many people travel on. Sometime on a warm summer, two or three or four people come up the river and go outside, we don't see no more. Sometimes we see somebody come up the river, we ask them, 'You see George Carmack down the river someplace?' 'No.' They don't know George Carmack, nobody know. Well we miss him, George Carmack, we miss him, so we start here from Tagish, go down the river, look for George. We don't look for gold. We don't know the gold that time. We start from here, go down the river look for George - Skookum Jim, Dawson Charlie and myself, three of us, we go down there from Tagish, look for George down the river. I think we left the first of July I guess from Tagish. We go down slow, no machine that time. Anyway we row a boat, we row a boat all the way down. The two people, the two old people, they sit down in the boat, me I row all the way down five hundred and fifty miles from here to Dawson, and I row the boat for that far, row boat, row down. Then we start from Tagish, we come through the Canyon on a row boat, row boat. I pretty near half water full our boat when we come through this canyon on a row, and we land on the other side, the other side we land there, make fire, dry ourself. When we land there I come this side, hunt for rabbits, round here. No white man here, nobody, just us. So I got five rabbits, I shot five rabbits around here, so I took it home for supper. We start from here all the way down. We don't see no white man, but we see Indian too, some places down Lake Lebarge, way down the river, so we see Indian. No white man yet, we don't see no white man yet, all the way down. Well we come down on the Klondike, and a big bunch are camped there, Indian is a Dawson Indian. They land there all the time that Indian, Dawson Indian, different language. We don't understand, got to talk the English so he understand us. George stay there among the Indian, no white man beside him, him just him alone, George Carmack he like that way. Well we told George, 'We come down look for you,' and George says, 'Too bad you fellows come down a long ways to look for me.' When I tell him, he says we can't get back now till winter time. When the river froze we try to get back this a way with a dog team, he tell us like that, George Carmack. All right, so we stay there, so we build and fix a fish trap, we build a fish trap on the Klondike River and we dry fish for our dog for winter. Well after a while he tell us, George Carmack, 'Before you fellows come down, months ago, one man he come up the river, that man he told me he found gold last Fall, away back. That man his name Bob

Henderson, he's a white man.' We don't see, but George he do, but, George he tell us you know? George Carmack, and Skookum Jim, Dawson Charlie and Bob Henderson and myself, first people in Klondike, we find the gold, five of us, but all these people, they all die, all die except a me. That time when we find Klondike and gold I'm just kid, that time. I'm an old man now. I just kid that time. Well so George he tell us, 'That man he went this a way months ago, Bob Henderson. Let's go look for him, maybe he found lots of gold,' he tell us like that George Carmack. All right, so we go look for him, so there's Skookum Jim and Dawson Charlie and George Carmack that three people look for Bob Henderson, but I stay home in the camp on the Klondike. I stay home. I look after fish trap, I look after dogs, I stay home. When that three people start off look for Bob Henderson, same day they left same day to find em gold, and Dawson Charlie, he's the man who find em first gold on the Bonanza Creek, on the Bonanza Creek. No Bonanza Creek yet, going to be a Bonanza Creek pretty soon. When they start off from the camp, the first gold they find eight miles from camp on the Bonanza. Ten cents nugget, they find him, Charlie, that the first to find him, ten cents nugget on the Bonanza. Well same time they look, they went same time they look for gold. They got some gold pan, they got some shovel too, and three people. They went up the Creek, every time they try some place they see gold, but they look for good place, they look for rich place, nobody bother, but [?] half way up the Creek, going to be Eldorado, no Eldorado yet, going to be Eldorado yet, but the three people they went up on this Creek. First when they went up this Creek and they don't see no gold, is no gold on the top, no, but lots of gold on this Creek too, on the Bonanza. When they went to went up this Creek, no gold, that the richest creek, Eldorado, the richest Creek, but no gold on top. Before the rest come, I went up lots of times and I'm prospecting, just play around, but don't see no gold, but a lot of gold this one, that's good. So then three people, then went up on this creek, they look for Bob Henderson. They find em Bob Henderson on the way back, way back some Creek, Hunker Creek, I don't know where, Gold Bottom, I don't know where, they find him, Bob Henderson. Bob Henderson['s] is good Creek, and he prospect around there and he got a little gold. He stayed there, Bob Henderson, he's alone, he got gold too, he prospect around there. So then three man, the three man, George Carmack, Skookum Jim and Charlie, they stayed there Bob Henderson's camp one night. Next morning they turn back, three people, they turn back, but different Creek, they went up this Creek first, when they turn back, but different Creek and they see gold again when they turn back, but different Creek and they see gold again when they turn back, the three people, but they look for good place, they look for rich place, nobody bother, they take time. Fell they come down but they been here, they went up Russell Fall, they cook here, then going, to cook this way they been here when they come up, but they come back, again, the same place them three people. They don't find very good yet, they don't find a good place yet, but a quarter mile below the Fall, down below a quarter mile they took a rest them three people on top of the bank. When they took a rest one man go down the Creek, drank water. Skookum Jim, he's the man, go down the creek, drunk water. When he took a drink of water, he see gold on the rock, on the rock. When he get through drink water and he call a George. 'George! Come down here, bring down gold pan and shovel, we try here,' he

says, Jim says, so George come down the Creek and when he come down the Creek he told him, 'Look here George, just like a gold here, see that rock?' 'Well,' George says, 'that's gold' and he put the gold pan there, he put the gravel in the pan and he pan him. First pan and good pan. Good coarse gold and he tried down below. Lot of gold and he try way above, lot of gold. Then George says, 'I guess we got a good place here, we're going to stake a claim.' So they stake a claim them three people, on the Bonanza, on 17th August, they stake a claim. They give a name too, the Creek on the Bonanza. Well he got $5.00 gold, good gold, good coarse gold. George said, 'This gold no lie, is good gold," he says, so they stake a claim three people on the Bonanza, but I don't stake the claim. I'm too young, but I been in the camp, I'm too young, I can't stake a claim. Well they come back on the Klondike them three people, when they come back they got gold. George he got gold scale, he weighed it, the gold. $5.00 he said, that's a $0.50 a pound off it he says, rich he says. When I see the gold first just like I don't care, I don't savvy the gold. No this time, I like to see gold all the time, I never see gold again, yes. So George says 'Lets go down Forty Mile,' Forty Mile but before '98 and a mining camp there small tho[ugh], not bit small tho[ugh]. 'Let's go down Forty Mile, let's record a claim.' He tell us like that the Recording Office there Forty Mile. Well we go down, row boat, one boat, four of us we go down. So we going to record a claim and we come down Forty Mile. George Carmack he tell all his friends you know, we find a gold, good gold. Some people don't start, no, just a few people start maybe ten maybe four or five people start when we go back, you know.

Well when we go back, when we get up on Klondike, our old camp, we move the camp up the Creek we're going to find our richer or not, we're going to work for while. Well we start to move the camp up the Creek. When we get up there we build a sluice box, but ten feet sluice box, we build him, and we turn the water out, we work there. That time, we started work was 1st September, three weeks time we work there and three weeks time we take out the gold nugget. "We found the gold August too, but we got to go down Forty Mile and back, we used August, we don't do anything, but we started work 1st September and we worked there ten foot sluice box, we worked there. Three weeks we worked there and three weeks time we take out gold not on the bedrock on the side, the Creek, side of the Creek, we turn on the water all day, we work on our own on the rock. Three weeks time we take out gold $1,440.00 gold, three weeks time, but the half gold we loose him, the box too short, we hurry, that time, September, Klondike cold, she snow, very cold. "We got to quit," George says, "I guess we got enough for grub stake, $1,440.00 we got enough for grub stake." So we go down Forty Mile again for grub for winter grub. We took two boats two row boat, we're going to bring a lot of grub, so we come down Forty Mile again the second time, down Forty Mile again. We took that gold N.C., you got a store there Forty Mile. We took that gold N.C. store. We sell all that gold N.C. store. We say we take out this gold three weeks time, that's the time the rush start. Not a one stay home, but all go, first time nobody go, all go, and when the rush start come up the river two years summer, winter, somebody come all the time come up the river. After two years when '98 and a big rush start from outside no road that time, just an Indian foot trail. That's the way the gold rush start '98. Trading Post there Dyea, away back, don't know how long, away back, the Mounties there make a Trading Post, Wilson his name, Wilson make a Trading Post, Wilson his name. Wilson make a Trading Post. That's the way we go down and get anything we

> want for trade. That's the way the gold rush start '98 from outside, but the same time no store yet round here, round this country, nobody bring a store.

Patsy Henderson's narrative of events is similar to that collected by Ogilvie from Skookum Jim and Dawson Charlie, but it also includes numerous other details about the exigencies of Native life at the time. Patsy Henderson remained an important figure in the historiography and representation of the gold rush as he was later employed by the White Pass and Yukon railroad to interpret Indian history and life to tourists disembarking at Carcross. *The Whitehorse Star* (Oct. 2, 1990) recalled his role with fondness:

> Whether on the train station platform in Carcross or at his little cabin on the other side of the narrows Patsy continued to tell the story of the Discovery until his death in 1966. A handsome man with snow white hair and twinkle in his eye, his memory still brings a smile to the face of those who knew his puckish sense of humour and indomitable spirit.

Carmack's biographer, Al Johnson (Wilkie 1992:153-54), goes on to relate a story about Henderson's sense of humor and the terms of his employment for the railroad told to him in 1970 by the man who hired him, manager Frank Downey.

> I saw in the office of the manager Frank Downey a beautiful oil portrait of Patsy Henderson.
>
> I said, "My gosh that's Patsy Henderson, did you know him?" Downey said, 'Yes, I certainly did. When I was a passenger agent at Skagway I hired him to come down to the station at Carcross, when the train was in, and tell the story of the discovery on Bonanza. This he did and I paid him five dollars a week.' Frank laughed at this point and when I asked 'why?' he continued, 'This went on for several years and finally Patsy sent word he wanted to see me, so I got on the train and went up to Carcross and there was Patsy at the station.'
>
> 'I listened to him make his spiel to the tourists and when he got through I said, 'Well Patsy, what did you want to see me about?' You know Frank, the price of flour's going up, bacon's going up, sugar's going up and now even the price of bullshit's going up, cause from now on I gotta have $7.50.'
>
> And I said to Frank Downey 'What did you do?' and Frank said, "I gave it to him."

Demographic Explosion, Cultural Distortion, Violence, and Fear

Perhaps the most profound effect of the discovery of gold on the Chilkoot landscape was a demographic one. From small Native settlements or encampments, Dyea and Skagway mushroomed almost overnight into roaring frontier boomtowns. Dyea became the gateway to the Chilkoot, while Skagway became the port of call for those crossing into the Klondike via the White Pass. As noted above, it is estimated that 40,000 people came to Skagway and Dyea between 1896 and 1900, with the bulk of them, perhaps 25,000-30,000 crossing the Chilkoot Pass during the winter of 1897-1898. In terms of population growth, this meant that in less than a year, the towns of Dyea and Skagway each grew by some 5,000 percent.

The majority of these immigrants were white gold seekers whose presence was transitory. A small but more permanent subset of whites was the merchants and contractors, like Healy, who sought to provide services to the growing population of prospectors. Government officials comprised a third group of whites. Finally, there was

an influx of Native peoples from outlying areas seeking employment and trade. Coastal Tlingit migrants came from as far away as Hoonah, Juneau, Sitka, and Wrangell, while inland Tlingit and Tagish visitors came from Carcross and Tagish, as well as other areas.

The effects of the demographic explosion were profound. At the biological level, diseases, such as measles, influenza, and tuberculosis became rampant. Natives, who had the least exposure to European germs, were among the most vulnerable and many became victims. We have already remarked upon the devastating effects of nineteenth century smallpox epidemics on the former Chilkat village at Kicking Horse River, of the measles outbreak in Chilkat in 1868, and of the 1917 influenza epidemic on the village at Yindustuki, near Haines and the flu at Carcross in 1918-20. By the end of the nineteenth century, "...tuberculosis easily matched smallpox, measles, and influenza as a major Tlingit killer" (Hinckley 1996:313). One pharmacist in Sitka opined, "Persons affected by tuberculosis expectorate on the floor as a rule, with the inevitable... contamination of the rest. The interior of the average Indian dwelling is the filthiest imaginable. After deaths from contagious diseases their crowded rooms are never subjected to airing, fumigation or cleaning in any form." Such opinions eventually led officials to introduce compulsory school curricula on "sanitation" and "hygiene" by the early 1900s and to outlaw such behavior as spitting on schoolhouse floors. Unfortunately, little is known about the human toll of specific diseases during the gold rush period itself. But if the case of Skookum Jim's Tlingit brothers-in-law, both of whom died of disease in the early gold rush period, is any indication, the death toll on area Natives and its reverberating negative effects on surviving relatives were quite high. Moreover, as the contact with Interior groups increased, the vector of disease turned inland as well. One interior Native estimates that between 1900 and 1930 "over half of our people died from White man's diseases." In Skagway, the problem of caring for consumptive and indigent Indians became an issue before the town council, when Native Walter Hill's treatment for tuberculosis at the local railroad hospital was to be charged to the municipality. On September 25, 1906, after reporting the story under the headline "Skagway Objects to Maintaining Indigent Indians," Skagway's newspaper, *The Daily Alaskan*, editorialized:

> There can be no questioning the soundness of Mayor Shaw's contention that the federal government and not the municipality is responsible for the care of the Indians. The Indians are always and everywhere regarded as wards of the federal government and the people who have come into Alaska to develop it and to bring civilization to the natives are not required of right, to take onto themselves the burden of protecting them and caring for their sick and indigent.
>
> The council is wise in refusing to accept the burden that would thrust itself upon the city. If it should admit its responsibility in the premises in the beginning before the matter could be properly presented to the federal government, the municipal treasury could be easily dissipated and the city bankrupt.

The combined effect of the demographic explosion of whites into the region and the precipitous depopulation of local Native groups due to ravages of diseases produced severe cultural stresses. The cultural ills and social diseases that grew out of contact were in many ways just as devastat-

ing as the biological ones. As anthropologists (e.g. Wallace 1956) have pointed out, periods of rapid and intense social change can be so stressful as to cause distortions in individual behavior and cultural patterns. Among the most devastating cultural distortions were increased drunkenness and violence, the latter, often being facilitated by the former, at least according to non-Native sources. Between 1898 and 1919, nearly half of all stories reporting on the activities in the Native community concerned incidents of violence, drunkenness, or witchcraft and shamanism, with many stories receiving serial coverage. The following *Daily Alaskan* story (July 15, 1900), titled "Big Battle Fought in Indian Town," is emblematic of whites' perceptions and reporting of Indian problems with alcohol and violence.

> Indian town, on the beach below First Avenue, was the scene of a lively battle yesterday morning among the Red men living there. Braves, squaws and papooses took an interesting part. They had imbibed of the white man's whiskey and it made them quarrelsome and brought on the war.
>
> During the unpleasantness Mrs. Eugene Chorister, one of the members of the resident tribe, was assaulted by her inebriated lord and husband and his arrest followed. This led to an investigation of how the trouble started.
>
> It was found 'longshoremen living in the vicinity had sold the fire water to the Indians. Two longshoremen, Harvey Schofield and John Olsen, were arrested on the charge.
>
> Eugene, the revelorous brace and the longshoremen were all taken before Judge Schlbrede, and found guilty, the Indian of assault, and the pale faces of selling liquor to the Indians.

Another front-page story from January 23, 1902, relates:

> Indians from Smuggler's Cove came over last night after the U.S. Marshal. They related that an Indian named Joe was shooting ducks near the Indian Rancheries. A girl came out of the house asked Joe to desist as there was a sick woman in the house and shooting annoyed her. Joe became enraged and assaulted the girl with a club, breaking her arm. He then followed her into the house and clubbed the sick woman. Such is the drift of the story as near as it could be understood from the excited Indians but the hour was too late to verify it. Marshall Snook went over to attend to the case. Whiskey is thought to be at the bottom of the difficulty.

And in another story from August 23 of that year:

> The Indians down on the water front had a big fight yesterday and as a result there will be busy times in Judge Rogers' court today. Some one furnished the Indians some "hootch" and as a result Sam Harris, the Chilkat silversmith attacked and chewed up Maggie Johnson. The latter rushed off to the court house to make complaint and before she returned with the marshal, a longshoreman named Bruns appeared on the scene and beat Sam Harris until he was blood from end to end.
>
> Bruns and Harris are in jail and the whole gang will be in court at 10 o'clock this morning. They were too drunk to proceed yesterday.

It may be significant that in all of these cases the violence was carried out by drunken men, against Indian women, as increased domestic and gender violence is another common manifestation of cultural stresses brought on by rapid social change. Other factors besides alcohol may have contributed to the heightened violence as well, including increased crowding, discrimination, and segregation of Natives to "Indian Town" or the "rancherie." Nevertheless, white portrayals consistently emphasize the link between Indian violence

and alcohol consumption.

However, both the causes of increased use of alcohol and its effects among Natives are debated and were likely different depending upon exposure to whites. As Yukon historian Coates (1991:81) notes:

> While commentaries on Natives in this period are full of discussions of Indian drinking, the context and significance of that consumption is difficult to assess. Alcohol-use among Natives has drawn much attention, but has produced no consensus among anthropologists and historians. Donald Horton's argument that liquor reduced anxiety dominated the early academic debate. He suggested that alcohol served as a powerful disinhibitor which relaxed aggressive and sexual tension to a tolerable level....
>
> Horton's interpretation has not withstood subsequent testing. Many, particularly those focusing on contemporary situations, emphasize "socio-economic deprivation" as the prime determinant of Native drinking. Others argue that the Natives' insatiable demand for alcohol originated in liquor's ability to enhance dreams. Alternate explanations suggest that drunkenness served as a substitute for institutionalized social interaction with non-Natives or, as Nancy Lurie says, an assertion of Indianness. The various theories share a common inflexibility. Alcohol consumption during the pre-gold rush period was, for Natives and non-Natives alike, recreation. The Natives integrated alcohol into their potlatches and other celebrations, and alcohol became closely tied to sexual relations between Native women and non-Native men. Liaisons of the "one-night-stand" variety often developed out of the interracial drinking party..."

Coates favors the more historically sensitive approach taken by Edgerton and MacAndrew (1969), who argue that responses to alcohol are not physiologically uniform and that drinking behavior is learned in particular cultural contexts.

> In Native societies, which had few models for intoxicated behaviour to post-contact consequences of alcohol-consumption, the patterns came from non-Natives. Edgerton and MacAndrew...claim that social scientists typically attribute all deviant behaviour to post-contact consequences of alcohol consumption, missing the obvious point that violent, aberrant actions were a part of Native life before the arrival.
>
> The Yukon offers a useful case study of the Edgerton-MacAndrew approach. Natives greeted the introduction of alcohol enthusiastically. The demand, however, had finite limits, and there was little violence associated with drinking. Their "Hootch" parties remained peaceable, with few beatings, little destructiveness and no alcohol-related murders before the twentieth century. None the less, the police and missionaries refused to accept the recreational and peaceful use of alcohol among Natives, living in constant anticipation of drunken violence. That Natives failed to act as expected reflected the social context within which drinking took place. (1991: 81-82)

It may well be that the response to alcohol among the Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit, who were within the core of white influence during the gold rush, was somewhat different from Yukon Natives whose contact was more peripheral. The drunken "brawl" or "row," too, may have been a cultural pattern Tlingits learned from white stampeders through their interactions in frontier towns like Dyea and Skagway. In 1892 a federal inspector was alarmed at the number of saloons that existed, including 26 in Juneau and 4 in the Chilkat-Chilkoot area and surmised that it did "not seem to be possible for that number to exist without selling to Indians," despite

legal prohibitions against doing so (Hinckley 1996:248). The records of U.S. Customs officials support this deduction. A "List of Seizures Made by the Collector of Customs for the District of Alaska from August 5, 1897 to November 9, 1898," the height of the gold rush, shows thousands of gallons of spirits seized, mainly whiskey but also brandy, beer, and other liquor. Well over 500 gallons was seized in the month between August 23 and September 25, 1897, in Dyea alone. It seems that the high demand and willingness to pay premium prices ensured a steady supply of alcohol.

In Tlingit country, however, alcohol does not seem to have been associated or "integrated" with potlatching as Coates reports for Yukon Indians. In fact, H.C. Barley, who photographed George Shotridge's grand Klukwan potlatch (the largest since 1886) with more than 2,000 guests in October 1900 (figure 13), makes no mention of alcohol at the gathering. Rather, he noted, "The potlatch is the most marvelous thing I ever saw. It is one round of feasting, dancing and making presents. Five hundred and twenty blankets and 250 boxes of hard tack were given away...besides great quantities of berries and oil" (*Daily Alaskan*, Oct. 10, 1900) [14]

Instances of witchcraft and shamanistic behavior also made for sensational headlines during the period, and similarly may be tied to the pressures of intense cultural change. Tlingits attributed witchcraft to various sources including Raven, a female mouse, the Haida, the Tsimshian, and a jealous lover who sought spiritual powers by drinking from a shaman's skull (Emmons 1991:399-400). To this diffusionist view may be added the dominant social science perspective, which views witchcraft as kind of institutionalized paranoia, often exacerbated by cultural stress and the breakdown of traditional social and ideological orders. In many ways the witch was a mirror image of the shaman, but one that stood wholly outside of the social order and worked nefariously to undermine it. With the devastating effects of disease, the decline of shamanism beginning in the late 1800s, and the concomitant rise in Christianity and missionary campaigns against Tlingit animism and "paganism," it is not surprising to find a high number of witchcraft cases during this period. Again, the stories in the *Daily Alaskan* are revealing. A front-page three-column headline and story from the February 11, 1902, issue broadcasts:

> A BOY BURIED ALIVE!
> An Icht [Shaman] Condems [sic] Indian Youth to Death for Killing His People by Witchcraft.
>
> The crew of the steamer Flosie brought a weird tale of gruesome Indian superstition that revives old days among the Koloches –the queer natives of Alaska, who were deemed by Europeans to be quasi-mythological.
>
> Milo A. Sellon is a Methodist missionary among the Chilkats. He is a school teacher, nurse and general all-around good Samaritan. Little is heard of him at conferences and there is less written about him in missionary magazines. But he does a world of plain, practical good among the ungainly people with which he has cast his lot, and among the younger generation of the Chilkats he has gained many...friends, who bestow upon him their full confidence. Among the latter is a young boy who has fully accepted the belief imparted to him by this good 'fisher of men.'
>
> The youth boldly disdained a belief in the mummeries of the tribal icht, or doctor, and thus gained the ill will of that



Figure 13. "George Shotridge, George Kaushty, and Koo-too-at, The Three Chiefs Who Will Give the Big Potlatch at Klukwan. Aug. 20th, 1900." (Skagway Museum & Archives E01-415)

powerful priest of witchcraft.

During the past two months 14 people have died, principally of consumption at Kluk-Wan. The aged Indians of the old village were firm in the belief that some one was in league with the hoosh-tak-kas (imps), and suspicion fell upon the youthful Indian friend of the missionary. He it was, they thought, who was bewitching the people to their graves. He was warned by friends and then straightway confided to the missionary that at any time he might be missed and never be seen again. At the time Mr. Sellon paid little heed to what the Indian boy had told him. But as the latter thrice failed to appear at the schoolroom, Mr. Sellon had misgivings that this pupil had met foul play. With a young Indian of his school he started out in search. As he had heard that burying alive had been decreed by the Icht, were the witch apprehended, they took shovels with them.

On the out [sic?] outskirts of Kluk-Wan they saw imprints on the snow that denoted that a number of Indians had gone up a gulch and they followed their tracks. They came to where clods of frozen earth had been thrown back into an excavation that had been dug. Immediately they went to work to throw these lumps of earth aside and were soon down beneath the rim of a long grave-like hole that had been dug in the hard earth. They presently came to where boards separated the clods from something beneath and were horror-stricken at hearing low and muffled moaning. They rapidly pulled up the boards and an awful and terrifying sight met their gaze. There lay Mr. Sellon's friend and pupil with blood-shot eyes rolling in insane agony, his hair torn by handfuls from his scalp, his face seamed with self-inflicted scratches and his fingernails torn in the frantic attempts he made to free himself from the awful doom to which he had been consigned...

The pitiable victim of savage superstition was taken to the police station where he is in charge of Dr. Frazier. Rev Sellon then returned to the mission. Passing Kluk-Wan he was obliged to fly for his life from the pursuit of maddened Indians who were engaged in a witch dance under the leadership of the Icht.

A follow-up story on February 12 revealed much of this tale to be false. Although the boy victim, an interpreter for Rev. Sellon's mission, was accused of witchcraft and interred alive for some nine hours, the accusations had nothing to do with shamanism. This is because the local shaman, Skondoo (figure 14), previously had been imprisoned and exiled by law enforcement. Rather, the accusations sprang from the interpretation of a dream and the stress of illness.

[The boy] had a dream which he related to some of his friends. This dream spread the idea that he was possessed of the powers of darkness. Skun-Doo, it seems, had nothing to do with the case. Since his imprisonment at San Quintan [sic] he has been cured of witch doctoring. His power was in his long hair, so he claims, and when it was cut at the penitentiary, he, like Sampson, was shorn of his might as well as his long locks.

It was a sick person who laid the complaint against the interpreter...

When Mr. Sellon and his companion passed through Kluk-Wan on their return from Wells the Indians were witch dancing and raising a barbaric racket, but they offered no injury to either the missionary or his companion.

The paper reported on January 17, 1903, that this same boy, known as Kluckle, was tortured again for being a witch, this time "condemned to freeze to death" before being "rescued by a Salvationist."

Skondoo, of the Daghisdinaa clan of the Eagle moiety in Chilkoot-Chilkat, was one of the best known of all shamans in the region. The Reverend S. Hall Young (1927:



Figure 14. Ka-sh-ak, Skondoo (shaman), and Swatka (guide).
(Courtesy Sheldon Museum Collection)

56) characterized him as "the red-haired Chilkoot doctor" and rated him among the most notorious of his profession (also Emmons 1991:412). The Navy's Ensign Coontz (1930, Emmons 1991:411) had a brush with Skondoo in 1888 when Daanawáakh requested the Navy's assistance in rescuing an Indian girl of about 14 years of age who had been accused of being a witch and was reportedly being held and tortured by the "red-haired Indian witch doctor." Skondoo managed to escape arrest, but was later imprisoned for causing the death of another young woman, Ches Oqhk, in July 1894. According to Sackett (1979:412),

> A death had occurred in the village, and the relatives of the deceased employed his services, at a fee of 20 blankets. Skondoo settle on Ches Oqhk, suspected of being a witch, as the cause of death. Under his direction, the deceased's family bound the woman for 10 days, and she died from lack of food and water. Because she had died, she was declared to have been a witch, establishing her guilt (*The Alaskan* 1895). Gleh-Naw, a member of the woman's family, made a complaint to the white authorities and Skondoo was arrested for murder and taken to Juneau to stand trial (U.S. Court Records 1894; ABT 1904). As an outcome of the trial, he was found guilty and sentenced to 3 years at San Quentin for manslaughter (*The Alaskan* 1895).

Keithahn (1963:18, see Emmons 1991) offers a slightly different version of the story, suggesting that the witch had also caused another shaman to become ill, who, in turn, engaged Skondoo to cure him for a fee of 40 blankets. When this shaman, too, died, Skondoo was obligated to return the blankets under Tlingit law, since he failed to cure the shaman. Skondoo, however, refused and was consequently arrested and

sent to Sitka, where "they cut off his hair wherein lay his 'power' but it grew out again in prison. There he composed his famous "San Quentin Song" and came back to Alaska more powerful than ever."

Children, not fully socialized, were often the targets of witchcraft accusations, as were other marginal figures, such as interpreters. But the context for witchcraft accusations almost invariably involves a period of cultural distortion or upheaval. In Klukwan there was not only the prevalence of illness and disease, but also a struggle going on between traditionalists and Christians, which spread to Dyea and Skagway. As the February 12, 1900, *Daily Alaskan* article concludes, with characteristic hyperbole:

> For the past three months Kluk-wan has been in a boiling fervor of various kinds of religious excitement. The orthodox aboriginese have been witch-dancing and incanting. Indian George, and his wife, Mary, are conducting Salvation Army meetings and are pounding tambourines and making daily rockets, while religionists of some other brand are nightly holding noisy prayer meetings.
>
> George is the inspired Indian who attracted so much attention with his trances and inspirations, last winter, at the Peniel Mission [probably refers to the mission in Skagway]. Mary, his wife, now wears gold-rimmed spectacles, a neat trimmed uniform and is a good type of Salvation Army lassie. Both of these well meaning natives carry smiling and benign countenances and are trusting more to providence for their living than of yore, when they led a life of industry and toil.

In the popular framing of this dramatic struggle, the "good" Christian Indian often became the leading character and hero, and the "demonic" pagan Indian his nemesis.

As the "pagan Savage" Indian gradually became domesticated or "civilized" another potent stereotypical image began to emerge, that of the "Noble Savage." This image portrayed the Indian as a child of nature, living off the land and victimized by the forces of civilization. It is noteworthy that this image takes hold only after the Native has been effectively disciplined and removed as an obstacle to colonization (cf. Pearce 1988). No longer a physical threat, the Indian becomes an object of pity, as he is stressed and disempowered by the inevitable forces of "progress" and the domestication of the wild frontier. This image can also be found in the popular press in Skagway, beginning in the early post-gold rush period. Thus we find stories like the following from the *Daily Alaskan* of March 17, 1899, celebrating "Old Chief Endi-Ank" [Indayaneik], better known as Swatka (or Shwatk'i), the Chilkat Eagle (Daghisdinaa) clan leader who had guided Schwatka and others into the Interior.

> Chief Endi-ank [Indayaneik] Tired of White Men
>
> They Spoil the Face of Nature and Get in His Way
>
> 'Go da sek votine?' was the cordial salutation of 'Long Shorty' to a big low squatty Indian with white hair, as the two shook hands heartily. The red skin's features took on a still more ruddy glow of pleasure.
>
> 'Ye so dey dotary yase katsay wasative,' was the reply.
>
> He had been asked where he had been and replied that he had just come from Five Fingers, after acting as pilot for a party over the Dalton trail to Dawson.
>
> Speaking still in the Chilkat language the old man said he had had a very bad trip: very bad. All the game had been scared out of the country; he

could not even get a porcupine, game all along the trail was so scarce. 'Why I had to eat white man's grub all the way out,' he said, and he vowed that he would never again make a trip on the food [of] the Boston man. No, he would prefer to pack his own dried salmon and his little can of hoolican [sic] grease.

The Indian name of the sturdy old warrior and guider is Endi-Ank. He is a member of one of the Chilkat tribes speaking the Thlinket tongue and is famous as a pilot into the interior. He was in the Copper River country with Lieut. Schwatzka [sic, Schwatka], and went with Wells down the Yukon to the mouth of the Tanana and out to the coast by the way of Luchitak. The entire trip from Haines Mission to the coast took eighteen months and the whole party lived nearly on the resources of nature. No wonder therefore he complains of the Boston man having driven all the game out of the country.

In 1896 he accompanied Long Shorty Bigelow to the Klondike when they drove over the Dalton trail the first band of cattle ever taken into the interior. Last fall he went in with another herd and returned two days ago.

He was walking around Skagway in a state of great bewilderment. 'Yes he had a very hard trip,' he repeated musingly. No grub and the cheekakos were to[o] many on the trail; they got in his way. And now that he had got here the white man has changed everything. The trees that he owned, where he had cached his goods for many years had all been stolen. He had chaches [sic] near where he stood, (opposite the post office) 'where was it now?' Indians never touched a cache belonging to another.

Yesterday morning Endi-Ank left for his home at Haines, shaking his head in sad perplexity at the bustling town and gazing at the locomotives, the wharves and the steamers with wide-eyed wonder of the child.

This caricature of the noble savage as the innocent child of nature being tragically enclosed and disenfranchised by civilization is, of course, a gross oversimplification. As the article itself goes on to point out, Indayaneik was "by no means a child in business matters. From his trapping and trading furs with Stick Indians of the Interior and from his many trips as a land pilot he has grown wealthy. He and his father [Koh-klux?] and brother [Skon-doo, the well known shaman] participated in the burning of Fort Selkirk in 1855 [sic, 1852]." Still, the stresses of colonization, competition, modernity, and social change were real and the ecological and sociocultural effects on leaders like Indayaneik and L'unaat' were palpable and tragic.

Native Justice and Reservations

The increased stress brought on by land usurpation, resource depletion and competition, epidemic disease, and sociocultural change brought increased conflicts between whites and Natives on a number of fronts. This is evident in the criminal justice records and in the increasing appeals for more just policies for Natives.

After 1900, there was a rise in the number of judicial cases involving Natives, with justice meted out through the commissioner's office in Skagway. Nearly every case cited in the *Daily Alaskan* involved Indians, and the most common accusation being assault under circumstances of drunkenness. Larger issues of Native justice garnered significantly less attention.

