

314/D-62

TRADITIONAL TLINGIT USE OF SITKA
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

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With the Assistance of
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Final Report
NPS Contract #1443PX970095345

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July 31, 1998

B&W Scans
10-23-2002

ABSTRACT

This report summarizes traditional uses of Sitka National Historical Park by local Tlingits. Part One of the report attempts to sketch Indian River as a Kiks.ádi landscape by analyzing the evolution of the major natural and cultural environments in the vicinity of the park from an ethnogeographic and ethnohistorical perspective. Using interview, archival, and published sources, key events in the park's natural, mythic, and social history are detailed, including geological occurrences, ecological and habitat changes, the discovery and settlement of the area by the Kiks.ádi clan and other Sitka Tlingit, and development of Indian River as a Tlingit, Russian, and American landscape. The record shows that, despite the pressures of contact, Sitka Tlingits have continued to maintain their physical, social, symbolic, and spiritual ties to Indian River. Part Two of the report examines various Native uses of the park by Tlingit villagers and members of the Model Cottage Settlement, a utopian colony founded by the Presbyterian church on a site now partly occupied by the park Visitors Center. The most important uses of the park were subsistence uses; all major categories of wild foods, including salmon and non-salmon fish, shellfish and marine invertebrates, wildlife, and plants were harvested in or around the park. These foods comprised a significant portion of Sitka Natives diets in the pre-contact era, especially for those associated with the Kiks.ádi clan, which possessed the Indian River territory and maintained seasonal subsistence camps on the lower river until the late nineteenth century. Other important historic uses of the park for Tlingit villagers and cottagers included recreational activities, entrepreneurial enterprises, and commemorative, spiritual, and other communal gatherings and activities, such as memorials for those who died in the infamous Battle of 1804. The report concludes that while social and symbolic uses of the park remain strong and have even been enhanced since the 1960s, subsistence and other material connections to the park have been largely severed. The conclusion provides recommendations for maintaining and improving Tlingit ties to Sitka National Historical Park, including proposals for enhancing traditional Native uses of the park in cooperation with the Sitka Tribe.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to a great many individuals who contributed to this project in a variety of ways and without whose help this endeavor would have been impossible. Foremost, I would like to thank Fred Hope for his invaluable assistance with the research. Because of his close relationships with many former cottagers and intimate knowledge of the park and Kiks.ádi clan history, Fred was able to explore issues and probe individuals' memories in interviews to a depth that I simply could not reach. Some of the best material in this report is the result of his asking the right question of the right person at the right time, so as to elicit the best response.

Second, I would like to thank the staffs of the Park Service, especially Gene Griffin, Sue Thorsen, and Tim Cochrane, for their logistical support and research guidance, and the staff of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska, particularly Louise Brady, Robi Craig, and Terry Pegues, for their constructive assistance, and feedback at all phases of the project. The cheerful staff at the Stratton Library of Sheldon Jackson College was also most obliging.

In addition to the support of these organizations, I was also the beneficiary of help from others scholars who graciously shared their time, expertise, or materials, including Bob Betts, Richard and Nora Dauenhauer, Kristen Griffin, George Hall, Andy Hope, Dee Longenbaugh, Holly Smith-Middleton, Richard Nelson, and Rosita Worl.

I am also very grateful to John Marks, Nikki Morris, and Jason Nelson for transcribing key interviews from the audio tapes; to Dan Etulain of KSCT-TV for documenting key interviews on videotape; and to Jason Nelson and Patricia Thornton for their assistance with the production of the final report.

And finally, and most respectfully, I wish to thank the Tlingit elders and others who were interviewed and consulted for this project for the wealth of information they shared and enriching spirit with which they shared it. These individuals include my mentor and adopted brother, Herman Kitka Sr., Martha Kitka, Herman Kitka Jr., Gus Adams, Isabella Brady, the late Bill Brady, Carol Feller Brady, Dave Gallanin, Ellen Hope Hays, Fred Hope, Herb Hope, John Hope, Mark Jacobs Jr., Naomi Kanosh, Marie Laws, Nels Lawson, the late Esther Littlefield, John Littlefield, Ethel Makinen, Margaret McVey, Louis Minard, John Nielson, Al Perkins, Marta Ryman, Robert Sam, Louis Simpson, and Gil Truitt, along with countless others who have contributed in myriad ways to the writer's general knowledge of Sitka Tlingit culture and history. To all of these good folks, and others whose names I may have omitted, I say, "Gunalchéesh Ho Ho." Like your knowledge and spirit, I hope this report, too, is enriching.

I. INTRODUCTION: A PARK ON KIKS.ÁDI LAND

BACKGROUND OF THIS STUDY

Sitka National Historical Park, situated on Indian River in the city of Sitka, Alaska is a small landscape with a large history. The bulk of park lands and waters lie at the base of the Indian River valley, comprising some 57 acres of land and 50 acres of tidelands at the mouth of Indian River. By western state standards Sitka National Historical Park is a small park and its identity is as closely linked to the historical settlement as it is to the natural setting. The Kiks.ádi, a Tlingit clan, first landed here many centuries ago, perhaps as many as 5,000 years b.p.¹ and claimed the Indian River as their land and resource base.

Sitka comes from the Tlingit name *Sheet K'a*, meaning, literally, "the outside of *Shee*." *Shee* is the Tlingit name for Baranof Island. The indigenous name provides an apt description of the settlement's location on the western side and outer coast of Baranof Island in Southeast Alaska. The name also refers to the longstanding Tlingit settlement in the area now encompassed by the city of Sitka. Thus, the name itself is suggestive of the long and deep history of inhabitation that Tlingits have in the Indian River Valley and its environs.

This study focuses on traditional Tlingit use of the Sitka National Historical Park, especially the historic food gathering, recreational, and ceremonial activities that have occurred there. The report is designed to complement other recent published and

¹ This is speculative but oral histories tell of landing in the Sitka area when Mt. Edgecumbe was still an active volcano (Herman Kitka, interview) and Tlingit-style baskets have been discovered in the area dating

unpublished research on the park's history, natural, and cultural resources, including an administrative history (Antonson and Hanable 1987), a landscape history of the park (Smith-Middleton and Alanen 1997), studies of the Tlingit-Russian Battle of 1804 within current park boundaries (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990), a study of Tlingit property and property law (Worl, n.d. [1994]), archeological studies (West 1959, 1996; Utermohle 1995), geomorphology studies (Chaney, Betts, and Longenbaugh 1995), among others.

For the purposes of this study, "traditional Tlingit use" means any significant cultural practices associated with the park that have involved significant segments of the Tlingit community over time. It does not mean, as is often supposed when the words traditional and Native are joined, pre-contact practices, or exclusively those beliefs and customs that are firmly rooted in the pre-modern era. While such traditions, especially certain subsistence activities, are important and do comprise a significant part of this research, they are not the whole story. Just as interesting and important are the traditions that have emerged since the European advance into Sitka which began in earnest with Alexander Baranov's establishment of the Archangel Saint Michael's Redoubt at Starrigavan Creek in 1799 on behalf of the Russian-America Company.

The history of Russian-Tlingit conflict itself comprises a major component of the park's identity as evidenced by the traditions of commemoration of the Battle of 1804. It was during this time that the Tlingit Fort, *Shis'k'i Noow*² ("Green Wood Fort"), was attacked by the Russians in a conflagration that culminated in the Tlingit occupants withdrawal to the northeast entrance of Peril Strait. The Presbyterian tradition of proselytizing and educating Tlingits through the church, Sheldon Jackson College, and,

back some 5,000 years. For more on the prehistory of Southeast Alaska, see Davis (1990).

most importantly for this study, the Model Cottage Settlement that was founded on what later became the grounds for the park headquarters is another important Tlingit tradition in Sitka National Historical Park. And finally, there is an impressive array of recreational and artistic traditions that comprise another key facet of the park's identity and values. These recreational traditions range from totem pole displays, to picnicking, to walks on "Lover's Lane," to young Tlingit boys' games of "cowboys and Indians" around the old blockhouse.

All of these traditions are taken up in this study, but in contrast to previous studies they are pursued largely from a Tlingit point of view. Like the phrase "traditional use," the term "Tlingit point of view" requires some explication. By "Tlingit point of view" I refer to those traditions that are salient from the perspective of Sitka Tlingits who lived in or otherwise used the park. These traditions, as we shall see, are sometimes consistent with non-Native traditions and at other times diverge. More significantly from an anthropological perspective, what non-Natives may view as important Native traditions within the park are in some cases rather contrived and of comparatively little significance to most Sitka Natives. The best example of this is the spectacular display of totem poles assembled in the park by John G. Brady and arranged by E. W. Merrill after their showing at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904. To the visitor these "monuments in cedar" (Keihtahn 1945) are a striking feature of the park and perhaps the most visible evidence of Native presence in the park. Yet, while the poles do represent Northwest Coast Native artistic tradition, they are in essence alien in origin, having come from the Tlingit villages of Tuxekan and Klawock and the Haida villages of Howkan, Klinkwan, Sukkwan, Old

² Alternatively, this feature is sometimes rendered as *Shis'g'i Noow* or *Shis'k'ee Noow*.

Kasaan, and Koinglas (Hope 1978; Wyatt 1989:23). Thus, they lack organic ties to Sitka or Indian River, and their symbolic associations are not relevant to the local landscape or community, as a result, the poles are poorly understood and of little consequence to the local Tlingit community. Indeed they tell us more about non-Native conceptions of Tlingits than they do about Tlingit conceptions of the Indian River area. Not surprisingly, Sitka Tlingits interviewed for this project hardly remarked upon the old poles. On the other hand, the recent pole that was locally commissioned, carved, and erected at the entrance of the park with a special ceremony, was viewed as important and symbolic of Sitka Tlingits' relationships to Indian River.

In sum, the purpose of this study is not simply to document archaic, pre-contact Tlingit traditions within the present day boundaries of Sitka National Historical Park. Rather the goal of this investigation is to provide a detailed ethnographic account of both historical and contemporary Tlingit activities associated with Sitka National Park from an ethnohistorical perspective, giving special credence to Tlingit points of view. While the cultural means by which Tlingits experience the park have undergone considerable change, they continue to invest themselves in the landscape and to appropriate it both materially and symbolically in very distinctive ways. A diachronic, anthropological perspective can help us analyze and evaluate continuities and changes in Tlingit relationships to SNHP and also provide a basis for comparing their ethnogeographic experience against those of other peoples.

Specific objectives of this study, then, include:

- 1) To document Tlingit traditional subsistence, recreational, and other use of the park from an ethnohistorical perspective.
- 2) To record relevant traditional knowledge associated with natural and cultural resources within the park, including geographic sites, subsistence resources,

- and cultural artifacts.
- 3) To improve public knowledge of Sitka Tlingits' relationships to and perspectives on SNHP through production of educational materials, such as:
 - a) this narrative report detailing traditional Tlingit uses of the park including subsistence and recreational uses in their geographic context and documenting changes through time;
 - b) visual (photographic/video) documentation of selected harvest activities and
 - c) high-quality visual (photographic/video) documentation of selected traditional subsistence harvest sites and activities; and
 - d) selected Tlingit texts concerning historical use of the park.

The results aim to fill a gap in the literature regarding Tlingit use of the park both before and after the Battle of 1804 and to assist park management in protecting and evaluating presently unrecognized resources and cultural values associated with Sitka National Historical Park.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this project incorporated standard ethnographic research techniques. These include a review of the existing published and archival literature concerning use of the park, interviews with Tlingits and others knowledgeable of Tlingit traditions within the park, and participant observation of selected traditions.

The research was divided into six phases. In the first two phases, the researcher met National Park Service (NPS) personnel and the Sitka Tribe of Alaska (STA) Cultural Committee to solicit input on source material and outcomes and to develop a project plan. Members of STA requested that local people be involved in the research and that clan prerogatives be respected in the collection and publication of sensitive information. The researcher agreed to abide by these requests. The tribe also pledged assistance in the

form of workspace, equipment (tape recorder), and consultation. Mr. Fred Hope, a Kiks.ádi clan and STA member, was hired to assist in conducting interviews and used STA's tape recorder for interviewing. Mr. John Marks, a Juneau Tlingit skilled in transcription and translation of Tlingit language, was also hired to assist with analysis of Tlingit tape recordings. A formal work plan was adopted for NPS and STA approval in December 1995.

The third and fourth phases of the research involved reviewing the existing literature, identifying existing cultural sites and subsistence resources within the park, contacting Native experts and others knowledgeable about traditional Tlingit use of the park. Interviews were conducted between February 1996 and November 1997 in Sitka, Juneau, Seattle, and Anchorage. The majority of these interviews were tape-recorded. Unfortunately, due to time and other constraints, not all people knowledgeable of park traditions could be interviewed. A 75-minute videotape was also made in July 1996 in order to document specific Tlingit resources within the park and their cultural associations. This video is being produced separately as part of this contract.

In the fifth and sixth phases of the research, the results were compiled and a preliminary report prepared. After review and comment, the report [will be] revised accordingly before final submission. The videotaped material will also be evaluated at this time to determine the best course of action for editing and production.

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN RIVER NATURAL AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENTS

Relationships with place are not just a matter of living and evolving in specific physical environments but also of imagining them. Humans not only study the land in order to make a living but also theorize about their organic relationships to it. These musings and bits of empirical knowledge about the landscape accumulate over generations and become part of oral traditions, traditions that make people and place inseparable. As writer Barry Lopez points out (1986:244-45), "even what is unusual does not become lost and therefore irrelevant...The perceptions of any people wash over the land like a flood, leaving ideas hung up in the brush, like pieces of damp paper to be collected and deciphered." If, as a newcomer, we view the landscape as a "wilderness" to be learned and experienced only directly and anew, then we miss these bits and pieces of geographic wisdom that are embedded in indigenous cultures' sense of place. On the other hand, if we only study maps or photos, or read narratives about the geography, culture, and folklore of a place, without experiencing it directly, then we are similarly lost. Thus, to gain a perspective on Tlingit traditions of Sitka National Historical Park we must gain a sense of the park's evolution as both a physical and cultural environment.

From an ethnohistorical point of view this means attending to Tlingit concepts of the evolution of the landscape within the broader context of Western scientific and historical studies. Yet, as Frederica de Laguna (1960) has observed in her study of the Tlingit community of Angoon, it is often hard to reconcile Native conceptions of time with Western chronologies. The usual (and to my mind unsatisfactory) procedure is to either treat Native vs. Western traditions dichotomously, or to privilege the Western perspective

over the Native view. In either case the Native sense of history is inevitably compromised. Similarly, there are important differences in conceptualization of space between Tlingits and non-Natives. Thus, if we want to understand Tlingit traditions of use in the park, it is important that we understand the Tlingit view of the environment in addition to describing it in scientific terms, for this environment "has been mediated by what they understand it to be and what they have made of it" (de Laguna 1972:21). This report, then, attempts to synthesize Tlingit time-space concepts of the park into coherent narrative that can also be interpreted in a Western spatio-temporal framework.

In dealing with the more durable and mundane traditions of the park as opposed to its more singular and volatile events, such as the Battle of 1804, a useful concept that has informed modern place theory is historian Fernand Braudel's notion of a spatialized time. Braudel and the French *Annales* school helped to launch a paradigmatic shift in historical writing away from chronicling the major events and figures of a particular time and place and towards a focus on the activities of ordinary people over long periods of time (*la longue durée*). Braudel viewed time from three perspectives that he outlines in the introduction to The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (1972:20-21).

The first and most basic temporality, according to Braudel, is that of natural time or "geographical history." Geographical history is one "whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man in his relationship to the environment, a history in which all change is slow, a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles." Braudel was critical of the all too brief deference typically given to the natural setting in historical writing; he believed that it was myopic to view natural history merely as a backdrop rather

than a major, continuous constraint on human activity.

Social time, "the history of groups and groupings," is Braudel's second temporal perspective. From this perspective one can track the *durée* of sociocultural institutions, of demographic fluctuations, and other dimensions of social life that carry on well beyond the life span of an individual or generation.

Braudel's third perspective is the *durée* of daily life, filled with remembrances of specific events and personalities. This is the perspective that is richest in human interest and, as a consequence, tends to draw the most attention from historians. But for Braudel these events and personalities are only "surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history carry on their strong backs." He felt that this "foam" was often given too much weight while geographic and social time were virtually ignored. This is not to embrace environmental determinism, or to suggest that human impacts on the landscape were inconsequential. Indeed, to cite just one example, the Russian sponsored onslaught on the sea otter in the nineteenth century proved to be a significant ecological impact from which Sitka Sound is only now beginning to recover. Thus, all three dimensions of time are important to our understanding of the human use and conceptualizations of Sitka National Historical Park.

All three historical times converge in the individual's experience of place, making history a key component of sensing place. It is interesting to note that Braudel's three temporalities correspond in some ways to Tlingits' own spatialized sense of time. An analog to the Braudel's natural time is the Tlingit notion of "mythic" time, the ancient (but otherwise not temporally situated) era in which the formation of the world as they know it took shape, including elements of both the physical and social worlds.

Although the events of mythic time are rooted deep in the past, this history is ongoing and recurring in the sense that Tlingits continually make reference to their existence and being in relation to these events and their settings. Tlingits also give high priority to social history, including clan histories, historical relations between social groups, and interactions with non-Tlingit peoples and institutions. This is comparable to Braudel's social time. And finally, Tlingits have a sense of recent historic time, similar to Braudel's remembered time, that is largely contained within the past one hundred years and includes remembrances of daily life, events, personalities, and, of course, places. While a full-scale history is beyond the scope of this study, this approach offers the advantage of sketching and interpreting the evolution of traditional Tlingit uses of the park within a meaningful framework.

Natural and Mythic Time

Every so often, according to Louis Simpson, a 69 year old Kiks.ádi Tlingit who grew up in the Model Cottage Settlement, some new-to-town deer hunter would turn up missing in the Indian River Valley. "They get lost up there; they have to send a helicopter up there" to get them, he notes. Although not a large valley by Alaska standards, it is complex and ecologically diverse. Within a few short miles, one travels from beach estuary to heavily forested upland river valley, to alpine ecozone. If you get off the trails it is not hard to get lost. Yet Indian River Valley was always very productive for deer, and Simpson and other Sitka Tlingits hunted there regularly up until the Second World

War, following a familiar network of trails that crisscrossed the valley. These may very well have been the same trails the Kiks.ádi used to escape the Russians in 1804. In this section, we will highlight the macro and microenvironments of the Indian River landscape.

Geology

Indian River, the lifeblood and central feature of Sitka National Historical Park, cuts northwest behind the city of Sitka rising between Mount Verstovia and Gavan Hill towards its source just west of the peaks known as *The Sisters* (see Figure 1). The park comprises the majority of the Indian River delta, resting upon the sediment that the river has carried down to the site from peaks that ring the valley above it. Both the delta and the upland valley are products of a complex set of geological processes that have produced five distinct geomorphologic regions within the park: 1) active beach; 2) uplifted beach; 3) active river channel; 4) abandoned river channel and flood plains, and 5) bedrock outcrops. Cheney, et al (1995:8ff) have analyzed the geomorphology of the park in detail. In what follows, I attempt to outline the major geomorphologic processes through both the scientific and oral traditions and link them to features of the current landscape.

The first major process is plate tectonics. The entire Southeast Alaska region lies on a major fault zone between the Pacific and North American plates. Indian River itself may mark a fault running through the park. A major fault line, the Fairweather-Queen Charlotte fault lies just 20 miles offshore from Sitka. The geologic collisions produced

Figure 1. The Park & Indian River Valley Area

319 Gavanski Island

Harbor Point

Western Channel

HALIBUT POINT RD

Halibut Point

Watson Point

Swan Lake

Sitka Harbor

Sitka

Whiting Harbor

Sitka

Crescent Bay

Sitka National Historical Park

Jamestown Bay

Harris Island

Galankin Island

Whale Island

Eastern Channel

Luce Island

Berry Island

Mertz Island

Long Island

Aleutkina Bay

Emgeten Island

Cobb Island

Silver Point

Fassett Island

Martin Island

Leesoffskaja Bay

Camp Coogan Bay

Mt Longenbaugh 2225

The Sisters 3880

Billy Basin

Heart Lake

Thimbleberry Lake

Thimbleberry Bay

Marshall Island

Herring Cove

Sugarloaf Mountain

No Thorofare Bay

Samsing Cove

Three Entrance Bay

Sandwich Cove

Scale
1:75,000 1 inch = 1.2 miles

by tectonic action are responsible for Southeast Alaska's steep coastal mountains, and the area remains susceptible to earthquakes. For example, Fred Hope (interview) notes that the great 1964 earthquake, centered near Valdez and registering 8.4 on the Richter Scale, caused "a land uprising all over Southeast Alaska and it's noticeable in the park where the old Blockhouse used to be. There used to be a flat area there where the tide came in and filled the whole thing up with logs and now its all dried up and trees are growing there. Since 1964, there has been drastic change in that area."

A second major process is glaciation. The Tlingits have many legends about the movement of glaciers in Southeast Alaska, but we were unable to document specific oral traditions regarding glaciation in the Sitka area. Geologists posit that the great Wisconsin ice sheet likely retreated from Western Baranof Island more than 12,000 years ago.

The Wisconsin retreat and glacial melt lead to a third major force which has shaped the formation of the Indian River Valley: sea level change. The release from Glaciers of vast quantities of water, lead to a rise in sea level that flooded large areas of the low-lying coast. This event seems to correspond with what Southeast Natives term "The Flood." Although there are references to this catastrophic event in Angoon and Kake, where the indigenous groups sought refuge in stone nests on local peaks which are still known, the oral historical record for Sitka appears relatively silent on the effects of The Flood in this area.

Finally, a fourth major process of geomorphology in the Indian River area is volcanic action. Tlingit oral history notes the presence of volcanic action at Mt. Edgecumbe upon the return of the Tlingits to Southeast Alaska after the last ice age. It was at this time that the first Tlingit groups settled in Sitka. The following version is a

composite based on accounts from Herman Kitka (interviews 1994, 1996; see also Thornton 1995).

Seeking evergreen trees suitable for building houses, a canoe party went north from Tongass along the outside coast. Ice flows still blocked the inside passages, and the land they found was thick with grass and alder, but no evergreens for timber. Soon, large smoke plumes twenty miles to the northwest became visible. The party made camp and sent a canoe to investigate the sources of the smoke. As they approached Sitka Sound, the scouting party saw a mountain upon an island, spouting fire and smoke, the one they call *L'ix*, "Blinking Top," Mt. Edgecumbe. They named it that on account of that volcano. And the prevailing winds were coming from the northwest, blowing the smoke toward Sitka. That's how come there were no trees there. They decided to circle the island [Kruzof Island] and on the north side, at Sinitizen Cove, they found there was no smoke and there was plenty of big spruce for making houses. So they started to cut and split the trees when a woman appeared to them dressed in white. She demanded that they leave her island in peace. The medicine man, dressed for battle, was sent to meet the volcano woman, who called herself Shee. As they spoke she notices the jewelry of the Tlingit women. Shee agreed that in return for earrings, bracelets, and other gifts, the Tlingit could remain on her island. Later, they settled on the main island, Baranof Island, which was named Shee, after the Volcano Woman. In the Tlingit language "*atik'a*" means "on the outside" and so the people called the new village *Shee Atik'a*, people living on the outside of Shee island. Today we call it Sitka.

And that is why the old people, when they are using that island for deer hunting and subsistence, would leave a small offering for Shee. They were thanking that volcano woman for the things they got from there.

The volcanic activity of Mt. Edgecumbe is also recorded in the geomorphology of the Indian River delta in the form of tephra (volcanic ash) deposition. As Cheney, et al. (1995:15) report:

Pleistocene-aged mafic-tephra deposits above the altitude of 40 feet msl are widespread in the Sitka area and average five feet thick. This ash fall occurred before 8,570±300 BP and was probably deposited approximately 10,000 years ago (Reihle et al. 1992:187; Yehle 1974:22). Considering fragile tephra stratigraphy is destroyed by wave action, the absence of this tephra below 40 feet elevation is evidence of regional uplift. A thinner Holocene-aged ash deposit has been documented in the Sitka area which has been bracketed by uncalibrated radiocarbon dates of 4,030±90 and 4,310±140 BP.

The eruption of Mt. Edgecumbe some 4,000 years ago may have occurred just prior to the migration of the first people into Sitka as documented in Herman Kitka's narrative. Cheney et al (1995:83, Figure 6.4) suggest that the volcano eruption caused "episodic uplift" in which "former tidal flats were lifted above the reach of storm waves" and perhaps large wildfires (based on charcoal remains embedded in the tephra) that destroyed the old growth trees in the vicinity of the park. Again this is consistent with the Native oral history where, passing Jamestown Bay and looking for mature spruce for house timbers, the Tlingits found only "grass and alder," characteristic of a post-fire pioneer forest, in the wake of Shee's smoldering volcano. In this condition, the Indian River was of little use to the incoming settlers; hence they bypassed it in favor of the well-forested areas on the north end of Kruzof Island.

A final force, both natural and human aided, that has shaped and reshaped the Indian River landscape is erosion. The beaches surrounding the peninsula defined by the west bank of the Indian River and Crescent Bay are the result of sediments that have been carried and deposited by waves. But large waves also cause erosion, as do floods. Prior to World War II, the effects of wave erosion were mitigated by Indian River Peninsula's long, gently sloping beaches that served to dissipate the force of the ocean waves. With the demand for sand and gravel during the war period, however, the Indian River delta was opened for dredging operations beginning in 1939. As Antonson and Hanable 1987:109 document:

The gravel operations turned out to be plagued with problems and destructive of park values. On September 18 and 19, 1942, a flood rampaged down Indian River. Gravel removal that steepened Indian River's gradient in its lower reaches may have increased the flood's intensity. The torrent tore out both Indian River bridges. It also washed away 200 feet of road, 200 feet of trail, and 10-50 feet of river bank on either side. Two army men, whose first

names are unknown, Sgt. Riley and Pvt. Westfall, who had been on the footbridge when it washed away, were drowned. They were part of the army detail guarding the gravel operation. A sailor, Frank Smith, was also washed off the bridge but survived by clinging to one of the downed bridge's cables. The waters swept away a totem pole that stood near the footbridge, but the navy later recovered it in the bay and returned it to the monument. At the same time, it destroyed a portion of the pipeline that took water from the Indian River to the navy and city water reservoir.

Many contemporary Tlingits recall this 1942 flood vividly, as it swelled rivers throughout Sheet'ká Kwáan (Sitka Tlingit territory). Elders at the time noted that it was among the worst in memory (Herman Kitka personal comm. 1996), though flooding has obviously been recurrent. The 1942 flood's erosive effects profoundly altered the mouth of Indian River, shifting its mouth and major channel and stripping it of much of its vegetation. Mark Jacobs Jr. remembers that prior to this time the mouth of the river was considerably narrower, perhaps on 50 feet in width. He further recalls that Tlingit elder John Willard had warned that the primitive log cribbing used to prevent erosion in the stream would fail. "You can't control nature," he told park officials. Nevertheless, gravel operations continued in the delta until 1960 and offshore dredging continued in the vicinity of the park until 1979 (Cheney, et al 1995:19). Since World War II the Park Service has attempted to stem the erosion of the Indian River by placing rip-rap along the west bank.

In combination, these geomorphologic processes have shaped and reshaped the park. As Chaney, et al. note the Indian River Delta, especially, has changed considerably over time due to the forces of marine waves, the river's deposition of sediment, erosion, and uplift. The cumulative effect of these forces has been to shift the mouth of the river toward Jamestown Bay, a process that is evident through a comparison of historical maps and photographs (see Cheney, et al. 1995). Combined with cataclysms, such as the 1942 flood which stripped away much of the vegetation in the lowlands near the banks of

Indian River, these forces have also had a profound effect on the ecological succession and evolution of microhabitats within the park.

Ecology and Habitats

Southeast Alaska, or "the panhandle" as it is often called, is marked by its rugged coastline and temperate climate. The warm Pacific currents and the insulating effects of the high coastal mountains combine to buffer temperature extremes and boost precipitation. Dense spruce, hemlock, and cedar forests and the mountainous terrain make inland travel difficult except along waterways. The largest mainland rivers, including the Stikine, Taku, Chilkat, and Alsek, provide access to the interior through the mountain barrier. Maritime travel is facilitated by the wide Alexander Archipelago, which parallels the coast and creates sheltered passages, channels, and bays. Although Sitka lies on the more exposed outer coast, it is accessible through the protected waters of the archipelago.

There are three important microenvironments in Southeast Alaska: the southern, northern, and Gulf-coast regions. Frederick Sound is the dividing line between northern and southern southeast Alaska, while the Gulf Coast commences north of Cross Sound. Ecologically, Frederick Sound is the break point for migrating salmon stocks and the availability of red cedar, which is rare in northern Southeast (Langdon 1977:64). The climate of southern Southeast Alaska is also milder than the northern and Gulf Coast portions of the region. Kroeber (1953:135) suggests that in the pre-contact period, the milder southern climes may have supported higher population densities than those in the north. The subregional divisions also correlate with important subcultural distinctions, as

in the dialects of the Tlingit language, particularly in the break between southern and northern Tlingit speakers at Frederick Sound.

A similar gross distinction can be made between the island and mainland environments in terms of their balance of resources. Although fish, game, and plants abound throughout the coast, some resources, such as marine mammals and edible seaweeds, are more plentiful on the islands (and Gulf Coast), while others, such as hooligan and mountain goat, are found almost exclusively on the mainland (the transplanted goat on Baranof Island being a notable exception). These micro-environmental variations in the distribution of natural resources contributed to cultural differences in production and the establishment of complementary trade networks between various Tlingit groups. For example, Tlingits from Chilkat territory traded hooligan oil, soapberries, and other local foods for herring eggs from Sitka. The same principles provided the impetus for trade with foreign groups in the interior and elsewhere on the Pacific Coast.

Table 1. Habitats of Sitka National Historical Park

Habitat	Location	Important Physiographic Characteristics	Important Subsistence and Cultural Biota
<i>Marine Habitats</i>			
Marine	Elevations below tidal zone.	Permanent salt water submergence.	Animals: humpback whales, orcas, porpoises, seals, sea lions, sea otters, salmon, cod, halibut, herring.
Lower Intertidal	Low elevation tidal zone.	Long periods of salt water submergence and exposure to wave action.	Animals: octopus, shrimp, crab, sea cucumbers. Plants: kelp and red algae.
Middle Intertidal	Mid-elevation tidal influence.	Shorter periods of inundation and exposure to wave action.	Animals: anemones, barnacles, limpets, chitons (gumboots), mussels.
Upper Intertidal	Highest reaches of tidal influence.	Salt spray and brief periods of inundation and exposure to wave action.	Animals: limpets. Plants: Salt tolerant herbs such as goosetongue.
<i>Upland Habitats</i>			
Beach	Just above the upper limits of tidal influence.	Exposure to wind, salt spray, and storm waves.	Animals: shorebirds. Plants: goose-tongue, hairy cinquefoil, coastal strawberry, beach pea, and giant vetch.
Beach Meadow	Between beach and forest.	Exposure to sun and wind.	Animals: numerous birds and insects. Plants: grasses, herbs such as cow parsnip, shrubs, such as salmonberry, and trees such as alders.
Temperate Rainforest	From upper edge of beaches and beach meadows to about 1,500 feet in elevation.	Above level of direct marine influence, stable, well-drained sites.	Animals: deer, minks, martens, eagles, ravens, owls, marbled murrelets, and bald eagles. Plants: dominant tree species are Sitka spruce and western hemlock. Shrubs include blueberry, and devil's club. Also ferns and mosses.
Montane Forest	Between 1,500 and 2,000-2,500 feet in elevation.	Earlier frost date, colder temperatures, exposure to wind, stable, well-drained slopes.	Animals: deer, bears, and mountain goats. Plants: dominant tree is mountain hemlock, ferns and meadow herbs in openings. Alpine plants, such as deer cabbage.
Subalpine	Above elevations of 2,000-2,500 feet.	Short growing season, cold temperatures, heavy snow.	Animals: deer, mountain goats, bears, and marmots. Plants: some mountain hemlock below tree limit. Above tree limit, meadows with cow parsnip, fireweed, deer cabbage.

Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park

<i>Upland Habitats (cont.)</i>			
Alpine	Above subalpine zone.	Cold, wind, extreme temperature fluctuations.	Animals: wolves, wolverines, and ptarmigans. Plants: Low shrubs such as dwarf blueberry. Herbs such Hudson Bay tea.
<i>Wetland Habitats</i>			
Riparian	From subalpine to sea level.	Presence of flowing water for at least part of the year.	Animals: salmon, trout, Dolly Varden, invertebrates, insects, and birds. Plants: varies throughout elevation. Herbs include speedwell, marsh marigold, and yellow monkey flower. Trees include red alder, willow species and Sitka spruce. Also aquatic plants.
Fresh water Marshes	Fringes of lake and ponds, flood plains of rivers and streams.	Relatively shallow fresh water submergence.	Animals: ducks, geese, sand hill cranes, herons, beavers, muskrats, bog lemmings, and voles. Plants: sedges, bullrush and horsetail, pond lily, burreed, and spike watermilfoil.
Peatlands	Areas of poor soil drainage.	Saturated soil, acidic conditions, and low oxygen.	Animals: blue grouse, raptors, brown bears, mink, marten, and deer. Plants: shore pine, sedges, bog cranberry, Labrador tea.
Salt Marches	Intertidal zones at river and stream mouths.	Extended salt water submergence, protected from wave action.	Animals: invertebrates, small fish, shorebirds, geese, ducks, ravens, bald eagles, deer, and bears. Plants: sedges, goosetongue, and grasses.

