A STUDY OF FIVE SOUTHEAST ALASKA COMMUNITIES
APPENDIX A THROUGH D

PREPARED FOR
U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service
U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management
and Bureau of Indian Affairs

PREPARED BY
Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska Anchorage
Lee Gorsuch
Steve Colt
Charles W. Smythe, C.W. Smythe Consulting Services
Bart K. Garber, Garber & Bazzy, P.C.

FEBRUARY 1994

This publication is printed on recycled paper.
Institute of Social and Economic Research
University of Alaska Anchorage
3211 Providence Drive
Anchorage, Alaska 99508

Contract No. 53-0109-3-00368

A Study of Five Southeast Alaska Communities
Appendix A: History of Occupation and Use

By Charles W. Smythe

This appendix describes in detail the Native peoples’ historical occupation and use of lands in and near the communities of Haines, Ketchikan, Petersburg, Tenakee and Wrangell. These community profiles are summarized in Chapter 5. References cited in these histories are listed in References Cited at the end of Chapter 5.

Haines

The Tlingit of Haines are largely Chilkoot and Chilkat Indians who trace their families back to several communities that existed in the area prior to the coming of white settlers. The modern community of Haines, the site of which was selected with the permission of the Tlingit owners, began as a trading post, school, and mission established for Natives in 1881. Formerly, a large village was located on the site. As the region’s economy underwent a rapid transformation, particularly during and after the Klondike gold rush in 1897-98, Chilkoot and Chilkat peoples moved into Haines from the outlying areas. Disease, natural disasters, and a desire for education and employment were all contributing factors in this movement. The Native community in Haines has been a stable and continuous component of the local population throughout the historical development of the modern town at Haines.

Native Use and Occupancy in the Haines Area Prior to White Settlement

Haines lies within the traditional territory of the Chilkoot Indians of Southeast Alaska. The principal Chilkoot village was situated along both banks of the Chilkoot River close to its outlet from Chilkoot Lake, at the head of Lutak Inlet. Paddy Goenett, who was born there in about 1850, remembered there were 30 tribal houses on the west side during his boyhood (Goenett 1947). The “head” clan was the Lukaag adi (Sockeye clan), which owned the village site and first settled there. Two other clans of the opposite moiety, Kaagwaantaa and Shangukeidi, were also present. The existence of a large prehistoric village, as well as historic house sites, fishing platforms, fish weirs, smokehouses, eulachon pits, several cemeteries and grave sites, and caves with pictographs and shamans’ burials have been documented in the area (Sorensen et al. 1981; Mishler and Holmes 1986; McEwan and Holmes 1991; Bureau of Land Management 1980; Sackett 1979).

At one time a large landslide came down the mountain and obliterated part of the Chilkoot village, that portion known as Kux-ah-wah-kee on the east side of the river. In their grief, many of the Chilkoot left the village. The oral traditions also recount the decimation of their population from Western disease. In 1880, at the time of the coming of white settlers, there were reports of eight houses and 127 inhabitants (Alaska Boundary Commission 1904b:375-6). Another hunting village with three houses was also reported on the Chilkoot River. In about 1895, the Chilkoot village contained four large, named tribal houses and, scattered between them, nine other houses without names, each occupied by single families (Olson 1967:9-10). The village was occupied at the turn of the century, although the population had decreased. It continued to be used extensively in the first decades of the century, though on a more seasonal basis. One Haines resident was reported living there until 1928. There was regular seasonal use occurring in the 1940s (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:50-51).

Between the mouth of the Chilkoot River and Haines were numerous areas that were used for gathering food, and there were two former villages named Tanani and Dyea (the latter at the present site of Haines).¹

¹Austin Hammond documented the Tlingit names of 44 sites, in addition to these two villages, between Haines and Dyea (Hammond n.d.).
Goennett (1947) recalled seeing the remains of the village at Haines (called P'q'lenuk'a) when he was a boy, in the 1860s. The village is also reported by Swanton (1908:397), who called it Decu (Deshu), on the site of Haines Mission. There was also a cemetery near the village and a fort on a point along the coast, which protected the Haines area (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:51-2).

"There was also a big village at Tanani Point which was cleaned out by an epidemic. The village was called t'ana.ni and there were four houses there in my time" (Goennett, in Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:51). Elsewhere, Goennett (1947) is recorded as saying "I remember seeing fourteen houses still standing" there. Another Haines resident, Mrs. Patsy Davis, said she was born at Tanani Village in about 1878 and lived there until she was three years old. The Krause brothers visited this village several times during their ethnological investigations among the Chilkoot and Chilkat over the winter of 1881-82; their guide (Kasko) lived there at the time (Krause 1993). Emmons included this community on his map, reporting that it had been deserted since 1895.

Three other Lukaak.adi villages were located on the Chilkat River. They were reportedly established by some residents of Chilkoot after a family quarrel (Emmons 1991:58). The largest of these was Yandeistakye, a name which refers to the shape of the natural land formation where the river bank was "pushed in" and made an alcove near the mouth of the river. It was a good site for eulachon and salmon fishing and the river was deep here, affording a good landing place for canoes and a stopping place for ships (ships could not ascend the river beyond this point). There were equal numbers of Chilkoot and Chilkat living here when white settlers came. The larger area surrounding the village has the name of "Geisan an," which refers to the Chilkat River ("all of our area") under the mountain of Geisan (Mt. Rapinsly).

In 1867, Yandeistakye consisted of 12 large houses, and in 1880 of 16 houses and 171 people (Alaska Boundary Commission 1904b:375-6). The 1890 census showed a decline to 143 people belonging to 37 families, living in 16 houses. Ten years later, there were four Lukaak.adi houses, two Shanguleidi houses and one Kaagwaantaan house (Olson 1967:9). Located where the Haines airport is today, this village was occupied until the early 1930s (Sackett 1979:40). Two historical cemetery sites and a shaman's burial are associated with the village (see ibid.:33-49).

Another Lukaak.adi village, named Katwatu, "Town on the point of a hill" or "Place of gulls," was located at 19 mile and was within Chilkat territory. The population in 1880 was reported to be 125 persons in eight houses (Alaska Boundary Commission 1904b:375-6). The 1890 census counted 70 residents, consisting of 19 families living in 10 houses (Sackett 1979:51). Between 1895 and 1900, a large landslide obliterated the village and the surviving people went to live in Klukwan and Yandeistakye. Local residents are still reluctant to talk about this community, since the victims remain buried under the rubble.

A small village, Kluktoo, was at 21 mile. This also was a permanent village settled by members of the Lukaak.adi and other clans. There were large tribal houses there, according to Mary Williams, who saw a modern house and ruins of a Native house. Johnny Mark Thlunault built a modern house here, later dismantled it and set up in Yandeistakye, and still later moved it to Haines. This became the Raven House (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:44).

The largest village in the region was Klukwan, the principal village of the wealthy and powerful Chilkat tribe. Located about 23 miles from Haines, this village achieved its preeminence in the early nineteenth century under the leadership of the Ganaxteidi and Kaagwaantaan clans, in association with several others. The Chilkat's fierce and warlike demeanor was combined with the control of substantial natural resources and a propensity to range long distances in trade. Tlingits from the middle and southern areas of the Tlingit
nation, as well as Haida and Tsimshian communities in Canada, were accustomed to trading with the Chilkat. Klukwan residents controlled the trade route to the interior up the Chilkat River, which also took them to Yakutat, and enabled them to amass great wealth. There were 558 residents reported in 1880, which were distributed among 63 tribal houses (Alaska Boundary Commission 1904b:375-6).

Numerous smaller camps and seasonally-occupied settlements were used in the Haines area. Several sites along the lower Chilkat River were used by Klukwan residents as well as by people from other communities for fishing, particularly at Dok Point (at 7 mile) for eulachon and at Jones Point for early king salmon. Dok Point was known as Fort Kingfisher; it was a year-round village occupied by Indians long before whites came and was a favorite place for fishing ( Jacobs 1948).

Jones Point was an early commercial site before Haines developed; it was located just south of the modern airport. Jones Point was a transhipment site for goods taken off ships to be transported to mining settlements upriver. A fish buyer, to whom the Natives took their catch, worked out of this community. A few Natives built houses there; one had a small store and restaurant in his house. There was another cemetery south of Jones Point, and nearby was a former village on the site of which a cannery was built. "... the site was a big year round village occupied by the Indians, it was known as one of the biggest Indian villages long before the white was known to the Native" (ibid.).

Pyramid Harbor, located across Chilkat Inlet, was a fishing village used by Haines area Natives until the 1940s. It was the site of the first cannery and commercial center in the area, the original terminus of the highway into the interior, and an early transportation route to mines up the Chilkat River. "It was at this cannery site that the natives (sic) endeavored to destroy the fish trap in 1880" (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:54).

Many other sites were used and occupied by the Haines group in Lynn Canal to the southward as far as Berners Bay (see Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:49-54). On Chilkoot Inlet, Taiyasanka Harbor was occupied in the spring, summer and fall for fishing (eulachon and salmon), berrying, hunting and trapping. The Chilkoot Lukaag adi also occupied permanent villages at Dyea and Skagway, and owned the trails over the Chilkoot and White passes (at Dyea and Skagway, respectively) to the interior. The Chilkat also claimed the area up Taiya Inlet, including the two trade routes, as well as the entire Lynn Canal area to the south, in addition to their area on the Chilkat River.

The Chilkoot are sometimes classified as part of their wealthier and more powerful neighbors, the Klukwan tribe centered at Klukwan (as in Krause 1956 and Swanton 1908). Likewise, Yandeistake is sometimes called the 'Lower Chilkat Village,' although it was known to be Lukaag adi (Chilkoot) in origin (Emmons 1991:331; Olson 1976:9). This was because members of both groups (principally Kaagwanadaan from Klukwan and Lukaag adi from Chilkoot) intermarried, lived together, and constructed tribal houses there. Intermarriage between the groups was also prevalent in the Chilkoot village on Chilkoot River. The long association and extensive intermarriage among the Klukwan and Haines groups established an "essential unity" between them that was noted in investigations of land use and occupancy in the 1940s (see Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:39-53). This association continued to be a factor in the historical composition and political organization of the Haines Native community, as will be discussed.

Their association did not always prevent the outbreak of hostilities, however, as the existence of fortified settlements along the Chilkat River attest. One of these forts was built cooperatively, so the two groups could mount a larger united force against their collective enemies. Another fort (Kingfisher) was constructed at 7 mile (Dok Point) by the Lukaag adi during hostilities between themselves and the Canaxteidi of Klukwan.
Later, the fort was turned over to the Ganaxteidi (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:41, 43). A large rock (a "mark") from another battle with the Ganaxteidi was located at 4 mile (Sparks 1980). Armed warfare between these two groups in 1879-80 brought the American Navy from Sitka to Yandezlakte to arrange a peace settlement at a historic meeting that also formally opened the Chilkat country to white settlement.

The Beginning of White Settlement at Haines

A chance encounter between a party of Chilkat Indians traveling south on a trading expedition with Sheldon Jackson in Wrangell in 1878 encouraged Jackson to explore the possibility of opening a Presbyterian mission for Natives in the northern region. In the following year, he dispatched the Presbyterian minister, S. Hall Young, to visit Native villages and present proposals for the establishment of missions in their communities. Traveling by canoe with John Muitar and several Christianized Natives from Wrangell, Young met with the chiefs of the Chilkoot and Chilkat groups (Daanaawaak and Shotridge) in Yandezlakte. According to Young's account, the Natives were taken with his Christian teaching — but he also mentions that he offered them a school where their children could be educated as white people suitable for life in a Christian town, which he visualized on the spot (Young 1927:210).

After reaching this accord, the Tingit leaders escorted Young down the trail that led from Yandezlakte to Chilkoot Inlet and showed him a place on a natural harbor (Portage Cove) where he could erect the mission. The Tingit name for this site was Deeshu, "the end of the trail," which referred to the trail that ran along the Chilkat River, passing in front of Yandezlakte and across to this side of the peninsula. This trail was used extensively by the Chilkoot and Chilkat people traveling between the villages and interior trade routes lying on either side of Chilkat Peninsula, as it was much shorter than canoeing the 25 miles around the end of the peninsula. Parties would leave a canoe on each side, transport their goods along the trail to the other side, and pick up another canoe to continue their journey. According to oral history, the Chilkoot Chief Daanaawaak motioned with upraised arm to indicate the land on the hillside he would allow the Presbyterians to use. Much later the people realized that the missionary interpreted this arm motion much more extensively to encompass hundreds of acres (940) for a townsite, farm, and later a military post.

In the same year, word of serious fighting between the Chilkoot (Lukaag,adl) and Chilkat (Kaagwaantaan) tribes was received in Sitka. The naval commander (Beardslee) offered to intervene and help bring about peace, but only on the condition that the tribes also agree to allow white prospectors to enter their country and cross the Chilkoot pass to the Yukon. The Chilkat and Chilkoot had, up until this time, successfully turned back all prospectors seeking entrance because they feared that the whites would begin to interfere with their exclusive trade monopoly with the interior Athapaskan tribes. In 1880, the Chilkat and Chilkoot agreed to permit a party of 19 miners to pass through their country, after receiving assurances from them and the naval command that they would not engage in trade. They also negotiated their fees for packing gear for the whites, and thus retained their rights to pack over the trails.

---

2 The name also has substantial meaning since it signifies to the name and location of a tribal house that was important in the history and migration of the Deesheetaan clan.

3 When the British attempted to set up their own direct trade with the interior tribes in 1852, by constructing a trading post on the Pelly River (Fort Selkirk), the Chilkats destroyed the post and told the Hudson's Bay Company factor to leave the area. As late as 1879, the Chilkoot and Chilkat were continuing to oppose such independent efforts, when they refused entry to a party of miners who then returned and complained to the naval commander in Sitka.
The agreement was threatened when another white attached himself to the party and attempted to open forbidden trade. The angry Indians, who had been warned not to resort to violence if they wished to maintain their trade and employment opportunities in Sitka, sent word to the commander in Sitka who traveled to Yendeistalye to mediate the situation. When he arrived, he found the Chilkoot and Chilkat groups still embattled against each other; he met with four of the leaders from Klukwan, Yendeistalye, and Chilkoot and asked them to make peace.

Beardslee threatened to discontinue further trade and to discourage the establishment of a school for the Natives if peace were not arranged. Shotridge, who had brought goods in anticipation of a settlement, agreed to pay 100 blankets to the Chilkoot chief. Beardslee also reassured them that the U.S. Navy would guarantee that their interior trade would continue uninterrupted by competition from whites, and gave a demonstration of a howitzer and gatling gun to teach them what the military could do to a fleet of canoes if they attempted battle (Beardslee 1882:60-74; Emmons 1991:49, 331-32).

Traveling with Beardslee was a representative of the Northwest Trading Company, who expressed an interest in establishing a trading post in the area. When he also offered to build a schoolhouse, the chiefs agreed and promised to build houses alongside the school, with the Chilkoot on one side and the Chilkat on the other. In 1881, a company trader came from Wrangell and constructed a small post on the site selected by the missionary. The trader's wife, Sarah Dickinson, was a Tongass Indian educated at Metlakatla who had been a member of the first Native congregation in Wrangell and who was later employed by the missionary (Young) as interpreter. She was to be the teacher. Three months later, Sheldon Jackson also arrived and constructed a house for the new missionary who accompanied him. Jackson purchased a building from the trader to serve as a mission school taught by the missionary's wife; Sarah Dickinson then served as translator. This was the beginning of Chilkoot Mission, later to be named Haines after one of Jackson's chief supporters and fund-raisers from the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.

Within the year new industry came to the area in the form of salmon canneries. The Chilkat Packing Company opened a cannery on the east side of Chilkoot Inlet in 1882. It operated until 1891. The Northwest Trading Company established a cannery and moved its trading post to Pyramid Harbor, on the west side of Chilkat Inlet, in 1883. The cannery later joined the Alaska Packers Association and remained in operation until 1908 (1885 and 1905 excepted). Schwatka (1983:14) reported two canneries in Pyramid Harbor that employed Indians as laborers and fishermen—fishing with gaffs in the river—in 1883. He found that Indians had established rates for packing and transporting equipment and supplies over the pass.

The Chilkoot mission operated for four years in the 1880s, during which time a large log school and home for Chilkat boys and girls was erected. The missionary surveyed 650 acres and started a farm, by which he hoped to raise the "heathens" from fur traders to farmers, but the mission was abandoned in 1886. The Native school continued to operate with government funding, and in 1891 the mission was reopened. The missionary taught school at Chilkat (the site of the Chilkat Packing Company cannery) for a year before re-establishing one at the mission settlement.

The 1890 population of "Chilkoot Mission" was 106 (Porter 1890). The missionaries claimed a school population of 200 to 300 in 1896, and opened a children's home (Warne 1965). Chilkoot and Chilkat Indians had established residences nearby, but it was not until after the Klondike gold rush started in 1897 that more than a few whites began to settle in Haines. More Indians also settled in the community after that time, when their economy and social organization underwent rapid transformation due to the influx of whites and the loss of control of their land and resources.
Trading furs was the principal source of wealth and power for these tribes. They were reluctant to give up their exclusive control of the trails and monopoly on the fur trade with the interior, which they had held for generations. As prospectors entered the country in increasing numbers in the 1880s, the missionary assumed some responsibility for mediating conflicts between the Natives and whites over the terms of such entry. From 1882 to 1896, the Navy sent a vessel to anchor in Portage Bay (Haines), Pyramid Harbor, and Taiya Inlet (Dyea and Skagway) to moderate the strained relationships between the whites and resident Natives.

The opening of the country to miners and prospectors reduced the Chilkoot and Chilkat Indians to the status of packers competing for employment, and within several years their trade monopoly was eliminated despite the assurances of the Navy commander. In succeeding years, the Chilkats and Chilkoots were enjoined by the military from levying tolls for the use of their trails or preventing miners from packing their own goods. By 1887, Athapaskan Indians appeared regularly in Dyea on their own trading expeditions. But the customary rights of the Chilkoot were still recognized at this point, as neither the Chilkat tribe nor the interior Indians would pack over the trail without permission of the Chilkoots.

Also in 1887 the U.S. Attorney General upheld the exclusive packing rights of the Chilkoots in an opinion issued after a Chilkoot Chief named Klatoit formally objected to a plan by a white trader to usurp use of the trail by introducing pack animals (Alaska Boundary Tribunal 1904b:385, 393-95). Ironically, Klatoit was killed in the following year defending this right in a fight with a Sitka chief, who was one among a number of other Tlingit tribesmen who came to Dyea to take advantage of the new economic opportunities. The Sitka chief made no effort to escape and gave his life in fulfillment of Tlingit law.

But in July 1897, following the discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1896, the famous stampede commenced and brought tens of thousands of miners to the region. The Chilkoot, Chilkat, and Athapaskan Indians maintained positions as packers for the first few months, after which they were superseded by horses and wagons and then tramways. Three tramways were in operation in 1898, and in 1899 the White Pass Railway was constructed (Satterfield 1983). This effectively ended any further opportunities for Natives to derive incomes from their former pursuits as traders and packers over the passes.

Similar, although greatly reduced, pressure was put on the Indian trail on the west side of Chilkat Peninsula during the Klondike rush. This trail led over a longer, but much more gradual, route to the interior. In 1898, Jack Dalton tried to take control of the Chilkat Trail by first eliminating the river crossing, over which the Chilkats regularly collected toll fees, and then instituting a toll for everyone, Natives and whites alike. After a Chilkat Indian took a shot at him, the Navy intervened and restored to the Chilkats their right of passage. In the same year, the naval vessel was called to Pyramid Harbor after the Alaska Packers Association razed twelve Indian homes and refused to pay damages (Satterfield 1983:142). Dalton's discovery of gold at Porcupine on a tributary to the Chilkat River caused a small rush of miners and prospectors to this area in 1898.

The Development of the Town of Haines

Located at the end of the Chilkat trail, and some 25 to 30 miles from Dyea and Skagway by water, Haines was founded as a small support center associated with the massive but short-lived boom in the nearby areas. By the turn of the century, Haines consisted of several stores, hotels, restaurants, saloons, and livery stables (Choate 1983:11). The boom ended as fast as it began, and by 1900 or so the local economy was based on commerce with Natives, a small number of miners and prospectors, and a few
canneries in the area (some of which competed with stores in Haines). A public school for white children opened in about 1905.

A major impetus to the Haines economy occurred with the establishment of Fort William H. Seward in 1904, which was founded to protect American interests in the border area with Canada. Besides attracting a local construction boom for a few years, the support of the garrison, when combined with the needs of the Native population, provided the new settlers with a small but dependable economy in subsequent years. The military reserve covered 4,410 acres, some of which was acquired from the original mission land. Many of the town’s houses, public buildings, and businesses date from the first two decades of this century (ibid.). Haines was incorporated in 1910. Merchants and other businesses served the needs of the fort and the Native community, as well as the mining, cannery, and agriculture interests in the region. The name of the post was changed to Chilkoot Barracks in 1922, to commemorate the route over the pass traversed by the Klondike stampedes.

The 1920s and 1930s brought a decline in local opportunities and a reduction in the garrison at the post. Overfishing had greatly reduced fish stocks and the problem was acute by 1920. In 1919, for example, the local fish warden recommended that the Chilkoot and Chilkat rivers and lakes be closed to commercial fishing, and in 1922 local residents petitioned the Territorial Fish Commission for assistance in restoring salmon runs (Mishler and Holmes 1986:16). Although there was some recovery in the 1920s, the level of economic opportunity did not change significantly.

The local economy received some stimulus from the construction of the military-sponsored Haines cutoff road from Whitehorse, which was initiated in 1942, but it did not result in many local jobs because most workers came from elsewhere. The closure of the Army post in 1943 had an economic impact, since the number of troops in the garrison had been increased for the war effort. Connection to the Alaska Highway, which was again upgraded in the 1950s, and to the ferry system, advanced the growth and prosperity of the Haines settlement somewhat in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Native Community in Haines

Chilkoot and Chilkat Indians began to erect winter homes in Haines in larger numbers in the 1890s, after the Presbyterian mission stabilized. The upheaval in the traditional Native economy established a new dependence on cash-earning opportunities and on stores and trading posts in the area. The Natives’ desire for education and jobs and to avoid disease, as well as natural events (such as the landslide that killed about half the residents of Katwaltu) and an interest in adopting new lifeways were all factors in the decline of the surrounding villages.

Smaller Natives villages were established for different lengths of time at cannery sites, such as those at Pyramid Harbor, at Chilkat (on the east side of Chilkat Inlet), and in Chilkoot Inlet (at the site of the modern ferry terminal). These communities were primarily spring, summer, and fall residences, with people consolidating at the Native village in Haines in winter months. Government Indian schools were opened at some of these communities, including one in Chilkoot Inlet on the grounds of the Chilkoot Fisheries Company in 1910.

“The village,” as the main Native community was known in Haines, was located along the shore in Portage Cove just north of Main Street, the northern boundary of mission land. Historical photographs from the turn of the century show a line of small, modern houses in a row, with smokehouses in front across the
path on the beach. The Natives used the beach as a landing place for their canoes and skiffs. A diagram of the village in 1925 shows 34 houses located along the shore, and a few more on the hill behind. There were four or five community houses in the village (Hammond n.d.). The government Indian school was situated just above this area. Another area of Native occupation was on mission land along Main Street, but just outside the original downtown area. These homes were inhabited since at least 1920, the earliest period in the memories of local residents, and probably before. But by the 1920s, there were also Natives dispersed in town. "A lot of our people lived in homes scattered throughout this part of town" beyond the village.

The Native community sponsored its own social activities and contributed to civic organizations in the town. The school teacher in 1918-19 reported that on Monday nights, their regular dance night, they rented the Arctic Brotherhood hall. They also attended citizenship classes and had organized a "progressive club" to promote the improvement of their conditions. There were 91 members of the Native Auxiliary of the American Red Cross, and Natives contributed cash to the American Red Cross and purchased Liberty Bonds in support of the war effort, although local officials denied them the opportunity to register for the draft. After the townsite was subdivided in 1918, property of Native residents was often assessed, and they paid property taxes to the city of Haines—even though many were exempt since their land and improvements were not subject to taxation according to federal law.

The Native economy in Haines was based on fishing and cannery work, logging and wood cutting, the sale of handicrafts, and occasional labor. Although Natives continued to transport freight by canoe up the Chilkat River for some years after the turn of the century, most opportunities to work as packers and transporters over the trails had been eliminated by that time. In 1919, the annual school report provided the following description of the Native economy, which applied to the approximately 175 Indians living in Haines at the time:

In summer the men fish for the numerous canneries, and the women and children find ready employment in the canning and labeling rooms. In this way each mother, and child above the age of ten years, make sufficient money to buy their year's clothing. In winter the men hunt, trap, cut firewood for the military post and local dealer, do logging for the canneries, make repairs to their houses and boats, and attend to their social affairs. The women make the usual footwear and basketry, and a few work in the local laundry.

Opportunities to earn significant amounts of income were extremely limited, and Natives were substantially dependent on hunting and fishing for their food. Hunting and fishing required periodic absences from town, and in 1918, according to the school teacher, the majority of Natives owned small power boats and had homes for this purpose along the shores of Lynn Canal and its tributaries. At the stores, Natives combined the use of money with barter. The Natives expanded their travel and commerce with other communities in the 1920s and 1930s, which introduced some competition with local merchants to their benefit. But their overall economic strategy remained largely unchanged in the 1940s.

Natives, while welcoming new opportunities for employment, soon saw their fish resources decline. They objected strenuously to the use of fish traps, which fished continuously with no provision for conservation, and on occasion they destroyed the piles and drove off the white attendants. But the decline in fish resources, combined with new restrictions on harvest and use of other resources—such as the prohibition against the sale of deer meat—put added burdens on the ability of Native households to sustain themselves in the early decades of this century. This was a common experience in many Southeastern communities, but was more problematic in those with large white populations.
Competition over local resources intensified following an influx of settlers associated with the road construction in 1942. For example, a demand for timber for piling brought a request for use of land at the outlet of the Chilkoot River in 1943. This was close to the site of Chilkoot village: "Formerly there was a considerable number of natives residing on the beach and along the stream and it is known that they have improvements in the area." An investigation of the ownership of buildings ("smokehouses, houses, etc.") showed there were 15 structures belonging to the Natives of Haines, including two community houses. The list of owners was identified by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) upon request of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as an incomplete but sufficient indication of the occupancy of the area, "so that precautions may be taken to prevent encroachment on the holdings" (Parks 1943).

Disease had reduced populations in the villages before 1918, and a concern over Native health conditions motivated the Bureau of Education to consider establishing a tubercular sanitarium near Klukwan in 1913. But the flu epidemic of 1917-18 was apparently more significant in magnitude: Yandeistalgye and the village at Chilkoot cannerly (on the site of the modern ferry terminal) were decimated by the flu epidemic of 1917-18, according to local residents. One older couple, recognized as the last of those who lived all year in Yandeistalgye, were found dead in their home during this epidemic. One former resident, who lived along the route of the funeral processions, recalled that at one point there were two or more funerals daily for Native people. "After a while my mother and my father had us stay away from the windows while they were going by with them." The Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) bought the cemetery at Jones Point to accommodate the high number of deaths. "At that time they were the only ones who were buried there, members of ANB." It was also reported that shamans encouraged people to leave a village when there were too many deaths, which occurred in this case.

The health of the Haines Native community was a chronic issue in future years. In 1924, for example, the Bureau of Education proposed a cooperative plan with the War Department to establish a tubercular unit at the Haines hospital. Serious health problems resulting from the lack of tubercular care facilities at the government hospital were again reported in 1940.

Some Haines families decided to move to Tenakee and Petersburg at about the time of the 1918 epidemic. This migration was the start of a small, but regular, trend in the Native community of Haines. The relative lack of jobs in Haines also prompted some local residents to migrate to other communities in search of better prospects. Over the next several decades, when the Haines economy did not improve, families occasionally moved to Juneau, Ketchikan, and other communities. One man reported that, in the 1950s, he was forced by the poor local economic conditions to go to Kodiak for several years. Over the years, the Haines Native community has experienced a small drain on its population that was not offset by immigration from nearby villages (such as Klukwan), as occurred in other mixed communities in Southeast Alaska.

