

# **The Shtax'heen Kwaan of the Tlingit in Southeast Alaska: A Literature Review**

A Literature Review  
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## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>5</b>
Purpose and Content .....	5
General History of Land Use & Development in Wrangell and Along the Stikine .....	5
<b>CHAPTER 1: Trade, Demography and Early Euro-American Contact in Wrangell .....</b>	<b>7</b>
Devastation by Smallpox .....	8
<b>CHAPTER 2: Specific Origins, Composition and Territories of the Stikine Kwaan .....</b>	<b>10</b>
Social Structures.....	9
Overview of Origins.....	11
Population, Villages and Territories Post-Contact.....	13
<b>CHAPTER 3: Clans of the Shtax’heen Kwaan .....</b>	<b>14</b>
Great Clans of the Eagle / Wolf Moiety.....	14
The Nanyaa.aayi & Siknax.adi .....	14
Daklawedih (Now present in Wrangell as “Naanyaa.aayi” .....	16
Kayaashkiditaan & Xook’eidi .....	20
Xilkweidi.....	21
Great Clans of the Raven Moiety .....	22
The Kiks.adi .....	22
Teeyhittaaan .....	24
Kaach.adi .....	26
Kaasx’agweidi & Taalkweidi .....	28
<b>CHAPTER 4: Selected Ethnographic Accounts Referencing Wrangell and the Stikine.....</b>	<b>31</b>
John Muir’s Evolving Attitudes toward Native American Cultures (Fleck 1978).....	31
Dancing .....	31
Architecture .....	31
Conversations with Kadashan .....	32
Alaska: its southern coast and the Stikine archipelago. (Scidmore 1885) .....	33
Wrangell History .....	33
Art .....	33
Houses and Totems.....	34
Graves .....	35
Annual Cycle .....	35

Christianity & Western Indoctrination .....	35
Superstition and John Muir’s Involvement .....	36
Boat Races.....	36
Social Conditions, beliefs and linguistic relationship of the Tlingit Indians (Swanton 1908) .....	37
Potlatches & Performances.....	37
Crime and Punishment in Tlingit Society (Oberg 1934).....	38
Marriage .....	38
Social structure and social life of the Tlingit in Alaska (Olson 1967) .....	38
Eating Contest.....	38
A Multiclan War .....	39
The War between the Wrangell Nanyaa.aayi and the Sitka Kagwantan .....	40
A War with the Tsimshian .....	42
A War Prevented.....	44
Peace with the Xetlkwan.....	44
The War between the Henyakwan and the Stikinekwan .....	46
The Tlingit Indians (Emmons and De Laguna 1991a).....	47
Slavery .....	47
Gratitude Dances .....	49
Witchcraft & Surrender of Culture.....	50
<b>CHAPTER 5: A Photographic History of Wrangell and the Shtax’heen Kwaan.....</b>	<b>52</b>
Maps .....	52
Town of Wrangell.....	56
Structures and Totems.....	60
People, Regalia & Other At.oow .....	67
The Last Great Potlatch.....	77
<b>TABLES .....</b>	<b>80</b>
List of Stikine clans and house groups identified by Swanton (1908) .....	80
Estimate of Kolosh in 1834.....	81
Census of Native Tribes of Russian America [in 1839] .....	81
Estimate of Kolosh [Tlingit] in 1861. ....	82
Estimate of Tlingit in 1880 .....	82
Estimate of Tlingit (“Koluschan”) in 1890.....	83

**Works Cited .....84**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Purpose and Content**

The Shtax'heen Kwaan is known in the Tlingit language as the “bitter unwholesome water tribe” or the “water so silty that it must be chewed” (Emmons and De Laguna 1991a) both referring to the murky waters of the Stikine River from which these people thrived and persist. Often considered to have been the most populous, ferocious and powerful group among the Tlingit in Southeast Alaska (Paige et al. 2009, Swanton 1908), the Shtax'heen Kwaan controlled an area rich in natural resources and with unbridled access to interior trade. Their monopoly thrived during and prior to European contact but recent history has seen extensive cultural assimilation, cultural erosion and decimation in the indigenous population of the area. In order to support and encourage recent efforts at revitalization of the Kwaan and its heritage, this paper will serve as a synthesis of available written literature on their known history, culture, chronology, genealogy and associated landscapes.

It is important to note that many of the facts reported here are derived from historical ethnographic accounts that may not be entirely accurate and in some cases could be entirely wrong. Early ethnographers, though many were likely doing the best that they knew how, often failed to understand the meaning behind cultural rituals, ceremonies, actions and beliefs. This stems from a number of challenges that exist to this day including differences in worldview, cosmology, ontology, epistemology, axiology, methodology and language (Wilson 2008), these being more than a few barriers to accuracy.

Cultural and language differences undoubtedly serve as barriers to cross cultural understanding and ethnographic research. A willingness to respect and acknowledge cultural values and ways of knowing about the world that oppose one's own understanding of the universe is essential to this process. This is a literature review of historical and contemporary documents and does not include first person research. When quoting previous works throughout this paper it should be noted that the language, philosophy and analysis is not necessarily that of the author and may be interpreted by the reader as is appropriate. Also included is a photographic compilation from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is a living and evolving document open to critique, criticism and change. It is not meant to be an exhaustive compilation either, but rather an overview of an intriguing, inspiring and complex group known as the Shtax'heen Kwaan. It is meant solely for educational purposes and to give back at least a small piece of history to those wonderful people with whom I work, the Stikine Tlingit.

### **General History of Land Use & Development in Wrangell and Along the Stikine**

The traditional homeland of the Shtax'heen Kwaan encompassed a vast area within the southern Alexander Archipelago stretching from Cape Fanshaw on Frederick Sound in the north to Union Bay on the Cleveland Peninsula in the south (Paige et al. 2009). This territory included “the east side of Kupreanof Island, including Portage and Totem Bays, Duncan Canal and Mitkof Island and across Sumner Strait to Red Bay on the north coast of Prince of Wales Island, south along the coast of Prince of Wales Island to Thorne Bay and east along Ernest Sound to Bradfield Canal” (Paige et al. 2009). Additionally the group controlled Etoin, Zarembo, and Wrangell

Islands as well as the entire Stikine River Valley as far upstream as Telegraph Creek in present day British Columbia at the border of Tahltan Athabaskan territory (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a).

The Stikine River (from which the Shtax'heen Kwaan gets its name) was a critical component of this group's rise to power in the region and they monopolized trading with the Tahltan Athabascans, the Russians and the Hudson Bay Company fur traders (Cohen 1989) similar to their more northerly neighbors' control of the Chilkat and Taku Rivers (Paige et al. 2009). Within this territory the several clans that make up the Kwaan claimed "exclusive ownership of some hunting and fishing areas and shared ownership and uses in other areas" (Paige et al. 2009). There appears to have been overlap in the upper regions of the river valley between Tlingit and Tahltan territorial rights (Paige et al. 2009) as described by Emmons (1991):

"Here for a distance of 15 miles, from just below Glenora to Telegraph Creek, the Tlingit claimed exclusive fishing rights on all the tributaries along the northern shore, as well as ownership of the adjacent berry patches, but not the hunting rights in the area, nor fishing rights on the Stikine itself."

According to Paige et al (2009) these interior areas offered the drier and sunnier climate needed for drying salmon, as well as abundant berries which were not available in these quantities along the coast. The mouth of the Stikine including its tidal flats and nearby islands, the main channel and major tributaries were used by several of the clans (Paige et al. 2009). Scott (1953) quotes a U.S. government report that describes trade between the Shtax'heen Kwaan and the interior Tahltans:

"These fish they clean and dry in large quantities both for their own use and for trading with the Indians in the Interior for furs, bear and deer meat. A regular trade is thus kept up by them with the interior tribes, and they are exceedingly jealous of any outside interference with it. Much of their antipathy to white people going up the rivers arises from this cause; the coast Indians fearing that the whites will steal away their trade."

Ownership and control of resources to the Tlingit meant rights, privileges, prestige and responsibility and along the Stikine this translated to control of river traffic and trade (Paige et al. 2009). The larger Tlingit groups usually had rights to at least one sockeye salmon stream and productive streams would be claimed by a clan house "with summer camps and smokehouses established near the mouths of such streams" (Emmons 1991). The Shtax'heen clans shared the main stem of the Stikine but certain sites, "especially confluence areas", were claimed by individual clans who utilized and controlled resources in those areas (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a, Paige et al. 2009).

Scott in 1953 describes early Wrangell Tlingit control of the Stikine:

"They would get things like clams, ulakan [candlefish] grease, dried seaweed, herring eggs – they use to like those – dried salmon, kelp, and all the things from the sea. They'd do up to Tahltan and get skins like bear, marten, and lynx. [Did the Tahltan people ever bring the furs down here or did the Wrangell group always go up there?] The Wrangell people always went up there because they [Tahltan] didn't have any canoes."

## CHAPTER 1: Trade, Demography and Early Euro-American Contact in Wrangell

As compiled and summarized by Paige et al (2009)

The Stikine Indians had “probably the longest and most continuous [contact with EuroAmericans] of any except the Sitka tribe” (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998). In 1833, during the Russian occupation of what is now Southeast Alaska, the Russian-American Company established a garrison at Wrangell, which they called Redoubt St. Dionysius, to protect the fur trade with the Stikine Tlingits. The garrison attracted people from Kotzlitza and other settlements and continued to serve as a gateway to the rich fishing grounds and trade routes of the Stikine River, as well as the waters of Frederick and Ernest Sounds, and Sumner and Zimovia Straights. The 1840 treaty also transferred control of the Stikine trade and changed the name of the garrison to Fort Stikine. Before Alaska was purchased by the United States, the garrison became known as Fort Wrangell, and then Wrangell. The community attracted settlers from camps and settlements across the territory of the Stikine Tlingit, as well as Euro Americans gold seekers, fur trappers, and traders.

The arrival of Euro Americans in Wrangell and the economic opportunities offered in town played a large role in altering the Native population and its social and cultural life. The establishment of salmon processors at Wrangell quickly altered the traditional Tlingit stream ownership patterns and the networks that controlled harvest practices. Key respondents reported that ever since contact with Euro Americans, Tlingits have continually lost ownership and control of salmon streams.

Beginning in late 1870s, Christian missionaries arrived and settled in the community. In 1877, Presbyterian and Catholic missionaries established churches and schools in Wrangell. The gold rushes of the Stikine, Cassiar, and Klondike in the late 1800s brought successive waves of prospectors and surveyors. The local economy benefited from the mining industry, especially in the form of transportation services, with steamboats carrying passengers up the Stikine River as far as Telegraph Creek. By 1895, the salmon canning industry brought more people to the region, and Wrangell became the location of several fish processing companies (City of Wrangell 2004). Salmon canneries and salteries required lumber for construction and shipping crates, resulting in construction of a sawmill in 1888(Cohen 1989).

Commercial riverboat service on the Stikine as far upriver as Glenora provided access to the interior. The riverboat service continued, at a reduced level, through the 1960s, and ended in 1969. The Tongass National Forest was established in 1907, leading to the growth of the logging and timber processing industries. Prospecting, mining, and trapping also contributed to the economic life of the community in those decades. During World War II, the Stikine River was used by the military to transport men and equipment used to build part of the Northwest Staging Route.

In 1839, Wrangell District population studies recorded indigenous settlements at Etolin Island and Stikine Village, as well as at other unnamed locations. The study recorded an

estimated total population of 1,510, of which only 20 were reported as non-Native (Veniaminov and Pierce 1984. By 1880, the indigenous population in the nearby settlements had dropped to 317 {De Laguna, 1990 #80), while the population of the town of Wrangell had risen to 106. In the next decade, the population of the Native settlements experienced a sharp drop; by 1890, only 73 people were enumerated there, while the population of the town of Wrangell rose to 316. In the 10 years between the 1890 and 1900 census, the non-Native population of Wrangell increased from 71 to 434 (Rogers 1960). The Tlingit population also rose, but more modestly, from 243 to 364. The district's population rose to 868 in 1900, with only 21 enumerated in "other" places in the Wrangell District. The City of Wrangell was incorporated in 1903.

The population outside the town of Wrangell was low through the 1930s while that of the town grew as Native people relocated there. In 1932, the Wrangell Institute, a U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs school for Alaska Native children, opened 5 miles south of town, and was a major contributor to the increase to 207 of the population outside of town. The Wrangell Institute operated from 1932 to 1975. By 1939, 34% of Wrangell's population was Alaska Native. By 1950, the town population was 1,263, and the population outside was 405. Wrangell continued to grow steadily throughout this period, reaching 1,275 by 1958 (Rogers 1960).

Following the U.S. purchase of Alaska from Russia, a military regime was put in place to exert control over the territory, maintain the role of law and to extend the rights and privileges of American Citizens to this distant land, the latter of which was seldom extended to those of indigenous descent. This military presence lasted from 1867 until 1912 and was described by Thomas Thornton (2002) as having engaged in "violent and reactionary tendencies... marked by immorality, lawlessness and aggression." The regime initiated bombardments against four major Tlingit communities including Kake, Angoon, Yakutat and Wrangell. Bancroft (1960) maintains that these acts of aggression in response to Tlingit infractions were "provoked by the misconduct of the white population"

Leaders of the Tlingit communities were quick to seek reproach for these actions against their people and called a meeting with Governor John Brady in December of 1898 that failed to invoke government sympathy (Thornton 2002). Kadashan, a clan leader from Wrangell spoke to this effect:

"Ever since I was a boy I have heard the names of different points, bays, islands, mountains, places where [we] get herring, [hunt] and make camps, that is why I think this country belongs to us." (Hinckley 1970).

To no avail, the indigenous members of this meeting were left with "patronizing dismissal from the paternalistic Governor who insisted that the Natives were better off than they had ever been and that if they wished to progress and become more civilized they should follow the white man's lead" (Thornton 2002).

While the formation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and the Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) would eventually bring a sociopolitical voice to the Tlingit, the early leaders of these



groups accepted much of the missionary paradigm and accepted a code that suppressed traditional Tlingit political organization and cultural customs in favor of assimilating objectives (Thornton 2002). According to Thornton (2002) this included the “cultivation of a Christian lifestyle and the repudiation of aboriginal religion, ceremonialism, language, dress and divisive clan politics.” He goes on to explain that warring clans from Wrangell and Sitka were forced to engage in a traditional peace ceremony before they were even allowed to join the ANB.

### **Devastation by Smallpox**

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 skilful 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)

## CHAPTER 2: Specific Origins, Structure, Composition and Territories of the Stikine Kwaan

### Societal Structure

According to John R. Swanton (1908) at least fourteen geographical Tlingit groups existed prior to Euro-American contact including: The Tongas (TAnga'c Kwaan), Sam'a or Cape Fox Indians (Sa'nya Kwaan), Henya (He'nya Kwaan), Kuiu(Kuiu Kwaan), Kake (Keq! Kwaan), Sumdum(S!aoda'n Kwaan), Stikine (Staq ! hl'n Kwaan or Cq! At Kwaan), Takn (T!aq! Kwaan), Auk (Ak! u Kwaan), Hutsnuwu (Xutslnuwu' Kwaan), Huna (Hu'na Kwaan), Chilkat (Djilqfi't Kwaan), and Yakutat (Yaq uda't Kwaan or Laxayi'k Kwaan). The Hehl (Xel Kwaan) once formed an independent group on Revillagigedo Island but now reside in Wrangell (Swanton 1908).

The ancient moiety system may have had even greater distinction than it does currently. According to an unknown Sitka interpreter employed by Swanton, the Eagle people were called Na (nation) or “Cengoqedi’na”, but there was no one name for all of the Ravens “they being one simply in marriage laws, emblems and various other respects” (Swanton 1908). A close confidant of Swanton named Katishan, chief of the Kasqlague’di at Wrangell, confirms that all of the Wolf clans used to be denominated as “Sh’ tqoedi” and all of the Raven clans as “Gonatqana’yi.” Swanton (1908) speculates that these groups may have been originally derived from two separate races. He goes on to describe Tlingit migration northward:

“The Tlingit uniformly trace the origin of nearly all of their clans to the Tsimshian coast, below Port Simpson, that is, to the neighborhood of the mouth of the Skeena River. It is said by some that nearly all of the present clans immigrated in this manner and that most of the ‘old Alaskans’, those who they found in possession, have died out.” (Swanton 1908)

Others such as Olson (1968) refute this claim:

“Swanton states that ‘the Tlingit quite uniformly trace the origin of nearly all their clans to the Tsimshian coast’ but this is not so. I think this misstatement may be due to one of his chief informants having been Chief Katishan of Wrangell, whose family boasted some Tsimshian blood. Places of origin of various clans are located from Yakutat Bay in the north to Tsimshian territory. Certain of the clans, such as the Nastedi and Nexadi, are almost certainly Tsimshian in origin, just as it is very likely the Ganaxada clan of the Tsimshian is Tlingit (Ganaxadi) in origin.”

The clan divisions were traditionally ranked differently on the social scale and among the highest were the Ka’gwantaan, the Kiks’adi, Ganax’adi, Luqfi’xadi and Nanyaa.aayi with their importance “evidently due in the first place to the size of the towns to which they belonged and more remotely to the position of those towns relative to trade routes (Swanton 1908). This hierarchy was also based on wealth and at.oow (purchased things) including songs, stories, and dance. An informant of Olson (1967) gives an account of clan hierarchy discussion between chiefs at Wrangell:

“Chief Katishan and Chief Kudoat of Wrangell became involved in a friendly argument as to which was the higher clan, the Kagwantan of Chilkat or the Nanyaayih of Wrangell. They agreed that Kudoat was to begin. (He was of the Kagwantan [Wolf] clan whereas Katishan was of the Kaskakwedh, a Raven clan.) Kudoat named the various crests, houses, canoes, dishes, face-paintings, and so on of the Kagwantan. Katishan then named the Nanyaayih claims to comparable things-and there were twice as many! In addition he mentioned that of all the clans only the Nanyaayih had the moose skin with the perforated corners, used to carry distinguished guests from their canoes to the house of the host. Then the two started singing the clan songs. There were twice as many Nanyaayih songs! At this a third chief, who had been listening, advised Kudoat to give up, for he was beaten.” (Olson 1967)

Five clans of the Eagle/Wolf moiety, Naanyaa.aayi, Sik'nax.adi, Xook'edi, Kayaashkiditaan, and Xilkweidi, and five of the Raven moiety, Kiks.adi, Teeyhittaan, Kaach.adi, Kaax'agweidi, and Taalkweidi were represented among the Stikine Tlingit (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a). Though not listed in Goldschmidt and Haas (1998), Emmons and DeLaguna (1991) or Paige et al (2009), the Wolf clans Daklawedih and Nas.adi (the latter later settled in Kake), as well as the Nex.adi of the outside third moiety appear to have at one time played a role among the Shtax'heen Kwaan according to Olson (1967). Only the Daklawedih will be discussed under clan descriptions.

## **Overview of Origins**

Paige et al (2009) explains several of their origins:

“The origins of these several clans are complex. The Naanyaa.aayi, Wolf/Eagle moiety, were thought to be of Athabascan origin. According to oral history related by key respondents, the Naanyaa.aayi came down the Stikine River to the coast in ancient times, when resources in the interior became scarce, by floating down the river through a hole under a glacier. An elderly couple volunteered to take the dangerous and uncertain trip through what appeared to be a passageway under a glacier in an attempt to explore the possibility of finding a territory richer in resources. After weeks had passed, it was assumed they had perished, but when those left behind climbed to a high overlook, the couple was seen in the distance, safe, on the other side of the glacier. The rest of the people followed to the place now referred to as “Old Village” or “Old Town”, south of Wrangell.

Other histories described the Naanyaa.aayi as one of the Sik'nax.adi Tlingit clans that traveled down the Taku River from the interior to the coast (Olson 1967). The Sik'nax.adi settled at the mouth of the Taku becoming the Yentedih of Auk, while the Naanyaa.aayi went south to Wrangell. According to the testimony collected in 1946 by Goldschmidt and Haas (1998:74), the Naanyaa.aayi clan claimed aboriginal use and ownership of the upper reaches of Stikine River from above Shakes Place to beyond Telegraph Creek.

The Kiks.adi, Raven moiety, moved to the area from the south, near the border with the Tsimshian people. According to some accounts, the Kiks.adi were the first to arrive at the

Stikine coast. They explored the Stikine and settled at several locations on the mainland shores of the Eastern Passage. Other clans migrated to the area, including the Wolf/Eagle Xook'edi clan, and the Raven Kaach.adi, Teeyhittan, Taalkweidi, and Kaasx'agweidi clans (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998).” (Paige et al. 2009)

The Sanya Kwaan to the south and the Stikine Kwaan a bit further north shared a close relationship to one another and in many instances the Stikine Kwaan clans claimed origins and territory to the south. Olson (1967) identifies several specific locations:

“The Kiksadi clan claimed the area around Port Tongass. The stream at Ketchikan, noted for its run of humpback salmon, was a Nexadi camping place. But about 1800 it passed to the Tantakwan as a gift; a Nexadi chief named Kuka k married a Tantakwan woman of the Ganaxadi clan, and at her death he gave it to his brothers-in-law at the mourning potlatch. One informant gave the following list of the places and areas "owned" by various groups. The Tekwedih are said to have once been very numerous and owned many places: (1) Unuk River and all its watershed. (Djunanax shortened to djunax means "by dream" for it was discovered by a man dreaming of it.) (2) Chickamin River. The river is called Xetl (foam). The same man as in the preceding dreamed of it and in the dream great heaps of foam were floating down. Some of the Wrangell people (a subdivision of the Tekwedih clan) are called Xetltekwedih and they claimed it. (3) Walker Cove (kena xkt). (4) Yes Bay (ye'ic gi'h, the name of the stream flowing from Lake McDonald). (5) Spacious Bay (wac). (6) Gedney Passage (kagi"t). The Nexadi clan owned the following places: (1) Rudyard Bay (xena'). (2) Smeaton Bay (xan). (3) Naha Bay (Loring area). The Kiksadi owned: (1) Boca de Quadra and its arms. (2) Neets Bay (glhdu'naxdeh). (3) The area from around Cape Fox to Portland Canal, including Nakat, Willard, and Fillmore inlets; also Wales and Pearse islands.