Adapted from O'Clair, et al (1992)

Social History

On the weekend of April 26, 1996, the Tlingit clans of Sitka, along with a host of guests from throughout Southeast Alaska, gathered to participate in the dedication and raising of the first Sitka Tlingit pole to be erected in the park. Thirty-five feet of magnificently carved cedar, the pole honors the five clans that first settled the area some 8,000 years ago according to Tlingit legend. The event was not without controversy, however, as the pole represented a departure from tradition. Never before had both

Raven and Eagle moiety (opposite sides) clans been represented on the same pole.

Though raised on Kiks.ádi land, the elders chose to recognize all the major clans that built houses in Sitka. The pole was given a Tlingit name, which translates into English as "Indian River Historical Pole," and its erection and dedication were marked by a solemn ceremony, led by the Kiks.ádi hosts (see Figures 2 and 3). Both the pole itself and the dedication ceremony serve as testimony to the central role of Indian River in Sitka Tlingit social history.

Migration and Founding

As noted earlier, Tlingit oral history documents the arrival of the first people at Sitka as taking place during a time that Mt. Edgecumbe was an active volcano, perhaps as long as 4,000-8,000 years ago (Herman Kitka, interview). But the Kiks.ádi history in Sitka begins with their settlement at Indian River and their adoption of the frog as a crest. Crests are the central symbols of Tlingit matrilineal clans. Incorporated into artistic designs, songs, and other symbolic forms, crests, observes de Laguna (1972:451), "are, from the native point of view, the most important feature of the matrilineal sib or lineage [i.e., clan], acquired in the remote past by the ancestors and determining the nature and destiny of their descendants." This combination of heritage and destiny, or *shagóon*, is believed to be embodied in clan possessions and also in the social group members themselves. Each crest has a story "behind it" which evokes elements of the present landscape in relation to the distant past.

This is the case with the Kiks.ádi story of Indian River and the adoption of the frog as a crest. There are several versions this story. One published version comes from

Olson (1967:25)



Figure 2. "Indian River Historical Pole" raised at SNHP, April 1996 (Tom Thornton).



Figure 3. Kiks.ádi leader Al Perkins, wearing the Herring Rock Robe, speaks to members of the Kaagwaantaan clan at a ceremony to dedicate Indian River pole at SNHP, April 1996 (Tom Thornton).

Indian River at Sitka is "owned" by the Kiksadi clan. Its name is Kasdehin (Kasde stream). Kasde was the name of the stream among the Frog People. One day a canoe entered the stream at high tide. The wind was blowing upstream. A man on the bank shouted, "Gudax yaku sawe'h (Where from canoe come?). A (frog) woman in the canoe answered, "Tcauhan a i ya'h kasdehinedi'h ca _ ya uha'n" ("It is we, kasde stream people women we are, " i.e., We are just the women from Kasdeh River). The moment this was said all the women disappeared into the water and the canoe had become only a log. So it is that the Frog People gave the name to the stream.

And so it is that the Kiksadi can back their claims to the other places they own. Only they know the stories behind the names.

Across cultures places are typically named by their creators or discoverers, and in this regard Tlingit is no exception. Discovery is a prerequisite to occupation and possession of property. In Tlingit details about the creation, discovery, settlement, naming, and possession of specific territories were encapsulated in narratives and songs and referenced in the toponyms which, like the places themselves, often were considered the exclusive property of distinct clans. As emblems of a clan's history and possessions, place names represent a potent source of symbolic capital, or *at.óow*.

As in English, many Tlingit place names were rather opaque and needed to be unpacked to be understood. Claims to specific places almost invariably were based on stories or legends that "explained" the name. These place histories served to legitimize the group's claim spatio-temporally by positing a deep tradition of association with a particular site which, more often than not, reached back into the antiquity of Tlingit society. The story of Indian River is a classic example of this pattern. Thus, it was appropriate for Kiks.ádi leader Al Perkins to interpret the story of the frog crest through narrative and dance during the April 1996 raising of the Indian River Historical Pole.

Another similar version of the story to that gathered by Olson is recounted by Herman Kitka, Sr., a Kaagwaantaan, who heard the narrative from Alex Andrew's father, a Kiks.ádi man known in English as "Sport" Johnson, "on account of the fact that he dressed kind of flashy" (Herman Kitka personal comm. 1996). His synopsis, translated from the Tlingit, is this:

There used to be three smokehouses beside the river [Indian River] where the Kiks.ádi stayed. Coming in from the bay (Jamestown Bay) with the tide they saw a little dugout canoe coming up the river with people in it. And from the three smokehouses that were alongside the river the Kiks.ádi came out. One of them hollered, "I wonder who you are and where are you from." And one of the persons who stood up in the canoe, one of them stood up in the small canoe, and said, "We are moving from Sockeye River (*Gathéeni*) in Frog Bay (*Xixch' Geeyi*, a.k.a. Silver Bay) to our river, *Kaasdahéen*." And as soon as the person said this, it went down into the water. And what floated up in its place was a boom log on which three frogs were sitting. Because of this vision, the Kiks.ádi people to this day still call this place *Kaasdahéen*, the name that the frog people gave it.

Herman Kitka's version is more detailed than Olson's in its geography. We learn that the frog people originate from the sockeye stream at the head of Silver Bay, that the bay itself is named for the frogs, and that the Kiks.ádi were already established at Indian River when they encountered the frog people. His version also stresses the fact that the vision of the frog people is itself sacred. Because the Kiks.ádi experienced this extraordinary vision, they have a special claim to Indian River, and the name itself, having been given by the frog people, is sacred. Mr. Kitka also applies a tentative date to the incident in a brief post-script: "I don't how many generations ago this took place, but I'd say when people migrated to this area was about 8,000 years ago, or sometime shortly after that...."

Thus, it is not only the Kiks.ádi knowledge of the history and etymology behind the place name that is important, but also the content of the story itself. The antiquity of

the story is reinforced by allusions to a world quite different from the present world, where frogs were human-like, the level of inter-species communication was high, and the transformation of the cultural objects (the frogs' canoe) into a permanent features of the landscape was not unusual. As a result of this encounter, the frog became the main crest, or representative symbol, of the Kiks.ádi clan.

Tlingit Social Structure

The Kiks.ádi are the foremost clan of the Raven moiety in Sitka. As the above quote suggests, Tlingit concepts of land ownership and property law are also relevant to understanding the traditional Tlingit use of SNHP and the Indian River valley as both physical property and symbolic property. Tlingits have historically been property owners and property stewards. In their study of Tlingit and Haida possessory rights in 1946, Goldschmidt and Haas (1946:iv) note that Southeast Alaska Natives,

had a well-defined system of property ownership which was not unlike our own, except that the land was generally held in the name of a clan or house group, with joint usage by such an extended family. Title to land was obtained by inheritance or as legal settlement for damages; it was never bought or sold. It was recorded in the minds of all interested parties by elaborate ceremonials and the distribution of goods among the people (potlatches) which were necessary before land ownership could be publicly recognized. Deeds were sometimes further recorded in the carvings of the famous totem poles.

Five major social organizational units comprise Tlingit identity: the nation (*Lingit'aani*), region (*kwáan*), phratry or moiety (*side*), clan or sib (*naa*), and the house group (*hít*). These basic units of traditional Tlingit social structure have been reviewed in numerous sources (e.g., Swanton 1908, de Laguna 1972, 1983, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987).

The Tlingit are a nation not in the political sense but in the sense that they recognize their distinct ethnicity and geographic and cultural boundaries. As Goldschmidt and Haas (1946:5) put it:

The Tlingit and Haida people each form what may be called a nation, though many of the elements associated with nationality in the modern world are absent. They are a nation first, in that they have a common language, mutually intelligible throughout their territory despite minor variations; second, because they recognize a kind of unity which the very fact of a common and universal name throughout this territory implies; third, they have a common set of customs, traditions and religious beliefs which may be similar to their neighbors, but which are sufficiently different to set them off from their neighbors. Like dialectic variations, some minor differences in customs are also found. However, there is a common language and customs and considerable intermarriage and social intercourse.

They are not similar to modern nations in that they do not have a common political structure with recognized leadership, and therefore they are not organized for common activities in creating public works or in fighting a common enemy. On the contrary, these people were organized into separate groups which were often mutually hostile toward one another, and engaged in much warfare of a kind which partook more of clan feuds than it did of international war.

Most importantly, The Tlingit recognize themselves as inhabiting a distinct cultural territory, *Lingit'aani*, which bolsters their status as a nation despite a lack of political unity.

The exogamous, matrilineal clan is the oldest and most basic unit of Tlingit social structure and the foundation of both individual and group identity. In Tlingit you are your mother's clan, a child of your father's clan, and a grandchild of all other clans. Traditionally this identity formed the basis for nearly all social action. Clans or their local segments, house groups, owned and maintained use rights to physical property--including salmon streams, halibut banks, hunting grounds, sealing rocks, berrying grounds, shellfish beds, canoe-landing beaches, and other landmarks--and symbolic property, such as stories, songs, regalia, crests and other cultural icons, including clan ancestors. These possessions, or *at.óow*, comprised the foundation of Tlingit identity,

Each clan was conceived of as having not only its exclusive property, but also its own unique "personality" and ways of being (de Laguna 1972:451). Virtually all legal and political authority was vested in the clan. Clans or their localized segments, rather than regional "tribes" or *kwaans*, made war and peace, conducted rituals, and organized material production. Traditionally, in times of conflict, loyalty and "patriotism" were always with the clan, a reality that created inherent structural tensions inter-clan contexts, such as marriage, residence, and ritual (de Laguna 1983). The centrality of the clan is further reflected in the fact that foreign groups, like the Haida (Deikinaa, "Way Outside Clan"), were conceived of as clans.

An important but often overlooked aspect of clans is their geographical basis. Two aspects of clan geography are particularly significant: origin and distribution. Origin refers to the location where the clan was founded as a distinct social group and is typically from where it derives its name. The majority of the 60-70 Tlingit clans adopted their names from the specific places where they were formed. What is more, the linguistic construction of such clan names invokes a sense of belonging or being possessed by the named place. For example, *Kuwisk'* is the Tlingit name for Fish Bay; the bay was settled by the *Kuwisk'adi*, literally the "beings of" (or "possessed by") *Kuwisk'*, an extinct Raven clan in Sitka.

Table 2 provides a list of the dominant clans in Sitka and the house groups associated with them. Where known, the geographic features and residential *kwaans* associated with each clan are also identified.

Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park

Table 2. Sitka Clans with Place Affiliations and House Groups

Clan	Moiety	Translation	Place Affiliation/ Origins	Kwáans	Sitka House Groups
Kiks.ádi	Raven	"People of Kiks"	Kiks (Helm Bay, near Wrangell or Kiks Bay near Nass River)	Sanya, Sitka, Stikine	Copper Shield House, Sun House, Steel House, Point House, Clay House, Strong House, Herring House, Outside the Fort House
Koosekeidi	Raven	People of Koosek' (?)	Koosek' (?)	Sitka, Yakutat	Buffalo House, Shgat (creek near Yakutat) House.
Kuwisk.ádi	Raven	People of Kurwisk'	Kuwisk (Fish Bay)	Sitka (extinct)	?
L'uknax.ádi	Raven	People of L'ukanax	L'ukanax (perhaps Deep Bay)?	Dry Bay, Huna, Sitka, Yakutat.	Whale House, Lower End of Town House, Sea Lion House, Outward House, Sleep House
X'at'ka Aayi	Raven	People of X'at'ká (The Outside of the Island)	An Island in Lituya Bay	Dry Bay, Huna, Sitka	Coho House, Porch House
Chookaneidi	Eagle/ Wolf	People of Chookanhéeni	Chookanhéeni (Berg Creek in Glacier Bay)	Huna, Sitka	Clay House, Halibut House, Iceberg House
Kaagwaantaan	Eagle/ Wolf	People of the Scorched Timber House	Kax'noowú	Chilkat, Huna, Sitka, Yakutat	Box House (a.k.a Kookhittaán), Shark House, Halibut House, Looking out to Sea House, Standing Sideways House, Bear House, Eagle's Nest House, Eagle House, Iceberg House, Rock House, Iron House, Wolf House, Children of the Land House, Scorched House, Two-door House, On the Water House.
Wooshkeetaan	Eagle/ Wolf	People With Houses on Top of One Another	Berners Bay	Huna, Juneau, Angoon, Sitka	

*Additional sources: Swanton (1908), Emmons (n.d.), de Laguna (1972), Olson (1967) Leer (n.d.), Joseph (1994: 797-823.)

In addition to clan names that are taken directly from natural geographic features, are those taken from man-made features or combinations of both. An example of the former are the Kaagwaantaan ("People of the Scorched Timber House"), who take their name from an event (the partial burning of a house due to the neglect of smudge fire) that

befell their "place," in this case a part of the built environment (a house). Interestingly, although no explicit semantic reference to geographic locale is contained in the Kaagwaantaan name, because the clan name alludes to an event with a specific setting, people link the clan to this place, namely Ground Hog Bay (*Kax'noowú*) on the north shore of Icy Strait. An example of the latter are the Deisheetaan, an Angoon clan, whose name relates to the fact that they built a house (*hít*) at the end of a natural feature, a beaver trail (*deishú*, "end of the trail"); hence, Deishu-hit-taan or Deisheetaan. With few exceptions, all of the Tlingit clan names follow these three naming patterns, with naming for a natural geographic place being the predominant paradigm.

The symbolic effects of this linguistic grafting of social bodies onto physical places have a profound influence on the identity of each. Every time the clan name is spoken, the geographic association is invoked in a way that merges the social group with the place. Thus, we cannot speak of the Kiks.ádi without implicitly invoking their ties to Kiks Bay. The converse is also true: when the place name is mentioned, the people are naturally alluded to. These associations remain vivid even after the clan's place of origin has been abandoned, provided that the clan itself remains a vital social group and continues to maintain its *shagóon*. As birth (or rebirth) places of the clans, these geographic sites are particularly sacrosanct and may serve as crests (*at.óow*). Similarly, the settings of extraordinary events in clan history serve a similar iconic function to remind clan members of their history and ties to places. Such is the case with the Kiks.ádi vision at Indian River.

While the events surrounding clan origins date back to time immemorial, clan histories are performed and alluded to again and again in narrative, song, dance, visual

art, and other symbolic forms in which the deep social, emotional, and material ties of specific social groups to specific places are reproduced. Place names and clan names embody these associations in a powerful and succinct way.

The geographic distributions of clans are noteworthy because of their discontinuity in space. Segments of a single clan are typically dispersed in several, often non-adjacent, communities or kwáans. For example, the Teikuweidí are found in the northernmost kwáan, Yakutat, and the southernmost, Sanya and Tongass, but nowhere in-between except Angoon. This dispersed network of multi-local clans, which evolved through the twin processes of fission and migration, contributes to a social geography with its own spatial logic and unity. As de Laguna suggests (1960:17-18), the logic and unity of the clan geography has a profound influence on Tlingit individual's basic knowledge of physical geography and the history behind it. Thus, through his clan's oral traditions, a Yakutat Teikuweidí of the Bear House has some sense of the historical geography of Ketchikan and Prince of Wales Island (where the Teikuweidí were formed) and Sitka (where they migrated after a conflict), despite the fact that these places lie hundreds of miles away and may never have been visited by the individual (cf. de Laguna 1972:225-226). Because the social body of the clan has ties to these places, so too do its individual members, despite their relocation, segmentation, or other distanciations in space. Tlingit history and geography, then, must be read through the clans.

In a recent article (Thornton 1997), I attempt to show how the organization of traditional Tlingit geographic knowledge is organized along two principle axes: the social structure (especially the clans) and subsistence production. These two axes not only constrain an individual's geographic knowledge but also serve as twin foundations for interpreting

relations among peoples and lands.¹ Thus, *Kaasdahéen* as *Kiks.ádi shagóon* evokes both memories of outstanding historical clan events, like the encounter with the frog people, and organic images of dwelling and subsisting on Indian River.

At a higher level of abstraction, the clans were organized into two exogamous moieties or sides, Raven and Wolf. There is some evidence to suggest that the moieties evolved from two ancient clans, the *Laayineidi* (of the Raven side) and the *Shangukeidi* (of the Wolf side), as the Tlingit traditionally used these clan names to label the two sides (Swanton 1908:423, de Laguna 1972:450). Regardless of the moieties' relationships to specific clans, however, individuals grouped under a single moiety believed themselves to be related through a kind of super-matrilineage. Though ties between moieties were not strong politically, they were central to the conduct of social life, particularly in the context of rituals of transformation, such as those marking marriage and death. The major clans in *Sheet'ká Kwáan* are listed in Table 3 by moiety.

In addition to the super-matrilineages idealized in the moiety, larger clans were subdivided into localized matrilineages known as houses (*hit*) or house groups (cf. Oberg 1973). The term refers to the residential units themselves, which traditionally were named and sheltered members of a matrilineage and their conjugal families. Where clans were small, residing in a single multi-family structure, the clan and house group were effectively the same entity. But population and other demographic and other pressures naturally lead to the formation of new houses/sublineages over time.

³ The findings in this article were based on an examination of the place name inventory of Sitka Tlingit elder Herman Kitka Sr.

House groups had both a physical and sociological reality. Physically, houses, like, clans were always intimately linked to their place of origin, even if the original house itself was destroyed or relocated. Sociologically, a Tlingit was always a part of his mother's house, regardless of where he resided, unless he formally established a new house in the context of a potlatch. While the physical reality of the multi-family clan dwelling has been replaced by the nuclear family dwelling, the sociological house is still recognized and matrilineal ties still reckoned through it. House groups maintain their integrity not only through the framework of kinship and ancestry (*shagóon*) but also through leadership (*hitsádi*, the house leader), property (*at.óow*), and coordinated social action (Thornton 1995). In short, as George Emmons (n.d. [1916]) puts it, "a name once given [to a clan house] survive[s] the mere structure."

The major Tlingit houses in Sitka are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Sheetk'a Kwáan House Groups by Clan and Moiety

RAVEN MOIETY	WOLF MOIETY
Kiks.ádi	<u>Kookhittaaan</u>
Tinaa Hit (Copper Shield House)	Toos' Hit (Shark House)
Gagaan Hit (Sun House)	Kook Hit (Box House)
Shteen Hit (Steel House)	Kootees' Hit (Looking Out to Sea House)
X'aaka Hit (Point House)	Ladein Hit (Standing Sideways House)
S'e Hit (Clay House)	
At.uwaxidji Hit (Strong House)	<u>Kaagwaantaan</u>
Yaaw Hit (Herring House)	Eech Hit (Rock House)
Inside the Fort House?	Ch'áak' Hit (Eagle House)
	Xóots Hit (Bear House)
Watineidi	Gayeis' Hit (Iron House)
Clan Houses unknown (related to the Kiks.ádi?)	<u>Gooch Hit (Wolf House)</u>
	Ch'áak' Kudée Hit (Eagle's Nest House)
L'uknax.ádi	Aan yadi Hit (Children of the land House)
Yaay Hit (Whale House)	Kaaawagaani Hit (Burnt House)
Xinaa Hit (House at the Lower End of Town)	Koohaada Hit (House of the Stick with which Fish Were Chased Downstream)
Taan Hit (Sea Lion House)	Déix X'aháat Hit (House with Two doors)
Deikeena Hit (Outward House)	Héenka Hit (House on the Water)
T'a Hit (Sleep House)	
X'atka.áyi	<u>Aanigiyaahittaaan</u>
L'uk Hit (Coho House)	Aanigiya Hit (House Below the Rest)
Yaashka Hit (Porch House)	
	<u>Chookaneidi</u>

Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park

<i>RAVEN MOIETY</i>	<i>WOLF MOIETY</i>
Kooskeidi Xaas Hit (Moosehide House) Shgat.ayi Hit (Shgat? [a creek near Yakutat] House)	Cháatl Hit (Halibut House) Xáatl Hit (Iceberg House) Katagwadi (?)

Source: George Emmons (n.d.)

Finally, there is the sociogeographic unit, known as the kwáan. Kwáan is a Tlingit sociogeographical term meaning "inhabitants of," literally a contraction of the Tlingit verb "to dwell" (Emmons 1991:21-22). It is most commonly used to refer to a geographic region consisting of those areas controlled by clans or house groups residing in a single winter villages or several closely situated winter villages (Olson 1967:55). In the early historical and ethnological literature, kwáans came to be referred to as tribes, mistakenly implying that they possessed a significant degree of political autonomy when, in reality, that autonomy rested with the matrilineal clans. At base, kwáan is a sociogeographic concept that inextricably links people to place, a spatial order to a sociological one. The fact that people inhabit a certain geographical space is what makes it a kwáan.

As an organizing concept, kwáan could be used on a number of distinct levels. In addition to the regional designation, within a geographic kwáan, the term might be used to refer to residents of a particular house group, such as *Kook Hit Kwáan (Kookhittaán)*, "Residents of the Box House." Whether referring to inhabitants of a natural or built environment, the socio-spatial reference is fundamental. As noted above, house groups may at one time have resided in a single physical house structure but typically no longer do. Yet, the sociological "house," remains a unitary concept, its unity being evoked and reinforced by the use of the term kwáan.

All of these social organizational units are vital components of Tlingit identity and are standard references in formal Tlingit introductions. Thus, when Herb Hope began his lecture on the Kiks.ádi Survival March of 1804 at the 1993 Conference of Tlingit Tribes and Clans, he first introduced himself as a Tlingit, stating in order his Tlingit name and title, Chontkee and Stoon Nukw, his moiety (Yeil, or Raven), his matrilineal clan (Kiks.ádi), his *k*wáan (Sheet'ká *K*wáan) his house (*X'aaka Hit*, Point House), and finally his paternity as a Kaagwaantaan (his father's clan) *yádi* (Child of the Kaagwaantaan clan). Such introductions not only situate the speaker in relation to the audience (in this case mostly Tlingit) but also serve to authenticate Mr. Hope's credentials as a narrator of Kiks.ádi Point House history. The social organizational ties of others interviewed for this project are listed in the Appendix.

Villages, Camps, and Forts

Tlingit had three basic types of habitation sites: villages, camps, and forts. All three types of settlement are found in the vicinity of the park and camps and forts were located within park boundaries. Villages refer to major settlements that were inhabited throughout the winter and in some cases year round. For the purposes of this study, camps are seasonal residences that are occupied primarily for subsistence production (I omit transitory campsites), especially the harvest and smoking of salmon. Finally, forts refer to refuge dwellings constructed in defensible areas such as rocky headlands, promontories, and rocky islands (Emmons n.d.). Major Tlingit forts and villages in the vicinity of Sitka are listed in Table 4.

Table 4. Major Villages and Forts in the Sitka Area

Name (feature)	Translation	Location	Feature
?		Klag Bay/Lake Anna	Village
Chaagu.áani or Kadut'ex.áan	?Village or Village Where They Carved the Rock	Kalinin Bay	Village
Chal'geeyit.áan	Halibut ? Village	Middle Island	Village/Camp
Daxeit	Fallen Stunned	Nakwasina	Village
Xusa.áan (Deishu.áan)	(or, End of the Trail Village)	Point Brown. E. Kruzof Island	Village
Dool Aani (?)	Land of Plenty?	Ogden Passage	Village
Ghaajahéen	? Creek	Stargavin Bay	Village/Camp
Gheey Tlein [Aan?]	Big Bay [Village?]	Whale Bay	Village
Kasdaxeixhda.áan	On [Halleck Island] Village	Halleck Island (Beehive)	Village
Khoowisk' [Aan?]	? [Village?]	Fish Bay	Village
Kuget' (?)	?	Silver Bay	Village
Kunaxh.áan	Kunaxh [Redoubt Bay] Village	Redoubt Bay	Village
L'uxnetu.áan	Town that Doesn't Sleep Much	Gilmer Bay	Village
Lanaaxkh	?	Redfish Bay	Village
Naxwskeet (?)	Halibut Buoy Makes Waves?	Sinitzen Cove	Village
Seilkatoo (?)	?	Khaz Peninsula, at Point Slocum	Village
Shaaseyi.áan	Beside the Mountain Village	Jamestown Bay	Village
Sheet'ak.áan	[Baranof Island] Point Village	Halibut Point	Village
Sheet'ka	Outside of Baranof Island (Shee)	Sitka	Village
Taay X'e (?)	Hot Springs	Goddard	Village
Waashdánk'	Little Washington	Dog Point, Lisianski Peninsula	Village/Fort
Daxeit Ka [Noow?]	Outside Daxeit (Nakwasina) [Fort?]	Nakwasina	Fort
Dukcha Noow	Facing out to Sea Fort	Jamestown Bay	Fort
Noow Tlein	Big Fort	Castle Hill	Fort
Shis'k'i Noow	Sapling Fort	Indian River Peninsula	Fort
Xh'eishk'w Noow	Bluejay Fort	Point Amelia	Fort

Sources: Swanton (1908), Goldschmidt and Haas (1946), Thornton (1995)

It is difficult to establish which villages were occupied when. From the oral historical record, it appears that the villages at Sinitzen and Kalinin bays were among the first to be settled, as was the village at Silver Bay. The villages at Whale Bay, Redoubt Bay, and Redfish Bay are also likely candidates for early occupancy based on their association with sockeye salmon systems, which were prized by the Tlingit and, other

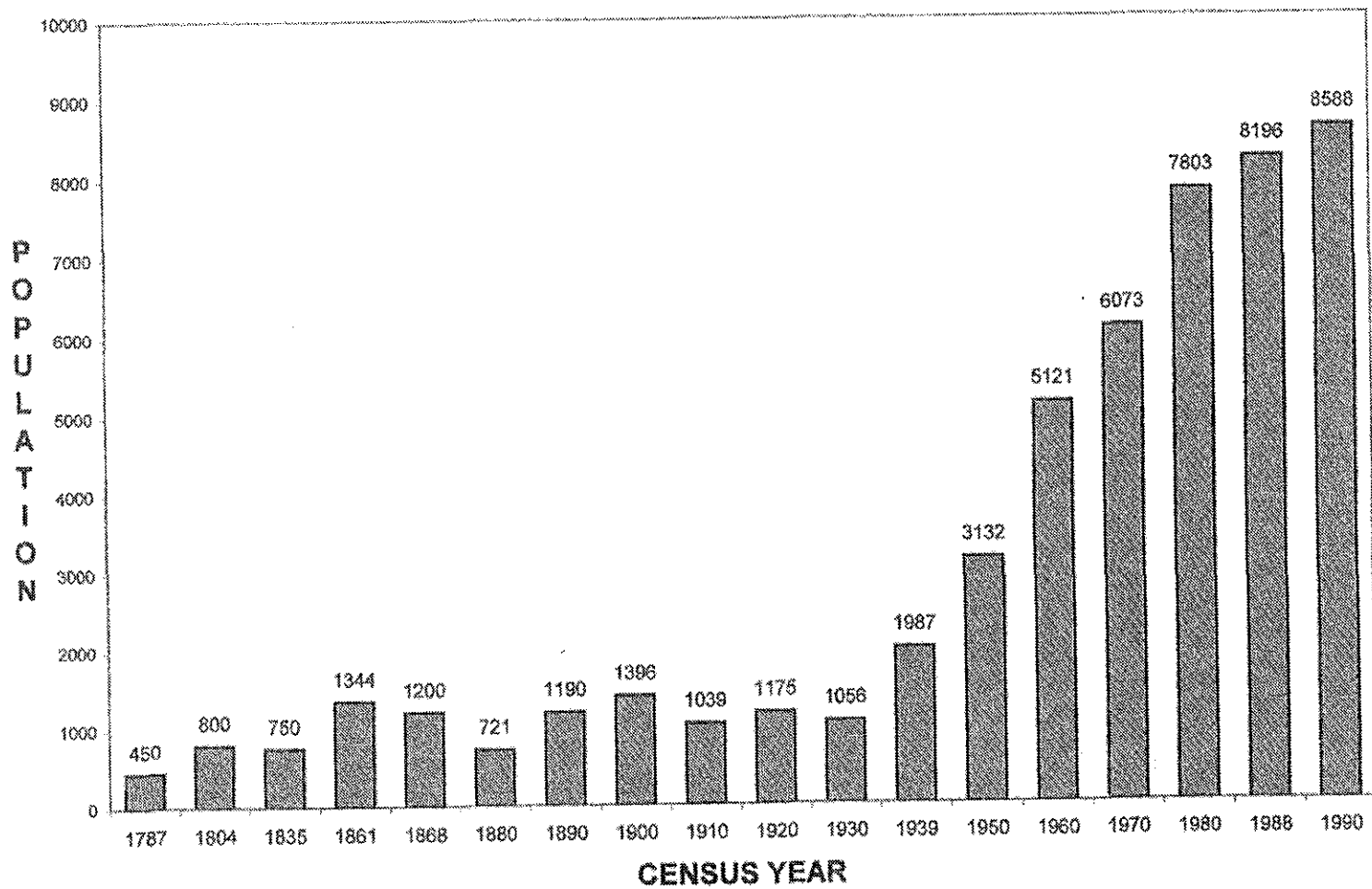
first to be settled, as was the village at Silver Bay. The villages at Whale Bay, Redoubt Bay, and Redfish Bay are also likely candidates for early occupancy based on their association with sockeye salmon systems, which were prized by the Tlingit and, other conditions permitting, sought for year-round settlements. On the other hand, the villages at Halibut Point and Sitka were clearly settled after the abandonment of *Kasdaxeixhda.áan* on Halleck Island (Thornton 1995). And in some cases it is evident that more than one village was occupied simultaneously. Especially prior to 1800, it is likely that there were multiple winter villages within Sheetk'á Kwáan.

The chronology of known fort sites is perhaps easier to reconstruct. Erlandson, et al (1990:6) obtained a date of between AD 1200 and AD 1400 from a fort site (SIT-228) on the north shore of Jamestown Bay which may be the site identified as *Dukcha Noow* as identified by John James (n.d.). The fort at *Daxeit K'a* likely also very old as it is associated with an early village, while *Xh'eishk'w Noow* and *Noow Tlein* were likely established sometime later. Finally, we know from both the Native and European historical record that *Shis'k'i Noow* was not constructed until 1804, in preparation for the Russian attack. Undoubtedly, there are additional undocumented fort sites within Sheet'ká Kwáan.

Unfortunately, population estimates for the pre-contact villages are not available. The earliest population figures in the area come from the British Trader George Dixon, who estimated the Sitka Tlingit population to be about 450 people in 1787. Figure 4, charts Sitka's population over time.

Camps belonging to house groups which in more recent years came to be controlled by families, were detailed in map drawn by Herman Kitka as part of his

Figure 4. Sitka Population Over Time



testimony on behalf of Sitka at a 1989 Board of Fish meeting on customary and traditional use of resources in the Sitka area.

Sitka Tlingit Interactions with Other Groups

Sitka Tlingits carried on significant trade and intercourse with other Tlingit Kwáans and other Native American groups before and after contact. The character of these interactions was dynamic and changing depending on a range of socioeconomic factors. The island Sitkans commonly traded for resources from the mainland that were not available on the islands such as moose, black bear, marmot and squirrel, porcupine (quills), mountain goat [later transplanted to the islands], hooligan, and certain plants, such as soapberries, strawberries, and nagoon berries. Similarly, mainland Tlingit and non-Tlingit groups traveled to the islands to trade for their specialty resources, such as herring, seaweed, and fur seal and sea otters. The spring herring harvest was an especially significant event. Sitka Sound was—and still is—regionally renowned for its concentration of herring. Thousands of people from communities throughout Southeast gathered there each spring to participate in the harvest; today, it is estimated that some 100,000 pounds of herring eggs are harvested for subsistence use by local natives (cf. Schroeder and Kookesh 1990).

In addition to subsistence resources, Southeast Natives also traded for other commodities, including abalone shells from as far south as the Baja region (Thornton 1995), dentalium from the Vancouver island area, Native copper from the Copper River region, slaves from the Puget Sound region and elsewhere (cf. Donald 1997; slaves were acquired through trading and raiding), and other resources.

The demand and competition for these commodities often led to conflicts between groups. Feuds also developed as a result of homicide, insults, or other hostile acts by one clan or tribe against another. One major conflict affecting Sitka Tlingits was between the Sitka Kaagwaantaan, the major Wolf clan in the village, and the Wrangell Naanyaa.aayi, also Wolf. Emmons (1991:329) characterizes it as one of the "greater wars" because it continued "through several generations." Herman Kitka (interview) described it as "Our [Tlingit] Civil War" with many casualties on both sides. The conflict was finally resolved through a peace treaty that was provisionally negotiated in 1881 with the help of U.S. Commander Henry Glass and further cemented at the great 1904 potlatch in Sitka, which was hosted in part by the Kaagwaantaan. According to de Laguna (see Emmons 1991:329) a "final" truce between the two clans was signed one day before the United States' entrance into World War I (see also de Laguna 1972:279-84; Olson 1967:78-79 for details on this conflict). Wars were generally fought among clans, or even within clans, but only rarely did clans coalesce to fight battles. Clans or house groups also typically maintained forts as refuges in Battle. *Shis'k'i Noow* thus is properly referred to as Kiks.ádi fort, rather than a Sitka Tlingit fort. Within the fort each Kiks.ádi house group maintained a separate dwelling.

Euro-American infiltration had significant effects on Tlingit relations. Competition for trade, violations of Tlingit property rights, and stress on resources such as sea otter and salmon, combined with the effects of disease and alcohol, tended to exacerbate conflicts between Native groups. By the early twentieth century, things had reached their nadir when a new Native leadership began to emerge from among the ranks of those educated at mission schools, including Sheldon Jackson. These leaders, several

of whom hailed from Sitka, stimulated a revitalization movement in Tlingit political organization, a movement that culminated in the founding of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in 1912 (see below).

Euro-American Contact and Cultural Change

The history of Sitka has been surveyed in previous studies (e.g., Cheney, et al. 1995, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990, de Laguna 1972), thus only a cursory review of the key events, themes, and personalities need be put forth here. Of particular interest to our survey of traditional use of Sitka National Historical Park is the selection of the Indian River as a fort site—a novel use of this landscape—and the Tlingit understanding of the battle in historical and commemorative perspective, the latter being an important continuing symbolic use of the park landscape.