As early as the 1880s, men like George Emmons were calling for a more just treatment of the Chilkat-Chilkoot Natives. By 1891 even the U.S. Marshal John

J. Healy, who had competed directly with the Chilkoot for control over the Chilkoot packing trade, felt compelled, at the Natives' request, to report on the regrettable condition and immediate need of the Indians for a reservation, liquor control, and a prison. In an October 23 letter to Governor Lyman Knapp, he wrote:

> Dear Sir
>
> As a citizen of this place I wish to call your attention to the condition of the natives inhabiting this portion of the territory. the resident native population of Chilkat and Chilkoot number about eight hundred; they are confined to a narrow strip of country extending from Point Sherman in Lynn Canal to the boundary line, about ten miles n.w. of Klaw-Kwan, the upper Chilkat village. They are dependent for support on the Salmon which run in these waters from June until October. In former years they had a large trade with the Tan-a-nah Indians of the Interior, Indians belong to the British Northwest territories: This trade is rapidly falling away in consequence of a trading port being established at the mouth of Pelly River, a tributary of the Yukon. The loss of this trade had been balanced by the market they have had for salmon sold to the canneries here for four years. The action of the cannery men this year alarms them, and they are commencing to realize that it will be but a short time before their means of support is taken from them. They object to fishermen entering their river with nets as they stop the run of salmon by the present system of fishing, viz. fishing night and day, Sundays included. Six miles below the head of tide-water the flats go dry at low water and when the tide floods fishermen sail to the head, cast their nets and drift with the ebb, getting off the flats only at low water, at the time when salmon cannot enter the river. When the tide floods again the same process is repeated. By this means but very few fish can enter the river when the weather is favorable. The Chilkat and Chilkoot Indians have requested me to make known their wants to the Government. They claim to be the first settler in this country and that they never ceded any portion of their country to any one nor never received any of the money the United States paid Russia. They say that when their fishing grounds won't support them they cannot leave them for other countries like the whites can; that they have to live here and are here. They beg that something may be done to save them before it is too late. They can support themselves now without the aid of the Government and can always do so, providing the Government will give them the small reservation they ask, which don't [sic] exceed 35 miles in extent. They are not asking for any portion of their reservation to be in deep water. They want the S. Eastern line drawn across the channel on the Chilkat flats, which is entirely unnavigable at low water even for a canoe. If their present system of fishing is permitted next year, it will be difficult to keep these natives from taking up arms against the Government. I am in a position to know their feelings on the subject, and while I know them to be kindly disposed, if let alone, I believe that should they be forced to protect their food supply by force of arms, it will be an expensive and unfortunate war for Southeastern Alaska, as it may mean a war with the entire T.F. Klinkit nation. They have another cause of complaint, and cannot understand why the government don't [sic] protect them, and remove the cause. They complain of intoxicating liquors being permitted to be sold them at the different stores here. Lemon Extract, Florida water, Whiskey and other liquors are sold to them in quantities and many of their people get killed from the effects of drinking. They are very quarrelsome when drunk and all their sprees end with some cutting scrape. The Indian

policemen are unable to cope with the evil. Sometimes the entire settlement is in a drunken uproar, and if this state of affairs be permitted much longer the able-bodied men and women will soon be killed off. The Indians have asked me to stop the sale of Lemon Extract etc, etc, but I am unable to accomplish anything but arrest where some crime is committed in my presence, as these people will not lodge a complaint against one of themselves, knowing that by so doing they lose all chance of getting paid for injury done them. There should be some means here of enforcing law and order. A prison of some kind is needed. The Indians ask for one. They need it to put a troublesome subject in, and with a few Marines stationed here during winter months, we would feel comparatively safe. You know the importance of this place as a fishing station, and it would be deplorable to have the entire plants of these cannery men destroyed by the Acts of a few drunken Indians.

Hoping that you will be able to render the aid so much desired, I remain,

Truly yours,
(Signed) JNO J. HEALY

The frequency of reports from the *Daily Alaskan* suggests that arrests of whites for selling liquor to Natives did increase between 1898 and 1903. But the other problems not only remained, they became magnified with the gold rush population influx and the increase in commercial fishing operations in the area.

Nearly a decade later, in 1900, the Indians of Skagway were still calling for a reservation. *The Daily Alaskan* reported in typical caricature (though the local businessman interviewed was quite serious) on February 28,

> The aborigines of the realm who have been attracted to the metropolis by the glitter of life as the pale face lives it, and by the joys that lie in the white man's burden, want a reservation in Skagway.
>
> Many are the noble reds that have come here of late and made the outskirts of the town their camping ground. Their wigwams and teepees are scattered along the river bank, about the shores of the bay and in the coves near the city. Happiness dwelt in the camp of the aborigines while they lived in the narrow limits of their crude native abodes, until the pale face came and set up a great city here in their midst, and then they came to look and to trade.
>
> Now they have seen, and are wise, and their eyes are as the full moon as they contemplate the luxuries even of a log cabin. A quiet agitation has arisen among the Indians and they want some space allotted to them where they may build cabins. The wigwam has lost all its allurements.
>
> 'This desire of the natives,' said a Skagway business man yesterday, 'is by no means trivial. It is not a passing fancy. They do want a place to build, and it behooves Skagway to see that they get it.
>
> The natives complain that they come here to dwell in the city or near by, and are given the creek bed or the beach for their habitation. They want a quarter where they can remain unmolested, and where they will be enabled to put up small houses for their dwellings.
>
> This desire of the Indian is not to be ignored by the Skagway business man. The Indian comes here to trade, and having learned to consume foods that the whites think necessary, and to wear the same style of garments, he is a new element in the economies of the merchants of the city.
>
> The Indian of the Yukon is to an appreciable extent thrifty, and earns money to spend. He follows the chase or the trap, or works as his white brother, and remains in the land of his operations and

> spends the money with the whites who have settled here.
>
> It may be that there is some quarter in Skagway that could be secured for the Indians.'
>
> So far as known no action has been taken to set aside lands here for the Indians. It is true there are many of the Indians encamped in the shadow of the city, and that they are often seen in town trading and sightseeing.

Two areas emerged as settlements, one upon the Lower Dewey bench hill on the east side of the Skagway River (sometimes described as "above the powerplant"), in proximity to the probable location of an aboriginal settlement, and the other in the Southwest quadrant of town near the river and the current airport. The latter came to be known as Lundeville probably beginning in the 1920s according to our interviews. However, no reservation or special housing, hunting or fishing privileges were extended to the local Natives. Klukwan enjoyed only brief success in establishing a reserve.

The Horton Murders

White fears of Indian savagery, drunkenness and godlessness coalesced with special force in the case of the Horton murders of October 1899, which marked perhaps the last phase of white paranoia over Indian savagery in Southeast Alaska. Sometimes referred to as the "Honeymoon Murder" (Little 1939), the event seemed to confirm whites' worst fears about Indian law and violence. Florence and Bert Horton, who ran several businesses associated with the gold rush, including an eating house on the summit of White Pass, were on a "honeymoon" style outing and camped on the mainland opposite the head of Sullivan Island south of Haines. Meanwhile, a trio of "half-drunken" Indians coming from a Klukwan potlatch had recently disappeared, along with their canoe. Concerned relatives waited in vigil, but soon began to suspect foul play and decided to mount a search. Moving downriver from Klukwan, the group, led by "White Eagle," a Kaagwaantaan originally from Sitka who went by the English name Jim Hanson, eventually came to camp near Sullivan Island. Combing the area for signs of the lost trio, two of the group, Kitchtoo and Gua.ish, found a fragment of the lost party's canoe near the Horton camp.

> These Indians reported to their leader, Jim Hanson, that they had gone up to the Horton camp and made inquiries regarding their missing relatives. There, according to their story, was a white man and woman, and when the Indians asked him if he had seen a canoe in that vicinity, he [Bert Horton] hung his head and looked scared and finally admitted that he had seen a canoe with an Indian man and a woman and a boy passing along the channel some hundred yards from shore a few days previous.
>
> The finding of the piece of broken canoe so near to Bert Horton's camp, and his manner when being interrogated, seemed positive proof to the Indians that in some way these white people were responsible for the loss of their missing relatives.
>
> Immediately, the Indians embarked and paddled down the channel, landing about a quarter mile from Horton's tent. Here they hid in a small cove out of sight and held a war council. It was then decided that at dawn the next day, the white man and the white woman must die. A life for a life—sex for sex (Little 1939:22)

The next morning the Tlingits approached the Hortons' camp by canoe. When they encountered Bert Horton

> As prearranged, Mark Klanat

> [Kitchtoo or Gua.ish?] spoke to Bert Horton for the purpose of attracting his attention. The moment Horton looked toward him, Jim Hanson...shot Horton through the head. He fell dead without a groan.
>
> At that moment Florence Horton ran from the rear of the tent, and when some twenty-five yards away Kitchtoo fired two shots at her, both taking effect...She fell on her back screaming and begging the Indians to spare her life. The Indians gathered around her and White Eagle took out his long sharp hunting knife that had killed many a bear and gave it to another Indian called "Jim Williams."
>
> "You are the son of the White Eagles," he said, "take this knife and cut the white woman's throat!"
>
> It had been agreed among the Indians that if ...news ever got to the authorities, they would all combine and swear that White Eagle alone was responsible and guilty as leader and chief. (Little 1939:27)

In Little's account, the Indians next buried the bodies in a shallow grave and divided their money and valuables as the final act of retributive justice. Jim Hanson then went on with his life, trapping and trading furs in Juneau and Skagway, until he had the opportunity to hear Salvation Army Adjutant Thomas McGill and his wife preach in Skagway in March of 1900. Jim soon converted with his wife, and the two were remarried by Rev. Harrison of the Presbyterian Church of Skagway. To Mrs. McGill, Jim confessed his sin of murder and she counseled him not to hide among his people in cowardice but rather, "if he truly believed in Christ, in the salvation of souls, and the forgiveness of sins, he would go and give himself up to the law and suffer the penalty of his crime like a true Christian" (in Little 1939:11). Jim followed her advice and confessed to the crime to Marshal Cy Tanner of Skagway and the U.S. Commissioner, C.C. Schlbrede and guided Tanner to the Hortons' grave. Jim and his cohorts were arrested and a Grand Jury was convened in June 1900, returning two indictments against all 12 Indians connected with the conspiracy. The trial was held in Skagway and the proceedings commanded a large attendance and many headlines over the course of nearly a month. The trial itself was brief and climaxed with Hanson's taking the stand to confess. In his testimony, he remarked on his religious conversion, stating:

> I have always been a hunter of big game. When a small boy I laughed and made faces at the grizzly bear, and when he ran after me I killed him and wore his claws about my neck. When game fell at my feet, I said, pointing my finger up and bowing my head, "the Great Spirit is willing." When my bullets hit nothing, I laughed and said, "The Great Spirit stepped between." But I had no religion. Last summer my brother was dying. He said to me:
>
> "The white man's religion is all right! I see beautiful birds flying all about me, and their songs are as sweet as those our mother used to sing. When I am dead, brother, join the church that you, too, may hear the birds sing when you are dying!"
>
> So to please him I joined the Salvation Army, the church of the white man. And now God seems very close to me, and I can warm my hands by His fire. Since I confessed my sins and gave my heart to God and heard my white brothers and sisters sing and pray, I understand what it means to confess my great sin to you and to God!
>
> And when I am dead and my body goes back to earth and grass, I shall be glad that I knew the white man's religion and felt his God in my soul! (Little 1939: 24)

As expected, Jim Hanson received a death sentence, while others received sentences from 22 to 50 years.[15] However, upon the recommendation of the district attorney, who like the judge was impressed by Jim's remorse and Christian conversion, Jim's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by President McKinley, and instead of hanging in Sitka he spent his remaining years at the McNeil Island Penitentiary in Washington, where he helped convert other souls before he died on August 13, 1905.[16]

The Salvation Army still recognizes Hanson's contributions to their mission (Gariepy 1998:27-29), as well as those of two other Native packers of the Chilkoot Pass—John Darrow and Joe Wright—who similarly confessed to the crime of murder and were sentenced to prison terms in San Quentin, where they converted to Christ and joined the Salvation Army. Wright went on to found a mission in Hoonah in 1901, while Darrow soldiered for Christ in Wrangell.

The Case of the Nantuck Boys

Another important but less prominently reported case of Native justice concerns the killing of prospector Billy Meehan in 1898. Cruikshank analyzed the case (1998: 81ff) in which The Northwest Mounted Police arrested a young Tagish Indian named Jim (Black Fox) Nantuck, who admitted to shooting but not killing Meehan in an encounter with him and his partner Christian Fox, who was also wounded but escaped and notified police. Three accomplices, recorded as Joe, Dawson, and Frank Nantuck, were also arrested. The trial turned out to be a clash of cultural conceptions of justice and judicial institutions, and signal of the arrival of British imperial justice to the Yukon.

> The prisoners 'were asked if they had any excuse or justification or reason for [the shootings]—any quarrel … but they said that the whites were 'good friends' but some white man a year or two years ago had killed two Indians. On these statements I [the judge] entered a verdict of 'Guilty' in the case of these two Indians 'Joe Nantuck' and 'Dawson Nantuck.' Jim said he did not kill Billy … and a plea of Not Guilty was entered for him.'
>
> Joe and Frank were tried separately so that the Crown could use young Frank as a material witness against Jim. Jim's trial was held first…Names of six local miners were drawn from a hat as jurors for each case. No Native witnesses were called. (Cruikshank 1998:84)

Although there were translators, the medium was Tlingit, the second language of the Tagish defendants, just as it was for the interpreters. The Reverend R.M. Dickey described his encounter with them shortly after their arrest as follows:

> The sergeant asked [Reverend] Dominie to visit the Indian prisoners, and as I had picked up some Indian words, he asked me to come with him. The prisoners were [brothers, last name Nantuck and] little more than boys … the eldest probably less than twenty. At first they were stolid and unresponsive, not even looking at us until I used up all my vocabulary in their language. Then they looked at one another, seemingly amused at my attempts. Black Fox [Jim], who appeared the eldest…took a long look at Dominie; then he said, "Me see you, big teepee, Bennett." He then pulled from his pocket a crumpled Sunday school paper with an illustrated story of Jesus preaching to the multitude by a lakeside, then the cover of an old magazine from which, with evident pride, he named some of the letters of the alphabet. At this state the sergeant introduced an interpreter, but before accepting his as-

sistance, Dominie asked for a pledge that no use would be made at their trial of anything they might say to us...

To the interpreter the boys said they had no regret for shooting the white man — indeed, their only regret was that their marksmanship had been so poor that one of their intended victims had escaped. When asked why they did it, Black Fox answered quite casually in English: 'White man shoot Indian, Indians shoot white man.' Through the interpreter, Dominie told them what Jesus had said about the spirit of revenge and hatred, substituting it with love and kindness. With the exception of Black Fox, none of them had ever heard the name of Jesus except in profanity...

When we got to our own tent, we told our partners all about our interview, and after some discussion in which we all took part, Dominie said: 'These prisoners are just boys. They have followed the teaching of their tribe. The question that bothers me is who should be held responsible? The government claims that these Indians are wards of the state, but the state had done nothing for their moral or intellectual enlightenment. The churches acknowledge responsibility for their spiritual training, and while the churches have been more diligent than the government, there are tribes in these vast territories still unreached. Further, in some places, there are two or three denominations competing with one another and confusing the Indians both by their teaching and sometimes by their unchristian attitude toward another.

The next morning Dominie wrote a long letter to the venerable Bishop Bompas of the Yukon...telling him all we had learned and about the prisoners and the tribe to which they belonged... [and requesting] one, that if at all possible, the Bishop would visit the prisoners, and the other, that he would bring the darkened condition and spiritual need of this tribe to the attention of the home church. We heard later in Dawson City that the Bishop had promptly responded to both requests. (Dickey 1997:161-162)

The defendants all told essentially the same story in court, but their motives and behavior (still stoic silence and lacking in remorse), rooted in Tagish law and custom, were misunderstood across the cultural divide and played into the distinctions of civilization (rational, orderly, and humane European law) versus savagery (Indian cold-blooded, lawless vengeance) that framed the highly politicized trial. The *Klondike Nugget*'s incendiary reaction was typical:

> The questions put to the murderer by the judge through the interpreters showed them to be wholly deficient in the most ordinary morals. Their cunning, also was of a low order. They could plot to destroy the two men in the boat and steal their goods but appeared to be stolidly indifferent to the results of the admissions of their knowledge of God or a future state, everyone was surprised to find that they knew nothing about either one. Even the "Great Spirit" and the "Happy hunting Grounds" of the North American Indians were unknown to them. (Quoted in Cruikshank 1998:86)

All were found guilty and sentenced to die. In an appeal on their behalf, Bishop Bompas argued that the three were ignorant of European law and subject to their own strict customary laws, that their tribe had been victimized by whites who seized their land without compensation, and that it would hurt what had been, up to this date, largely hospitable relations between whites and Natives, if the death sentences were not revoked. Despite three stays of execution, largely based on technicalities, Frank and Joe Nantuck died in prison of "pulmonary troubles" awaiting their appeals. Jim and Dawson Nantuck were hanged on August 4, 1899.

Oral accounts from Kitty Smith and

Angela Sidney, recounted by Cruikshank (1998:89-91; also Neufeld and Norris 1996: 140-142) shed further light on the potential motives of the perpetrators in the Horton murders:

> Angela Sidney heard the story from her mother, who was at Tagish when it happened and knew the actors. Her understanding is that the can [a poison, possibly arsenic used in processing gold, but mistakenly thought to be baking powder] was found by the boy who died. He took it home to his opposite-moiety aunt, his uncle Tagish Jim's first wife, Gokhakat. At her urging, he made some bread. He fed it to the dog, then ate some himself and gave some to an older man, his "grandpa." By the time they realized the dog was dying, it was too late to save the men.
>
> By custom, the responsibility for avenging the deaths fell to clan members of the deceased. Mrs. Sidney states this explicitly: 'They were all Crow, all one nation—brothers, cousins--like that.' There were conventional, customary ways of resolving such a painful incident, and they were understood by everyone. When a victim was a member of one moiety and the attacker a member of another, formal negotiations were necessary to arrange fair compensation for the death. The social group the attacker belonged to was responsible for opening negotiations. Either the death of a social equivalent of the victim or a negotiated repayment in goods would be satisfactory compensation....
>
> ...That only one prospector actually died when two people had previously been poisoned may account for the accusation in court that the prospectors' goods were also "stolen." Whatever the interpretation, it is very likely that the four saw themselves as taking absolutely appropriate actions to settle the deaths of kinsmen.

These two cases are illustrative of an important conflict in the history of aboriginal-white relations in Alaska and the Yukon. As with education, sociopolitical organization, and spiritual life, white conceptions of justice and protocol, radically at odds with indigenous models, served to undermine aboriginal institutions and increase conflict.

Finally, two other aspects of intercultural justice and policing are worthy of mention. First was the institution of hiring Indian policemen to patrol and discipline "their own." Daanawáakh and other Chilkoot subchiefs held such positions as early as the 1880s. This practice, begun in the early American period, was successful enough that it was duplicated in many Native villages as a means of disciplining the Natives. Coastal Tlingit Indian police often displayed symbols of their authority, such as badges and billy clubs, much like traditional *at.óow*. A report in the *Daily Alaskan* of May 20, 1903 poked fun at "Indian Albert," a Native policeman from Juneau, who had

> paraded the Skagway streets for some days, with his great silver star of authority...But like many another great man who indulges too freely in liquor...Albert...in rolling along home his beautiful ebony billy dropped from its abreviated [sic] sheath and was lost...
>
> From the hour of his humiliation at the hands of King Alcohol, Albert began to lose caste among his fellows and when it was discovered that he had lost his "skookum stick," there was contempt...where previously had been respect."

The second institution had to do with the promulgation of translator and witness fees, which were often used, especially by Indian officers, as a tool to gain Native cooperation in Western judicial proceedings. *The Daily Alaskan* calls attention to the effects of this practice in northern Southeast Alaska in a

December 3, 1902, article, in which the U.S. District Judge Brown warns of

> the habit of Indians to make unfounded charges against other Indians or white people in order to get the fees. It seems that in some of the localities, the arrests are made by Indian officers, interpreters are used and then there are the witness fees. The result is, so says Judge Brown, that many Indians are convicted for offenses on testimony that is not true. He advises that all cases brought by Indians be carefully scrutinized before warrants be issued.

However, it is not clear how widespread this practice was or to what extent it occurred in Skagway or Dyea.

Economic Expansion, Native Employment, and Trade

By the late summer of 1897 the Klondike stampede was in full swing. One white observer estimated "about 1500 men on the [Chilkoot] trail" and "about 250 Indians and 150 white men …engaged in packing" (in Hinckley 1996:225). Soon white packers were advertising in the local *Daily Alaskan* newspaper with pitches such as, "We pack your freight to Lake Bennett and all points at lowest rates. Quick and safe delivery guaranteed" (July 13, 1898, 1:4). The demand was clearly more than the Chilkoot could handle alone. As early as 1886 the demand for packers seemed to exceed the supply and in 1891, Glave complained in an interview (*Juneau City Mining Record*, Dec. 3), "At present the only mode of transport is by Indian packers, who charge $15 a hundred for carrying stuff and at the same time are utterly unreliable. Miners often halt south of the divide for weeks, subject to the whims of these irregular carriers."

A major effect of increased Native employment was the curtailment of the aboriginal interior trade. Although intervillage trade remained vigorous, the interior trade routes, having now been removed from Tlingit hegemony and traversed by thousands, no longer provided worthwhile returns to the coastal Tlingit. In addition, as Krause (1956) observed, "Since the increased white population has offered them easier ways of making a living [the interior trade] has almost stopped." Some trade did continue to be sure, but its volume was significantly diminished after the gold rush. The influx of people and goods to be moved necessitated a shift in priorities for the Tlingit. More labor was organized toward packing stampeders' goods and away from long distance trade missions, the returns for which were diminishing due to competition from the Hudson's Bay Company and other traders in the Interior. With high demand, revenue from packing remained strong, more than offsetting losses due to reduced trade with the Interior. Rates per hundred pounds remained high through the early gold rush, ranging from $8 to $15. To facilitate and regulate hiring, packing chiefs, or bosses, set up shops in Dyea to advertise their services. Among the most famous of these was that run by Chief Isaac, the Lukaaxh.ádi leader who replaced Lunáat' as head of the clan. As figure 15 shows, Isaac had a modern storefront complete with windows and a sign reading, "Isaac, Cheif of Chilkotts, Packing a Speciality." Natives from other communities, especially Sitka, Hoonah, and Juneau, but also Wrangell, Kake, Angoon, and Yakutat, also continued to migrate to Dyea and Skagway looking for packing work. *The Alaskan* noted on August 21, 1897, "Our Sitka Indians thinning out very rapidly. They go to Sk-



Figure 15. Chief Isaac, Lukaaxh.ádi leader (seated), with Chief Daanawáakh (standing at left) and unidentified boy (right) at Dyea. "Known for their strength and business acumen, many Tlingits were attracted to the one dollar per pound wage paid for packing supplies over the Chilkoot Trail (c. 1897)." (LaRoche #2006, Library of Congress #MM III-2, KLGO HW18-1436)

aguay to pack for the Clondykers" (Neufeld and Norris 1996:48). As they had since the early 1880s, the network of chiefs who organized packing helped to regulate competition so that wages could remain stable. In 1894, the Native population had swollen to several hundred people, most dwelling in a dozen or so log houses situated in the vicinity of Healy and Wilson's compound. Tappan Adney described the main village in 1897:

> Along the river bank straggling for some distance inland was a collection of houses and tents, the houses weathered to the grey of the mountain sides, the whole rather squalid, distinctly smelling of decayed salmon. There were here none of the great hewn plank and beam dwellings of the Tlingit, no totem poles; these were to be found at the ancient town of Klukwan, some distance away. The houses were those shaks (sic) imitative of white men. (Norris and Taylor 1986)

Other sources suggest that a separate settlement with as many as five hundred Indians (Medill, cited in Norris and Taylor 1986) was situated farther up the Dyea River, at the foot of the mountains, and perhaps on the east side of the river (Lung, cited in Norris and Taylor. Jack London's fictionalized *Daughter of the Snows* puts the "smelly village inhabited by Siwash Indians" as "several hundred yards north" of Healy & Wilson's store. It may be that there was more than one Native encampment, perhaps corresponding to the Tlingit sociogeographic or kin groups, or the segregation of coastal Tlingit from the Inland Tlingit and Tagish (Schwatka in 1883 noted a separate camp of Takk-heesh Indians at Dyea). Likely sites for a second village and other encampments are highlighted in Ertec (1983). Further archaeological and ethnohistorical research should yield further clues regarding the location and composition of various settlements at Dyea.

The most impressive of the Native buildings at Dyea was the packing house of Chief Isaac, "a finely-milled two-story house with lap siding." As the leader of the Lukaax.ádi, Isaac was the most influential of packers and most Natives deferred to his lead in setting packing prices, for it was not in their interest to undercut the host clan. Berton (1958:245) characterizes this arrangement as an "informal union," but beyond minimal price fixing, it is not clear how much control Isaac and other Tlingit leaders wielded over packing. After all, a hallmark of Tlingit society was respect for individual autonomy, and it seems clear that individual packers and pack crews had a lot of latitude to do their own bidding based on demand, conditions, and other factors, and reports of mid-journey renegotiations and abandonment of employers for "another who offered more money" were not uncommon. Crews continued to include women and children, among them Suzie Nasook, grandmother of Margaret Stevens. Mrs. Stevens (interview), a Shangukeidí elder residing in Klukwan, notes her grandmother "went over the pass five times" as a packer. Two other rules that seemed to be widespread, however, were 1) a prohibition on Sunday packing (a bow to Presbyterian sensibilities, it seems) and 2) an insistence on being paid in gold and silver coinage rather than paper bills. The latter condition came about evidently as a result of some Indians being paid in (now counterfeit) Confederate greenbacks, but it had the effect of taking much of the gold and silver money out of circulation (Berton 1958:245).

But soon the industry was challenged by new sources of competition in the form of

pack animals, tramways, and the railroad.

> ...several Juneau business owners began planning more advanced transportation measures. In 1885, the Chilkoot Pass and Summit Railroad Company was organized to run a rail line through the pass to the interior. Although the railway idea quickly faded, others sought more immediate solutions. Peter Peterson of Juneau designed a sled tramway for the pass; it was in operation by the spring of 1894. In 1895, Healy brought in the first pack horses. By the middle of 1897, some 200 horses were hauling freight. In the end of 1898, there was little for the packer on the Chilkoot Trail to carry (Neufeld and Norris 1996:48).

By early 1898 a wagon road reached Canyon City and pack trains extended to Sheep Camp.

> In late March it was reported that whites had driven off the Indian packers; the natives probably returned soon afterwards. Finally, in May 1898, the Chilkoot Railroad and Transport Company's [aerial] tramway opened. The last of the five tramways to open over Chilkoot Pass since the onset of winter, the CR&T carried goods all the way from Canyon City to Stone Crib. This tramway soon combined its operations with that of the other tramway systems, and began charging the low, uniform rate of ten cents per pound to haul goods over the pass. This undercut the packers' rate. Combined with the general dropoff in business that spring, packers left Dyea en masse, either for the Canadian side of the Chilkoot Trail or for the White Pass Trail. (Norris and Taylor 1986)

Buffering the decline in the packing trade was the emergence of alternative industries with opportunities for wage earners. The most important of these was commercial fishing and the establishment of a fish cannery at Pyramid Harbor near Haines. The first cannery in Southeast Alaska opened in Klawock in 1878, followed the same year by another in Sitka. The third major cannery in the region, the Chilkat Packing Co., opened in Chilkat Inlet in 1882. Although this cannery lasted only 10 years, before burning in 1892, it became an important source of employment and commerce for local Natives. Even more important was the Pyramid Harbor cannery, which opened in 1883 and ran successfully until 1908 (AK Fisheries Board 1949 Annual Report.) Three major canneries were operating in Lynn Canal by 1889, attracting hordes of Native fishers and cannery laborers from nearby villages and schools. The development of this economic infrastructure had both positive and negative effects on efforts to school Natives:

> During the [eighteen] nineties the swelling presence of American institutions further ballooned by the Klondike gold rush after 1897—strengthened the hand of pro-school Natives. Although attendance fluctuated and apathy to the three-R curriculum ("four-R's" with religion) remained widespread, enrollments did rise. Among the most grievous handicaps confounding white educators was truancy. When the salmon commenced to run, so did the students; salmon remained a family staple. At the peak of the Klondike rush the job opportunities were so alluring at Dyea and Skagway that the Haines school shut down. Pressure by District governors and local Indian police failed to turn these "children of Nature" into compliant and punctual pupils. Hinckley (1996: 274)

At first the cannery competition helped to drive wages and fish prices up, but Hinckley (1996:234) notes,

> The Chilkat appear to have had a love-hate relationship with these [cannery] firms. On one occasion cannery rivalry raised the price of a single salmon from two to fifteen cents; when the can-

> neries agreed upon a common price for the next season the Chilkat rejected their terms. "Once fifteen cents, always fifteen cents," they insisted. Chinese and whites were sent for. While checking Native wage demands, the importation of non-Native labor can hardly have reduced ethnic friction.

In her turn of the century guidebook to Alaska and the Northwest Coast, Seidmore (1899: 94) noted that the four villages in the Haines-Klukwan area –*Yandeist'akhyé*, *Tlákw:aan*, *Khaatkh'aaltii*, and *Lkoot-* were all still inhabited, but she predicted their demise. "In summer these villages are depopulated, the people flocking to Chilkat and Pyramid Harbour to sell curios and spend what little they may acquire in debaucheries. Saloons were openly kept in 1892, the Chilkats were able to buy liquor by the barrel, if they wished, and the end of the great tribe is at hand." Her forecast, however, was premature. In fact the movement from winter villages to summer salmon canning facilities was very consistent with traditional seasonal movements to fishing camps. The difference was that now fishing paid wages; and this newfound seasonal wealth, in some cases amounting to thousands of dollars, undoubtedly contributed to increased incidences of drinking, gambling, and other such behavior.

Besides fishing and fish canning, the fur trade remained an important source of income throughout the gold rush and the early post-gold rush period. But by the end of the gold rush in 1898 the penetration of the territory by large commercial interests was significant, and the supply of fish and game began to dwindle. Still, while territorial governor Swineford admitted "white people have encroached upon and practically taken possession of their best fishing grounds," he did not express undue concern, for with the new industries, the Natives' "field of labor" had been "widened, and they are abundantly able to care for themselves" (*in* Hinckley 1996: 234-35). Fisheries inspector Howard Kutchin agreed, reporting that for the 1,244 Natives employed in commercial fishing in Southeast Alaska, "the industry instead of operating to the injury of the natives is a very positive advantage to them" (*in* Hinckley 1996: 235). There is no doubt that the expansion of the fishing industry in Northern Lynn Canal buffered the decline of the gold rush packing trade in the last two years of the nineteenth century.

Other industries, including railroad construction, longshoring, and the packhorse trade also brought employment for Natives, but, in contrast to fishing, this work was generally limited to ancillary or unskilled jobs before 1900. In one case violence erupted when a steamship attempted to hire Indians to replace striking longshoremen on the Skagway wharf (*The Dyea Trail*, Feb. 15, 1898). As for the packing trade, when the first steam locomotive made the trip up Skagway Valley on July 20, 1898, (though it would not be until 1899 that the first trains mount White Pass), it signaled doom for this Herculean industry that had supported and distinguished the local Tlingit and Tagish for more than two decades.

The Palm Sunday Avanche

A negative side effect of the diminution of Native control over the packing trade may have been the loss of traditional knowledge of trail, flood, snow, and avalanche conditions. The disastrous Palm Sunday Avalanche of April 3, 1898, occurred between Sheep Camp and The Scales, burying hundreds of people alive and killing approximately 70.

Significantly, no Natives were killed. They had refused to pack that day, or any time that week, for fear of the dangerous avalanche conditions. As Simpson (n.d. [2002]) points out,

> The snowpack as usual was characterized by a thick ground layer of depth hoar generated by early season cold temperatures and a shallow snowpack. Heavy snow had fallen during the months of February and March from the south and cold winds blowing across the great expanse of the glaciers from the north and east had added a firm wind layer. Warm south winds from the ocean and new snow on the days preceding the avalanche were certainly contributing factors. Finally, on that Easter weekend, the slopes were loaded by fresh fallen snow and heated by the abrupt warming that happens in the North when winter turns almost to summer overnight.

Simpson goes on to point out,

> Newspaper accounts of the time stated that 'warning of impending disaster was given by the native Indian packers, who are said to have deserted the trail when the heavy snow of Saturday and Sunday night set in' (*Chicago Tribune*, 1898). Further accounts declared 'there is not enough gold in the Yukon to induce those Indians to venture above Stonehouse today. They declare that the menace will continue until another freezing spell locks the snow on the slopes' (*Portland Morning Oregonian*, 1898).

Certainly the mountain going Chilkat-Chilkoot and interior Indians had experienced avalanches before. Indeed, an avalanche may have been what buried, and perhaps killed, the young aboriginal adult male, named Kwaday Dan Sinchi (Long Ago Person Found) by the local Champagne and Aishihik First Nation, whose 550-year old body recently was uncovered in the Tatshenshini-Alsek Provincial Park near the British Columbia-Yukon border. Unfortunately, this important source of traditional ecological knowledge about the dynamics of avalanches, built up over centuries of activity on the mountainous terrain, went unheeded by non-Native stampeders in their hurry to reach the goldfields.

If no Natives were lost, some of their possessions nearly were. Bill Matthews (figure 16), who packed during the gold rush years, was a nephew of Klanot, and lived to the age of 97, related to a friend that

> ...one of his most prized possessions was a photograph of himself and other Chilkat packers with an ox named Marc Hanna [after the famous political party boss], who hauled supplies up to Sheep Camp, as far as pack animals could go on the Chilkoot. When Bill learned that Marc had been buried in the Sheep Camp Slide he took a shovel and [w]ent up to Stone House to look for him. He found Marc the next day, calmly chewing his cud in the little cave he'd tramped out for himself in the snow. Bill used him to haul the bodies of the slide victims down to Dyea.

Bill Matthews later homesteaded in Dyea (see below) and took it upon himself to care for the graveyard where victims from the disastrous Palm Sunday avalanche were laid to rest.