Within the general Sanyakwan area certain places were owned by the Stikinkwan (Wrangell). These included: Snail Rocks (sik!ganax) and the channel leading to Ketchikan. (2) Port Steward (ganax) in Behm Canal. This is the traditional starting place or earliest settlement of all the Ganaxadi and Ganaxtedi clans of all the tribes. It came to belong to the Wrangell Kiksadi. (3) Helm Bay (kiks) belonged to the Wrangell Kiksadi. This is probably the traditional home of all the Kiksadi clans. (4) Traitor's Cove (kunaVx). This had belonged to the Kiksadi but it was given to the Wrangell Xetltekwedih. (5) Bell Arm and Behm Narrows. These (and possibly the Chickamin River) were owned by the Wrangell Xetltekwedih, who are regarded as an offshoot of the Sanyakwan Tekwedih.” (Olson 1967)

The geographical limits of the Stikine Kwaan are not fully understood and were probably never exact since it was not territorial boundaries that were important but rather “places for fishing, hunting, berrying and so on” (Olson 1967). These areas were owned by the clans or house groups and not by the geographical group known now as a tribe. Olson (1967) explains this complexity further:

The clan territories in the area present a complex picture and it is probably impossible at this late date to reconstruct the possessory claims of the various clans. In part this is

because most members of the tribe moved to the trading post at Wrangell in the early years of the nineteenth century and many of the old areas, especially those far up the Stikine River, were neglected in favor of areas which yielded sea otter furs. Most of the data given here were obtained from GB [a member of the Tihittan of Wrangell]. The Stikinkwan held territory up the Stikine River to twelve miles beyond Telegraph Creek where the Katcaddi clan owned a fishing place called Nakica'k. On the mainland coast their territory extended from Cape Fanshaw in the north, southward to Loring. They rather indefinitely "owned" one half of Kupreanof Island and the eastern part of Prince of Wales Island from Red Bay southward to Tolsoi Bay." (Olson 1967)

### **Populations, Villages and Territories Post-Contact**

The 1880 U.S. Census listed eight small villages remaining within the region of the Stikine Kwaan at that time (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a) that are in addition to those on Wrangell Island itself and are said to be named after clan chiefs of the area:

<b>Village</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Population</b>
Shustak's Village	Etolin Island	38 persons
Kash's Village	Etolin Island	49 persons
Shake's Village	Etolin Island	38 persons
Towayat's Village	Etolin island	82 persons
Kohltlen's Village	Stikine River	28 persons
Hinauhau's Village	Stikine River	31 persons
Kadishan's Village	Stikine River	27 persons
Shallyany's Village	Stikine River	24 persons

Four maps of the area are included as figures in this report. Figure 1 is a map depicting the Kwaan territories of the southern Tlingit in relation to one another and in relation to other cultural groups in the region. Figure 2 is a map of the Stikine region in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with emphasis on areas controlled by the Tehitan as illustrated by William Paul Sr. in a letter to Theodore Haas for inclusion in Golschmidt and Haas (1998). Figure 3 is an illustration by Goldschmidt and Haas (1998, Chart 11) showing aboriginal use and ownership of the area in 1946. Figure 4 is a map of Wrangell proper and the locations of Tlingit clan houses as illustrated by George T. Emmons sometime between 1880 and 1900.

## CHAPTER 3: Clans of the Shtax'heen Kwaan

### Great Clans of the Eagle / Wolf Moiety

#### The Nanyaa.aayi & Sik nax.adi

The Nanyaa.aayi were the most numerous and powerful clan of the Stikine Kwaan (Olson 1967). As mentioned previously many Nanyaa.aayi of Wrangell tell of their origins on the upriver side of a Stikine glacier and their passage under that glacier preceded by an elderly couple that was willing to risk their life in search of additional resources for their people. Other histories describe this Wrangell group as originating at the upper reaches of the Taku River as part of the Hitklenkwan (Big House People), having floated down from the interior to the coast (Paige et al. 2009). While some settled at the mouth of the Taku becoming the Yenyedih of Auk, others continued south to Wrangell where they became known as the Nanyaa.aayi and further branched forming the Sik nax.adi (Siknahaddi'h) (Olson 1967). Still others from the original clan went northward and formed the Daklawedih (see Daklawedih clan legends below) on the Chilkoot River (Olson 1967). While it is still ambiguous as to which river contained the original glacier mentioned in the clan stories (the Stikine or the Taku), the story itself remains similar. The story does become further compounded by another account from Olson (1967) where presumably the original clan is part of the Hitklenkwan:

“The Kaiyac krttitan clan lived at Port Snettisham above Sumdum Bay where they had a village called Srtko'h (Glacier Place). At that time the clan was called Sitkwedi'h (Glacier People). The clan divided. Some moved to Kake where they are still called the Sitkwedih. Another group moved to the Stikine area where they took the new name. The Srtkwedih may be one of the really ancient names and ancient clans for at Wrangell the entire assemblage of Wolf phratry clans may be addressed as Sitkwedih. "Even the Namyaahih" sometimes called themselves Sitkwedih or Siknaha'ddi.” (Olson 1967)

It is said that the Nanyaa.aayi first landed in Shumacher Bay where they built a village called Kecangitaan (willows inside bay town) but they soon left that place and moved to Mill Creek establishing the village of Tcukasan (Olson 1967). It is here that they are said to have been met by subsequent migrations and have joined with other clans to form the Shtax'heen Kwaan. The Nanyaa.aayi subsequently left Mill Creek as well and in coordination with other clans formed what became known as Old Town calling it “Kasakla'n. It was after this move that the war with the Tsimshian occurred and during the peace process “the Naanyaa.aayi were given the name Cekc (Shakes) by the Tsimshian meaning “giant tree” in the Tsimshian tongue” (Olson 1967). The meaning is disputed by Emmons (1991) which claims that this is a “Tsimshian name meaning ‘splasher’ (referring to a whale), which was captured in a war ‘six generations ago’” (Emmons and De Laguna 1991a). This name would later be given to numerous powerful chiefs of this clan. The first Chief Shakes (Cekc) is thought to have been the richest man among all of the Tlingit and he had two wives, one was Yaduha'n, the sister of Chief Yetlkak of Klukwan, the other was a Tihittan woman named Djunkla'n (Olson 1967). More on Shakes' name acquisition below under the Sergief Island description.

The Nanyaa.ayi claimed use and ownership of the upper reaches of the Stikine from above Shakes place to beyond Telegraph Creek (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a). They eventually established villages at Green Point, Point Rothsay, and on Sergief Island (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a). Paige et al (2009) describe each of these places:

**Green Point to Garnet Ledge.** There were good gillnet sites in back eddies near a creek locally referred to as Goat Creek, which is southeast of Garnet Ledge. According to a local respondent this fishing site was much desired by the Wrangell Tlingit. Chinook, coho, and pink salmon spawned in Goat Creek, and freshwater clams were found nearby.

There were camps at the mouth of the Stikine where the people went in the fall to get kings, sockeyes, humpies, dogs, and cohos. Some of the people stay there until fall, and some go to other places. I gillnet there now, and I went after hooligans in the spring of 1945. (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:156)

**Sergief Island.** The Tlingit traded with the Tsimshian on this island in the Stikine River flats. The Tlingit once set gillnets for salmon and eulachon in an eddy that was midway along the eastern shore. The *Naanyaa.aayi* clan once had longhouses in the woods near this eddy. In 2002, the time of the researchers' trip, the eddy, covered by willows and alders, no longer existed, and the surrounding land was privately owned. A previous landowner allowed researchers to look for cultural artifacts on the site, but the land had since changed owners. The island was also thought to be where Chief Shakes acquired his name from a Tsimshian chief who was named *Wee 'ceks*, as part of a peace settlement with the Tlingit after they captured his Tsimshian warriors in a Sergief Island slough. The name was later shortened to "Shakes." The waters between Sergief Island and Point Rothsay were known as the "bone yard" because they were the "final resting place" for trees and other large debris that floated down the river. In 1946, Thomas Ukas stated there was a *Naanyaa.aayi* clan village at Sergief Island:

The people from Wrangell go there in the spring to gather hooligans. They don't live here in the winter, but use it for spring camp. Sergief Island is now owned by a white man." (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:158)

**Point Rothsay.** The eddies near Point Rothsay offered places for the Stikine Tlingit to set 10 ft gillnets. A contemporary respondent thought the nets were made from nettle and spruce roots, but was not sure. In his 1946 testimony, Thomas Ukas stated "There was a village at Point Rothsay, which belonged to the *Naanyaa.aayi*" (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:158). Willis Hoagland, also testifying in 1946, stated:

There was a hooligan camp at Six-Mile Point, just above Point Rothsay. There were camps at the mouth of the Stikine where the people went in the fall to get kings, sockeyes, humpies, dogs, and cohos ... I gillnet there now, and I went after hooligans in the spring of 1945. Quite a few of the people from here go up there every year. (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:156)

Thomas Ukas described gillnetting for salmon between Point Rothsay and Sergief Island and along the east channel as far as Babblers Point; trolling in the spring from Point Highfield near Wrangell as far as Babblers Point; and trolling north of Woronkofski Island, around Vank, Sokolof, and Rynda islands (Goldschmidt and Haas 1998:160).

Specific sites of ownership for this clan as described by Olson (1967) include:

“1. Yetlhi'ndgo (Raven Creek), a salmon stream below Glenora on Hudson's Bay Flats. The name may indicate former ownership by some Raven moiety clan. 2. Hlktcahin (Frog Creek), a place halfway to Telegraph Creek. This was a fishing and berrying place. 3. Tsashathi'ni, an important salmon stream near the preceding. 4. Hathi'nago (Root Creek) on the left bank of the Stikine just below 3. 5. Cakaa'n (Farther Up Town), the mouth of the Stikine on the left bank. 6. A part of the winter village at Mill Creek. 7. Tukkutlgo'xan, a temporary village at the lower end of Blake Channel. 8. Kuxnu'k (Set Back Island), Sergief Island. This was a fishing ground during the summer. Here the war with the Tsimshian was fought. A shifting of the Stikine channels caused abandonment of this site and the camp was moved to 9. 9. Xilaka'ti (Herring Rake Island). Here was a camp used mainly for eulachon fishing. 10. A large section of Kasatla'n (Willow Town), Old Wrangell.” (Olson 1967)

The Sik nax.adi controlled “1) Yey'ankoh (Inland Place), Aaron Creek 2) Anan (Sit Down Town), Anan Creek – the name comes from the fact that morning people would go out of doors and sit down to talk things over (sic). This was a great salmon fishing place” (Olson 1967).

The Nanyaa.aayi have four main crests which include the brown bear from the time of the flood, the killer whale acquired from the Tsimshian war (the Daklawedih also use the killer whale), the dogfish hat which they had when they were at Taku, and the marmot hat (Olson 1967). This clan was so high caste that “their spirits had very high names. One of these was Curing Spirit (Wudzine'xe-yek) and another Man-under-the-earth (Ant!a'yi-qa). Although KAckU'Lk! and Lqlaya'k! were KiksA'di personal names at Sitka, at Wrangell they and their father LAkitcAne' all came to Nanyaa'yi shamans” (Swanton 1908).

Use of the killer whale crest by the Kagwantan in Sitka and Klukwan caused war to break out with the Nanyaa.ayi of Wrangell around 1830 (Olson 1967). For more on this see

### **Daklawedih (Now present in Wrangell as “Naanyaa.aayi”)**

As mentioned previously the Daklawedih are largely absent from most lists of clans within the Shtax'heen Kwaan that are readily available in the literature. Goldschmidt and Haas (1998) appear to exclude them but allude to their origins in their description of the clan name meaning “Inside Sand People (on the Stikine River)” (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a). Olson (1967) provides four separate versions of this clan's origin and role in the region. Their absence from other literature for the region is probably a result of their subsequent migration from the area and integration with the Naanyaa.aayi as described in these legends. Each of these provided by Olson (1967) is accounted here:

#### **Version 1 (as told by Moses Klukshan, a Daklawedih of the village of Yandestakyah):**

The ancestors of this clan came from the interior, up the Stikine River. They were few in number. They were moving down the river but came to where the river ran under a



glacier that reached across the valley. They sent a young man to see if the glacier could be crossed. He found where the river ran from under the glacier. The people camped and argued and quarreled about what they should do. There were two old women among them and it was decided to send them into the tunnel-channel to test it. They said to these, "We have chosen you. Will you go or not? If you refuse, we will kill you." So the old women had no choice. They got into the skin-covered canoe and told two young men to get them two canoe poles. These they decorated with feathers. They put spruce twigs and feathers in their hair; this was to test the head-room of the ice roof of the channel. The two women got in the canoe, said their farewells, and as they held the canoe with the poles they sang a song.

The same young man as before was sent across the glacier to see if the old women emerged and he saw that they came through without their headdresses being damaged. (This headdress is placed on those of the clan as they are about to die.) The old women shouted to him, "It's safe! You can go through." So he went back with this message. The group decided to take the chance (for his message sounded true), calling themselves cowards for their fear and what they had done. So they passed through under the glacier and gave thanks for the new land they had found.

They lived for quite a time at a place on the river called Cagwa'tsan. Then they decided to move down to the salt water. But while they were still at Cagwatsan this happened: There was a young man of the Daklawedih clan who fell in love with his mother's brother's wife. The young man lived in the house called CakAgwathit (bundled or folded house) and his uncle in Nana-ayehit (on the north side house). The uncle came to suspect that something was wrong. The uncle was a great hunter. Now his wife pretended to be ill and insisted on having a bedroom (cubicle) to herself. Each time her husband asked to spend the night with her she would say, "No. I am too ill." One night he walked around thinking of the matter. On the side of the house where the wife's bedroom was he saw an opening large enough for a man. He told his nephew that when he went hunting he would be home before dark unless something was wrong. One day instead of going hunting he took his horn knife and hid in the woods near the secret door. He heard whispers and giggling inside the bedroom. He waited. After a time the nephew emerged headfirst. The uncle took his knife, stabbed him and cut off his head. Then he took the head and hung it over the doorway of his house. The younger brother of the dead man came to build a fire for his uncle. He saw the head of his brother and went home and told of it. Then the feuds started and the people scattered to different parts of southeast Alaska. Many of the Daklawedih moved to Kake. One of the Daklawedih was named Natlsitlaneh. He was the first to carve the killer whale totem. He was hated by his brothers-in-law. [Another tale was interpolated here.]

The people traveled and moved toward the north several times. But they could find only poor salmon (i.e., no red salmon). When some of them came to Klukwan they found that both sockeye and king salmon ran in the river. Here they settled. But the Nanyaayih remained at Wrangell.

## **Version 2 (astold by Dan Katzeek of Klukwan):**

It is said that an older name for the clan is Takwanedi'h and that they are nearly the same as the NesAdih.' At first this clan lived at Taki'n or Tliktakat ("no sockeye salmon") at the foot of Chilkat Lake. They still own the point of land where the village stood, while the Cangukedih own the river. But since only dog salmon run in that stream, they moved to Klukwan where they built houses up-river from the others. They also had a few houses a half mile above Klukwan.

But long ago the Daklawedih lived far up the Stikine River at a town named Daxk!le'o. At that time the Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit all spoke the same language. (Now the Haida Daklawedih are called Dakina and those who are Tsimshian are called Tsutsh.an.) In their migration north some of the Tlingit Daklawedih also stopped at Kilisnoo (Angoon).

The people moved from the Stikine because one summer morning a glacier moved and blocked the river below the town. As the waters rose the people became excited. The next morning two old men went out to observe the level of the water. The others stayed in the houses out of fear. They began to make up packs. They called a meeting to decide what they should do.

Two old men took long poles and went out. The others asked, "Where are you going?" "We wish to test the glacier where the river flows in," they said. Then they got a canoe and called the people. The old men sang, "Listen to us! Listen to this song! After we have passed away remember this song." The people wept. The old men got in the canoe and held it with the poles. The one in the stern said to the other, "What to you think? I am ready to die." The people knew that the lives of all were in the hands of these two. The old men put foot-long twigs in their hair.

Then they went into the hole where the river ran. It was dark inside but they did not feel the twigs touch the ice above. Afterward two fleet-footed lads ran across the glacier to find the bodies. But instead they saw the old men sitting in the canoe, their faces painted, and they were singing. The country was fine, the weather quiet, the water salt. The boys called to them and the old men laughed. Then all the people (Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit) moved to the new place. Later they scattered to Metlakatla, Kasaan, and Ketchikan. But they all remembered the song of the old men. It is still sung at funerals; it honors the old people.

The Daklawedih eventually moved to Takin on the Chilkoot River. The Nanyaayih of Wrangell are the same people (i.e., they remained behind). Both use the killer whale crest. It was over the use of this crest that the Kagwantan of Sitka and Klukwan fought the Nanyaayih of Wrangell. (The Daklawedih of Klukwan were not involved.) This war occurred about 100 years ago (1830). The Nesadih acted as peacemakers at the end of the war. In the peace ceremony four men from each side danced. But one of the Kagwantan hostages, named Katla', had a knife hidden under a "bandage" around his middle. He claimed he had an open sore and put rotten clams in the wrappings to cause a smell like a

putrid wound. The chief of the Sitka Kagwantan, named Yakwa'n, had a long-standing grudge against the Nanyaayih because his grandfather had been killed by them. His mother cried and mourned for her father over the years. But until her son was grown she did not tell him of the slaughter of all his kin. He determined he would avenge him. He "trained" for years. When he was about forty years old he gave notice of war.

Now the Nanyaayih were afraid to come to Sitka because they had won the earlier war and they thought that their Sitka enemies were out to even the score of killings. But the Sitka Kagwantan schemed, offering them trade advantages and other inducements. Finally many of the Nanyaayih came to Sitka and a peace dance was arranged. Yakwan disguised himself and hid a knife and a short spear under his blanket. At the height of the dance Yakwan gave a signal, threw off his blanket. He speared two men, stabbed two others. All the Kagwantan (including Katla) joined in. All the Nanyaayih in the house were killed. Today very few of them are left at Wrangell.

**Version 3 (as told by "GB" of the Ganaxtedih clan of Klukwan):**

The people were living far up the Stikine River where there was an ice dam across the valley. No one had ever been below this and they didn't know of the coast. The people decided to move downstream. There were two men too old to be of much use. These two went under the natural arch in a canoe. They had things tied to poles to measure the ceiling. One was named Kuwasi'ka, the other Wuwutcdlte'h. As they shoved off, the two men sang, "Ah+ yi, srtyi nax xatgwatlihae" (Free may we float out from under this barrier). The nephew of Wuwutcditeh, named Nasego'h, was a swift runner. He ran across the barrier and met the old men as they emerged.

When the people learned that the men had gone through safely they all moved downstream to a place called Tasayayika'n (big sandy place?). From there some moved to the Nass. These were called the Xangik and they became the Tsimshian. Others moved to Angoon, keeping the name Daklawedih. Others moved to Kake and took the name Nesadi. Some stayed on at Tasayayikan for a time. They used to sing a song which ran, "When was there ever held a potlatch at Tasayayikan?" Later some of these moved to Katltsakkan near Wrangell and became the Nanyaayih. Some others moved to Klukwan.

**Version 4 (as told by "GB" of the Ganaxtedih clan of Klukwan):**

The Daklawedih clan was the predominant (owning) one of Etolin Island and part of Prince of Wales Island. Many pictographs of the killer whale, their principal crest, may be seen in that area. Their chief village was Tutxa'nk! below Lake Bay.

The legendary home of the clan was far up the Stikine, about a hundred and fifty miles. Their village, still occupied by a few of the clan, was called Takun. In their migration they came down the river on a raft and reached a point where a glacier blocked the valley. Here they sent an elderly couple down on a raft to see if the tunnel under the glacier could be negotiated. They stood up a small tree with feathers tied to the tip to test the height of the passage.. As the two set forth they sang a song. The passage was negotiated safely and the rest of the people followed.

With the Daklawedih clan were the Nesadi of Kake and the Nexadi of the Sanyakwan. The Nexadi settled first at a place on the Stikine near Boundary. Later they moved to the Sanya (Cape Fox) area. The Daklawedih settled at Tutxank. At that place an incident occurred which caused the clan to split. A young man named Gatke'h was having an affair with the wife of a chief. She schemed as to how she might trick her husband. She put clams under her clothing. These began to smell in a few days and she went to her husband and said, "I am sick. You can smell for yourself. Put me out-ofdoors. Build me a little house where a shaman can treat me."

She installed herself in the retreat so her lover could visit her each night. The lover told his brother he was going away, adding, "If I'm not back before daylight, look for me." That night the chief heard giggling from the wife's house. He wondered about this and became suspicious. He told his slaves, "Get dry clamshells from the beach. Put them around my wife's house." That night he listened. He heard the shells crunch. He took his stone club, went to the shelter and found the lovers. He killed the lover, cut off his head and hung it above the door in his house.

The brother noted that his brother did not return. Near daylight he took a torch and went searching for him. When he came to the chief's house he put out the light and went in, saying, "I came for a light. My torch went out." He relighted the torch at the fireplace. On the way out something (blood) dropped on his hand. He looked up and saw his brother's head. He went and reported to the people of his house. The groups (the two clans) lived on opposite sides of the stream and they could walk across at low tide.

The two groups had a blood feud. After the fighting was over both sides went out into the channel. They wept because they were going to separate. One group pointed with their paddles to the south. They went that way and gave rise to the Tantakwan. The other group pointed to the north and went that way. They became the Daklawedih of Angoon and Klukwan.

### **Kayaashkiditaan & Xook'edi**

Very little information exists on either of these two groups. The Kayaashkiditaan (or Xakweidi) is considered an endemic group to Wrangell and their name means "People of House with High Foundations" and alternatively "People of Xaak [?] – Snake Creek near Wrangell" (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a). A stream across from Harding Creek is said to have belonged to them as well as parts of Anan Creek, jointly with the Kiks.adi.

The Xook'edi or "People of Xook" (a bay near Wrangell) along with the Kaach.adi and the Teeyhittaaan claimed ownership of parts of Etolin Island (Paige et al. 2009) and apparently portions of North Arm Creek according to Thomas Ukas:

"There were also smoke houses on the North Arm which belonged to my grandfather, who is a member of the Exxo'edi clan. They gathered berries, smoked fish, and hunted in that area" (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a).

Willis Hoagland adds that:

“There was a big fish camp at Aaron Creek, and a smokehouse quite a way up the creek. It is now torn down. A native man names Aaron was chief of the Xook.eidi. Later on, Aaron homesteaded this place.

There were camps at Frost Bay and the cannery a few miles north of Frosty Bay. Stikine Joseph had a camp at Frost Bay until he died a few years ago. The cannery place was owned by the Xook.eidi clan and was used for trapping marten. There is still a smokehouse at Frosty Bay.”

### **Xilkweidi**

The Xilkweidi (Foam People) are believed to have inhabited the very southern areas controlled by the Stikine Kwaan (near Loring) and to have moved to Wrangell in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Swanton 1908). The Xilkweidi is the only clan of the Wolf Phratry in the area believed to have originated from a separate group (Swanton 1908), as all of the others are considered from a single ancestral lineage, and to have once formed an independent group on Revillagigedo Island. This group had also been known as the Xetlkwan (Foam People) and Xetltekvedi'h (Thunderbird People) (Olson 1967). They are a subdivision of the Tekwedih clan with origins along the Chikamin or “Xetl” (Foam) River where a man had “dreamed of great heaps of foam floating down” (Olson 1967).

This clan appears to have been a relatively recent clan to the Stikine region and little is available in the literature regarding their history in this area. Willis Hoagland of Wrangell tells us:

“Duncan Canal is a hunting ground used by different people. It was owned by the Kassx'agweidi. Other people came here including the Xilkweidi, who came up from Ketchikan territory. They married into the people who owned that area. There was a village inside Little Duncan Bay.” (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

Olson describes their specific sited of ownership:

“They owned the following places: 1. Nah, the salmon stream at Loring. 2. Dijuna'x, the Unuk River. 3. Xetl (Foam), the stream just south of the Unuk which gives the clan its name. 4. Xok, the stream now called Snag River on Etolin Island. The name Xokedih (People of Xok) comes from this.” (Olson 1967)

## The Great Clans of the Raven Moiety

### The Kiksadi

The Kiks.adi clan of Wrangell was among the largest and most revered clans of the Raven moiety at that place. Today many Kiks.adi in Wrangell call themselves “Kiksetti”, a derivation of the original name resulting from differences in early attempts to write what was heard {Crippen, 2010 #84}. As mentioned above in Olson’s description, their name means literally “people of Kiks” which likely refers to an island in the vicinity of Helm’s Bay to the south near Ketchikan. Swanton (1908) goes into further detail, reaffirming this place of origin:

“The presence of a KiksA'di house group at Sanya has been noted, and although composed perhaps of comparatively new settlers at that place, it is said that the family had received its name, People of Kiks, from an island in the vicinity. At any rate it was certainly one of the great clans that moved up from the south, and besides having a Sanya branch forms the foremost Raven groups at Wrangell and Sitka. They were the first to settle in the latter place. Their antiquity is perhaps indicated by the fact that two of the principal mythological heroes of the Tlingit bear KiksA'di names. It is said that the wives of some KiksA'di people once quarreled, and all of one side moved out into a house made of bark, from which circumstance they came to be called Bark-house people (Ti hit tan). At Wrangell the Bark-house people are credited with but one house group, but the Te'neidi of Klawak constitute part of the same clan, their name being merely a variation of Ti hit tan” (Swanton 1908)

In contrast, Olson (1967) also suggests that the Kiks.adi of Wrangell may have traditionally come from the area of a small stream called “Kiks” on the mainland along the Cleveland Peninsula. While some maintain that the Wrangell Kiks.adi are the ancestral group from which the Sitka Kiks.adi were derived, other accounts suggest that it was during the same voyage north that many stopped off permanently in Wrangell (Olson 1967). Despite these discrepancies the Kiks.adi’s eventual importance and influence at Wrangell and Sitka is unquestioned.