The desire for wealth and new riches spurred the Russian, Spanish, British, and American explorations of the Northwest in the later part of 18th century. Contact began with an Imperial Russian expedition under the command of Vitus Bering in 1741. He was accompanied by Captain Alexi Chirikov's whose ship, the St. Paul, did enter Sheet'ká Kwáan, passing Sitka Sound in June of that year. While Bering made his first landfall at Kayak Island near Cordova, the ships became separated and Chirkov headed south, sighting land near Dixon Entrance and following the coast of Baranof and Chichagof Island north to approximately 57° 50' N, probably in the vicinity of Lisianski Strait or Cross Sound. Here he dispatched a party in a boat, and then another when it failed to return. Neither was ever seen again, and their fate was unknown, although the party was approached by a Tlingit party in canoe in what they interpreted as a hostile

manner (de Laguna 1972:108). Tlingit oral history suggests that the two boats were greeted warmly by Tlingits (and not captured as was supposed) at their summer camp (perhaps at Hoktaheen or Porcupine) and adopted after the sailors expressed their desire to abandon the Russian expedition due to harsh treatment (interview). The Russians were followed by the Spanish (beginning with Bodega in 1775), British (beginning with Cook in 1778), French (LaPérouse in 1786), and Americans (circa 1785).

By 1790, a lively and competitive international trade had begun to develop in Tlingit territory, and firearms, blankets, and other commodities had been introduced to the Tlingit in exchange for furs. Eager to monopolize the fur trade, the Russians formed the Russian American Company in 1799 after having made several more expeditions to Alaska in the early 1790s. Under the leadership of Alexander Baranov the company had already begun to set-up outposts to facilitate their control of the lucrative sea otter trade, first at Kodiak (where Aleuts and other local Natives were impressed for labor), and then in Tlingit territory at Yakutat (1795) and Old Sitka (1799). Sources (see de Laguna 1972:170) suggest that interactions were initially cordial and that Baranov negotiated with the Tlingits (mainly Kiks.ádi) then residing at *Ghaajahéen*, or Old Sitka, (see Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:108) to build a Redoubt there.

Baranov was not highly regarded by the Tlingit, who found him to be cold, aggressive, and stingy. Eventually, he came to earn the pejorative title of *L'ush Teix'* ("Without a Heart") for his harsh ways (Herman Kitka, interview). Points of conflict included low prices paid for skins (as compared to those offered by British and American traders) and the Russians' exploitation of local resources without proper deference to local property law and protocol. Baranov underestimated Tlingit resolve to control their

own trade and lands. With their acquisition of firearms from the American traders, the Tlingit became increasingly bold (perhaps with the encouragement and assistance of the British and American traders) and in June 1802 destroyed the Archangel Saint Michael's Redoubt at Old Sitka.

The Russian's retaliated in October 1804 in the famous battle at Indian River. With his promyshlenikii and some 800 Native hunters (Aleut, Koniag, and Chugach) in 350 baidarkas (see Cheyney et al 1995; Dmytryshyn et al 1989), Baranov moved on the Tlingit fort, *Shis'k'i Noow*. Although a sizeable force, they would likely have been outgunned by the Tlingit, if not for the appearance of the naval war ship *Neva* commanded by Urey Lisiansky, who noted that he was "amazed" at how Baranov's two "ferry boats (for they could not be called ships) in such sorry condition could have set out against natives who, once they had committed their crime [of sacking the Russian fort at Old Sitka], used every possible means to defend themselves and had accumulated a sizable collection of firearms" (Demytryshyn et al 1989:77). Bolstered by Lisiansky's forces, the Russians launched their attack on the Tlingit, who had sought refuge in *Shis'k'i Noow*, their new fort on the Indian River Peninsula, constructed by the Kiks.ádi especially for defense against this new kind of aggressor.

Numerous accounts of the Battle of 1804 are now available from both a European (cf. Lisiansky 1968, and other unpublished translations by Black [n.d.], Dmytryshyn et al 1989, Langsdorff 1968, Baranov 1979) and Native perspectives (Andrews 1987., Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990, Jacobs 1990, Hopkins 1987, Hope 1992a, 1992b, 1993). These sources are reviewed by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1990), Cheney et al (1995), and Smith-Middleton and Alanen (1997).

From the standpoint of traditional use of the park, it should be noted that Indian River Peninsula had traditionally not been used as a fort site. It was a new kind of fort-site, designed specifically to defend against large Russian ships and their weaponry. Traditionally, Tlingits and other Northwest Coast Natives constructed forts, many of which date to the prehistoric era between AD 1000 and 1500, on steep-sided, rocky landforms that were defensible and offered good views of the surrounding waters, such as promontories, peninsulas, and small islands (Moss and Erdlandson 1992). Siting of forts in this way was most effective in combating hostile Native groups, who approached by canoe and fought hand-to-hand or in close proximity. *Noow Tlein*, set on a steep-sided promontory of Castle Hill, is such a fort site; *Shís 'k'i Noow*, on the low-lying, beach fringed Indian River Peninsula, is not.⁴

Yet the advantages of *Shís 'k'i Noow* over *Noow Tlein* are readily apparent in the context of the Russian threat. Castle Hill was easily approached by even the largest of Russian ships, allowing for easy cannon fire into the fortress. The fort was also vulnerable to blockade by ships, thus cutting off the Tlingits from critical supplies. In contrast, the Indian River site offered protection against both of these threats. Its gently sloping beaches and shallow tidelands provided a natural buffer to the approach of keeled Russian vessels, while the wooded uplands of Indian River watershed prevented encirclement and provided a source of supplies and escape. In choosing Indian River, Herb Hope notes, the Kiks.ádi were preparing for protracted hostilities, so defensability

⁴ There is some debate about the actual location of the fort. Written historical and archaeological sources, along with some Tlingit oral historical sources suggest a location at or near the present marked location, while other sources (Herman Kitka, interview; Mark Jacobs Jr., interview; see also Thornton 1995) suggest a site on the western side of the Indian River Peninsula. Both of these possibilities are examined by Cheney et al (1995) and Smith-Middleton and Alanen (1997, see Figure 13). Further archaeological investigations may clarify once and for all the fort's location.

and subsistence considerations were paramount (Herb Hope, interview). According to Tlingit oral history handed down to Herman Kitka (Thornton 1995:257-258).

The woman interpreter was the one responsible for them [the Tlingits] building the fort in the forest [i.e., at Indian River]. She said the one on Castle Hill was too open, nothing in the way to prevent it being knocked down. And all this I'm telling you is just the opposite of what is written about Alaska. That woman interpreter warned us, based on what the Russians were saying [about retaliating against the Tlingits]. I guess she was married to one of them, an officer. When trouble started, she came to the Tlingit side, and she's the one who told Katlian that the Castle Hill fort [*Noow Tlein*, "Big Fort"] wouldn't stand up to cannon fire. There's nothing in the way to stop it being knocked down and leveled out.

Baranov (1979:141-42) himself attested to the effectiveness of the new fort's situation, noting that "The water was so shallow that our ship could not approach closely and our bombs and grape shots were almost harmless."

The construction of the *Shis 'k'i Noow* likewise represented an innovative approach to fort building. The absence of natural shields, such as rocky headlands, and the threat of cannon fire, albeit from a distance, necessitated the use of palisades. The choice of green wood logs (undoubtedly spruce and, perhaps, hemlock) is reflected in the fort's name, which is best translated as "Green Wood Fort" rather than "Sapling" or "Second Growth" fort as is sometimes the case. The choice of green wood was significant in that it was the most durable under the stress of cannon fire. But other features of construction are also noteworthy. According to Herb Hope (see Cheney et al 1995:110) the green wood also was made "slippery" by the application of kelp which women gathered for that purpose. Hope (1992b) also relates that the palisades were angled inward to deflect cannonballs and supported by three rounds of horizontal base logs on the exterior and a single row on the interior. And Herman Kitka (see Thornton 1995:257) was told by Alex Andrew's father (a *Kiks.ádi*) that the vertical logs themselves

were capable of rotating, another means of absorbing and redirecting the cannonballs' force of impact.

[T]hose logs that they had on the front [ocean-side], they rolled;⁵ they were situated one outside the other; and [because the palisades rotated] they deflected the cannonballs, preventing them from penetrating. And the old guy that talked about it--that's Alex Andrews father--he says [those green trees used as palisades] turned like a top. When you touched one, it turned. So the Russians couldn't knock the fort down. It had a lot of nicks in there when they abandoned it, but no shots penetrated to the inside....

Andrew's father further suggested that the Tlingits learned this style of fort construction from the Russians. According to Kitka, "he always claimed that they [the Tlingit] used their own [the Russians'] knowledge against them.... In Tlingit he used to say, '*Justu astuskuwu weistu eexata goot leiya*' [sp?]. That means "they used the knowledge they got from them against them" (Thornton 1995:257).

Another innovative feature of the fort was the use of "dugouts" or pits to shelter the inhabitants, particularly the non-combatants, such as children and the elderly (Hopkins 1987:15). Taking advantage of the natural defensive properties of the earth itself, these dugouts represented another strategic response to the threat of Russian cannon fire.

Because Tlingits died as a result of this Battle, both in the conflagration itself and in the long, withdrawal march, it is a significant event in their history. Among the Tlingit, as among all cultures, the loss of human life brings profound sadness. In Tlingit the spirits of the dead continue to play a powerful role among the living long after death, and premature death (as in battle), especially without proper rites for the body, is viewed as great cause for concern. Consequently, the loss of those slain in the Battle of 1804

was particularly traumatic, especially for the Kiks.ádi. Commemorative events for those slain began to be staged on a regular basis, perhaps as soon as the Tlingits return to Indian River in the spring of 1806 to harvest herring (Tikhmenhev 1979:22; Krause 1956:39; cf. Thornton et al 1990:39). These memorials, sometimes termed "picnics," continued through the early 1940s.

Similarly, the battle itself was remembered in various ways by each of the groups that witnessed it. Although Russians viewed the Battle of 1804 as a justified attack to regain control of their interests, from the (Kiks.ádi) Tlingit perspective it is seen as an unwarranted attack on Kiks.ádi sovereignty. Recently, there has been an effort, spearheaded by Herb Hope, to bring out the Kiks.ádi side of the story to light through a re-enactment of the withdrawal, which has come to be termed the "Kiks.ádi Survival March." Thus, today there remain multiple interpretations of exactly what happened and why. Even among the Tlingit clans there are differences of opinion over the significance of the withdrawal. Was it simply the unfortunate result of an ignominious defeat, a fait d'accompli? Or was it, as Herb Hope's knowledge and research suggests, a heroic act in itself? These enduring commemorations and interpretations of the Battle of 1804 are explored in more detail below.

While the Battle of 1804 is not the explicit focus of this study (indeed, it commands a full-scale study of its own), I have emphasized the construction of *Shís'k'i Noow* and the Battle of 1804 as special historic uses of park lands. I also wish to stress that the memorials, commemorations, and interpretations of the Battle of 1804, some of which continue to this day, themselves constitute traditional, though largely symbolic,

Meaning that they rotated when struck, thus partially deflecting the force of the impact.

uses of the park. In this sense they are important dimensions to our study, just as they have been to the development of the park itself.

The Battle of 1804 is also a watershed event for another reason: it marked the beginning of a period of intensive exploitation, ecological and socio-economic stress, and profound cultural change in Sheet'ká Kwáan. These cultural changes altered the ways that Sitka Tlingit interacted with Indian River and its environs. Following the 1804 battle, Baranov commenced to occupy and fortify Castle Hill in preparation for the development of the Russian settlement. *Noow Tlein* gave way to New Archangel.

Nevertheless, hostilities between the Tlingits and the Russians continued, punctuated by occasional uprisings and attacks on the Russian settlement (cf. Golovin 1979 [1822]).⁶ Significantly, as the Russian town and Tlingit ranche (as it was termed) at Sitka began to swell in the 19th century, Indian River came to be more heavily utilized as a convenient source of fish, wildlife, and plants. But here, too, there were conflicts, as documented by Khlebnikov (cited in Dean 1993:195; see also Cheney et al 1995:115), who requested of Deputy Governor Etolin in 1831:

Please do not allow the Tlingits to camp on [Indian River] as far as our gardens and additions will be vulnerable to their unacceptable incidents leading to unpleasant quarrels... If they do not heed our instructions not to settle on that creek, then it will be necessary [to] dissuade them permanently by force of that design. [Chief] Naushketl' is excluded from this prohibition, whom I gave permission to resided there during the fishing season on the condition that he be responsible for any Tlingit disorder... Do not allow Tlingits to stroll or loaf about on the holidays near our boundaries, so as to avoid quarrels and fights with our people.

⁶ Antonson and Hanable (1987:35) note that "The Kiks.ádi Tlingits returned to Sitka in 1821 and settled outside of the stockade. The area where they lived was commonly referred to as the ranche. The Tlingits and Russians never lived completely in harmony. The Russians allowed the Tlingits inside the stockade only during specified hours each day and locked the gates at sundown. If a Native was selling fish or game to the company, the transaction was conducted at a small window at the gate by one of the blockhouses."

Despite these tensions, Tlingits continued to utilize Indian River and its environs.

This pattern of use continued into the American era, beginning in 1867, until affordable motorized boats became available in the mid twentieth century, thereby enabling locals to make food collecting trips to more distant areas in short time.

In time, Indian River became more than a subsistence site. With the new Russian settlement at New Archangel, the area also became a site for social and recreational activities. In February 1861 Golovin (1983:118) described an exhilarating walk along the Indian River trail,

It used to be too dangerous to go into the forest, for fear of being attacked by the *Kolosh* [Tlingit], but now everyone goes to this stream, and in fact they go unarmed. The forest is really magnificent! If you go off the path it is almost impossible to move through the dense thicket [probably second growth], and you can only go a short distance. The backwoods area is beyond description. Centuries-old trees, felled by the wind, lie one atop another. Some have already rotted and turned into loam; other disintegrate at a touch, and new trees grow on top of these fallen giants, not infrequently as much as 90 feet in height. It is a truly picturesque place, especially in summer, when raspberries grow all over these stumps, with immense but watery berries, and flowers blossom so that their nectar and pollen attract thousands of hummingbirds.

Teichmann (1963:218, see Antonson and Hanable 1987:7), also reporting on the early 1860s, similarly commented on Russians enjoying "animated and cheerful" walks to Indian River, "the only one along the sea-front," where they would find a shady spot to relax, build a fire, and make tea.

Thus, park-like uses of Indian River commenced well-before the American period but not to the exclusion of Tlingit subsistence. Although open hostilities between the Russians and Tlingits had largely abated by this period, segregation still reigned and each group made separate use of the park: the Tlingit concentrated primarily on subsistence

hunting, fishing and gathering, and the Russians increasingly on gardening and recreation.

These use patterns persisted into the American era, heralded by the transfer of Alaska to the United States on October 18, 1867. Despite an initial decline in population, the park continued to be used for recreational purposes and, beginning in 1868 served as a center for 4th of July activities (see Smith-Middleton 1997:173). By the 1880s with the advent of tourism, "excursionists" were being regaled with inviting descriptions of the park's environs including "Lover's Lane," essentially the old Tlingit-Russian path (see Skidmore 1893). And Indian River was the scene of much activity and a budding infrastructure, including roads, buildings, pathways, and two bridges. In addition to recreational activities, mining and other industries also influenced the the development of the Indian River Valley during this period. Gold mines were developed in the upper Indian River Valley and at Silver Bay. Miners bridged Indian River to reach the Silver Bay site (Antonson and Hanable 1987:38). Also during the 1880s, the first homestead in the area was established by Nicholas Haley, on the east side of Indian River. A display of some of the major non-Native activities and cultural features present in the park between 1867 and 1890 is presented in set of cultural landscape maps by Smith-Middleton and Alanen (see Figures 59 and 60). Figure 15 shows the Haley homestead, which apparently stood on the site of the old Tlingit village *Shaaseiyi.aan* at Jamestown Bay. According to Mark Jacobs Jr., Haley and his wife, a white couple, had two sons, Tom and Charlie, who spoke very good Tlingit—"All they had were Tlingit playmates."

Perhaps the most important influence of the early American period, however, was the arrival of the missionaries (John G. Brady and Fannie Kellogg, and later Sheldon

Jackson) and the construction of the first mission school in 1878 which later became the Sheldon Jackson school and college. In 1888, under the leadership of Sheldon Jackson and the Presbyterian Mission, a unique colony, the Model Cottage Settlement, was laid out as a kind of utopian experiment in assimilating Natives into "civilized" Christian living. It seems that the settlement was an extension of the boarding school idea, pioneered by Henry Pratt, that to "civilize" the Indian, one had to remove him from the village and create a total environment for re-education. But Jackson took the experiment a step further by providing a post-graduate opportunity for select married students to live and raise their children in the experimental community, provided that they agreed to abide by the Christian customs and norms set down by the Presbyterian Church. "The Cottages," as the community came to be known, became the park's closest neighbor, and the park became a favorite subsistence and recreational site for its inhabitants.

The strong presence of the Presbyterian Mission also had ideological effect on relations with the park. Park grounds became a source of religious inspiration, interpretation, and practice. For example, an anonymous writer, composing in *The Verstovian* in 1925 (Vol. 12, No. 3) observed that, "A thoughtful person cannot enter here without the impression of sanctuary. There is a cathedral-like dignity and grandeur in the architecture of nature here exemplified. Reverence, worship and peace wait upon the heart attuned to sacred things. It is easy to find God in the park at Sitka." By the 1930s, sunrise Easter services were being held regularly near the point of Indian River peninsula.

Establishment of the Park

Because the park was becoming a major city attraction by the early 1880s, it began to be referred to as "Indian River Park" and "Sitka Park." But increased and disparate use of the park began to create conflicts, including conflicts between Tlingits and the Haley homesteaders (see Smith-Middleton and Alanen 1997), and eventually necessitated legislation to protect the landscape. The idea of setting aside parks in urban areas was becoming fashionable in the United States. The request of local commissioners and the territorial governor 1890 President Benjamin Harrison set aside approximately 50 acres of the Indian River landscape for a public park.

Further improvements were made to the cultural values of the landscape, including the installation of the alien totem poles, between 1890 and 1910. Federal protection of these values was boosted in 1910 when President Taft used his authority to declare the area a National Monument. The proclamation identifies significant historical and aesthetic resources in the park, including the battle site, the Kiks.ádi village (identifying the Kiks.ádi as "the most warlike of the Tlingit tribes"), the graves of the Russians (but not the Tlingit) killed in the Battle of 1804, and, of course, "the numerous totem poles constructed by the Indians" (see Antonson and Hanable 1987:11). And the proclamation served to define the area once and for all as a aesthetic, recreational, and historic site. No mention was made of subsistence values. But as the subsistence section below makes clear, subsistence use of the park continued, particularly among the Kiks.ádi clan.

Although the founding of the monument brought additional management authority, Indian River remained a relatively unmanaged landscape until the World War

II period. As a result previous uses, including subsistence uses, continued until World War II. The park became more tightly managed in the post war era, and in 1972 was rededicated and expanded into a National Park.

Tlingit Revitalization and Renaissance within the Park

Euro-American infiltration had significant effects on Tlingit relations with the park. Competition for trade, violations of Tlingit property rights, and stress on resources, beginning with overexploitation of sea otter and salmon and later extending to other resources, such as timber, combined with the deleterious effects of disease, firearms, and alcohol to produce a period of cultural distortion. In the face of these stresses, relations within and among Tlingit groups deteriorated and incidences of crime, violence, and drunkenness increased. By the end of the period of military governance in 1902, things had seemingly reached their nadir. It was at this time that a new leadership began to emerge, with a plan for revitalization, stressing unity and basic civil rights for Natives.

Two key events in this revitalization movement (Wallace 1956) were centered in Sitka. The first was the great potlatch of 1904, staged a century after the Russian assault in Sitka. According to Herman Kitka, the important and well-attended regional event was designed in part to heal old wounds among the clans so that they could forge an alliance to protect their respective interests.⁷ This healing ceremony, in turn, helped to set the stage for the founding of a more radical (in terms of cultural change and political action) organization just eight years later in Sitka: the Alaska Native Brotherhood. Peter

⁷ The potlatch was also staged to introduce and validate the reproduction of the famous Wolf totem poles, now housed in the park (cf. Worl 1994:98). These posts were important *at.óow* of the Kaagwaantaan confederation of clans. The ceremony was well attended by guests from Hoonah, Chilkat, and Angoon.

Simpson, an influential leader and boat shop owner in the cottage settlement, was a founder of the ANB, which fused Native political goals with Christian ideals and values. The first major pan-Indian organization in Alaska, the ANB set forth with a clear purpose: to secure basic political and economic rights for Alaska Natives, including citizenship (and with it the right to vote), land rights, and educational and economic opportunities (Drucker 1958; Hope 1975).

Alaska Natives gained an additional measure of political power through the establishment of tribal governments, a result of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (extended to Alaska in 1936). Framed along *kwaán* lines, these new tribal governments allowed communities like Sitka to function more like tribes; although the clan remained the basis of social identity and action, *kwaáns* came to function more like tribes in the political sense.

The Indian Rights movement became re-energized in the 1960s and 1970s with the push for land claims settlement and the national civil rights movement. During this time, clans such as the Kaagwaantaan, began to negotiate agreements with the Park Service for the rights to display clan property, such as the Wolf posts, in the new park visitor center. Park Historian George Hall (personal comm.) was responsible for acquiring a number of these objects, which unlike the totem poles, were of local origin or significance to Sitka clans. In small but important ways, then, the park began to be re-appropriated by the Sitka Tlingit.

This process of was boosted by the dedication of a wing of the new visitor center to a Native arts and crafts program in 1966. But, like Brady's totem poles, the art program initially did not have a local focus, stressing mainly Eskimo crafts. In 1968,

however, the Alaska Native Brotherhood submitted a proposal to the park to rededicate the building for "use by Tlingit cultures for perpetuation of such art forms appropriate to historic cultures of Southeast Alaska." The proposal was approved and the Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center opened in 1969 (Antonson and Hanable 1987:144-146).⁸

The establishment of the center constituted another major re-appropriation of the park by Sitka Tlingits. It became a living and vibrant center of Tlingit culture, research, and education. And the emphasis on active production of arts and crafts, as opposed to mere displays of artifacts, has helped make the park a vital component of all sectors of the Tlingit community, including elders and youth, men and women. Although a new institution and "landscape" within the park, it is one that Tlingits seem to be adapting to their own needs, with Park Service support. Thus, it was the cultural center that provided the impetus and organization for the production and dedication of the first Sitka Tlingit pole to be erected in the park in April 1996. Having thrived for more than a quarter century, this "new" institution's activities now qualify as an important value and Tlingit use of the park.

The Durée of Daily Life

Having sketched the broad patterns of the natural history of Indian River, the social history of its development, demise, and renaissance as a Tlingit landscape, we now turn to an examination of the micro-level of history, the day-to-day activities of Tlingits in the park as documented in the ethnohistory.

⁸ Instrumental in this movement was Ellen Hope Lang [now Hayes], a local Kiks.ádi woman and former resident of The Cottages, who, as a member of the ANB, Craft Center Board, and park staff (eventually superintendent) helped to bring the Cultural Center to life and insure its early success.

II. HISTORIC TLINGIT USES OF SITKA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, we traced the socio-historical ties of Sitka Tlingits, particularly the Kiks.ádi clan, to Indian River as a place in the broad historical framework of geologic and social time. In this chapter, we examine specific uses of the park on a day-to-day basis. We begin with a brief overview of the Tlingit property tenure and use rights, and a sketch of the two user groups, known as the villagers and the cottagers. This is followed by a detailed examination of subsistence production, recreational activities, and other uses of the park, including the important commemorative and spiritual activities that have been conducted there over the years.

PROPERTY TENURE, USE RIGHTS, AND USER GROUPS

While Indian River was considered Kiks.ádi land and Kiks.ádi *at.óow*, and continues to be recognized as such by most members of the Tlingit community, use of the park, as we have seen, extended to a much larger constituency. To understand why this is the case, it is necessary to examine the nature of Tlingit property law and the historical circumstances surrounding access and use rights at Indian River in detail.

First, Tlingit property law has often been misunderstood as a system of exclusive property rights, in the European model, rather than a complex set of resource ownership

and use rights that could be exercised in a number of ways. Although Tlingits exercised a high degree of territorial control over key production sites, access, even to non-matrikin, was typically extended if permission was sought. "According to the unwritten Tlingit law it was incumbent upon everyone belonging to a phratry to house and feed any other members who should visit him, no matter from how great a distance he might come" (Swanton 1908:427). But non-matrikin always had to seek formal permission from the host. Permission was sought and granted through the idiom of kinship. This procedure, in effect, validated the host's claim to the site by recognizing his ancestral ties to the place. To ask permission was to explicitly recognize the hosts' natural rights to the place. Thus, the communicative act of obtaining permission served as a kind of symbolic reinforcement and maintenance of social boundaries while at the same time allowing for permeation of those boundaries to meet short-term needs.

Olson (1967:vi), who was adopted by the Chilkat Gaanaxteidi of the Raven moiety, explains how this principle might be put into practice upon entering an "alien" village.

In 1934 I was in the village of Klawak when the coastwise maritime strike stopped all communications with the outside world. Food supplies ran short and we had to depend almost wholly on salmon. Since the local area, including the salmon stream, was property of the Ganaxadi [Gaanaax ádi](the equivalent of the Chilkat Ganaxtedih) I had the necessary right to harpoon salmon there. I was also able to borrow a harpoon from a Tiowahaddih [Lukaax ádi?]man who was, of course, my "brother-in-law." If he refused it would have shown how little he respected my wife who was automatically a Kagwantan [Kaagwaantaan] Wolf and his "sister." Seeing his lack of respect for her, I might have divorced her, causing her clan to lose face. This is the Tlingit attitude. He could not refuse the loan so long as he had the harpoon which he was not using at the time. Had I been counted as a Wolf I could then have gone to a "brother-in-law" Ganaxadi [Gaanaax ádi] and asked his permission to spear salmon in his stream. For a like reason he could not have refused. All in all, the rivalry between the moieties is largely ceremonial in nature.

The reciprocal rights and obligations are and were operative to a far greater degree.

By asking and emphasizing the proper kinship ties, an individual could under most circumstances obtain temporary use rights to virtually any territory in Tlingit land. In fact, one's extensive network of rights was perhaps only limited by one's own creativity, knowledge of the social structure, and ability to navigate the social space between host and visitor. Unfortunately, as Olson suggests, this dynamic aspect of Tlingit land use patterns has often been overlooked in discussions of Native property tenure.

Failure to seek permission could bring censure, or the trespasser might be "educated" in a more polite way. For instance,

If a man was camped at a creek claimed by his clan and household and a man of the opposite moiety came there, the visitor was not openly told of the ownership, he was invited in, feasted, and told how the host's ancestors always came there to fish. A small gift made the visitor. This was, in effect, telling him the creek was claimed. (Olson 1967:12)

The problem of "freeloaders" was similarly handled by a culturally sanctioned means of censure. Those who abused their privileges by staying too long, or taking too much, or violating some local ordinance, were "called by a special term of contempt, (*n*)*icka-qa'wu* [*nichkakáawu*]" (Swanton 1908:427) or "person of the beach." This term of contempt stands in opposition to the Tlingit cultural ideal of the *aan káawu*, or "person of the village," a term reserved for the aristocracy. By contrast the *nichkakáawu* was an outcast—marginal and uncivilized, without a home, property, or legitimate social relations (cf. Kan 1989:93).

The practice of asking permission continued to be exercised regularly throughout the first part of this century. According to Sitka Native George Lewis, whose family had possessory rights of Goddard Hot Springs, south of Indian River, this courtesy also was regularly followed by the Russians, who "never used these hot springs without first getting permission from the owner and bringing gifts of food, blankets, or clothing" (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:109). Despite a long tenure under American common property law, there is evidence that Tlingits continued to respect clan boundaries by seeking permission to use other group's hunting and trapping areas from the local owners through the *hinsádi* (house group leader) or clan leader.

The property tenure situation at Indian River was further affected by the forceful acquisition of the peninsula by the Russians, their subsequent colonization of the area, and the fact that the Tlingit and non-Tlingit communities consolidated their settlements in the vicinity of Indian River in the nineteenth century. Because of its proximity to settlements that were becoming increasingly permanent, as opposed to seasonal, Indian River gradually became a "common table" for subsistence resources, especially non-salmon resources. There is no evidence that the Russians sought permission or paid tribute to the Kiks.ádi for use of Indian River after 1804. However, to what extent permission to use the area was sought from the Kiks.ádi by other Tlingit groups is not known. It is clear that Kiks.ádi ownership of the area continued to be recognized, and we may infer from the foregoing discussion of property rights that if Kiks.ádi permission to use the area were requested, it was probably almost always granted.

The founding of the Model Cottage Settlement at Sheldon Jackson School on Kiks.ádi land introduced yet another dynamic to the already complex and shifting

property and use rights situation. The community was to be a model for how to assimilate Natives into the fold of western society and social norms and the Christian faith. "That was Dr. Sheldon-Jackson's experiment. He wanted to see if people that were Christian could have a unity with the mission" (Isabella Brady, interview). As a utopian, assimilationist project, the cottage community implicitly rejected the traditional Tlingit model of social structure and property tenure, which the missionaries perceived to be the source of much tension and conflict. More importantly, it established a new Native community at Indian River, a community that was not wholly Kiks.ádi or even wholly Tlingit; a community which stood in contradistinction to the more traditional Tlingit village at Sitka; and, most importantly, a community for which the park served as an ideal communal property.

PROFILE OF THE COTTAGE COMMUNITY IN RELATION TO THE VILLAGE

Two distinct but related Native communities have existed Sitka since the late nineteenth century when the Model Cottage Settlement was founded by the Presbyterians. The cottage community constituted a kind of utopian experiment in assimilating Natives into a Christian way of life. As intentional, alternative community, the cottages existed in marked distinction to the more traditional village in Sitka, which in the 1880s was still governed to a significant degree by Tlingit social structure, beliefs, and customs. Of course there were links between the communities; cottagers and villagers each had relatives and acquaintances in the other community and many of the villagers subscribed to some form of Christianity. But because the communities were separated both physically and ideologically, they constituted significantly different "worlds" for their

inhabitants. As a consequence, though both groups used the park, the relationship of the cottagers to the park differed in important ways from that of the villagers.

According to former cottager Gil Truitt (interview), the Model Cottage Settlement (also known as the Westminster Addition) was founded in 1888, just a decade after the Sitka Training School (later named for Sheldon Jackson) was established .

It was founded by the [Presbyterian] Christian church based in Sheldon Jackson [school]. The whole idea was that it was going to be Christian community. In the beginning they had very strict rules that people had to agree to. Of course people living out there built their own homes, but [the church] made that property available.

The ideology, rules, and regulations governing the settlement were encoded in a written "Declaration of Residents" that inhabitants had to sign in front of a witness. The Declaration reads as follows:

We the people of the Westminster Addition to the Village of Sitka, Alaska, in order to secure ourselves and posterity the blessings of a Christian home, do severally subscribe to the following rules for the regulation of our conduct and town affairs:-

1. To reverence the Sabbath and refrain from all unnecessary secular work on that day; to attend divine worship; to take the Bible for our rule of faith; to regard all true Christians as our brethren;
 2. To attend to the education of our children and keep them at school as regularly as possible.
 3. To totally abstain from all intoxicants and gambling, and never attend heathen festivities or countenance heathen customs in surrounding villages.
 4. To strictly carry out all sanitary regulations necessary for the health of the place.
 5. Never to alienate, give away, or sell our land or building lots, or any portion thereof, to any person or persons who have not subscribed to these rules.
- (*The North Star*, August, 1898 Vol IX(5): 3)⁹

This declaration, along with the rituals and activities of daily life, served to forge a covenant and strong sense of community among early cottage residents.

⁹ I am grateful to Kristen Griffin for sharing this reference.

The community itself was laid out over a number of years. Dr. Truitt has produced a historical map showing the layout of the cottage community and the occupants of each of the dwellings during the early twentieth century; Figure 5 is adapted from that map. His map may be compared to the 1923 plat of the mission settlement in Figure 5a.

Cyrus Peck, a Tlingit minister and educator who grew up at the cottages, describes how the community got its name and helped lay the seeds for the founding of the Alaska Native Brotherhood.

My mother and dad were from Killisnoo and Sitka. Both received their education at the Sitka training school, which is now Sheldon Jackson College. Upon finishing their education there, they got married and moved to a section of land that is reserved by the Presbyterian Church for students who marry in school and settle in Sitka; it was called the Cottage Settlement. (That's how it got its name, and I believe they were the first cottages built in Alaska). From this little colony came the founders of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, in which I am very active. (Peck 1986:1)

An important feature of the original settlement was the community hall. The hall was no longer standing when Gil Truitt and Isabella Brady were growing up, but in the early years was a center of social activity in the settlement. Similar in design but smaller than the Sitka ANB Hall, the mission hall (see Figure 6) played host to religious functions, meetings, and social gatherings. Mrs. Brady (interview) remembers,

They had a hall and they built that themselves, and they used to have concerts and things. I wasn't alive when that happened, because I think they got into some problems of how they were using the hall-- [i.e.,] Was it Christian or for having dances? It also was very musical--the people were very musical; they had a band, and were very patriotic.