Natives at the Century's End

Before the old rush, Natives and non-Natives in the Chilkoot region lived separately, with economic exchange but little social accommodation, except for the inroads made by missionaries in places like Haines and by individuals like George Carmack, who attempted to bridge the ethnic divide through marriage and or other means and were often marginalized for it. Contact and cultural ex-



Figure 16. Bill Matthews overlooking graves of his wife Sophia and daughters Julia and Mabel at Dyea, c. 1960. (Paul Sincic, courtesy of KLGO)

change were much greater on the Coast than in the Interior, where the aboriginal populations remained relatively isolated until the gold rush period. As Yukon historian Coates (1991:83) points out:

> Natives and non-Natives did not reach a social accommodation in the pre-gold rush period. Alcohol and sex had, after the trading post, become the primary point of contact between the races. Those men who approached Native society more closely were generally scorned by other non-Natives in the area. Missionaries and police clearly exaggerated the level of exploitation and debauchery, but non-Natives did approach social relations with Natives out of short-term self interest. As late as 1896, however, most of the Indians of the Yukon had had only minimal contact with non-Natives. The only major settlements were in the borderlands area Fortymile and Circle City; the rest of the territory was left to the Natives.

With the gold rush, which for the coastal Tlingit really began in the late 1880s, all of this changed. The demographic and other stresses of the gold rush profoundly affected both the interior Natives of Careross and the coastal Tlingits of northern Lynn Canal. Although the geographic focus of the Klondike gold rush was limited and narrow in comparison with other large mining frontiers (Coates

1991), its intense focus on the Chilkoot Trail magnified its effects on adjacent communities.

The end of the nineteenth century thus marked a period of astonishing change for the Tlingit and Tagish groups of the greater Chilkoot area. Although they had avoided the Palm Sunday avalanche, there was no overcoming the avalanche of foreigners who invaded their lands, competed for their resources, infected them with their pathogens and vices, and ultimately sought to remake them in their own image through the power of arms, schooling, and religion.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the future for Native peoples looked grim. *The Klondike Nugget* addressed the issue squarely in its April 1, 1900, editorial in response to demands for compensation for Native lands, raised by an Indian named Silas:

> It will doubtless happen with these Indians as it has happened with every other aboriginal race that has come in contact with what we are pleased to term civilization. Civilization will ultimately wipe the Indians out of existence. This is the whole story in a nutshell, and it is apparent that the Indians themselves have a very well defined notion that such will prove to be the case. They see the land, which they considered their own, taken away from them without even their permission being asked. The game, upon which they have been accustomed to depend very largely for subsistence, is being driven back into the mountains, and when the game has all disappeared the Indians see nothing ahead for them but extinction.
>
> The case which Silas advances on behalf of his tribe is a strong one, and the points are remarkably well taken. Silas has a number of innate ideas of right and wrong which lead him to believe that there should be some law of compensation applicable in the case. Formerly the Indians owned all the ground, all the fish and all the game. Now they own nothing. Then they could do as they pleased, with no one to interfere with them. Now they are liable to arrest for any breach of the law, just as a white man.
>
> How they could lose all they once possessed and get nothing in return is something they can not comprehend. The case is worth consideration from the authorities. Whether or not the Indians possess any legal rights in the premises, there are certain moral obligations involved which should not be overlooked. If there is any danger of actual want among them, the matter should be promptly looked into and relief granted.

This sense of the inevitability of Indian genocide was not shared by most Natives, of course, but at least some were beginning to accept the inevitability of ethnocide, or cultural genocide–the extermination of key aspects of their identity and culture. Among these was the powerful Chilkat Chief, known as Kodowatt (a surname still carried by descendants), who in the summer of 1900, feeling the onset of death, prepared for his final potlatch.

> Quite aware that the missionary-teachers, civil authorities, and the military frowned on the potlatch, the dying man partially justified his traditional farewell by utilizing a Christian gesture: reconciliation between the Sitka and Stikine. He wished "to unite them after their long alienation." Furthermore, "he declares this to be the last great potlatch, and that after it the Indians shall be good and live as the whiteman, and peace shall reign among the tribes." S. Weitzman, a Haines merchant, "sold hundreds of boxes of pilot bread (hard tack) and reported that in the coming potlatch the Indians will also eat a great deal of sugar, canned peaches, canned grapes, cakes and candies." October

> witnessed Kodowatt's grand celebration in which he "gave away all his earthly belongings." (Hinckley 281-280)

The introduction of large quantities of non-Native foods was perhaps emblematic of the larger shift and accommodation of white culture by Natives. But the event included plenty of Native fare as well. George Shotridge was also a backer of this event, and oversaw the preparations. *The Daily Alaskan* caught up with him in early February in Skagway, where he was visiting his son-in-law, who was injured in a railroad accident and making preparations to go on a trading expedition to the Interior. The paper reported on February 6, 1900:

> Not since 1886 has there been such a potlatch in all Alaska as will be that to be given next August by the Crow Chiefs of the Chilkeat Tribe of Indians to the Eagle Chiefs and their tribes. There will be two thousand of the dusky aborigines present and for two weeks they will be guests of the Crow family at Kluckwan. The head chief of the Crows, George Shortridge, upon who will fall most of the burden of the grand affair, is having a large house constructed at Kluckwan at a cost of $200. The entire first floor of the house, which is forty feet square, will be arranged [sic] to accommodate the dancers, while the second story will be used as a gallery. After the potlatch it is Chief George's intention to use the house as a state house of the Chilcats, the upper story to be used as his residence while the first floor will remain in one large council room.
>
> Chief George…has accumulated considerable wealth as an extensive trader amongst the Stick Indians...[he] is a magnificent specimen of physical manhood, standing as straight as an arrow and being several inches above six feet in heighth [?]. He is about 45 years of age, and during the years since the advent of the white trader he has made two trips a year to the interior, where he traded blankets, calicos and all kinds of wearing apparel, provisions, fire arms, axes, cutlery and other utensils for furs, which he would bring out and sell for the filthy lucre to the white man.
>
> In speaking of the potlatch, talking through an interpreter, George said:
>
> 'We will be ready for the potlatch in August. Several times before I have attempted to get the Crows to help me give a big potlatch but they have not all of them been ready at any one time. Now I have got enough of them ready to help and the invitations have gone forth…
>
> All the Indians from Sitka and Juneau will be there, including all between those places and Skagway. In about two weeks I will go into the interior on a trading expedition and while there I will invite the Stick Indians. I think there will be about 2000 people there all total and they will remain for about two weeks.'

Like so many of his compatriots, Tlingit leader Kotowatt succumbed to tuberculosis on December 13, 1900, a few months after his final potlatch. But his message of peace and unity was taken up at what is now considered the last great traditional potlatch, held in Sitka in 1904, attended by George Shotridge, Chilkoot Jack (who returned with $270 in money, 100 blankets, and 10 large boxes of provisions, according to a Jan. 13, 1905, article in *The Daily Alaskan*) and others from Chilkat and Chilkoot villages. As we shall see, this message of peace and unity was not a signal of resignation, fatalism, or capitulation, but a rather a new code for adapting to the stresses and realities of modern life without sacrificing the foundations of Native culture.

(Footnotes)

[13] Emmons notes that a Tlingit "usually had two or more names given or received at different periods of his life. Thus, the Chilkat chieftain was

indiscriminately called Klo-kutch or Chartrich. The spelling of Indian names being phonetic and often representing sounds difficult of expression by the letters of our alphabet differs according to the understanding or idea of the writers who attempt to reproduce them. The name Klo-kutch is spelled also Kok-kutch and Clacach and Charrich appears in some cases as Shartrich or Chartridge (ABT 1904:403). He might also have added Klotz-Kutch, Koh-klux and Kohklux and Chasquit, Chatoquit, and Shotridge as additional spellings. Given his instrumental role in mapping the Alaska-Yukon territory and in managing the Chilkat trade trails until his death in the Gold Rush, era, he is worthy of a biography in his own right."

[13] An amusing account of Koh-Klux's reaction to the eclipse was penned by Secretary William Seward's son, Frederick W. Seward (1972 [1891]:18-20). He notes that Koh-klux and his group were convinced that the "Bosten men" had engineered the eclipse, worried that such tampering with nature would bring "bad consequences," and upon receiving Seward's explanation of the events concluded that, indeed, "the eclipse was produced by the Great Spirit, and not by man... [but] that the Great Spirit generally does whatever the 'Boston men' want him to," In his meeting with Secretary Seward, Koh-klux also demanded that the U.S. government pay reparations for the deaths of three prominent Chilkats at the hands of the Sitka Tlingit some nine or ten years earlier (when the Territory was still under Russia's control), lest the Chilkat themselves seek blood revenge. Seward, who eventually was persuaded to pay reparations in the form 36 blankets, at first questioned Koh-klux as to why he was responsible, since the incident occurred during the Russian period. Koh-klux offered that "We did appeal to the Emperor of Russia, but he gave us no redress...We know he was poor; because he had to sell his land to the great 'Tyee" [i.e., the U.S. President and his representatives—in this case Seward].. But now the great 'Tyee' himself is here, in his stead. And we want to know what he is going to do about it?" This response suggests from a Tlingit perspective obligations (debts, liability, etc.) go with the land, a concept similarly expressed by L'uuáat' in explaining his group's responsibilities over the Chilkoot Trail.

[14] Lee Heinmiller (personal communication 2003) notes that Koh-klux also collected an American flag from U.S. officials on October 17, 1867, one day before the official flag was raised in Sitka to mark the American acquisition of Alaska. This flag was still stored in the Ghanaaxhteidí Whale House when Heinmiller was young.

[15] In some cases they were accused of denying the very existence of the interior trails as a kind of master deception.

[16] I was not able to corroborate this encounter in Tlingit oral history.

[17] There is some irony in this as Krause and Krause (1995) relate: "Already in 1869, an official complaint was recorded that Alaska had been sold without native consent. Some chiefs were in favour of declaring war and driving out the Americans. They abandoned this idea after the Chilkat chiefs convinced the others that their coastal villages were vulnerable to attack by the American war vessels. This warning was to be realized when in the same year, the military initiated a series of bombardments and destroyed the villages of Kake and Wrangell."

[18] This manuscript, entitled "Unlocking the Passes, 1879-1880" includes a wealth of details on the use of the Gatling gun and other weapons in the opening of the Chilkoot Pass.

[19] Like the word "contract," the word "toll" and "monopoly" may have been misunderstood across cultures, as they have not simple equivalent concepts in Tlingit.

[20] In yet another twist on the story, Ronald L. Olson's field notes from a 1933 interview with Ed Shotridge, brother of Koh-klux and uncle of Louis, it is stated that Lunáat' "was the chief who was killed at Dyea by Joe Wright (who was [Kaagwaantaan, named] cetani's [?]). Later J. Wright killed gah [?] who was kluwahadih [Lukaaxh.ádi] of yandestakya [*Yeindust'akhyé* or Yindastuki] of same family nephew of [Lunáat']. Joe Wright has since tried to become "head man" at Haines, but people will not have him because of the killing of noble[s] involved Shotridge (Lee Heinmiller, personal communication 2003; Olson's original notebooks are on file at the Museum of Anthropology Archives, University of California, Berkeley).

[21] In this same communication, Emmons reports that Koh-klux also spelled out for him the differences between the Chilkat and Chilkoot with regard to packing and fishing rights, but he does not specify further what those differences are. It may be that Koh-klux, or Shotridge, was distinguishing between the formal territorial control that the Chilkoot had over the

Chilkoot Trail, versus his own rights over the Chilkat Trail, so as disassociate himself from responsibility for any trouble that might arise between whites and Chilkoots over access rights to the Chilkoot.

[23] It may be that Carmack was thinking about Bob Henderson when he named Patsy - the taking of a person's name who did them wrong in the Tlingit tradition of indemnity.

[24] Daisy was also known by her Lukaaxh.ádi Tlingit name, Saayna.aat. She left Carcross for Seattle and later California, where she married a non-Native; but she returned to the village periodically to attend to her father and visit relatives. After her premature death in 1937, Daisy was returned to Carcross for the last time and, following her wish, laid to rest next to her father.

[25] Mrs. Sidney goes on to note, "They leave the light on as long as the body is there — some people sit and sing funeral songs. The people that visit have to smoke. You treat them with some like that and sing some songs — cigarettes, tobacco, snuff — that's how they entertain people when they come and visit. That's the time they chose the people to work for them, too - like who is going to be pallbearer, who is going to dig the grave — stuff like that…

Before my time, they say, when somebody died they put up a stick and put black around it. That's how they know if somebody is dead in that camp; that's the message they give. They put that man's clothes on— tie them to the stick. That's how the other people know who the stick belongs to." (1991:131)

[26] Barley is said to have recorded more than 100 views of the gathering, and had to pay for the exclusive privilege of photographing the party.

[27] Jim Williams received 50 years and almost died during the trial due to a severe "syphilitic abscess of the groin, which had reached such an advanced stage that the tissues had begun to slough away" (Skagway U.S. Marshal letter to U.S. Attorney General, October 11, 1900).

[28] I was told by Debra Schnable of the Chilkoot Indian Association, who graciously provided background materials on this case, that Mrs. Agnes Bellinger, a Kaagwaantaan elder from Haines-Klukwan, now living in Juneau, was familiar with the oral history surrounding this case and noted discrepancies between the Native history and the official accounts, including Little's. I did not have an opportunity to interview Mrs. Bellinger, however.

Chapter IV: The Early Post-Gold-Rush Period (1900-1950)

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the populations of Dyea and Skagway were in precipitous decline, and Dyea would be all but deserted within a few years (Miller 1906). Skagway would survive as a more modest city and transportation and tourism hub, but the boom was over. What did this mean for the Natives of the region? To some degree it relieved the most pressing demographic and sociocultural stresses that had befallen Natives in the 1890s. But this relief hardly signaled a "return to normalcy." On the coast especially, the cultural and economic landscape had been profoundly transformed. In the Interior, the effects were less profound, for the involvement of Yukon Indians had been, overall, less directly affected than the Alaska Tlingits. Nor had the Interior groups given up their hunting and trapping economy in favor of sedentary, seasonal wage employment like many in the coastal groups. Thus, the Yukon Indians enjoyed a period of relative benign neglect, while coastal Tlingits moved to re-organize themselves to better adapt to the dominant society.

The Boundary Dispute

One of the most important first tasks in this adaptation was for the Chilkat and Chilkoot to work with the U.S. to ensure that a suitable border boundary was negotiated with Canada. In interviews, many Tlingits relate that they "never knew a border" before contact or in the early post contact years. For example, Margaret Stevens (interview) commented, "Well, you know, long ago we didn't have a border. We traded back and forth. Some stayed and married, some stayed down there and married and that's how they have involvement [here] and we have involvement up there." Indeed, the Chilkats and Chilkoots as well as other groups continued to carry out trade and intercourse with interior British Columbian and Yukon groups long after contact. But to their credit, the Chilkat realized early that siding with an expansive American boundary would be to their advantage. For their part, the Canadians were eager to push the boundary as close to the coast as possible to maximize their dominion over the valuable mineral resources and passes to the Interior.

The dispute arose from differing interpretations of the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825, which had tenuously established a boundary line "parallel to the windings of the Coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom." But the windings of the coast were subject to interpretation, and the Canadians argued for the head of Lynn Canal. In contrast, the U.S. held that the 1825 treaty gave them claim to "territory extending 16 to 19 km (10 to 12 mi.) inland of the Chilkoot and White Pass summits. Canada, however, felt that the treaty gave them sovereignty over Skagway, Dyea, the entire length of both trails, and most of the territory between Skagway

and Juneau" (Neufeld and Norris 1996:129). With the economic boom of the Klondike Gold Rush, the issue came to a head, as the country legally invested with the right to collect duty stood to gain revenues on between $40 million and $100 million worth of goods passing through. As Neufeld and Norris (1996:129) emphasize, "The country that collected duties stood to receive a huge financial windfall. Furthermore, customs duties were collected only on 'foreign' goods, that is, goods not purchased in the country in question. This meant that the country collecting customs duties could influence miners to buy the vast mountain of needed supplies in their country's stores." After significant wrangling and posturing, with the Canadians at first establishing the upper hand, temporary borders at the summits of the passes were established by 1898 with both countries agreeing to submit the final determination to the international commission. The boundary was not formalized, however, until the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal rendered its findings in 1903.

In the meantime the coastal Tlingits were pressed into service on behalf of the United States. Like the American stampeders, Tlingits also resented the presence of the Northwest Mounted Police and Canadian customs attempts to interfere with their "free trade" to the Interior. Klukwan especially objected to the proposed Canadian border just two miles north of their village. Testifying on behalf of their clansmen and village mates, Chilkat leaders Yalkawk and George Shotridge dictated the following letter to the President of the United States and the Canadian government on June 20, 1900.

> Sir: We, the undersigned, representing the Indians living on the Chilkat River, submit that we are dependent for our living on the hunting, fishing, and trading above the provisional boundary line just established, which crosses the Chilkat River a little above our village of Klukwan. We have enjoyed these privileges from time immemorial, free from the restrictions and charges imposed by custom-houses; and further, our trade with the interior Indians has been of the greatest importance to us. The boundary line which comes so close to our ancient settlement shuts us up in a small portion of the valley of which we have had so long the undisputed use, and will, we fear, unduly restrict us in our trade and avocations. We therefore request that our former rights and privileges be guaranteed to us, and in that hope we address this petition to the Governments of the United States and Canada.

In a personal note to the Secretary of State, Boundary Commissioner O.H. Tittmann, a witness to the testimony, described the appeal as "eloquent and in many respects pathetic. They feared that the Canadians would establish a custom-house on the other side of the provisional boundary line near Klukwan and that they would be subjected to continuous and vexatious interference by the Canadian authorities." He adds that the interpreter and the Indians "were much excited by the marking of the boundary line" and marked by a feeling of uneasiness due to the Horton murder trial in Skagway, which was taking place concurrently. He relates, "The whites along the Chilkat fear an uprising on the part of the Indians if the murderers are convicted and punished." At the same time, "The Indians were in fear of becoming British subjects under the boundary arrangement, a possibility to which they were intensely hostile. They also resent a boundary which cuts in two the valley in which they live and have forebodings of their coming extinction as a tribal organization as

a result of the white man's coming." (S. Doc. 162, 58-2, vol. 2-35)

In July 1899 boundary officials in Skagway had collected sworn statements attesting to the U.S. boundary claims from the following Chilkat and Chilkoot leaders:

1. Koo-too-at
2. George Sha-trage
3. Jack Kitchk
4. Da-na-wak
5. Skin-ya
6. George Kah-oosh-tey
7. Yel-hak
8. Koow-tey-na-ah
9. David Ye-ka-sha
10. Yen-sheesh Johnson.

Beyond testimonies as to their own lineage and legitimacy, the statements typically made two points. First, in what is undoubtedly a cruel irony, Tlingits had to concede to interviewers that their country had previously belonged to the Russians and that they had been Russian subjects, when, in fact, the Russian presence had been very weak in Chilkat country and, paper territorial claims aside, it had never exerted any meaningful authority over the Chilkat or Chilkoot branches of the Tlingit. It was only a strategic maneuver that led Tlingits to submit post-facto to being within Russia's jurisdiction: they knew that by bolstering Russia's historical domain, they would strengthen the U.S. border declaration against the encroaching Canadian claims. Second, most claimants made statements as to their opposition or "feeling bad" to have to pay duty to the Canadians when there was no precedent or agreement with the leaders to do so. George Shotridge, for example, stated:

> My name is George Sha-trage: I think I am one year older than Koo-too-at; my mother told me I am one year older than Koo-too-at: I am one of the head chiefs of the Chilcat tribe: I became chief about the same time as Koo-too-at: my father was the head chief of the Chilcat tribe, before I was, and after his death four of us became chiefs of our tribe, one of them by the name of Kin-tagh-koosh, who died since. I have always lived in this vicinity and remember the Russian occupation and recognized the Russian authorities as the owners of this region. I have been down to Sitka twice with my father and have seen the Russian flag. We and our father and their fathers have always recognized Russian authority and considered ourselves Russian subjects.
>
> Our forefathers made the trail from Chilcat over the mountains to the Yukon, and every year we go on that trail to trade with the Indians in the interior for furs; have been using it for years. Last August I and Koo-too-at went there to go over the trail to trade with the Indians. We were stopped by Canadian policemen, and they wanted us to pay $30 for every $100 worth of goods. I refused to pay, and so did Koo-too-at, and we returned. Last February Koo-too-at went in the interior again. He was stopped by the Canadian policemen. They would not allow him to go any farther. He had 10 rifles with him for the purpose of selling them to the interior Indians for furs. After a great deal of talk Koo-too-at paid them $27.70 and went on. (ABT 1904: 545)

Daanawáakh and other Chilkoot leaders made similar statements on behalf of their experiences vis-à-vis the Chilkoot Trail, although the concerns of the Klukwan leaders over the Chilkat boundary were more pronounced. It is not clear how much weight the collective testimony of the Tlingits had on the final decision, but it was substantive, and their basic position prevailed. Moreover, their loyalty to the U.S., even if born out of self-interest, was palpable and an important

historical contribution to the shaping of the expanding country. Today, among elders of Klukwan and Haines, the efforts of those who testified, and also Patty Duncan (translator?), are still recognized as having been instrumental in rolling Canadian border claims back from 24 Mile Haines Highway to 42 Mile.

Resistance and Political Mobilization in Chilkat

Despite success in the boundary dispute, and relief from the demographic and other burdens of the gold rush, coastal Tlingits still faced stresses on resources due to competition from non-Natives. Most conflicts were centered in the growing community of Haines with its commercial fishing and canning operations. A May 31, 1903, headline from The Daily Alaskan screamed "Chilkat Indians Declare War on Fish Nets."

> The Chilkat Indians have declared war against the salmon nets. Late arrivals from down the canal state that the Indians have cut up and destroyed in part or in whole several of the nets that have been staked out by the P.P.N. [Pacific Packing and Navigation co, Chilkoot Inlet] and the Alaska packers canneries near Haines [Pyramid Harbor]. It is said these nets have been put in positie [sic] to await the open season for salmon fishing, and the Indians claim that they are interfering with the use of their nets that are needed for catching eulachon which are running at the present time. Some of the cannery men fear trouble with the Indians, but this is believed improbable of the old timers among the Indians.

Although Indians had been incorporated into the commercial fishing economy, they did not give up their subsistence lifestyles, but rather complemented their seasonal wage jobs by continuing to pursue seasonal subsistence paths and projects at traditional locales. They were unwilling to tolerate the destruction of key subsistence resources such as eulachon and salmon. Indeed, when commercial salmon fishing threatened subsistence salmon harvest areas, the owning group often put up physical resistance to protect their runs and right to harvest fish for their own use. In several cases, the U.S. military was used to ensure commercial access to streams as common property, while denying Tlingit communal property claims. This in turn led to the development of a "tragedy of commons," in which the commercial fishing interests raced each other to harvest the most fish, with little regulation and no incentive to conserve, as whatever one left would simply be harvested by another. As far as the Natives' stake in the fisheries was concerned, federal agent Jefferson Moser saw nothing but injustice and bleak prospects during his 1899 tour of Southeast Alaska.

> A Native, whose ancestors have lived on a certain stream for many generations, and whose rights are respected by other natives, supplies a certain cannery with his catch, as possibly he has been doing for years. A rival cannery tells the Native he must sell his catch to it, and that otherwise their men will fish the Native's stream. The result is overfishing, complaints, bad feeling, blows, and threats of bloodshed. So far as can be learned, there are now no legal rights or title to any fishing grounds in Alaska except what force or strategy furnish.

He added this jeremiad:

> Whenever the "*Albatross*" anchored near any locality either permanently or temporarily inhabited by Natives, a delegation of the older men or chief came on board and requested an audience. The powwows which followed invariably took the form of relating the

> oppression of the white men...These streams, under their own administration, for centuries have belonged to certain families or clans...No Indians would fish in a stream not their own except by invitation, and they cannot understand how those of a higher civilization should be--as they regard it less honorable... They claim the white man is crowding them from their houses, robbing them of their ancestral rights, taking away their fish by shiploads; that their streams must soon become exhausted; that the Indian will have no supply to maintain himself and family; and that starvation must follow...
>
> ...My own sympathy is with the Indians and I would gladly recommend, if the way were clear, the establishment of ownership in streams; but it is impracticable, and I can only ask...whatever law is framed, that a liberal balance be thrown in his favor. (Moser 1899:43)

Perhaps more so than any group, Klukwan Indians were adamant in protecting their rights and took legal and political action within the dominant system to safeguard them. This effort culminated in a 1915 Executive Order issued by President Woodrow Wilson demarcating an 860-acre reserve in the vicinity of their village. The successful reservation campaign was spearheaded by the newly formed Alaska Native Brotherhood camp in Klukwan. As noted above, the Alaska Native Brotherhood, founded in 1912 in Sitka, constituted a pan-Native revitalization movement, although its influence was heaviest in Southeast Alaska. In addition to calling for modernization and assimilation of Christian codes for living and the rejection of clan divisions and animistic beliefs, the group, along with its partner organization, the Alaska Native Sisterhood, had three fundamental political goals: 1) to gain citizenship and with it the right to vote; 2) to acquire legal title to traditional lands and resources; and 3) to end discrimination in education and other spheres. In this effort they were largely successful, gaining citizenship through the White Act of 1924,[1] civil rights legislation in 1945, and, following the success of the Klukwan reservation, launching a protracted regional land claims struggle in 1929.

An important new symbol was consecrated for this new organization: the Koogeinaa, or sash (figure 17). Strategically, this new, unique and uniting symbol was chosen to replace the clan-based *at.óow* in order to help bring these groups together under the new pan-Native organization and code for living. The idea for the Koogeinaa is said to have originated in the experiences of the Chilkat and Chilkoot people during the gold rush. Recently, Albert McKinley Sr. (personal communication), a member of the ANB Executive Committee, shared the following history of the Koogeinaa, which he read at the 89th Annual ANB Convention at Kake in November 2001.

> The Coogaynah [Koogeinaa] In preparation to host the 17th Annual Grand Camp Alaska Native Brotherhood Convention [1929], Haines Camp #5 was inspired by Vice Chairman Samuel Jackson to share significantly with the delegates. He suggested a banner or Coogaynah, a traditional costume bearing a Tribal or Clan totemic emblem. For this occasion the ANB and an arrow going through, replac[ing] the ceremonial emblem, symbolizing the organization going beyond the immediate area.
>
> Suki, an aunt of Mrs. Mildred Sparks and Mrs. Nellie Willard, suggested Mooschide; their ancestors suffered untold hardship on the Trail from Haines to the Interior during trading ventures.

> A prized item was tanned mooseskin. Hence, the color tan also representing gold and many dying in its pursuit, the red symbolizing this loss.
>
> A Canadian Indian, Susie Pringle, was requested to sew the ANB Coogaynahs. In a picture of the Convention we note seventeen Coogaynahs, the Sisterhood had the honor of placing these on delegates and Grand Officers.

The ANS adopted a similar sash but with blue and white colors (see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994: 731). The mooseskin Koogeinaa was later replaced by cloth, and the association with Interior trade on the Chilkoot and other trails was likewise displaced and is not well known today. The history embodied in the sash is important, however, as it signals that pan-ethnic linkages and sacrifices that historically brought peoples together are still needed today in order to overcome the modern stresses of living as indigenous minorities in modern nation states.

Native Communities in Skagway and Dyea

Skagway and Dyea were relatively quiet during this period. Accordingly, with the steep population declines in these communities after the gold rush, resource stress was reduced. Lacking commercial fishing infrastructure, these communities maintained viable subsistence economies alongside and in concert with the wage economies in these frontier towns. Beyond this, the destinies of the two communities were to diverge significantly. While Skagway was to become a commercial and transportation hub and tourist destination, Dyea proceeded to revert to its pre gold rush status as a small subsistence-oriented community. Norris (1996) notes,



Figure 17. Koogeina (ANB Sash) Commemorative of Interior-Coast Trade and Gold Rush (Courtesy of Alaska State Museum)

So dramatic was the dropoff in business that a visitor in early 1899 noted that Dyea was "the deserted city." Even so, the lingering tramway trade allowed the town to boast some 250 residents as late as March 1900. By the following February, however, the tramways were gone and the town's population had dwindled to 71. Two years later only two or three residents inhabited the site. If useless for other purposes, the land underneath Dyea was sufficiently fertile to be used as farmland, and many of the old buildings were torn down to make way for rows of cabbages, turnips and potatoes.

Native families who had traditionally harvested and smoked fish at Dyea returned to their camps to do so, often complementing traditional subsistence harvesting with cultivated gardens. However, some returnees were intimidated by whites attempting to exercise control over the area. For example, A *Daily Alaskan* article from April 28, 1903, reports an incident between a non-Native named Spanish Pete, who beat up an Indian named Joe Lee on April 27 at Dyea after he discovered Lee near a house that the Indian had recently purchased but which Pete considered his own. The paper notes that Spanish Pete "regards Dyea as his own private preserve," and "resents visits from Skagway as an invasion of his rights." When Lee denied Pete's ownership and refused to vacate the property, the latter struck him with a four-foot club "which he continued to wield vigorously" until help arrived.

The Dennis family was another with ties to Dyea, including Bert Dennis, who was father of Si Dennis and the uncle of Paul Wilson (b. 1933), a Lukaaxh.ádi elder and child of the Kaagwaantaan Drum House people, born in Skagway and currently residing in Haines. Mr. Wilson remarked that his uncle had a smokehouse in Dyea and his family had ties there, although he "never heard anyone talk about them" too much. Mrs. Patsy Davis, a Lukaaxh.ádi witness in the 1946 Native possessory rights investigation of Goldschmidt and Haas (1998:107), noted that Paul Wilson (Sr.) "owns a smokehouse at Dyea. He lives at Skagway. His father had a place there before him." With its low precipitation and wind circulation, Dyea was considered a favorable place for air drying fish, in addition to using smokehouses. In addition to drying salmon and eulachon, which also ran in the Taiya River, Mrs. Davis emphasizes its importance for berries, especially cranberries. In addition to smoking fish, the Dennis family also hunted mountain goats and trapped small furbearers up the Taiya River and hunted seals in the coves, bays, and inlets around Dyea, Haines, and Skagway.

Paul Wilson Sr., a Kaagwaantaan, hailed from Klukwan but moved to Skagway to take a job with the railroad. According to his son,

> My father was a railroad man. He's from Klukwan. He's from, I guess you'd, now days they call them blue bloods or something, they're a high caliber family, he was. But he married my mother. They didn't want him to do that so he was kind of ostracized for that. But he married my mother anyway. I'm glad he did. He went against the tribe, he did what he wanted to do...He's an Eagle, he's from the Drum House, and his name is Dowktunk. There's a rock up at Lake Lindeman named after him, a great big rock. The name of it is Dowktunk. I'm not sure if it was after him, but that's the name of the rock, anyway, Dowktunk. He has ties to the trail going up there. I know they have the, what they call the bone yard, at the south end. All the cattle they brought up with them

> they couldn't take any further because they had to go by raft and they didn't raft them they just killed them right there. So that's the only tie I know of with the old trails. I had intended to try to find that rock, to try and find out where it is. I know it holds his name. (Paul and Marilyn Wilson interview)

The younger Paul Wilson also remembers hunting seal from a rowboat before World War II.

> Yeah, I shot many seal…My brother-in-law had a boat built in Sitka by Daniel Wright. And he had to design the boat so you could use either an outboard or you could row it. But you could row it and it was not bulky, it would just slide through just really nice, you know. It's a boat design that I've never seen since. But I couldn't afford no outboard, so I just rowed. And I would row to Burro Creek up to Dyea and all over. One time I was [rowing] from …between Burro Creek and Dyea Point. My uncle and his sons were going by me. You could hear them easy but you have to talk over the engine. He says, "Look at Pauly there, he's rowing and he's got his shirt off!" They're [dressed] all bulky, you know, and they were freezing to death! So they shut off their motor and they start rowing. Lots of seals. And we used it, my mother dried it and then shipped it out and had it tanned. I enjoyed myself hunting a lot.

While the Wilsons and most other Chilkoot and Skagway Natives used Dyea for seasonal subsistence activities, one Native, William Matthews, decided to homestead the area. Bill Matthews was a Chilkat Indian, who moved with his family to Dyea during the gold rush, where he worked as a packer on the trail, and occupied a house, which his family maintained after the Rush. His father, William E. Matthews, a non-Native "squaw man" who married a Tlingit woman, filed his first claim for a homestead on May 31, 1913. Ironically, one of the statements he had to attest to in his petition was, "That no part of said homestead is used as a camping place or mooring place for canoes by Indians or others, and that the land was "more valuable for agricultural purposes than any other purposes." By 1919 he and his family had planted about 30 acres of potatoes, turnips, and cabbage and constructed two houses, two barns, two root cellars, fences, a hay drying loft, and cleared about 70 acres, and put out to graze one horse and two cows. Surplus produce from their farm was regularly taken to Skagway and sold. Title to the 154-acre homestead was granted posthumously to his widow Floris Matthews in 1927. His son, Bill Matthews, effectively grew up in Dyea and became known as the "Mayor of Dyea" for his long presence there and especially his stewardship over the historic sites and cemeteries. The Dyea cemetery included the graves of his mother Mrs. William E. (Floris) Matthews, wife Sophia (d. 1921) and daughters Mabel and Julia (d. 1920). One of 13 children, Bill lived to the age of 97, passing away on March 2, 1977, just three months shy of the formal dedication of the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park on June 4. In an editorial a few days before the dedication, the Juneau Empire "Did Ju Neau" columnist memorialized Matthews as follows:

> Bill was approaching manhood when the Gold Rush started, and in Tlingit tradition he had been trained to be one of Chief George Shotridge's warriors. He lived in Dyea with some 125 other Tlingits to protect the centuries old right of the Chilkats to the pass. …Bill said he packed the Chilkoot from 10 [cents] a pound to $1.00 a pound and knew every rock on the trail personally…

> Bill loved Dyea and would [g]o over to the valley every chance he got, and I remember how he tried through the years to save the little Tlingit graveyard from the encroaching river. His family and his people were buried there…those who died on the Chilkoot and those who died in the battle between Shotridge's Chilkats and Katlean's Sitkas. Bill wanted to be buried there too.
>
> But perhaps on Saturday, during the dedication of the Klondike Gold Rush Park, a great eagle will soar the skies above the valley, and see that Dyea has been preserved and the little graveyard is safe for all time. And should the eagle float down and settle in the trees above West Creek, we'll know that Bill Matthews came to the dedication of the park after all.