Another account by Olson (1967) tells of two separate Kiks.adi lineages in the Stikine region:

“The Stikinekwan say that at Wrangell there are two Kiksadi clan lineages. The one line comes from Sitka. The other is descended from a slave girl who was part Tsimshian. This girl was owned by a chief who had a stupid wife who did not know how to manage her household. There came a time of near famine and the slave girl fed the household from food she had prepared and stored. One day some visitors came from Klukwan. The chief was embarrassed, thinking he could not invite them in because he had no food. But the slave girl whispered to him that she had food enough. The visitors were invited in and she served them. The chief sent the visitors away that same night, pleading a press of affairs.

The next morning he called his other slaves and ordered them to bathe the girl, thus "washing her slavery away." He also gave away and destroyed property. He ordered that henceforth no one was to call her a slave, and that he was taking her for a wife.

However, the first lineage (from Sitka) regards this second lineage as somewhat besmirched. They claim the second has the brown instead of the black bear as a crest, and that they are somewhat "crazy" or foolish. "(Olson 1967)

In their ancestral homeland among the Sanyakwan the Kiks.adi owned: (1) Boca de Quadra and its arms. (2) Neets Bay (glhdu'naxdeh). (3) The area from around Cape Fox to Portland Canal, including Nakat, Willard, and Fillmore inlets; also Wales and Pearse islands (Olson 1967). Olson also describes the specific areas controlled by the Kiks.adi of the Stikine Kwaan:

"In the Stikine area they claimed: 1. Much of the winter village at Mill Creek. 2. A berrying ground on the right bank of the Stikine below the international boundary. 3. A place on the right bank above Telegraph Creek." (Olson 1967)

In a 1946 testimony for Goldschmidt and Haas (1998), Thomas Ukas described the area of Mill creek in the 1880s:

"Mill Creek is the place where the first village of the Stikine people was located. Before that time they were scattered in small villages all over, and this was the first winter village for the Kiks.adi and the Kaach.adi. There were still remains of houses in my time. They are building a sawmill there now, and it is ruining the sockeyes. We can no longer fish there.

I have seen many times – the last was 3 years ago – rocks piled up at the mouth of Mill Creek... My father told me that these rocks were traps for fish, used by the Stikine Indians in early days." (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a).

The Katete River's confluence with the Stikine, just on the Canadian side of the border, was the site of a summer village owned by the Kiks.adi where clan members went to "hunt for bear, beaver, goat, and porcupine" and to fish for "cohos, dog salmon, humpies, and king salmon" as well as to collect berries (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a). Another village owned by the Kiks.adi between Tahltan and Telegraph in Canada was called Tinah Goon (Paige et al. 2009). Willis Hoagland, a Kiks.adi born in Wrangell in 1876, told about this place "Our people lived... in the summer, and came down about October. We dried goat meat, beaver, porcupine, cohos, sockeyes, humpies, and dog salmon there... There were many houses there" (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a).

Paige et al (2009) adds to the Kiks.adi claims confirming that the clan owned "Wrangell Island itself as well as the southend of Etolin Island" (Paige et al. 2009). The ownership of Wrangell proper included that of Thom's place, an important fishing area and the site of a modern community. Additional information on this site from Paige et al (2009) includes:

"Thoms Lake and Thoms Creek, which flows into the bay known as Thoms Place, belonged to the Kiks.adi people. There are no reported archaeological investigations in the area. It was readily accessible to the people living at the old village site, also known as Old Town, and marked as "deserted village" on maps. Those living at camps along

Zimovia Strait from Turn Island to lands south of Old Town could also easily access Thoms Lake. After the arrival of the Americans, and people moved from Old Town into Wrangell, they still returned to Old Town on a seasonal basis to keep gardens and to dry and smoke the salmon they harvested in Thoms Place. Other nearby harvesting sites were Olive Cove (south of Anita Bay on Etolin Island) and Whaletail Cove. In 1897, Thomas Moser estimated the Thoms Creek Sockeye Salmon run at 15,000 to 20,000 salmon, which supplied the Point Highfield cannery located at present day Wrangell. According to testimony given to Goldschmidt and Haas in 1946 (1998:75,157), Wrangell people fished and processed salmon at Thoms Place and other nearby locations along Zimovia Strait:

‘There is a sockeye stream on Thoms Creek. In my time, there was a big smoke house there, with 5 different families. It was owned by the Kiks.adi people.

The whole Wrangell people used the south end of Wrangell Island... There was a camp at Pat Creek, and just below it, another one on a sand beach. These places were used for drying fish... There were camps at Turn Island and on Wrangell Island, from there on down to Old Town... There used to be a smoke house at Tommy’s place that belonged to the Kiks.adi people. ‘ ‘ (Paige et al. 2009)

The frog is claimed as the crest of the Kiks.adi who claimed it from the fact that persons of their clan had special dealings with these animals although the stories differ between the group in Wrangell and in Sitka (Swanton 1908). The Ganax’adi of Tongas tell the same story as the Wrangell Kiks.adi about the marriage of a woman of their clan to a frog and may also claim this animal crest (Swanton 1908). Swanton (1908) tells us that “in recent years the Qa’tcadi at Wrangell and the Lluklnaxadi at Sitka have tried to adopt the frog, but in the latter case their attempt to put up the frog carving precipitated a riot.”

## **Teeyhittaaan**

There is little in the written literature for the Teeyhittaaan (Yellow Cedar Bark People) except for notes on territorial claims within the Stikine region. They are said to have controlled parts of Etolin Island, Red Bay, Salmon Bay, Whale Passage and Little Ratz Harbor on northern Prince of Whales Island (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a). The Salmon Bay sockeye run which they claimed, “was one of the most productive in the traditional territory of the Wrangell people (Paige et al. 2009). Testimony from Charles Borch of the Wrangell Naanyaa.ayi in 1946 referenced the Teeyhittaaan ownership several times:

“Red Bay belongs to the Teeyhittaaan. They had a camp at the mouth, on the west side. There are no smokehouses there now. The Teeyhittan people own all the way down as far as Lake Bay. At Red Bay, they could gather berries of all kinds, and get fish and meat. There was a special berry they called ‘Yellow Clouds.’

There was a big camp at Salmon Bay, close to the hole for salmon where the Natives had a fish trap. I used to fish in the mouth of Salmon Bay, and the Native people had a



seining camp there in recent years. There was also a camp at Exchange Cove. I used to go there for seining. Now, all the Wrangell people go there, through it used to belong to the Teeyhittaan. There is also a big bay in Humpy Creek where people have a smokehouse. Thorne Island was used for hunting. There was a camp on the south side.” (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

Thomas Ukas, Willis Hoagland and Charles Borch comment further on Red Bay:

“Red Bay was the territory of the Teeyhittaan clan. There was formerly a big camp or summer village behind Bell Island in Red Bay. There are no smokehouses there at the present time. A Native named Ntkash who is now dead was the last man to live there. Besides its importance as a fishing place, Red Bay yielded seaweed, clams, and abundant berries.” (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

Willis Hoagland continues, with corroboration by Charles Borch and James Bradley on the Woronofski account:

“Zarembo Island belonged *to* the whole of the Wrangell people. No special *clan* owned *that*. We hunt meat—mostly deer—there, and also trap mink. Now Indians don't go there. The Teeyhittaan owned a village where they fished for dog salmon, humpies, and cohos. I think this village was across from Bushy Island. There is also a fort on the northwest side called Shtax' Noow.

Woronkoofski Island was also used by the whole Wrangell people. The Teeyhittaan have a fort on the northwest side called Shtax' Noow and also another *one neat Ancon Point*.” (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

Testimony from Thomas Ukas adds:

“The north coast of Etolin Island was trapping area. Steamer Point is a hunting ground. There used to be smokehouses there for halibut and seaweed, and now we use the area for trolling. Steamer Bay is used as an anchorage, and the people from here camp at Quiet Harbor. Three years ago a house burned down that belonged to a Native man. I think this place is owned by the Teeyhittaan.

There was also a camp at Mosman Inlet which belonged to the Teeyhittaan.” (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

William Paul Sr. (1885 – 1977) is among the best known members of this clan in Wrangell within recent memory. He became a lawyer and played an instrumental role in the formation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). Alyssa London addresses his accomplishments in a 2008 unpublished report:

“Paul was the first Alaska Native lawyer, the first Native elected to the Alaska territorial legislature and a forceful advocate for Native rights. He brought cases that established Native voting rights and desegregated public schools. Paul's positions of leadership in the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), and his

work on Tee-Hit-Ton Indians v. United States, 348 U.S. 272 (1955), paved the way for ANCSA.

In Tee-Hit-Ton, Paul (a *Teeyhitta*an clan member from Wrangell) sought compensation for the timber and tribal lands taken by Congress to create the Tongass National Forest and for authorizing pulp mills and timber leases on their lands. Both the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court ruled against the *Teehitta*ans. The Supreme Court found that Congress had not extinguished the *Teehitta*ans' aboriginal title through the actions it had taken. The Court's opinion left the door open to the notion that Congress could later recognize the aboriginal title of the *Teeyhitta*ans, and thus all Alaska Natives to their lands. This notion, paired with the provisions of the Tlingit and Haida Jurisdictional Act, became the basis of Native land claims cases, and ultimately, ANCSA." (London 2008)

### **Kaach.adi**

Jennie Thomas, a Kaach.adi of Wrangell born at Klukwan, informed Olson (1967) that her clan was derived from the town of Kake on Kupreanof Island (Olson 1967). The clan legend of their origin at this place as told by Olson (1967) is as follows:

“At the time of the flood their ancestors climbed the mountain called Tax on Baranof Island. When the waters receded, they settled in Pybus Bay (Kac) on the southern end of Admiralty Island. There they lived a long time. Another clan called the Sakatla'di, from Baranof Island, joined them and eventually merged with the Katcadi.

A chief named Adjrt, of the Nanyaayih clan of the Stikinekwana, came to Kac (Pybus Bay) and married a girl of the Katcadi clan. This chief owned a fishing camp up the Stikine at TAtcatr"n (Six Mile Creek) below Telegraph Creek. When they were there one summer the chief's daughter went one day with other girls to pick berries.

But the others returned without her; she had disappeared. At this time the Stikine did not know that the Tahltan (Gunana) had a village at Tahltan. The Tahltan had captured her. The girl's people searched for her, but in vain.

One day Chief Adjit scolded one of his slaves (named Dzus) and the latter took his bow and arrows and ran away. He traveled up-river and finally came to the edge of a canyon and saw a village below. He went down to the village and was made welcome. But he was wearing stinking clothes of sealskin. The people bathed him and gave him new clothes. At the village the chief's daughter recognized him. She told her captors, "That is my father's servant." (She used the word kokena, servant, not the word for slave, gux.)

The slave had his bow and arrows and the Gunana marveled at them, for at that time they had none. They wanted his and gave him furs piled as high as the bow in exchange. Then they sent him home. His master freed him [because of the furs he brought?]. The Gunana composed a song about the slave which ran, "What is that which smells so strong?" (referring to his filthy costume). This is sung by the Wolf clans of the Stikinekwana.

The girl remained with the Tahltan and became the ancestress of the Katcadi clan among them. This is how it is that Katcadi are found at Kake, Wrangell, and among the Tahltan. But when the Kiksadi tell this story they say, "It was a Kiksadi named Djus who discovered the Tahltan Gunana." But they do not mention that Djus was a slave." (Olson 1967)

Regarding claimed territories in the region of the Shtax'heen Kwaan, Thomas Ukas in 1946 notes:

"The Andrew Cree, which flows into the Stikine River, belonged to the Kaach.adi people. Here, they dried fish and hunted bear in the fall. They also gathered highbush cranberries.

An old Kaach.adi man named Kahsheets stayed at Totem Bay. He had a camp on a big creek. Not, there is a fox farm there." (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

William Paul Senior also commented:

"Back of Wrangell, the Katc-uddy [Kaach.adi] owned the Crittendon Creek country and not the area you have marked as theirs. That area, no known as Mill Creek, was the townsite of the Kiks.uddy [Kiks.adi] and the Ti-hit-tan [Teeyhittaaan]." (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

Willis Hoagland, also an informant for Goldschmidt and Haas (1998) offered:

"Shake's Place, on the Stikine River, was owned by the Naanyaa.aayi. Here they dried sockeye and gathered nagoonberries. From this place up the Stikine River was controlled by the Kaach.adi, all the way up to Tahltan. They used this area for hunting and fishing, and also for trading with the Interior Indians. The line between the Tlingit and the Interior people was further up the river than the present Canadian border.

Mill Creek is the place where the first village of the Stikine people was located. Before that time they were scattered in small villages all over, and this was the first winter village for the Kiks.adi and the Kaach.adi. There were still houses there in my time.

At Anan Creek, there was a big village which was owned by the Kaach.adi and Kiks.adi.

Santa Anna Inlet is owned by the Kaach.adi. It is a big coho stream, but there are also sockeye and humpies. There has been a cannery in there for a while. It used the same site as the Native village on account of the water. Now wer troll there. I was there in the spring of 1945.

There was a smokehouse at Cooney Cove [Etolin Island] which belonged to the Kaach.adi people, but there is nothing there now, because the cannery people have claimed this area. We use to go there to hunt seal, and up the inlets for salmon.

There was a camp at Lake Bay, where the cannery is now. It was claimed by two clans – Kiks.adi and Kaach.adi. Up the lakes, there were beaver hunting grounds, and people got salmon and cohos there. ” (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

### **Kaasx’agweidi & Taalkweidi**

The Kaasx’agweidi (People of the Camp called Kaasx’) and Taalkweidi (People of the Taalku [Thomas Bay]) may have unique histories among the Shtax’heen clans in that they may be Haida in origin (Swanton 1908). According to the chief of the Kaasx’agweidi at the time of Swanton’s visit, his clan was originally Haida from the Sta’stas clan of the Masset (Swanton 1908).

Swanton continues this story:

“More immediately they are said to have come from the Wut-ca’nina, a clan at Kassan [Prince of Whales Island], which is perhaps identical with the Ya’das, a Sta’stas branch living at that place. It is not a little curious that a Raven group among the Tlingit should have come from an Eagle group among the Haida. On their way to Wrangell these people stopped for a long time at a place called Kasqe’k, from which they received their present name.” (Swanton 1908)

Additional commentary by Swanton (1908) includes:

“At Wrangell... we find the Raven Kasq.ague’di and Talqoe’di considered as parts of Edensaw’s family at Massett, which is Eagle. Transposition of phratries is indicated also by the crests and names, for the killer whale, grizzly bear, wolf, and halibut are on the Wold side among the Tlingit and on the Raven side among the Haida, while the raven, frog, hawk, and black whale are on the Raven side among the Tlingit and the Eagle side among the Haida.”

Again in 1967 Olson elaborates on the origins of the Kaasx’agweidi:

“The Kaskwakwedi’h clan of Wrangell came originally from the Queen Charlotte Islands where they called themselves the Wtihtc’nnlna’h.<sup>48</sup> They moved from there, one group settling at Kasaan [Haida], the other moving to the Tlingit village of Tcukwa’san at Mill Creek. At this village were the Nanyaayih, Siknahaddih, Tihittan, Kiksadi, and Katcadih. These refused to admit the newcomers, saying they smelled too strongly of salmon eggs. So they went on and settled at Kasklle’k (in Brown’s Cove, near Dry Island). They later moved to Anstagaku across the channel from Petersburg. After the coming of the whites they moved to Wrangell.

The ancestors of the Kaiyac krttitan clan once lived at Port Snettisham above Sumdum Bay where they had a village called Srtko’h (glacier place). At that time the clan was called Sitkwedih (glacier people). The clan divided. Some moved to Kake where they are still called the Sitkwedih. Another group moved to the Stikine area where they took the new name.

The Sitkwedih may be one of the really ancient names and ancient clans, for at Wrangell the entire assemblage of Wolf moiety clans may be addressed as Sitkwedih. "Even the Namyaa'ih sometimes called themselves Sitkwedih or Siknaha'ddi.'" (Olson 1967)

Katishan, chief of the Kaasx'agweidi, was head of his clan at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and was Swanton's host at Wrangell in 1904 (Bringhurst 2000). He was the son of a woman named Leek who was also a storyteller and by some accounts more capable in this capacity than her son (Bringhurst 2000) though Swanton transcribed only the words of the latter.

Along with the Kaach.adi, the Kaasx'agweidi and the Taalkweidi are said to have claimed "portions of eastern Kupreanof Island, and the Taalkweidi claimed Mitkof Island and the mainland area as far north as Farragut Bay on the mainland" (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a, Paige et al. 2009). Duncan Canal was a hunting ground owned by the Kaasx'agweidi (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a).

An unnamed witness from Kake once told Willis Hoagland that:

"there was a village at Wood Point on the south shore of Thomas Bay which belonged to the Taalkweidi clan. He states, however, that this area is no longer used and the remains of the village have disappeared. He also states that there was at one time a house on Muddy River which was a good salmon stream." (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

Willis Hoagland then describes other lands claimed by the Taalkweidi:

"LeConte Bay likewise belonged to the Taalkweidi. Camp Island was the site of the camping place. There area was used chiefly for hunting seal and the cliff area along the coast north of LeConte Bay was important hunting territory.

On the south shore of Frederick Sound the Wrangell people went as far as Portage Bay which was 'half Kake and half Wrangell People.' Across from Petersburg there was a salmon creek which belonged to the Taalkweidi. There is now a mink ranch at this location. The Taalkweidi people use the Wrangell Narrows area for trapping mink and hunting bear. They generally reach this area by going overland from Blind Slough." (Goldschmidt et al. 1998a)

Olson (1967) offers additional information on Taalkweidi origin and their inhabitation in the northern reaches of Stikine Kwaan territory:

"The Tlokwa'adi of the town of Yandestakyah came first from Tlokwa'ah in the bay across Wrangell Narrows from Petersburg. The name means "quickly cooked people" or "quick (cook) people." They are also called Tatlkweidi'h from Tatlkuih (Tat'l Bay) across the narrows from Petersburg. When they moved to Yandestakyah they built a house which was barely finished when an eagle flew over, making the sound gih gih. From this the town was sometimes called Gisana'n (eagle's cry town). The mountain back of the town was called Gisa'n.

According to another informant, the clan moved from Tlokwhah to Kuye'k, a town or place in Icy Strait.” (Olson 1967)

The Lukaax’adi people of the Tlingit are said to be a branch of the Taalkweidi that broke from the main group while still part of the Shtax’heen Kwaan. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer explain this:

“The Lukaax.adi people trace their origins to Duncan Canal near Petersburg, a long inlet on the southern end of Kupreanof Island, roughly parallel to the Wrangell Narrows to the east. The name Lukaax’adi means ‘people of Lukaaz.’ Lukaax is the name of a point or peninsula on the Duncan Canal. The original name of the clan was Taalkweidi, people of Taalku. Taalku is the Tlingit name for Thomas Bay, north of Petersburg off of Frederick Sound, where the people originally settled after migrating from the mouth of the Stikine River. Visible from Petersburg, of the mountains among the glaciers above Thomas Bay is called Devil’s Thumb in English, Taalku Naxk’u Shaa in Tlingit, and is an at.oow of the Lukaax.adi. Following a dispute, (according to clan tradition, over the infidelity of a woman), the main branch of the group separated, migrating north to the areas around Chilkat and Yakutat.” (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994)

## **CHAPTER 4: Selected Ethnographic Accounts Referencing Wrangell and the Stikine**

This chapter is a compilation of early ethnographic accounts of the Tlingit as seen or recorded post-European contact. They are quotes, word for word, with only minor aesthetic changes and placed within thematic genres. Please refer to the original papers for the complete text. It is with appreciation for the authors and appropriate citations that these are included.

### **John Muir's Evolving Attitudes toward Native American Cultures (Fleck 1978)**

“Muir met Samuel H. Young, a missionary at Fort Wrangell, and the two became travelling companions throughout the panhandle where Muir would study glaciers and Young would preach. Muir's preaching universal religion to the Indians and his constant search for new glaciers earned him the title of Glate Ankow (Ice Chief) according to Young.

#### **Dancing**

While still at Wrangell Island, Muir was invited to a dance in which "excellent imitations were given of the gait, gestures, and behavior of several animals under different circumstances-walking, hunting, capturing, and devouring their prey, etc." The animal movements "were so accurately imitated that they seemed the real thing." Even though Muir thought it was altogether a wonderful show, he still remained somewhat aloof from these picturesque Indians. But when Muir sailed south to explore the ruins of a Stickeen village at the opposite end of Wrangell Island, he responded quite positively to these architectural remains, remembering that the Digger Indians left no trace of their civilization:

#### **Architecture**

"The magnitude of the ruins and excellence of the workmanship manifest in them was astonishing as belonging to Indians. For example, the first dwelling we visited was about forty feet square, with walls built of planks two feet wide and six inches thick. The ridge pole of yellow cypress was two feet in diameter, forty feet long, and as round and true as if it had been turned in a lathe; and though laying in the damp weeds it was perfectly sound. . . Each of the wall planks had evidently been hewn out of a whole log, and must have required sturdy deliberation as well as skill. Their geometrical truthfulness was admirable. With the same tools not one in a thousand of our skilled mechanics could do as good work. Compared with it the bravest work of civilized backwoodsman is feeble and bungling. The completeness of form, finish, and proportion of these timbers suggested skill of a wild and positive kind, like that which guides the woodpecker in drilling round holes, and the bee in making its cells."

Muir was quite taken in by Stickeen totem poles, so much so that he sketched them in his Journal and described them with enthusiasm. "Some of the most imposing were said to commemorate some event of an historical character. But a telling display of family pride seemed to have been the prevailing motive. All the figures were more or less rude, and

some were broadly grotesque, but there was never any feebleness of obscurity in the expression. On the contrary every feature showed grave force and decision; while the childish audacity displayed in the designs, combines with manly strength in their execution, was truly wonderful.

### **Conversations with Kadashan**

His first Indian travelling companion and guide, Kadachan, was a happy and merry fellow who liked to tell stories and tales of his people and who could laugh at himself for failing to retrieve ducks he had shot. Kadachan's mother, on the other hand, had a woeful and sorrowful face like those of the Kawkuitl Indians described in Margaret Craven's moving book, *I Heard the Owl Call My Name*. Seeing Indian joy and sorrow helped Muir culturally adjust to Thlinkits much like Margaret Craven's protagonist, Mark Brian. Muir began to laugh with Kadachan and listen with care to his fascinating theories and stories about animal life.