Local residents reported that prejudice was institutionalized in local settings. Discrimination in the school, church, and businesses, such as the movie theater and restaurants, occurred regularly in Haines. Natives were prevented from registering for the draft in 1918, and as late as 1947 one man reported he was denied the right to vote (Haines ANB Minutes, 1948). It was reported that the city would burn houses belonging to Natives when they did not pay taxes—but such fires may also have been prompted by health risks associated with disease.

Some Natives growing up in the 1930s and 1940s identified themselves and their children as white, or de-emphasized ethnic traditions in their families, which made it easier for them to attend the local school, for example, and avoid conflicts in the community. This behavior was sometimes encouraged at home,
since often parents had been influenced by the teachings of missionaries and educators who strongly discouraged the use of Native language and ceremonial practices. Haines residents reported that expressions of disapproval attached to their Native ethnic identity began to decrease in the 1950s, but did not disappear. The generation that came of age in the 1960s was more open about its ethnic heritage, and began to reverse the pattern of denial that was prevalent in some Native homes.

Indian Possessions in the Haines Townsite

On the original plat of the Haines Townsite, approved in 1918, there were four “Native” and three “Indian Possession” tracts. Subsequently, the three Indian Possession tracts were subdivided into lots—which was contrary to the traditional form of ownership—and the new survey was approved in 1936. Much of this land was not deeded until the 1950s. According to BLM land records, 25 lots within the Indian Possessions were deeded, and 23 lots plus two Native Possessions were under application, as of 1954. In 1957, 11 parcels of land originally designated as Native or Indian Possessions remained undeeded. Procedures were instituted to deed these parcels, which required the present occupants applying for such lots to trace their claims back to 1918, for Native tracts, and to 1936 for Indian Possessions.

In 1932, based on delinquent tax rolls for 1931 and earlier years, the city presented a list of tax liens to court in Juneau. These lots which were nearly all Native-owned, were ordered for sale. Early in 1933, the Salvation Army envoy wrote to the territorial governor for assistance after finding that the city confiscated and sold some of the church members’ houses while they were out of town at a gospel meeting. The letter said the taxes were instituted by the city when it was generally known that Native people were cash-poor and could not afford to pay taxes, which was particularly the case for 16 people over the age of 65.4 The letter also cited three instances in which the city had denied the Native community civic assistance in constructing sidewalks in the village (Wright 1933).5

An investigation of the sale by the General Land Office (GLO), the predecessor of the BLM, determined that the improvements on property of three Natives had been purchased by the town of Haines, while the remaining Natives had paid the taxes on their property. The town annulled the tax bill of one elderly Native widow in view of her situation, and allowed one of the Natives to re-purchase his home. The special agent advised the Natives that, under the court ruling, they were liable for the taxes on the improvements to their lots (Ramsey 1933). This concordance with the judge’s opinion was subsequently refuted by the assistant commissioner for Indian Affairs, in which taxes on improvements were held to be illegal, but there is no record of any further action pursued on these cases (Zimmerman 1933).

By 1954, all but seven lots in the Haines Indian Possessions had been deeded. After the BLM issued deeds in that year, the City of Haines inquired if it would be possible to place on the tax rolls the lots to which deeds had been issued in that year. The BLM informed the city that unrestricted lots could be taxed, but when deeds are restricted the property is not subject to taxation. In 1957, the BLM reported that seven

---

4Natives in all Southeast communities did not have ready access to wage-paying jobs and other means of generating cash, and this condition was especially acute during the Depression. Haines was no exception to this pattern.

5The first instance occurred in 1907; materials were provided by the Alaska Packers Association and the sidewalk was built with Native labor. According to the letter, the third time was in 1929 when Haines had the ANB convention, "only the Governor helped us that time to build a sidewalk to the U.S. school."
lots, plus four tracts of Native-occupied land in the original townsite that were outside the Indian Possessions, remained undeeded. The remaining lots were deeded in the early 1960s, but some questions remained. For example, in 1985 the BIA investigated the ownership of a shoreline lot in Portage Cove deeded to the city in 1960, which was a tract marked as "Native" in the original town survey, on which the city had condemned and demolished a house owned by a Native family.

Native Churches in Haines

Haines Presbyterian Church

As described earlier, the Presbyterian Church started as a mission to the Chilkoot and Chilkat Natives. It opened for one year in 1881, then re-opened after a year for three more years (1883-86), and after a five-year closure it was again organized and remained active in subsequent years, starting in 1891. According to church records, the Native people petitioned the diocese for a minister in 1887. The Haines Presbyterian Church was formally organized in 1893. In these early years, the primary activity, in addition to church-related teaching, was a mission home for children and a school for them and the village children. The establishment of a frontier town at Haines in 1897-98 following the Klondike discovery was responsible for the closing of the mission home; this function was transferred to Sitka to escape the "attendant evils" of the new town in 1898. The congregation comprised "earnest Christian Natives; 175 gather for services." The mission also sold a building and land to finance the continuation of its work in Haines.

The mission home for boys and girls was re-opened, and a new church was erected, in 1903. The mission prospered with the establishment of the Army post in town, which contributed members and funds. The U.S. government operated the Native school in the beginning of the new century, and the mission shifted its activity by turning their school building into a hospital in 1907. It gave special attention to tuberculosis and trachoma in the community. A small training school for Native nurses was organized in 1916. The hospital was leased to the government in 1918, and after one year it closed. In 1921 it re-opened as Haines House, a home for orphan or half-orphan Native children serving Southeast Alaska. There were 26 children in the home in 1923.

The church reported positive and constructive results in the community from the orphanage work during the 1920s and 1930s. There were 34 children in residence by 1925, and after 3.5 years of service, 22 "active, purposeful little Christians have been developed from waifs." The children attended the government school in town until they were 12, after which they were sent to the Sheldon Jackson School (SJS) in Sitka. The ANB gave a Christmas gift of $376 to the orphanage in 1926, "almost all the members being former SJS pupils." A new building that was used as a boys' residence was constructed in 1927.

Natives interviewed in Ketchikan, Petersburg, and Wrangell reported that they resided in the children's home in Haines while they were children. Haines House expanded its mandate in the 1940s and 1950s to include services to children other than orphans, and social service agents placed children there to ensure they would receive a Christian education. Haines House also began to hire mothers of children enrolled in the home. By 1940 there was "increasing demands for care of children from broken homes due to laxity of liquor laws and effects of use of liquor on home life." The first fully white child was admitted to the home in 1948; mentally disturbed children and juvenile offenders were accepted in the 1950s. The home was closed in 1960.
Church records provide documentation of Native participation in the church. The following enumeration of new Native membership in the Haines Presbyterian Church shows the extensive influence of the church in the early years, and a regular level of Native participation over the years when records were kept:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895-1902</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-1910</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1924</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-1932</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-1945</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-1953</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-1971</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local residents reported that in the 1930s, the church had turned away from its former close relationship with the Native community. Church services were segregated in church services and a separate Sunday School for Natives was established. Native access to mission land for berrying and for collecting firewood—which had been customary in earlier years—was also restricted in the 1930s. Similarly, the military discouraged use of the army post as a source of firewood, and family members were prevented from visiting and maintaining graves at a Native cemetery located on the post. The use and disposition of land within the mission reserve has been a long-standing controversy in the community, since the local Native community felt that the land was given to the church with the agreement that they would never be barred from use of the land. Later, they were excluded from it (Haines ANB Minutes 1948).

The church originally claimed 540 acres, the maximum allowed under U.S. land laws, and in 1912 received patent to 267 acres of land as a mission reserve. This land lay to the south of Main Street, the route of the original portage trail from the Chilkat River. In 1903, the church transferred the larger portion of their site to the U.S. army for its new fort, after the army instituted condemnation proceedings against them. Although the base was probably instrumental to the church's ability to sustain its mission work in future years, the land has remained out of Native ownership. When the army disposed of the post in 1947, it passed to a group of non-Native veterans under land laws giving priority to veterans in military land disposals.

About 12 to 15 Native families resided in small houses on mission land along the south side of Main Street in the 1920s and before. Some of these families were dislodged in 1923-24 when the church donated land in this area for a town school. Sometime in the 1930s, the church began charging the Native householders a nominal fee ($1 per year) for the use of the land where they had their houses. In the 1940s, the church decided to sell a strip of this land for commercial purposes and issued eviction notices to Indian tenants. This caused hardship for the residents and resentment within the Native community, and was viewed as a breach of their original agreement with the church. In 1948, the Native community requested legal assistance in this matter, and letters were written to church headquarters, but there is no record of the outcome of these efforts (Lopinsky 1948).

According to a member of the ANB, the Presbyterian church acknowledged its original agreement and relationship with the Haines Native community in about 1962 or 1964, when it transferred a lot from mission holdings to the organization without charge. The ANB built a new meeting hall on this site. The building is in use today by the ANB and ANS (Alaska Native Sisterhood), and also serves as a place to hold traditional ceremonial activities.
Salvation Army

The Klondike rush also brought the Salvation Army Church to Alaska; its first missions were established in the interior and in Skagway. According to a church history, Joe Wright was converted while working as a packer over the Chilkoot Pass around the turn of the century. A short time later, he was falsely accused of murder and sent to prison in San Quentin. While there, he was recruited by the local Salvation Army. After he was released in about 1912, he returned to Haines and eventually started the Salvation Army Church there. A historical photograph shows the Haines Native Army band playing during a Fourth of July celebration in 1916 (Hakkinen 1979:11).

Joe Wright continued to proselytize in Haines and took musicians to Klukwan to help advance the influence of the church. He reported that 26 members of the band went to Klukwan in 1933 in this effort. It was after this trip that he protested to the territorial governor about the illegal taxation and condemnation of church members' homes, as described previously. The Salvation Army continues to serve the Native community in Haines to the present.

Native Government School

Established in 1883, the Haines school was one of the first three government schools in Alaska. Sarah Dickinson, a Presbyterian Tongass woman educated by William Duncan at Metlakatla, was the first teacher. From 1891 to 1894, the school was contracted to the Presbyterian mission, after which it was again operated by the government. There remained a separate school for the Natives of Haines, and the mission home children, through 1948. The Native School Reserve was located adjacent to the Indian Possessions, on the hill above the Native village along Front Street on Portage Cove.

School records provide a description of the quality of life that Natives experienced with whites in Haines in the early days. In 1918, the Bureau of Education (BOE, the predecessor to the BIA) denied a request by the town of Haines for land adjoining the reserve to extend a street, because it was in use as a playground and outhouses for the school. In 1919, the school teacher reported that the white population shared the general opinion that some education would not hurt the Indians, but that anything above the second grade was harmful. “The Chilkat appears to be valued according to his earning and spending capacity as the white people to a very large extent depend upon the Indians and the soldiers for their support.” The school teacher held citizenship classes, and 22 applications were filed; later, protests over granting such certificates were also submitted to the court (presumably by white residents). She also reported that Natives were denied the opportunity to register with the local draft board (Annual School Report 1918-19).

The government school went through the sixth grade, and Natives either ended their schooling at that stage or were sent to Native boarding schools in Sitka or out of state. Many older Haines residents, as well as their parents, had the experience of being sent away from home to school. The practice was seen as detrimental to the community, and in the 1920s the Haines ANB succeeded in sponsoring two Natives into the Haines schools, after which it became more common for Natives to attend the local public schools. It was always easier for those Natives who blended in, or could pass as whites to attend the local schools, even then; but it was not until the ANB action that those recognized as "genuine, real Indians" were able to attend. The opposition came from the school board and parents, according to one report, and not the teachers.
Native Reservations in the Haines Area

The establishment of reservations for the use of Haines and Klukwan Indians provide documentation of Native use and occupancy. These reserves were established to protect Native use and occupancy in the Chilkat Valley from encroachments by white settlers and homesteaders, which threatened to exclude Natives from the use and occupancy of traditional areas. Between 1913 and 1918, four reservations were created by executive order of the President, on the recommendations of the Department of the Interior which, in turn, were based on initiatives advanced by the BOE. The first of these was the Klukwan Village reserve, created in 1913, which encompassed approximately 800 acres around the village. An adjoining area was set aside in 1915 for a tuberculosis sanitarium for Natives in the region, but the plan was never completed and the land was eventually added to the Klukwan reservation.

Two reserves were established to set aside land along the bank of the Chilkat River that was used by the Natives of Haines and Klukwan as a fishing ground, a former village settlement, and a cemetery site. This narrow strip of land, three to four miles long and situated between the river and the mountains, was first identified as the “Chilkat Fisheries Reserve” because it was the location of eulachon camps used by the Indians of Haines and Klukwan. In support of the proposed reservation, the BOE reported, “From time immemorial the Alaska natives (sic), especially of the Chilkat Valley, which now includes the native villages of Klukwan and Haines, have gone annually in the spring of the year into camps along the North Bank of the Chilkat River for the purpose of oolakan (sic) fishing. The oolakan, or candle fish, is a large element in their food supply, since they not only dry and smoke it for winter use, but also get from it a large supply of edible oil” (Beattie 1913).

Since 1911, according to the report, “white men have repeatedly threatened to locate a homestead which would include a large part of the camping grounds of the natives.” The reservation was recommended by the BOE after delegations of leaders from Klukwan and Haines reported this encroachment and requested that the land be set apart, together with the village of Yendeistakye and the Native cemetery south of it. Upon investigation, it was found that only one settler would be displaced by the reserve, and he “had early notice of the Indian rights, but persisted in ignoring them” (Tallman 1915). The proposal was protested by the Haines Chamber of Commerce, which wrote to the President in an attempt to persuade him to reduce the area in the reservation.

The area was divided into two reserves created by executive order. One, the Chilkat Fisheries Reserve, was located at about 7 mile and included 17 acres used for eulachon fish camps (Executive Order No. 2228, August 2, 1915, U.S.Survey 906). This was the area of the Dok Point settlement mentioned above; further documentation of traditional use is provided in Sackett (1979:65-71). The second reservation, named Yendeistakye Reserve, was located three miles from Haines and encompassed 144 acres (Executive Order No. 2388, May 25, 1916, U.S. Survey 908).

Regarding the Yendeistakye Reserve, the DOI reported, “A large part of the area is secured by the claim of the natives by long occupation for use for their subsistence. Another part has been used for festivities under their aboriginal customs, and is occupied by 18 buildings, each owned by a separate native family, and inhabited when desired. Other parts contain a large number of graves of their ancestors and kindred, which under the unvarying rules of this office should not be granted to strangers” (ibid.). Additional documentation of traditional occupancy of this area is available in Sackett (1979). Tlingit leaders in Haines, confident that the Haines Native community would receive land under ANCSA, circulated a map showing Yendeistakye as a townsitc subdivided into lots in the early 1970s.
The government reserved the right-of-way for the road that followed the river (along the route of the original Indian trail) and passed in front of the village at Yandeistłegye. When the army built a highway to Whitehorse in 1942, village houses were undermined as gravel was extracted from the site of the village. The army settled claims for damages to the village in agreements with the Chilkoot Indian Association in 1945, and an individual claim was taken to court in Juneau by at least one Native.

Highway construction was at issue again in 1969, when the state wished to build a bridge across the river through the reserve for a proposed road from Haines to Juneau. Through the Tlingit and Haida Central Council, the state asked for the consent of the Native community in Haines, which was the landowner of the reserve in this case, which was required before the state could proceed with the project. Initially, Haines representatives worked in association with the Khukwan community, since the Chilkoot Indian Association was inactive and Haines was not represented in Tlingit and Haida.

The available records suggest the Chilkoot Association was then re-activated, and Haines requested recognition for membership in the Central Council in 1971. Also, a protest group was formed within the Tlingit and Haida Central Council to oppose the project. The state continued to negotiate the issue with the three groups, including the Chilkoot community in Haines, until passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971 revoked the Yendistucky Reservation.

Another reservation in the Haines area was investigated by the federal government in the 1940s. The land bordered the Indian village in Haines, lying just to the north on the shore of Portage Cove. In 1899, the land was filed on by two Natives who hoped to obtain and conserve a wood supply for the Indians of Haines. Subsequently, the land was settled and claimed as a homestead by two white men, who cut timber on the land without regard for existing Native use and occupancy. After the original filers objected to this adverse possession in 1911, the GLO determined that the Natives could not be disturbed in the possession of lands actually occupied and claimed by them, as in this case.

Natives brought the issue to the attention of the government again in 1943, after the white settlers extracted gravel from the land. As before, the government affirmed that the land had been withheld for entry, because it was "a shore space reserve under the Act of March 3, 1903" and it contained improvements erected and maintained by Natives. However, a formal reservation had not been made. Available records indicate that the BIA superintendent initiated efforts to do so, but the outcome of this action could not be determined (Hirst 1943a and 1943b).

**Haines ANB/ANS Camp Number 5**

The Haines Progressive Club, a forerunner to the Haines ANB/ANS, was organized in 1916. "The primary purpose of the club is the improvement of the social life of the Native and eventually to do away with the potlatch. ... The Club of 32 members meets once a week in a hall rented for that purpose. They devote two hours to lectures on the care of the home and their improvements generally, care of the sick, proper dress, cooking, and instruction in citizenship. At the close of the fishing season they plan to build their own hall" (Annual School Report 1916-17). This organization was continued in 1918-19.

In the early 1920s, the Haines ANB Camp No. 5 was organized by 25 founding members. It was very active in the 1920s and 1930s; there were regular weekly meetings and the membership was comprised of most of the adult Native community. According to a former officer, the goal of the organization was obtaining equal rights in Haines: ending discrimination in the schools and in employment, gaining the
right to vote and of public assembly, and otherwise promoting the development of the Native community. One of its early victories was attaining the right of Native children to attend secondary school in Haines. In about 1926 or 1927, the ANB succeeded in placing two students in the seventh grade, who continued through to graduation from high school. After that, the way was opened for Natives to attend the public high school.

In 1933 and 1934, the ANB organized a bloc vote in Haines and succeeded in electing a Native as Mayor. At this time, the town's population was about 50 percent Native and 50 percent white. The principal issue of this campaign was the lack of employment for Natives and discrimination in hiring practices, particularly in the local CCC and WPA projects which were virtually the only sources of jobs in town. Natives could not get jobs on these projects, according to the former mayor. After the election, he opened the hiring practices to Natives and ensured that everyone who wanted a job got one.

The ANB supported activities for community youth. In the 1920s, they actively encouraged youngsters to play basketball, and rented halls in town for basketball teams to practice. The need for their own basketball court was one of the motivations for the ANB to erect its own meeting hall which was built to basketball specifications in the late 1920s. The ANB also supported the work of the Presbyterians with the youth in the community; it gave a Christmas contribution to help support Haines House in 1926.

Efforts to build the ANB hall started in 1927, when the group began to buy lumber in town and purchased an abandoned office building from the Treadwell mine in Douglas. Younger members dismantled it and brought the lumber to Haines by boat. It was put on land bought for the purpose by the Native village. "During 1928 there was a period of intense activity to get the building up and get it workable. By November of 1929, they managed. ... They managed to have the convention here. They knew it was going to be a landmark convention because it was in there that they—this was a time they were going to have to decide—are we going to sue the government or are we going to accept it? Let's make up our minds. They decided that they were going to sue the government." This was a reference to the historic ANVANS annual convention in Haines at which delegates decided to pursue their aboriginal land claims against the United States (discussed in another chapter of this report).

The Haines ANB and ANS participated actively in the meetings and activities concerned with land claims during subsequent years, and represented the Haines community during annual Tlingit and Haida claims meetings held in association with ANB conventions. Haines was represented at the special organizational meeting of the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska in Wrangell in 1941, which was called for the purpose of approving a contract and selecting attorneys for the land claims case, and in subsequent meetings and correspondence with the land claims attorneys. Records from the late 1940s document meetings in Haines in which Grand Camp representatives asked the local Haines camp to continue making contributions to ANB expenses in support of this activity, and to provide information to land claims attorneys there present.

The Haines ANB also approached the Tlingit and Haida land claims attorneys for assistance with local matters. In 1947, the ANB asked the claims attorneys for help in having the land on which the ANB hall was located declared part of a reservation, so they would be exempt from property taxes imposed by the city. At this time, the ANB leased part of the Yendistucky Reserve to pay this bill. The hall was eventually possessed by the city for tax delinquency, condemned, and demolished, according to local residents. The

---

6 An area was leased to a white man for use as a landing strip; it ultimately became the site of the Haines airport.
ANB had no meeting place until the early 1960s, when the Presbyterian Church donated to the Haines Native community land originally given to the mission by the Lukaagadi. A new hall was erected in about 1964.

In 1949, the Tlingit and Haida claims attorneys, on behalf of the Haines ANB, filed a petition for federal hearings on possessory rights and the establishment of a reservation for the Haines Indian community. Changes in policy at the federal level eventually put an end to these actions, although promises were made to include Haines and Klukwan together in such proceedings since they jointly occupied the area. Meeting minutes and correspondence summarize numerous issues pursued in this period including a request for transfer of the government school for Native use (in opposition to a request by the city to acquire it for a hospital); problems with the eviction of Natives from homes on mission land (described earlier); trespass on Indian land on the waterfront; need for loans for Indian businesses; need for changes in fishing regulations; development of a breakwater in Haines Harbor; and damages to the Yendistucky Reserve from highway construction.

In the 1940s, the leadership of ANB participated in the formation of the Chilkoot Indian Association (the Haines IRA organization), which also pursued these issues. Because the cadre of leaders in Haines was small, the leadership of the ANB was largely the same as that of the IRA. The two organizations shared similar goals for the social and economic improvement of conditions for the Native community in Haines.

The Chilkoot Indian Association: Haines IRA Government

In 1941, the Native community in Haines formed an IRA government that was named the Chilkoot Indian Association. The members of the association were identified as "being all the Indians residing in the town of Haines and the neighborhood thereof." In the 1940s, the BIA initiated a loan program to assist Native communities and individuals in the development of businesses, to supplement fishing income. (Fish stocks were in decline due to overfishing.) The Chilkoot Indian Association wanted to use the program to buy and operate a fish freezer plant, or a cannery, to provide new employment opportunities in the town. This request was denied by the BIA.

In 1947, the association engaged the Tlingit and Haida land claims attorney, James E. Curry, as general counsel to represent them in all matters. A series of issues was identified for which assistance was needed, similar to those described above for the ANB/ANS. The association pursued the establishment of a reservation for the Haines Indian village. It sought federal recognition of its possession of the waterfront opposite the Indian village, which it had been using for over 50 years, and to reserve it for the association’s use as a boat harbor. "The area [along the waterfront] is occupied by Natives and is marked on the town map as Indian possesson" (Curry 1947).

The following year, 63 members of the Chilkoot Indian Association signed a petition asking the Secretary of DOI to establish a reservation of lands used and occupied in the Haines area for their use and benefit "sufficient for our economic needs," and to protect their holdings against further encroachment. Haines people knew that the DOI had recently carried out investigations of possessory rights in Southeastern Alaska and had recommended the establishment of a reservation at Hydaburg. The petition was submitted as part of the federal process to establish reservations under the Indian Recognition Act (IRA). Also, the DOI had held hearings in Klukwan in 1946 in connection with a proposed reservation of land for those people. In reply, the DOI stated that their reservation policy was under review, but they
acknowledged the claims of the Haines people must be addressed along with those of Klukwan since they were jointly concerned "in a common territory at the head of Lynn Canal" and that "they still use much of the territory in common" (Wane 1948). No further record was available.

After its establishment, the Chilkoot Indian Association acted in concert with the local ANB/ANS camps in support of the land claims efforts. The core of active leaders in Haines served in both groups. When descendants of the traditional tribes (recognized chiefs or leaders of Tlingit and Haida clans) intervened as parties plaintiff in the Tlingit and Haida land claims lawsuit in the 1950s, members of the Chilkoot Indian Association of Haines participated and were represented on the list.

**Tlingit and Haida Central Council**

In the late 1950s, the activity of the Haines leadership was hampered by its small membership, which had been reduced by deaths in the older generation and by residents leaving to find jobs. It was also affected by a portion of its membership that associated with their ancestral communities such as Klukwan and Skagway. During the 1960s, Haines participated in the Tlingit and Haida Central Council through its association with the Klukwan delegation. Minutes of Klukwan meetings in the late 1960s show that Haines residents participated in local chapter meetings, and the Haines representatives were sometimes nominated and elected as officers of the Klukwan chapter.

The activation of the Haines Tlingit and Haida chapter was stimulated by a concern over the Yendistucky reserve, which was proposed as a site of a river crossing for a new highway. In 1969, it was necessary for the state to have the consent of the Haines community before proceeding with the project. After the state requested the Tlingit and Haida Central Council for assistance with contacting the communities of Haines and Klukwan, Haines became more involved with the Central Council. In 1969, Haines asked Klukwan for assistance in working with the Tlingit and Haida organization on this issue, since Klukwan was already a member. But within a year or two, the Haines community decided to organize an independent chapter. In 1971, Haines submitted a resolution to the annual Tlingit and Haida convention to be recognized as a Tlingit and Haida community eligible for electing delegates to participate in future conventions. This resolution was acted on favorably, and Haines has been an active member of the Tlingit and Haida Central Council since then.

**Native Cemeteries and Grave Sites**

There are eight historical Native cemeteries and two shamans' burials in the Haines area. One cemetery lies immediately behind the village of Yandeistakye. In 1978, a field investigation located 21 graves containing 31 burials, and reported that there were "undoubtedly" more graves hidden by the dense vegetation (Sackett 1979:47). Wooden balustrades and marble headstones, one in the shape of a Native "cooper," characterize this area. A second cemetery located south of the village contains 50 graves with at least 62 burials (ibid.). Part of the cemetery lies along the highway and another section is on the bluff overlooking the first part. The graves are marked by wooden balustrades, concrete walls or pads, marble headstones, and combinations of these features. The cemetery was used by Natives living in Haines, not by those from Yandeistakye, according to Sackett (ibid.).
Two other cemeteries lie further south beyond the airport. One is the city cemetery on the Jones Point Road; it contains at least 45 burials marked with concrete pads, concrete headstones, or marble headstones. This cemetery was originally purchased and used by the ANB. Later it became the town cemetery and is used now by Haines residents and a few Klukwan people. Another burial ground is located on a bluff along the road going south of town; this is on private land and the number of burials is unknown. It was formerly part of the Army post and at one time Natives were forbidden to visit and clean these graves. It is associated with the prehistoric village that existed on the site of the Chilkat Cannery, as well as with the historic cannery village.

Another cemetery lies in Portage Cove on mission land just below the Presbyterian church, close to the center of town. It contains an unknown number of Native burials, according to local residents. They are marked with headstones.

Three cemeteries are associated with the Chilkoot River settlement area. Two cemeteries are found at the outlet of the river, one on either side of the river's mouth. One grave lies in the cemetery area on the west of the outlet, the remains of which have been removed to the cemetery south of Yendeistakye village (Sackett 1979:103). On the other side of the river, on a bluff overlooking the river mouth, were ten graves and an unknown number of burials. These were marked with wooden balustrades, concrete fence, picket fence, marble headstones, and a concrete headstone. A cemetery containing five graves is located near the site of Chilkoot Village below the lake (ibid.:57).

Two shaman's burials have also been reported in the area. The grave of Skondoo.oo, a relatively well-known historical figure, is situated on a bluff above the Yendistucky Reserve. It consists of the remains of a grave house, 32-foot canoe, and the burial of his wife marked by a wooden balustrade. Historical photographs show the grave house painted in a crest design, with the canoe beside it (for example, see Hakkinen 1979:23).

