

Traditional Tlingit Relationships with Native Alaska Fauna

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Joshua T. Ream
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Introduction

The Tlingit people have long thrived in a land of plentiful resources and spectacular beauty. The temperate rainforest of Southeast Alaska, with its towering moss-covered Sitka Spruce and its vast archipelago-protected shores have provided these vibrant coastal peoples with rich harvests of marine and terrestrial flora and fauna for millennia. Many generations of Tlingit have interacted intimately with these local environs and have developed a culture that is deeply rooted in the spiritual relationships derived therein. This paper reflects on the importance of these relationships, particularly as they relate to the human-animal bonds of a people who traditionally, and in many cases contemporarily, view all life as kindred spirits, coequal to our own.

The Tribes

Among the first concepts that must be understood in perceiving the importance of animals in Tlingit culture is the fluidity between cultures in the Pacific Northwest. While modern social scientists often prefer to draw distinct cultural lines within space and time, this is difficult if not impossible to do in the Pacific Northwest where trade, intermarriage and frequent migrations caused extensive hybridization of cultures. The Tlingit did not traditionally think of themselves as one nation, and self-identification was often based on one's clan rather than a tribe or culture. Many clans existed in several locations and within several tribes. What we now refer to as separate cultural groups was often defined as separate tribes rather than separate cultures (Thornton 2012). The recognized Tlingit tribes are merely geographical groups and they did not have any formal organization since land was controlled by clans and households (Olson 1967). The chiefs were clan chiefs, not tribal chiefs, and a ranking among chiefs was indicative wealth, lineage class status and the size of the clan rather than a standardized hierarchy (Olson 1967).

Even among the Tlingit, many clans are thought to have originated within other cultural groups, a concept that is supported by clan origin stories. A well accepted theory is that the indigenous people of the coast from long ago were pushed south by glaciers during the last ice age. As the glaciers melted and temperatures warmed, people began settling north once again. This is why the southernmost Tlingit are believed to be the oldest (other forms of cultural evidence support this). As these peoples made their way north, they likely encountered other migrating groups from the interior and from the North.

The Tlingit interacted frequently with many groups, a few examples of which include the Eyak, Atna, Chugach, Tagish, Southern Tutchone, Tahltan, Tsimshian, and Haida. All of these groups shared some degree of similarity in culture and in their use of natural resources. Since most of these cultures were oral with no written record, many traditional practices have been forgotten and lost to history. The recent written accounts are relatively modern, they are often comprised of sporadic notes, and they were frequently recorded by western scientists lacking the knowledge of language and place necessary to fully comprehend the nature of cultural concepts. Despite this, these notes are often all that we have to rely on for glimpses of the past. In this manner, it is important to again consider the fluidity of these

interacting Pacific Northwest cultural groups in order to paint a more holistic picture of their shared histories.

The Land

A thorough understanding of the Tlingit sense of “place” is necessary if one is to understand the relationships that these people have with organisms on the landscape. As Gabriel George, a Tlingit fisherman once put it “These lands are vital not only to our subsistence, but also to our sense of being as Tlingit people” (Thornton 2012). It is widely accepted that indigenous peoples often bear a special relationship to the land where their ancestors have survived for hundreds if not thousands of years. As Dr. Thomas Thornton describes it in his book “Being and Place Among the Tlingit” (2012):

“Especially among hunting and gathering peoples, the importance of those relationships is exemplified in their basic metaphysics, which posits a cosmos that is alive, sentient, empowered and moral. This animated, enchanted view of the universe as inhabited by a community of beings constantly in communication and exchange with human beings underlies processes of interanimation (Basso 1996) that define and enliven people in places and places in people.”

Dr. Thomas Thornton is by far among the leading contemporary academic experts on the Tlingit relationship to place and has published extensively on this topic. Interestingly, ethnographer George Thornton Emmons (of no apparent relation) who studied the Tlingit in the latter part of the 19th century, and was later published with edits from Frederica de Laguna in their prominent book “The Tlingit Indians,” offered little on the significance of place to the people beyond a general description of the place as space.

Indeed the epistemology, cosmology and worldviews of the Tlingit people are derived from their relationship with the land. According to Thornton, three concepts are critical in the Tlingit definition of place, a term that is far more than simple locality. These include space, time and experience.

Local spaces are very important, as these are the landscapes and environs that surround a person throughout their lives. Though the Tlingit traditionally travelled frequently for trade, ceremony and war, their spiritual relationship to local lands controlled by the tribe were those of utmost importance to the individual. Practically every landmark or geographic feature was associated with a spiritual essence and important history. This brings us to the time and experience components.

Tlingit believe that they have inhabited local and nearby lands since time immemorial though many clans also have origin stories on how they arrived at specific locations and became part of local K̄wáans (tribes). Regardless of the exact duration of habitation, there is no question that the Tlingit have inhabited Southeast Alaska for many generations. This time period on specific lands creates a depth of knowledge through time. It is then the experiences shared through oral histories that connect the people so intimately to place.

Geographic sites are included as at.oow or “owned things” and serve as iconic and emblematic identities of clans (Thornton 2008). Lydia George, an elder from Angoon, explained to Thornton that there are four items that make a place sacred to the Tlingit (Thornton 2008). These include a name, a story, a song (usually with an associated dance) and a design or crest. Thornton (2008) explains that:

“Together they [name, story, song and place] constitute a nexus of sacredness that endows places, and the people who possess them, with profound webs of significance. In the potent context of ritual, at.oow may go beyond multimediacy and take on spiritual agency such that participants sense they have been literally transported to ancestral places.”

As mentioned, the concept of place ownership contains both spatial and temporal elements. Through time, experiences on the land have culminated in important oral histories. These too are considered at.oow and are typically passed within a clan along matrilineal descents. Since many stories reflect lessons of survival on the landscape and the persistent subsistence lifestyle of the Tlingit people, fauna encountered on the landscape are frequently characters in these narratives. Often, depictions of these organisms would be taken as at.oow in the form of a crest, owned by the clan. These important cultural emblems will be discussed later.

Religion, Harvest and Pets

Hunting and fishing were the predominant occupations of traditional Tlingit men and these activities were considered absorbing, exciting and dangerous (de Laguna 1972). Hunters and fisherman were said to be taking lives akin to their own and were thus presented with supernatural dangers requiring skill, endurance and equipment in addition to spiritual cleanliness and preparation (de Laguna 1972). Killing was a religious rite and necessitated proper pre and post kill observances by both the hunter or fisherman and his wife (de Laguna 1972). Failure to abide by these would result in punishment for the individuals and their relatives both in this life and in the next (de Laguna 1972).

Raven is often thought of as the Tlingit symbol of creation though a seemingly more powerful being referred to as “Animal Mother” was described among the inland Tlingit and Tagish as the creator of all animals (McClellan 1975). Animal Mother does not appear as a Yeik (spirit) but is said to have created the rules for how humans were to interact with her children (McClellan 1975). She was said to periodically call various animal species back to her for rejuvenation but to have long severed direct contact with humans (McClellan 1975).

The Tlingits traditionally believed that animals could only be killed if they were willing to, thus providing a favor to man only if they were purified and respected the dead body (de Laguna 1972). Every animal killed had to be told why it was killed (de Laguna 1972). The rules on how people were to treat the dead bodies of animals were provided by Animal Mother and following these would allow the animal’s spirit to be reconstituted and returned to the world for humans to kill again (McClellan 1975). In particular, this being was adamant that no game animal should be hunted just for its skin, because if the meat is not also consumed, her children would suffer (McClellan 1975).

The taking of any animal life in traditional Tlingit culture was respected as a necessary yet spiritual experience demanding reverence and often ceremony. A life was never to be taken unnecessarily because each organism and even inanimate objects were believed to have spirits (Emmons 1991). Emmons describes this in a bit more detail:

“The shadow cast by the tree in the sunshine [was its spirit], and the winter wind, hoon, was the breath of the ice spirit. Animal species formed families [clans] like those of men, and in the early days of the world, all living beings were much closer to one another. The old legends are full of intimate relations that existed between animals and men; through capture (of men by animals, and sometimes of animals by men), transformation (from animal to human form and the reverse), and union (between them). In these stories, the progeny of such mixed unions were generally of the mother’s species.”

Animals were always treated with respect, were appealed to before capture and rituals were conducted upon their death to please their spirits (Emmons 1991). Stories of bad luck and punishment of those who abused, needlessly killed, harmed, or insulted animals and birds were frequent (Emmons 1991). Torturing or laughing at an animal was believed to bring misfortune, death, and punishment in the afterlife (de Laguna 1972). It was also taboo to kill a wounded animal (unless it was wounded in the process of hunting it) as sparing the life brought good luck (de Laguna 1972). In this manner, Skookum Jim (discussed later) was lead to gold in the Klondike for saving a dying frog (de Laguna 1972). In addition, there were special obligations for clans to protect their crest animals from wanton abuse (de Laguna 1972).

It is common in Tlingit oral history for people who offended other forms of life to be taken by them either for a brief period or permanently (Dauenhauer 1990). Animals were treated as kin, and the degree of separation between species that is recognized by western culture was negligible to the traditional Tlingit. In many cases this association remains present even today. An important legend describing the origins of this relationship was described by Emmons:

“One of the oldest legends, supposed to go back to the childhood of the world when darkness reigned, recounts how the ‘night people,’ who seem to have been the only inhabitants of the earth, refused to give food to the Raven Creator, so he punished them by opening the box he had stolen, which contained the Sun. This flooded the earth with light, which so frightened the people that they fled in all directions. Those seeking the woods became land animals; others plunging into the sea were transferred into fish, seals, etc.; some jumping upward flew away as birds; while those remaining retained their human form. So it was reasoned that all humans and animals have the same attributes, and differ only in form. Even this might change, or at least appear different under certain conditions, as when the bear, Sea Lion, or other animals, appeared as men when the approached and carried off women whom they took to wife.”

Emmons suggests that stories such as these elucidate clan claims to crests and the acquisition of spiritual powers by shamans and others. Before hunting an animal or fishing, certain ritual practices needed to be adhered to in order to have a successful harvest but also to prevent trouble. On the day of the harvest activity, the hunter or fisherman was to rise before dawn, bathe in the sea, fast and abstain from relations with his wife (Emmons

1991). While the men were out, the wives were to be quiet, to rest, to remain calm and sometimes fast as her actions were said to influence the animals that were being pursued (Emmons 1991). The wife was also not to untie a string around her waist until her husband returned since this was representative of the husband's life. In addition, charms having special spirit power were often carried that were believed to make the hunter invisible to his prey and to prevent bear attacks. When humans were in danger of being attacked by a wild animal, they often appealed to it for pity, but someone having the animal as their crest would be more likely to escape injury (de Laguna 1972).

No matter which species was being pursued, the hunter had to pray to it and its spirit, justifying the killing and asking forgiveness (de Laguna 1972). Once killed, the dead animal was addressed in a species-specific song and was thought to be heard by all members of that species (de Laguna 1972). The heads of land animals were often warmed by the fire, then covered up and faced toward the mountains while those of sea mammals were returned to the sea (de Laguna 1972). The treatment that a carcass received was critical since this was said to effect its soul as well, which is why salmon bones were always burned so that the animal can be reincarnated and return again in subsequent years (de Laguna 1972). The fish's body was really the image of the "true fish" – its soul – and if the bones were not burn to release its spirit, the fish was believe to truly suffer and die (de Laguna 1972).

Traditionally, the Tlingit did keep some animals in their communities and households though this was not necessarily in the same sense as our modern pets. Children often had young animals as play things though the first true pets were European introduced cats arriving sometime in the 1880s (de Laguna 1972). Though dogs were domesticated by the Tlingit and greatly respected, they were not considered pets (de Laguna 1972).

De Laguna recorded Ravens as pets in Yakutat and was told that "no member of the Eagle-Wolf moiety would be permitted to keep a raven captive. The bird would have to be free to come and go at will. Otherwise it would be like holding a member of the opposite moiety as a slave" (de Laguna 1972). Another of her informants had been given bear cubs as pets in her childhood by her L'uknaḡádi brother which her mother apparently breastfed (de Laguna 1972). Because bears were crests of the opposite moiety, de Laguna suggests that they were not really considered captive, giving the term some flexibility.

More on the spiritual relationships to animals is presented below with a descriptive look at the importance of subsistence harvest in the Pacific Northwest.

Subsistence

The Tlingit utilized the plentiful bounty of their marine environment, which provided them with a great wealth of subsistence foods. Given the difficulty of land travel within the coastal mountain range of Southeast Alaska, hunting and trapping of land mammals was secondary to the marine harvest (Emmons 199) though it did occur from time to time. The exception to this rule is among the three Tlingit bands that occupy inland areas of British Columbia and the Yukon Territory, namely the Teslin Band, the Atlin Band and the Tagish.

The distinction between inland and coastal Tlingit is important because of the different resources that each group had access to, the similarity in their cultural beliefs and practices, as well as the frequent trade that occurred between the two. Despite the use of the Tlingit language and their shared characteristics, Inland Tlingit and Tagish were considered “gunana” to the coastal Tlingit – foreigners or strange people (McClellan 1953). The Atlin and Teslin bands are probably relatively recent migrants from the coast and it is thought that, until the middle of the 19th century, they only visited the interior from their homes in the upper Taku region rather than have permanently located there (McClellan 1953). Intensified economic motives likely lead to Tlingit infiltration of the interior but it may have also been a refuge for social outcasts from the coast (McClellan 1953).

The Teslin and Atlin Bands are thought to have originated among the Taku peoples of the Juneau area lending to their true Tlingit heritage. The Tagish (considered by many to be a cultural group of its own) share extensive cultural practices with the Tlingit, including clan and personal names. While they primarily speak Tlingit today, they spoke their own dialect of Athabascan until recently. Their dialect of Tlingit sounds “crooked” to many Tlingit individuals in Teslin and Atlin (McClellan 1953). They use Crow and Wolf moiety distinctions as well as Tlingit Clan names. These groups often refer to Ravens as “Crows” and may not make a distinction between the two birds. Tagish is probably a highbred of Tlingit and Athabascan.

George Emmons’ work is perhaps the best published account of traditional hunting and fishing practices of the coastal Tlingit peoples, while Catherine McClellan has documented the practices of their inland counterparts. The interior groups depended heavily on freshwater fish rather than salmon as well as on caribou, moose, small game and birds (McClellan 1953). Unlike the coast, the interior was a much harsher environment to exploit (McClellan 1953). An attempt will be made here to give insight on some of the differences in harvest content and practices between these groups.

An understanding of the importance of native flora and fauna on the landscape as food to the Tlingit people is the next step to understanding their physical and spiritual relationship with specific species. While food resources were usually rather abundant along the Northwest Coast of North America, many hours of hard work and an intimate understanding of local conditions were required for a successful harvest. The harder that an individual worked to obtain sufficient quantities of high quality foods, the more likely he or she was to be respected and placed within a higher social class.

The way of life of many indigenous hunting and gathering societies is often described in terms of their annual cycle – the seasonal pursuit of resources based on availability. Emmons did not provide a systematic account of this and as De Laguna suggests (Emmons 1991) this is likely because seasonal activities varied from tribe to tribe depending on their location. This is understandable since Tlingit territory spanned more than 1,000 Kilometers from North to South and encompassed a range of habitats, spawning grounds and inland corridors. Emmons did however include many sporadic notes, which were later compiled by De Laguna.

In formulating a generic annual cycle, it is logical to start in the spring when resources begin to once again emerge from their winter dormancy. During the earliest spring months, the Tlingit closest to the mainland would hunt and trap bear, martin, land otter, deer, porcupine, marmot, beaver and mink while those on the islands would hunt fur seals in April and May (Emmons 1991). Martins were prized for making the fur robes of high class individuals and mink were considered similar to the dreaded land otter (McClellan 1975). Beavers were considered powerful spirits (McClellan 1975). Tree squirrels were eaten during starvation events but their nests were sometimes used as menstrual pads or as baby diapers (McClellan 1975). The Sitka Black-tailed Deer was a symbol of peaceful unaggressive behavior (de Laguna 1972). In fact, hostage negotiators exchanged in peace ceremonies were called deer.

Inland Tlingit harvested moose and caribou when possible (McClellan 1975). Canada (Gray) Jays were known to gather in flocks around a hunter and his moose kill and some Tlingit would talk to these for good luck in future hunting. Before leaving the kill site, a piece of fat would be left in the brush for these birds (McClellan 1975).

Many taboos surrounded the use of moose and caribou. Several parts of these animals were taboo as food, particularly for young boys and girls during puberty (McClellan 1975). Caribou fat was a delicacy forbidden to a girl for six months after her first period as it was thought that eating this would cause her to become too fat in her old age (McClellan 1975). A moose fetus was a delicacy and often offered to the elderly (McClellan 1975). Moose and caribou grease were never to be missed unless the hunter was looking to kill a Grizzly which would always seek the source of this mixture (McClellan 1975).

According to an Inland Tlingit informant of McClellan (1975):

“It’s takas [taboo] for a young boy to eat moose paunch, or the hooves, and a moose calf- and the soup off the head- because you will sweat so much when you get old. And don’t eat the skin, because the moose will hear you when you walk; you will make a noise. You don’t eat the hooves, because your feet will get cold. The paunch you don’t eat because you won’t be able to run too fast. Also the calf, because they are weak in the legs- and you will be like a newborn calf when you get old.”

In addition to these taboos, it was said that a man who witnessed the birth of a moose or caribou would be especially capable of assisting with human childbirth through the power obtained while witnessing the event (McClellan 1975). These individuals would often be called to help during difficult childbirths (McClellan 1975).

Wood Bison were sometimes harvested in the interior as well. They are said to have been run down and shot with bows and arrows when found, but their populations were probably always limited (McClellan 1975). There are no known taboos related to these animals, probably because they haven’t been harvested in several generations (McClellan 1975).

By February and March, coastal peoples were hunting for seals, gathering clams and cockles, and scraping off the inner bark of spruce trees in Yakutat (de Laguna 1972).

Mainland and island dwelling groups would pursue halibut, eulachon, and herring spawn in the spring too as well as hunt sea otters (Emmons 1991). Women would gather hemlock bark, the roots of the Kamchatka Lilly [Indian Rice], seaweed, sea urchins, and fresh wild celery stalks at this time (de Laguna 1972). Pacific Halibut was the most important flatfish and was caught in the winter, spring and early summer with specially carved hooks and long lines (de Laguna 1972).

The brown bear was the most revered animal hunted by the Tlingit, the hunt of these included many religious ceremonies (Emmons 1991) and slain grizzlies were treated almost as though they were guests at a potlatch (McClellan 1987). They were respected because of their size, power, intelligence, and likeness to humans in appearance and behavior (de Laguna 1972). Grizzlies were considered stubborn, a trait linked to its relationship with Animal Mother since, contrary to her wishes, the bear kept its fighting teeth and has "been fighting and biting ever since" (McClellan 1975). Tlingit feared the spirit power of these animals and most people refrained from eating their meat or grease (McClellan 1987). Women particularly avoided grizzly meat, even if they ate black bear meat, and some attribute this to the story about the girl who married the grizzly (McClellan 1987).