Another homesteader in Dyea was stampeder Harriet Pullen, who ran the Pullen House, originally Captain William Moore's residence from1899-1900, and leased to Pullen in 1901. Her homestead effectively covered the former townsite that had first been homesteaded separately by Emil Klatt and a man named Emil Richter, who had spent "years in wrecking the greater number of the existing buildings and selling the salvage to Skagway merchants" (Field Notes of Survey of Pullen Homestead). Pullen took over the bulk of the area encompassed by these two homesteads in 1915. In addition to bordering Bill Matthews' homestead, Pullen's claim also abutted another tract claimed by Jimmy Nasook ["Nah Sook," relation to Suzie?], another local Indian of Chilkoot-Chilkat origin, who had occupied a house in the Dyea Native village (north of Healy & Wilson's trading post on the west side of the river) and applied for a small tract adjacent to the house. While Mr. Nasook reported that he was satisfied with the boundaries that were established, a dispute arose between Matthews and Pullen over that portion of her allotment that bordered the old Indian houses (figure 18).

A friend of Matthews, Tom Brown, filed a complaint against Pullen stating that she was not fulfilling the terms of the Homestead Act because she spent little time on her Dyea property, and used the property simply as a farm to supply her Skagway residence and tourist hotel business. The federal investigator noted:

> I gather from talking with Mrs. Pullen that she believes that residence on a homestead can be maintained by proxy. She believes that on account of the great amount of work done as to cultivation and improvements, the Government should overlook her laches as to residence. She also relates in her affidavit certain acts of intimidation by the Matthews boys, but convincing evidence as to this feature of the case is lacking.…
>
> I could not learn in just what manner the trouble between her and the Matthews boys started. It came to a head in the local courts for the first time on October 22, 1917, when Tom, Moe and George Matthews filed a complaint against Mrs. Pullen for Pointing Firearms at them at Dyea. It appears that Mrs. Pullen claimed a certain house alleged to be on her homestead, whereas the Matthews boys claimed the house was on the homestead of Wm. E. Matthews, their father, which homestead adjoins on the north. Mrs. Pullen pulled a gun on Moe and Matthews to enforce her claim. At the trial of this case, being No. 55 on the criminal docket at Skagway, Mrs. Pullen was found not guilty. However, in the civil suit filed by Tom, Moe and George Matthews against Mrs. Pullen, involving this house, wherein the plaintiffs demanded $59.00 for property wrongfully appropriated by Mrs. Pullen on Matthews's homestead, the jury gave the verdict to the plaintiffs… Mrs. Pullen admitted to me…that she pulled this gun on Matthews and she tells me she will

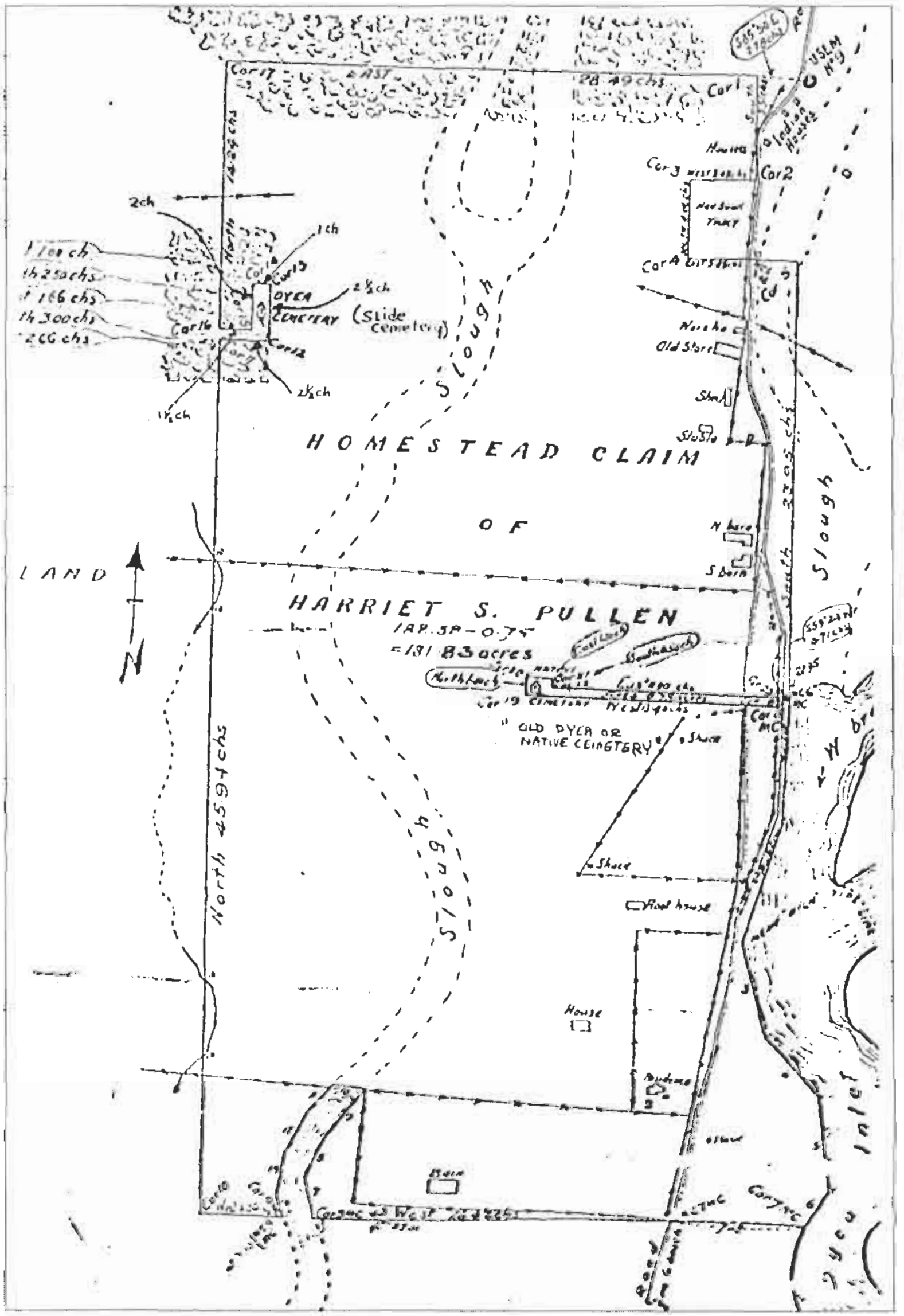


Figure 18. Pullen homestead claim at Dyea (Bureau of Land Management, Plat of U. S. Survey No. 1249, KLGO files)

do it again when the occasion demands. She told me that if it wasn't for her sons (who are of high rank in the military service of the United States) she would have killed George and Bill Matthews long ago…

The trouble between Mrs. Pullen and the Matthews seems to be a personal quarrel over various matters connected with the homestead…I believe the affidavit of Mrs. Pullen, in so far as it relates to her residence on the homestead and in 1915, 1916, and 1917, is grossly exaggerated.

> …The Matthews boys are half-breeds, their father being a white man. They do not bear the best reputation in the community and I believe their affidavit is subject to a slight discount. They categorically deny the charge of intimidation made by Mrs. Pullen and make various counter charges. (Pullen Homestead File, NPS copy)

There is some evidence to suggest that the Matthews boys also may have had run-ins with local Natives, including one referred to as "Old Dennis" (Bert Dennis?) who one witness testified,

> came running to me while I was working, shaking with fear and said that Billy Mathews [sic] had knocked him down and shot his gun off beside his ear. I asked him what he did that for, he said I was fishing along side my house and he said I could not fish there that it was his ground and that I had to get out. I was born there and now I am an old man of sixty years old and have got to leave my old home…Dennis said I am afraid of my life for as they say they will kill me. As he was not allowed to fish or cut wood where he lived all his life he decided to move to Haines and last fall he was fishing in the river and he was drowned, (Pullen Homestead File, NPS copy).

It is not clear whether the perpetrator here was young Billy Matthews, or his father, who was the owner and identified as non-Native.

There was no doubt that Mrs. Pullen made substantial improvements to her Dyea property, as much as $9,000 in investments she claimed, and that she envisioned the Pullen Ranch at Dyea as an extension of her tourist "resort" and package. In a brochure from the period for The Pullen House she devotes nearly a fifth of the space to The Pullen Ranch, which she describes as lying

> Four miles from Skagway at the head of Dyea inlet, a branch of Lynn Canal, situated on the site of historic Dyea City. Here in '97 and '98 was a modern city of from 10,000-15,000. Argonauts headed over the famous Chilkoot Pass to the more renowned Klondike gold fields. Now it is a fine ranch, the homestead of Mrs. Pullen, and is stocked and cultivated so well that vegetables for the Pullen House table, hay, grain and feed for the stock are raised there. A fine herd of Jersey and Holstein cows compose the dairy which furnishes the milk, butter, butter-milk and cottage cheese that has tended to make the cuisines of the Pullen House noted over the entire globe among tourists and travelers. A flock of blooded poultry supplies the fresh eggs and spring fryers.
>
> There are a number of power boats running between Skagway and the Pullen Ranch, and Patrons of the Pullen House are taken over where they can hunt and fish or go mountain climbing to their heart's content. Many of the old buildings of Dyea City yet remain and are of great interest to the curio or relic seeker.

In addition to these homesteaders and seasonal Native settlers, other homesteaders also attempted to establish themselves in Dyea after the gold rush. However, lack of access from Skagway, except for small boats or a day's journey by foot, prevented all but the most independent from dwelling there year

round. Norris (1996) notes that "by 1932, nine families were homesteading there, and in October of that year they petitioned the government to construct a road to the valley from Skagway." But this effort was unsuccessful, although the Alaska Road Commission did "provide sufficient funds to allow for the clearing of a hiking trail which connected Skagway with the Taiya River." Then, "Three years later, the Skagway Chamber of Commerce again suggested the construction of a road to Dyea, but the road commission curtly replied that it had no funds to spare for '"tourist roads'" (Norris 1996).

In contrast to Dyea, Skagway survived the gold rush as a full-fledged city. The White Pass railway and wharf system guaranteed the city's position as a hub for passenger and freight traffic into the upper Yukon River valley. As the Pullen House brochure suggests, too, the city was able to make a transition from frontier mining town to tourist destination. Thus despite a massive decline in population between 1898 and 1900, a relatively stable core population of roughly 800 remained to anchor Skagway. The city retained its frontier aspect, partly as tourist draw, but most of its businesses became linked, either directly or indirectly, with the railroad. This helped to create a more stable workforce and community structure; and many religious, civic, social, and recreational organizations began to appear (Norris 1996).

Coastal Tlingit, Interior Tlingit, and Tagish people were drawn to Skagway as a transportation, business, and employment center. Use of the Chilkoot Trail diminished significantly with the advent of the train. Most Tlingits could earn enough money to pay for trips into the Interior, and some chose to hike along the tracks as a trail. Occasionally, this led to disaster, as in the case of John Smart, a relative of Tagish/Dawson Charlie who was run over by a southbound train between Whitehorse and Carcross (*Daily Alaskan* May 27, 1903). Men, women, and children artisans came to Skagway from Haines, Klukwan, Carcross, and other communities to sell handicrafts during the tourist season. Some, such as Sam Harris (a well-known silversmith), the Dennis Family, and Maggie Kadanaha, settled in Skagway to be close to the tourist trade. Others, like Paul Wilson's father, came primarily for railroad jobs. Another, less talked about reason for moving to Skagway was to escape problems in other communities, including charges of witchcraft or other social conflicts (Paul and Marilyn Wilson, interviews). Lacking a deeply rooted permanent community, the Skagway Indian community seems to have been accommodating toward new immigrants.

As noted above, Native subcommunities developed in two locales within the city limits. The first was at a site known as the Rancherie, located near the Skagway River, perhaps in the vicinity of what later became known as "Lundeville," for the Lunde family, in the southwestern district of town (southwest of Main Street and Third Avenue). A second community, consisting primarily of tents and small shacks was situated on the southeastern edge of town, just above Pullen Creek and overlooking the wharf. Stan Selmer has a photograph of this "Indian town" from the early 1900s (figure 19). Joe Hotch and Charlie Jimmie (interviews) noted that it was common for men from Haines and Klukwan to go to Skagway to work on the railroad or the docks and live in tents at this

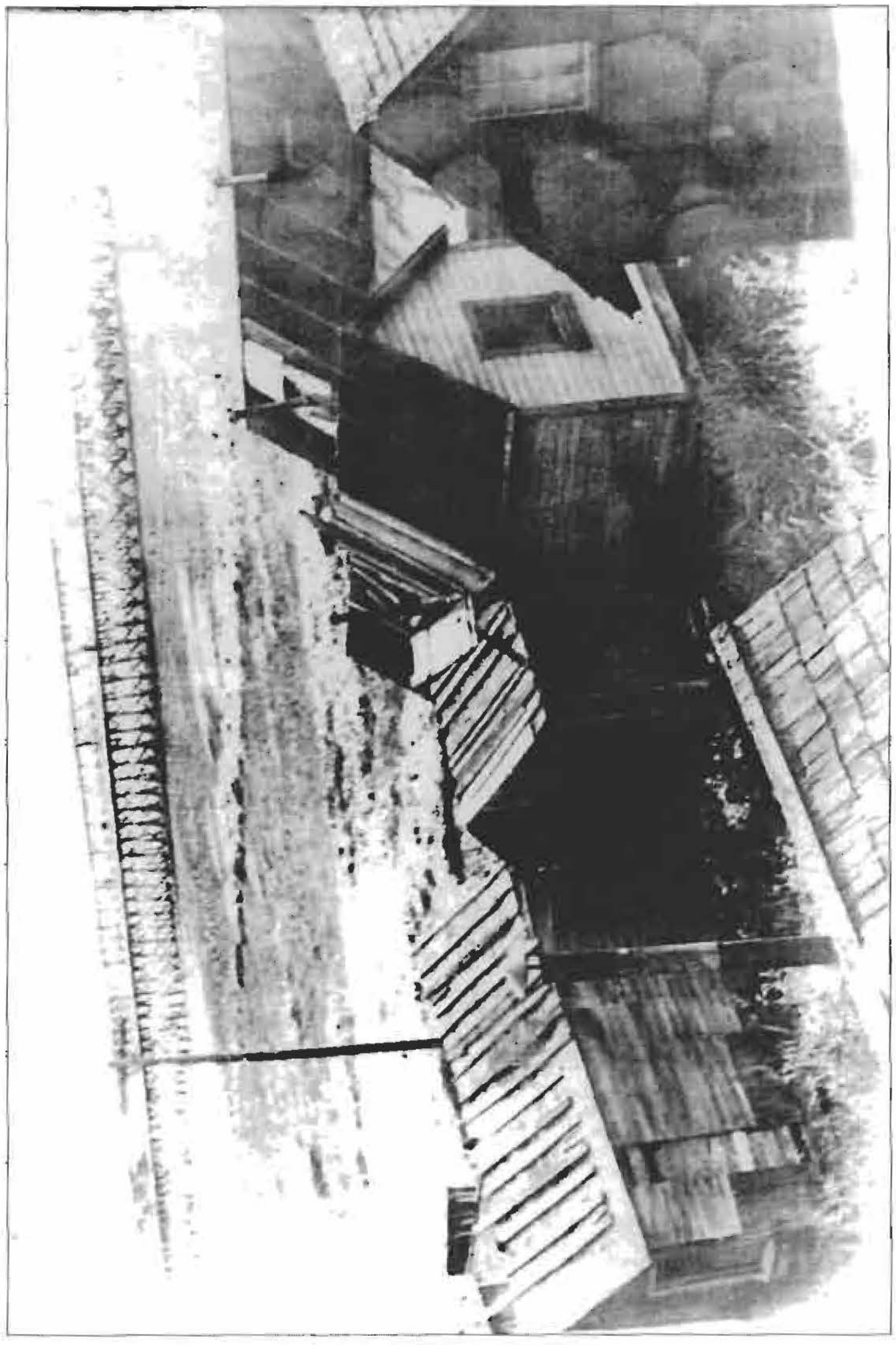


Figure 19. "Indian Town" by wharf, c. 1910 (Courtesy of Stan Selmer)

site during their stay, usually with their families. Both communities were small, however, together rarely numbering more than 100 Natives after the gold rush, except perhaps on special occasions.

Among the families that came regularly from Haines was James H. Lee's. Mr. Lee, who was Joe Hotch's grandfather, was born in Dyea but later moved to Haines. He would return to Skagway every spring to hunt mountain goats and cut birch ("Alaska coal"), which he sold to the railroad for fuel; then in the summer he would gillnet with his own boat, and after commercial fishing would go to Dyea to put up dog salmon, coho salmon, cranberries, gray currants, and other resources with his family. Joe Hotch remarked that the coho and dog salmon at Dyea were special: "It was like a grocery store... you could look for your favorite brand [of fish]." By the "barn" along Dyea River (on NE corner of Pullen homestead?), the Lee family had a smokehouse. "It was the biggest blessing to share what we got from Dyea." "The highbush cranberries were easy because you were right on the flat, not in the brush," Mr. Hotch remarked. Dyea also had excellent supplies of cottonwood and birch. Coho salmon eggs were mixed with gray currants and cranberries from Dyea to make *kanigul* (literally "paint"), a delicacy among the northern Tlingit. (Joe Hotch and Charlie Jimmie, interviews).

Many families engaged in these patterns of subsistence, mixing wage labor and subsistence through a new set of pathways and projects that nevertheless kept them anchored to their traditional lands and resources. One of the early Native gillnetters was named for Skagway. Other families, including the Bert and John Dennis family, Frank Jimmie's (Charlie's uncle) family (from Haines), John Jacob's families (from Haines), the Steve and John Willard family (from Klukwan), and Arthur Johnson's family, also traveled regularly to Haines to work on the coal ships (Joe Hotch and Charlie Jimmie, interviews). Some of those who worked on the coal ships developed mine consumption or "black lung" disease, and died prematurely. They would travel on the *Formance(figure 20)*, a small boat that brought passengers and small freight

Marilyn Wilson of Haines, who grew up in Skagway during the 1940s, made a sketch of the Indian houses along Alaska Street during her childhood (figure 21). She notes that the Lundes lived between Second and Third Avenues by the present-day airport, but that Native family houses were situated as far north as Fifth Avenue on Alaska Street. Marilyn Wilson's father was Ben Wright, who had the house on the lot where the Berry family now lives on the east side of Alaska Street between Fourth and Fifth avenues. Paul (Sr.) and Nancy Wilson's house was on the corner of Fourth and Alaska. Marilyn notes that it was the first school house in Skagway (see photo in Spude 1983: 17); and Paul's sister, Florence Wilson, was the first Alaska Native to graduate from Skagway public school. Bert and Mary Dennis lived just across Alaska Street from them, and Daniel Gore lived north of them, across from the Wright house. Mark and Edith Lee, she being part Native, bought the Wright and Wilson house from Paul's sister, Florence. After World War II, Paul Wilson returned to Skagway; and he and Marilyn were married and eventually settled in Haines.



Figure 20. The *Fornance*, provided passenger service to Skagway (Courtesy Sheldon Museum Collection)

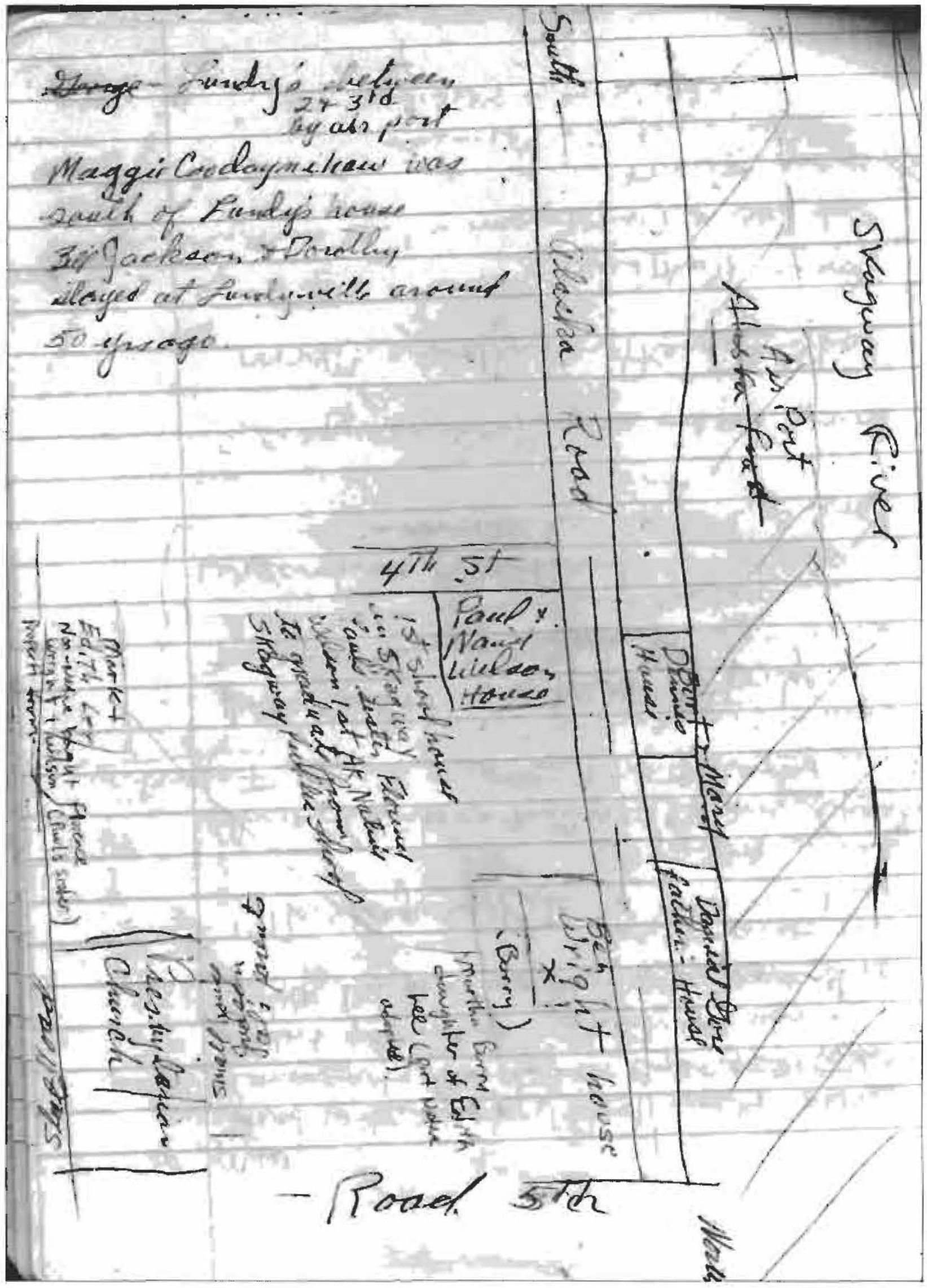


Figure 21. Marilyn Wilson's sketch of Skagway Native quarter in the 1930s

Race and the "Soft-Caste" System in Skagway

Why did the Native subcommunities exist within Skagway? Evidence suggests that it is partly a function of continuity with pre-gold rush camps along the Skagway River. However, some suggest that racism also played a role in the segregation of Native dwellings. In his recent memoir, *Growing Up in Skagway*, Robert Dahl (2002:108ff) characterizes the town as having a racially based "soft caste system" that effectively kept whites and people of color (of whom Indians were the overwhelming majority) separate and unequal. Of the Native subcommunities, he writes:

> Of the five hundred persons who lived in Skagway, perhaps a hundred were Tlingits. By the time we arrived in Skagway and throughout my years [1926-1938] they were outcasts in their own land — or better, outcastes. For without excess exaggeration, one might say that they formed a caste — not, to be sure, the Untouchables of India yet a visibly lower caste. As in the other predominantly white towns of Alaska, the residents of Skagway occupied one of two castes: all whites were automatically assigned to the superior caste, all Indians to the lower caste.
>
> Yet that two-caste system was more porous, less strictly bounded, than the classical caste system of Hinduism, or that of the American South during and after slavery. By comparison with what I'll call the *hard* caste systems of Hinduism, and until recently the American South, a better term for what existed in Skagway would be a *soft* caste system.
>
> Although the unstated rules of the soft caste system did not, to my knowledge, require segregated neighborhoods, most of Skagway's Indians lived in one of two small neighborhoods, one composed of several decrepit houses down near the dock; in the other, on the east [west?] side of the town, near the Skagway river [sic], the houses were somewhat better quality.

Wells (1978:39-40) traces the origins of native/white stratification in Skagway to several factors:

> One native has attributed the hard feelings between races to the brash treatment received by native packers going over the Chilkoot. When some Indian packers failed to return from trips across the Pass there were efforts by the natives to retaliate, and that set the tone from the start.
>
> The murder near Skagway of Mr. and Mrs. Bert Horton in October 1899 and the subsequent confession of the crime by an Indian residing at the Skagway YMCA contributed further to the ill will and distrust felt by whites towards the natives.
>
> After the gold rush a concentration of Indian houses called "Indian Town" built up around the mouth of the creek near the White Pass wharf. So long as the natives lived in that area their presence in Skagway was tolerated. However, private citizens and the City Council cooperated to enforce this segregated housing.

Social differentiation also existed among the non-Native community during those years, largely based on occupational and income status.

While education was a major source of segregation in many Southeastern communities, in Skagway it was not. As Dahl notes,

> Among the softer aspects of our two caste system in Skagway was school attendance. From first grade through high school we all went to the same school, took the same classes, had the same teachers, sat alongside one another. The boys played team sports together, basketball, hockey, baseball. Maybe it helped that our numbers were so small…it was a challenge to put two boys' basketball

> teams together, not to mention three boys hockey teams. Anyway, in team sports we were elbow-to-elbow, shoulder-to-shoulder. After basketball or hockey we all took our showers in the decrepit locker room of the WP & YR athletic club with all the usual camaraderie, joking, and towel-snapping at naked male bodies. (2002:164-165)

This perspective was reinforced by many whites in the community, especially those that attended the Pius X Catholic mission school (figure 22), which opened in 1931 and operated until 1960. Former Skagway Mayor Stan Selmer, a lifelong resident of the community, also commented on the presences of "covert discrimination" and noted that it was generalized to all of those kids, Native and non-Native, attending the Pius X Mission School.

> Certainly over the years there was a lot of interaction between the Natives and the non-native populations of Skagway. I don't have any other experience, so I have nothing to compare, other villages or other towns, with Skagway. I'm from here and that's it. But certainly in Skagway we say, maybe…I don't want to use the word covert but I will, covert discrimination, where it was kind of secretive. The Native population, especially the males, couldn't belong to the Elks Lodge, for instance, when I was a kid and I don't know if that was a rule of the Elks or if that was a rule of the Skagway Elks. I'd like to think it was a rule of the Elks generally. I believe Natives could join the Eagles and I know that they did. But where it's hard for me to discern which type of discrimination I was seeing as a youth is whether it was because we were Catholics or whether because the Natives were Catholics or the Catholics were Natives, I'm not sure that I know. But I went to the mission school, Pius X mission school for a number of years and a large population of the boarding school students were Natives of all tribes from throughout Alaska. And those tribes, maybe they'd be here for a couple of years, maybe they wouldn't; maybe they'd be here for ten years, who knows, but there was always a large population of Natives. They had a movie theatre in town and the Natives always used to go to the movies on a sponsored chaperoned event. And I believe it was once a week, it may have been once every other week. Well, the Natives in the Catholic Church got sick and tired of being blamed for everything that would ever happen in the theatre. So they just decided, okay, we're no longer going to let our students go to the movie on Friday or Saturday night. So some time in the '50s they changed the night that the Natives went — and I don't want to say Natives — they changed the night that the Mission kids went to the theatre to Thursday night, because all the other kids in town, whites and/or Natives, were not at the theatre Thursday nights so they cleared up an issue of whether it was the Natives' fault or not. It never really was, but it was a convenient way to blame a group of people. That's what I say; I don't have much experience with discrimination, so I don't know if they were discriminating against them because they were Catholics or Natives. But there was some discrimination.
>
> Now discrimination that I saw as a kid wasn't amongst my peers but it was certainly amongst the parents of my peers. It was not unusual to have one of the parents say, "Well, I don't want a bunch of Native kids over at my house." Never really thought why 'cause we didn't care. If they didn't come over to the house we went over to their house. I certainly didn't get that from my parents. My dad grew up with the Natives in this community and most of my dad's peers mingled with anybody that was in the community and accepted them for being their friend or not being their friend. And you can have friends and not friends and

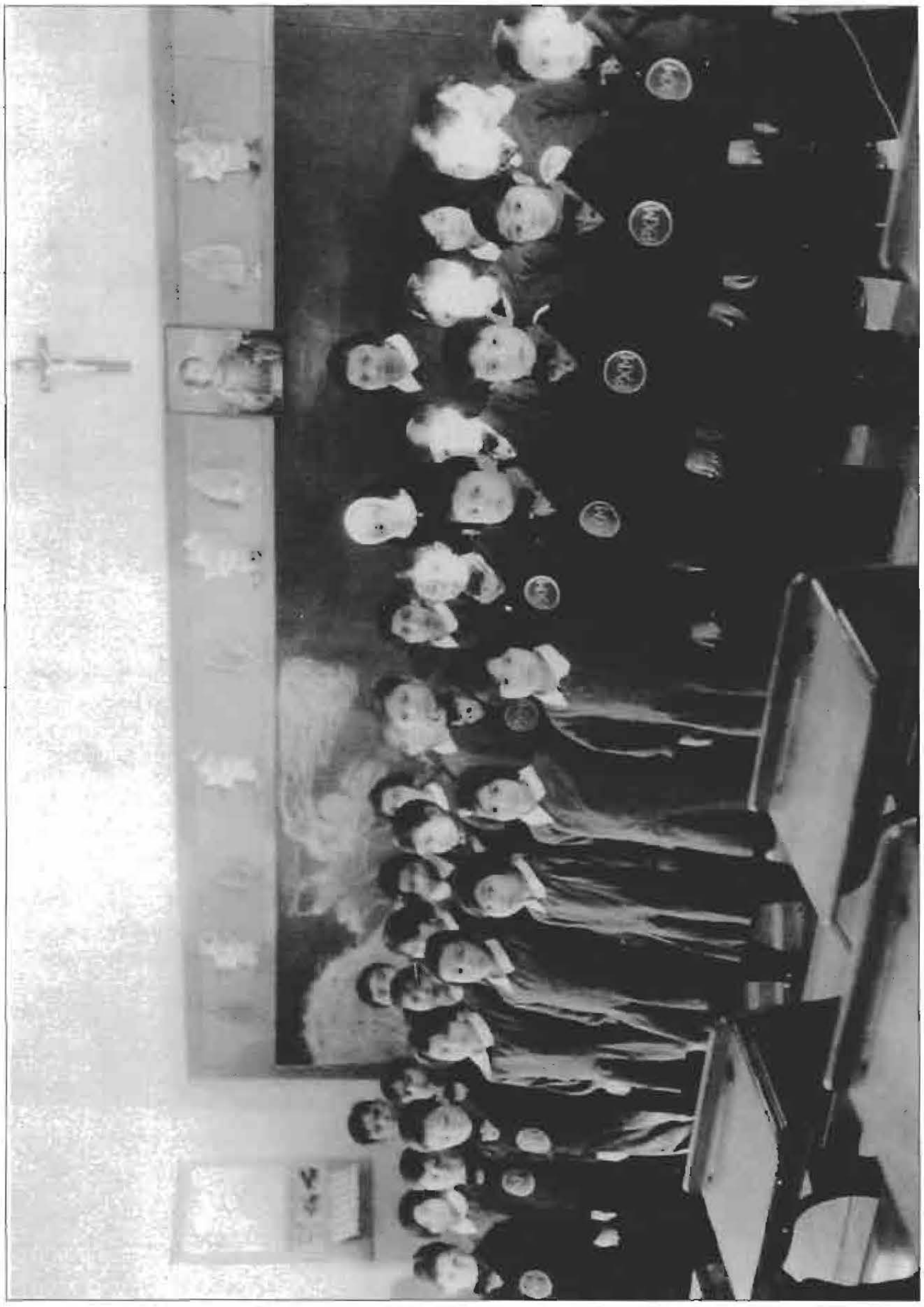


Figure 22. Pupils at Pius X Mission School (Skagway Museum & Archives 93.01.696.1)

> not have any race, creed, color, religion be a factor. But there was some discrimination here and a lot of it was towards, as I said, the Mission but I don't know if it was Catholic discrimination or if it was Native discrimination.

Dahl (2002:165) also remarks upon discrimination in the movie theatres, noting that "Skagway's one movie theater, run by the Tropea family who owned the grocery store; but—evidence of the soft caste system—Indians usually sat upstairs in the little balcony." Stores and shops, however, were largely accessible to both groups, though Dahl learned "One June after I returned from college I learned that during the winter a sign had appeared on the door of the Café: "No natives served here." But "The sign provoked immediate protests from Dad, I believe, among others. The sign came down the next day."

Natives also remark on the presence of racial discrimination in Skagway, especially in the first half of the twentieth century. Marie (Miller) Ackerman (Sheldon Museum interview), who grew up in Skagway and attended the Pius X mission but also lived in Haines, Juneau, and Anchorage, stated:

> The worst place I ever felt anybody being prejudice was Skagway...Well, at that time, they wanted to be a non-Native town. One time they had a New Year's dance at the Eagles Lodge. And there were some Native men playing in the band. And I wasn't there then. There was seven Native people came to the dance and they were told that there was no Natives allowed. So half of the Eagle members walked out. And I came there later and I stood there and I stared at everybody. Nobody would look at me. And then later on that spring, they asked me if I wanted to join the Eagles Lodge. I told them, "No thank you." So, most of them, some of them, you could tell by the way they look at you. So if one woman used to stalk down the sidewalk, I started doing the same thing too. I treated them the same way they treated me, so.