When our talk was interrupted by the howling of a wolf on the opposite side of the strait, Kadachan puzzled the minister with the question, 'Have wolves souls?' The Indians believe that they have; giving as foundation for their belief that they are wise creatures who know how to catch seals and salmon by swimming slyly upon them with their heads hidden in a mouthful of grass, hunt deer in company, and always bring forth their young at the same and most favorable time of the year. I inquired how it was that with enemies so wise and powerful the deer were not all killed. Kadachan replied that wolves knew better than to kill them all and thus cut off their most important food-supply." Here is strong evidence for the Thlinkit's ecological understanding of his environment acquired through observation and not books.

As Muir writes, "The Thlinkit tribes give a hearty welcome to Christian missionaries. In particular they are quick to accept the doctrine of the atonement, because they themselves practice it, although to many of the civilized whites it is a stumbling block and rock of offense." He proceeds to supply the illustration of a Stickeen chief who offered himself as a sacrifice to end all fighting between two warring tribes.

On Muir's second trip to Alaska in 1880 he did not fail to give a sharp reprimand to an Indian travelling companion who wantonly killed a seagull: "I asked him why he had killed the bird, and followed the question by a severe reprimand for his stupid cruelty, to which he could offer no other excuse than that he had learned from the whites to be careless about taking life."

On the way to Glacier Bay, a bad storm frightened Muir's Indian friends, Kadachan and Toyatte. To illustrate how much Muir had become part of Indian culture, I quote the following passage describing his words of cheer and their effect: "They seemed to be losing heart with every howl of the wind, and, fearing that they might fail me now that I was in the midst of so grand a congregation of glaciers, I made haste to reassure them, telling them that for ten years I had wandered alone among mountains and storms, and



good luck always followed me; that with me, therefore, they need fear nothing. The storm would soon cease and the sun would shine to show us the way we should go, for God cares for us and guides us as long as we are trustful and brave, therefore all childish fear must be put away. This little speech did good. Kadachan, with some show of enthusiasm, said he liked to travel with good-luck people; and dignified old Toyatte declared that now his heart was strong again, and he would venture on with me as far as I liked for my 'wawa' was 'delait' (my talk was very good). The old warrior even became a little sentimental, and said that even if the canoe was broken he would not greatly care, because on the way to the other world he would have good companions.'"

## **Akaska: its southern coast and the Sitkan archipelago. (Scidmore 1885)**

### **Wrangell History**

It was founded in 1834 by order of Baron Wrangell, then Governor of Russian America and chief director of the fur company, who sent the Captain-Lieut. Dionysius Feodorovich Zarembo down from Sitka to erect a stockade post on the small tongue of land now occupied by the homes, graves, and totem poles of the Indian village. It was known at first as the trading post of St. Dionysius, and, later, it assumed the name of Wrangell, the prefix of Fort being added during the time that the United States garrisoned it with two companies of the 21st Infantry. The Government began building a new stockade fort there immediately after the transfer of the territory in 1867, and troops occupied it until 1870, when they were withdrawn, the post abandoned, and the property sold for \$500. The discovery of the Cassiar gold mines on the head waters of the Stikine River in 1874 sent a tide of wild life into the deserted street of Fort Wrangell, and the military were ordered back in 1875 and remained until 1877, when General Howard drew off his forces, and the government finally recalled the troops from all the posts in Alaska. During the second occupation of the barracks and quarters at Fort Wrangell, the War Department helped itself to the property, and, assigning a nominal sum for rent, held the fort against the protest of the owner.

### **Art**

The best silver bracelets at Fort Wrangell are made by a lame Indian, who as the chief artificer and silversmith of the tribe has quite a local reputation. His bracelets are beautifully chased and decorated, but unfortunately for the integrity of Stikine art traditions, he has given up carving the emblematic beasts of native heraldry on heavy barbaric wristlets, and now only makes the most slender bangles, adapted from the models in an illustrated jeweler's catalogue that some Philistine has sent him. Worse yet, he copies the civilized spread eagle from the half-dollar, and, one can only shake his head sadly to see Stikine art so corrupted and debased. For all this, the lame man cannot make bracelets fast enough to supply the market, and at three dollars a pair for the narrower ones he pockets great profits during the steamer days.

## Houses & Totems

The houses of the Indian village string along the beach in a disconnected way, all of them low and square, built of rough hewn cedar and pine planks, and roofed over with large planks resting on heavy log beams. One door gives entrance to an interior, often twenty and forty feet square, and several families live in one of these houses, sharing the same fireplace in the centre, and keeping peacefully to their own sides and corners of the common habitation. Heraldic devices in outline sometimes ornament the gable front of the house, but no paint is wasted on the interior, where smoke darkens everything, the drying salmon drip grease from the frames overhead, and dogs and children tumble carelessly around the fire and over the pots and saucepans. The entrances have sometimes civilized doors on hinges, but the aborigine fashion is a porti of sealskin or walrus hide, or of woven grass mats. When one of the occupants of a house dies he is never taken out by the door where the others enter, but a plank is torn off at the back or side, or the body is hoisted out through the smoke hole in the roof, to keep the spirits away.

Many of the houses have tall cedar posts and poles, carved with faces of men and beasts, representing events in their genealogy and mythology. These tall totems are the shrines and show places of Fort Wrangell, and on seeing them all the ship's company made the hopeless plunge into Thlinket mythology and there floundered aimlessly until the end of the trip. There is nothing more flexible or susceptible of interpretations than Indian traditions, and the Siwash himself enjoys nothing so much as misleading and fooling the curious white man in these matters. The truth about these totems and their carvings never will be quite known until their innate humor is civilized out of the natives, but meanwhile the white man vexes himself with ethnological theories and suppositions. These totems are for the most part picture writings that tell a plain story to every Siwash, and record the great events in the history of the man who erects them. They are only erected by the wealthy and powerful members of the tribe, and the cost of carving a cedar log fifty feet long, and the attendant feasts and ceremonies of the raising, bring their value, according to Indian estimates, up to one thousand and two thousand dollars. The subdivisions of each tribe into distinct families that take for their crest the crow, the bear, the eagle, the whale, the wolf, and the fox, give to each of these sculptured devices its great meaning. The totems show by their successive carvings the descent and alliances of the great families, and the great facts and incidents of their history. The representations of these heraldic beasts and birds are conventionalized after certain fixed rules of their art, and the grotesque heads of men and animals are highly colored according to other set laws and limitations. Descent is counted on the female side, and the first emblem at the top of the totem is that of the builder, and next that of the great family from which he is descended through his mother.

In some cases two totem poles are erected before a house, one to show the descent on the female side, and one to give the generations of the male side, and a pair of these poles was explained for us by one of the residents of Fort Wrangell, who has given some study to these matters. The genealogical column of the mother's side has at the top the eagle, the great totem or crest of the family to which she belonged. Below the eagle is the image

of a child, and below that the beaver, the frog, the eagle, the frog, and the frog for a third time, show the generations and the subfamilies of the female side. By some interpreters the frog is believed to indicate a pestilence or some great disaster, but others maintain that it is the recognized crest of one of the sub-families. The male totem pole has at the top the image of the chief, wearing his conical hat, below that his great totem, the crow. Succeeding the crow is the image of a child, then three frogs, and at the base of the column the eagle, the great totem of the builder's mother.

## **Graves**

Over the graves of the dead, which are square log boxes or houses, they put full-length representations of the dead man's totemic beast, or smooth poles finished at the top with the family crest. One old chief's tomb at Fort Wrangell has a very realistic whale on its moss-grown roof, another a bear, and another an otter. The Indians cremated their dead until the arrival of the missionaries, who have steadily opposed the practice. The Indian's idea of a hell of ice made him reason that he who was buried in the earth or the sea would be cold forever after, while he whose ashes were burned would be warm and comfortable throughout eternity.

## **Annual Cycle**

In the summer season Fort Wrangell is a peaceful, quiet place; the climate is a soothing one, and Prof. Muir extolled the "poultice-like atmosphere" which so calms the senses. The Indians begin to scatter on their annual fishing trips in June, and come back with their winter supplies of salmon in the early fall. Many of the houses were locked or boarded up, while the owners had gone away to spend the summer at some other watering-place.

## **Christianity & Western Indoctrination**

Clah, a Christianized Indian from Fort Simpson, B. C., was the first to attempt mission work among the Indians at Fort Wrangell. In 1877 Mrs. McFarland was sent out by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, after years of mission work in Colorado and the west, and, taking Clah on her staff, she labored untiringly to establish the school and open the home for Indian girls. Others have joined her in the work at Fort Wrangell, and everyone on the coast testifies to good results already attained by her labors and example. She is known and revered among all the tribes, and the Indians trust in her implicitly, and go to her for advice and aid in every emergency. With the establishment of the new industrial mission-school at Sitka, Mrs. McFarland will be transferred to the girls' department of that institution. The Rev. Hall Young and his wife have devoted themselves to the good cause at Fort Wrangell, and will continue there in charge of the church and school. The Presbyterian missions have the strongest hold on the coast, and the Catholics, who built a church at Fort Wrangell, have given up the mission there, and the priest from Nanaimo makes only occasional visits to his dusky parishioners.

## **Superstition & John Muir's Involvement**

When Professor Muir was at Fort Wrangell one autumn, he climbed to the summit of this first mountain on a stormy night to listen to the fierce music of the winds in the forest. Just over the ridge he found a little hollow, and gathering a few twigs and branches he started a fire that he gradually increased to quite a blaze. The wind howled and roared through the forest, and the scientist enjoyed himself to the utmost; but down in the village the Indians were terrified at the glow that illuminated the sky and the tree-tops. No one could explain the phenomenon, as they could not guess that it was Professor Muir warming himself during his nocturnal ramble in the forest, and it was with difficulty that the minister and the teachers at the mission could calm the frightened Indians. On a second visit to Fort Wrangell on the Idaho, there was the same warm, lazy sunshine and soft still air, and as connoisseurs we could the better appreciate the fine carvings and ornamental work of these aesthetic people, who decorate every household utensil with their symbols of the beautiful.

## **Boat Races**

A boat-race of another kind rounded off the day of my third and last visit to Fort Wrangell, and the Indians who had been waiting for a week made ready for a regatta when the Ancon was sighted. It took several whistles from our impatient captain to get the long war-canoes manned and at the stake-boat ; and, in this particular, boat-races have some points in common the world round. Kadashaks, one of the Stikine chiefs, commanded one long canoe in which sixteen Indians sat on each side, and another chief rallied thirty-two followers for his war-canoe. It was a picturesque sight when the boatmen were all squatted in the long dug-outs, wearing white shirts, and colored handkerchiefs tied around their brows. While they waited, each canoe and its crew was reflected in the still waters that lay without a ripple around the starting-point near shore. When the cannon on the ship's deck gave the signal, the canoes shot forward like arrows, the broad paddles sending the water in great waves back of them, and dashing the spray high on either side. Kadashaks [Kadishan] and the other chief sat in the sterns to steer, and encouraged and urged on their crews with hoarse grunts and words of command, and the Indians, paddling as if for life, kept time in their strokes to a savage chant that rose to yells and war whoops when the two canoes fouled just off the stake-boat. It was a most exciting boat-race, and bets and enthusiasm ran high on the steamer's deck during its progress. The money that had been subscribed by the traders in the town was divided between the two crews, and at night there was a grand potlatch or feast, in honor of the regatta.

Vancouver failed to discover the Stikine on his cruise up the continental shore and, deceived by the shoal waters, passed by the mouth. It then remained for the American Captain Cleveland, to visit the delta and learn of the great river from the natives in 1799. The scenery of the Stikine River is the most wonderful in this region, and Prof. John Muir, the great geologist of the Pacific coast, epitomized the valley of the Stikine as “a Yosemite one hundred miles long.””

## Social condition, beliefs and linguistic relationship of the Tlingit Indians (Swanton 1908)

### Potlatches & Performances

“Masks were used in the shows (yikteyi') which each clan gave at a potlatch, but they were not valued as highly as the crest hats and canes. The KiksA'di at Wrangell would show masks of the sun, of various birds, such as the eagle, hawk (kidju'k), and nicker (kfin), and of animals, such as the bear, wolf, and killer whale.

Secret society dances were imported from the south, as the name JuqAna', evidently from Kwakiutl Lii'koala, testifies, but their observance had by no means reached the importance attained among the Kwakiutl and Tsimshian. At Sitka the writer heard of but one man who had become a JuqAna', a KiksA'di named MaawA'n. He said that the JuqAna' were spirits who came from the body of the luqAna' wife of the Sun's son, a cannibal woman referred to in one of the chief Tlingit stories, who was broken to pieces and thrown down by her husband. When they came upon him, they would fly along through the air with him. They forced him to eat dogs and do various other things, and they made him cry "Hai, hai, hai, hai" Once, as they were flying along, they left him suddenly, and he dropped upon the side of a cliff where he hung on the point of a rock by his cheek. At the time of his possession people ran around with him with rattles and sang certain songs to keep him from going away, and they also sat on the tops of the houses singing. All this was to restore him to his right mind.

At Wrangell the luqAna' performances seem to have been better known and to have existed in greater variety. A man could imitate any animal except a crest of some other family. As was the case farther south, whistles (luqAna' doA't-ci) were essential concomitants of the secret society dances.

Many of the potlatch songs were naturally in memory of the dead and according to Katishan the most valued of these were composed at the time of the flood and record the sad events that happened then, such as the finding of bodies when the waters went down and the parting of the clans on that occasion. These were very solemn songs and the people thought that they received strength through them. They were never sung on ordinary occasions.

According to Katishan, the spirits that came to Raven shamans had to be distinct from those that came to Wolf shamans, and it is probable that this held good everywhere. The prominence of sea spirits, such as killer whales, among the helpers of shamans is noticeably less than among the Haida. The sun spirit belonged to the KiksA'di, while the sea spirits came partly to Raven, partly to Wolf shamans. Spirits of the crest animals appear usually to have come to shamans of the families to which the emblems belonged.”

## **Crime and Punishment in Tlingit Society (Oberg 1934)**

### **Marriage**

“When the white people came with their law, the Indians soon realized that it permitted marriage between people who were not blood relatives, and they were quick to take advantage of this when it suited their purpose. The Indians claimed that this was one of their first social customs to give way before the whites and many of the young people rejoiced at the new freedom. When an illegal marriage occurred the couple went to the white settlement for protection. A peculiar case of this nature occurred immediately after American occupation, when a famous chief of the Daklawedi clan of Kake left his wife and took a woman of his own phratry. He was too powerful to be immediately killed, and had time to flee to Wrangell, where he had the protection of American law. Later his wife died and he married a woman of the opposite phratry. He could then have returned to Kake but preferred to live in Wrangell, as he feared the stigma attached to one who marries his own "sister."

The man's clan was then expected to offer for slaying one of its men of rank equal to that of the woman. If they would not do this, a feud might arise between the two clans which might last for a long time and might involve other clans, as in the quarrel between the Sitka and Wrangell people over a woman. In case the man's clan now offered a man, equal in rank to the woman, the woman's clan would be satisfied and would compensate the man's clan with property for the killing of the first two men.”

## **Social structure and social life of the Tlingit in Alaska (Olson 1967)**

### **Eating Contest**

Lavish display, lavish giving, and the consumption of immense amounts of food are parts of the potlatch complex. The host and the host group attempt to convey the impression of endless supplies, endless wealth. Even in everyday life a host would be greatly embarrassed should he not have food to offer a caller. At potlatches a guest chief might be given more food than he could possibly eat, or offered gallons of eulachon oil which he must drink, give to a nephew or other stand-in, or lose face. This enormous consumption of food sometimes took the form of eating contests, usually between teams of young men chosen from the guest clans. In part such contests were fun and horseplay, yet the contestants did their utmost to win. I was told the following accounts of such contests.

On one occasion when Whale House at Klukwan was rebuilt the guest clans were the Nanyaayih of Wrangell and the Kagwantan of Sitka. A feature at one of the feasts was an eating contest between two teams, each consisting of an equal number of young men from each of the guest clans.

Among the treasures of the Ganaxtedih were a huge basket about three feet high and three in diameter called *kuikTkla* (mother of baskets) and a hollowed-out log about

twenty feet long and eighteen inches in diameter, carved at the ends and along the sides in the form of a woodworm. (This was the worm of the legend.) The basket held five large boxes of food, the log dish held four boxes. The winning team was the one to finish eating all the food in its dish. The young men of the Wrangell team (who were eating from the wormwood dish) cheated by scooping dishes full of food and then in the excitement carrying these under the platforms where the food was poured into boxes. But it was all in good fun. Through this trickery the Wrangell team won. The hosts rooted for the Wrangell team because some of their local women had married Wrangell men. However, the "star" of the contest was a member of the Sitka team. He jumped into the basket, mashed the food with his feet and ate it in great scoops-full. (After all, we have pie-eating contests.)

### **A Multidan War**

Although most feuds and wars were between individual clans of opposite moieties, trouble sometimes spread and involved other clans, not always depending on moiety. The involvement of neutral or nonbelligerent clans was brought about in a manner not unlike the involvement of neutrals in wars in the Western world. Some of these wars might spread until they were hearly between tribe and tribe (or area and area). Thus one war was mainly between certain Sitka clans and one Wrangell Wolf clan, the Nanyaayih. Raven moiety Sitka clans involved were the Kiksadi, Xashittan, and Katkaayi; the Wolf clans of Sitka were the Gutchittan and Kukhittan. The Wuckitan (Wolf) of Sitka were not involved. Certain Wolf clans of Klukwan also became embroiled, because some of their women had married Sitka men who were casualties in the war. The following is the Sitka version, related by DC.

The feud started when a man named Kagunsak of the Nanyaayih (though really of the Kaya ckidetan, a subdivision of Nanyaayih) stole a Sitka woman of the Kukhittan clan (Wolf). The abductor was overtaken near Lake Bay (on Prince of Wales Island) and killed. The Nanyaayih made a surprise raid on Sitka and killed rather indiscriminately. Thus several Sitka clans became involved. The several Wolf clans of Sitka made forays in reprisal. On one occasion they surprised a Wrangell Nanyaayih and his wife. They tried to force the husband to have intercourse with his wife in front of them. He refused and they killed him.

Eventually the number killed on each side was even. Then the Sitka Wolf clans went to Wrangell to arrange a peace. They camped near the mouth of the Stikine. There they met a Nanyaayih and his wife and half in jest tried to force him to have intercourse with his wife in front of them. (For the northern Wolf clans were proud, arrogant, and warlike, and this was one of their ways.) Just then a number of Wrangell canoes came down the river. They surrounded the Sitka people and killed many. Some escaped into the woods. After the Wrangell warriors left, the Sitka men cut off the heads of the casualties and brought them to Sitka for identification. (The scalps of some of these are still preserved by their families.)

One Sitka lad, named Yakwa'n, vowed revenge. He went through many years of "training" for war. Now a certain Nanyaayih was married to a Sitka girl and he brought her back home for a visit. He was showered with gifts by his "brothers-in-law." This was to allay any suspicions of ill will. When he returned to Wrangell he told his people that those of Sitka held no grudge. And after having given out his gifts he advised that they go to Sitka to make peace. Again this same man came to Sitka with his wife. This time he advised his brothers-in-law to get revenge. When the Wrangell people came they suspected trouble but dared not return lest it reflect on their honor and bravery. At the peace ceremony one of the Wrangell men held as hostage (kuwakan, "deer") made a speech saying, "Men of Tsitkwedi'h, the fish eggs here are best. Take out your arms and begin!" But the Wrangell people sat silent and so did the Sitka people. The latter were waiting for Yakwan, the trained warrior, to appear. When he came in the fight started. It is said all the Wrangell people present were killed but only a few of the Sitka people, for the latter were prepared and outnumbered their opponents. This feud was not terminated until the formation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Sitka convention of a few years ago [ca. 1920?].

In this account the Wrangell "brother-in-law" was untrue to his clan because of love for his wife and children and because he knew his people were in the wrong in the matter of the massacre at the mouth of the Stikine.

### **The War Between The Wrangell Nanyaayah and the Sitka Kagwantan (astold by Charley Jones, Wrangell member of the Nanya.aayi)**

A man of the Kaiyackittitan clan, named Kagusa'k, was married to a Tekwedih woman. His nephew, named Wank, was living in his house and began having an affair with Kagusak's wife. Finally the lovers ran away to Kake. After a time Kagusak went to Kake and asked if his nephew was there. Learning that he was, he sent word to Wank that he wished to see him. When he came in, Kagusak slashed Wank's face with a wood-carving knife. Wank ran out, with Kagusak shouting, "Why are you running away?"-the implication of cowardice.

Wank fled to Sitka. He could not go back to Wrangell because of the disgrace of his uncle's having cut his face. In Sitka he became involved with the Kiksadi wife of a Kagwantan man. The two ran away to Red Bay. There they stayed with a Tihittan family who were drying fish on a little island in Upper Lake. There Wank practiced swimming and diving under water. This he did because, he said, "The Kagwantan will come. When they do I'll escape by swimming and diving."

One day he, his brother, and his "wife" were letting their canoe through the rapids with a line. The Kagwantan were lying in wait. They shot, killing the brother and wounding Wank in the leg. Wank dove into the water, swam through the rapids, and came ashore on a small islet. Lying in wait there was a boy with a rifle who killed him as he came ashore. Now the Kagwantan had killed two. The Kaiyackittitan made a raid on Sitka, killing one Kagwantan. The score was now even, two men from each side having been killed.



The Kagwantan decided to come to Wrangell and try for peace. They came in war canoes and landed on the island called An, near Reindeer Island in the mouth of the Stikine. It was summer and the Stikine people were catching eulachon and drying salmon at Huknu'k Island. Several canoes went to get stones for the eulachon rendering. The Kagwantan surprised them and captured all but one man. He escaped and gave the alarm. Among those captured was Chief Yantantci't and his wife. The captors took turns violating the woman. Then they tried to force her husband to have intercourse with her (a practice not uncommon in such situations, and a specially disgraceful treatment). He refused. Then they asked him if he expected the Nanyaaih to attempt his rescue and he replied that he did.

There was a tidal slough which enabled canoes to reach the island, even at low tide. But the Kagwantan were not aware of this and thought they were safe from attack during the period of low water. The Wrangell canoes came in via the channel. Yantantci't's sister had given her young son a musket and said to him, "Get this gun to your uncle. If you fail, I'll cut your head off." They saw Yantantci't being held by his captors. The nephew shouted to him, "You'll make a fine Kagwantan slave." This infuriated him so that he broke from his captors, ran to his nephew and got the musket.

The honor of firing the first shot in battle was usually the prerogative of Yantantci't, and one of the Wrangell warriors now shouted for all to hear, "Yantantci't has a musket. He is going to fire it." He did and five [!] of the Kagwantan fell. Their answering volley was ineffective, for the Wrangell men had taken cover. When the enemy guns were empty the Wrangell warriors fired another volley, wounding and killing a number. The tide was now coming in and both sides moved inland, fighting as they went. The Kagwantan took refuge in a gully. A number of their chiefs found a cave where they made a stand, using some of the fallen as a breastwork. They finally surrendered, having run out of ammunition. The captives were taken to the fishing village where they were held for a month. They were then given a canoe, guns, and provisions and sent back to Sitka. But the Kagwantan had lost very heavily [probably nearly a hundred dead].

Old Chief Shakes was at the Nass when this fighting took place. He had prepared for war by laying in a supply of guns, powder, and shot. When he returned he was told the story. He said, "Why did you spare any? Why didn't you kill them all? Some day they will return to get even." About 30 years later [probably about 1840] the Kagwantan again came to Wrangell to make peace. The ceremonies were held and the Sitka canoes went back. (The Nanyaayih now considered the affair was over, but the Kagwantan were plotting revenge.)