Above Chilkoot Village are several caves, some of which contain pictographs. One of the caves was a shaman's burial site (Sackett 1979:80-89). Human bones were found in one of the caves; these could be associated with a report of Chilkoot Indians from the village below who, infected with smallpox, ascended to this area to die so they would avoid infecting other villagers (Wilsey & Ham 1975:612-13; Wotl: 1984:26). A smallpox epidemic occurred in the area in about 1901.
Ketchikan

The mouth of Ketchikan Creek was a summer village for Tlingit families who put up fish from the huge runs of pink salmon that returned there each year. The large return of salmon also attracted the first white settlers, who erected a saltery and a cannery by the village in the 1880s. The Native school and mission erected on Indian land in the 1890s were the first such institutions established in the small town. The development of the salmon fishing industry, together with the supporting logging, sawmill, and merchant businesses, helped establish Ketchikan as a commercial center after the turn of the century. This expansion attracted a large number of Tsimshians to the community, as well as Tlingit and Haida; the Tsimshians have remained the predominant population group in the Ketchikan Native community. A large area south of the commercial district, known as “Indian Town,” was the home of a dynamic Native community. The decline in the salmon stocks and the construction of the large pulp mill at mid-century attracted a second wave of Native migration to Ketchikan, this time from Tlingit and Haida communities on Prince of Wales Island. Ketchikan continues to be the home of the third largest Native community in the Southeastern region.

Native Use and Occupancy in Ketchikan Prior to White Settlement

Before the arrival of white settlers, the mouth of Ketchikan Creek was a summer village to which Tlingit family groups regularly came to dry fish. They built large smokehouses that also served as their homes. Ketchikan Creek was known as “Humpback Creek” for its immense run of pink salmon. The creek and the land on each side of the mouth were owned by members of the Ganaxadi clan of the Tongass tribal subdivision, where the Kadjuk house and other clan houses were located (Balcom 1961:62, 99; Garfield and Forrest 1981:57-58). According to Balcom, Chief Kyan also had ownership of the area either through his own clan or that of his wife. Local sources state he was a Tongass man of the Tequeidi clan, married to a Raven, perhaps of the Ganaxadi clan (Schulte 1991).

At the turn of the century, the Kadjuk house was owned by Chief George Johnson. Native people “...lived here many years before white people ever came. Always, when they knew the salmon were hitting the creek, the people come and they set up smokehouses, and visit Chief Johnson. His smokehouse was a little above where the St. Francis Hotel is now, built right there. There was a runoff from the main creek, where they would get their fish when they can't get their fish from the falls in the main river.”

According to oral history recorded in the 1920s, a group of Tlingit people of the Ganaxadi clan came north from the principal Tongass village on Tongass Island to find a better place to fish, since there was no flat spot at the mouth of Tongass Creek suitable for building a fish trap. At Ketchikan Creek they found they could erect fish traps on the sand flats. They sunk sharpened piles of different lengths, upon which jumping salmon would impale themselves. The name “Ketchikan” ("gitcxan" in Tlingit, meaning "wings fitted in") refers to the sand spit at the mouth of the creek, which was favorable for trapping fish (Waterman 1922:13-14, 33).

This area of Tongass Narrows once belonged to the Cape Fox people, but it was “given up to the Tongass people” by the Cape Fox in the nineteenth century (James Starrish, in Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:141). The prior ownership of the creek is also reported by Olson, who described the transfer of ownership of Ketchikan Creek ("gitcxan") to the Tongass people in this way:

The creek, famous for its run of humpbacked salmon, was owned by a Sanyakwan [Cape Fox] of the Nexadi clan named Kuka'ke! He married a woman of the Tanakpan Ganaxadi household of Drifting Ashore House. So it came to be owned (controlled) by Chief Calden. (Olson 1976:56)
Goldschmidt and Haas noted in 1946 that although the ownership right of the Tongass was recognized by the Saxman [Cape Fox] people, the area was presently used by both groups.

Ketchikan Creek was known as a stopping place for all tribes traveling north through the area, including Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian groups (Henry Denny, in Wilsey and Ham 1975:90). Passing through the Ketchikan area in 1889, Emmons noticed numerous small clearings along the shores of Tongass Narrows showing evidence of occupation, but found people camped near streams for the salmon fishing in the summer season. He observed former settlement sites, mostly small forts, on the bluff just below Ketchikan, on a rock at the north bank of Ketchikan Creek near its mouth, at the place where the Ketchikan wharf stands, and across from Ketchikan on Pennock Island (Emmons n.d.).

The Tongass were once a large group before they were reduced by epidemics and warfare (Bancroft 1959:560; Emmons n.d.; Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:134; Krause 1956:74). The population at their principal village on Tongass Island was estimated in 1888 at 300, but in 1889 they numbered only about 150. This was about the time Ketchikan was becoming a center of trade and activity, and people were generally leaving the old village and building small houses that became their permanent homes about the mouth of Ketchikan Creek (Emmons n.d.). Residents of this village also moved to New Metlakatla, which was formerly the site of a major Tongass village; some remained there and others later migrated to Ketchikan. Other Tongass people came directly to Ketchikan from the older villages on Village and Cat Islands; these people had stayed behind at these settlements when some among them migrated to the Tongass Island village (Joseph Johns, in Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:135).

The Arrival of White Settlers

The huge return of pink salmon in Ketchikan Creek attracted the first white settlers in about 1886, when a saltery was founded at the creek mouth. It was succeeded by a small cannery which burned in a fire in 1889 or 1890, and later, another saltery. The first commercial fishing was done by beach seining on the flats below a wooded knoll south of the creek. The owners built a small dock, so the steamer could stop and pick up what they salted in barrels. A trading post at the cannery served the fur trade. Later in the decade, Tsimshians from Metlakatla started sawmills, and a cannery opened in the area at Loring. The Native village at Saxman was founded as a mission community in 1897.

The development of Ketchikan from an Indian village to an early cannery site to a larger fishing center is described by Gruening (1954:75):

Thus Kichikan, a tiny native hamlet on the banks of an abundant salmon stream emptying into Tongass Narrows, was the site of an early salmon cannery. It was destroyed by fire in 1889 and for a time abandoned. But the salmon stream was a powerful magnet to re-attract the enterprise. Moreover, the site was on the principal channel of the Alaskan steamers. In time Ketchikan would become "the world's salmon capital," processing more salmon than any other community on earth.

The turn of the century was the beginning of a long period of growth and expansion of the town of Ketchikan. The 1898 discovery of gold and copper in the Ketchikan district, the movement of people from Wrangell after its collapse as an entryway to the Klondike, and the construction of a cannery and sawmill in town brought a substantial influx of people, activity, and enterprise that continued for several decades (Balcom 1961). Churches, civic organizations, and a local government also formed. Ketchikan was incorporated as a city in 1900, and the Ketchikan townsite was approved in 1910. Stores were built, streets were laid out, and the town saw a boom in home construction that peaked in the 1920s and 1930s. Ketchikan became the hub of regional economic activity that centered on fishing and timber.
The large Fidalgo Island Packing Company cannery opened in Ketchikan in 1900, and it was the primary source of employment and wages for the Native community. Located south of Indian Town, the cannery was connected to the Native village by a plank walkway. The cannery was the “only salvation our [Native] people had.” There were no white ladies working in the cannery, just Indians, in the beginning. People came over from Metlakatla in summer time, to get fish and work in the cannery. In the early 1900s most Native men worked as fishermen, trolled for king salmon in their canoes, sold their catch to the cold storage, and hunted and fished for home consumption.

Sutter, the operator of the Fidalgo Island Packing Company, claimed to have acquired exclusive ownership of the land and the fishing rights at the creek mouth. He had purchased these rights for $100 from a local Native, Charlie Dickson, who was recorded as the original owner on the deed of sale. In 1902, Sutter charged Heckman, operator of the large American Packers Association (APA) cannery at Loring, with encroachment on this property when the APA engaged in beach-seining on the tide flats at the creek mouth. Heckman claimed his rights to the beach opposite the knoll (Swanson’s Point) through possession of a mining claim (Davies 1982; Smythe 1989).

The court ruled in favor of Sutter, and APA, prevented from further beach-seining by the rocky shoreline, blasted out sections of rock so that wooden platforms could be fitted to serve as seining sites. In the court order, Sutter was also protected from encroachment on the north by the local sawmill which coveted land on the north side of the creek (Lewis 1913:16; Tucker 1984:108). Subsequently, the APA built a pile-driven fish trap off the mouth of the creek, which operated from 1902 until 1910-11. The abundant run of pink salmon in Ketchikan Creek was nearly exhausted by this time.

The decision in Sutter v. Heckman (119 Fed. 83-88) is significant because it recognized the sale and conveyance of Native possessory rights at a time when Natives were not granted deeds. At this time, Natives did not have the legal right to hold title because they were not recognized as citizens. The decision sanctioned a mechanism for acquiring possession that proved useful to the white and Japanese settlers and speculators in the expanding town of Ketchikan, one that was also used in other Southeast communities. The court recognized Sutter's fishing rights, and this finding was used later by the Department of the Interior (DOI) in court arguments against encroachments on the tidelands from the growing town on Ketchikan. The decision in Sutter v. Heckman also stated that title to the tidelands abutting lands acquired in this way was reserved by the federal government (see Case 1984:61; Reeves 1926:4-5).

**Federal Reservation of the Tide Flats at Ketchikan Creek for the Use of Natives (1905)**

In the early 1900s, the area on both sides of the mouth of Ketchikan Creek was occupied almost exclusively by Natives. The federal government recognized this fact and reserved the land to protect the traditional Native use of the area. The record shows the government was ultimately ineffective in protecting it from non-Native encroachments and the growing political power of the commercial interests in the town.

In 1905, referring to the economic dependence of the Indian community on access to the water and beach frontage, an investigator for the GLO recommended the reservation of tidelands in front of the village. The reservation was based on the investigator's personal observations of the Native village in Ketchikan: "Under customs peculiar to the Natives of Alaska, their houses are, as far as possible, situated along and near the waterfront on the seashore, almost every house having a frontage upon the waters. The lands lying
between their homes and the waters are claimed and used by them generally as landing places for their canoes, sites for sheds and other protection to their canoes and boats, places for drying nets, curing fish, seaweed, etc. in the summer for their food supply during the winter” (Witten 1905:3-4).

Pointing to provisions in the act of May 14, 1898, which authorized the DOI to reserve waterfront along streams and seashores for the use of Natives of Alaska for landing places for canoes and other craft, the GLO investigator wrote, "Any adverse use of lands so occupied by them would tend greatly to embarrass and injure them, and it was for their protection in the use of these shores that the statute was enacted.” Witten proceeded to recommend the reservation of the tidal flats: “Such a reservation might be made [for] all lands in the vicinity of the mouth of Ketchikan Creek, lying between the premises occupied by the Natives and the limits of low tide in Tongass Narrows, ...and, in my judgement, such a reservation should be made, since the use of these lands as a landing place for saw logs, or for any other purpose which would interfere with the ingress or egress of the Natives, should be prohibited” (ibid.). In 1905, the DOI Secretarial Order reserved the lands “for the use of the Natives of Alaska for landing places for canoes and other craft used by such Natives ...”

The administrative records of the reservation and the townsites provide useful documentation of subsequent encroachments and loss of Native use and occupation in the area as Ketchikan grew. The reserve was soon under pressure from white men and Japanese who built structures along the shore that blocked access to the beach. The tidelands themselves were subject to competing uses. To the north, the sawmill sought to appropriate tidelands for expansion, and on the south shore the Alaska Packers Association cannery operated a fish trap and, in about 1912, built a wharf blocking the only low-water approach to the Native village. Through various means, these individuals and enterprises acquired upland lots from Native owners and then laid exclusive claims to the adjacent tidelands. Other methods of appropriation were to dump logs, sink a scow, or simply build on pilings over the tide flats in front of Native holdings (see Lewis 1913; Moore 1915; and especially Davies 1982).

In 1911 and early 1912, the Ketchikan Indians protested the encroachment to the town council and the townsitie trustee, which was communicated to the GLO:

A number of the Native Indians living around and in the vicinity of Ketchikan Creek that passes through the townsite of Ketchikan have ... filed with us a complaint that the white men and Japanese have under claim of purchasing from Natives built and are maintaining foundations, houses and other structures along upon and below the uplands bordering on and the tidelands on front of their holdings and have completely blocked said Natives off from access to their upland holdings from salt water and that the have no place on account thereof to land their canoes, store their boats, spread their seines or use the beach land in accordance with their customs and needs. The town of Ketchikan has erected a street along said waterfront across their said holdings, but I understand that said street does not cut off their said access, as said Natives can pass underneath and through the piles upon which said street passes and said street connects two sections of the town and is for the mutual advantage of white and native also. (In Davies 1982:9)

7The reservation also served a purpose that was originally proposed by the local populace. The land order was issued after the request of the Territorial Governor, who in turn had been acting on a petition from white citizens of Ketchikan, who used the flats as a baseball field and were seeking protection against its appropriation by the local sawmill, the Ketchikan Power Company. Although the order also directed that the Commissioner of the GLO “take such further supplemental action in the premises as may be necessary” to protect the reservation, subsequent federal actions did not avert the process that had created the need for the reservation in the first place.
The GLO sent an investigator to Ketchikan in 1913 to examine the situation, and again in 1915 to gather information for possible court action against unlawful occupancy. The conclusions of both were similar: "Unless a reservation is made [surveyed and enforced], the commercial interests will surely take control of the whole water front, to the exclusion not only of the native, but the general public..." (Lewis 1913:22). The second investigation compared the ownership of 1905 with that of 1915 and found that, whereas 46 out of 50 lots examined were held by Natives in 1905 (including four by Native women married to whites), only 13 lots remained in the possession of Natives by 1915 (Moore 1915:2). He also stated that public sentiment in the white community against removal of the ball field was the only protection afforded to the reservation at all.

Following these investigations, the DOI brought suit against the sawmill and canneries and in 1918 obtained a court order to prevent them from maintaining or operating structures on tidelands and appropriating tidelands on the land reserve. After continuing transgressions by the sawmill, contempt proceedings were instituted in the early 1920s and contempt was admitted. In a 1924 consent agreement, the court modified the original injunction to allow the sawmill existing encroachments. The sawmill (now the Ketchikan Spruce Mills) wanted more land and had filed application for use of the entire tidelands area up to Ketchikan Creek. The need to protect the private (non-Native) fishing rights at the creek mouth, which were recognized in Sutter v. Heckman, was used by DOI in its arguments.

The case was continued in 1926, and there was no further action until 1932, when the U.S. attorney requested authority to dismiss the restraining order. By this time the issue was moot, since what tidelands remained were under development by the federal government. Also, DOI held that their statutory authority for reserving tidelands was clouded by subsequent legislation which stipulated that such lands were to be held in trust for the future state(s) to be carved out of the territory.

**Character of the Early Ketchikan Native Community**

Ketchikan's 1890 population was 40 people, of whom 31, or 78 percent, were Native or mixed (Porter 1890). This figure was low due to a fire which had destroyed the cannery and caused it to close. Ten years later, there were 746 residents, and 460 (or 62 percent) of these were Native (U.S. Court of Claims 1968:284). During winter, Ketchikan's population declined to 459 residents, 101 (22 percent) of whom were Native, according to the U.S. Census.

But there were another 275 Natives who resided in several nearby Native communities, including Saxman (129), 'North Saxman' (48), and Gravina (98). The latter two communities were sawmill towns founded and occupied by Tsimshians from Metlakatla. Combining these figures, the Ketchikan area was 51 percent Native in population in the winter of 1900. Saxman was comprised of 87 percent Cape Fox Tlingit, while Ketchikan's Native population was principally Tongass (69 percent Tongass, 15 percent Cape Fox, 13 percent Stikine, and the rest Chilkat, Taku, and Tsimshian).\(^{9}\)

---

\(^{8}\)The Thomas Basin boat harbor and breakwater, which was located on the former tidelands south of the creek, was nearing completion by the Corps of Engineers. On the opposite shore, the tidal flat was the site for a proposed federal building, against which there was no opposition expressed (Stabler 1932).

\(^{9}\)This compositional data was compiled from census enumeration sheets, and it is combined here with official census tabulations of total population for the city of Ketchikan in 1900 and, below, in 1910.
The Tongass kwan (people) had a number of tribal houses in the Native village at Ketchikan. As recalled by Esther Shea, they included the Bear house (built by Mark Brown for his wife Marian), Raven House (Mark Brown's brother's house), another Bear house (belonging to Mark and Marian Brown's sons), Rose Starr's house, Chief Johnson's Kadjuk house, "the house that floated ashore" (also called "drifting ashore house") located where the Forest Service building is now, and the Bubble House situated closer to where the visitors' center is being constructed. Mark Brown's Bear house was located next to where Peter Ryan lived; Ryan moved into it after Brown died, in contravention of Tlingit custom.

There were also about 8 to 12 Tsimshian families who lived in the Native village. Most of these people had migrated from Metlakatla. It was not unusual for Tongass men to marry Tsimshian women from Old Metlakatla, and consequently Tsimshian families were accustomed to using the site to dry fish before the whites came. There was regular intermarriage among the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida people, and members of all three groups lived there in the early days of Ketchikan.

Ketchikan saw a larger influx of Tsimshian people during the first several decades of the century. Some of the Tsimshians came from Metlakatla, others were migrants from the two Tsimshian sawmill communities located in the area at this time. Peter Simpson and other Tsimshians originally from Metlakatla had, in 1892, started a sawmill on Gravina Island opposite the village at Ketchikan. A small community of Tsimshians grew up around the mill, and it prospered until a disastrous fire destroyed the mill and half the town in 1904 (Roppel 1972). Gravina was abandoned after the fire, and its residents moved either to Ketchikan or back to Metlakatla. (Simpson went to Sitka at this time.) The other community, known in the 1900 census as "North Saxman," was the site of the Venney brothers' sawmill.

In 1910, Ketchikan's population quadrupled to 2,797, of which 1,613 (58 percent) were Native (U.S. Court of Claims 1968:284). The winter population was much lower: 1,613 residents were enumerated in the city of Ketchikan (U.S. census). The reported Native population was 249, which was 15 percent of the total. The Native community was much changed in composition: a majority were Tsimshian (54 percent), while 32 percent were Tlingit and 14 percent Haida. Less than half of the Tlingit in Ketchikan (44 percent) were Tongass, and one third were Cape Fox who moved in from Saxman. The Indian population for the Ketchikan area was estimated to be 600 in 1912 (Lewis 1913:21). The Native presence was continuous at Ketchikan in succeeding years.

In the 1890s and 1900s, the Native people started to build small frame houses and cabins where before they had smokehouses. One of the first Native-built modern frame houses in Southeast Alaska was constructed by Chief Johnson, the man who erected the Kadjuk totem pole, in the Native village. Native homes were clustered in the original village at the mouth of the creek, but as the Native population expanded after the turn of the century, more houses were constructed on the hill along the creek and across on the opposite shoreline, where Indian houses extended down the long sandy beach. This area became known as Indian Town. The people were able to land on the beach and bring their canoes right up below their houses, at high tide, and it was convenient to the cannery.

Sometime shortly after 1900, the first non-Natives began to move into the Native village. These were Japanese families who opened a grocery store, bakery, and one or two other businesses in the community. As there was mutual respect between these two ethnic groups, there were good relations between them, and the Orientals became a permanent part of the community.
Tsimshians continued to migrate to Ketchikan from Metlakatla until the 1920s. The Native community expanded on vacant land to the south. The Tsimshians settled on the knoll overlooking Thomas Basin and southward, where they had smokehouses. The many Tsimshian families in Ketchikan today are descended from the people who came to Ketchikan and settled in this area around Thomas Basin. They were attracted mainly by the improved economic and employment opportunities offered in the growing town. Some were close adherents of Father Duncan and met with disfavor in Metlakatla after his death. A few Tlingit and Haida families moved to Ketchikan from Saxman and from more distant communities such as Old Kasaan, and some of the families who were displaced from the Native village at the creek also lived here. But the predominant population of the area was Tsimshian.

The composition of the original Native village on the north side of the creek became more mixed under inexorable pressure from the advancing white settlers. According to a local resident, sometime after the bridge was constructed across the mouth of the creek, a large, white sign was put up that said, "Indian Town." This designation continues to this day in the minds of older Ketchikan residents. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, many of the inhabitants of the original Native village on the north bank of the creek had died off, moved to other locations in town, or left Ketchikan.

As more Natives moved to Ketchikan, the community also expanded inland above the knoll, into the area known as Mahoney Heights. First a boardwalk and later a narrow street (Dearmont Street), it was along here that the Indian school was built in 1923. Further up on a side street, the Tsimshians built St. Elizabeth's Church in 1927. The Young People's Athletic Club (YPAC), a community hall also built by the Tsimshians, provided a place for basketball, large assemblies, and dancing. A Tsimshian band, the Melody Masters, used to play there. These two buildings, St. Elizabeth's Church and the YPAC hall, were the center of social life in the Ketchikan Native community in the 1920s and 1930s.

Development of Town of Ketchikan

Ketchikan citizens applied for a townsite in 1909. The townsite trustee, in testimony supporting the townsite application, described the development in Ketchikan in 1910: "Over five miles of planked roads, Court house, School house, three churches; public hall; City hall; over 20 business houses; over 300 private residence houses; cannery plant; electric light and water works; machine shop; two carpenter shops; on the water front, saw-mill, three packing and salting plants, three wharves with warehouses, skating rink, bowling alley, two hotels, two small hotels, daily newspaper, laundry plant; all of the value of over $1,000,000." This development continued at a fast pace through the 1920s and 1930s. The town's population increased to 2,458 in 1920 and 3,796 in 1930. This growth was associated with an increasing interest in Native lands that were rising in value in the townsite.

Native Possessions in the Ketchikan Townsite

After the Ketchikan townsite was subdivided (survey approved in 1913), the townsite trustee issued deeds to all white occupants and to some Natives with white blood. The remaining lots including lands occupied by Natives, were not deeded, and the original townsite was closed in 1916. In the subsequent administration of the townsite, the GLO treated undeeded lands as Native Possessions. The administrative procedures of Native townsites were held to "automatically apply" to Ketchikan (Parks 1939; Stegner 1958). This position was stated again as late as 1972: "The Natives of Ketchikan are considered the same
as any "normal" townsite such as the Natives of Sitka, Juneau or Barrow. The same rules and regulations apply" (Gustason 1972).

The original townsite comprised lands in the downtown area, with its southern border approaching the mouth of Ketchikan Creek from the north, around which the Native village was situated. In the 1920s, a significant portion of Ketchikan's Native population was located outside the original townsite because they lived south of Ketchikan Creek along the tideland. The area north of the mouth of the creek was soon subject to competing interests, as already described. It also gained distinction as a red-light district, described by Wickersham (1924:10-11) as the tenderloin, Ketchikan's "Barbary Coast," and home to some 200 nefarious individuals:

The prostitutes, pimps and bootleggers, the gambling houses and gunmen, the low class Japanese, Chinese, Mexicans, Filipinos and the criminal element which naturally congregates around the "Red Light District" lives in this "Indian town"—having crowded the gentle, inoffensive, and better class of the Indians out, with the assistance of dishonest speculators who have swindled some of them out ...

By 1923, the deteriorating conditions in this district motivated the residents to consider moving en masse to the nearby Indian village of Saxman. The notable Tlingit attorney, William A. Paul, Sr., who represented the Tongass Indian residents in Ketchikan, proposed an exchange for lands reserved for Native use at the creek mouth for monetary compensation to pay for moving expenses and "to help them build homes, lay out streets, build a dock, and to start an industry suitable for their capacity and this country" in the new location (Paul 1923a).

According to Paul, the reasons for this action included dispossession of land, the imposing presence of criminality in the area, an inability to compete economically under the conditions in Ketchikan, the exclusion of Indians from the public schools, and the substandard education provided by the Indian school. When DOI denied this proposition, William Paul came back with another proposal to develop the tidelands in a manner to promote the social and economic benefit of the Indians; he suggested erecting a school building and hotel for this purpose (Paul 1923b). This proposal was also denied, because DOI held it no longer had the authority to grant privileges for the use of tidelands, although in the same year a group of Christian Natives were given a permit to erect a Salvation Army hall on the Indian tidelands.

As an attorney in private practice in the early 1920s, Wickersham defended Ketchikan Natives who sought to secure title to their lands from which they were being displaced unjustly. Wickersham found that the Ketchikan courts recognized the quit-claims and deeds of sale from Natives to non-Natives (as in Sutter v. Heckman), to the extent of enforcing evictions on Natives from both the shore and tidelands. The City of Ketchikan was not a disinterested party. In 1914, the city sought to acquire tidelands in the DOI reservation through federal legislation introduced in the 68th Congress, and it expressed interest in the area again in 1925. The city collected property taxes on all town lots, whether owned by Natives or non-Natives, and in the 1920s the city took possession of some Native-held lots for tax delinquency and issued tax deeds to non-Natives, who took possession.

Later, when he was territorial delegate in the early 1930s, Wickersham continued to protest the illegality of disposing of Indian land in Ketchikan. He wrote this time to the General Land Office, "As the land grew valuable white men bought their lots and tracts of land for small sums, and took deeds for them .... The white purchasers have in most instances torn down the old Indian houses and constructed better ones in their places; and the Indians have disappeared, or gone to Saxman or some other Indian village not yet patented. Many were unfairly ousted from their lands, and deeds obtained from some member of the
family or a relative, as a basis for the whiteman's claim of possession" (Wickersham 1931). He objected to the recognition of such deeds of transfer by the authorities, while at the same time a Native could not hold unrestricted title.

The GLO investigated the status of Native-occupied lots in Ketchikan in 1927-29. A new townsite trustee was appointed for the purposes of identifying lots so occupied, overseeing their survey, and issuing deeds under the act. In 1929, the trustee issued deeds to all white settlers and to all Indian settlers who claimed to have any white blood in them, and then two more deeds to the city in 1930. The remaining lands were identified as Native Possessions and surveyed in 1930; this survey included the numerous Native-occupied lots south of the creek which were not included in the original townsite. There was no conveyance of deeds until after the survey was approved in 1937.

Before issuing any deeds to Natives for these lands, a new trustee called for another investigation in 1939 "because of the value of the property and the nature of the occupancy in the Ketchikan Townsite..." (Parks 1939). He wrote, "there is interest to dispose of remaining lots within the townsite, including Native Possessions. Many of the lots involved are very valuable because of their location in the business section of Ketchikan ....In some instances, the former Indian occupants have disposed of their holdings to white people. In other cases, tax deeds have been issued by the municipal authorities and the present title is evidenced only by those deeds."

The Native perspective on these transactions was given during research for this report. One person stated, "Yes, everyone had to go. That whole area [Mission Street and Totem Way] was cleared out and people had to move. They either bought them out or just told them they had to go. And they cleared it out and made what they made there today." Another person remembered, "Yes, we all lived in that area, until we had to move because they were evicting everybody in that area, you know, and my grandfather died, you know, we all—so we had to move out, for back tax of $300. ... my stepdad went up to try to pay the back tax, after my grandfather died. And they said, he told us that the [city] council told him they had some things to do with this property and they couldn't pay it, so we had to move out. They were going to have city workers come there and tear the place down. And so we just moved out, found a little place to stay and moved out. And they tore the place down, and there was a lot of historical things in there that were lost." Among the possessions lost were ceremonial regalia including a wolf dance hat, a wooden whale hat, and a drum.

The ownership and occupation of 33 lots within the Native Possessions were examined, and in 1941 the DOI reported that 18, or 55 percent, were still in Native hands, while the others had passed out of Native ownership (Favorite 1941). There is no record of any further activity until 1957, when action was initiated to award 38 undeeded lots in the Native Possessions to legitimate claimants (those who could demonstrate chain of title back to 1937). The first 17 lots were deeded in January of 1958. This activity continued through the late 1960s, as more unsurveyed and undeeded lands were processed. Much of this land was no longer occupied by Natives.

**Native Churches**

There were five churches in Ketchikan that ministered to the Native community. There were two Episcopal churches, the Presbyterian Church, the Salvation Army and the Catholic Church. These were not necessarily exclusive in membership, as people sometimes attended one of the other institutions for a time, as for example in joint participation in St. Elizabeth's and St. John's. St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church,
the Salvation Army, and the Presbyterian Church were the principal establishments in the history of the Ketchikan Native community. The commonality within the Native community was expressed at Christmas, when the three church groups joined together in their celebrations:

... all the people that belonged to the Episcopal Church or the Presbyterian, and the Salvation Army, they would all get together during the holidays at Christmas time. And one week they'd have their plays and everything going at one church, and the following week or the following night depending upon how long they did it, they'd have another one. So the children all went from one program to the other and then the children all had a program or a skit to put on. It was a lot of fun. And they always put out some nice little fruit, nuts, and little Christmas candy for them.