She contrasted this interracial friction with the more harmonious situation at Haines where Natives and non-Natives would regularly "share food" together. In Skagway it seems "the social boundary" was less permeable. According to Dahl (2002:166):

> Indian boys and girls were never invited to parties that we white adolescents held for our friends; nor, of course, would they be asked to join the frequent dinners and parties among the adults. To the town dances of the fall and winter months—when, as with some exaggeration, we might put it the next day, 'The whole town turned out' Skagway's native people did not come. Nor, I think would they have been welcome.
>
> If sociability stopped at front doors, so did courtship and marriage. For a man to court a Tlingit woman was to risk almost certain ostracism by whites -- quite possibly without his gaining acceptance among the Tlingits themselves. The taboo forbidding marriage was rarely violated. A man who did and almost certainly it would be a white man marrying an Indian woman automatically acquired the epithet of "squaw man." His children would be "half breeds," fully accepted neither by whites nor, on the testimony of one I knew, by the Tlingits.

Mrs. Ackerman, like Mr. Dahl and Mr. Selmer, does not suggest that racism was a problem between kids within the Mission system, but she was very aware of the broader deculturalizing and assimilationist effects of being in the Mission school.

> When I first went up there [in the 1930s], I was seven. And my grandmother took me up there because at that

> time she had the flu real bad and she thought she wasn't going to live through the winter. And I stayed there for four years. And my aunt, Mrs. Jessie Jacobs, worried about me growing up there without knowing the Indian way of life, so she come and got me. And she had other children. She took me in. I'm always grateful to her, because she taught me how to sew, how to put up food, and forbid me to speak English. I almost lost our language just by staying in the mission there.

Natives might also be referred to among older generation whites as "Siwash," which they regarded "as insulting and detested. Although to the best of my memory it was rarely spoken in their presence, I sometimes heard it among white males, usually preceded by a pejorative word like 'dirty' or 'lazy" (Dahl 2002:165).

Occasionally, if boundaries were crossed, the caste system could turn violent. Joe Hotch and Charlie Jimmie (interviews) remembered that they were advised not to "go about by yourself" when staying in Skagway as youngsters. They related another shocking incident in which a white man spat in a Native man's (Kookdagooshu Philip's?) food at a restaurant.

The soft caste system also played out occupationally. Although the railroad employed Natives and whites from its earliest days on the "dock and railroad sections, whether because of lack of education, or discrimination, or, probably, both, to the best of my memory no Tlingit held a white collar job in the WP & YR office, or a skilled job at the railroad shops, or worked as a conductor, brakeman, locomotive engineer, fireman, or trainman." Dahl cites the case of Paul Wilson Sr., as an example of a talented Native who was prevented from achieving to the extent of his abilities due to racial bias:

> Paul had been educated in a mission school down the Coast. He was intelligent, thoughtful, and companionable. If he had been white Paul could reasonably have hoped to occupy a white collar job in the White Pass headquarters. He might even have gone Outside to a university and become a lawyer, doctor, dentist, engineer, or whatever. But Skagway's racially based caste system had put careers like these beyond his aspirations and possibilities.

In another passage, Dahl (2002:169) reflects on his relationship with Wilson, who was older and had daughters his age, and with whom he took a goat hunting trip in the 1930s in which Dahl and his white friend were successful and Wilson was not.

> I can imagine how Paul might have felt. The Tlingit Indian whose ancestors had survived in these parts for thousands of years through their skills in hunting and fishing had been skunked by his two young white friends, interlopers in his own land.
>
> Years later I sometimes found myself wishing that it had turned out the other way around: that Paul had shot a goat and we returned with empty packs. Or better yet, if all three of us had each shot a goat.

As we shall see, Dahl was not alone in his respect for local Natives, especially elders who were influential within the Indian community. Elders such as Paul Wilson and Maggie Kadanaha were widely known and generally well respected, especially by the younger generations, both Native and non-Native. But many Natives felt that they had to join the white way in order to gain respect. Bert Dennis was one who told fellow Natives that "we would have to join the white way" (Joe Hotch, interview). Indeed many Skagway Natives seemed to outwardly suppress elements of their traditional culture as means

of blending in and gaining acceptance among non-Natives. This is not to say that they renounced their own culture, but rather that they held Tlingit cultural attributes more privately, and in public space tried to adopt the comportment of the dominant white group. This seems to have been especially true of families that settled permanently in Skagway, such as the Dennis family.

This may have been an effective strategy in gaining acceptance and de-emphasizing cultural differences, but it also led to a certain invisibility of the Native community in Skagway in comparison to the more traditional towns like Klukwan. Indeed, when asked about the Native community in Skagway, at least one long-time white resident responded, sharply, "What Native community?" adding, "Skagway was never a Native town" (Barbara Kalen, interview). Tlingit elder Minnie Stevens (interview) echoed this sentiment, stating succinctly: "This is a white community." Yet, taking the assimilationist road also led to regrets, as was the case with Bert Dennis, who as he got older "had second thoughts" about "joining the white way" (Joe Hotch and Charlie Jimmie, interview).

Within the soft-caste system, intermarriages remained rare, and those that did occur invariably linked white men to Native women, and rarely, if ever, white women to Native men. An interesting case study in this regard is the marriage of Bernard Moore, son of Captain William Moore, to Minnie Moore (or Klinget-sai-yat as she was known in Tlingit), who was the daughter of the prominent Klukwan Ghaanaxhteidí leader, George Shotridge, and the sister of the well-known Kaagwaantaan collector and scholar Louis Shotridge. In comparison to her brother Louis (Milburn 1986), relatively little is known about Minnie Shotridge Moore. According to Bernard Moore, they met at an 1890 potlatch put on by Minnie's father George, in Klukwan; Bernard was 24 and Minnie was just 15 and just recently emerged from the seclusion of menarche. Given the high rank of both her father and mother, it is likely that Klinget-sai-yat would have had many suitors. Why did her father (Yeil gooxhú, Raven's Slave) and mother agree to her union with Moore? It may have been for strategic reasons. As Cooper (2001:164) notes:

> From 1880-1915, the number of Tlingit-white marriages increased greatly. Part of the reason for the increase could have been the weakening of the traditional Tlingit social systems by the American judicial system, with its greater emphasis on personal choice. However, in 1890 when Bernard and Minnie met, the impact of the new American government was just being felt. It is more likely that the marriage might have been viewed by Minnie's family as a possible way to gain closer ties to the new sources of wealth being brought into the country by Euroamerican outsiders. (Stanley 1958:84-89)

Whatever their reasons for getting together, the marriage did not last, in part, it seems, due to cultural differences and the prevailing racism of the times. While Bernard Moore had lots of contact with Minnie's Tlingit family, her contact with Moore's family was limited. Moreover, in Skagway, Minnie felt obligated to adopt white ways and thus manifest little of her Tlingit heritage in her material possessions, personal comportment, or social habits. She dressed and acted like a white woman and raised her children in that spirit. But in the end, this was not a happy existence for either party. Moore (1968, also Cooper 2001:164) wrote of their union: "lifelong unhappiness was brought about

for her and for me, and which one's fault was it? Surely not hers, but mine." Sadly, the marriage ended in divorce. After Minnie filed for divorce in 1909, she moved to Victoria, British Columbia, married another non-Native, and eventually committed suicide in 1917 "by drinking muriatic acid after a quarrel with her husband" (Cooper 2001:169). In some ways, Minnie's fate is reminiscent of Kate Carmack's, although the latter lost her life to illness rather than suicide and had returned to her natal community.

In the Interior, the relationship between Natives and non-Natives was characterized less by the soft-caste system and more by outright geographic separation and segregation. This was partly a product of circumstance, but it was also by design. Paternalism played a strong role in guiding policy and frequently manifested itself in the principle that separation of Natives was "for their own good." As one school official put it, "Immoral influences are generally found in white communities and such social conditions generally exist as will afford bad examples to Indian children and put temptation in their way… it is safer to keep them away from places where liquor is sold and where Indians are known to procure it and from places where Indian girls are known to be living in amoral relations with white men" (*in* Coates 1991:93). But non-Natives also pressured government officials to keep Indians from camping or dwelling in white population centers, and officials responded by establishing a series of Native reservations.

> Given the fact that many of the Indians lived near towns on a seasonal basis, the government opted to isolate them close to, but separate from, the urban centres. This maneuver worked both ways, keeping the Natives out of town and limiting non-Native access to the Native camps. In all the major population centres – Dawson City (Moosehide reserve), Mayo, Fort Selkirk, Carmacks, Careross, and Whitehorse – the government established small reservations designed to settle the Indians away from non-Natives. (Coates 1991:93)

However, the government had little legal authority to regulate ethnic interactions beyond this, and despite attempts to intimidate and curfew Natives so as to keep them out of towns, they continued to frequent towns for trade and other purposes, risking consequences of legal and popular discrimination to do so.

> As on the coast,
>
> The words "dirty" and "diseased" were frequently used in connection with the Natives, an indication of the impact of epidemics and disapproval of Native standards of cleanliness. True, several commentators expressed hope for the "improvement" of Natives, provided they could be kept from alcohol and "undesirable" non-Natives. But in general, a less positive appraisal prevailed. The Natives' peripheral economic and social position, the effects of disease, and the frequent appearance of inebriated Natives near population centres helped to give rise to the stereotype of the drunken and shiftless Indian. Based on incomplete knowledge and antipathy for Native culture, this stereotype contributed significantly towards the process of social segregation. (Coates 1991:96)

But perhaps more so in the Yukon than on the Alaska Coast, "the non-Natives remained determined to keep the races apart. Indians had their world—in the bush —and the interests of both non-Natives and Natives would be best served if the latter remained among the trees and animals. The towns and min-

ing camps, on the other hand, were to remain non-Native preserves" (1991:96). Even within "progressive" institutions, such as churches, schools, and hospitals, the Yukon Natives were typically separated from white constituents.

Church and State in the Re-Education of Natives

As they first had in Haines before the gold rush, the combined forces of churches and schools continued to be major agents of directed cultural change in the post-gold rush era.

While segregationist policies prevailed in the Yukon, churches and religious schools did their part to ensure that Natives "climbed the ladder toward civilization." This work was largely the province of the Anglican Church Mission Society (CMS). By the commencement of the gold rush, the CMS had a strong presence among Indian populations in the Yukon, and even after the gold rush continued to emphasize a "distinct Native ministry." By 1900 an impressive network of Anglican missions was coordinated by Bishop Bompas "from his diocesan headquarters at Caribou Crossing (Carcross), where he moved to escape the chaos and non-Native dominance of Dawson City" (Coates 1991:93). But maintaining the missions was costly because communities were small and dispersed. Later, the CMS increasingly found competition from the Roman Catholic church, whose missions were often more successful in part because priests tended to serve in longer rotations and therefore could develop a stronger understanding and the trust of particular communities. However, Catholic success was minimal in Carcross and southern Yukon: even considering the greater Yukon region, only about 20 percent of Natives considered themselves a denomination other than Anglican by 1950 (Coates 1991:132). Similarly, up until about 1950 Native and non-Native ministries remained largely separated. As for the overall success of missionary efforts to convert Yukon Natives, it would have to be judged successful only on a superficial level.

The missionaries' goal of converting Yukon Natives to Christianity foundered partly on the difficulties of northern evangelism. Inadequate staff and funding, nomadic Natives, and isolation hampered Anglican efforts to restructure Indian religious beliefs. The Indians became nominal Christians, accepting the outward manifestations of the new faith [such as burials, marriages, and so on], but did not entirely abandon their established spiritual beliefs. The two were not incompatible, for Natives seemingly integrated their ecological interpretation of the spiritual world with human-based ideas of Christianity (Coates 1991:133). Given the personalistic, animistic, and relatively unstructured (and flexible) form of pre-contact spiritual life, "the missionaries' message provided a framework and ritualistic form for dealing with religious matters"; but it largely did not affect the Native view that their "human, animal, and geographic landscape was related closely to their spirituality" (Coates 1991:134). Margaret Joe (interview) put it succinctly: "The Native people weren't too affected by the [non-Native] beliefs and customs because we had our own beliefs and customs." Those missionaries who tolerated diversity and Native beliefs were generally successful, whereas those who "treated them [Yukon Natives] like they were wrong and

tried to assimilate them in the white man's society...created a lot of resentment."

Through the mid-twentieth century, schooling was the most critical tool in the missionaries' and governments' combined efforts to remake Natives into compliant civilians and Christians. As in Alaska, this model also served the interest of the dominant, colonizing society by remaking relatively mobile, alien, and independent hunter-gatherers into sedentary, familiar, and dependent souls under the political and economic control of the state. And in this effort, "Bible and slate were virtually indistinguishable from the start" (Coates 1991:137). Even more than in coastal Alaska, Interior mission schools suffered from poor attendance, due in part to the fundamental incompatibility between the mobile Native seasonal round and the sedentary world of the school. Indian parents feared that their children were losing a valuable subsistence education in favor of a white man's education of dubious worth in the bush. To combat this tension, white educators developed a residential model of schooling in which the Indian could be "totally immersed" and thus transformed. The Carcross Indian Residential School was the first such school to open in the Yukon. Generally, however, these schools failed because, rather than training the next generation of leaders who would help "civilize" the Native community and make them productive members of the emerging industrial capitalist society, the school turned out Natives with few skills to survive in a marginal economy that offered few opportunities for gainful employment outside of the tradition-based subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering activities and commercial trapping. Rather than becoming leaders, the residential school graduates became alienated from their communities. As a result, parents and elders disliked and distrusted the schools because as one put it, "When they are too long at School they won't have anything to do with us: they want to be with white people; they grow away from us" *(in* Coates 1991:154). Minister of the Interior Frank Oliver offered this searing critique of the residential school model:

> My belief is that the attempt to elevate the Indian by separating the child from his parents and educating him as a white man has turned out to be a deplorable failure...The mutual love between parent and child is the strongest influence for the betterment of the world, and when that influence is absolutely cut apart or is so deliberately intended to be cut apart as in the education of Indian children in industrial schools the means taken defeats itself...To teach an Indian child that his parents are degraded beyond measure and that whatever they did or thought was wrong could only result in the child becoming, as the ex-pupils of the industrial schools have become, admittedly and unquestionably [a] very much less desirable element of society than their parents who never saw the schools. (Coates 1991:146)

Compulsory education came early in Alaska, but Native attendance was not always consistent, especially when activities in the seasonal round had students' families elsewhere and otherwise occupied. Instruction at Haines Mission marked the first effort in the Chilkoot area to introduce Natives to the world of the school. That effort was expanded through the federal Bureau of Education, which supported the building of schools in Alaska communities, including Native communities.

In Skagway, schools (figure 23) were operating shortly after the start of the gold rush and by the early 1900s boasted sig-



Figure 23. Skagway school children in Indian garb (Alaska State Library, Paul Sincic Collection, #PCA75-187. KLGO SP98-365)

nificant populations of Native students. The Union Church, a non-denominational church, was dedicated on December 12, 1897, and by April 1898 housed a school. The *Skagway News* mentions Mrs. Morehouse running a private school in January 1899. The Methodist-Episcopal McCabe College operated from 1899 to 1900. The first City of Skagway public school opened on October 2, 1901 (Spude 1983:41; Karl Gureke, personal communication 2003)

The world of school emphasized the issues of faith and appearance as much as intellectual skills. Native "heathenism" or "paganism" and their unhygienic appearance were frowned upon and addressed directly in the curricula. In integrated schools, such as those in Skagway, the pressures for Natives to adopt all the values and trappings of the white world were especially strong because they came not only from non-Native teachers and administrator, but also from peers. Moreover, since the majority of Skagway's population arrived from other, faraway places in the U.S., Canada, and beyond--including Australia, Canada, China, England, France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, Japan, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and Yugoslavia–a key function of public and parochial education in towns like Skagway was to reshape this

diversity into a more unified and disciplined culture through education. This included not only learning the three "R's" in English, but also classes on dress, hygiene, posture, and even "pounding the subject 'Stocks and Bonds' into our incomprehensive heads...;" additionally, students noted the "terror" they felt upon seeing the instructor's "little yellow book that keeps the records of the good and bad," often "wishing 'that book would get lost or burned up.'" (*The Trail*, [first Skagway High School Yearbook], 1908).

Undoubtedly these pressures had profound effects on young Native students, who were often encouraged to view their own past as a foreign culture. As an underprivileged indigenous minority amid this vast cultural diversity, local Tlingits felt the need to educate non-Natives, who were ignorant and often disdainful of their culture and history, about their heritage. The article excerpted below, written by a young "grammar grade" Tlingit girl, Cora Benson (figure 24), for her 1908 Skagway high school yearbook, represents one such effort. Entitled "Life of the Alaskan Native before the Arrival of the White Man," the article is striking in how Benson adopts a strong ethnographic voice and format, discussing pre-contact Tlingit "character," "manner of dressing," social organization, religion, shamanism ("the Indian Doctor"), burial customs, and "amusements" as if speaking of another exotic culture in the remote and primitive past from the perspective of an enlightened, educated, and, ultimately, assimilated observer in the "civilized" present. Although written in a generalizing way, the essay also includes important information about specific cultural patterns of Skagway area Natives, including their trade trips to the Interior via the Chilkoot Trail. The article is thus a fascinating exercise in both auto-ethnography and salvage anthropology.



Figure 24. Cora Benson (second row, far left), Skagway public school, Class of 1908 (Courtesy Skagway Museum & Archives, 93.01.391)

Life of the Alaskan Native before the Arrival of the White Man
By Cora Benson (1908)

Character

The native was a true child of the forest. He had a wild love of liberty, and refused to be controlled by any will except his own. He was very cruel to his enemy and often tortured him. The native was generally so kind and generous, that even though starving himself, he would cheerfully share his last morsel of food with a fellow sufferer, and in time of danger lay down his own life for a friend.

Division into Families

The natives were divided into families and each family had a name of its own, such as the Caquonton [Kaagwaantaan] and Clunahatee [L'uxnaxh.ádi], and had a separate house bearing the name of its totem. The frog house is claimed by the Clunahatees. This house is owned by the chief and other leaders.

The Clan and the Tribe

According to the different languages and localities, the natives were divided into families, and according to the government the family was separated into distinct tribes; and again by relationship more or less remote the tribe was separated into clans. Each clan had its own name, usually that of some bird or animal. The picture of this animal or object became the peculiar emblem or "totem" of the clan. The animal or bird represented was supposed to favor and protect the clan. Sometimes this object was tattooed on the hands. This was customary in the south, and was done by the daughter or son of a chief.

Government

Every clan had its civil ruler or chief, who was supposed to have authority over the clan. His duties were to hold war, peace, and feast councils with his men. There were other leaders who acted as advisers. When assembled in tribal council they freely discussed important questions and the chieftains decided upon each question discussed. Each warrior was in a large degree his own master, so in time of war he did as he pleased. As a whole the native government was very democratic.

Occupations

The higher class of native woman had not much work to do, her principal duties being to look after her slaves and see that they did their work properly. Most of the remainder of her time was spent in making expensive fur robes, making shirts, weaving baskets, and making the Chilkat blanket (figure 25 this book). The women slaves were chiefly engaged in preparing the materials for their mistress, manufacturing native yarns, dying them into convenient colors, and furnishing materials for baskets. The lower class of women were hard workers, as they engaged in most of the work done by their husbands.

The higher class of men were chiefly engaged in trading with various tribes. The skin and fur trade was important. Provisions, tools, beads, baskets, and the Chilkat blanket were exchanged for valuable furs and skins. Each native traded with certain natives in the interior, who preserved all the articles he could until the arrival of the native from the coast. The latter went to the interior twice a year with his men slaves, who carried the articles to be traded. The articles obtained from the interior were exchanged for different kinds of furs, canoes, and styles from the south. Each slave was valued at fifteen moose hides and the canoes were valued according to size. Skilful work by the artists, such as paintings and carvings of different objects were also important in trading.



Figure 25. Lukaaxh.ádi clan leader Ray Dennis (hidden) displays the Sockeye Point Chilkat Blanket (Xh'aakw X'aayi Naaxein), a sacred possession of his clan, illustrating Lukaaxh.ádi history in and claims to the Chilkoot area, at a Skagway Traditional Council intertribal meeting in Skagway, May 30, 2003. (Saurabh Gupta photo)

Religion

The natives had a rude sort of religion. They believed there was power above that controlled their lives. Liars, mischief-makers, and bad characters were supposed to die sooner than good persons. They believed there are four places to which a spirit may go after death. If a good native died his spirit was supposed to go to a happy place. Life there was the same as life in this world, but without pain or trouble of any kind. This place was the native heaven. Before reaching this place a large river had to be crossed. The second place was where the bad natives went; life there was very lonely and miserable. The natives believed that before entering these places they had to pass through fields of devil's-clubs and endure other hardships. So the dead bodies were dressed strongly and skin mittens were placed on the hands; then funeral songs were sung, which were supposed to clear the way and lessen the difficulties.

The other places were in and above the clouds. When one was killed for witchcraft, he was supposed to enter a region of clouds moving in different directions. Those killed in war went through this place and mounted still higher, where all was peace. This was another heaven.

The Indian Doctor

The native doctor was highly honored because of his power. He was not only a doctor but also a clairvoyant; he foretold the numerous wars, according to the native belief, and also other events of importance; he located lost articles and the bodies of those drowned. He was a prophet and the natives were often on guard at his predictions. The natives believed he could cure sickness caused by an evil worker by commanding the evil worker to release his victim.

A footnote to the article states: "Miss Benson is the daughter of the Skagway chief and was assisted in writing this article by her father." The clan identity of Ms. Benson's father is not altogether clear. The family is listed in

the 1930 census as coming from Chilkat, and thus she may have been related to Mr. and Mrs. John Benson, who hailed from the Chilkat village of Klukwan, Mr. Benson being a well-known clan leader and Mrs. Benson (Deinkhul.át) a famous Chilkat Blanket weaver from the Ghaanaxhteidí clan, who adopted ethnologist Ronald L. Olson in the 1930s (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994: 598). Cora Benson remained in Skagway after her graduation, and the 1930 Census (Spude 2002) lists her as a dressmaker and single head of her own household, age 30, though she was probably in her late 30s.

Many Natives from Skagway as well as elsewhere in the Alaska Territory attended the Pius X Mission School rather than the public school. In their book *North to Share: The Sisters of Saint Ann Mission in Alaska and the Yukon Territory*, Sisters Cantwell and Edmond (1992) chronicle the history of the mission school, the brainchild of Father Edgar Gallant, a Benedictine vicar who was the first Catholic priest ordained in Alaska in 1918, the same year he came to Skagway.

> Ever interested in education, Father Gallant, who had heard of Holy Cross Mission in the Interior, thought to reproduce in Southeastern Alaska what had been accomplished on the Yukon River. When an opportunity arose, he purchased acreage, 500 by 300 feet, near Skagway airport and the Skagway River...
>
> ...Father Gallant reasoned that the territorial Indian school being planned for Wrangell [Wrangell Institute], south of Juneau, could properly be balanced by a similar school at Skagway, north of Juneau. Bishop Crimont, anxious to bring the Catholic faith to Native people of southeastern islands and coastal settlements, understood that logic. (1992:172)

Funds for the school came fortuitously when, traveling on an official visit to Rome, Father Gallant fell into a game of bridge with some American tourists. "As the game came to an end, one man, John F. O'Dea of Canton, Ohio, drew Father Gallant aside and offered to donate $30,000 for the building of the school on condition that it be named after the late Pope Pius X, in gratitude for business favors obtained through that saintly pontiff's intercession" (Cantwell and Edmond 1992:179). Crimont Hall, as the large two-story mission building (figure 26) was named, opened in December 1931. The Pius X Mission was staffed by the Sisters of Saint Ann and was "the most modern Native school in the Territory of Alaska." The non-sectarian Wrangell Institute opened the following year, and in 1947 the government opened a second boarding school, Mt. Edgecumbe, at Sitka, which still operates today. Among the most thrilling aspects of the Skagway school's setting for children was the trolley car that ran up and down the street and brought many of the children to school each day. Over 40 students were enrolled by the first year, mostly Native children and mostly non-Catholic. By 1939, there were 44 boys and 25 girls enrolled, with seven Sisters of Saint Ann on staff. A visiting nun noted:

> The words, "native children" include a high percentage of those whose parentage is half white and half Indian:
>
> ...these native children at their present stage of development may be classified as half and half. They speak English with an Indian accent; they dress like moderns and adopt the amenities of their white associations. On the other hand, they cling to their communal life in camps or huts, even to such as are built on stakes on the beach, and they prefer the floor to chairs and tables. The manners which they put on while in school



Figure 26. Pius X Mission, c.1935. (Skagway Museum & Archives. L.B.Jones Collection-PX-1)

> are easily discarded out of it. The writer, while a guest at the Skagway institution, was adopted by a charming little girl of ten or so. She showed me around with the grace of a hostess; her English was perfect, and when she failed to understand, she would say "Pardon" so nicely that the tone and manner have remained with me these many years — all the while the poor little lady was just pining to be with her grandmother...
>
> Father Gallant's establishment is an ideal get-together. Here pupils sit at oblong tables of eight, and invigorating their youth with the fat of the land, discuss problems with the wisdom of their years. (in Cantwell and Edmond 1992)

By 1953, the year after Father Francis Cowgill arrived to assist Gallant, there were 65 students, including 22 "town kids," as they were termed. Things were more relaxed after World War II, whereas in the early days, students were required to march everywhere. Even when going to the movies downtown, the children were marched by the Sisters (Andrew Beierly, interview). This so embarrassed the senior boys, according to Fred Mahle (a Native from Kodiak, who settled permanently in Skagway after graduation), that "they would not go". Younger students were not allowed to go downtown at all, and those over 14 had to be back by 10 pm. The sexes were also carefully segregated, and girls had to stay on school grounds or go to town in an escorted group (Andrew Beierly, interview). Despite the gender separation, Fred Mahle relates that boys and girls still had ways of communicating, especially at mealtime: "If you had a girlfriend serving you, she would crunch up the corn flakes on the bottom of the bowl, and then fill up the rest of the bowl so you'd get more" (*Skaguay Alaskan* 1985:12).

Life at the mission school was structured but generally rewarding. The curriculum, like that of the public schools, emphasized cognitive and behavioral skills and vocational as well as academic subjects. Health and hygiene were also stressed, especially

in the post-World War I era in which deadly influenza and tuberculosis still flourished. Even weaving was taught, partly out of Father Gallant's respect for Tlingit woven arts, such as the Chilkat Blanket, and "Both the priest and the children wove items for tourists stopping in at Pius X Mission" (Cantwell and Edmond 1992:182). The music program was considered to be excellent, and the mission also ran its own mini farm, raising 150 chickens and more than a dozen cows. But Native languages were not supported, in part because children came from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Instead they learned English and Latin, and Bible studies were mandatory. Still, most Natives felt they gained important life skills from the school, as well as a nurturing intellectual and social environment. Gallant was said to have been "particularly fond of the Mahle boys. He took Andy and Fred on trips, and once took Harlan to the Vatican to meet the pope" (*Skaguay Alaskan* 1985:12). Among the comments collected from former students in the 1985 *Skaguay Alaskan* retrospective following the fire, which destroyed the deserted mission, were these:

> Fred Mahle (Kodiak, Skagway): 'I learned quite a few things. I learned humility. I learned bitterness. I learned patience. I learned how to hate, vengeance, revenge. I learned how to live. I learned how to forgive. I learned how to forget. I learned my ABC's, which was the most important. Because if I hadn't been at the mission, I don't know where the heck I'd been...Without an organization like Pius X Mission, Father Gallant's dream and his nucleus, where the heck would any of us be?'

Andrew Beierly (Craig, Skagway): 'It kind of taught me how to be responsible. They gave you different jobs to do and if you didn't do it right, you had to do it over.'

Lee Jimmie (Haines): 'I guess my music is what I gained most from there. I still play trumpet. They were excellent teachers. I grew up among regimentation with them, but you learned.'

> Alex Stevens (Juneau): 'I learned the thought of self-discipline mostly what they expressed was self-discipline. So long as there was no one to keep you in line, you had to learn to do it on your own.'
>
> Byron Mallott (Yakutat): 'I gained whatever little social consciousness that I have that is a sense of the status of people in our society and some of the cruelty that's associated with that—that people don't have money or access to power can be, if not victimized, at least victims of circumstance...Father Gallant was a personal inspiration figure to me. He gave me a sense that an individual can make a difference. He was Pius X Mission...The school was more than anything else a phenomenon because Father Gallant willed it, breathed life into it and made it survive. And it brought to Skagway something of a microcosmic cross-section of Alaska youth at the time.'

Although the mission school included more and more Native children from outside of Skagway and Southeast Alaska, as its educational reputation grew, it was also preferred as a day school by local non-Native families, such as the Selmers and the Boyntons. At 6'5" Father Gallant was a commanding presence, and children also recall him as a charismatic figure. Lee Jimmie, a Native from Haines, who started kindergarten when the school opened and was the first to attend

all the way through graduation observed: "It made no difference what nationality you were, we became Catholics...He had a strong ruling and you lived by the way he ruled, but he was honest and fair" (*Skaguay Alaskan* 1985:11). Ken Boynton (interview) recalled that Gallant also had no hesitation about "mixing it up" with the boys and would roughhouse with them on occasion for fun. Yet, he could also be a stern disciplinarian. "If one got out of hand in chapel, some recalled, he would reach out over the pews with his long arms and slap the boy on the back of the head. But he cared a lot for the kids, giving them allowances, taking them downtown and on fund-raising trips, and giving them a holiday every year on his birthday, St. Patrick's Day. He would sing his favorite song, 'Danny Boy,' and laugh like an old barking seal" (*Skaguay Alaskan* 1985:11). The Sisters could also be strict, and sometimes faulted Father Gallant for his idiosyncratic style of leadership and lack of regimentation (Cantwell and Edmond 1992). He traveled often and eschewed common accounting and administrative procedures, but always came through for "his kids." More than anything, according to assistant priest Francis Cowgill, "He could take a look at a child and see nothing wrong...He would see to it that the child was developed... He was ready to take on any child. There were tears in the eyes of children when they called him 'Father.' He really was the father to children who had no father" (*Skaguay Alaskan* 1985: 11).

Father Gallant also took concrete steps to combat racism, and the soft-caste system described above. For example, as the *Skaguay Alaskan* article notes, "Kids thought a lot of Father Gallant for being color blind at a time when prejudice toward Natives was blatantly obvious in Skagway and throughout the territory. He stood up for the kids to the point of starting the mission's own scout troop in the 1930s when his kids would not be admitted to the one in town." Such civic and recreational organizations were important sites for integration. Gallant also worked to find students summer employment and to place graduates in good wage-earning occupations, often coordinating with the White Pass Railroad to place them in positions there. On this score the Pius X Mission School was much more successful than the Anglican residential schools at Carcross and elsewhere in the Interior.

Even so, the relatively colorblind world of the school could not completely shield Native kids from the less tolerant community of Skagway. As Byron Mallott noted in a speech delivered at a school reunion in 1993, "There were times when things would happen in the community, and at least we thought we were the first folks to be called to task for some of those events" (*The Skagway News* 1993). Like Stan Selmer (interview), Mallott suggests that the term "mission kids" was often a polite cover for "Natives" who tended to be blamed for things just because of who they were.

Pius X closed its doors in 1960, shortly after Father (now Monsignor) Gallant's departure to Anchorage to build another school. The Sisters of Saint Ann took charge of the mission after Gallant's departure and attempted to return a higher order of regimentation to the school. Both Byron Mallott and Andrew Beierly served on the student council at the time and attempted to persuade the nuns to change the system back to the more liberal way of Father Gallant. But they

were unsuccessful and "both left before the semester's end. Beierly volunteered to leave and Mallot was expelled. Others followed, and the school closed in January [1960]" (*Skaguay Alaskan* 1985:12). Significantly, some Native students, like Beierly, chose to finish out their education in Skagway, while others were transferred to boarding schools elsewhere in the state, including Mount Edgecumbe, where Mallott completed his degree. Perhaps the ultimate measure of success of the school is the significant number of originally non-local pupils, like Andrew Beierly and the Mahle brothers, who stayed in Skagway after graduation, found gainful employment, and effectively became community insiders.

Twentieth Century Diseases of Civilization

The changes in lifestyle brought about by the world of the school, placing Natives in more concentrated, sedentary settings and in closer proximity to non-Natives, also facilitated the spread of diseases. The biggest killers were influenza, especially between 1918 and 1920, and tuberculosis. Skagway became the site for a tuberculosis sanitarium from 1945 to 1947. Located at Liarsville on the site of WWII army barracks, the facility treated hundreds of Native TB victims and was staffed by both Native and non-Native personnel, including the Sisters of Saint Ann. Skagway elder Richard Dick's mother, Mrs. Mary Judson, served as a nurse at the facility.