A few years later a fleet of Wrangell canoes went to Sitka to trade. The Sitka people traded to the advantage of the Wrangell people-to encourage further visits. On another trip the Wrangell party consisted of seven canoes. The Kagwantan announced a kuwakan ("deer," peace) dance, telling the visitors to attend unarmed. When the guests had assembled in the house for the ceremony the Kagwantan attacked, shooting through the smoke hole and cracks in the walls, while others rushed inside to kill. Only two of the Nanyaayih escaped.

The Nanyaayih never forgave this treachery-the attack at a peace ceremony, the killing of women as well as men. The Kagwantan had even thrown the bodies of the slain in the street and had cut open a pregnant woman in their blind fury. From this time on every Nanyaayih and Kaiyackittitan boy was trained to hate the Kagwantan and raised with the idea of revenge. But so many Kagwantan had been killed in the Stikine battle that the score was not even. Peace was not made until about 1920 at one of the conventions of the Alaska Native Brotherhood. At that peace the Kagwantan destroyed 63 tally sticks, each representing a Kagwantan dead man not evened by the score of killing. [My informant was in error. The tally sticks had not been destroyed. I was shown the tally sticks in Sitka in 1933. For obvious reasons I do not divulge the name of the custodian.] After the war described above the Wrangell people hated the name Kagwantan so widely used as a moiety designation in the north. They would say, "I am Nanyaayih," or "I am Cangukedih," but never use the word "Kagwantan. "

### **A War with the Tsimshian (Told by JW and GB of the Tihittan Clan of Wrangell)**

A Nanyaayih chief named Ceddisteh died. A memorial post was erected and his head (skull) was placed in a carved bone box at its top. The Tsimshian stole the box and threw the skull away. The Nanyaayih clan demanded the return of the box, but the Tsimshian refused. The Nanyaayih made a raid, killing a number of Tsimshian in one village.

The Tsimshian made a return raid. They went up the Stikine, trying to find the fishing camp of Shakes, the first Tlingit chief who held that name. But the Nanyaayih kept moving upstream. At one place the Tsimshian made a pictograph of the sun on a cliff. It may be seen to this day. The Nanyaayih stopped at a place below Glenora, where they had a fish camp. They kept watch. When the Tsimshian were sighted the Nanyaayih fled to the mountains. The Tsimshian stole the dried fish and berries and burned the houses. The war continued over the years, with raids and counter-raids.

Finally the Tsimshian determined to exterminate the Nanyaayih. A huge party from four villages came on a raid. But a Nanyaayih shaman "saw" that they were coming. He said that all adult males must stay to fight. The people were fishing for eulachon at the island called kuxnu k. A canoe of hunters heard the Tsimshian down to the south and reported. The Tlingit got ready. The women and children were sent to Djanteylrh (Farm Island).

The next morning the Tsimshian came on the incoming tide. They rounded Chilkat Blanket Point (naxxe'n). There were so many of them that they made straight for the village for an open fight. The Tsimshian chief named Yaxwe'xc had a canoe named Killer Whale Canoe. Behind him came Xaga'kc in his canoe, followed by many others. As they came in Chief Gucxi'n of the Nanyaayih sat on the beach wearing his Killer Whale hat. The mouth of this was painted red, representing the Tsimshian who had been killed ("eaten" by the killer whale). Chief Yaxwe'xc said to him, "Gucxin! Run away! Run into the woods!" (This was in derision, intimating that Gucxin was a coward.) But Gucxin answered, "I challenge you. We two will fight.

The Tsimshian landed. They spread mats on the sand and began gambling at the game called kadogitc. They said, so as to be overheard, "Wait until we finish gambling, then we will slaughter them." This was to show contempt. Finally the fight began. The two Wolf clans, the Nanyaayih and the Kaiyackittitan were involved. The Raven clans (the Katcaddih, Kiksadi, Tihittan, Tekwedih, and Kakakwedih) watched from the houses. At first the tide of battle favored the Tsimshian and the Tlingit were in retreat, with one man trying to rally them. Seeing how things were going the Katcaddih chief told the others, "Your fathers are being defeated. We had better help them. Get on your armor." So they attacked the Tsimshian from the rear. The surprise attack was too much for the Tsimshian and they were being slaughtered. Chief Gucxin then shouted to his opponent, "Why don't you gamble now?"

The Tsimshian chief Yaxwe'xc and some of his men ran for his canoe. But the Tlingit saw this and ran out and captured the chief and all his men. (The Tlingit shaman had foreseen all this. He had said, "You will see a big killer whale [the canoe] floundering in the slough, trying to get away.") The Nanyaayih announced that they would cremate the Tsimshian dead of the Gltxangik clan'D which was the equivalent of the Nanyaayih. The Tsimshian chief went with them to point out which of the dead were of this group. [There is a discrepancy here. The Nanyaayih should be cremating those of the "Raven" side. My informant may have meant this.] This chief said, "I feel happy in this, for they are your clansmen [opposites? The wolf clan of the Tsimshian is the Laxgibu]. It is as if you had paid the blood-price for all of them. Because of this we will make peace and have no more war." The Tsimshian chief was told to send some of his men back home and to order that all Wrangell captives from previous battles were to be returned. Otherwise all the captured Tsimshian chiefs and their sons would be kept as slaves. (The Tsimshian villages involved in this war were said to be Grtga'tl, Waku'tl, Metlakatla, and Port Simpson.) When the Tlingit captives had been returned the Tsimshian captives were sent back in two canoes, well provisioned.

But the war was not over for peace had not been made. Chief Gucxin ordered parties of men out to search for a good location for a fort. They decided on a spot at Little Duncan on Kupreanof [Krugeno?ff?] Island. At that place there is an islet which at low tide is surrounded by flats of very soft mud. A year passed before the Tsimshian came to scout the place. They lay offshore, watching. The tide ran out fast, stranding the canoes. They jumped out to try to free their canoes but were trapped in mud up to their waists. The Chief Yaxwexc gave up. The parties exchanged "deer" and carried out the peace ceremony (kuwakan wuti'h). The Tlingit "deer" were Yika&a's and Kudane'k!; those from the Tsimshian were Yetlgoxco'h and K! axwank. There were the speeches and dances. The hostages remained with the opponents for a year, then were returned home. The Nanyaayih were given the great Tsimshian names Ceks (Shakes) and Goxcoo'h. The Nanyaayih also received many Tsimshian songs, dances with masks [the "secret society" dances?] and mourning songs. In addition they received the personal names Yaskim-tsuwa'h and WAndzikoxco'h and the canoe name kitya'k ["Killer Whale canoe," in Tlingit].

This "raid" at Little Duncan had been only a mock raid. The Tsimshian came to make peace. The Tlingit did not know this, however, until the Tsimshian made a peace speech, after they were mired in the mud. They may have, at that, come to fight but after the peace speech the Tlingit were honor bound to make peace.

### **A War Prevented**

The chief named Kuxti'tc, of the Kegan Ganaxadi, prepared to give a great potlatch. He sent invitations to the Nanyaayih clan of Wrangell, where Goco'h and Ceko (Shakes) were the highest chiefs. In this potlatch Kuxtitc had twenty slaves to give away. These slaves he ordered to hold on to five ropes, that is, in groups of four. He started to lead the groups, one at a time, into the potlatch house. He wore a raven's headdress made in such a way that the raven's beak held the line and pulled the slaves in. The slaves were placed with the other property to be given away. But as he led in the fourth group he collapsed. Blood ran from his mouth and he died within minutes. The Wrangell guests became frightened at this, thinking they might be blamed and a war would begin. So they ran to launch their canoes.

Kuxtitc had a nephew [his heir] named Kadetya', and he came out to remedy matters. He stood in front of the house and spoke to the Wrangell people, who were now in their canoes. He said, "My uncle's guests! Not only Kuxtitc is going to die that way! [meaning, all men must die]. Come ashore!" At this the guests came back in and took their seats. Two wise old men sat at the side of Kadetya and the potlatch went on. Kadetya at this time took the name-title of his just-dead uncle.

### **Peace with the Xetlkwan**

The Xetlkwan had had war with the Tantakwan Ganaxadi. But early one summer about ten years later they sent word that they wished peace. All the Tantakwan assembled at the fort called Dasxa'k near Cat Island. Caklen was chief at this time. His son Antxwa'h was now grown and was counted a "prince" of Bear House of the Tekwedih. On top of his father's house, Yetlhit, was a platform, and when the weather was fine Antxwah would sit there, dressed in a Hudson's Bay blanket and kerchief. The Xetlkwan had stopped in Kwain Bay to don their costumes before coming in, and he saw the flash of a mirror. He gave the word. There were seventy canoes, for all the Stikine people came also, Chief Ceko (Shakes) was the leader. Another Wrangell chief was Kaccestu'h. The Tekwedih of the Tantakwan were acting as nakani (literally, "brothers -in-law" serving as arbitrators).

The flotilla landed in a bay of Cat Island where they built a mock fort on the beach. In the morning one of them shouted, "Shakes' war is coming!" One of the Tantakwan answered, "Wah sakat ani'kW" (what of it?). After further bantering, a Tantakwan asked, "How many have you killed already?" For the Tantakwan had killed many but had lost only seven.

Chief Tek of the Xetlkwan was chosen as "deer." But the Wrangell people clustered so thickly around him that the Tekwedih could not get at him to "capture" him. He stood

atop a rock. The Tekwedih came in a canoe. At their every attempt the crowd blocked them. Finally GM's father dove through between the legs of the "defenders" and hauled him out. Then the other nakani seized him, with the usual cry of "waw+." Tek was taken to Caklen's house where the Ganaxadi "shot" him with only powder in the muskets, and threatened him in mock anger in various ways. There was no fire in the house, another "sign" that they intended to kill him. They put him on a box near the fireplace where he sat holding his war knife in his hand. For an hour no word was spoken. Then Tek jumped onto the lower platform and sang:

Did you die against the door of the other world, my uncle?  
Did you die against the door of the other world, my uncle?  
Did you die and let me live with the stones? All must go there, I, too, will go.

This meant that he wished to fight and die. At this, Caklen told the nakani to disarm him. So they took away his knife and disrobed him, continually uttering "waw+" to soothe him. Then the Ganaxadi sent the go-betweens for another "deer," this time one named Kakle'nu, a youth. They frightened him, too. Still others were brought in, twenty in all. To each was given something in the way of a gift. Three Ganaxadi chiefs had been killed, Cantaguhh, Tanguye'h, and Yetltsge't. Against each of these the Ganaxadi "placed" eight Xetlkwan. That is, according to the eight long bones of the body, so they counted each of the three chiefs as worth eight commoners, for no Xetlkwan chiefs had been killed. (And during the war Tanguye had said to Xekah as he struck him, "You are not worthy to be killed to balance my uncle.") There was an interval of silence, then Caklen rose and said to his wife, "Nitck, give the blankets away." She handed out three blankets. [Giving a mere three was in itself almost an insult.] But another Banaxadi chief, Nawada'wtc, gave a slave and considerable property.

Then Caklen addressed Tek as follows, "Tek, I do not feel kindly toward you. Why should I put these goods in front of you to pay for your uncle's dead body? Cantaku was killed, and I am not satisfied as to how he was killed. Now it will be your duty to answer me when I've finished. See if you are satisfied. It will be eight men against my uncle's death, eight men against Tanguye, and eight men against Yetltsget." But Tek gave no reply, showing they would be satisfied. This ended the part of the ceremony by the Tantakwan. The go-between (nakani) for the Xetlkwan called Caklen out to be "deer." He was "dugegi," against and equal to Tek. He came out of his house dressed for war and was duly "captured." (This part of the ceremony must be in a different house.) There was no payment, for the payments had been made in the Tantakwan part. After the ceremony Tek stayed with the Tantakwan while Caklen went to Killer Whale Fort at Loring with the Xetlkwan. There he was taken to a house where Tek's sister lived and was put at the rear (i.e., the "head") of the house. The Xetlkwan gathered round. There was no fire burning, a bad sign. This worried Tek's sister, for it meant that they intended to kill Caklen, and he was "against" her brother. She secretly gave Caklen a knife, but he spat loudly and threw it in the ashes, saying, "So many deaths we have already had. And I would be killed for them! So why do you wish me to play with this little knife?" But at this the Xetlkwan chief said the pacifying phrase "waw+" four times. Later Xetlkwan went again to the Tantakwan, and the final peace ceremonies were held.

## **The War between the Henyakwan and the Stikinekwan**

The war began over the killing of some Henya by an early Chief Shakes (Ceks) of Wrangell. The war involved all clans of both tribes. On the Wrangell (Stikine) side the Nanyaayih, Kaskwedih, Xetlkwan, and Kaiyachittan Wolf side clans and the Kiksadi, Tihittan, and Teklkwedih Raven side clans took part. On the Henya side the Cangukedih, Kakoshittan, Tekwedih, Antcuhittan Wolf clans and the Ganaxadi, Titlhittan, Tagwanedih, and the Dekiganaxadi Raven clans took part.

The Henya went to Wrangell in twenty-five war canoes. At a place they called Tcantayeh the Stikine had a fort. The men were away and the Henya succeeded in capturing the women and children and destroying the fort. The Stikine then built Duknuwu (fir tree fort). The Henya went there and lay offshore. One of the Stikine, named Kuxade'h, came out and shouted curses and insults at the Henya. He did not know it but his mother had been captured and was lying in one of the canoes, covered with a mat. She heard her son's insults and asked her captor to remove the mat. She shouted to her son, "Do you think your words will win this war? You had better stop talking." Later in the day Kuxadeh again appeared and called out, "Mother, is that you?" She replied that it was indeed she. He asked, "Is your life long enough?" She replied, "Yes." (That is, he meant had she lived long enough was she willing to sacrifice her life to give her people information.) Late that night the Henya became sleepy, so allowed their canoes to drift downstream, guided by one of the captives. As the last canoe left, the old woman threw off the mat and shouted to the people of the fort, "The war party is going downriver!" At daylight the Stikine launched their canoes and followed. The Henya had gone ashore at Tcantayeh at the mouth of the (Stikine) river. There they had pulled their canoes up and the Wolf clans and Raven clans had made separate camps.

As the first Stikine canoes appeared the Raven people asked what clan they were. The Stikine said, "Kiksadi," and were signalled to go against the Wolf clans of the other camp. When the Stikine Wolf clan canoes came they stood off from the camp of the Henya Raven camp. [This was so that clan and moiety "brothers" would not be fighting each other.] One of the Stikine Kiksadi men wore a war hat called "Bear Hat." On it was a plume of baleen and a piece of fur. This was "bait." (He wore a Wolf moiety hat because he was "child" of Tekwedih, a Wolfclan.) The Tinedih clan shaman had foretold that if such "bait" was seen the Henya would win; if it were not seen, the Stikine people would win.

A Henya war chief named Tlana'tl came on a Stikine warrior on the beach and killed him. It was Kuxadeh, the one who had hurled the insults. The Henya Wolf clans were losing their fight so the Raven clans came to their aid, to help their "fathers." They killed the war leader with the Bear hat. The man who killed him cut off the head and held it in his teeth. This frightened the Stikinekwan and they took to their canoes. So the war was won. The Henya cut the heads of their own dead and took the scalps of their enemies. They buried their own dead but let the other bodies lie. Then they went up the river to Fir Tree Fort where the Stikine women and children were. These saw the canoes coming and came out with cries of joy, thinking it was their own men returning victorious. A few old men

and some women escaped, taking some children with them. The others were captured. Among the captives was a baby who was to become the mother of Chief Ceks (Shakes). She was a baby in the cradle. Chief Tlanatl asked who the baby was and learned she was the grandchild of Chief Cekc. [These name-titles often occur in each generation of a lineage, the name passing from a man to his nephew.] So the child was not harmed; besides she was also of Chief Tlanatl's grandfather's clan. She was not taken away by the Henya but left at the fort for the refugees to find.

The Henya started home after burning the fort but again stopped at Tcantayeh. There they piled the bodies of the Stikine dead in two heaps, according to clan. The Henya Wolves took care of the Stikine Raven bodies; the Henya Ravens piled the Stikine Wolf corpses. The bodies were covered with brush so the birds would not eat them. But because Kuxadeh had reviled them they slit his lower lip, cut off his penis and put it in the slit as a "labret." His testicles were cut out and stuffed in his cheeks. His head was cut off and put on a pole, but the body was buried wrapped in a sea otter robe. His scalp was taken as a trophy by a warrior named KaxkaTh, who also got the Bear hat as a trophy. The bodies of the Henya dead were then burned and the bones taken home. The child in the cradle was saved by her people and years later gave birth to a child who became Chief Cekc. As this child grew up his mother repeatedly told him that he must never make war on the Henya, for they had been merciful to her; that except for Tlanatl he would have been born a slave. This is why it is said that an ancestress of the great Chief Cekc [of modern times] was a slave. And Chief Shakes of modern times knew this. After this war the two tribes kept the peace.

## **The Tlingit Indians (Emmons and De Laguna 1991a)**

### **Slavery**

At Wrangell one man killed another. To save the slayer's life, the chief paid for the crime, but since the slayer had not discharged the debt by the time he died, the chief took his mother as a slave, although she was never sold [to collect the money owed]. An old Stikine Tlingit told me that the *Kartch-ut-dee* family [Qa'c'adi, Raven 28], to their great shame, were in the habit of enslaving the poor and orphans of their own blood, and that a chief so held a widow in bondage. Her duty was to care for the large canoe, but it cracked because she neglected to keep it wet and covered. She was so badly punished that she ran away, and married among the Tahltan of the upper Stikine. Even to this day, the coastal Tlingit clans reproach their fellow clansmen in the interior as being the children of a slave.

[In the same period, Sir George Simpson (Simpson 1847), on his voyage around the world, 1841-42, visited the Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort Stikine (Wrangell), and reported of the Stikine and their neighbors:

One full third of the large population of this coast are slaves of the most helpless and abject description. Though some of the poor creatures are prisoners taken in war, yet most of them have been born in their present condition. These wretches, besides being constantly the victims of cruelty, are often the instruments of malice or revenge. If ordered by his master to destroy red or white man, the slave must do so, however dangerous may be the service, for, if he either refuse or fail, his own miserable life must play the forfeit, . . . [Chief Shakes, Wolf 18]

was said to be very cruel to his slaves, whom he frequently sacrificed in pure wantonness in order to show how great a man he was. On the recent occasion of a house-warming, he exhibited, as part of the festivities, the butchery of five slaves; and at another time, having struck a white man in a fit of drunkenness and received a pair of black eyes for his pains, he ordered a slave to be shot by way at once of satisfying his own wounded honor and of apologizing to the person whom he had assaulted. His rival, [Quatekay, "the second chief of the tribe," unidentified, but probably Raven 32], on the contrary, was possessed of such kindness of heart, that, on grand holidays, he was more ready to emancipate his slaves than to destroy them. Yet, strange to say, many bondmen used to run away from Quatekay, while none attempted to escape from Shakes,—an anomaly which, however, was easily explained, inasmuch as the one would pardon the recaptured fugitives and the other would torture and murder them.

The Stikine participated in slave sacrifice and the torture of witches (Young):

Fort Wrangell, on the site of the earlier Russian Redoubt St. Dionysius and of the Hudson's Bay Company Fort Stikine, was built between the town of the Stikine and the area where the foreign Tlingit tribes camped when they came to trade at the fort. ] But for the most part the officers of the Fort knew nothing of what was going on in either camp. . . . Murders, robberies, torturing of witches and even sacrifice of slaves might go on—and did—without the officers knowing or inquiring about these occurrences.

Four or five years after the building of the Fort, at the erection of a large new community house and big totem pole to make good the name of the new chief who had taken the place of the deceased Shustaak [Raven 33], ten slaves were brained at one time with the same greenstone ax and sent to wait upon the deceased chief in "Sickagow" [sigi' qa'wu 'a'ni, "dead people's land"], the Happy Hunting Ground of the Thlingits. Of this massacre the commanding officer of the Fort knew nothing or, if it was reported to him, no investigation was made.

[The Stikine were a wealthy and arrogant tribe.] Before the American occupation of Alaska their great war canoes made frequent raids down the Coast, attacking the villages of the Queen Charlotte group of islands, those on the shores of Vancouver Island and the islands in the Gulf of Georgia. They possessed slaves, who were taken from the Puyallups and Neah Bays, and a few who were said to be descendants of the Chinooks at the mouth of the Columbia River. I estimated that there were at least forty slaves held by the Stickeens when I arrived at Wrangell [July 10, 1878].

[In 1879] the slavery question became acute. There were many slaves in and about Fort Wrangell, some of them held by the Stickeen chiefs and others brought there by the "Foreign Indians" [Kake, Hutsnuwu, and other Tlingit]. These slaves were obtained in two ways by the Thlingits and the Hydats. The manner in which most of them were procured was by the great war parties, which, from thirty to a hundred years before our arrival, went down the coast in their large canoes, attacked the Flatheads of Puget Sound and the natives of Vancouver Island, killing the men and making captives of the women and children. The slaves thus procured and their children, for they frequently married in captivity, were held as property in all the tribes.

The other method was by self-surrender. A man would become so deeply involved in debt that neither he nor his immediate kin could see any prospect of payment. His creditors were persistent in their demands. At last, after much talk he would give himself up, with as many children of his family as were necessary to satisfy the long-standing obligation, and they would go to the house of the creditor family and become slaves.

However, while those obtained by foray were counted as mere chattels, the master having the power of life and death over them, those taken for debt within the same tribe stood on a different footing; and there was always the hope in their hearts that they could serve out their time and purchase their freedom. They were part of the family in the community house, and often their masters had a real affection for them and treated them well.



But the slaves captured from foreign tribes were despised, slighted and bartered at the will of their masters. Frequently they were sacrificed at the death of a chief, or to propitiate the spirits of the glaciers which were swallowing up their salmon streams, or the spirits of the mountains which precipitated landslides upon the camps, or the spirits of the ice which overturned huge icebergs to the destruction of unwary canoeists. When they died, instead of their bodies being cremated they were thrown out in the woods to rot or be devoured by the wolfish dogs.

So far *as 1* could ascertain, no real effort had been made by the officers at Fort Wrangell and Sitka to abolish slavery [despite orders that the President's Proclamation of Emancipation should apply to Alaska]. Of course, I instituted a vigorous campaign against this evil. [The collector of customs at Wrangell, Colonel Crittenden, a Southerner who did not want the "Siwashes" to have slaves when his people had to give them up, assisted Young in this.]

Although the masters objected, and often pretended to liberate their slaves while still holding them in servitude, we soon affected practical freedom. We sent back to Nanaimo in British Columbia, to Tacoma and Port Townsend and to the west coast of Vancouver Island upward of twenty men and women who wished to return to their native tribes. [Others seem to have chosen to remain with their former masters.]

## Gratitude Dance

[Emmons here referred to the following incident recorded by Paul:

One instance at Wrangell—while dancing Gratitude Dance, one party, *Wo-way-tee* tribe (probably Wolf 26, Xu'xVdi], sang more than four songs. *Nin-ye-oh-ye* [Na'nya?'a'yi, Wolf 18] got insulted, and they began to fight, right while at the dance.

It happened that their [host's] emblem, the Raven Hat, was not anywhere near at hand to place between them as a symbol of peace, Emmons explained.] So one of the leaders, a woman, got up. In her excitement she says, "Caw, Caw, Caw," just like a raven [the cry of her clan]. The whole party quieted down just as soon as that was heard. Another woman shouts and says. "When a raven is hard up for something to eat, the raven crows upon killerwhale, and the killerwhale dies. Now that Raven has crowed upon you, upon the Killerwhale."

Both parties' emblem was the Killerwhale. The emblem is more like their flag. The party broke up and went home for fear of further trouble. The Raven tribe [moiety] got together. Kadashan [a Raven 32 leader] among them, and they went to each house of the guests and sang the Art's fixt, shaman's] songs for them, and pleaded with them. Three days after that, all the Raven women dressed up in their best and went to the guests' houses and invited them for a light lunch, Their faces were painted Ravens Wing, Raven's Bill, Frog's Footprint, etc. in ceremonial crest designs].