Because it was claimed as a crest by most Eagle clans, many claimed a close relationship to this species (de Laguna 1972). The black bear however was given no more consideration than any other animal (Emmons 1991). Bear meat was forbidden to menstruants, widows, and widowers (McClellan 1975). Sometimes hibernating bears were killed in their dens (de Laguna 1972). As Emmons describes some of the brown bear beliefs:

"Before going hunting, the man should fast and remain continent for four days, and also wash daily in cold water. After a bear had been killed, the hunter sang (presumably a special song for bears) and red ochre was put on the skin... The brown bear was looked upon with great consideration, not only as a dangerous antagonist, but because of the belief of his connection with man in early days [clan myths about a man who mated with a she-bear, and of a woman who married a bear], and possibly from the fact that the bear constituted one of the principal clan crests [obtained through these supernatural encounters]. When met, the bear was addressed as if almost human [that is, by the kin terms the speaker would use of the member of a clan that had the Bear totem], and after it was killed certain observances were carried out in its honor so that its spirit might be appeased. In 1894 at Sitka, two brown bears were killed, and when the skins were stretched to dry, eagle down was put on the heads so that their spirits would feel honored. The bones of the dead and the feet were either buried deep in the ground, or cast into the sea. But withal, its flesh was eaten and its pelt was used like that of any other animal."

Bears were also said to know what people at home are doing and may imitate angry and violent actions of the hunter's relatives (de Laguna 1972). They were thought to understand human speech and to hear what people in other places were saying about them (De Laguna 1972). Before hunting a bear, men would sometimes hold a porcupine hip-bone over their heads. The bone contained a small hole and a large hole. The man would attempt to put his finger on one of the holes without looking at it. If he puts his finger on the small hole he will only be able to harvest a porcupine but the large hole would result in a bear. Both holes were thought to represent their respective animals' dens (McClellan 1975).

Similar to groundhog hunting observances, rituals related to bear harvest are said to have originated in a story involving the marriage of a human woman to a grizzly, the latter story having occurred just north of Kluġwáan (McClellan 1975). The woman was said to have given birth to cubs causing humans and bears to share a special bond (McClellan 1975). This is one reason grizzly was rarely if ever eaten – they were considered half human (McClellan 1975).

Ground squirrels and the liver of deer was particularly esteemed to the Tlingit but the dog, wolf and fox were not considered edible (Emmons 1991). Wolf and wolverine skins were used to make hammocks for baby boys but fox paws were kept from mutilation by dogs since they were believed to be ancient relatives (de Laguna 1972). More than any other animal except the Grizzly, wolves seem to have been treated on par with humans and could hear human thoughts (McClellan 1975).

Lynx pelts were a favorite for robes among the inland Tlingit since they were both light and warm (McClellan 1975). This animal was ranked along with the bear, wolverine, and otter as a very strong and potentially harmful animal spirit which could enter a human body and cause one to do bad or dangerous things (McClellan 1975). McClellan found no evidence of lynx Yeik being used by shamans. The animals were said to always travel with wolverines, the latter of which was more widely feared as a destructive animal and devil-like human superhuman spirit (McClellan 1975). Lynx bones were to always be kept from dogs (McClellan 1975).

After a long winter of dried foodstuffs the Tlingit were also excited for the spring and summer bounty of fresh berries and plants. In June, birds eggs, the last of the seaweed, wild rhubarb, and the first berries were collected (de Laguna 1972). They ate many berries including red-berried elder, strawberry, bearberry, sorrelberry, soapberry, nagoonberry, salmonberry, thimbleberry, raspberry, cloudberry, currant, gooseberry, high and lowbush cranberry, blueberry and huckleberry (Emmons 1991). Other native vegetation that was consumed included wild celery, wild rhubarb, lady fern, licorice fern, Indian potato, Indian rice, Labrador tea, clasping-twisted stalk, and lupine (Emmons 1991). The Tlingits also had their own variety of tobacco appears to have been cultivated in several localities (Emmons 1991).

Berry localities were owned by families in a similar fashion as the salmon streams (Emmons 1991). The salmonberry and the blueberry seemed to be the most important berries (Emmons 1991). Emmons interestingly described the following method of soapberry collection, preparation and consumption:

“The soapberry was cooked, mashed, and pressed into cakes... It was found only on the mainland and in limited quantities, and was the greatest luxury food known to the Tlingit. It was not eaten like other berries. A small piece of the cake was broken into water, and beaten to a light froth in a dish absolutely free of grease, by the hand of a virgin, otherwise, it would not rise. In later years, sugar was mixed with it. It was eaten with a special long-handled paddle-shaped spoon of maple, generally carved in animal design [the host’s crest]. When not in use, such spoons were kept in a special deep, cylindrical, spruce root basket, chetle tar-kate, “spoon bag” that hung on the wall.”

Salmon are the lifeblood of the Tlingit and the most important subsistence resource of these people (de Laguna 1972). When the salmon began to run in the spring, the Tlingit would leave their permanent settlements in families or small bands and resettle at their summer fishing camps where houses (used both for shelter and for smoking fish) were located at the mouth of the streams (Emmons 1991). As soon as the salmon return to the headwaters of their native streams late in the spring, harvest of these species becomes paramount and continues throughout the summer months, usually from June through September though the first run of King Salmon often begins in April or May. All five species of local salmon (King, Red, Silver, Pink and Dog) are critical to the Tlingit and are a staple food source throughout the year.

Fishing grounds and salmon streams were the most valuable possessions of Tlingit families and were never trespassed upon by others unless permission was granted and the owners had already secured their harvest (Emmons 1991). So important were the salmon that they were believed to constitute a “numerous and powerful tribe, organized into five separate families [the five species] that lived at Se eete, somewhere in the ocean. Their country far away to the westward, was surrounded by an ever opening and closing ring, through which they had to jump quickly to preserve their clean silver sides” (Emmons 1991). Emmons further describes the spiritual beliefs surrounding these fish:

“Salmon were believed to travel in invisible canoes. The chiefs of the different families [clans] stood in the stern to direct their movements landward. When spring came, a great meeting was called, and all wanted to start at once for their streams, but the dog salmon, through jealousy, broke up the canoes of the cohos, which accounts for the later appearance of the latter. It is often called the ‘Fall Silver Salmon.’”

Sockeye Salmon were of particular importance and high value to the Tlingit since they were among the first to return in the spring, their runs are sustained for a longer period, their returns are relatively stable compared to the other salmon species, and they are considered preferable in taste due to their higher oil content (Langdon 2006). Family owned Sockeye streams specifically were among their most valuable possessions (Langdon 2006). Dog Salmon were important too because they were usually the last to arrive and their lower oil content was preferable for drying and smoking in preparation for winter (Langdon 2006).

By September, the salmon run is over and the Tlingit hunt sea otters again for a short period. At that time, especially in the southern part of their territory, the people begin to dig for potatoes and hunt mountain goats, sheep or bear. By mid-October, the people congregated in their winter villages (Emmons 1991).

Mountain goats were considered one of the most important land animals. Their flesh and fat was esteemed for food (the fat was also used as a cosmetic), the wool was woven into blankets, and the horns were shaped into spoons (de Laguna 1972). Mountain goats and high mountain species, at least among the Tagish and Inland Tlingit, were always to be approached with caution since a powerful Yeik named “Mountain Man” was said to be the owner or master of these areas and their inhabitants, such as picas, groundhogs, mountain goats, mountain sheep and grizzly bears (McClellan 1975). Mountain Man was in charge of the weather in high places and though he was thought to have once married a human

woman, he is not particularly fond of humans and thus extensive precautions must be taken by those who travel in his domain (McClellan 1975).

In the Animal Mother story of inland peoples, both sheep and goats managed to stay on the swing that she had built for them and, no matter how high the bounced, neither species fell off (McClellan 1975). Both animals eventually jumped from the swing to the rocky mountain bluffs that they inhabited ever after (McClellan 1975). Goat was said to have jumped higher than sheep which explains why this species is found in even higher elevations than its counterpart.

When a man was away hunting goats, his wife was not to comb her hair as this action would “comb” her husband over a cliff, a belief held by both coastal and inland Tlingit (McClellan 1975). The wife was also to keep a rock on each corner of her husband’s blanket taking special care not to move it (McClellan 1975).

Another important food item for the Inland Tlingit was groundhogs which were most numerous in the southwestern Yukon (McClellan 1975). Entire families were known to trap them during late summer and Groundhog Mountain in the Nisutlin River country near Teslin was noted for its groundhogs (McClellan 1975). The groundhog “people” were thought to be powerful and easily offended (McClellan 1975).

As with most species, special observances and taboos surrounded groundhog harvest. Hunting observances were similar to those for bears for ritual cleanliness was of the utmost importance (McClellan 1975). The camp in which the hunter stayed was to be regularly cleaned and filled with fresh leaves of the type that groundhogs consume and he was not permitted to eat until his traps had been checked (McClellan 1975). Groundhog bodies were to be laid out carefully on a bed of leaves, they were to be sung to, and a clean canvas was to be placed over them to keep them fresh and so that they would be unable to smell the singing of other groundhogs (McClellan 1975). They were not to be cleaned on the day they were caught and if they were to spoil before being cleaned, a False Hellebore plant was put on the animal’s brain, both of which were laid on a rock that was heated by fire. This appeases the animal and allows you to harvest the species again later (McClellan 1975). Their kneecaps were not to be moved during the skinning process and the roof of their mouths were never to be eaten, both actions causing imminent rainfall (McClellan 1975).

Humans were given knowledge of how to treat groundhogs through a story involving a man who married a groundhog woman (McClellan 1975). After this man eventually left his wife, he told other humans about the groundhog people and what they desired from humans in the way of hunting observances.

Gophers were also harvested in mass quantities by the Inland Tlingit. Most older women in the southern Yukon owned gopher skin robes and most people there had trapped, snared and eaten these animals (McClellan 1975). The people of this area were said to have eagerly awaited the first gopher whistles in the spring because even after hibernation their meat remained fat (McClellan 1975). The gopher, like the groundhog, was under the care of

Mountain Man though they had little relevance in mythology or within the animal spirit world (McClellan 1975). Gopher hunting was also a prominent theme in lullabies for children (McClellan 1975).

Other fish species besides salmon were important to the Tlingit too. Eulachon (hooligan) were considered a delicacy throughout the Northwest Coast but spawning grounds in Alaska were limited – the Chilkat being among the most noteworthy (Emmons 1991). These fish run from March to May. There were also several species of trout that were utilized as food stuffs including the Steelhead, Cutthroat, Lake and Dolly Varden. Brook Trout were introduced to Southeast Alaska in 1920 (Morrow 1980).

Saltwater fish were harvested too including cod, rockfish, bass, flounder, sculpin, stickleback, eel, smelt, and whiting but constituted an unimportant part of the Tlingit diet when halibut or salmon were available (Emmons 1991). Marine invertebrates were gathered by the women, and squid were captured by the men for their use as halibut bait (Emmons 1991). The Tlingit name for squid literally translates to “bait” in English (de Laguna 1972) and these are included in a legend concerning a monster devilfish (Swanton 1908).

Clams, cockles, scallops, abalone, chiton, and mussels were eaten in the spring but were avoided during the summer as a means of avoiding shellfish poisoning (Emmons 1991). De Laguna (1972) lists the most important shellfish as the Basket Cockle, Butter Clam, Horse Clam, Pacific Little-Neck Clam, Rock Oyster (maybe the same as the Giant Clam that was said to have killed a woman), Common Blue Mussel, Sea Urchin, Large Oregon Triton, Small Dogwinkle, Little Puppet Margarite, Shield Limpets, Common Chiton, and Crypto-Chitin (a novelty because the tides are seldom low enough to access them), Dungeness Crab and King (Spider) Crab. The California Mussel was not eaten as it was especially likely to have deadly dinoflagellates, but it was sought for its hard shell that was used as a knife or scraper (de Laguna 1972). The King crab was said to be used by Land Otters for poisonous arrowheads with which they shot people causing boils and even death (de Laguna 1972).

Sea urchins were eaten too and boiled crabs were frequently consumed (Emmons 1991). Edible sessile tidal shellfish and seaweeds were easily gathered by women and children but these “beach foods” were associated with poverty caused by laziness (Emmons 1991). Land Otters were also said to have eaten the smelly things found on beaches (de Laguna 1972). In addition, abalone shells, dentalia and pearls were acquired from southerly trade and were used to make ornaments (de Laguna 1972). Neither starfish nor barnacles were eaten (de Laguna 1972) and sea cucumbers were considered taboo to eat, at least in Sitka (Swanton 1908). It was also taboo to touch a jellyfish (de Laguna 1972)!

Besides salmon, the hair seal was of the greatest economic value to the Tlingit as the blubber was used as oil, the flesh was eaten and dried (flippers were considered delicacies), the teeth were used for ornamentation and the skin was used to make clothes, cradle covers, gun cases, and cords (Emmons 1991). Hair seals and fur seals arrived in the spring and the latter was hunted in the same manner as the former (Emmons 1991).

Other important marine mammals included the porpoise and sea lion. The porpoise was used to make sinew while the hide of sea lions was used to make very strong lines (Emmons 1991). Sea lions were believed to have eight stones in their stomachs and were feared because they would often throw these at people (de Laguna 1972). De Laguna suggested that George Emmons was incorrect that the Tlingit never hunted whales. While it appears to have been rare one early report of a whale hunt exists from 1801 (Marchand 1801). The killer whale in particular was feared and said to attack canoes if angered or injured (Emmons 1991) but this species is never hunted because it is said to be a friend of man and that they will never kill a human (de Laguna 1972). Like the sea lion, killer whales were thought to throw stones at people with their mouths (de Laguna 1972.) A story tells of the first Killer whales having been carved of yellow cedar by a man who was stranded on an island and had no other means of reaching shore (Swanton 1909). At very least, the Tlingit likely utilized other whales that were found dead.

The extent to which sea otters were harvested prior to European contact is unknown but populations were definitely thriving when the Russians arrived in Alaska. Archaeological sites do have evidence of early sea otter use but their heavy exploitation began almost immediately after Europeans arrived in North America, causing a rapid decline in otter populations.

Although less important for food and other uses, birds formed an important aspect of Tlingit life, probably because of bird abundance and diversity within their territory (de Laguna 1972). Many bird species were harvested throughout the year including geese, ducks, eagles, seagulls, curlew, snipe, plover and ptarmigan among others (Emmons 1991). Swans were hunted both for their meat and for their soft skins but also served as the crest of two separate clans (de Laguna 1972). The mallard was known as the “upward arrow” because of its manner of taking off (de Laguna 1972). Loons were sometimes harvested for their skin and feathers which young girls wore on their heads to prevent the greying of hair in old age (de Laguna 1972). Avoided were the albatross, oyster catcher, raven, crow, owl, hawk and small song birds while the eagle was only eaten when nothing else was available (Emmons 1991).

Several other important food-related taboos were observed by Emmons:

“The skate was not considered fit to eat. [In fact, it was believed that the canoes used by the dreaded Land Otter Men were skates. [They were also considered slaves to the wealth bringing water monster] Sharks and dogfish were never eaten, although they were taken for the oil in the liver which was used only in crafts for trade with the whites.”

"The men caught the salmon and the women prepared and cured them. The fish were always cut from the vent, along the belly to the throat. This was believed necessary, lest the fish or their spirits feel offended and desert the stream. There is a tradition among the Stikine that once, in a salmon stream up the river [Stikine River], a fish was cut along the side by mistake. Where upon all of the others immediately disappeared. The people were then assembled and the shaman directed them to man a large canoe in which he seated himself in the middle, covered over with bark mats. They paddled down the river until they reached a stream crowded with fish, where they put the canoe across its mouth. Then the shaman's spirit went out to the fish and begged them to follow the canoe.

This was headed upstream, and the fish complied, so that the home stream was again filled and has ever since been a favorite resort of the salmon."

"The marten, mink, weasel, rat, mouse, and in particular the land otter, were animals of mystery connected with the practice of shamanism [or witchcraft], and were absolutely tabooed as food. Figures of these animals appear on the shaman's costume and paraphernalia. [But so do the mountain sheep and the tentacles of the devilfish, which were eaten when available.] It is said that the land otter was never hunted for its pelt before the increased demand for furs by Europeans allowed cupidity to overcome superstition. The lynx, rarely found within Tlingit territory, was expressly forbidden to women."

Marten was the most valued fur-bearer on land while sea otter was the most valued fur-bearer in the sea (de Laguna 1972). Mink was never highly regarded because it was associated with the evil Land Otter, was considered smelly, and was said to be Raven's servant (de Laguna 1972). Ermine was used for trimming ceremonial dress. Many animal species and their usable parts were obtained through trade, especially for those that were not present throughout Tlingit territory. Caribou hides were valued trade goods as were shark teeth that were used to make ornaments and jewelry.

The Tlingit like many other Alaska Natives did have dogs that were used for both hunting and as pack animals. Dogs were not considered pets even though children would lavish upon puppies (de Laguna 1972). The Tlingit seemed to be quite fond of these animals; they boasted proudly of their achievements and mourned them when they died, but also appeared to treat them quite casually, often leaving them to fend for themselves, to find food for themselves and even deserting them if circumstances required (Emmons 1991). As de Lapérouse (1798) observed "Dogs are the only animals with which they have formed any alliance." It was also noted by Emmons that dogs also served as protection against the Land Otter Men because they were never fooled by the friendly appearance that this creatures wore.

Dogs were never killed, even those that were poor hunters or of no practical use. In fact, De Laguna observed that this fact was still true in the 1950s for "it was believed that to shoot or to drown a dog means that one would lose one's own life, or that of a close relative, in the same manner, or at least "always have bad luck." There were however times when it might be necessary to kill a dog to avoid even greater harm, particularly when they begin speaking like a human, telling of a death in his master's family or when it walks on its hind legs like a man (de Laguna 1972). People were scared to be near the body of a dead dog since its carcass, pelt and paws were said to be used in witchcraft (de Laguna 1972).

Respecting plant and animal species that were harvested for subsistence purposes not only served a cultural and spiritual necessity, but it also served to prevent over-exploitation of individual resources. In one example of this, Dr. Stephen Langdon suggests in regards to salmon that "Tlingit techniques were selectively harvesting salmon stocks in a manner that ensured the survival of a sufficient number of spawners to assure a continuing supply in the future" (Langdon 2006). Their intertidal weir systems permitted unrestricted access to spawning grounds during high tide (Langdon 2006). The Tlingit economy that the Europeans found in the 1770s was founded on salmon which these people had a surplus of

in most years and subsisted on and celebrated with throughout the winter months (Langdon 2006).

Contemporary Subsistence: A Case Study of Wrangell

Subsistence needs, practices and harvest have certainly changed over time, especially considering the advent of new technologies and cultural changes resulting from western influences post-European contact. The make-up of the community of Wrangell, for instance, has changed considerably. While the Tlingit of this area were part of the same tribe, the Stikine K̄wáan, and they inhabited several villages along the Stikine River and its associated nearby coastal islands, the local indigenous peoples now inhabit but two communities, Wrangell and Petersburg, and are recognized as two separate tribes. Given the majority white population of these communities in 1971 when the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed, neither village received land, consequently disenfranchising all who identified with the original Stikine Tribe from land.