According to Dr. Truitt, in the early years the hall is what made the mission settlement a community. In fact, the concept was so successful that it was exported to the village

MISSION COTTAGE SETTLEMENT

(ADAPTED FROM A MAP BY GILBERT TRUITT)

1888-1945

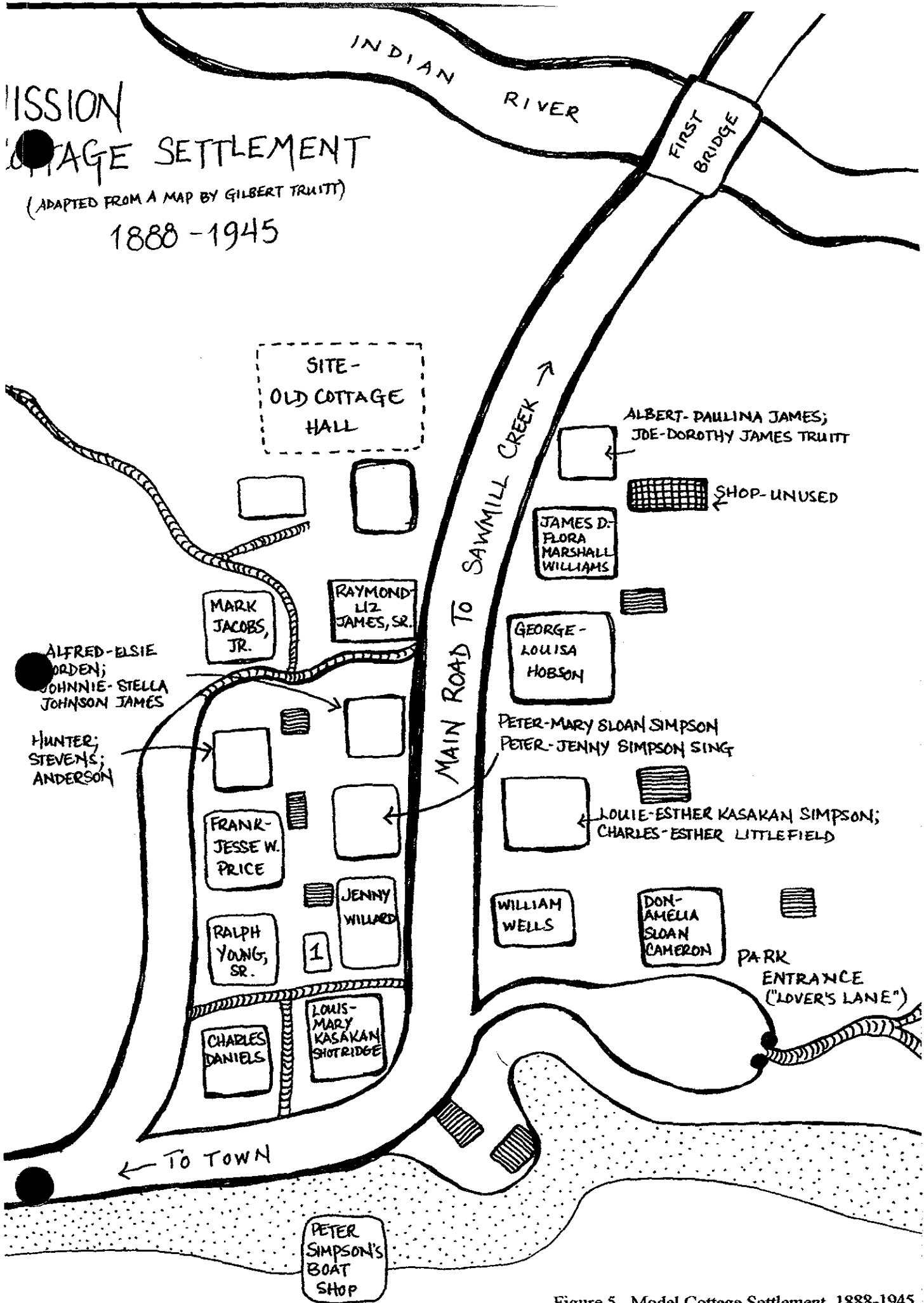


Figure 5. Model Cottage Settlement, 1888-1945.

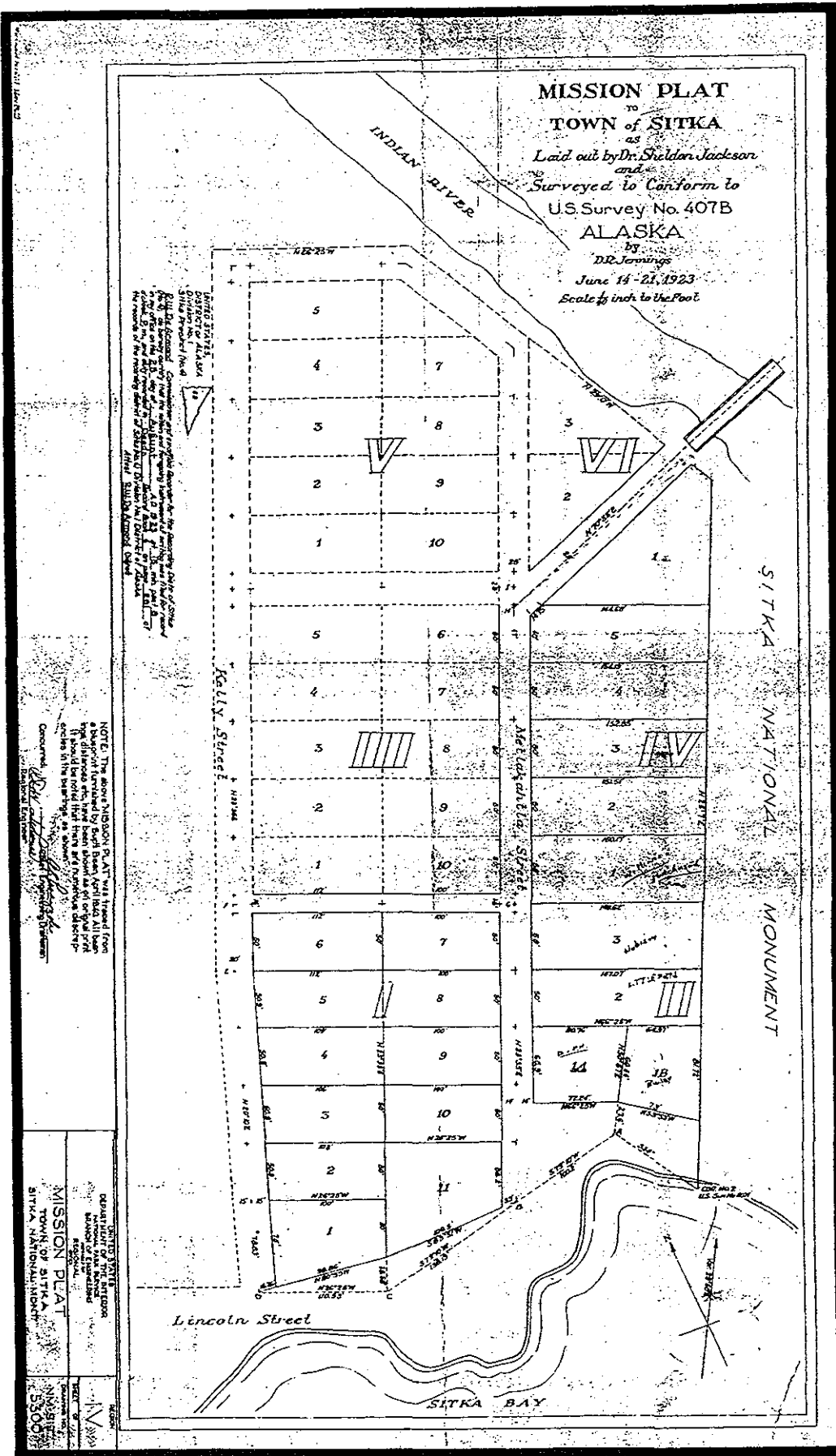


Figure 5a. Plat of the Model Cottage Settlement, 1923.

community: "That's where the village got the idea; in fact Peter Simpson told them, 'What you would need is a hall.' That's when they started talking about an ANB Hall."

The authority structure, prerogatives, and protocol of the traditional Tlingit social organization and social life were, of course, de-emphasized in the cottage community. A number of contemporary elders who grew at the mission settlement stressed that they were not steeped in their cultural history and traditions. For example, Ellen Hope Hays (n.d.), a Kiks.ádi, commented,

At no time was I told of the Kiks-adi battle. Looking back, there were several reasons: one [was] that we were too young, we didn't know the cultural structure, didn't speak Tlingit; this [the mission settlement] was a non-traditional neighborhood... with knowledgeable Kiksadi, who otherwise would have been tradition bearers.

Indeed, some of the strongest leaders in the cottage community, men such a Peter Simpson, a founder of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Isabella Brady's Tsimshian Grandfather, explicitly endorsed a movement towards the adoption of certain non-Native beliefs and institutions as a necessary means for survival in modern society.

However, it should not be assumed that the new ideological commitments and customs fostered at the Model Cottage Settlement abrogated traditional ties to the park. In fact the community's location at Indian River enhanced physical and emotional ties to that landscape among those who would otherwise have been raised at the village. It is interesting to note, too, that a significant percentage (exactly what percentage is not clear) of the cottagers were Kiks.ádi, Kiks.ádi yádi (Children of Kiks.ádi), or Kiks.ádi affines (married to Kiks.ádi). Was this just coincidence or demographics, or was there a desire among Kiks.ádi to live at their ancestral site at Indian River? Ultimately, this question may be impossible to answer, although in terms of subsistence practices there is clear

Figure 6. Residents of the Model Cottage Community gathered in front of the mission hall, c. 1900 (University of Washington Suzallo/Allen Library Special Collections; Merrill Collection U-47).





Figure 7. Mrs. Don (Amelia) Cameron (courtesy of Carol Feller Brady).

evidence of continuity in the Kiks.ádi orientation to the park. For this clan, Indian River remained a favorite fishing, hunting, and gathering site.

As in the ideological sphere, in the realm of subsistence, leadership counted. Among the most influential role models and teachers at the cottage settlement on the collection and preparation of traditional foods was Mrs. Amelia Cameron (Figure 7). The “matriarch” of the Kiks.ádi community and a witness to Russia’s sale of Alaska to the United States in 1865,¹⁰ Mrs. Cameron was old, wise, and, it seems, related to almost everybody. She was a great grandmother to Gil Truitt, a grandmother to Carol Feller Brady, and a maternal great aunt to Ellen Hope Hays, Fred Hope, John Hope, Herb Hope and Margaret McVey. She and her husband, Don Cameron, raised John Hope during his time at the cottages, providing him with wealth of traditional knowledge about the park’s natural and cultural resources. And, as John and other descendants recall, she related to her kin and to her Kiks.ádi landscape in very traditional ways. Despite being a part of the civilizing Christian cottage community, Mrs. Cameron never learned much English and continued to carry out a prodigious seasonal round of traditional subsistence activities at Indian River well into her elder years. When Goldschmidt and Haas (1946) interviewed her in 1946 for their land rights study, Mrs. Cameron was still active, despite the fact that she was “nearing one hundred years old.” As we shall see in the subsistence section, this extraordinary Kiks.ádi woman’s influence and legacy remain strong among those who knew her at the cottages.

In addition to their own subsistence patterns, cottage residents also developed their own recreational activities, forms of worship, and social networks. For these and

¹⁰ Fred Hope (personal communication) also notes that she protested the sale.

Other reasons there was sometimes conflicts between the cottagers and the villagers. The young folks were especially sensitive to this, as their contacts with the "other" community were often the weakest. As Isabella Brady (interview), who attended the Indian school with the villagers before transferring to Sheldon Jackson in sixth grade, put it, "I felt that there was a distinct difference between the ones that lived at the cottages and the ones that lived at the village, I don't know why that was... There was a no man's land between the cottages and the school." Village kids sometimes teased and intimidated cottage kids for being different (Louis Simpson, interview).

The era of the cottage settlement came to a close in 1945, a casualty of the war and of changing needs for Sitka Natives. By the late 1950s, the park had succeeded in acquiring those properties on the south side of Metlakatla Street, and many of the other cottages also were sold.

SUBSISTENCE PRODUCTION PATTERNS

Alaska Natives typically define subsistence more broadly and foundationally than do non-Natives. Among non-natives the term subsistence typically connotes the acquisition of the minimal necessities for human life. But as Sitka elder Nelson Frank emphasizes, there is much more to it than this:

Subsistence living, a marginal way of life to most, has no such connotation to the Native people of southeast Alaska. The relationship between the Native population and the resources of the land and the sea is so close that an entire culture is reflected.

Traditional law...was passed from generation to generation, in tact, through repetition of legends and observance of ceremonials which were largely concerned with the use of land, water, and the resources contained therein. Subsistence living was not only a way of life, but also a life-enriching process. Conservation and perpetuation of subsistence resources was part of that life and was mandated by traditional law and custom. (Berger 1985:54)

Traditionally, Alaska Natives defined themselves to a large extent by the customs and traditions they followed in obtaining, processing, and distributing wild resources.

Collectively, these activities formed a seasonal cycle, a way of life. The seasonal round was not only the basis for material production but also for social, political, educational, and spiritual activities. In short, subsistence was the foundation for experience and culture. As Herman Kitka (interview) succinctly put it, "Without our Native foods, we wouldn't have our culture."

In federal law (ANILCA, Sec. 801), the word subsistence is not directly defined, but "subsistence uses" are recognized as having certain key values. Thus, "the continuation of the opportunity for subsistence uses" is recognized as "essential to Native physical, economic, traditional, and cultural existence." At Sitka National Historical Park, subsistence patterns of hunting, fishing, and gathering were firmly established well before European contact in the eighteenth century. As we have seen, the arrival of the Russians, the violent Battle of 1804 at Indian River, and establishment of the Russian-America and American settlements at Sitka, and the founding of the park, all proved disruptive to Tlingit relationships with Indian River, including subsistence activities. However, the historical record also makes clear the Tlingit resolve to continue subsistence activities in the park area, and the success of this resolve is reflected in the rich primary material on subsistence pattern in the park collected for this study.

We begin this section with an overview of the broader context of subsistence in the vicinity of Sitka and northern Southeast Alaska. Table 5 identifies key natural resources that were harvested in the Sitka area by Tlingit groups, their Native names,

Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park

and the seasons of harvest. The table is organized by major resource categories: fish, land mammals, marine mammals, birds, intertidal resources, and plants and berries.

Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park

Table 5. List of Resources Harvested in SNHP and Vicinity with Seasonality

Resource	Tlingit Name	Scientific Name	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter
FISH						
Cod, black	Ishkeen	<i>Anoplopoma fimbria</i>		x	x	
Cod, ling	X'áax'w	<i>Ophiodum elongatus</i>		x	x	
Cod, Pacific	S'áax'	<i>Tadus macrocephalus tilesius</i>	x		x	x
Flounder	Dzánti	<i>Plattichthys stellatus</i>	x	x	x	x
Halibut	Cháatl	<i>Hippoglossus stenolepsis</i>	x	x	x	x
Herring	Yaaw	<i>Culpea harengus pallasi</i>	x	x	x	x
Herring eggs	Gáax'w	<i>Valenciennes</i>	x			
Red snapper	Léik'w	<i>Sebastes ruberrimus</i>	x	x	x	x
Salmon eggs	Kaháakw	All species		x	x	
Salmon, chum	Téel'	<i>Oncorhynchus keta</i>		x	x	
Salmon, coho	L'ook	<i>Oncorhynchus kisutch</i>		x	x	
Salmon, king	T'á	<i>Oncorhynchus tshawytscha</i>	x	x	x	x
Salmon, pink	Cháas'	<i>Oncorhynchus gorbushka</i>		x		
Salmon, red	Gaat	<i>Oncorhynchus nerka</i>	x	x	x	
Smelt	Sháach'	<i>Thaleichthyes pacificus</i>	x			
Steelhead	Aashát	<i>Salmo gairdnerii</i>	x			x
Trout, Cutthroat	X'éitaa	<i>Oncorhynchus clarki</i>	x	x	x	x
Trout, Dolly Varden	X'wáat'	<i>Salvelinus malma</i>		x	x	
LAND MAMMALS						
Beaver	S'igeidi	<i>Castor canadensis</i>	x		x	x
Brown bear	Xóots	<i>Ursus arctos</i>	x	x	x	
Deer	Guwakaan	<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>			x	x
Land otter	Kóoshdaa	<i>Lutra canadensis</i>	x		x	x
Marten	K'óox	<i>Martes americana</i>	x		x	x
Mink	Nukshiyáan	<i>Mustela vison</i>	x		x	x
Mountain goat	Jánwu	<i>Oreamnos americanus</i>	x		x	x
Squirrel	Tsálk	<i>Tamiasciurus hudsonicus</i>	x		x	x
MARINE MAMMALS						
Seal, fur	X'óon	<i>Callorhinus ursinus</i>	x			x
Seal, harbor (hair)	Tsaa	<i>Phoca vitulina</i>	x		x	x
Sea lion	Taan	<i>Eumetopias jubata</i>	x		x	x
Sea otter	Yáxwch'	<i>Enhydra lutris</i>	x	x	x	x
BIRDS						
Bird eggs	K'wát'	Mostly gull species	x			
Canada goose	T'aawák	<i>Branta canadensis</i>	x		x	
Ducks	Gáaxw	various				
Grouse, Spruce	Káax' (female), Núkt	<i>Canachites canadensis</i>	x		x	x
Ptarmigan, Willow	X'eis'awáa	<i>Lagopus lagopus</i>	x		x	x
INTERTIDAL						
Abalone	Gúnxaa	<i>Haliotis kamtschatkana</i>	x	x		
Clams, butter	Gáal'	<i>Saxidomus giganteus</i>	x	x	x	x
Clams, littleneck	Tl'ildaaskeit	<i>Protohaca staminea</i>	x	x	x	x

Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park

Resource	Tlingit Name	Scientific Name	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter
Cockles	Yalooleit	<i>Clinocardium nuttali</i>	x	x	x	x
Crab, dungeness	S'áaw	<i>Cancer magister</i>	x	x	x	x
Crab, king	X'éix	<i>Parolithodes camtschatica</i>	x	x	x	x
Gumboots (chitons)	Shaaw	<i>Katherina tunicata</i>	x	x	x	x
Octopus	Náakw	<i>Octopus dofleini</i> (<i>liederma</i>)	x	x	x	
Sea cucumbers	Yéin	<i>Parastichopus</i> sp.	x	x		
Sea ribbon	K'aach'	<i>Rhodomenia pacmata</i> (<i>Palmeria palmata</i>)	x			
Sea urchins	Nées'	<i>Strongylocentrotus purpuratus</i>	x	x		x
Seaweed, black	Laak'ásk	<i>Porphyra</i> sp.	x			
Seaweed, hair	Né	<i>Obelia</i>	x			
Seaweed, yellow	Tayeidí	<i>Fucus distichus</i> (<i>garneri</i>)	x			
Shrimp	S'éex'át	<i>Pandalus</i> sp.	x	x	x	
PLANTS & BERRIES						
Carrots, Indian	S'in	<i>Daucus carota</i> L.	x			
Devils Club	S'áxt'	<i>Oplopanax horridus</i>	x	x	x	x
Ferns, (roots/fiddleheads)	K'wálx/	<i>Polypodiaceae</i> (family)	x			
Firewood	Gán	Various	x	x	x	x
Goosetongue	Suktéitl'	<i>Triglochin maritima</i>	x			
Hemlock Bark	Sáx'	<i>Tsuga heterophylla</i>	x			
Hudson Bay tea	S'íkshaldéen	<i>Ledum palustre</i>	x	x	x	x
Rice, Indian	Kóox	<i>Fritillaria camtschatcensis</i>	x			
Saxifrage (heart-leaved)	Katkashaaya Náakw	<i>Saxifraga nelsoniana</i> (<i>s. punctata</i> ?)	x	x		
Skunk cabbage	X'áal'	<i>Lysichiton americanum</i>	x	x	x	
Spruce	Shéiyi	<i>Picea sitchensis</i>	x	x		
Wild (Indian) celery (Cow parsnip)	Yaana.eit	<i>Heracleum lanatum</i>	x	x		
Wild sweet potato (Sweet-vetch)	Tséit	<i>Hedysarum alpinum</i>	x	x		
Wild rhubarb	Tl'aak'wách'	<i>Rumex</i> sp.	x	x		
BERRIES						
Blueberry	Kanat'á	<i>Vaccinium alaskaense</i> (and others)		x		
Blueberry, purple (ripen later)	Naanyaa Katnat'aayi	<i>Vaccinium alaskaense</i>		x		
Cloudberry, yellow	Néx'w	<i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>		x		
Cranberry, highbush	Kaxwéix	<i>Vibrium edule</i>		x	x	
Cranberry, lowbush	Dáxw	<i>Vaccinium vitis</i>		x	x	
Cranberry, bog	K'eishkaháagu	<i>Oxycoccus microcarpus</i>		x	x	
Current, gray	Shaax	<i>Ribes bracteosum</i>		x	x	
Elderberry	Yéil'	<i>Sambucus racemosa</i>		x		
Huckleberry	Tleikatánk	<i>Vaccinium parvifolium</i>		x		
Jacoberry	K'eikaxetl'k	<i>Cornus canadensis</i>		x		
Raspberry	Tlekw Yádi	<i>Rubus idaeus</i> (<i>pedatus</i>)		x		
Salmonberry	Was'x'aan tléigu	<i>Rubus spectabilis</i>		x		

More than 70 different major resources were harvested for subsistence. In addition, some non-local resources, such as soapberries and black bear, were acquired either through access to areas elsewhere, or, more commonly, through trade.

Table 6 provides an overview of resources that were traditionally harvested in the vicinity of Indian River. This table is organized according to the Tlingit calendar of moons (roughly corresponding to months) for Sitka recorded by Emmons (1991). The calendar begins around July 1, or when clan and house groups commenced their move from the winter village at Sitka to their remote fishing camps throughout Sheet'ká Kwáan.

TABLE 6. INDIAN RIVER TLINGIT HARVEST CALENDAR

Tlingit Moon	Month	Fish	Animals & Birds	Shellfish & Plants
<i>Xáat Disi*</i> (Salmon Moon) or <i>Atka Taa Disi</i> ("Animals") Fattening Moon)	July 1	Pink and chum salmon, king salmon; (occ.); Dolly V. and cutthroat trout, cod, halibut and red snapper (offshore); herring.	Sea otter (offshore)	Crabs, octopus; blueberries, cranberries, elderberries, huckleberries, salmonberries, thimbleberries; goosetongue; devil's club, skunk cabbage, tséit.
<i>Shaa Xeiyi Disi</i> (Mountain Shadows Moon)	August 2	Pink and chum salmon; Dolly V. and cutthroat trout, cod, halibut and red snapper (offshore); herring.	Sea otter (offshore)	Clams, crabs, octopus; blueberries, cranberries, elderberries, huckleberries, salmonberries, thimbleberries; devil's club, Hudson Bay tea, skunk cabbage, tséit, wood.
<i>Dis Yádi</i> (Child Moon, referring to the weaning of young animals); also <i>Kaxweix Disi</i> (Highbush Cranberry Moon)	September 3	Chum and coho salmon; king salmon cod, halibut and red snapper (offshore); flounder; herring	Harbor seal, sea otter (offshore); deer, brown bear, mt. goat; geese, ducks, grouse.	Clams, cockles, crabs, octopus; blueberries, cranberries, elderberries, thimbleberries; devil's club, Hudson Bay tea, skunk cabbage, tséit, wood.
<i>Dis Tlein</i> (Big Moon)	October 4	Coho salmon; king salmon, cod, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring	Harbor seal, sea lion, sea otter (offshore); deer, brown bear, mt. goat; geese, ducks, grouse.	Clams, cockles, crabs, octopus; cranberries; devil's club, Hudson Bay tea, skunk cabbage, wood.
<i>Kukahaa Dis</i> (Digging/Scratching Moon, bears dig winter dens)	November 5	Coho salmon; king salmon, cod, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring	Harbor seal, sea lion, sea otter (offshore); beaver, deer, brown bear, land otter, marten, mink, mt. goat, squirrel; geese, ducks, grouse.	Clams, cockles, crabs; devil's club, Hudson Bay tea, wood.
<i>Shaanáx Dis</i> (Head Though Moon, hair shows on a seal fetus' head)	December 6	King salmon, cod, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring.	Harbor seal, sea lion (offshore); beaver, deer, brown bear, land otter, marten, mink, mt. goat, squirrel; geese, ducks, grouse.	Clams, cockles, crabs; devil's club, Hudson Bay tea, wood.
<i>T'aawak Disi</i> (Canada Goose Moon)	January 7	King salmon, cod, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring.	Harbor seal, sea lion (offshore); beaver, deer, land otter, marten, mink; grouse	Clams, cockles, crabs; devil's club, Hudson Bay tea, wood.
<i>S'eek Disi</i> (Black Bear Moon, when cubs are born)	February 8	King salmon, cod, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring.	Fur seal, harbor seal (offshore); beaver, land otter, marten, mink; grouse.	Clams, cockles, crabs; devil's club, Hudson Bay tea, wood.
<i>Heen Tánáx Kayani Disi</i> (Underwater Leaves [Sprout] Moon)	March 9	King salmon, cod, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring, herring eggs.	Fur seal, harbor seal, sea otter (offshore); beaver, brown bear, land otter, marten, mink; grouse.	Clams, cockles, crabs, octopus; cranberries; devil's club, Hudson Bay tea, skunk cabbage, wood.
<i>X'éigaa Kayani Disi</i> (True Budding Moon, land plants sprout)	April 10	King salmon, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring.	Harbor seal, sea lion, sea otter (offshore); beaver, brown bear, mt. goat; grouse.	Cockles, crabs, octopus; cranberries; devil's club, hemlock bark, Hudson Bay tea, salmonberry shoots, skunk cabbage, spruce roots, tséit, wild celery, wood.
<i>At Gadaxit</i>	May 11	Red salmon (Silver	Harbor seal, sea lion,	Cockles, crabs, octopus;

Tlingit Moon	Month	Fish	Animals & Birds	Shellfish & Plants
<i>Yinaa Disi</i> (Ripening [of animals] Moon)		Bay); king salmon, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring.	sea otter (offshore); brown bear, mt. goat; bird eggs.	cranberries; devil's club, goosetongue, hemlock bark, Hudson Bay tea, Indian rice, saxifrage, skunk cabbage, spruce roots, <i>tséit</i> , wild celery, wood.
<i>At Gadaxit Disi</i> (Birthing [of animals] Moon)	June 12	Red salmon (Silver Bay); king salmon, halibut, and red snapper (offshore); flounder, herring.	Harbor seal, sea otter (offshore).	Cockles, crabs, octopus; cranberries; devil's club, goosetongue, Hudson Bay tea, Indian rice, saxifrage, skunk cabbage, <i>tséit</i> , wild celery, wood.

The remainder of this chapter is organized by major resource category, beginning with salmon, the centerpiece of subsistence, and the species whose appearance marked the beginning of the new year.

Indian River Salmon Fishing

The thing is they were so thick...

—Isabella Brady on the quantities of pink salmon in Indian River when she was growing up.

Cultural Significance, Ecology, and Harvest

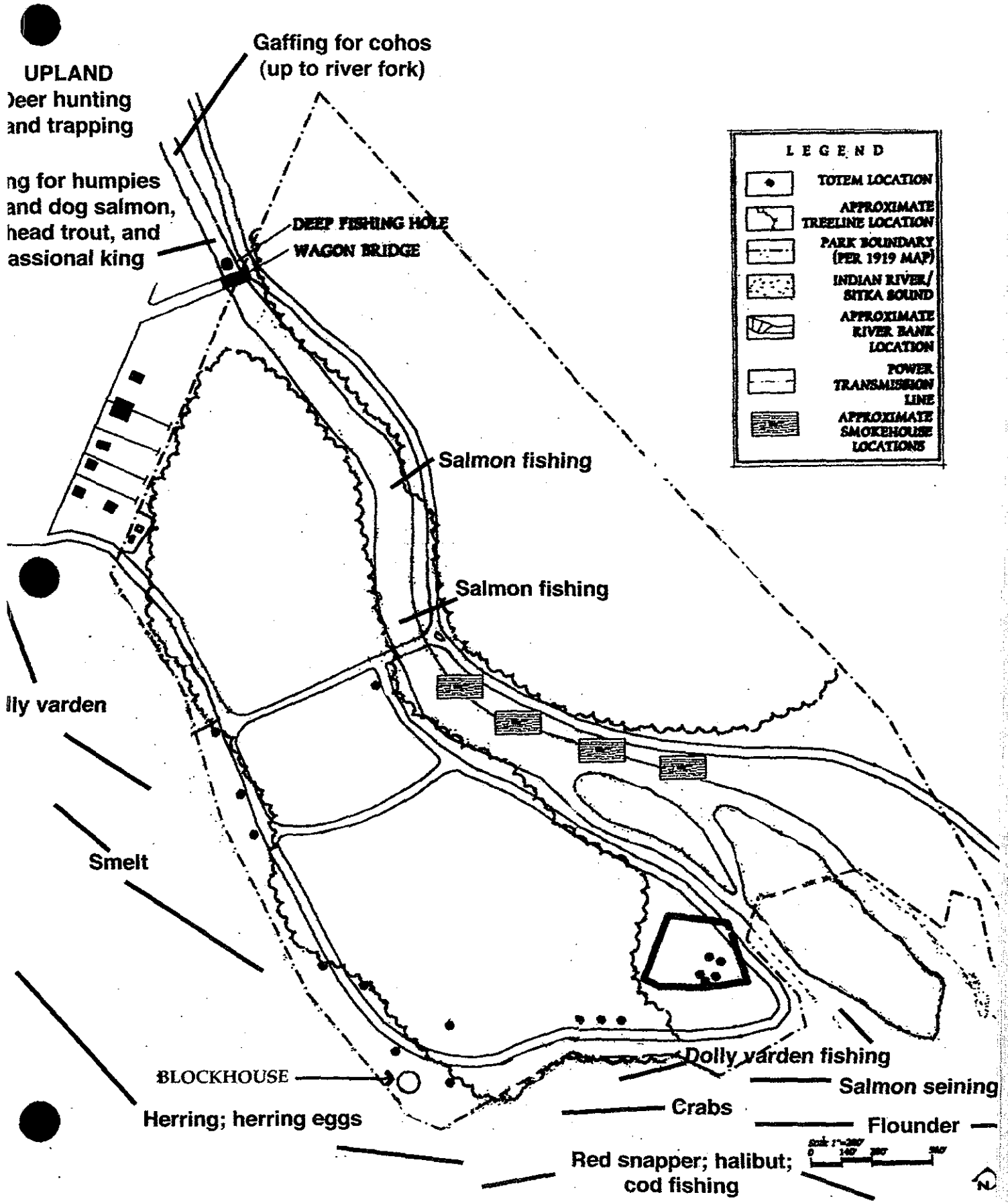
In terms of edible weight, salmon comprised the most important part of the diet. The Tlingit traditionally regarded salmon as non-human persons, possessing a social organization and other cultural attributes analogous to their own. As such they were handled carefully and commanded an appropriate level of respect. Disrespectful behavior, such as “playing with” or insulting fish, could result in reprisals by the salmon people. Such is the case for the protagonist, a boy named Lively-frog-in-pond, in the famous Kiks.ádi story, “Moldy-End,” which takes place near Indian River. In this legend, the boy insults the moldy salmon he receives from his mother and is subsequently carried off by the salmon tribe in what appears to him as a canoe. Living among the

salmon people for a period time, Lively-frog-in-pond comes to learn their customs—how the salmon enter Sitka Sound, where they “camp” and spawn, why the coho always come last (they broke their canoe), how they get their scars (from the powerful straits above Sitka Sound, etc.), what they call humans (seal children’s dog salmon), and their beliefs. Eventually, the Kiks.ádi boy returns to the natal stream to spawn, where he is caught after presenting himself in salmon form to his parents. His mother recognizes him by a familiar copper necklace that he still sports. Ultimately, the boy is converted back into human form and becomes a shaman and a teacher of the ways of the salmon tribe. Two versions of this story are recorded in Swanton (1909:301-310), each being set in Nakwasina (*Daxeit*), known as “Right-to-the-town” among the Salmon people.

The Tlingit new year was traditionally heralded by the first moon after summer solstice and the return of the salmon to spawn. For island Tlingits like the Sitkans, the year commenced with the migration of house groups to their fishing camps at various salmon streams distributed throughout Sheet’ká K_wáan. Indian River was among the closest streams to the winter village at Sitka. According to oral history, the Kiks.ádi had salmon fishing camp at Indian River dating back to the vision of the frog people and continuing until the late nineteenth century. The camp consisted of a constellation of three or four smokehouses and adjacent dwellings, all positioned on the far side of the river from town (Herman Kitka, interview; see Figure 8).