When the guests came, [there was) coaxing, singing, etc. . . . Then the *Wo-way-tee* tribe [Wolf 26] got up and one man danced with *Shu-ke-ut* [ceremonial headdress, sakiat]. One of the *Nin-ye-ah-ye* Wolf 18] danced in like manner, so both parties made up.

The reason why the leader always seems so anxious about his guests, for fear of any trouble among themselves. If there is serious trouble among the guests, the leader [host] is to be *blamed* for it. ]

[Emmons ended the story:] Peace was finally made by the head man of each family (the two Wolf clans] who dressed in ceremonial costume as *Kau-a-kon* fquwaka'n, "deer," or hostage-ambassador], the customary method of settling trouble between clans or tribes after war.

## Witchcraft & Surrender of Culture

[Soon fears of witchcraft were again revived when a human skull, with the flesh half gone—surely the property of a witch—was found under the house of Jakob Ukotsees, a relative of Kah-tu-yeatley's. Chiefs Shakes and Shustaak demanded to know if Young would tolerate the witches that were making people sick (Young 1927:137-39). At a meeting of all the principal leaders of the Stikines, Shakes called for testimony of the natives to convince Young that witches really existed. As the latter wrote (Young 1927:140-42):

The testimony of practically all present was then heard. Of late years I have made a study of the Salem witchcraft cases and have compared the testimony given in the press by our enlightened New England forefathers with the testimony of the Stickeens in that notable council of ours. A comparison of this evidence shows a surprising resemblance. . . . [T]here were in both the same positive statements of the transformation of the persons accused into the form of wolves, ravens and demons; the same mysterious convulsions, trances and painful seizures of their victims; the same jumble of piety and malice, of falsehood and delusion; the same *hysterics* . . .

One by one stories of incidents which were told as coming under the personal knowledge of the speakers were related with seeming truthfulness. . . . The mass of testimony, if it could be dignified by that name, was overwhelming. But while these men claimed to be eye-witnesses of these mysterious events, the "witnesses did not agree together"; . . . [and Young became convinced that] the unscrupulous and avaricious medicine-men were at the bottom of it all. Many of these tales were put into the mouths of the witnesses by their fits.

As Young (1927:146) wrote later:

I firmly believe that all of the medicine-men in Southeastern Alaska at that time and since were *conscious frauds*. They were in the business simply for the profit that there was in it. They did not believe in their own powers. In fact, one of the most noted of them, when I pinned him down, confessed as much. I said, "You know yourself that you are simply fooling these people; you have no *Yoke*, and never had one. You cannot do anything you profess to do. Why do you do it?"

He grinned at me with that aggravating insolence that those fellows possessed in superlative degree, and said: "I do it for the same reason that you come and preach about your God—for *pay*."

[Young succeeded in getting the Wrangell natives to form a council, with Chief Shakes as the head (although Young himself retained great power as "manager"), with authority to try all cases of alleged witchcraft, practicing black arts, or frightening people. The Indians pledged that there was to be no more tying people up for witchcraft, no medicine man was allowed to practice in the Stikine town, and that "the old feasts and potlatches which led to so much robbery and disorder were to be done away. . . ." All the principal men signed. "Then there was a general handshaking and the presentation to me of a multitude of old dance implements, pipes, stone axes and other relics of their past life, and the Council adjourned with prayer and benediction."

[Thus the Indians of Wrangell pledged to give up all the ceremonies symbolizing crest and clan, and gave away their clan heirlooms. Henceforth they were to be modern United States citizens.

[Young knew of course that superstition died hard. Shamans continued to practice in the "Foreign Town" where visiting natives from other areas lived. Shakes engaged Klee-a-keet to cure his younger brother, whom Young had been treating. When the missionary broke into the house where the shaman was holding his seance, Shakes was embarrassed but

pleaded that the shaman be allowed to continue (there was evidently no witchcraft accusation). Young agreed, but told Klee-a-keet that if he failed and the youth died, neither he nor any other shaman would be allowed to perform in the town. And when the young man did die, the whole family of Shakes took back all of the wealth that had been given as fee to Klee-a-keet, and left him nothing but his canoe. The shaman in a rage tried to stab the missionary, but was prevented by the outraged Stikines. And Mr. Young acquired the knife, "a beautiful trophy! The handle was of crab-apple wood, carved in the semblance of a wolf's head with abalone shell eyes and teeth."

[Shakes and Young together dealt with another witchcraft case, this one in the Foreign Town, where a little girl had been hidden under the flooring of a house occupied by a Kake couple. When they got the trap door open: Down in a hole under the floor, about three or four feet deep, lay a naked child, some five or six years of age, sobbing. . . . Her hands were tied tightly behind her back, and we found on her body marks or stripes, as if she had been cruelly beaten. . . . She was apparently starved. When we asked how long since she had eaten anything, she said: "Many days." When questioned why she was put down in that hole she did not know. Shakes had been informed, however, that a medicine-man had named her as bewitching the [Kake] woman, and they had begun to torture her. They might have put her to death had we not interfered.

[There were few cases of witchcraft accusation at Wrangell after this, because the shamans were afraid, and the town became known as a haven of refuge. "At one time," wrote Young (1927:154), "there were seven girls and six boys in our school under our care, who had been accused, and in some cases tied up, as witches," but who had escaped to Wrangell. [Furthermore, Young reported:

When a Stickeen *Iht* made an incantation in a house on the outskirts of the village our Council was called. We summoned the offender, made him return the fee he had collected and talked to him so severely that he voluntarily cut off his long hair and presented the ugly mop to me as a sign of his surrender . . . [and Mrs. Young burned it!].

## CHAPTER 5: A Photographic History of Wrangell and the Shtax'heen Kwaan

The photographs of this chapter were obtained from “The Tlingit Indians” by George Emmons and Frederica de Laguna as well as from the Alaska Digital Archives, the latter of which is a compilation from various sources. Each photograph and illustration is accompanied with a description and citation. Most do not have associated in-text citations in previous chapters. There was no effort to validate the year, author, events or people associated with each nor is this an exhaustive compilation. It should be noted that some of the photographs may not have been originally collected with the express permission of the clan or that of individuals depicted therein but it is almost impossible to decipher this. None will be recreated for profit (in fact no part of this report will be profited from by the author) and it will be used solely for educational purposes.

### *Maps*

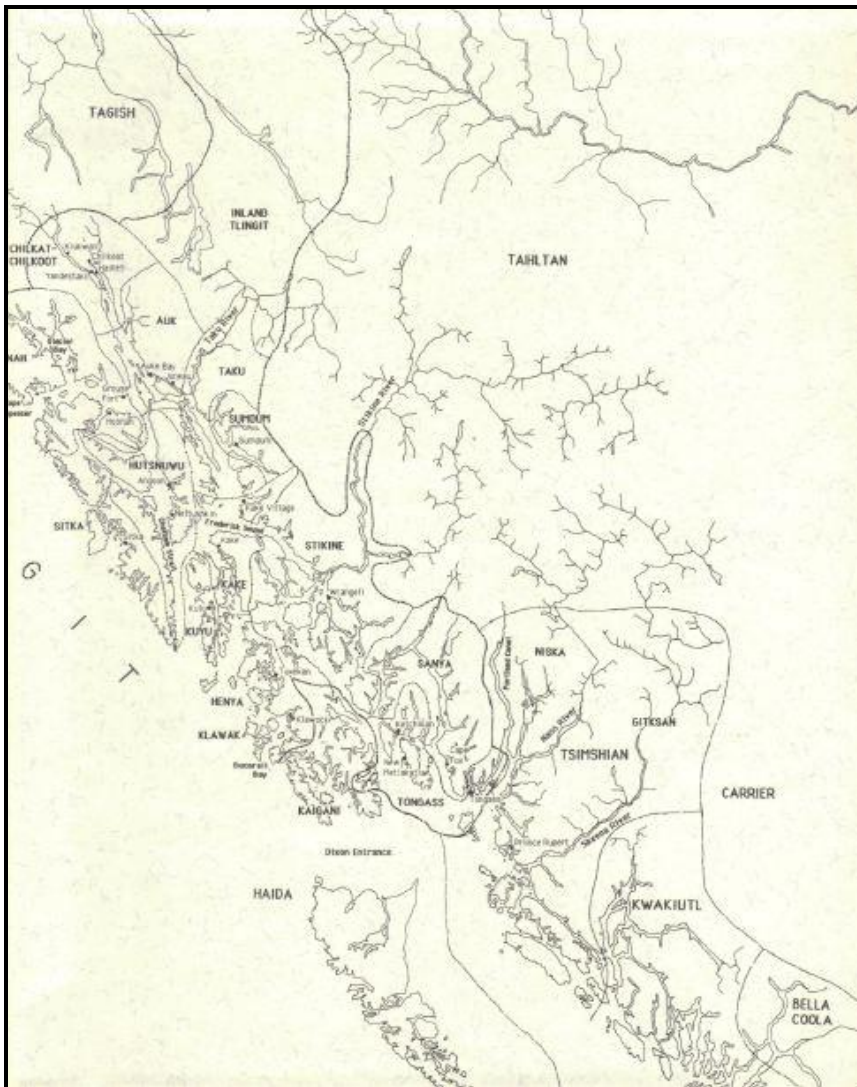


Fig. 1. Map depicting Kwan territories of the southern Tlingit in relation to one another and in relation to other cultural groups. (Emmons and De Laguna)

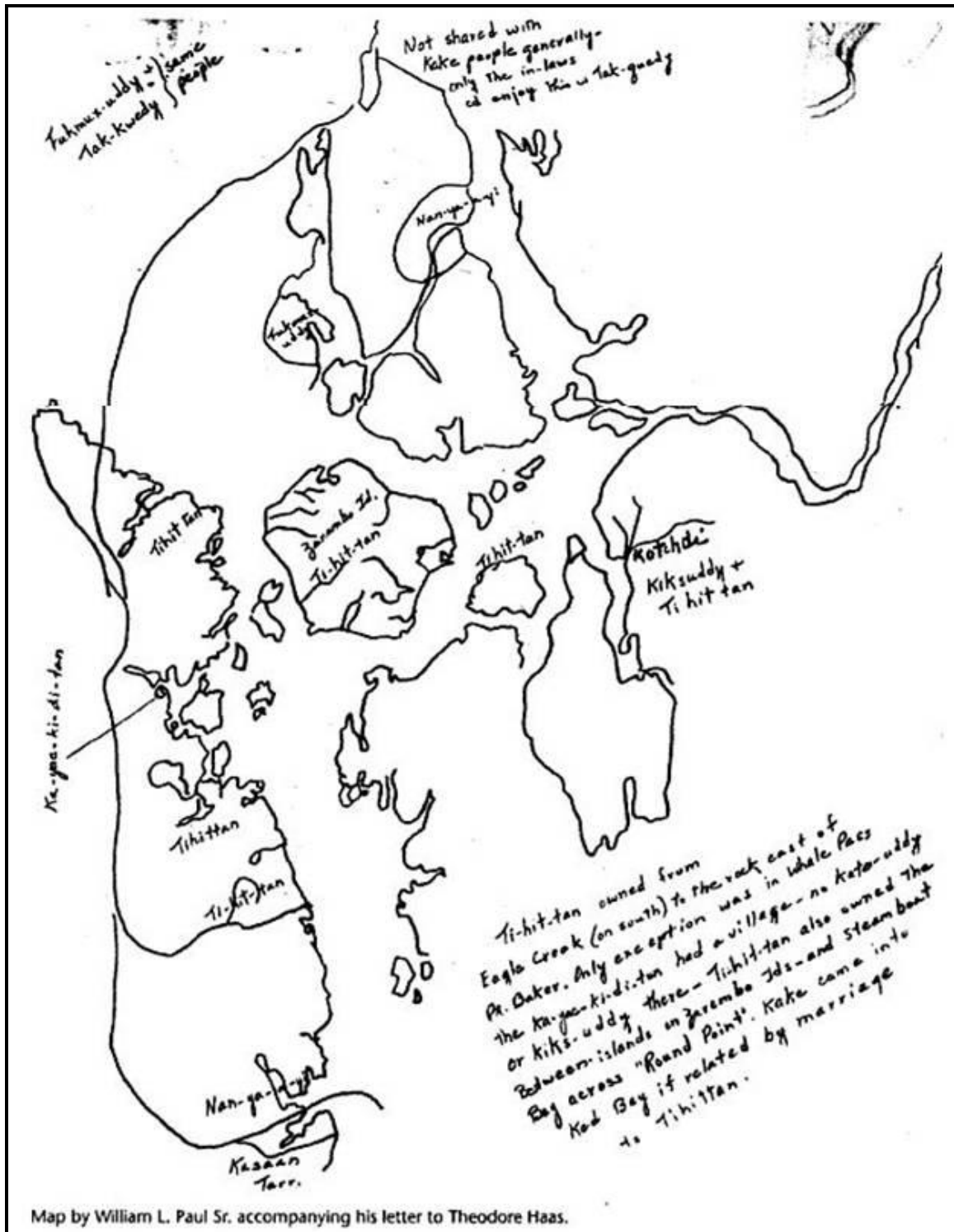


Fig. 2. This map is an illustration of the Stikine region compiled by William L. Paul Sr. to accompany his letter to Theodore Haas. It gives special emphasis to lands traditionally claimed by the Tehittaaan clan of which Paul was a member. It was included in Goldschmidt and Haas' "Haa aani, Our Land" in 1998 on page 16. (Goldschmidt et al. 1998c)

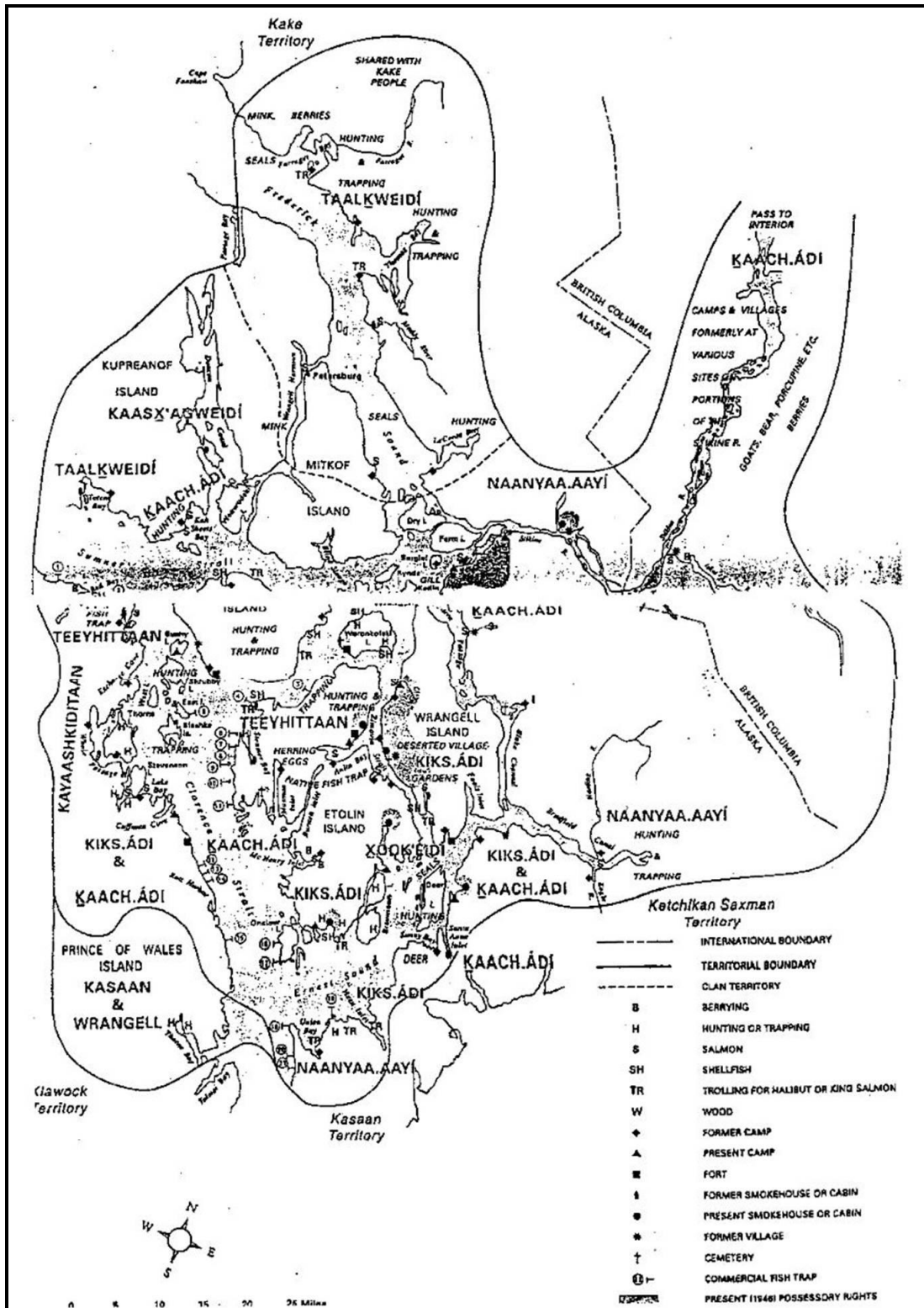


Fig. 3. This map is an illustration by Goldschmidt and Haas in their 1998 "Haa Aani, Our Land" (Chart 11) and depicts the aboriginal uses and ownership of the Shtax'heen Kwaan of the Tlingit in 1945. (Goldschmidt et al. 1998b)

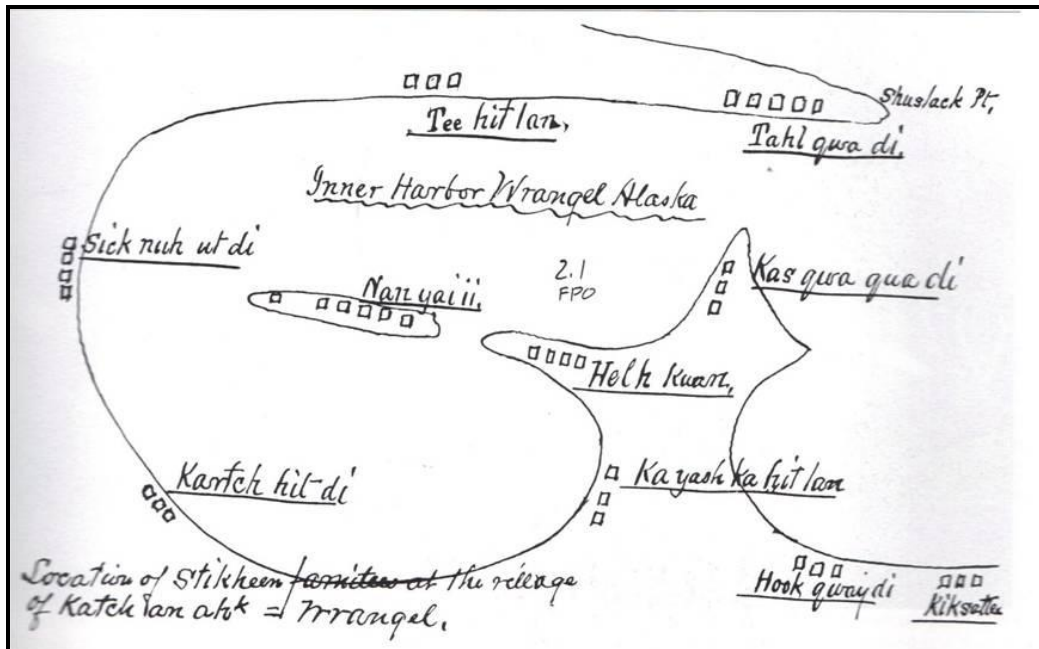


Fig. 4. This map is of Wrangell proper and depicts the relative locations of clan houses as witnessed and illustrated by George T. Emmons sometime between 1880 and 1900 while on board a naval vessel. (Emmons and De Laguna 1880-1990)

## *Town of Wrangell*

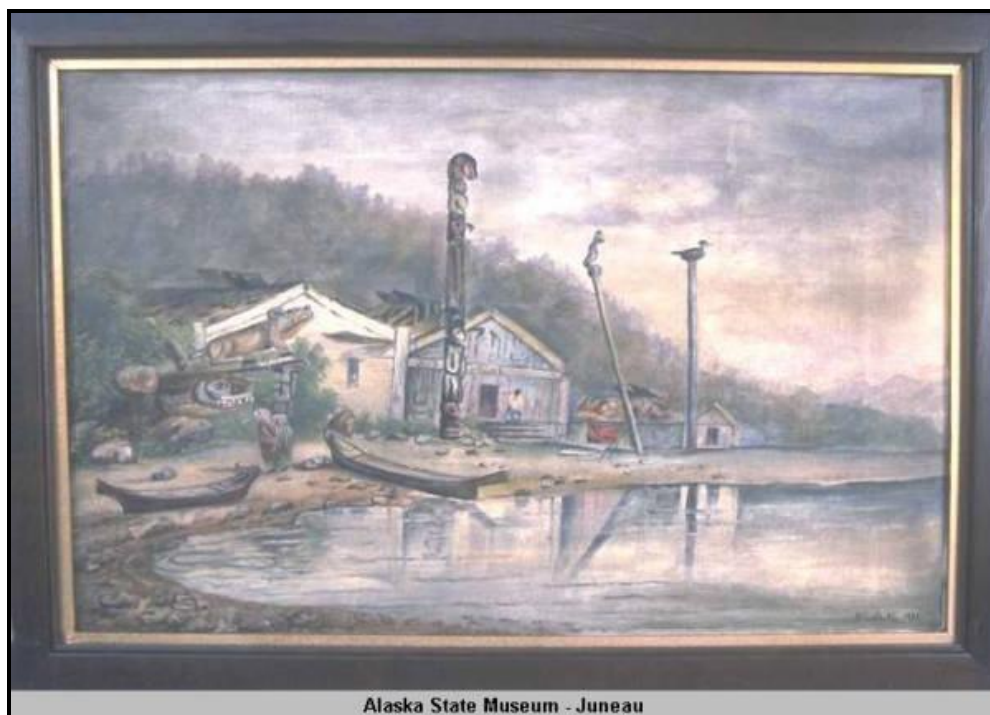


Fig. 5. Framed oil painting depicting Wrangell c. 1891, with three totem poles standing before two Native houses on the shore of a small bay. Painted by Martha S. Knapp, wife of Gov. Lyman Knapp, 3<sup>rd</sup> Governor of Territory of Alaska. Presented by Mrs. Frances Morgan, daughter of Gov. & Mrs. Knapp, to the State of Alaska. Sen. Ernest Gruening presented the painting for Mrs. Morgan to Gov. William Egan, who in turn presented it to Edward L. Keithahn for the Alaska Historical Museum in a ceremony held in the Governor's Office Dec. 30, 1959.