Close knit schools and Native community dwellings became host sites for these contagious diseases. At Carcross,

> Epidemics hit the [residential] school frequently, including an outbreak of influenza which claimed four lives in 1920. The death of children at the institution was not unusual, although they often succumbed to tuberculosis or other diseases contracted before their arrival. The school's reputation as a dangerous place for children gained greater currency with each death and serious illness, impeding further recruitment efforts. The respectable level of attendance despite these problems was the result of additions to the school's capacity and, after 1945, the enforcement of compulsory education. (Coates 1992:148)

Pius X Mission and Southeast Alaska schools and villages also felt the scourge of these diseases of civilization. As noted above, the post World War I influenza epidemic effectively ended the habitation of Yendestuki Village near Haines. And throughout the first half of the twentieth, tuberculosis was a major killer. One of its victims was Paul Wilson Jr.'s brother Richard. Paul recalled, "He had pneumonia and he was sick and he just continued working and by the time he finally went into sick call he got quick TB and he died" (interview). By the 1940s, however, more effective treatment and prevention programs were in the offing. By 1945 when the Skagway Sanatorium opened,

> The Territory of Alaska was already in the midst of a multipronged campaign to eliminate tuberculosis by providing sanatoriums, health education, and home care. Traveling public health nurses explained the importance and benefits of sterilizing dishes and of the need for isolation of patients. Available Native foods were studied for their vitamin content. One good source was found in the plentiful rose hip. Southeastern Alaska, with its high average rainfall, was a sunless, damp region for much of the year. The Haida, Tlingit and Tsimshian people easily became victims of tuberculosis. Still, as the sisters discovered, they were

> people who knew how to fight. Most of the patients courageously followed directions and thus overcame the threat of tuberculosis. (Cantwell and Edmond 1992:187)

Despite its success, the Skagway Sanatorium was short-lived. The sprawling T-shaped physical plant, especially the boilers, proved too expensive to maintain. Moreover, the facility was dependent for its water supply on a nearby spring, which often froze (Richard Dick, interview). Thus, in February 1947 the *North Star* docked at Skagway to transfer all of the patients to Sitka, where a modern, less costly facility was available to treat TB patients (Cantwell and Edmond 1992).

Alcoholism, venereal diseases, and other maladies of civilization, though less deadly, were also prevalent and insidious. Alcoholism touched many Native communities and was often associated with physical violence and sexual abuse. The majority of stories on Alaska Native brushes with the law in Skagway newspapers often cite circumstances involving the alcohol trade or drunken behavior. Minnie Stevens (interview), 85, a Dakhl'aweidí elder who grew up in Haines and moved to Skagway in 1985, recalled the ravages of alcohol on her own family during this time, including her brother, who recovered from alcoholism through the Alcoholics Anonymous program, and her cousin, Louise Martin (the daughter of Sam Jackson, whose wife, Minnie Jackson, was Minnie Steven's aunt) who married an alcoholic from Skagway. Similarly, in the Interior, there are painful stories of the effects of alcohol abuse on individuals and families, particularly after construction of the Alaska Highway, which changed both the availability of alcohol and the context for its use.

Native Involvement in Tourism

Even before the end of the gold rush, Skagway, along with other Southeast Alaska destinations, had become an attractive stop for wealthy tourists. As Norris (1996) notes:

> Southeastern Alaska was a popular area for excursion ships as early as the mid-1880s, and when the gold rush exploded into prominence the ships that plied the Inside Passage route merely added an extra day onto their itinerary in order to see the new, bustling town. The first known tourists arrived in Skagway in July 1898, when they joined local residents in celebrating the first train to operate on the new White Pass line. By the following year, the Chamber of Commerce was urging local residents to prepare for the upcoming tourist season, and the first Skagway Clean-up Day was scheduled to beautify the streets and yards.

Guidebooks such as Scidmore's (1899) *Appleton's Guide-Book to Alaska* and A.C. Harris's *Alaska and the Klondike Gold Fields* (1897) appeared shortly after the gold rush commenced, offering readers "the real facts" concerning the gold discoveries and the Native inhabitants of the region. While Scidmore had a remarkable eye for ethnographic detail, as well an ear for Tlingit language, Harris's portrait of local Natives' "Savage Customs," unfortunately, was more typical. A simple review of the subtopics in his Chapter XX, "Native Religion and Traits," illustrates the ethnocentric biases, stereotypes, caricatures, and exoticism that distorted many of these early accounts and undoubtedly shaped early tourists' reactions and interpretations of Chilkoot area Natives:

> The Alaskan Indians a People of Curious Customs and Habits--Are Intelligent, Inventive, and Imitative Are Adept in the Vices of the White Men

> Who Visit Them Are natural-born Drunkards and Gamblers Totem Poles Their Pride in the Olden Times The Significance of these Barbaric Symbols of the People Are Rich in Oral Traditions—The Theological and Cosmological Belief of the Indians Odd Notions of the Aboriginal Thinkers Samples of the Rites Practices Cannibalism and Shamanism--Law and Home Life Description of the Innuits of the North. (Harris 1897)

In a book focused on the Klondike Gold Rush areas of Alaska and the Yukon, it is significant that the author feels obliged to include a section on the Inuit or Eskimo. More than any other image of the indigenous people of the Far North, it is the image of the Eskimo that has always been most salient and emblematic. This remains true today and is perhaps one reason why Inuit style art and images are almost as prevalent as local Indian cultural forms in the tourist shops of Southeast Alaska, including Skagway.

Initially tourism in Skagway was limited by expense as well as infrastructure. Before 1910 only one excursion boat plied Southeast waters. But in 1908, "Tourists began taking chartered trains to the top of White Pass, and by the eve of World War I the day-long excursion to Bennett had become a popular excursion" (Norris 1996: 31). The railroad promoted this development through advertisements and brochures:

> As an effusive 1913 brochure intoned, 'To go to Skagway and not see the interior is like going to the threshold of a fairyland and foregoing all the interest and enchantment to be enjoyed within the magic region.' The most common destinations were Whitehorse, Dawson, Atlin, and Ben-My-Chree, the latter being a homestead at the south end of Tagish Lake. By the advent of World War I, tourism was an important secondary industry; as local tour guide Martin Itjen told visitors to the Skagway railroad yards, 'all the people in this town who do not work the tourists work here.' (Norris 1996:31)

As with the railroad, the tourist industry was a mixed one with Native and non-Native participants alike. But as in the other sectors of economy, there was a hierarchy or "soft-caste system;" and Natives generally occupied the lowest positions.

Natives were not only producers of tourist goods, but were themselves objects of tourist consumption. Tourists not only wanted to buy "authentic" Native goods but also to see "authentic Natives." The most successful Natives were able to capitalize on these twin appetites by plying their trade in the presence of tourists, often in traditional dress to highlight their Indian identity (figure 27). The image of Indianness combined with authentic handicrafts was appealing, and the tourist market for goods grew steadily in the 1920s and 1930s, and again after World War II. Although they did not run tours, Native sellers would engage tourists in conversation, answer questions, pose for photographs (sometimes for a price), and occasionally regale them with stories. At first, Indian products were made along traditional lines using designs based on traditional emblems. But as the industry grew, more specialized products were produced especially for tourists, such as miniature baskets, mittens and moccasins with "Alaska" sewn on to them, and other more souvenir type products. Major coastal Tlingit producers for the Skagway market included Maggie Kadanaha, "Grandma" Sarah Dennis (Paul Wilson's mother's mother), Marion Dennis, Dorothy Dennis, Sam Harris, Louise Martin, and Minnie Jackson (figures 28 and 29). Products included jewelry, moc-

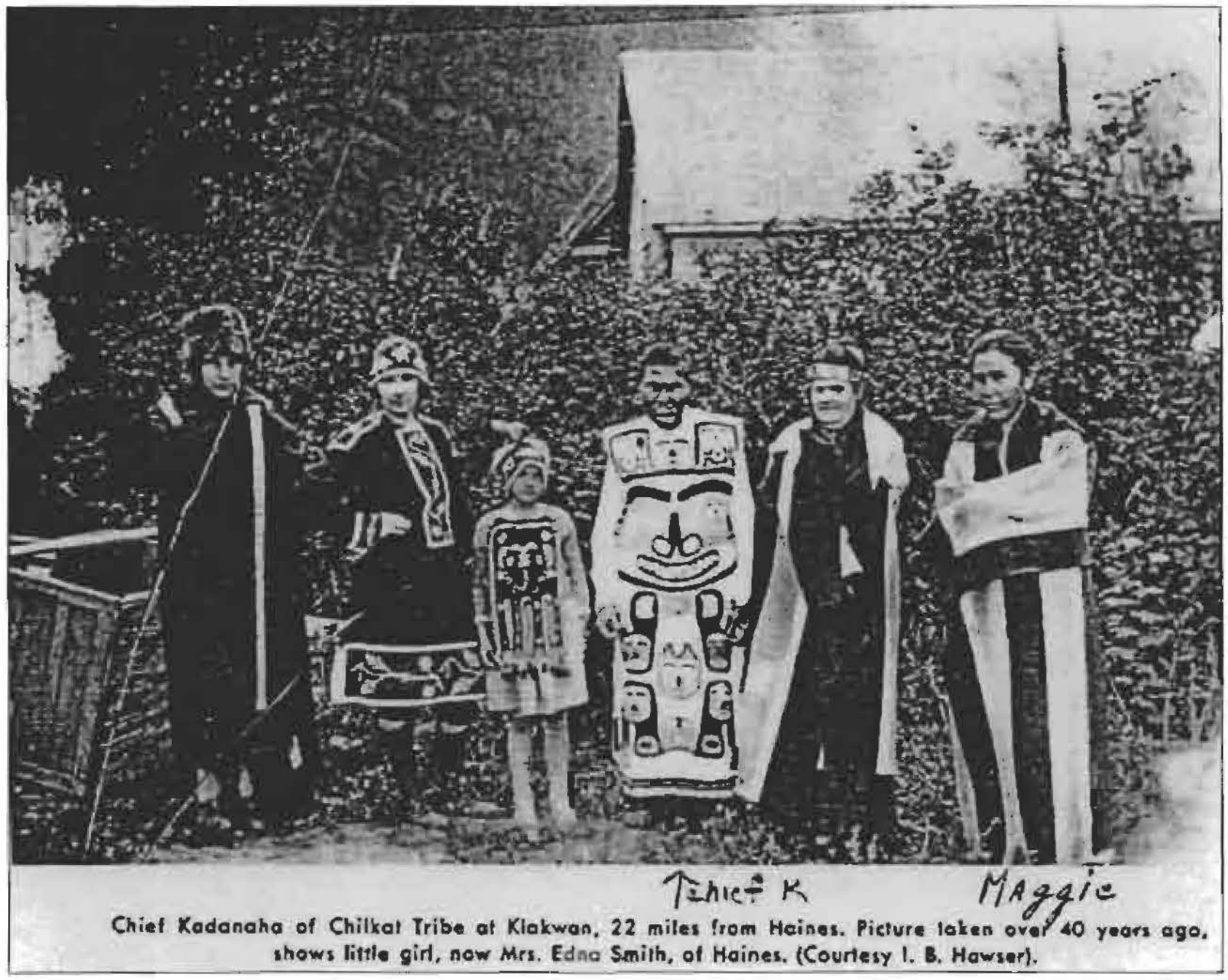


Figure 27. Maggie Kadanaha with Mike Kadanaha and Smith family from Haines (Sheldon Museum Collection)

casins, spoons (including goat horn spoons), mittens, miniature canoes, paddles, handmade dolls, and other handicrafts.

The handicraft trade was primarily a women's industry to the extent that it emphasized sewing and weaving, two traditionally female crafts. To meet volume demand, however, women often coordinated family labor, including both male and female children. Paul Wilson (interview) recalled, "I was kind of raised by my sisters, and I ended up making little booties with 'Alaska' on top while I was supposed to be playing baseball. I thought I was the only one that ever did this, but I found out later there were a lot of men folks selling [making items for sale]." Similarly, Minnie Stevens (interview) related that many female children were instructed in how to make moccasins "as soon as we could work a needle." Children specialized in producing the so-called "doll moccasins," which, like adult moccasins, were sewn from sealskin, lined with flannel, and trimmed with rabbit fur. They sold for 25 cents a pair in the 1930s. Mrs. Stevens would travel with her mother from Haines to Skagway on the *Captain James Fornance* (figure 20). Her mother (Mrs. Brown) would sell both to merchants and directly to tourists on the streets and wharf area. Evelyn Hotch (interview)



Figure 28. Maggie Kadanaha (center) with Marion Dennis (left) and Mary Judson (Courtesy of Barbara Kalen, Dedman's Photo)



Figure 29. Maggie Kadanaha with Howard Warden, Louise Martin, and Sam Jackson (Daanawáakh) (Courtesy of John Poling Trust)

remembers that women would put "card tables" along the street and sell their wares. Mrs. Stevens confessed that most of her hard-earned sewing money stayed in Skagway: "Rapuzzi's had a candy store that sold taffy…Well, you know where our money went."

Men were known primarily for their carving and silversmithing, but it was less common for men to ply their trade in the public sphere; most sold their goods through retail shops as opposed to setting themselves up as vendors along the streets and wharves. One of the best-known Tlingit artisans in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the Chilkat silversmith Sam Harris. Although he occasionally appeared in the "police briefs" section of the paper for drunken behavior and rows (cf. *Daily Alaskan* 8/23/02), Harris was highly respected for his work. His obituary (*Daily Alaskan* 5/3/07), published the day after his death, states: "Harris was an expert carver in metal and has worked for both P.E. Kern and H.D. Kirmse, of this city. Mr. Kern and Mr. Kirmse contributed the money for funeral expenses." Unfortunately, few documented examples of Sam Harris's work exist in Skagway today. John Benson, the father of Cora Benson, wass another highly respected silversmith.

Perhaps the best known of all the pre- and early post-WWII artisans was Maggie Kadanaha. Maggie Kadanaha (b. 1873) was a central figure in the Skagway community from 1930, when she moved there from Klukwan, until her death in 1957. She was a member of the L'uxnaxh.ádi clan from Yakutat and had an arranged marriage to Mike Kadanahaa (from the Tlingit *Koodeinahaa*), leader of the Kaagwaantaan Killerwhale House in Klukwan. When her husband died of influenza on April 8, 1930, at the age of 96 (according to the 1930 Census, he was some 40 years her senior), Maggie Kadanaha moved out of the village permanently, since she was not Native to Klukwan and had no children, the youngest having died in a tragic accident. "The custom in those days was that a widow who was not from the village and had no children there must move away," Evelyn Hotch (interview) notes. Maggie thus settled in Skagway for the remainder of her life, maintaining a modest house in the Indian section of town, where she hosted Natives and non-Natives alike. Mrs. Kadanaha earned a living in the tourist trade. Still, she returned to Klukwan regularly to care for her husband's clan house, which still stands to this day. Kaagwaantaan elder Joe Hotch (interview) states that she took some of her husband's clan regalia and *at.óow* to Skagway for safekeeping, but "as far as the family knew these things were sold." He notes that some of the clan regalia ended up in museums.

In Skagway Maggie was a beloved figure, perhaps the most visible and industrious member of the Native community between 1930 and 1955. She made moccasins, baskets, and other crafts for sale to tourists on Skagway's White Pass wharf and along Broadway, often selling right out of the famous red Chinese camphor chest (now housed at the Skagway Museum) that she used to haul about her wares. Figure 30 shows Maggie in front of her house at work weaving baskets for tourists and also shows examples of her moccasins as well as her clan emblems (including the frog). Maggie was considered an outstanding craftswoman by Natives and non-Natives alike. Dorothy Richter Wallace received a pair of hand-sewn

mittens from Maggie Kadanaha in 1938 and wore them in the winter "everyday for forty years" before recently donating them to the Skagway Museum (Judy Munns, personal communication 2002).

Maggie Kadanaha hosted Natives from all over Southeast Alaska and the Interior on their visits to Skagway, and was a mother and grandmother to Native and non-Native children alike, who to this day recall her with great fondness and affection. Whenever interviewees were asked, "Did you know Maggie Kadanaha?" inevitably the answer was, "Of course, everybody knew Maggie!" In 1975 Elizabeth Haakinen (1975: 7), longtime director of the Sheldon Museum in Haines, published the following recollection of Maggie's kindness:

> For well over 50 years, I have treasured an old totem depicting an eagle and a bear. On the day it was given to me I was about five years old. We were in Old Wells [north of Klukwan], and I was playing near the Chilkat River with my new doll — a very splendidly garbed one outfitted as a Red Cross nurse. Somehow I dropped her in the river and she floated off downstream.
>
> Of course, it was impossible to reach her, and I must have been producing rather a lot of noise because Maggie and Mike Kadanaha, who were staying nearby, heard me and came to investigate. I saw them exchange nods before Maggie came and, taking me by the hand, led me around behind a cabin where she dug a small totem about a foot high from the ground. She gave it to me, explaining that it had belonged to her own child who had died recently and didn't need it anymore.
>
> I played with that totem, dressed it in doll clothes, and slept with it for years. It still has traces of the blue Crayola which entirely covered it at one time. It went to college with me and has always been a part of whatever place I called home.

Kenneth Boynton (b. 1944) spoke for a lot of non-Native kids of his generation when he stated: "She was a very gracious woman... She really loved us kids; kids were something she really treasured; it was something she really tried to invest herself into... She took care of us" (interview).

Although many details of Maggie Kadanaha's biography remain obscure, on occasion she would regale local children with stories of her early days in Skagway. According to Ken Boynton (interview),

> I don't know what town she grew up or was born in, but her Dad was the [leader] of one of the tribes, which made her a queen or a princess or something like that...if there is such a thing in Tlingit...She always wore her headdress; I got to put it on a couple of times ...I remember her headdress with that kind of flower thing in red and her white gown with the red stripes...

She first came to Skagway as a child, during the gold rush.

> The story she told me that I remember was that she was in White Pass City around 1896-97. Her dad was a packer; he packed stuff up the hill for the miners along the '98 Trail. And Soapy Smith and his gang was trotting down the hill through White Pass City, and he seen Maggie. He stopped his horse, got off, went over to her, picked her up and gave her a kiss, set her back down and said, "You are a pretty little girl," and talked with her a bit, then got back on his horse and the gang and them took off. And she turned to somebody and said, "Who was that?" He said, "Well that's Soapy Smith." And she said, "Well who's Soapy Smith?" And that's how she met Soapy Smith. Yeah, he was a very gracious man, she said. (Ken Boynton, interview)



Figure 30. Maggie Kadanaha works in front of her house in Skagway, weaving baskets for tourists. She also displays examples of her moccasins, as well as her clan emblems (including the frog). (Courtesy of Skagway Museum & Archives. L.B. Jones Collection-MK-1)

In addition to her connections with Skagway, Klukwan, and Yakutat, she also had close ties to Interior Natives. Edna Helm (b. 1945) remembers making annual trips from Carcross down to Skagway in the fall to visit and trade. Her family would stay with the Dennises and exchange moose hide and other local products for seaweed, dried fish, and other coastal specialties. They would always pay a visit to Maggie Kadanaha at her home, where Mrs. Kadanaha would entertain them and give the children hard candies that Mrs. Helm thought were "colored rocks" (interview). Similarly, Ada Haskins (b. 1924), the Yanyeidí daughter of famous Interior guide Johnny Johns, remembers visiting Mrs. Kadanaha's home in Skagway when her family traveled from the Interior to the city by train. Maggie provided them with eulachon grease and dried fish in exchange for Interior goods, such as moose hide (interview).

Paul and Marilyn Wilson (interview) recall Maggie Kadanaha as industrious not only in producing for the tourist trade but also for subsistence. "She dried lots of eulachons. We didn't do it, I don't know why. Jeez, it's … [a] delicacy." Eulachon ran in the Skagway River near Maggie's home in both winter and spring, though the spring-summer run was much heavier. Paul Wilson notes that in the wintertime he used to gaff them, but "in the summer time when it was warmer I used to just grab 'em!" Marilyn Wilson remembers, "In the Skagway River they were just thick, you could just almost walk on them there was so many!" Paul recalled that the best place to harvest eulachon was not far from Maggie Kadanaha's house, "Just where the old bridge [for pedestrians across the Skagway River] used to be, the old swinging bridge, right around there," but "They took it down for some reason. FAA I guess." Marilyn commented that this was "a shame…everybody used to go through there and go hiking." Reflecting on her association with Maggie Kadanaha as a child, she added: "You know, I was small when I lived up in Skagway, and I used to visit Maggie a lot I guess. And I was wondering, why did I visit her, you know, being so small? And I think it's because I used to visit my grandmother in Angoon and I must have felt at home with her because, you know, they both speak Tlingit." Mrs. Kadanaha readily shared her bounty with children, including berries, dried fish, and other esteemed foods.

Mrs. Kadanaha was also a source of oral history and connection between peoples of the Interior and the coast. For example, Carcross-Tagish Deisheetaan elder Angela Sidney recalls going to speak to Maggie Kadanaha about a Kiks.ádi-Deisheetaan (Crow/Raven moiety clans) song that she sang for her son, Pete, upon his return from World War II. Some elders from the opposite moiety, including her uncle Patsy Henderson, questioned her right to use the Khaaxh'achgóok song. To confirm her right to use the song, Mrs. Sidney sought out Maggie Kadanaha and Bert Dennis at Skagway.

> I told her [Maggie] all about how I sang that song when Peter came back and when I made that dinner for him. I called everybody from across the river to his welcome dinner, and I sang it before we started out that dinner and I said that Khaaxh'achgóok song was our song. And Uncle Patsy didn't believe it. So I went to Skagway too, and I asked Maggie Kodenaha [sic] and she told me all about it. She told me about the war we made and that's how come he gave us that song. Khaaxh'achgóok made lots of songs. He made songs for the sun and he made songs for when he shoved

> his paddle in their boat, and that song he gave to ...us in place of his brother. That's why we use it. That's why I use it. That's why I gave it to Pete when he came back from the army, because he just went through what happened to Khaaxh'achgóok. He drifted away in the ocean, but he finally came back. I asked all about that, too... [before I used the song]. (in Cruikshank 1998:38-39)

Born in 1873, Maggie passed away in 1957 at the age of 84 and is buried at the Pioneer cemetery. Capped by an angel, her gravestone pays fitting tribute to this angelic "clan mother" of the whole Skagway community.

While some Interior Natives from Carcross-Tagish and other communities came to Skagway to sell their handicrafts, or worked on consignment with Skagway merchants, many worked the tourist trade on the WP&YR run in the Bennett and Carcross areas. Perhaps the most famous was Patsy Henderson, who was hired by WP&YR to interpret Native history for tourists at the Carcross Train station (figure 31). Inland Tlingit and Tagish Women also sold moccasins and other handicrafts in the vicinity of the train station and through local merchants in Carcross. Bennett was also an important site for tourism. Greer (1995: 101) provides an extensive analysis of the Johnson family's experience in Bennett in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Several descendants of this family, including Winnie Atlin and her niece Edna Helm, still retain close ties to Bennett, and Edna Helm maintains a home, trapline, and tourist business there today (see below). Significantly, the expansion of the tourist trade altered the family's seasonal round.

> Most of the time the [Johnson] family was based at Bennett, with occasional trips into Carcross for supplies and at special times of the year.
>
> Mrs. Winnie Atlin, one of the Johnson daughters, reported that at first the family returned to Carcross each summer to go to the fish camp on Tagish Lake. There they put up dried and salt fish for the winter. However, after the tourist business picked up, the family spent the summers at Bennett and only came into Carcross at the end of the summer, after the berry-picking and tourist season. They would return to Bennett before freeze-up. (Greer 1995:102)



Figure 31. Patsy Henderson at Carcross train station demonstrating subsistence techniques
(Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, #2058)

This adaptation to the tourist trade provided a vital source of cash income for Careross-Tagish Natives with only minor disruption in their traditional lifeways.

The representation of Alaska and the Alaska Natives through the guise of tourism is a fertile area for further research (cf. Donekers 2001; Moreno n.d.). Some anthropologists, such as Nash (1989) basically see tourism as a new kind of colonialism, catering to members of the dominant society and their desire to experience commodified elements of Native heritage especially made for their consumption, and creating adverse impacts and few benefits to local indigenous peoples. Other observers see the process as more dynamic and complex, with tourism yielding both positive and negative effects through a variety of political, economic, and cultural processes (Smith 1989; Urry 1990, 1995). Certainly, Skagway has had long a tradition of local entrepreneurial activity focused on tourism. Although the tourist trade has always been dominated by non-Native businesses, such as Kirmse's and, more recently, Corrington's, there was also, at least through the pre-WWII period, significant Native entrepreneurship, especially among Native women. Some, like Maggie Kadanaha in Skagway and Martha Johnson's family in Bennett, found a very successful niche in this environment. And they remained connected; as Winnie Atlin (Greer 1995:106) recalled: "My mom and Maggie Coudenchha [Kadanaha], she used to live in Skagway. She use to know lots, and my mom got a lot of stuff from her...Like they used to trade, they would talk about stuff about medicines and all that...They used to call each other sister." As consumers, however, tourists generally were much more interested in learning about the idealized Indian of the remote past than in the complex realities of the post-contact era.

World War II, the Military Rush, and Roads

The arrival of World War II created a second "rush" in Skagway. Councilman Steve Hites (*Alaska Geographic* 1992(1):58) declared: "If the Klondike gold rush was the inferno that forged Skagway, then the second World War was the inferno that reshaped it all over again." In 1942, more than 12,000 military troops were landed at Skagway, followed by civilian contractors and associated personnel, thus swelling the area's population by an order of magnitude. Skagway's port became an Army subport of Seattle, and the railroad was taken over by the 770th Railroad Operating Battalion. Construction on a Skagway-to-Whitehorse pipeline and the Alaska-Canada highway began the same year. Altogether more than 34,000 men were employed in highway construction through Alaska, British Columbia, and the Yukon. From a Native perspective the temporary flood of military and associated personnel into their communities and the more permanent infrastructure put in place by the military comprised a watershed event.

The roads not only the "Alcan" but the Careross and Tagish Roads–created both temporary and permanent impacts, some anticipated and others unforeseen. Cruikshank (1985) identifies five important areas of change among Interior peoples: 1) subsistence patterns, 2) employment patterns and cash income, 3) government program effects on family life, 4) effects on demography and health, and 5) changes in indigenous values.

First, changes in subsistence patterns were brought about by competition from soldiers stationed at 10-15 mile intervals throughout the highway corridor and increased access to large tracts of the Yukon via the new road system. Big game resources especially became stressed, while at the same time fur prices declined, creating a doubly harsh impact on subsistence hunters and trappers. At the same time, the increased need for cash and the availability of seasonal wage labor along the highway brought previously independent or trade-dependent Yukon Natives more directly into the fold of the capitalist wage economy, a phenomenon that had already occurred among Alaska Natives. Thus, both settlement and subsistence patterns were affected severely by the highway construction. As one Teslin elder put it: "Before the highway came and split us all in different ways, we used to feed ourselves good from this country" (Cruikshank 1985:178). These sentiments are echoed by a number of those interviewed for this project.

Second, construction of the road brought changes in employment. Men earned jobs in construction and guiding, while women "earned money taking in laundry, cleaning maintenance camps, and sewing mukluks, jackets and mitts to sell to construction workers," with some earning as much as several thousand dollars a year. The sudden influx of cash was temporary, however, and many Natives made equipment purchases, such as guns and even cars, which required sustained incomes to maintain. But few could return to more traditional technologies or lifeways after the money associated with the highway construction dried up, because it had already radically altered settlement and subsistence patterns.

The third change, government program effects on family life, came in the post-war aftermath of the highway's construction. With the post-war boom in the Canadian economy and increased access to the Yukon, came a boom in government services and mandates for Indian social services. These included educational facilities and social welfare programs. These services became concentrated in the highway communities, and constrained previously mobile and dispersed Natives to become more permanently concentrated in the highway towns. School enrollments, health care services, and transfer payments increased, but so did social problems. Government agencies and initiatives usurped

> the former functions of kin groups by providing economic support, social control, health care, and education. Many agencies dealt primarily with women who now remained in the villages with their children while their husbands left to seek work in Whitehorse or elsewhere, to hunt, to trap, or to accompany big game hunting parties...As one husband put it, "The government became my wife's old man. She didn't need me any more." (Cruikshank 1985:181)

The overall effect, then, was a weakening of traditional institutions and social roles, despite the increased material and educational benefits.

In terms of demography and health, the main threats faced by Natives were increased competition and diseases. With a large influx of men, there was more competition not only for natural resources but also for Native women. This competition led to increased promiscuity and violence toward Native women, as many soldiers formed short-term liaisons with Native women. Even more destructive were the ravages of

disease, including venereal disease. Native communities along the highway were disproportionately affected by outbreaks of dysentery, diphtheria, measles, whooping cough, mumps, meningitis, and tonsillitis. What Kelm (1998:177) stresses for British Columbia was also true for the Yukon, namely that these devastating health effects were "not the fault of faceless pathogens but also of governmental policy-makers, civil servants, and legislators who consistently sacrificed Aboriginal bodies for...development." These diseases were not successfully contained until after the war.

Alcoholism and liquor offenses also increased dramatically. Although it was illegal for Natives to purchase alcohol, soldiers and construction workers brought it to them "openly and often." "Older natives overwhelmingly maintain that the highway brought alcohol abuse and an alarming amount of violence, grief and further social disruption" (Cruikshank 1985:183).

Finally, the cumulative effect of these stressful conditions led to changes in Native values. Anti-social and deviant behavior increased, including drunkenness, domestic violence, suicide, theft, greed, and waste. Elders maintain that many of these behaviors were learned from whites. Alcohol consumption before 1940, for example, was primarily done in public and ceremonial gatherings, whereas whites often drank in small, private parties and invited Natives to do so as well. Theft was rare until young people witnessed soldiers pillaging Native caches, graves, and camps for "souvenirs."

Coastal Tlingits were similarly dubious about the value of roads into their territories. Chilkat and Chilkoot Natives had a history of resisting the construction of roads going back to the Healy's toll road from Dyea and the Dalton Trail above Klukwan. An earlier period of militarization, the founding of Fort William Seward at Haines in 1904, had brought about an initiative to construct a road from Haines toward Klukwan, which Native leaders actively opposed.

> When the road was first built from Haines up to Klukwan there were eight men from Klukwan who objected. These Indians stopped construction at Seven-mile Point...The incident over the road went as follows. The chiefs from Klukwan tried to stop the foreman named Shorty, accompanied by a group of Klukwan natives. Shorty went back to Haines to file a complaint against the Indians, and Marshal Taylor came and handcuffed the Indians and took them away. The community collected money and fought the matter in court, hiring a white lawyer named Maloney. The Indians were freed after being held by the Commissioner because there was no case. It cost the Indians more than a thousand dollars. After that took place they only built a horse trail beyond Seven-mile Point. Until just recently [during World War II] when the Government put in the road (Gus Klaney #6, Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:29).

The road to Skagway was to come later, in 1979, and was overall much less disruptive to the community than the Alaska-Canada Highways. Skagway already was well connected to the outside world through the railroad, the Alaska Marine Highway, and other longstanding economic and infrastructural links. However, the Alaska-Canada highway succeeded in linking Southern Yukon communities to each other and to Canadians south in such a way that ties to coastal communities, including Skagway, may have been weakened. Indeed, by 1950 McClellan (1950:100) reported:

> Present Tagish certainly do not identify themselves with the "outside" Tlingit, even though Tlingit is the usual language and Tlingit kin terminology is favored. The Tagish know that Tlingit is not the "real" old Tagish language, and they also know that in many ways their life is quite different from that of the coastal people. People no longer marry on the coast, and interest in going over the mountains to Skagway seems to be limited to the annual Fourth of July excursion. After all, there are trading posts in Yukon now.

People still used the train to go back and forth between the coast and the Interior, but not as often; and the Chilkoot Trail itself fell largely into disuse among Natives during the post-gold rush years, except for hunters and trappers who exploited the lower reaches on either side.

In sum, the effects of the military rush and construction of the Alaska-Canada highway on the entire Chilkoot region were profound. This period was the most stressful on Native peoples since the gold rush, particularly in the southern Yukon. As Cruikshank (1985:185) concludes, "The highway was a decisive factor bringing Yukon Indians to the marginal position they have in the present Yukon economy and society. Development has continued to take place independently of Yukon Indian communities ever since, and frequently the natives have borne the social costs." The lasting infrastructure put in place by the militarization of Alaska and Northwest Canada during World War II set the stage for future development and the ultimate shift of these territories from frontier landscapes, with strong Native minorities if not majorities, to settled areas dominated by white majorities and capitalist "corridor development" along "gravel magnet" highways.

(Footnotes)

[39] Before the 1924 White Act, Alaska Natives could only gain citizenship by formally declaring on a certificate, signed by five witnesses, that they have "adopted the habits of civilized life" and swear to "now and for all time renounce all tribal customs and relationships, so help me God" (see, for example, the Certificate of Jack David of Haines, reprinted in Light 2002:8).

Chapter V: The Contemporary Period (1950-2002)

For Native peoples of the Chilkoot Region, the last 50 years have been marked by two complementary and somewhat paradoxical developments. On the one hand, Natives have continued to be assimilated into the dominant economic structures of the region through industrial development and the expansion of the capitalist wage economy. On the other hand, indigenous peoples on both sides of the border have undergone significant political and cultural revitalization within the context of land claims, sovereignty, and multiculturalism movements in their respective regions and in the United States and Canada more generally. The increasing political role of Alaskan tribes and Yukon First Nations vis-à-vis the state and other public and private political, economic, and cultural institutions will be an important force in the future.

Wells (1978:52-54) characterizes the period between 1954-64 as the "Decade of Development" in both Skagway and the Southern Yukon. Many developments were planned, though not all of them came to fruition. A growth in mining activity in the region, and major capital investment in new mines in the Canadian interior, spurred growth in Skagway and the Yukon. During the same period, government expenditures rose significantly on both sides of the border. Key infrastructures, including new and upgraded roads, airports, locomotives, cargo handling (integrated container system), communications, marine passenger service (debut of Alaska Marine Highway ferry system in 1963), water supplies, and schools, all saw major improvements. As just one development indicator, the amount of freight hauled by the WP&YR increased approximately 50% from 90,000 tons in 1952 to 131,000 in 1964. With the advent of production in the new, high technology mines in the Yukon interior in the 1960s, this figure grew even more rapidly in the next decade, and by 1973 809,000 tons of freight, mostly ore, were being carried. The potential for mining seemed endless; plans were spawned for numerous mega projects, the grandest of all being a major hydroelectric power plant and aluminum smelter at Dyea that would produce 400 million pounds of metal a year and employ some 4,000 workers, transforming Skagway-Dyea into a major industrial city of 20,000-40,000 people. Some 47,000 acres of land were withdrawn in Dyea and Skagway in anticipation of this development, but the Canadian government nixed ALCOA's (Aluminum Company of America's) permit application due to concerns about draining the headwaters of the Yukon to generate cheap American power.