St. John's and St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Churches

The Episcopal Church started its work in 1897 when the Episcopal priest from Douglas began holding visiting services in the village. At the time, Ketchikan was an Indian community of a few families and only one white trader in residence. According to the church history, the trader offered Bishop Rowe two acres of "his squatter's claim" if he would start a school for Indian children. Rowe accepted, and arranged for a missionary to start Ketchikan's first school in 1898. Another report provides a Native version of this event: Chief George Kyan, who was a leader of one of the land-owning clans at the mouth of the creek, became Christianized and gave some of the clan's land to the church for its school and mission.

The Protestant Episcopal Mission was situated on the shore adjacent to the Native village. The missionary, Agnes Edmonds, opened a school for Native children in a cabin purchased from one of the Natives. She also held informal services in the cabin for the Indians and a few white men. A resident priest was sent to St. Agnes Mission, as the Ketchikan station was named, in 1902. The St. John's Church building was constructed the following year. A volunteer Native crew provided labor, and red cedar from the Tsimshian-owned Verney brothers' mill in North Saxman was used in the interior.

In 1905, fulfilling the agreement to start a school for Native children, the church erected a school building funded largely out of the sale of rights to the tidelands below the mission. A hospital serving the miners and millers was established in 1904 in the donated Indian cabin; Natives were given care in a clinic at the school. In 1909, the mission included a church, hospital, clergy house, and a two-story Native school, which also served as a teachers residence. It was located on a mission reserve adjoining the Native tidelands reservation.

The participation of the Native community in the church is indicated in the following membership information, which shows the formal confirmation of Native members in the early years of the church:

1900-09 18 Native Communicants
1910-1919 35 new Native Communicants
1920-27 36 new Native Communicants

The growth in membership corresponds to the period of movement of Tsimshian families to Ketchikan from Metlakatla. The Indian women, comprised principally of Tsimshians and some Tongass, were organized early into their own guild known as the St. Elizabeth's Ladies Guild. But the early church was not without prejudice. Indian members were segregated in church activities, including the ladies guild, evening prayer, and church school. During combined services Indians were expected to sit together on one side of the church (Mather n.d.). One Native member started to hold services for some Natives in his own house, and later this group helped establish the Salvation Army.
In the 1920s, the Indian women’s guild and the bishop discussed the possibility of establishing a separate meeting hall for Natives. The bishop supported the proposal. This was the birth of St. Elizabeth’s Church, a Native Episcopal church that served Ketchikan from 1928 until 1962. A Tsimshian church member, Paul Mather, personally requested permission from the presiding Bishop in New York City. He was later ordained as deacon and then a priest, and served as the church minister from its inception until his death in 1942. The church and vestry were constructed solely with expertise, labor, and materials contributed by the Tsimshians, including a cornerstone brought over from Metlakatla. It was finished with an artistically fashioned interior in red and yellow cedar. The building was situated away from the waterfront, in a newer section of town over the hill from Indian Town.

St. Elizabeth’s had 129 communicants in the first eight years of the church’s life (1928-36), according to available records. The church was chiefly Tsimshian, with a few Tlingit and Haida in membership. It served as a community and recreational center for the Native population. “Any community Tsimshian affairs, weddings, funerals, everything, we had up there. It was kind of the hub of the community.” People mentioned pie sales, coffee sales, friendship dinners, Mother’s Day sales, and carnivals. “The women were busy with making their quilts and different things that was needed. They had picnics.”

From 1942 to 1952, it was reported that the church maintained its activities, including a large choir and Sunday school, without a full-time minister. The church building was renovated in the 1950s with local contributions, and it was undergoing remodelling in 1962 when the Alaskan bishop decided to close it. This came as a surprise to the congregation, who felt very hurt and betrayed, because they had been going to church faithfully and, in their view, still had a good congregation (Mather n.d.). St. John’s Mission had become a self-supporting church in 1955 and was unable to lend continuing support to St. Elizabeth’s which, the mission felt, had declined in membership. Some of the St. Elizabeth congregation went to St. John’s, some went to other churches, and others just quit going to church.

Salvation Army

The Salvation Army mission was established by the 1920s. The formation of this Christian group was partly in response to the exposure of the Native community to the depredations of the Creek Street red-light district, which existed unchecked in the midst of their original community. Some residents also saw it as an effort to form a more genuine Christian organization; they felt they were being excluded from participation in the older churches in Ketchikan.

A sense of the conditions that existed in the early 1920s, and of the efforts the Ketchikan Native community was making to bring about some change, is provided in the following description of the formation and activities of the Salvation Army:

The general character of the Indians at Ketchikan is well illustrated in the letter of William Spry, Commissioner of the General Land Office, dated January 20, 1923, ... in which some 67 of them are given permission to erect a Salvation Army Hall on the Indian tide lands described therein. Since that permit was issued to these Indians, who are all members of the Presbyterian Church, have erected a large, well-constructed and beautifully finished Hall on these premises, and the remarkable spectacle is seen two or three times a week of 40 or so of these Indian men and women, parading from their Hall to the center of Ketchikan, with the American flag flying over them, and the Bible in their hands, seeking to persuade the jeering hoodlums—the criminal element which has done them so much injury, to reform and become better American citizens. Their Hall fronts the “Tenderloin and Red Light District,” situated on government lands—tide and Indian lands. (Wickersham 1924:12)
The Salvation Army church was located opposite the original Native village, within the tidelands reserve, where the old federal building is now. The formation of the Salvation Army and church developed at about the time the ANB was becoming formally established in Ketchikan.

Presbyterian Church

The Presbyterian Church in Ketchikan had its roots in Saxman, which was initiated as a Presbyterian mission in the 1890s. The church was later relocated to Ketchikan as the village's population gradually moved there. The Reverend Edward Marsden, a Tsimshian from Metlakatla who established the Mission at Saxman, began preaching to the Natives in Ketchikan in 1900. It was through these efforts that a mission station was established in the growing town. By 1916, nearly all the regular Presbyterian Church services were held among the Tsimshian and Haida Indians of the Ketchikan mission. The few remaining Saxman residents preferred to worship in Ketchikan with the larger group, according to Marsden.

The Ketchikan church was formally organized in 1925, with 34 charter members that included 15 Tsimshians, 11 Tlingit, 1 Haida and 7 whites. The first church building was erected just north of Ketchikan Creek near the original Native community. It was a Native-run church in the early years. A Tongass man, George McKay, served as the interpreter of church lessons. He was educated at Sheldon Jackson School, and was the next in line for the chieftainship among the Tongass; but "he gave it up because he did not want to mix his culture with his Christianity."

Church records show that the membership regularly included Natives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Native Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920-29</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-39</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-49</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-59</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-69</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An increase in membership in the 1950s occurred with the movement of Native people to Ketchikan from communities on Prince of Wales Island and other areas. The Native membership declined somewhat after the church moved to its new building in 1961, which was located in New Town.

Native Schools

The St. John's Episcopal Mission maintained the Native school until 1923. This one-room day school was operated as a mission school and funded with the assistance of contributions from the citizens of the community. The Bureau of Education (BOE) began to consider the establishment of a government school in 1919, after receiving a petition from the community and a complaint questioning why white citizens were expected to contribute when there were federal funds for the purpose of educating Natives.

The BOE formally established the government Indian school in 1923, after the teacher from St. John's mission agreed to teach in the new government school, assisted by Mrs. William A. Paul. As in other government schools, the expression of Native language and culture was not tolerated. Ketchikan Natives said they were prevented from learning about their heritage. Parents were also influenced to support this orientation, as seen in the following example: "they taught us don't speak Tsimshian around here because we're going to have you only speak English. If you speak Tsimshian here you're going to stay after school."
All the parents knew that so they kind of cooperated. In fact my dad and mother said, we'll speak to you in English. Eventually I lost my—I couldn't speak Tsimshian now, but I do understand it."

The denial of culture, language, and heritage was widespread in the Ketchikan community. The practice was initiated by missionaries and encouraged by the schools and had continued for several generations. Several Ketchikan Natives interviewed for this report expressed sadness, loss, and regret over this experience. "You know, it's like—my mom when they shipped her to school, they shipped the kids to Mt. Edgecombe to school—the Native children. It was real tough living. She can tell you more about that, but she had a lot of stories about what life was like in the 1950s—1930s to the 1950s as a teenager. They lost their language; they lost their heritage. Everything was taken away. You were told you couldn't do this anymore..."

In the 1920s and 1930s, there were not many Natives who attended the public school in Ketchikan, after they completed the eighth grade in the government school. The majority of Ketchikan Native children attended boarding high schools in Sitka and later, in Wrangell. Occasionally they went out of state. This was also partly the result of local discrimination in the school public system, which sometimes discouraged Natives from attending the schools.

For example, one person interviewed for this report described how he was sent back to the Indian school by a public school teacher: "Yeah, my sister took me up to KI, I think I was in the fifth grade. And the gal that was teaching the fifth grade up there, old lady Sanborn, used to teach at the government school. And she said, "You got your own school to go to, get out and go on back." So I said, fine, I walked up and I got up and I left, you know. But she discouraged, you know, and she was kind of a tough gal and didn't want too much to do with Indians, you know."

In 1929, two young Native students in the Ketchikan public school were forced to enroll in the Indian school, which according to school authorities was made necessary due to overcrowding and a shortage of space in the public school. This action was challenged in court by William Paul, and the court ordered the school board to provide more space if there was a problem with overcrowding (Jones v Ellis, 8 Alaska 146, described in Drucker 1958:49-50). This historic decision established the rights of Natives to attend public schools if they so wished. Although there were a few Natives who attended the public school each year, Ketchikan residents said it was not until the late 1940s and early 1950s that Natives began to feel more comfortable and better accepted in the city schools.

The Bureau of Education (BOE) Indian School was maintained until 1948, after which Natives were accepted into the local independent school. The transition was not always smooth, according to one resident interviewed for this report: "And we had a time trying to establish ourselves, you know, especially when we integrated into the public schools here, after the government school closed. I went up there and I had teachers say to me, you got your own schools, why don't you go there? And we'd stand up and say our parents pay taxes, too, we have a right to come here, just the same as you do. And after a while it kind of simmered down."

**Growth in the Indian Community in Ketchikan**

In the early historical period, the Native community in Ketchikan was like a separate area of town with its own business and activity centers. Recalling school-age years in the 1930s, Ketchikan Natives remembered that they never had to go to downtown Ketchikan. With their homes, school, churches, and
the Japanese grocery store, laundry, and bakery all located right there, they had no need to go to the downtown. They required little cash, and would make up for shortages in the Depression by taking their children out of school and going out to various places to put up seaweed, fish, deer and other natural resources. Smokehouses were situated along the beach down on the south side of the knoll.

As mentioned above, St. Elizabeth’s Episcopal Church was the community center—the meeting place for all Indians, especially at Christmas time. As one long-time resident explained, “All kinds of Indians would come.... There’d be Tlingits and Haidas, and everybody would be there during the church service. It would be packed. And they’d have programs downstairs. All the people would be down there. It was a central meeting place for all of them.” The church had a choir and two daily services, and many dinners and fund-raising events were held there. The Tsimshians also had erected the YPAC hall, which had a basketball court and a place for dances. It was where the eighth grade Indian school graduation ceremonies were held. These two halls were the center of social activity in the Ketchikan Native community.

Although a few Natives worked in mining and sawmill trades, most of the men worked as fishermen (seiners and trollers), while women worked in the canneries and sold handicrafts to the curio shops. The canneries and cold storage employed Natives to harvest salmon and halibut. Year-round employment was available for some, since winter was the time ice was made for the cold storage. But most Native people depended on hunting and fishing in the winter and trapped in outlying areas. This occupational pattern continued in the 1930s and 1940s. Most Indians worked as fishermen or cannery workers, some also had winter jobs in the cold storage, and they hunted and fished regularly to acquire food. More Natives moved to Ketchikan as canneries in the area closed in the 1930s, including those in Kasaan, Loring, Yes Bay, and Quadra.

Construction trades, particularly carpentry, became a more important off-season source of employment for fishermen after 1940. The expanding opportunities in Ketchikan also attracted a new wave of migration, but this time from the Tlingit and Haida communities in western Prince of Wales Island (Klawock, Craig, and Hydaburg). Fishing opportunities there had slowed due to diminishing stocks, and it gradually became more difficult for fishermen to have an adequate income and to retain their boats on their fishing earnings alone. As one man interviewed for this report said, “And that was probably before, shortly before the second world war, and right during the second world war, and after the second world war, they... migrated over to this area, because there was nothing going on over there. And the construction business over here was going pretty good. And they had a ship yard going, so guys working ship yard, working construction. But... a good portion of the Indians worked in construction as carpenters. Everybody was pretty handy that way. A few of them worked in other trades, but mostly carpenters.”

These economic and population trends intensified in the early 1950s. Salmon stocks were very depressed by this time, due to the cumulative effects of fish traps. The construction of the pulp mill at Ketchikan, which started in 1952, provided a great many regular construction opportunities for several years. Subsequently, work was available at the mill itself, or in numerous building and street construction jobs. It was reported that any Native who wanted a job as a carpenter or laborer could find work in these years. Many of the newer migrants to Ketchikan followed the same economic strategy as the Ketchikan residents: fishing in season and construction in the off-season.

The Native carpenters formed the core group of carpenters in Ketchikan. They worked together for the same contractors, some of whom hired mostly Natives and promoted Natives to supervisory positions. School and college buildings, apartment buildings, a Methodist church, and the armory were among the
construction jobs that one such contractor had. Since these jobs were all union work, Natives from Ketchikan and the outlying areas served their apprenticeships and were in the union together. The Ketchikan IRA offered training opportunities in carpentry in the 1940s, which benefited the members in these years. Many men continued to fish in summer, but some quit and stayed in construction. A few of these formed their own businesses in the 1960s. In the later 1950s and 1960s, Ketchikan Natives also began to work contract jobs in other Southeastern communities.

As Tlingit and Haida moved into Ketchikan from the Prince of Wales communities, as well as from more distant areas such as Wrangell, Sitka, and Juneau, they rented and bought housing in various neighborhoods in New Town, on the west end of Ketchikan. This established a more dispersed settlement pattern that is characteristic of the modern Native community in Ketchikan. This pattern was the result of searching out and finding the best housing opportunities available in town, rather than a product of exclusion from Indian Town or other areas of predominantly local Native inhabitants. The older Indian neighborhoods also became more dispersed as some of the families moved into other areas of town. One person interviewed for this project thought this occurred because the town became less prejudiced in that decade: “So Indians were not afraid to buy houses anywhere in Ketchikan after a while—after the 1950s. But before then, they were afraid to because they were discriminated against, really.”

Ketchikan Natives reported that they regularly experienced discrimination in the 1930s and 1940s. Native women seeking employment other than in canneries found it difficult to find employers who would hire Natives. As one said, “You just knew you did not have a chance to work anywhere that they [white people] could. ... A lot of [Natives] would try, but we all knew where you could get a job and where you couldn’t.” It was harder during the Depression, but the WPA and CCC made a difference. “My brother got a job ... they were going to make $30 a month and we thought that was big money. He thought it was so big money, he got married.” Employment for Native men became easier during the war, as workers were more scarce.

Discrimination was commonplace in community institutions, such as requiring that Natives sit together on one side of the theater, or denying them service in some of the downtown restaurants. As one Native remembered, “They called us all kinds of names. Siwash. They meant it as an awful thing, but it was just the name of a tribe down south or something.”

The experience in the school system has been described, including the 1929 lawsuit against discrimination. The hospital was also seen as prejudiced; in one example, a resident described how she felt services were made available to her children when the institution had their quota to make, while at other times she was denied access. One young woman withdrew from the St. John’s Episcopal Church in the 1940s because of the discrimination she experienced there, and later raised her family as Catholics.

Local residents felt that prejudice and discrimination was also evidenced by authorities in later years. During World War II, Indian Town was off-limits to servicemen. Patrols would stop personnel and order them back across the bridge. In one instance the military police took two Native men out of the area to a downtown club. In another example that occurred in the 1950s, a Tsimshian smokehouse caught fire and burned on the shore at the foot of Dearmont Street. Afterwards, the fire marshal said that all the smokehouses in the area had to be torn down, and an ordinance was passed prohibiting smokehouses on

---

10Krause said that “siwash” comes from the trade language, Chinook, that was in use on the Northwest Coast, and is a derivative of the French word “sauvages.” He reported that this word was in common use by the Americans in Alaska in 1881 (1956:64, 270).
the beach. That was a great loss because a lot of people were affected; sometimes four or five families would use one smokehouse. A short time later, some of this area was filled and became the property of a non-Native business.

Ketchikan ANB/ANS Camp #14

Ketchikan has had a longtime involvement with the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB). Local camps of the ANB and the Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) operated informally in most communities until the early 1920s, and Ketchikan was no exception. The third annual convention of the ANB was held in Metlakatla in 1915, and was attended by representatives from Sitka, Juneau, Wrangell, Kasaan, Ketchikan, and Metlakatla. The Ketchikan group included George McKay, P. Kinninook, and D. Kinninook. The early leadership of the ANB emerged from among the more educated, acculturated and Christianized (usually Presbyterian) Natives in the communities. McKay fitted that description. He had attended the Sheldon Jackson School in Sitka and was active in the Presbyterian Church in Ketchikan, serving as its interpreter for the Native congregation. He was also of high status in the Tongass kwan (people), as he was next in the line of succession in his clan.

Equal opportunity, particularly in the areas of education and employment, were early and long-standing issues in Ketchikan and were focal points of ANB/ANS activity. In 1929, when two Native girls were denied entry to the public school in Ketchikan, the case was taken up by William Paul, a Native attorney living in Ketchikan. The Ketchikan ANB/ANS provided financial support to enable him to keep the case in court. The favorable ruling in this case (Jones v. Ellis, 8 Alaska 146) established the right of Alaska Natives to go to the schools of their choice (see Drucker 1958:49-50).

ANB/ANS representatives from Ketchikan attended the historic annual convention in Haines in 1929, when the ANB decided to fight for their aboriginal land claims and sue the federal government. At that time, Tsimshian people in Ketchikan and Metlakatla were actively involved in ANB. The Reverend Paul Mather, the Tsimshian minister to St. Elizabeth’s Church, was prominent in forming and sustaining the ANB in Ketchikan. Many Metlakatla families attended the next statewide convention held the following year in Ketchikan, because there was no ANB organization there. This meeting was the first of several annual conventions to be held in Ketchikan. Members of the Ketchikan ANB also made financial contributions to lobbying efforts in Washington, D.C. in support of land claims.

The first meetings of the Ketchikan ANB were held in the YPAC hall, the Salvation Army hall, and the BIA school. The YPAC was a big hall that was also used for conventions. When the YPAC hall deteriorated, the ANB used the American Legion hall for social functions and dances scheduled every week or two. Members discussed how to fight for equal treatment because they needed more jobs and they wanted their children to go to school. Sometimes meetings were held in private homes.

Tsimshian people in Ketchikan reported that one of their tribe, Peter Simpson, was centrally responsible for the founding of the organization. They pointed to the Native Brotherhood of Canada which served as a model for the Alaska Native Brotherhood, and feel that Simpson first brought this idea to Sitka. It is generally recognized that Simpson was one of the founders of the Alaska organization, and he has been called “the Father of ANB” (Hope III 1975:9; Drucker 1958:17). Later, when the ANB chose to pursue Tlingit and Haida land claims to the exclusion of the Tsimshians, they were hurt and angry, and felt that an injustice had been committed. In consequence, many Tsimshians in Ketchikan withdrew from the ANB, and the membership declined in the 1930s and 1940s. The local camp was carried on mainly by Tlingit and Haida residents.
In the 1940s and early 1950s, the ANB/ANS was maintained largely through the efforts of the older Tlingit members of the community. The ANB was invigorated in the 1950s by the infusion of new members of Tlingit and Haida descent who migrated from the Prince of Wales Island villages. An education committee was formed that represented the Native community at PTA meetings and school board meetings. ANB/ANS encouraged the membership to get an education so they could qualify for local jobs. They also began to support Native language and heritage programs, to counteract the experience of the older generation who were punished for expressing their Native language and traditions. The organization also sought to further Indian people against discrimination. In the 1960s, the ANB/ANS sustained its role in the community.

**Ketchikan IRA**

The Native community first organized a government under terms of the Indian Reservation Act (IRA) in the 1930s. Its constitution was ratified in 1940; the name of the organized Native community is Ketchikan Indian Corporation (KIC). KIC filed a census of members in five of the eight years between 1938 and 1946. One of their actions was to acquire loans for the purchase and maintenance of commercial fishing vessels. Most of those who borrowed money for their boats were Tsimshian, according to one discussant.

The IRA was not very active for a period of time, but it was reactivated in the 1950s with the influx of new members from other Tlingit and Haida communities on Prince of Wales Island. One of the organization's early successes was the acquisition of the former government school building in Ketchikan's school reserve. After using this structure for a number of years, the IRA razed it and constructed a modern building which continues to serve the community as a central meeting place for the IRA and other Native organizations such as the ANB/ANS.

**Tlingit and Haida Central Council**

Ketchikan Natives attended the historic ANB convention in Haines in 1929, when the organization decided to pursue claims for lost tribal property rights in Southeast Alaska. Ketchikan was subsequently represented at all of the early annual meetings of the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska Claims Committees, such as the first organizational meeting held in Wrangell in 1935 and the meeting at which a contract with attorneys was approved in 1941. It continued to be represented in later meetings.

Following the decision of the U.S. Court of Claims in 1959, Ketchikan was actively involved in the Central Council meetings and organizational proceedings. Ketchikan representatives were among the first organizing officers of the Central Council, and also served on the executive committee, the planning committee and the rules of election committee during the 1960s. They participated in actions leading to the re-authorization of the Central Council as a regional tribal governing organization representing all Tlingit and Haida Indians. There has been a local Tlingit and Haida organization in Ketchikan since 1960.

**Totem Poles and Gravesites**

There are two principal totem poles that date from the turn of the century in Ketchikan. These have long been associated with the Native heritage in Ketchikan and have been the subject of restoration projects to preserve this history. In addition, there are large collections of 19th century totem
poles and grave carvings which were transferred from abandoned Tlingit and Haida villages on Tongass, Cat, Village, Pennock, and Prince of Wales islands, and Cape Fox Village (see Garfield and Forrest 1961). There are 39 poles at the Ketchikan Totem Heritage Center, 25 poles (with some replicas) at the Saxman Totem Park, and 13 poles and a community house at Mud Bight Village. The latter were constructed in a CCC project from 1938 to 1942 (Ketchikan District CMP 1983:III-2). There were also two totem poles carved by Victor Mather and other Tsimshians in the 1920s that were placed in front of a curio shop downtown. This discussion will focus on the two totem poles most directly associated with the original Ketchikan residents.

**Kyan Totem Pole**

This pole was erected in 1898 by Chief George Kyan in honor of his mother and father. It originally stood on his land in the Indian village on the north side of Ketchikan Creek, behind St. John's Episcopal Church on the modern-day Barney Way. According to a local resident, Kyan became Christian and gave his land to the church on which the Episcopal mission was erected. Balcom (1961:62) reported that Ketchikan Creek and the land on either side of it was owned by the Kyan clan. Chief Kyan was identified by local residents as a member of the Tongass kwan, Tequeldi clan.

The pole was photographed at its original location in 1903 (Witten 1905) and in 1919 (Tucker 1984:102). The carved pole is surmounted by the Crane, below which are the Thunder Bird and the Grizzly Bear. On the pole was written, 'I belong to the Crane branch of the Raven phratry and am married into the Thunder Bird branch of the Bear phratry' (Coser, in Barbeau 1990:603). (See Campbell 1983 and Schulte 1991 for additional information.)

George Kyan was one of the unfortunate Natives who lost his land through sale and appropriation. In the 1920s, Judge Wickersham attempted to recover the land on behalf of Kyan's niece, Jennie Lynch, who was forced off her family lot and later was beaten and physically thrown out of her subsequent occupation of adjacent tide lands which she claimed (see Smythe 1989). Wickersham held that the land was acquired illegally since at that time Natives were not able to hold title, which invalidated any transfers. He (1924:3) described the loss of the land and the property of the totem pole:

... old Chief Kian and his wife and family, including his niece Jennie Lynch, were ... uneducated Indian[s], unacquainted with the language, customs and laws of the white men, and had no guardian or other person to advise them of their rights, and were easily imposed upon by the unscrupulous and cunning...such persons easily persuaded Kian and his wife and some of his children to sign deeds, for a small and wholly inadequate consideration, to the whole of lot 3, block 18, conveying the lot, and their ancestral homes and dwelling places, their totem poles and other property to these crafty purchasers.

Some time after, the pole was “found in the alley” and was relocated in front of the Pioneers Hall by the Pioneers Lodge (Tucker 1984:102). A replica of the pole was made by Stanley Marsden in 1964, and it was again repositioned in Ketchikan.

**Chief Johnson’s Kadjuk Totem Pole**

The only totem pole in Ketchikan that stands close to where it was originally erected, the Kadjuk pole was carved and put up in 1901 by Chief Johnson (Gut Wain) (Garfield and Forrest 1961:57-63). It was placed in front of the Kadjuk house. The pole was erected on the beach, facing the water, with the creek
close behind, in the midst of the Indian village. Early photos show the village and Indian canoes pulled up in front of the Johnson house and totem. Chief Johnson was from Kake, and was a member of either the Leeneidi or Ganaxadi clan. An older and shorter version of the Kadjuk pole was located in the village of Tongass on Cat Island. Johnson built a modern, wood-frame house with windows on Ketchikan Creek in the 1890s, which Keithan suggests was influenced by the two-story modern house built by Chief Kadishan in Wrangell in 1887 (Keithan 1963:86).

Sometime around 1900, upon the death of his mother, Chief Johnson decided to erect a totem pole in her memory. He traveled back to Kake and requested permission from his family to put up a totem pole. The family agreed to permit him to erect a totem pole upon the location in front of his house, where his mother was to be buried. Chief Johnson then commissioned the building of a pole and gathered together a great amount of goods and possessions to give away (Davies n.d.:2).

A local resident informed Viola Garfield that Johnson’s uncle was killed in Saxman two years before the pole was erected, which may also have been a factor in this event. The installation of the pole was accompanied by the proper ceremonialism showing honor and respect for Chief Johnson’s ancestor: “According to Chester James [Johnson’s nephew], Chief Johnson spent thousands of dollars in commissioning the construction of the pole, gathering gifts, putting on the potlatch and having the pole erected in front of his house” (ibid.). It has also been reported that a ceremonial blanket and the body of a slave were placed in the hole before the pole was raised. Chief Johnson continued to reside in the house after the erection of the pole, until his death in 1938.

Historical photographs document several different houses that were built behind the pole. One was of modern, frame construction with windows; this was designed like a tribal house (one large room) and had a Killer Whale painted on the front (see Keithan 1963:86; Garfield and Forrest 1961:59; Tucker 1989:15). His "house had a big Killer Whale on it; [and it] was one big room like a tribal house. Ground slants towards the creek, his son used to go out and work the creek. Sandy beach, close down towards the creek, from the front of his house. And then the white people started to move in ... store, of course the bar, cannery. Other members of the Ketchikan Native community remember him sitting in front of his house, where he spent much of his time in his later years.

After Chief Johnson’s death, the status of his land and totem pole became the subject of numerous claims and transactions and were treated as Native Possessions by the BIA until the late 1960s. Chief Johnson paid taxes to the City of Ketchikan on his house for many years, even though such taxation was illegal, but toward the end of his life he was not able to maintain his payments and the house was sold for tax delinquency. In his will, he consigned his property and the totem pole to two members of the Native community and a teacher who sought to preserve it according to his wishes, since he and his wife had no children. The Ketchikan ANB took up a contribution and paid off the white man who had bought the tax deed from the city, and then the caretakers, on behalf of the ANB, agreed to transfer the property to the U.S. Forest Service with the understanding that the service would landscape the site, restore the totem pole, and guarantee that the pole would remain in its present location (Davies n.d.:6; MOA 1938). Using Native laborers and craftsmen under the CCC program, the pole was restored and the house torn down.