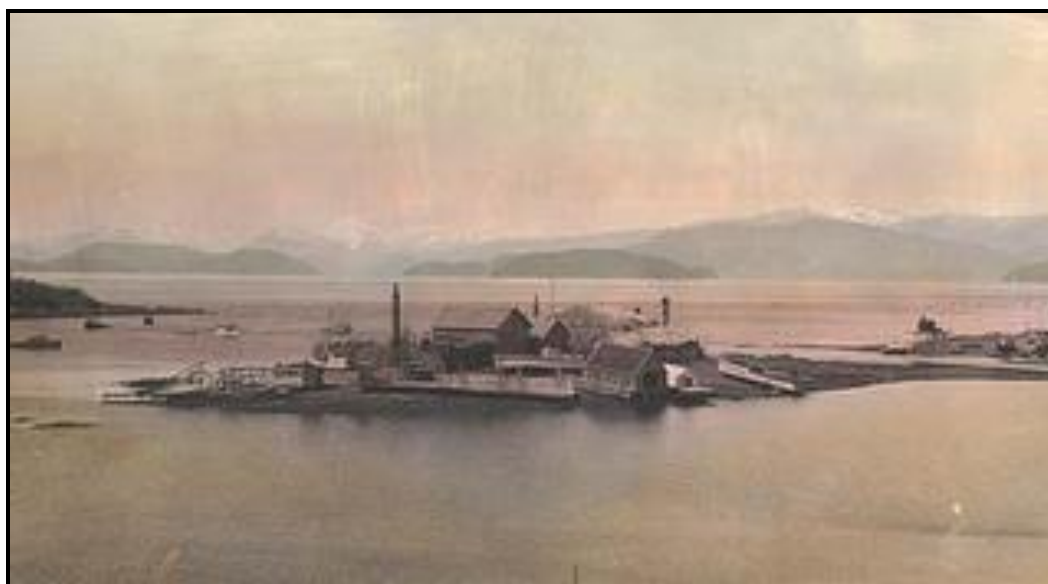


Fig. 6. Chief Shakes Island, Wrangell, AK. Ca. 1900. (Unknown ca. 1900)



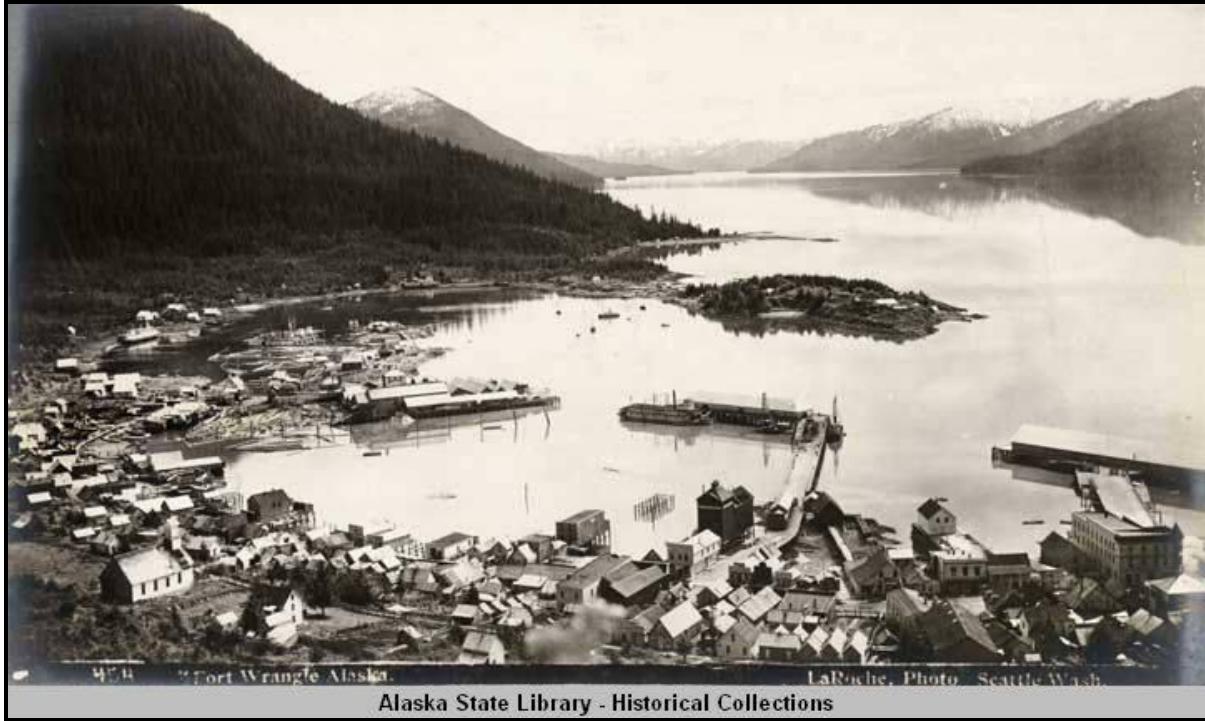


Fig. 7. View of Wrangell from Mount Dewey. Ca. 1890-1902. (LaRoche 1890-1902b)

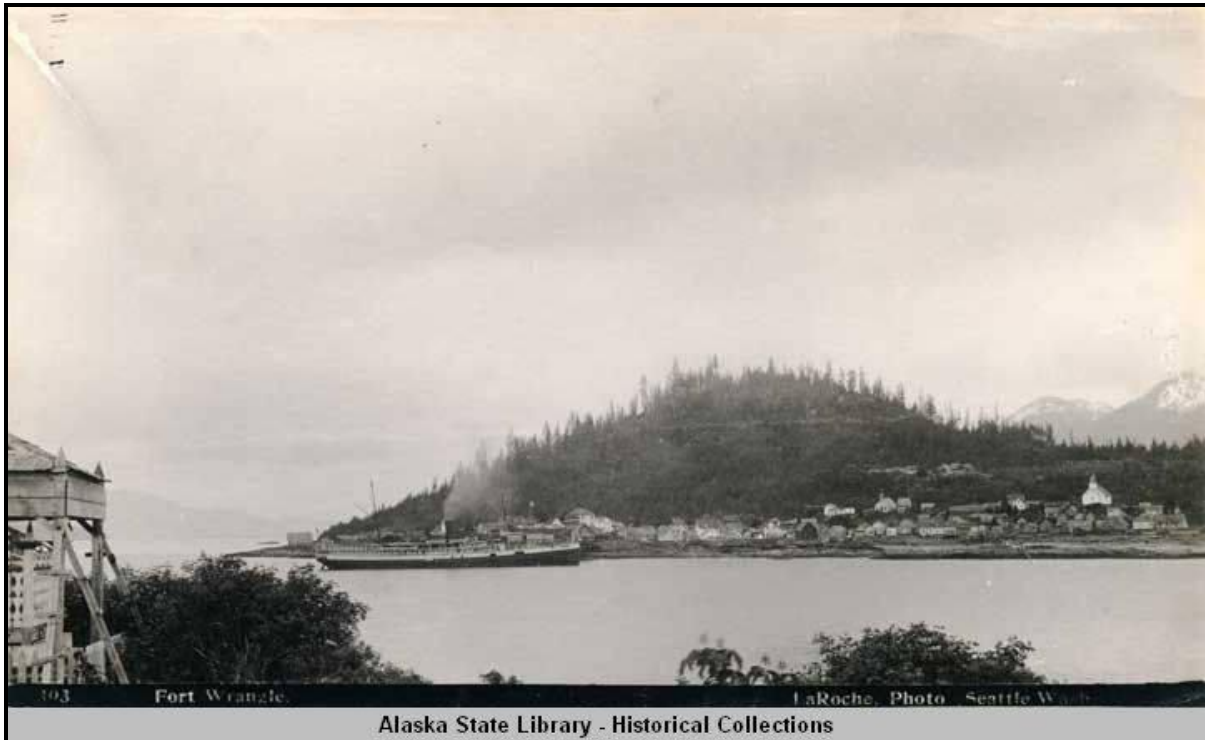


Fig. 8. Waterfront view of Wrangell, AK. Ca. 1890-1902. (LaRoche 1890-1902a)



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections  
Fig. 9. Old Fort Wrangell built in 1868. Photograph from 1908. (Case 1908)



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections  
Fig. 10. Wrangell Institute. Wide view with water and dock in foreground. Ca. 1890-1940. (1890-1940)



Fig. 11. Photograph of site of Old Wrangell. (ca. 1894c)

**Structures & Totems**



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections  
Fig. 12. Chief Shake's house and totems ca. 1894. Man in regalia with dog in front of house. (ca. 1894b)



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections  
Fig. 13. Old Chief Shakes home. Wrangell, Alaska. A typical old community house. Ca. 1894. (ca. 1894a)



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Fig. 14. Chief Shakes's house with Bear-up-the-Mountain and Go-na-ka-dot totems.(ca. 1890-1920).



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Fig. 15. People in front of Chief Shakes house, Wrangell. Ca. 1916. (ca. 1916)



Fig. 16. Chief Shakes House Wrangell, Alaska in 1927 (Clark 1927)



Fig. 17. Old Community House in Wrangell, 1886. (Case 1886)



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Fig. 18. Totem Poles, Chief Kat-a-shan's [Kadashan] House, Fort Wrangel [Wrangell], Alaska. Title taken from image. Three houses with Crane and Red Snapper totem poles in front of two-story house in center, c. 1895. (Pond 1893-1943)



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections

Fig. 19. Four men stand outside wooden buildings and grave monuments with killer whale and wolf totems on top, Wrangell, AK. Ca. 1878-1919. (Unknown 1878-1919)



Fig. 20. Wooden homes along waterfront at low tide, Wrangell, Alaska. 1887. (Partridge 1887)

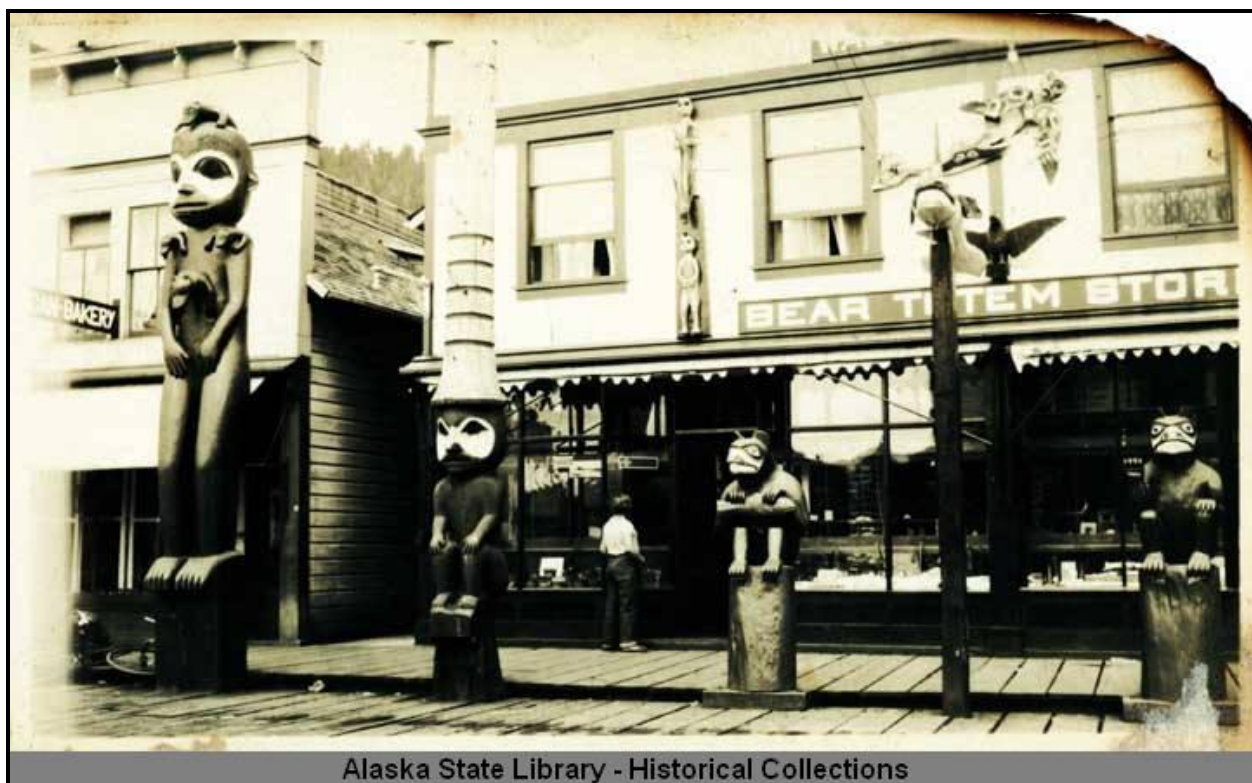


Fig. 21. Totems in front of Bear Totem Store, Wrangell, Alaska, 1930. (Rolston 1930)





Fig. 22. Kad-a-shan [Kadashan] House, Wrangell. Crane and Red Snapper totem poles, Wolf totem figure in front, c. 1895.(Pond 1896-1913)



Fig. 23. Totem poles near Wrangell, 1936. (May 1936)



Fig. 24. Photograph of Frog Totem in Wrangell identified as belonging to Chief Kahlteen. Ca. 1890-1910. (Weber 1890-1910)

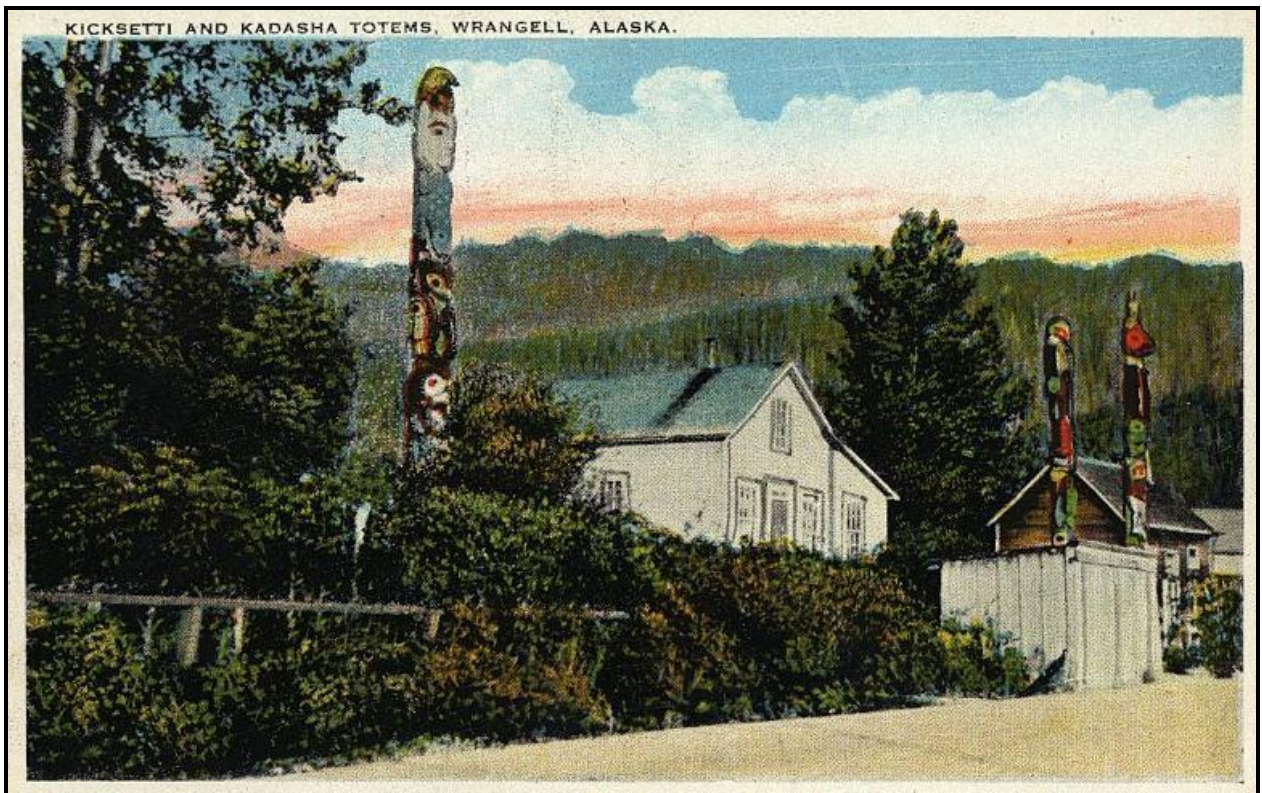


Fig. 25. Kicksetti [Kiks.adi] and Kadasha Totems in front of Sun House, ca. 1930-1950. (ca. 1930-1950)

*People, Regalia, & Other At.oow*



Fig. 26. Members of the Nanyaa.aayi (Wolf 18) clan in ceremonial costume, in front of Ground Shark House, Wrangell, 1895. (Photographer unknown. AMNH). (Emmons and De Laguna 1895b)



Fig. 27. Group of men wearing costumes for a performance inside Chief Shakes House, Wrangell, Alaska on July 16, 1898. American flags and pictures of George Washington hang on the walls. (Goetze 1898a)



Fig. 28. Tlingit Chief Charles Jones Shakes at home with possessions, Wrangell, Alaska ca. 1907. (Garfield ca. 1907)



Fig. 29. Group of native men, women, and children sitting in front of totem poles in Xixch'i Hít (Frog House) of the Kaach.ádi clan of the Shtax'heen Kwaan (Wrangell People). The Xixch'I Gaas' (Frog House Posts) are still in Wrangell.



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Fig. 30. Coonk Shakes, nephew of a great chief of Wrangell. Pages Title taken from front. Men, women, and children gather in the center of the Chief Shakes House, Wrangell, Alaska. 1896-1913. (Goetze 1896-1913)



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Fig. 31. Tlingit handicrafts and artwork displayed on wall in Wrangell, AK. 15 April 1899. (Goetze 1899a)



Fig. 32. Chief Shakes and another Nanyaa.aayi (Wolf 18) chief in dance costumes, Wrangell, 1895. The man in the doorway wears a complete brown bear skin. Chief Shakes (left) wears the "bears ears" headdress and a tunic ornamented with halotis shell to represent bear's head, and hold the "Killerwhale Cane." Photographer Unknown. (Emmons and De Laguna 1895a)



Fig. 33. Chief Shakes V, Kow-ish-te, Wolf 18, lying in state, surrounded by crest heirlooms of his clan, Wrangell, May 1898. (Photograph probably by George Davidson, USNM cat. no. 4780.) (Emmons and De Laguna 1878)



Fig. 34. Tlingit in Wrangell on July 6, 1898. Listed as “Iskimos” in photo. (Goetze 1898b)

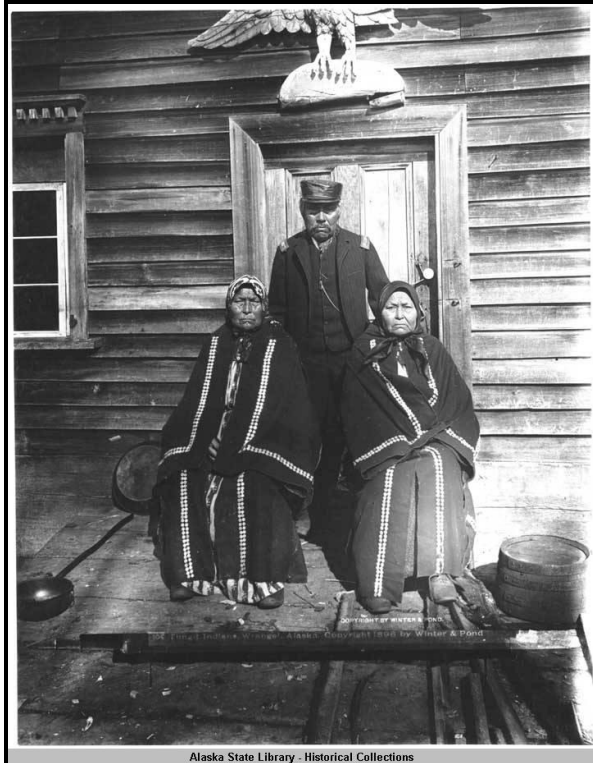


Fig. 35. Kow-ee (Back) with wife Ok'lak (Left) and sister-in-law (Right) who was his second wife. Wrangell, AK. 1896. Verified by Chief Jimmie Fox on April 17, 1954. (Pond 1896)



Fig. 36. Indian school children dressed in grandfather's blanket. Wrangell, AK. Feb. 1911. (Phillips 1911)

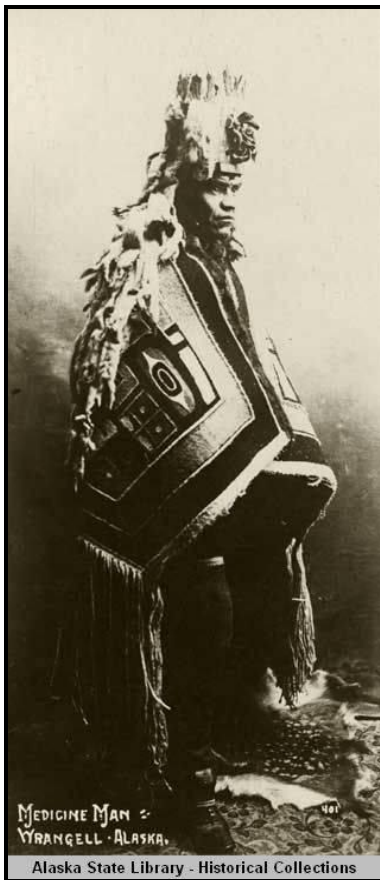


Fig. 37. Medicine Man in Wrangell, Alaska. Ca. 1887-1926. (Greely ca. 1887-1926)



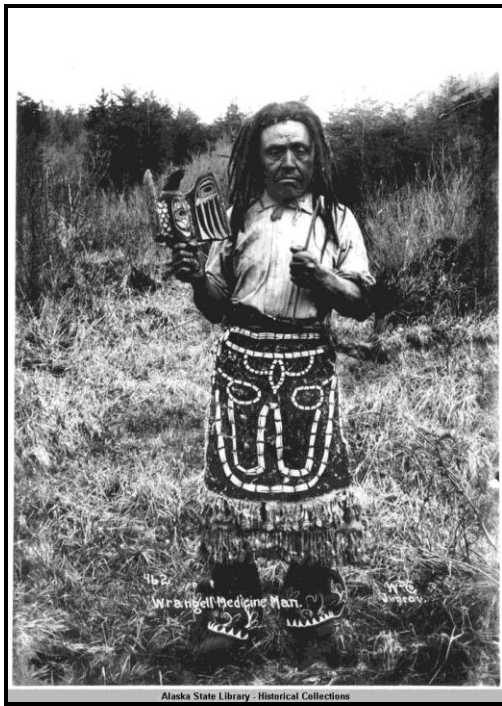


Fig. 38. Medicine man holding raven rattle and wearing apron decorated with dentalium shells and puffin bills. Wrangell, AK. Ca. 1900. (Pond 1893-1943)



Fig. 39. Tlingit elder at Fort Wrangell, Alaska. Woman with lower lip labret wearing a spruce hat, bandana, cloth coat, and dress; sitting with crossed wrists, ca. 1900. (1893-1943)

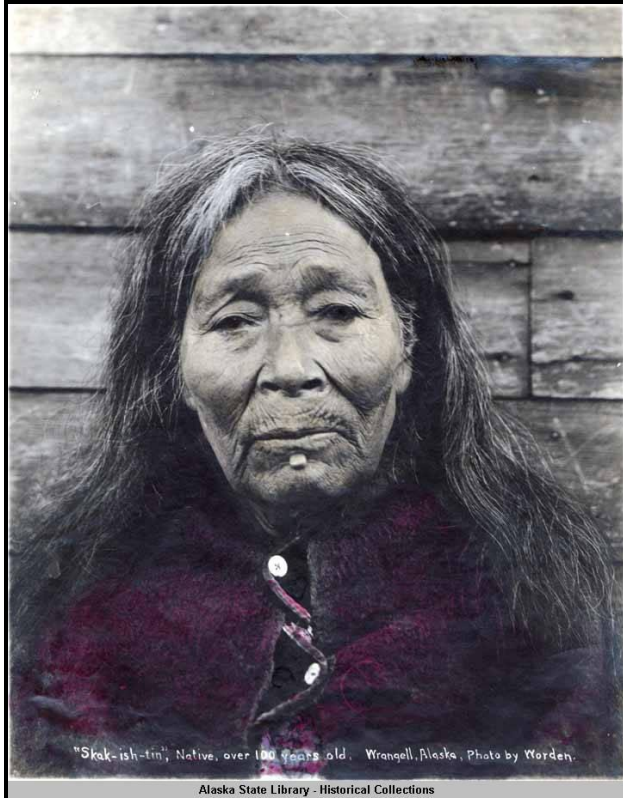
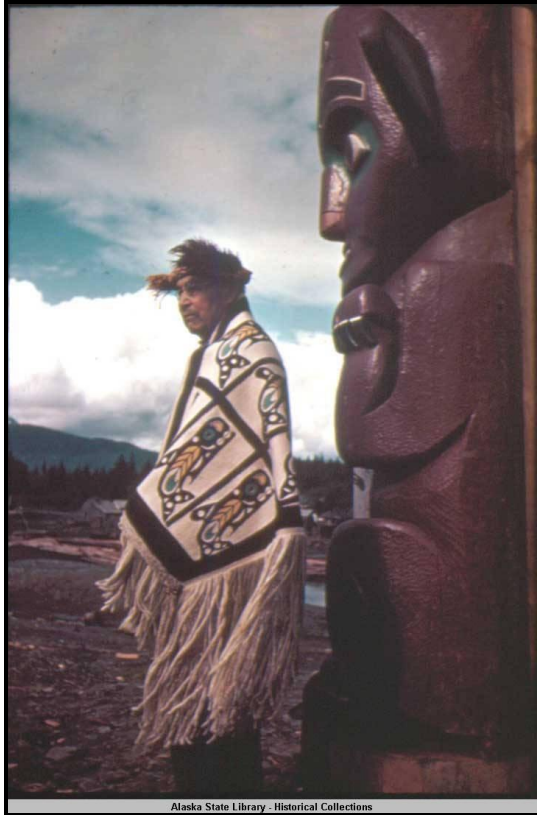


Fig. 40. "Shak-ish-tin", Native elder over 100 years old, Wrangell, Alaska. Ca. 1882-1930. (Worden 1882-1930s)



Fig. 41. Man with wolf hat and two boys posed with guns and dressed in Tlingit regalia. Wrangell, AK. 17 January 1899. (Goetze 1899b)



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Fig. 42. Photograph of Chief Shakes VII, 1935-1975. (Sweeny 1935-1975)

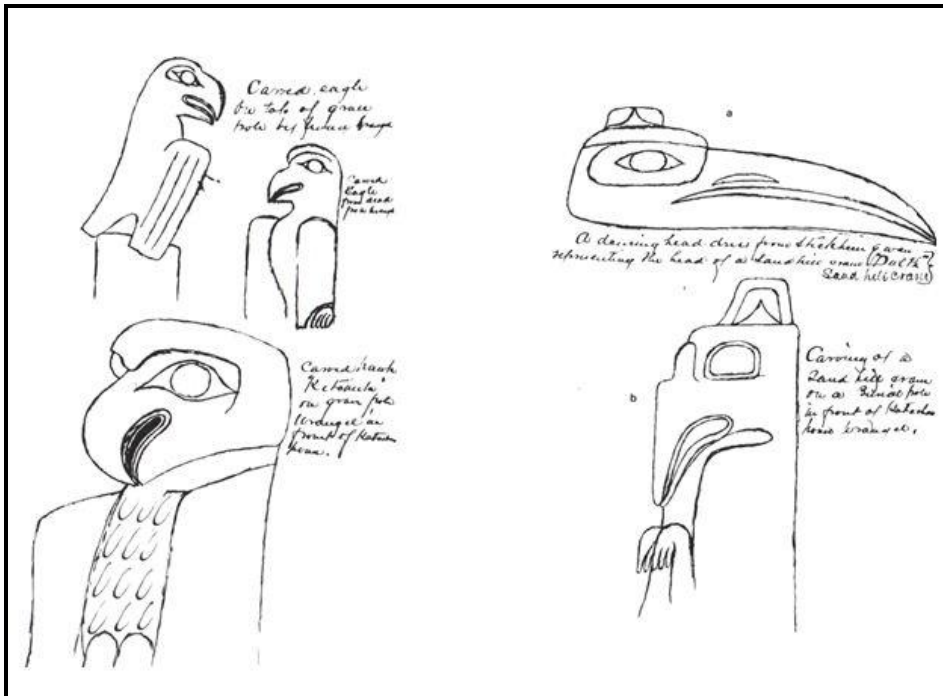


Fig. 43. Mortuary posts, Wrangell. (Sketches by G.T. Emmons. AMNH.) Top Left. Two posts with carved eagles. Bottom Left. Carved hawk, Ketchuke, on mortuary pole in front of Kadashan's house, Raven 32. Right. Carvings representing the sandhill crane, dultl, (a) on a dancing headdress, Wrangell and (b) on a mortuary post in front of Kadashan's house, Raven 32, Wrangell. Sikine Tribe. (Emmons and De Laguna)

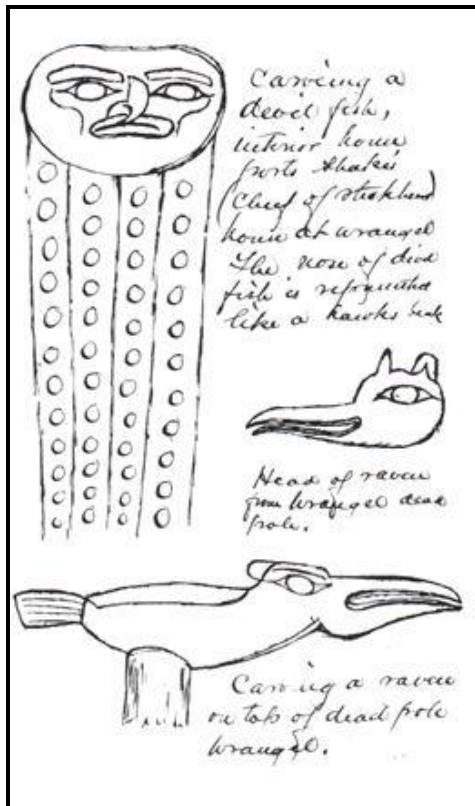


Fig. 44. Carving posts, Wrangell. (Sketched by G. T. Emmons. AMNH.) Top. Carving of a devilfish; the nose is like a hawk's beak; interior post in Chief Shake's House, Wolf 18. Bottom. Ravens on mortuary poles, Wrangell. (Emmons and De Laguna)



Fig. 45. Chief Shake's Haida canoe. (Obtained by G.T. Emmons for the World's Fair of 1893, and now in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Institution photographs, nos. 4813 and 34375.) Top. Bow with carved bear and painted "blackfish" (pilot whale) which has caught a seal. Bottom. Stern, with carved bear and painted raven.

*The Last Great Potlatch*



Fig. 46. Picture of The Last Great Potlatch attendees in front of Chief Shakes Tribal House, 1940. (Sentinel 1940)



Fig. 47. Tribal leaders in front of Chief Shakes Tribal House during potlatch, Wrangell, AK. 1940. (Unknown 1940e)



Fig. 48. Totem of "Bear Up The Mountain" being erected during potlatch, Wrangell, AK. 1940.(Unknown 1940a)



Fig. 49. Construction of Chief Shakes Tribal House, Wrangell, AK. 1940. (Unknown 1940b)



Fig. 50. Chief Shakes' Canoe in Wrangell Harbor during potlatch with Chief Shakes VII in bow. 1940. (Unknown 1940c)



Fig. 51. Chief Shakes' Canoe in Wrangell Harbor during potlatch with Chief Shakes VII in bow. 1940. (Unknown 1940d)

# TABLES

Table 1. List of Stikine clans and house groups identified by Swanton (1908). (Swanton 1908)

STIKINE	
<i>Kiksa'di</i>	
Gagā'n hit (sun house); chief, Qāla'kte (moving of sides—of a frog)	
Tlaq! hit (retaining-timbers house); chief, atū' (property)	
Xi'te! hit (frog house) <sup>a</sup> ; chief, Qāla'kte (same man as second above)	
<i>Ti hit tūn</i>	
Ti hit (bark house); chief, Gaac (a Tsimshian name taken in war)	
<i>Qō'tadi</i>	
Nālx hit (halibut house, nālx, being the name of the largest variety of halibut)	
chief, Tāk-sēq! (winter change, because frogs go away when winter comes)	
Xi'te! hit (frog house) <sup>b</sup> ; chief, Kēci'te (woman turning into a man)	
Alqā' hit (gambling house); chief, laqē'; meaning uncertain	
Kaoliyā'y! hit (house lowered from the sky—like one in a favorite Tlingit story;	
chief, Kātgatē'x (because Raven had a basket of the kind called kāt)	
Teac hit (rush house, in memory of their old houses in the interior); chief,	
Ltā'eké (frog's back)	
<i>Kāsq'agwe'di</i>	
Xēl. hit (thunder house); chief, Sgāxx! (named after the raven, because the	
raven is always begging for something to eat)	
Lāde'n hit (house standing at right angles to the rest); chief, Tū'naxk!; mean-	
ing uncertain	
Xi'te! xā'ye hit (frog's-den house); chief, An-lēn yē! (big-town raven)	
Tān hit (sealion house); chief, Kokustā'l; meaning uncertain	
<i>Tūtqoe'di</i>	
Cā hit, or in full, Tūtq <sup>a</sup> naxk! -ca hit (mountain-back-of-Tūtq <sup>a</sup> house); chief,	
Qādālū'gu (human skin)	
Kaxqoyē'ndua hit (the name of the last monster that the hero Lāy'ayā'k! and his	
brothers killed was Kaxqoyē'ndua); chief, Qoxoē'tcattc	
<i>Nanyā'y!</i>	
Q!a'tgu hit (shark house); chief, K!oxcu' (the name of the first Nanyā'y!, chief	
of Old Wrangell. Cēks, below, was his nephew)	
Hit lēn (big house); chief, Cēks (a Tsimshian name taken in war)	
Tatū'k hit (cliff house); chief, Guṭa'o (monster)	
Q!a'tgu nā'si hit (shark's-intestines house); chief, Gaḷge'; meaning uncertain.	
Kūk hit (box house); chief, Kīt-lēn (big killer whale)	
Ā'nteāka hit (house at the farther end of the town—its position in Old Wrangell);	
chief, Kādjhōsgū't; meaning uncertain	
<p><sup>a</sup>He built this house when he was going to have his children tattooed, and was the first person in Alaska to invite people to a feast on such an occasion, so it is said.</p> <p><sup>b</sup>This name was given with a Kiksa'di woman who settled among these people.</p>	
<i>S'iknaxa'di</i>	
Q!ān hit (red house); chief, Cā'xna; meaning uncertain.	
Ānk <sup>a</sup> hit (named from a cane taken from the Tsimshian in war and applied to a	
house in order to disgrace them); chief, Qōlā'n (taken from a picture of wealth seen	
by this man and called Iāā'n)	
<i>Xōq!e'di</i>	
Ctfn hit (steel house), recently adopted; chief, Gux-nā'wu (dead slave)	
Ā'nda ū'na hit (cannon house); chief, laḡwa'te (a kind of weed like rhubarb,	
used in making peace "because it looks nice")	
<i>Kayū'ekidetān</i>	
Kit hit (killer-whale house); chief, Tēq (stone)	
<i>Xēt qoan</i> (no house names obtained)	



Table 2. Estimate of Kolosh in 1834 by Veniaminov. (Emmons and De Laguna 1991d)

Tangasskoe	[Tongass I]	150 souls
Sanakhskoe <sup>a</sup>	[Sanya II]	100 souls
Stakhinskoe	[Stikine III]	1,500 souls
Genuvskoe <sup>b</sup>	[Hanya IV or Auk X]	300 souls
Kuyutskoe	[Kuyu VI]	150 souls
Kekuvskoe	[Kake VII]	200 souls
Takutsskoe	[Taku IX]	150 souls
Akutskoe	[Auk X]	100 souls
Chilkatskoe	[Chilkat-Chilkoot XI]	200 souls
Kutsinovskoe	[Hutsnuwu XII]	300 souls
Sitkhinskoe	[Sitka XIII]	750 souls
Ledianoprolivskoe <sup>c</sup>	[“Icy Strait” Hoonah XIV]	250 souls
Ltuisckoe or Akvetskoe	[Lituya and/or Dry bays XV]	200 souls
Yakutatckoe	[Yakutat XVI]	150 souls
	TOTAL	4,500 souls

Note: This table is from Veniaminov ([1840] 1984:382), although the tribes have been rearranged according to their order in Table 3 and given their modern names. There are no entries for Klawak (V) or Sumdum (VIII), probably because these small groups were not recognized as distinct tribes, or were not known. Veniaminov included two Haida groups, omitted here: the Kaiganskoe (1,200 souls) and Chasinskoe (150 souls), making a grand total of 5,800. (His editor, R. A. Pierce, has corrected this figure to 5,850.) Veniaminov further stated that the total number had been 10,000 in 1833, before the smallpox epidemic. Petroff (1884:35) reproduced what was essentially the same table, but with anglicized names, finding it “remarkably accurate in its total.”

<sup>a</sup> This group was placed by Veniaminov at the end of the list, right after the Haidas, thereby suggesting that this group was also Haida. Petroff (1884:35) designated them as “Sanakhan,” which is close to Sa’nya’ q’a’n, the Tlingit name. They were probably the Sanya Tlingit, who were otherwise not represented.

<sup>b</sup> Petroff rendered the name of this group as “Henu,” and suggested that they were the “Hunya or Hanega,” that is, the Henya. The translators of the Tlingit in Veniaminov ([1840] 1984), Nora and Richard Dauenhauer, indicate that the tribal name refers to Dzanitki Hi’ni, or Gold Creek, Juneau; this would make the inhabitants Auk. Henyu seems to be the more likely identification, especially since this tribe was not otherwise mentioned.

<sup>c</sup> The name refers to an unidentified settlement on Icy Strait (according to Nora and Richard Dauenhauer), so the inhabitants were Hoonah.

Table 3. Census of Native Tribes of Russian America between Latitude 59° and 54°40’ N., Exclusive of the Sitka Tribe on Baranof Island, in 1839. (Emmons and De Laguna 1991e)

Trader's Name	Tribal Name	Location	Total	Free				Slaves	
				Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Male	Female
Tourgass [Tongass]	Kitahoonet	Clarence strait	315	85	90	60	65	6	9
Cape Fox [Sanya]	Lukhseele	Cape Fox	177	45	50	39	43	—	—
Stikeen [Stikine]	Stakhin river		1,586	502	455	256	229	55	89
Anialt [Wolf 31]		Port Stuart	186	50	45	42	49	—	—
Liknaahutly [Wolf 19]		Stakhin river	118	31	24	30	27	2	4
Ta-ee-teeton [Raven 11]		Stakhin river	93	38	29	10	9	3	4
Kvaskaguatee [Raven 32]		Stakhin river	135	59	41	10	6	6	13
Kukatu [Wolf 26]		Stakhin river	234	97	67	36	32	2	—
Naamiagh [Wolf 18]		Stakhin river	390	83	117	60	46	32	52
Talguatee [Raven 33]		Stakhin river	169	52	51	27	23	2	4
Kiksatee [Raven 10]		Stakhin river	99	31	21	21	18	4	4
Kadi-ette [Raven 28]		Stakhin river	172	61	60	20	19	4	8
Hanega [Hanya]	Henega	Prince of Wales island	269	82	80	29	27	27	24
Kake	Kehk	Kehk archipelago	393	109	106	70	64	24	20
Tako Samdan [Taku, Sumdum, and Sitka]		Takoo and Sitka rivers	493	127	110	71	66	59	60
Auke [Auk]	Auke	North of Takoo river	203	72	61	35	31	2	2
Chilkat [Chilkat]	Chilkhaat	Lynn canal	498	167	116	71	66	42	36
Hoochenoo [Hutsnuwu]	Hootznoo	Hood's bay	729	247	240	85	76	40	41
Cross Sound [Hoonah]	Hoonyah	Cross sound	782	258	234	108	88	40	54
		TOTAL	5,445 <sup>a</sup>	1,694	1,542	824	755 <sup>b</sup>	295	335

Note: Census by Sir James Douglas, Hudson's Bay Company (from Petroff 1884:36–37). The order of the tribes has been rearranged to correspond to that in Table 3. The Stikine clans have been identified that were listed by Douglas as separate villages. The “Ahiak” were evidently still living in Fort Stewart as an independent tribe, and the other Stikine clan groups were not yet at Wrangell (“Fort Stikene”). The totals have been recalculated, excluding the six villages of Kaigani Haida, which had a total population of 1,735 (excluding slaves). The grand total for the native population in the leased territory is given as 7,190 persons, of whom 5,455 would be the Tlingit and their slaves.

<sup>a</sup> If all the separate totals in this horizontal line are added, the grand total would be 5,445 persons living in Tlingit territory: 4,815 Tlingit and their 630 slaves. The same total is reached by adding the Tlingit figures given by tribes. But if 1,735 Kaigani are subtracted from the grand total of 7,190, the resultant figure is 5,455 for the Tlingit area. The error seems to lie in the calculation of the number of Tlingit girls.

<sup>b</sup> If a total of 436 Kaigani girls is subtracted from the total of 1,201 girls, this figure would be 765.

Table 4. Estimate of Kolosh [Tlingit] in 1861. (Emmons and De Laguna 1991f)

Settlements, Tribes	Totals	Free		Slaves	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
Tanga [Tongass I]	333	154	154	13	12
Stakhin [Stikine II]	697	308	308	41	40
Genu [Hanya IV? Auk X?]	411	195	197	10	9
Kuiuts [Kuyu VI]	262	126	126	5	5
Kek [Kake VII]	445	210	210	13	12
Taku [Taku IX]	712	335	337	20	20
Asanka Harbor <sup>b</sup> [Auk X?]	118	56	56	3	3
Chil'kat [Chilkat XII]	1,616	728	728	80	80
Khutsnov [Hutsnuwu XIII]	600	280	280	20	20
Sitkha [Sitka XIII]	1,344	715	535	51	43
Icy Strait [Hoonah XIV]	331	154	154	13	10
L'tua Bay [Dry Bay XV]	590	265	267	29	29
Yakutat [Yakutat XVI]	380	163	168	25	24
	TOTAL 7,839	TOTAL FREE 7,209		TOTAL SLAVES 630	

Note: This table, the tribes or settlements arranged according to the order in Table 3, is taken from the census of Lieutenant ("Wehrman") Verman of the Russian Navy, published by Tikhmenev ((1861-63, I) 1978:428). The Kaigani Haida with 280 free men and 280 free women, plus their 90 male and 90 female slaves, have not been included here. Petroff (1884:38), who also published the same figures, remarked that Verman had "obtained only the totals at each place and divided them subsequently." He also corrected the totals for Tlingit free men and women as published by Tikhmenev. The corrected totals are given here.

<sup>a</sup> There is again the difficulty in identifying the "Genu." Petroff calls them "Hoonyah," but does not add them to the Icy Strait Hoonah ("Cross Sound Settlements").

<sup>b</sup> Asanka Harbor ("Assan Harbor" of Petroff) is probably Freshwater Bay, on the east coast of Chichagof Island, where the Wolf 17 settled, coming from Hoonah to Hutsnuwu country. It may have been Auk territory in 1861.

Table 5. Estimate of Tlingit in 1880. (Emmons and De Laguna 1991b)

Tongas [Tongass], Island mouth Portland canal	173	Chilkhat [Chilkat-Chilkoot]	988
Cape Fox [Sanya, not Tongass] "Prince of Wales island"	100	Yondestuk, Chilkhat river and bay	171
Stakhin [Stikine]	317	Kutkwutlu, Chilkhat river and bay	125
Shustak's village, Etholin island [Raven 33]	38	Kluckquan, Chilkhat river and bay	565
Kash's village, Etholin island [Raven 11]	49	Chilcoot, Chilcoot river	127
Shakes' village, Etholin island [Wolf 18]	38	Khootznahoo [Hutsnuwu]	666
Towayat's village, Etholin island [Wolf 25 or 26]	82	Augoon [Angoon], Admiralty island, Hood's bay	420
Kohltsiene's village, Stakhin river [Raven 10]	28	Scutskon, Admiralty island, Hood's bay	246
Hinauhan's village, Stakhin river	31	Sitka	721
Kadishan's village, Stakhin river [Raven 32]	27	Sitka, Indian village, Baranof island	540
Shallyany's village, Stakhin river	24	Silver Bay [Baranof island]	39
Hanega [Hanya], Prince of Wales island, west coast	500	Hot Springs [Baranof island]	26
Klawak, Prince of Wales island, west coast	27	Indian River [Baranof island]	43
Kouyou [Kuyu], Prince of Wales island, west coast	60	Old Sitka [Baranof island]	73
Kehk [Kake]	568	Hoonyah [Hoonah]	908
Klukwan [Kake village] Kuprianof island	261	Koudekan [Hoonah], Chichagof island	800
village, Kuprianof island	82	Klughuggue, "Chichagof island" [N shore Cross Snd]	108
village, Koo island	100	Scattered villages between cape Spencer and Bering	200
village, Port Houghton	50	[Yakutat] bay [Not Yakutat tribe, but Lituya Hoonah	
village, Seymour's channel	75	and Dry Bay]	
Takoo [Taku]	269	Yakutat, Bering bay	300
Tokeatl's village, Takoo river and inlet	26	[Tlingitized Eyak, Kaliahk]	328
Chitklin's village, Takoo river and inlet	113	Yaktag villages, foot of Mount Saint Elias range	152
Katlany's village, Takoo river and inlet	106	Chilkhaat villages, Comptroller bay	170
Fotshou's village, Takoo river and inlet	24	Cape Martin, Mouth of Copper river	6
Auk	640		TOTAL 6,765
village, Stephens passage	290		
village, Admiralty island	300		
village, Douglas island	50		

Note: These figures are from the Tenth Census of 1880 (Petroff 1884:29, 31-32). The groups are identified as far as possible, and are listed in the same order as the tribes on Table 3. Some of Petroff's groupings are corrected. Thus the Tongass and the Cape Fox groups do not form one tribe; nor do the Kuyu, Hanya, and Klawak form a "Prince of Wales island tribe."

Table 6. Estimate of Tlingit (“Koluschan”) in 1890. (Emmons and De Laguna 1991c)

Tribe	Males	Females	Totals
Tongass	137	118	255
Stakhin [Stikine]	135	120	255
Hanega [Henya]	152	110	262
Kake [and Kuyu?]	114	120	234
Taku [and Sumdum?]	114	109	223
Auk	145	134	279
Chilkat [and Chilkoot]	420	392	812
Hutznahu [Hutsnuwu]	235	185	420
Sitka	427	387	814
Huna [Hoonah]	283	309	592
Yakutat	169	176	345
Totals of “Thlingit in Southeastern District”	2,331	2,160	4,491
Sitka	1	—	1
Yakutat	3	6	9
Yaktag [Kaliakh]	44	38	82
Totals of “Thlingit in Kadiak District”	48	44	92
TOTAL	2,379	2,204	4,583

*Note:* These figures, taken from the Eleventh Census of 1890 (Porter 1893:158), omit the Kaigani and Tsimshian in southeastern Alaska and the Eyak (“Ugalentsi”) of Controller Bay and the Copper River delta, but include the Tlingitized Eyak of the Gulf Coast (Kaliakh or Tribe XVII) and Tlingit from Sitka and Yakutat living among them or among the Eyak proper.

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