But the postwar period was lean for the tourist industry. The increase in WP&YR freight was not balanced by an increase in tourist passengers. In 1955 the railroad ended its excursion boat tours from Careross to Ben My Chree; and despite the introduction of small-scale ferry service in 1949, passenger

ship arrivals in Skagway were in decline, increasing the community's isolation and dimming prospects for further tourism development. With the advent of the Alaska Marine Highway in 1963 and its expansion in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Skagway's connections improved, tourism climbed, and the community's population began to grow after a decline in the early post-war period. Still in 1973, Skagway remained a "company town" with almost half of year- round jobs in the community tied directly to the payroll of the WP&YR (Wells 1978:55-59).

Most Natives living in the community were tied to railroad jobs in some way. Richard Dick and Si Dennis Sr. were typical of Native men who worked as longshoremen, earning decent wages and supporting their families with more or less full-time employment, including benefits. Si Dennis recalled in the KTOO series *Skagway Memories* (1998) that he began working on the docks at age 13. Andrew Beierly and other Native Pius X Mission graduates, such as the Mahles, also worked for the railroad. Female Natives were tied to WP&YR jobs primarily through marriage, although they might have worked part-time in other sectors, such as government and health. Under conditions of less than full-time work, female Natives in the community were freer to engage in other cultural activities, including the production of traditional subsistence foods and handicrafts, and participation in local organizations and clubs. Marriage of Native females to non-Native men employed in Skagway also brought Natives into the community. Yukon Native Ada Haskins came to settle permanently in Skagway after marriage to Fred Haskins, who worked for the railroad, while Marian Katzeek Kelm came with her husband Ernie, who was a customs and immigration official. In both cases, the women's connections to Skagway were multiple. Mrs. Haskins had genealogical connections to the coast (including a grandmother from Angoon), as well as material ties with Skagway through trade; her grandfather had been a packer on the trail, and as a child she frequently traveled back and forth between Carcross and Skagway with her relatives. Her presence in Skagway was also reassuring and a bridge to her relatives in Carcross who regularly came to visit on their trips to Southeast.

As Marian Kelm (described as "one of the few Alaskan Natives to reside in Skagway") also made clear in an interview with Su Rappleye (*Alaska Geographic* 1992 (1):65), her connections with Skagway were multidimensional:

> I was born on October 15th, 1931. I was raised in Haines until we moved down to Klukwan. I went to school there, and discovered I had a bad infection so I lost my hearing. I went as far as eighth grade, and that was it. We stayed out in Klukwan where I helped my mom; she taught us how to do the beading. My dad taught us how to do totem pole painting.
>
> In 1973, Ernie and me tied the knot. From Haines we went to Fairbanks and then Anchorage because he was with immigration. Then my mom (Margaret Katseek) wanted to come to Skagway. Her mother (Ann Gordon) was buried here in the old cemetery, as were her sister and a niece. We asked her where she wanted to go because the Haines station was open. My mom said, 'We'll gamble on Skagway.' So we brought her over here and she stayed with us for 12 years. She was 94 when she passed away.

Mrs. Kelm (Native name Cosghat, "Blueberry"), who passed away in 1994,

also noted that she had come to Skagway as a child to visit her cousins. Her older sister, Ruth Kasko (interview), now living in Klukwan, explained that they had an aunt, Betty Garraty, who lived in Skagway with her children. Mrs. Kelm recalled, "I used to be so scared when we go on Mr. Rapuzzi's streetcar—there was a dummy standing in the back of it. Every time my mom tried to get us on the streetcar so we could come uptown, I'd just cry; I was afraid of it."[1] Both she and her sister also noted that Skagway was very much a white town and that being an Indian was not always "popular." By the 1970s, however this was beginning to change, and by the 1980s Mrs. Kelm became involved in very public efforts to educate students and other Skagway residents about Tlingit customs.

Modern Subsistence Patterns

Conventional wisdom assumed that with integration into the mainstream capitalist economy, the subsistence economy would gradually be replaced. But this has not been the case. Among Native peoples of Alaska and Canada, subsistence remains foundational to culture and identity. The places Natives hunt and fish and the resources that they harvest, exchange, and consume inform their individual and collective sense of being in important ways. Thus, while economic dependence on traditional resources has been reduced through wage employment, the cultural significance of subsistence remains very strong. In addition to values, health is another major concern. Thus it was Marion Kelm's desire, unfortunately unfulfilled, to write a book

> ...on how we grew up, what kind of houses we lived in, what kind of clothes we wore, what kind of food we ate. Now we're eating white man's food, and we're all dying off from cancer. We never even knew anything about cancer cause we lived off the land. We have our moose meat, and deer meat, and sheep meat, goat meat, and fish—all kinds of fish, smoked salmon, salted salmon—all the seafood you could get. There was no such thing as coming down with a cold or anything like that. That's how come our people lived [and] are so healthy, because they eat off the land." (*Alaska Geographic* 1992:65)

Although aboriginal hunting and fishing rights were extinguished by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the importance of subsistence and a legal structure governing subsistence uses were enshrined in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) of 1980 and in state laws. ANILCA (Sec. 801) recognizes "the continuation of the opportunity for subsistence uses...is essential to Native physical, economic, traditional, and cultural existence." But rather than adopting a Native priority, as was anticipated by ANCSA and earlier subsistence regimes, such as the Marine Mammal Protection Act, the federal government bowed to strong political pressure from the state of Alaska to instead adopt a rural compromise, which gives priority not to Natives, but to rural residents of the state if there needs to be allocation of fish and wildlife resources. Because Skagway qualifies as a rural community, then, all residents qualify for subsistence uses under federal and state law.

KLGO, however, has no subsistence priority on its lands because it was created before the passage of ANILCA. The so-called "new parks" established under

ANILCA generally include provisions for subsistence uses of wild, renewable resources on park lands. KGLO could offer a subsistence priority but only by amending its regulations, which currently prohibit some subsistence activities, such as hunting on park lands.

Alaska Department of Fish and Game data on subsistence uses in Skagway do not distinguish between Native and non-Native patterns of subsistence. In 1987, when the last comprehensive survey of fish and wildlife harvests was completed, the Native population of the community was only six percent, approximately what it is today. Overall fish and wildlife harvests in the community averaged 48 pounds per capita, a fairly low figure for the state as a whole. Annual harvests per household averaged 137 pounds, with 68 percent of households participating directly in harvest activities and 96 percent using subsistence resources. The high use figure among households, as compared to harvest participation, suggests a high level of sharing within the community. Harvest activities themselves were largely oriented on Taiya Inlet including especially the upper inlet and Dyea and Skagway areas. Inland and high upland areas were used for goat harvests, and deer were harvested as far away as Chichagof and Admiralty Islands, due to the relative abundance of deer in those areas compared with Skagway, and their accessibility via the ferry. The primary focus of subsistence harvests in the community was on marine fish, especially salmon and halibut taken by rod and reel, marine invertebrate species (especially king and Dungeness crab), and plants (wood and various species of berries), with somewhat lower levels of freshwater fishing and goat and bird hunting. Although the ADF&G data do not separate Native from non-Native harvest areas, it would seem that use areas are less dependent on traditional land ties than on contemporary variables, such as abundance and predictability of resources, ease of access, and so on. An exception to this might be resources that are either limited to Native harvest, such as marine mammals (i.e., harbor seals) of which few are taken (none according to the 1987 survey), or do not have a high degree of palatability to non-Natives, such as eulachon and certain edible and medicinal plants. Significantly, in 1987 5.5 percent of households were estimated to have harvested eulachon, roughly comparable to the proportion of Natives in Skagway. Eulachon grease also retains its currency as a trade good. Ada Haskins (interview) noted that it was always her Uncle George Sidney's dream to get eulachon from Dyea. More recently, a plant use workshop put on by the Skagway Traditional Council with guests Ida Calmegane (Angela Sidney's daughter, from Careross) and Jessie Johnnie (an elder from Hoonah) emphasized important medicinal plants that are found in the vicinity of Dyea (figure 32). Thus, it may be that some patterns of subsistence remain distinctive to the Native community in the area. Area Natives also maintain active subsistence ties with other communities, especially Haines and Klukwan and Careross. Some Skagway Natives raised in other communities feel that Skagway is comparatively lacking in resources. Minnie Stevens (interview) put this sentiment in the form of rhetorical question: "What's an Indian doing in Skagway, where the tide comes in and out and there's nothing on the beach?"



Figure 32. Skagway Traditional Council sponsored plant walk along Taiya River, May 2003, led by Carcross-Tagish elder Ida Calmegane (center left, accompanied by STC President Lance Twitchell). (Saurabh Gupta photo)

Rise of Tourism and Establishment of Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park

The decline in mining activities in the Yukon and the closure of the WP&YR in 1982 brought economic hardship to the community, which was partially ameliorated by a gradual expansion in tourism, especially with the arrival of more and more large cruise ships in the 1980s and the opening of the Klondike Highway link to Skagway in 1978. Tourism got an even larger boost from the creation of the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park in 1976 (dedicated June 1977), which spawned a large tourist infrastructure and additional employment through its four units: Skagway, Dyea-Chilkoot, White Pass, and Seattle-Pioneer Square. The city also established The Skagway Historic District Commission by ordinance on October 3, 1972. The focus of the tourism remained squarely on the gold rush, however, and the treatment of Native history was superficial. Tlingits were recognized for their fierce, "monopolistic" control over the passes before the gold rush and as skilled but hard-bargaining packers during the rush itself. The larger context of Native history prior, during, and after the gold rush was not mentioned. An inscription on a 1966 monument placed at the Chilkoot Pass summit is emblematic of the focus that informed visitors of the park's founding:

IN 1897 KLONDIKE STAMPEDERS BY THE THOUSANDS FUNNELED OVER THIS ANCIENT INDIAN TRAIL, ENDURING INCREDIBLE DEPRIVATIONS AND HARDSHIPS. THEIR TENACIOUS SPIRIT, DOMINATING ALL OBSTACLES, CONTINUES TO INSPIRE PIONEERS VENTURING NORTH TO THE FUTURE.

Its rather exclusive focus has made the park a "difficult symbol" for area Natives, as noted by Chief Carvill of the Carcross-Tagish First Nation at his speech at the Gold Rush Centennial at Bennett in 1998. Perhaps not surprisingly, although Natives were hired early on as maintenance staff at the park, including Si Dennis Jr. and Andrew Beierly, no Natives were hired for interpretation in the early days of the park.

However, there is no record of formal objection to the park by Natives, as was the case at Glacier Bay, with one exception. Members of the Mahle family, including the remaining three Aleut (or Alutiiq) brothers from Kodiak who came to Skagway to attend the Pius X Mission school before World War II along with their descendants, objected to the park's interference with their allotment at Dyea. The three Mahle brothers—Andrew, Harlan, and Fred—had filed for their allotments in 1971 based on their occupancy and use of the area for hunting, trapping, and wood cutting beginning in the 1940s. All three tracts lay between the Dyea trailhead and Finnegan's Point on lands either bisected or bordered by the trail, potentially affecting access and maintenance and jeopardizing associated cultural resources (Jesperson and Pittenger 1986). The park raised concerns about the legitimacy of these claims and also attempted to negotiate easements that would allow for the management of the trail and associated cultural resources. The Mahle brothers received BLM approval for their allotments in the fall of 1988, with reservation of a 25-foot right of public access along the existing hiking trail. But the National Park Service filed an appeal in November 1988 and was joined by the state of Alaska. Adjudication of the case was still not complete in late 2002 as heirs of Andrew Mahle, represented by his son Jerry, were still seeking an additional 40 acres that was not deeded as part of the 1988 decision. Wrangling with the Park Service both before and after the 1988 BLM decision has also created some animosity on the part of the Mahles toward the park. Although, the primary author was able to talk with Fred Mahle Jr. by phone, he politely refused to cooperate with this study due to the park's contestation of his family's allotment. The Mahles were not particularly active in local tribal organizations at the time of the BLM decision, and there is no record of support for or against their claims in the broader Native community.[2]

Beyond this, there appears to have been no other formal opposition to the creation of the park. Indeed, when Representative Mike Miller held a hearing in Skagway on March 8, 1975 (Norris 1996: 152-153), there was no testimony opposing the bill to establish the park. It is possible that dissent was expressed in other ways, however, and it seems that some Natives shared concerns expressed within the broader public about the hordes of potential visitors interfering with their daily lives, and about losing freedoms and access to resources due to federal restrictions over area lands, especially at Dyea (cf. Wells 1978).

Native Political Revitalization and Self-Determination

Native political organization in Skagway was relatively subdued until the mid 1980s. While residents of Klukwan received both land and compensation as part of the ANCSA, there was no separate settlement for those belonging to the Haines or Skagway Native communities. In response to this omission, a group of five Tlingit and Haida communities joined together in a coalition of the "Landless" in the 1980s. These communities are Seet Kah (Petersburg), Khaachxana.áakw (Wrangell), Deishu (Haines), Teinaa Gheey (Tenakee Springs), and Kichxaan (Ketchikan). Skagway Natives were not recognized as part of this coalition, although some Natives living in Skagway have had ties to the Landless group in Haines (e.g., the Berry family) or belong to other ANCSA Native corporations. The Landless Coalition is seeking compensation for lands lost and rights to their traditional historical, burial, and subsistence lands.

Gene Strong, who moved to Skagway from Klukwan, and Minnie Stevens, who came from Pelican in 1985, were instrumental in restarting the local IRA (Indian Reorganization Act) Council under the auspices of the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Alaska (Tlingit and Haida) traditional council system. The Council became known as the Skaqua Traditional Council, or Skagway Traditional Council. Si Dennis Sr., Dorothy Dennis, Pete Johnson (originally from Carcross), and Andrew Beierly and others were active in the organization; but overall it was a small group, often meeting in Mrs. Stevens's living room. After the death of Si Dennis, Sr., Mrs. Stevens noted that it was often difficult to get a quorum, but the council was able to bank money and hoped to purchase a lot for a tribal center. Meanwhile, Gene Strong ran for city council in 1983 and was elected. During his brief tenure, before resigning to move back to Klukwan,. Strong helped bring forth plans for a Skaqua Traditional Council Center, and received support for the idea from the city, although the building never got off the ground. Mrs. Stevens ran the IRA Council until the mid 1990s when she became ill and had to move to Juneau. With assistance from Tlingit and Haida, the IRA Council was able to gain recognition as an Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) tribe in the 1980s, and subsequently, in 1993, as a federally recognized tribe through sweeping federal legislation (P.L. 103-454) that declared all IRA village councils to be tribal governments. Pete Johnson served as president briefly after Mrs. Stevens took leave to Seattle, but he too eventually left town to return to Carcross. The tribal government then fell all but dormant until it was revived by Lance Twitchell (Xhoynéi), the Lukaaxh.ádi grandson of Dorothy and Si Dennis Sr. and nephew of Si Dennis Jr. As president,. Twitchell has launched an ambitious campaign to enroll members he now lists some 28 local Natives on tribal rolls–acquire grants, and provide services to tribal members and the community at large. He has succeeded in raising money, staffing a small office, creating a website (http://www.skagwaytraditional.org), and getting the Skaqua Tribal Center off the ground. Perhaps most importantly, under his leadership the Skagway tribe has raised its profile within the community considerably. Among other things, this has led to more direct government-to-government interactions with the park. On occasion, Twitchell gives training

talks and leads workshops in the park on Native life in Skagway and Dyea. In addition, the tribe also has grants for environmental monitoring and other initiatives. In light of these developments, Twitchell is optimistic about the future of the Skagway Native community:

> Within that circle of history and ongoing development, a tiny assembly of Native people in the town of Skagway constitutes the Skagway Traditional Council (STC), a Tribe that carries the vision of a people reborn in their tradition. The STC builds community based programs that foster wellness within the community by caring for and focusing on children and elders, and works with other Tribes in the region and state to care for Native people by addressing the illnesses that have crawled into our families. In a town (that) is known to many as only a gold rush town, something wonderful is happening: a people are realizing their potential and are empowering themselves through self-governance. (www.skagwaytraditional.org/pages/history/history.htm)

Tribal politics in the Interior has also moved to a new level with the recognition of the Careross-Tagish band as a First Nation. In April 1999, there were 508 registered members of the Careross/Tagish First Nation, about half of whom live in either Tagish or Careross at least part of the year. The Careross/Tagish First Nation (CTFN) also is affiliated with the Tlingit Tribal Council. The Careross/Tagish First Nation is currently negotiating their First Nation Final Agreement and Self-Government Agreement with the federal and Yukon governments. Their final agreements will follow the outline of the Umbrella Final Agreement concerning sovereignty over lands and resources. Unlike Skagway, Careross and Tagish do not have highly developed wage economies. Many Natives remain self-employed and reliant on seasonal work in combination with subsistence production. Similarly, in contrast to the Skagway Traditional Council, the CTFN is among the community's largest employers and is involved in numerous sectors of the economy and community governance, arts and culture, and education. The CTFN also trains and hires staff to carry out special projects, including ethnographic research, as was the case for this ethnographic overview.

CTFN has been proactive in developing a working relationship with Parks Canada, which manages the Canadian side of the Chilkoot Trail, and seeks to become a central force in the developing tourist industry. The publication of *Skookum Stories on the Chilkoot/Dyea Trail* (Greer 1995), a collaborative project between the CTFN and Parks Canada, helped present a detailed history of the Chilkoot Trail from a Native perspective and paved the way for further collaboration between the First Nation and the park in improving their interpretive programs and management of cultural resources and human uses of the park. Partly as a result of this upgrade, there presently is a striking contrast between the interpretive materials on the Canadian side of the Trail and those on the Alaska side in that the Canadian materials include a much stronger emphasis on First Nations' history and culture, including contemporary lifeways. But there is still work to be done. In a recent planning document (http://www.yfnta.org/community/Profile.asp?First_Nation=1#History), the CTFN makes the following observations concerning the development of Tourism in the Chilkoot Trail and Careross region:

> It is generally felt that local Native history and culture has not yet been

adequately represented through interpretation or presentation of historic or cultural resources. The Carcross/Tagish First Nation is committed to participating in, and directing the interpretation and development of their historic and cultural resources.

Several recent and ongoing projects illustrate the potential for improving Native tourism in the region:

- Incorporating Native history into the interpretation of Chilkoot Trail National Historic Park - a cooperative CPS/Carcross/Tagish First Nation (CTFN) project.
- Highlighting the role of Native people in the construction of the Alaska Highway.
- Carcross Tlingit Dancers.
- Planning for a Carcross/Tagish Cultural Centre in Carcross.
- Presenting Native history in the Carcross Visitor Reception Centre (VCR).
- The Carcross/Tagish First Nation proposes to develop a cultural centre in Carcross. The centre would present and interpret the history, culture and art of the region's Native people in a recreated Indian Village setting. Traditional dance, Native food, arts, crafts and interpretation would be part of the facility.

In addition, the CTFN identifies a number of specific issues and opportunities to be addressed:

Tourism attraction issues to be addressed are:

- Lack of First Nations' control over how their history and culture is presented to visitors.
- Lack of First Nations' representation in regional interpretation.

Tourism attraction opportunities to be addressed are:

- Respect First Nations' responsibility to direct how Native history artifacts are developed and presented. Use the provisions set out in the Umbrella Final Agreement to facilitate this.
- Use oral histories to identify potential First Nations, products and interpretation....
- The Plan's Goal, Objectives, and Guiding Principles set the direction for tourism development in the Carcross-Southern Lakes Region.
- First Nations will be involved in regional tourism development, and their responsibility for development and presentation of the culture should be recognized...
- Support and encourage development of Carcross/Tagish cultural center, as a major attraction.(Carcross/Southern Lakes Region Tourism Development Plan 1994, pp. 1-58)

Many of these issues and objectives are also shared by members of the Skagway Traditional Council. Indeed, in our interviews for this project, we asked in what ways management of the park might be improved, and many respondents addressed these points directly, along with additional concerns and suggestions including improved communication, coordination, and cooperation with tribes and First Nations, and respect for indigenous uses of park lands, such as subsistence and commemorative activities. Suggestions for prioritizing and actions on these issues and objectives are discussed in the Conclusion and Recommendations section of this report.

Individual Adaptations: Richard Dick and Edna Helm

While tribal and First Nations organizations are responding to the development of tourism in ways that will benefit their membership, individual tribal members have also been adapting to the development of tourism

in their own unique ways during the past 50 years. In addition to selling handicrafts, some Natives became involved in other sectors of the tourist economy, including starring roles in the "Days of '98 Show" (a local burlesque-style portrayal of the gold rush) and proprietorship over tourist souvenir stores.

One of the most successful in adapting has been Richard Dick. In addition to working as a longshoreman for WP&YR, Mr. Dick also bought and managed several tourist businesses in Skagway. In addition to producing and featuring Native art in his shops, Mr. Dick also conducted live demonstrations of his art that included oral history and storytelling, as well as information on woodcarving (figure 33) Tlingit, Richard Dick came to Skagway from his Native village of Angoon in 1942-43, during World War II, in hopes of finding a job. He found odd jobs on the dock, longshoring the freight that eventually moved over the White Pass into Canada via the railroad. Altogether he spent 40 years working for the WP&YR before retiring in the 1980s. A fluent speaker of Tlingit, Mr. Dick's connections and knowledge of the Tlingit language allowed him to absorb much of the local oral history, including Native and non-Native songs, which he rearranged, retranslated, and sang and even recorded for entertainment. He also recorded albums that were a mix of Tlingit and English songs.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, Mr. Dick worked as an actor in the local Gold Rush theatre, where he entertained thousands of visitors a year, including a Texan tourist, who was to become his wife. He also became a carver and founded several gift shops,



Figure 33. Richard Dick (T. Thornton photo)



Figure 34. Richard Dick's tourist gift shop, east of Soapy Smith Museum, c. 1970
(Courtesy Richard Dick)

where he sold his own works and other local Native manufactures from both sides of the border, and told the stories behind them, renewing yet another economic tradition and earning a reputation as a local historian. One shop, strategically situated near the docks where visiting tourists disembarked, became a $20,000 a week operation (figure 34).

Now officially retired at 76, Mr. Dick is still hard at work in the tourist industry. He has a workshop in his house where he and a partner create woodcarvings and other handicrafts for the tourist trade. Mr. Dick also has commenced giving demonstrations of Native carving, augmented by oral history presentations of local Tlingit culture, at area tourist shops. Some of Mr. Dick's carvings were featured in a recent Skagway Museum exhibit. Mr. Dick feels it is important to educate people about the Native historical and the cultural context of artifacts and crafts, and thus seeks a model of interaction with tourists that is not just material but also personal. Tourists, it seems, are hungry for these kinds of connections too, judging from the strong positive response Mr. Dick has had in his recent demonstrations and appearances in local shops. In addition to being successful, his personal and educational approach to tourism is very consistent with the tradition established by Patsy Henderson of educating tourists about Native history and culture at Carcross.

On the Canadian side, Edna Helm

is an example of Carcross-Tagish First Nation's member with strong ties to the Chilkoot Trail. She has sought a creative personal niche within the modern tourist-oriented management of the park. Mrs. Helm (Skhuxh.ûtin) was born at Beaver Lake and raised in Bennett, where her grandparents ran a trapline that encompassed much of the present day Chilkoot Trail region from the American border at the summit down to the trail's Canadian terminus at Bennett. In 1978, she took over the trapline from her uncle, Dan Johnson, and continues to work it during the winter months (November – February). Mrs. Helm (figure 35) is a member of the Ishkitaan ("Fish Hole") clan of the Carcross Tagish First Nation. Hers is the only occupied home along the Chilkoot Trail, and she considers her family the "Caretakers of Bennett." In addition to trapping, Mrs. Helm also tans many of her own skins and manufactures beaded moccasins, mittens, shirts, and other handicrafts, which are available for sale both at the trail terminus at Bennett and other outlets. This is a tradition that she learned from her grandmother, Martha Johnson. Martha's daughter and Edna's aunt, Winnie Atlin (Greer 1995:114-115) recalls family's activities at Lake Bennett during the 1920s, when trains from Skagway and Whitehorse arrived daily.



Figure 35. Edna Helm (T. Thornton photo)

> In the summer, my mom and us kids used to get together and do a lot of beadwork. There's lots of tourists here then. We'd have 500 or 600 tourists a day....
>
> She [her mother, Martha Johnson] used to have a table. At one time she had a tent frame, way down there [by the train station]. She had a tent frame there, to keep the stuff out of the rain...She used to be real busy person, she used to get lots of orders, all the time...

Like many interior Carcross-Tagish Natives, Mrs. Helm's family traditionally moved with the seasons, trapping in winter, harvesting fish and plants (especially berries, plentiful around Bennett) in the summer, and pursuing waterfowl, large and small game, and a variety of other resources in the fall and spring. In between they made trips "down the trail" (usually via the White Pass train) to the Alaskan city of Skagway, where her family visited with coastal Tlingit relatives and friends and traded for marine resources like seal and eulachon oil, dried salmon, and seaweed. After the Gold Rush, interior Indians began to play host to tourists. As Winnie Atlin recalls, "When the tourist [season] is all finished we used to go to Skagway for a nice big treat. It used to cost us only three dollars to go to Skagway [by train] in them days, and that's return." The "tourist season" at Bennett became part of the annual round, as it coincided with fishing and berrying at Lake Bennett. And the White Pass railroad replaced the Chilkoot Trail as the dominant means of transport between the Interior and the coast. Mrs. Helm continues her family's customary activities along this part of the Chilkoot Trail.

Commemorative, Social, and Spiritual Activities

In addition to subsistence and tourism activities, Natives continue to use the Greater Chilkoot area for commemorative social and spiritual activities as well. These include recreational activities, such as family reunions and picnics at Dyea, and more solemn memorial gatherings to honor relatives who died in Dyea or are buried there. The Dyea Cemetery was cared for by Bill Matthews when he lived on his homestead in Dyea, and he hosted a number of Natives from the Interior and elsewhere, including Angela Sidney's family, who occasionally came to visit the graves of ancestors who had perished during the gold rush. As early as 1953, Matthews warned that the Dyea River was carving new channels and "threatening the cemetery, three homesteads, and the newly erected Taiya River bridge" (Norris 1996). The problem reached a crisis point again in the mid 1970s, when graves along the Dyea River became threatened by erosion. Many Natives, including the Jacquot family (Hank Jacquot, interview) raised their concerns about potential damage to the graves and felt that the problem was partly attributable to past construction activities in the vicinity of the site, including the construction of the bridge. Various mitigation measures were considered, including moving all of the graves to a site east of the Slide Cemetery. However, the Jacquot family, represented by Larry Jacquot, rejected this proposal in part because his family's ancestor was buried in an unmarked grave and the family felt the action might be disruptive. As Hank Jacquot (interview) put it, "How would you people feel if we dug up George Washington?" Thus, only marked

graves were moved, and relatively little was done to stabilize the river in the vicinity of Dyea Cemetery. Thus erosion remains a threat and the Jacquot family continues to voice concerns about the integrity of the area being compromised, and the possibility of this resulting in further desecration to their ancestor's grave. The descendants of the Matthews family have sought to care for their ancestors' graves at Dyea in the spirit of Bill Matthews. As noted above, in summer 2002, the family erected new markers and fence around the graves of Bill Matthews' mother (Sophia) and sisters who died in Dyea in the early post-gold rush era.

As another example of this kind of activity, a commemorative potlatch was held in Dyea in 1988 by Angela Sidney's family in honor of their relatives buried there and to restore their grave markers (figure 36), which had been "washed out." The family made a trip to the gravesite to install a stone memorial and also rented the Legion Hall in Skagway to host local participants for a meal and additional commemorative activities. Angela Sidney describes this memorial as follows:

> Well, people used to go down to deal with those Coast Indians. They used to go down after beaver season closed in springtime; then they would go down to Dyea. Then they would go over the summit — they've got a little boat — everybody's go[t] their own boat to cross Lake Lindemann, I guess, and when they got to the other end, that's the time they would go over the summit and down to the coast, to Dyea.
>
> My mother and father were there one time...1898 days... And they lived down in Dyea for three years, she said. The reason they stayed there is because she lost all her children there — three girls and one boy.
>
> ...They made a big spirit house on them [cf. figure 37 this report].
>
> ...My mother's aunt, Mrs. Dyea John, Aandaax'w, had a son, too, one boy. Well, he died, too, and then another one — that's two boys of Mrs. Dyea John. The next one was David Hammond's oldest brother... my mother's cousin. And then they lost my mothers' brother — his name was Tl'úku — I don't know his English name. And Aandaax'w built the spirit house...Those kids are the only ones that had a spirit house on them, she said.
>
> And then — I don't know what year it was — we went down to Skagway, my sister Dora and me. We went down and Mr. Matthew[s] took us to Dyea cemetery. He wanted to show us his daughter's grave: that's how come we went there. And since my mother had told me about the spirit house, we looked for it and we found it. It's okay — nothing wrong with it...but it was close



Figure 36. Grave marker placed by Angela Sidney's family at Dyea, 1988 (NPS photo by Dave Curl, 2004)

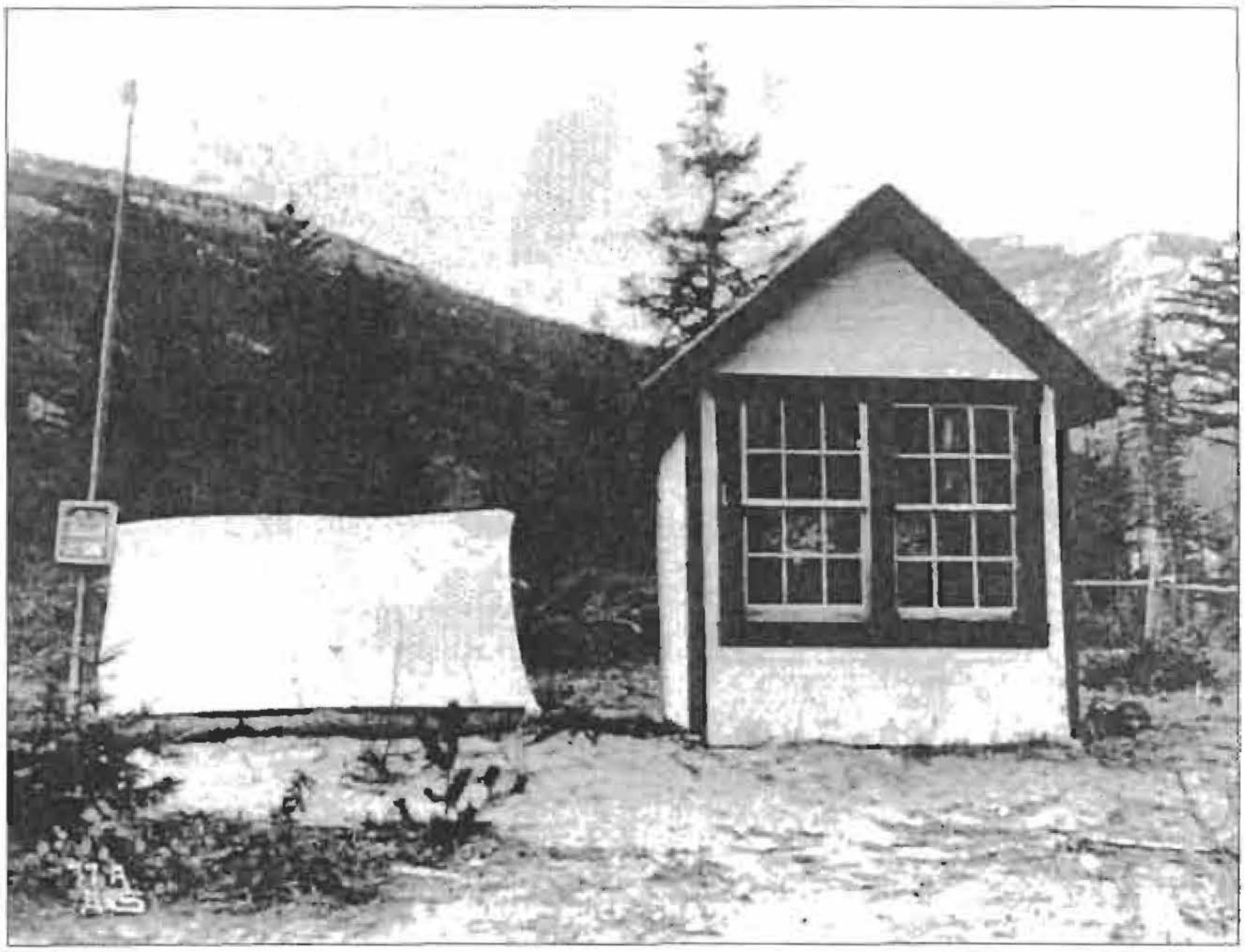


Figure 37. Spirit house at Dyea. "Grave of Kuck-Shaw, Tagish Chief, Dyea, Alaska. (E.A. Hegg, Yukon Archives Print #2528, KLGO DC2-2385)

to the water bank there. Well, it was all right, I saw that spirit house; I knew that my sisters were there, my oldest sisters.

And then another time we went down again — my daughter Ida and I went down and we went to the cemetery and that spirit house was still there yet, but the roof was kind of caving in. Not very long after, we heard about the cemetery washing out—landslide, I guess.

Then about the year before last, we went down again. Ida and I went down to visit the cemetery and here we could see that there's no spirit house there — nothing! We just saw something swimming around the grave. Just close by we saw the lumber piled up there. Maybe it caved in — maybe it washed out...we don't know — but if it washed out, I guess the lumber wouldn't be there.

And then when I came back I started thinking about it, thinking about it all the time. Gee...there's no mark on those kids. And if my mother was living, I bet she'd do something about it. I thought that way all the time. And pretty soon, I started thinking about it *all* the time....

...So I talked to my daughter, Ida. I talked to just my family first, and they said 'All right.' We collected money first for it and we sent out [for the gravestone, designed by the family]....