Indian River is unique as a subsistence salmon fishery for several reasons. To begin with, we must consider its spatial characteristics. Indian River lies in close proximity to the traditional winter village(s), the historic cottage community, and the contemporary city center. Its central location has always made Indian River a convenient

Figure 8: Subsistence Fishing Locales in the Vicinity of Indian River



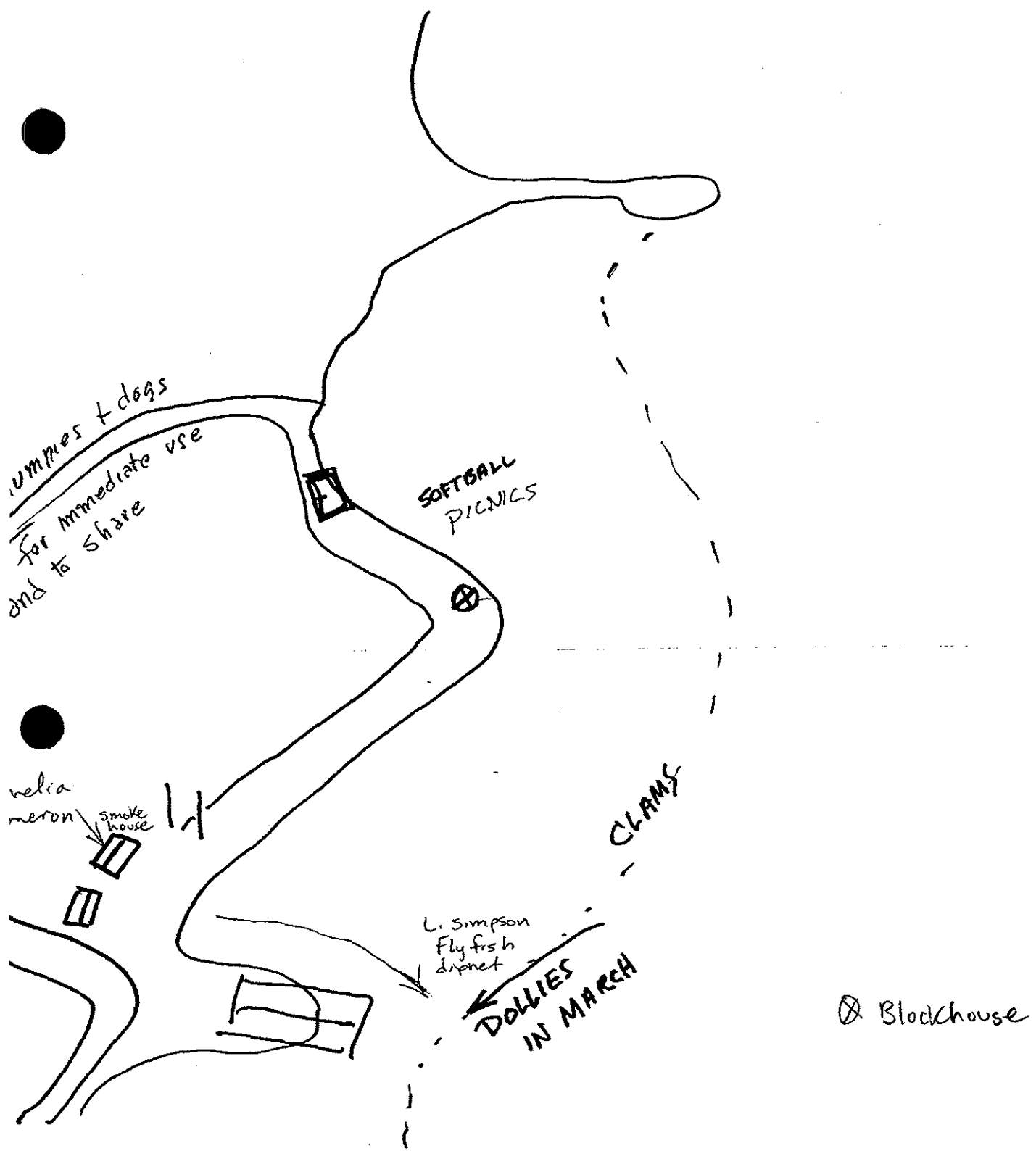


Figure 8a. Herb Hope's sketch of Indian River fishing and gathering locations.

fishery, especially for children and those who did not possess boats or the wherewithal to travel great distances. As Louis Simpson (interview), a longtime resident of the cottages, put it, "[Indian River] was right out the back door." In addition to being highly accessible year round, the river's proximity also traditionally facilitated maintenance and defense of the territory, as circumstances required. As a harvesting locale, the river includes many holes and eddies where salmon collect and may be easily taken by gaff hook, net, or rod and reel. Salmon fishing locations in the vicinity of the park are displayed in Figure 8.

Today, three kinds of salmon, each with two common names, are found in Indian River: pinks or humpbacks (*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha*), dogs or chums (*Oncorhynchus keta*), and cohos or silvers (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*). Occasionally, a king or chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha* and sockeye or red salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*) also have been reported in the river (John Hope, Mark Jacobs Jr., interviews), apparently not in recent years. According to Herman Kitka, there was a run of red king salmon that spawned in Indian River, but it ceased with the advent of the nearby king salmon hatchery at Silver Bay. If this is the case, then Indian River was traditionally a four-species salmon stream, and thus of especially high value. While four-species salmon streams without sockeye were generally not as highly coveted as four or five-species salmon streams with sockeyes (cf. Thornton, et al 1990), Indian River's strategic location between two major Kiks.ádi sockeye systems, at Swan Lake to the north and Silver Bay to the south (both within easy commuting distance), heightened its value considerably.

The cultural value of salmon streams was not merely a function of their variety, accessibility, or the presence of sockeye, however, but also of the stream's overall

productivity and of the temporal span of harvest it afforded. Against these criteria, the strong pink salmon and late coho runs enhanced Indian River's desirability for Native fishers. Pinks were the first salmon to appear, making their way upstream in July. Herb Hope reported that there were two runs of pinks: an early one in July and August and a later one in September. Regarding the prodigious supply of pinks, Isabella Brady (interview) remarked, "[The] humpies were the easiest [to obtain]... it seemed like you should just be able to walk across the river on the humpies, there were so many of them." Indian River pink salmon also were considered of especially high quality for boiled fish. And, coming from close to town, they had a high degree of freshness. These qualities made Indian River "famous" as a humpy creek. The late coho run, on the other hand, provided plentiful fresh fish throughout November and in some years into early December (Herb Hope, Louis Simpson, Mark Jacobs Jr., interviews). Sandwiched between these two runs was a strong dog salmon run. Dog salmon were favored, among other things, for their good drying quality; a well-dried dog salmon could last a year or more in storage (Herman Kitka, interview). Indian River, then, was not only a very productive salmon fishery, but in temporal terms it was an extended fishery, providing salmon over a five-month period between July and November. When combined with the early sockeye runs at nearby Silver Bay (beginning as early as mid-May) and Swan Lake, the period of harvest is as much as 7 months, as good a temporal span as the major four and five salmon species streams provide.

Sitka Tlingits used a wide variety of techniques to harvest salmon in rivers and offshore prior to contact. These methods included: 1) trolling with a hook and line; 2) stone or wood stake weirs; 3) basket-style fish traps; 4) and gaffs, spears, and leisters

(Wolf 1989, Stewart 1977). They are described in detail elsewhere (e.g., Emmons 1991, de Laguna 1972). All of these methods were used in the vicinity of Indian River (see Figure 9 from Emmons 1991:108)

With the introduction of European nets and the effective outlawing of Native traps in streams in 1889, beach seining became a preferred means for harvesting salmon at the mouths of streams (*héen wat*). By the mid-nineteenth century, it was common to find Natives beach seining for salmon near the mouth of Indian River and other local streams (see Figure 10). This pattern endured into the early twentieth century.

Historically, upstream salmon were taken with hook and line or gaff hooks. Gaffing was favorite technique of young boys. John Hope (interview), a resident of the cottage community, recalled his days of gaffing for salmon in Indian River, under the tutelage of Mr. Don Cameron.

The days that I'm talking about were in the [19]30s and I was always involved going up there. Mr. Cameron had made a gaff hook especially for me and I would go up there and really enjoy. There was so much fish up there, and you were kind of choosy as to which kind of fish you caught. You didn't just catch any fish, and Mr. Cameron was the kind of guy that made sure you didn't just catch anything.... And I would sell them later on; I would learn how to clean them real well and I would go down to the village and sell 'em for ten cents each. And a lot of guys sold 'em for less than that so I didn't always make a good sale. But the river was so productive, at least from my perspective. Occasionally there would be sockeye, and I don't know how they go in there. And one time there was even a king salmon in there... We monitored the river so much and we could tell what was there and what was unusual. And up by what we called the car bridge, where the cars used to cross Indian River, there was a big pool of water there, a deep pool, and Spiky Sing-- Sam Sing--he caught a king with a [gaff hook]. I often wondered if that was a good thing to do or a bad thing to do. Anyway he was the only guy to my knowledge that caught a king salmon in Indian River.

Herman Kitka (interview) also remembers the day Sam (Spike) Sing gaffed the big king red salmon at Indian River: "It gave us a big fight," Spike told him, "almost broke our gaff hook."

A key feature of gaffing, in contrast to trolling, traps, nets, or weirs, is that the harvester could be selective, targeting individual fish. According to John Hope, there were basically two kinds of gaffs: barbed and unbarbed.

The pole on which you tied the hook was anywhere from maybe 7 to 10 feet long. And at the end you tied the end very firmly and it was a relatively large hook. It wasn't the kind of hook you would normally use for snagging. It was probably about 5 or 6 -7 times larger than that. Some of them had a barb on them. It was better not to have a barb on em especially if you were gonna try to gather a lot of em. You didn't want to spend a lot time trying to get the salmon off the hook. So a hook without a barb, you could just gaff it, run it, throw it ashore, and run back out and try to get another one and you'd have maybe 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 salmon on the shore. Whatever you could handle is what you got and you cleaned them all right there in the river, so you didn't have to pack excess weight...

The gaffing pole was also a means of transporting fish.

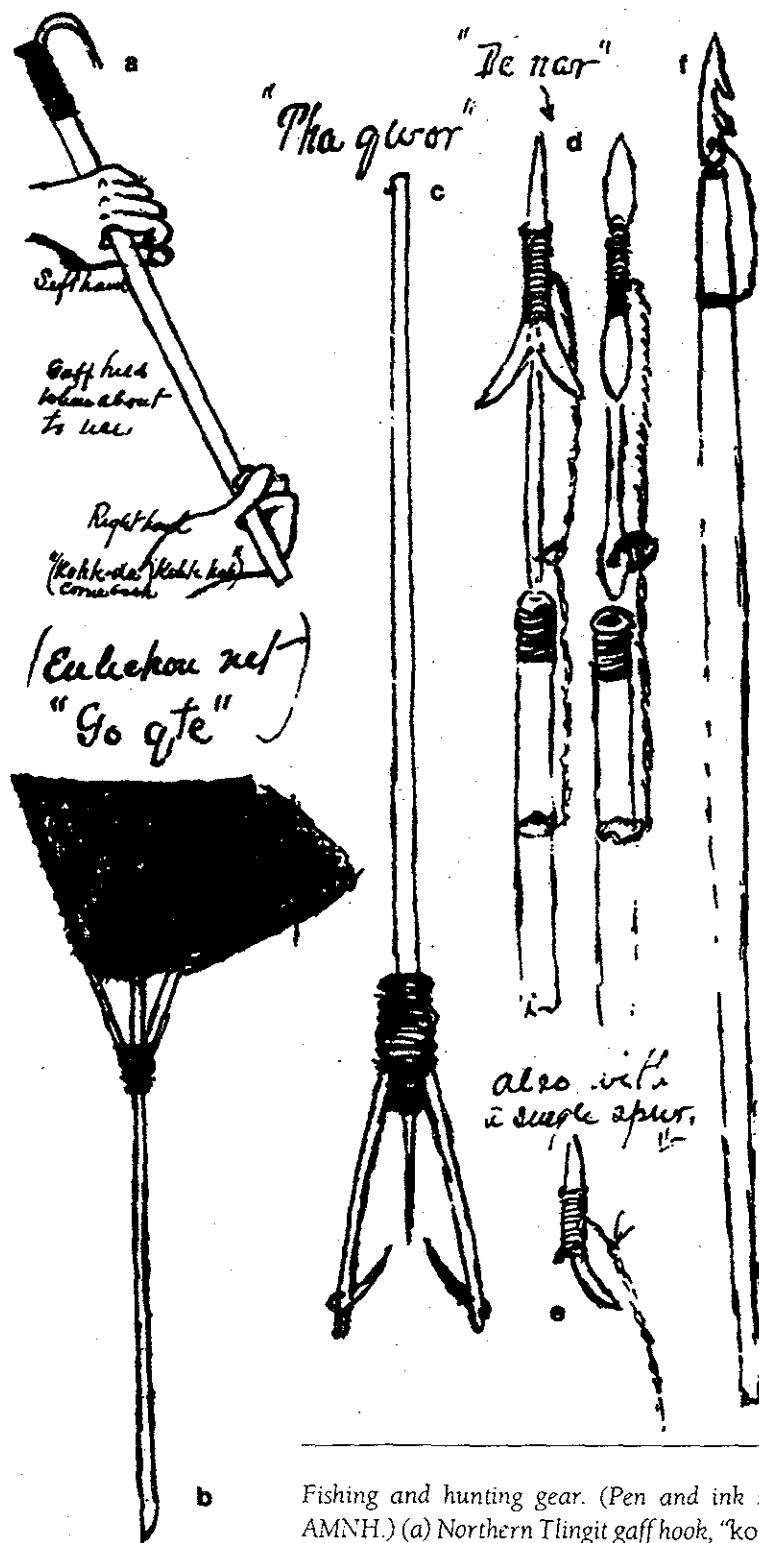
Then you packed them, using [the long gaff] pole to pack the salmon. You'd make the pole go through the head, the gill and pack the salmon. You could put maybe four salmon on each end and you use your shoulder and you'd be in the middle and you pack the salmon that way. Otherwise it's difficult to pack the salmon. (John Hope, interview)

Mark Jacobs Jr. (interview) similarly recalled harvesting and transporting salmon from Indian River with a gaff hook:

[W]e used to take orders from old timers, they used to pay 15 cents for a large humpy with a big hump, a male humpy-- they always wanted the males. So we'd run our gaff hook through the mouth and out through the gills and we packed maybe two or three and sometimes maybe four, two boys one in front, one in back and we'd pack them up to the village. And 15 cents was a lot of money in them days--candy bars or a warm package of hot chocolate.

Herb Hope (interview) noted that a good pole could hold perhaps a dozen salmon for transport.

Figure 9. Traditional gaff hook, dipnet, and fish spears (from Emmons 1991:108).



b

Fishing and hunting gear. (Pen and ink sketches by G. T. Emmons. AMNH.) (a) Northern Tlingit gaff hook, "koh-da (come back) kehk kah" [qúx^w-de kéxá^{*}], as held when about to use. (b) Eulachon net, go qte [gúq^wč̣]. (c) Chilkat three-pronged spear, tha qwor [lá^wgwá^{*}]. (d) Toggle-head harpoon, with loose foreshaft, used especially by the Southern Tlingit, de nar [di ná^{*}]. (e) Head for the above, with single spur. (f) Common type of harpoon or spear with detachable barbed head, used for salmon, seal, and sea otter.

SNHP).





Figure 11. Indian River Frog Hat worn by Al Perkins for a ceremonial dance at the Indian River Pole dedication ceremony, April 1996 (Tom Thornton).

Gaffing is an art in itself, requiring not good sight and reflexes but a feel for the fish. As a skill, it took time to acquire. When targeting the fish, the harvest has to take into account the parallax effect of the water, meaning that fish is not exactly where it appears to be (Herb Hope, interview). One also had to be quick, in order to hook the fish "just right" behind the gills. Boys used to go upriver, up above the current bridge at selected sites, in the morning and stay for several hours, harvesting fish. Herb Hope remembers going with Harold Kitka, Frank Benson, Donald Howard, Fred Hope, Percy Hope, Richard Lundy, Peter Kitka, and Matthew Kitka. Together they would bring back a "pretty good haul." John Hope (interview) recalls,

In the summertime, all I used to do is I'd go to the mouth of the Indian River in August and I'd sit there on a sunny day and wait for the first humpy to show up. And it would be a really thrilling experience to see the jump and you know that the salmon are going to be coming in very soon. We didn't usually do our gaffing of the salmon at the mouth. We had places where it was a little bit shallower and then we had places... if the river was swollen and we knew the salmon would be going up very fast [where] we did it by feel. At that particular time you couldn't be choosy, because you couldn't see the fish you could just feel 'em. And then you'd gaff 'em and take ashore. But you always just gathered enough that you could use.

While some pinks were sold for 10 to 15 cents in the 1930s and 1940s, many were also given away. "As often as you could, you gave them away to tribal relatives," Herb Hope recalled: "They knew how far we traveled, and so they were appreciative." In some cases, the boys were offered food or other gifts in return, but this was not the expectation. This kind of sharing was part of a larger system of generalized reciprocity, particularly among clan and house groups.

Dog Salmon also were gaffed and netted but, but were not considered of especially high value compared to those in other streams. This is due mainly to the fact that the dog salmon were dried rather than eaten fresh. Also, in this century many Sitka

Tlingits became involved in commercial fishing and as a result were often absent during the Indian River dog salmon run in August.

The late running of Indian River coho, on the other hand, were highly prized for fresh eating and for drying. Indian River "was very important for silver salmon, coho," remarked Mark Jacobs Jr., "and that was good smoked fish." Unlike other well-known late coho runs, such as those at Katlian Bay and Nakwasina, coho fishing at Indian River did not require a boat. Gaff hooks were favored for taking the fish upstream. But finding their upstream holes could be difficult for the untutored.

When I served on the board for the SJ [Sheldon Jackson fish] hatchery... the biologists... tried to trace the cohos, [but] they didn't know where they spawned. So I told them to take the left-hand trail, known as spur trail, and look in those side streams in heavy timbered areas. Some of those streams are probably only a foot wide to three feet wide. Under the banks you'll find holes, but at that time you gotta watch for bears cause there after the same fish. [Indian River] was a good coho stream. (MJ)

Herb Hope remarked that the cohos were harder to catch because they would "slip-in" the stream during the night. Hence, "It was always big news" when someone gaffed a coho. One fish hole (*ish*), near the fork, was famous: "It was deep and covered with tree roots, but the cohos would collect in there." Because the hole was deep, it did not freeze all the way through, so coho could be found there late in the year. Hope notes that, after the Sheldon Jackson School put a dam in Indian River in the early part of this century, only the cohos could get over the obstruction because they had the aid of heavy October rains and big tides.¹¹ The last time Hope remembers seeing Tlingits gaffing coho upriver was in 1969.

¹¹ Fred Hope (personal communication) estimates that that the Sheldon Jackson dam and flume diverted about "one third" of the water from Indian River. "You have to remember," he notes, "that Katlian could swim [underwater] in there" in 1804, a feat that would be difficult to accomplish today.

Processing and Preparation of Salmon

As noted above, pink salmon were favored for boiled fish, known as *útlxi* in Tlingit.

Mark Jacobs Jr. observed,

You know, that [Indian River humpback salmon] never used to be used for smoking. They claimed that humpies used in the smokehouses would mold quickly; there may be some biological explanation for its tendency to mold after its been smoked right. A lot of creeks [have humpies that] are more durable against molding.

Others suggested that some Indian River pink salmon were dried, though not the large-humped ones, which were favored by some for boiled fish.

One of the delicacies that my grandfather [Peter Simpson, a Tsimshian] liked was the [boiled humpy]--which has just a big hump on his back... --cut up, [and mixed with] potatoes ...and... hooligan oil... that was a real big treat. See what they did, the humpy don't last a long time, so you go ahead and dry those and then your sockeye, which is a very rich and beautiful fish, and then your dog salmon is the one that lasts the longest. I'd dry those, and we had a smokehouse right in the back, a big-sized smokehouse, or a woodshed we called it, and we could dry a lot of fish there. And they just didn't waste--they'd smoke the tails of the fish and they also did something with eggs. (Isabella Brady, interview)

When it was smoked, pink salmon tended to come out "like paper" because it had to be sliced thin.

Margaret McVey reflected that "it took a talent to make boiled humpies really taste good." Certain people were recognized as experts at this task. Timing, fish selection, and cooking procedures all contributed to a successful dish. "Humpies are best boiled the first day," remarked Herb Hope (interview), "I think they are best early in the season, before they get their big humps; but some people, some of the old timers, prefer

the big humps on their boiled fish." John Hope (interview) cleaned and cut his fish at Indian River, as a means of lightening his packing load and making the fish ready for boiling.

What I did, when I decided to sell them--Mr. Cameron said you ought to--... [was] cut them into pieces ... so you have it pretty well cut but still one large salmon. And you'd cut the tail off, but you'd leave the head on. I usually only took two or three down the village cause my price was a little bit higher than the others.

One detailed recipe for preparing *útlxi* was recorded by George Dalton of Hoonah (Newton and Moss 1984:9-10):

Everyone agrees that if you boil fish over an open fire and let the smoke flavor of the fish in the pot, it is good. When you gaff a salmon, break its neck and bleed it while it is still alive. This is called *tla'tuch*. Clean the guts of that salmon immediately and cut the meat from the skin side vertically, with the ribs of the salmon in pieces about two inches wide. Boil it in a cast iron pot over very hot coals. Add two or three tablespoons of seal oil. The color will turn creamy and white and it should begin to thicken. When you boil it, it shouldn't cook long, maybe only ten minutes.

At Sitka, Indian River pink salmon soup, with potatoes, onions, and other preferred ingredients was a favorite staple in summer time.

Indian River dog salmon were generally dried or half dried. Partially dried fish were called *náayadi*. Indian River dog salmon apparently were not well-known for making especially good dryfish, unlike those from Security Bay, near Kake and other well-known dog salmon fisheries.

The chum salmon was useable and they probably smoked some of it and made half-dried fish out of it.... The strips are taken off on there... completely dried... and are good for snacks. The more important dried fish streams are the ones in Starragavin Bay, Katlian Bay, Nakwasina, and also the head of Silver Bay. The name of Silver Bay is *Kugeit'*. (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview)

Dried salmon was called *at xéeshi* and strips were termed *at yoowa xéeshi*. Traditionally, half dried fish were eaten first, but in more recent times it has become common to preserve them by jarring or freezing.

Herman Kitka (interview) noted that there were smokehouses at least four different sites along the river for drying fish (see Figure 8). The smokehouses were located below the old wagon bridge, but wood for salmon smoking was often collected from upriver due to depletion of lower river sources during the Russian period. Bunch (beach) alder was used during the first two days for flavoring, followed by spruce, which was plentiful. Red alder was not favored by most residents because it gave a different flavor to the fish and made it turn an "unnatural" orange color. Herman Kitka observed that in the contemporary era the largest spruce were found above the Indian River dam, so Tlingits used saws to cut them into blocks, which were floated down the river to the smokehouses. "That's why you don't see stumps in the park."

As Isabella Brady noted above, few parts of the salmon were wasted. Even the fish heads and eggs were consumed. Coho eggs were considered a special treat and were collected and mixed with other foods, such as gray currants, and then aged to produce a food resembling head cheese. Dog salmon eggs found in a river were mashed, cleaned with cold water, salted, and served as a food. Coho, king, and male pink salmon heads also were aged to make "stinkheads;" alternatively, they might be boiled with black seaweed and rice to make a savory stew, or baked, or even eaten raw in "an emergency situation" (A.P. Johnson Audiotape #11).

Non-Salmon Fish

Among non-salmon fish, the following species were harvested in the vicinity of Indian River: Cutthroat and Dolly Varden trout, flounder, halibut, herring, smelt, and steelhead trout.

As anadromous fish, steelhead and Dolly Varden are the most salmon-like of the non-salmon fish. Although considered a trophy sport fish, steelhead were not traditionally a high-ranking food source among the Tlingit. Strong winter and early spring runs of steelhead were sometime targeted when other food resources were scarce. Steelhead are called *Aashát*, or "wife of the lake" in Tlingit. "They go into rivers with coños," according to Herman Kitka, and tend to spawn in the same areas. Steelhead generally were taken with gaffs, as once they are in stream they tend to shy away from taking baited hooks or lures. They were not smoked, but eaten fresh, usually in a fish chowder (Herman Kitka, interview). Dolly Varden (*X'wáat'*) were taken both as a means of predator control (they eat salmon fry) and as occasional fresh fish. But like the steelhead, Dolly Varden were not considered very good eating. Herman Kitka remembers that one Dolly Varden caught near the Sheldon Jackson College hatchery was found to have some 280 salmon fingerlings in its belly. This finding prompted the hatchery to keep the young salmon in pens offshore, rather than releasing them directly to predatory Dolly Varden, as a means of enhancing survival rates. During the outmigration of the salmon fingerlings, Dolly Varden also collect at the mouth of Indian River to feed on them. Tlingit boys also used fly rods, dipnets, and other tackle to take catch Dollys on their migrations out to sea in early March, following the big low tides. Herb Hope (interview) remembers observing Louis Simpson catching lots of Dolly Varden in the

cove in front of the current park headquarters using a fly rod and a dipnet. But Dolly Varden generally were not consumed because their meat was considered "too wormy."

Cutthroat trout were caught further upstream near the bridge. Margaret McVey recalls trout fishing in park in spring with her friends.

And we didn't have hooks, we had branches (?) that we used, and I think it was spruce needles that had a little worm in it, and we'd pull it apart and use it for bait. Because we all wanted to be swimmers we were looking for trout we could swallow whole so we could be good swimmers. I never did learn to swim—must not have swallowed the fish.

Apparently there was a childhood belief in a kind of contagious magic where consumption of the trout would lead to improved aquatic abilities.

Halibut and flounder are important bottom fish species to the Tlingit. Typically, they are found offshore but often move in towards the mouths of streams to feed on the remains of spawned out salmon that wash out into Sitka Sound. Herman Kitka identified two different flounder found at Indian River. The first, the starry flounder, "with black and white fins" was not consumed by humans but was a favored food item among seals, who would prey on them along the flats at the mouth of the Indian River, particularly in the winter. The other kind, known as the flathead sole (*dzánti*), were harvested by Tlingits. They are found in sandy areas, especially areas where there is fine gray sand, such as Thomson Harbor, and like to feed on small crabs. Flounder fishing holes were called *dzánti eedi* and their locations were well known. There are several in Sitka Sound, such as the one near the mouth of the creek at Thomson Harbor, that were favored by old time Tlingits as sources of winter food (Herman Kitka, interview).

Local halibut holes, or *chaatl eedi*, also were marked on subsistence harvesters cognitive maps. Traditionally, halibut frequently were taken in Sitka Sound in the winter

and dried at smokehouses at Indian River and other nearby camps, such as Middle Island. Herman Kitka remarked that little of the halibut was wasted. Even the backbone was used, and when smoked and boiled with potatoes made a rich and tasty meal.

At one time, red snapper (*tleikw*) could also be caught regularly at fish holes (*tleikw eedi*).

Sitka Sound was also renowned as the herring spawn capital of Southeast Alaska, and the intertidal areas in the vicinity of Indian River were among the best places to collect thick, quality spawn (*haaw*) on hemlock branches, the substrate favored by most Natives for collecting eggs. Perhaps the most famous landmark for herring harvest is Herring Rock (*Yaaw Teiyi*), the spawning site where the legendary Kiks.ádi woman dangled her hair to catch the spawn and was eventually turned into an owl (perhaps for violating a taboo against harvesting too many eggs or harvesting after dusk).¹² This rock, which was supplanted by construction of the Sheffield Hotel, is considered Kiks.ádi *at.óow*, and the geographic feature is a featured crest on a Chilkat Blanket, woven by Mrs. Gus Klaney of Chilkat, and known as the Herring Rock Robe (see Figure 3).

“We saw the herring come in hordes at the park,” remembers John Hope, and eggs were taken along the flat. The herring used to be so thick there, according to Herman Kitka, that “you were up to your knees” in eggs. The return of the herring to spawn in Sitka sound in March or early April was a special time of celebration, for it marked the beginning of the return of fish after the long winter. Young western hemlock trees with full branches were preferred for use in collecting herring egg depositions.

¹² There are several versions of this story (see Swanton 1909:176-177; SNHP Catalog No. 660).

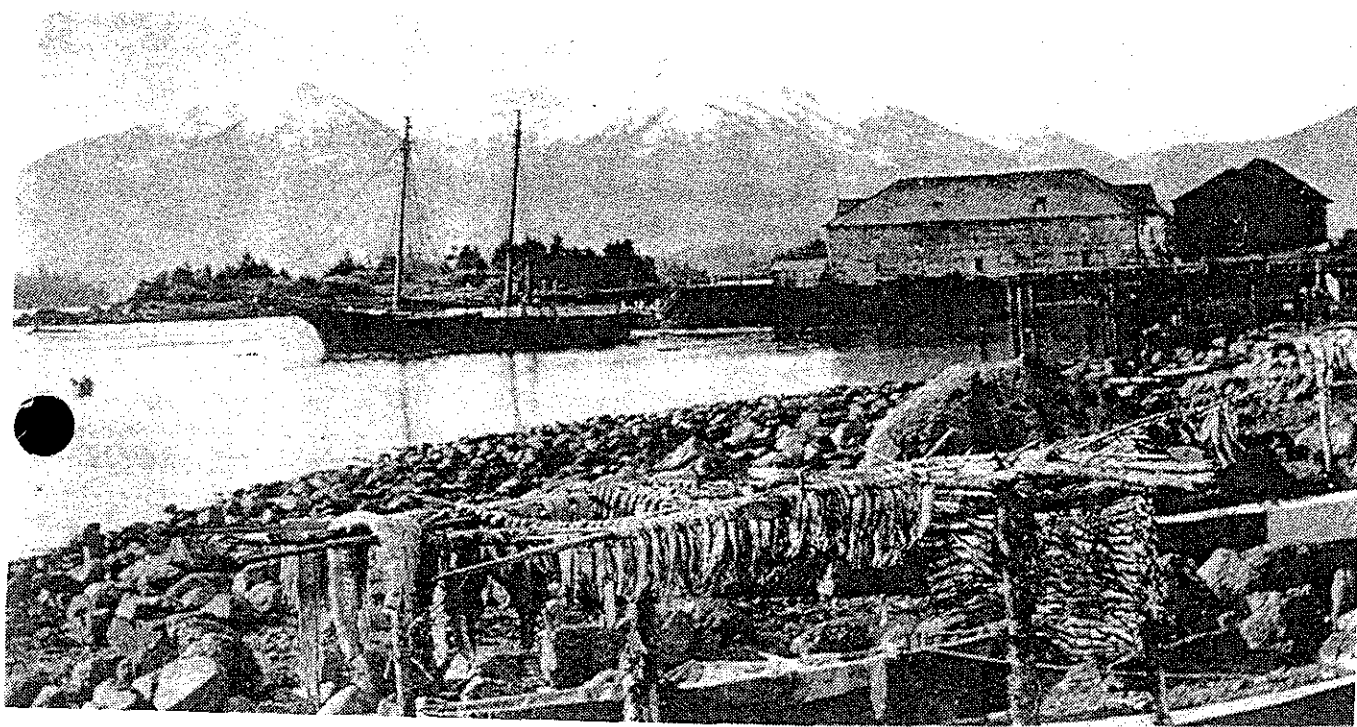


Figure 12. Herring camp near Indian River (from Emmons 1991:141).

Spawn was also harvested from the rocks and rockweed (*fucus*) in the intertidal area, and wherever else it was thick and of good quality. (Elsewhere, Natives also gathered herring eggs on macrocystis kelp and hair seaweed.) Although most families took only enough herring for their own consumption, some high harvesting families collected hundreds of pounds of spawn to distribute through trade and kin networks. Gil Truitt recalls that “when the beaches were clean, the herring spawned out here [along the shores of Jamestown Bay]. We put our branches here, and made sure there was no fine sand around, and they spawned all along here.”

Herring eggs were a prized food consumed not only at special occasions, such as Indian dinners and ceremonials, but also at home for meals and snacks. Tlingits also ate fresh and dried herring and rendered herring oil as a food condiment and preservative.

Figure 12 (from Emmons 1991:142) shows a turn-of-the century Tlingit herring camp in the vicinity of Indian River. The camps were used to dry herring, herring roe, and also to produce herring oil. As noted in Chapter One, even after the Kiks.ádi evacuated from Indian River as a result of the 1804 battle, they quickly returned the following spring to the Sitka Sound to harvest herring roe.

Though at one time, the herring spawn was thick at Indian River, after gravel operations began, the herring spawning shifted away from Indian River to other less disturbed areas, such as the beach by Teacher’s Island (below where the National Guard Armory stands) to the south of Indian River. Here, the fish were said to be so plentiful that “it was almost like you could walk over the herring it was so thick” (Isabella Brady, interview). Today, however, due to pollution and other concerns, few people harvest eggs in the immediate vicinity of the park.

Finally, smelt were reportedly abundant at one time and would be harvested opportunistically. The "smelt pool" was located below the present Visitor Center. "Apparently the tide would come in and cover this whole area. And when it retreated, the smelt would stay in that pond and it would dry up. There was still some water in there, but there was so many of them it would dry up" (Fred Hope, interview).

Shellfish and Marine Invertebrates

There is an expression in Tlingit, *Tlein da kwa goot*, that is sometimes translated as, "When the tide is out, the table is set." This axiom reflects the abundance of intertidal resources available to Tlingits and their cultural interest in these foods. Indeed the Tlingit themselves are sometimes referred to as "The Tides People" (Peck 1986).

The most important shellfish resources obtained at Indian River were clams, cockles, and dungeness crab. The contribution of shellfish and other invertebrates to the Native diet has often been undervalued in the ethnological literature. Archeological evidence from Angoon and other sites reveals large deposits of clam shells, particularly butter clams, suggesting that, historically, reliance on these resources was high. Moss argues that the undervaluing of shellfish is to partly due to ethnographers' emphases on high prestige foods, such as salmon, and male subsistence activities to the neglect of "beach food" and other low prestige gathering activities, many of which were conducted by women (Moss 1995).

On the other hand, good shellfish beds were celebrated, owned, and defended, and in Sitka, Indian River tidal flats, prior to its being disturbed by World War II era gravel operations, was recognized as being among the finest clam and cockle beaches anywhere

in Shee'tká Kwáan. And it was not just women who harvested shellfish, but children and men too; indeed, clamming was often a family project. Mark Jacobs Jr. (interview) suggests that one reason for selecting Indian River as fort site was that the resident population could subsist off the local food supply, especially shellfish, for many days. Given the timing of the Battle of 1804, in early fall, shellfish harvests may have helped to sustain the Kiks.ádi in the fort and on their march to Sitkoh Bay. “[I] Don’t know how long the Kiks.ádi were hold up in the stand off in the fort. Apparently they must have been able to still live off the land. If they had occupied any place in that area for two weeks or more, I’m sure that the number would hold up in there and they would replenish their food supply.”

Figure 13 shows shellfish and plant gathering areas in the vicinity of Sitka National Historical Park.

Cockles were among the most highly valued of the shellfish. John Hope (interview) describes this prized resource and how they were obtained:

[Cockles are] generally larger than clams.... And their shell, for want of a better term, is a corrugated shell, it’s a rough shell compared to clam. And it’s easier to gather except its not accessible all over, just accessible at certain places, generally sandy beaches. That’s what made it relatively easy to gather cause you can see the evidence of the cockle. Then when you disturbed them with the stick, they would shoot out water. They were probably two or three inches below the surface, or at most I guess they go much deeper than that. But at the time when were gathering, where it is at low tide, they are fairly close to the surface. You went through the park to get to that place.

One favorite beach was at Teachers Island: “that’s were Mrs. Cameron used to go to get cockles. Teacher’s Island had a real sandy beach between it and the mainland. And the cockles, of course, they squirted up and she would have a sharp stick and she would be poking in the sand and whenever they squirted up to us she’d gather the

cockles” (John Hope, interview). The sharp stick was developed by Native women especially for cockles, according to Fred Hope, “and they used that stick and they looked for squirting water from the cockles and they would just flip it out with that pointed stick...that was a fast, efficient method for processing [cockles].” Sticks fashioned in this way are still used for procuring cockles, though in some cases the wood models have been replaced by metal rods.

Two kinds of clams found at Indian River were important food items. Butter clams were an important staple and littleneck clams also were gathered. Indian River flats served as excellent clam beds, especially during the big minus tides of spring and fall.

Don Cameron would go there right at the point near where the blockhouse was. There’s a long flat beach there, but its relatively rocky. And he would dig clams there at low tide. We would usually go up there with a kerosene oil lantern, and [it was] very, very cold, especially for a young 8 or 9 year old little boy. And Mr. Cameron would be dipping his hands in cold water and getting the clams and putting them in the bucket. (John Hope, interview)

Former residents of the cottages who were interviewed had fond memories of clamming on the beaches. Margaret McVey (interview) commented: “[T]hat was a good clam beach! Even after I had children, Bob [her husband] and I ... we’d go there for clams in December, [when] it’s pitch black, carrying a lamp.” Similarly, Gil Truitt remarked, “Like everyone my age I can tell you how we dug clams and cockles, which were really abundant, something we all enjoyed doing. And those were the days before sewers so the beaches were clean, there were clams by the tons.” Other respondents agreed that the effects of gravel operations and other development of the Indian River area, which expanded during and after World War II, had negative effects on both the quantity and

quality of the shellfish. It was also suggested that competition for clams and cockles may have increased during this time, further compromising the once abundant supply of shellfish.

Dungeness crab also were abundant at Indian River, laying just off the edge of flats and below the outlet of the river. Before the advent of rings and traps, crabs were often speared in shallow waters. Reportedly, crabs at Indian River were considered small, however (least in recent times), and were not harvested intensively (Herman Kitka, interview).

Historically, king crab used to spawn in the vicinity of Indian River. Herman Kitka identified a rock offshore from the river around the base of which king crab spawned at a depth of approximately seven fathoms. He concluded this based on his observations of quantities of young king crabs that did not survive and washed up on the shores of the Indian River peninsula.

Plants

Location has a great deal to do with it.

—Henry Katasse, Tlingit Elder, on the harvest of fern roots (Newton and Moss 1984:20)

Like shellfish, the study of Tlingit knowledge and use of local plants has been a relatively neglected topic. A pleasant surprise of this research was the rich body of ethnobotanical information I was able to record concerning plants that were gathered for subsistence and medicinal purposes within the relatively small confines of the park. The harvest of plants was undoubtedly one of the most important traditional uses of Sitka National Historical Park. As with other resources, Indian River was popular both for its convenient proximity and for its productivity. The ecology of Indian River, especially its

broad sandy flats, made it an especially rich habitat for a wide range of culturally-important plants.

Good baseline data on plant harvests is available in Gmelch and Gmelch's 1985 community study of Sitka subsistence patterns. They report:

Plant gathering is the second most popular resource [sic] use activity in Sitka when measured by the number of households that engage in it. Seventy-seven percent of survey households had gathered berries, greens, roots, or mushrooms in the last year; 86 percent had done so in the last 5 years. More Sitka households collect wild plants than cultivate gardens.... In addition, 69 percent of the survey households had collected wood from local beaches, forests and ocean, primarily to heat their homes but also for construction, handicrafts, and smoking fish and game. (Gmelch and Gmelch 1985:118)

The following discussion of plant use is organized into four major categories: berries, green plants, roots and tubers, and bark and wood.

Berries

Berries comprised a significant part of the summer diet and traditionally were preserved in quantity. The harvest of berry fruits was considered a natural act, an aid to (re)production. Indeed, it was believed that if berries were not harvested, they would cease to ripen; this is especially true of salmonberries (Herman Kitka, interview).

Property owning clans and house groups claimed good berry patches just as they did salmon streams and halibut banks. Visitors were expected to seek permission from owners before gathering in such patches. In the park, the most important berry plants for Tlingits were blueberries, cranberries, elderberries, huckleberries, salmonberries, and thimbleberries.

A number of the cottage residents remembered harvesting salmonberries, blueberries, and huckleberries along the banks of the Indian River and elsewhere in the

park. Marta Ryman (interview) recalls going berry picking with girls her own age, including Helen Anderson and Rose Jacobson. Cottage residents made special trips to harvest berries. But harvesting was also opportunistic, as in the case of boys out gaffing salmon who would often take breaks to feast on the ripened blueberries, huckleberries and salmonberries in July and August (Herb Hope, interview). Although brown bears were present in berry season, especially upstream during the salmon runs, encounters were apparently few, and there was little fear. Some of the old timers would speak to the bears in Tlingit, saying, "Please don't bother us brother-in-law, we are just here to get our food like you." The reference to brother-in-law derives in part from the Tlingit story, "The Woman who Married the Bear," in which a young woman is seduced by a bear disguised as a man. Significantly, the setting for the story is a berry picking outing (see Thornton 1992).¹³

Berry picking areas varied according to season and the succession of the forest over time. There are also seasons in which berries, especially salmonberries, "take a rest" (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview), thus providing poor yield (the summer of 1996 was one such year, perhaps due to a late frost). General locations for berry picking are mapped in Figure 13. A favorite locale for berry picking was the old wagon bridge, which was washed away in 1942. Here salmonberry bushes were found on both sides of the river and you could take as much as you wanted, according to Isabella Brady. But the flood that washed out the bridge also destroyed many of the salmonberry bushes. Another place for choice salmonberry and blueberry patches was across Indian River on

¹³ Swanton (1909:135) recorded another interesting belief surrounding berries. His informant reported that "witchcraft may be imparted through berries. When women are gathering these, they do not pick up the ones that are dropped accidentally, no matter how many they may be, because that is what witches do." I

the shores of Jamestown Bay, where the salmonberries grew right on the beach (Margaret McVey, interview).

[W]e used to go... out past Jamestown Bay with [Mrs. Cameron] to pick salmonberries. And I always remember one day going there, I must have been about 9 years old, and we'd been going there year after year and this lady came out with a shotgun and said, "Don't you see that sign there? It says no trespassing." She had a shotgun and Mrs. Cameron couldn't understand that cause she couldn't speak English. And all of a sudden this [area] is out of bounds for our people. She'd been doing it forever... [but] this lady was very, very determined we wouldn't pick any of her blueberries. (John Hope, interview)

Such encroachments on traditional gathering areas became more common as Sitka's population increased and waterfront property became privatized.

Berries are relatively easy to harvest. This is one reason why the contemporary harvest of these plants remains high--77 percent of households in a recent survey (Gmelch and Gmelch 1985:118)--among Sitka residents. The seasonal berry harvest also overlaps with the salmon harvest at Indian River. Salmonberries and blueberries, the first to be taken, were abundant during the July and August pink salmon run. Both berries were eaten fresh as well as preserved. Salmonberry fruits come in different colors--red, yellow, and purple--all which were used, although Tlingits preferred the red ones. In early spring, around April and May, the green shoots of the salmonberry bush also were collected and eaten as a vegetable. "One of my grandfather's [Peter Simpson's] favorites was the salmonberry sprouts," remembered Isabella Brady (interview), "At the first sign of spring they'd have me look for that." This was also a favorite activity of Mrs. Cameron in early spring (John Hope, interview). The shoots, called *keit'*, were "peeled like bananas" and often eaten raw (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview).

Next came the thimbleberries in August and red huckleberries in August and September. Thimbleberries grow in forest clearings and along the shorelines, but are not

could not confirm this, however.

currently abundant at Indian River. Herman and Martha Kitka noted that the park Visitor Center was put right where the thimbleberries used grow, destroying their prime habitat.

Thimbleberries made the best jam, according to Martha Kitka (interview). But they also have a more coarse texture and seedy taste than huckleberries, which are more commonly gathered in late summer.

Huckleberry bushes are abundant in the forested areas and along the paths at Indian River. They are important winter food for deer. In Tlingit they are called *Teikatank*, or "one-sided berries." Like other berries they were eaten fresh as well as preserved. For a time, it seems there was an unofficial policy of discouraging Natives from picking berries or of saving the best huckleberry picking areas for the visiting tourists (Herman and Martha Kitka, interviews). Huckleberry and blueberry picking were often combined, and Mark Jacobs Jr. (interview) remembers that huckleberries sometimes were given to kids as a kind of "pacifier" while the adults went about the business of picking.

Elderberries, known as *yéil'* in Tlingit, ripened in August, giving a rich red texture to the edges of the beaches where they grow. Elderberries generally were not eaten fresh but could be boiled down to make preserves (Herman and Martha Kitka, interview). Another, less estimable use of elderberries was for making homemade or bootleg wine during the post-contact, pre-tavern era (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview).

Bog and lowbush cranberries were gathered mainly in September in the muskeg areas along the shoreline of Jamestown Bay and upriver. Gmelch and Gmelch (1985:125) report that these berries "are harvested in the mid-fall because the fruit is sweeter after a frost," adding that "Numerous informants reported that these tart berries

are becoming scarce at Sitka; some of the best patches were built over as the town expanded," possibly limiting consumption. At one time there were excellent cranberry picking areas upstream in the Indian River valley. A favorite spot for bog cranberries and cloudberrries was the area now occupied by the new Post Office (Martha Kitka, interview) which used to be a productive muskeg. Unfortunately, the habitat was destroyed when the area was drained and filled during construction. Highbush cranberries are also found within park boundaries.

Other berries that grow in the vicinity of Sitka include wild strawberries, gray currants, but these are less common in the Indian River area. Gray currants traditionally were an important late-season berry and were often used as a supplement and preservative for other berries or mixed with coho salmon eggs and aged to form a kind of head cheese. Other berries were common but seldom harvested because of meager fruit, poor taste, or toxic attributes. One example is the berry Tlingits call *Kooshdaaka Tleikw* ("land otter plant"), a low growing grape-sized berry (watermelon berry?) found in areas where ferns grow (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview).

In addition to home use, berries were an important trade and ceremonial item. Berries play an important function in memorial potlaches, where they are passed out among the visitors in large containers that are "raised" in honor of a particular guest and then shared with all those around the honoree in a kind of alimentary communion. The raising of the berry bowl and communal feasting on berries are symbolically linked to raising of peoples' emotions and spirits after the period of mourning, to the public recognition of guests of high status, and to the goal of promoting feelings of solidarity and *communitas* among the participants. Emmons and Isabel Shepard (1889:169, see

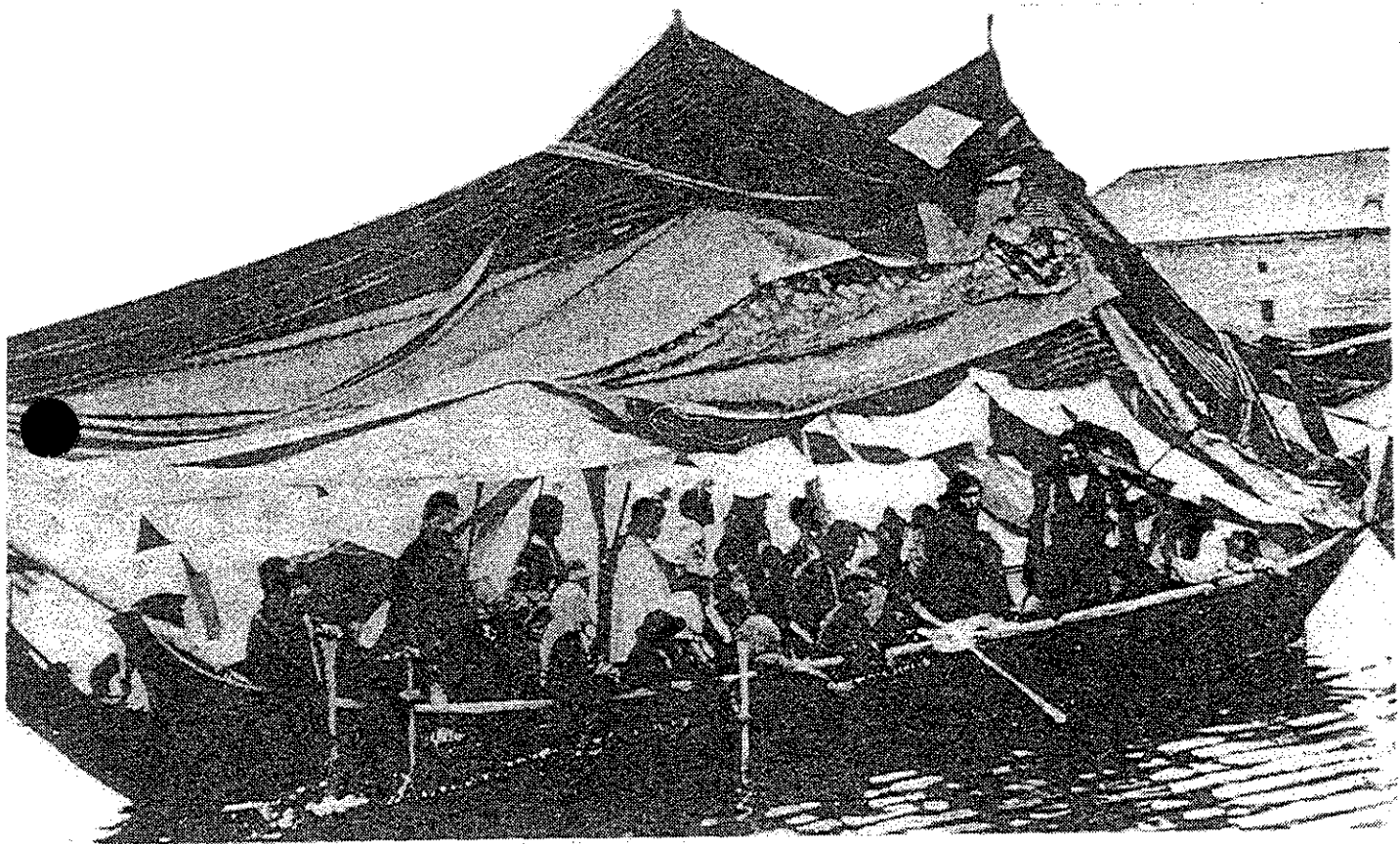


Figure 14. Canoes arriving for the Berry Feast at Sitka near Indian River c. 1889 (from Emmons 1991:323).

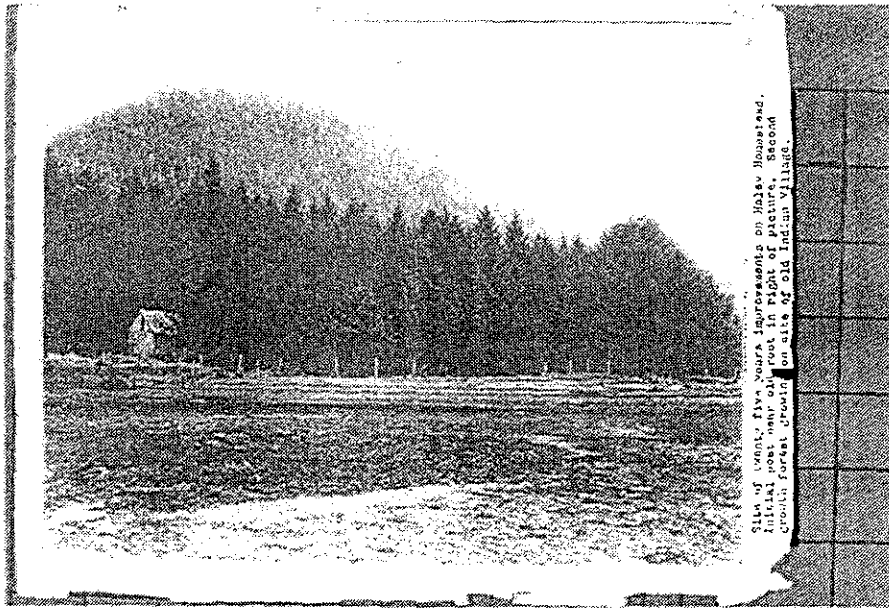


Figure 15. Haley's Homestead at Jamestown Bay, the former site of the Tlingit Village *Shaaseiyi.aan*, and a good berry picking area prior to World War II (from Smith-Middleton and Alanen 1997, Fig. 71).

Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park

Emmons 1991:323) report that special berry feasts were held regularly in the late nineteenth century. Emmons witnessed what he called a "berry potlatch dance" at Sitka in 1889 (see Figure 14, from Emmons 1991:323), and Shepard saw a similar event in 1888, the later falling on the first of August, or what the Tlingits termed "berry day." But I could find no evidence of such ceremonies within my consultants' memories. Herman Kitka suggested that some of these events (though probably not the August one) may have been associated with lenten activities in the Russian Orthodox Church, when consumption of meat was forbidden. In addition, berries were a desirable trade commodity. Sitkans, in particular, often traded with groups from Chilkat and Hoonah for berries not found (or not found in quantity) on Baranof Island, such as nagoonberries, soapberries, and bearberries.

In recent years, berry harvesting in the park by Tlingits has all but ceased, though it is not outlawed. Three primary reasons are cited for this trend. First, as berries are largely a summer group, berry pickers increasingly found themselves in competition with, or the objects of unwanted attention from, seasonal tourists. Second, some respondents reported that there had been a prohibition of berry picking in the park by the Park Service. Finally, one respondent reported that some of the berry patches were sprayed with a pesticide when he worked for the park trail crew in the 1960s and that this dissuaded some locals from harvesting there (Robert Sam, interview).

Green Plants

A number of edible and medicinal green plants were harvested at Indian River, including devil's club (*s'áxt'*), fiddlehead ferns (*s'áach'*), goosetongue (*suktéit'*),

Hudson Bay tea (*s'ikshaldéen*), Indian rice (*kóox*), skunk cabbage (*x'aal*), and wild celery (*yana.eit*). As noted above, the shoots of salmonberry bushes were also a favorite spring delicacy. Historically, all of these plants were found with convenient predictability and abundance at Indian River.

Perhaps the earliest green plants to be harvested in the spring were fern fiddleheads and roots, typically from lady ferns. The lady fern, which grows in shaded areas of the Indian River peninsula as well as upriver (especially at the base of hills), produces tender, edible fiddleheads, usually by mid April. They are sometimes eaten raw, but more commonly are steamed or boiled as a vegetable. Fern roots were also gathered in quantity during the early in spring. A Tlingit story (Swanton 1909:180) traces the of the origin of fern roots as a food to a slide (alluvial fan) at the base of cliff, where a girl became entrapped and her head and hair became fern roots, while her body became a ground hog. According to a Raven story, the roots of ferns were already cooked when harvested until one day Raven broke a stick over them; afterwards, they became green like the stick. Raven, it is said, "also broke the roots up into many layers one above another" (Swanton 1909:18). The roots traditionally were prepared by washing them carefully and then cooking them in a steam pit, lined with rocks and kelp or skunk cabbage, with a fire built on top. After they are cooked, they are peeled and the edible inside part, similar tasting to squash, is consumed. Fern roots were also partially dried and preserved in seal oil (cf. Newton and Moss 1984:20).

Goosetongue, a plantain, was gathered along the beach flats at the entrance to Indian River and from the "beach park" below what is now the park Visitor Center (Margaret McVey, interview). It traditionally thrived in these areas right along the tide

line. According Fred Hope (interview), the area around the blockhouse used to be filled with goosetongue: "And now if you go into that same area you are lucky if you can find one plant... [it's] almost died out." Most residents of the cottages remembered gathering goose tongue or observing their relatives doing so. Goosetongue can be picked as early as April and as late as August—giving one of the longest harvest seasons of any of the green plants—though spring shoots are said to taste better (Gmelch and Gmelch 1985:31). It was apparently only eaten in season, either boiled and consumed fresh or mixed with seal oil (Herman and Martha Kitka, interviews). Jacobs and Jacobs (1982:128) report that goosetongue "had a limited use when cooked with rice and sweetened with berries. In later years goose tongue has been used like spinach with rice and fish flavored with soy sauce. The older dish is no longer prepared. The same is true with salt water asparagus." The leaves of the plants could also be used to make a tea.

Another Tlingit favorite was Indian celery or *yaana.eit*, also known as cows parsnip and wild celery. *Yaana.eit* was harvested primarily in April and May. *Yaana.eit* is also known as "hunger plant" because of a legend involving Raven. "As he [Raven] was traveling along... a wild celery came out, became angry with Raven, and said, 'you are always wandering around for things to eat.' Then he named it wild celery [*yaana.eit*] and said to it, 'You shall stay there, and people shall eat you'" (Swanton 1909:16). Plants growing in indirect sunlight and close to the saltwater were said to produce the "fattest" stalks (Newton and Moss 1984:22). By the end of May, after the white flowers have appeared and the stems have darkened, the celery stalks become tough and bitter and are no longer considered fit for eating. John Hope (interview) remembers some of the ways wild celery from Indian River was prepared in the early to mid 1930s:

Right along the Indian River itself they had what they now call Indian Celery. [Mrs. Don Cameron] used to go there and gather Indian celery and that's one of the delicacies you eat. In those days they had sort of a strange combination, sometimes... [Tlingits would] dip it in sugar after they peeled it and sometimes in seal oil and sometimes a combination of the two. But they went and they gathered the celery; they called it *yaana.eit*. And also the salmonberry shoots. She'd go out there and gather salmonberry shoots.

Dipping *yaana.eit* in seal oil was said to prevent chapped lips (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview). The root of the wild celery was also boiled, wrapped in cheesecloth and used as a medicine to treat burns, soothe sore muscles, and ease arthritis (Herman Kitka, interview).

Mark Jacobs Jr. noted that another plant, a dark green cotton-like algae called *tsáats* (?) (silverweed?) in Tlingit, used to be gathered from the rocky areas of rivers and was dried, powdered, and used on celery. I could not confirm the scientific name for this species, however.

Another plant that was harvested in May was wild (or Indian) rhubarb or sorrel. This plant was closely associated with wild rice (see below) in terms of harvest areas and cultural use. When processing wild rhubarb only the leaves are used. Traditionally, the leaves were harvested in conjunction with wild rice, and the two were consumed together. Rhubarb is said to complement wild rice by counteracting its faintly bitter taste (Newton and Moss 1984:21,25).

Moving upland into the muskeg and mountain meadows, Hudson Bay tea was perhaps the most popular resource. The leaves of this plant may be collected year round, though they are largest in autumn and the sprouts are also sometimes peeled and eaten in the spring. The leaves are typically dried and made into a tea (see Gmelch and Gmelch 1983:131). Some Tlingits believed that Hudson Bay tea possessed medicinal qualities:

An old timer by the name of Billy Davis, Taka Eesh, he used to use the tea made from the Hudson Bay leaf—he called that *S'ikshaldéen*—he used to drink that tea slowly to counteract his asthma. It was important to him as a remedy to ease his breathing. I had never used his remedy for asthma myself... [As] you can tell from my voice now, I have a little problem with my breathing.

Other important green plants that were used but not harvested in abundance at Indian River include beach asparagus, fireweed, and nettles. Nettles are an early spring food, but are laborious to harvest and process; the stems of mature plants were used in making fishing lines (Newton and Moss 1984:22). Beach asparagus used to grow on the flats at Indian River but is not abundant now. It may still be found in thick mats at the heads of bays along the high water mark, “where the grassy areas encounter the salt water” (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview). It was eaten much like *yaan.eit*. Fireweed, concentrated along roadsides and clearings, was harvested for its tender, young shoots, which reportedly taste like asparagus; the shoots were typically steamed and dipped in seal or eulachon oil (Jacobs and Jacobs 1982).

The most important non-food plants at Indian River were devil's club, skunk cabbage, and medicinal saxifrage known as *Katkashaaya Náakw*. A member of the ginseng family, devil's club traditionally was employed as a tonic, purgative, cold medicine, analgesic, first aid ointment, and as an elixir for a range of other ailments (see de Laguna 1972:659; Newton and Moss 1984:25; Gmelch and Gmelch 1983:132-133; Schofield 1989; Emmons 1991:361-365; Pojar and MacKinnon 1994). It was used not only to purify the body but also to purify or protect space, such as houses (including the Russian Bishop's house at Sitka), baby cribs, and other objects of the built environment. The plant was also associated with the acquisition of knowledge and power among shamans. The great trickster, Raven, is reported to have said to a Tlingit man, “You are a

gambler but you can not win a thing. If you eat forty devil's clubs and fast many days you will become a great gambler ... then... make a house for yourself out of devil's clubs first and stay inside while you are fasting" (Swanton 1909). Mark Jacobs Jr. (interview) noted that devil's club leaves are featured in the regional Native health organization's (South East Alaska Regional Health Consortium or SEARCH) logo. Devil's club can be harvested year round. Occasionally, the shoots or inner bark were consumed as a food or condiment. Skunk cabbage was characterized by one respondent as "our tin foil," as the large, pliable leaves were employed in lining boxes for preserving foods, cooking pits for steaming foods, and even to manufacture drinking cups.

A lesser-known plant, of the wax-flower family, known in Tlingit as *Katkashaya Náakw*, was considered an exceptional remedy for fevers, coughs, asthma, and arthritis.

On this particular flower plant that I am talking about has an Indian name, *Katkashaya Náakw*; *náakw* is medicine. And I remember my grandmother-- when she was using a cane, still living in the village (we didn't move out of the village until 1934 when my dad bought a larger home at the other end of town) she wanted always to have her grandchildren escort her to the park, and we'd gather those leaves for her, flower and all. We'd have a little paper bag that we'd put it in and she'd take it home and know whether its gonna be the tea out of it or what, we never did stick around to watch how she prepared it. The only thing is we used to enjoy walking with her and talking Tlingit all the time. (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview)

Herman and Martha Kitka (interview) also singled out this plant as a most effective fever and cold remedy. To prepare the cough medicine, the leaves and flower of the plant were boiled in water and served as kind of tea or warm tonic.

The roots of salmonberry bushes reportedly also were employed as a cough or sore throat medicine. The leaves of other berry plants, particularly the jacoberry plant, were favored for making deer calls (Louis Simpson, Herb Hope, interviews).

Finally, certain plant materials were used in Native manufactures. Nettles have already been mentioned in this regard. Crab grass is a green plant that was used for dye in baskets and other handicrafts. According to Herman Kitka, it is best where it grows 2-3 feet high. It is boiled or steamed for about 10 minutes and mixed with salmon oil and a certain variety of black rock.

Roots and Tubers

The most important roots and tuber crops, other than fern roots (discussed above), were sweet-vetch or Indian sweet potatoes (*tséit*), silverweed (*tsáats*), and spruce roots.

Perhaps the earliest spring root to be harvested was *tséit*, or sweet vetch, sometimes referred to as "Indian carrots" or "Indian sweet potatoes." *Tséit* was gathered early as mid March before the plant flowers, as after this time it becomes increasingly bitter. The flats at the mouth of Indian River and other salmon streams were excellent habitat for *tséit*. The sunny areas are said to produce sweeter *tséit* (Newton and Moss 1984:20). Before World War II and the disturbances to the intertidal area, Herman Kitka (interview) remembered that Indian River had "big gravel flats covered with all the *tseit*." The gravel flats that only get covered by the big tides, he reports, are the best spots to find *tseit*. His favorite harvesting areas was below the solitary Raven pole, which used to have a nice gradual slope into the water.

The epic story of Kaakeix' wti, the northern Tlingit hero who ventured inland among the Athabaskans, provides a good primer on the harvest and preparation of *tseit*.

Next Kakeq!ute [Kaakeix' wti] showed the people [Athabaskans] how to dig up a certain root (*ts!et* [*tséit*]) found on the sand flats and taken before tops come upon it. Geese also live upon this root. He collected a lot of this and brought it to his wives, asking them whether they ate it. They said they did not,

and when they had tasted it they found it very sweet. This root tastes like sweet potatoes. Then the people took their canoes and went to get these roots for their winter's food. Each carried a hardwood stick with sharpened ends. He said, "This is women's work or for boys and girls. It is easy. Where I come from the women do that." After they had dug many roots he showed them how to dry these. He tied up a bunch of them and on top another until he had made a long string. Then he hung them up where they could dry quickly. He cooked them in pots. After the water is poured off from them, they move around as if alive, and for that reason, Tlingit widows do not eat them, fearing that they will make them nervous. After being cooked in pots they taste just as if fresh. (Swanton 1909:158)¹⁴

John Hope remembers harvesting *tséit* with Mrs. Cameron.

We also used the Indian River for the park area, for gathering roots. Mrs. Cameron took me down to help her, she was very, very elderly so I did most of the manual work. She would identify where to pick and what kind of root and the only kind of roots that we gathered were right along the shoreline where the erosion from a tide wore away. Most of the shoreline and the topsoil was exposed for maybe about six or seven inches of topsoil and the rest of it was gravel underneath. And the roots would be hanging underneath. We didn't dig for the roots, you got em from the bottom; you gathered them from the bottom. You didn't look for roots from the top, you went along the beach and where the topsoil was hanging over underneath there were these roots. And they were something like sweet potatoes when you boiled em, when you cooked em, you cleaned em, and then you boiled em and they were very, very sweet. She would look for those at a certain time of the year and maybe sometime when I come back here I'll look at those places.

Herman Kitka noted that good *tséit* patches around Sitka were considered very valuable and were "owned" by families or house groups. Some Sitka families also developed a sod method to harvest *tséit* that was considered more efficient than the traditional pointed stick or wooden shovel. The sod method worked by digging up whole "blankets" of roots. This method allowed for a larger harvest of roots and less damage to the roots of individual plants. But it also required great care and skill so as not to damage the roots or the habitat. This method of harvest was also a group project and typically

¹⁴ A similar comment about their "aliveness" upon cooking was reported to the author (Martha Kitka, interview); see also Newton and Moss (1984:21).

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was carefully supervised by an uncle (Herman Kitka, interview). *Tséit* is still harvested today by some families, but apparently not in the park. It is good for winter use and was cooked by boiling and could be dried or preserved in seal oil.

Indian rice or Kamchatka lily (also chocolate lily) was another major plant food source found in abundance at Indian River. The tubers of the rice were dug-up along the beaches, flats, and salt marshes in mid spring, around May, when they are least bitter. The bulbs were boiled and consumed like rice. As noted above, Indian rice might be supplemented with wild rhubarb in order to cut the bitter taste. Some Indian rice can still be found today, but beachfront development has limited supply and access.

Traditionally, the park was the considered among the most convenient places in Sitka to procure this important spring vegetable (Mark Jacobs Jr., John Littlefield, interviews).

Another important root for food was *s'in*, or Indian carrots, which, like *tséit*, were said to have been introduced to the Athabaskans by *Kaakeix'wti* (Swanton 1909).

However, these roots were apparently never abundant at Indian River. In the past, local Natives traveled to places like St. Lazaria Island to harvest this species, often in conjunction with bird egg collecting trips (Herman Kitka, interview).

Silverweed (*tsáats*), or Indian potatoes, was another resource identified with the park. Gmelch and Gmelch (1985:136) suggest that individual Natives traditionally owned patches of this plant and that "other members of the tribe could not dig them without obtaining permission." I was not able to confirm this for the Indian River area, although patches of silverweed are found there. Patches of *tséit* in Indian River, on the other hand, were reportedly owned, though not by individuals, but matrilineal groups.

Trees

The earth was originally covered only with moss, but through a trick, Raven obtained the roots or seeds for trees and bushes from the Sea Otters.

—Tlingit narrative from de Laguna (1972:792)

Spruce and hemlock dominate the mature forests of Indian River, and Sitka Tlingits put nearly all parts of both to good use. Both trees were believed to possess spirits (*aas yeik*) and thus had to be treated with proper respect before being cut down or otherwise acted upon. Sitka spruce provided wood for heating and smoking foods. As previously pointed out, after larger trees were cleared from the peninsula, it became a common practice to cut and trim trees in the upriver areas and then to float them down to the smokehouses for splitting. This became common practice among the cottagers (Isabella Brady, interview). In northern Southeast Alaska, spruce also replaced red cedar as the base material for construction of houses (traditional and modern plank style), poles, and canoes.

Spruce roots, used in the manufacture of baskets, twine, and host of other items, were best collected from trees growing near the flats of Indian River. According to Herman Kitka, these gravel sandbars produce the best quality roots because the “knuckles” or knots are far apart allowing for easy separation and processing of long root fibers. Tlingits historically wove spruce roots into baskets, a tradition that endures today among Native artists, but also used them for lashings, fish strings (to bundle dryfish) and, in historic times, for repairing fishnets.

Pitch from spruce trees was employed in a variety of ways. First, it served as a convenient combustible for starting fires quickly, especially at rainy campsites along

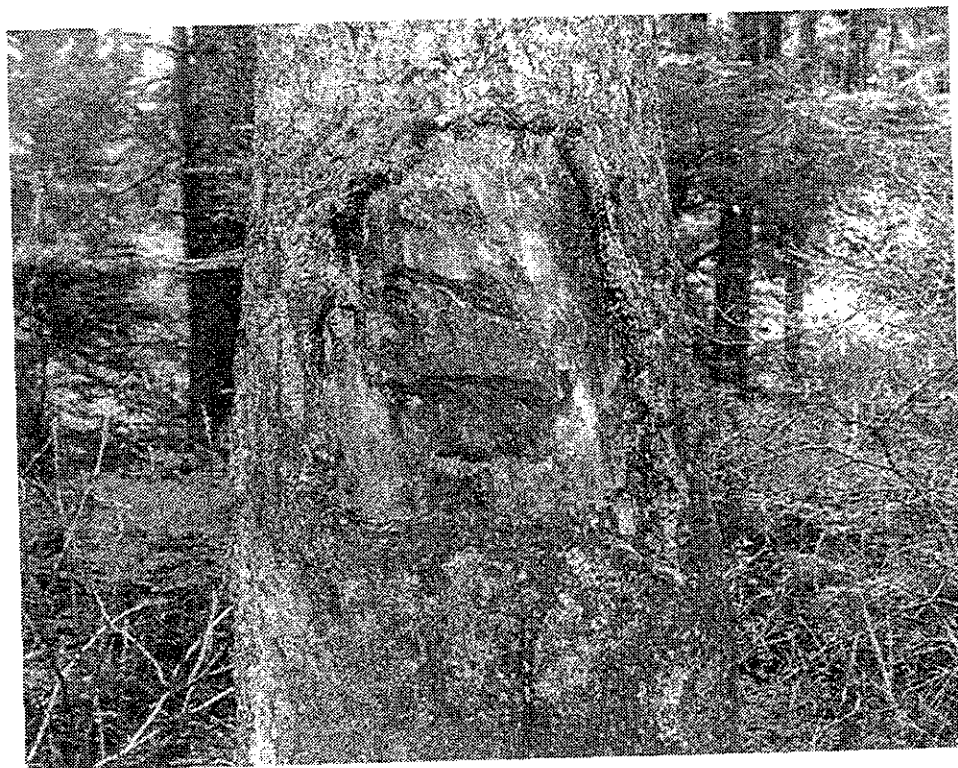


Figure 16. Culturally modified spruce tree at SNHP (Tom Thornton).

canoe routes. Second, spruce gum was used as a glue and filler in the sealing and repair of canoes and other watercraft. Medicines were also derived from spruce pitch. After gathering, the pitch was heated and then put on to cheesecloth and applied to sores, cuts, and boils (Herman and Martha Kitka, interviews). Sometimes the pitch was mixed with herbs believed to boost its healing effect on headaches, arthritis, and other ailments. As good sources of vitamin C, spruce syrup and spruce tea were recommended as remedies for coughs. (Fresh young spruce tips also were used for making jams, syrups, and tea.) Spruce gum was obtained by removing a section of bark from a tree with an adze or other tool (see Figure 16). Thousands of culturally-modified spruce trees can be found throughout Southeast Alaska.

As with the spruce, nearly every part of the hemlock traditionally was exploited for subsistence. There are actually two varieties hemlock trees found in northern Southeast Alaska: the dominant western hemlock and the the mountain hemlock. Both were referred to as *yan* in Tlingit terminology, but the different qualities of the two trees were well recognized. Western hemlock has a "fishscale" patterned bark and relatively flat needles and is preferred for the rendering of the sap (*s'ax'*) (obtained by scaping inner bark), as well as for procuring branches for use in gathering herring spawn. The bark of the western hemlock was also used to make trays for drying berries. Mountain hemlock, in contrast, was used primarily for fuel (Herman Kitka, interview).

Hemlock was used for wood fuel, manufactures (such as in stays for basket-style fishtraps), and food. The inner (cambium) layer of the hemlock was rendered into an important spring foodstuff, known as *s'ax'*. An excellent description of its harvest and

preparation methods, as well as the traditional division of labor, is provided in the narrative of the northern Tlingit hero, Kaakeix'wti:

When spring came on, Kake'q!ute [Kaakeix'wti] also showed them [the Athabaskans] a certain tree and said, 'Don't you know how to take off the bark of this tree and use it?' They replied that they never knew it could be eaten. So he took a limb from a hemlock, sharpened it, and showed them how to take off the hemlock bark. After that he took big mussel shells (yis! [yees]) from his sack and said, "Do you see these? This is the way to take it off." After he had obtained quite a pile of bark, he showed them how to eat it, and they thought that it was very nice, because it was so sweet. Then he sharpened some large bear bones on a rough rock, gave one to each woman and said, "use it as I have used the shell." Each woman's husband or son stripped the bark off the tree, and the women sat down with the daughters to help them and separated the good part. He was teaching the people there to live as do those down on the ocean.

Next [Kaakeix'wti] collected a lot of skunk cabbage, dug a hole... and lined it with flints.... Then he made a fire on top of these rocks to heat them, and afterwards threw a little water upon them, filling up the remainder of the pit with successive layers of skunk cabbage and hemlock bark. Over all he spread earth and made a fire above.... In the morning... they... [uncovered] the hole... It was so savory that the whole village was scented with it...

After he had taken the bark out a quantity of water was left, which they poured out into their dishes. Then he put the cooked bark into a dish and pounded it with a masher. After he pressed the cakes very hard and made a hole in one corner of each in order to hang it up. The cakes dried very quickly. Some cakes they put away dry, and some that were dried very hard they put into oil. (Swanton 1909: ??)

Harvest and production of *sax'* also took place at Indian River and other areas near Sitka. A. P. Johnson (Audiotape #11) reported that strips of bark were taken in two foot sections and that the inner bark was scraped off in 4 to 6 inch strips before being put in skunk cabbage-lined pits for heating. In addition to its food value, traditional Tlingits believed that hemlock pitch had medicinal value.

Hemlock bark itself was used in the construction of shelters and houses (de Laguna 1972:305), for drying racks for berries, as a medicine or curative, as an epidemic preventive (de Laguna 1972:710), and in the production of certain dyes (de Laguna 1972:429; Emmons 1991:449).

Hemlock boughs, preferably from young trees with full branches, provided substratum (*haawdahaa*) for use in collecting herring egg depositions. The branches were cut and anchored in the shoreline areas where herring spawn. In addition, hemlock boughs reportedly once were used to flagellate young boys as a means of toughening them physically.

Other trees found in Sitka National Historical Park that were of use to the Tlingit include red alder (*sheix'w*) and beach alder (*keishish*). Beach alder was preferred for smoking and flavoring fish, while red alder was favored for use in dyes and for carving objects such as masks, bowls, and spoons.

Hunting and Trapping

Hunting and trapping activities remained popular in the vicinity of Indian River—though not in the park—until World War II. During and after the war, however, development limited hunting and trapping opportunities in the Indian River lowlands, and residents increasingly went farther up the valley or elsewhere to hunt and trap.

Hunting

Indian River was especially productive for deer, the most important terrestrial wildlife resource for subsistence. Beaver, land otter, and mink were also available in quantity in the area prior to being trapped out by Russians and Indians involved in the fur trade (Herman Kitka, interview).

Elders from both the cottage and village communities remember hunting deer up Indian River. Deer were plentiful observed Isabella Brady (interview), "because my dad...an excellent hunter...just went up into the swamps a little ways when he wanted venison." Louis Simpson (interview) remembers shooting his very first deer at Indian River at age 12 with a 22 single shot rifle. In lean years, he and others relied heavily on the abundance of deer at Indian River for food and barter. One year Mr. Simpson took 46 deer "back up Indian River," all of which were used by his household or shared with other family and friends or traded.¹⁵

Like many Native hunters, Mr. Simpson was proficient at calling deer using nothing more than ordinary berry leaf (jacobberry was preferred) which was softened and formed in the mouth to produce the desired sound, a noise similar to a bleating fawn. But blowing deer calls can be hazardous. One deer charged so quickly it had to jump over his wife. Similarly, Herman Kitka recalled blowing a deer call when all of the sudden "two hunters came at me," apparently mistaking him for their prey. On another occasion, Mr. Kitka reports that a young man was killed at Indian River in a hunting accident. The victim apparently was carrying his deer upright and it was mistaken by another hunter for a live animal. "Bears will attack deer carried that way too," he commented. Several respondents also noted how deer used to come down Indian River in the late fall and winter to feed on the beach growth (M. McVey, interview) or even the locals' rhododendrons (Herman Kitka, interview).

Before the advent of modern clothing, most parts of the deer were used, including the meat, tallow, hide, and selected internal organs such as the heart and liver.

¹⁵ A whole deer could be sold for \$25 during the days of commercial hunting, a practice outlawed in the 1920s. Limited barter of deer meat for cash and other resources continues today

Jacobs and Jacobs (1982) note that the deer liver and heart could be placed inside the stomach (along with other preferred ingredients) which was then filled with hot rocks to cook the mixture, yielding a choice dish. A 1985 survey of Sitka Natives found that 100 percent of the households interviewed still consumed the heart and liver of deer in addition to the meat (Gmelch and Gmelch 1985:57). Hides are often discarded today, however. Before freezers, Natives smoked and stored deer meat in seal oil or cooked it fresh.

Birds provided another major source of food for hunters. Grouse and ptarmigan traditionally were favorite fall and spring foods, taken with snares or projectiles. However, as Herman Kitka (interview) explains, the abundance of grouse declined significantly in the 1930s when marten (along with mountain goats and pheasants) were brought to Baranof Island.² "The grouse and pheasants were wiped out by the marten," he notes, "and they've never recovered." Today marten continue to thrive at Indian River (see Figure 17), while grouse and ptarmigan populations remain depressed. As a potential solution, Mr. Kitka recommends introducing grouse from Admiralty Island "that have learned to cope with the marten."

Seabirds, including ducks and geese, can be found at the mouth of Indian River seasonally and were taken for food at one time. Now, however, restrictions prohibit hunting in this area; in addition, other areas such as the Katlian Bay-Nakwasina area are considered to have better concentrations of birds. Mark Jacobs Jr. noted that brants and geese were the favored species for subsistence hunting at Indian River. However, their numbers gradually declined as the landscape changed and tide pools that used to exist

along the lowlands of Indian River peninsula slowly disappeared. Occasionally, too, songbirds were taken in the vicinity of the park. For example, Native children playing in the park sometimes hunted robins with slingshots (Herman Kitka Jr., interview).

In the past, brown bears were hunted for subsistence purposes and the meat, fat, hide, and other parts of the animal were used (cf. Thornton 1992). Today, however, they are generally only taken for trophy and in defense of life or property. Nearly everyone interviewed made mention of the presence of brown bears, especially during and after the fall coho run, but few considered bears to be a problem at other times of the year. While bears are seen as competitors for fall coho at Indian River, some elders note that they also serve a positive function by "keeping the fish moving" (Herman Kitka, interview). "When the bears come down the valley in fall time," Herman Kitka noted, "the dogs would go wild." On occasion, nuisance bears were shot in the vicinity of the park or cottage community.

Generally, it seems that few marine mammals were taken in close proximity to Indian River. Occasionally harbor seals were shot or speared on the flats at the mouth of the river as an incidental harvest to fishing or some other activity, but otherwise marine mammals were rarely targeted at Indian River. Other harvesting locales were considered more productive and efficient for harvesting.

¹⁶ This statement was corroborated by Margaret McVey and Mark Jacobs Jr. in interviews.

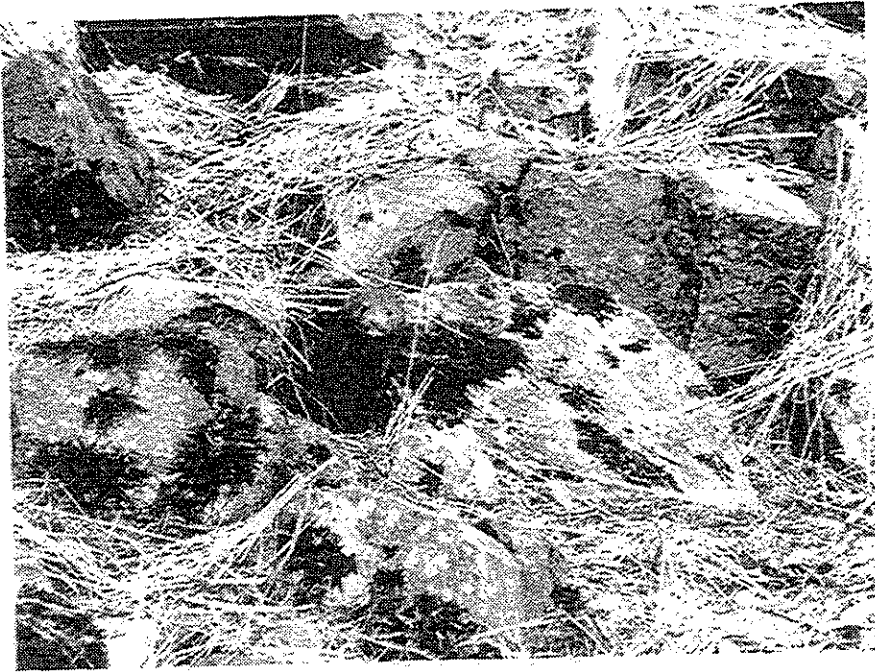


Figure 17. Marten in SNHP, July 1996 (Tom Thornton).

Trapping

Local Native trappers found Indian River to be a very productive area for furs up until the mid-twentieth century. The focal species were beaver, land otter, marten (introduced in 1934), and mink. Though once common, beavers were essentially trapped out during the Russian fur trade period. Land otter were considered among the wildest of species to trap, but Southeast otters were considered high quality and fetched a good price. Since their introduction, marten have been the favored species for fur trappers. Unlike Southeast land otters, Southeast mink are not considered to possess high quality fur in comparison to their northern neighbors. In addition to these species, red squirrels were sometimes targeted for their fur.

Herman Kitka and Louis Simpson both reported trapping for land otter, mink, and marten along Indian River prior to 1950. Simpson employed #2 and #3 leghold traps and had good success using squirrel for bait. His mother, Esther Littlefield, used to make gloves and other handicrafts from the furs he brought home.

Nutritional Qualities of Indian River Subsistence Foods

In this section, we have examined the production and use of a wide variety of foods harvested at Indian River. Together these foods not only contributed a significant portion of the traditional Native diet, especially for members of the possessing Kiks.ádi clan and, later, the nearby cottage community, they also offered a balanced nutritional portfolio. The basic nutritional value of key subsistence foods has been documented in

several studies (Drury 1985, Newton and Moss 1984). Appendix B, reproduced from Newton and Moss (1984:38-41), shows the nutritional content of many common Native animal and plant foods.

Finally, the important role of Indian River as a source of water must be emphasized, as this is the most basic element of nutrition and the human body and the wellspring of life. For the cottagers, Indian River was the main source of freshwater. Prior to plumbing facilities, boys and girls were assigned the task of transporting water from the River to their homes. Though an arduous task, it is one recalled with fondness by residents of the mission settlement.

RECREATION

What I remember is that we had such freedom. We weren't afraid of anything; there was nothing to be afraid of.

—Margaret McVey, Kiks.ádi elder and former cottage resident

For the residents of the Model Cottage Settlement, the park and its immediate environs were as much a playground as a subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering area. In addition to its proximity to the cottage community, the park's domesticated landscape, with its cleared trails, open fields (including the old fort site), unique structures (such as the Russian blockhouse), sweeping vistas, and stream of visitors made it an especially attractive place to play for children. Children especially, could find freedom in the park—freedom to play and explore—with little danger, as Margaret McVey's quote above

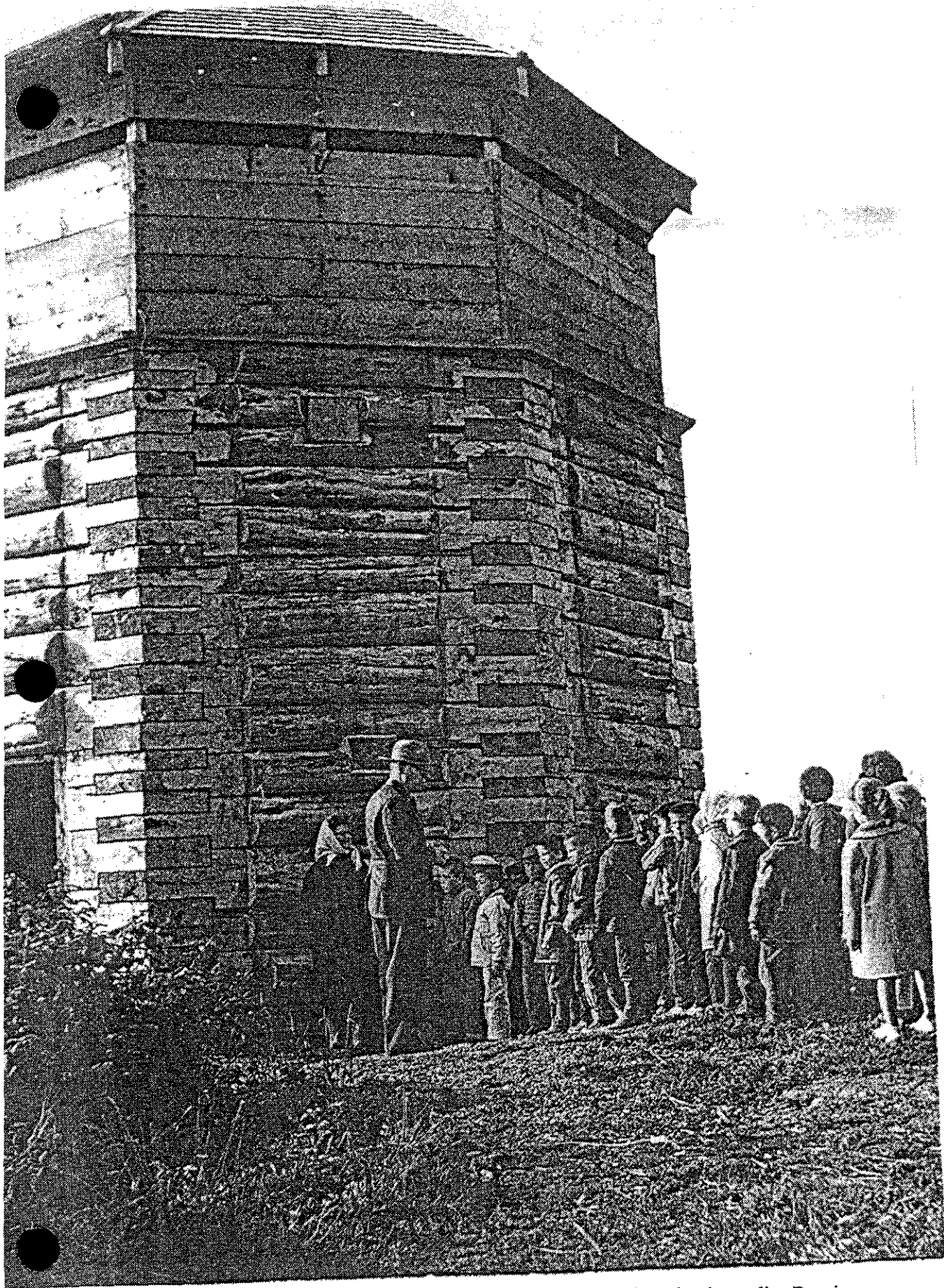


Figure 18. Former Park Historian George Hall talks to a group of students by the replica Russian blockhouse in the park, c. 1957 (courtesy of George Hall).

suggests. Many respondents commented on these unique features of the landscape in characterizing the use of the park as a recreational site.

Major forms of recreation in the park included games, picnics, crafts, and walks. Cottagers favored the park as convenient site for team sports such as baseball, touch football, "hit the can," and "cowboys and Indians." John Hope remembers,

We'd go down there and we'd have a lot of fun playing in the open fields. Wherever there was an open area... by the blockhouse was relatively open. And we, Gilbert Truitt and Joe [??] and I and the rest of the cottage kids would go down there and play our version of touch football. We didn't know much about football, but we'd play our version of it because it was an open field. Where I lived right at the entrance of the park was a fairly large field; [it] was really small, but for us we thought it was a large. That's where we played baseball and we played it with a hardball.

Louis Simpson remembers "playing all kinds of games" at Indian River. Perhaps his favorite was "hit the can," a game not unlike urban stickball or simplified baseball. In this game the batter would hold his bat in a hole which sat behind a standing can. The pitcher would then try to throw a ball at the can and the batter would attempt to hit the ball. If the pitcher hits the can, then the batter is called out. If the batter hits the ball then he runs to a "base," usually another hole. Each touch of the base counted as a run, and a hitter continued until the pitcher was able to get the ball past him and hit the can.

Cowboys and Indians was another popular game among the boys of the cottage. These dramatizations were based on what the kids saw in the movies, however, rather than on any oral history of Tlingit warfare or the Battle of 1804. To emulate the great battles of the screen, the would-be plains Indians needed a suitable stage to act on; they found one in the grassy, open area around the blockhouse (see Figure 18). When these dramas drew the attention of tourists, some of the boys converted them into a kind of a pay-per-view show in the blockhouse itself. According to Isabella Brady, the tourists

were interested in “the Indians dancing with tomahawks and stuff so they just would dance in the blockhouse and pass the hat around and they got some money that way, I thought that was pretty good that they could like that.” According to John Hope, one of the actors, they sometimes charged 10 cents admission, and the tourists would not only sit for the show but also ask questions. Thus, this form of recreation turned into an entrepreneurial activity.

The blockhouse itself holds special memories for the children who grew up around the park. This venue provided great climbing and exploration opportunities; it also was used as meeting place, a lookout, and a refuge from the outside elements. George Hall (interview) remembered that kids often played in the facility, and that when it fell into disrepair, he used to have to chase them out of there for fear “that the whole thing would come down upon them.” Indeed, safety concerns were one reason why it was decided to remove the blockhouse from the park in the early 1960s.

In addition to cowboys and Indians, another game of combat among the boys involved constructing forts at various places throughout the park, using natural features and material. The boys would then attack each others’ forts with spruce cones (Mark Jacobs Jr., interview).

“Without touching the ground,” was the name of a challenge game that combined climbing skills and knowledge of the arboreal landscape. This game involved climbing a tree and then going “as far as we possible could from tree to tree without touching the ground.” The best spot for this game was from near the entrance to the park and down to the first totem pole (John Hope, interview).

Traditional Tlingit Use of Sitka National Historical Park

Girls also participated in athletics and other forms of recreation, but often separate from the boys. Isabella Brady remembers setting up obstacle courses with her friends in the park; these courses were used for recreation and to train for track and field events. A broad jump was erected near the entrance and part of the course involved crossing the river in a way akin to the steeplechase event. The girls also played ball games and held other contests down by the blockhouse and at the old fort site.

“What I remember,” said Margaret McVey, “was just going for walks.” Because of its network of trails, viewscapes, offshore breeze, flowers and other attractions, the park was ideal place for strolling. Walks were made with friends, family, and even pets, but Tlingits also reported seeking solitude in the park on occasion, as it was ideal contemplative setting. As John Hope said, “I used to really love to go off by myself and I had to cause I had TB and I had to stay away from people. I was pretty much a loner. But I would go up the dam and sit there and just contemplate and just enjoy nature.” Though no one interviewed reported using the Lover’s Lane trail for courting, all were familiar with the nickname and that aspect of park use. The name itself stemmed from the custom of young couples going for intimate walks on the lane. As John Hope notes, as the area became more of an official park with activities for tourists, this designation gradually faded.

Meeting and observing visitors was another source of amusement. In the summers, of course, many visitors would come to the park from all parts of the country and abroad. In addition to performing for and guiding them, some local Natives would converse with them on various topics. The omnipresent cottagers especially had frequent contact with park visitors. And apparently visitors to the park used to do some strange

things, including, on occasion, shooting at the plaque dedicated to Mr. Merrill (the famous photographer and designer of the totem exhibit) that now stands mounted on a large rock on the point just Northwest of the park Visitor Center near where Peter Simpson's boathouse used to stand. John Hope recalls seeing a man shooting at the plaque and noticed later that there were bullet marks in it. Similarly, Louis Simpson observed a woman take aim at the same monument from a short distance and the bullet ricocheted and hit her in on the side of the face. "It was crazy," he noted. He pointed out to me where various bullets had struck the monument.

Listening to the tourists and the information they received could be as interesting as observing the visitors. Cottager John Hope recalls one disconcerting event, however.

One of the strangest ones from my recollection...Mrs. Cameron had told me the story of a totem pole [See Figure 19] that was right by the footbridge. It had a bearded white man on the top and on the bottom it had a beaver with a checkerboard on its tail. And she said that represented the man in town [perhaps W.P. Mills] who was really wealthy, but he acquired his wealth by cheating the Indians. That's what she said. And she said that checkerboard on the bottom represents gambling and that he cheated us of our furs. And one day I was watching Charlie Hailey, he was an old Caucasian guy, and he had a large group of tourists and he was telling them all about that totem pole. And he said, "you see that man on the top, the Indians revered him so much that they honored him with a memorial totem pole." And I was only about twelve years old, and I thought that's kind of strange, that's not the way I heard it. Then later on you find that a lot of this occurs and non-Natives sometimes don't get the stories straight... miss[ing]... entirely some of the messages that are being conveyed by the totem poles.

Cottagers frequently used the open areas along the peninsula for picnicking.

Picnics were a common family activity as well as common church and school events.

Picnics also were staged in conjunction with commemorative events among the Kiks.ádi clan (see below).

Crafts comprise another broad category of recreational activities. In May, cottage women gathered materials to make wreaths. Spring was also a popular time to pick

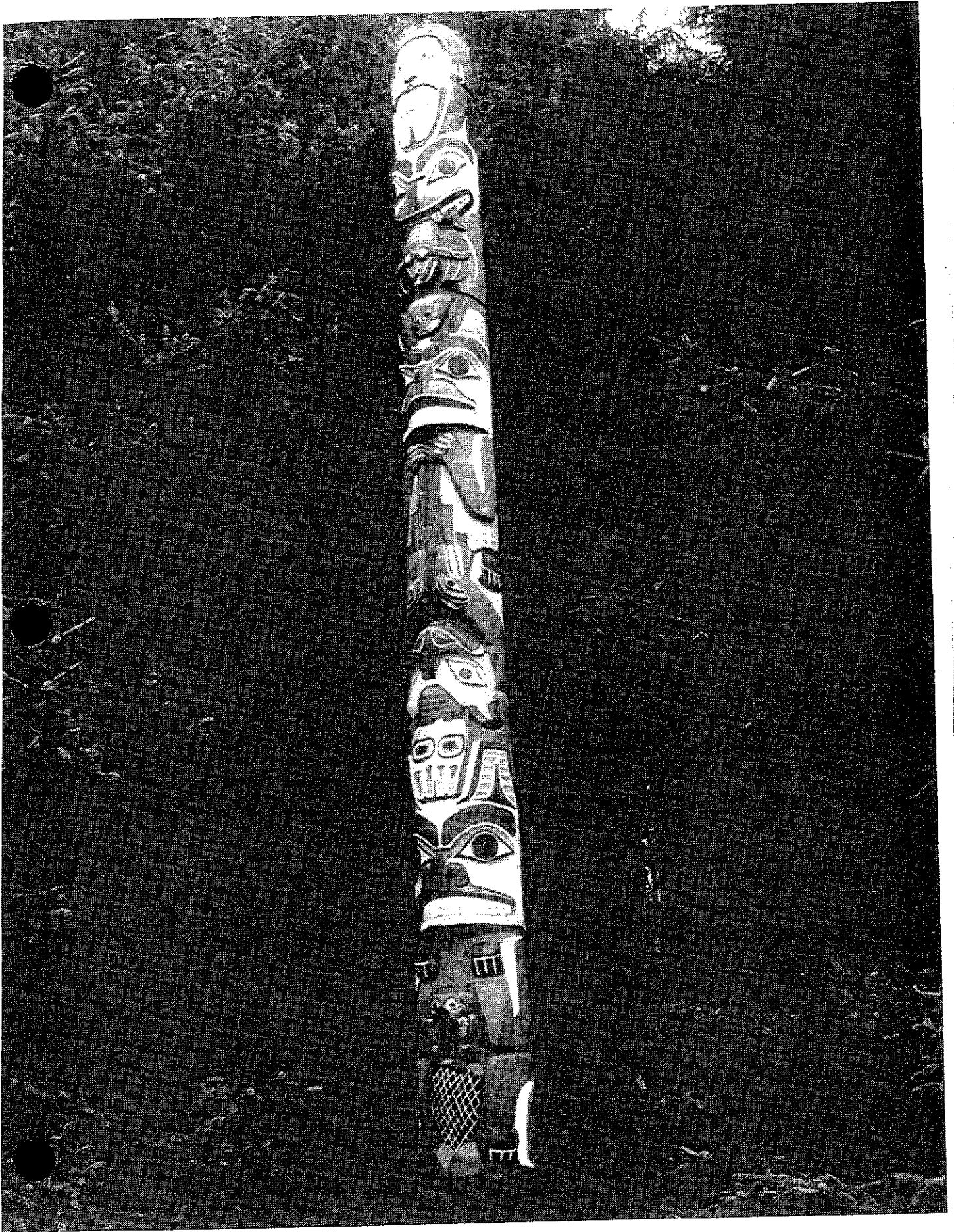


Figure 19. The Trader Legend Pole (Merrill Collection).



flowers for drying and arranging. Margaret McVey remembered the bluebells in particular. Shells, cones, wood, and other items were collected for using in making crafts.

ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITIES

Entrepreneurial activities may be defined as the sale of goods or services within the park. They include a wide range of projects carried out by young Natives as well as adults. Goods sold included foods, fur, shells, and Indian crafts. For example, Isabella Brady recalled,

I used to sell shells at the entry way of the park before it all got changed, and my mom and dad used to go out to get shells-- abalone shells, sea urchin shells and I had my little...enterprises...

Another activity was the hunting of squirrels for furs. John Hope (pc) remarked, "when I was 11 or 12, we went down there and we had slingshots and somehow we heard that people were buying squirrels-- squirrel fur. And we would go down there and we'd--we were very accurate with our slingshots-- and we could get those [squirrels]... I never was able to sell any fur, but I got a few squirrels.

Handicrafts sometimes were sold at the entrance to the park. Baskets, carvings, and other crafts were put on display for tourists see and purchase.

Tlingits also performed vital services at the park, including giving tours and performances and providing maintenance. Isabella Brady noted that she was a "self appointed guide." She would give tours to visitors and would tell stories about the park, spinning her own tales on occasion, to the delight of the tourists. Evidently, there was great demand to learn details of the local Native culture. Providing interpretive tours was

one way that local Natives satisfied that demand. Another was by performing the so-called "Indian war dances." As John Hope describes,

At one time when we were very, very young and full of mischief we decided we'd charge the tourists admission to watch war dances. And we just copied the dances we saw in the movies and we did a lot of whooping and hollering and we'd charge them 10 cents to get in there. That didn't last very long but the tourists really would ask us questions.

Finally, local Tlingits played a variety of roles in maintenance of the park. One of the more amusing tasks for kids was chasing the cows from the Burkhardt homestead across Indian River back to their property. The cows would venture across the river at low tide, perhaps in search of "greener pastures," and Peter Trierschild, a caretaker at the park, would pay the children 10 cents to chase the cows back to the Burkhardt homestead. The bovine droppings were considered objectionable to the tourists. Tlingits also helped Mr. Trierschild clean up the park in the summers by raking up spruce needles and other debris along the paths and in the clearings. Relatedly, according to Louis Simpson (interview), at one time the government paid five dollars for a gunny sack of spruce cones which he collected in the park by robbing the caches of red squirrels.

Although these entrepreneurial activities do not comprise long and established traditions, they were the source of creativity, amusement, and income, particularly for Tlingit residents of the cottages. In that sense they provided important life lessons and are the source of rich memories for those who capitalized on such opportunities within the park.

COMMEMORATIVE, SPIRITUAL, AND OTHER COMMUNAL ACTIVITIES

The record of commemorative and spiritual activities that have been held in the park reflect the fact that it remained a sacred landscape among the Kiks.ádi and other segments of the Tlingit population despite Russian and American dispossessions and the forces of cultural assimilation. Important commemorative activities at the park include memorial picnics and marches honoring those who fought and died the Battle of 1804 and the raising of totem poles honoring the ancestral history of those clans now residing in Sitka. Spiritual activities include the Tlingit memorial picnics as well as Christian services. Finally, there has emerged in the last 30 years a growing tradition of using the park buildings as a kind of communal clan house for the production of traditional art forms, the safekeeping of important clan *at.óow* ("owned things"), and the staging of important events, such as meetings, workshops, and ceremonies. All of these traditions have served to reinforce Tlingits ties to the park and their identification of the landscape as a sacred one.

Kiks.ádi Memorial Picnics and Survival Marches

Several Tlingits recalled witnessing memorial picnics, hosted by the Kiks.ádi, to honor those who died at the Battle of 1804. These memorial picnics were staged at several different clearings along Indian River, including the fort site itself (see Figures 20 and 21). According to Bill Brady (see Smith-Middleton and Alanen 1997), the Kiks.ádi would meet regularly "around the time of year the salmonberries are ripe" to commemorate the battle. The participants sang mourning songs, danced, and made

speeches, and typically an offering was made to the spirits of the deceased. John Hope describes the memorial picnics he witnessed as follows:

The open field where the fort was (and I didn't know where the fort was and I didn't know it was a fort—I didn't know the significance of that field but) I did see the women go down there every summer and have a little ceremony. The songs they sang were generally sad songs. They were beautiful songs. It was almost like a picnic but not quite, it wasn't festive like a picnic. But there were things like cookies and things like that there. The women would go down and they would visit the site.

Gil Truitt remembered witnessing a Kiks.ádi memorial picnic in the 1930s at the clearing just beyond the blockhouse. Like John Hope, he was young and didn't quite know what he was witnessing at the time, but watched the proceedings with his brother. "We laid in the bushes and just watched them, and, of course, we were envious. And it wasn't until years later that I knew what it was for." Dr. Truitt remembered that few cottagers were involved in the ceremonies; rather, it was mainly the villagers. Figure 20, dating perhaps to the 1920s or early 1930s, depicts one of these events occurring, probably in the vicinity of the blockhouse.

Only a few details are known about who organized and participated in the memorials among the Kiks.ádi. Evidently, Sally Hopkins was one of the main organizers and, according to her daughter Amy Nelson (personal communication to Sue Thorsen), gave two or three memorials in the park when Amy was a young girl. Usually, the parties were thrown at the end of the cannery season, when Mrs. Hopkins would instruct her children (speaking in Tlingit): "Come on, wake up! We need to give a party!" Mrs. Nelson noted that this meant that the "Kiks.ádi needed to renew their connection with the land around the [Indian] River.

1920-1940 Interview Map

The park was a playground for the neighborhood children, where they used to play all sorts of games. Near the entrance, Isabella Brady remembers that they had broad jump and an obstacle course, which included having to cross the river. Gill Truitt remembers playing in the blockhouse and playing baseball at the end of the peninsula.

There was a deep pool in the river under the old car bridge where they used to gaff salmon and get 15 to 30 at a time. (Bill Brady)

LEGEND	
	TOTEM LOCATION
	APPROXIMATE TREELINE LOCATION
	PARK BOUNDARY (PER 1919 MAP)
	INDIAN RIVER/SITKA SOUND
	APPROXIMATE RIVER BANK LOCATION
	POWER TRANSMISSION LINE

Herb Didrickson remembers collecting wild celery which grew in the sunny, sandy stretches of river bank.

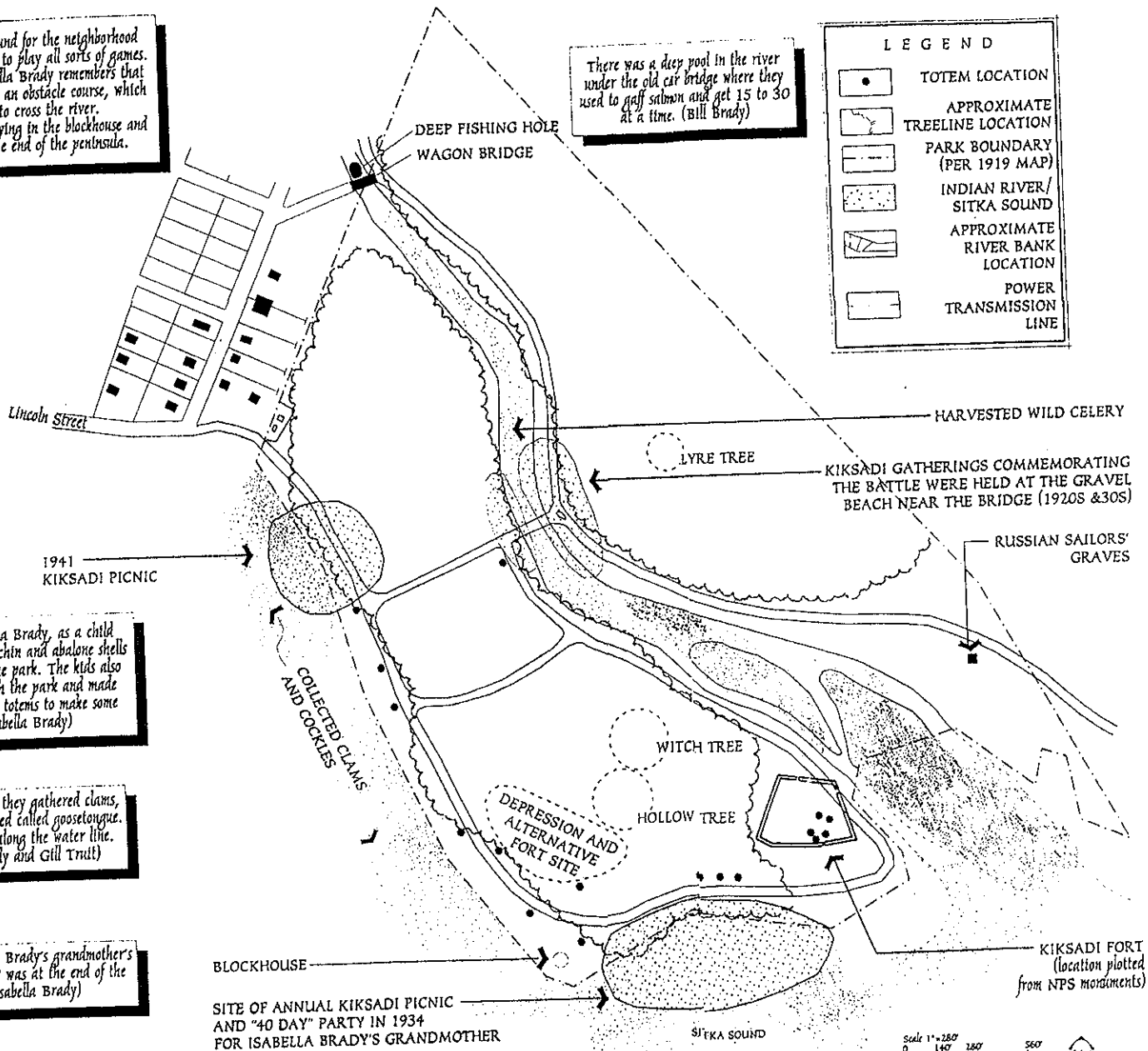
In the late 1920's and early 1930's, usually around the time of year when the salmonberries are ripe, the Kiksadi would attend gatherings along the river to commemorate the battle, where they would sing songs and dance. (Bill Brady)

Often at low tide, Mrs. Burkhardt's cows wandered across the mouth of the Indian River and grazed in the park. Peter Trierschtel encouraged the local children to chase them back to the other side of the river. They were paid ten cents to do so. (Isabella Brady and Mark Jacobs, Jr.)

According to Isabella Brady, as a child she used to sell sea urchin and abalone shells at the entrance to the park. The kids also took tourists through the park and made up stories about the totems to make some money. (Isabella Brady)

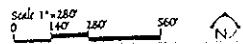
In the tidal flats, they gathered clams, cockles, and seaweed called goosetongue. They dug roots along the water line. (Isabella Brady and Gill Truitt)

In 1934, Isabella Brady's grandmother's "forty day party" was at the end of the point. (Isabella Brady)



SITE OF ANNUAL KIKSADI PICNIC AND "40 DAY" PARTY IN 1934 FOR ISABELLA BRADY'S GRANDMOTHER

KIKSADI FORT (location plotted from NPS measurements)



Implicit in the Kiks.ádi need to visit the battle site and “renew their connection with the land” through the memorial ritual is the idea that the landscape holds the spirits of the dead— the spirits of the deceased still dwell there. This quality reinforced Indian River’s status as a sacred landscape among the Kiks.ádi. As Ellen Hope Hays put it, “The battle site was a sacred landmark to the descendants of the tribe. Memorial gatherings took place at the site commemorating that resistance, the losses suffered and the traumatic death of the clan nephews who were killed when the explosives they were carrying ignited. A song of mourning was composed telling of the death and the terrible losses.” Why did the memorials cease? According to Hays, “ Because the park was used for gun emplacements during WWII, the memorials were discontinued. It has never been revived.”

While memorial picnics, have not been revived, another commemorative activity was initiated in the park in 1988: the Kiks.ádi survival march. Whereas the memorials were primarily concerned with honoring and remembering the dead, as opposed to the event itself, the survival march was an attempt to remember and interpret the details of the battle, as well as its consequences to the Kiks.ádi. This commemorative event was the inspiration of Herb Hope, a Kiks.ádi descendant who felt that the true oral history was in danger of becoming lost.

In his presentation to the Conference of Tlingit Tribes and Clans in 1993, he described his motivations and the evolution of the project in these terms:

I am here to tell you of my efforts to retrace the route of the Sitka Kiks.ádi Survival March of 1804. An important tribal even that took place 189 years ago.

To do that I must five you some background details.

First, and foremost—the story of the Battle of Sitka of 1804 has never been told by the people most affected by that great battle, the Sitka Kiks.ádi people.

... we, as a people, tend to shy away from the very sensitive issues. But, now that must be weighed against the loss of the Kiks.ádi side of the story for all time. It is a great story. It is a story that future generations of Tlingit people must hear.

The passing of my Kiks.ádi uncles—Andrew P. Johnson, Jimmy Williams and David Howard, Sr.—signaled the end of the long line of Kiks.ádi males who knew the Kiks.ádi warrior's side of this battle.

Of my generation I believe that I am the last of the male members who heard this story as told to me by my uncles... During the trapping seasons of 1951 and 1953... I heard the story again and again...

The Sitka Kiks.ádi Survival March story is a story of Tlingit courage, bravery, dedication, loyalty, honor and endurance in defense of the Kiks.ádi homeland....

The idea of this recounting started innocently enough.

In 1987 I attended the Alaska Native Brotherhood Convention in Sitka and, as usual, I went to attend the luncheon that is always hosted by the Sitka Kiks.ádi, as the original Sitka people to welcome the Convention...

... several female speakers rose to speak in manner I had never heard before—they were apologizing for our part in the War of 1804! They even admitted to our people killing the young infants before retreating to the hills. In short they were telling the Russian version of the story.

I rose to object and said...

'... when we speak of our history we must speak with pride, for only we know the true story of our participation in the War of 1804. We do not need to quote anything the Russians had to say about the battle.

Another thing, the Sitka Kiks.ádi retreat from Fort *Shis'k'i Noow* was not a headline military retreat as you have said—rather it was a *survival march* through our own backyard to a planned destination.

The story you have just told sounds like the story only a very disapproving Presbyterian Minister would tell.

Maybe it is time to reenact the Sitka Kiks.ádi Survival march so we can properly tell our story with pride and honor.'

I sat down to a strong round of applause.

And so began my efforts to reenact the Kiks.ádi Survival March of 1804.
(Hope 1993)

The Kiks.ádi Survival March is multi-pronged effort. Between 1988 and 1996 Mr. Hope has: 1) launched a half a dozen reenactments tracing various routes that the Kiks.ádi reportedly took in their strategic withdrawal from the fort site at Indian River; 2) continued to collect oral histories of the event from members of the Kiks.ádi, and other clans; and 3) attempted to integrate both the oral and written records into a more detailed



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and accurate account of the Battle of 1804. He has had support from a number of Native and non-Native organizations in these endeavors. Although he is no longer reenacting the March, Mr. Hope continues to analyze the results of his investigations and to write and speak about the Battle of 1804 in an effort to make sure that the Kiks.ádi version of events is known and respected. That he has succeeded is evident in the Sitka Tribe of Alaska's nomination of the Survival March trail as Traditional Cultural Property, eligible for federal recognition and protection under the National Historic Preservation Act.

Church Services

In addition to these memorial events, Christian religious services were also staged in the park. Isabella Brady remembers that Easter sunrise services were held out on the point beyond the blockhouse. Sheldon Jackson School sponsored the Presbyterian services, and for those who participated, they were poignant and memorable events.

Elder cottagers today can still recall the beauty and sanctity of the surroundings in which Easter Services were held. In a way, this kind of worship was quite continuous with memorial picnics of the Kiks.ádi, though the setting was as integral to the conduct of the church services as it was to the Kiks.ádi events. Like the memorial picnics, the tradition of outdoor church services on Indian River peninsula apparently ceased during the WWII period.

Shamanic Activities

Little is known about the shamanic activity in the park environs but a well-known shaman's grave was once located on the point, known as Shaman Point, just northwest of the Visitor Center. In Tlingit this point is named *Kooshdaka X'aayi* or "Land Otter Man

Point," perhaps a reference to the shaman's connection to the land otter, whose tongues the spirit men traditionally were required to capture as part of their training.

In death, shamans required special handling. As Emmons (1991:394) reports:

Cremation was practiced by the Tlingit for everyone except the shaman... The body of the shaman was laid away intact in a gravehouse, a short distance beyond the village, near the water and, circumstances permitting, on a bluff point, as seen at the Sitka, Chilkat, Auk, and [Angoon] villages, or on opposite and adjacent islands as at Hoonah. Or, the deceased shaman might have selected some distant prominent headland, to which the occupants of passing canoes would offer sacrifice in the form of a pinch of tobacco or food, which they believed would be received by him in a material, rather than a spiritual sense...

Tlingits believed that shamans' bodies did not decompose, but rather became dry and hard (Kan 1989), and that their powerful spirits remained active around the site to guard the body. So great was the respect for the power of the shaman's spirit(s) 'that years after his death when remains had crumbled away to dust, no one would approach [the] depository' (Emmons 1991:396-97).

Shamans were treated separately in both life and death because they were viewed as mediators of the spirit world, who could transcend the boundaries of ordinary human perception and physical capacity. As such, they were consulted in times of stress and thus played an important role in subsistence, war, healing, and other realms of social life. Their liminal status as intermediaries was reflected in their dress, behavior, customs, and unique position within the social structure. Shamans could be of either sex and acquired their power through a strict training regimen, which (if successful) culminated in one or more spirits (*yeik*) inhabiting the initiate. Because of their power and status, shamans were both respected and feared.

While shamans lost influence as a result of contact and the introduction of competing modes of healing and religion, and were even persecuted by Christian

missionaries, beliefs concerning the potency of shaman graves persist to this day in some communities. Although several Tlingits that I interviewed identified the *Kooshdaka* *X'aayi* as a shaman's grave, I did not get the sense that anyone viewed the point or its environs as a landscape to be avoided. This may be due in part to the fact that the remains of the shaman are no longer situated on the point. In addition, it seems likely that many in the Model Cottage Settlement effectively renounced their beliefs in shamanism, though such beliefs clearly endured in other segments of the Native population.

In either case, the presence of a shaman's grave in close proximity to the park reveals that the area was traditionally a site of shamanic activities, although, beyond burial, it is not clear what those activities were. This is perhaps a topic for further investigation.

Communal Activities in Park Buildings

In using the term communal activities, I refer to those actions carried by clans or other Native organizations within the park for the benefit of the Tlingit community. In particular I am interested in the Native appropriation of the built environment within the park as a kind of communal clan house, used to produce material works of art in the traditional style, to house important *at.óow*, and to stage important community events. Because this tradition is relatively young, dating back only about 30-35 years, and largely beyond the scope of this project, only a few remarks will be made here. I do wish to emphasize, however, that this use of the park represents one of the most vital and

dynamic forums for the contemporary expression of Tlingit connections to Indian River and its environs.

Undoubtedly the single most important event in establishing the park's built environment as a Tlingit edifice was the establishment of the Indian Cultural Center in 1969 (first dedicated in 1965). As defined by the Alaska Native Brotherhood, the building was to be for use to promotion of Tlingit culture and "for the perpetuation of such art forms appropriate to historic cultures of Southeast Alaska." Since that time, Tlingit and other Native artists have been producing a rich variety of traditional forms of art for cultural purposes as well as public consumption and edification. The establishment of a community of artisans actively plying their craft, teaching, and training has prevented the museum-ification of Native culture as lifeless artifacts with little context or culture, as is so often the portrayal. On the contrary, the Center has helped to revitalize the production of crafts, the training of craftspersons, and, perhaps most importantly, the integration of Native art into contemporary culture. As noted in Chapter One, there is perhaps no better example of this integration than the recent erection of a new totem pole in the park—a Sitka Tlingit pole produced at the Indian Cultural Center and, unlike the other foreign poles, grounded in Indian River history.

Insofar as traditional production of art took place in and around the clan houses, the park facilities have taken on one of the historic functions of these communal houses. A second important function that the park facilities have taken over from some of the clan houses is as a repository for *at.óow*. Like the clan house, the Visitor Center provides more than just a safe-deposit box for valued objects; it also provides a venue for display and interpretation of those objects. These *at.óow* include both material objects, like

ceremonial hats and regalia, as well as symbolic resources, such as historical narratives and sacred stories. Several clans, including the Kaagwaantaan, the Kiks.ádi, and the L'uknax.ádi, have "donated" items to the park for safekeeping and public display while retaining ultimate ownership, use, and royalty rights to the objects. These arrangements and the complications surrounding them are detailed in Worl's 1994 study for the Park Service, entitled "Principles of Tlingit Property Law and Case Studies of Cultural Objects." As Worl shows, not all Tlingits were happy with the park taking on such a role. Ellen Hope Hays (1997:4) attributes this important new use of the park to two major factors: the good relations engendered with the Tlingit by the Park Historian George Hall and the breakdown of the clan house system.

My Dad, Andrew P. Hope and his two Kaagwaantaan clan brothers had a good relationship with George Hall. He was the park's only employee and the park historian. George was "adopted" by these men and given a clan name. It was with Mr. Hall that an agreement was made to exhibit their crests in the new visitor center. The clan house culture of the past had become unworkable. It was their position to use this opportunity to see that they were safe and properly taken care of. This was a major decision of park and indigenous people [in] cooperative relationships.

Mr. Hall (interview) corroborates this interpretation of events and notes that he actively cultivated the park's role as custodian essentially for the same reasons—as a means of retaining and protecting of valuable cultural objects that he feared would be damaged, removed, or stolen from clan houses that were unoccupied or in disrepair. Regardless of how one might perceive the park's recent role as *at.óow* caretaker, this role has certainly enhanced its position as a cultural center.

Because the park has become a rich center for the production, deposit, and display of cultural materials, it has also become a communal center for meetings, ceremonies, and other events. The raising of the totem pole is just one recent example of major

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ceremonial event that was staged at the park. There have also been meetings for learning, including seminars and workshops on aspects of traditional culture, such as the recent series of Tlingit Protocol workshops held at the Center. This would seem to be a healthy trend, as it likely will insure that Indian River remains a vital cultural landscape not just in symbol but also in material, social, and ceremonial practice.

III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The memories of the old people are painful. The days of yesterday were days of plenty, days of leisure, days in which to enjoy life. Who knows what tomorrow will bring.

—Tlingit elder Scotty James (n.d.)

This report has described and analyzed traditional Tlingit patterns of use of Sitka National Historical Park from an ethnohistorical perspective. It has shown that since the pre-contact period, the park and Indian River valley have been a vital center of secular and sacred activities among the Tlingit. It was a land of great prospect and joy in terms of its bountiful natural resources, as well as a landscape of refuge and tragedy, as evidenced in the unfolding of events in the Tlingit battle with the Russians in 1804. For the possessing clan, the Kiks.ádi, the river has long been a source of history, identity, and subsistence. For other Tlingit clans localized at Sitka, it has been an important source of subsistence fish, wildlife, shellfish, and plant resources as well as a recreation site. And, finally, for the residents of the cottage settlement at Sitka from 1888-1945, a tumultuous period in Tlingit cultural history, the park was a year round dwelling place—a place for food collecting, recreation, entrepreneurial, and spiritual activities.

Thus, Indian River represents the best and worst of times for Sitka Tlingits. And perhaps more than any other Tlingit landscape in Sitka, the park evokes the kind of complex mix of painful and joyful memories that Scotty James alludes to in his statement above.

But what will tomorrow bring (to restate James' question)? Because of its deep and poignant history and because of its central location to the present Tlingit community at Sitka, Sitka National Historical Park will undoubtedly remain a vital center of symbolic and social activity, as it has always been. Sitka Tlingits continue to maintain a

strong presence in the park, primarily through the Indian Cultural Center, established in conjunction with the Sitka ANB in the late 1960s. The Cultural Center has become an important institution for the production of art and the dissemination of knowledge, through its artists programs and educational workshops and seminars, such as the recent series on Tlingit protocol. In conjunction with park administration and Sitka tribal organizations, the Center will likely continue to sponsor ceremonial and commemorative events such as the totem pole raising in April 1996. Already, the Kiks.ádi clan is making arrangements with the park to properly commemorate the Battle of 1804 from a Tlingit perspective, plans that include, among other things, the commissioning and raising of memorial pole. In addition, since Herb Hope initiated efforts to retrace the Kiks.ádi Survival March in the late 1980s, memorial gatherings to commemorate the Battle have also been renewed and may very well become an annual event. All of these efforts deserve the full support of the Park Service to insure that they can be carried out with due respect to Tlingit protocol and a minimum of interference. The park could also assist the Tribe in its effort to nominate the Kiks.ádi Survival March trail as a Traditional Cultural Property on the National Register of Historic Places.

Although the National Graves Protection and Repatriation Act may affect the park's status as a repository for clan objects of cultural patrimony, it is likely that the park will continue to play the roles of custodian and exhibitor for some objects, as they have for the past half century. The park's accessibility and curatorial capacities make it an ideal institution to carry out these functions. Display and interpretation of cultural objects for the public also enhances park values and serves to increase public knowledge and awareness of Sitka Tlingit culture and ties to the park. To insure that these functions

are handled appropriately, however, planning and decision-making regarding the exhibition and interpretation of cultural objects should be conducted in partnership with the Sitka Tribe and the appropriate Tlingit clans.

In contrast to the enduring symbolic and social activities, the traditionally vital subsistence connections of Sitka Tlingits to the park appear in many cases to have been severed. Although a number of important foods are still found in abundance within the park, few Tlingits harvest them, and, for a variety of reasons, most Tlingits would likely not feel comfortable doing so in the current environment. Much of this has to do with the preservationist image of parks in general, which tends to emphasize minimal human disturbance of natural resources, thus implicitly discouraging subsistence activities. But with some resources, such as berries, it also may be a question of poor communication or misunderstandings concerning what harvest activities are legal within the park. A simple remedy for this problem would be for the park to issue a concise bulletin to tribal organizations detailing what resources can and cannot be harvested in the park along with the relevant regulations that govern these activities.

With other resources it is more clearly a matter of safety and law. For example, hunting is outlawed within the park, and it would be impractical, not to mention contradictory to National Park values, to attempt to reinstate it. But this is not the case with plant resources and some species of fish. Here it seems that limited harvests could easily be sustained, and that the facilitation of such harvests by the Park Service could actually enhance park values while at the same time revitalizing Native physical and cultural ties to this important traditional subsistence area. One way to accomplish this might be through a kind of education permit system, where, at certain times of the year,

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harvest of reasonable quantities of particular resources would be allowed and perhaps combined with an educational effort for Native youth by tribal organizations. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game, which regulates the fisheries in Indian River, currently uses education permits to enable important harvests by Natives to continue in traditional ways.

The interpretive exhibits within the Visitor Center might also be enhanced to highlight subsistence values in the park through the use of video and photographic displays of particular harvest and processing activities, combined with voice and text. The video produced for this project was carried out with this objective in mind; but it will take additional cooperative work with the NPS, Tlingit elders, and Native organizations to produce suitable interpretive exhibits.

Like other park resources, traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) concerning subsistence resources within the park should also be protected. Protection in this case means not only documenting and conserving the knowledge but also attending to tribal concerns regarding intellectual property rights and the dissemination of traditional ecological knowledge. The Sitka Tribe has expressed interest in working with the park on these issues and has offered several recommendations. One recommendation is that the Tribe and Park Service work together "to properly recognize, respect, and uphold the Sheet'ká Kwáan's intellectual property rights to this knowledge." Another is that the park work closely with the Sitka Tribe's recently-established Kayanni Commission (*kayanni* is a Tlingit term meaning "leaves or blossoms of plants") to develop agreements on issues concerning Tlingit ethnobotanical knowledge and subsistence use of plants. The Kayanni Commission is comprised of six elders and a member of the tribal council. A third

recommendation is that the park make every effort to higher qualified tribe members to as interpreters for cultural resources in the park.

Finally, as with any study, this project has uncovered intriguing aspects of Tlingit ties to Sitka National Historical Park that are worthy of further investigation. For example, several very interesting projects proposed by the Sitka Tribe of Alaska include 1) a short biography of Amelia Cameron, the well-respected and influential matriarch of the cottage community; 2) a focused history of the park from the perspective of its original inhabitants, the Kiks.ádi clan, and 3) biographical sketches of residents of the cottages. A separate project on the cottage community, currently being undertaken by Kristen Griffin, plans to embrace some of these topics in cooperation with the Sitka Tribe. Still another potential project that could be carried out with the Tribe and its Kayaani Commission is a Sitka Tlingit ethnobotany covering Native knowledge and use of park (and perhaps other) plants. If such an effort were successful, it could be expanded to include fish, birds, animals, places with indigenous names, and other biocultural domains, ultimately rendering an authoritative Tlingit natural history and ethnogeography of the park.

If planned and executed cooperatively with the Sitka Tlingit, all of these proposals have the potential to significantly enhance cultural resources values at Sitka National Historical Park and to strengthen Tlingit ties to this important landscape.

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Appendix A. List of Interviews and Consultations

Adams, Gus, Sitka Tribe Cultural Committee
Betts, Robert, Vanguard Research
Brady, Bill, Kiks.ádi elder
Brady, Carol Feller, Kiks.ádi elder
Brady, Isabella, Kiks.ádi elder
Brady, Louise, Sitka Tribe
Cochrane, Tim, National Park Service
Craig, Robi, Sitka Tribe
Dauenhauer, Richard and Nora Dauenhauer, Sealaska Heritage Foundation
Gallanin, Dave, Southeast Alaskan Indian Cultural Center
Griffin, Gene, Sitka National Historical Park
Griffin, Kristen, National Park Service researcher
Hall, George, former Park Historian
Hays, Ellen Hope, Kiks.ádi elder
Hope, Andy, Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative
Hope, Fred, Kiks.ádi elder
Hope, Herb, Kiks.ádi elder
Hope, John, Kiks.ádi elder
Jacobs, Mark Jr., Dakl'aweidi elder
Kanosh, Naomi, Kaagwaantaan elder
Kitka, Herman Jr., Kaagwaantaan
Kitka, Herman Sr., Kaagwaantaan elder
Kitka, Martha, Kaagwaantaan elder
Laws, Marie, Indian Cultural Center
Lawson, Nels, Kaagwaantaan
Littlefield, Esther, Kiks.ádi elder
Littlefield, John, L'uknax.ádi
Longenbaugh, Dee, Observatory Books
Makinen, Ethel, L'uknax.ádi elder
Marks, John, Sealaska Heritage Foundation
McVey, Margaret, Kiks.ádi elder
Minard, Lewis, Southeast Alaskan Indian Cultural Center
Nelson, Richard, anthropologist/writer
Pegues, Terry, Sitka Tribe
Perkins, Al, Kiks.ádi elder
Ryman, Marta, T'akdeintaan elder
Sam, Robert, Sitka Tribe, L'eeneidi
Simpson, Louis, Kiks.ádi elder
Smith-Middleton, Holly, University of Wisconsin
Thorsen, Sue, Sitka National Historical Park
Truitt, Gil, Wooshkeetaan elder
Worl, Rosita, University of Alaska Southeast

		Calories	Moisture	Protein	Fat	Carbohydrates	Fiber	Calcium	Phosphorus	Iron	Sodium	Potassium	Vitamin A	Thiamine	Riboflavin	Niacin	Vitamin C	Ref.
Common Name	Scientific Name		%	gm	gm	gm	gm	mg	mg	mg	mg	mg	I.U.	mg	mg	mg	mg	
Ling Cod	<i>Ophiodon elongatus</i>		80.4	17.2	1.1								230	.09	.48			3
Moose	<i>Alces alces</i>	123	72.4	24.5	2.0				203	2.7			310	.09	.18			3,1
Octopus	<i>Octopus dofleini</i>	57	84.4	11.9	.6	.9		24.		5.3			0	.03	.04	2.1	0.	4
Ptarmigan, willow	<i>Lagopus lagopus</i>		71.5	24.8	2.5	0.	0		268	6.2			420	.25	1.00			3
Salmon, chum	<i>Onchorynchus keta</i>		84.3	12.0	1.5	0.	0	11.	283					.08	.18			3
Salmon, king smoked, canned kippered	<i>O. tshawytscha</i>		15.3		37.5			28.	645	2.0			640					3
		150	66.7	23.2	5.9	1.0		60.5		1.8			319	.01	.10	8.5	0.	4
		266	51.2	30.7	15.9	0.		38.		1.7			50	.05	.14	10.9	0.	4
Salmon, silver, air-dried preserved in seal oil	<i>O. kisutch</i>		28.1	50.5	19.4	0.	0		670				1220	.19	.35	4.2		3
Salmon, sockeye kippered hard dried	<i>O. nerka</i>		59.1	29.5	7.7	.7		68		1.3			0	.02	.22	13.9	0.	4
		371	20.3	57.2	14.4	3.2		136.		1.9			355	.14	.60	20.2	.02	4
Sea Cucumber	<i>Stichopus californicus</i>	68	80.7	13.0	.4	3.1		20.		.6			310	.05	.94	3.2	0.	4
Seal	<i>Phoca vitulina</i>	143		26.0						19.8			1000	.15	.51			1
Starry Flounder, air-dried	<i>Platichthys stellatus</i>		9.6	69.1	14.2	0.	0											3
Tom Cod	<i>Microgadus proximus</i>		79.2	14.7	.8					.4								3
Trout, dolly varden	<i>Salvelinus malma</i>		78.6	16.1	2.1	0.	0						1160	.02	.42			3

1. When protein content was reported as derived from "Kjeldahl" and "Difference" methods, an average was computed and is reported here.

TABLE 1: NUTRITIONAL INFORMATION FOR NATIVE FOODS: Animal Foods

		Calories	Moisture	Protein	Fat	Carbohydrates	Fiber	Calcium	Phosphorus	Iron	Sodium	Potassium	Vitamin A	Thiamine	Riboflavin	Niacin	Vitamin C	
Common Name	Scientific Name		%	gm	gm	gm	gm	mg	mg	mg	mg	mg	I.U.	mg	mg	mg	mg	Ref.
Bear, black	<i>Ursus americanus</i>	148	71.2	19.9	8.3	0.	0		162	7.2			260	.16	.68	3.2		3,1
Beaver	<i>Castor canadensis</i>	150	67.4	26.8	4.8	0.	0		265									3,1
Cockles	<i>Clinocardium nuttallii</i>	79	78.8	13.5	.7	4.7		30		16.2			0	.01	.20	3.2	0.	4
Deer - venison	<i>Odocoileus hemionus sitkensis</i>	126		22.9											.5	7.0		1
		117	73.7	21.5	3.4	.2		7		2.9			0	.2	.36	6.6	0.	4
Devilfish, sculpin flesh tongue	<i>Myoxochphalus sp.</i>							12	274	.4			1020	.09	.10	1.1		3
			62.5	13.9	22.8	0.	0	6	150	2.8			190	.12				3
Duck, eider	<i>Somateria spectabilis</i>	109	75.6	21.5	2.1	0.	0	10	220									3,1
Eulachon, smoked, frozen grease	<i>Thaleichthys pacificus</i>	308	50.1	20.5	24.8	.8		30		12.2			4035	.02	.88	5.5		4
														5650				
Goose	<i>Branta canadensis</i>								312	5.6				.28	.46	9.3		3
Gumboots	<i>Katharina tunicata</i>	83	78.6	17.1	1.6	0.		121		16.0			1650	.05	.34	3.2	0.	4
Herring, flesh, air-dried roe, air-dried	<i>Clupea harengus</i>	270	37.5	45.7	10.6	0.	0		972					.01		8.6		3,1
		294	27.3	60.4	6.6	2.8	0	29	808					.05	.17	4.1		3,1
Herring eggs on giant kelp removed from hemlock branches	<i>Macrocystis integrifolia</i>	59	81.8	11.3	.8	2.6		161		3.4			89	.10	.13	2.7	0.	4
		56	83.8	9.6	1.0	4.4		19		2.7			57	.10	.12	1.8	.6	4

1. When protein content was reported as derived from "Kjeldahl" and "Difference" methods, an average was computed and is reported here.

Table II: Nutritional Information for Native Foods: Plant Foods

		Calories	Moisture	Protein	Fat	Carbohydrates	Fiber	Calcium	Phosphorus	Iron	Sodium	Potassium	Vitamin A	Thiamine	Riboflavin	Niacin	Vitamin C		
Common Name	Scientific Name		%	gm	gm	gm	gm	mg	mg	mg	mg	mg	I.U.	mg	mg	mg	mg	Ref.	
Beach Asparagus	<i>Salicornia pacifica</i>	27	91.1	1.8	.3	4.3		45		.9			1922	.01	.09	.7	1.8	4	
Black Laver, dried soaked, drained	<i>Porphyra sp.</i>	235	11.8	22.2	1.1	44.3	4.7	434	350	28.3	1294	3503	10790	.24	1.34	5.5	14.	2	
		248	9.2	28.7	2.0	41.3		157		10.4				4719	.11	2.25	11.5	17.4	4
		29	90.1	2.6	.8	4.2	1.4	359	25	3.2	157	289	10	.06	.05	.2		2	
Blueberries	<i>Vaccinium alaskanese</i> and <i>V. ovalifolium</i>	44	88.7	.07	0.	10.4		15		1.1			163	.03	.1	.4	2.2	4	
Cloudberries	<i>Robus chamaemorus</i>		86.7	2.4	.8	8.6	3.2	18	35	.7			210	.05	.07	.09	158.	3	
Fern, fiddlehead	<i>Athyrium filix-femina</i>	34	91.1	3.2	.2	4.9		23		.8			1340	.004	.25	2.0	8.9	4	
Fireweed	<i>Epilobium angustifolium</i>	50	87.2	3.0	.8	6.3	.9	13	89	2.1			5720	.04	.86	1.4	99.	3	
Huckleberries	<i>V. parvifolium</i>	37	90.7	.4	.1	8.7		15		.31			79	.01	.03	.3	2.8	4	
Indian Rhubarb	<i>Polygonum alaskanum</i>		85.5	4.2	.5	9.9			87				4480	.10	.13	.1	33.	3	
Salmonberries	<i>Robus spectabilis</i>	44	88.6	1.0	.1	10.0		14		.64			1550	.04	.07	.1	2.4	4	
Sea Ribbon	<i>Palmaria palmata</i>	323	7.2	19.9	.6	59.5		190		11.0			23	.07	1.0	6.9	4.8	4	