In the 1940s, the final transfer of the property was the subject of lengthy correspondence and investigation by the guardians and interested federal agencies. Once it was established that all transfers were invalid beginning with the city’s tax deed (since the townsite trustee had not issued an original deed to Chief Johnson), the transfer by ANB became moot (see Davies n.d.). Title was further complicated when the city
sold the land again for tax delinquency in 1948, and then attempted to condemn it in the 1960s, while the DOI maintained that it was still restricted Native land. In 1967, the DOI accepted the city's condemnation of Chief Johnson's and other restricted lots nearby, providing that Johnson heirs and the other Native owners were given fair market value. In 1969 the DOI finally terminated the restricted status of the Native lands along Ketchikan Creek in the vicinity of Chief Johnson's pole (ibid.).

Native Burials and Gravesites

A large cemetery and burial site are located on Pennock Island. One resident reported there are two areas; one for the Tongass and one for the Cape Fox Tlingit groups. In the Tongass burial ground, the names of the dead include Kyan, Brown, Andrews, and Kiminnook. These graves were elaborately developed and show burial styles from the previous century, including large carvings in the form of clan crests, burial houses, and balustrades in the Russian Orthodox style, as well as marble headstones.

The Sun and Raven memorial pole was erected in front of a grave in 1902; this was moved to the Saxman Totem Park in 1939. A photograph in its original location is provided in Ketihalnu (1953:60). The burial ground was also photographed in 1903 by Witten (1905). The site is recorded as the Old Saxman Cemetery in Wilsey and Ham (1975:106-107), and was used from approximately 1888-1950. Another photograph in Barbeau (1990:606) of Killer Whale grave house carvings may be from here as well.
Petersburg

Petersburg was occupied as a family fishing site at the time of white settlement at the turn of the century. Two homesteads acquired by the first white settler, Peter Buschmann, were situated on either side of the fish camp on Hammer Slough. Other fish camps were inhabited south of town in the Wrangell Narrows at this time, and the site of a former village was located across the narrows at the mouth of Petersburg Creek. Native fishermen and workers were employed in the cannery that was established in Petersburg. Additional Natives came and established residence in Petersburg in the 1920s and after, as the town began to grow and prosper into a modern fishing community of largely Norwegian ancestry. The Native community in Petersburg includes many descendants of the early Indian migrants to Petersburg.

Native Use and Occupancy in the Petersburg Area Prior to White Settlement

The settled places in the immediate vicinity of Petersburg belonged to the Talqueidi or Tequeidi clan of Wrangell (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946). There were two former villages in the area. Residents of those villages amalgamated with people in the Wrangell community before the white settlers came to the Petersburg area. One of these villages was located at the mouth of Petersburg Creek, which is called “Waas’heeni” in Tlingit. “Across from the present site of Petersburg there was a salmon creek. This also belonged to the Talqueidi clan. They got the same animals here that they did in the other places in this area [fish, mink, otter, beaver, bear and seal]. Now there is a mink ranch at this location” (Hoagland n.d.).

Named Anstaga’ku, this community was first occupied by the Nexadi clan (whose origin was up the Stikine River), and later by the Kaskwakwedi clan of Wrangell, who in their travels in the area first settled in Brown’s Cove, at Kaskile’k, and later moved to Anstaga’ku. They moved to Wrangell after the coming of whites, probably in the early nineteenth century (Olson 1976:31; 58). This place, now a municipality named Kupreanof, was known as West Petersburg for many years. A sawmill operated there in 1902, before the mink ranch was established.

There was another Talqueidi village located across Frederick Sound in Thomas Bay. It was inhabited at the time of the first Chief Shakes, when they combined with the Wrangell clans (Hoagland n.d.; see also Olson 1976:33). The Wrangell Talqueidi maintained a camp here after the amalgamation.

When the first white settlers came to the Petersburg area, Natives occupied seasonal camps which were used for drying fish, hunting, trapping, and gardening sites. These dispersed family camps were traditional Native settlements which established their use and occupancy of the Petersburg area (as in Goldschmidt and Haas 1946). Each family had several sites which they occupied at different times throughout the year, sometimes alone and at other times with additional family groups. Access to these locations was governed by traditional Tlingit laws of ownership and use rights determined by clan membership and intermarriage relationships. Each of these places was considered to be an occupied site, although not all of them were inhabited throughout the year. As white settlers entered the area and began to use the territory, the Native use and occupancy was curtailed when their places were selected by whites. In the Petersburg area, commercial fish traps were erected at some streams, and Natives were prohibited from using other locations when the Forest Service issued exclusive use permits to fur farmers.

The original Indian owner of the Petersburg area, John Lott, was living at a fish camp with his family on the north end of Mitkof Island when Peter Buschmann arrived there (Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs 1984). He also owned a farm across the bay at Sasby’s Point. “They’d come down in
a canoe and they'd visit there." The area is known In Tlingit as Seetka, meaning "swift water passage," and refers to the head of Wrangell Narrows. John Lott was one of the original Seetka-kwan, "people of Seetka" (Kito 1990). Lott was married to a woman from Kake and is considered to be from Kake, although his own family came originally from Gambier Bay in Kake territory. Another long-term Petersburg Native family, that of Amelia Kito, also originated In Gambier Bay.

John Lott owned a house on land in the original townsite just north of Hammer Slough. His daughter married a white man (Hogue) in the early part of the century. Hogue built a store on his father-in-law's land in what was to become the center of town. The store and subsequent intrusions by white settlers cost Lott his extensive waterfront holdings, until his land was reduced to a single small lot about 50 by 100 feet at the time the townsite was surveyed in 1919 (Lips 1937:84).

Another small settlement lay just south of Petersburg, within the present-day municipality: "At Blind Slough there was a camp which was also owned by the Talqueidi people. They fished for cohos, humpies and dog salmon here. There was a smoke house here but it is now burned down. I use this area for gill netting. Our people get crabs, clams and mussels in this area" (Hoagland n.d.). Willis Hoagland made this statement in the 1940s for the Goldschmidt and Haas investigation; he was reporting the historical use of the area by people then living in Wrangell. Residents of Petersburg have also reported occupation of this area since before the arrival of white settlers.

Lucy Kito, the genatrix of one of the oldest Native families in Petersburg, lived at the camp in Blind Slough in the 1920s with her grandfather, Charlie Cooney. He was from the Stikine (Wrangell) area, while his wife was from Kake. They had a fish camp located near the Blind River rapids where they gaffed fish and then dried and cached them for winter consumption. Cooney also trapped bear, mink, and marten and sold them to traders. The family had big gardens, the produce of which was also cached for later use, stretching from Blind Slough southeast to Wrangell Island (Kito 1990). William A. James of Petersburg, whose family was originally from Kake, also remembered working at his family's camp at this location. The camp was by a fish trap made out of stakes and connected by little branches across the creek; the fish were gaffed at this site and then preserved by drying and smoking.

Hoagland (n.d.) reported that the natural cut southeast of Blind Slough was a canoe travel route between the Wrangell area and this place: "We used to travel across the divide to Wrangell Narrows where we could hunt mink and bear and camp at the Blind Slough on Wrangell Narrows." Local residents also reported there was another fish camp located on the south side of the route at the mouth of Ohmer Creek that was in use in 1902 when the early white settlers were coming to Petersburg (Smythe 1988:17). Other Indian fishing sites in Wrangell Narrows, such as at Skookes Creek, were also reported, and there is abundant evidence of Tlingit fish traps in close proximity to Petersburg (McCallum 1993).

The Beginning of White Settlement at Petersburg

The town of Petersburg grew up around a small salmon cannery built at the north end of Wrangell Narrows. At the urging of Peter Buschmann, the Icy Strait Packing Company of Seattle funded the construction of a sawmill, wharf, store, and cannery which began operating in the 1900 salmon season. In the first year, 34 whites and 24 Natives fished for the company, which employed white, Native, and Chinese cannery workers (Amdt 1980:24-5). The cannery closed in 1902 but was revived in 1906 by the Pacific Coast and Norway Packing Company, which from 1901 through 1905 operated the first cannery.
in the Petersburg area at Tonka in Wrangell Narrows.¹¹ Canneries, processors, and cold storages have been operating in Petersburg continuously since this date. They attracted many Norwegian fishing families and employed Euro-American, Alaska Native, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino workers.

Natives were the preferred labor source of the Tonka cannery, which employed all the Natives willing to work for them. In 1902, for example, the cannery reported that about 50 percent of their labor was performed by Natives and 75 percent of the fish were caught by Native fishermen. The operator also stated that he could have used 20 to 30 more Indians if he could have got them (Witten 1904:69). After assuming management of the Petersburg cannery in 1906, the Tonka operator apparently continued to use a fleet of Native fishermen, who fished for the cannery with their own boats while their wives and children worked in the cannery.

The initial Native population in Petersburg originated from small settlements in the area and also from Kake and Wrangell. Some of these first Native families were already experienced with wage employment and life in the camps of white settlers, since local Indians had resided in or worked at gold mines, salteries, canneries, and hand-logging sites in the region before the cannery opened in Petersburg. There was an area next to the cannery comprised of small cabins where Natives lived and moored their boats. The Indian village here was named Kushdaaka ani, meaning "the village of the Land Otter Men," or land otter island (Kitto 1990). Later, the cannery built cabins and rented them to its workers, who included Native, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino workers. "That's where the Natives started marrying non-Natives... from the early days, 1910-11..." More Natives came to Petersburg in later years.

The cannery operator contributed the use of a room at the cannery for Petersburg's first school, and in 1908 he was granted two homestead lots which he then conveyed to the local school district for two schools, for whites and for Indians. He constructed the government Native school in the winter of 1908-09. At that time, Natives from Kake, Wrangell, and other villages who provided labor for the company lived in small one- and two-room cabins on the beach next to the cannery. According to the annual school report from 1908-09, health conditions in the village were very poor and most Natives suffered from tuberculosis. The percentage of deaths among the young was high. Natives were dissatisfied with these conditions and were considering leaving the beach and building new homes on the hill around the school.

Conditions worsened in this community after 1910, when the school teacher recorded that it was "a most unhealthy place where the Natives stay during canning season, and where too, the Chinese keep their pigs, and the stench from the pens, cannery and dead fish is terrible" (Annual School Report 1911-12). Petersburg was described by the school teacher as a company town in which working conditions for Natives had worsened after the cannery came under new management: "This town is practically owned by a Company who make no other provision for the Natives who work in the cannery and sawmill, but are gradually being crowded out by cheap Jap (sic) and Chinese labor." The company also changed its method of compensation for labor to paying with provisions, instead of with wages.

There were two areas in the early town that were occupied by Natives. One was near the cannery as described above, and the other was down on the north side of Hammer Slough by John Lott's land and up the hill behind the waterfront. By 1912, some of the Natives had moved into this part of town, which became

¹¹ In addition to the cannery, sixteen salteries were working in the area between 1900 and 1910, and another sawmill was located across the Narrows from Petersburg (Snythe 1988:22).
the center of the Native community in Petersburg. The original names of the streets in this area, which have since been changed, indicate the Native heritage: Indian Street and Hogue Alley (Hogue was John Lott’s son-in-law, as discussed above).

This area was known as “Indian Street” or “Indian Bridge.” Records of the Petersburg townsite show that Indian possessions and a Native homestead allotment were in this area in the early part of the century. In 1911, a Native allotment applicant stated that he was a full-blooded Indian, head of a family and had occupied the land since November 1907. A favorable report by the GLO confirmed this statement: “claimant, with his wife and two children have lived on this land continuously for many years” (Case File, U.S. Survey 966). The applicant’s improvements included a two-room house, shed, a partly constructed platform and sidewalk. He was originally from Klawock.

The Native economic livelihood in Petersburg was described in 1912 by the school teacher. Natives trapped, logged and fished. Native women crafted furs into curios for sale. Whole families went out logging together. Sometimes the logging was done by hand, but some families had a steam donkey, gas boat, and other equipment to aid production. Fishing was also a family enterprise, with men fishing and women and children working in the cannery and processing lines. Native men were skilled in carpentry, building their houses and boats. Occasionally Native women took in washing and did housework for the whites (Annual School Report, 1911-12).

The teacher also reported that there were numerous socials held in the Native community, with dancing and singing parties, as well as activities at the school and church. There was an Indian Marshal in town. Apparently conditions continued to worsen at the cannery. For several years there were fewer Natives in the town during the winter, since the government school was closed in 1914. A petition signed by 10 Native residents requested the opening of the school in 1914 and promised that 18 children would attend, but it was rejected by the BOE. At that time, the more permanent Native population in Petersburg consisted of families in the village by Indian Street, and of Native women who had married whites. Intermarriage of Native women with white settlers, and with Japanese and Filipino cannery workers, was a prominent characteristic of the developing Native community in Petersburg after 1910.

Native fishing boats were salient in the cannery fleet until about 1915 to 1920, when there was an influx of Norwegians into the community. The fishing grew competitive, and the non-Natives had larger boats and used other gear types, particularly gill nets. The cannery preferred gillnet-caught fish. A small number of Native fishermen worked for the Petersburg cannery (PAF) in the 1920s, which included three of four boats run by Tlingit from Kake (Smythe 1988:21). In subsequent years, there was a smaller but regular number of resident Native fishermen in the Petersburg fleet, as compared to the early years.

The cannery rented cabins to their fishermen and cannery workers in the 1920s and 1930s, but more of these people began to live in the area of Indian Street. This was made possible by the developing shellfish industry, which provided jobs for a longer period. By combining work in the fish processing lines with picking shrimp and shelling crab, as well as occasional work in the cold storage and in processing clams, workers could stay employed for about 10 months of the year. These opportunities attracted the migration of Native people to Petersburg. A high school in Petersburg, opened to Natives in 1940, provided another motive for settling in Petersburg.

The shoreline area by Indian Street was built up on pilings. Some Native families lived on floats tied up there or built houses. The area is best known for the restaurants and apartment houses constructed or acquired by Japanese and Filipino men who married Native women. Native families reported they stayed
at these apartments for years, and they were in use until the 1960s. Four or five more Native families lived in houses on the hill behind the modern post office, just above Indian Street. The two Native churches, the Salvation Army and the Thlingit Presbyterian Church, were also founded in this neighborhood in the 1920s.

At that time several Native families living near Petersburg were also considered part of the community. For example, two families lived across the narrows in West Petersburg in the 1920s; these were Tlingit women married to Japanese men, with their children. The adults used to row across the Narrows every morning to pick shrimp in Petersburg, while their children attended primary school in West Petersburg. One of the families had a small farm with pigs, chickens, and a garden. John Lott also owned land up Petersburg Creek, which he reached by rowboat. In the 1950s, two other Native families lived across the narrows. One had a saltery on the creek.

Point Agassiz was the site of a small dairy community established across Frederick Sound from Petersburg by Norwegian homesteaders in about 1910. Some of these homesteaders intermarried with Native women from the area and later settled in Petersburg when there was no longer work in Point Agassiz (Smythe 1989).

Indian Possessions in the Petersburg Townsite

As Petersburg grew and developed as a fishing community, the white residents applied for a townsite. The subdivisional survey was approved in 1919, and included three lots in Indian Possessions and the Native allotment described above. One of the lots was located in the area of the former village by the cannery, while two were in the downtown area. These lots remained undeeded until the late 1950s, when the city expressed interest in clearing title and acquiring some of the land.

One lot was at the site of the Native village by the cannery. It was transferred to the city in 1960 after the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was unable to establish any Indian claimants for it. The remaining parcel of John Lott's original land also ended up in the possession of the city, which wanted it for municipal expansion. The land, which was prime downtown property, had been assigned to one of Lott's descendants. The BIA issued a restricted deed to that descendant in 1960, and in 1952 this was changed to an unrestricted deed so it could be acquired by the city. The owner was encouraged to transfer the land to the city, which had stated its intention to condemn and tear down John Lott's old house and charge the current owner for the costs.

The remaining lot in the Indian Possessions, also undeeded in 1958, was at one time claimed by a non-Native for expenses incurred in supporting a young Native girl who had been orphaned and sent to live with relatives in Wrangell. Her grandmother, mother, and uncle had all died of tuberculosis in the house that was on the lot. Shortly later, the house was destroyed for sanitation reasons. The child was left to her aunt and grandfather, and taken to Wrangell. The white man agreed to pay $500 for the lot to pay for upkeep of child. The BIA located a woman in Wrangell answering the description of the orphaned girl and issued her a deed in 1959. She transferred it to the Petersburg Moose Club in 1960.

There was also a Native allotment in the downtown area that pre-dated the townsite, which has been described above. This land, occupied since 1907, was recognized as Native-owned land. Since it was an allotment, it was not under the jurisdiction of the townsite trustee.
The Native Community in Petersburg

Petersburg provided opportunities for regular, though not lucrative, work in canneries, cold storage plants, and shellfish processors for most of the year, as well as some limited fishing employment. Wages for this work were extremely low, and livelihoods had to be supplemented with harvests of fish, shellfish and game: "...it wasn't too hard to get venison here, and they could go out and get seal. They could catch fish and they could dig clams and cockles, and get crab. They could do those things. That's what kept them going—doing things like that. As long as there was a man in the family that could go fishing and do those things for them. And then, of course, they picked shrimp for the rice, the potatoes, and things like that they need. It wasn't so expensive then as it is now."

In the 1920s, the Petersburg Native population grew more substantially, mainly due to migration from Kake. In the 1920s and 1930s, there was also an increase in immigration from other areas such as Wrangell, Juneau, Douglas and Haines. Some migration continued in the 1940s and 1950s. By the end of this period Natives from Craig, Ketchikan, Hoohnah, Tenakee and Angoon also lived in Petersburg. These families tended to settle where they could find inexpensive housing, so gradually the Native households became more dispersed in the community. Another cause of the dispersal was the leveling out of the hill above Indian Street (post office hill) to make room for municipal buildings, which resulted in the destruction of the neighborhood in that area.

Although residents reported there were some memorial and funeral "parties" in Petersburg in the 1920s and 1930s, such traditional activities were not a salient component of community life. The focus of community activity was in organizations that fostered assimilation into Christian values (churches) and improvement of the social and economic conditions of Natives (ANKVANS). Petersburg Natives later formed an IRA government and participated actively in the Tlingit and Haida Central Council.

In the 1960s, two Natives operated businesses which are still active in town today. One is a beauty shop and the other is a bar. A third Native owned a liquor store for a number of years on Main Street. While some Native residents reported they never had trouble finding jobs, others said that discrimination was widespread in the 1950s and is still prevalent today. "Well, you couldn't get a job as a clerk in a store. You couldn't get a job. If you went to school and got an education, the teacher, the girls that went to college to learn teaching couldn't get a job there. They had to go somewhere else to teach. You could feel it."

"Again, it wasn't that the Natives were really looked on as bad; they were looked on as different and they were treated different. Even throughout my lifetime I was treated different. I always felt there were three groups of people in Petersburg. One was the non-Native, the Native, and those that were halfbreeds. And it kind of proved that way, and it's still kind of different. If you were to identify yourself even as late as in the 1950s when I finished school, you identify your white blood first. Oh, I'm Irish, or I'm a Norwegian, or I'm Filipino. Because the Natives were defined a certain way, you always said, oh no, I'm Irish. You didn't want to have that stigma. That's really what it was because even though the jobs first went to non-Natives, the Natives here survived because they knew how to take care of themselves off the land."
Native Churches

The Salvation Army

Petersburg's first organized church, the Salvation Army, started its activity in 1909. The membership of the Salvation Army Church was mostly Native. Meetings were held in the hall next to a restaurant near Rasmus Enge's home, and "music and song resounded" on Indian Street in the early years, 1910-12 (Lee 1976:7). Chester Worthington, a prominent Native from Wrangell, took command in 1913. He was responsible for the construction of the Salvation Army Hall, which stood on Indian Street. According to church history, Petersburg Natives built the hall with contributed lumber, under his direction. Worthington also constructed a residence on the hill near the present-day post office, which he turned over to the local corps.

The mission of the church was, as it is today, to work with the needy and those less well-off in station, and to be community-oriented rather than congregation-oriented. One appeal of the church was its ban on alcohol. Another was the music; the Petersburg Army Corps had a band that played on Sundays, at weekly meetings, and during funerals. One Tlingit lady, Martha James, played the piano for meetings. Some of the Petersburg corps' members, such as the Jameses, had first joined the army in Kake, which was one of the first Corps established in Alaska; the former Kake members strengthened the local membership.

In the 1920s, the church opened a nursery for the babies and small children of shrimp pickers in the Petersburg cannery. Earl Ohmer provided a room for this activity (Carruthers 1956). A historical photograph shows Ohmer at the funeral of Charlie Cooney, Lucy Kito's grandfather, who lived at Blind Slough for many years, in front of the Salvation Army Hall in the 1920s. The Salvation Army has been active continuously in Petersburg since its inception, and it has maintained its emphasis on the lower income and Native population.

Church members regularly raised money for the operating expenses of the church (electricity, stove oil) by holding socials and sales at the hall, (for which they prepared Tlingit food), and by ringing the bell at Christmas. They also gave Native food to the captain, and provided hot lunches to those in need during the Depression. In addition to regular Sunday meetings, there were a (Ladies) Home League on Tuesdays and a Bible study group on Thursdays. They also took Gospel Trips to other communities to help strengthen Christian groups elsewhere. According to local residents, the Sunday School was attended by many Native children, including Presbyterians.

The Thlkingt Presbyterian Church

The Wrangell Presbyterian Mission built a church in Petersburg in 1911, but two years later it stopped missionary work and sold the building to the Lutherans (Smythe 1988:24). The Presbyterians returned in 1924 at the request of the Native community. The Petersburg Native Presbyterian Church, known as the Thlinget Presbyterian Church, was organized at that time, after a petition signed by 35 Native Presbyterians in Petersburg had been sent to the Presbytery. Minutes of the first organizational meeting show that three Tlingit men were elected elders and two others were elected to serve as deacons.

Church records show that 43 elders and communicants were accepted into membership in 1924; the officers and membership were all Native. Church membership remained at that level in the early years. In 1929, for example, there were 44 members reported to the Presbytery. In 1930, membership was
up to 54, and it increased further in the 1930s. By 1933, membership was 66 Natives and 3 non-Natives. Membership in the 1940s was maintained at earlier levels; in 1942, 42 Natives and 5 non-Natives were members.

The first church leader from outside the community was Mrs. Tamaree of Wrangell, who served as Missionary of the Church until 1930. The mother of William A. Paul, Sr., Mrs. Tamaree was active in the Presbyterian Church and in the Native community at Wrangell. She was succeeded in Petersburg by a lay pastor from the local Native congregation, George R. Betts. The church organized a Women's Missionary Society, which in 1933 had 34 members, that raised money for local charity work and for the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. There was also a Bible study group that met weekly at that time.

The Thlinit Presbyterian Church held services in the Arctic Brotherhood hall, which was located on the post office hill above Indian Street, before a separate church was constructed. In the 1930s, the church was used for Christmas celebrations in the Native community. The ANB/ANS contributed candy and oranges for the children at these functions, according to a local resident. The church was used regularly for socials, weddings, and funerals. It was also used by the ANB/ANS for their meetings and socials, including fund-raising events, in the 1930s and 1940s.

In 1947, the church's name was changed to First Presbyterian Church. After a fire damaged the Native church building in 1948, the congregation met in the manse and the membership declined. When the congregation lost its pastor, a leader in the Native community, Amy Hallingstad, wrote the Presbytery and convinced them to send a new minister to Petersburg. The new minister arrived in 1952 (Lytgoe n.d.:3). The old Native church building was sold to the Moose Lodge by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions for $3,000. A new church was constructed by the community and completed in 1953. Cedar piling was cut from Sandy Beach, and at least Native one woman helped nail shingles to the roof.

Native members remained in the majority in the 1950s, when non-Natives began to be represented in larger numbers. In January of 1950, there were 34 members, of whom 23 were Native. There were 34 Natives, 12 non-Natives and 2 of persons of unknown ethnicity listed in church membership records in January of 1957. Petersburg Natives continued to be active in church government (as elders, deacons, trustees and treasurer) and in the congregation during the 1950s, but became a minority in the church in the 1960s.

Petersburg ANB/ANS Camp Number 16

The Petersburg ANB and ANS camps were formally organized in the early 1920s, at about the same time as similar camps were formed in other Southeastern communities (Druker 1958). A historical photograph from 1925 shows 19 members of ANS that comprised the main Native families in Petersburg, most of whom lived in the Native area on Indian Street and on post office hill around the Thlinit Presbyterian Church. "There was a big hall, called Alaska Brotherhood, where the Presbyterian Church is now, and the Sisterhood and Brotherhood used to have all their get-togethers there. [They held] weekly socials, and all the Natives used to gather there. They used to give dances at two other halls, Devil's Thumb and Johnny Sales. Natives'd make sandwiches, pies and cakes and sell them to raise money for whatever they wanted. ANB and ANS both were really active in those years, everybody's husbands and everybody's wives—they all went together to the socials and they ran things together." Women did a lot of embroidery work (such as pillow cases) for sale, and held sewing class once a week, to raise funds for ANB.
Later the ANB established its own meeting hall near its original meeting place. When the building deteriorated beyond repair, the Native community erected a new, enlarged structure on the site of the first one, in about 1959. Native volunteer laborers tore the old building down, hand-pulled the trees from across the bay, and helped put in the pilings for the ANB Hall. John Hanson was instrumental in acquiring property for the ANB Hall from a white settler and the hall was named after Hanson.

In the 1930s the ANS had a school committee: "[it] was to check that the kids were going to school and that they were clean and whatever, when I was very young. And I think they really—those that needed it—they were kind of guided to show these other women or families—how to get their children ready for school with a good breakfast and stuff like that. ANS did that kind of—cause the church didn't really do that. In fact, the church, some of them talked—they had to apologize publicly a couple of years ago for not allowing the Tlingits to speak their language. There was a time then that they discouraged them from speaking Tlingit so that they could learn English to get schooling and everything. That was kind of a sad. 'Cause I never learned to speak either."

In the 1930s, the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood "were working for integration into theater so that they'd be allowed to sit anywhere in the theater, and our children going into the schools and into the restaurants. There was a lot of controversy over that. And then they were working, of course, for the land claims. They worked all those years; I can remember my mother giving her last $5 to William Paul so that they could go to Washington, D.C. and fight for the land claims."

Petersburg was represented at the historic 1929 ANB Annual Convention in Haines, at which the organization made the decision to press forward with aboriginal land claims. John Hanson and his brother Dick were active in land claims, in alternate years going to Grand Camp meetings representing Petersburg. These local organizations were very active in the 1920s and 1930s; and later Amy Hallingstad, the daughter of one of the early members, became instrumental in the local leadership. Her husband took local people around to ANB conventions on his boat, the Brooklyn.

Amy Hallingstad led the Petersburg ANS with power and vision in the 1940s and 1950s, and became one of the principal Native women activists in all of Southeast Alaska. She was elected local ANS Camp President approximately ten times and ANS Grand Camp President for seven terms (Koester 1988:37). Among the many issues that she pursued were land claims, integration of the local schools, union organization of local canner workers, and the abolition of fish traps.

Hallingstad led the challenge for ending segregation in the Petersburg schools by sending one of her children to the white elementary school in 1936. According to her son, she argued that the Native people were just as much American citizens as any other persons, and so they should have the right to go to the public school. He was a trial student there for two years, after which the school became integrated. He recalled that, at recess, he would run down to the Indian school to play with his friends. "All I could understand, I was going there and all my friends were going to the other school, the Indian school." He endured name-calling and bullying by the white students, but when he resorted to fighting to defend himself, he was called into the principal's office and told to restrain himself.