So we went on the seventh of October...my brother and the rest — they all came down there — even William and Winnie [Atlin] and Agnes. And we made a party. In the meantime I wrote to Austin [Hammond]...to come and visit us in Skagway...

But anyway we rented the Legion Hall: that's where we got the party....

And that day when we all got down there, it was raining like everything! And while it was raining, I just prayed and prayed so it could clear up. And sure enough, it cleared up. It stopped raining for an hour or two and we took that stone over there...and we put it up.

Of course, I told some stories there I talked to people. And we sang some songs. We sang Beaver song; that's our song, the Deisheetaan song we sing all the time.

...And we put that many names on that little stone [i.e., all the names of the deceased]—it's just a little stone, though. But we just want to know how many of them were there.

People used to go down to Dyea always all the time before Skagway—go back and forth from Tagish to the coast. It was just like going to the store—that's the only place they used to get their outfit, like flour and sugar and tea and stuff. They get enough stuff there for one whole winter's supply.

But it's not only my people [Deisheetaan] buried there; my mother's father his name was Shaakóon that's his Indian name, Shaakóon he's buried there, too. And that Skookum Jim's oldest brother, Tlákwshaan he's buried there too. That Lucy Wren Her grandma and her aunt, that Susie. I don't know how many Wolf people are buried there. My mother only told me her father's buried there, and that Susie, and Susie's sister.

Anyway, altogether us Deisheetaan collected up a thousand dollars for that potlatch...it costs us a thousand dollars to fix up that grave. (*in* Cruikshank 1991:150-154)

This narrative is poignant and illustrative of how graves and places of significance long abandoned remain alive in peoples' hearts and minds, and continue to resonate with their sense of history, identity, and purpose. Mrs. Sidney, like members of the Jacquot and Matthews families, felt a strong obligation to care for her relatives' gravesites and to honor their memories and social history at Dyea.[3] It is likely that such commemorative activities will remain an important aspect of Native interactions with Dyea and the Chilkoot Trail in the future.

As tourism in the greater Chilkoot Area approaches unprecedented levels, with more than 750,000 visitors a year, the challenges of forging a sustainable and quality tourist economy without sacrificing Native interests may become more difficult. This is not simply a matter of preserving the integrity of the existing landscape, but also of respectfully allowing living Natives to interact with the park through subsistence, recreational, entrepreneurial, commemorative, and other activities that are consistent with their own ways of being and cultural integrity.

(Footnotes)

[30] This "streetcar" was actually a 10-passenger bus or jitney that local entrepreneur Martin Itjen had built in the 1930s to haul tourists around.

[31] The local tribal organization itself may not have been active, or only have been semi-active, during that time.

[32] This is despite the fact that burial of the dead was a post-contact innovation among the Tlingit, cremation being the traditional mortuary practice, except for shamans and slaves.

Chapter VI: Conclusion and Recommendations

This ethnographic overview has attempted to assess key events, themes, patterns, organizations, and individuals in the history of Alaska Native and Yukon First Nations relationships with the greater Chilkoot Trail landscape. It has shown that coastal Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit and interior Tlingit and Tagish peoples have maintained strong ties to the Chilkoot Trail and its environs in the pre- and post-gold rush eras, as well as during the gold rush itself. This overview also demonstrates that the Native history of the region is rich and multi-textured, replete with triumph, tragedy, and unique individual and collective adaptations to what proved to be among the most stressful onslaughts of contact with non-Natives in North American history. At the same time, while the effects of the gold rush were intensive and transformative, the urbanization of northern Southeast Alaska was temporary, and area Natives were not removed from their lands or confined to reservations. Still, while the specifics of this history are unique, the broader pattern of colonial domination is one quite consistent with Native-white relations elsewhere.

Unfortunately, much of this history is not related in official park materials or the popular, written historical record; and where Natives are emphasized, it is typically from a non-Native slant. For many years, Natives and some non-Natives have felt that Alaska Native and Yukon First Nations peoples' multiple associations with this dynamic and changing landscape have not been represented in their full texture. Rather, they have been couched in rather stereotypical terms, both positive (e.g., the noble Indian, skookum packer, ingenious child of the forest, and so forth) and negative (e.g., the warlike savage, deceitful trader, inveterate drinker and gambler, and so on). These one-dimensional portrayals, combined with too many hagiographic (idealistically biographical) portraits of stampeders and of the rapacious frontier mentality of the era, have made the KLGO and Canadian parks "difficult symbol[s]" in the eyes some Natives and non-Natives (cf. Jarvenpa 1994; Carvill 1998; Neufeld 2001). Native perspectives on this history are important not only to complete the historical record, but also "to subvert official orthodoxies and challenge conventional ways of thinking" (Cruikshank 1998: xiii). Ultimately, this can lead to a reframing of the Chilkoot Trail historiography, in which we recognize, as Chief Carvill puts it, "The gold rush years form a small but painful part of this trail's long history as a Tlingit trade route."

By giving voice to indigenous perspectives, this report aims to be a constructive tool in this reframing of Chilkoot Trail history and the dynamic and complex cultures that inhabited this magnificent landscape. Before the gold rush, northern Southeast Alaska Tlingit culture was in a state of prosperity and expanding influence. Interior Tlingit and Tagish relations

were also evolving and both groups were becoming more intimately linked with their coastal Tlingit neighbors through trade, intercourse, and marriage. Similarly, coastal Tlingits and interior First Nations people also responded to contact in a wide variety of ways including strong resistance, co-optation, and a variety of individual and institutional adaptations that were strategically syncretic. Most importantly, in the post-gold rush era, the majority of area Natives have stayed on their land and remained tied to the greater Chilkoot landscape, if not the trail itself, in material, social, and spiritual ways. What is more, it is the express desire of the local tribes and First Nations to stay connected with this landscape in the future.

This objective is consistent with KLGO goals to strengthen the park's relations with area tribes and First Nations and to improve its understanding and handling of Native history, cultural resources and values, and management concerns in the park. To further progress toward the realization of Native objectives and park goals, this overview and assessment recommends the following:

1) MOAs with local Tribes and First Nations. One recommendation toward furthering these goals is to establish Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) and Agreement (MOAs) with local tribes and First Nations that outline cooperative goals and protocols for interaction. A key element in this agreement should be the maintenance of open communication flows both within and between entities. A number of respondents complained that they did not get timely information or responses from Parks Canada or KLGO on issues of importance to them. A key strategic goal in this process should be not only the maintenance of cultural ties to the park but also the revitalization of valuable ties that may have been severed or damaged as a result of historical developments or management decisions. Supporting cultural reintegration of sustainable Native relationships to the park such as subsistence, education, and commemorative activities would be mutually beneficial. In addition to enriching the park and trail site as cultural resources, it will support the maintenance of Native economic, social, and knowledge systems.

2) Interpretation and Education. A second recommendation is to improve staffing, training, and other means of support for the development and delivery of educational and interpretive programs and materials concerning the Native history and cultural heritage of the area. Hiring of local Native staff, Native student interns, and other culturally knowledgeable personnel would be an important step in this process. Also beneficial would be training and workshops, perhaps co-sponsored or put on by area Native groups, such as the Shghagwéi Traditional Plant Use Workshop 2002, which was put on by the Skagway Traditional Council with Park Service support. The development of multimedia training and interpretive programs, which feature Native images, voices, and themes, also would be useful. An outstanding example of this is the recent video biography of Skookum Jim, entitled *Keish, Skookum Jim Mason: A Man Standing in Two Worlds*, and significantly subtitled "The real story of the gold rush, as told by the descendants of the man who first discovered Klondike gold" (Keish 1999). The Chilkoot Cultural Atlas prototype CD-ROM that accompanies this report is another example of such material, developed using Native placenames and ethnogeography of the area as a

base. Further collaborative development of such resources could yield numerous products, from multimedia interpretive displays in the park to curriculum materials for local schools.

3) Native-Run Visitor Industry. A third recommendation is to encourage and assist local tribes and First Nations in their own development of tourism opportunities and concessions in ways that will connect Native organizations to the park and the visitor industry to Native organizations as appropriate. Undoubtedly, this will require further study of the present tourism industry as well as prospects for developing and shaping it in sustainable and multicultural ways. As the report indicates, both CTFN (Carcross/Tagish First Nation) and STC (Skagway Traditional Council) are eager to develop enterprises and contracts that will employ members and yield economic and other benefits to their members through tourism. Compacting with tribes to perform important park functions, such as interpretation, maintenance, ecological monitoring, cultural resource management, and so forth would support these efforts. Dyea and Bennett are both areas that could support indigenous efforts to deliver cultural heritage programs, products, and services that emphasize their historic and contemporary associations in the park.

4) Cultural and Linguistic Revitalization. A fourth recommendation is to support local tribal and First Nations efforts of cultural and linguistic revitalization. Even if they do not seem central to park management objectives, these efforts are broadly important and Native languages in particular are endangered. Parks Canada features some use of Native languages in park literature and displays. For example, every Chilkoot Trail hiker is eligible to receive, in recognition of their completing the trail, a certificate from Parks Canada that includes relevant Native designs and place-names (figure 38). Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park (KLGO) has nothing comparable. Similarly, the park should work with Native tribes and First Nations to ensure that place-names and their cultural associations, including potentially sensitive archaeological sites, are not only properly identified but appropriately protected and conserved. Tribal and First Nations could be formally linked to park informational networks, such as the official website, along with other relevant Native organizations, such as the Skookum Jim Friendship Center, which are tied to the gold rush legacy and have a mission that is consistent with that of the Park Service in terms of fostering understanding and respect for the indigenous cultures and traditions.

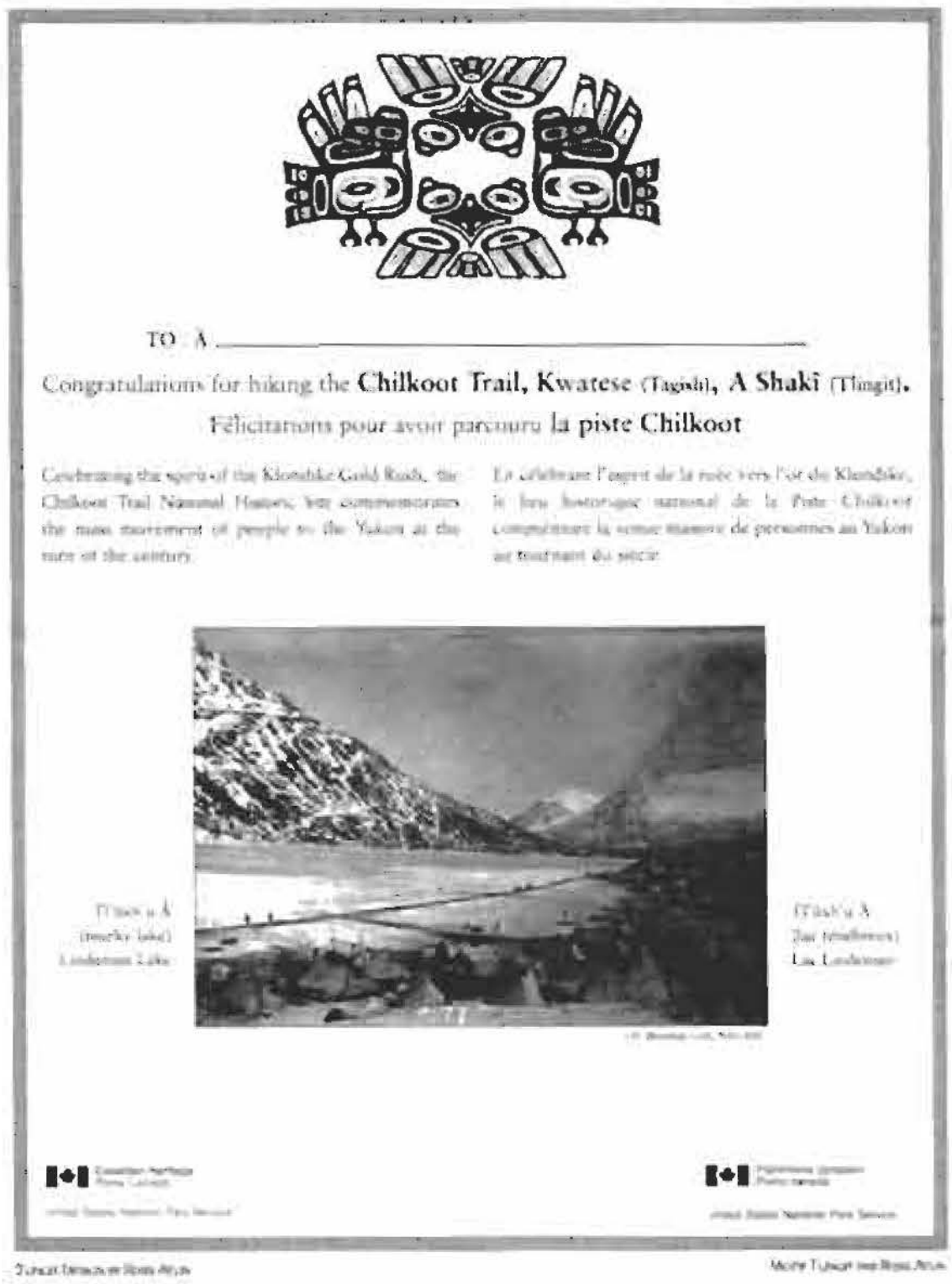
5) Protection of Sacred Cultural Landscapes. Fifth, the importance of parts of KLGO, such as Dyea, as sacred burial grounds and ancestral landscapes can hardly be overemphasized. Beyond trade routes and subsistence sites, graves and burial grounds have been consistently identified and defended as resources of the highest value to Native peoples. The value of and need for protecting these sacred cultural landscapes is also recognized in federal laws, such as the The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1966), the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, 1990), and Executive Order 13007 (concerning access to Indian sacred sites, 1996). In addition, protection of cultural landscapes is provided for under the National Historic Preservation Act through designations such as National Historic Sites and Traditional Cultural Prop-

erties. Protecting the integrity of key cultural sites is critically important, as is support for Native efforts to conserve and interact with these landscapes without undue regulation, legal encumbrance, or tourist interference. Thus, it is recommended that KLGO work with tribes to safeguard their interests in this most important area of human-environmental relations. Protecting sacred cultural landscapes requires a vital cultural resources management program with the capacity not only to protect existing sites, but also to identify and confirm non-registered sites. As an example, the uncertainty over how many Native settlements might have existed at Dyea (and where and when) might be clarified by further archaeological investigations and consultations with local tribes and First Nations.

6) Assessment of Subsistence Needs. Sixth, Native subsistence opportunities within the park should be clarified and, if appropriate, enhanced. As a pre-ANILCA park, subsistence rights within KGLO are not subject to the priorities set out within that federal subsistence law. Yet, as this ethnography has shown, there are still strong material connections among Natives and non-Natives alike to the greater Chilkoot landscape. Native organizations, such as the Skagway Traditional Council, are seeking to revitalize subsistence links to the park through activities such as the recent plant workshops, held in Dyea in May of 2002 and 2003. Given the profound importance of subsistence ties to traditional lands in maintaining individual and cultural health and identity among indigenous tribes and First Nations, this would seem a very worthwhile goal to pursue. The success of the Dyea plant walks suggests that subsistence activities can be revitalized in ways that are not only sustainable, but highly educational and of benefit to the Native and non-Native communities alike.

7) Collaborative Agenda for Future Research. Finally, a collaborative research agenda for future cultural investigations should be formulated through a community-based model, using this report and other relevant information as starting points. In addition to addressing issues and gaps in this study, the collaborative research agenda could set priorities for implementing the results of this research and organizing future work, such as the production of biographies of important historical Native figures beyond Skookum Jim. There is still a strong role to be played by professional scholars in this process, but within a network of committed Native and park personnel and organizational support.

These recommendations will improve existing relations between park and Native entities and potentially enrich the experience and benefits of tourism for all concerned. Unlike more wilderness-oriented parks, Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park already has a strong cultural heritage emphasis and legacy. The challenge is to make that cultural heritage more inclusive of the rich multi-ethnic texture of historical and contemporary human relations to the greater Chilkoot landscape and especially to bring Alaska Native and Yukon First Nations peoples from the borderlands of park history and management into the core.


TO/ À _____

Congratulations for hiking the **Chilkoot Trail, Kwatese** (Tagish), **A Shakî** (Tlingit).

Félicitations pour avoir parcouru **la piste Chilkoot**

Celebrating the spirit of the Klondike Gold Rush, the Chilkoot Trail National Historic Site commemorates the mass movement of people to the Yukon at the turn of the century.

En célébrant l'esprit de la ruée vers l'or du Klondike, le lieu historique national de la Piste-Chilkoot commémore la venue massive de personnes au Yukon au tournant du siècle.

T'aash u Ä (marsh lake) Lindeman Lake

T'aash'u Ä (no translation) Lac Lindeman

Figure 38. Parks Canada certificate of congratulations with Native design and place-names (Parks Canada)

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Appendix A: List of Key Clan Leaders

Name [English Name] (Alternates)	Clan (Moiety)	Primary Associations (Dates)
Lunáat' [No English Name] Klanot, Klanaut, Klanott, Klanotte, Lunat, Thlunaat, etc.)	Lukaaxh.ádi (Raven)	Chilkoot, Dyea (1850?-1888)
Koh-klux [Shotridge] (Claeach, Chatrich, Chatrich', Hole-in-the-Cheek, Klawkutch, Klow-kutch, Klakautch, Ka-Klutch, KuKlutch, Kho Klutch, Kloh-Kutz, Klotz-Kutch, Klotz-Klotz, Klokutz, Kohklux, Koh-Klutch, Shathitch, Tschartritsch, etc.)	Ghaanaxhteidí (Raven)	Chilkat, Klukwan (1819?-1889)
Daanawáak [No English Name] (Danawak, Donawok, etc.)	Lukaaxh.ádi (Raven)	Chilkoot, Dyea (1820?-1880?)
Keish [Skookum Jim Mason]	Dakhl'aweidí	Careross-Tagish, Dyea (?- 1916)
Indayaneik [Swatka] (Endi-ank, Schwatka, . Schwatk'i, etc.)	Daghisdinaa	Chilkat-Klukwan (1850?-1910?)

Appendix B: List of Figures and the Map

Page and Chapter	Figure Number and Caption
6, Ch. I	Figure 1. Lukaaxh.ádi clan leader Ray speaks to Elder Jessie Johnnie (seated) and other Alaska Native and Canada First Nations participants at a Skagway Traditional Council intertribal meeting in Skagway, May 30, 2003. Left to right: Jeremiah Gatensby (hat), David Gatensby, Ida Calmegane, Crystal Reid (standing), Ray Dennis, Lance Twitchell, Jessie Johnnie (seated), and James Kashuk, and unidentified participant (lower right). (Saurabh Gupta photo)
23, Ch. II	Map. Native landmarks in the greater Chilkoot area (Courtesy Southeast Native Subsistence Commission, Map-Alaska)
24, Ch. II	Figure 2. Interior trade routes (Courtesy Lost Moose Publishing, Whitehorse, YT, CAN. From p. 25, Chilkoot Trail, Heritage route to the Klondike. David Neufeld and Frank Norris, 1996. Parks Canada)
55, Ch. II	Figure 3. "Indian Town" at Skagway, 1897 (East of the railroad, above the wharf) (LaRoche, #2086, Library of Congress #LC-USZ62-69436, KLGO SV25-1430)
62, Ch. II	Figure 4. Davidson's Mapping of Chilkat-Chilkoot Territories (Davidson 1928)
80 Ch. II	Figure 5. Relative Time Spent on Activities c. 1930 (after Oberg)
81, Ch. II	Figure 6. Time Budget for Resource Gathering, c. 1930 (after Oberg)
82, Ch. II	Figure 7. Relative Time Spent on Storage Activities (after Oberg)
83, Ch. II	Figure 8. Geography of Patty Goenette's Subsistence Round, early 1900s (from Goldschmidt and Haas 1998)
88, Ch. II	Figure 9. Geography of Angela Sidney's Subsistence Round (from Cruikshank 1990)
125, Ch. III	Figure 10. Barefoot Tlingit boy packer at Dyea, 1897 (Winter & Pond, Yukon Archives Print #2307, KLGO TV17-2409)
134, Ch. III	Figure 11. Mrs. Louise George Davis, 1882-1972, daughter of Lunáat' (Klanot) and grandmother of Hank and Larry Jacquot. Mrs. Davis was among the first to express concern over the erosion of Indian graves at Dyea, including that of Lunáat', who was said to have been buried near the banks of the Taiya River after his death in the 1888 Packer War. (Courtesy Hank Jacquot)
165, Ch. III	Figure 12. Dyea frog (Boreal Toad—*Bufo boreas boreas*) spotted during Ida Calmegane's plant walk along Taiya River, May 2003. (Saurabh photo).

Page and Chapter	Figure Number and Caption
182, Ch. III	Figure 13. "George Shotridge, George Kaushty, and Koo-too-at, The Three Chiefs Who Will Give the Big Potlatch at Klukwan, Aug. 20th, 1900." (Skagway Museum & Archives E01-415)
184, Ch. III	Figure 14. Ka-sh-ak, Skondoo (shaman), and Swatka (guide). (Courtesy Sheldon Museum Collection)
195, Ch. III	Figure 15. Chief Isaac, Lukaaxh.ádi leader (seated), with Chief Daanawáakh (standing at left) and unidentified boy (right) at Dyea. "Known for their strength and business acumen, many Tlingits were attracted to the one dollar per pound wage paid for packing supplies over the Chilkoot Trail (c. 1897)." (LaRoche #2006, Library of Congress #MM III-2, KLGO HW18-1436)
200, Ch. III	Figure 16. Bill Matthews overlooking graves of his wife Sophia and daughters Julia and Mabel at the Dyea Town Cemetery, c. 1960. (Paul Sinclc, courtesy Norman L. Smith)
210, Ch. IV	Figure 17. Koogeina (ANB Sash) Commemorative of Interior-Coast Trade and Gold Rush (Courtesy of Alaska State Museum)
214, Ch. IV	Figure 18. Pullen homestead claim at Dyea (Bureau of Land Management, Plat of U. S. Survey No. 1249, KLGO files)
217, Ch. IV	Figure 19. "Indian Town" by wharf, c. 1910 (Courtesy of Stan Selmer)
219, Ch. IV	Figure 20. *The Fornance*, provided passenger service to Skagway (Courtesy Sheldon Museum Collection)
220, Ch. IV	Figure 21, Marilyn Wilson's sketch of Skagway Native quarter in the 1930s.
223, Ch. IV	Figure 22. Pupils at Pius X Mission School (Skagway Museum & Archives 93.01.696.1)
230, Ch. IV	Figure 23. Skagway school children in Indian garb (Alaska State Library, Paul Sinclc Collection, #PCA75-187, KLGO SP98-365)
231, Ch. IV	Figure 24. Cora Benson (second row, far left), Skagway public school, Class of 1908 (Skagway Museum & Archives, 93.01.391)
233, Ch. IV	Figure 25. Lukaaxh.ádi clan leader Ray Dennis (hidden) displays the Sockeye Point Chilkat Blanket (Xh'aakw X'aayi Naaxein), a sacred possession of his clan, illustrating Lukaaxh.ádi history in and claims to the Chilkoot area, at a Skagway Traditional Council intertribal meeting in Skagway, May 30, 2003. (Saurabh Gupta photo)
235, Ch. IV	Figure 26. Pius X Mission, c. 1935 (Skagway Museum & Archives, L.B. Jones Collection-PX-1)

Page and Chapter	Figure Number and Caption
241, Ch. IV	Figure 27. Maggie Kadanaha with Mike Kadanaha and Smith family from Haines (Sheldon Museum Collection)
242, Ch. IV	Figure 28. Maggie Kadanaha (center) with Marion Dennis (left) and Mary Judson (Courtesy of Barbara Kalen, Dedman's Photo)
242, Ch. IV	Figure 29. Maggie Kadanaha with Howard Warden, Louise Martin, and Sam Jackson (Daanawáakh) (Courtesy of John Poling Trust)
245, Ch. IV	Figure 30. Maggie Kadanaha works in front of her house in Skagway, weaving baskets for tourists. She also displays examples of her moccasins, as well as her clan emblems (including the frog). (Skagway Museum & Archives. L.B. Jones Collection-MK-1)
247, Ch. IV	Figure 31. Patsy Henderson at Carcross train station demonstrating subsistence techniques (Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, #2058)
257, Ch. V	Figure 32. Skagway Traditional Council sponsored Plant Walk along Taiya River, May 2003, led by Carcross-Tagish elder Ida Calmegane (center left, accompanied by STC President Lance Twitchell). (Saurabh Gupta photo)
262, Ch. V	Figure 33. Richard Dick (T.Thornton photo)
263, Ch. V	Figure 34. Richard Dick's tourist gift shop, east of Soapy Smith Museum, c. 1970 (Courtesy Richard Dick)
264, Ch. V	Figure 35. Edna Helm (T. Thornton photo)
266, Ch. V	Figure 36. Grave marker placed by Angela Sidney's family at Dyea, 1988 (NPS photo by Dave Curl, 2004)
267, Ch. V	Figure 37. Spirit house at Dyea. "Grave of Kuck-Shaw, Tagish Chief, Dyea, Alaska. (E.A. Hegg, Yukon Archives Print #2528, KLGO DC2-2385)
273, Ch. VI	Figure 38. Parks Canada certificate of congratulations with Native design and place-names (Parks Canada)

APPENDIX C: LIST OF CONTACTS AND INTERVIEWS (*DENOTES FORMAL INTERVIEW.)

Name	Community
Andrews, David*	Haines
Atlin, Richard	Careross
Atlin, William*	Careross
Atlin, Winnie*	Careross
Auston, Annie*	Careross
Baker, Charlene	Careross/Juneau
Beierly, Andrew*	Skagway
Benoit, Maria (CTFN/SJFC)	Careross/Whitehorse
Berry, Dave (CIA)	Haines
Berry, Don	Skagway
Boynton, Ken*	Skagway/California
Brady, Jeff	Skagway News
Brouillette, Charles*	Haines
Brown, Phyllis	Skagway
Calmegane, Ida*	Careross
Careross/Tagish First Nation (CTFN)	Careross
Carvill, Andy (CTFN, Kaa Shaade Hani)	Careross
Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska (CCTHITA)	Juneau
Chilkoot Indian Association (CIA)	Haines
Chilkat Indian Village (CIV)	Klukwan
Chisholm, Dianne (Yukon Archives)	Whitehorse
Cooper, Doreen	Skagway
Cresswell, Danny (CTFN)	Careross
Cruikshank, Julie	Vancouver
Dauenhauer, Nora and Richard	Juneau
Dennis, Dorothy	Skagway
Dennis, Ray*	Haines
Dennis, Si Jr.*	Skagway
Dick, Richard*	Skagway
Dorthea & George Charleston (Northwest Originals Co.)	Skagway and WA
Gatensby, David	Careross
Gatensby, Jeremiah	Careross
Kulp, Gladys (AK State Historical Library)	Juneau
Grant, Kitty*	Careross
Greer, Sheila	Edmonton
Hamson, Leslie	Whitehorse
Haskins, Ada*	Skagway
Hedgecock, Christine (Parks Canada)	Bennett/Whitehorse
Heinmiller, Lee	Haines
Helm, Edna*	Bennett/Careross
Henrickson, Steve (AK State Museum)	Juneau
Hope, Andy	Juneau
Hotch, Evelyn*	Klukwan
Hotch, Joe*	Haines/Klukwan
Jackson, Dorothy	Juneau
Jacquot, Edith*	Haines
Jacquot, Hank*	Haines
Jacquot, Larry	Skagway
James, Frank*	Careross
Jimmie, Charles Sr.*	Haines
Joe, Margaret*	Careross
Johnson, Edith*	Careross
Johnson, Linda (Yukon Archives)	Whitehorse
Johnson, Peter	Careross
Jones, Cynthia	Haines
Jones, Heather	Careross
Kalen, Barbara	Skagway
Kashuk, James	Careross
Kasko, Ruth*	Klukwan
Katzeek, Anna*	Juneau
Katzeek, David	Juneau
Kelm, Diana (CIA)	Haines
Kendall, Corinne (CTFN Project Coordinator)	Careross
Kitka, Herman*	Sitka
Light, David	Haines/Anchorage
Lochman, Dan*	Careross
Mahle, Fred	Skagway

Name	Community
Mahle, Robert	Skagway
Mallot, Byron	Juneau
Marks, John*	Juneau
Martin, Harold (CCTHITA)	Juneau
McLean, Doris	Careross
Menke, Kathleen (Sheldon Museum)	Haines
Mitchell, Shirley (Miner's Cache)	Skagway
Munns, Judy (Skagway Museum)	Skagway
Neufeld, Dave (Parks Canada)	Whitehorse
Paddy, Albert	Klukwan
Parham, Bruce (National Archives)	Anchorage
Plummer, Sioux	Juneau
Rapuzzi, Bob	Skagway
Reid, Crystal (CTFN Interviewer)	Careross
Schinkel, Clara	Whitehorse
Schnabel, Debra (CIA)	Haines
Selmer, Stan*	Skagway
Skagway Traditional Council (STC)	Skagway
Smarch, John*	Careross
Smith, Carleton*	Juneau
Smith, Fanny*	Careross
Smith, Norman	Nebraska
Smith, Sophia (CTFN Interviewer)	Careross
Stevens, George*	Klukwan
Stevens, Margaret*	Klukwan
Stevens, Minnie*	Skagway
Stitt, Richard Juneau (CCTHITA)	
Strong, Gene	Klukwan
Strong, Kimberley	Klukwan
Tizya, Ethel (CTFN)	Careross
True, Anna*	Skagway
Twitchell, Lance (STC)	Skagway
Warren, Ed	Klukwan
Wedge, Dora	Careross
Wheelock, Angela (Yukon Archives)	Whitehorse
White, Frank	Juneau
Williams, Terry (Inside Passage Arts)	Skagway
Wilson (Wright), Marilyn	Haines
Wilson, Paul	Haines
Worl, Rosita (Sealaska Heritage Institute)	Juneau
Wren, Lucy*	Careross

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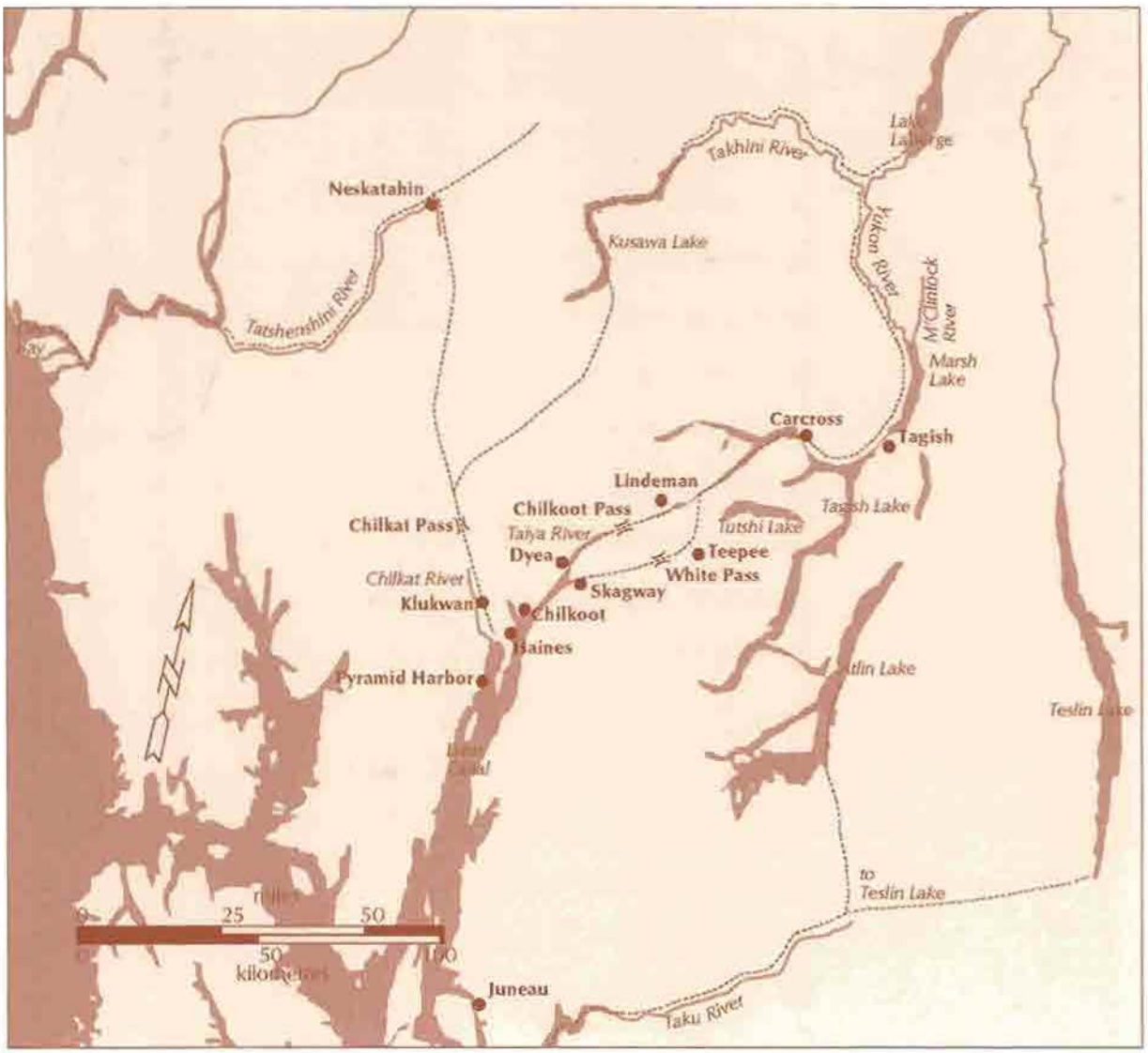


Figure 2. Interior trade routes
(Neufeld and Norris 1996. P. 25)
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