In 1978 the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) was created in response to state and federal laws requiring the implementation of a subsistence priority. The division has since been charged with the study and documentation of subsistence uses for the purpose of informing the policy-making Board of Fisheries and Board of Game in the state. As part of their work, a comprehensive subsistence harvest survey was conducted in Wrangell in 1987 (Cohen 1987) and in 2000 (ADF&G 2000), the results of which are included in tables 3 and 4 of the appendix.

The Wrangell harvest table provides but a glimpse of the modern subsistence harvest in Southeast Alaska. It is important to note that while customary and traditional uses of fish and game populations are protected by state law, this does not necessarily mean that those participating in subsistence harvests are entirely of Alaska Native descent. At the time of the 1987 Wrangell harvest survey, 49.3% of households (n=1013) contained at least one spouse greater than 16 years of age who was Alaska Native by self-report but only 1,018 (35.8%) individuals in the community were Alaska Native. The study sampled 75 households, 44 (58.6%) of which had non-Native members, 14 (18.7%) of which had Alaska Native members, 15 (20.0%) of which had a combination of Alaska Native and non-Native members and 2 (2.7%) of which were missing information on cultural affiliation (Cohen 1987). While the 2000 survey data remains unpublished and lacks demographic data (ADF&G 2000), the decadal U.S. Census data (Table 5) indicates an increase in both overall and Alaska Native population in Wrangell at 2,369 individuals and 550 individuals respectively in 2000.

The 1987 subsistence survey reported a per capita wild food harvest of 158.3 lbs. annually, productivity consistent with that observed in other communities in the state (Cohen 1987), and by 2000 the per capita wild food harvest was at 167.44 lbs. Between 1987 and 2000, the estimated harvest of total fish in Wrangell was down 43.8% and down 12.5% for birds and eggs. There was an increase however in subsistence harvest of land mammals (up 20%), marine invertebrates (up 8.2%), and vegetation (up 22.0%).

Several other interesting changes in harvest took place in Wrangell between 1987 and 2000. For instance, a total of eight individual brown bears were harvested in 2000 and used locally as wild foods though none had been documented for subsistence prior to this. In 1987 a herd of Elk was introduced to nearby Etolin Island and a hunt for these was established in 1997. By 2000, an estimated 8.2% of households were using elk meat though none of these participated in the hunt. Additionally, no one harvested or used Mountain Goat meat in 2000 while 7.7% of households used this meat in 1978 and a total of 38 goats were harvested in that year.

While it is impossible to parse the subsistence harvest data for Tlingit individuals from the subsistence harvest data, the information at very least gives an overview of the wild foods being harvested and shared today throughout this community. The local harvest of wild foods is still considerable as compared to the United States at large and many different species are being taken. This indicates that people are continuing to interact with a multitude of species on the landscape though it is likely that the spiritual components of harvest have changed significantly over time, especially given western cultural assimilation and the influence of Christianity – the predominant religion in most Tlingit communities today (Kan 1991).

Sharing and Trade

Of great importance within traditional Tlingit culture and Tlingit use of wild foods and animal products is the extensive trade and sharing networks between individuals, families, clans, tribes and other cultural groups. While the coastal Tlingit enjoyed bountiful harvests of flora and fauna, some resources were rare or absent within their territory. To come by these, trade with faraway lands and peoples was necessary. They often travelled afar in search of these treasures, but they also utilized middlemen to shorten the distance.

With more than a dozen Tlingit tribes spread out over more than 400 miles, there were many cultural differences between each but also remarkable similarities, especially since they traded frequently, participated as guests in each other's ceremonies and intermarried regularly (Olson 1967). Trade was often carried out more as gifts between hereditary trading partners rather than as barter (Heider 1969). Trade between the inland Tlingit bands and the coastal peoples occurred frequently too as both groups were able to provide each other with resources that the other lacked.

Much of what is known about Tlingit trade relates to accounts recorded by de Laguna of the Yakutat. While trade invariably differed a bit between tribes based on location and resources, the Yakutat accounts give an overview of the extent to which trade was necessary and undertaken. These Tlingit undertook long trade voyages via sea using their Haida canoes and navigating by known mountain peaks (de Laguna 1972). There is evidence that this group crossed the Gulf of Alaska to trade and in June 1792, they joined Eyak allies in making an attack on the Chugach Indians, an event witnessed by Baranov (de Laguna 1972). It is known that the Chugach and the Yakutat were seeking each other's furs in the 18th century (de Laguna 1972).

Westward, the Yakutat traveled considerably between the villages of Cape Yakataga, Kaliakh River, Controller Bay, and the Copper River delta (de Laguna 1972). They regularly visited their Eyak relatives and met with the Atna Athabascans who came down the Copper River from Taral and Chitina to trade at Alaganik, Nuchek, and Cordova (de Laguna 1972). Trade with the Chugach and the Atna often took place through Eyak middlemen (de Laguna 1972). Grave caches in Yakutat were found to have walrus ivory items that must have originated north of the Alaska Peninsula and have passed through several hands, including the Chugach, before reaching the Tlingit (de Laguna 1972). Some of these items were cared by the Tlingit from raw ivory while others appear to bear typical Eskimo designs (de Laguna 1972).

From the Atna the Tlingit obtained furs, copper, chewing gum (from interior spruce), tanned moose skins, and beaver pelts (de Laguna 1972). Native copper in rough bars was reported to have been brought from the Chitina River, over the mountains and across the ice fields to the coast (de Laguna 1972). Among the most important trade and ceremonial items in Southeastern Alaska and British Columbia were plates of copper called Tinnah, said to have been shaped from the bars obtained from the Atna (de Laguna 1972).

Eastward and northward the Yakutat peoples traveled within the interior. The Tlukwaxadi clan in particular was known to make regular expeditions up the Alsek River every fall to Southern Tutchone territory (de Laguna 1972). There, they traded for white marble for the heads of dolls, tanned skin garments decorated with porcupine quills, ground squirrel robes and other furs, rare feathers, and soapberries in birch bark boxes (de Laguna 1972).

To the south, the Yakutat, particularly the Tluknaxadi, used to travel as far as Vancouver, often to trade copper and to obtain southern Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian and Flathead slaves (de Laguna 1972). A de Laguna informant tells that "My grandfather used to go to Southeast of Alaska by canoe – in a big canoe – to trade where the big slaves, the Tsimshian and Haida, used to come from." Another informant told that "The Haidas were the ones who captured slaves. The Tlingit merely bought the slaves, at least for the most part."

Travel to Fort Simpson, Old Metlakatla and Prince Rupert were frequent (de Laguna 1972). Another de Laguna informant tells that "People from Yakutat used to go in canoes to fort Rupert to trade furs. It took two months for the trip. There were 10, 12 men in a canoe. They didn't sleep for two days off Cape Spencer" (de Laguna 1972). From the Tsimshian the Tlingit obtained red face paint, flicker feathers, dentalia, boxes, rattles, masks, headdresses, and from the Haida large war canoes of red cedar (de Laguna 1972). Tsimshian and Haida songs were also brought back to Yakutat (de Laguna 1972).

Sharing within a community was a core value of traditional Tlingit society. An interview with elder Sally Edwards (Edwards 1998) in Yakutat in 1998 as part of the Project Jukebox compilation explains the sharing of foods, at least during the last century:

“Everybody shared. If you got a seal, you cut it up and all the meat went to this house and that house. All over. They didn’t get just one seal, they make sure that the whole community ate. Even in the winter time the seal meat was put up preserved in seal oil. They put up more food than we do now. The dried berries like strawberries. Dried and all that.

They use to come to each other’s house. One person would start from this side then the other house and other house. Then they’d all go and eat in one house. I use to see that in fort house. I was born in fort house #3 down in the old village. New hit. And next day well, if we ate in our tribal house and then it’s my father and mother’s turn then they share their food with all the other people again to eat in different houses. It goes on like that almost every day until spring time. When starts winter time again, same thing all over. That’s how come the people in the olden days, they shared everything. Now people don’t know what dish to share because we’re not into that. “

Spirituality & Shamanism

Spirits and life forces were paramount to the traditional Tlingit way of life and understanding of the world. They believed in several types of spirits in animals, objects and man. Humans were believed to be made up of several forces including the body, a vital force or the breath of life, and a soul or shadow (Emmons 1991). The former two were mortal and ceased to exist upon death while the latter persisted in the afterlife. The breath of life was that which leaves the body when one is sick (but can often be recovered with the help of a shaman and his helper spirits called Yeik) while the soul travels in the afterlife to a designated place based on the manner of death (Emmons 1991). Spirits are considered to be without gender but they retain some of the human hosts individuality and cannot enter another type of animal (Emmons 1991). Animals though, also had these spirits.

The souls of humans that died valiantly in war were considered the “spirits of the above” and were taken through portals in the sky that opened from time to time, climbing through a rainbow (Veniaminov 1984). The “land spirits” were the souls of people that died an ordinary death or those who were not killed in war (Veniaminov 1984). The third class is the “sea spirits” or those who drowned without their body being recovered.

Shamanism was central to the traditional Tlingit spirituality and a shaman was the medium through which human beings could communicate with the spirit world. Shamanism was not founded on a belief that the shaman could overcome illness with medicine but rather that he or she could intervene by influencing his spirit helpers to remove illness, disease and evil. They were called upon in many aspects of life including bringing the salmon to the rivers, to produce an abundance of berries and to promote good weather (Emmons 1991). The Tlingit considered animals to be susceptible to the same medicine that can influence the wills of men but their enhanced or special powers required the use of precautions, magic, and amulets in dealing with them (de Laguna 1972). Each shaman usually had several spirit helpers at his disposal (Emmons 1991).

The spirits of above appeared to the shaman in the form warriors in full battle gear, the spirits from below in the form of land animals and the spirits of the sea as sea mammals (Veniaminov 1984). So, it appears as though a human soul can appear to the shaman in the form of an animal but may not be connected with the spirit of the animal that it is taking

the form of. It is probably also true that shaman's could take or at least communicate with the spirits of spirits unassociated with human Yeik (besides their origin as one species).

To obtain helper spirits, the shaman cut out their tongues, a fact that is alluded to on many shamanistic artifacts depicting animal tongues merging with a human being. The animal from which the tongue was to be taken was supposed to approach the shaman and die on its own accord, at which time he or she would use his right hand and a knife made of mussel shell or copper (de Laguna 1972). The tongues were then placed in safe locations where they would remain dry, usually in a hollowed out tree. The shaman was required to return to check on the tongue, and clean it if necessary, on the same day that it was taken each year for the rest of his or her life, with the punishment for not observing this being bad-luck and possibly insanity (de Laguna 1972). The shaman also had what he called his fighting spirit.

The land otter men were said to have retained their ability to shape-shift from time immemorial and were feared by the Tlingit. They were thought to be capable of assuming the shape of any person, usually choosing a relative of whoever they wanted to kidnap (de Laguna 1972). Those souls on land and in the sea whose bodies were rescued (or stolen) by the Land Otter Men would become part of their clan and turn into one of them, just as people who spend too much time living among another species would be transformed into that animal if they remained too long and ate their food (de Laguna 1972). Shamans were said to almost always have one of the land otter spirits and were said to be able to rescue those captured so long as he reached them before they became Land Otter Men (Emmons 1991).

In addition to the above-mentioned life forces, a personal guardian spirit is said to lead its person through life. This spirit is usually seen as a positive influence but it can be lost if offended, or even killed if a person does great wrong resulting in the death of the human ward as well (Emmons 1991). It does not appear as though the shaman had access to personal guardian spirits other than his own. These helper spirits were often thought to be derived from the spirits of other species, such as the frog spirit helper of the infamous Skookum Jim Mason (1855-1915) known as Keish in Tlingit. This half Tlingit half Tagish individual claimed to be lead and protected by his frog spirit as he travelled through the Canadian and Alaskan Interior and eventually discovered gold.

Skookum Jim Mason told that he had in his youth saved the life of a frog trapped in a deep hole. This is when the animal's spirit was apparently obtained. Though the frog spirit helper remained with him throughout his life, the original frog was said to have returned to him on two occasions, once in its animal form when it healed a wound he had sustained and again in the form of a woman known as Tl'anaxeedakw or Wealth Woman (Cruikshank 1992). During the second encounter, the woman showed him a gold-tipped walking stick that would guide him to his discovery of gold (Cruikshank 1992). When this frog appeared to Mason in dreams, its eyes glittered like gold nuggets (McClellan 1975).

According to Emmons, each species had its own particular spirits and there was no exchange of ownership of these between species. He also said that the Tlingit rejected the

notion of human beings having the ability to be reincarnated in animals. This is quite complicated and may not be entirely true since under certain conditions, animals and men might change their forms and blur the line between the two. In addition, while an animal may have its own spirit, this does not prevent an animal from serving as a guide or protector, visualized in a spiritual context. Olson (1967) wrote “as is usual in much of North America there is no sharp distinction between animals, animal spirits, animals in human form, or humans in animal form.”

Disease and Contemporary Loss of Shamanism

As with many indigenous cultures in the new world, early European contact meant the arrival of new diseases to which the people had little or no immunity. A major cause of population decline in the late 1700s and early 1800s among the Tlingit was the introduction of smallpox. Captain Nathaniel Portlock, a British trader, reported that

“Tlingits of Cross Sound had been struck by smallpox around 1775, and in 1820 the Tlingit chief Saigakakh told a Russian-American Company official that some 50 years earlier, i.e., about 1770, smallpox had spread from the Stikine River to Sitka, leaving only one or two members of each family alive.” (Gibson 1982, Khlebnikov 1976)

The disease “killed one-third of the Indians of the crown colony of British Columbia, including two-thirds of the Tsimshians” (Gibson 1982) in a number of devastating waves. The timespan since the end of the earlier wave in 1779 and the newer waves was longer than the average Indian lifespan and thus the entire population lacked previously acquired immunity (Gibson 1982). Gibson (1982) reports that up to 400 Tlingits died in one village near Sitka and almost half of the residents at Sitka itself perished in the outbreak of 1862. This was also devastating along the Stikine “where they had probably contracted the disease from the 3,000 to 4,000 American gold seekers who rushed to the river in the spring of 1862” (Tikhmenev 1978). In the spring of 1836 the epidemic weakened as the Indians dispersed to their spring fishing and hunting grounds but was revived by December causing a “fatality rate among the Stikine and Sitka Tlingits of 25 percent, and no less at Kaigani, Tongass, Chilkat, Keku and other Indian villages” (Gibson 1982).

These outbreaks of smallpox are often considered to have impacted the Tlingit more than any other group as Gibson (1982) explains:

“Before the outbreak they were unquestionably the most formidable of the Northwest Coast Indian groups, owing to their high degree of solidarity arising from their strong clan system, their large population, their skillful manipulation of Russian, British, and American commercial rivalry, their ready access to firearms from Yankee gunrunners, the inaccessibility of many of their villages far up the mazy “straits,” their control of two of the principal trade routes between the coast and the interior (the Chilkat and Stikine river valleys), and their virtual monopolization of several of the most valuable native trade goods (placer copper, ermine skins and superior baskets and robes). This position of wealth and strength was shattered by the epidemic, and the Tlingits' resistance to Euro American territorial and particularly cultural encroachment was broken.” (Gibson 1982)

The first Tlingit exposure to Christianity was at Sitka in the mid-1830s when Father Ivan Veniaminov began proselytizing for the Russian Orthodox Church (Kan 1991). Seeing that

the Russians were largely immune to smallpox, some Tlingit began doubting their traditional healers (Kan 1991) and some began adding prayers addressing the Russian “Great Spirit”, adding these to spiritual practices aimed at increasing success in hunting, fishing, and trade (Kan 1985). With the American arrival in 1867 came the establishment of the Presbyterian missions and their backing by the American military (Kan 1991). The Protestants were much more hostile to Tlingit traditions and worked fervently to eliminate the use of the Tlingit language, communal living, matrilineal descent and inheritance, slavery, blood revenge, accusations of witchcraft, and shamanism (Kan 1991). By the 1910s, all Tlingit villages had been Christianized by the Presbyterians and the Russian Orthodox, and most of the larger communities were devoid of shamans. As late as the 1930s, shamans remained in smaller communities like Angoon and KluĶwáan, and as late as the 1950s, some fortune-tellers and spiritual healers existed but were not considered full-fledged shamans (Kan 1991).

The process of conversion to Christianity, the modern absence of shamanism, the limited influence of beliefs in Yeik and the decline in traditional spiritual practices related to hunting and fishing have all contributed to a modified worldview in contemporary Tlingit peoples. This modification has undoubtedly resulted in changing relationships between modern Tlingit peoples and the flora and fauna on which they depend, especially since spiritual relationships tend to be founded in Christian ideology. In recent decades however, a push for cultural revitalization has led many to study traditional Tlingit ways and to incorporate some of these principals into their daily lives. Despite considerable changed to Tlingit practices in the modern age, it is evident that wild food resources continue to be important for subsistence, but also as a component of retaining cultural heritage. Many traditional beliefs too, permeate the modern Tlingit culture as these peoples struggle to maintain their spiritual and historical relationship with local landscapes.

Clans, Crests and Houses

Clans were the central entities of traditional Tlingit life and represented their law and religion, taking precedence over all other organization (Emmons 1991). It binds its members in a close union whereas each member defends its honor and will readily sacrifice property and life for its cause (Emmons 1991). Membership is through matrilineal descent and no substitution is permitted (Emmons 1991). Each clan was considered an independent body and regulated its own internal affairs whereby the tribe was simply an accidental geographical grouping of clans (Emmons 1991).

This concept of clans becomes important in understanding the Tlingit relationship to animals because each clan is intimately connected with a series of species held as crests – the distinctive feature of life of the Northwest Coast of America and the basic principal of well-established codes of law that governed the relations of people with one another (Emmons 1991). Emmons describes the crest as:

“The symbolic representation of some species of living creature, or entity, which we may call the totem. This emblem or crest almost always designates a kin group. Crest symbolism pertains not

simply to art (though it is best displayed in carved and painted forms), or to religion, but serves primarily to mobilize and channel sentiments and behavior in interpersonal relations.”

Clans can claim several crests but one is always given the highest esteem within a clan. Many crests are derived from stories of encounters between human beings and supernatural beings or animals, sometimes in the form of contests or sexual associations, especially with animals from the distant past, which possessed the power of transformation or of appearing in human form (Emmons 1991). For those stories of inter-species unions, it is important to note that descent is not perceived from the animal, only that the single relationship in time was important. Many crests were adopted as a result of assistance rendered by an animal to a human being or some expression of friendship toward the crest object (Emmons 1991). In contrast, some crests were derived from assistance given TO an animal by a human “in return for which he was given a song, and thereby the right to represent the animal as a crest” (Emmons 1991). Emmons suggested that some adhere to the belief that the animal forms created in the story of the Theft of Daylight (mentioned earlier) were taken as crests by those relatives remaining in their human form.