As economic conditions worsened in the 1940s and early 1950s, members of the ANS helped stage a strike in the local cannery and organize a union among the processing workers. Conditions were likened to keeping people "on a starvation basis: "...we took home shrimp, crab, and halibut because we couldn't afford to buy meat. ... And down at the cannery, too, even at the salmon cannery, we used to sneak fish
out of there so we could have something. That was how we kept ourselves... But the big event that we had
down there was that we had to go on strike because we were down to a nickel a pound on those shrimp.
I was one of the instigators of that strike. We stayed out on that strike for quite a while and they finally
brought us up to—was it 12 cents?... See, we didn't even have a union before the strike. So we got the union
organized and going and then they had to meet our demands." Amy Hallingstad and Margaret Durbin (ANS
Camp Secretary) were representatives of the Cannery Workers' Union.

The overharvesting of salmon was a major factor in the deteriorating economic conditions facing
Southeast Natives at this time. Overharvesting reduced the availability of salmon for Native commercial and
subsistence harvests as well as reducing work in the canneries. The ANB led the fight for the abolition of
fish traps—the principal cause of this decline—among the Native communities in the region. Hallingstad
actively voiced her opinion in the Petersburg community on this matter. "In a 1948 letter to the editor of
the Petersburg Press, Hallingstad called for the ban of fish traps, declaring that "...the fish trap is the enemy
of the Native and of the independent fisherman" (Koester 1988:38).

In the 1940s and 1950s, Hallingstad encouraged the formation of a junior ANS. She also worked closely
with a young and developing leader named Richard Kito, who was viewed as Amy's counterpart in the ANB,
in the mid to late 1950s. Kito was instrumental in keeping the Petersburg ANB active as older members
retired, and at about the age of 18 he was elected the youngest president of a local camp in Alaska. The group
of younger members became the foundation of the Petersburg Tlingit and Haida chapter in the 1960s. In
1955 and again in 1970, Petersburg was the site of the ANB/ANS annual convention.

The Petersburg Native School

A separate government-run elementary school for Natives was maintained in Petersburg from 1904
to 1937 (Barnhardt 1985). As already described, there were a few years after 1912 in which it did not
operate. This school went up to the eighth grade, after which students were forced to go to a Native high
school elsewhere because they were not welcome in the Petersburg public schools. In the first two decades
of the century, quite a few Petersburg Natives went to boarding schools in Oregon and Washington,
including Chemawa and St. George's School. In the 1930s and 1940s, more went to Sheldon Jackson School
in Sitka and to the Wrangell Institute.

Bureau of Education teachers encouraged sending children away to boarding school. In many cases,
this was suggested to provide some economic relief for parents, many of whom lived in poverty. "But most
of the families had just single-room houses and I think that was probably the judgment used to take
students, the children, out of the house. It wasn't used to punish the people. It was used so that the people
could survive, they could work all the time during that school year."

After school integration was pursued by the local ANB/ANS organization, Natives won the right to
attend the local public school in 1937. But discrimination in the school did not end with integration,
according to interview statements. At first, Natives were not welcome to play on the sports teams. Natives
ranged to sit together in the back of the classroom, and to stand in line together, partly in response to the
system of rewards and punishments that was used in school. Some students were passed on to the next grade
without learning the skills of the grade just passed.
Petersburg Indian Association

The Petersburg IRA, named the Petersburg Indian Association, was organized and approved in 1948. The members of the association were identified as Native residents of Mitkof Island. The initial emphasis of the organization was to take advantage of economic development programs available under the BIA, which included a loan program for Native business ventures. In Petersburg this took the form of loans for the purchase of fishing vessels. At least four members acquired loans for this purpose in 1951. Not all these ventures were successful, and in the mid-1950s, after the BIA moved to terminate some of these loans, the IRA entered a dormant stage. It was not reactivated until the 1970s.

Petersburg Chapter, Tlingit and Haida Central Council

The Petersburg Native community maintained regular membership in the ANB/ANS organization and participated in the meetings of Tlingit and Haida Indians during the years that it provided support to the land claims action. In the later years (1950s), it was mainly the ANS which was responsible for local activity in this arena. The Petersburg ANS was in attendance at the 1959 ANB/ANS Annual Convention, following the favorable judgement in the U.S. Court of Claims. Petersburg subsequently formed a local Tlingit and Haida chapter and participated in the formation and development of the Central Council. In one of its early actions, the local organization carried out a census of membership in 1961-63, and enumerated 358 individuals of Tlingit and Haida descent (271 were residents of Petersburg at the time, and 87 had moved elsewhere, mainly to communities in California, Oregon and Washington).

Local residents became more active in the local Tlingit and Haida leadership in 1967. Petersburg delegates were elected to the Executive Committee after that year. Petersburg has been a listed community of the Tlingit and Haida Central Council since its formal organization at that time.

Native Cemetery Sites

A cemetery site with Native graves is situated across the narrows from Petersburg behind Sasby Island. The graves date from 1911 to about 1930. The Native graves had white picket fences around the gravestones. Ancestors of Petersburg Native families are buried there, including the former inhabitants of Blind Slough and other nearby settlements. Members of these families used to go over to maintain the sites of the burials: “They were family... I just remember us all going and cleaning it all the time. The family went over there on Memorial Day. The whole town went over. They went over there, cleaned the plots, and then they had a big picnic on the beach, everybody. It was kind of fun. They did that on Memorial Day. That was the custom.”

This graveyard was originally both Native and non-Native, but in later years some of the non-Natives were reinterred on the Petersburg side. The site is included as a Native cemetery site, the Wrangell Narrows Burial, in Sealaska’s compilation of Native historical and cemetery sites in Southeast Alaska (Wilsey & Ham 1975:156-7).
Tenakee

A Tlingit village was located at the hot springs at the time when white settlers first came to Tenakee. The village and the surrounding area, including Tenakee Inlet, was owned and occupied by members of the Wooshkeetaan clan. Native occupation of the Indian village in Tenakee was recognized by the federal government in 1935, when the village was excluded from the Tongass National Forest by an executive land order. The development of a small commercial fishing industry in Tenakee attracted additional Tlingit families to the community in the 1920s and 1930s. The decline in the fisheries in the 1940s and 1950s, and lack of higher educational opportunities in Tenakee, resulted in a reduction of the Native population in later years.

Native Use and Occupancy in Tenakee Prior to White Settlement

The village of Tenakee, or Tenakee Springs, is situated at a hot springs that was the location of a Tlingit village prior to historical contact with whites. The land-owning group in Tenakee was one of three Wooshkeetaan segments in the surrounding region, which also included divisions in Angoon and in the Auk territory. The Tenakee Wooshkeetaan group is connected with Noow hit ("Fort House") located in Angoon. According to Charles Jack, a Tlingit historian born in Tenakee in 1910, the Angoon Wooshkeetaan people took his grandfather out there, when he was young, to explain the history and bestow upon him the responsibility to look after Tenakee Inlet and Freshwater Bay. He took up residence in Tenakee at that time, prior to his marriage, around or shortly after the mid-nineteenth century. This village was occupied by his descendants when the first white settlers came in 1900.

The Tlingit village at Tenakee was identified in the U.S. Coast Pilot for 1891: "About 8.5 miles within the [Tenakee] Inlet are the Hoonah (56c) hot springs and a small Native village, off which is a small islet." Tenakee Inlet was reported "...constantly used by the Indians in their journeys from Chatham Strait to Port Frederick." There were several openings on the south shore of the Inlet (toward Chatham Strait) which "are much used by the Indians in their journeys to the more southern part of the archipelago" (U.S. Coast Pilot 1891: 163). In the north, Tenakee Inlet was connected to Port Frederick, on Icy Strait, by a short portage across a narrow neck of land; the Tlingit village of Hoonah lay 12 miles distant from the portage. The portage was reported by the U.S. Naval Commander for Alaska and in 1909 by Swanton, who provides the traditional history that it was built by killer whales on their way to Hoonah, and is called Killer whale crossing place (de Laguna 1960:61).

The Tlingit name for Tenakee Inlet relates to the history of this area: the name acknowledges an incident by which the Killer whales acquired this bay at the northern end of the Inlet. When the Killer whales first came to the bay, they decided to throw into the water a large beaten copper (an item of immense value) as payment for the bay, in recognition of the people who already stayed there. The original inhabitants decided to move to Kake, and left the area in the hands of the Killer whales. The Tlingit word for copper is 'tinaah' and the name of the original occupants was Geiy-yel-di. The English word 'Tenakee' is derived from these Tlingit words, 'Tinaah Geiy' (see George, in Smythe 1989:19-21).

---

12de Laguna (1960:27) reports the Wooshkeetaan was originally divided into three branches: Auke Bay or Juneau, Freshwater Bay, and Angoon. The Freshwater Bay and Tenakee people are the same branch; the village in Freshwater Bay was reported abandoned in 1891 (U.S. Coast Pilot 1891:163).

13There was a second Tlingit village in the Wooshkeetaan area located in Freshwater Bay (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:118; U.S. Coast Pilot 1891:163).
According to the oral history, Tenakee Inlet once belonged to the Deisheetaan clan of the Angoon region, and the village at Tenakee Springs was named Tla-goo-wu-an. The first chief was Ka-sa-axhch of the Deisheetaan clan, years before the Russians arrived. In the nineteenth century, the area was conveyed to the Wooshkeetaan clan as payment for a murder that occurred near the present settlement at Tenakee. The Wooshkeetaan man was killed when he was mistaken for an enemy by the Deisheetaan. He was coming to retrieve the body of his brother-in-law, who was killed in a battle, from the beach. The Deisheetaan did not have anything of sufficient value to provide as payment for this wrongful death, so they transferred a portion of their territory to satisfy the obligation. The area extended from Point Augusta, at the northeastern point of Chichagof Island, southward to Freshwater Bay, Tenakee Inlet, and down to Basket Bay. A petroglyph was fashioned to memorialize this bloodshed. "... pictures on the rocks near the settlement of Tenakee marked the scene of a battle where the Wooshkeetaan were attacked. Those defeated (not specified) were decapitated, and their blood ran down over the rocks" (de Laguna 1960:60-61; Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:117).

T'asy X'e is the Tlingit name for the hot springs, meaning "the mouth of it" (springs). The hot springs were used extensively by Tlingit before contact with white settlers. There was a small spring located on the beach at tidewater that was valued for its medicinal qualities by the Tlingit—more so than the larger spring that has since become popular as a hot bath among whites. The Tlingit ladled the water over themselves, but the real medicinal qualities were released by drinking it. The Tlingit people used to put it into buckets, let it cool, and drink it three times a day. The people believed there was something of immense curative power in the water. "That spring would cure any kind of disease by drinking it...Before there were doctors, all the Tlingit people, they were healthy over there. Lot of them died of old age." Its reputation among the Natives was reported in the U.S. census of 1890: "The hot springs on Tenakee passage have great repute among the Huna and their neighbors, the Hutznahus [Angoon]" (Porter 1890:52).

The Arrival of White Settlers

The hot springs had been discovered by the turn of the century, when white people began to erect structures around them and spend the winter months in the area. In 1901, a saltery opened in the area and was managed from a base in Tenakee. In 1901 and 1902, the saltery manager reported there was a group of Tlingits who lived in Tenakee under a chief named Jake. "The chief, Jake, has some houses near the hot springs, and the whites have been crowding them, beyond doubt. It seems to me it should be looked after" (in Witten 1904:73). The manager of the company (the Seattle Scandinavian Fish Company) lived in Tenakee on a small farm, on which he raised vegetables, cows, and hogs. He reported good relations with these Indians. He hired Natives as crews to fish for him and to work in the saltery. Among his employees were the son, wife, and daughter of this chief, who also exercised authority over all the other Natives hired to work for the company.

The manager reported that all of Tenakee Inlet was owned by the old chief who insisted that the company pay tribute to him to fish there. When the manager tried to talk him out of it, Jake set stakes on shore to assert that the company could not fish there without his (Jake's) consent, and then induced the other Natives to quit when this did not work. "There is no controversy concerning fishing streams, only this same chief has staked all the bays, whether he had improvements or not, and if he had his way there would not be a single settler in Tenakee Inlet, which is 35 miles long and has about a dozen bays, every one of which he stakes and claims" (Witten 1904:73-75).
This chief "Jake" was Jack Kohenic, who lived until about 1903. The area around Tenakee village was rich in natural resources, which was a principal reason for the settlement. There was good fishing throughout Tenakee Inlet, and the area was also used extensively by the Native inhabitants for hunting and gathering and later for trapping. Besides their home in Tenakee, Jack Kohenic and his family had a summer camp located across the inlet at what became known as Kadashan Bay, to which they would move in summer and live in their smokehouse drying fish for the winter. This traditional use was recognized by the federal government in 1938, when Jack's son, Andrew Jack, and his son-in-law received a Native allotment for the area.

Soon after the whites began to settle around the Tenakee springs, a conflict developed between two storeowners who each wanted to build a structure over the hot springs and charge people to use them. Andrew Jack, who became the acknowledged Wooshkeetan leader of the area after his father died, traveled to Sitka to talk to the territorial governor about it, according to Andrew's son. The governor asked Andrew what he wanted to do. Andrew Jack replied that many people came to use the springs, and as he had strong title to it under Tlingit law, he would agree to relinquishing the springs to the government on the condition that they remain free to the public at large. This is the reason, it is claimed, that the springs are not in private hands today and remain available to anyone free of charge.

One of the storekeepers was Ed Snyder, who first asked Andrew Jack for permission to build a bath house over the springs. He had close ties to the Jack family and was adopted by Jack Kohenic's wife (Andrew Jack's mother), who only had one surviving son. In 1904, Andrew Jack sold his father's house and garden at the springs to Snyder. The transaction was recorded by the land office in Sitka as between Ed Snyder and "Andrew Jack, a Native of Tenakee Hot Springs." The indenture also identified the frame building, "known as the Kohenic House," that was located just 20 feet south of the public bath house. Andrew Jack and his family moved a short distance to the area of the modern boat harbor, which was known as the Indian village.

The Indian Village in Tenakee

There were several Tlingit families living in Tenakee at the turn of the century. Some lived in the Indian village near the Jack family, others remained in the original location close to the springs. Jessie Dalton was born there in 1903. She has stated that her relative (Ahn-kan-teen, her maternal great uncle) lived there from 1870 until his death in 1910. Her mother and father lived there from about 1900 to shortly before her father's death in 1939. In 1910 he built a cabin and other buildings used as a smokehouse and boat shop in the Indian village. The family shared the use of one of the gardens with Andrew Jack and his mother (Dalton 1971; Dauenhauer 1990:522). A group of buildings closer to the springs was owned and occupied by Charley Walters and his family. James Kasko came down from Haines, fished and logged for the saltery, and raised his family in Tenakee.

Tenakee Inlet was a rich and productive place "where everything was available:" deer, bear, all kinds of ducks and geese, seal, all species of salmon, halibut, cod, snapper, flounder, sea bass, trout, three species of crab, shrimp, scallops, and berries such as blueberries, red and black huckleberries, cranberries, salmonberries, thimbleberries, and currants. This bounty attracted Native families to the area before there was non-Native commercial activity. The town started to grow after the first canning was established in the area in 1916, and Natives took jobs as fishermen, loggers, canning workers, and occasionally construction
workers. The Tenakee economy expanded to comprise fishing, logging, and trapping, as well as harvesting the natural resources in the area.

The Native population increased in the 1920s and 1930s as Tlingit moved in from nearby communities to take advantage of the employment opportunities. During the 1920s, there were two canneries operating in Tenakee—the Columbia Salmon Company and Superior Packing Company. Although Columbia closed after 1929, Superior remained open through 1953. Local Native crews fished for the canneries using their own boats, and women and children worked in the canneries. Native boats from Angoon also came over to fish for the cannery; especially after the village and cannery at Killisnoo burned in 1928.

Andrew Jack invited other family members and clan relations to take up residence in the Indian village, and helped at least one family move their house from Freshwater Bay to Tenakee. The old people from the village at Freshwater Bay had died off, and the younger people moved into Tenakee to work in commercial fishing (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:118). Some people moved over from Angoon. Other Natives, including relatives of James Kasko, came from the Haines-Klukwan area and worked with Kasko, who logged and sunk pilings for the canneries. He brought the first horses there and then bought a steam engine for logging along the shore in the area. He designed and built fish traps, and while he operated his seine boat in summer, he fielded a second crew to take care of the traps. Mrs. Kasko’s brother, who married a woman from Hoonah, also lived in Tenakee, and another Klukwan Native married a German man (Paddock) who owned a farm in the town.

The population of whites also began to grow, in the words of one resident, “as we were growing up (in the early 1930s). It was like a little Norway. There were some Norwegians, Germans, Greeks, Filipinos, and Finns. There was a lot of Finns there.”

A territorial and later a state school operated in Tenakee from 1917 to 1970, but it was only through the eighth grade. As was common practice at the time, Natives who attended the school were punished for speaking Tlingit. One woman described how the white children, whom she bettered in sports, would get back at her by telling the teacher she had uttered a Tlingit word, and she would be forced to have her mouth washed out with soap.

At one point, Snyder offered to have the Indian village surveyed as a Native village on behalf of Andrew Jack. Snyder may have been motivated by self-interest, to promote the movement of more Natives from the springs area to the Indian village. But Jack reportedly turned this offer down because he could not accept it, since the land belonged to the entire Wooshkeetaan clan and not just to himself as an individual.

**Executive Order Excluding the Tenakee Indian Village from the Tongass National Forest**

The Indian village was specifically recognized and excluded from the Tongass National Forest by Executive Order No. 7179 (U.S. Survey No. 2459) issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on September 6, 1935. The order, based upon the joint recommendation of the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior, was issued to grant recognition of the occupation of the site as an Indian community and to protect it from other uses to which National Forest lands were open. It states that the tract “is occupied as an Indian settlement.” A report by a forest ranger provides further information on the Native occupation: “A Native settlement and Native gardens occupy most of the beach frontage. There are six dwellings and other outbuildings such as smokehouses, woodsheds and boathouses located on the tract....Improved garden
areas are located between the buildings...the settlement has been confined almost exclusively to the Native
class and in some cases probably pre dates the establishment of the National Forest. ... It is believed that it
should have been included in the original elimination of Tenakee as it is a logical part of town ...”
(Chipperfield 1935). Field notes from the survey of this tract also confirm that “The houses are all owned
and occupied by Natives who have small gardens along the water front” (Williamson 1939). The survey
recorded the sites of ten buildings and four gardens in the village tract.

Native possessory rights in the village tract were reaffirmed by the federal government in 1965, when
a local (non-Native) resident filed an occupancy notice for a homesite and a trade and manufacturing site
with the BLM. The BLM found that the lands were withdrawn for entry at the time the applicant initiated
settlement there, and that the Tongass revocation order, based on the Indian occupation, did not open the
lands to subsequent settlement. The letter reported information obtained from BIA that “possessory rights
to this tract are claimed and that the lands have been used and occupied by these Indian people for many
years” (Peters 1965).

Present and former Tenakee residents remembered there were 10 to 15 families in the Indian village
in the 1920s and 1930s, and a majority of them first lived near the springs before moving to the village area.
The Jacks had a boathouse built there and Paul Kadashan, the son-in-law of Andrew Jack, constructed
several boats in that part of Tenakee, including the Edna J, the Foxy, the Foxy II, and the Robin (Paddock
1991). He was a trained carpenter who came to Tenakee to build one of the canneries. Thomas Starr and
his son-in-law built the Dalton’s first boat, the Tlingit, there as well.

For the local Native residents, the Tenakee Indian village was a very enjoyable place to live. As one
reported, “There was all kinds of smokehouse down at what they called the village where we stayed.
Most everybody had a smokehouse. It was good living there. That’s why a lot of people came. Everybody
had a garden, a lot of fish, lot of deer, lot of seal. Anything you wanted was there. Berries. It was a good way
to live.”

The beach and a small, natural harbor at this place were congruent with the needs and cultural
traditions of the small Tlingit fishing community. There was a “nice sandy beach to pull [the boats] up on.
Some of the seine boats—it’s like a natural little harbor there. Boats would drop a bunch of anchors and
anchor out there—the bigger boats. The small boats, we just drug ‘em up the beach. Nice beach there. ...That
Graveyard Point sticks way out ... and then there’s a rock pile a ways away, and then the sandy beach here.
Kind of breaks the wind from the southeast a little bit—the point that juts out there where the graveyard
is—one of the graveyards.”

The Native Church

The Tenakee Natives were under the influence of Christian missionaries from an early date. Some
members of the community were interested in starting their own church at the turn of the century, and
appealed to the operator of a local saltery for help. “They are very religious and have approached me on
the question of assisting me to build a church here” (Witten 1904:73-75). Apparently, Witten tried to turn
this sentiment to his advantage, “I have reserved my answer until I see how we get along, for I tell them that
if we keep having this old tribal claim to the country flung up every few weeks by their chief I do not think
they will want a church here, as I shall not employ any Natives (sic) next year that continue to make trouble
this year; but by present indications I think we will probably help them out in the church.” Since the saltery
closed after that year, it is unlikely that this claim was acted on.
The wish to have a church in Tenakee was realized in the 1920s or 1930s. One of the old time Native residents (Charlie Walters) is credited with starting a church and erecting a meeting hall. At his urging, the people that wanted a place to have meetings got together, bought some lumber, and built a hall on land Walters donated. Some say he paid for the lumber—he was a fisher and had money. Community members began to hold Christian meetings there, and later it became a Salvation Army hall.

In the 1940s, nearly all the Native families belonged to the Salvation Army church, which was the only church in town that had regular meetings. A Tsimshian woman from Metlakatla lived in Tenakee for six months and served as an Army minister. After her return to Metlakatla, she regularly came to town for a few months at a time to hold Salvation Army services in the hall. At this time, Tenakee had a Salvation Army band made up of local Indian residents, and Angoon people who came there in summer would join. Church women organized the Salvation Army Home League and met about once a week to raise contributions for overseas work and other church activities.

The Salvation Army hall was destroyed in 1950 in a disastrous fire that started in a nearby house. After the fire, the church did not re-open because the local economy went into decline and the Native population began to migrate to other communities.

Tenakee ANB/ANS Camp and Participation in the Tlingit and Haida Settlement

Tenakee had an active ANB camp from the 1920s to about 1950. Tenakee representatives traveled by boat to Haines in 1929, to the annual convention at which it was decided to pursue their land claims. The community was represented at the 1941 meeting of the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska held in Wrangell in conjunction with the annual ANB convention. This meeting was attended by Central Council delegates elected in each community according to BIA procedures. Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Jack were delegates from Tenakee. During this gathering, the convention passed resolutions selecting attorneys to proceed with the Tlingit and Haida land claims suit and approved a contract with these attorneys.

In the early 1940s, there were active ANB and ANS chapters in Tenakee. Mrs. Andrew Jack Sr. was the ANS president, Jenny Joseph was vice-chairman, and Beth Jack was secretary. The ANS president would call meetings at the Salvation Army Hall or in the home of one of the officers. In 1948, Albert Howard was president of the Tenakee ANB camp, and his wife was president of the ANS. A visiting delegation from the Grand Camp held a meeting in Tenakee which 12 local ANB/ANS members attended; they were encouraged to reinstate the local organization. The visitors suggested that the ANB and ANS combine their meetings to ensure that the necessary quorum would be attained.

But active membership declined after the 1940s, as people left the community. Those remaining in Tenakee did not formally reactivate the organization. Tenakee continued to be on the ANB mailing list for several years thereafter. The lawyers pursuing the Tlingit and Haida case included Tenakee on their mailing list in the early 1950s, indicating that Tenakee was a recognized community in the land claims efforts which culminated in 1959.
Changes in the Tenakee Native Community

The fishing worsened in the 1940s, and a few Native residents began to move to other towns and villages, some to seek opportunities for higher education for their children and others for more regular employment. By the mid-1940s, a small crab cannery opened, which improved local employment during the off-season, and a second small salmon cannery owned by Sam Asp operated for a few years until it burned down. Tlingit people moved to Angoon, Hoonah, Sitka, Juneau and other places in greater numbers after the Superior cannery closed in 1953. The Angoon branch of the Wooshkeetaan clan "became extinct" in 1947-48," and the descendants of the Tenakee division that moved there inherited their rights in that village (de Laguna 1960:27). By 1955, there were not many people in Tenakee compared to earlier years, and the population did not increase significantly until the late 1960s and 1970s.

Census figures bear out these observations. The population in Tenakee reached a peak in 1930, maintained the higher level through the decade, and began a decline after 1940 that continued through 1970:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Natives were the majority population in Tenakee through mid-century. A reliable estimate of ethnicity was provided in 1950 by the census enumerator, who was able to reconstruct the Tenakee households from memory, listing the adults by name (other sources are not available). By this method, she counted a total of 153 residents for the year 1946, of which 63 percent were Native. This proportion changed by 1958, when the population (101 inhabitants) was 20 percent Native, according to an ARDB report by Paul L. Gagnon.

Native Cemeteries

Opposite the Indian village, and affording its harbor some protection, is a small island that was used by the Native community as their principal burial area. Called Graveyard Island by the locals, it has many marble monuments and tombstones (Wilsey and Ham 1975:686-87). There are "mixed tribes" located here, indicating the cemetery's longevity. In the 1940s, the cemetery had many of the little grave houses in Russian Orthodox style; this practice was adopted by the Tlingit in the 1880s. An unmarked mass grave was reported by a former resident, which was the result of an epidemic that "pretty near wipe out the whole population in Tenakee, Wooshkeetaan." A lot of people died and their bodies, instead of being buried separately, were burned to prevent the spread of infection and put together on the island.

A second, smaller cemetery is located near the town of Tenakee on Chichagof Island. About five or six graves were reported here. Another burial site is situated across the inlet on a small island just northeast of Kadeshian Bay, in proximity to the Kadeshian allotment (Wilsey and Ham 1975:684-85); and Haas 1946:118; U.S. Coast Pilot 1891:163).
Wrangell

Before white traders and settlers came to the area, Wrangell was the site of a summer village of the Stikine kwan, the largest and most powerful of the southern Tlingit tribal groups. In the 1830s and 1940s, when the first white settlement was established in Wrangell, the Tlingit population was estimated to be several thousand. Except for Sitka, Wrangell has the longest history of contact with non-Native settlers in southeast Alaska. In the nineteenth century, Wrangell was an important trading center for Natives from Alaska and Canada, and a transit point to gold fields in the interior. Over the years, Wrangell developed as a predominantly white town. Members of other Tlingit and Haida communities migrated to Wrangell to take advantage of employment and educational opportunities, and as a result the present Wrangell Native community is diverse in origin.

Native Use and Occupancy in Wrangell Prior to White Settlement

The Stikine Tlingit occupied a large, resource-rich coastal area which extended 180 miles up the Stikine River to the interior Athapaskan groups. The natural bounty of their territory and the forceful control and defense of the valuable trade network with interior tribes enabled them to accumulate power, wealth, and influence. Tlingit and Haida tribes seeking access to the resources and trade of the Stikine River would make arrangements through the principal chief, Shakes.

In the nineteenth century, Shakes' slaves took many beaver along the Stikine River and bought furs down to Victoria, Vancouver, and posts on Puget Sound and the Columbia River in large canoes to trade for blankets. They would procure logs for canoes from the Queen Charlotte Islands. They made oil out of eulachon at the mouth of the Stikine River and traded it in the interior. The Stikine raiding communities in Puget Sound and the Columbia River area for slaves, and traded for them with the Haida. The Stikines destroyed a Tongass village, and they were among the Tlingit warriors who drove the Russians from their first settlement at Sitka in 1802.

The local clans comprising the Stikine tribe occupied many villages and camps along the mainland coast from Cape Fanshaw southward to Cleveland Peninsula, on the eastern half of Kupreanof Island, in all of Mitkof, Zarembo, and Etoile Islands, and along the northeastern coast of Prince of Wales Island from Red Bay to Thorne Bay. The Stikine were also a riverine people. Their settlements extended 180 miles upriver, beyond Telegraph Creek, which was the trading mart with the interior tribes. Their documented settlements included numerous family camps and villages used for hunting, trapping, and drying fish; large winter villages comprised of clan houses; forts; and associated features such as gravesites, shamans' burials, petroglyphs, and stone fish traps (Olson 1976:3, 57-58; Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:123-33a).