De Laguna suggests that more recently acquired crests are derived from stories that include animals that were incapable of assuming human form but which may speak or act anthropomorphically. She added, “It would seem that the crest animals and the actual animals are alike only in form, but are both associated with an indefinite being that existed in the far distant path.” Furthermore, she offered that:

“while members of every sib probably feel much the same way about their totem or totems as sib crests, they feel and act in very different ways toward the actual living representatives of the totem, and their behavior toward the actual animals often bears no relationship to their particular sib affiliations and crest ownership.”

Crests were almost always animals though there was no apparent difference in value between mammals, birds and fish (Emmons 1991). Non-animal crests, some of which included planetary bodies, mythical beings and objects found in nature (which were believed to have spirits too) were used, but were of secondary importance (Emmons 1991). Some animal crests became especially esteemed over time, especially the Raven, Frog, Whale and Beaver within the Raven moiety and the Wolf, Brown Bear, Killer Whale and Eagle within the Eagle moiety (Emmons 1991).

While there are several notable exceptions, the crests of the Eagle moiety were often large predatory animals while those of the Raven moiety typically represented herbivores, omnivores and scavengers. The mouse, frog and woodworm are notable Raven moiety crest species that were not known to be harvest for food or practical use. An incomplete table of crests adapted from Emmons is included as Table 1 in the Appendix.

Traditional Tlingit societal structure was further broken down within a clan to house groups. Though the members of a house group typically lived in the same structure (but sometimes in multiple if their numbers grew too large), the label was more significant than the structure alone and was a subdivision of the clan identity. The houses were often

designated with names, the most honored of which referred to the clan crest or to some important event in the history of the family(s) residing there (Emmons 1991). The house names were represented as paintings on the house front and or as decorative interior features (Emmons 1991). Sometimes names of lesser importance than the crests were used which referred to the house's position, ornamentation, material or form of construction (Emmons 1991). The names were chosen by the clan at large and naming was not at the discretion of the residents (Emmons 1991). A modified table of recorded house names by Emmons is included as Table 2 in the Appendix.

It is important to note that many differences in in the modern use of clans, crests and houses exist as compared to the traditional pre-contact practices. According to Dauenhauer (2000), the "newly evolving system is community and individually based and is not linked to the clan system and ceremonial reciprocity. The genius of the ANB [Alaska Native Brotherhood] was to replace it with Western protocol for political purpose." He also notes that there is a "creation of new or neo rituals and regalia and the spiritual and political contextualization of historical objects being returned to communities under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA)." While contemporary Tlingit consider these items and concepts as important cultural components today, their underlying associations with these are evidently fluid and change as societal pressures demand reinterpretation of cultural paradigms.

Non-game Considerations

As mentioned previously, many Tlingit stories tell of human beings being taken by other species, either temporarily or permanently, when they offended other forms of life. These captors were not solely relegated to predatory mega fauna, but also applied in many instances to species (and objects) that are typically considered harmless and not harvested for consumption. Small birds, rodents and insects that were of no economic value were often protected by taboo from molestation (de Laguna 1972).

The stories surrounding crests and houses named after non-game species speak to their equal importance within traditional Tlingit spirituality and culture. Among the birds many have been taken as crests, examples of which include Ravens, Golden Eagles, Bald Eagles, Kittlitz Murrelets, Sandhill Cranes, Screech Owls, and Crows. Kittlitz Murrelet is never eaten because it is said to have been Raven's mother, becoming so when Raven put his mother in its skin during the Flood (de Laguna 1972). The Screech Owl was thought to have once been a woman that was mean to her mother-in-law (de Laguna 1972). The Petrel is said to be the guardian of freshwater and the owner of the hat that makes fog (de Laguna 1972). IT was bad luck to hunt the nest of a Gray Jay, Chickadee or Blackbird since to find one would result in the death of one's parents (McClellan 1975). Blue Jays are recognized as good talkers with fine clothes and hawks are said to have procured fire (de Laguna 1972). The Northwestern Shrike is involved in a Chilkat legend explaining the origin of mosquitos while the Northern Dipper is said to guide heroes downstream from heaven and to be the brother-in-law to Raven (de Laguna 1972). Rufous-sided Hummingbirds are said to gladden men and to find their nest forebodes future riches. The Robin's breast is considered to have been scorched but their song instills happiness in people (Swanton

1908). The Flicker is valued for its beautiful feathers, is considered the wife of the Controller-of-the-Flood, and is called the head of the next-to-smallest birds (Swanton 1908). There is a popular Tlingit song about Snipes flying around an island, this bird is said to be the “heaven bird” or “Crane of the cloud’s surface”, and is seen only when warm weather is on its way (de Laguna 1972). Cormorants are included in the Tlingit story “How Raven Killed the Bears” (Swanton 1908). These are but a few examples of the role of non-game birds in traditional Tlingit life.

Perhaps the most important bird to the Tlingit is the Raven which is considered the creator of Earth and a trickster-transformer (de Laguna 1972). According to de Laguna, there seemed to be “little to link the common ravens seen today on beaches or hopping in ungainly style around the village with *the* Raven of mythology” (de Laguna 1972). This is interesting given the Raven’s importance in many stories and its status as a moiety emblem. She did find however that Ravens were said to talk to people and that people would not only listen, but respond with questions since these birds often brought news and could foretell the future (de Laguna 1972). The raven was said to cry to indicate bad luck and crows were said to weep and wail for the same reason (de Laguna 1972). A Raven crying and hanging upside down from a tree foretold the cutting off of a scalp and was a sign of war (de Laguna 1972). A Raven could also be a sign of good luck in the rare event that it is sighted bathing (de Laguna 1972).

Many species also appear within superstitions and in mythology. Butterflies, flickers, owls, woodworms, leeches, moths and frogs are several examples of non-game species that permeate the Tlingit oral history. Among the small animals known to the Tlingit, the mouse was paid considerable attention as their spirits were thought to assist the animals in stealing the property of humans corrupted by wealth (Grinev 2005; Swanton 1908). They were considered provident, wise, clever and crafty (de Laguna 1972). People would often give them small presents of food in order to gain their respect and would sometimes address them as “grandmother” (McClellan 1975). Many Tlingit were apprehensive about these animals though, as they were thought to often be associated with witches (McClellan 1975). One Inland Tlingit shaman was said to have used his mouse Yeik to help him escape the porcupines while another used it to help steal food from human caches (McClellan 1975).

Female relatives were said to warm the borings of woodworms and to rub these through a baby girl’s hands to give her future skills in sewing (McClellan 1975). This could also be done to a girl in her puberty seclusions as long as it is performed by a woman of the opposite moiety (McClellan 1975).

Little Brown Bats were known to the Tlingit as “Beaver Sea Lion” and though they were said to fly around when there was going to be bad weather, there was no apparent fear of them (de Laguna 1972). Butterflies inspired Tlingit basketry patterns (de Laguna 1972). The Tlingit also treated the water beetle with considerable respect as it was a dangerous being that special attention should be paid to avoid offending (de Laguna 1972). The power of this insect could be wielded by shamans for curing (de Laguna 1972).

Not much is known about the occurrence of snakes within traditional Tlingit territory nor of their inclusion within cultural knowledge and practices. While Inland Tlingit groups probably encountered garter snakes on rare occasions, coastal Tlingit are unlikely to have encountered these, except during travel inland or to the south. McClellan tells one Southern Tutchone account of a snake that was brought to Whitehorse as part of a circus:

“Late in the 1940s a travelling circus brought a boa constrictor to Whitehorse, thus providing some of the Yukon Indians with their first glimpse of a live snake. In a vague way some of the Southern Tutchone Ganaxtedi had thought that the giant woodworm nursed by their ancestors was a snake and as we shall see, the Southern tutchone believe that giant worms have actually lived near Aishihik Lake. However, when the real snake arrived in Whitehorse a Southern Tutchone shaman promptly declared that bad weather would follow. Some Indians say that she also acquired the snake as a Yeik, the first and only Yukon Indian to do so.”

It was mentioned previously that sharks are not harvested though several species do occur within traditional Tlingit territory including Blue Sharks, Pacific Sleeper Sharks, Six gill Sharks, Salmon Sharks, and Basking Sharks. Basking Sharks are probably those represented as a crest as their five long and conspicuous gill slits are emphasized in Tlingit representations (de Laguna 1972). The Six gilled Shark may be the species that most often provided teeth for Tlingit ornaments and (de Laguna 1972) and appears in a traditional story as a tongue-twister (Emmons 1908). An Eagle clan at Wrangell had two houses named for sharks – the Shark House and the Shark’s Intestine House (Swanton 1908).

The Pacific Dogfish was also identified as a crest among the Tlingit (Garfield and Forest 1948). Sculpin were not eaten but they were sometimes caught by children and it was taboo to kill them with a club (de Laguna 1972). They were a Raven crest in southern Southeast Alaska and were considered the younger brother or paternal cousin of Raven (de Laguna 1972). The Pleiades star constellation was said to be a sculpin which Raven put in the sky (Swanton 1908). These incorporations in culture indicate how prominent an economically unimportant species could be to the Tlingit (de Laguna 1972). Owls were considered terrifying creatures and children were taught that if they cried too much, an owl would take them away (de Laguna 1972). They were said to talk and tell of bad news and were never said to bring good luck, only to “warn of misfortune, a killing, a sickness, a fire” usually in some other place (de Laguna 1972). One was to answer them when they called and reported bad news from other places and the people were expected to obey instructions given by owls (de Laguna 1972). Owls were thought to act as thermometers through the rapidity of its hooting – a slower hoot in the morning means it will be a warm day (McClellan 1975). Only owls and wolverines were thought capable of bringing bad blood out of a shaman’s patient (McClellan 1975).

Owls were said to predict war. According to McClellan (1975), an owl gave a war cry within the village of Teslin before both World War II and the Korean War. Then this owl said “Go into the Woods, they will kill you all.” These wars were said to have not occurred locally because a wise woman blew ceremonial feathers at the owl saying “I put feathers around your head, grandfather. Fly away with the war. Can’t you do something about it? We don’t want it.”

Woodpeckers flying around a house are said to have been bad luck and an informant of de Laguna from Dry Bay suggested that this is an omen of death that can only be avoided by shooting the bird, killing it in place of whoever was supposed to die (de Laguna 1972). A kingfisher on the other hand can be good luck if one remains perched while a canoe passes on the river (since they usually fly away), which is to result in wealth for the canoe's occupants (de Laguna 1972).

A story about a Magpie tells that this bird refuses to eat Sockeye spawn and never comes around until the Silver Salmon are spawning (de Laguna 1972). For this reason, anyone refusing to do something was said to be like a magpie (de Laguna 1972). The Golden-crowned Sparrow and the Fox Sparrow were said to have learned their songs from human beings and sometimes use Tlingit words in these songs (de Laguna 1972). Chickadees and spiders are said to have brought news of absent friends and loved ones, those animals embodying someone's thoughts (de Laguna 1972). In Tlingit, the word for chickadee means "someone's mind" and if this bird hovers over a house or camp, it was a sure sign that someone was thinking of coming soon, having sent their mind on ahead (McClellan 1975). If a chickadee makes a mourning noise, it is believed to be announcing the death of a friend by saying "Bring me the axe," referring to the need to cut wood for the funeral pyre (McClellan 1975).

Frederica de Laguna found little mention of mosquitos and gnats among the Yakutat Tlingit despite their prevalence and persistence during the summer months in the North. She did acknowledge though that Chilkat and Stikine stories explain that these insects are the ashes of cannibals or man-killers (de Laguna 1972). They were thought by some to have come from the inside of the head of Wolverine Man from whom they inherit their man-eating tendencies (McClellan 1975). This Wolverine Man is sometimes replaced by a Cannibal as is recounted in a story included here in Appendix B. The coastal Tlingit have a taboo against killing mosquitos.

The Tlingit did appeal to blowflies, asking them not to let worms get into the salmon since these maggots were believed to be poisonous (Swanton 1908). Inland Tlingit declare that some people, in reference to lice, "are glad to be lousy because it is good. They claim that the big shots never get lousy because they always wash pretty clean, you know. The lower class claims that somebody has taken pity on them and is taking the bad luck out of their system, so when they are lousy and the lice bite them, they are glad... because the lice are taking all their bad luck away" (McClellan 1975). One of McClellan's informants also mentioned that if a menstruating girl looks at a louse, there will be no more, for all will turn into pine cones (McClellan 1975). Inland Tlingit tell of a woman shaman who had "spider power" with which she saved her children by pulling them up to heaven (McClellan 1975). In this same story, the shaman also wrings human blood out of a louse (McClellan 1975).

FROGS

An in-depth look at the Tlingit relationship to the frog provides insight on the extent of Tlingit relationships to non-game species and their importance within culture. The presence of frogs as representative taxa of non-game species in Tlingit culture is

particularly noteworthy due to the frequency with which they appear in the oral history and clan associations. These animals were considered extremely sensitive to human slights or injuries, but also very grateful when shown kindness (de Laguna 1972). They were thought of as dangerous animals if touched or even seen because “The slime exuding from a frog’s skin was thought to be very poisonous and fatal to smaller creatures (Swanton 1908). They could however, be appealed to for assistance (de Laguna 1972).

Several species of amphibians occur within traditional Tlingit territory though the most common frogs were likely the Wood Frog and the Boreal Toad. De Laguna did not know if the Tlingit distinguished between these two species (though they are considerably different in appearance) but suggested that the toad was probably “The Frog” used as a crest among the various clans claiming it. Emmons also recorded a Tlingit word for “tadpole” as “kluckkish” (Emmons 1991). As was seen previously with the example of Skookum Jim’s frog spirit helper and his discovery of gold in the Klondike, frog Yeiks can be acquired by humans.

Many traditional (and contemporary) Tlingit have a deep fear of frogs. De Laguna witnessed this with one of her informants in Yakutat:

“When a little girl came into the house and told her grandmother, MJ, that she and a friend had collected a dairy can full of frogs which they planned to sell, the effect was electric. The elderly woman screamed at her, ‘Thrown them away! Don’t let them suffer! Take them to a swampy place!...I’ll make you eat it! Ill but them for you! I’ll buy some!’ and so forth in an almost incoherent stream. When the child had departed, she said that the soles of her feet were ‘just itching’ from horror. And the reputed can of frogs had not even been brought near the house! The same woman also squealed “eek” at a picture of a frog. On at least four occasions she commented on her horror of the animals, even though she was ready to defend the claim of her sib [L’uknaḡ.ádi], to the frog.”

This woman claimed to take after her grandfather who also had a fear of frogs and would say “Aunties, don’t get near me, I’m scared of you!” or “Pity me frog women” when he encountered them on the landscape (de Laguna 1972). The grandfather would also put spruce stakes around his bed when camping to keep the frogs out and would “never lay down till he gets that pile of spruce limbs [around his bed]” (de Laguna 1972). His wife apparently made fun of him indicating that he wasn’t scared of someone shooting or stabbing him, but rather of the frogs.

McClellan (1975) reported that though frogs were not common in the Yukon, Tagish and inland Tlingit women seemed to have an almost pathological fear of them. In one example, a Tagish woman told how she once found a meadow full of flowers and gophers “like a farm” but it was utterly spoiled for her when she captured a frog in her gopher snare (McClellan 1975). She apparently made her youngest daughter remove the frog from the snare (McClellan 1975). In another example, a young inland Tlingit woman expressed a great desire to visit Haines on the coast but added that “she would be afraid to go because of all the frogs there” (McClellan 1975).

Despite the fear, there seems to have been some ambiguity to Tlingit feelings toward the frog. McClellan tells that Southern Tutchone and Tagish believed that frogs bring bad luck and should not be commonly hunted, but also declare that if someone is sick and you offer a

frog gifts, the sick person will heal (McClellan 1975). If the frog was unable to heal a person, it was believed to bring these gifts back to the humans secretly. For this reason, if gifted beads or other items were found, the sick person was thought to surely be doomed to die (McClellan 1975). A Tagish informant gave this account to McClellan (1975):

“A Tagish woman was ‘sick all the time’ during her daughter’s childhood, so the little girl was sent to find a frog. When she brought one back, an older woman ‘talked to it and made the frog lay its hand on the sick place (the mother’s eye), and she blew and said ‘Let the sun go down with it.’

Then they put the frog down on a lot of loose beads and said ‘This is your pay.’ Afterwards the little girl returned the frog to the water, giving it more beads and ceremonial down. As long as she watched, the frog remained motionless. Next day there was no trace of frog, beads or down. Since in spite of these auspicious signs, the mother continued to be sick, the older woman later tried to hex her daughter for ‘frog healing power’ just after she had ended her puberty seclusion. This time the frog was put on top of the daughter’s head rather than on the mother’s so its power would ‘go through’ into her hands and she would be able to ‘feel sickness.’ The girl then put her hands on her mother’s sore eyes and blew away. However ‘it didn’t come true for either of us’ neither mother nor daughter acquired a frog power.”

FROG CRESTS & WAR

Among the most powerful and high-caste of the Raven clans were the Kiks.adi in both Wrangell and Sitka, a clan that bears the frog as its major crest and is widely known as the Frog Clan. The Kiks.adi claims to the Frog are based on at least two different stories, one regarding the marriage of a woman to the frog and the other about a frog being found in the water (de Laguna 1972).. Other clans claim the frog as a crest too including the Gaanaxteidí of the Chilkat, the Kaach.ádi at Wrangell, the L’uknaḡ.ádi at Sitka and Yakutat, and among the Gunaaxoo Kwáan, and the Kaasḡ’agweidí at Wrangell. Among the Inland Tlingit, frog is a crest animal of the koqwhitan and the Ickitan clans (McClellan 1975). Each clan has its own story on how they obtained the crest but the members are viewed as intelligent and visionary leaders because of their relationship with this animal, which was said to be the bearer of knowledge and wisdom (Post 2010).

To the Inland Tlingit the frog crest was highly respected even though the animal was considered so ominous that a white man who had teased some Teslin Indian women with frogs went temporarily insane soon after the incident (McClellan 1975). Teslin people also tell of the terrible fate of a girl who married a frog man and had a frog child (McClellan 1975).

The Kaach.ádi and the L’uknaḡ.ádi are said to have acquired the frog crest relatively recently, and this precipitated a riot when the latter group attempted to erect a frog carving at Sitka in the late 19th century (United States 1908). Clans are prohibited from using the crests of another but migrations have led to their use on the houses of the same and descendent clans in other areas (Post 2010). This situation has caused conflicts in the past and almost led to war in the late 1800s when the L’uknaḡ.ádi erected a totem containing the frog. Swanton (1908) explained:

“The frog was a special possession of the Kiks.adi who claimed it from the fact that persons of their

clan had held special dealings with frogs, although the stories told about them at Sitka and Wrangell differ. The Ɔaanax̄teidí of Tongass tell the same story as the Wrangell Kiks.adi about the marriage of a woman of their clan to a frog, and probably claim the frog also. In recent years the Ɔaach.ádi of Wrangell and the L'uknaḡ.ádi at Sitka have tried to adopt the frog, but in the latter case their attempt to put up the frog carving precipitated a riot.”

The L'uknaḡ.ádi originated in Yakutat but some eventually migrated to Sitka. While still in Yakutat, this clan acquired the frog as a crest when they found a giant frozen white frog while digging the foundations of a house at Gusex (de Laguna 1972). They named the building Frog House and decorated it with frog house posts and a frog screen (de Laguna, 1972). This clan began to give frog personal names such as Old Frog, Cold Skin, and Drowning or Sinking (de Laguna 1972). Houses were later built at Dry Bay near Sitka in 1909 and 1915 which were named “Frog House” and subsequently decorated with figures and screens (de Laguna 1972). In Yakutat no one disputed the L'uknaḡ.ádi claim to the frog but at Sitka they were quickly opposed by the Kiks.adi (also of the Raven moiety) who were more powerful and claimed the frog as theirs alone (de Laguna 1972). When the L'uknaḡ.ádi attempted to dedicate a frog house in Sitka in 1902-1903, the Kiks.adi, particularly those from Wrangell, were enraged (de Laguna 1971).

The Frog house decorations (carving and screen) involved in the event were carved by skilled Tlingit artists, Daniel Benson and Yel nawu, and were said to cost the clan a lot of money (de Laguna 1972). Benson was a Teqwedi artist from Yakutat and born around 1868 and Yel nawu (Dead Raven) was from Sitka. The carving was eventually secured to an inner wall in the middle of the house and appeared as though it stuck halfway out both sides (de Laguna 1972). Figure 1 in the Appendix shows the carved frog that led to the dispute as well as some of the men involved.

According to de Laguna's Yakutat informant, the Chief of the Frog House in Gusex named Stagwan, uncle of Jack Ellis - a L'uknaḡ.ádi sponsor of the event, was present in Sitka for the dedication ceremonies (de Laguna 1972). At one point, Jack Ellis, his mother (Elizabeth or Duqwetc), and Stagwan were the only ones in the house. This is when the Kiks.adi Chief named Xuxwac (Blanket of Tanned Skin) broke in and began chopping the frog off of the wall (de Laguna 1972). De Laguna's informant describes what happened and the sentiment afterward:

“And everybody get down on Stagwan. ‘Why didn't he kill that man?’ And Elizabeth grabs the gun; she was going to shoot it. But he grabs that gun away from her and throw it down. She was going to shoot the people cutting up the Frog...

Her name would have been high amongst our people if she had killed that [Kiks.adi] man. But that Stagwan grab the gun away. ‘You go to jail if you kill anybody.’ She just bite her nails. But what can a woman do?

Her name would have been printed in a book. Get her name high... She would have died in prison, just the same, but her name would have been up amongst us. Oh, it's a big trouble.”

He added:

“Oh, that was a upset! Everybody was nervous – even up here. They just shove that man around here when he come back. ‘You coward! Why didn’t you get a gun?’ He is ‘uncle’ to Jack Ellis. Oh his brothers got mad at him. His sisters, too. Who’s going to die for you?”

In Stagwan’s defense, de Laguna suggests that he was doing his best to prevent bloodshed and succeeded.

Before war broke out this situation was brought to federal court under Judge Johnson who was on the case for two years before announcing that the court had no legal right to intervene in the dispute (Harring 1994). This effectively denied the protection of US law over this form of Tlingit property. Not long after nine Wrangell Kiks.adi cut down the totem at night using a special ladder. They were charged with “rioting” and held in jail on \$1000 bond in order to dissuade future aggression (Harring 1994).

De Laguna suggests that the story and sentiments were biased depending on which moiety her informants were members of. Ravens in Yakutat were quite upset years after the event and defended the L’uknaḡ.ádi claim to the frog, one indicating that:

“They [L’uknaḡ.ádi] had that Frog for a totem pole [i.e. crest]. They had it for generations. That totem proves honestly that Frog our business. It’s ours. It’s not the Kiks.adi’s.”

Yet another informant defended the claim:

“That’s ours from inside, from Gusex. They wernt going to call it Xixth hit, but when they dig up the frog, they call it that [i.e. Frog House]. That’s a long time ago. Its before the Kiks.adi found that frog in the ocean that they claim.

“The Gaanaḡteidí also claim the Frog. They told me that in Juneau. But they don’t fight with us. They just keep making it and keep quiet.

A neutral opinion was suggested by de Laguna’s Yakutat informants of the Eagle moiety indicating that “The Kiks.adi frog was an old, old one, and they didn’t like the L’uknaḡ.ádi to get a new one” or the admission that “the Kiks.adi were probably right, because the Frog is more on their side.” Given that the Kiks.adi claim is based in legend rather than an event of recent history, the claim is likely older since these crests are considered to be ancient (de Laguna 1972).

Xuxwatc had apparently warned that he would split up the frog if it was displayed (de Laguna 1972). After doing so, he went to Ketchikan where someone had made him a totem pole with L’uknaḡ.ádi crests, which he called Ta gas (Sleep Pole) to get back at them (de Laguna 1972). His own paternal grandfather was L’uknaḡ.ádi and before Xuxwatc died, he gave the pole back to that clan as a peace offering (de Laguna 1972.) it now resides at Charley Kitka’s house in Sitka who paid \$700 for it because he did not want to get it for free (de Laguna 1972).

The event apparently did not dissuade the L'uknaḡ.ádi from representing the Frog crest at Sitka thereafter. Another Frog House was dedicated by Jack Ellis in 1950 and a carving of a frog was placed on his tombstone (de Laguna 1972). A L'uknaḡ.ádi informant of de Laguna at Yakutat said that they contemplated saying the following to a Kiks.adi visitor in 1952: "You are our enemy. We don't forget the Frog House."

FROG LEGENDS

Frogs appear in several Tlingit stories as captors and as helpers, as well as equally powerful spirits in the reprimanding of humans who violate or offend them. Several stories from the Tlingit oral history (stories are considered at.oow) elucidate these powers and transformations. A prominent source of recorded traditional stories is JR Swanton's 1909 compilation "Tlingit Myths and Texts" but while this author can be credited with publishing the stories, they are actually owned by the Tlingit people as a whole and are told with variations from place to place. The compilation is also merely a sample of an extensive oral history. Several popular stories involving frogs have been documented.

"The Woman Taken Away by the Frog People" and the "Origin of the Frog Crest Among the Kiks.adi" were recorded by Swanton in Sitka in 1904 and told to him by an elderly man named Dekinaxku of the Box-house people (Swanton 1909). "The Story of the Frog Crest of the Kiks.adi of Wrangell" was told to Swanton in 1904 by Katishan, chief of the Kaasx'agweidí in Wrangell (Swanton 1909) and "How the Sitka Kiks.adi Obtained the Frog" was told to Swanton by Katishan's mother Léek, also of the Kaasx'agweidí in the same year (Swanton 1909). "Wealth Woman" (McLellan 1963) and "Volcano Woman" (Beck 1989) are additional Tlingit legends pertaining to frogs. Volcano Woman is included here as Appendix C.

The story of how the Kiks.adi obtained the frog crest of Wrangell exemplifies the respect that the Tlingit have for frogs and the repercussions of offending these animals. This story was told to Swanton in 1904 by Katishan, chief of the Kaasx'agweidí in Wrangell (Swanton 1909):

"A man belonging to the Stikine Kiks.adi kicked a frog over on its back, but as soon as he had done so he lay motionless unable to talk, and they carried his body into the house. This happened at Town-of-the-frogs (Xíxtc!-xâ'yikA-ân), so named because there are many frogs nearby.

The reason why this man lost his senses was because the frogs had taken his soul. They had it tied to a house post, and some of them said, "Let him starve right there where he is tied." Others said, "No, don't let him starve there. Feed him and let us see what the chief says." This chief's name was Frightful-face (YAkû'ldî). When he at last came in his canoe, they said, "Frightful-face has come." Then all went down to his canoe to welcome him, and, when he reached his house, they told him the news. They said, "This man disgraced us terribly. He threw one of our women down and kicked her over." The woman was called Woman-in-the-road (Deyêxcâ'g^u). When the chief looked up, he said, "Untie him and bring him here." Then he said to the man, "We belong to your clan, and it is a shame that you should treat your own people as you have done. We are Kiks.adi, and it is a Kiks.adi youth who has done this. You better go to your own village. You have disgraced yourself as well as us, for this woman belongs to your own clan."

As soon as he had left the frogs' house, his body lying at home came to. He had thought all the time that his body also was in the house of the frogs. Then he got up and began to talk. He said, "Something strange has happened to me. The frog people captured me on account of that frog that I kicked over in front of the house the other day. They had tied me to the chief's house-post, and some wanted to kill me at once, while others wanted to starve me, and still others wanted to wait until their chief, Frightful-face, came home. When the latter at length arrived, they said to him, 'We have a man in here who has been throwing down one of our women. We have been waiting for you to see what shall be done with him.' I listened to all they said. Then the frog chief said, 'Untie him,' and all minded him. As soon as he had heard about it, he said, 'See here, young man, what is this you have done? Don't you know that we belong to your clan and that this woman you have done that to is of the same clan? If it were not for that, we would not let you go. As it is you may go.'"

All of the Kiks.adi were listening to what this man said, and it is because the frog himself said he was a Kiks.adi that they claim the frog."

In many Tlingit stories it is difficult to decipher whether the characters are actual animals or human members of the clan bearing their crest. This lack of clarity is due to the traditional Tlingit perception of unity between man and animal – the differences were considered minimal with all life sharing a common origin. They refer to the frog as one of their own and this speaks to the lack of a definitive separation between human beings and other species. The frog was considered a woman of their clan and possessed a name. Even the town in this story was named "Town of the frogs", giving further evidence that non-game species were recognized on the landscape and play important roles in cultural life.

Because the man in the story kicked a frog, his fellow clansmen were willing to tie him up, starve him and even kill him if it had come to that. The frog was able to capture the man's soul (probably his mortal Yeik rather than his immortal soul), which caused the man to fall unconscious. In yet another story, *Volcano Woman* (Beck 1989), natural spirits punished human beings for offenses against frogs:

"Frog was volcano woman's only child. One day Frog saw evil men hunting only for pleasure rather than necessity. When the men noticed Frog they killed him. Volcano woman erupted in her sorrow and fury, crying great tears of lava. She destroyed the earth, but in time it would be born again even stronger and more fertile."

While it is likely that the Tlingit considered these stories to be accounts of actual events, of equal importance are the lessons passed down from generation to generation. In the above story, the connotation of evil was applied to the men that were hunting for pleasure. Not only then is unnecessary killing taboo, the repercussions of doing so are dire. Thus far we have seen a man fall extremely ill due to his offense against a frog and even the destruction of the earth when a frog had been killed.

These stories are widely known and published without a credited author. The events are presumed to have occurred in the distant past. Others though, are relatively contemporary such as this account by Shukoff in 1882:

"In 1881, near Hot Springs [Baranof Island], some six Indian women and a boy were starting out after berries. Before they left the beach, one of the women found a frog, and she commenced to stone him, abusing him all the time. And after killing him, she threw him in the water. They then went across to

the other shore and gathered baskets full of berries. And one woman began to mimic a loon as it calls and crooks its neck. They laughed at her [with her?], and they got in the canoe. The water was [then] very smooth and fair weather, when suddenly wind came up and upset the canoe. All the women drowned, except one. And the boy got hold of one and tried to save her, but could not. But he reached the shore, came and told the husbands, and they found only one [woman]. The Indians believed they were lost because they killed the frog and mimicked the loon.]”

Not all lessons in stories are derived in fear nor do they suggest that positive outcomes are rare in dealing with animals that are treated appropriately. In “How the Sitka Kiks.adi Obtained the Frog”, a frog guided a canoe and its occupants through heavy fog to land (Swanton 1909):

“A man and his wife were crossing the mouth of a big bay named L!ê'yâq, when it became so foggy that they could not even see the water around their canoe and stopped where they were. Then, quite a distance away in the thick fog, they heard singing, and it continued for so long a time that they learned the song by heart. The words of this song are (first verse), “We picked up a man; you picked up a man;” (second verse), “They captured a man; they captured a man; you’ve captured a man.” The voice was so powerful that they could hear it reecho among all the mountains.

When the fog began to rise so that they could look under it a little they heard the song coming nearer and nearer. They looked about and finally saw that it came from a very little frog. To make sure of it they paddled along for some time in the direction it was taking. Then the man said, “This frog is going to be mine. I am going to claim it,” and his wife answered, “No, it is going to be mine. I am going to claim it.” But, after they had disputed for some time, the man finally let it go to his wife.

Then the woman took it ashore, treating it like a child, carried it up to the woods, put it down by a lake and left it there. From that time on, her people have been KîksA'dî. That is how the Sitka KîksA'dî came to claim the frog.”

It is important too to mention “The Woman Taken Away by the Frog People” (Swanton 1909). In this widely known account, a frog (in human form) took the woman to the bottom of a lake to become his husband. The woman’s people later drained the lake to get her back. It is said that during her time “among the frog people,” the frogs learned to speak the Tlingit language and it is thus taboo to speak negatively of these animals on the landscape. It is also believed that frogs now tell the same story to their own children.

In addition to the perceived power and influence of frogs themselves, shamans frequently appealed to frog helper spirits. The frog spirit was taken by cutting off its as with all animal spirits acquired by the shaman. The capturing or “joining” of a shaman with the frog spirit is frequently observed in the archaeological record, particularly as depicted on shamanistic rattles.

Beyond their spiritual importance, many Northwest Coast peoples had utilitarian relationships with non-game species too. The Tsimshian people to the south suggest that Frog announces the end of the winter dance season. It is said that when the last snowflakes of winter touch the ground they turn into Frogs and that the Native people know that there is only six weeks until the Salmon begin returning to the rivers and summer begins. This inclusion of frogs as an important component of the annual cycle has not been recorded

among the Tlingit though it is likely that spring chorusing was one of many indicators of seasonal change in traditional society.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the relationship of the traditional Tlingit people to the flora and fauna of local Alaska landscapes was intensely spiritual and transcended mere utilitarian subsistence harvest. All beings were viewed as possessing innate powers and spirits that could both assist and harm human beings depending on the manner in which they are treated. Having originally been humans themselves, animals were believed to be kin to humans, a relationship then founded in family associations blurring the line between animals and man. Furthermore, the ability of other species to transform into humans from time to time and for their spirits to become human guardians, spoke to their innate powers and reciprocal relationship to the human species.

The world of spirits was alive and present to the traditional Tlingit, a world that seemed much more tangible than it did abstract. Animals and plants were not seen as mere objects or available resources on the landscape, but rather as endowed with great supernatural power. Each was believed to have had an ancient history on earth and to have been derived from supernatural phenomena in the distant past. Humans were not separate from this system, or the system's history, but rather an important part of it, required to adhere to the same rules of conformity. It is in this history and interaction with the spirit world that the living passed into at death or when humans became witches, or from which shaman's drew their awesome powers (de Laguna 1972). Instead of existing as a far off land in a distant time or universe such as the Christian concept of heaven, the spirit world existed locally and contemporarily, ever present in daily life. The interactions that an individual had with this world on a daily basis, dictated his or her ability to subsist, persist, and co-exist.

Knowledge of the spirit world, adherence to practices, avoidance of taboos, and general respect for all beings, alive and dead, were considered necessary for human survival. A man's "essential self or spirit was identical with the spirits or souls of animals, plants, and inanimate objects (de Laguna 1972). These non-human "beings" could at times take human form while humans possessed by these spirits could alternatively appear in animal guise (de Laguna 1972). Humans could often speak to these other beings as they could to him (de Laguna 1972).

The required relationship between humans and other beings came with a moral obligation of mutual respect. The Tlingit often feared the power of these other beings and their spirits, usually recognizing non-human spirit power as greater than their own, but also relying on their conformity to rules and their reciprocity of goodwill in order to survive and be fruitful (de Laguna 1972).

Survival and happiness were always at the core of the human relationship with the spirit world. Through magic acts and ritual the successful hunter "both woos and propitiates" the spirit of his quarry (McClellan 1975). The animal spirits could be powerful providers of both good and evil so they could not be ignored and sometimes, they could even be

acquired as a doctor or spirit helper (McClellan 1975). The existence of spirits made life possible for the traditional Tlingit while “imposing a heavy burden of responsibility upon him” (McClellan 1975).

Given these intimate and necessary relationships with life and the spirit world, it becomes easier to understand how the Tlingit negotiated cultural symbols and defined rules for their use. A crest of the clan was not merely a symbolic depiction of an ancient story owned by its members, but it represented a powerful connection to the spirit world that could influence great success or severe devastation. The embodiment of these spirits were often represented pictorially as a testament to these relationships that in themselves, were kindred in nature rather than between merely between two disparate species or spirit powers. Considering the ability of violations to these relationships to result in disaster and death, we can then begin to understand that incredible fortitude with which they were protected, even unto death, for the protection of one’s self, family, and friends.

The connection between humans and other animals and the taboos surrounding mistreatment likely promoted sustainable harvest practices in traditional Tlingit society. The heightened awareness of other species and contemplation of their spiritual roles resulted in detailed observations of the world necessary for adherence to cultural norms and for the acquisition of resources. These knowledge and insights acquired through extensive observation of a landscape and its inhabitants over time are often referred to as Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) (Huntington 2000) or simply indigenous knowledge (IK).

Indigenous Knowledge is neither stagnant in time nor is it the same from human to human or place to place. In the modern world, IK is still relevant and can play an important role in the management of resources, co-existing as a source of data coequal or at least complimentary to standard western science. It has been used frequently in the study of game animals in the North, but given the parallel relationship to species not typically harvested, non-game research may stand to benefit greatly in the future.

The ability of IK to support the management practices of western governments is not the only benefit of this knowledge base and its principals. It is clear that species, both game and non-game in form, provide critical cultural ecosystem services to the Tlingit people. The spiritual values and health of the individual should at very least be considered when research and management is undertaken on lands of traditional Tlingit importance.

To the Tlingit, at least traditionally, manipulating natural resources solely for the benefit of human beings without regard to other species is taboo and will result in great harm to people and the earth.

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APPENDIX A

Figure 1. Borrow from Plate # 209 (de Laguna 1972). Original plate description reads “Frog Crest of the L’uknaḡ.ádi, Sitka, 1902. This is the frog carving which the Kiks.adi destroyed when the L’uknaḡ.ádi attempted to dedicate a Frog House at Sitka in 1902. The frog was carved by Daniel Bensen (Daqusetc), Teqwedi of Yakutat, and Tel nawu, ‘Dead Raven,’ L’uknaḡ.ádi artist of Sitka, chief of the Koskedi Cow House, and painter of the Golden Eagle Screen for the Drum House of the Teqwedi. The frog was chopped up by the Xuxwatc, “Tanned Skin Blanket,” a Kiks.adi man. The L’uknaḡ.ádi men posing with the Frog are, from left to right, Ned James or Stagwan; Duksa at, husband of Jim Kardeetoo’s sister; Dexudu’u, “Buys Two at a Time,” brother of T. Max italo; Quxtsina, another brother; and Lkettitc. (Photograph courtesy of Mrs. Harry K. Brember.)”



Table 1. Incomplete List of Tlingit Crests by Moiety and Category. Adapted from Emmons (1991).

Category	Crest	Moiety
Birds	Cormorant	Eagle / Wolf
Birds	Crow	Raven
Birds	Eagle	Eagle / Wolf
Birds	Flicker	Eagle / Wolf
Birds	Grouse	Raven
Birds	Hawk	Raven
Birds	Murrelet	Eagle / Wolf
Birds	Owl	Eagle / Wolf
Birds	Petrel	Eagle / Wolf
Birds	Puffin	Raven
Birds	Raven	Raven
Birds	Seagull	Raven
Birds	Swan	Raven
Birds	Thunderbird	Eagle / Wolf
Fish	Clam	Raven
Fish	Codfish	Eagle / Wolf
Fish	Coho Salmon	Raven
Fish	Dog Salmon	Raven
Fish	Dogfish	Eagle / Wolf
Fish	Ground Shark	Eagle / Wolf
Fish	Halibut	Eagle / Wolf
Fish	Halibut (Large)	Raven
Fish	Herring	Raven
Fish	Sculpin	Raven
Fish	Starfish	Raven
Land Animals	Beaver	Raven
Land Animals	Brown Bear	Eagle / Wolf
Land Animals	Dog	Eagle / Wolf

Category	Crest	Moiety
Land Animals	Frog	Raven
Land Animals	Land Otter	Raven
Land Animals	Moose	Raven
Land Animals	Mountain Goat	Eagle / Wolf
Land Animals	Mouse	Raven
Land Animals	Wolf	Eagle / Wolf
Marine Mammals	Hair Seal	Eagle / Wolf
Marine Mammals	Killerwhale	Eagle / Wolf
Marine Mammals	Porpoise	Eagle / Wolf
Marine Mammals	Sea Lion	Raven
Marine Mammals	Whale	Raven
Other Animals	Small Saltwater Bug	Eagle / Wolf
Other Animals	Woodworm	Raven
Geological Features	Devil's Thumb Mountain (near Frederick Sound)	Raven
Geological Features	Glacial Iceberg	Eagle / Wolf
Geological Features	Mount Fairweather	Raven
Geological Features	Mount Saint Elias	Raven
Geological Features	Mountain in the Stikeen River near Glenora	Raven
Geological Features	Mountain on Baranof Island	Raven
Geological Features	Rock in the Stikeen River near Glenora	Raven
Geological Features	Rock west of Kuiu Island	Eagle / Wolf
Mythical Beings	Carved Cane Captured from Tsimshian	Eagle / Wolf
Mythical Beings	Monster of Talqw Bay (Sea Bear)	Eagle / Wolf
Mythical Beings	Mythical Sea Monster (Wealth Bringer)	Eagle / Wolf
Mythical Beings	Skin-Black - Character of Strength	Raven
Mythical Beings	Spirit of Sleep	Raven
Planetary Bodies	Great Dipper	Raven
Planetary Bodies	Moon	Raven
Planetary Bodies	Sun	Raven

Table 2. Incomplete List of Tlingit House Names By Category. Adapted from Emmons (1991) table 14 with several additions from Crippen (2012).

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
Birds	Bluejay Head	Wrangell	Stikine	Xeil Kwáan
Birds	Eagle	Controller Bay	Kaliakh	<u>Jeeshkweidi</u>
Birds	Eagle	Sitka	Sitka	<u>Kaagwaantaan</u>
Birds	Eagle	Cape Fox	Sanya	<u>Neix.ádi</u>
Birds	Eagle Spear	Cape Fox	Sanya	<u>Neix.ádi</u>
Birds	Eagle Tail	Cape Fox	Sanya	<u>Neix.ádi</u>
Birds	Eagle's Foot	Cape Fox	Sanya	<u>Neix.ádi</u>
Birds	Eagle's Nest	KluKwáan	Chilkat	<u>Kaagwaantaan</u>
Birds	Eagle's Nest	Sitka	Sitka	<u>Kaagwaantaan</u>
Birds	Eagle's Nest	Cape Fox	Sanya	<u>Neix.ádi</u>
Birds	Flicker	Tongass	Tongass	<u>Dakl'aweidi</u>
Birds	Flicker	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	<u>Deisheetaan</u>
Birds	Flicker	Wrangell	Stikine	<u>X'ookeidi</u>
Birds	Golden Eagle	Yakutat	Yakutat	<u>Teikweidi</u>
Birds	Great Horned Owl	Tuxekan	Henrya	Shangukeidi
Birds	Hawk	Tongass	Tongass	<u>Gaanaxteidi</u>
Birds	Hawk	Kake	Kake	<u>Taneidi</u>
Birds	Murrelet	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Tuckclawayde
Birds	Owl	Yakutat	Yakutat	<u>Kwáashk'i Kwáan</u>
Birds	Puffin	Kooyú	Unknown	<i>Kooyu.eidi</i>
Birds	Raven	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	<u>Deisheetaan</u>
Birds	Raven	Tongass	Tongass	<u>Gaanax.ádi</u>
Birds	Raven	Controller Bay	Kliakh	<u>Gaanaxteidi</u>
Birds	Raven	KluKwáan	Chilkat	<u>Gaanaxteidi</u>
Birds	Raven	Yandestake	Chilkoot	<u>Lukaax.ádi</u>
Birds	Raven	Kake	Kake	Souketeenade
Birds	Raven	Tuxekan	Henrya	<u>Teeyineidi</u>
Birds	Raven's Bones	Yakutat	Yakutat	<u>Kwáashk'i Kwáan</u>
Birds	Raven's Nest	Kutwaltu	Chilkoot	<u>Noowshaka.aayí</u>
Birds	Raven's Nest	Hoonah	Hoonah	Tuckdanetan

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
Birds	Seagull	Hoonah	Hoonah	Tuckdanetan
Fish	Bullhead	Unknown	Sanya	Kiks.ádi
Fish	Coho Salmon	Sitka	Sitka	Lukaax.ádi
Fish	Dog Salmon	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	Aanx'aakhittaa
Fish	Dog Salmon	Neltushkin	Hutsnuwu	L'eeneidí
Fish	Dog Salmon	Tuxekan	Henrya	L'eeneidí
Fish	Dog Salmon	Auk	Auk	Noowshaka.aaýí
Fish	Dogfish	Saxman	Sanya	Koosk'eidí
Fish	Dogfish	Wrangell	Stikine	NaanVaa.aaýí
Fish	Dogfish	KluḲwáan	Chilkat	Tuckclawayde
Fish	Dogfish	Kake	Kake	Was'ineidí
Fish	Dogfish Intestine	Wrangell	Stikine	NaanVaa.aaýí
Fish	Halibut	Sitka	Sitka	Kaagwaantaan
Fish	Halibut (Large)	Cape Fox	Sanya	Neix.ádi
Fish	Halibut (Large)	Wrangell	Stikine	Noowshaka.aaýí
Fish	Herring Jumping	Sitka	Sitka	Kiks.ádi
Fish	Needlefish	Unknown	Hutsnuwu	Deisheetaan
Fish	Old Silver Salmon	Kake	Kake	Kaach.ádi
Fish	Old Silver Salmon	Yandestake	Chilkoot	Lukaax.ádi
Fish	Old Silver Salmon	Hoonah	Hoonah	Tuckdanetan
Fish	Sculpin	Cape Fox	Sanya	Noowshaka.aaýí
Fish	Shark	Sitka	Sitka	Kookhittaa
Fish	Shark	Port Mulgrave	Yakutat	Teikweidí
Fish	Shark	Kake	Kake	Tsaagweidí
Fish	Shark	Auk	Auk	Wooshkeetaan
Fish	Shark's Backbone	Hoonah	Hoonah	Kaagwaantaan Gaýes'hittaa or Wooshkeetaan
Fish	Shark's Fin	Freshwater Bay	Hoonah	Kaagwaantaan Gaýes'hittaa or Wooshkeetaan
Invertebrates	Butterfly	KluḲwáan	Chilkat	Tuckclawayde
Invertbrates	Leech	Unknown	Sanya	Neix.ádi
Invertbrates	Moth	Unknown	Chilkat	DaḲl'aweidí
Invertebrates	Sea Bug (Possibly Tadpole)	Cape Fox	Sanya	Neix.ádi
Invertebrates	Slug (Snail Out of Its Shell)	Kake	Kake	Tuckclawayde

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
Invertebrates	Snail	Wrangell	Stikine	Kiks.ádi
Invertebrates	Starfish	Tongass	Tongass	Gaanax.ádi
Invertebrates	Starfish	Tuxekan	Henrya	Teev'ineidí
Invertebrates	Woodworm	Kluḵwáan	Chilkat	Gaanaxteidí
Land Animals	Bear (Black)	Sumdum	Sumdum	S'eet'kweidí
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Hoonah	Hoonah	Chookaneidí
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Kluḵwáan	Chilkat	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Sitka	Sitka	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Cape Fox	Sanya	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Tongass	Tongass	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Tuxekan	Henrya	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Neltushkin	Hutsnuwu	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Port Mulgrave	Yakutat	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear (Brown)	Situk River	Yakutat	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear's Den	Cape Fox	Sanya	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear's Den	Situk River	Yakutat	Teikweidí
Land Animals	Bear's Nest	Cape Fox	Sanya	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Bear's Nest	Hoonah	Hoonah	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Bear's Nest	Freshwater Bay	Hoonah	Yan'yeidí or Wooshkeetaan
Land Animals	Beaver	Controller Bay	Kaliakh	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Beaver Dam	Cape Fox	Sanya	Neix.ádi
Land Animals	Bison or Cow	Tongass	Tongass	Gaanax.ádi
Land Animals	Bison or Cow	Tuxekan	Henrya	Kaax'oos.hittaaan
Land Animals	Bison or Cow	Hoonah	Hoonah	Koosk'eidí
Land Animals	Bison or Cow	Scar-ta-heen	Dry Bay	Koosk'eidí
Land Animals	Bison or Cow	Sitka	Sitka	Koosk'eidí
Land Animals	Frog	Wrangell	Stikine	Kiks.ádi and Kaach.ádi
Land Animals	Frog's Den	Wrangell	Stikine	Kaasx'agweidí
Land Animals	Land Otter House	Kluḵwáan	Chilkat	Gaanaxteidí
Land Animals	Land Otter House	Kake	Kake	Taneidí or Kaach.ádi
Land Animals	Marten	Tuxekan	Henrya	K'ooxeeneidí

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
Land Animals	Mouse	Hoonah	Hoonah	Koosk'eidí
Land Animals	Owl	Saxman	Sanya	Kaax'oos.hittaaan
Land Animals	Wolf	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Wolf	Controller Bay	Kaliakh	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Wolf	Sitka	Sitka	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Wolf	Wrangell	Stikine	X'ookeidí
Land Animals	Wolf Sweathouse	Yakutat	Yakutat	Kaagwaantaan
Land Animals	Wolf's Den Chief Killerwhale's Dorsal Fin	Port Mulgrave	Yakutat	Kaagwaantaan
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Kaagwaantaan
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale	Cape Fox	Sanya	Neix.ádi
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	Tuckclawayde
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Tuckclawayde
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale	Tongass	Tongass	Tuckclawayde
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale	Wrangell	Stikine	X'ookeidí
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale Family	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Tuckclawayde
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale's Backbone	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Tuckclawayde
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale's Dorsal Fin	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Tuckclawayde
Sea Mammals	Killerwhale's Tongue	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Tuckclawayde
Sea Mammals	Sea Lion	Wrangell	Stikine	Kaasx'agweidí
Sea Mammals	Sea Lion	Sitka	Sitka	L'uknax.ádi
Sea Mammals	Whale	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Gaanaxteidí
Sea Mammals	Whale	Wrangell	Stikine	Kaach.ádi
Sea Mammals	Whale	Sitka	Sitka	L'uknax.ádi
Sea Mammals	Whale	Saxman	Sanya	Taakw.aaneidí
Celestial and Meterological	Bright Sun	Chilkoot	Chilkoot	Shangukeidí
Celestial and Meterological	Moon	Port Mulgrave	Yakutat	Kwáashk'i Kwáan
Celestial and Meterological	Moon	Yakutat	Yakutat	Kwáashk'i Kwáan
Celestial and Meterological	Rainbow	Sitka	Sitka	Unidentified Clan
Celestial and Meterological	Star	Sitka	Sitka	Kaagwaantaan
Celestial and	Star (Great Dipper)	Auk	Auk	Yaxtehittaaan

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
Meteorological				
Celestial and Meteorological	Sun	Sitka	Sitka	Kiks.ádi
Celestial and Meteorological	Sun	Wrangell	Stikine	Kiks.ádi
Celestial and Meteorological	Thunder (A Bird)	Kluḵwáan	Chilkat	Dagisdinaa
Celestial and Meteorological	Thunder (A Bird)	Yakutat	Yakutat	Dagisdinaa
Celestial and Meteorological	Thunder (A Bird)	Tongass	Tongass	Gaanax.ádi
Celestial and Meteorological	Thunder (A Bird)	Yakutat	Yakutat	Teikweidí
Construction	Big House	Auk	Auk	Klintaan (sp?)
Construction	Big House	Wrangell	Stikine	Naanṽaa.aaví
Construction	Box	Sitka	Sitka	Kookhittaaan
Construction	Box	Wrangell	Stikine	Naanṽaa.aaví
Construction	Box	Kake	Kake	Shangukeidí
Construction	Box	Kake	Kake	Was'ineidí
Construction	Flat (Flat Basket or House People)	Kluḵwáan	Chilkat	Dagisdinaa
Construction	Looking Out	Tongass	Tongass	Gaanax.ádi
Construction	Looking Out	Kluḵwáan	Chilkat	Gaanaxteidí
Construction	Looking Out	Kake	Kake	Kaach.ádi
Construction	Pit	Chaik	Hutsnuwu	Deisheetaan?
Construction	Red	Wrangell	Stikine	S'iknax.ádi
Construction	Shelf	Sitka	Sitka	X'at'ka.aaví
Construction	Shelf	Wrangell	Stikine	X'ookeidí
Construction	Sidewise	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	Deisheetaan
Construction	Sidewise	Wrangell	Stikine	Kaas'agweidí
Construction	Sidewise	Sitka	Sitka	Kookhittaaan
Construction	Sidewise	Kake	Kake	Was'ineidí
Construction	Two Doors	Sitka	Sitka	Kaagwantaan
Defense	Armor (Wooden Armor About the Edge)	Neltushkin	Hutsnuwu	Aanx'aakhittaaan
Defense	Armor (Wooden Armor About the Edge)	Hoonah	Hoonah	Chookaneidí
Defense	Armor (Wooden Armor About the Edge)	Kake	Kake	Souketeenade
Defense	Armor (Wooden Armor)	Wrangell	Stikine	Teikweidí

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
	About the Edge)			
Defense	Cannon (Guns Around the Ship)	Wrangell	Stikine	X'ookeidí
Defense	Fort	Tongass	Tongass	Gaanax.ádi
Defense	Fort	Port Mulgrave	Yakutat	Kwáashk'i Kwáan
Defense	Fort	Yakutat	Yakutat	Kwáashk'i Kwáan
Defense	Fort	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	Wooshkeetaan
Defense	Fort	Hoonah	Hoonah	Wooshkeetaan
Defense	Fort	Kake	Kake	Wooshkeetaan
Defense	Fort	Thlu-huggu	Hoonah	Wooshkeetaan
Materials	Bark (Cedar Bark)	Wrangell	Stikine	Teeyhitta
Materials	Bark (Cedar Bark)	Saxman	Sanya	Teevineidí
Materials	Brush	Wrangell	Stikine	Kaach.ádi
Materials	Clay	Sitka	Sitka	Kiks.ádi
Materials	Copper	Sitka	Sitka	Kiks.ádi
Materials	Dead Wood	Kake	Kake	Neis.ádi
Materials	Green or Young Tree	KluKwáan	Chilkat	Dagisdinaa
Materials	Iron	Sitka	Sitka	X'ookeidí
Materials	Steel	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	Deisheetaan
Materials	Steel	Sitka	Sitka	Kiks.ádi
Materials	Steel	Wrangell	Stikine	K'alchaneidí
Materials	Yellow Cedar	Hoonah	Hoonah	Katakw.ádi
Materials	Yellow Cedar	Kake	Kake	Tsargaede
Places	Cave	Wrangell	Stikine	Naan'vaa.aaví
Places	Deep Salmon Hole (Chilkat River)	Chilkat	Chilkat	Gaanaxteidí
Places	Distant House (Or Marble Cave)	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	Deisheetaan
Places	End of Town (Reefs Around)	Tongass	Tongass	Kaagwaantaan
Places	End of Town (Reefs Around)	KluKwáan	KluKwáan	Tuckclawayde
Places	Far Away Out to Sea Farther on Beyond (Up River)	Yakutat	Yakutat	L'uknax.ádi
Places	Hillside	Chilkoot	Chilkoot	Lukaax.ádi
Places	House Back of Town	Hoonah	Hoonah	Tuckdanetan

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
Places	House Back of Town	Kake	Kake	Tunnade
Places	Iceberg	Hoonah	Hoonah	<u>Chookaneidí</u>
Places	Iceberg	Sitka	Sitka	<u>Chookaneidí</u>
Places	Last House in Town (On Town's End)	Kake	Kake	Shangukeidí or Tsaagweidí
Places	Logjam (Where Salmon Hide)	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	<u>Aanx'aakhittaán</u>
Places	Lower End of Town (Or Down River)	Sitka	Sitka	<u>L'uknax.ádi</u>
Places	Middle of Town	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	<u>Aanx'aakhittaán</u>
Places	Middle of Town	Neltushkin	Hutsnuwu	<u>Aanx'aakhittaán</u>
Places	Middle of Town	Kake	Kake	<u>Sukteeneidí</u>
Places	Mountain	Kake	Kake	Souketeenade
Places	Mountain	Tuxekan	Henrya	Unidentified Clan
Places	Mountain	Wrangell	Stikine	<u>Kaasx'agweidí</u>
Places	Mountain	Saxman	Sanya	Kahqwoirhittan (sp?)
Places	Mountain	Chilkoot	Chilkoot	<u>Lukaax.ádi</u>
Places	Mountain (Mount Fairweather)	Yakutat	Yakutat	<u>L'uknax.ádi</u>
Places	Mountain (Mount Fairweather)	Hoonah	Hoonah	Tuckdanetan
Places	Mountain (Mount Saint Elias)	Yakutat	Yakutat	<u>Kwáashk'í Kwáán</u>
Places	Mountain Back of Town	Yandestake	Chilkoot	<u>Lukaax.ádi</u>
Places	On Castle Rock Point	Sitka	Sitka	<u>Kiks.ádi</u>
Places	On Sandy Point	Yandestake	Chilkoot	<u>Dagisdinaa</u>
Places	On the Point On Top of Mountain (Unuk River)	Tongass	Tongass	<u>Gaanaxteidí</u>
Places	On the Point On Top of Mountain (Unuk River)	Cape Fox	Sanya	<u>Kaasx'agweidí</u>
Other	Play	Yakutat	Yakutat	<u>Kwáashk'í Kwáán</u>
Places	Precipice	Wrangell	Stikine	<u>Gaanaxteidí</u>
Places	Rock (Boulder) or Reef	Sitka	Sitka	<u>Kaagwaantaan</u>
Places	Rock (Boulder) or Reef Salmon Stream Near Dry Bay	Situk River	Yakutat	<u>L'uknax.ádi</u>
Places	Spring (Freshwater)	Sitka	Sitka	<u>Koosk'eidí</u>
Places	Spring (Freshwater)	KluKwáán	Chilkat	<u>Dagisdinaa</u>
Places	Spring (Freshwater)	Yandestake	Chilkoot	<u>Dagisdinaa</u>
Places	Spring (Freshwater)	Angoon	Hutsnuwu	<u>Deisheetaan</u>

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
Places	Tahlku Mountain (Devil's Thumb in Thomas Bay)	Wrangell	Stikine	Taalkweidí
Places	Town on Shore (Or Town On Beach Below)	Sitka	Sitka	Kaagwaantaan
Places	Treeless Island	Kake	Kake	Sukteeneidí and Taneidí
Places	Valley	Tongass	Tongass	Teikweidí
Places	Valley or Middle	Kluġwáan	Chilkat	Gaanaxteidí
Places	Wave's Cavern	Cape Fox	Sanya	Kiks.ádi
Places	Waves	Thlu-huggu	Hoonah	Tuckdanetan
Supernatural or Mythical	Coward (Homosexual - A Character in Myth)	Yakutat	Yakutat	Teikweidí
Supernatural or Mythical	Drifted or Towed Ashore (Refence to a Raven Myth)	Tuxekan	Henry	Teevineidí
Supernatural or Mythical	Katz (The Man Who Married a She-Bear)	Tongass	Tongass	Teikweidí
Supernatural or Mythical	Lowered From the Sky (reference to Myth of Children of the Sun)	Wrangell	Stikine	Kaach.ádi
Supernatural or Mythical	Man's (Amputated) Foot (A Shaman's Spirit)	Saxman	Sanya	Kaa'ooos.hittaaan
Supernatural or Mythical	Man's (Amputated) Head (A Shaman's Spirit)	Hoonah	Hoonah	Tuckdanetan
Supernatural or Mythical	Named for a Doctor's Spirit (Anyaku ka Yagee)	Wrangell	Stikine	X'ookeidí
Supernatural or Mythical	Picture or Shadow (Probably Referring to Ghosts)	Yandestake	Chilkoot	Kaagwaantaan
Supernatural or Mythical	Picture or Shadow (Probably Referring to Ghosts)	Wrangell	Stikine	Naan'vaa.aayí
Supernatural or Mythical	Sleep	Sitka	Sitka	L'uknax.ádi
Supernatural or Mythical	Water Monster Killed By Wealth Bringing Water	Wrangell	Stikine	Taalkweidí
Supernatural or Mythical	Monster	Saxman	Sanya	Shangukeidí
Other	Ank (Cane Captured in War With Tsimshian)	Wrangell	Stikine	S'iknax.ádi
Other	Bent Over Carrying A Heavy Load	Sitka	Sitka	Kiks.ádi
Other	Burned Down	Hoonah	Hoonah	Kaagwaantaan
Other	Burned Down	Sitka	Sitka	Kaagwaantaan
Other	Drum (So Called Because of the Rubberbaiting Noise Inside)	Kluġwáan	Chilkat	Kaagwaantaan
Other	Drum (So Called Because of the Rubberbaiting Noise Inside)	Port Mulgrave	Yakutat	Teikweidí

Category	Name	Location	Tribe	Clan
Other	Drum (So Called Because of the Rubberbaiting Noise Inside)	Yakutat	Yakutat	<u>Teikweidí</u>
Other	Gambling	Wrangell	Stikine	<u>Kaach.ádi</u>
Other	High Class	Sitka	Sitka	<u>Kaagwaantaan</u>
Other	Nu shuck ah ahye (One's on the Head of the Fort)	Kutwatu	Chilkoot	<u>Noowshaka.aayí</u>

Table 3. Estimated Harvest and Use of Fish, Game, and Plant Resources, Wrangell, 1987. (Cohen 1987)

Resource	Percent Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
All Resources	95.1	79.8	62.7	89.5	Pounds	440612	435.027	155.2
Fish	95.1	70.1	48	82	Pounds	207878	205.243	73.22
Salmon	82.3	52.6	24.8	62.3	Individual	8099	84.672	30.21
Chum Salmon	11.4	4.2	3.4	11.2	Individual	188	1.152	0.41
Coho Salmon	44.6	28.5	6	21.9	Individual	1615	12.277	4.38
Chinook Salmon	74.6	41.4	21.4	56.4	Individual	4275	64.579	23.04
Pink Salmon	18.4	7.8	1.7	10.6	Individual	924	2.007	0.72
Sockeye Salmon	24.4	12.9	4.9	13.2	Individual	1097	4.657	1.66
Non-Salmon Fish	92	63.8	39.6	73.3	Pounds	122119	120.57	43.01
Herring	18.1	9.9	0	8.2	Pounds	3552	3.507	1.25
Herring Roe	31.8	7.9	2.4	29.4	Pounds	2224	2.196	0.78
Herring Spawn on Kelp	31.8	7.9	2.4	29.4	Pounds	2224	2.196	0.78
Smelt	36.2	7.7	9.2	31.7	Pounds	17711	17.487	6.24
Eulachon (hooligan, candlefish)	36.2	7.7	9.2	31.7	Pounds	17711	17.487	6.24
Cod	23.7	6.2	2.6	18.4	Individual	463	1.462	0.52
Flounder	9.2	2.8	1.8	7.2	Individual	635	1.879	0.67
Halibut	76.6	47.3	30.2	54.1	Pounds	54561	53.87	19.22
Rockfish	30.5	19.3	9.8	14.6	Individual	3019	5.961	2.13
Char	45.2	39.6	14.2	16.6	Individual	11734	31.28	11.16
Dolly Varden	45.2	39.6	14.2	16.6	Individual	11734	31.28	11.16
Unknown Non-Salmon Fish	8	8	4.9	0	Pounds	2966	2.928	1.04
Land Mammals	70.3	34	20.7	56.8	Individual	1020	89.499	31.93
Large Land Mammals	70.3	33.8	20.7	56.8	Individual	883	89.499	31.93
Black Bear	8.4	4.8	2.5	6.9	Individual	56	3.217	1.15
Deer	63	27.6	12.7	46.3	Individual	725	57.262	20.43
Goat	7.7	3	2.3	6.2	Individual	38	3.832	1.37

Resource	Percent Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Moose	42.5	6.3	6.2	37.7	Individual	64	25.189	8.99
Small Land Mammals	1.8	1	0	0.9	Individual	137	0	0
Marine Mammals	4.6	3	1.5	2.4	Individual	236	18.303	6.53
Seal	4.6	3	1.5	2.4	Individual	221	18.303	6.53
Harbor Seal	4.6	3	1.5	2.4	Individual	221	18.303	6.53
Unknown Marine Mammals	0.8	0.8	0.8	0	Individual	15	0	0
Birds and Eggs	27.5	17.1	15	15.1	Individual	3319	4.09	1.46
Migratory Birds	25	17	14.3	12.7	Individual	2848	3.765	1.34
Ducks	23.3	16.1	13.5	11.2	Individual	2111	1.73	0.62
Geese	14.1	11.7	6.2	3.1	Individual	503	1.688	0.6
Canada Geese	14.1	11.7	6.2	3.1	Individual	503	1.688	0.6
Unknown Canada Geese	14.1	11.7	6.2	3.1	Individual	503	1.688	0.6
Seabirds & Loons	1.6	1.6	0.8	0	Individual	234	0.347	0.12
Other Birds	10.5	7.3	1.5	3.2	Individual	471	0.325	0.12
Upland Game Birds	10.5	7.3	1.5	3.2	Individual	471	0.325	0.12
Bird Eggs	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
Seabird & Loon Eggs	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
Marine Invertebrates	85.6	43.1	30.3	76.7	Pounds	107144	105.785	37.74
Abalone	9.5	7.1	1.5	8.7	Pounds	2323	2.293	0.82
Chitons (bidarkis, gumboots)	4.8	4	3.2	0.8	Gallons	134	0.992	0.35
Clams	40.8	27.9	17.6	29.9	Gallons	4678	14.365	5.12
Crabs	78.3	27.1	18.1	69.3	Individual	20910	29.479	10.52
Dungeness Crab	78.3	27.1	18.1	66.1	Individual	18631	24.281	8.66
King Crab	17.5	1.6	0.8	17.4	Individual	412	2.156	0.77
Tanner Crab	16.6	6.4	3.9	11	Individual	1867	3.042	1.09
Octopus	9.2	6.3	3.9	2.9	Individual	216	1.365	0.49
Scallops	7.4	4.2	0	3.4	Pounds	1006	0.993	0.35
Sea Cucumber	7.6	6.1	3.3	2.4	Gallons	1041	8.224	2.93

Resource	Percent Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Sea Urchin	2.5	0	0	2.5		0	0	0
Shrimp	64.9	17.1	13.9	58.2	Pounds	48303	47.691	17.01
Unknown Marine Invertebrates	9.9	4.2	2.4	5.7	Pounds	386	0.381	0.14
Vegetation	75.9	65.4	32.1	40.6	Pounds	12263	12.107	4.32
Berries	65.5	57.5	23.2	23.2	Quarts	6400	9.479	3.38
Plants/Greens/Mushrooms	8.7	8.7	3.5	3.3	Quarts	414	0.409	0.15
Seaweed/Kelp	27.6	7.6	3.5	20.9	Quarts	2248	2.219	0.79
Wood	44.7	43.9	12.8	4.9	Cords	3391	0	0

Table 4. Estimated Harvest and Use of Fish, Game, and Plant Resources, Wrangell, 2000. (ADF&G 2000)

Resource Name	Percentage Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
All Resources	93.9	78.6	65.3	88.8	Pounds	328002	439.092	167.44
Fish	88.8	56.1	50.0	76.5	Pounds	116699	156.224	59.57
Salmon	80.6	45.9	37.8	54.1	Individual	6990	9.357	25.54
Chum Salmon	4.1	4.1	1.0	0.0	Individual	252	0.337	0.89
Coho Salmon	29.6	20.4	15.3	11.2	Individual	1753	2.347	4.69
Chinook Salmon	67.3	38.8	33.7	43.9	Individual	2424	3.245	14.51
Pink Salmon	3.1	2.0	0.0	1.0	Individual	389	0.520	0.49
Sockeye Salmon	38.8	19.4	12.2	22.4	Individual	2172	2.908	4.95
Unknown Salmon	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Non-Salmon Fish	79.6	46.9	38.8	63.3	Pounds	66677	89.259	34.04
Herring	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Pounds	381	0.510	0.19
Herring Roe	10.2	0.0	6.1	10.2	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Herring Roe/Unspecified	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Herring Spawn on Kelp	3.1	0.0	1.0	3.1	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Herring Roe on Hair Seaweed	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Herring Roe on Hemlock Branches	10.2	0.0	6.1	10.2	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Smelt	9.2	2.0	1.0	7.1	Pounds	2382	3.189	1.22
Eulachon (hooligan, candlefish)	5.1	1.0	1.0	4.1	Individual	7622	10.204	0.97
Silver Smelt	4.1	1.0	0.0	3.1	Gallons	53	0.071	0.24
Unknown Smelt	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Cod	2.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Pacific Cod (gray)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Pacific Tom Cod	1.0	0.0	1.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Walleye Pollock (whiting)	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Cod	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Flounder	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Flounder	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Greenling	12.2	7.1	3.1	6.1	Individual	191	0.255	0.61
Lingcod	12.2	7.1	3.1	6.1	Individual	191	0.255	0.61
Rock Greenling	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Halibut	68.4	32.7	23.5	49.0	Pounds	33790	45.235	17.25
Perch	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Sea Perch	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00

Resource Name	Percentage Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Unknown Perch	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Rockfish	27.6	17.3	6.1	11.2	Individual	3842	5.143	7.84
Black Rockfish	6.1	5.1	2.0	2.0	Individual	488	0.653	1.00
Red Rockfish	26.5	16.3	5.1	11.2	Individual	3125	4.184	6.38
Unknown Rockfish	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	229	0.306	0.47
Sablefish (black cod)	15.3	2.0	3.1	14.3	Individual	480	0.643	0.98
Sculpin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Buffalo Sculpin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Irish Lord	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Red Irish Lord	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Sculpin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Shark	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	46	0.061	0.21
Dogfish	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	46	0.061	0.21
Unknown Shark	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Skates	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Sole	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Sole	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Char	10.2	8.2	2.0	2.0	Individual	991	1.327	1.31
Brook Trout	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	91	0.122	0.07
Dolly Varden	9.2	7.1	2.0	2.0	Individual	899	1.204	1.24
Grayling	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Trout	42.9	25.5	16.3	23.5	Individual	4977	6.663	4.42
Cutthroat Trout	29.6	23.5	9.2	9.2	Individual	3964	5.306	3.04
Rainbow Trout	10.2	8.2	4.1	3.1	Individual	907	1.214	0.93
Steelhead	17.3	4.1	9.2	13.3	Individual	107	0.143	0.46
Land Mammals	60.2	26.5	24.5	43.9	Individual	1273	1.704	38.90
Large Land Mammals	60.2	26.5	24.5	42.9	Individual	770	1.031	38.90
Black Bear	3.1	1.0	2.0	2.0	Individual	8	0.010	0.23
Brown Bear	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	8	0.010	0.00
Caribou	4.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	Individual	15	0.020	1.01
Deer	48.0	24.5	18.4	28.6	Individual	694	0.929	28.33
Elk	8.2	0.0	0.0	8.2	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Goat	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Moose	31.6	6.1	9.2	25.5	Individual	46	0.061	9.34

Resource Name	Percentage Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Dall Sheep	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Small Land Mammals	4.1	3.1	1.0	1.0	Individual	503	0.673	0.00
Beaver	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	53	0.071	0.00
Fox	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Red Fox	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Hare	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Snowshoe Hare	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Land Otter	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Lynx	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Marmot	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Marten	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	122	0.163	0.00
Mink	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	53	0.071	0.00
Muskrat	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Porcupine	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Squirrel	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Tree Squirrel	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Weasel	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	229	0.306	0.00
Wolf	3.1	2.0	1.0	1.0	Individual	46	0.061	0.00
Wolverine	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Marine Mammals	5.1	2.0	1.0	3.1	Individual	61	0.082	0.00
Seal	4.1	1.0	1.0	3.1	Individual	8	0.010	0.00
Fur Seal	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Fur Seal (other)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Harbor Seal	4.1	1.0	1.0	3.1	Individual	8	0.010	0.00
Harbor Seal (saltwater)	4.1	1.0	1.0	3.1	Individual	8	0.010	0.00
Sea Otter	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	53	0.071	0.00
Steller Sea Lion	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Birds and Eggs	15.3	10.2	7.1	7.1	Individual	2904	3.888	1.37
Migratory Birds	9.2	5.1	5.1	5.1	Individual	2096	2.806	0.99
Ducks	7.1	5.1	4.1	3.1	Individual	1784	2.388	0.74
Bufflehead	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Goldeneye	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Barrows Goldeneye	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Common Goldeneye	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00

Resource Name	Percentage Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Unknown Goldeneye	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Harlequin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Mallard	7.1	5.1	4.1	2.0	Individual	1006	1.347	0.51
Merganser	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Common Merganser	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Red-Breasted Merganser	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Merganser	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Long-tailed Duck (Oldsquaw)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Northern Pintail	3.1	3.1	1.0	0.0	Individual	160	0.214	0.08
Scaup	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Greater Scaup	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Lesser Scaup	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Scaup	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Scoter	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Surf Scoter	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
White-winged Scoter	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Scoter	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Teal	5.1	5.1	3.1	1.0	Individual	404	0.541	0.06
Green Winged Teal	5.1	5.1	3.1	1.0	Individual	404	0.541	0.06
Unknown Teal	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Wigeon	3.1	3.1	2.0	0.0	Individual	183	0.245	0.07
American Wigeon	3.1	3.1	2.0	0.0	Individual	183	0.245	0.07
Unknown Wigeon	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Ducks	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	Individual	30	0.041	0.01
Geese	6.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	Individual	229	0.306	0.18
Canada Geese	5.1	3.1	2.0	2.0	Individual	137	0.184	0.08
Vancouver Canada Geese	5.1	3.1	2.0	2.0	Individual	137	0.184	0.08
Unknown Canada Geese	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Snow Geese	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	46	0.061	0.05
White-fronted Geese	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	38	0.051	0.05
Unknown Geese	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Individual	8	0.010	0.00
Swan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Tundra Swan (whistling)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Swan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00

Resource Name	Percentage Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Crane	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	15	0.020	0.07
Sandhill Crane	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	15	0.020	0.07
Shorebirds	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Individual	69	0.092	0.00
Common Snipe	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Individual	69	0.092	0.00
Seabirds & Loons	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Grebe	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Horned Grebe	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Red Necked Grebe	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Grebe	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Puffins	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Puffin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Seabirds	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Other Birds	10.2	9.2	4.1	2.0	Individual	808	1.082	0.38
Upland Game Birds	10.2	9.2	4.1	2.0	Individual	808	1.082	0.38
Grouse	10.2	9.2	4.1	2.0	Individual	572	0.765	0.29
Ptarmigan	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Individual	236	0.316	0.08
Rock Ptarmigan	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Individual	145	0.194	0.05
Willow Ptarmigan	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	Individual	91	0.122	0.03
Unknown Ptarmigan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Bird Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Duck Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Duck Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Geese Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Geese Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Seabird & Loon Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Guillemots Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Gull Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Gull Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Murre Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Common Murre Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Seabird Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Eggs	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Marine Invertebrates	82.7	45.9	42.9	72.4	Pounds	116685	156.204	59.56
Abalone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00

Resource Name	Percentage Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Chitons (bidarkis, gumboots)	2.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	Gallons	38	0.051	0.06
Red (large) Chitons	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Gallons	38	0.051	0.06
Black (small) Chitons	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Gallons	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Chitons	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Gallons	0	0.000	0.00
Clams	34.7	29.6	16.3	14.3	Gallons	3373	4.515	6.27
Butter Clams	14.3	12.2	10.2	5.1	Gallons	979	1.311	2.23
Horse Clams (Gaper)	6.1	6.1	3.1	1.0	Gallons	347	0.464	0.79
Pacific Littleneck Clams (Steamers)	30.6	25.5	13.3	11.2	Gallons	2024	2.709	3.21
Pinkneck Clams	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Gallons	0	0.000	0.00
Razor Clams	2.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	Gallons	8	0.010	0.01
Unknown Clams	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Gallons	15	0.020	0.03
Cockles	22.4	17.3	10.2	8.2	Gallons	1443	1.931	2.29
Basket Cockles								
Heart Cockles								
Crabs	64.3	31.6	23.5	52.0	Individual	27982	37.459	22.06
Box Crab	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	38	0.051	0.00
Dungeness Crab	63.3	29.6	22.4	43.9	Individual	23050	30.857	15.53
King Crab	15.3	5.1	5.1	12.2	Individual	1265	1.694	3.48
Blue King Crab	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Brown King Crab	5.1	1.0	3.1	4.1	Individual	229	0.306	0.63
Red King Crab	13.3	4.1	4.1	10.2	Individual	1037	1.388	2.85
Unknown King Crab	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Tanner Crab	23.5	9.2	7.1	15.3	Individual	3628	4.857	3.06
Tanner Crab, Bairdi	23.5	9.2	7.1	15.3	Individual	3628	4.857	3.06
Unknown Crab	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Geoducks	3.1	0.0	1.0	3.1	Gallons	0	0.000	0.00
Limpets	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Gallons	0	0.000	0.00
Mussels	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	Gallons	8	0.010	0.01
Unknown Mussels	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	Gallons	8	0.010	0.01
Octopus	3.1	2.0	1.0	1.0	Individual	23	0.031	0.07
Oyster	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Gallons	0	0.000	0.00
Scallops	5.1	2.0	0.0	3.1	Gallons	229	0.306	0.19
Weathervane Scallops	3.1	2.0	0.0	1.0	Gallons	191	0.255	0.16
Rock Scallops	2.0	1.0	0.0	1.0	Gallons	38	0.051	0.03

Resource Name	Percentage Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Unknown Scallops	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	Gallons	0	0.000	0.00
Sea Cucumber	6.1	4.1	4.1	3.1	Gallons	202	0.270	0.82
Yein Sea Cucumber	6.1	4.1	4.1	3.1	Gallons	202	0.270	0.82
Unknown Sea Cucumber	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Gallons	0	0.000	0.00
Sea Urchin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Green Sea Urchin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Red Sea Urchin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Purple Sea Urchin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Unknown Sea Urchin	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Shrimp	68.4	19.4	24.5	57.1	Gallons	6803	9.107	27.78
Squid	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Vegetation	64.3	62.2	22.4	20.4	Pounds	15735	21.064	8.03
Berries	56.1	56.1	16.3	9.2	Quarts	9618	12.875	7.31
Blueberry	50.0	50.0	12.2	5.1	Quarts	3754	5.026	2.87
Low Bush Cranberry	7.1	7.1	3.1	1.0	Quarts	442	0.592	0.34
High Bush Cranberry	8.2	8.2	5.1	2.0	Quarts	747	1.000	0.57
Elderberry	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Quarts	130	0.173	0.10
Gooseberry	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	Quarts	69	0.092	0.05
Currants	3.1	3.1	3.1	1.0	Quarts	107	0.143	0.05
Huckleberry	22.4	22.4	4.1	1.0	Quarts	1728	2.314	1.32
Cloud Berry	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Quarts	69	0.092	0.04
Nagoonberry	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	8	0.010	0.00
Raspberry	18.4	16.3	7.1	6.1	Quarts	1075	1.439	0.82
Salmonberry	30.6	30.6	4.1	1.0	Quarts	941	1.260	0.72
Soapberry	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	8	0.010	0.01
Strawberry	11.2	11.2	2.0	1.0	Quarts	431	0.577	0.33
Thimbleberry	9.2	9.2	0.0	0.0	Quarts	95	0.128	0.06
Blackberry	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	0	0.000	0.00
Other Wild Berry	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	15	0.020	0.01
Plants/Greens/Mushrooms	17.3	16.3	5.1	3.1	Pounds	968	1.296	0.49
Beach Asparagus	4.1	2.0	0.0	2.0	Quarts	19	0.026	0.01
Goose Tongue	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	11	0.015	0.00
Wild Rhubarb	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Quarts	206	0.276	0.11
Wild Sweet Potato	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00

Resource Name	Percentage Using	Percent Harvesting	Percent Giving Away	Percent Receiving	Units	Estimated Harvest	Average Lbs Harvested per Household	Per Capita Lbs Harvested
Other Beach Greens	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	4	0.005	0.00
Devils Club	3.1	2.0	0.0	2.0	Quarts	160	0.214	0.00
Fiddlehead Ferns	4.1	4.1	0.0	0.0	Quarts	122	0.163	0.04
Nettle	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	Quarts	305	0.408	0.16
Hudson Bay Tea	6.1	6.1	2.0	0.0	Quarts	206	0.276	0.02
Indian Rice	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	10	0.013	0.01
Mint	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Quarts	15	0.020	0.01
Salmonberry Shoots	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Skunk Cabbage	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	8	0.010	0.00
Sourdock	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Spruce Tips	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	15	0.020	0.01
Wild Celery	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Wild Parsley	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Wild Rose Hips	2.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	Quarts	38	0.051	0.03
Other Wild Greens	2.0	2.0	1.0	0.0	Quarts	50	0.066	0.03
Unknown Mushrooms	6.1	6.1	1.0	0.0	Quarts	328	0.439	0.08
Seaweed/Kelp	13.3	3.1	5.1	12.2	Pounds	455	0.610	0.23
Black Seaweed	13.3	2.0	5.1	12.2	Quarts	701	0.939	0.22
Bull Kelp	5.1	0.0	0.0	5.1	Quarts	0	0.000	0.00
Red Seaweed	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	Quarts	23	0.031	0.01
Sea Ribbons	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Giant Kelp (Macrocystis)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Alaria	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Wood	21.4	18.4	4.1	5.1	Pounds	0	0.000	0.00
Bark	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Quarts	38	0.051	0.00
Roots	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Individual	0	0.000	0.00
Other Wood	19.4	17.3	3.1	4.1	Cords	517	0.693	0.00

Table 5. Population statistics for the city and borough of Wrangell, AK as per the United States Census in 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010.

Year	Total Population	Alaska Native or American Indian	Total Households
1980	2,184	312	758
1990	2479	496	1054
2000	2308	550	907
2010	2369	582	1053

APPENDIX B

MOSQUITO

The story of Mosquito is borrowed here verbatim from Richard and Nora Dauenhauer's book "Haa shuká, our ancestors: Tlingit oral narratives" (Dauenhauer 1987). The story was told by Robert Zuboff, of the Khak'weidí clan in Killisnoo, in July of 1971. It was recorded in both Tlingit and English, though only the English is recorded below.

MOSQUITO

It was in this boat of mine, it was called "Guide," I would travel around in it, seining.

Well, my name in Tlingit is Shaadax'. It was because of my name Geetwéin called me over. The one of long ago. I was a young man. From the time I was a young man I had a seine boat. I had a nineteen hundred and six model, from when they first came out. I had two of these big boats. The last one I gave to my son. But he wrecked it.

He wrecked the boat, the same one I used to go around in. Then, knowing what my name was, Geetwéin said to me "I would like very much to explain to you this name of yours."

We were living there in the interior. Our life there was so hard. The salmon. From the ocean they would come up for us to eat. The salmon. And these how good they tasted to us, the salmon. It was very hard to live in the Interior. It was so hard the people ate each other. There were cannibals at that time. That was what we would tell about when we migrated to the coast. What we would tell about. What we would still tell about.

There was this one family whose food was getting scarce. Then one of them went hunting for something he could kill. When he didn't come back down his younger brother went to search for him. Then he didn't come back down either. When he didn't come back down, the youngest one, maybe he was seventeen years old, maybe eighteen years old, the youngest one, was crying as he kept on searching for his older brothers.

Inland between the mountains when he reached there he saw it was the man. He immediately knew it was a cannibal. It was coming toward him. He couldn't run from it. He was like a frozen thing. It was fear that did this to him.

When it came near him it struck him on the head, the cannibal stuck him on the head.

He fell, he fell there. How good the cannibal felt. It picked him up from there, the young man and put him into a sack. Then it packed him on its back to its territory to where its house was standing.

Outside by the entrance it removed its pack. The cannibal went inside inside its home. But the young man was inside the pack. He was trying to get out of it. He broke those ties, small stings of spruce roots tying the pack.

When he came out he got the cannibal's club. He waited where it was going to come out. As it stuck its head out, he struck it.

He struck it again. He struck it again. He struck it again.

He said, "I know I killed this cannibal. But it did a painful thing to me. It killed two of my older brothers. What more can I do to make it feel more pain? Maybe it will be better if I build a fire under him, and burn him up."

So just like that when he built a fire, he pulled him into it, he pulled the cannibal into the fire.

When only the ashes were left, when he couldn't make up his mind, he thought, "What more can I do to the cannibal's ashes?" And while he couldn't make up his mind, he blew on it, he blew on the cannibal's ashes.

They went into the air, they became mosquitos. That's why mosquitos when they bite someone, hurt you bad, they're still the cannibal; even today. When it can't do this it tries to take all the blood from a person. That's what happened.

The Lord created this world. He loved us very much, us in this world. Mosquitos were created by the world. That is why there is a story about it, when we were living in Teslin, Teslin.

Its beside the big lake. The place is called Caribou Cross, the place where animals cross. Right near it is called Teslin. There are many people there, we are many. We are still there. They speak our language.

This is how I'll end it. And now I will tell stories to the children in English.

APPENDIX C

VOLCANO WOMAN

The story of Volcano Woman is borrowed here verbatim from Mary Giraudo Beck's book "Heroes and Heroines: Tlingit-haida Legend" (Beck 1989).

VOLCANO WOMAN

Volcano (Frog) Woman, sometimes known as Dzelahrans, may be the oldest and most revered of Tlingit-Haida mythological figures. She is believed to have reached Alaska from Asia, with late migrants who came by sea. Her counterparts figure in some Asian mythology as well as Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, Phoenician, Roman and Norse. She is historian, collective memory and guardian of tribal tradition. She destroys an entire village for the failure of its people to observe the proper rituals and show respect for living creatures and cherished objects. Only a young girl, who had observed the puberty rites, and her mother, who tried to divert the people from their sacrilege, are allowed to live and find refuge.

Volcano Woman's harsh judgment upon the villagers is provoked by two instances of sacrilege: the cruel behavior of the village's young prince and his cohorts toward Frog, and the prince's mistreatment of the Cormorant Hat. This hat was held in highest esteem. Made from the skin of the spectacled cormorant, the hat was no doubt intended merely to protect the wearer from rain, but it accrued symbolic value as it was handed down from generation to generation.

Frog, a figure of consequence out of proportion to its size, is highly respected and even feared. He still appears as a clan crest.

STORY

On warm, sunny day during the salmon season, a young prince called his companions to him. "Let's paddle over to the creek and spear some salmon," he said to them. The prince's whim was their command, but this was an order they really warmed to.

"Let's take things to camp out a few days" cried one. These boys were little older than the prince, and as his constant companions they were expected to look after him. Since they were still too young to take a man's place in the fishing boats, they generally had to be satisfied with fishing the streams.

It didn't take long for them to stock the canoe with their spears and provisions and carry it down to the water. When they were getting into the canoe, the prince decided to go back to the house for his father's Cormorant Hat. As he headed out with it, his father stopped him.

"You had better not wear that hat," he said. "You are not ready for it yet."

"Why not? Soon I'll be old enough to wear it at our feasts."

“Much responsibility goes with wearing the Cormorant hat. Your grandmother would advise against it too, I’m sure.”

“The Cormorant Hat is greatly revered by the clan,” his grandmother said. “You are not mature enough yet to treat it with the proper respect. If you are not careful, something might go wrong. Something bad could happen.” But the boy insisted and his father let him take the hat.

“Be very careful with it,” he called out as the boy ran down to the beach.

As soon as the prince returned to the canoe, the boys set off in high spirits. The canoe moved easily across the water and it was not long before they reached the mouth of the stream. They carried the canoe ashore and set it high above the tide line. Once they had a fire crackling and camp set up, they began to fish with their spears.

The fish were not so plentiful as they expected, and the prince began to get irritable. His Cormorant Hat, still a little too big for him, kept falling into the water. He finally picked it up and beat the water with it.

“You stupid hat! What use are you? You just keep getting in my way.” Then he tossed it onto the beach of the stream. He had forgotten his father’s warning.

By sundown the boys had caught a few fish and set about preparing one for their dinner. They filleted a large, firm fish and cut it into pieces to be wrapped in skunk cabbage leaves and put on the hot coals to roast. The prince spread out a large leaf and reached for a piece of salmon. Seemingly out of nowhere, a frog jumped onto his clean leaf.

“Get out of here, you pest!” he scowled and, picking up the frog by a hind leg, flung it into the bushes. He spread out another leaf and reached for the salmon again. Again, the frog leaped onto the leaf.

“Git!” he cried, flinging the frog into the bushes. A third time he got a fresh leaf and put the salmon on it. This time the frog jumped onto the salmon.

“That does it!” he cried and threw the frog into the fire.

“Why did you do that?” the youngest companion asked, dismayed. “Now we’re all in for it.” He repeated the warnings the prince’s father and grandmother had given him about treating animals with respect.

“That’s right,” said a subdued prince. “My father also told me to be careful with the Cormorant Hat,” and he began looking around for it on the bank. When he found it, he brushed it off carefully and set it in the canoe. The boys’ high spirits dampened a little. But one of the older companions tried to cheer them up.

“Oh, don’t believe everything those old women say,” he said to dismiss their fears. “They have been telling those tales for years.”

“Look at him skittering around in there” said another older boy, pointing to the frog in the fire. He grabbed his spear and pinned down the struggling frog.

“Listen to him crackle!” Soon the boys were laughing and joking again, forgetting all apprehensions. They got fresh leaves to wrap their fish and put it on the coals to roast. While they waited for it to cook, they cleaned and washed the rest of the salmon and stored them in the boat. After they had finished eating they retired for the night, forgetting the incident of the frog entirely.

During the night they heard a voice of a woman wailing, “Oh, my child! Give me back my child!” They got up and looked all around the camp, but they could find no one. But once they settled down to sleep, they could hear the woman crying for her child again.

The next morning they decided to try their luck farther upstream. The fish were really plentiful there and they landed quite a few. But all the while they were fishing, they could hear the woman calling for her child. “Oh, give me back my child! What have you done with my child?”

When they had caught all the salmon they could carry, they got ready to go back to the village. During the whole time they were cutting and cleaning the fish, the voice continued.

“Give me back my child, my only child, or your village will be destroyed.” With some alarm, the boys started for home.

“What do you think that is?” asked the prince. “It makes me shiver!” The older boys were not so quick with their answers this time.

“I don’t know,” said the oldest. “Maybe it does have something to do with the frog.” And they began to paddle faster. All during the trip home, they could hear the voice of the woman crying, “Oh, my child! Oh, my child! What has happened to my child?” It was as if the woman were hovering over their canoe. The prince did not know what they could do to satisfy her. They could only go back to the village as quickly as possible to warn the people.

As soon as he got to the village, the prince hurried to tell his father about the woman’s crying and her predictions. But he failed to mention the frog and the Cormorant Hat. Although his father listened with interest, he did not know what to make of such a strange story. He put it to the wild imaginings of young boys and humored them.

“It sounds as if you had an exciting time,” he said. “Take your fish to the woman now. Your mothers will be pleased with your catch.”

But before long the people in the village could hear the woman wailing. "Oh, my child! Oh, my child! Give me back my child or your village will be destroyed." They thought the predictions strange, but didn't know what to do about them. They went on with their chores in the usual way. One of the old women, however, was concerned. She suspected that the boys had been up to some kind of mischief and went to see the chief.

"I think the boys have done some thoughtless thing that is more serious than they realize," she told him. "You should pay more attention to these warnings and have the people make preparations to escape while they can. Something terrible may be about to happen."

The men with the chief laughed at her. "Oh, you worry too much, old woman," the chief answered. "If we had to leave the village every time some boys got into mischief, we would be moving all the time."

"If you want to survive, get ready to move," the woman pleaded. The chief was now becoming a little concerned, but he did not want to risk the scorn of his men.

"Get along now," he said more harshly. "We are getting ready for a feast and we have work to do."

Then the woman went through the village warning others of coming danger, but no one took her seriously. So she began to make her own preparations. She dug a large underground chamber at the rear of the house and equipped it with food and water to last several months. There she installed her daughter, who had just reached maturity and needed to be kept in seclusion. Then whenever she heard the woman's wailing, she would run to the shelter and wait with her daughter. Many of the people ridiculed her, but some of the elderly ones grew concerned.

"We should try to find out what the cried of the wailing woman mean," they said. "Perhaps our young people have broken a taboo." But they could not concern the rest of the tribe with their fears. The people went on with their feasting and revelry.

One evening while they were making merry they heard distant rumblings. They paid no attention. As the night wore on, the rumblings grew louder. Soon they noticed smoke in the distance and they became alarmed. When smoke and fire broke out on the mountaintops, they started to run. But then came louder thunderclaps and the fire swept down the mountain in a torrent, destroying everything in its path. The people ran toward the water, but the volcano had already destroyed their canoes. They had nowhere to turn and soon were consumed in the fire. Only the old woman and her daughter, who had hidden in the underground chamber, were saved.

Many days passed before the noise and confusion settled. When the woman and girl were out of water, the old woman cautiously opened the door to the dugout. She could see and hear

nothing. She started toward the village, but where was it? The entire village with all its inhabitants had been wiped out.

As she was returning to her dugout with water, she could hear the voice of the wailing woman: "I knew your uncles would avenge you, my son. The boys should have given your body back to me. But they destroyed it by fire, so your uncles have killed them by fire."

"What child has been killed?" the old woman wondered as she returned to her dugout.

Many days later the woman again came out of her hiding place to see whether others had perhaps escaped the fire of the volcano.

"Is anyone there?" she called as she went about. "Has anyone survived the anger of the supernatural being?" She received no answers. After many days trudging about, the old woman became desolate. She went back to get her daughter and their few belongings, and together they set out to find a village where people might have survived.

"Has anyone escaped?" she continued to call.

No one had. Half dead, the two women came to a village that had been only partly destroyed. There were no people, but they found a canoe hidden in the brush. They loaded their things into it and put it into the water to paddle up the stream, hoping to find a good place to camp for the night. As they settled down to sleep, they heard the voice of the wailing woman.

"Your uncles have been avenged," she wailed. "The thoughtless ones have perished."

"The next morning as they were paddling up the stream, the same one where the prince and his friends had fished, they saw a huge frog in the water. It looked like a human being and was wearing a layered hat. Its eyes seemed to shine like copper. As the frog swam away, they could hear the wailing woman sing, "Oh, my child! Oh, my child! Your uncles are at peace now that they have destroyed the proud ones."

Then the old woman and her daughter saw a woman standing at a distance on shore. She wore a labret in her lower lip and held in her hand a cane topped with the picture of a frog.

"This must be the revered Frog Woman," the mother thought, "and the 'child' that was killed was a frog." Then she knew for sure that the volcano had been sent as punishment for disrespect to the frog. Now Frog Woman would be known as Volcano Woman. She had spared the mother and daughter, but to what purpose?

After a while their provisions ran low and the two survivors were wandering aimlessly in search of food. Exhausted, they sat down and began to weep for their friends and relatives. All of a sudden Eagle swooped down before them.

“Why are you weeping?” he asked.

“We weep for the loss of our people. Our whole village has been destroyed” the mother said.

Then she told him the story of the volcano and the appearance of Frog Woman.

“You have been saved by the Frog Woman, who is very dear to our clan,” Eagle said. “I will take you to my people.” Then he took each of them under a wing and flew to his village. When he had set them down, he changed to his human form and addressed the mother.

“We are now at the home of the Eagles. I am of this clan. We know that you are of high class, you have respected traditions and your daughter has recently completed the puberty rites. I would like to make her my wife.”

The mother was greatly relieved that they were among friendly people who respected their status. Gladly she gave her daughter in marriage, and they lived comfortably in the Eagle village. All held Frog, or Volcano, Woman in highest reverence.