The largest and most powerful clan, and “the highest” in status, was the Naanyaa.aayi. According to the oral history, the Naanyaa.aayi first built a village named Klecangitaan ("willows inside bay town") on Wrangell Island at Schumacher Bay (in the town of Wrangell where the Wrangell Institute now stands). Later they moved to Mill Creek (across the channel from the Wrangell airport) and, in association with four other clans, formed a larger village named Tcukasa’h. According to Olson (1967:31), this settlement marks the formation of the Stikine-kwan as a tribal group. Following a dispute, the Naanyaa.aayi built several very large houses at Old Town (also called Old Wrangell and Deserted Village) and named it Kasakla’a. Later, leaders of the clan invited the other clans to join together at this town, situated about 12 miles down Zimovia Straits from modern Wrangell. This became the principal village of the Stikine kwan.14

14The naturalist John Muir visited this village in 1879 and described the remains of large tribal houses, carved house posts, and totem poles (Muir 1915:87-93).
While residing in Old Wrangell, a Naanyaa.aayi leader encouraged the Stikine to form a confederation of clan groups that lent support to each other in times of war, and which recognized a principal leader from the Naanyaa.aayi clan. At that time, probably between 1730 and 1750, the Naanyaa.aayi were at war with the Tsimshian, and a famous battle between the Stikine clans and the Tsimshian tribe occurred at the mouth of the Stikine River. In the peace ceremonies following the conflict, the leading man of the victorious Naanyaa.aayi was given the great name Cekc (Shakes, or Chief Shakes I, the first in a succession of seven Shakes) by the losers (Olson 1976: 32, 80-81; Keithahn 1981). Under encouragement from Shakes I, some of the larger clans reformed into smaller, more orderly units, and other clans moved into Old Wrangell.

The Stikine adapted readily to trading opportunities that developed as Russian, American, and British ships began to appear in their territory in the late 1700s. This occurred because the Stikine were already in control of the trade network between coastal tribes and the interior Athapaskans, and maintained exclusive access to key resources in their tribal area, such as eulachon oil. Their role expanded greatly with the depletion of the sea otter population and the increased valuation placed on beaver, land otter, and terrestrial furs in the 1820s. Making three or four excursions a year 150 miles upriver to obtain furs from the Athapaskans, the Stikine profited from their advantageous position as middlemen between the traders on the coast and the fur gatherers in the interior, making profits of from 200 to 300 percent in the exchange. The Stikine also benefited from the Russian and English dependence on the indigenous population as suppliers of provisions, which involved Natives from Alaska to Canada.

**Establishment of the Trading Post at Wrangell**

According to one report, the Russians first came to Wrangell in about 1811 and established a trading post in 1828 (Wrangell, in Cosner n.d.: 12). Most sources state that the earliest post was erected in 1834. Faced with imminent competition in the Stikine River fur trade from the British Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), the Russians sought to establish a permanent post and check the advancement of the HBC. A contingent of Russians induced the Stikine to invite the establishment of a permanent trading post near the mouth of the Stikine River, not far from the Stikine fort located on the northwest point of Wrangell Island. Under the chief of the Naanyaa.aayi clan, each clan leader took a portion of Wrangell Harbor, and the chief gave permission for the Russians to build an outpost there.

In 1834, the Russians opened a small stockade named Redoubt St. Dionysius on the site of modern Wrangell (which is named for the governor of the Russian American colony at that time). Later in the same year, a British ship appeared with the intent of establishing an independent post upriver. With the support of the Russian soldiers, the Stikine turned back the ship after asserting their opposition to any infringement upon their exclusive rights as middlemen in the coast-interior trade, and stating their intent to back up their claims through warfare (Andrews 1932: 23-25; Amdt et al. 1987: 133-34; Amdt 1988).

HBC officials pursued redress through diplomatic channels that led to an agreement with the Russian government. The agreement authorized a lease for the mainland coast in southeast Alaska, the withdrawal

---

15 A similar unification of clan groups occurred in 1835, or earlier, in the Chilkat village of Klukwan under the leadership of the head of the Whale House of the Gansoteidi clan.

16 Indians supplied potatoes, mountain sheep, deer, halibut, salmon, bird eggs, ducks, geese, and berries, as well as clay, bark, fat, and furs. The Tlingit traded for blankets, cloth, iron utensils, axes, tobacco and paper. At Sitka, the Russians encouraged trade by organizing potlatches and trade fairs, and by employing Tlingit workers on a salaried basis (Amdt et al. 1987: 168).
of the Russians from Wrangell, and the establishment of an HBC post at the same location. In 1839, the British took possession of the post and renamed it Fort Stikine. The HBC operated there for 10 years until 1849, when they abandoned Fort Stikine in favor of trading by ship.

The Russian, and later British, stockade was built on the site of a house belonging to Chief Shakes IV's brother, in a sheltered cove that was a settled place where people caught and dried fish in summer. It was utilized throughout the year, before it became a permanent village. The Wrangell village was named Qatcaxanaku, meaning "human hip lake," a reference to the shape of the cove (Swanton 1905: 397). Under Chief Shakes IV, large numbers of Stikine moved to this village from Old Wrangell in 1837-38 and built houses around the harbor arranged according to clan membership. This layout remained unchanged for some 60 years, when it was sketched by Lt. G.T. Emmons (Emmons 1991:25). The movement from Old Wrangell took place after the smallpox epidemic, which took the lives of 25 percent of the Stikine but left the Russians at the post unaffected. Archpriest Veniaminov held Russian Orthodox services for the Natives and baptized converts during this winter. Baptized Stikine women were living with company employees at this time.

The first population count of the Stikine Natives was provided by Veniaminov, who estimated there were 1,500 Stikine in the community in 1837 (Veniaminov ([1839] 1983: 382). A subsequent population enumeration by the British in 1839 listed a similar figure, 1,566, distributed among nine clans (de Laguna, in Emmons 1991: 432). Eight of these clan groups were living at places on the Stikine River, and one was in Port Stuart (presumably prior to its migration to Wrangell). The British reported that the trading post served 3000 in the Stikine area and another 1,000 to 2000 from more distant communities. Residents in the village included members of Kiu, Kake, and Henya communities (Simpson 1978:157). When the British pulled out of Fort Stikine in 1849, they reported 2,000 Tlingits had gathered there. The remaining population data from the Russian period are those from a census conducted in 1861, which counted 697 individuals from the Stikine villages (Wehrman, in Petroff 1884: 36).

Throughout the Russian period, the Stikine clans remained independent of external political control and authority, which was largely a benefit of the Russian policy of non-interference in the Natives' internal affairs and conflicts. The Stikine aggressively defended their rights and prerogatives when they thought they were being challenged. They attacked Fort Stikine on several occasions during the 10 years the British operated their trading post on the site. The Russians came to the assistance of the British as mediators in these disputes, seeking to prevent major conflicts that would disrupt their own trading relationships. After the withdrawal of the HBC, the Stikine village continued to serve as a locus of trade with the British, while they and the other Natives travelled to Sitka to trade with the Russians.

In 1852, after the Sitka Natives attacked and killed a Stikine trading party which had journeyed to the Sitka post (there was no longer one in Wrangell), the Stikine blamed the Russians for not protecting their people while visiting the Russian-American post at Sitka. In retaliation, the Stikine destroyed the Russian settlement at the hot springs south of Sitka later in the same year, and in 1855 they ambushed a Russian boat and killed several Sitka Tlingit (Ardnt 1988: 29, 36-38; Arndt et al. 1987:135-36). This aggression toward the Sitka Kaghwanant was one incident in a long-standing and wider conflict between the Stikines and Kaghwanant from Chilkat, Sitka, and Angoon. The conflict was later stopped when the Tlingit were subjected to American military authority (Olson 1967: 77-9; Arndt 1988:29; Corser n.d.: 74-5).

---

17This count was made just after the smallpox epidemic of the 1830s, which caused the Stikine population to drop by 25 percent (as already mentioned), and 65 years after the more devastating epidemic of 1770, which spread northward from the Stikine and left only one or two survivors in each family (Fortune 1989: 227).
In 1862, a newly discovered strike in British Columbia brought California gold-seekers to make their way some 200 miles up the Stikine River; and several hundred miners passed through Wrangell for about two years. The first steamboat appeared in the village and transported 125 prospectors upriver. The Stikine allowed the captain to proceed with his enterprise after receiving 200 blankets as payment (Andrews 1937:33). Again, the Russians intervened and convinced the Stikine to refrain from open conflict with the newcomers. The flow of miners introduced the third smallpox epidemic among the Stikine, and resulted in new trade competition in the fur trade. Although most of the miners returned south after two summers, some newcomers remained on the river, intermarried with the Stikine, and took up residence there as hunters and trappers. Wrangell continued to be the principal exchange point for the furs gathered in the region.

Wrangell Under American Authority

In 1868, one year after the American purchase of Alaska, the Army built a fortified outpost here and at several other locations in Southeast to avert conflicts predicted when "our people will attempt settlement" in the territory. Wrangell Indians were hired to cut logs and help construct the new post, named Fort Wrangell. The settlement was relocated to a rise overlooking the Indian village, giving it a position to train cannons on the settlement. Vincent Colyer, a special Indian commissioner, described the village at Wrangell as he found it in 1869 and provided sketches of the Indian houses arranged around the shore of the cove below the fort. The houses in the Wrangell Indian village were traditional plank-construction tribal houses. Some had mortuary (totem) poles in front and burial houses behind.

Colyer's report, presented to Congress following the 1869 bombardment of the Stikine village, depicted the deleterious consequences of stationing troops in close proximity to the Indians, which fostered societal disintegration and disease.18 In 1867, when the U.S. army first visited the trading village at Wrangell, the commanding officer was informed by Chief Shakes' son of the injurious effects on the Stikine following the sale of whiskey by whites. The officer authorized and the Stikine man to seize such sellers and turn them over to the customs agent.

In 1869, several houses in the Wrangell village were shelled to force the surrender of a Stikine Indian who had shot a white trader in front of his store outside the fort. The Tlingit killed the white man in retaliation for the death of his son and the mortal wounding of another Stikine man, which happened when soldiers attempted to apprehend them for an offense against a white resident. Although his retaliation was sanctioned under Tlingit law, the Tlingit man was sentenced to hang19 (see de Laguna (in Emmons 1991:334-5); Tamarace 1976). The American military commander used his influence to hold a court proceeding and forced the participation of the active Stikine chiefs, and the sentence was handed down with the consent of five chiefs, including Shakes IV.

---

18This trend started prior to the military presence in Alaska. Early military reports revealed a significant population decline had occurred in the tribe by 1870. It was attributed to "liquor and concomitant vices" (although disease was another factor in this trend) (Mahoney in Colyer p. 20; Alaska Boundary Tribunal 1904b:340, 352).

19Tlingit law called for restitution in cases of injury or death, and included rights of retaliation for a death. This custom was not acknowledged by the officers inside the fort, although it was well-known among white traders in the region.
The U.S. army withdrew its troops the following year (1870) to fight Indian wars in the west. The stockade was sold to a white man who converted it to a village dance hall and trading post. Beginning in 1873, another gold discovery in the Cassiar district (Dease Lake) brought miners, traders, transporters, and suppliers into the region in unprecedented numbers. Hundreds of Indians from other southeast locations and Canada also migrated to Wrangell and the area upriver, attracted by opportunities for trade and employment. Steamboats brought miners from the south and smaller steam vessels transported them up the river. By 1876, there were an estimated 2,000 people in the area. In 1877, the customs collector reported that 900 white men, 250 Chinese, and 700 Indians were bound for the Cassiar through Wrangell (Hinckley 1972:72).

Saloons, gambling halls and bawdy dance houses opened in the town. Pretty Indian women were hired to dress in fancy clothes and dance with the patrons. The army reoccupied the fort from 1875-77 to maintain order among those who passed through Wrangell, and occasionally within the Indian villages. The white population grew from 3 (in early 1873) to 300 in that time (Andrews 1937: 51-2). The rush was over by the end of the decade, and the fields were left to the Chinese.

Outside the fort, the Wrangell Indian community had been transformed. It now consisted of two Native villages, one for the Stikine and one for the “foreign” tribes, which were separated by the fort. The Stikine lived in their Indian houses arranged around the cove by family and clan grouping. The “Indian Town,” as it came to be known, was described by a missionary in 1878:

They occupied the shores of Iselin Harbour [the modern boat harbor], and the different families, with their sub-chiefs, built their houses in groups around the circular shore, keeping, if possible, at musket-range distance from each other. Thus Tow-a-at’s family built their houses nearest the trading post and Fort; then the Kadiash family; beyond that Shakes, on a little inland peninsula; farther on, in the curve of the bay, the Frog Family, whose chief man was Jake Johnson; then old Kasch his retainers; and on the sharp peninsula which curved in and formed the harbour was the hard old heathen chief, Shustaak. In some cases tall stockades had been erected between these groups of family houses, behind which and through post-holes piercing them family feuds had been fought out. (Young 1927:92)

Lieutenant Emmons drew a location map that shows the dwellings of all 10 clan groups in Wrangell (Emmons 1991:23). Numerous historical photographs dating from 1868 onward show the tribal houses around the cove and on the Shustak Peninsula.

The “Foreign Town” was situated to the north, beyond the fort, and it was settled by Natives from surrounding tribes that the Stikine did not allow to reside in their village. Indians from many communities—Tlingit from Angoon, Kake, Klawock, and Sitka, as well as Haida, Tsimshian, and interior Athapaskan—were constantly visiting the fort in summer to trade and on their way to the mines to look for jobs. A large number remained in Wrangell, mainly in the summer, and erected bark and plank structures and small cabins made of lumber in the “Foreign Town.” The merchants in town also built traditional communal houses for the use of their visiting Native clientele.
Arrival of Missionaries in the Frontier Town

Presbyterian Mission School and Church

Among these "foreign" Indians were Christian Tsimshians from Metlakatla and Port Simpson who, after their arrival in Wrangell, obtained a contract to cut cordwood for the army post in 1876. One of this group, Philip McKay (Clah), began holding services for the other Tsimshians. Some of the Stikine became interested and began to attend the meetings. McKay started to teach them as well so they could read hymnals and the Bible. The Port Simpson Methodist missionary visited Wrangell that year and took up a collection for a local church and school building to which Stikines, Klawock, Sitka, Cassiar Athapaskan, Haida, and Tsimshian Indians contributed (Andrews 1937:53).

At a Christmas ceremony later that year, the Wrangell Natives made an appeal to the whites in attendance to send among them "a man who will teach us to live better" (Corser 1932:19). A sympathetic soldier wrote to the Portland YMCA with such an entreaty, which was passed on to Sheldon Jackson and, later, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. In 1877, Jackson travelled to Wrangell with Mrs. A.R. MacFarland and left her to teach school with the Tsimshian, McKay, as her assistant and a Tongass woman, Mrs. Dickinson, as interpreter. One year later, after she convinced the Home Board of the need for a home for Native girls, she opened the MacFarland Home. Other Presbyterian missionaries arrived to teach school, and altogether three schools operated in the early years: one for girls, one for boys, and one for the visiting Indians.

In 1878, the missionaries were joined by a minister, S. Hall Young, and in 1879 the first Presbyterian Church was built with a substantial portion of the funds and labor coming from the Native congregation. The first church had 18 Native and 5 white members. In the following year, a new building was opened for the residential girls' industrial school. Thus was established the first American Protestant church and school in Alaska (Andrews 1937:53; Drucker 1958:12-3; Hinckley 1961, 1969).

The influence of Tlingit tradition and the power of local chiefs was challenged by the missionary, who opened a campaign against shamanism, slavery, and potlaching. S. Hall Young pushed the clan leadership to make a formal declaration to give up their traditional teachings and customs. Following the model of Father Duncan in Metlakatla, he prepared a document forming the Council of the Stikines, which was a pledge to eliminate witchcraft persecutions, shamanism, memorial (funeral) feasts, and potlatches. It also established a judicial body to make judgment of violations. Young installed himself as the council manager (Young 1927:142-43).

According to Young's account, Kadishan was the first among the Stikine to come forward and take the side of the Presbyterian minister. Kadishan was known as a diplomat and conciliator. In 1881 he played a role in concluding a peace treaty between the Stikine and their Angoon enemies, as arranged by and through the mediation of the U.S. naval commander in Alaska (similar peace treaties were also constructed with the Sitka and Chilkat tribes). The coming of the soldiers and the missionaries was associated with fundamental changes in Stikine social and political organization. The customary decision-making process among Stikine clans, in which councils of clan members and leaders were convened to decide an issue, was not practiced after this period, and lesser chiefs such as Kadishan became more influential. Wrangell people

---

20 She sought to alay the Tlingit practice of offering the services of young female family members in exchange for money from white men. Some number of these girls were slaves.
began to “mix up” and go to areas that formerly would have required some demonstration of kinship affiliation and permission of the land-owning clan leader (Jones 1943).

The flurry of missionary activity continued into the 1880s. Presbyterian missionaries from Howkan came to Wrangell in the winter of 1882-83 and established a second mission in the “Foreign Town.” The girls’ Industrial school burned in 1883 and was moved to Sitka in the next year under Jackson’s orders. It became the foundation for the Sheldon Jackson School. A BOE Indian school was opened in Wrangell in 1885, after the territory received Congressional authorization for schools. It was operated by the Wrangell Presbyterian mission as a contract school.

The first Presbyterian minister, Young, and his wife started another boarding school in Wrangell, the Tlinget Training Academy, in 1884. This residential school operated a farm on the Stikine river flats and had a monthly newspaper, but without continuing support from Jackson, who viewed it as duplicative of the new school in Sitka, it failed financially and closed in 1888. There were 43 Native and 8 white members in the Presbyterian church in that year.

Development of the Town of Wrangell

Wrangell saw the development of industry in the 1890s. The first sawmill began production in about 1890, and the Alaska Packers’ Association opened a cannery in 1893. These industries were the economic mainstay of the white business community for many years, in addition to the mercantile trade with the Indian population in the town.

Wrangell’s first sawmill was built on an area that originally belonged to the Kadishan family. Kadishan (“Catechin”) was a Haida who was adopted into the leading Stikine clan after making peace with the Naanyaa.aayi for warfare perpetrated by his ancestors on the Stikine. The Stikine gave him land on the peninsula north of Wrangell Harbor. The Haida erected totem poles in front of his house to the honor of the Stikine for their reception of Kadishan and for the peace that resulted. There are numerous historical photographs dating from 1868 of two totem poles in front of his several houses (beginning with a tribal house and later a modern, two-story frame house built in 1887, shown with tribal houses on either side). His houses were next to the sawmill, and by 1906 the large house was occupied by a white (see Scherer n.d.).

For a few years, beginning in 1896, Wrangell became a boom town for the third time as a transit point up the Stikine River to newly discovered gold fields in Canada (the Klondike rush). This activity waned rapidly before the turn of the century; because the route over the passes at the head of Lynn Canal proved shorter and more direct, and the White Pass Railway was completed. Saloons and dance halls again opened in the town during this period.

The white Christians in Wrangell formed their own society in 1897, with the manager of the sawmill as head and the wife of the Presbyterian minister as his deputy. In 1898, a separate Presbyterian church was organized to meet the “pressing need” for work among the growing white population in Wrangell. As will be described below, this development ultimately resulted in the formation of a splinter group that became an Episcopalian church closely associated with the Wrangell Indian community.

In 1898, the whites considered moving the Indians completely out of the Indian town to a new village that could be exclusively theirs. “The boom at Wrangell has resulted in many of the Natives disposing of their property, and present indications are that the old town site will soon be in the possession of the whites.
A plan is proposed of having the Natives remove several miles down the channel and build a new town. To this place the mission church established for them would have to be removed (The Northern Light; June, 1898). The organization of local municipal government and the establishment of the Wrangell Townsite date from this period.

The Native Community in Wrangell

Through the early part of this century, the primary sources of support for Native families were hunting, trapping, and commercial fishing. By 1910, Native fishermen began to be hurt by increasing competition from white fishermen, and a few Natives took work in the sawmill. Another factor at the time was the new forestry law, which outlawed a small but vital source of income for Natives by making it illegal for them to bring in logs and sell them to townspeople for cordwood. Employment was made difficult because Natives dispersed to summer camps for at least three months in summer. In the 1920s and 1930s, this pattern was followed by the older generations, but younger people increasingly preferred to stay in town to work.

In the 1930s and 1940s, Natives could get jobs at the sawmill and shrimp canneries. There was also work in longshoring, fishing, and repairing pilings. Outlying canneries provided additional opportunities. Some Wrangell Indians fished in Bristol Bay in the 1940s. They also built fish traps. At one point there were three shrimp canneries, and whites and Natives worked together. Work was never described as plentiful, and in the 1930s it was only available through the CCC and WPA projects. Construction jobs became another employment source in the 1950s and 1960s.

People moved in to Wrangell from Craig, Klawock, Hydaburg, Kake, Ketchikan, Sitka, Haines, other villages, and cannery sites in the area. They were mostly Tlingit and Haida. The canneries and cold storages provided work opportunities for those looking for more regular wages. There was a lot of intermarriage between the Stikine kwan and people from other villages. By the 1960s, the majority of the Wrangell Native community belonged to this more diverse population segment with roots in various regions in Southeast, as well as in Wrangell.

In the 1930s, the area around the harbor and along the beachfront from Shakes Island northward toward town was comprised of Native houses from the original Stikine settlement. With the exception of the mill and one small area, this district was occupied by Indians. Members of the older Wrangell Indian families were brought up here, and they were able to list the names of the families that resided here. There were several tribal houses in this area, of modern construction. The children growing up in the area knew themselves as the “Down the Point Gang,” which referred to the point of land on which the houses were situated, before the coastline was filled in.

By the war years, the ethnic character of this area became mixed Native and non-Native. Some of the older Indian families died off, moved away to other villages such as Kake or Ketchikan, or moved to another area of town. The Stikine Native families became more dispersed in the town during this period, and that dispersion remains characteristic of the Indian residential pattern today.

Another section of town that was primarily Native was located past the ferry terminal, toward the bluff, at the northern end of town. This area is now occupied principally by Tlingit and Haida families who have lived in Wrangell for two or three generations, but whose origins were in other areas or who had ancestors that intermarried with the Stikine kwan. This area corresponds to the “foreign village” that was established during the period of army occupation, and was separated from the Stikine section of
town by the center of town where the whites lived. Growing up in the 1930s and 1940s, one resident said that Indian children from this part of town were not allowed past the cannery except to go to school, the store, or the picture show.

Native people reported that prejudice was common during their youth in the 1930s and 1940s. Its expression was not always open, but it was understood: “You can’t come here, I don’t want you in my daughter’s company.” One man reported he left the Presbyterian Church in favor of the Salvation Army after he was singled out in public during a service because he was wearing dirty clothes. He remembered going to church directly after fishing, and he was made to feel very uncomfortable by this treatment.

In Wrangell, the Indian residents reported the effects of a long history of efforts by formal institutions to encourage Indians to give up traditional social institutions and adopt non-Native ways of life. “Like my brother, he’s 75 years old now, see...and in those days, now, they worked hard but they didn’t take their Indian way of life, because it wasn’t the way to go, they had to go the white man’s way, according to going to school, educating, and industry, and all of that this here.” This person noted that some Indians were nevertheless raised in a more traditional style. He knew persons that were raised in “a more Indian way than others,” and pointed out that there was diversity even within the Native community.

Local residents also reported that they did not openly express their Native roots. “People did not talk about being an Indian,” in the 1950s. One woman told about hearing the term “half-breed” being used in reference to her, and she did not know what it meant—“Was it a disease?” When she was older, she learned what it meant, and in that time she did not want to talk about it. Consequently, she remembered keeping silent about her Native forbears. Prejudice was stronger in the 1950s, according to some discussants, and it was difficult to get a Native to start a business in town. Another individual said the town started to change when the pulp mill opened, and conditions also improved with increased intermarriage between Natives and non-Natives.

Indian Possessions in the Wrangell Townsite

As previously described, the Stikine Indians exclusively occupied a large area to the south of the army post, and Tlingit and Haida migrants inhabited an area on the north in the previous century. As the town expanded with the development of industry and the increase in white population in the 1890s, there was greater interest among the non-Natives in expanding into areas of prior Native occupation. As in other white towns in Southeast Alaska, such as Ketchikan, white people in Wrangell were able to acquire lands originally owned by Tlingit residents and designated as Indian possessions.

The Wrangell Townsite was surveyed in 1900, then subdivided in a survey patented in 1906. Indian possessions were identified but not surveyed, since there was no authority for conveyance of title deeds to Natives at the time. The map of the original townsite shows Indian possessions were located in blocks 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 21, 24, 25, 26, 83, 84, and 85. This designation included areas surrounding Wrangell Harbor, areas on the northern and southern (Shuash) peninsulas of the harbor, all of Shakes Island in the harbor, and areas extending northward along Front Street as far as the mission reserve. School and church reserves were excluded from the townsite.

In 1908, some Wrangell Natives signed a petition asking that their lands be excluded from the townsite of Wrangell. This was probably in response to fears over the loss of Indian-owned land in the Indian Possessions. Although the 1891 townsite legislation did not authorize the transfer of land used and occupied by Indians, there were procedures through which whites could acquire such lands. This practice
was described by the townsite trustee in correspondence regarding Indian land on Shustak Point. After obtaining a quit claim deed from the Native owner of the land, and after the Indian secured a certificate of citizenship from the Bureau of Education, the white could send copies of both to the Government Land Office (GLO) with a request to have the land restored to townsite entry under townsite laws (Ramsey 1926). The local representative of Standard Oil was interested in acquiring Indian-owned land on the Shustak Peninsula. Presumably the trustee issued a deed directly to him after the 1926 act passed, since he had already acquired the quit-claim deed and the previous owner was "really only a half-breed Native" whose father was a "full-blooded American citizen," making the son likewise a citizen. Moreover, there were seven "unclaimed and vacant" lots in the townsite that were sold at public auction in 1919.

Pursuant to the act of May 25, 1926, authority was granted to the townsite trustee to subdivide the Indian Village and issue deeds to Native occupants. This survey was completed and patented in 1931 with a total of 104 lots. About 20 of the lots were then in the possession of white occupants, having been "acquired in a legitimate manner," in the view of the townsite trustee, "in accordance with customs which have prevailed throughout the various towns in Southeastern Alaska" where there is mixed Native and white population, as described above (Ramsey 1932). He issued 23 deeds to Native occupants and 8 deeds to others (whites and a family of Washington Indians).

The remaining unoccupied lots were held for future settlement by the Natives. Ramsey, as Divisional Inspector of the GLO, was appointed trustee for any and all Native towns in Alaska established under the act of May 25, 1926, and served in that capacity over the Indian Possessions in Wrangell. Thus, the Wrangell Indian Possessions were treated as an Indian Village under the 1926 townsite law, and survey fees for restricted lots were not charged to Native owners.

In 1938, townsite records indicated that Indians retained 53 percent of the Wrangell Indian Possessions, while 44 percent was deeded to non-Natives (3 percent remained undeeded). Requests for reconveyance of restricted deeds in unrestricted status occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, and about a dozen lots remained in restricted status in the 1970s. One such lot is identified as an "Indian Burying Ground" with at least nine Indian graves on it.

In 1956, the city received a permit to fill the shoreline along Front Street, and the land when filled became the property of the city unless the upland owner purchased it within 90 days. A Native landowner in the area also protested to the townsite trustee about the Wrangell Lumber Company acquiring land along Shakes Street in this manner, by filling in the tidelands. But the trustee claimed to have no jurisdiction in the case since the action involved tidelands, which he said were under state jurisdiction.

Native Churches in Wrangell

The Presbyterian Church

The establishment of the first Protestant mission in Alaska by the Presbyterians has been described above. This mission organized the first church and school in Wrangell in 1877. Its primary mission was to the Wrangell Indian community. Subsequently, as the white town developed and organized itself in the 1890s, the white residents established a separate Presbyterian Church from the original church. It was also proposed that the Indians be relocated out of town, with their own church as part of the arrangement. This attitude soon caused a split in the Presbyterian Church congregation.
Relationships between the two Presbyterian congregations, who shared the same church building, became strained when the whites decided they wanted exclusive services for themselves. In 1903, some of the Natives decided to construct another church to escape the situation which they viewed as un-Christian. The Kiksadi donated land, contributions were raised to purchase an old building from a cannery in Ward's Cove, and a new building called the People's Church was erected by some of the Natives and sympathetic whites. The Presbyterian minister for the Native church, the Reverend Corser, supported his congregation in these actions and began holding services in the new church.

In 1904, membership in the Wrangell Presbyterian Church was 90 percent Native. In 1905, the Native congregation refused a proposal by the minister to let the whites have exclusive use of the new church, while the Indians would have use of the old one. After that, Corser was fired by the local Presbytery that was dominated by whites. Over half of the Presbyterian congregation chose to go with Corser, who continued to hold services for the then-independent Presbyterian body in the People's Church. Membership records indicate that many Indians elected to remain within the "original" Presbyterian church. Natives constituted the majority of the Presbyterian church membership at least until 1934, when the ministry stopped maintaining records by race.

St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church

After appropriate training, Corser was ordained as an Episcopalian minister. The People's Church was renamed St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church. The Episcopal church flourished under his leadership and with support from the Alaskan bishop. He started St. Phillips Academy to provide education for Native boys who had completed the eighth grade in the Indian school, because he thought it was harmful to send boys away from Wrangell to complete high school. He and community volunteers built a gymnasium next to the school that was a popular basketball center among Native youths during the 1920s and 1930s. He also organized the first Boy Scout troop in Alaska.

Wrangell's first hospital was founded in 1926, with support from the same bishop that helped establish the St. Phillips congregation, as well as Wrangell citizens and the national Episcopal church organization. Corser continued to serve in the new church until his death in 1934. Church records indicate that the congregation was largely Native through the 1950s. The services and scripture readings were routinely translated into Tlingit.

Salvation Army

The Salvation Army was another Christian organization that was organized by the Natives of Wrangell before turn of the century. The story was told that a gospel party from Klawock came to Wrangell by boat, and the Presbyterian minister refused them the use of the church or manse for their meeting. A corps was established in Wrangell, and the army church was built in the mid-1890s by Wrangell Natives on land donated by William Tamaace. In 1902, the army had 24 adherents who were mostly, if not all, Natives. The Wrangell church had a large band that played at funerals, as Christian practices were gradually being substituted for potlatches and traditional ceremonies at this time. Wrangell served as Salvation Army headquarters for Alaska, the Yukon, and part of British Columbia until 1939.

Chester Worthington, one of the original 12 founders of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, was a strong Salvation Army adherent. He went to Petersburg to help establish the first Salvation Army post in that community. He contributed financial assistance from his own pocket and left his expertise in carpentry in
the construction of a meeting hall and manse in that community. When he died, there was a large funeral procession with a big army band that marched down Wrangell's Front Street. People came from nearby communities, including Kake and Klawock, to participate.

Catholic Church

For three years, from 1879 to 1882, a Catholic missionary served the white and Native populations in the newly created St. Rose of Lima parish, in Wrangell. The Catholic church did not become very active in the area again until the 1920s. There were a lot of Natives in the Catholic church during the early years. For example, in 1929 the parish numbered 60 Natives and 50 whites; a decade later it was 46 Natives and 55 whites. The Wrangell Institute opened in 1932, and it became a principal focus of activity for the Catholic Church in Wrangell for the next 30 years (Yergans 1979:55). The church was less successful in these years, and Wrangell Catholic Indians started going to the Presbyterian and Salvation Army churches.

Native Church and Government Schools

The first Wrangell school was opened for Native children by the Presbyterian Church mission, as described above, in 1877. This school operated until a public school opened in 1885. Another school, the Tinket Training Academy, was also opened by Presbyterians; it was active from 1884 to 1888. The students in the first BOE public school were primarily Natives (including children of mixed blood). The BOE, and then the BIA, operated this as a separate Native school until 1932. In 1901 the BOE opened a separate school for white children, which was taken over by the city school district after 1903. The revenue source for the city-operated school was a saloon tax, ensuring that alcohol remained readily available in Wrangell. That in turn caused hardship in the Native community in the first decades of this century.

Since the turn of the century, it had been common for Native children in Wrangell to go to Indian boarding schools in the United States, including those in Washington, Oregon, and Oklahoma, or to the Sheldon Jackson School in Sitka. This was necessary because the Wrangell Native school ended at the eighth grade, and Natives were not admitted to the white school. In an attempt to change this practice in the early 1920s, William Paul and his brother once spent two months trying to persuade the school board of Wrangell to admit Livingston Desmond into the fifth grade "and not shut their doors in his face," but they did not succeed (Paul 1946).

The BOE also saw the institution of boarding schools as a way to relieve Native families from the burdens of poverty; educators encouraged families to send their children away, especially the girls. Local residents reported that it was a normal thing. It was expected, and it was common in the 1920s and 1930s. As early as 1902, the Presbyterian minister remarked on the harmful effects of this practice. He later started the St. Phillips Academy for boys in Wrangell to help alleviate the problem.

In the boarding schools, children were strongly discouraged from expressing their traditional language and culture, a tendency which they frequently maintained after they returned to the community. Parents and grandparents did not want their children to learn the Tlingit language and express their heritage, consistent with the way they had been influenced. "I never spoke to—we were discouraged from learning the Native language, they discouraged it, they didn't want it. So my mother didn't teach us, not one word. The only time I heard it was when her friends came and visited and then they talked, and it sounded, you know, I didn't know what they were talking about." Also, the boarding school system led to a degree of
out-migration from the Native community in Wrangell, since some of the children chose to remain out of state following graduation.

The Wrangell Institute opened in 1932, and operated until 1975. It was a BIA boarding high school serving Natives statewide. In the mid-1920s, when the BOE was selecting a site for the school, Wrangell actively sought recognition as the appropriate site for the school. At least one local minister, the local Commercial Club (forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce), and the Wrangell town council wrote the BOE in support of selecting Wrangell as the site. The town, which appointed a special committee in this effort, included the following statement about the Indian heritage and presence in Wrangell as part of its argument for selection:

Wrangell was originally an Indian village, being the headquarters of the Thlinget (6tc) Indian population and still has its Indian village where the Natives from the West Coast visit back and forth. Numerous totems give evidence of its Indian origin.

Many Natives from southeast communities attended this school, which was a source of migration to Wrangell, because some students chose to marry and make their homes in the community after graduation. The school also was a major employer of Natives in the town.

Alaska Native Sisters and Brothers Societies

The first fraternal organization of Wrangell Natives was formed in 1915. The purpose of the Sisters and Brothers Society of Wrangell, Alaska, was to “advance morality, civilization and temperance, to help the needy, care for the sick and bury the dead, and for the upbuilding of our race.” The membership was composed of “sober well-disposed Native men and women living in Wrangell” who signed up and paid a 25-cent initiation fee. Sobriety was a condition for maintaining membership. Anyone who was in the habit of getting drunk was excluded. Within a few months of the founding, total membership was 31. Out of contributions, the Natives purchased a building and renovated it, and used it for entertainment and hosting socials. These events generated further contributions, since ice cream, coffee, cake, and Indian handicrafts and clothing were sold.

The Sisters and Brothers Society hall was located in Indian Town, and was remembered fondly as a popular place for dancing and socials in the evenings. No alcohol was allowed on premises, but food and drink was available, which made events inviting to Wrangell Natives. When the evening’s entertainment ended, some would continue dancing at the Band Hall, located up the street. This was another popular Native gathering place and featured a Native band.

At this time, Natives were not welcome in the white voluntary organizations, which included the Moose Lodge No. 866, the Red Men of Stikine Tribe No. 5, and the Arctic Brotherhood Camp Wrangell, No. 28. Some of these all-white societies had been in existence for a decade or more, and discrimination in the clubs continued for decades. The local newspaper reported on the formation of the Native society and noted, “Considering the limitations of the majority of the members of this society we feel justified in saying that none of the prominent fraternal societies of the Whites are in advance of this humble little society when it comes to real fraternalism (Wrangell Sentinel, Nov. 9, 1916). This organization was the forerunner of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood in Wrangell.
Wrangell ANB Camp No. 4 and ANS Camp No. 1

A Wrangell Native, Chester Worthington, was one of the twelve men and one women who organized and founded the Alaska Native Brotherhood in Juneau in 1912. The ANB record book in Wrangell shows that a local camp was first organized in Wrangell on Dec. 27, 1913, by Chester Worthington and Charles Jones (Chief Shakes VII). Names of 10 members were listed. Wrangell was ANB Camp No. 4, following the formation of the Sitka, Juneau, and Douglas camps.

Before the Wrangell group could formally join the organization, a settlement had to be reached between them and the Sitka Kagwantan to end the bitter feud that existed since the previous century. Chester Worthington recalled that, when he attended an ANB convention in Sitka about 1914, he was invited to speak by the Sitka Kagwantan at a dinner hosted by the Russian Kostromotinoff. Quoting the Bible, Worthington spoke for peace between the two groups. After much discussion this overture was accepted by the Sitka group, and delegations visited back and forth over the next two years before a formal peace treaty was signed (Worthington, in Corser 1932:73).

The purpose of the treaty was to formally forgive and forget all enmity from the previous battles. It was signed first in Wrangell in 1918 and ratified again in Sitka in 1919, “under the influence of the ANB” and “in obedience to Christian teaching.” Drucker reports that elements of the traditional Tlingit peace ceremony, in which a “deer” hostage is exchanged, accompanied the signing (Drucker 1958:21). Wrangell was officially recognized as a local ANB camp in 1921.

Wrangell hosted the annual convention of the ANB in 1916 and 1920. In that year, William Paul and his brother Louis F. Paul, of Wrangell, advocated for the ANB to become more politically active and a force for recognition of Native rights in Alaska. The Pauls chose to pursue the admission of Native students to white schools (and the end of the dual school system), and the 1920 convention passed a resolution to carry the matter forward in a test case, if necessary. The Pauls convinced the superintendent of Indian schools in Alaska of their cause, and Hawkesworth announced the closing of the Indian school in their home town, Wrangell. After adamant opposition was expressed throughout Southeast, Hawkesworth backed down (Haycox 1986:19). But this approach was the tactic that became a cornerstone of ANB activism.

In 1922, Charlie Jones went to vote in Wrangell, as he had in previous elections, and was turned away by the white officials. Not understanding what had happened, he went in search of assistance and approached Tillie Tameere, Louis and William Paul’s mother. She returned to the polls with him, where he was arrested for voting when and where he was ineligible, which was a felony. She was also arrested for aiding and abetting the commission of a felony. William Paul, a recent graduate of law school, came to their defense.

The Wrangell ANB and ANS supported William Paul in his defense and took up a special contribution in this test case challenging the denial of voting rights. Wrangell ANB records show that 23 individuals and the Wrangell ANS made donations. For a number of reasons, principally because he had voted in previous elections, had paid taxes even though Indians were not required to at the time, and in other ways had acted with civic responsibility in the community, Jones was found not guilty, and the right of Indians to vote in Alaska was accepted in practice. This case indicated the extent to which the anti-Indian forces in Wrangell would go in support of their cause (Drucker 1958:46-47).
The local Alaska Native Sisters Society had continued to be active since its formation, and gave its support to the ANB as a fund-raising arm. Through its socials, bake sales, and other activities, it raised contributions that were given to the men to enable them to participate in the annual ANB conventions. This was ultimately recognized, and Wrangell became ANS Camp No. 1 ahead of other communities in the region.

The Wrangell ANB bought an old skating rink on Front Street in 1924, and used it for skating and for meetings. This structure was torn down to make way for a new building in 1933. The two-story ANB hall was built by volunteer labor with lumber taken from a former warehouse at a Point Ward cannery, which the organization purchased for $100 and moved to Wrangell. The cannery superintendent contributed two scows for this purpose. The ANB hall was the largest meeting hall in Wrangell, and other town and civic organizations used it for gatherings.

The ANB hall was the social center of the Wrangell Indian community. The ANB sponsored activities that were alternatives to bars as evening entertainment. Dances were popular and well-attended. Local Native bands played for them "... there was kids allowed there. And they had punch bowls, no liquor, and sandwiches. I mean it was a fun deal, it was something you looked forward to. They didn't have all this bar crowd that we have now. They didn't have orchestras and dancing at the bars ..."

In 1929, the annual ANB convention voted to pursue Tlingit and Haida land claims against the federal government by seeking passage of a jurisdictional act permitting the group to bring a lawsuit in the U.S. Court of Claims. This effort succeeded in 1935, when a special act was passed authorizing the Tlingit and Haida Indians to bring suit, and which stipulated that a central council would assist in compiling a complete roll of tribal members. Wrangell hosted the historic organizational meeting of delegates to establish this institution, the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Tribes, on November 16, 1935. It was held concurrently with the annual ANB convention in that year (see the discussion of the Tlingit and Haida Settlement in this report).

The Wrangell Cooperative Association: Wrangell IRA Government

This IRA organization was formed in Wrangell in 1948 and has a constitution, by-laws, and charter as allowed by the Indian Reorganization Act. The IRA corporation provided loans to fishermen to purchase boats, and at least six Wrangell Natives acquired boats through this program. Another individual received a loan to help finance his shop. The loan program was implemented to help Natives start a business when local conditions were not supportive. "... at that time [1950s] it was very difficult to get a Native to establish a business here."

Tlingit and Haida Central Council

Wrangell participated in all the meetings involving tribal communities and representatives in the different stages leading up to the favorable decision and judgement award for land claims. The early meetings took place in conjunction with ANB conventions, as described previously in this report. In 1941, Wrangell hosted a significant organizational meeting in which the BIA participated. At this gathering, the Tlingit and Haida Indians approved a contract for their attorneys, and made a selection of such attorneys to pursue the case. This meeting was comprised of delegates from each of the tribal communities, which had met and selected delegates according to BIA-approved procedures.
Following the favorable decision in the Tlingit and Haida Indians land claims lawsuit in 1959, the constituent communities were instructed to organize local community councils. In Wrangell, two groups were formed that sought recognition as the Wrangell community council. In January of 1960, members of the Wrangell Stikine tribe formed the Schgut-Quan Federation, comprised of descendants of the clans who were in possession of the Stikine area in 1867. This group considered itself to be the true "tribal community" of Wrangell authorized under the 1935 jurisdicational act to represent the Stikine tribe in the settlement of the land claims.

Another group, comprised of ANB and ANS members from Wrangell, also organized a group. This group included those Tlingit and Haida families who had migrated into Wrangell in prior years. The Schgut-Quan wanted them to sign up in the communities they originally came from, so Wrangell would be represented only by descendants of the original Stikine clans. But the Schgut-Quan were outnumbered and this proposal was voted down. Members of both groups attended the annual conventions of the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska in 1960 and 1961 and claimed to represent Wrangell. In each year the full convention did not recognize the Schgut-Quan nor allow them to be seated.

In 1963, on behalf of the Schgut-Quan group, William Paul filed an injunction to prevent the seating of the rival group, which he termed "foreigners," at the annual conventions. Frank Johnson discussed the situation in correspondence, and said that at this time there were multiple generations of non-local clans resident in Wrangell, and members of both groups were vying for control of the local group. The Schgut-Quan group did not gain support for their efforts.

Totem Poles, Indian Cemeteries, and Grave Sites

The Stikine groups practiced the construction of memorial and mortuary poles as a testament to important events in their history and as memorials to recently deceased chiefs. Some poles also served as repositories for the remains of deceased ancestors. Although a relatively recent custom adopted by the Stikine Tlingit, the use of "totem poles" was well-established by the early nineteenth century, when they were resident in Old Wrangell. Muir provides a description of some of the poles he observed there in 1878, and at least one photograph of poles at this site was taken on his trip (Muir op. cit.; Barbeau 1990 [1950]:626; see also Brown 1987).

In his encyclopedic study of totem poles in British Columbia and Alaska, Barbeau was impressed with the evidence for so much activity in this art form in Wrangell from the recent historic period, making Wrangell outstanding in Alaska in that regard:

These details about the Wrangell totems contradict the prevailing misconception that totem poles on the North Pacific Coast are very ancient and go back to prehistory. Of all the pioneers in this unique form of heraldic art, Chief Shakes (sic) of Wrangell was foremost. He would stand in the shadow of no other man under the sun and would overlook no chance of gaining prestige in the eyes of his fellow tribesmen. As he yielded to the appeal of these totems only after 1860, and as he had to capture his first crests—the Grizzly Bear and the Killer Whale—we are justified in surmising that nowhere else in Alaska had totem poles become an outstanding feature of native distinction and success. Konakadet was still in the making. (Barbeau 1990:617-18)

Totem poles were erected in front of houses in the Stikine village situated around the harbor in Wrangell, and they are evidenced in the first accounts, drawings, and historical photographs by Americans who visited the outpost within a few years of its acquisition from Russia. Some poles were brought from
Old Wrangell, and more were erected by the local Native residents during their residence in Wrangell. As Native homes became more dispersed throughout town, poles were erected in front of modern houses in the town. Some were also located in Native grave sites in Wrangell. Several of the original Wrangell poles have been replicated in cultural projects funded by the federal government. This discussion is presented as a summary of some of the important poles that originated in Wrangell.

Shakes Totems

Shakes Island was in use by the Shakes family since before the establishment of the first trading post in Wrangell in 1834. A succession of Chief Shakeses has resided here in the Naanyaa.aayí clan house. Sometime in the last century, the Naanyaa.aayí house posts from Old Wrangell were brought here and installed in the chief's tribal house. The house itself was rebuilt with these original poles intact during the 1938-40 Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) tribal restoration project, in which local Native residents provided the chief labor and artistic resources. This restored house was the subject of a major dedication potlatch in 1940, in which Natives and governmental representatives from throughout Southeast Alaska participated, and the last Chief Shakes (VII) was installed. The original house posts were recently reproduced and installed in this house on Shakes Island (see Brown 1987).

Two small totem poles were constructed in the 1860s and were situated to the left of the tribal house. One is topped by a Grizzly Bear, and the other by a man wearing a hat in the figure of a Killer Whale. The ashes of Chief Shakes VI's younger brother were stored in the Grizzly Bear pole (Keithahn 1981). Replicas of these poles were carved and erected during the CCC project described above. Another pole, the Gonakadet pole (also known as the Strong Man, Black-Skinned, or Princess pole), was much taller and stood in another location. This pole, which was also duplicated in the CCC project, became the subject of a lawsuit in 1968 when a white man attempted to remove the original pole from storage and sell it. Members of the Naanyaa.aayí clan and the Wrangell ANS joined together to prevent the removal of this pole. These three figures were, according to Barbeau, the three principal crests of the Shakes Naanyaa.aayí clan group. There was another pole, the Eagle pole, also called the Na-chee-su-na pole, that stood on Shakes Island after the CCC project was completed; it was likely a replica of an earlier memorial post (Keithahn 1981:8-9).

In 1911, Chief Shakes VI's son was murdered by a vagabond white man. A modern marble monument was erected on the island after the slaying. The inscription reads: "Memory of Moses Shakes, Son of Chief Shakes, aged 23 y., was murdered here 12 or 13 day of May, 1911. A Christian, the Chief decide to be Silent and not go on warpath. I live to prove the guilty party."

The Raven Pole stood on the hill near the St. Phillips Episcopal Church in front of George Larsen's modern house. It was carved by William Ukas at the request of George Larsen, who was a nephew of Chief Shakes. One account states that it was commissioned by the young Shakes in honor of his wife, Chief Kadashan's daughter, to commemorate the union of the two families. Another source holds that it was raised in 1896 in honor of Shakes' two sons (Wyatt 1989:96; Barbeau 1990:617). A replica of the pole now stands in the Kiksadi Totem Park.

Chief Shakes VI (George Larsen) also erected the One-Legged Fisherman Pole as a memorial to honor his uncle, Kauk-ish, who died in 1897 (Wyatt 1989:104). It was placed in the Native cemetery at Graveyard Beach with a stone marker inscribed, "In Memory of Kauk-ish, Died 1897, Age 68 Yrs," where it was photographed by Winter and Pond. Apparently it was a representation of an older pole that stood at Old
Wrangell, as this older pole was photographed there in 1908 (also see Brown 1987:165-66). A replica of this pole is now in the Kiksadi Totem Park.

Kadishan Poles

These two Kasqlagueidi poles are Haida in design. According to one account they were presented to the Stikine in honor of their adoption of Kadishan, and their acceptance of the apology and peace that he made on behalf of his Haida uncles and fathers (Bradley 1984). The larger one was erected in Wrangell by Kadishan’s brother (Swanton 1908:434). The other is carved in the design of a Haida staff that was in Kadishan’s possession (see Wright 1992; Swanton 1908:417, 434). They were put up in front of Kadishan’s house on the beach just north of the harbor, a site given to him by the Naanyaa.aayi, and appear in the first historical photographs of Wrangell in 1868 (long before the sawmill was constructed that appears in later photographs of the poles). Wright estimates they were carved several years before this early photograph was taken, perhaps in the 1850s or early 1860s. Corser (1932) dates them to after 1866. Much later, they stood on Main Street and when these rotted, they were duplicated and the reproductions placed on Shakes Island.

Kiksadi Pole

This pole, also referred to as Chief Kahl-teen’s Pole, was erected in front of the Sun House, the Kiksadi tribal house, in about 1900. It was commissioned in memory of Kahn-teen, a Kiksadi chief in Wrangell, and photographed by Winter and Pond (Barbeau 1990:623; Wyatt 1989:96-97). The pole was carved by William Ukas of Wrangell. The Sun House was located along Front Street a short way down the hill from St. Phillips Episcopal Church (which also was built on Kiksadi land, as mentioned above). A replica stands in the Kiksadi Totem Park.

Shustak Pole

A memorial pole described by Ensign Niblack was situated on Shustak Point, and a drawing was provided from a journey in 1888 (in Barbeau 1990:620). This pole is likely that mentioned by Young (1927:83) which was erected in the name of the deceased chief by the new chief who was taking his place. This took place in about 1873. At the memorial in honor of the deceased chief, the new chief also built a new community house and sacrificed 10 slaves to attend the old chief after his death.

Native Graves and Burial Memorials

One large and several smaller burial and cemetery sites in Wrangell attest to the Tlingit occupancy of the area, and the influence of the missionaries, from the 1880s. The largest area of Native graves is located to the south of the old village. Natives call it Graveyard Beach. Historical photographs were taken of several graves and memorial carvings on the point here (see Andrews 1932; Barbeau 1990:625; Keithahn 1953:64; Wyatt 1989:104). This was the original location of the One-Legged Fisherman Pole, as already described, as well as other gravesites formerly marked with balustrades, burial houses, and memorial figures such as Raven, in addition to headstones (the latter remain in place). The use of balustrades, a practice the Tlingit adopted from the Russians, was adopted by Christianized Natives in the 1880s.
There are Native graves located on this point and extending along the coastal uplands in both directions, dating from the late 1880s. The site is adjacent to the Wrangell Cemetery, an improved cemetery used by the City of Wrangell. To the south, Graveyard Beach extends beyond the city softball field, which was placed over Native graves, and along the shore in an area developed as a municipal picnic area, where additional Native gravestones are located.

Another historic grave site is that of Chief Shakes, located on the hill directly above the harbor. This site is marked with a balustrade and two carved figures of Keet, or Killer Whale, on the corners. Burials were also reported on Shustak Point and in Indian Town by the modern Brig Bar, but these have been covered over by subsequent development. To the north, another area of Indian burials with nine graves was identified in the survey of the original Wrangell townsite.
References Cited

Alaska Boundary Tribunal

Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs

Andrews, Clarence L.

Arndt, Katherine L.

Arndt, Katherine L., and Russell H. Sackett and James A. Ketz

Balcom, Mary G.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe

Barnhardt, Carol

Beardslee, Captain L. A.

Beattie, W. G.

Borbridge, John, Jr.

Brown, Richard B.
Bureau of Land Management
  Anchorage: Bureau of Land Management.

Campbell, Chris
1983. Interview with Jack Olofson.

Carruthers, W.J.
1956. Letter to Captain A. Smith, Petersburg, Alaska.

Carver, John A.
1964. Letter to Senator Jackson reporting on and recommending amendments to the Act of June 19, 1935, relating to the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska, from John A. Carver, Assistant Secretary, USDOL. (Same letter sent to Hon. Wayne N. Aspinall, House of Representatives)

Case, David S.

Chipperfield, W.A.

Choate, Glenda (Project Manager)

Colyer, Vincent
1870. Report ... as relates to the Indian village of Wrangell, Alaska, showing the condition of that village previous to its recent bombardment by United States troops. Senate Committee on Military Affairs, 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Ex. Doc. No. 68, March 22, 1870.

Corser, H.P.

Curry, James E.
letter 12/19/47

Dalton, Jessie

Dauenhauer, Nora Marks, and Richard Dauenhauer, eds.

Davies, Bruce O.

Drucker, Philip
Emmons, Lieutenant G.T.

Emmons, George Thornton

ESG

Favortie, J.H.

Folsom, H.I.

Fortune, Robert

General Accounting Office (United States)

Goenett, Paddy

Goldschmidt, Walter R., and Theodore H. Haas

Gruening, Ernest

Gustafson, George E. M.

Hakkinen, Elizabeth S.

Hammond, Austin

Hawkins, James E.
1960. Letter to Mr. Robert Cogo, Chairman, Tlingit-Haida Land Committee, Craig, Alaska, from James E. Hawkins, Area Director, Juneau Area Office, BIA, USDOL.

Haycox, Stephen
Hinckley, Ted C.

Hirst, Claude M.

Hope, Andrew
1965a. Statement of Andrew Hope, President of the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indians before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives in support of H.R. 874 relating to the Tlingit and Haida Indians. Unpublished manuscript.
1965b. Statement of Andrew Hope, President of the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indians before the Senate Interior Subcommittee on Indian Affairs on S. 893. Unpublished manuscript.

Hope III, Andrew

Jackson, Dr. Sheldon

Jacobs, Leo, Secretary

Jones, Charlie

Kasaan

Kearful, F.J.

Ketthahn, Edward L.

Kito, Lucy

80
History of Occupation and Use

Koester, Susan H.

Krause, Aurel

Lee, Maghnild

Lewis, W. J.

Lipps, Oscar H.

Lopinsky, Frances

Lythgoe, Sylvia
n.d. The First Lady of the First People. Unpublished manuscript.

Mather, Gertrude
n.d. A Brief History of St. Elizabeth’s Episcopal Church. MS on file at the Ketchikan City Museum.

McCallum, W. Mark

McMahan, J. David and Charles E. Holmes

McCallie, Peter M.

Mishler, Craig, and Charles Holmes

Muir, John

Olson, R. L.
Parks, George A.  
1943. Memorandum for Miss Kolb from District Cadastral Engineer, Juneau, Alaska. May 5, 1943.  

Paul, William A.  

Paul, William L., Sr.  
1946. Letter to Conrad Mather.

Peters, Pearl C.  

Petroff, Ivan  

Ramsey, J.A.  

Rogers, George W.  

Ruddy, Susan L., and Irene Sparks Rowan  

Sackett, Russell  

Scherer, Joanna Cohan  

Schulte, Priscilla  

Sealaska Corporation.  

Simpson, George  
Smythe, Charles W.

Sorensen, Conner, William Johnson and Douglas Reger

Sparks, Mildred

Stabler, Howard D.

Stegner, Al P.
1958. Memorandum to Townsite Trustee from Land Law Examiner, 10/7/58. Anchorage: BLM.

Swanton, John R.

Tallman, Clay

Tamarce, William

Tucker, Phil

U.S. Court of Claims

U.S. House of Representatives

U.S. Senate
History of Occupation and Use

Vollmann, Tim

Warne, William E.

Warne, W. W.

Waterman, Thomas T.

Wickersham, James A.

Williamson, F.W.
1939. Field Notes of U.S. Survey No. 2459, East Tenakee Elimination from Tongass National Forest, Approved September 26, 1941.

Witten, James W.

Worl, Rosita

Wright, Joe
Letter received at the Governor's Office, March 7, 1933, from Salvation Army Envoy, Haines, Alaska.

Wright, Robin K.

Yzermans, Vincent A.

Zimmerman, William
1933. Letter to J.A. Ramsey, Special Agent, General Land Office from Assistant Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs.