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The Cultural Foundation of Political Revitalization

Among the Tlingit

by

Kenneth D. Tollefson

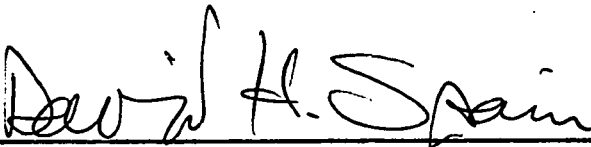
**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Date _____

4 MAY 1976

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Date: April 19, 1976

We have carefully read the dissertation entitled The Cultural Foundations of Political Revitalization Among the Tlingit

_____ submitted by
_____ Kenneth D. Tollefson _____ in partial fulfillment of
the requirements of the degree of _____ Doctor of Philosophy
and recommend its acceptance. In support of this recommendation we present the following
joint statement of evaluation to be filed with the dissertation.

This dissertation is a significant contribution to Tlingit ethnography and the study of social change. Through an analysis of published sources and contemporary oral traditions, Tlingit culture of about 1880 is reconstructed as a baseline for examining changes which have taken place in the Tlingit world during the past few decades. In particular, a study is made of Tlingit cultural and political revitalization.

In the ethnographic analysis, solutions are proposed for several difficult ethnographic problems long associated with the study of Northwest Coast peoples. Evidence is marshaled to support Tollefson's contention that an aristocratic group emerged in Tlingit society as households compete with differing degrees of success for increasingly scarce and strategic resources. In short, he makes a convincing case for the existence of a system of class stratification in Tlingit society for this period (a view which contrasts with that of others who argue that only differences of rank not class could be found in Tlingit society). Tollefson also reassesses the purpose of the potlatch. His analysis indicates that potlatches provide a "secondary political arena" in which the politically autonomous matriclans could settle their public concerns at a "diplomatic" level. Potlatches are seen, in essence, as forums for publicly settling, recording, verifying, and ratifying political matters.

A more recent institution--the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB)--is analyzed as part of a general review of Tlingit political life using a conflict management model. Seeing the ANB as having a vital role in Tlingit cultural and political revitalization, Tollefson probes the general hypothesis that exposure to economic pressures, external constraints, and urban living leads to an increase in political participation and in the use of symbols of identity. Using various quantifiable scales, Tollefson concludes that the Tlingit in the small village of Angoon (in S.E. Alaska) show more evidence of having undergone cultural and political revitalization than do the Tlingit living in Seattle.

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Chapter I

GENERAL AND THEORETICAL CONCERNS

I. General Concerns

Personal Interest

I became interested in the Tlingit as a result of reading, traveling, and personal acquaintances. Four general concerns developed from this interest: (1) to survey the ethnographic literature on the Tlingit, (2) to collate the ethnographic data by constructing improved models of their economic, social, political, and religious systems, (3) to study the history of white contacts along with the subsequent changes that occurred in Tlingit culture, and (4) to make a statistical comparison of two Tlingit groups--a traditional village and an urban group.

Two elements in Tlingit society that have become clouded with uncertainty pertain to aboriginal settlement patterns and estimations of the aboriginal population. Settlement patterns are salient to a study of politics in determining political autonomy, the nature of inter-community relationships, and the system of exchange. The evidence seems to indicate that early communities were autonomous, exogamous, and avunculocal. Exchanges among these settlements were habitually conducted in a political arena that stressed respect and mutual interdependence. Food, labor, wealth, and brides were ceremonially exchanged among communities. Growing evidence also seems to suggest that the aboriginal population may have been larger than most postcontact population estimates. Following white contact, many contagious diseases, intensified warfare, the introduction of liquor, the traffic in prostitution, and other elements of social

disorganization radically depleted the Native population. Evidence suggests that prior to and at the time of contact the Tlingit were experiencing an expanding population. Not only were settlements increasing in size, but the Tlingit were also pushing North and West. However, early epidemics literally wiped out whole communities following contact and consequently distorted the population estimations of precontact settlements. Some writers hold that a general trend toward nucleation had begun in the late precontact period.

The Tlingit developed the practice of converting local temporary surplus harvests into wealth goods through the development of a thriving trading enterprise. Prodigious numbers of salmon swarmed periodically at the mouths of virtually every stream in Southeastern Alaska providing temporary abundance of food. Minor geographical differences resulted in differences in regional production. Vast networks of trading partners linked coastal communities with interior groups, coastal communities with island settlements, and Tlingit with non-Tlingit. Ecological studies reveal that although local resources were abundant, the variety of resources were fewer in number than further south, and they appeared for shorter periods of time. This comparative scarcity encouraged industriousness and resourcefulness (Pidcocke 1965). In addition to trade the Tlingit developed a system of investments whereby local subsistence goods and production goods could be invested in items of wealth through trade. Ceremonial exchanges provided the opportunity to invest wealth goods with people living in other communities. Wealth deposited with other groups promised at least an equal or respectable profit at a future potlatch.

Tlingit households served simultaneously as the basic economic, social, political, and religious unit of society. Households managed their local resources, supervised their labor force, administered internal affairs, and educated their youth. As a rule, several affiliated households formed a larger

political unit--a localized clan. Localized clans were autonomous and formerly occupied separate communities. Both households and clans were ranked. Rank tied households and clans within a multiclan community through a chain of command that preserved a system of levels of authority in times of peace or war. Clans were affiliated into one of two moiety kin groups that divided all Tlingit into one or two crests--Raven or Eagle. Moieties functioned to unite the Tlingit in a loosely organized system of ceremonial exchanges.

The accumulation of wealth by certain groups of people, resulting from local production and trade, eventually developed into a two class social system composed of the aristocracy and commoners. The aristocracy possessed hereditary titles and controlled strategic resources. Through wise management the wealthy class consolidated their gains and perpetuated their numbers by arranging marriages with people of equal status in other communities. Capable individuals by means of extraordinary accomplishments could improve their social status, while lazy and obdurate nobles were sometimes stripped of much of their prestige.

Almost every animal, plant, and object were sacred to the Tlingit since they believed that a spirit could inhabit almost anything. It followed that since everything was potentially or actually inhabited by a spirit that the proper human response to the universe was one of respect. Respect was a basic component of Tlingit culture. Although all people might seek the assistance of supernatural spirits, the Indian doctor became a specialist in acquiring access to supernatural power in healing and discerning future events. Indian doctors also advised, counseled, prescribed herbal medicines, and dabled in psychoanalysis. Occasionally hostility and bitterness caused certain individuals within a community to seek evil power for the purpose of bringing harm to others and destroying the work of Indian doctors.

Male heads of nuclear families within a community house served on the household council and elected one of their members to act as the chairman of their council and to represent their interests on clan councils. Adults either participated directly or indirectly through their spokesman. Internal affairs were handled by the appropriate local group at the household or clan level. Bargaining between moieties and communities was accomplished through the institution of the potlatch. Potlatches provided an international arena in which independent groups could conduct political affairs within a setting that emphasized mutual respect and peaceful intentions. Lacking repositories for deeds to property, business transactions, or social artifacts, potlatches provided a public institution for the verification and validation of important events and happenings.

Following the initiation of the fur trade with whites, the mounting Western economic pressures gradually eroded the foundations of communal living. Trapping, wage labor, and the rapid decline in marine life contributed to the rise of the nuclear family as the basic economic unit. Communal households were abandoned in preference for nuclear family units. The transfer of Alaska from Russia to the United States was followed by an influx of white settlers, businessmen, and industries. In 1912 Congress granted Alaska the right to form a territorial government. During the same year the Tlingit sought to protect their resources and to promote their welfare by organizing the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB). The history of the ANB encompasses an arduous struggle to gain the Tlingit rights as citizens and to regain the control and management of aboriginal resources. This struggle for the control of Native resources culminated in an act of Congress that returned a portion of former Tlingit land holdings and created village and regional corporations which offer some promise for new economic opportunities in the near future.

Ethnographic Literature

During the past 150 years numerous books and articles have been published on the Tlingit. Many of the early Russian works remain untranslated including the prominent studies by Veniaminof (1840, 1846) on the Sitka Tlingit. The Russian account of the Battle for Sitka in 1804 by Lisianski (1814) has been translated into English and contains some good material on the local customs. A short summary of some of the Russian data has also been translated into English by Gsovski (1940) and is worth consulting. Gunther (1972) and de Laguna (1972:108-207) provide concise summaries of early European descriptions of their contacts and trade along the Northwest Coast.

Three government employees have also contributed considerably to an understanding of Tlingit culture. Petrov (1882) conducted the first Alaska census and included significant descriptions of traditional customs as well as summations and elaborations of previous studies. From his three summers spent surveying the Alaska coastline, Niblack (1890) was able to describe a wide variety of Tlingit cultural practices. Emmons (1903, 1907, 1908, 1916) presents elaborate descriptions of Tlingit basketry, Chilkat blankets, copper necklaces, and traditional house structure.

A few Alaska residents at the beginning of the twentieth century recorded their experiences, descriptions of Tlingit culture, and comments concerning changes occurring in Tlingit culture. Knapp and Childe (1896), Jones (1914), and Young (1915) write general descriptions based upon years of contact with the Tlingit. They include in their descriptions specific examples of the customs they describe. Salisbury (1962), an educator who lived a number of years at Klawock, took copious notes and many years later published a general description of the traditional Tlingit culture and, in addition, a vivid account of specific sociocultural changes.

Significantly, much salient ethnographic material has been preserved by Tlingit writers. Shotridge, a noted Chilkat leader, was employed by the University of Pennsylvania Museum for a number of years. Shotridge (1913, 1919, 1973) describes the Tlingit social system, marriage system, and war helmets. Paul (1939) wrote a research paper for the University of Washington regarding property rights and political practices of the Tlingit which were used by the Tlingit to pursue their land claim lawsuit against the United States. Peratrovich (1959) completed a master's thesis on the socioeconomic system of a Southern Tlingit group. His thesis combines earlier studies with certain explanations by Tlingit elders, thus providing a contemporary Native account of traditional culture.

A number of anthropologists have written on Tlingit culture. Krause (1885, translation in 1956) used a Tsimshian as an interpreter and informant to compile a general description of the Chilkat Tlingit. Krause utilized earlier studies to describe an overview of Tlingit culture and their contacts with Europeans. Considering the date of publication, the problem of depending upon a non-Tlingit as a primary source for information, and the theoretical climate of the times, the Krause book remains one of the better ethnographies of the peoples of the Northwest Coast. The Krause book also provides a baseline of about 1880 for the study of rapid changes in Tlingit culture. Oberg (1934, 1937) spent several months in Klukwan in 1932 collecting material on the social economy of the Chilkat Tlingit. His study is concise, analytical, and one of the most reliable accounts of the Tlingit. It contains important data on several facets of Tlingit culture including politics, social structure, and potlatching. Olson (1936) concentrated on the trading activities of the Chilkat while Stanley (1958) studied the historical changes that have occurred in the Klukwan social structure since the coming of the white man.

Many writers on the Tlingit have made reference to the Angoon Tlingit. Garfield (1947) was the first to specifically focus on them in her study on the history of Tlingit clans. De Laguna (1960) enlarged upon Garfield's historical analysis in an attempt to collate the historical, archaeological, and acculturational data on the Angoon area.

Undoubtedly the most ambitious study of any tribe on the Northwest Coast was that of de Laguna (1972) in her three volumes on the Tlingit with a specific focus on the Yakutat Tlingit. Her publication incorporates some of the previous studies, including extensive verbatim statements by contemporary Tlingit. Unfortunately, no attempt is made to preserve the anonymity of her informants; much of her material consists of extended examples of Native comments on particular topics; and most of the remaining data are given in general descriptions with a minimum use of contemporary theoretical models. In her master's thesis on Tlingit religion, Billman (1970) collected data primarily from the Yakutat and Sitka Tlingit. Swanton (1908) and Olson (1966) borrowed heavily from the Sitka Tlingit in compiling their general descriptions. Swanton also spent six weeks in the Wrangell area.

Some of the general works on the Tlingit include Goldschmidt and Haas's (1946) study of Native land holdings along with a concise description of indigenous resources. Averkieva (1966, 1971), Miller (1967), and Oswalt (1967) each wrote concise one chapter accounts. Drucker (1958) sketches the history and organizational structure of the ANB and gathered additional data on the Southern and Island Tlingit. Rogers (1960) focuses on the economic plight of the Tlingit in their adaptation to changing economic conditions.

All these accounts depict the Tlingit as sharing a common cultural tradition. Emmons (1903:229) contends that they were essentially "one homogenous people"; Olson (1967:VI) asserts that Tlingit culture was "remarkably uniform."

One household leader, however, explained the local variations of general Tlingit customs to me by stating that each community had their own customary way of doing things and that when persons visited other communities they would fit into the local pattern. For example, in one community the people might begin a headstone party by feasting and end with mourning whereas the people in another community would change the order and begin with the distribution of money and the settlement of their obligations before breaking forth with their dining and traditional dances. Tlingit trading and marriage customs linked the settlements into a vast network of communications that contributed to a common cultural orientation shared by all communities. This common tie is attested by genealogies, by statements from elders, and by linguistic studies. Therefore, no attempt will be made, in this study, to differentiate or compare the local communities in terms of traditional cultural practices.

Even with the sheer quantity of material written concerning the Tlingit there remains a need for the following: (1) a comprehensive description of the traditional culture around 1880, (2) an incorporation of recent anthropological theory in explaining traditional culture, (3) a concise survey of the acculturation of the Tlingit from contact to the present, and (4) a comparative study of the influence of urban life on the Tlingit. These four concerns will be the major emphases of this study.

II. Theoretical Concerns

Tlingit Resurgence

In 1938, a professional artist (Mrs. Crumrine) was commissioned by the Alaskan Territorial Government to paint the portraits of selected Tlingits in order to preserve their physical characteristics for posterity. The portraits were to represent Tlingit physical traits at various ages. One of the individuals

selected was Abner Johnson, a student at Haines Boarding School, Haines, Alaska (Hulbert, 1973). Abner Johnson mentioned that he was one of the few full-blooded Tlingits attending this school; most of the children were of mixed blood. Many members of the Alaska Territorial Government believed that the Tlingit would cease to exist as a distinct ethnic group by the year 1980. Consequently, they authorized the paintings which were intended for display in the Alaska Territorial Museum.

And, indeed, Tlingit population had been declining steadily. Following European contacts in the eighteenth century, the Tlingit reached a low of some 4676 persons in 1910 (Jenness 1960:331). But in 1912, the Tlingit decided to unite through an indigenous movement known as the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB). It was established in order to protect Native interests and advance their welfare in the midst of modernizing influences introduced mainly by the migration of whites to Alaska around the turn of the century. After many years of persistence, the Alaska Natives eventually accomplished one of the original goals of the ANB on December 18, 1971 when Congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. In the process of obtaining their civil rights, the Tlingit combined traditional and white values to form a new cultural synthesis. During this same period, the Tlingit more than tripled their population (Alaska Native Foundation 1973:4).

As an observer of the population decline and deterioration of the Tlingit culture in the 1880s, Krause (1956:49) isolated two possible sources of assistance: (1) the Presbyterian Missionary Society and (2) an organized territorial government. The Presbyterian Missionary Society served as model and consultant for the emerging Native organization while the territorial government provided the system of courts through which the Tlingit fought for equal rights to vote, to attend public schools, to receive public assistance, to end discrimination

in public places, and ultimately to acquire title to and compensation for a portion of their former Alaska land holdings. They incorporated certain white customs into their Native culture and forged a progressive cultural identity adaptable to the changing cultural scene (Drucker 1958:4).

In the course of world events many non-Western groups that have been confronted by Western technological societies have succumbed to ethnic extinction (Gordon 1964; Wagley and Harris 1958; Zander 1966). Other groups, however, have perpetuated their cultural distinctiveness through a series of internal adjustments (Hagen 1962; Wallace 1966; Melson and Wolpe 1971). Divergent views for explaining how certain internal adjustments enable some cultures to cope with change and ultimately to survive have been offered by Wallace (1966), Hagen (1962), and Cohen (1969).

Revitalization

Wallace (1966) argues that following prolonged European contacts a complex of forces including epidemics, increased warfare, slave raids, venereal diseases, forced removals, or a plethora of technological innovations may produce drastic changes in traditional ways of living. Often, old solutions, remedies, and supernatural sources of assistance no longer seem applicable. Placed between the cultural knowledge of the old ways and the mounting pressures of the new mode of living, individuals are exposed to increased cultural distortion. According to Wallace, the increasing distortion culminates in an intolerable situation which ultimately leads either to extinction, to disintegration, to absorption into a more stable society, or to revitalization. Revitalization is a synthesis of former and present practices. It is the "process by which cultural materials which have hitherto appeared to the members of a society as dissonant are analyzed and combined into a new structure" (Wallace 1966:211). Often this process is accompanied by the desire to identify with the new, dominant culture. If the

dominant culture refuses to accept the recipient group, eventually some deprived groups will seek a new identity which includes a new self-image and a self-confidence that no longer requires identification with surrounding groups.

In a similar vein, Hagen (1962:185) argues that when the structure and function of a traditional society is disrupted, it may result in "the perception on the part of the members of the social group that their purposes and values are not respected by groups in the society whom they respect and whose esteem they value." This loss of traditional status creates identity crises. Hagen (1962:192) contends that this "withdrawal of status respect" is a major cause of the world's social upheaval. One response to this withdrawal of status respect is a period of retreatism characterized by feelings of deep resentment that may last for several generations. Gradually successive generations of families can and do adjust to the situation and begin to foster an attitude of restlessness, dissatisfaction, and creativity. Out of this new climate of innovativeness a new identity emerges. Hagen tested his theory with data from seven societies noting that the complete cycle (i. e., traditionalism, withdrawal of status respect, retreatism, and a new openness), even though covering two or three centuries, could be documented. The rate of the transition was beyond the scope of his study. Hagen (1962:502) did indicate, however, that one element was certain--"a new political structure will occur."

In a style consistent with Hagen's analysis, the Tlingit, in the face of rebuff and abuse, have consistently maintained their claim for citizenship and equality under the law. When they were denied the privileges of citizenship, the ANB struggled to regain their lost esteem. One Native leader remarked that what many of them desire most is recognition from the white man. The traditionally rank conscious Tlingit have been denied, by whites, the position and prestige in life formerly derived from personal accomplishments and the

accumulation of wealth.

A third approach to the study of ethnic adaptation is that of Cohen (1969). Although he employs the term "retribalization" to refer to the regeneration of ethnic groups, it is sufficiently similar to the general notion of revitalization to justify its incorporation within it. Cohen describes retribalization in terms of the manipulation of political power. From his study of a contemporary urban setting in Africa, in which ethnic groups were struggling for survival, he observed three major adaptive changes: (1) new alignments of power, (2) increased ethnic awareness, and (3) the formation of an interest group to achieve political goals. Similarly, Melson and Wolpe (1971:vii) note that urban migration intensified competition for scarce resources such as "wealth, status, power, and security." As an adaptive response, an ethnic group may seek to mobilize its manpower and resources in order to effectively compete for scarce (urban) commodities. This revitalization process often entails the manipulation of norms, beliefs, values, symbols, and other elements of culture in an attempt to stimulate commitment to and participation in the emerging interest group that seeks to promote the welfare of its general constituency. As Cohen puts it, this is

a process by which a group from one ethnic group, whose members are involved in a struggle for power and privilege with the members of a group from another ethnic category, within the framework of a formal political system, manipulate some customs, values, myths, symbols, and ceremonials from their cultural tradition in order to articulate an informal political organization which is used as a weapon in that struggle (1969:2).

III. The Research Design

Although varying in terminology and example, Wallace, Hagen, and Cohen describe similar cultural processes whereby ethnic groups make cultural adjustments in order to survive in a changing social environment. However, none

of the three writers attempt to measure precisely the variables that appear to have an effect upon the process of revitalization. Our aim is to describe the context out of which such processes emerge and to measure aspects of it as precisely as possible. Cohen (1969:190) notes a feature of the Hausa political struggle that is salient for the present study. He argues that the Hausa in urban centers become more concerned about Hausa customs and culture than do the Hausa in traditional communities. That is, the urban Hausa used their ethnicity as a political weapon to survive in the metropolitan setting. A parallel to Cohen's observation can be seen in Wepper's (1972:312) study of the Navaho who migrated to Denver and "became more Indian" than those who remained on the reservation. Drawing upon the observation: of these two writers, the present study will analyze the revitalization process among Tlingit residing in a traditional village and in a modern urban center.

Hypothesis

Several major events in Tlingit history are central to the formulation of the general hypothesis for this study. First, Tlingit fishing grounds have been depleted, thus depriving the people of much of their traditional source of livelihood. Second, Russia and the United States have imposed their rule, thus depriving the Tlingit of their traditional political autonomy. Third, urban centers have developed along the North Pacific Coast, thus exposing Tlingit to education, bureaucracies, the mass media, and dense populations. With these events in mind, the following general hypothesis was formulated to serve as the focal point of the research: exposure to economic pressures, external constraints, and urban living leads to an increase in political participation and in the use of symbols of identity. That is, we will expect political participation to increase along with an increase in emphasis upon symbols of Tlingit identity.

The general hypothesis may be diagramed as follows:

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Nature of Relationship</u>	<u>Dependent Variable</u>
Exposure to economic pressures, external constraints, and urban living	leads to an increase	in political participation and in the use of symbols of identity.

From this general hypothesis we may derive a number of specific hypotheses, as follows:

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Nature of Relationship</u>	<u>Dependent Variable</u>
H ₁ Exposure to these factors	increases	the level of political participation.
H ₂ Exposure to these factors	increases	the importance of symbols of identity.
H ₃ Exposure to these factors	increases	the perception of relative deprivation.
H ₄ Exposure to these factors	increases	the perception of political alienation.
H ₅ Exposure to these factors	increases	the openness to change.
H ₆ Revitalization	decreases	the perception of political alienation.

The independent and dependent variables in these hypotheses will be measured by a variety of methods to be discussed in Chapter XI.

Site Selection

Seattle, Washington and Angoon, Alaska were selected as sites for this study of political revitalization. First, both communities contain several scores of Tlingit who could provide an adequate sample. Second, the two communities represent two extremes on a folk-urban continuum. Angoon was selected to

represent the low exposure comparison group for this study since it is one of the few remaining traditional villages. Morgan (1975:39) described Angoon as the most traditional Indian village in Alaska. Since Angoon is an island fishing community its only ties with other communities are by float plane or by boat. Although the Angoon Tlingit have been exposed to prolonged and relatively intense contacts through education and state regulations, they have preserved much of their cultural heritage. Even though they have been forced into making numerous changes in their life style, they have clung tenaciously to certain basic values and beliefs. Angoon is acknowledged by both Tlingit and whites to be "the final stronghold" of Tlingit culture (Lyman 1973:69). The Seattle Tlingit were chosen to represent the high exposure group since most of them are highly acculturated, compete favorably in a modern labor market, and own property--64 percent own their own homes.

Sample Selection

An attempt was made to draw a random sample, in Seattle, but this ultimately proved to be impossible. The list of names used was exhausted before the goal of sixty individuals who fulfilled the sampling criteria (one-fourth blood quantum, having attained the age of twenty-one or older, and willing to answer the questionnaire) could be attained. To fulfill the quota of sixty names the writer actively sought additional persons who met the criteria. In Angoon, an attempt was made to interview (in a four-week period) every adult who was willing to answer the questionnaire. Approximately one-half of the adult Tlingit population in Angoon (57 of about 120 people, at that time) answered the questionnaire. In an attempt to ascertain whether the two samples were more or less representative of the population and/or were not distorted or biased in some specific ways, analysis of the age, sex, education, blood quantum, rank, and annual income structure of the samples was made. Both samples showed comparable and

predictable distributions in all categories (see Appendix: Socioeconomic Data).

Measurements

One of the goals of this dissertation is to measure the key variables of this study with as much precision as possible. The key variables are: political participation, symbols of Tlingit identity, relative deprivation, and political alienation. Published standardized scales which have been tested for validity and reliability were used to measure these variables. An extended description of the tests is presented in Chapter XI.

Informants

In addition to the data contained in the ethnographic literature, many contemporary Tlingit were interviewed. As a rule, the material was obtained from those individuals who represented high traditional rank, who had earned high respect in their community, and who were known for their knowledge of traditional culture. Most of them have participated in traditional ceremonies, and some have participated in protests concerning discriminatory practices against Alaska Natives. A few extended quotations by some of the elders are included in this study in order to (1) verify interpretations, (2) provide Tlingit perspectives on historical events, and (3) give additional insights into the Tlingit concern for ethnic survival.

Participant Observation

The a fortiori field method of cultural anthropology is participant observation. Although full participation is never attainable and is probably not desirable, some approximation of it has repeatedly provided ethnographers with valuable insights. The writer had the distinct honor of being adopted into Tlingit society during a traditional ceremony by the Basket Bay Beaver Clan Decitan of Angoon in 1974. The adoption has made it possible for me to become better

acquainted with the people and culture of the Tlingit. However, it also places serious responsibilities upon the writer for accuracy concerning the type of data included in this report, responsibilities I have conscientiously tried hard to live up to.

Summary

Many writers have contributed to the literature concerning the historical relationships between Tlingit and whites. The Tlingit have learned to participate quite effectively in white culture and at the same time they have retained their cultural distinctiveness. In an attempt to measure their exposure to urban influences, two Tlingit groups were surveyed with regard to the level of their political participation and the level of importance they placed upon symbols of identity.

Chapter II

MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

In this chapter we will trace the development of Tlingit communities from early times to the coming of the white man. Several thousand years ago interior groups migrated to the coast and constructed permanent winter villages. With the passing of time settlements increased in size, functionalism resulted in new settlements, and communities became fortified. The people progressively displayed in their artifacts their increasing proficiency in utilizing the products of the forest to harvest the products of the sea.

I. Migrations

Migration Routes

Evidence from language and lore supports the contention that the Tlingit were originally interior people (Swanton 1908:407-414). One Native informant, referring to the Stikine River migration, stated that to the interior people the migrating salmon tasted like "candy." Eventually the people decided to seek the source of the salmon and so began their trek to the sea. According to tradition this happened several times as different groups followed various rivers to the sea. These rivers not only served as arterials for spawning salmon but also for interior people seeking the sources of these prodigious species. While some groups traveled in search of better food supplies, other groups migrated due to internal disputes, external pressure from other groups, or in response to some supernatural vision. Ackerman (1968:66) uncovered archaeological evidence for

early occupation of the northern Tlingit region by 8000 B. C. He concluded that "a coastal adaptation and a way of life that if not Tlingit certainly contributed directly to that cultural stream."

For the most part the Tlingit migrated down five main rivers that connected the coast with the interior: the Nass, the Stikine, the Taku, the Chilkat, and the Copper. Traditional sources located one of the early Tlingit cultural centers in the vicinity of the head waters of the Nass River at a place called Nascakizel or "Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass" (Swanton 1909:80). From the head waters of the Nass the Tlingit migrated to the lower Skeena coastal region and Prince of Wales Island. For example, Swanton (1908:408) stated that the Haida communities of Sukkwan, Kasaan, and Klinkwan were formerly Tlingit communities whose names were retained following Haida occupation. The Island of Teg located at the north end of Prince of Wales Island was formerly claimed by the Tlingit Bear Clan Tegwedi.

Expanding Tsimshian groups forced the Tlingit to withdraw from the mouth of the Skeena River and advancing Haida communities eventually pushed the Tlingit on Prince of Wales Island northward. One informant explained that for a time the Haida were more populous and possessed larger canoes which contained more paddlers per boat and thus could "out-run" the small Tlingit canoes with fewer men. Eventually the Tlingit obtained larger canoes through trade.

Abundant Resources

When the Tlingit migrated to the coastal region of Southeastern Alaska they discovered a region containing lush resources. A moderate climate and an abundant rainfall, caused by the warming influence of the Japanese Current, stimulated growth of verdant forests; the nearby waters swarmed with fish and sea mammals; and the beaches harbored a copious marine life. Numerous offshore

islands protected much of the coastal region from the prevailing "Westerlies" and provided sheltered coves for fishing and for beaching canoes. Few areas in the world have offered mankind a greater natural abundance.

II. Typology of Villages

The physical features and political autonomy of Tlingit villages have changed with the passing of time. Four distinct village types have been described by informants, referred to in folklore, and mentioned in historical accounts: (1) community house villages, (2) localized clan villages, (3) consolidating clan villages, and (4) confederated villages.

House Village

Early coastal Tlingit settlements contained one large community house. The community house and village were synonymous. These community house villages appeared to be much larger than the traditional houses described in the literature around the end of the eighteenth century: (1) Averkieva (1971:328) placed the household populations at from ten to forty individuals, (2) Olson (1967:5) described the household as consisting of from two to eight families, and (3) de Laguna (1972:294) noted that a large community house may contain as many as fifty or sixty persons.

The floor of a house was excavated to a depth of four to six feet with two or three tiers or balconies constructed around the four interior walls and one or more firepits on the bottom level. The walls, consisting of split logs two or three inches thick, served the dual purpose of living quarters and fort (Krause 1956:90). Larger houses contained from one hundred to five hundred or more residents, included as many as three doors, and a dozen or more fireplaces (Davidson 1928:15). Meares (1970:139) reported one large house inhabited by at least eight hundred persons. One informant explained that the size of the

house was defined in terms of the numbers of tiers or platforms surrounding the central fireplace. Most houses contained two or three tiers. The largest Tlingit community house mentioned was an eight tier house allegedly attributed to one of the holders of Chief Shake's name. A six tier community house was reported for a neighboring Stikine Tlingit group.

When the Wuckitan Mud Shark people settled near the mouth of the Taku River they erected a large house with about fourteen firepits for cooking and heating purposes. It was one of the largest Tlingit houses at the time and was called Hitten, "Big House" (Garfield 1947:449). They resided in Big House until their numbers increased to the level that necessitated the construction of a second house nearby. The Daqlawedi migrated to Eliza Harbor and built Kithut, "Killer Whale or Blackfish House" considered to be the first and parent house of the Killer Whale people on Admiralty Island (Garfield 1947:447). Later, three additional houses or subhouses were added to the community. The Teqwedi moved to Peril Straits near Todd where they constructed a house holding approximately one hundred individuals. Additional houses were built as needed. The original Ganaxedi House at Angoon was Yet Hit, "Raven House" (Garfield 1947:442). A second house was added later. The T'lenedi traveled in three war canoes to Whitewater Bay and constructed a parent house, Anxakhitan (Garfield 1947:442). From time to time additional houses were built as needed. These and many more examples from other Tlingit districts (Swanton 1908:408-415) attest to an original single parent house with subsequent subdivisions as the need for additional housing arose.

One or more openings in the front of the house served as the doorway. In the roof of the house was a smoke hole that also functioned as a natural ventilation system. Fresh air entered through the door and exited by way of the smoke hole. Wide tiers ran entirely around the inside of the building and served as

sleeping quarters, bleachers, and storage areas. Women, for the most part, occupied the living quarters since the male population spent a considerable amount of time away hunting, fishing, trading, or raiding. Small groups of men were constantly leaving or returning from their ceaseless search for food. A common method for describing the size of any particular house was to indicate the number of men, or perhaps the number of warriors, that it contained. A house-fort of approximately fifty to seventy-five inhabitants was referred to by an informant as a ten to twelve man house; a house containing thirty to fifty was an eight to ten man house. Informants, who were born in the latter part of the nineteenth century into community houses containing thirty to fifty persons, described their ancestors as having occupied larger and more populous houses. Two probable explanations for the larger houses may have been: (1) that the minimum number of males required to acquire food and to defend a house-fort community was about a dozen or more men and (2) that given the number of migrants that customarily moved together, it was more feasible to build and defend one house rather than two or more houses of the traditional thirty to fifty community house size.

Olson (1967:24) observed that the Tlingit clans perceive of themselves as originally descending from one household. Many clan names end in the phrase people of a certain house, hittan, and then designate the house such as Beaver or Shark. If more than one Beaver House existed in a village, for instance, it was because the population had increased and as many houses were built as was necessary to accommodate the members. If the Beaver Clan or any clan was located in more than one village, it was the result of a move from the parent-house or parent-village to other communities due to quarrels, new resources, or other inducements.

Localized Clan Village

Fortified local clan villages developed as a result of an increase in population and the need for more housing. These newer style houses were smaller (de Laguna 1960:31) than the fort-houses and may have been an adjustment to the forces inherent in the community house organization that led to splits within the parent house. Perhaps tensions were lessened by the adaptation to smaller households. The Killerwhale people, for example, expanded from one to four houses following their move to Eliza Harbor. Existing evidence based upon tradition and normal deterioration of community houses seems to indicate that the Killer Whale people lived in Eliza Harbor for at least half a century. One day a strong southern wind blew down the Killerwhale crest mounted on top of the house. The age of the house along with the fact that the Eliza Harbor location provided little protection from the surging seas when the southern wind was blowing strongly, probably contributed to the fallen Killerwhale crest as being considered to be an omen to move. Perhaps, the community was faced with major house repairs. Emmons (1916:18) described the deterioration process of one house after fifty years of occupation as being in need of major repairs. The Anxakhitan at Whitewater Bay increased to eight or nine houses and similar increases were also reported for the Wuckitan, Decitan, and Tegwedi (de Laguna 1960:133-146). Thus, every village along Chatham Straits consisted of a parent community house that segmented in time to form several sub-clan houses.

Murdock (1949:71-72) classified the Tlingit and Haida as being composed of avuncu-clans and said that each avuncu-clan inhabited its own village. He described the village as consisting of "matrilineally related adult males together with their wives, their unmarried or recently married daughters and their young sons who had not yet left to join the household of a maternal uncle." Murdock further stated that the Haida clans were of two types: (1) a clan-community in

which the village and the local clan were coterminous and (2) one of a cluster of clans that together formed a village. Drucker (1955:113) essentially agreed with Murdock that early Tlingit villages were lineage villages and were geographically separated from other lineage villages. Drucker noted that as late as 1880 eight villages existed along the Stikine River and five villages were found in the Kake area. It is also reported that several villages were scattered throughout the Sitka area (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:102). Peratrovich (1959:27), a Tlingit writer, stated that formerly "each lineage had its own village, physically separate from those of others of the tribe."

Wike and Stanley have asserted that single localized clan villages did not exist. Wike (1957:306) ignored the Garfield (1947) data which listed several specific villages when she claimed that no literature on the Northwest Coast supported the Tlingit village as being composed of a single localized clan and called it a "reconstruction of hypothetical antiquity." Wike (1966:310) claimed that any description of a village social structure other than a multi-clan structure would distort our ability to interpret the dynamics of Tlingit village life. Stanley (1958:25) shared the opinion that in precontact Tlingit communities "at least two clans, from opposite moieties" were present. Stanley's conclusion glossed over data and interpreted the literature to fit his theory. Informants have acknowledged that all Native villages belonged to one localized clan either by virtue of discovery or as a result of legal settlement. Oberg's (1937:58) early settlement plan and Davidson's (1928) study of Chilkat territorial ownership supported the single clan village.

Oberg (1937:46) referred to two single clan villages whose members practiced exogamous marriages with other villages. However, Stanley made no attempt to explain the existence of those villages that contradicted his model. Stanley merely claimed that multi-clan villages seemed more reasonable in a

moiety social system. This distinction between single or multi-clan villages is basic to this dissertation since it affects political ties between communities. Consequently much of the data in the succeeding section on multi-clan villages as well as other sections of this paper will be an extended refutation of the view of Stanley and Wike.

Two statements of Tlingit elders are pertinent to this controversy. In the Tee-Hit-Ton Indians of Alaska vs. the United States Supreme Court case (United States Supreme Court Reporter 1955:313-325) the witness for the Indians explained to the Court that his clan was located in several villages along the streams in their territory but that when the Russians came the chiefs moved the people to Wrangell Harbor where each clan "took a portion." The witness for the Tihittan Tlingit referred to the clans as tribes because each clan was a sovereign entity owning their land communally. Another informant from the southern Tlingit division stated that when the Tlingit first moved to the coast they lived apart and that in due time the ancestors decided to live together in villages. Hence, the clan was not only sovereign, it was also geographically separate from other clans.

Ruyle (1973:605) suggested that the resolution to contradictions in Northwest Coast data "does not lie in more ethnology." This remark overlooked the differences that exist in the variation of time and intensity of European contacts. The degree of acculturation varied immensely from tribe to tribe. It is the contention of this writer that what is needed is field work in those pockets of traditional culture where contact was both limited and later in time. For example, de Laguna (1964:2) explained that Yákutat was virtually unaffected until after 1884. Gunther (1972:203) acknowledges the importance of continued studies on the Northwest Coast cultures by asserting that there is evidence for "stability of cultural traits in spite of the disastrous consequences of that early

contact."

Informants emphatically state that villages of Chatham Straits formerly contained only houses belonging to one clan. When they sought their wives they were forced to travel to other villages because they could not marry within their own clan. Oberg (1937:38) mentioned that the earliest settlement pattern involved a number of house groups from one clan selecting a favorable location and dwelling there. He added that "parts of other clans would follow" to form a whole village. Oberg noted that early in Tlingit history numerous Tlingit villages dotted "the mouths of all the important salmon streams" (Oberg 1937:38). Later in time, Oberg described four large multi-clan villages. Oberg focused upon one stage in the evolution of Tlingit villages and ignored earlier forms in his analysis. The original Raven House at Klukwan was the Whale House; later Oberg (1937:38) reported nine houses. At Sitka, the Frog Clan group preceded the Eagle Clan by many years. Thus, the evidence seems to strongly suggest an early process of fission as factions scattered to seek and establish new homes and a late process of fusion as marrying groups relocated in composite villages. A moiety system, it seems, is workable in a scattered clan village pattern as well as a multi-clan village.

The change in village pattern from single house-forts to multiple clan households necessitated a new mode of protection. Graphic accounts given by traders and explorers preserve their essential features for posterity. Two modes for defense were employed: (1) a stockade was constructed around the village or (2) a log fort was built situated on a high cliff from which one could maintain surveillance. One of the best descriptions of these Native forts was given by Lisiansky (1814:163) in his historical account of the Battle for Sitka fought between the Sitka Kiksadi and the Russians.

The Kiksadi fort at Sitka deviates from the typical Tlingit pattern only in its location. Formerly, the Kiksadi used the famous Castle Hill Rock, later to be the site of the Russian fort. An elderly informant stated that an interpreter explained to the Kiksadi that the Russian naval canons would bombard the exposed fort of historic Castle Hill--a mode of warfare not previously experienced by the Tlingit. Three United States seamen who deserted from the United States Navy joined the Tlingit, acted as interpreters, and vigorously assisted them in the defeat of the Russians in 1801. For example, they urged the Tlingit to throw fire brands upon the buildings housing the gunpowder (Lisiansky 1814:219). The interpreters along with the chiefs decided upon a new tactic in Tlingit defense strategy. They constructed their fort near the mouth of Indian River among the trees and shallow coastal waters. The shallow waters around the mouth of the river kept the four Russian man-o-wars at a considerable distance offshore. The low profile of the fort nestled in the trees coupled with the distance of the ships from the shore made the fort a difficult target. When the wall of the fort was hit the canon balls were unable to penetrate the thick logs. After several days of shelling, the Natives placed dead fish around the encampment to draw birds and lure the Russians into thinking that many of the people had died. Baranof landed along with 150 of his men expecting to walk up and take charge of the fort--ill prepared for fighting. Suddenly the Kiksadi opened the gate and rushed at the invaders. Caught by surprise some of the Russians were slain. With the Russian vessels anchored near the fort and the Tlingit ammunition in short supply, the fort was abandoned. Lisiansky gave a brief description of the fort before he ordered it destroyed. The fortified village contained fourteen square houses with walls of planks fastened to twelve house posts buried in the ground. Bark shingles covered the roof and a smoke hole two feet wide served as the chimney. A fireplace existed in the middle of the house. Wealthy families partitioned off

their living quarters, a section of the interior balcony, with cedar bark mats. Each house contained a number of related families (Lisiansky 1814:163, 240).

Vancouver (1801, 6:46-47) described eight Kake villages he saw along a five mile stretch of shoreline. All eight villages were situated upon the summit of a rocky cliff and each village had constructed a wooden fort that extended over the cliff similar to a look-out tower. A barricade of logs surrounded the fort. These fortified villages existed prior to European appearance on the Northwest Coast. Lisiansky (1814:220) suggested that European intrusion, however, intensified the Native concern for greater defense. De Laguna (1960:49-98) identified, in an ethnological and archaeological survey, fifteen forts in Chatham Straits that were occupied at one time or another. One Decitan fort, Datx-xatkanada-nu or "around rapids-run fort," contained a wall of posts reportedly twenty feet high. Ten men remained at the fort as guards, living in a house built within the walls. Two man shifts stood guard duty at night and were instructed to kill any intruder. Only men were permitted in the fort during periods of stress, although women might visit it if no danger threatened (de Laguna 1960: 81).

Most Tlingit men were trained to be warriors from youth. The objective of their rigorous physical training was to make their body as tough as their exposed face; the goal of the women was to be as courageous as their brothers. Little wonder that in the Battle for Sitka, the Kiksadi or Frog Clan women stood behind their brothers and finished off any enemy that was wounded. The warrior was protected with a breast shield made from leather, laced wood rods or laced bones; a thick wooden helmet; and a mask covering the face and neck. The warrior was armed with a dagger, spear, or a bow and arrow. Since the armor and fortifications served so effectively to protect a village, the element of surprise was paramount during raids. In some instances military strategy included

sieges that allegedly lasted for weeks (de Laguna 1960:150). Austere military behavior such as the slaying of children (Krause 1956:34) and the usurping of milk from nursing mothers is indicative of their mortal struggles. Hostilities at times may have lasted for decades (for example, the Sitka and Wrangell feud lasted almost eighty years).

Consolidated Villages

Many of the Tlingit villages have been described in the literature as consolidated clan villages. Several clans united or relocated in strategic villages. De Laguna (1960:206) concluded that this "concentration in a few large villages, 'tribal capitals' such as Sitka, Hoonah, Juneau and Angoon" represented a fairly recent movement of people perhaps in the last century. Oberg contrasted the former days where settlements dotted the mouths of streams with the later custom of locating villages near white settlements. Goldschmidt and Haas (1946:5) expressed their belief that the "tendency toward the consolidation of separate communities into larger and more complex units" commenced prior to historic times and was intensified by historic factors.

Considering the segmentation process of early Tlingit communities due to internal strife, serious questions arise as to the reasons why the autonomous clan villages would consider the complexities that are inherent in multiple clan communities. Various reasons have been suggested. One common reason given by informants was the desire of brother-in-laws to reside in the same community (Garfield 1947:451). Sons were thus raised in their fathers' village rather than returned to the mothers' village to be raised by her brother as their matrilineal-avunculocal custom directed. This would reduce the magnitude of tension caused by father-son separation. A second reason suggested for the consolidation of settlements was "accessibility of resources" (Garfield 1947:451). Each capital represented the best ecological location in the area as illustrated by

Angoon, Hoonah, Sitka, Yakutat, Wrangell, or other villages for exploiting abundant fishing and hunting areas and for trading with other Natives and whites. Third, the centralization of clans may be due in part to a shift in subsistence pattern from hunting and fishing to a wage economy and market exchange (de Laguna 1960:206). Improved fishing boats and dwindling fishing grounds would encourage such moves. A fourth factor in their gravitation to larger communities may be attributed, to some extent, to military reasons. An increasing population could have intensified the raiding, trading, slavery, and production complex. Larger communities served as a greater deterrent to raids. Fifth, raids were much more frequent within moieties than between moieties. By marrying groups moving to one location both moieties were represented and may have been one more step to the deescalation of warfare. Native testimony explained the rise of multi-clan centers by the appearance and threat of large European ships. Sixth, epidemics, such as smallpox, may have contributed by reducing erstwhile communities below the minimum number to adequately defend themselves. Last, nucleation of clans was stimulated by acculturation. Informants viewed education as one of the most potent forces for consolidation since many of them were forced to move when their children were compelled to attend school. Traders, government officials, and missionaries pressed for larger settlements since these would permit greater efficiency in administration and greater accessibility for trade.

Postcontact descriptions of these single clan or consolidated clan villages placed them along the beach and close to the high water mark. In selecting a choice village site, three general criteria were considered: (1) a shallow protected beach for landing canoes, (2) close to a halibut fishing bank, and (3) near a sockeye salmon stream (Niblack 1890:309). Inland villages like Kluckwan possessed other compensatory factors such as trade routes and olachen runs.

The small area of beach that lay between the water and the houses served as a canoe moorage and fish drying area. This same tract of land functioned as the village main street. In some villages one row of houses faced the beach; in others two rows of houses existed separated by a street between the two rows of houses. A cemetery located at one end of the village contained elaborate mortuary sheds. Occasionally, grave sites were located behind the houses.

All houses conformed to one basic pattern but differed in accordance with the prestige of the chief and the physical needs of the household. Houses were one-story, square or rectangle, and constructed over a frame thirty to sixty feet long. Four corner posts and four reef posts, located on either side of the door and in the rear, along with roof timbers placed on top of the posts supported the roof and wall planks. Cedar logs to be used for the roof and the walls were split and edged smooth. A groove carved along one edge of the roof planks permitted a slight overlapping of the boards to prevent leakage. Usually the corner posts were carved with the crests of the household and identified the residents' place in history. A large screen near the back of the houses recorded the prestige and accomplishments of the chief and separated his living quarters from the rest of the household. On ceremonial occasions, the chief would make a dramatic entrance to greet his guests through a hole in the middle of his heraldic screen. A hole left in the roof and a hole for a door provided the occupants with a natural air circulation system and an exhaust for their fires. The upper tier or balcony served as the sleeping area. Some tiers were enclosed with mats or skins to form "bedrooms" while others were left open (Shotridge 1913: 89; Oberg 1937:11; Salisbury 1962:7).

The sequence of villages developed from single lineage household villages to local clan villages and to multi-clan villages. A multi-clan village

settlement contained family and ordinary houses. Ordinary houses belonged to the masses and housed one or more nuclear families; named houses belonged to a group of relatives collectively referred to as "clan houses."

Confederation of Villages

Russian intrusion into Tlingit territory, for the purpose of acquiring fur bearing animals and the establishment of trading settlements at Yakutat in 1795 and Sitka in 1799, presented a serious threat to the autonomy of the freedom loving Tlingit (Bancroft 1960:356, 387-390). By 1802 many of the chiefs along the coast of Southeastern Alaska from Queen Charlotte Islands to Yakutat resolved to expel the menace posed by Russian interference and met in Angoon to plot their course of action. They decided to join the Sitka forces and drive out the Russians. If the Sitka Tlingit refused to cooperate they planned to destroy the Sitka Tlingit along with the Russians (de Laguna 1972:171). Angoon was chosen to be the location for the proposed rendezvous to launch an attack upon the Russian Fort at Sitka.

Before the proposed invasion materialized the Sitka Tlingit expelled the Russians in 1802 but suffered defeat in a counterattack two years later. Following the defeat of the Sitka Tlingit in 1804, several villages united their military resources in 1806 to liberate Southeastern Alaska from Russian imperialism and restore Sitka to the Tlingit. A military force of two thousand warriors and four hundred canoes with supplies converged near Sitka (Krause 1956:37). When the Russian commander learned of their intent, he sagaciously won the powerful Chilkat chief's favor through sumptuous hospitality. In return the Chilkat chief pacified the hostile group. The show of strength, undoubtedly, had some effect upon the Tlingit by demonstrating the fact that large numbers of warriors could be mobilized swiftly and effectively. Again in 1809, 1813, 1818, and 1855 the Tlingit by a show of strength reminded the Russians of their threat

to the Russian settlement (Krause 1956:37, 45).

On several later occasions, the Tlingit met in large numbers to effectively assert their common rights and pledge their unified support. The threat to Tlingit resources and autonomy served to draw formerly feuding factions together in an attempt to maintain their way of life. Ultimately their confederation became formalized in the organization of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) founded in 1912. Through the efforts of the ANB and the Tlingit and Haida organizations a land claims settlement partially restored some of the usurped resources. In turn the successful lawsuit created Sealaska, a multimillion dollar corporation established to invest and supervise the money and resources awarded to the Natives of Southeastern Alaska in the Land Claims Settlement Act of 1971.

III. The Aboriginal Population - An Estimation

Dynamics of Ethnic Contacts

A frequent practice in estimating the Native population of non-Western groups is to assume that a general reduction and often a drastic reduction occurred in the aboriginal population as a result of contact. Hughes' (1965) study of the Inland and Greenland Eskimo indicated that in some cases contacts may have a positive effect upon Native populations. Therefore, any population estimations merit meticulous scrutiny of all available data. Peterson (1975:235) identifies five factors inherent in Native contacts with technologically advanced societies that have generally contributed toward declining Native populations: (1) infectious diseases, (2) power struggles, (3) new weapons, (4) deleterious cultural elements, and (5) displacement of traditional culture.

Infectious diseases had the most devastating effect upon the Tlingit population. Early projections placed the Tlingit population, between 1740 and

1780, at about 10,000 (Rogers 1960:181). This figure was based upon Veniaminof's 1830 figure. In 1835 a smallpox epidemic had reduced the general population by some 40 percent to six thousand according to Veniaminof (Petrov 1882:35).

Evidence for a Larger Aboriginal Population

Early Tlingit population projections seem to ignore the devastating effect infectious disease had upon the Tlingit. When Portlock visited Sitka in 1787 he discovered the effects of a smallpox epidemic that had spread through the area some twelve years previously judging from the fact that pockmarked faces occurred only on children over twelve years of age. He traced the source of the plague to the Spaniards who wintered near Sitka in 1775. La Perouse saw some pock disfigured faces on the Natives in the Lityua Bay area in 1786 apparently derived from the Sitka epidemic. The extent of the epidemic and the numbers who died are matters of speculation. One reasonable assumption would be that the smallpox epidemic probably approximated later ones that reportedly wiped out as many as "one-half of the whole population of Alaska" (Petrov 1882:44; Krause 1956:43).

What effect would such a calamity have upon the indigenous population? Portlock described his visit to Sitka following the smallpox disaster. At one community he viewed one large canoe capable of carrying thirty individuals and two smaller ten-man canoes. To his surprise only about six adults and a few children inhabited the site. An old man with ten marks tattooed on his arm, which indicated the number of children he had lost in the plague, told Portlock (1789:271) "that the distemper carried off great numbers of the inhabitants." After viewing the evidence confronted in his visits, Portlock (1789:272) concluded that "the country was nearly depopulated; for to this day it remains very thinly inhabited." Veniaminof witnessed the 1836 Sitka epidemic which wiped out

50 percent of the adult population, approximately four hundred individuals, in a period of three months (Krause 1956:43). Petrov (1882:44) stated that typhoid pneumonia had wiped out "whole settlements." Krause (1956:103) dated specific typhoid epidemics of 1819, 1848, and 1855. Measles, scarlet fever, and syphilis were also common along the coast following European contact (Krause 1956:103).

Oberg (1937:7) described a former period of Tlingit history when numerous villages were located along the important salmon streams. He cited shell middens and clearings in the forest that attested to these erstwhile villages. He concluded that the Chilkat valley had supported up to "eight thousand Indians."

Archaeological studies have contributed little to the paucity of data relating to the population of precontact settlements for the following reasons: (1) the small numbers of studies undertaken, (2) the rising and lowering of the ocean beaches that inundated the remains of settlements or left them some distance inland from the shore, (3) the rapid forestation of abandoned settlements, (4) the acidity of the soil, (5) the widespread use of perishable materials, and (6) the tidiness of the residents. Perhaps the most significant factor was the immaculate housekeeping practices of the Tlingit. Informants explained how the garbage was formerly deposited along the beach so that the tide could carry it out to sea. Usually once a month the sand on the floor of the old semisubterranean houses was changed. In historic times the wood floors were routinely scrubbed. To some old-timers, the first sign of spring was when the older people in a certain village scrubbed the board sidewalk that ran the length of town in front of their homes. Their customs left few remains for musing archaeologists to study or date.

Swanton (1908:397) listed nine separate towns that existed at one time or another in the Sitka district and mentioned that his list was not exhaustive. It is unknown how many of these various Sitka communities existed simultaneously.

The studies of Swanton (1908), Oberg (1937), and de Laguna (1960) on settlements and forts in no way negated the possibility of a large precontact population.

Another indicator of the population of the Sitka area is contained in the report by Lisiansky (1814:163) in which he described the Tlingit fort along Indian River as containing "at least eight hundred male inhabitants" residing in fourteen houses along with their women and children. The total population of the fort was conservatively estimated at about fourteen hundred. Only the Tlingit Frog Clan in Sitka reportedly fought the Russians. Since Sitka belonged to the Frog Clan the Eagle Clan was considered to be guests of the Frog Clan and generally amiable to the Russians. Apparently, the population of the fort was inhabited by Frog Clan persons recruited from the Sitka area. Rather than appeal to the Eagle Clan from the other moiety for assistance the Frog Clan appealed to the Beaver Clan of Angoon who were also members of the same moiety (Krause 1956:33; de Laguna 1906:146). Although the Angoon Beavers responded to the call for assistance from Sitka they were signaled to return before they reached Sitka perhaps due to the Russian warship as informants from both Sitka and Angoon unanimously agreed. The point is that the fort at Sitka housed only a portion of the Sitka people from one district out of a total of thirteen Tlingit districts (Krause 1956:74). The Indian River fort's population was described by an eye witness. Indeed, Langsdorff visited a newly constructed fort in Chatham Strait in 1805. It was constructed by the Sitka Frog Clan following their abandonment of the fort along Indian River and had a population estimation at around fourteen hundred (Krause 1956:36). The estimated populations of the two forts by two eye witnesses agreed in both numbers and general mode of construction. The appeal of the Sitka Ravens to the Angoon Raven moiety brothers for aid and then the construction of the Frog Clan fort on lands owned by the Angoon Beavers indicated a historical and cultural consistency for the two forts, the inhabitants, and

Tlingit customs.

The Frog Clan fort represents the only reliable indicator of the aboriginal Tlingit population prior to the Veniaminof guess of ten thousand in 1830. Following the 1835 smallpox epidemic Veniaminof placed the Sitka population at 750 which included the Eagle Clan that refrained from warfare with the Russians and the Frog Clan who fought the Russians. Since Eagle and Frog Clan members generally intermarried their numbers were somewhat equal. Even if the 750 postplague population in 1836 represented a 40 percent reduction in population in the Sitka district the question still arises as to what happened to the rest of the population and the accuracy of the original estimation. Three important factors emerged from these considerations: (1) numerous villages once dotted the coastline and ceased to exist shortly following European contact; (2) infectious diseases such as the smallpox epidemic in 1775, the typhoid scourge of 1819, and others equaled or exceeded subsequent plagues; and (3) the Indian River fort mainly housed the members of one clan which numbered about fourteen hundred following some devastating plagues.

Dobyns Formula

Dobyns critically examined several methods used in estimating aboriginal populations for the Western Hemisphere and concluded that most population figures were grossly in error. Using a variety of methods and cross-checking sources for consistency, Dobyns (1966:412) noted that the population ratio between precontact and postcontact aboriginal populations varied from fifty-to-one to about seven-to-one. He proposed a formula for estimating aboriginal populations based upon the lowest postcontact population level which he designated as the "nadir population." A nadir population usually occurred approximately 130 years following initial contact based upon data from California and Mexico. Dobyns concluded that only 5 percent of the California Natives survived (20:1 ratio).

The United States census for Alaska in 1910 listed the Tlingit population at 4426 with some 250 additional Tlingit living in Canada (Jenness 1960:331). A very conservative application of the Dobyns formula would be to multiply the 1910 nadir Tlingit population of approximately 4700 times seven to arrive at the pre-contact estimated population of over thirty thousand. Considering that the Tlingit inhabited an area with four thousand miles of shoreline (Kroeber 1963:170), a projected precontact population of thirty thousand would yield a 7.5 distribution of people per mile of shoreline. The Dobyns formula provides an alternative to aboriginal population projections often made several decades later after severe epidemics have decimated Native populations.

Comparable studies along the North Pacific Coast supported a substantial increase in estimating precontact populations. Lantis (1970:179) asserted that the Aleut population decreased by at least 80 percent following "the first two generations of Russian-Aleut contact." Harris (1974:14) projected an upward revision in the aboriginal population of the Kwakiutl from Jenness's (1960:345) "5,000 - 6,000" level to "23,000." It may be that the aboriginal population projections for the Northwest Coast have been consistently low.

A larger Tlingit precontact population would not be inconsistent with Native accounts or historical data. La Perouse estimated that close to three hundred Natives camped one summer at Lituya Bay and that seven or eight hundred visited the area. He concluded that he had seen a "very small part" of the indigenous population (de Laguna 1972:122). Aboriginally the Tlingit derived their livelihood from well-defined areas and refrained from harvesting the resources in other districts without prior consent. Generally people who hunted and fished in a given area also lived there. Oberg's (1937) population projection for the Chilkat district and Swanton's (1908) partial list of towns suggested a larger Native population. The apparent ease in which an army of two

thousand or a fort of fourteen hundred occupants were mobilized hinted at a larger population. The traditional account of two thousand warriors who escorted a Russian ship through the Wrangell Narrows also implies a large resident population.

Summary

Following Tlingit migrations to the coast the people constructed large community houses which also doubled as forts. From these parent village houses sprang several smaller houses which comprised later villages. Each localized clan village was autonomous and maintained their autonomy following a general trend toward consolidation of localized clan villages. Following white contact European diseases radically reduced the Tlingit population.

Chapter III

ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The Tlingit, much like agricultural societies, were geared to a harvest season--in this case, from the tidelands, the woodlands, and the waterways. Regional variations and seasonal fluctuations provided a basis for an active trading enterprise resulting in specialization, capital investments, and a multicentric economic system. In this chapter we will consider the socioeconomic factors that contributed to this multicentric economic system.

I. Technological Adaptation

Dependence Upon Wood Products

Tlingit technological knowledge in the use of wood for the construction of forts, canoes, houses, fishing equipment, poles, boxes, hats, other pieces of equipment, and ceremonial objects was impressive considering the weight of the logs and the simplicity of their tools used in the cutting, shaping, and positioning of larger objects, such as roof beams, into place. Large trees were often cut and split with crude stone and bone mauls and wedges. Native metals were in short supply. The site of Shisk-Kee-Nu or "Sapling Fort" in Sitka contained a stockade measuring 240 feet by 165 feet, built from standing trees serving as posts for horizontal logs and camouflaged by heavy brush stacked against the wall. Within this enclosure stood fourteen community houses that sheltered some seven hundred to eight hundred men plus women and children (National Park Service, Pamphlet, 11). The fort was constructed between the defeat of the

Russians in 1802 and their return in 1804. Much of the building materials were undoubtedly salvaged from the old Kiksadi fort on Castle Rock. Considering the size of the project and the man-hours invested in the construction of the fort in addition to the amount of time invested in their regular economic endeavors for survival, the fort was an impressive symbol of Tlingit ingenuity and perseverance.

The importance of wood technology and its refinement was fundamental to the development of Tlingit culture. As the Tlingit improved the efficiency of their hunting and fishing equipment, they undoubtedly increased their annual food production. Increased food supplies permitted the possibility of more people to survive who in turn placed a larger demand for more food upon the environment. Community growth attested to their population increase; archaeological and museum collections attest to their refinement in tools and techniques. This interaction between the minds of men and the acquisition of food resources is exemplified par excellence by the carved-out canoe.

Importance of Canoes

The canoe symbolized survival. Travel and trade, transportation of equipment and supplies, fishing, and sea mammal hunting depended upon the reliability and versatility of the canoe. The value of the canoe to the survival of the Tlingit is graphically portrayed in a confrontation between the Tlingit and the American Navy. An American man-of-war destroyed eight Kuiu villages and fishing camps in 1869, along with the beached canoes (Andrews 1947:136). When the Natives returned from the woods where they were hiding they took stock of their situation and gradually realized the extent of the impoverishment. The people were destitute; their means of securing wealth from the sea was obliterated. Lacking any means of support while they rebuilt their homes, they were forced to seek refuge among relatives in other communities. A similar disaster

was narrowly averted by the people at Angoon when they suffered a similar fate at the hands of the Navy (de Laguna 1960:158). Not all of the Angoon canoes were destroyed. The remaining few were kept in almost constant use to procure food for the village and thus they survived the difficult winter of 1882-83 (Informant).

Some of these canoes were from forty to fifty feet long and up to six feet wide with a carrying capacity of up to sixty individuals. The hull, usually hewn out of a single yellow or red cedar log, was light and resistant to decay but fragile and in need of almost constant protection from the sun. "When in use the occupants would drench the shells with sea water frequently to protect them from the sun, and when not in use they were kept covered with fir boughs, rank marsh grass, or later, with canvas" (Salisbury 1962:123). The ubiquitous clouds and moisture greatly facilitated their preservation from drying-out and cracking.

Considerable time and skill was involved in the construction of a canoe. Good carvers were held in high esteem. Their skill was exhibited in the selection, transportation, shaping, warping, and reinforcing the transformation of a log into a seaworthy vessel. Wooden pegs, inserted into the sides of the hull during the carving process, gauged the thickness of the canoe. The craftsman proceeded to hollow out the center of the boat until he reached the pegs. To increase the capacity of the canoe the carver filled the canoe with water, heated the water with rocks warmed on a fire in order to soften the wood, and then spread the sides of the canoe by inserting cross beam wedges. Decades of concerted effort undoubtedly were expended in the improvement of their canoes to attain the level of efficiency demonstrated by the eighteenth century craft.

Similarly, the expenditure of labor and knowledge in the construction of a community house containing from thirty to three hundred or more inhabitants, the elevation of three- to five-ton beams into position, or the construction of

forts with walls six feet thick revealed a considerable amount of management and construction skill.

Few areas in the world could support a sedentary society on a hunting and gathering economy. By developing effective fishing equipment the Tlingit harvested an annual crop of fish that swarmed up the streams and preserved a generous supply of dried meat for winter. During the months of July, August, and September the people labored arduously to catch and dry much of the winter's supply of food. Fish meant survival and the people devised the necessary equipment.

II. The Annual Economic Cycle

Local Production Patterns

A common adage used to describe the economy of the Northwest Coast states that when "the tide goes out the table is set." Although this statement tends to be an oversimplification of the Northwest Coast economy, it nevertheless is true that the people derive a considerable portion of their diet from the beach and could survive for short periods of time living directly from the tidelands. A more complete description might depict the Tlingit economy as consisting of a highly refined rhythmical response to seasonal harvests of plants, animals, fish, and fowl. The annual production cycle was geared to the harvest of each species when it was most readily available. Beresford (1789:173) stated that when the headman of a tribe perceived that game was growing scarce or that fish were being depleted he disassembled his shelter, loaded the planks into his canoe, and paddled off in search of a more plentiful location. Upon finding a promising site, he again erected his dwelling and proceeded to harvest the food sources in that area.

The exchange commodities among inland, coastal, island, and other ethnic groups became an intricate part of their survival. Trading was part and parcel of the economic system. Trade supplemented local food resources, improved the chances for survival, and permitted a steadily increasing population. As we have already noted, the Tlingit selected sites for their permanent villages that best enabled them to harvest the crops of wildlife within the territory under their domain. The permanent villages housed the people, their wealth, and provisions; they afforded protection to both. For most of the year the people's economic activities consisted of an ebb and flow of individuals from the permanent village. Access to the sources of food and to the connecting waterways that often served as economic arterials to supply the village were readily available. Angoon, Sitka, Yakutat, and other villages represented the best locations for acquiring food within the immediate vicinity. Since fish served as the staple of life, village locations and size depended upon the access to fish. The greater the fish supply, the larger the population of the village. Island villages depended heavily upon deep sea fishing; coastal villages depended more upon the annual fish migrations that virtually swarmed up the rivers and streams (Oberg 1937: 54).

Due to the quantity of fish runs and the short intervals between the various species of migrating salmon, coastal villages like Kluckwan obtained an almost constant supply of fish from their streams. The sockeye migration lasted from July to October; the king, humpback, and dog salmon from September to December; the coho from late November to February; and the steelhead salmon from February to May. This prodigious supply of fish supported large villages along the banks of the migrant salmon streams. During two periods of the year salmon were in short supply and, therefore, adequate provisions were made in advance to tie the people over these critical times. Consequently,

adequate provisions were preserved in the fall for winter use and again in the spring until the late summer when the procession of salmon began again. In the fall and spring salmon were dried in the sun or in smokehouses. Shellfish, seaweed, and deep sea fish were also taken in the spring and preserved for summer use. In May, when the salmon were scarce, the streams displayed teeming schools of olachen which were caught, eaten, or converted into large quantities of fish oil. During the month of May the people rendered fish oil. It was only during this month that the Chilkat at Klukwan left their permanent villages as a group to camp along the mouth of various streams to concentrate upon an intensive harvest of fish oil. In contrast, the island people often spent several months during the summer away from the permanent settlement collecting food from around the first of July to the first part of November (Oberg 1937:54).

As the Tlingit harvested the products that developed with the changing seasons, they constructed shelters that matched the weather conditions. In the dry season no shelters were needed at night. During the rainy season skin tents were erected in open areas; bush shelters were built in the woods. When traveling by canoe the party often set up skin tents and camped upon the beach. Portable equipment appropriate for the weather conditions was packed when traveling on foot.

Like sedentary agricultural societies, the Tlingit eventually faced the problem of depletion of their natural resources. General principles of conservation developed along with their religious belief concerning the sacredness of all life. They believed that all animals had spirits that could be offended by wanton slaughter. One informant stated that the people used only what they needed in an attitude of thankfulness, gratitude, and confession of need. Specific measures were also utilized in an attempt to wisely conserve their food resources. Hunting grounds were only used every two or three years to permit

the growth of the young and avoid depletion (Goldschmidt 1946:19). Clam beds, shellfish, and seaweed sections of the beach were given similar care. An informant from Sitka described how their ancestors habitually collected the eggs and sperm when they cleaned the salmon taken from Indian River, mixed the substances together, and then deposited the material in advantageous locations along the stream. In this manner they insured the perpetuity of the salmon run and also secured their own future. They were in the business of planting and harvesting salmon.

I use to watch my father mix the eggs and male substance together when he cleaned the fish and then deposit the stuff up the river. The eggs of humpies and coho salmon were eaten because they were too soft but the eggs of king and sockeye salmon were planted upstream. I wasn't interested in how he did it at the time and so I never learned the details (W. B. 1974: conversation)

The abundance of wildlife described by the Tlingit in former times may have resulted as much from their sound conversation practices as from inexhaustible natural resources. Averkieva (1966:46) stated that the clan chief was responsible for the "conservation" of the food resources. De Laguna (1972:374) stated that the chief refused to permit any clan member to hunt seals until after the young seals were born. Chiefs placed limits on the number of sea otter each man could shoot. One elder commented, "The chiefs restricted all the land, but it was for everybody's good" (de Laguna 1972:380). Even during the autumn fish runs the Tlingit were careful not to "waste any part of the fish" (de Laguna 1972:384). Only the fins and entrails of fish were discarded. The rapid decline of the sea otter graphically illustrated the inevitable consequences when sound methods of conservation were ignored. It was claimed in the time of Dixon that sea otter could be "scooped up like salmon" (Miller 1967:154). Thirty years later a trader who sailed around Admiralty Island obtained only a single pelt. The lucrative fur trade had taken its toll. Dixon and Portlock reported a

similar decline in furs at Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound as early as 1786. Bancroft (1886:351) claimed that a large group of hunters in only a few "days" of intensive hunting could decimate large herds and "drain the country of market-able furs."

Governor's Feast at Angoon

A short description of a visit by an early territorial Governor of Alaska to a traditional Tlingit village around the turn of the last century contains a few insights into their life and economy. An elderly informant born before the close of the last century related this story. It is quite similar to the feast given to Young and Muir among the Chilkat in 1879 (Young 1915:87-89).

Governor William Brady said to Willie Wells, my father's nephew and the chief of the Coho tribe, you people have learned the white man's way very quickly. You dress like the white people and do things like the white people. But I want you to tell me and show me how you did things before you met the Russians. So one of the Sitka men wrote a letter to the chief at Angoon concerning the Governor's request.

The people welcomed the Governor to Angoon. A long time ago they had someone by the door to welcome the guests. The host would sit down by a big fire and they would put sheep skins, deer skins, beaver skins, and land otter skins on the floor for the guests to sit on. When Mr. Brady came into the house, they announced at the door "Governor Brady is coming and Willie Wells is with him." They had the Governor sit on the floor on a pillow made out of wild cotton. It grew wild all over Alaska and the Indians picked it in October. The flower is red and then it peels and turns into cotton. One place on the other side of Juneau is a bay where the surrounding land is covered with "Indian cotton." The people pick it and make pillows out of it. They make the cover of the pillow out of deer skin by softening the skin and turning it inside out.

In July the women would go into the woods and pick the moss off the trees, pick the slivers out of it, and store it away in a sack. Moss was another kind of Indian cotton. They gave the guests a dish with warm water in it. Hot rocks were put into the water to make it warm. Then they passed the water around so the people could wash their hands and their faces in the bowl and dry themselves with the moss used in place of a towel. The soiled moss was thrown into the fire. They were very particular, a long time ago, about themselves and their health. That's why there were a lot of Indians. Mr. Brady wrote down all that the

people did. They used the moss to clean babies before the Russians came.

Then they roasted the dried fish (sockeye) which was very delicious. They broke up the fish and put it into the wooden dishes. They pretended that they had slaves to serve the people. Indians had a lot of slaves in the olden days. Poor people did not have any slaves; well-to-do people had a lot of slaves. My mother's family had a lot of slaves. One family in our house had three slaves, a second family owned two slaves, and a third had one slave. These are the ones I remember. The slaves served the people who were sitting on the floor ready to eat. Each person had a dish and a bowl. They put the seal oil in the bowl. The wooden dishes were carved in the shape of a beaver because their totem pole was Beaver. The other Angoon totem pole was Bear. The Indians were very proud of their living a long time ago.

Governor Brady ate the fish dipped in seal oil just like Willie Wells, Thomas Cook, and the others did. He said the roasted sockeye dried fish was delicious. After he was finished eating they wiped the grease off the dish with the dried moss and burnt it in the fire. Then they got deer meat that had been smoked and dried to be preserved for winter. They put it in seal oil. He ate the deer meat. Then pretty soon they cooked seaweed. He took a little piece of dried seaweed home. He had a doctor test it and the doctor said it had a lot of iodine in it. The doctor said the iodine was very good for the Indian and that was why no Indians had goiters in their necks. After the seaweed they had "white karol" and put it in their wooden bent boxes made out of one piece of wood. Craftsmen carved on the sides of the boxes that were made in the shape of an apple box. Only two or three Indians knew how to make that kind of a box. They would get paid for making those boxes and a lot of people ordered them. They stored grease, meat, and jam in the boxes. They cooked the berries and made jam out of them. While the fruit was cooking they mixed salmon eggs and carefully mashed the eggs and strained the pulp out of the mixture. The mashed salmon eggs were poured into the cooking berries when it started to boil. The salmon egg mixture acted as a preservative for the jam. That mixture had a lot of vitamins in it. That's what Governor Brady said. He took some of it home and had the doctor test it. All that Governor Brady ate and what they gave him to take home was very good for a person to eat. The only thing that was not very good for a person to eat was "suck." Sometimes in April the women would go into the woods and take the bark off the spruce tree and scrape the inside of the bark and dry the substance. It was called suck. It tasted sweet. But the doctor said that it didn't have many vitamins in it and was hard for the stomach to digest. That's what he said.

Governor Brady said it was wonderful the way Indians ate a long time ago in their own way. That's why the Indians were healthy. Some people would leave Sitka and go to Skagway and Klukwan to buy olachen oil. Some people like it. Olachen oil is good for the

lungs and it keeps the lungs strong. That's why there was less tuberculosis among the Indians. It is like cod liver oil; it makes you strong.

Then Governor Brady invited all the Indians and told them, "Why did you quit your old ways of living and stop preparing food the way you did before you met the white man? Now you want to live like we do--eat from the can. It's not healthy. Prepare your food like you did before you met the white man. It's not healthy for you to live like the white man and eat from the can. You quit making your own things and began buying them from the store. That's why you people are dying off from tuberculosis. You should have the same kind of house with a hole in the middle and everybody lives inside. It was healthy. Now your houses have no fresh air coming in, only when you go out from them. That's why the Indians died off." That's what Governor Brady said. That's what the doctor told him. "Leave the Indians to live like they did." Our old way was healthy for us because we were use to that kind of life. That's the end of my story (C.N. 1974: conversation).

III. Production and Trade

Custom of Trading

Fishing ranked first in importance in Tlingit economic activities followed by hunting and then trading (Krause 1956:118, 128). The Tlingit were known to have carried on an active trade between the coastal and island Tlingit, between the coastal Tlingit and the interior Athapascans, with other ethnic groups along the coast, and with Europeans. The custom of trading undoubtedly existed long before European contact. Drucker (1965:110) contends that "there is every indication that there was a considerable prehistoric traffic between the Tlingit and other Athapaskan neighbors." Oberg (1937:90) disagreed somewhat with Drucker's opinion by suggesting that "before the arrival of white men pure barter did not exist among the Tlingit," but allows for some exchange of goods.

Descriptions from early European traders depict the Tlingit as already having attained skill in trading at the time of early contact. The early Russian trader, Vladimar, portrayed the Tlingit as exceeding "all others by their activities, cleverness, and inclinations for trade" (Gsovski 1940:65). La Perouse

wrote that "they showed to our great astonishment, great familiarity with trading and they made bargains as astutely as European merchants" (Krause 1956:130).

Nagaief, the explorer who discovered the Copper River for European societies in 1783-1784, encountered the Chugach Eskimo and stated from his visit with them that they traded and raided with five other tribes: "Kodiak," "Kinaias," "Yullits," "Lakhamit," and the "Kaljush." Later, the Kaljush (Tlingit), "a warlike tribe with large wooden boats," pushed the "Lakhamite" people eastward of Kyak Island (Bancroft 1886:191). One informant credited the Bear Clan chief, Xatgawet, as the first Tlingit leader to drive the Aleuts off the coast at Yakutat shortly before the Europeans arrived.

When Dixon sailed into Yakutat Bay he believed that he was the first European to discover the harbor (Beresford 1789:170). Much to Dixon's chagrin, the Natives displayed some blue glass beads, the hallmark of Russian traders. Cook encountered a similar situation among the Chugach. Given the active trade among the various tribes in the region, it is reasonable to assume that European trade goods were moving eastward from the Russian contacts among the Aleuts and other groups "along the Gulf of Alaska to be bartered like slaves and native copper . . . by native middlemen" (de Laguna 1972:126).

Probably the first European explorer to actively engage the Yakutat Tlingit in trade described their style as highly formalized.

Their traffic . . . appears to be conducted with great order regularity; they constantly came along side to trade with us at daylight . . . and never failed to spend more than half an hour in singing before the traffic commenced. The chief of the tribe has always the entire management of all the trade belonging to his people, and takes infinite pains to dispose of their furs advantageously (Beresford 1789:187).

The Yakutat people exhibited certain techniques in trading such as delaying tactics to perpetuate their own market. By bringing out a few items per day, the Natives prolonged a profitable trade with the English who desired and needed

fresh fish daily. Also the people often saved the better furs to be exchanged near the close of the trading sessions, a practice described by Olson (1936:213) for the Southern Tutchone Athapascans in their dealings with the Chilkats.

Bancroft (1886:240-241), in his definitive history of Alaska, observed that a century of white contact had failed to destroy the indigenous trading customs of the Natives of Alaska. He suggested that their "astuteness" displayed in "trade" and "barter" matched the skill of the Russians. Therefore, the Russians were forced, by economic expediency, to enlist the services of the Aleuts in obtaining furs under Russian supervision. Bancroft believed that toward the end of the seventeenth century much of the Native trading habits in Alaska had become largely routine with the single exception of the Tlingit who persisted to remain autonomous. The Tlingit traded with many foreign countries. When the Russians purchased furs from the Tlingit they were forced to pay higher prices. A top grade sea otter pelt could be purchased from the Aleuts or Eskimos for ten dollars; Tlingit sold the same quality fur for thirty or forty dollars (Petrov 1882:50).

In addition to displaying competency in trading skills, the Tlingit possessed an institutional approach in conducting trading sessions and a drive to press for a decisive bargain during trading. Trading conferences commenced with much singing, followed by speeches, and then intense barter. While Oberg (1937:30) suggested that true barter "did not exist among the Tlingit" before European contact since exchanges between Tlingit groups took the form of gifts, he asserted that true barter with its emphasis upon bargaining did occur between Tlingit and non-Tlingit (Oberg 1937:92). Thus the Tlingit had developed a bargaining technique that enabled them to compete favorably with whites.

According to de Laguna (1972:356) the economic motive for trade was secondary since the items exchanged were "luxury foodstuffs and luxury goods."

She implied that the primary motives centered in the "sheer pleasure" in handling wealth, visiting relatives and new areas, opportunity for the exchange of news, and training for nephews to become advisors or interpreters for uncles. She contends that even as late as 1880 the Natives were in no wise dependent upon European trade goods, "Tsimshian wood carvings, Haida canoes, or Salish slaves" (de Laguna 1972:356). These items were felt to benefit the wealthy as symbols of status but contributed little to improve the local livelihood.

When de Laguna (1972:356) classified exchange items as "luxury foods and luxury goods" and relegated such items as "Haida canoes and Salish slaves" to non-essentials she may have confused three important levels of economic analysis: (1) Yakutat as an isolated self-contained entity, (2) Yakutat as a participating member of a larger network of interdependent communities, and (3) Yakutat as an ethnic enclave in competition with Aleuts and Eskimo for land and resources. In a subsequent section (Chapter III), it will be argued that slaves and canoes were vital to trade, to the recruitment of personnel, for defense of the community or local wealth, and to provide additional opportunities for trade with other communities. Oberg (1937:92) observed that circulation of resources among the various regions resulted in regional specialization and produced "regional inter-dependence." The next several sections will provide an extended analysis of trade among the various specialized regions and will attempt to show that trade was significant for the survival of local communities such as Yakutat.

Considering the strategic location of the Tlingit between northern and southern ethnic groups and the ecological differences between coastal and island villages, it would have been strange indeed if they had ignored the advantages offered through trading. The Tlingit represented a chiefdom level of sociopolitical organization in which items were traded between various regions. The chiefs supervised the local labor force, managed the local resources, and

traded local foods and products. In an area marked by differing ecological niches, Service (1962:146) contended it was easier to move products than people.

Most Northwest Coast societies engaged in considerable trading activities. The Makah located at the western tip of the Olympic Peninsula monopolized the trade between the Columbia River and Vancouver Island. Swan (1868:30) described them as "emphatically a trading, as well as a producing people." Drucker (1951: 4) stated that the Makah "plied busily back and forth across the strait." The Chinook inhabited the lower section of the Columbia River. The Makah exchanged their wares with the Chinook and headed north to pass on a portion of their trade goods to other tribes. A crucial factor in the survival of the Chinook was the wealth derived through trade. Ray (1938:93) indicated that in low productive years trade provided the essential element for survival. Available evidence seems to indicate that in general the population along the North Pacific Coast had increased to the level where the movement of trade items became crucial to survival.

Coastal-Inland Exchange

The vigorous trade between coastal settlements and inland tribes apparently existed for a considerable period of time. When Nagaiev described the activities of a group of Natives who lived some distance upstream from the mouth of the Copper River in 1783-1784 he stated that they "traded copper and land-furs with the coast people for seal-skins, dried fish, and oil" (Bancroft 1886:191). This exchange of trade goods was not limited to the Copper River but extended to virtually every major stream that connected the Alaskan coastal region with the Interior, namely: the Alsek River, the Chilkat River, the Chilkoot River, the Taku River, and the Stikine River. The custom of riverine trading routes with Interior peoples was widely practiced on the Northwest Coast as shown by the Nass River, the Skeena River, the Frazer River, and the Columbia River.

These "grease trails," as they were sometimes called in Alaska, because of the quantity of candlefish oil that was traded, were controlled by a localized clan who monopolized the trade with interior Athapascan bands. In the 1830s Simpson reported that the Secatquonays, a group of Tlingit living at the mouth of the Stikine River, traveled 150 miles inland to trade with the Niharnies three or four times yearly. He indicated that the Niharnies occasionally undertook trips to the coast. At about this same period in history, the Taku traveled the treacherous current of the Taku River one hundred miles inland, beached their canoes, and set out on foot some distance to appointed trading places in the interior. The Chilkat Tlingit traversed the Chilkoot and Chilkat passes to meet their trading partners in prearranged locations or else they set out in search of nomadic bands. Krause (1956:136) described his guide's method of indicating their presence in the area, the number in the party, and the direction they intended to go to assist a nomadic band in locating the visiting Tlingit. This communication was conveyed by various arrangements of bent twigs and sticks stuck upright in the ground (Krause 1956:136).

Trade with the interior was "one of the greatest sources of wealth" (Swanton 1908:414). It was not surprising then that the Tlingit zealously guarded their control of the trade routes. It is difficult, at the present time, to evaluate the impact of precontact trade upon the local economy of either the coastal or interior groups except to note that it was undertaken with considerable expense of time and labor and, therefore, of some significance. As the number of furs from sea mammals decreased due to their depletion by the fur traders, the demand for land mammal furs increased. In turning to new sources of land furs, the fur traders confronted the Tlingit who controlled the access to the rich northern fur bearing lands of the interior. The coastal Tlingit claimed control of the fur lands as well as the fur trails. Chartrich, leader of the Chilkat

Ganaxedi, marshalled his forces and marched inland four hundred miles to Fort Silkirk, a Hudson Bay Company outpost on the lower Yukon valley. In 1852 a Chilkat war party captured and burned the fort in retaliation for the unauthorized intrusion of the British into the fur bearing lands under the jurisdiction of the Chilkat Ganaxedi (Emmons 1908:644). Interior bands were similarly denied access to the coast. Thus the annual trading expeditions of the Tlingit middlemen produced a lucrative profit in furs (McClellan 1953:49).

Krause (1956:134-135) observed the arduous labor involved in packing the items of trade over the treacherous mountain trails. Twice a year the Chilkat made extensive preparations for trading expeditions into the interior, once in winter and once in summer. During the 1880s the Chilkat purchased "tobacco, sugar, flour, woolen blankets, colored materials, gun powder, lead and other articles" from white traders at relatively low prices and then packed these items into the interior Athapascans in the Yukon and while there bartered them for considerable profit. Several trading expeditions of interior Natives struggled through the pass in the winter of 1881-1882 to bring their many furs to the Chilkat who acted as middlemen between the interior Natives and the whites. In winter the trip was made on snowshoes; in summer the expeditions followed the streams. They departed after the candlefish season in order to return before the salmon run began. In winter snow slides and blizzards threatened the packers, while in summer there were swift streams to cross. Loads of one hundred or more pounds were packed up the steep ascent in heavy snow or tangled bushes. Under the most favorable conditions these trading expeditions were dangerous and enervating.

In the early stages of the inland-coastal exchange, basically food from the coast was exchanged for furs from the interior. Primarily, dried salmon and candlefish oil were exchanged for caribou or other skins for making clothing

and copper for fashioning into points for hunting implements and weapons. Later, alcohol became "the most desired item of trade" (Krause 1956:108). Caribou hides seemed to have been the most suitable and durable material for making skin clothing. Due to the cold damp winters along the coast, the more suitable materials for clothing were highly sought. Thus, all Tlingit villages were eager to obtain caribou hides. The interior Athapascans were also noted for their processing of sineu for sewing, for ropes, or for bow strings. Musk ox skins or perhaps buffalo skins were shaped into leather breast armor (Krause 1956:127). Native copper, collected by interior Athapascans along the Copper and White River valleys, found a ready market among the Tlingit. The copper was obtained from "placer nuggets" or from veins of pure metal near the earth's surface (Emmons 1908:645). Lichen, a native dye used in the construction of dance blankets, birchwood bows, moccasins, and conifer gum were also obtained from the interior. As the European market for land furs expanded, the Tlingit middlemen sought beaver, black and silver fox, martin, otter, weasel, and other pelts from interior peoples.

Olson (1936:211) stated that the regular trade between the Chilkat villages and the interior, prior to the Klondike gold rush, consisted primarily in the exchange of "dried fish and olachen oil for furs and dressed skins." Later European wares largely replaced the dried fish and rendered oil. Ownership of the grease trails was based upon discovery of the trails and the establishment of relationships with interior groups. The ownership of the trade routes was inherited from maternal uncle to maternal nephew. It seems that permission could be obtained by a brother-in-law wishing to use the trail. Invariably, the leader of an expedition was limited to one of the household heads of the ownership group. Usually most of the membership of the expedition belonged to the leader's group. Each of the house chiefs who organized the one or two yearly trips into the interior,

selected five or ten young men from his household to serve as packers to transport the trade goods. Generally the men were nephews who were subject to his training and authority. Nephews worked for their uncles and eventually inherited their wealth. Before slave holding was outlawed in 1867, slaves were widely used as packers.

Each house chief had a trading partner in the interior who also belonged to the same clan or moiety as he did. The ranking chief of the trading party acted as the spokesman for the group. Upon their arrival customary speeches and dances were exchanged. Two or three days of leisure preceded the actual trading sessions. Bargaining was keen but within prescribed boundaries; the host did not want to appear too "stingy" and the guest wished to avoid the appearance of being overly "greedy." During these trading sessions the young men occasionally engaged in "semi-secret" exchanges that initiated a friendship that might later culminate in a future partnership.

As middlemen between the Europeans and the Athapascans, the Tlingit held a decided advantage since they knew the value of the trade item to the white man. Profits were enormous for the middlemen. For example, a single leaf of tobacco was given in exchange for a martin skin (Olson 1936:214). Trade with the interior people offered a means to quick wealth. Tlingit men sometimes married interior women to increase their trading advantages. In this way they could call upon their affinal relatives to assist them in the collection of furs at their next visit. Hometown wives seldom objected to these interior wives who would only be seen once or twice a year since it resulted in increased supplies of furs and added wealth for the Tlingit.

Coastal-Island Exchanges

Tlingit land, covering hundreds of square miles of land and sea, encompassed different ecological niches. Mainland villages were colder, less wooded,

and possessed fewer beaches; island villages were warmer, received more moisture, were heavily wooded, and contained greater areas of tideland. The various ecological areas resulted in regional differentiation in production. Within a chiefdom it was much easier to move products than people. Consequently, trade formed an active part of their economy. Oberg (1937:121) explained that the community house "was not economically self sufficient" but supplemented its production "through trade with outside villages" (Oberg 1937:87). As we have observed concerning the coastal cultures, coppers and the better raw materials used in the construction of clothing were obtained from the interior. Coastal villages produced olachen products (oil, dried fish, and dried berries in olachen oil) and mountain goat and sheep products (carved horn spoons and Chilkat blankets). The coastal villages traded their leather products, copper, olachen products, and sheep products derived from the interior groups to the island villages for tidal products (seaweed, clams, mussels, and sea urchins), deep sea products (halibut, king salmon, herring, and herring spawn), and forest products (dried venison, cedar bark, cedar, and yew wood).

Exchanges between community houses were generally conducted by the house leader who had trading partners in other villages or tribes. These exchanges were public, attended by some household members, and usually by an elderly woman noted for her astuteness and shrewdness in trading. The Chilkat traded with the Yakutat by canoe in the spring and summer or overland in the winter to obtain copper. Apparently these trading expeditions were annual (Emmons 1908:645). Reciprocal trips were made overland to Klukwan and Haines from Yakutat. Hoonah and Sitka districts also traded with the Yakutat. In turn, Yakutat people were familiar with the northern Tlingit tribes since most had been to Sitka and Juneau; some had been to Hoonah, Klukwan, and Angoon; few possessed much knowledge of the southern Tlingits (de Laguna 1972:216). One Sitka

clan, that had migrated from Yakutat, controlled the right to trade for copper on the Copper River (Oberg 1937:87). Sitka and Hoonah were known for their excellent basketry and herring spawn, the Chilkat for their blankets and olachen products, the Yakutat for their access to native copper, and other areas for their deep sea catch, tidal harvests, or forest products. Access to these items of production were based upon kinship ties, marriage ties, or friendship ties of trading partners. Marriages between areas served to encourage exchange between the two families.

Interethnic Exchanges

To the north the Tlingit traded with the Athapascans, the Eskimo, and the Eyak. In the late eighteenth century the Eyak claimed the lower Copper River valley, the Chugach Eskimo lived in Prince William Sound, and the Athapascans inhabited the upper Copper River valley and northward (Gunther 1972:183). The strategic coastal location of the Yakutat Tlingit, their aboriginal abundance, and their role as middlemen greatly enhanced the economy of this settlement. From the Atna along the Alsek River, Yakutat obtained "copper, furs, and tanned skins." In exchange the Yakutat traded "dentalia, slaves, Haida canoes, and Tsimshian carvings" (de Laguna 1953:2). It is highly possible that the Tlingit traded baskets to the Chugach and Eyak since the basketry of the three cultures are so similar (Guntner 1972:186). Trade in iron and ivory were also known to have predated the arrival of the Russians.

Native copper was a highly desirable item of trade along the Northwest Coast and became one of the principal sources of revenue to the Tlingit middlemen. It was considered to be a treasured possession with a variety of uses. Arrow points, spear points, and daggers were made from hammered copper as well as bracelets, neck-rings, anklets, masks, rattles, and for the embellishments of dancing implements. The importance of copper for hunting implements

and weapons of warfare made it highly desirable to all competing tribes along the coast, so much so, that the Haida and Tsimshian would gladly exchange their superior watercraft for the choice metal (Oberg 1937:89).

It is difficult to ascertain to what extent the copper shields or tinnahs were in use prior to the arrival of Europeans. Keithahn (1962:78) contended that these copper shields were never made from native copper and furthermore, they came into use after 1774 when copper plate from ships became available. He believed that the mental conception of copper shields developed from the treasured copper arrowheads possessed by interior tribes. Native craftsmen using European tools supposedly made the first ones while later on the so-called "chief's coppers" were manufactured by European craftsmen on a broad scale. This widespread availability of copper, according to Keithahn, destroyed its value, undercut its prestige, and reduced it to a common item. The evidence for Keithahn's opinion rested upon accounts of early explorers, Native folklore, linguistic analysis, and chemical analysis. In 1960 Wilson Duff stated, "We do not know directly of any existing copper which was made of the natural metal" (Keithahn 1962:67). The native copper nuggets would have limited the size of aboriginal copper shields.

Prehistorically, copper was used for weapons, tools, and ornaments. It was known that Captain John Meares in 1788 traded eight or ten copper sheets to Northwest Coast Natives who in turn made the coppers into shields. The world's largest collection of these Native copper shields belongs to the National Museum of Canada. Not one of the coppers in their collection that was tested contained native copper. It is possible that native copper was too scarce, too valuable, or the economy too weak to support the luxury copper shields and the customs of debts surrounding the "chief's copper" before the advent of the wealth derived from the fur trade. If copper shields were in use prior to contact they

would in all likelihood have been much smaller. Lisiansky (1814:150) described a copper "shield" found in the abandoned Tlingit fort in 1804. The shield was made of virgin copper, weighed 1.5 kilograms, and was believed to have been obtained near the Copper River. The copper shield was three feet long, about two feet wide at the top, and about one foot wide at the base. One side of the copper contained various designs. Similar plates were valued at from twenty to thirty coppers. Shields made from Russian copper were considered to be of little value in comparison and were valued at a single otter pelt.

A portion of the leather and copper products obtained from the northern and interior people was passed on in exchange to the southern ethnic groups. From the Haida and Tsimshian came large cedar canoes, slaves, and shell ornaments (dentalium, shark's teeth, abalone, and mother of pearl). The large red cedar trees used in the construction of the large canoes did not grow north of latitude 54° 40' (Oberg 1937:89). The acquisition of the large canoes by the Tlingit may have been the deciding factor in halting the northward push of the Haida. Informants have related that before the Tlingit acquired the large canoes the Haida could outrun the smaller Tlingit canoes because their crews were fewer in number and could not compete favorably with the larger crews in the bigger canoes (de Laguna 1960:149). The acquisition of the larger canoes by the Tlingit may have resulted in a balance of power. The larger canoes were not only safer and faster but they were more conducive to long trips. When time was of supreme essence in traveling they used two shifts of canoe paddlers--a daytime crew and a nighttime crew. Before the widespread use of sails, one crew paddled while the other crew slept. Hence great distances could be covered in shorter periods of time. By sharing the benefits of the larger canoes, the Haida and Tsimshian obtained copper and improved their hunting and fighting equipment. When superior metal tools and weapons came into existence, both the Haida and Tsimshian

may have readily traded canoes to the Tlingit in exchange for copper lest one side gain a strategic military advantage over the other. A relative balance of power seemed to prevail when Europeans arrived on the Northwest Coast.

A second important commodity of trade with the southern tribes was slaves. There were distinct advantages in owning the "Flatheads" from the south (so called due to the custom of placing their babies on cradleboards which caused a portion of the skull to become flattened). Tlingit, Haida, or Tsimshian war captives left unredeemed by their families were consigned to slavery but these slaves often escaped through the assistance of relatives or friends. The presence of slave relatives in these communities may have caused some tension, whereas the Flatheads could entertain little hope of escape and were sure targets for all households between Alaska and Washington.

Slaves existed as a medium of exchange (Oberg 1937:89) and served other important economic functions as will be explained in a later section. To take slaves from the interior tribes would undoubtedly have been detrimental to the fur and copper trade. Therefore, the Flathead slaves proved to be the most advantageous and loyal of all slaves. Early traders noted the active slave trade in which slaves "were traded from tribe to tribe like personal possessions" (Krause 1956:128). In the early decades of the nineteenth century a slave was worth "twenty-five beaver skins or two sea otter skins" (Krause 1956:128).

Third, shells were obtained from the Haida and Tsimshian. These shells were valued for personal ornaments, for embellishments on carvings (as eyes or teeth), and for potlatch articles (Oberg 1937:89; de Laguna 1972:56). Tradition claimed that the best abalone was obtained off the California coast and passed from tribe to tribe in trade as far north as Alaska. Other stories seem to indicate that the Tlingit journeyed to California on trading ventures. It is believed that elkskins from as far away as the Chinook, along the lower Columbia River,

reached the Tlingit (Gunther 1972:144-145).

The Yakutat, most northerly group of Tlingit, traveled south to trade copper with the Haida for the large red cedar canoes and to Metlakatla to trade for slaves with the Tsimshian. The Tsimshian were middlemen in the northern and southern trade axis and traded slaves, boxes, rattles, masks, headdresses, and fish oil. Apparently the Yakutat occasionally pursued their trading expeditions to Prince Rupert in Kwakiutl territory and even into the Puget Sound region. It was reported that the trip from Yakutat to Prince Rupert took two months (de Laguna 1972:351). The enthusiasm of the Tlingit for trade is dramatically illustrated by the reaction of the Chilkat to high prices set by the traders of the Hudson Bay Company. If the Chilkat thought the prices for the European items of trade were too high, they did not hesitate to travel to British Columbia and buy directly from the factories.

European Exchanges

Near the end of the eighteenth century, traders from Russia, Great Britain, Spain, France, and the United States came in search of the valuable furs of the Northwest Coast. The competition essentially became a triangular affair among the Russian, British, and American trading companies. For the most part the Russians limited their trade to their Sitka Fort due in part to the dangers they faced in making contacts with the somewhat hostile relatives and allies of the once defeated Sitka clan. British and American trading captains largely ignored the territorial claims of the Russians to exclusive trading rights with the Tlingit by trading with the coastal and interior archipelago islands. British and American traders were more generous in their prices, offering more than the Russians cared to pay.

The situation changed somewhat in 1840 when the British traders negotiated the right to trade with the Tlingit in exchange for an annual payment of

two thousand sea otter pelts to the Russian American Company. Many American ships were also engaged in trading with the Tlingit during this time. For example, in 1842 one Boston captain saw four other Bostonian vessels in Southeastern Alaska during the trading season (Krause 1956:32; Gunther 1972:174). In the early period of trading, beads and other jewelry were exchanged for furs. When these items became plentiful iron, tin, and copper were popular items only to be replaced by guns, ammunition, axes, knives, and woolen blankets. Woolen blankets were stockpiled by wealthy chiefs as items of wealth replacing caribou skins that were formerly used. In 1843 the Russian American Company and the Hudson Bay Company banned the sale of liquor to the Tlingit (de Laguna 1972:181). By 1877 American soldiers had succeeded in teaching the Tlingit the craft of distilling liquor made from molasses and produced a new item of trade with the interior.

In 1880, following the purchase of Alaska by the United States, an American firm founded the Northwest Trading Company with trading posts at Chilkat, Juneau, Hoonah, Killisnoo, and Sitka. In exchange for their furs the Natives were given coupons redeemable at any Northwest Trading Company store. Tourist steamers stopped at most of these same communities and contributed to a lively trade in cedar and spruce root baskets.

IV. Multicentric Economic System

The theoretical material in this section is largely based upon the contributions of three writers. In 1944, Polanyi identified two modes of allocation which have greatly aided the descriptions of non-Western economic systems: (1) reciprocity, an economic institution that basically is limited to the exchange of gifts between parties, and (2) redistribution, an economic institution in which there is a general movement of goods toward an administrative center with a subsequent reallocation of the goods by the central authorities (Polanyi 1944:47).

Dalton (1965:45, 48) distinguished between general purpose money which is used as a medium of exchange, a means of payment, and a standard of value and "limited-purpose monies" which have only one or two of the three functions of general purpose money. Limited or special purpose monies are restricted objects used in reciprocal and redistributive transactions. Bohannon (1963:248) explained that the use of special purpose money often resulted in separate more or less "self-contained categories, each category associated with a different institution." Exchanges between these separate categories, which formed a multicentric economic system, necessitated a process of disengagement referred to as "economic conversion." Exchanges within a category are considered to be morally neutral while exchanges between categories are charged with strong feelings of moral non-equivalence. A goal in many societies possessing multicentric economic systems is to invest the goods from a lower category into a higher category through the process of economic conversion.

Tlingit society displayed three discrete levels of economic activities. First, there was the basic subsistence level in which food was produced and exchanged by reciprocity. Second, subsistence items were invested in wealth goods acquired through specialized production or trade. Third, wealth goods were invested in social prestige and a future return from guest communities--a form of economic securities like stocks and bonds. A Tlingit elder explained that the subsistence level related to industry and productivity, the wealth level to skill, and the potlatch level like the American banking system to the investment of wealth in the expectation of increasing it.

Subsistence Level

The economic unit of analysis among the Tlingit was the community household. They jointly owned the large community house in which they lived, large canoes, and tools used in economic pursuits. Production was a cooperative

endeavor of the members in a community house. An individual obtained certain rights to basic resources of life (food, shelter, clothing, and security) through his membership in a community house and nuclear families within a community house exchanged goods as needed. Food not consumed by a community house was shared with related or affiliated community households. Gifts and goods were given and received as expressions of good will. This gave a measure of "symmetry" to the exchange system and provided for the needs of individuals and families. As a general rule a man was restricted from hunting or fishing for his own use until after the needs of the household had been fulfilled (Oberg 1937:68).

Food within a village was also freely shared. If the members of a household caught more fish than they could consume they left the extra fish along the beach for other clan members. Even during periods of acute food shortages food was shared. Generally recipients of food reciprocated whenever they could. Members in a localized clan jointly owned the hunting and fishing resources and, therefore, shared the take. In multiclan villages food was also shared with other localized clans as opportunity and need presented itself. This exchange of food among the Tlingit was explained by Oberg (1937:81) as a means of preventing waste during times of plenty and acquiring security in time of need. Exchanges of goods and services among the Tlingit were accomplished in accordance with the social position of an individual (Oberg 1937:81). People paid according to their social status. This custom prevented a system of bargaining since wealthy people were expected to pay according to their ability as evidence of their status.

Wealth Level

Peratrovich claimed that the large quantity of food on the Northwest Coast led to "leisure time that created potential time for development of arts, crafts, and ceremonies." Lee (1968:37) suggests that hunters and gatherers

often possessed more leisure time than technologically advanced societies. The problem of technological development among hunters and gatherers was not due so much to a lack of time as to a lack of any productive means of using their leisure time (Harris 1971:218). The Tlingit developed a means of investing their subsistence goods in items of wealth. Wealth goods became a form of special purpose money highly desired but limited in its use. Items of wealth could be invested in a higher level of the economic system--the prestige sphere. Whereas the subsistence level was dominated by economic reciprocity, the wealth level was permeated by redistribution. Trade goods were placed at the disposal of the house leader to acquire wealth goods and to manipulate the wealth goods for the greatest return possible for all members of the household in terms of prestige, future welfare, and political alliances (Peratrovich 1959:19).

Community house leaders, along with the elders, assumed the administrative responsibilities for managing the resources and labor force of the household not only to provide for local needs but also to increase their wealth, power, and prestige. According to a Tlingit elder, after the Tlingit had settled along the coast they became concerned with the accumulation of wealth. One of the primary objectives of a community house leader was to increase the wealth and prestige of the household. Wealthy households included part-time specialists who wove the famous Chilkat blankets, built canoes, assembled leather clothing, shaped sheep horn spoons, carved bent-cedar boxes, or worked metal. Jacobs (1964:53) indicated that house leaders were in a position to manipulate the production of these skilled workers in an attempt to increase profits. By this means the labor force produced trade goods for both the local and interethnic exchange system involving northern, interior, and southern ethnic groups.

Oberg (1937:30) listed trading activities as one of the two primary responsibilities of the house leader. Some house leaders among the Chilkat and Stikine

districts, for example, increased their wealth potential through marriages with high class women from other districts. Thus, marriages opened up new opportunities for trade and often brought part-time specialists in weaving and basket-making into the household of a leader. These trading rights were carefully protected (Oberg 1937:87). The nature and extent of this trade in Tlingit society has already been noted.

Wealth was ultimately derived from fishing, hunting, and trading. Since salmon was the staple food, the size and nature of a village reflected the quantity and movement of various species of salmon. On islands, the size of a village was directly correlated with the local resources. Larger and wealthier clans owned the best salmon streams. The great man, according to Tlingit values, was not the individual who amassed the greatest amount of food but the one who used his food resources to obtain coppers and slaves to be invested as securities during potlatch ceremonies (Oberg 1937:84).

Fried (1967:222) contends that slaves in no way contributed to their master's wealth. According to Fried, the Northwest Coast lacked any productive means whereby slaves could contribute to their master's wealth or in any manner contribute to enhance his potlatching effectiveness. He acknowledged that slaves were not regarded as being a part of the social system and, therefore, they did not exist simply to inflate the position of the chief. Fried's discussion on Northwest Coast slavery actually omitted any explanation; he dismissed it by stating that it is a confusing subject. Still significant numbers of slaves were a fact of life. For instance, MacLeod (1928:639) mentions that the slave population among the southern Tlingit between 1836 and 1846 was approximately one seventh of the total population, a figure that compared favorably with the ratio of slaves to freemen in the early plantation system in colonial America. MacLeod (1925:379) also notes that the Northwest Coast was the only area in North America that possessed

"hereditary slavery." The 1961 census of the Tlingit placed the slave portion of the total population at about 11 percent. In spite of the fact that slavery on the Northwest Coast has been described as negligible (Drucker 1965:52), it is the contention of this writer that sufficient evidence exists to indicate that slaves contributed a vital role to Tlingit society and that slaves contributed economically and politically to the wealth and power of their masters. For a number of years the wandering cows of India were also considered to be an unnecessary luxury.

Recent studies have indicated that the sacred cow in India has an important function for human survival. Harris (1966:52) has argued that contrary to popular belief the prohibition against the slaughter of cattle has positive ecological implications. In spite of the destruction caused to crops by free roaming cows and the often decrepit condition of many cows, cattle contribute a vital element to the survival of the people. If cows are viewed as part of the eco-system, their existence can be positively interpreted in terms of a "symbiotic instead of competitive" relationship. Cows are available during critical periods of production. They serve as draught animals for plowing fields and for hauling the harvest to market. In addition, cow dung is used as fertilizer for the fields and for fuel for fires; cow hides are made into leather products; dead cattle supply critical protein to the diet; and the free foraging cows transform the unused wayside vegetation into milk. Unwanted cattle are simply left to starve. In this manner the number and sex of cows can be controlled. The indigenous breeds of cattle are small in stature and able to withstand more severe environmental conditions than larger foreign breeds. Harris (1966:59) observed that as the Indian population increased between 1941 and 1961 the cattle population decreased in ratio to the human population from 44:100 to 40:100. Northwest Coast slaves, like the cows of India, might be more fully understood if seen as part of the adaptation to a larger eco-system.

Unfortunately, population statistics are non-existent for precontact cultures and any projections would simply be a matter of speculation. It is possible that the aboriginal slave population was lower both in total numbers and in percentage of total population. It may be that as the general Tlingit population declined, for example following the 1775 smallpox epidemic in Southeastern Alaska, the slave population increased in an attempt to replace a portion of the labor force. Regardless of such projected population trends, slaves can be shown to serve a dual function in Tlingit society: (1) as a laborer in the harvest, packer or paddler on trading expeditions, and a warrior or (2) as an item of wealth which could be traded, freed, or destroyed in place of other forms of wealth. It is significant that nowhere else in North America is it recorded that a hereditary slave system existed. Such a system could hardly be justified on the basis of prestige and conspicuous consumption since the Northwest Coast lacked the economic production to support such extravagance (Piddocke 1965:247; Suttles 1968:105).

In any given situation the only real people a household head could count upon for assistance were his nephews and his slaves. A reliable slave promptly carried out his master's orders, fought to defend the community house, and assisted on raids. Slaves were not only productive members of the household they could be exchanged for needed food, for supplies, or invested in a higher level of the economic system, namely: prestige and economic securities. Slaves were part of the strategic defense of the community and could be adopted into the household should they be desired for their abilities or to increase the membership of the community house. Slaves could replenish depleted houses in periods of adversity. Ethnographic accounts attest to the practice of the adoption of slaves. Slaves contributed to the wealth of their owners and represented units of wealth that could be manipulated for the master's welfare.

Garfield (1945:628) stated that the presence of two or three dozen slaves in a household was undoubtedly profitable. Slaves were known to be engaged in productive tasks of some economic significance (Jacobs 1964:53). If leisure time could be channeled into productive activities then slavery would be profitable. During the annual autumn fish runs, individuals labored arduously to secure food for the winter. Slaves could have made a significant contribution at this time of the year. Slaves were reported to do the menial tasks of the house such as gather wood, prepare the food, and carry water. The fulfillment of these tasks by slaves freed household members who were part-time specialists to devote their time to weaving, wood working, and other forms of production. Slaves were known to pack loads during trading expeditions. A Chilkat blanket represented about a year's labor of a skilled worker; other wealth goods and trade goods were produced and secured by considerable effort.

Three items of wealth have been mentioned: coppers, canoes, and slaves. Other items were also included in this second level of the economic system. Coppers were held in high esteem during the nineteenth century whereas blankets and money dominated in the twentieth century. Most authorities agree that copper, canoes, slaves, and blankets were wealth goods. In addition to these wealth goods Paul (1938:95-96) mentioned abalone shells, horn spoons, and certain furs (elk, martin, and sea otter). Carvings have also been included in this category.

Following contact with Europeans, the Native population radically decreased in numbers while the per capita wealth rapidly increased. This wealth was largely obtained by depleting many species of animal and fish life. As Native wealth increased, the manipulation of wealth often assumed unrealistic and wasteful portions. For example, Young (1915:81-82) reported that Chief Shathitch had cached away several houses full of guns, blankets, and trade items. Such

extravagance is a distortion of the traditional Native system and should not be construed to represent the norm of traditional Tlingit village economy. As a middleman between the interior and the Europeans, Shathitch was extraordinarily wealthy.

Prestige Level

Community houses were vulnerable. Fires, raids, storms, or other disasters could result in great losses of foodstuffs, wealth goods, and manpower. Some measure of protection was initiated by the local community house through economic and political ties with other groups. The goal of amassing wealth goods was not an end in itself; it was a means to greater economic and political security. The Tlingit invested subsistence goods in wealth goods for the purpose of using them in fostering and reaffirming their ties with other localized clans (Oberg 1937:84). The fact that wealth goods were sought in order to increase the economic and political welfare of a localized clan or household is based upon the expectation of the potlatch host that the gift would be returned in kind and often with interest at a future time.

De Laguna (1972:357) summarized this philosophy of giving, in part, by stating that "one desired to prove one's worth by giving lavishly, in the hope that it would be recognized by an equivalent lavishness in return." When the last traditional potlatch was given in Sitka in 1904, Chief Annahootz specifically stated that this was the end of an era and that he did not expect any gifts to be returned. The point is that his departure from the established custom required a special explanation. Traditionally, guests were obligated to return gifts at future potlatches or face a loss of status respect. Informants today say that when the potlatch season is over most people end up essentially where they were at the beginning. However, close relatives of the deceased who have contributed much may not realize a full return for several seasons. An old Hebrew proverb

remarkably approximates the essence of a potlatch, "Give generously, for your gift will return to you later. Divide your gifts among many, for in the days ahead you yourself may need much help" (Ecclesiastes 11:1).

Oberg (1937:102) enumerated four general rules that applied to potlatches: (1) they were made between groups from opposite moieties, (2) were given by the authority and possession of crests belonging to the host, (3) included gifts to be given by the host group, and (4) required return gifts of at least equal value. He noted that wealth goods were never used for general economic purposes, except to obtain food during periods of scarcity, and that the main objective of acquiring wealth goods entailed their distribution at potlatches (Oberg 1937:84, 96). Peratrovich (1959:137) described the manipulation of wealth in terms of interest, capital, and bank notes passed from person to person. He acknowledged three levels in the economic system: (1) a level of subsistence goods, (2) a level of wealth goods, and (3) a level at which the wealth goods functioned as counters in a game of prestige. One informant described the traditional economic system as the Indian counterpart to the present day banking system. There were risks involved with investments but also risks were involved with hoarding goods in the local community. Misfortune could so reduce another social group in which wealth had been invested to the point where no return was possible. The penalty for bankruptcy was decreased status. However, to avoid taking some risk in the investment system could result in even greater deprivations during periods of temporary food shortages, raids, or natural disasters when political alliances and past investments yielded good returns.

Wealth goods then were used as special purpose money ultimately derived from subsistence but considered to be superior to the subsistence level of exchange. The goal of owning wealth consisted in expending the wealth goods at ceremonial occasions to acquire status, prestige, political alliances, and economic

investments among other autonomous groups. In essence, potlatches were a social institution in which wealth goods became transformed through a process of economic conversion into the prestige sphere that resulted in economic, social, and political advantages for the investing host group.

Summary

Regional variations and local specializations resulted in an extensive system of exchanges. At the subsistence level economic exchanges were characterized by reciprocity. Subsistence goods could be invested in wealth goods through the trading skills of the house leader. Wealth goods were used as special purpose money to secure a measure of future security by means of economic conversion at potlatches in a coastal region containing many uncertainties and numerous politically autonomous communities.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Tlingit social organization consisted of community lineage households, matriclans, and moieties. The most basic elements of social organization relating to the regulation of individual behavior were these: (1) matrilineal descent, (2) exogamous cross-cousin marriages, (3) avunculocal residence, (4) class, and (5) deference. Matrilineal descent limited primary relatives to the female line and defined the boundaries between intermarrying groups; exogamous marriages resulted in the creation of alliances with other groups for the purpose of securing bridges; cross-cousin marriages restricted the choice of preferential marriages to close relatives; avunculocal residence returned a male offspring to the lineage of his mother; social classes indicated the social position of an individual within a localized matriclan; and deference defined the interpersonal relationships between ranked households.

I. Community Households

Individual identity in Tlingit society was intimately connected with a community house. Community households represented the basic social unit of society. A common question used in meeting other Tlingit included an inquiry concerning the household membership. The answer to that question contained additional information such as the localized clan and the moiety to which the individual also belonged. For example, if an individual stated that he belonged to Copper-Plate House Tina Hit, a knowledgeable Tlingit knew

immediately that he resided with the Frog Clan at Sitka and belonged to the Raven Moiety. The Tlingit word for house, hit, comprehended three referents: (1) a local community house, (2) an expanded concept that referred to all the people who sprang from the original clan house, and (3) the embodiment of all affiliated clan houses which belonged to the same moiety. A study of Tlingit social organization based upon these three referents to the meaning of the word "house" is consistent with Tlingit usage.

A household included a core of matrilineally linked males joined by their wives, unmarried daughters, some married daughters, and sons under eight to ten years of age residing in a community house. Households varied in the number of occupants from a few dozen to a few hundred. The household was simultaneously the basic economic, social, political, religious, and educational institution in Tlingit society. A household was generally the pristine form of village settlement; it remained the primary social unit of Tlingit society during a later process of village consolidation.

Economic Organizations of Households

Generally, a household migrated to an unclaimed section of tideland near productive salmon streams and claimed the adjacent lands and waterways for their exclusive use. Communal property rights extended to fishing streams, hunting areas, shellfish beaches, berry patches, the communal house, smoke houses, and trade routes to list a few items. Wealth items included coppers, slaves, skins, blankets, and large canoes. Each household claimed title to a limited number of titles or noble names, and each owned a few crests or symbols of identification. These crests were carved or painted upon story poles, bowls, fishing and hunting equipment, spoons, and other artifacts. Some intangible forms of property included stories, songs, and rituals. Stories and songs

traced past migrations, told of heroic deeds, and attested to supernatural sanctions in the acquisition of property and crests. Occasionally, new territories were conquered in warfare or acquired as payment in a peace settlement. Property obtained through individual achievements such as clothing, weapons, tools, or small canoes were considered to be private.

The old Beaver Clan settlement at Sitkoh Bay illustrated some of the factors bearing upon the selection of a household site. Their community house was located near the present settlement of Chatham approximately six miles from the mouth of Sitkoh Bay. Two paramount considerations in the selection of a house site were wind and water. Wind and waves affected the beaching of canoes; selected water passages contained fish--the staff of life. Near Chatham ran one of the best sockeye salmon streams in Chatham Strait. A dog salmon and humpy salmon stream emptied into the headwaters of the bay. Cod fish clustered just beyond the northeastern entrance to the bay while a halibut bed existed a short distance away from the southeastern portion of the mouth of the bay. Strewn along the southeastern shoreline and just inside of the bay, grew a bountiful crop of seaweed with clam beds existing a short distance away. Near the head of the bay lived numerous sea crabs. On three sides, impregnable mountains stood as silent sentinels guarding the bay area from possible raids. Located upon the mountain slopes were numerous beaver, bear, deer, ermine, and land otter. The natural resources of this bay contributed to the Sitkoh Beavers becoming an eminent household.

The local household was the basic productive unit. Groups of men hunted and fished together; while the women prepared and preserved the take. Women gathered berries, seaweed, and shellfish near the village; men ventured on long raiding and trading expeditions. The men manufactured the tools and weapons required in fishing, hunting, and fighting; the women made mats, baskets,

and blankets needed around the house. Children assisted the grownups performing such tasks as gathering water, wood, or weaving materials; packing and unpacking the possessions when moving to summer camps; gaffing and packing fish to the smoke houses; helping with the preparation of meals; or looking after smaller children. Everyone in the community house who had attained a reasonable age was expected to contribute to the welfare of the group.

Compared to many tribes of Indians living along the Northwest Coast of North America, the Tlingit had access to fewer species of potential sources of food. Although there were fewer species, food resources were more abundant than in other areas (Suttles 1968:105). A considerable portion of their annual food consumption was caught and preserved in a relatively short period of time. During the annual "salmon runs" all able-bodied members of the household participated in the arduous labor that sometimes extended into twenty hour working days. The faint-hearted were admonished that people "could starve in the midst of plenty" unless an adequate harvest was procured. This type of communal labor placed stringent demands upon the interdependence and economic cooperation within the unit of production. Only the wealthy were excused from performing menial tasks such as gathering wood. Slaves of the wealthy discharged these duties, freeing their masters to participate in other endeavors such as political or trading activities.

Traditionally Tlingit were fishermen who caught the annual runs of fish that traveled from the ocean to small inland streams to spawn. With the construction of fish hooks, traps, nets, spears, and rakes the Tlingit learned to harvest an annual food crop much as horticultural societies have done. The Tlingit harvest fish rather than plant crops. Annual runs of salmon, herring, smelt, and olachen appeared during predictable seasons of the year in such prodigious numbers that many people could be sustained for many months.

The Tlingit custom of returning the male offspring to the house into which the mother was born has been explained by Hammond (1971:156) as an "adaptive accommodation" to increased economic productivity in the female descent group. Whereas matriloca1 residences recruited sons-in-law into the community, the avunculate recruited a core of matrilineally related males to protect the wealth that accumulated through the inheritance rule which retained the wealth within the lineage. The accumulation, administration, and protection of the household wealth depended upon a close maternal uncle and maternal nephew relationship. However, Ingilis (1970:158) contends that the male role in the harvest of salmon and olachen weighed the prescribed residence rule in favor of avunculocal residence. Harris (1975) notes that in matrilineal societies in which long distance warfare is common, communities form alliances based upon the exchange of males rather than females. He argues (1975:348) that during sustained warfare males would be absent for extended periods of time causing a need to "break up competitive fraternal interest groups by scattering fathers and brothers into several different households." The problem with the Ingilis and Harris explanations is that other Northwest Coast ethnic groups raided and fished in the same way as the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, but they never developed the avunculate. Suttles (1968:103) reports that "the more northern tribes rely on fewer kinds of plants and animals and get them at fewer places and for shorter times during the year, but in greater concentration, and with consequently greater chance for failure." The environmental difference would tend to favor Hammond's interpretation concerning the avunculocal rule and the concentration of wealth as an aid to survival.

Nephews served their maternal uncles and in return inherited their possessions. Uncles trained their maternal nephews to eventually replace themselves. The principle of exogamy sent the sisters to other households,

whereas the principle of the avunculate returned sisters' sons to the original household in the next generation. In effect, groups of brothers exchanged sisters in marriage and acquired nephews as heirs.

Political Organization of Households

The administrative structure of the household was built around a core of matrilineally related males. The male members of the household, who were also fathers, were permitted to participate in the household council of elders. Within the smaller households the council was limited to a set of brothers and older nephews, while in larger households of one hundred or more residents the council might conceivably include several sets of brothers and older nephews. This council of elders served as a board of trustees concerning the estate of the household. Households were corporations that involved a distinct group of members who held title to certain property according to the Tlingit usufructory rights with generally defined rights and duties of the membership and a stipulated system of succession.

The eldest brother was usually appointed to be the chief administrator of the group. He was known as the hitsati a sort of "house caretaker." It was the responsibility of the household head to coordinate the labor force of the household, to indicate when the members should move to the fishing streams, to supervise the trading activities, and to organize the hunting expeditions. The household was self-sufficient and autonomous. For all practical purposes the household was sovereign; it was self-governing and dispensed its own system of justice. The household head, in consultation with his council of elders, provided the executive, legislative, judicial, and diplomatic services of their community house government (Ramos 1973:4).

Theoretically, crimes within the household did not exist. Since most were communally owned and private ones could be used simply by asking

permission, there was little need to steal. In order to maintain peace and unity, illicit marital affairs were ignored when possible or they could cause a split in the household. When the household judicial process was invoked, judgment was often swift and effective. For example, brothers might kill their own sister if she had caused serious trouble or a clan might censure a member if the person had been guilty of committing incest or witchcraft (Oberg 1937:58).

Viewed from without, the household was a collective group and could be held accountable for every action of any member. For instance, in a homicide case a household would be charged with the deed rather than a single individual. The household of the victim charged the household of the guilty since groups had no jurisdiction over the individuals in the other group nor was either group subject to a common authority. If two households were from different localized clans, they would have represented foreign governments. Breaks in their diplomatic relationships could be bridged by one of several means: (1) an appropriate amount of wealth goods could be paid in compensation, (2) a person of equal social status from the accused group could be slain, or (3) a number of slaves equal to the social status of the deceased could be sacrificed. Two or more slaves would fulfill the requirements of the third alternative. A resolution to the problem would be reached by mutual consent of both households. The determining factor in the settlement of such disputes was the wishes of the immediate relatives of the deceased.

As chief executive of a community house, the office of the household head was crucial. Great care was exercised in the selection and training of a successor. Some of the criteria used in the selection process were as follows: (1) noble birth, (2) individual accomplishments, (3) ability to work with people, (4) success in making decisions under pressure, (5) performance in acquiring and handling wealth, and (6) knowledge of culture.

Although no exact pattern existed, it was customary for the office of the household head to be handed down from older to younger brothers or from uncle to nephew. The general concern in the selective process was that the best qualified person fill the office. Often the best qualified person coincided with the next oldest--but not always. Sometimes an individual declined to assume the office by acknowledging a more qualified candidate. On other occasions a less qualified person was by-passed. The ultimate factor in the choice revolved around the concensus of the household elders and the local clan elders concerning the best qualified. If the incumbent household head was alive at the time of the selection, his opinion was of vital importance in the decision. When the office was vacant due to death, the household might choose a person other than the person the chief intended. Often the chief named a successor before his death that was acceptable to the membership who had the final say.

The selection of a house leader often occurred after a nephew had attained the age of thirty-five or more years of age. By that age, it was believed that the personality of the individual had become sufficiently mature to permit a reasonably certain evaluation of his qualifications.

One informant described the system for the selection and training process of a successor:

So all this time the uncle and his wife are watching the nephews they are training. When the uncle dies the honor student gets to marry the uncle's wife. She may be seventy; he may be twenty. The boy of twenty doesn't feel bad because he's married to a seventy year old lady because she is already looking around her nieces for an honored student for a replacement--when she is dying she looks among the virgins.

So all that time she was with the boy she continued teaching the boy the facts of life and giving the boy his master's degree so to speak. Upon her death, she is replaced by the honored student of her choice from among her nieces. So he in turn starts teaching her (his new bride) all the cultural education he had learned from his uncle and his uncle's wife. The boy is well to do because when his uncle died, he acquired one-half of his uncle's wealth. The

other one-half of the uncle's wealth was divided among the remaining members of the community house (P.M. 1974: conversation).

Among the Tlingit the accumulation of wealth resulted in a concomitant need for security to protect it. The community house, constructed out of heavy timbers and thick planks, served as a fort as well as a dwelling (Niblack 1890: 303). The atmosphere of the house resembled a military camp. The maternal uncles assumed the roles of military officers to train their nephews to become great warriors. A premium was placed upon strength, courage, self-reliance, pride, and wisdom.

To attain these goals, the uncles subjected the nephews to a rigorous physical fitness program called the "warriors school." The physical training involved certain techniques designed to strengthen the youth and enable them to build up a great deal of resistance to pain. They were taught to defend their women and wealth with their last ounce of strength and never to "back down" to anyone or beg for mercy even if they were critically wounded. Daily dips in the sea were required regardless of the weather. This usually occurred upon rising in the morning. A handful of salt water was sometimes swallowed; it made the weak vomit and the strong grow stronger. The dosages were gradually increased. Following the cold plunge, elders whipped the aspiring warriors with spruce branches to stimulate circulation and develop their tolerance toward suffering. One household head stated that the boys had to brace themselves during the lashing to keep from being knocked off their feet. The ultimate test for strength was the ability to pull a branch of a tree out of its socket. To acquire experience in combat, the boys were marched down to the beach and paired off. They fought in an elimination tournament until a champion emerged from each age group. Younger boys were often pitted against older boys to develop their strength. Many of the other techniques of toughening the youth have been lost in antiquity. In addition to warfare, men faced the stringent demands of exposure and hardships that

existed in extended hunting and trading expeditions. Survival depended upon one's physical conditioning.

Frequently, the community house became an embassy for the entertainment and transaction of important political events. Other households were invited to participate and sanction many of these events: the installation of new leaders, the acquisition of new names and social status, the renewing of alliances, peace settlements, or the establishment of new ties through marriage. These events were both serious and festive. They brought groups of individuals together who would be affected by such changes to witness the renewal of alliances, viewing of the crests, recitation of stories, lectures on the history of migrations, listings of accomplishments, and assertions of property rights of the groups represented along with the accompanying supernatural phenomena that sanctioned the claims to ownership. Like modern systems of communication, the formal house gatherings offered instantaneous coverage of changes in the sociopolitical structure of the attending households. If a presumptive heir was to assume office, house chiefs and their retinue from two related households belonging to opposite moiety were required to be in attendance in order to witness and acknowledge the legitimacy of the claims made by the newly installed chief. At such times, certain members of the new chief's household received promotions to new social positions.

Social Organization of Households

The living arrangements within the community house indicated the central position of the household leader and often served as the model for the administrative structure of the community house. In the center apartment at the back of the house lived the chief and his family. A heraldic screen, upon which was symbolically portrayed the essence and the history of the house, formed the front wall of his living quarters. During ceremonial events the household leader emerged

through a hole in the screen to greet his guests. The arrangement of the other families in community houses varied from village to village. When visiting from one village to another Tlingit acknowledged these differences and readily accepted them as the "local way of doing things." Three local village examples will be given.

Around 1880, one of the last surviving community houses in a northern Tlingit village housed a leader, his three brothers, three nephews, along with their wives and children. A total of thirty-four regular house members, four slaves, and occasional guests inhabited the house. Compared to earlier community houses, according to several Tlingit, the thirty-four regular members plus four slaves would have been considered a small resident population for a community house. Former households held many more persons and often possessed from ten to fourteen slaves. The chief lived in the rear center apartment, the women and girls shared a rear corner apartment, and the men and boys occupied most of one of the side walls. The side wall opposite the men's quarters was reserved for food storage rooms. One front corner room and the room next to the men's apartment housed the slaves. The front corner room on the men's side of the house contained the steam room. The steam room was not only used to cleanse the body but also functioned as a council room for the men. When they wished to discuss important matters such as raids, they retired to this room beyond the listening ears of their wives who were known to warn villages, in which they had been raised, of impending raids.

In some community houses the brothers next in command flanked the quarters on either side of the household head. Lesser ranked brothers and nephews occupied rooms located at greater distances from the chief's room which indicated lower rank. The slaves lived near the front of the house and guarded the entrance against possible attacks.

A third variation in the room arrangements within a community house was described by an informant as follows:

The chief's family quarters is behind the crest. The sub-chief of the house lives at the entrance and guards the house. The sub-chief could be a younger brother or a nephew. If a younger brother doesn't have the qualifications, then a nephew is chosen. The elders within the house come to a mutual understanding as to who is most qualified. The chain of command is suspended in the rank and file in order to acquire the best possible leadership (P. M. 1974: conversation).

Each member of the household was expected to contribute up to the fullest measure of his economic ability and in return received from the group personal welfare benefits regardless of age, sex, mental ability, or state of health. Once the bride wealth had been exchanged and the marriage was consummated, the female spouse became a functioning member of a foreign household. The bride contributed to the wealth and security of the household and in exchange she was given security and companionship. If her husband died his younger brother or older nephew married the widow. To refuse to marry a widow would have been interpreted by her natal household as a derogation of the widow and a grave insult to her lineage. The sick and the aged were cared for as long as they lived and were included in the activities and fellowship of the group as their health permitted.

We have suggested that at some point in time a shift in the residence rule from a matrilocal to avunculocal residence may have occurred (see p. 79) in response to an emphasis upon the accumulation of wealth. Every member of the household did not receive an equal share in the distribution of wealth. Inheritance rules endowed some members with a greater amount. As mentioned, the newly appointed chief received one-half of the former chief's estate while the remaining portion was passed on to the other household members. The household head not only received a greater portion of the inheritance, he benefited from trading and raiding expeditions and gifts of food and furs from other

members of the household. The well-to-do were able to retain some prerogatives and exercise certain privileges. This led to differences in wealth among the membership. Eventually the membership became divided into distinct categories of people. This emerging class system defined the relationships that existed among the members of a household.

Tlingit society classified its members into four distinct social categories: Anyaddi, high class; Kanackide'l, middle class; Nitchakaku, low class; and Gux, slave class (Olson 1967:48). High class individuals were taught to refrain from close associations with the lower class people, speak softly and to avoid harsh answers, to ignore insults from the lower class, and marry a person of equal rank. Middle class persons were relatives of the high class or potentially high class individuals who failed to measure up to social expectations in behavior or marriage choice. Low class people included individuals lacking important relatives, freed slaves, and their descendants. The slave class consisted of war captives and individuals purchased from the slave trading system. A few avenues were available to a slave to obtain his freedom and become a bona fide member of society. As a result of the performance of some service rendered to a master such as carving a pole, serving at a potlatch, or accomplishing a noble deed a slave could create a situation whereby the wealthy were faced with a social sense of gratitude and obligation to the slave. Slave owners often responded by freeing the slave during a public ceremony. While worthless slaves were traded or killed enterprising slaves might become adopted into the household or set free.

Under the scrutiny of close communal living, interpersonal relations in certain roles were potentially more disruptive than others. A society may respond by establishing a social safety valve for such tension areas with either joking or avoidance behavior. In the Tlingit household, a son-in-law and mother-

in-law never spoke to one another even if they lived under the same roof. They communicated through third person--usually the daughter or wife. Grandmothers, mothers, and grandchildren belonged to one lineage and the son-in-law to another lineage. The mother-in-law thus represented a very influential person with often conflicting loyalties to those of her son-in-law. One informant mentioned that his mother-in-law spoke directly to him only once during her lifetime and that was just before her death. Biological brothers and sisters avoided one another even though it was the sister's responsibility to look after her brother before he was married or when the brother was widowed. Whenever a brother entered a room his sister, if present, left immediately (Peratrovich 1959:114). Nephews were expected to follow the orders of an uncle. As one informant stated, "The uncle had absolute control over the nephew. No nephew would dare question an uncle; rather he would listen to the uncle." By avoidance and socially prescribed behavior, conflicts between people were greatly reduced.

Religious Organization of Households

A sort of sacred atmosphere permeated the community house. From its inception the household was united with the supernatural world through signs and omens that were believed to give direction in making decisions or assistance to people in need. A frog, a beaver, or a bear might perform unusual feats and become a sacred symbol that sets a household apart from other households and imparted to them a group identity. The identifying crest was affixed to most of their belongings. A crest was at one and the same time their guiding spirit and their coat-of-arms.

The Tlingit were committed to a system that emphasized respect for all of nature. Objects and animals were believed to be inhabited with animating spirits. To succeed in life it became necessary to show them respect. In return, the spirits often gave assistance. Therefore, certain households who had

received aid from some helping spirit became associated with and showed respect for that particular animal spirit.

Ceremonial objects constructed in commemoration of noteworthy occasions were placed in the custody of the household head to be displayed during future ceremonial occasions. His apartment was the repository for these ceremonial objects. Most of these items were communally owned and therefore could not legally be sold. Ceremonial objects included war helmets, dancing poles, blankets, carved house posts, effigy bowls, house screens, and regalia. The community house leader had the responsibility of passing the sacred objects, songs, and history of the house on to the next generation, especially to the person who would succeed him. Each member of the minor lineage was imbued with the belief in the importance of perpetuating the group at all personal costs even to the utmost measure of their devotion. Death in defense of one's house secured the highest honors in the next world; sacrifice of one's life to secure cessation of hostilities was the greatest privilege on earth.

Educational System of Households

Tlingit education centered upon the mastery of oral tradition. A major emphasis in education concerned the development of the capacity for memorization. The youth were told stories to be repeated at a later time. Individuals who possessed the best memories were given advanced instruction and a few might become village historians. Young people were constantly under the surveillance of their elders who guided each individual into that area of service in which they could make their greatest contribution to the household. If an individual demonstrated a certain aptitude for becoming an Indian doctor, a carver, or a historian the person would be sent to the uncle who specialized in that area of expertise to receive an education and learn the trade by working as an apprentice. On-the-job training was the rule. The guidance and counseling services

of the elders attempted to develop the individual to his potential and to strengthen the economic and political base of the household.

Instructional sessions were irregular; they could commence at almost anytime or place that seemed appropriate. Uncles preferred close contact with their nephews in order to impart to them knowledge as opportunity or inspiration occurred. For the most part, uncles instructed nephews and mothers instructed their daughters. Mothers and aunts reinforced the instruction given to the young men by praising certain uncles whose lives had been models of Tlingit living. The uncles exonerated the lives of women who had demonstrated the Tlingit virtues of womanhood. Grandparents shared their knowledge, often in an informal and congenial manner.

The household head, or one of the uncles, conducted evening sessions from time to time covering the subjects of the household migrations, history, songs, dances, and forms of ceremonial speeches. In ceremonial speeches the speaker used illustrations that referred to the immediate problem. It was described as being similar to the way a preacher used the Bible in preaching sermons. The cultural value of respect precluded directness since that course of action often led to confrontations and conflicts. Numerous figures of speech were used during ceremonial rhetoric. A speaker may mention, for instance, that the sorrow of his group has been "licked away." The meaning of this statement would have been intelligible only to the initiated. High class people received more extensive instruction and, therefore, displayed greater understanding in the use of ritual language. When a speaker referred to having sorrow licked away he was calling the listeners' attention to a popular story in Tlingit folklore known as "The Story of a Sad Boy."

They tried to chase the sadness out of the boy but no shaman could chase the sadness out of the boy. In last resort, the uncle said, 'let's take him to the Island of the Wolves.' So they got a boat and took him out to the Island of the Wolves. Upon landing

on the island, all the wolves came down to greet them and began to lick on the boy. Then his sadness started to subside, and all that time the wolves were licking away his sadness. And so we say that is the way with us now. We say to the opposite tribe, 'the sympathy and support you have given us has just licked away our sadness.' This is the form of speech that the uncle teaches the nephews during the evening time (P.M. 1974: conversation).

The Tlingit also made use of parables in their teaching. The parables were interesting stories and often historical accounts that contained much practical advice and some moral principles. Olson (1967:18) recounts one such story. It seems that two men from the same clan in Kake, but belonging to two separate households, became embroiled in a dispute resulting from some gossip between the two men's daughters. The first man became very ill and dreamed that the other man had caused his sickness through sorcery. The sick man's daughter overheard her father tell her mother the dream and the girl in turn shared the narration with her friend. Her friend told her father and the feud was ignited. The men ended up clubbing each other until both were dead. The moral to this story seems to be that parents should teach their children not to tell family tales and that relatives or friends should refrain from repeating such stories.

Since a previous section (above, p. 83) described the training of young men to become warriors, this section will focus on the instruction of young women. The girl's special instruction was held in conjunction with the onset of puberty. One informant who had witnessed the confinement stated that its objectives were to provide the young girl with instruction in hygiene, social etiquette, cultural values, and morals. The young lady who had a grandmother to instruct her during the puberty rite was considered to be fortunate. At the sign of the first menses the girl was secluded for a period of time ranging from a few weeks to a year or more depending upon the rank of the girl. A primary consideration in the seclusion was to conduct a concentrated educational seminar in the responsibilities of being a mature woman. The young lady had come into

possession of a new and powerful creative ability. The grandmother, assisted by the mother and aunts, instructed the pubescent youth in matters concerning sex, reproduction, and prenatal and postnatal care. It is to be remembered that a girl was married soon after the attainment of puberty. Therefore, before she left the home of her nativity, to be transferred in married to the household of her husband, she was given last minute instructions, so to speak, concerning her role as wife and mother. She was told by her elders that some men preyed on women, robbed them of their virtue, and then left them. She was taught how to care for her body during and following pregnancy. She was given instructions concerning prohibitions against marital relations during pregnancy and during recovery from pregnancy.

The puberty ritual included the use of symbols and taboos to impress upon the girl the mystery and sacredness of her reproductive powers. A girl must refrain from scratching her body with her fingernails; rather she must use a stick, for her body was considered to be sacred especially during her seclusion. Fasting, meditations, and other forms of deprivation were widely practiced by societies around the world that participated in puberty rituals as a mnemonic device to impress the information upon the individual in an unforgettable manner (Farb 1968:73). The remembrance of the physical sufferings stimulated the memory of the information associated with the painful event. The desire to succeed in the mundane affairs of life was symbolized in sewing and weaving techniques practiced by the girl during her confinement. The puberty instruction was of special importance to girls in Tlingit society for citizenship was obtained through her lineage.

II. Localized Clan

General Description

The household was in many respects a "miniature" of a localized clan (de Laguna 1972:451). The localized clan represented a more complex level of sociopolitical development than was exhibited in the household in terms of numbers of individuals involved, density of population, new positions of status, and numbers of social segments. As the village households prospered, they expanded and segmented producing similar units. For our purposes, we will define a localized clan as that unit of society that contained two or more community houses, who acknowledged a common origin, and had access to common crests. Some households never developed into localized clans while depopulation sometimes changed erstwhile localized clans into households.

Veniaminov, the Russian priest who ministered to the Tlingit in the early nineteenth century, observed a temporal significance to the ending of certain clan names. Those names ending in kujadi or edi denoted common stock or original clans; names ending in hit or hittan meaning house or inhabitants referred to secondary origins or the "big house communities" (Averkiewa 1971:326). No one knows, exactly, the total number of clans for they were intermittently coming into existence or passing out of existence through raids, diseases, or other means. Several causes for the development of new houses were quarrels, murders, and migrations (Garfield 1947:45). If a group moved in response to a quarrel, they were forced to change their name. The change in name attested to the change in the group's domain and domicile (Olson 1967:24).

Evidence presented in Chapter II described the former fortified houses and their subsequent fission resulting in the formation of branch houses. It is possible for a Tlingit historian to connect the various segmentations including the

factors involved in the separations. Schisms and migrations account for the peopling of the Southeastern Alaska coastal area, but they leave unresolved reasons for the disappearance of the large community houses. Two factors that, at the time, were increasingly important included the desire to amass wealth items and the emphasis upon social status. These two factors may have contributed to increased tensions developing within the large households which ultimately could have led to their virtual extinction through segmentation as an alternative to migration. Mutual protection and access to local resources could have made local segmentation much more advantageous than migration in terms of basic survival. As the population in the area increased fewer choice locations remained and large communities posed a greater threat to hostile forces than a small settlement.

The members of the various households within a localized clan seemed to conceptualize themselves as belonging to a timeless generation. Since they possessed a common parentage (parent house) they stood in a sibling relationship to one another and referred to one another as a clan brother or sister. Marriage between two persons classified as a brother or sister was prohibited. Therefore, marriage within the clan was considered incestuous and punishable by death. Rather, as brothers and sisters they were to render assistance and protection to each other.

Each community household remained the primary unit of production and education. Many of the economic, political, and religious prerogatives were assumed collectively by the localized clan. In other words, two or more households held a common title to the property and privileges that formerly were the exclusive right of the parent household. An increase in numbers and density of population placed a greater demand upon the natural resources of the original tract of land. Subsequently, this resulted in adjustments in the economic and

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political spheres.

The economic adjustment resulting from the goal to accumulate wealth, the ambition to better one's social status, and the increasing population led to changes in the allocation of the "corporate guardianship" from a one household concept to a shared estate among competing houses (Dow 1973:907). The original estate of a pristine community household was later to be divided up among several production units. Theoretically, the land of the localized clan belonged to the membership; practically it was parcelled out to segments who controlled certain sections of beaches, streams, and hunting areas. Swanton (1908:425) reported that house groups owned particular salmon streams or portions of salmon streams to which they would go in the spring and summer to hunt, trap, or smoke salmon. Mountain valleys and coastal streams were also under the supervision of household lineages (Davidson 1928:21). Where several clans clustered in a settlement along a major river (such as the Chilkat, Taku, or Stikine) the river line resources were shared among the various groups (Oberg 1937:53). However, the smaller rivers were owned by the clan with the households dividing up the tributaries among themselves. Oberg (1937:54) noted a "very close correlation between the size of the local clan units and their resources."

Principle of Deference

Inevitably, the leading community house within the ranking matriclan within a village laid claim to the best economic resources in the area. They held title to the land by a system similar to the "American Homestead Act" of use and occupancy. The stronger groups were generally the oldest and, therefore, historically had first pick of the natural resources. Oberg (1937:121) observed that the stronger clans usually controlled that area of the watershed nearest the village; the weaker clans fished the more distant waters. Still

other clans who were lacking a land base waited until the other clans completed the use of their fishing grounds or exploited unclaimed fishing areas (Swanton 1908:425).

This differential access to the basic resources of life on the part of the various social groups was reflected in their system of deference. Original households and clans shared their resources with younger households and migrant clans but in the process retained the choice productive sites for themselves, produced the greater quantity of wealth, and experienced higher status. The Klukwan Ganaxtedi, who controlled the choice portion of the river bank owned and lived in the central plot of the village, claimed to be the original settlers (Oberg 1937:54). Oberg (1937:38) noted that the households within each matrilineal clan were ranked from high to low. McClellan (1950:76) confirmed that every clan within a village was ranked as well as every household within the clans.

Some major clans, like the Eagle Clan Kagwanton, lacked a property base. As one member of the Eagle Clan stated, "we were vagabonds." Local branches of the Eagle Clan settled among previous homesteader lineages, intermarried with the local groups, gained access to the resources, and rose to become one of the more powerful clans. Landless or lower ranked segments of society could elevate their social position through group accomplishments and peace settlements.

Deference not only indicated the capital gains of clans and households, it also defined the relationships that existed among the various social units. With the onset of household segmentations there arose the need for some additional general principle to define the relationships among the segments of the evolving clans. This emerging principle of ranking of the social units was undoubtedly not new since it may have entered into choices of marriages between households; it certainly would become intensified with the emphasis upon acquiring

wealth and the budding-off of new households that necessitated the social need to define the behavioral roles of individuals confronting one another as members belonging to separate households or clans. The problem of defining relationships would be further compounded with the consolidation of clans in villages.

In other words, within a given district qwan or village where social units traded, intermarried, or potlatched it became necessary to define the relationships that existed among the various groups. The principle of rank became a dominant mode for establishing interclan relationships. Within a localized clan the households were also ranked vis-a-vis one another; clans within districts were also ranked.

A district referred to a geographical region in which the social units intermarried and interacted with one another to a greater extent than they did with groups belonging to other similar areas. Usually the districts were separated by natural barriers such as mountains or water. One Tlingit elder mentioned that the word qwan had some significance as a geographical division and that the word was of considerable antiquity. A second Tlingit elder noted that the word qwan is a morphemic suffix (like "ian" in Bostonian) to indicate membership in a particular district. Krause (1956:74) listed thirteen districts qwans while Peratrovich (1959:27) mentioned fourteen. Krause mistakenly refers to these districts as tribes which implies a social entity, whereas each district comprised several localized clans. Thus the political environment within a district included many small well-armed camps who considered themselves to be sovereign political entities and zealous of their identity. The deference principle addressed itself to this problem and tempered a potentially tense situation by defining the relationships among the military strongholds in terms of a respect system. Olson (1967:55) stated that "tribal territory" was a "white man's construct" and suggested the only meaningful way to define property

ownership was in terms of "clans, households, and individuals." Oberg (1934: 152) concluded that one of the prominent themes in Tlingit society was the "importance of a clan as a sovereign group" followed by the "importance of individual status." Class regulated the internal household affairs among individual members; deference basically defined the relationships among households as social groups.

When the writer was adopted into a certain household in Angoon, he acquired the rank of that clan vis-a-vis all other clans. He also received a name (title) that defined his class within that house. One household within that particular localized clan is of higher rank and, therefore, the writer referred to the members of this other household as grandparents to show respect for them. The term grandfather is a term that implies "respect" (Stanley 1958:49). Later, the writer went to Sitka and became a "grandfather" to a high ranking clan there. In other words, rank was a principle that defined the social status between two individuals when they met as citizens from two different matriclans. Deference prescribed the appropriate behavior. The individual belonging to the higher ranking social group received respect and responded by showing graciousness.

This system of deference was a relatively stable entity. It was subject to change over longer rather than shorter intervals of time barring some totally disastrous phenomenon. Wealth and numbers of people were the primary considerations in ascertaining rank. Wealth and numbers permitted the group to give larger potlatches. Wealth attracted numbers and purchased slaves; both tended toward greater success in raids. Olson (1967:24) described a classic example of the criteria used in comparisons of rank between two lineages. It seems that two Wrangell chiefs became involved in a friendly discussion as to which of two highly ranked clans possessed the higher rank. They both, in turn, named the "various crests, houses, canoes, dishes, face-paintings . . . then

the two started singing the clan songs." The clan declared to possess the higher rank had twice the number of items in each category of prestige plus a special moose skin used for transporting esteemed guests from their canoes to the house of the host. The winner was obvious.

Segments of clans often split from the parent clan and moved to other localities. Thus local branches of clans existed, many times, in several villages especially after the consolidated villages came into being. The scattered clan recognized a common heritage and granted visiting clan brothers access to local resources upon request.

Political Organization of Local Clans

The political adjustments resulting from the development of localized clans from households pertained to the management and decision making functions contained in the more complex social structure. Every community house within the local clan was headed by a leader. The leader of the ranking house usually served as spokesman for the affiliated households and was known as the village ankau which meant "the all wise individual over us." In a multiclans village the ranking household leader of the affiliated clans was the ankau. The household head served on a council of elders to advise the local clan leader and assisted in the decision making process. One informant in Chatham Straits explained that "in the olden times we lived in large community houses with the floors cut down in three steps. Approximately fifty people lived in each house. A sub-chief was over each house and a head chief was over several houses. All of the houses in a village belonged to one group [clan]." Another informant stated that when "the council of house chiefs got together and they decided on something then that's the way it is to be."

A principle of government in Tlingit society was that "someone was always in charge." Within households, localized clans, or multiclan settlements one individual was recognized (by group consensus) as the leader. Thus in times of crises the chain of command was clear. During periods of hostilities each house leader or chief was in charge of his war canoe and served as a "company commander." The chief of the affiliated Raven or Eagle Clans functioned as the village "general." "The head-chief is not hesitant to consult with the sub-chiefs in order to acquire the best possible decision," stated an elder. "In the case of potlatch ceremonies," he continued, "the head-chief is the key-note speaker at all times. The sub-chiefs only make supportive speeches." At one of the potlatches attended by the writer, one of the sub-chiefs stated that he would turn the next part of the evening's event over to "our commander-in-chief" or key-note speaker for the affiliated Raven Clans. The phrase "our commander-in-chief" was the translation of a Tlingit term given the writer on the following day by the sub-chief who made the statement.

The ankau, as chief executive of a localized clan village or of a multiclan village, administered his responsibilities more by the power of persuasion stemming from the authority of his position and the reasonableness of his ideas than by the power of force or a threat of its use. The clan leader, as the head of the leading household, usually gained the consent of the other households within the local clan before proceeding with plans for raids or potlatches (Oberg 1937:39). At a potlatch the clan leader served as host and dispenser of many gifts but he did so with the consent of his people and the contributions of his clan. The contributions by clan members were later repaid by the clan head at the distribution of the gifts he received during a return potlatch. Peratrovich (1959: 127) described the process of initiating a potlatch for a totem pole. The males of the clan would assemble to discuss the arrangements: the amount of food

needed, the guest list, the distribution of the gifts, and the payment to the carver. The chief reminded the men of the responsibility they had as citizens of the clan "to erect a pole in accordance with the established customs of the people."

Bound by the traditions of the past and wishes of the chief, the men undertook the responsibilities of securing an appropriate log, contacting a reputable carver, and serving at the forthcoming feast. It is uncertain as to whether the calling of all males was a pre-1880 custom. Formerly heads of households were consulted on important matters while later, due to influences from the Alaska Native Brotherhood, all males were included.

Almost all of the political functions of a local clan were handled by the clan head in consultation with his elders. His household, in essence, functioned as the sociopolitical axis of the local clan (Oberg 1937:39). The dispersed clan acknowledged access to common reciprocal rights and privileges from the clan headman and a portion of the take to be shared with him. The membership of the dispersed clan looked to the highest ranking household leader as the honorary spokesman for the clan. Oberg (1967:1) and de Laguna (1972:283) stated that clan chiefs did in fact exist. A Chilkat elder explained that on certain occasions local clan divisions appointed one of their local clan chiefs to serve as spokesman for the dispersed clan.

Religious Organization of Local Clans

Two sources of authority within a clan were the clan chief and the Indian doctor ich. Both were individuals of authority and respected the other. The Indian doctor was consulted in times of illness, taught the people proper moral behavior, carried on spiritual battles with the Indian doctors from hostile clans, and foretold the future of individuals and communities. To live the life of an Indian doctor required a considerable amount of dedication and self-discipline.

Ceremonial names were considered to be sacred. Each clan possessed relatively few such names and the number seemed to be constant over many generations of time. The religious beliefs sanctioned the political position that accompanied the names. In receiving a name the individual paid respect to the ancestors, to the crest of the clan since the name usually referred to some part of the totemic animals anatomical structure or behavioral characteristics, and to the "ceremonial acts" of the clan's progenitors (Oberg 1937:45). Honorific names of the Killerwhale House referred to parts of the killerwhale like the fin or the tail. Names received in this manner, defined individual role and status at all ceremonial occasions. Names brought together the world of the helping spirits and the world of human beings in a politico-religious setting that reinforced each other.

Respect for Women

Tlingit households and local clans emphasized the role of males in the defense of resources and wealth. Lineage membership and descent, however, were traced through women. Understandably, therefore, women occupied a prominent place in Tlingit society and were highly respected. One of the basic social rules admonished men to protect the women. As one informant observed, the place of women in Tlingit society was probably well portrayed in their dancing. Men take the lead and action parts whereas women move quietly yet in a harmonious and complementary fashion.

Women were taught to be strong in mind, to speak the truth, and to be fearless even if men faltered. It was good for people to remark that a sister had "a strong will like her brothers." In time of raids, women girded on a belt and a knife to assist their brothers even as the Frog Clan did in defense of Sitka in 1804. If no qualified nephew was available a niece could have inherited the position of the uncle. Women maintained a strong voice in clan decisions, the granting

of names, and the choices in marriages. This, stated an elder, was the position of women. They maintained high moral standards, underwent a rigorous education, and were chaperoned constantly.

Since children were generally born into a community house belonging to their father (who was a member of another household), the mother and other women from the mother's lineage educated the youth in the heritage of their particular household until such time as the males would be transferred to the uncles and thus to the households of their true citizenship. As long as the sons remained with their fathers, their mothers were often their sole source of lineage culture. This reveals the vital link provided by mothers in orientating their sons to the household of their uncles. Throughout life it was always the mother and her lineage that made the major decisions affecting the lives of young warriors including the choice of a spouse in marriage (Salisbury 1962:110). High class women refrained from many of the domestic labors formerly assigned to slaves. It has been reported that women exerted as much influence as some of the men who served on a council and that the opinions of women often outweighed those of men in deciding familial affairs (Salisbury 1962:108).

Women could and did inherit chiefly offices when no suitable male was available. It must be presumed, therefore, that Salisbury (1962:108) was reporting the ideal customary procedure when he stated that "a woman could not be a chief." De Laguna (1972:463) wrote that a woman could fill the office of "head of the tribe" if she were the highest ranking individual available. Jenney Kardeetos (1872-1921) was the last chief to fill that office in the Yakutat Bear House. Shotridge (1919:48) described a situation in which a female inherited the position of a chief. On one occasion when the Sea-Lion Clan of Klukwan intended to perform an important ceremony, the only traditionally qualified individual to inherit the position was a woman. No appropriate heirlooms were

contained in the clan's ceremonial collection "suitable for feminine use." Consequently, they adopted a foreign style of headdress and carved the sea-lion on it. At the installation of the female head and the dedication of the ceremonial headdress several slaves were given their freedom. This act reportedly initiated the custom of the wearing of headdresses by women.

The data from de Laguna and Shotridge may refer to a later practice precipitated by a declining male population and the change from community households to nuclear households. Formerly, community houses were under the control and supervision of males whose sisters were married to and resided with their husband's household in avunculocal residence. It would have been extremely difficult to live in one household and administer another household in absentia especially the trading and raiding expeditions. Given these factors, the decision to install a female as a household head was undoubtedly an accommodation to a declining male population, a change in residence pattern, and the presence of the American militia. The adoption of a foreign style headdress indicated a relatively recent innovation. Nevertheless, the change in custom demonstrated the high esteem Tlingit males displayed toward women.

Occasionally, high class husbands possessed more than one wife; high class wives sometimes had more than one husband. The first husband had little say about the arrangement and the second husband could marry only with the consent of the wife (Oberg 1937:39). Formerly, multiple spouses resulted from death or barrenness. In one instance it protected the widow and in the other it propagated the house. The role of women as leaders, as advisors in trading expeditions, and as steerswomen for canoes reflected their esteem in Tlingit society. Women lacked the rights and legal power to possess the wealth or crests but through the female line property and prestige was passed on to the next generation.

III. Moieties

General Description

Undoubtedly the principle of exogamous moieties, more than any other single factor, accounted for the unification of all Tlingit speaking people into a single alliance system that stretched from Ketchikan to Yakutat in Southeastern Alaska--a distance of over four hundred air miles. Moieties were the largest social grouping that practiced exogamous marriage and shared common crests. Two such units, the Ravens and the Eagle-Wolf, existed in Tlingit society.

Olson (1967:25) noted that the basic structural principle of the Tlingit social system that provided an enduring quality to it was the "moiety organization." De Laguna (1972:834) referred to this same element of Tlingit society as the "principle of opposites" in which the two groups intermarry, father each other's children, resolve disputes through brothers-in-law, and perform various ceremonial tasks. The Eagle-Wolf Shangookeidee and the Raven Laayneidee moieties existed from the cultural past as the parent stock from whence developed in "amoebalike" fashion the major Tlingit clans (Hope 1974:19). Originally the two maximal lineages were the Raven and Wolf. As time passed the Eagle Clan Kagwantan increased in numbers and prestige to the point where the Wolf and Eagle crest was used interchangeably out of "courtesy" to the powerful Eagle Clan (Hope 1974:20).

The model of the sibling relationship found within the nuclear family was not only applied to the household and clan but also to the moiety. Within a moiety, each individual stood in a sibling relationship to one another since all laid claim to a common parentage. Marriage within this social group was tantamount to incest and strictly forbidden. The moiety system fulfilled two social functions: (1) it served to establish ties between clans and (2) it created two

large intermarrying groups that united all clans into two affiliated social groups to promote common ties and loyalties without usurping their political autonomy.

Historical Antecedents

It has been suggested that the early Athapascan bands who inhabited the interior of Northwestern Canada may have been matrilineal at the time of their migration to North America (Vanstone 1974:52). The custom of bride service, prevalent in early times, required a husband to reside with the parents of the bride and to work for them until full compensation for his wife had been paid. This practice approximated the custom of matrilocal residence and is believed to have led to the matrilineal descent rule. Generally the rule for descent follows from the residence rule (Service 1962:121). The Atna, Carrier, Kaska, Kutchin, Tahltan, and Tanaina represented interior social groups that practiced the matrilineal descent rule.

Habitually, bands were exogamous (Service 1962:75) and this practice formed the basis for establishing alliances with other groups in order to obtain spouses and mutual assistance. The larger the population of the groups establishing an alliance, the greater will be the sphere of assistance in times of food shortages and in periods of external threats. Three factors that may have contributed to the need for strong alliances included: a growth in population, food shortages, and external pressures. An early preference for a "tripartite system" (Vanstone 1974:52) disappeared and apparently was replaced by the dual organization system. The latter system may have decreased tensions and the tendency for two groups to pair off against a third. Two groups who depended upon one another for spouses and mutual aid apparently proved to be more adaptive. Six societies in this general area that developed matrilineal moieties included: Atna, Eyak, Haida, Tahltan, Tlingit, and Southern Tutchone (de Laguna 1972:450). Vanstone (1974:56) viewed many of the customs practiced by the Tlingit

and neighboring tribes as springing from an early common heritage. Since the Haida pushed northward from the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Tsimshian enlarged their territory along the lower Nass and Skeena Rivers, the Aleuts moved onto the mainland, and the Eskimo extended their borders southward there was little wonder that political alliances greatly increased in importance. The Tlingit struggle with the Russians demonstrated the effectiveness of a military orientated moiety system to mobilize large numbers of warriors, e. g., two or three thousand.

Complementary Opposites

Just as modern industrial nations have permitted themselves, through internal development, to become dependent upon other societies for some special commodity like petroleum, the Tlingit clans allowed themselves to become dependent upon other groups for spouses. Women from one community married men from other settlements or other community houses. In this manner they created an enduring social tie. Like early modern European monarchies, marriages represented the method par excellence for the bringing of groups together to form alliances. In a very real sense, clans chose not to marry within their own group, rather they preferred to negotiate for brides with other clans. This created a situation in which certain clans became dependent upon other groups for spouses, kept open the lines of diplomacy, and the exchange of a variety of goods and services. All clans were segregated into one of the two moieties.

Moieties were politico-religious alignments that shared common crests of identity and kinship ties. Marriages served as one of the main types of exchange that tied the two groups together and helped define their relationships in terms of complementary opposites. Marriage and ceremonial types of exchange perpetually reinforced the alliance between the moieties. Theoretically, warfare between these two groups was unthinkable and many pressures were brought to

bear to maintain peaceful relationships. Few social or political events could legitimately be held without the assistance of the opposite side. Weddings, funerals, construction of houses, carving of ceremonial objects, weaving of Chilkat blankets, inauguration of chiefs, changes in social statuses, and many more events required the services of the opposite side.

As a general rule of social organization the rule of exogamy divided the larger society into two groups: (1) potential spouses and (2) prohibited spouses. The cross-cousin marriage proscription principle further limited the field of culturally desirable spouses to close relatives--namely, the mother's brother's daughter for males or the father's sister's son for females. It has been suggested that the core element of Tlingit society was a group of males, most often brothers from one community house, who engaged in an exchange system with another group of brothers from a second community house by marriage with the sisters of the men from the opposite side of society. The avunculocal residence principle returned the sister's son to defend the house of the mother and her brothers. Cross-cousin marriages along with the moiety principle sustained the alliance and exchange system in perpetuity. Figure 4.1 traces the exchange between a Bear House and a Beaver House. A chief's daughter could marry a chief's nephew and remain in the house since she belonged to her mother's household. Thus, in some marriages the couple remained within the house of the male's maternal uncle after marriage.

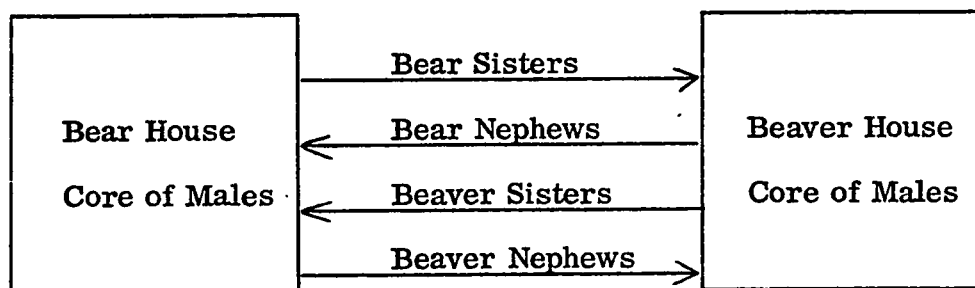


Figure 4.1 Diagram of the Marriage System

Stanley (1958:54) cogently described the extent of integration of opposites by stating, "A man saw his brother-in-law's house as the one in which he had been born, the one which contained his sister, the one in which his own son would be raised and would perhaps some day head, and as the house in which his future heir was living or would be born." Peratrovich (1959:40) noted that marriages precipitated a series of exchanges between the house of a bride's father and the house of the bride's husband. These exchanges took place at the birth, naming, and bestowal of honors upon the children at which time the father-in-law passed on his wealth and status to his son-in-law to hold in trust for his grandchildren. The bonds between the two moieties included that of "traditional rivalry" and of reciprocal aid (Averkieva 1966:18).

Oberg (1937:46), Stanley (1958:25), and Wike (1966:310) stressed the importance of the multiclan village as a prerequisite to the moiety system. A neglected element in the study of Tlingit society has been the importance of the district or qwan. Peratrovich (1959:27) described fourteen Tlingit districts as "loosely confederated clans." A district comprised several autonomous localized clan settlements that intermarried with greater frequency than they did with other districts. Within a district, communities that belonged to the same moiety tended to band together against member clans of the same moiety from other districts (de Laguna 1960:149). Given the significant numbers of single clan communities, it followed that the moiety system could survive regardless of the existence of multiclan villages (Vancouver 1801:46-47; Swanton 1908:408-415; Garfield 1947:438-450). Formerly within the Angoon district the Killerwhale people customarily married the Dog Salmon people, the Beaver community exchanged sisters with the Bear community, and the Basket Bay settlement mated with the Mud Shark settlement (informants).

Summary

Tlingit households basically consisted of a core of males entrusted with the corporate responsibilities of protecting and of increasing the material assets of the community house. With the increase in wealth and population, households began a process of segmentation as an alternative to migration as a means of relieving mounting pressures to accumulate wealth and improve social position. Each segmenting group occupied their own community house, shared in the corporate estate, and participated in the group decisions. The various heads of the community houses formed a council of household leaders, headed by the leader of the ranking house, and served as the decision making body for the related houses. Two emerging elements in the clan level of social organization included the shared estate concept and the administration function of the local clan head. The principle of deference prescribed the social behavior for relationships among the members from different community houses in terms of dominance and subordination in a social environment permeated with a high degree of emphasis placed upon respect for the individual. Moiety united all Tlingit in an alliance system based upon reciprocal exchange. This perpetual exchange of individuals and services maintained channels of communication that knitted the fabric of Tlingit social society into two complementary social groups.

Chapter V

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The process of household segmentation within local clans led to a differentiation of households on the basis of wealth and privilege. The socioeconomic gap between the higher and lower ranked households widened. It will be argued here that this process resulted in the emergence of an incipient class system.

I. Theoretical Considerations Concerning Social Stratification

Conflicting Models of Stratification

Many writers on the cultures of the Northwest Coast contend that social classes did not exist. To Drucker (1939:58) everyone in society was graded in a series from top chief down to the lowest citizen and "to insist upon the use of the term class system for the Northwest Coast society means that we must say that each individual was in a class by himself." Farb (1968:138) exceeded Drucker in this emphasis by insisting that "each man was graded as evenly as the one-sixteenth-inch marks on a yardstick equidistant from the man above him and from the man below him." These views have virtually dominated the thinking of both the public and the scholarly world. The Tlingit writer, Peratrovich (1959:17), also viewed his society as consisting of a "graded series of statuses" and states that it is "impossible to mark off a fixed point separating noble from commoner." De Laguna (1972:462) described the classification of clan members as "a series of graded ranks." She added that "it would be incorrect . . . to

think of such a series as made up of definite classes or, on the contrary, as a hierarchy of evenly spaced positions." De Laguna rejected the notion of a "stairway" model of graded status by emphasizing "marked gaps or discontinuities of rank between family lives." Each of these writers, in turn, rejected a Tlingit class system model; however, each of the writers referred to a high rank, a low rank, and an absence of rank for slaves.

Ray (1956:165) refuted the "no class theory" by calling attention to the "reality of the lower class and the magnitude of the cultural distance separating it from the upper class" as being "firmly established ethnographic facts." Jacobs (1964:56) essentially agreed with Ray insisting that every society on the Northwest Coast used special linguistic terms to categorize their people into discrete groups. Jacobs noted that one of the characteristics of a stratified society was the "ability to rise and fall in status." Shotridge (1913:83), a ranking Chilkat household leader, indicated that Tlingit society contained both a class system and a system of deference. According to Shotridge, relations between clans conformed to a system of deference in which the clans were "said to be higher and lower than one another." This deference relationship was explained (see pp. 95-99) as corresponding to the respect behavior exhibited between a grandfather and grandchild. Shotridge also mentions three classes of people for Tlingit society and describes diagnostics for each group.

The crux of this disagreement pertained to which model of social organization best explained the social organization of the Tlingit: a "calibrated" ranking system or a social class system. General agreement seems to prevail that some individuals were ranked high and others ranked low in society; the point of contention relates to the evidence for or against distinct social classes. Thus, the question to be considered in this section asks to what extent class stratification existed in Tlingit society and was there a set of criteria that

served as the basis for the classification of individuals into a class system ?

Basis of Stratification

Fried (1967:191) has contended that stratification developed in response to an economic change in which "basic resources were converted from communal to private property." This led to differential access to basic resources. Certain individuals, by reason of their position and power, could manipulate and direct the use of basic resources to the exclusion of other individuals. Fried (1967:186) states that a stratified society exists when "members of the same sex and equivalent age status do not have equal access to the basic resources that sustain life." Fried (1967:196) suggests that "population pressure" and the "development of managerial roles" were two casual factors that contributed to the formation of "stratified societies." Evidence seems to indicate that both of these factors contributed to social stratification among the Tlingit.

Several writers mention that aboriginal settlements were numerous and that available land and sea resources were claimed and exploited (Swanton 1908: 397; Davidson 1928:35; Oberg 1937:7; Goldschmidt and Haas 1946). Such claims on all available aboriginal resources were not unique to the Tlingit since Garfield and Wingert (1966:14) reported a similar situation among the Tsimshian. The existence of numerous fortifications also suggest population pressure (Niblack 1890:303-304; de Laguna 1960). On the basis of population and settlement data it is assumed that population contributed significantly to the emergence of social stratification among the Tlingit.

A second factor that contributes to stratification is the development of managerial roles. For this study a managerial role will refer to the position in the economic system whereby an individual oversees the productive forces, the distribution process, the investment of wealth, and the consumption of goods and services. A ranking household leader will be described (see pp. 186-189)

as supervising a contingent of nephews and slaves to be used as laborers, as a militia, and as a retinue during trading ventures. A ranking household leader also controlled strategic productive resources, supervised the production of part-time specialists, and invested the profits in wealth goods. Averkieva (1971:328) explained that communally produced resources were used to obtain "slaves, coppers, weapons, and valuable shells" that became private property. The ownership of many slaves by a wealthy household leader enabled him to command a larger force than was available through the kinship system. Fried (1967:222) minimizes the importance of slavery in contributing to the wealth and power of a chief. Marris (1964:77) asserts that managerial elites "attempt to maximize the size of the organization in order to increase their own power since power is a product of their position and power is increased by size." Slaves provided an additional source of manpower to increase the power of ranking leaders.

De Laguna (1972:245) presented evidence to suggest that during periods of acute food shortages poor people were forced to become slaves to wealthy leaders in order to obtain food. Their freedom could be purchased by an appropriate sum of wealth paid by relatives. Oberg (1966:216-217) commented that given enough time a debt slave might regain his freedom through his labor. Oberg noted that debt slaves even included members of one's own clan but that slaves from one's clan could not be sold or given away at potlatches. These data suggest that the Tlingit had differential access to basic resources, that ranking household leaders manipulated the human and natural resources for personal gain, and that members of Tlingit society could through poverty be reduced to the status of slaves. The esteem and prestige of a ranking household leader, as a manager, varied according to his ability, ambition, resources, labor force, and military force composed of nephews and slaves directly under

his command. (An elaboration of the activities of household heads will be addressed in a later section.)

Two other significant factors in the development of stratification, according to Fried (1967:188, 225), include the restriction of "available usufructs to specific individuals or groups" and "the emergence of socioeconomic classes associated with markedly contrasted standards of living." It has been stated that ranking households retained rights to the most productive resources. Davidson (1928:18) designated on a map areas of both individual and clan land holdings in Chilkat territory. "In respect to the individual holdings," stated Davidson (1928:21), "the clan of the owner exerts no control." Private land holdings were also reported by an elder who formerly resided in the Sitka district. Garfield and Wingert (1966:14) described a similar practice among the Tsimshian: "Lineage heads could, and did, designate certain areas as exclusive and pass them on as private property to successors." The exclusive control of these territories could have contributed significantly to the formation of socioeconomic classes. Because the material concerning the evidence for socioeconomic classes is highly salient to this study, it will be discussed in a separate section.

II. Description of Tlingit Stratification

Emergence of Stratification

When the Tlingit first settled along the coast of Southeastern Alaska their communities were relatively small in population and somewhat isolated. Early traditions seemed to indicate that disagreements within the large community house were often resolved by one party migrating to a new location (Garfield 1947:449). Early village settlement patterns seemed to substantiate this trend. As population increased and settlements became more numerous migrations

became increasingly less advantageous. Accordingly, fission of households within the community largely replaced migrations as an alternative method of conflict resolution. Later village settlement patterns confirmed the process of household segmentation within the local clan (Keithahn 1963:68).

Older households retained usufruct rights to the more strategic resources and thus increased in wealth and status. Newer households received access to less productive areas, and thus contained fewer residents, produced fewer trade items, and accumulated less wealth. An economic disparity between the founding households and fission households developed through time. Some Tlingits have stated that at one time all of the people were more or less equal in social status. As one elder expressed it, "Everyone started out on the same level." Oberg (1937:40) observed that as the clans increased in numbers, "class divisions became more accentuated."

Criteria of Stratification

Sorokin (1961:570) defined social stratification as "the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes." Sorokin suggests that social stratification was manifested in the division of people into "upper and lower layers." Three common types of social stratification, according to Sorokin, are economic, political, and occupational. Economic stratification existed in a society if its members were divided into a "wealthy" group and a "poor" group. Political stratification existed in a society if the members were divided into rulers and ruled and if there was a hierarchy to "authority and prestige" as well as "honors and titles." Occupational stratification referred to the ranking of occupational groups and the division of labor into bosses, with various degrees of authority and subordinates. Tumin (1964:697) suggested some additional characteristics of stratification: (1) extent of class consciousness, (2) perceived differences between ranks, and (3) ideological justification for ranking the

various strata. To Goldschmidt (1950:49) the essence of class stratification referred to "a degree of unity and some form of homogeneity among its members." Using the criteria suggested by these writers, an analysis of Tlingit society will be made to ascertain to what extent a class system was applicable to traditional society. For the purposes of this study social classes will refer to the differentiation of individuals into distinct groups on the basis of social, economic, and prestige factors.

Analysis of Tlingit Stratification

One significant factor in identifying class stratification is socially perceived differences. People divide and classify experience through their language. As Watson and Watson (1969:3) have noted, "All knowledge depends on categorization; that is, the classification of objects according to their similarities to and differences from other objects." The Tlingit taxonomic system classified people into distinct categories: (1) high class--anyaddi, (2) commoners--kanackideh, (3) low class--nitchakaku, and (4) slaves--gux (Olson 1967:48). Households and individuals within clans were ranked as high or low according to the size, wealth, titles, prestige, power, and achievements of the group (Olson 1967:47-48; de Laguna 1972:461-465). Although de Laguna (1972:462) cautions her readers that the Yakutat Tlingit "only very loosely" used the concepts of social classes, it is worth noting that while the Yakutat Tlingit represent the most recent Tlingit settlement along the coast, it still exhibited the rudiments of class stratification.

A second factor in social stratification is the division of the population into the wealthy and poor groupings accompanied by unequal status. Some families were reportedly too poor to have an "emblem" (Swanton 1908:415). A Tlingit elder explained that "the class system was based upon wealth: coppers, slaves, and furs." Wealth was derived from land holdings, rights to waterways, and control of trade routes. High class people controlled the most strategic

resources. Generally they had been the first to settle in the area and, therefore, selected the most productive areas (Oberg 1937:38). Petrov (1882:166), who traveled extensively in Alaska in compiling the first U.S. census of Alaska, stated that "without reference to clan or subdivision all the Thlinket are divided into two classes, one containing the chiefs or the nobility, the other the common people." Petrov identified the wealthy people as possessing slaves and suggested that their authority was founded upon their wealth. Oberg (1937:74) observed that some household leaders belonged to the high class and other household leaders did not. All members of the upper class refrained from menial labor which was done by slaves (Oberg 1937:74; Salisbury 1962:44-45). Refraining from menial labor accounted for the close association between possessing slaves and belonging to the upper class. High class women were never taught "the common art of weaving," rather they learned the art of poise and proper speech. Salisbury (1962:44-45) reported that even during the early part of the twentieth century high class women retained a distain for menial tasks formerly carried out by slaves. Paul (1938:56) mentioned that high class women refrained from gathering spruce roots since it was considered to be unsuitable work for a person of their status.

The ability to "manipulate wealth" was a hallmark of the aristocrat (de Laguna 1972:357). Upper class households contained part-time specialists that contributed to the stock of trade goods. Since lower class people contributed much of the ordinary economic labor, upper class people assumed managerial, manufacturing, and merchandising roles. Peratrovich (1959:124) explained that the abundant fishing resources "released energies" which could profitably be converted into productive channels. Some individuals who were attached to a wealthy household produced canoes, baskets, blankets, and garments. These items were either traded or invested at potlatches.

Sorokin (1961:570) also delineated the significance of unequal economic status to class stratification. Theoretically land was communally owned by the local clan. In practice wealthy households restricted access to strategic resources. Moreover, a few individuals retained sole possession to certain lands while others in the community were without land rights (Swanton 1908:425). Peratrovich (1959:124) acknowledged that, "Some strategic resources were privately owned by lineage headmen . . . ocean fishing areas, shellfish beaches, river fishing spots, fish spearing rocks, and hunting districts." According to Peratrovich, the existence of inequalities in the ownership of productive resources resulted in the creation of hereditary classes: a wealthy upper class, a poor lower class, and a slave class. Olson (1967:12) states that a few wealthy individuals controlled certain small streams like private "preserves." Wealthy families controlled the mouths of rivers while poor people fished upstream. At the peak of the fish run, lower class families were often asked to assist the wealthy in catching the fish that swarmed at the mouth of the stream and received a portion of food in compensation for their labor (Averkieva 1966:43-44). A wealthy household head also received part of the catch and a portion of the hunt from his relatives (de Laguna 1972:361, 464). Members of the low class were occasionally forced to become debt slaves in order to obtain food (Oberg 1937:216, de Laguna 1972:245).

Third, certain social practices contained attributes of class stratification. De Laguna (1972:462) referred to "a kind of aristocracy" of leaders and their immediate families who contrasted with ordinary people. This "so called aristocracy" received richer presents, greater compensation for injury, and higher honors (Krause 1956:84). Oberg (1937:40) observed that class emphasis crossed clan and moiety boundaries and may have resulted in loyalties that formed "a unit stronger than the clan itself." If so, class stratification by this time had

superseded kinship ties among the wealthy. The Raven and Eagle high classes at Kluckwan intermarried and often ignored their own clansmen of low rank. An old Tlingit proverb admonished the people to "choose your equal in caste for a life-mate, and your children shall rejoice over your birth" (Shotridge 1973:3). Krause (1956:84) mentions that the upper class perpetuated themselves through proper marriages. Peratrovich (1959:66) contends that parents and relatives vigorously opposed any proposed marriage to someone of a lower class and that a chief might even kill his sister if she disgraced him in marriage. Thus, whereas matrilineal descent linked generations of ancestors vertically through time, the class principle linked households of equal social standing horizontally through marriage alliances.

Customarily, Tlingit were monogamous. However, polygamy was "acceptable among the wealthy" (Gunther 1972:180). Petrov (1882:169) reports that polygamy was widespread among the wealthy but that the first wife retained primary authority. A Tlingit elder mentioned that her grandmother was one of a Klukwan chief's ten wives. The Bear Clan head at Yakutat had five wives (de Laguna 1972:245). Olson (1967:21) suggested that sororal polygyny or at least clan sisters were probably the preferred form of polygamy. Occasionally, wealthy women were known to consort with a lover but it is unclear if such situations could be classified as a second husband.

Differences in dress and physical appearance separated high class people from low class people. Only the high class had their hands tattooed, their ear lobes and nasal septum pierced, or wore labrets in their lower lip (Paul 1938:67; Krause 1956:98; de Laguna 1972:446). Olson (1967:49) stated that the custom of wearing labrets was restricted to the "rich and wellborn." Various skin blankets worn by the high class set them apart from others. Apparently, local communities developed their own traditions and variations

as to what was considered to be prestigious: mink in Sitka, red fox at Haines, and sea otter or martin skins at Yakutat. Paul (1938:66) mentioned that "only the chief's daughter could wear martin." During a quarrel, according to a Tlingit elder, a high class woman at Sitka might put down a low class woman simply by saying, "I wore a mink skin blanket. What did you wear when you were a little girl?"

Another distinguishing feature of the upper class pertained to the code of social behavior to which all were expected to conform. Olson (1956: 685) referred to the behavior of the high class as "noblese oblige." High class people avoided speaking to anyone except their equal (Oberg 1937:74). High class people were circumspect in deed and word lest they betray their rank and debase themselves. The speech of the high class was kind, courteous, succinct, and full of wisdom; their visits to other communities were brief; and their labor excluded menial tasks. Distinguished visitors to a community were often carried from their canoes to the house of their host (Lisiansky 1814:222). The traditional mannerisms of the high class were distinct.

The woman has a dignity of bearing that is almost awesome. The sense of her superiority is strong within her and forces her fellow villagers to place the same valuation on her. . . . Her husband strides the street, splendidly physiqued, erect and commanding, genial in expression, stately in bearing; and to behold him is to suggest the stalking of a chieftom (Salisbury 1962:44-45).

Children of high class parents were given extensive training in tradition, potlatching, stories, etiquette, and social practices. In turn, society expected from them a high standard of behavior. Low class children received only rudimentary instruction in these areas. As a rule, these individuals lacked discreteness in their speech; they were unconcerned about the opinions or feelings of others; and they brazenly expressed their opinions. Such persons revealed in their behavior their deficiency in proper training. Young people were

specifically told to which class they belonged, who their relatives were, and if any of their ancestors had been slaves. It was considered an important part of their education to be knowledgeable concerning their ancestry and their individual identity (Olson 1956:679).

Fourth, Oberg (1937:74) distinguishes between household leaders who belonged to the high class from those who did not. Oberg (1937:100) states that theoretically a clan would be invited to a potlatch but that low ranked households were "conveniently left out." Within a community setting all classes of people intermingled but "in marriage, at feasts, in public councils, and in the settlements of wrongs and injuries, class distinctions are always asserted" (Jones 1914:60). The guest lists on such occasions sharply separated high class people from low class people. Potlatches were of two types: major and minor (Oberg 1937:95). All local people participated in a minor potlatch; only the high class were invited to major potlatches in distant communities (de Laguna 1972:611). Those individuals permitted to participate in major potlatches had a better opportunity to negotiate high status marriages, increase trading prospects, and gain access to new investment opportunities. Wealth, titles, and prestige were largely controlled by the major potlatching groups.

High class people claimed the most productive resources, manipulated the labor force of the lower class and slaves, and traded to obtain greater wealth. They also bestowed honors and titles. Peratrovich (1959:37) commented that the titles of nobility were the greatest of prerogatives and that the bestowal of these titles granted "the position of nobility." Olson (1967:6) maintained that these names "conveyed a fairly definite social rank or value." These statements indicated that individuals who received a title of nobility at a potlatch belonged to the privileged class and those who did not possess a title of nobility were not a formal member of the privileged class. When a host group invited another group to a

distant potlatch each guest was called by "his honorable name" and every person so named responded (Billman 1964:57). Thus group lines became sharply drawn on these occasions between titled persons and non-titled persons.

Each clan possessed a number of names signifying various gradations of social status. Clan names included the names of the living, some of the names of the dead which had not been bestowed on the living, and names that had been captured in warfare. Clan names generally referred to their crest: an anatomical portion of the crest like a fin, a reference to the crest animal's habitat, or a characteristic of its habits. Each name was arranged in a serial order from the household head down to the least in importance. This permitted a chain of command to be in effect at all times and signified to each individual their rank within the clan hierarchy. The bestowal of a name was often preceded by a serious and lengthy discussion concerning the merits and achievements of the individual to receive the name. Names could only be given at a potlatch, by a chief, with the consensus of the membership, and the acknowledgment of all the guest chiefs.

In order to acquire a better understanding of Tlingit society it is important to note five general principles of social organization that permeated Tlingit culture: (1) matrilineal descent which connected generations together through time, (2) exogamous marriages that formed the basis for political alliances, (3) a class system that tied households together horizontally, (4) a system of deference that defined the relationship among households and clans in terms of respect, and (5) a ranking system that defined the relationship of individuals within a group. Some writers have tended to focus on some of these principles and neglect others. All five principles contribute to an understanding of the dynamics of Tlingit society; they interact in creating a system of conflicting loyalties; and they seek to channel intergroup activities through a system of

respect.

Birth tended to set limitations on the names an individual might aspire to receive. The acquisition of such names required the validation of kinsmen and the evidence of personal achievements (de Laguna 1972:464). Mental achievements; special skills such as carving, hunting, painting, weaving, dancing, or singing; and the ability to forecast the weather brought respect, especially to the upper class (de Laguna 1965:17). The class system was based upon accomplishments and wealth--a symbol of achievement. "If you didn't have a large house, blankets, and skins you were condemned as being lazy," commented one Tlingit elder. "If you didn't have wealth you were looked upon with disgrace." On the one hand, a clan group united its communal resources to promote, defend, and assist one another. On the other hand, individuals were encouraged to compete for status and prestige with one another in a graded hierarchy of names. These two principles resulted in a creative tension that developed group strength and fostered individual achievement. As a result an individual benefited from the protection and security of the group; the group profited from the accomplishments of the individual and the incentive for higher levels of production encouraged by such competition (Colson 1953:191).

In 1974 the writer asked some Tlingit living in Angoon to indicate to which social class they belonged according to traditional criteria. The individual responses were as follows: eleven upper class, twenty-nine middle class, and four lower class. This response was significant since the ANB and ANS have advocated a policy of equality for over sixty years. Murdock (1934:245-246) suggests that Haida society was divided into three social classes: nobles, commoners, and slaves. Garfield and Wingert (1966:28) describe the Tsimshian social system in terms of four classes: high, middle, low, and slaves; and Lantis (1970:295) states that the Aleuts possessed three classes: honorables,

commoners, and slaves and suggested that Aleut social classes reflected a Tlingit overlay in their emphases upon wealth and status. This emphases upon wealth, prestige, and social classes was not unique to the Tlingit but was shared by neighboring ethnic groups and so reported by ethnographers.

Informants, traditions, and early descriptions have depicted the Tlingit as composed of two classes of free people--the wealthy and the poor (Petrov 1882:166). Some have viewed the middle class as a postcontact development contingent upon the appearance of new sources of wealth stimulated through trade with whites. Emmons (1916:9-10) described an intermediate group of people between the high and the low groups who had "forced themselves to the front through wealth, character, or artistic ability." Shotridge (1913:83) reported that the middle class was composed of families who had raised their social status with wealth but were unable to buy their way into the high class.

Around the turn of the nineteenth century, Tlingit observed the European directed hunting parties destroy large herds of sea mammals with no apparent supernatural repercussions. Gradually the Tlingit lost much of their fear of wanton slaughter of the fur bearing animals. Spurred by growing trade with whites and the rapid influx of wealth from the fur trade, wages, commercial fishing, and prostitution many low class Tlingit could begin to compete with the high class in the accumulation of wealth (Keithahn 1945:46). The acquisition of this wealth along with a general population decline permitted low class people a new means to upward mobility (Peratrovich 1959:19-21). A Tlingit elder commented that in "olden times the people were mostly all high or low class people" and that a middle class developed after the coming of the white man.

"Discontinuities" in Tlingit social stratification were apparent (de Laguna 1972:462). These marked gaps separated groups of people on the basis of wealth, strategic resources, labor and management, dress, behavioral mannerisms,

property, education, physical markings, participation in the political process, marriage preferences, and taxonomy. Smelser (1966:6) described the stratification of classes in terms of (1) the classification of groups of people on the basis of some objective criteria, and (2) the collective recognition by the group that they do in fact occupy similar roles separate from other groups. The ethnographic material contains the classification of individuals into a privileged group and a poor group as well as revealed a distinct class consciousness that permeated social relations from marriages to potlatches. Along with the contention that the Tlingit exhibited class stratification it is important to note that Tlingit class structure was an emerging phenomenon rather than a completely formed system (Semenov 1974:200).

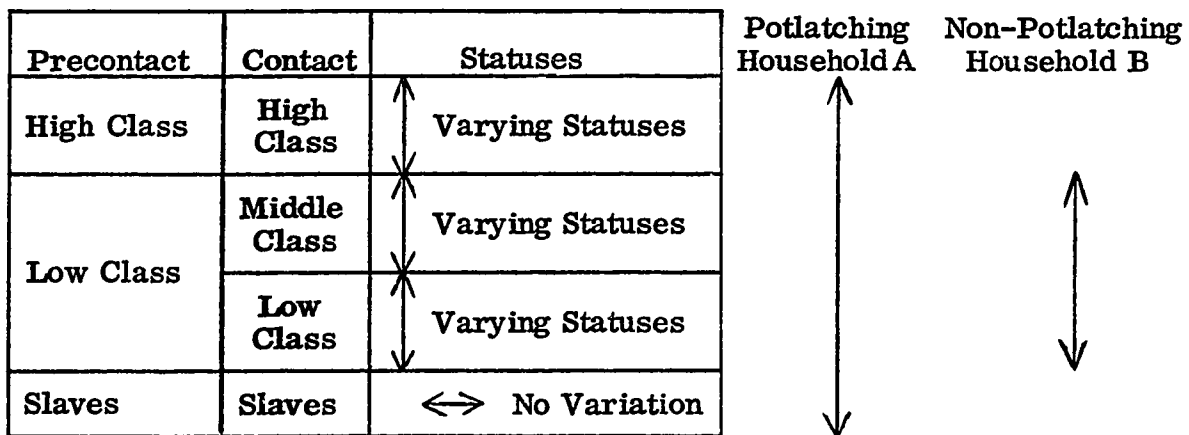


Figure 5.1 Tlingit Social Classes

Figure 5.1 contrasts two important elements in Tlingit social classes and statuses. It shows that groups were divided along class lines and that this in no way negated the possibility of every individual within a local clan group holding a special rank in a graded series of ranked statuses (Goldschmidt 1950: 491). The two principles were complementary rather than contradictory. These two principles were operative during a recent potlatch: (1) each household of the

host clan was called according to rank within the clan while every individual within each household was called according to rank and lined up in a descending order of household status from the chief down, and (2) the guests were seated as a group with the exception of the high class guests who not only were separated physically but also were each expected to respond with a speech. The host group exhibited and the individual confirmed the status of every person in the clan, while the guest group divided along upper and lower class lines. Out-of-town guests were seated at the distinguished guest table and each one gave a speech.

Existence of a Slave Class

One area of analysis concerning the social structure of the Northwest Coast cultures in which a general consensus exists pertains to the reality of a slave class distinct from all other social groups (Drucker 1939:55). The Tlingit term for slaves was gux; their children and descendants were called guxyadki, meaning children of slaves (Olson 1967:53). Fried (1967:220) regards the existence of slavery on the Northwest Coast as being composed of war captives. Fried (1967:222) expressed the opinion that slaves in no way produced goods that enhanced their master's wealth or contributed to improve the master's position in the potlatch exchange. Farb (1968:141) strongly denounced any reference to the Northwest Coast cultures in terms of "slave societies." He restricted the use of slave societies to state forms of governments or other societies who have sought to emulate certain practices used by more complex cultures. Farb continued by stating that the nearest practice by any North American Indian society to the custom of slavery was "debt slavery" found in Northern California and Oregon.

A Russian naval officer, Lieutenant Wehrman, compiled a census of the Tlingit in 1861 that set the Tlingit population at 7769 individuals plus 828 slaves--or about 11 percent of the population (Hodge 1910:765). Wehrman's 1861 census

correlated closely to the 1836 and 1846 census which put the slave population at about 14 percent (MacLeod 1928:639). This suggested two significant elements to be included in an analysis concerning slavery among the Tlingit: (1) that there is some basis for the ethnographic statements that formerly slaves were more numerous on the coast, and (2) that the slave population experienced some degree of continuity in numbers over a period of time. Litke stated in 1834 that a rich man "had 30 to 40 slaves" (Averkiewa 1966:78); other references also underscore the prominence of the institution of slavery. In a previous chapter we observed that, contrary to many speculations, slaves made a significant contribution to the production of the local economy. A description of the treatment and exploitation of slaves will be given in this section.

One Tlingit elder, who commented on the practice of slavery, differentiated between types of slaves and their treatment. In one category were "our own ethnic" slaves who received better treatment, "never ran away," and who could be ransomed by relatives. A second group consisted of slaves from other ethnic groups. Tlingit in the Sitka district owned many Aleut slaves. Aleut slaves were permitted to have families and perpetuated a hereditary slave system (as MacLeod has suggested). A third group of slaves came from the Puget Sound area, "Flatheads," who were bartered or captured (de Laguna 1972:469). Slaves often lived in the same community house with the high class. The fate of slaves was uncertain but many generations attested to the fact that they survived and some of them were even freed and accorded membership in a household. Apparently between the time of capture of a member of a Tlingit clan and from several months up to a year, the captive was in a sort of "liminal period" (cf. Turner 1967) in which the social status of the individual was ambiguous. The individual was no longer a freeman nor was he a full-fledged slave. Those who escaped during this period were not considered to be slaves (Olson 1967:53).

Theoretically, a slave belonged to his master who could do with the slave as he pleased--"sell him, give him away, or even kill him" (Krause 1956: 105). A slave was located at the bottom of the social scale, a chattel, devoid of rights. Slaves were not permitted to participate in potlatches even as servants. On such occasions they were looked upon as material property (Oberg 1937:100). Slaves at a potlatch were either later freed or killed. High class individuals captured in raids were usually ransomed by their relatives. Generally, redeemed members of the upper class erased the incident and stigma of slavery from the minds of other groups and cleansed their own good name by sponsoring a potlatch. This atonement never completely obliterated the incident from the community at large although it did reinstate the individual again into his status and kin group. Lower class people were left in slavery to struggle as best they could to redeem themselves. Slaves symbolized the prestige of the owner: (1) by reflecting upon his success in warfare, (2) by indicating the ability of the owner to manage wealth, and (3) by demonstrating the owner's efficiency in directing a labor force (Peratrovich 1959:21).

Slaves were compelled to assist the chief and his family. They participated in the menial tasks of the household by gathering wood, tending the fire, harvesting food, packing loads on trading expeditions, fighting to defend the chief, and paddling canoes. Slaves, skilled in handicrafts, produced non-ceremonial items for the master and if capable assisted in the production of ceremonial objects (Oberg 1937:74). It would be incorrect to assume that the Tlingit economic system was based solely upon the exploitation of slave labor; it would also be erroneous to assume that slaves existed solely for social purposes. Slave practices varied widely: some were inherently economic, some political, some social, and some prestigious. Formerly, the wealth of the rich was determined by the number of slaves they owned (Salisbury 1962:41). The

rich in turn depended upon their slaves to assist in defending and increasing their wealth and prestige.

Early travelers and explorers of the Northwest Coast often gave conflicting reports concerning the welfare and treatment of slaves by the Tlingit. Some accounts depict the severity and cruelty shown to slaves. Other narrations describe the humane treatment extended to them. Ethnohistorical evidence seems to indicate that both depictions were true. Slaves worked hard, experienced death during ceremonials, and were the means of settling hostilities between disputing parties by being killed to even the score. Schabelski was impressed by the forced performance of hard labor and the impending doom that surrounded a slave's existence (Krause 1956:111). Langsdorff (Gunter 1972:181) described the cruel treatment extended to war captives through torture and scalping. In contrast, Litke described the treatment of slaves as similar to that extended to the children of the household; Veniaminof likened the attitude toward slaves as that of a valuable possession. He reported that slaves were well cared for and seemed to be reasonably satisfied with the considerable amount of freedom they enjoyed. The slave guides for Krause (1956: 111) in the latter half of the nineteenth century were permitted to keep a portion of the remuneration given to their Chilkat chief.

Slaves performed menial tasks. Such feats of drudgery and labor differed little from that of lower class people. Slaves often lived in the same house, ate some of the same food, worked at the same tasks, fished the same streams, hunted in the same groups, and fought the same wars as their masters. For the most part the activities of slaves blended into the rhythm of the community and the outsider would often find it difficult to differentiate among the lower class and the slaves. Visitors who perchance missed the infrequent ceremonies at which slaves were slain described the amiable side of slavery.

All slaves were either captives taken in raids or descendants of war captives (de Laguna 1972:470). A normal reaction to a captive is to attempt an escape. Such action was difficult and dangerous. Once the stigma of slavery became attached to an individual there were few options. If the captive escaped he might not be accepted by his household. Besides, if the relatives had strongly desired the release of the individual, they would have provided a ransom. Second, the fugitive would become fair game for anyone along the way. Third, Veniaminof described the degrees of punishment inflicted upon slaves: for the first offense they received a severe beating, their hands were tied behind their backs for some period of time for a second offense, the calf of their legs were slashed for a third offense, and on the fourth offense they were executed (Averkieva 1966:109). The degrees of punishment may have reflected the owner's unwillingness to cause any serious disability or permanent impairment to a member of his labor force. A slave could contribute almost as much as a nephew to the welfare of a community house and the slave required no ceremonial investment of wealth as a nephew ultimately needed for acquiring a name, for a bride price, and other ceremonial occasions. A slave, as an item of property or a member of the labor force, could be used in a variety of circumstances: economical, ceremonial, or political.

Slaves were not only exploited for their economic productiveness and their material value, they were also used as a mechanism of political redress to restore peace between hostile forces. Slaves were slain to even the score in arriving at peace settlements. Slaves could be slain to avoid war between two communities.

One company of people left a community to establish a village of their own. In time they decided to construct a Raven house and establish their own identity. The parent house objected on the grounds that the migrants lacked the prestige to build such a house. The migrant group explained that their intention was not to copy the parent house but to create their own unique

pole. To establish their own identity and to silence their opposition, the immigrants killed one hundred slaves along the beach and threw their bodies into the water (H. T. 1974: conversation).

The bodies of slain slaves were customarily thrown into bays, rivers, or the ocean. "They were never accorded the honor of burning or burial. Ignominy was their lot in death as well as in life" (Jones 1914:118). The action by the immigrant community was never matched by the opposition and the identity of the new settlement has always been highly respected to this day. Slaves could be substituted for freemen in the settlement of conflicts and could be slain to avert warfare. The shedding of Tlingit blood was often avoided by the death of slaves. It represented a conciliatory attempt to deescalate hostilities. The practice of substituting slaves for Tlingit may have encouraged the acquisition of slaves from great distances to avoid continual aggravation of trade and political relationships with neighboring communities. It was common practice, therefore, to obtain "Flathead" slaves from the Oregon territory (Krause 1956: 128). Sometimes Tlingit raided the area themselves or else bartered for slaves captured by others.

According to the dictates of custom, slaves were killed as a solemn act of sacred ceremony to attest to a significant event that occurred in Tlingit society. The chiefs of the Grizzly Bear Clan were notorious for the number of slaves killed at their potlatches (Olson 1967:49). According to a southern Tlingit elder, a slave might be killed and buried at the bottom of a totem pole. The pole would then be named after the deceased slave. On other occasions one or more slaves might be killed at the construction or dedication of a new house (Krause 1956:111). Third, slaves might be killed at the death of a chief. At the death of one Tlingit chief five slaves were killed in honor of relatives and placed at the feet of the corpse (Olson 1967:52).

The lot of slaves was most unfortunate but it was by no means hopeless. A faithful and frugal slave could reasonably cherish hope for future release in payment for commendable service rendered to the master. Many examples exist of the release of slaves and their subsequent adoption into society as freemen. Krause (1956:112) reported that released slaves "received all the rights of free-born Tlingit." When the five slaves were slain in honor of the deceased chief and his family, one slave, "a fine-looking woman," was freed and sent home (Olson 1967:52). Olson (1967:51) describes another ceremony in which eight slaves were either freed or given away. At the climax of a potlatch slaves were released (Oberg 1937:95). Their freedom attested to the business transacted at the potlatch--the Tlingit version of a notarized document. Freed slaves could remain in the village of their former masters and marry Tlingit women. Many of the lower class houses originated in this manner.

Veniaminof (Averkiewa 1966:112) reported that masters had the right to free slaves but seldom did so. When slaves were freed the occasion was a public transaction where it received public acclaim and approval. Slaves were freed during funeral rituals, puberty rites, and naming ceremonies. A male slave who helped his presumptive chief with his ceremonial attire and the female slave who assisted her mistress with her bridal apparel were granted their freedom. According to Olson (1967:49) Chief Shakes had a favorite slave "of whom he was very fond." During ceremonies the dancers would throw her out the door to be slain but the chief always intervened and she was returned to the house. In another example, when a beloved daughter gave birth to a son, the proud grandfather released a valuable slave (Jones 1914:118).

Ceremonial occasions were not only times when slaves were killed but also occasions that marked the release of slaves. Garfield (1947:440) mentioned that during the construction of a certain house a slave was lowered into and

raised up from the four post holes in turn before each pole was set to support the roof.

At the installation ceremony for a certain totem pole in a southern Tlingit district, a slave was to be buried in the hole with the pole. The name of the slain victim was then to be given to the pole. The household leader had instructed his men to wait outside the door and to slay the designated man when he appeared. The man lingered within the house. Eventually, the household head asked the man what his name was. The doomed man responded that his name was that of the man in the hole dug for the pole. At that, the household head informed the waiting men outside to free the slave since he knew of his fate and had accepted his status (A.N. 1973: conversation).

Once when some Tlingit from Klukwan visited a chief in Sitka, during the time of a near famine when the chief's food supply was almost exhausted, one of the chief's slave girls fed the group from some food she had stored away. Apparently the wife of the chief was negligent in her duty as a manager of the household food provisions. The following day the chief ordered the slave girl ritually bathed to symbolize the washing away of slavery. Then the chief gave away some gifts and destroyed some property to discourage any future reference to the former slave status of the young woman. Afterwards the chief married the freed slave (Olson 1967:31). Olson (1967:54) described the way in which the tint of slavery was ritually removed from a Klukwan slave. The slave was bathed in the river, her clothes burned, she received new clothing, and then was ritually rubbed with a copper that was passed over her body. Three coppers were so used to "scrape off" the stigma of slavery.

Other avenues to freedom were available to a slave. For instance, once a Wrangell chief whipped one of his slaves causing the slave to flee. The slave reached an inland village a considerable distance from the coast. The men of the inland Stikine River village became intrigued by the slave's bow and arrows and so they offered to buy them for a pile of furs as high as his bow. Several men accompanied the slave down the river to the coastal village. The

furs were presented to the chief and by that act the slave purchased his freedom.

Tlingit occasionally freed their slaves, sometimes married their slaves, and at other times adopted slaves as genuine members of their kin groups.

The adopted slave was in every respect the peer of his fellow-tribesmen. If he proved equal to the position assigned him in the tribe, and improved his opportunities, his advancement was sure, and he might aspire to any office attainable by the individual into whose place he had been adopted (Henshaw 1910:599).

Slaves might be adopted into a family to act as a substitute for a deceased relative or in the absence of some desired relative. Once two sisters fought over a slave boy. The younger sister wanted to adopt the slave boy to replace the son she had lost. The relatives discussed the situation and decided in favor of the younger sister. The slave boy was adopted and served to fill the void caused by the premature death of a son (C.N. 1974: conversation).

Sometimes a slave earned his freedom. Invariably a slave contributed to some of the favorable circumstances surrounding his release. Indeed, it is most probable that freedom could be earned through faithful service and that the assisting of a prominent individual at a ceremony was the rite of passage or graduation ceremony to freedom. It was also very probable that obstinate and rebellious slaves were selected for death quotas. To marry or adopt a talented slave could have been a valuable addition to the household.

A general principle seems to be that if a high class person became indebted to a slave through some unusual feat or capability, the slave by means of that honorable accomplishment earned his freedom. For example, a house chief mentioned that when a slave carved a totem pole for his house the slave was given his freedom at the installation ceremony for the pole. His name was never mentioned as the one who carved the pole lest it reflect upon the family. A freed slave very often became a member of the community house in which he served as a slave or one of the affiliated community houses to which the master

belonged. If the master was the ranking chief of the group or even the leader of the community house to which the freed slave belonged, the former slave remained a part of the production crew, contributed to the economic position of the chief, and defended the household with greater vigor since he now had a personal stake in its development. The fundamental difference contained in the change of status from slavery to freeman was the right to participate in ceremonies as a member of the crest group, share in its prestige, and participate in its mutual assistance.

White (1959:202) considered the importance of slavery on the Northwest Coast to be that of validating "the social position of their masters." He noted that slavery in this region was fundamentally different from human chattels in Western societies. He observed that slaves often lived and worked in much the same fashion as their masters. To White, Northwest Coast slavery was little more than a social game played among the wealthy. White failed to take cognizance of the incipient form of stratification that existed in this cultural area, or of their multicentric economic system. Slavery in Europe formed a part of a unicentric economic system. Slavery on the Northwest Coast was a form of limited purpose money and the fruit of investments. Politically, slaves validated status, increased the power of the estate, and became a factor in the resolution of conflict. Economically, slaves contributed to production, represented a unit of wealth, and served as a unit of exchange. Slaves were essentially an item of wealth, a means to increase production, and an item of trade. Slaves were sacrificed at ceremonies, exploited by masters, ransomed by kin, freed to become citizens, and adopted by families into all levels of society when such action was advantageous to the members or when a master had been placed in a position of debt to a slave on account of outstanding service given to the master.

III. Social Mobility and Stratification

Elevators of Social Mobility

Lundberg (1968:374) has defined social mobility "as a movement of people between positions that are on different social levels." Men and women might, through proper conduct and personal accomplishments, elevate their social status; contrariwise, they might through misconduct and idleness lower their social status. Failure to display proper etiquette in public resulted in loss of prestige, delays in social promotion, or forthright punishment. Many actions did result in a loss of prestige and the forfeiture of social status: committing incest, becoming a slave, stumbling in public or falling on one's face, and disregard for tradition. Swanton (1908:427) mentioned that it was considered to be a lack of proper manners not to sit up straight, lean forward, and keep the feet together in a ready position to move. Disgraceful acts were felt keenly by the offender's family who might react by administering discipline or death to the culprit for the disgrace brought upon the group. Such breaches of public etiquette could be obliterated and the loss of status could be regained by giving a feast and distributing gifts appropriate to the rank of the individual and the seriousness of the offense.

Proper conduct and productiveness enhanced the individual's chances of receiving worthy names and notable titles. The ideal Tlingit model for men and women was described as follows:

The ideal male was: loyal to his lineage and sib, versed in its traditions and proud of them . . . of noble rank, courteous and gentle . . . showed respect for himself and for others . . . was proud without being arrogant, careful in speech and manner lest he give offense when none was intended . . . ready to resent any slight and to face death if necessary to defend his honor or to protect his kinsmen . . . was rich and generous, skilled as a hunter, and perhaps also an artist and, above all, secure in the consciousness of his unblemished ancestry (no slaves or witches) and in his affinal connections.

The model female shared also in many of his virtues and was wise in her management of the wealth of the household, especially of the stores of food that made possible the potlatching upon which social position demanded. Her loyalties were more divided than that of the man, since she had strong ties both to her own sib and to her husband and his people. Women were therefore regarded as especially likely to cause troubles or feuds; a woman who never quarreled was actually honored at a potlatch for her self-restraint (de Laguna 1972:21-22).

Among the Tlingit, birth was not a sure road to success. Wealth and accomplishments were the two ingredients or variables that led to success. Because wealth rather than birth ultimately determined status, social mobility was a social reality. Virtually every normal Tlingit could improve somewhat his social position if diligent effort was expended. If an individual showed signs of leadership, distinction in battle, or renown in hunting, an individual could advance his social status as rapidly as he was able to acquire the means to construct himself a house, outfit the customary feasts, and give the appropriate potlatch (Salisbury 1962:42).

A wealthy and ambitious man could, with the backing of his community house, raise his prestige and improve the status of his lineage to new heights (de Laguna 1972:464). Families were known to have enhanced their status through the acquisition of wealth to almost be equal with the high class (Shotridge 1913:83). Men of the low rank who were skilled as carvers or warriors could so enhance their value to the elders (by virtue of these skills) that they could attain prerogatives beyond the station of their birth. In recognition for their accomplishments they were given higher status names (Peratrovich 1959:17). It was even possible for a slave to purchase his freedom, accumulate wealth, build a house, and become a house chief of a low ranking group. A low class youth could attain the office of chief if he "showed himself best-fitted through education, wisdom, sound judgment, and moral virtue" (de Laguna 1956:17). "Wealth acquired and wisely manipulated could accomplish much" among the Tlingit (Salisbury 1962:40).

Social mobility was present in the lore as well as the life of the people. The story was told of the people from a village who went fishing every day for halibut and other large fish. One poor man fished with the others but never caught anything. The other fishermen laughed at him. On a certain day while out fishing, the poor man caught a fish "nest" containing so many fish in it that he not only filled up his own canoe but also all of the other canoes fishing with him. He distributed the fish to the other people in his town upon reaching the village. In return they gave him many types of skins: moose, fox, and caribou. Eventually, he acquired great stores of riches (Swanton 1909:45-46).

Limitations to Social Mobility

Three independent variables in social mobility were birth, wealth, and accomplishments. All three variables represented uncommon circumstances or abilities. The accident of birth provided a youth with an edge in educational opportunities, access to better natural resources, and marriage opportunities with higher status persons. Accomplishments, probably, resulted from the development of superior mental or physical abilities. Wealth represented the fruits of wise use and manipulation of one's abilities and opportunities. For example, the candidate chosen to succeed a deceased chief demonstrated certain capabilities before he was judged to be a competent leader and administrator and consequently eligible to receive one-half of the departed chief's wealth. Opportunities like this were scarce and definitely gave certain people the edge in life. However, birth and ability were insufficient credentials for high status unless they were nurtured and developed. Birth and talents were the raw materials; individual incentive determined the success. Birth or talents coupled with a high level of motivation to succeed could go a long way in overcoming a lack of wealth.

Two complementary themes permeating Tlingit culture admonishes an individual to strive for accomplishments and to be content with one's status. One theme urged an individual to perform up to the limits of his potential; another theme cautioned all (except high class people) that one should not "aspire to or attempt things beyond one's status in society" (Olson 1956:680). In essence, all classes of people were expected to be industrious and to contribute their best. However, an individual was expected to conform to the social standards of his class and not to be disrespectful by presuming on the rights of others. Those individuals who excelled in life and demonstrated by their loyalty that they were worthy of greater public trust often, at potlatches, received social promotions to higher classes and greater prerogatives.

An individual's status determined to a considerable degree the choice of a mate and the role taken in ceremonies. Stanley (1958:35) concluded from his analysis of the marriage system and inheritance practices that clans, house groups, and individuals "tended to maintain the rank which they inherited from previous generations, and until contact provided new sources of wealth, that upward mobility generally met with little concrete success." Winick (1964: 119) observed that "classes which do exist are very static; rich persons . . . are rich usually because their hereditary status brings riches with it." High class hunters and fishermen, who had access to the best hunting and fishing locations, were able to control greater wealth until new sources of wealth came into existence. Yet within this precontact setting extraordinary individuals such as carvers, warriors, shaman, and Native historians could have contributed much and thereby received increments of status. Each of these part-time specialists contributed to their crest group: the carver with his creations, the warrior through military exploits, the shaman by means of his fees, and the historian by virtue of his superior intellectual powers to recall verbatim community

happenings and stories. These achievements contributed to the development of the household in production, wealth, or prestige and in turn provided individuals with the opportunity to advance their social status as rewards for their efforts.

Summary

Elementary indicators of class stratification existed in Tlingit society, but lacked the complexity confronted in contemporary Western societies. The emergent class system was based upon access to positions of status that controlled strategic resources and the effectiveness of the individual to contribute significantly to the accumulation of household wealth as one of the basic criteria for determining status. Evidence indicated that persons could move up or down within the social system. Competition was strongly encouraged and superior individuals did improve their social standing when they had demonstrated noteworthy accomplishments.

Chapter VI

RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

Religion is a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people attempt to cope with the ultimate concerns of their existence. "Utterances, actions and artifacts" provide empirical indicators that aid in the study of religion (Taylor 1973:28). Certain utterances, actions, and artifacts tend to be integrated by a core concept; they are germane to a common theme, postulate, or presupposition. A theme gives a measure of integration to a segment of religious phenomena; it represents a basic religious assumption about the nature of things; it is the rationale for a given set of religious values and traits. The fundamental religious belief among the Tlingit regarded the availability of supernatural power.

I. General Religious Tenets

Availability of Supernatural Powers

In 1814, Lisiansky (1814:243) reported that the Tlingit believed in "a creator of all things in heaven, who, when angry, sends down diseases amongst them. They also believed in a wicked spirit, or devil, whom they supposed to be cruel, and to inflict them with evils through his shamans." It is impossible, from our perspective in history, to ascertain to what extent biases are contained in the written accounts of history such as the one just mentioned or to cipher to what extent Western contacts have had an influence upon Tlingit culture. However, two motifs that permeate oral and written descriptions of Tlingit culture

depict a belief in a power of good and a power of evil that exists in the world and is accessible to human beings.

The good power imminent in the universe can be traced back to a belief in "a great spirit who was above all, who loved people, was concerned about them, and who communicated with them" (Billman 1970:26). It was believed that this great being was one spirit with three countenances. Three different references to the "Great Spirit" do in fact occur in the language but tell us little about the nature of the remote deity: (1) Kah-shu-goon-yah a term for deity considered to be too sacred to mention above a whisper, (2) Kla-kay-na-yedi another reference to the great spirit, and (3) Na-shu-gi-yech (Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass) an ordinary term of reference used in conversations and symbolized by the Raven. The Great Spirit was a primordial grandfather who existed in the beginning. This godlike creature was addressed in prayer as "Creator" or "ancestor." In two recorded prayers the supplicant prayed for luck in one prayer and for pity in a second prayer (Olson 1967:110). This "Spirit Above" or "Invisible-rich-man" controlled the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Daylight as well as being credited with the creation of all living creatures (de Laguna 1972:816). Little more is known of him. The sacred past centers upon Raven who was credited with organizing the world in its present form and with originating many Tlingit customs. Raven means "God, Bird, and Scamp . . . the Great Thief" (Thorne 1909:3). As indicated by his name Raven was a cultural hero, a benefactor, a trickster, and a rascal. Raven personified a mixture of both good and evil influences. Although he was considered to be a nickname for the Supreme Spirit, Raven never represented, symbolized, or was equal with the Supreme Being who transcended Tlingit legends (Billman 1970:26). One Tlingit elder compared Raven, in his role as a trickster and a deceiver, with "a fallen angel." Katishan indicated that an evil person at death went to live at "Raven's

home" (Swanton 1908:461). Some references described the abode of deceased evil people as "Dog Heaven," the Tlingit counterpart of the Christian concept of "Hell." Dog Heaven was believed by de Laguna (1972:771) to be "an aboriginal concept of some antiquity." Similar to the underworld of hell, Dog Heaven was the wretched abode of evil individuals who lived in the sky near the Northern Lights. It was decreed by "Raven-at-the-Head-of-the-Nass" that "wicked people are to be dogs and such low animals hereafter" (Swanton 1909:81). In the role as Trickster, Raven brings together the forces of good and evil and mediates the problem of the existence of both forces in the world as it was conceived by the Tlingit.

An informant explained that the Tlingit have always believed that there was a God and that some day He would come to earth.

The first time we saw the Russians sail into our area near Yakutat we thought that the time of God's visitation had arrived. It was believed that to look upon the countenance of God would cause death. So the people peered through kelp stems. The head of the Coho Tribe eventually decided to go out and meet the strange ship. Taking two of his nephews the small party ventured toward the ominous spectacle with the huge feather like sails billowing in the breeze (J.D. 1974: conversation).

Land otters were traditionally feared because they were believed to personify evil forces of life. Indian doctors sought their powers to assist in healing. Land otter men were believed to be able to possess individuals--an experience tantamount to becoming insane or demon possessed. The individual lost touch with reality and often was transported to the spirit land of the otters. Special power was needed to counteract the influence of the land otter men.

The universe was conceived by the Tlingit to be peopled by a limitless number of spirits. Katishan reported that "one principal and several subordinate spirits" inhabited everything (Swanton 1908:452). A shaman's mask, a trail, or a fire was believed to have a spirit. In fact the whole world was believed to have eyes and ears to see and hear the habits of all people.

The word for spirits, yek, indicated a distributive or collective nature to supernatural power. These spirits revealed or manifested their power through animals, things, or in personal forms. Certain animals, individuals, places, and relationships were believed to possess magical power for good or for evil. Some spirits allowed themselves to become subjugated to seekers who were properly purified. These newly acquired powers were believed to assist an individual in curing the sick, in becoming a great warrior, in acquiring wealth, or "to bestow the right to present some ceremonial performance representing the being himself" (Peratrovich 1959:105).

Every Tlingit had two spirits: (1) a spirit that continued to live after death and (2) an earthly active spirit. The life and accomplishments of an individual were defined in terms of his spirit. Krause (1956:200-210) described this guardian spirit as tu-kina-jek or "his-top-spirit" and added that this spirit would desert an unclean or evil person. De Laguna (1972:187) explained that an individual's name defined his social rank and also "embodied" his soul. A correlation seemed to exist between social rank and the rank of spirit names. The Grizzly Bear Clan, Nanyaayi, of Wrangell had the highest spirit names because they were of a very high ranking clan (Swanton 1908:465). The greatest Indian doctor spirit of the Wrangell Grizzly Bear Clan was believed to be the "chief" of all Indian doctors' spirits. Indian doctors diligently sought powerful spirits by means of fasting, prayers, and meditation. However, anyone could go out and seek a spirit by the same means. The acquisition of spirits was open to all. An individual's spirit contained the very essence of the person. "An Indian doctor who selected a mouse for his spirit became known for his stealing since mice were known to be notorious thieves," commented a Tlingit elder.

Respect for Nature

The Tlingit respect for nature never took the form of a worship of nature, although Peratrovich (1959:117) suggests the Tlingit were close to the practice of deification of animals and nature. Their prayers of respect and apologies to the animals they killed, their use of wildlife in their crest symbols, their emphasis upon an animal affinity, and their respect for ancestors approached nature worship. Even though animals and ancestors were considered to be powerful and to possess supernatural power the Tlingit did not worship them because these spirit forces were derived from a more fundamental source of power distinct from nature and believed to be in existence prior to creation. This was stated to be the reason why the culture folk hero, Raven, was never completely deified. Tlingit were mystics but they were not pantheists. They postulated a "Garden of Eden" at the head of the Nass River and a creator in the distant past. However, most of their folklore centered upon an intermediate remote past when the mythical world of creatures and the institutions of culture came into existence.

Since every lake, stream, swamp, tree, rock, or mountain could be inhabited by a spirit these elements were respected and appreciated for the contribution they could make to human existence. Every fish, fowl, and animal "had a soul and a spirit of their own" (Peratrovich 1959:114). "If violated or if they are mistreated other than killing them for food, they might retaliate and change a man's vision" so that the animals could no longer be seen. Tlingit believed that the spirit in the Sun, Moon, Sea, Mountains, Birds, Animals, and many other entities in the universe could comprehend the words of humans. Therefore, individuals were taught to talk circumspectly at all times lest the animals fear some disrespectful talk and become offended (Swanton 1908:454-458). While hunting or fishing the individual would offer a prayer of confession, explanation, and thanksgiving for the life he was about to kill for food. The hunter explained

to the animal why he had to kill it. Animals were killed only when needed for food. It was believed that wanton slaughter of animals brought cosmic retribution resulting in scarcity of game and food shortages. It was only after the Tlingit saw the Europeans wholesale destruction of the fur bearing animals with no apparent supernatural punishment that they began to engage in similar practices. People were careful not to senselessly break branches while walking through the woods out of respect for trees. They guarded the natural beauty of their environment and took care lest they pollute it. Out of respect to streams and lakes people would never think of urinating or defecating in them. Rather, the people "saw lavatories behind bushes" as one informant expressed it. An elder explained, "The essence of traditional Tlingit life was living close to nature and how to survive."

The Tlingit's intense respect for nature was heightened through rigorous physical discipline. Before hunters embarked upon the autumn hunting season, they fasted and drank both sea water and fresh water to purge their bodies, to take off excess weight, and to clear their mental powers. They concentrated upon the forces of nature, the problem of securing a plentiful supply of food, and the necessary strategy to obtain it. Everything in the universe was believed to possess life. The wind, for example, was more than merely a physical force operative in the universe; it was considered to be a "beautiful spirit"--alive and active. All social events and customs were believed to have a reason for existence.

The fog, rain, and thunder had a reason for existence and were significant to people. Thunder early in the spring signified that there would be a fine summer; thunder late in the fall was the sign of a long winter. The ocean waves and rocks held meaning and understanding to the people (W.B. 1974: conversation).

Some individuals would sit on the rocks along a scenic section of the beach and absorb the sights and sounds of the tideland frequently and for

considerable portions of time meditating on the weather, nature, and their existence (Tlingit elder).

Promise of Immortality

The eternal question posed by many people--"If a man die shall he live again" (Job 14:14)--was answered by the Tlingit in the affirmative. For the Tlingit, life continued after death when the spirit of an individual traveled to one of the various levels or realms of heaven depending upon the person's moral conduct in this life. Moral delinquents went to Dog Heaven, Ketl-Kiwa, a place similar to hell; good people went to heaven, Kiwa-a, a realm where happiness reigns. Individuals remained in the after-world for a period of time and then were again born into the realm of human existence. Every baby born into Tlingit society was a reincarnation of some deceased maternal relative. At death an individual was consoled by the promise that soon the person would again return to earth in a future incarnation. Relatives anticipated the expectant return of their ancestors and so looked for marks of identification in recognition of their rebirth. Death was viewed as the prelude to the other world; while birth was viewed as the re-entrance into this world. Life was a continual cycle in which the individual spent part of the time in this world and the other part in the other world (de Laguna 1965:5).

The Tlingit word ya-sa means "to name" or "to breathe" (de Laguna 1954:184). Each crest group owned a number of names that belonged exclusively to the membership. This list of names seems to have been relatively static through time and, consequently, reinforces the belief in reincarnation. The names remained: ancestors received them during their earthly existence, left them behind at death, and assumed them again at some future incarnation. Names integrated the living, their deceased ancestors, and their mythical past together into a common sacred perpetual lineage. Names were symbolic of a

person's soul, a reflection of social status, an identification of certain traits of personality, and connecting links with the sacred past.

Importance of Sacred Symbols

We have asserted that supernatural power was accessible to the Tlingit, that spirits inhabited the physical environment and could be angered unless proper respect was shown to the various entities of the universe, and that individuals possessed immortality through reincarnation. These three tenets contributed to the development of certain symbols that became identified with specific groups. The symbols represented the mythological past when order and institutions were established and formed the rationale for the present. Crest symbols were sacred reminders of the past but neither they nor the creatures they represented were worshipped. These symbols were set apart in Tlingit society because they provided links with the past and affirmed the unity of the group which was assumed to exist.

It has been asserted that "a symbol is always the best possible expression of a relatively unknown fact, a fact, however, which is none-the-less recognized or postulated as existing" (Turner 1967:26). Symbols are convenient to use for three reasons: (1) a symbol condenses many actions and sentiments into one physical representation, (2) a symbol unifies a diverse body of data into a compact entity that is readily discernible, and (3) a symbol differentiates among various elements of ritual and sets it apart from all other similar phenomena (Turner 1967:28). Symbols evoke common sentiments and produce action. Changes in social alignments of groups resulted in appropriate changes in group symbols. If one group broke-off from another group following a dispute, the migrating group would seek a new crest to identify their membership. Social behavior that enhanced the prestige of the symbols resulted in increased status for the group and vice versa. Crest symbols stood for the group, were

acknowledged to be so represented by outsiders, and tied the group to the sacred past. Crests identified people and their possessions.

Each moiety laid claim to a common crest, the Raven or the Eagle, as the general symbol for their moiety. It was assumed that moieties came into existence soon after the creation of the world and the various clans were affiliated to one or the other of the two divisions. After the "Great Flood" various groups began to migrate. During the subsequent migrations certain animals impressed themselves upon the group in terms of assisting the group or in some way guiding the group to a permanent settlement site. When the Grizzly Bear Clan living along the Stikine River fled the rising flood waters, a bear was seen following the people. The bear joined the group and assisted in the food quest. As a result of this experience the bear became a sacred crest of the Grizzly Bear Clan (Garfield 1951:234). A frog led the Frog Clan to Sitka; a beaver directed the Beaver Clan to Angoon. In gratitude and recognition of these events a representation of the creature involved was adopted as the symbol for the group. Tlingit history is explicitly connected to the migration of the local crest groups. The group symbol embodied the history of the group and rooted its origins, property rights, and accomplishments to its association with a crest. Every individual had three levels of loyalty: the community house, clan, and moiety; certain crest symbols were identified with each level (Swanton 1908: 398-407). Knowledgeable individuals knew the history and rights that were embodied in each symbol.

Clan crest symbols were considered to be permanent since nothing short of complete annihilation of the total membership could blot out their existence. Formerly, a house displayed a painting of its crest over the front door and in some instances on a totem pole close to the house. Every house had its own crest, such as: Raven House, Raven's-Bones House, or Raven's-Nest

House, that identified the geographical location, the clan, and the moiety to which it belonged. Each household also had the privilege to use the clan and moiety crests to which it belonged. Any attempts to appropriate a crest belonging to other clans provoked bitter hostility since it was considered to be the seal of authority, the title to land, and the sacred symbol of the group. Many bitter episodes in Tlingit history attest to the potential danger inherent in unlawfully using crests belonging to another group.

The economic unit of the Tlingit was the household and every household except the very poor claimed a unique crest. This crest was painted or carved on all of the artifacts belonging to the community house and its members: canoes, boxes, ceremonial hats, personal ornaments, dancing shirts and blankets, rattles, and dancing staffs in addition to the house fronts and the totem poles. Crests were symbols used to identify groups of people and their possessions.

Each symbol had its conventional representation: the dorsal fin for the Killerwhale, the straight bill for the Raven, and the two large teeth and cross-hatched tail for the Beaver. The crest was accommodated to the object and available space. Therefore, a crest on a pole, a hat, a box, or a wall screen could vary as long as the identifying marks of the crest were included and the carving or painting did not do an injustice to the totemic bird or animal. For example, a thin, emaciated, or weak appearing eagle was considered at best an inferior product and at worst an insult to the membership. All of the items listed above were manufactured by men with the exception of the woven shirts and blankets which were made by the women but worn by the men during ceremonial occasions. Basketry alone was devoid of crests. It has been suggested that baskets belonged "exclusively to women" (Paul 1944:46). Traditionally women belonged to a different clan and moiety from that of their husbands but resided in the husband's community house as a political alien; and, therefore,

the house crests did not belong to the women nor could they be used to identify personal ownership for women living apart from their crest houses. Therefore, baskets, the craft of women within a household, were void of identifying crests. Women contributed to the welfare of the community household and in turn their children belonged to their clan.

Manipulation of Power

If the world, as postulated by the Tlingit, was permeated with supernatural powers and if the powers of the universe could give assistance to human beings, it is not surprising that certain individuals sought to use these powers to aid or harm others. It was believed that crests carved upon the tools and equipment of an individual could produce success: a crest on a halibut hook, a paddle, a spoon, or a house involved the "patron saint's" assistance in the use of the items (Peratrovich 1959:129). It has been reported that upon encountering a crest animal an individual may say "have pity on me . . . or let me have luck" (Olson 1967:117). Hunters were believed to be able to stop a running deer merely by placing a stick between the hoof prints on the ground or through communication with the spirits of the animal.

Bears not only were able to understand people, they were believed to perceive what people were saying, doing, and thinking in their homes. A number of years ago a lady, in front of her friend, made fun of a Raven strutting about near the village. Soon it began to rain and it rained hard for many days. To resolve the situation the lady was forced to return to the spot and apologize to the bird. Individuals were thus believed to influence the affairs of the universe by following or failing to follow certain procedures or by breaking the rules of respect for nature and their fellow men. These proscriptions for altering the human setting in which they found themselves may have been interpreted as a search for a measure of predictability and security. Therefore, fishing boats

were ritually cleansed before fishing season. Animals important for survival and favorable weather conditions were controlled through ritual to assist in the quest for food. Much of the manipulation of mystical power was in the domain of the Indian doctor or less so to an individual seeking revenge through witchcraft. The Indian doctor, according to tradition, possessed certain spirits that aided him in controlling the weather, curing disease, foretelling future events, waging spiritual warfare against other Indian doctors or villages, locating and restoring lost individuals, discerning and discovering witches, and communicating with other Indian doctors at considerable distances. Sorcerers who came into contact with the dead or articles belonging to them (such as pieces of clothing or locks of hair) were believed to receive superhuman powers.

II. Group and Individual Religious Practices

Group Practices

Dancing societies were common among the Haida and Tsimshian. Those Tlingit clans that lived nearer these other ethnic groups tended to adopt portions of the dancing societies' ceremonies but their influence was never strong. Most of the materials for the dancing societies were of Tsimshian origin. The data from Yakutat (de Laguna 1972:628) agree with the data from Sitka (Olson 1967: 118) that the southern Tlingit secret societies were neither adopted or practiced in the northern sector and that the essential content of the songs, dances, whistles, and dance paraphernalia were Tsimshian. The Tlingit term, luguna, referred to a special class of spirits acquired by the members of the dance society and became the collective name associated with the dance society.

Olson (1967:118-121) gave a general synopsis of the life of Nawan, the only man in the Sitka area reported to be possessed by dance spirits. At one time or another, Nawan displayed the spirit of a Raven, Bear, Wolf, Kwakiutl

Strong Man, and Supernatural Being Woman. The man would be seized by any one of these spirits and then disappear into the mountains for many weeks. When he would suddenly reappear, it often took several men to subdue him. Under the spell of the Raven Spirit, he taught the Frog Clan, Kiksadi, special dances that were later performed at potlatches. Only the Frog Clan had the right to perform the songs, dances, and special performances associated with the dances. It was believed that Nawan was possessed by genuine spirit power and that others who later performed some of the things done by Nawan used sleight-of-hand or magical tricks. Dancing societies were based upon the religious premise that spiritual power was available and such power could be acquired by human beings.

Dancing societies are believed to have been of minor importance among the Tlingit for two reasons: (1) since the probable origin for the secret societies was among the Kwakiutl (Jenness 1960:343) it represented a later diffusion among the Tlingit and lacked the intensity displayed among more southerly groups, and (2) "shamanism" was considered to be strongest among the Tlingit (Swanton 1908:463). The Tlingit placed greater dependence upon their Indian doctors. Oberg (1937:49) recorded that if a Tlingit wanted supernatural power he normally sought it through a shaman, negating the need for the Tlingit to be as collectively involved in a dancing society in order to acquire spiritual power as in other societies that contained less of a dependence upon shamanistic powers. Non-Tlingit songs and dances were often used by the Tlingit at public ceremonies for general entertainment. Care was taken not to use a song or dance that belonged to a Tlingit clan. Such songs and dances were considered private property and any abuse could lead to fines or warfare. Some songs were public property; others were privately owned by groups.

During potlatches crest groups displayed their sacred crests, told their history, and depicted the accomplishments of the group through song and dance.

Crests related and reduced extensive amounts of history into concise forms for easy communication. The cultivated respect for crests also added a note of authenticity and solemnity to the occasion by linking the group to a sacred past. Song, dance, and drum dramatized and instilled the content of the occasion upon the minds of the viewers. Clans owned certain songs that would correspond to our "national anthem." These songs were sung only on solemn occasions and large sums of money or wealth were distributed to the guests whenever they were sung. Some songs were composed to commemorate significant happenings in the history of the clan and, therefore, were used only upon occasions of great importance. If hostilities should threaten to erupt during the competitive contests at a feast, honorable men would rush into the midst of the opposing sides with the sacred crests and call for the respect that years of association had instilled within all Tlingit.

Group ceremonies also extended to certain types of labor. The community house and major items of content such as blankets, poles, or wall screens were not produced by the household labor force since members at some future time in a moment of anger might try to claim the article as a privately rather than communally owned item. Instead, a carver or weaver from another clan was contracted to direct the construction and his crew was paid publicly at a potlatch when the economic, social, and political elements of the occasion could be aired and confirmed by the entire community under the sacred canopy of the crests and the powers the crests symbolized. In theory such ritualistic obligations were performed by one's brothers-in-law who constructed the houses, erected the poles, or buried the dead. Brothers-in-law were from the other moiety.

Individual Practices

Life, to the Tlingit, was a never ending circle. Half of the circle was visible to earth people and the other half was lost from view. Death in the earthly sphere led to birth in the other world; death in the heavenly sphere resulted in birth in this sphere. Life ebbed and flowed between the earthly world and the other world. Life and clan membership were constants, only the locations of both varied. Personal behavior, spirit powers, and spells were independent variables that affected the life of the individual in both worlds. The span of life upon earth was divided into distinct segments: birth, preparation for adulthood, marriage, and death.

The belief in immortality and reincarnation led to the custom of identifying the child and then naming him after the appropriate maternal deceased relative. The customs of educating the boys as warriors and the confinement of girls at puberty have already been mentioned. Marriage involved negotiations, bride-price, and feasts. Death completed the earthly existence of the deceased and placed considerable responsibility upon the survivors that every obligation be carried out to properly respect the spirit of the dead. These were the normal occasions for observing changes of status. Other occasions for changes in status occurred following notable accomplishments by warriors, Indian doctors, initiations, or the promotion to a chiefly office.

III. Two Types of Religious Personnel

Indian Doctors

Perhaps no area of Tlingit society has been presented in a more unfavorable, one-sided, and distorted way than the life and work of the traditional Indian doctor--a part-time religious practitioner who treated sick people, discerned the future, and detected the presence of evil. The curer in Tlingit

society represented an early form of economic specialization and was referred to as an "Indian doctor" by his clientele. Descriptions of the traditional Indian doctor generally focused upon his unkempt and uncut hair along with his intense dancing, simple curing implements, and collection of masks (Krause 1885:194). He was usually depicted in his role as a healer, but he was much more. He functioned as a prophet, teacher, councilor, psychiatrist, and as a medium with the supernatural world.

Every family possessed a basic knowledge of herbs and general principles of hygiene. For the most part families were medically self-sufficient and only rarely relied upon the Indian doctor. The Indian doctor possessed a superior knowledge of herbal medicines and superior spirit power. Tlingit sought the assistance of an Indian doctor when their household remedies proved to be inadequate. Whereas every individual had a spirit, only the Indian doctor possessed direct contact with several spirits. Peratrovich (1959:117) viewed the role of the shaman as being based upon a belief in the existence of evil spirits; a shaman's work consisted of warding off the influences of evil spirits. Several informants made sharp distinctions between good and evil spirits, attributing the work of witches to evil spirits and the power of Indian doctors to good spirits. Indian doctors were called upon to give assistance in those marginal situations in life when sickness, warfare, food shortages, or other circumstances threatened the individual or the community.

These uncertainties in life contributed to the social position of the Indian doctor as one of the most prominent in a clan. Because of the Indian doctor's reputed abilities to heal the sick, discern evil, predict the future, and wage war no clan could ill afford to be without his services. Consequently the members of a clan would assume an active role in the selection of a candidate when none was available. A compilation of Tlingit beliefs surrounding the

designation of Indian doctors indicated that ancestral spirits and the local community both participated. Swanton (1908:466) noted that traditionally spirits were inherited from maternal uncle to maternal nephew. One informant mentioned that certain individuals were "born to be shamans" (Olson 1967:112). Apparently some individuals were born with certain propensities or qualifications for contact with the spirits which the maternal relatives acknowledged as being signs of supernatural possession. "Red hair, cross eyes, or other peculiar marks" physically differentiated some infants who were then consecrated from birth for the position as an Indian doctor (Salisbury 1962:233-234; Peratrovich 1959:106). As the child grew his hair was never combed or cut. Long matted hair symbolized the personage and power of an Indian doctor. The longer the hair the greater his power was assumed to be. Not all candidates were so designated from birth. Some potential candidates might go undetected for years until some moment when a spirit might enter a person in his sleep and cause him to dream or to talk in his sleep. Others in the house might interpret the incident as the "voice of a spirit" (Olson 1967:111). In such a situation a clan council was called, the situation discussed, and the person asked if he was willing to become an Indian doctor.

Olson (1967:111) reported that a clan spirit wishing to find a new "home" might cause a man to become ill. An Indian doctor called in to diagnose the situation would discern the activity of the ancestral spirit and the sick man would be advised to seek the power when he recovered. Peratrovich (1959:103-104) explained that sometimes a seriously ill person was simply taken into an isolated house in the woods to await his fate. If the sick person returned to the community restored to health, it was assumed that the power of a spirit was with the individual--perhaps an ancestral spirit came to his aid. Indian doctors were individuals who had recovered from some serious illness. However, not all

individuals so cured became Indian doctors. Olson (1967:111) mentioned that although the practice of Indian medicinal treatment was open to both sexes few females became practitioners. Peratrovich (1959:112) explained that women were considered to be less powerful shaman than males because their training habits were less rigorous.

A novice, desiring to become a shaman, would undertake a rigorous cleansing procedure consisting of bathing, fasting, and otherwise removing the aura of mundane living from his body in order to cleanse the spirit and prepare the mind for an encounter with a supernatural spirit. The neophyte might spend one or more weeks in the woods in search of spirit power. The length of time spent in the woods depended upon the length of time it took to establish such contact.

When the spirits named more than one successor to assume the vacated position of a clan doctor the stronger minded was selected (Swanton 1908:466). If no successor had been so designated when the clan doctor died, immediate measures were initiated to discern a successor. A lock of hair of the deceased doctor might be handed from nephew to nephew to ascertain which one of the relatives would obtain the power and succeed the departed to serve the clan as their medium with the world of spirits. The nephew affected by the power became the new clan doctor. Improper conduct could disqualify a person; proper physical, social, and moral elements were important factors in becoming an Indian doctor. A relative of a deceased shaman summarized the office of the shaman as follows:

Indian doctors received their strength by right living and training. Like Samson of old their strength was in their hair. If they lost their hair they would die. Living right consisted of such things as telling the truth, not being jealous, and not cheating. We don't have any Indian doctors now-a-days because nobody trains hard enough to receive the powers that belonged to the old Indian doctors (P. C. 1974: conversation).

The activities surrounding Indian doctors extended beyond that of the individual to include the community. At some public declaration announcing the intentions of an individual to pursue the office of an Indian doctor, the local clan observed a period of sexual continence and special food restrictions (Olson 1967: 112). During subsequent spirit quests the relatives of the Indian doctor might remain at home fasting (de Laguna 1972:677). Again, when the shaman died special restrictions were placed upon the kin. Relatives of hunters and warriors were under similar restrictions while the hunt or raid was in progress.

It is believed that proper living and training prepared the seeker after spiritual power for the appearing of helping spirits. Spirits revealed themselves in the form of animals or birds that succumbed to the power of an approaching Indian doctor. The Indian doctor cut out the tongue of the dead creature and preserved it as a trophy of power. Indian doctors later donned a mask and spoke as the acquired supernatural spirit inspired them during curing sessions. Animal or bird tongues aptly symbolized the communicative skill of the spirit. The ultimate test for an Indian doctor was to overpower a land otter without the aid of weapons. Land otters were believed to be the very embodiment of evil power. The ability to control evil power and to extract the tongue of the land otter demonstrated the superior power of the Indian doctor. In this manner the power of good triumphed over evil within Tlingit culture. By this act of conquering evil, the Indian doctor championed the cause of proper training and right conduct. Care was taken not to neglect or misuse the power lest it turn upon the individual and bring sickness and death. Spirit power was also beneficial to others in society such as assisting individuals in becoming great warriors or acquiring wealth.

In addition to special knowledge of medicinal herbs, hygiene, and simple surgical techniques, the Indian doctor assisted the local people in locating food, giving counsel during times of warfare, communicating with Indian doctors in

other villages, predicting future events, locating lost persons, influencing weather conditions, advising in the hunt, and ferreting out witches. As a prophet, the shaman foretold the weather, success or failure of certain ventures, and when to set forth on a hunting trip. His task was also to exercise the evil spirits and to call upon the good spirits for special favors. Such powers of curing and counseling came only as a result of strenuous training. Often weeks were spent fasting and meditating in the woods in absolute solitude. Food, during these retreats was often limited to herbs, teas, and tree bark. Ritual cleanliness, sexual continence, and food taboos placed many demands upon the individual's self-control. Months were spent concentrating upon the perfection of songs and dances. One informant described how their clan's Indian doctor often spent a month in meditation before the opening of the fishing season. The purpose of the doctor's stay in the woods, according to one Tlingit elder, was "to become detached from society in order to have the opportunity to observe nature, reflect upon past behavior, and a chance to plan the future."

Indian doctors were described by some Tlingit as being spiritual men with special powers who taught the people the "ten commandments." When a person was missing from hunting or warfare, his relatives consulted the Indian doctor. The doctor might say, "Your brother is dead. He has drowned. His spirit faces the ocean and can't be found." On one occasion Natives and local authorities searched for a lost person for several days. After the local white authorities considered the situation hopeless and abandoned the search, the relatives consulted an Indian doctor who told them, following a time of deep meditation, where to go to find the person. If stealing occurred and the doctor was consulted, he put on a mask that had no holes in it. Then the doctor would be escorted to the middle of the room and he would point out the guilty person.

One eyewitness account described the power and method of an Indian doctor in the treatment of a relative.

Indian doctors studied human nature and behavior. They possessed insights into the workings of the human mind and believed that hate in the life of an individual often led to sicknesses in the body. Hate, lingering within the mind, was believed to eventually lead to a breakdown of the body at its weakest points. So the doctor in treating the patient would probe for the mental anguish that lay at the root of the physical ailment. Hate and jealousy, if permitted to fester in the mind, disrupted the normal ability of the body to function properly.

A certain relative, years ago, was taken to see an Indian doctor. The first question the doctor asked the patient was, 'Do you believe that I can help you?' Unless the patient had strong faith, the doctor was powerless to help. Then the doctor proceeded to delve into the past of the patient to uncover incidents of hate. Eventually the doctor discovered the deep seated hatred that the aunt felt for her sister-in-law. The doctor predicted that the aunt would soon recover and she did. The efficacy of the Indian doctor's power consisted of special healing powers along with the sensitivity and insights concerning the workings of the human mind. The rattle, songs, paintings, and dancing were more of a show than anything else. The power and the sensitivity were the important elements (W.B. 1974: conversation).

A Tlingit elder stated that the power of the Indian doctor resided in his own spirit and his superior ability to exercise his mental powers. These mental powers were defined as intensive use of "hypnotism, mesmerism, and mental telepathy." Indian doctors received considerable training in these subjects. Wallace (1966:198) acknowledged a similar technique among the Iroquois who analyzed dreams in order to discern repressed wishes of individuals in the treatment of emotional problems.

Another description of the Indian doctor emphasized the gift of healing, the training, and the motive for becoming a doctor.

The doctor was said to have received the gift of healing. He was taught to help--not hate. The Tlingit used a word for hate which means to boomerang. If you hate, it will turn on you. By training alone and in silence in the woods the doctor was believed to develop the ability to detect hatred and evil in existence within a group. Everything has a spirit in life. We worshipped the Holy Spirit manifested in nature. The all important element in seeking a vision

was the motive. The traditional Tlingit motive for seeking a vision was to become a better man.

Some time ago a young man went and lived alone along a certain stream in Alaska. He fasted and meditated for a period of time. Then he saw what he described as the spirit of the river. He asked an older person to help him in his seeking. The older person asked him if he was on drugs or if he had been drinking. These actions he categorically denied. The seeker asked about the spirit of the river. The older person kept pressing for the motive and told the visionary that Indians sought a vision to make them a better person and a more productive person. In a few days the fellow was out of his tree house and working at a job. Most Indian doctors' motive for seeking spirits and personal power was for the purpose of assisting people not assaulting them (W.B. 1974: conversation).

The Indian doctor made use of many visual aids. One of the most striking features of the doctor was his long matted hair extending well down his back which symbolized his power. His clothes were often unkept and gave evidence to long vigils, personal deprivations, and mental solitude. He always built a hot fire during a curing rite and donned one of his masks that symbolized the spirit that was assisting him. The doctor had special garments, headdresses, hair pieces, masks, animal bones, drums and drumsticks, aprons, bracelets, amulets, charms and other personal items. These items were considered to be sacred since they had been in contact with the doctor and spirit power. He wore as much or as little clothing as he deemed necessary to summon his spirits.

Peratrovich (1959:111) described the attitude among Indian doctors as often being one of jealousy, disrepute, and defamation. Mortal struggles might ensue between shaman in which their faces would become distorted from concentration and spirit warfare. The battle might continue until one of the doctors predicted the death of the other. If death followed in the immediate future the winner was evident. Indian doctors often assisted and complemented one another in their abilities and powers. If one Indian doctor failed in the treatment of a sick patient another was consulted. No doctor accepted payment for failure. The story is told of a large canoe caught in a thick fog attempting to cross a

twenty mile bay. One shaman attempted to guide the canoe but to no avail. A second doctor laid down, covered himself with a mat, and proceeded to direct the canoe across the bay to the desired landing site demonstrating a sophisticated knowledge of waves and tides. Diligent training, proper conduct, and a large group contributed to the making of a powerful Indian doctor (de Laguna 1972:707).

The social position of the Indian doctor within the community is somewhat confused in the ethnographic literature. One account suggests that the Indian doctor was "the most powerful figure in his own lineage" and sometimes in his "sib" or crest group (de Laguna 1972:670). Another writer states that "Shamans rivaled the chiefs in the power they exercised over the people" (Jennes 1960:119). Still a third asserts that the Indian doctor outranked the chief (Salisbury 1962:44). The Indian doctor was undoubtedly one of the most influential members in any community. He possessed the power to cure disease, cause illness, or affect the fortunes of others. Anyone desiring supernatural power consulted with him. He was a community religious authority. As his fame increased, so did the peoples' respect for him and fear of him. Sometimes the roles of chief and shaman were combined in a single person, if an individual was qualified. And if it was the unanimous decision of the group, they could bestow the Indian doctor also with the title community house leader. More commonly the two roles were separated and filled by two individuals. One Tlingit elder explained that the two were authority figures in different realms--political and religious.

It was possible for a lower class person to become a famous Indian doctor, to accumulate a considerable quantity of wealth as payment for his assistance, and to become a wealthy individual. According to Peratrovich (1959:106), the Indian doctor could never seriously challenge the political power of a chief due to the Indian doctor's inability to accumulate sufficient quantities of wealth

items. A ranking household head inherited a considerable amount of wealth, property rights, and the productive capabilities of the members of his lineage including a portion of the doctor's income. The house chief's human and economic resources were beyond the reach of the shaman. The Indian doctor did attain public esteem far beyond that of the normal recognition that would otherwise have accrued to him.

Though the Indian doctor was never worshipped he was held in fear and reverence. For the most part he lived a life separate from the community and he was buried apart from the village. Unlike other individuals the doctor was never cremated. Nor would people venture close to the site of the remains of the Indian doctor because his remains and personal belongings were considered to be potent and, therefore, harmful to people. The doctor spent much of his life dedicated to the preservation and welfare of the community. Consequently, he was accorded considerable prestige.

Another element in the Indian doctor's life and works was the use of mystical power to combat other communities and the Indian doctor from other communities. Jealousy and the power to harm others were generally ascribed to evil power. When this power was directed toward someone within the group it was attributed to witchcraft. However, if Indian doctors directed their power toward another group to defeat them during periods of hostilities it was sanctioned. A struggle between competing Indian doctors was accompanied by strong desires to hurt or destroy the opponent. Theoretically the spirit powers of Indian doctors were to be used for the welfare of the people; sometimes it was directed against other doctors and the people of other clans.

Indian Witchcraft

We have mentioned that one of the basic religious tenets in Tlingit culture was the belief in spirits and the availability of good and evil powers that

could influence the course of human behavior. Indian doctors were essentially attributed with seeking beneficent powers while witches were accused of resorting to the use of malevolent powers. Evil power was not believed to be an innate part of a witch; rather, it was basically attributed to an active desire to inflict hurt towards relatives growing out of repressed feelings of anger and jealousy.

Individuals whose intentions were that of causing harm to others in the community through mystical power were called witches, nukw-sati, which refers to being in control of sickness or evil. The origin of the practice of witchcraft, among the Tlingit, was credited to several sources. It was ascribed to Raven's earthly contacts (Krause 1956:200), to the Haida (Swanton 1909:134-135), and to the Tsimshian (de Laguna 1972:733); and indeed, many of the practices and customs surrounding shamanism, dancing, and witchcraft were borrowed from their southern neighbors.

Indian doctors and witches were believed to be in control of mystical powers. Indian doctors were, among other things, professional witch hunters who were hired to search and locate witches. A comparison of the various activities of Indian doctors and witches shows a considerable contrast in their statuses and behavior (see Figure 6.1).

<u>Roles and Practices</u>	<u>Indian Doctors</u>	<u>Witches</u>
<u>Roles</u>		
Social	Socially acceptable	Socially unacceptable
Political	Office sanctioned	Office opposed
Economic	Welfare of people	Destruction of people
Religious	Considered to be good	Considered to be evil
<u>Personal Practices</u>		
Mystical powers	Cures diseases	Causes diseases
Personal values	Honesty, morality, character	Hatred, lust, jealousy
Performance	Public performance	Private performance
Discipline	Rigorous self-restraint	Unrestrained passion

Figure 6.1 A Comparison of the Roles and Practices of Indian Doctors and Witches

Good spirits were believed to assist people while evil spirits were believed to harm people upon occasions. Consequently, people sought to propitiate the evil spirits and call upon the good spirits for aid. Sick people, who did not respond to normal treatment and whose condition steadily worsened, were referred to the Indian doctor for his care. If the Indian doctor's treatment proved to be ineffective, he might attribute the lack of response in the patient to the powers of a witch who was believed to be responsible for causing the illness. In order for the patient to recover, it became necessary to locate the witch, destroy the medicine, and break the spell. The doctor would study the situation, examine the patient, sing, and dance. At the completion of his consultation session, if witchcraft was suspected, the doctor approached a relative of the patient and named the culprit. For this task the doctor received a generous fee.

The type of person most likely to be accused of witchcraft was described as generally being:

some unimportant members of the community, an uncanny-looking creature, a slave, or someone who had the ill will of the doctor or the relatives of the patient. This was a very effective way of ridding one of his enemy. No one, not even the victim himself, thought of disputing the shaman's judgement. He whom he designated as a witch was believed by all to be such, and was immediately treated as such (Peratrovich 1959:108).

Both males and females were known to practice witchcraft. In order to harm another person, the practitioner obtained a portion of substance that had previously been in contact with the intended victim. It may have been hair, food, clothing, spittle, or whatever. This material was taken to a cemetery and placed upon the bones or ashes of a cremated body. As the body disintegrated the powers began to work. The bodies of cats and dogs were equally effective. The victim was supposed to become affected in that portion of the body from whence the charmed substance had been in contact. Sometimes an image of the victim was constructed and then specific acts were performed upon

certain parts of the image to indicate the desired affliction to befall the bewitched (Swanton 1908:470).

When a witch was identified, the accused's hands might be tied behind his back and he would be left for days in some enclosure without food or drink. The culprit might be forced to drink sea water or be tied to a stake at low tide in an effort to force the witch to admit to the practice and to locate and scatter the bewitched material in order to break the spell (Krause 1956:200-201). The cruelty shown to accused witches was indicative of the abhorrence Tlingit held against the practice of witchcraft. Witches were believed to cause suffering and death. Therefore, they negated all that was good in society. The worst accusation that could be brought against a person was that of practicing witchcraft. Death was often the result. No one, not even "venerated shamans" were exempt from the charges or the penalty of practicing witchcraft (Peratrovich 1959:110).

Theoretically in Tlingit society, individuals were not born as witches. The power of witches was actively pursued. Witches sought to manipulate power to harm people with the use of material objects. Some boasted of their powers and delighted in producing fear in others. Several informants stated as a general principle that what a person sought, good or evil power, determined the type of power received. People with upright characters were believed to be impervious to the bewitching lure of becoming a witch. An unwilling person who lived and trained well could repel evil. As one informant stated, "If he's solid, you can't make him do wrong. If he's not solid, right away he's going to do it" (de Laguna 1972:735).

Witches could best be detected by shamans and dogs. However, ordinary people might observe the actions of witches. Witches were believed to possess the ability to fly or swim like fish through the water. Sometimes flying

objects, suspected of being witches, were shot at with guns and the following day the person suspected of being a witch would die. A person might be caught and beaten in the middle of the night at the site of a recently filled grave. Some deaths were attributed to this form of punishment (Olson 1967:117).

Dynamic factors in an analysis of the practice of witchcraft included the personality of the shaman, the rank and class of the accused, the wealth and prestige of the relatives of the accused, maternal love, and others. Relatives of a high class man accused of practicing witchcraft might secretly attempt to intercede with the alleged witch to heal the sick person and resolve the conflict (Krause 1956:201). And yet, traditionally, it was the duty of the relatives to kill a witch. Sometimes friends "interferred and bloodshed resulted" (Swanton 1908:470). Accused persons protected by "powerful relatives" were not seized (Krause 1956:200). One individual, accused of witchcraft, was tied up until he confessed. Later he was released without punishment "because he belonged to a prominent family" (Olson 1967:116). In another situation a confessed witch was spared on account of the fact that she was the only female remaining in her matrilineal family and, therefore, the only rightful person to pass on the family names and privileges (Olson 1967:116). A beautiful wife of a chief defended her mentally handicapped son against a shaman's accusation of witchcraft. The mother fought so bravely that when the people came to take the boy the son was spared (Young 1915:80). Individuals caught in the traditional grave houses or performing witchcraft near freshly dug graves under the cover of darkness were beaten or shot for their flagrant disregard for the propriety of the community. However, people could be, in certain situations, bribed to forget or ignore an incident of witchcraft.

A general cultural principle stated that in effect the penalty for practicing witchcraft created a new situation with a new combination of factors to be

considered in the decision making process. Thus, in reviewing various cases of witchcraft it is difficult to identify changes in practices and attitudes toward witchcraft that occurred over a period of time. Traditional values decreased in intensity, social mobility increased, and white influence became a deterrent in the treatment of witches. In many societies, when these factors have been prominent the belief and practice of witchcraft increased significantly. It may very well be that witchcraft occupied a more prominent place in society during the stressful postcontact period in the latter portion of the last century as a general change in traditional cultural values began to take place. Wallace (1966:181) suggests that magical practices increased in frequency during periods of rapid cultural change.

Important factors relative to any specific case could somewhat alter the fate of the practitioner. As the influence of shaman gradually waned near the close of the last century due to increased contacts with and pressures from whites, the local citizenry seemed to have become more involved in the detection and apprehension of witches.

Certain cultural values like honesty, property rights, and exogamy were highly esteemed. However when lying, stealing, or incest occurred within a community house or clan, it was both difficult to explain and to reprimand. Households and clans were pledged to assist one another and defend each other. Injured victims at times were driven by hate to resort to witchcraft. Incidents of hate and incest were an anathema to all involved; they undermined group solidarity, and were a mystical threat to the community. To even contemplate one of these actions necessitated the renouncement of all the good that existed in their culture. Little wonder that offenders were held in such contempt. Indeed, when lying, stealing, adultery, or incest occurred within the clan, splits and migrations often ensued.

On other occasions a powerful group might decide to remain in the community and the weaker victim group or individual might be unable to receive a just settlement. In this case the hostility fell outside the normal peace making structure that dealt mainly with interclan disputes. In intraclan situations hostilities, jealousy, or envy left unchecked might fester within the mind of an individual until revenge became the dominant motive in life. In such cases witchcraft provided an alternative course of action. Through witchcraft a person could seek mystical power to revenge another individual who had caused the first person to be hurt in some way in the past. A witch attempted to destroy social good will. The actions of the liar, thief, or the adulterer also posed a direct threat against group solidarity and their behavior was difficult to explain. The practitioner of witchcraft and the incestuous individual were both consigned as evil doers who were believed to be in league with evil powers or else such deeds would not have been perpetuated according to Native belief. Both elements lay beyond the normal political processes of the crest group. Therefore, an Indian doctor from another clan, who could not be blinded by the power of witchcraft from within the group, was called in to detect the witch and to force a cancellation of the spell. To resolve the conflict close relatives of the practitioner were expected to administer the punishment in order to absolve the community of the problem, to avoid retaliation, and restore the community to normalcy.

The practice of witchcraft in Tlingit culture as in other societies functioned to relieve stress. First, it provided an explanation for otherwise unexplainable behavior in others. Second, it channeled feelings of overt aggression against relatives into subtle and devious actions that were difficult to detect and prove. Third, the existence of a belief in witchcraft in a society tended to keep the wealthy and powerful from becoming too arrogant and aggressive. Fourth, it relieved tensions by plotting a course of action during periods of extreme stress

and natural disasters by naming a person responsible for the situation (Mair 1969:209).

The practice of witchcraft also resulted in a number of disadvantageous circumstances. Upon occasions it led to false accusations and the punishment of innocent people; it resulted in a considerable waste of time and personal stress during incidents of sickness or natural disasters; it aroused feelings of suspicion that could lead to discord within a group; and it caused considerable anxiety to sick people, to defenseless people, and to physically handicapped people. The mere fact that a relative would become so angry with another that he would expend time and energy to destroy the person caused deep wounds among relatives that persisted for generations.

Summary

The general religious themes of supernatural power, respect, immortality, crest symbols, and manipulation of power permeated Tlingit culture. In the search for mystical powers, two groups of individuals emerged: Indian doctors who basically sought to help and heal human hurts in society, and witches who pursued their craft to cause sickness and death in society. Indian doctors became very influential among the Tlingit to the extent that group ceremonials never gained much prominence.

Chapter VII

POLITICAL SYSTEM

This chapter consists of an analysis of traditional Tlingit political life using a conflict-management model. This model permits a general analysis of the political system--from the emergence of public concerns to the implementation of public decisions. The conflict-management model was selected for this study since it permits the decision making process to be analyzed in terms of six phases and explains the part each phase contributes to the total system.

I. The Conflict-Management Model

According to Macrides and Brown (1968:1), "A political system is, above all, a mechanism for the making of decisions." The study of decision making mechanisms within a society provides a dynamic perspective for the study of a culture and cultural change. A decision making model focuses upon the various problems that confront a particular society and helps us identify the numerous struggles set in motion, such as how a group resolves conflicts and why one option may have been selected among many possible choices (Garbarino 1967:469). It provides an explanation for the constant processes of internal change and for the specific changes caused by contacts with other societies. From the perspective of a decision making model, social change is seen as a series of decisions that members of a society make in the process of survival.

The specific approach used in this study of the Tlingit political system is that of a conflict-management model. Conflict-management refers to the

"process by which a government sets limits on what will enter the political process" (Gorden 1972:vii). It describes the specific manner in which a particular culture resolves its problems of "how to decide." The management of the natural resources and human resources in a society often involves differences of opinions. These differences of opinion may lead to disputes and the need for a public means for the resolution of such societal differences. A conflict-management model includes the study of six political phases: (1) goals, (2) rules of exposure, (3) spokesmen, (4) organizations for action, (5) bargaining, and (6) implementation. As a public concern moves along the political process from conception to final implementation, these six phases contain both an interaction effect and a general hierarchical relationship (Gorden 1972:12). According to Gorden (1972:11), the factors in Figure 7.1 are "listed subsequently in a flow-diagram format that indicates the most frequent order of processing inputs and the most useful analytical order for dealing with them. This order is often violated in practice because systems components interact with each other." Each of these phases will be discussed briefly.

Phases of the Political Process

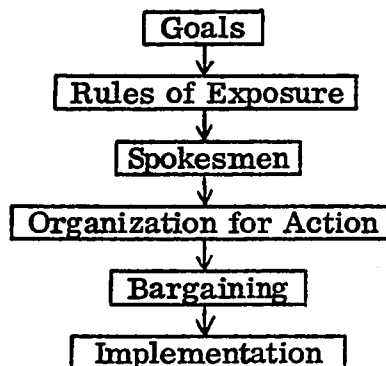


Figure 7.1 Conflict-Management Model*

*The conflict management model emphasizes various phases of the political process. The arrows show the general direction of political concerns from initiation to implementation. It is also to be acknowledged that the systems components have an interaction effect (Gorden 1972:12).

Goals

Individuals in every society make assumptions about people, life, and the universe. These assumptions form the basis for social values and goals. Social goals give direction to public concerns, focus the political process toward specific ends and to a large extent, determine the concerns of political systems. Gorden (1972:14) notes that political inputs are often modified or changed in the political process. A political system is a dynamic process with several factors interacting before the decisions are reached in the bargaining phase. Goals function as both a political filter to eliminate ideas that are in conflict with basic political goals and a political funnel to channel public concerns toward culturally prescribed ends. Goals affect decisions and are also modified by future decisions.

Rules of Exposure

Rules of exposure govern the access and flow of information. They determine which individuals and groups will have access to political information, how much is released, and when it will be released. Access to information is of prime importance in "releasing potential power" because information is basic to mobilizing political power (Gorden 1972:68). Those individuals and groups who have greater access to political information hold a distinct edge in the bargaining process. Political information may pressure a leader into action or stimulate a constituency to react. The flow of information between leaders and citizens reveals who has access to information, how it is shared, and how that information is used in accomplishing objectives.

Spokesmen

Spokesmen are the articulate leaders in a political process; often they are the initiators of political action. They contribute a channeling effect in

directing the flow of political information essential in formulating decisions. To some extent, spokesmen are creators of political information and responders to the whole political system. Spokesmen shape the demands of their constituencies, direct the flow of information in the decision making process, and manipulate cultural symbols that are critical in the decision making process. Symbols represent the values, identity, and sentiments of a group. Symbols authenticate the political system, support the role of the spokesmen, and appeal to the populace to support the proposed decision (Gorden 1972:104).

Organizations for Action

Organizations are vehicles for the expression of group concerns. On a macrolevel of political analysis two major characteristics of organizations for action are: (1) whether the organization involved is pluralistic or monolithic in structure and (2) whether the organizations are hierarchically related to each other. Within a "monolithic-hierarchical" system, as in Russia, one organization is dominant over a broad range of activities and initiates the decision making process at the top level. The information flow within this system is from top downward. In a "pluralistic-potential" system, as in Great Britain, there are multiple bases of power; i. e., more than one group has the potential for gaining power. The information flow generally moves from a bottom to top direction. Groups pass their messages up to the decision making authorities through multiple channels that exist for that purpose (Gorden 1972:139).

Bargaining

The element of bargaining in the political process refers to "the adjustment of differences between competing agents or groups" (Gorden 1972:164). As one phase in the political process it is difficult to ascertain exactly where bargaining begins or ends. In the conflict-management model it occurs near the

end of the decision making process. In bargaining the issues are defined, the opposition is organized, and the conflict develops. The general goals and rules of exposure contribute to the selection of the participants; the bargaining process determines how they will resolve conflicts--by accommodations (evolution) or system change (revolution). Two major components of the bargaining process are style and location. Location refers to the place where decisions are made within a system; style has to do with how people bargain in their attempt to achieve organizational goals.

Implementation

A political decision does not end the political process. To implement the decision it becomes necessary to rally the support of the general populace, to monitor the decisions, and to see that it is carried out according to specifications. Some decisions may not satisfy an individual or a group in that the decision is considered to be inequitable or nonapplicable to the nature of the conflict. For example, a decision may have been based upon the consensus of the group involved but may not have resolved the feeling of hurt in the mind of the injured party. The affected party may feel that witchcraft is the only available means to punish the offender adequately. In this situation the process of implementing a decision creates a new social problem. Also a more powerful group may choose to ignore a grievance brought by a less powerful group or delay any implementation of the decision reached in the bargaining process. The implementation phase provides the system with the opportunity of testing the merits of the decision and the extent to which it resolves the problem or conflict. During this feedback process the goals, performances of the spokesmen, and the general understanding of the problem can be reevaluated. The implementation phase provides a learning experience for the spokesmen and their constituencies. In addition it assists in the development of the general political system

by locating problem areas.

Any isolated description of these six phases represents a distortion of the political process since they lack a lineal causal relationship to each other; they are composite parts of an interacting system. For example, goals affect every phase in the system in terms of support, conflict, and focus. Some public concerns will mesh with previously held goals and reinforce them; other public concerns may run counter to other goals causing factions to develop; while still other public concerns may be narrowed in scope and become more effective as the experience of previous decisions are brought to bare on the case at hand. Goals affect the choice of desired characteristics found in spokesmen, the degree of personal freedom permitted in organizations, the number of organizations permitted in the bargaining process, and the rigor of conformity tolerated in the implementation phase. Goals of a political system, like patterns of culture, represent a choice from an almost infinite range of possibilities. And like patterns in culture, the goals of a political system tend to be mutually reinforcing and result in recognizable configurations. This suggests that there is a strategy in any given conflict-management system (Gorden 1972:223).

II. An Analysis of Tlingit Politics in Terms of the Conflict-Management Model

Goals

The basic sociopolitical unit among the Tlingit was the household. Household goals were focused toward specific ends. Tlingit politics comprised the management of public concerns as it pertained to the regulation of the internal and external affairs of households within a localized clan. From an analysis of the ethnographic literature and the insights of several Tlingit elders, we learn that the following are the general traditional economic household goals: (1) the acquisition of a large estate of land for hunting and securing raw

materials; (2) the procurement of beach rights to marine resources and salmon producing streams; (3) the construction and maintenance of buildings and equipment (community house, fish camp, trapping camp, grave houses, canoes, and hunting and fishing gear); (4) the accumulation of wealth including coppers, slaves, canoes, and blankets; and (5) the economic welfare of the members. Socially, there was one major goal: to improve their ranking vis-a-vis other households. Politically, household goals focused on the following: (1) to mobilize a core of males to defend the wealth, (2) to establish trade with other communities, (3) to maintain political ties with other groups, and (4) to cooperate with other households to promote the local clan's political interests. Sacred household goals were concerned with showing "proper respect" for the following: (1) supernatural spirits, (2) living creatures to avoid supernatural retribution, and (3) crests as symbols of sacred traditions.

Three basic concerns seem to be contained in these general household goals: (1) basic survival, (2) accumulation of material wealth, and (3) a priority on respect and compensation for damages. Survival goals included general defense of the resources, property, individuals, and crests. Members were committed to defend these despite all costs or threats. The material goals emphasized the need to produce, trade, and accumulate wealth. Insults, injuries, and death were calculated in terms of material goods. A dominant ethical principle in Tlingit society stated in effect that every individual was entitled to a just and honorable settlement in every conflict including restitution for all damages. Public opinion acknowledged it; household and clan members demanded it. This ethical goal of responsible behavior was buttressed by the presence of sacred crests and supernatural spirits. The phrase "proper respect" encapsulated their ethical principle. These three goals (survival, wealth, respect) impinged upon every phase of the conflict-management process.

Rules of Exposure

Rules of exposure favored some individuals and groups in obtaining access to political information and existed in relation to four areas: (1) matrilineality, (2) social class, (3) social position, and (4) age. A unilineal descent rule provided the broadest rule of exposure since it granted to all clan members general information pertaining to the group, knowledge of clan tradition, and participation in household decisions. Matrilineal descent defined the boundary of the clan and limited access to certain information within the clan. One elder commented that when a household held council to discuss serious matters such as raids, the male adults retired to a corner of the community house beyond the listening ears of women and children since they belonged to other clans. An individual's knowledge of clan stories authenticated his claim to the use of clan resources. Adult male members of the household participated in household decisions and expressed their concerns to the house leader who held a seat on the clan council. Maternal uncles by virtue of their age and participation in household affairs had greater access to political information than nephews. Household heads, Indian doctors, historians, and other persons holding significant positions in society also had greater access to information.

Individuals who belonged to the upper class attended distant potlatches and became exposed to a considerably greater amount of information. Gorden (1972:95) contends that greater access to information on the part of a select group provides a "key to power" in the decision making process. Sons of the upper class were exposed to more extensive instruction; daughters were confined at puberty considerably longer than low class girls and subject to a higher level of instruction. This "selective recruitment" endowed certain individuals with greater access to potential political power and set in motion the political processes that eventually determined which individuals would become spokesmen

in the political system (Gorden 1972:85).

Spokesmen

The primary spokesman in a local community house was a household head (chief). He presided over the household's internal political affairs and represented the household on clan councils. A household head attempted to improve the economic, social, and political welfare of the community house. Members of a household gave their spokesmen unified support through unanimous decisions. Therefore, he spoke with a united voice for the household. A household head was the key figure in gathering information from his constituency to convey to the local clan council. He was also vital to the dissemination of information from the clan council to the household membership. Thus the flow of political information traveled from lower councils through their representatives to higher councils and back down the structure. Most information was broadly shared and most decisions were generally final and well supported. One elder remarked,

The chief's word was law. You can't go over the chief's head. Nothing is under cover. When the chief comes home he tells it to everybody. The Raven Houses get together and the council of community house chiefs would decide and that's the way it is to be (H. P. 1974: conversation).

The head of the ranking household within a local clan served as spokesman for all the clan households. Clan heads (chiefs) were the best informed and generally the most respected persons in the community. Clan heads served as chief managers of natural resources, human resources, trading expeditions, raiding activities, and relations with other clans. Following the consolidation of local clans, the ranking clan leader within a moiety served as the spokesman for his moiety. This hierarchy in leadership preserved a chain of command in the decision making process affecting the welfare of the community in peace and war (Shotridge 1913:85). Tlingit spokesmen were thus hierarchical and also

reflective. They were reflective in the sense that they represented the concerns of their constituencies and steered a policy course that was in general accord with their constituencies. The goal orientation of spokesmen was basically present-orientated; it placed a considerable emphasis upon material rewards. Resolution of conflicts consisted of settlements in resources, wealth, slaves, or ceremonial privileges.

Three important qualifications in the selection of a clan head were education, wealth, and personality. A ranking clan spokesman received extensive training in tradition and ritual covering such areas as migrations, household accomplishments, and ceremonial procedures. He was an authority on clan history, conversant with the history of other clans, and knowledgeable concerning stories and traditions of the Haida, Tsimshian, and Eskimo (de Laguna 1972:466). He received instruction in the art of potlatch speech making which was conducted in highly symbolic language--an esoteric use of the language not easily comprehended by the uninitiated. One Tlingit elder explained that speeches at a potlatch differed as much from ordinary speech "as high school lectures differ from college lectures." Household heads of lower ranking community houses were not invited to distant potlatches, received less training in potlatch speeches, and were consequently less informed in political affairs.

Second, wealth was an important determinate in the selection of a clan chief. Petrov (1882:166) noted that the "chiefdomship" was hereditary in families, but the authority of the position was "dependent upon wealth." Goldschmidt and Haas (1954:4) attributed the position of leadership to wealth acquired through the control of property. Peratrovich (1959:17) acknowledged wealth to be a basic consideration in the selection of a leader. At the death of a chief the heir presumptive inherited one-half of the estate and the deceased chief's widow. "Thus," explained a Tlingit elder, "wealth, information, and education continued

in the line from uncle to nephew with the uncle's wife acting as a teacher's aid." Olson (1967:6) stated that the selection of household head was based on "wealth and wisdom." Wealth seemed to take precedence over wisdom in selecting a successor. A wealthy individual represented the practical side of wisdom in that he demonstrated the abilities of an individual to effectively manage material resources and, therefore, offered to the group a better risk concerning household wealth and social advancement. In contrast, an individual of great intellectual ability might become an orator for the chief.

Third, an individual's personality was taken into consideration in the selection of a spokesman for a household. When possible, the selection of a successor occurred after a candidate had reached the age of thirty-five. It was believed that by the age of thirty-five an individual's personality had attained greater stability and maturity. This afforded the membership a better opportunity to evaluate the candidates in terms of their abilities to "get along" with others. A Tlingit elder explained, "You don't choose a leader; you recognize the innate ability for leadership. It is a consensus of the group based upon years of association with the person." The element of personality in the selection of a leader was well illustrated by an example from Klawock. The candidate from Klawock was considered to be the best informed person concerning his traditions, legends, songs, dances, and crests but in addition he was a "wise" man who looked at things in a different way and was "willing to make allowances" (Salisbury 1962:18).

Other individuals in the community functioned as leaders: peacemakers, Indian doctors, carvers, warriors, and historians. A few specially selected individuals served as peacemakers or ambassadors, gowakan, in interclan gatherings. These spokesmen also represented the interests of their clans and demonstrated a show of good faith by living with another clan during peace

negotiations. They were often brothers-in-law to the opposition clan in which their sisters resided. Peacemakers were selected for their accomplishments, social status, and personality qualifications to assist in pursuing or maintaining peace. In multiclan communities they served as mediators to resolve personal differences between members of different clans.

Spokesmen, as primary actors in the conflict-management process, illustrated some of the ways in which the various phases of the conflict-management model interact. Societal goals defined broad objectives for spokesmen. Rules of exposure favored certain individuals and groups in acquiring political information. Attitudes of spokesmen toward one another were crucial to the bargaining process. Mutual respect, trading relationships, and marriage ties contributed to keep the system open between groups for future exchanges. Bargaining across clan boundaries was resolved at the top of the hierarchy--the locus of authority and information. Spokesmen exercised a dominant role in the implementation phase of conflict-management by: (1) placing the prestige of their position behind the decision and (2) by gaining the support of their constituencies.

Organizations for Action

Three primary Tlingit political organizations were households, local clans, and village moieties. A council with a head spokesman represented each level of organization. These political organizations were reflective and hierarchical. Councils were hierarchical and a chain of command was in effect from the top to the bottom. Councils were reflective since they allegedly represented the will of the people and ideally fulfilled the consensus of their groups. Each household council administered its own internal affairs and contributed to clan decisions. One community house per local clan was dominant and the head of the dominant household served as chairman of the council of local household

heads. Chairmen of local clan councils served on moiety councils in multiclan communities. Chairmen of lower level councils represented their constituencies and conveyed their concerns to higher level councils.

Decisions made at the top were binding upon the representative groups. The flow of information was from both bottom to top and from top to bottom depending upon the nature of the decision and the personality of the council chairman. Strong council chairmen tended to be autocratic if they accumulated vast sums of wealth and recruited significant numbers of nephews and slaves to effectively dominate local clan affairs. Household councils were autonomous within a limited range of activities; the elite household was dominant in other areas; and in many situations decisions were quite democratic. A hierarchy existed but it was tenuous; households could and were actively seeking to improve their rank; dissatisfied households had the option to move to other settlements. Each significant change within the political fields underwent a "conversion process" so that political changes could be processed, validated, and recorded (Gorden 1972:152). Potlatches functioned as the "political conversion" mechanism to facilitate such changes within or between district political fields (see Figure 7.2).

Social Units	Political Groupings															
Moieties	I								II							
Communities	A				B								C			
Local clans	1				2				3				4			
Households	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P

Figure 7.2 Tlingit Political Organizations*

*Every household, local clan, and multiclan community contained a council with a chairman who served as spokesman for the group and represented that group in higher level councils.

The prominent organization among local clans and the key element in an analysis of Tlingit politics was the ranking household in a localized clan since the clan was "the ultimate source of political power" (Oberg 1937:47). The ranking household occupied the dominant position of authority and contributed more than other households to key decisions within the local clan. A ranking household controlled wealth, politics, and military interests. In essence they formed a "power elite." In Mills' now classic study (1956:7) a power elite is described in terms of control of economic, political, and military systems in a society. He argued that decisions within these three spheres are joint decisions since the three systems are interrelated. Vincent (1972:4) contends that elites are powerful because of their ability to affect the "regulation of public affairs." They occupy the social positions of wealth, prestige, and power; they control the wealth of society through their positions in these institutions. Among the Tlingit, strategic positions of management provided the source for the acquisition of wealth, gaining prestige, and exercising power. The upper class among the Tlingit occupied the "command posts" of these various institutions and perpetuated and consolidated their authority and wealth through intermarriage (Oberg 1937:40).

Through the spokesman of a ranking household the upper class directed the economic production of the clan. De Laguna (1972:464-465) stated that a clan head was granted the powers of life and death in the enforcement of his management of the clan's resources. A ranking household received a portion of the gross clan income from local production, trade, raids, and potlatches. A ranking household controlled the most productive clan resources and received a portion of all food harvested (Averkiewa 1966:46; de Laguna 1972:464). De Laguna (1972:465) explained that the clan head became an uncle to the whole clan when he succeeded to office. Oberg (1937:79) added that the proper way to show respect

was by "constantly giving small gifts" to their clan head. Nephews were trained to assume much of the supervision of the labor, trading, and raiding activities for the clan head. The larger the number of nephews a clan head could recruit as laborers, warriors, and supervisors the greater would be the wealth and power that accrued to the ranking household. As one elder remarked, "The quickest way to wealth was a successful raid upon another community." According to Salisbury (1962:41-42), the victors would return home with plundered "canoes, furs, weapons, and captives who became . . . slaves." A large portion of the booty was retained by the household head who directed the distribution of the remaining amount. At the death of a clan chief the successor received one-half of the deceased chief's wealth while the remaining members of the household shared the other one-half. In this manner the heir presumptive became a rich man and the other members of the ranking household maintained their social positions. Clan wealth was systematically moved to the clan leader who, through feasts, ceremonies, and inheritance, shared the wealth directly with his household and occasionally with the other members of his clan.

According to Peratrovich (1959:136), the political authority of a clan head was founded upon "the property an individual controlled and the strength in numbers of the people who were members of his group." At the beginning of the nineteenth century Lisiansky (1814:243) described a Tlingit chief as being "the most powerful" and having "the greatest number of relatives." All clan members contributed to the prestige of the clan leader but his nephews and slaves were the measure of his actual power; nephews and slaves held primary allegiance to him. Authority of ranking chiefs depended upon the possession of many slaves (Petrov 1882:166; Olson 1967:49). Swanton (1908:449) stated that the "desire to obtain slaves in order to increase the power of the chief and his clan were the commonest incentives to war." Slaves increased the power of a leader in terms of

production and physical force (Garfield 1966:29). Simpson asserted that slaves were forced to carry out the orders of a chief or pay for the failure with their own life even if orders included the command to kill (Krause 1956:111). Oberg (1966:210) contended that ranking households were "able to decide legal issues to their own advantage at the expense of their important kinsmen." This was illustrated in the landing of Baronof at old Sitka in 1799 when a request was made for a portion of ground for the establishment of a trading post. Chief Katlean reportedly "asserted that he could force the other chiefs into the agreement" (Bancroft 1886:368).

A powerful clan head maintained a militia of nephews and slaves to guard and expand the wealth of the household, to trade and raid for new sources of wealth, and to carry out the orders of their leader. Averkieva (1966:75) described the chiefs as "being surrounded by slaves." Trade was vital to Tlingit survival. Slaves were obtained through trade and in turn used to guard trading expeditions and trade routes from trespassers. A large retinue on a trading trip of two or three hundred miles and more served as a deterrent against possible plunder by villagers along the way. Militarism was ubiquitous. Communities were fortified, guards were posted, and men were well trained as warriors. In 1788 the Russian Commander Ismailof met a Chilkat chief traveling along the coast with a company of "over two hundred warriors" (Bancroft 1886:269).

According to Sahlins and Service (1960:75), the "cultural system which more effectively exploits the energy sources of a given environment will tend to spread in that environment at the expense of less effective systems." Given the widespread practice of possessing numerous slaves by ranking households in traditional Tlingit society, it is reasonable to assume that from an economic-political perspective the practice of owning slaves was adaptive. The investment of wealth in slaves provided a competitive edge in the production and defense of

the interests of ranking households. From many references cited in this chapter, three conditions seem to emerge: (1) that a ranking household managed the economic system, (2) that the spokesman for this elite was in command of a militia of some significance, and (3) that this militia composed of nephews and slaves provided a physical force or the threat of force in the execution of the group's decisions. In their general description of leaders and groups on the Northwest Coast, Jacobs and Stern (1952) aptly described the relationship of economics, politics, and military interests.

He was supported by his ownership of one or more productive resources such as slaves, fishing sites, hunting areas, or the like; by his acquirement of a larger share of proceeds of major fishing, hunting, or plant collecting; by portions of vines collected, and by gifts that were in effect a kind of tribute from the villagers; by the work done by his wives and the other persons who attached themselves to his household; or by the armed retainers who protected him or helped him raid distant villages for valuables and slaves. Well-to-do men were his relatives or allies, and they may have had influence upon his decisions, but in effect he was a kind of princeling on a very small scale. He may have had a speaker, and an emissary or two, in addition to his armed followers (Jacobs and Stern 1952:195).

Another consideration in the analysis of Tlingit political organizations was the relationship between the clan head as a political leader and the Indian doctor as a sacred leader. Haviland (1974:463) states that "religion is intricately connected with politics." According to Keesing (1975:59), descent groups often function as "secular corporations" and "religious congregations." When this occurred group rituals produced a potent force for cohesion in the descent group since the interest in rituals is generated by "the interests of the corporation in property and politics." Important Tlingit leaders invariably had a close relative who was a powerful Indian doctor (de Laguna 1952:6). Peratrovich (1959:113) states that the doctor and the clan head represented the highest level of leadership among the Tlingit; and Billman (1970:24) observes that religion was the basis of "the authority of the leadership of the house and clan heads."

The clan head manifested the locus of political power; the clan doctor symbolized sacred power. Each respected the domain of the other and cooperated in the furtherance of clan interests.

Birnbaum (1964:588) notes that religion adds the dimension of "the conscientious fulfillment of duty" as a vital ingredient of religion; and Cohen (1970: 224) described government as "an affair of human loyalties." Consequently, it was easy for the Tlingit to perceive his duty in life in terms of a religio-political commitment to the clan. This resulted in a warrior's military code that placed the concerns of the clan above the welfare of the individual. It demanded a "complete disregard for one's own life" (Olson 1956:684). An individual was taught that the highest honor accorded a Tlingit was the privilege of dying in battle for one's clan or to be chosen to die in mock combat in a peace settlement as compensation for the death of an individual of equal standing in another clan who had been killed by the hand of a fellow clansman (Oberg 1966:212).

A clan was simultaneously a political organization and a religious organization. Through a belief in reincarnation a clan was composed of a cycle of relatives moving on and off the political scene as birth replenished and replaced former members. Their personal names were those of their ancestors derived from their sacred crests and sagaciously bestowed upon generation after generation; names linked the present to the past as well as to the future. Youth were taught clan traditions and derived moral lessons from them. Their daily routine was permeated with supernatural spirits, sacred symbols, and moral teachings. Indian doctors accompanied raiding parties and members of a clan fasted while Indian doctors were contacting the spirit world. Politics and religion were inextricable in Tlingit society.

Etzioni (1961) argues that organizations in which the normative authority system is coupled with a moral involvement achieve higher forms of compliance.

Normative-moral compliance combines the system of rewards with personal commitment to the organization. According to Etzioni (1961:5) the power of compliance is "the capacity to direct the behavior of others"; i. e. , normative power rests upon the use of symbols, ritual, and prestige, and moral involvement includes the dimensions of human worth, meaning of life, motivations for living, and the notion that it was a high privilege to belong to the organization. Normative-moral compliance was fundamental to Tlingit organizations; it explained in part their commitment to the group as well as their compliance with leaders and councils.

Bargaining

Bargaining modes among the Tlingit were dispersed in the several levels of councils and based upon consensus. Decisions depended upon group consensus at the level of the political organization that was directly affected in the bargaining phase. Bargaining occurred at the household and clan level within the primary political arenas and between households and clans of the opposite moiety in the secondary political arena. Consensus bargaining among the Tlingit assumed that the conflict was reconcilable or that the problem was resolvable within the existing political structure. Each new conflict was considered in the light of its unique merits and was not connected to other conflicts that happened in the past since a potlatch closed the matter with a peace dance (Oberg 1966:22). Theoretically, all bargaining was familial; it was conducted in a "we" frame of reference since all were related as brothers or sisters within a moiety and as brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law across moiety lines. Bargaining was also restorative. Memories of insults and losses were erasable through the institution of the potlatch. Once consensus was reached and compensation was made, the incident was never mentioned again. The penalty for breaking the silence could result in the payment of considerable amount of wealth. In

terms of game theory, consensus bargaining among the Tlingit was a nonzero-sum political process in that neither side could benefit at the expense of the other.

Household councils, composed of matrilineally related male heads of nuclear families, resolved the issues that related primarily to the internal administration of the household and their relations with other households within their clan. Household affairs were discussed at some length until the council could reach a consensus. The household leader spoke with the authority of the council to convey the decision to the household membership or conveyed the decision to other households. Clan councils, composed of household heads, debated clan issues until a consensus on a decision emerged. Such decisions were announced by the clan leaders. Whereas household councils shared limited authority, clan councils were autonomous: they administered their own internal affairs, dispensed their own system of justice, resolved their own differences, and maintained external ties with other clans. Moiety councils joined autonomous clan heads to coordinate moiety affairs in peace and war. Occasionally hostilities developed between these independent clans that lasted for decades. Tlingit politics were less effective at resolving interclan feuds within a moiety (de Laguna 1972:463). Theoretically these feuds were to be resolved "the way families always settle their feuds." Since the feuding clans were autonomous and often from different communities, they shared little in common other than loyalty to a common crest and therefore possessed fewer incentives to resolve their differences.

Theoretically, crimes within a clan were largely ignored. In order to preserve the unity, integrity, and solidarity of the clan such acts as murder, adultery, or stealing were largely ignored within clans. As one elder explained, "If an individual accidentally killed his own cousin in hunting or fishing the

incident was ignored. If a cousin fooled around with my wife it was ignored or it might cause a split in the community house." Salisbury (1962:106) notes that if a husband returned from a trip and learned that his wife had consorted with his brother during his absence there was little he could do. Stealing was, in most cases, unnecessary since many items were communal property and other possessions were readily available upon request. Personal items were forcibly returned when a thief was discovered. The particulars of clan punishment depended upon the social status of the individual involved. As one elder explained, "It all depended upon who the man was. If the person was of high rank the culprit might stay and the injured party and his relatives might be forced to migrate. The most serious intraclan offenses were incest and witchcraft; both were punishable by death. However, if a person confessed to witchcraft the individual was often released. If incest occurred between low ranking individuals, both guilty parties would be put to death by their clansmen. A high class man might be permitted to seek exile among other ethnic groups (Oberg 1966:212).

A clan member who was responsible for creating a situation that caused one of his clan brothers to forfeit his life to redress a slaying, brought shame to himself. Such a person might be reduced to the status of a slave, suffer banishment from the clan, or be executed by his own people. Frequent moral lapses on the part of high class women could lead to punishment by the clan. A clan head might, if circumstances justified extreme measures, request a brother to kill his own sister (Oberg 1966:214). Once, a man slapped his wife in an effort to discipline her for gossiping. The behavior was interpreted as an insult to the wife's clan, and a feud followed causing several deaths. The wife in turn was ritually condemned for starting the feud and buried alive by her brothers (Billman 1970:50). According to de Laguna (1972:596) flagrant irresponsibility on the part of a clan member "put him outside the social order, like a slave;

his reckless acts were like the crazy treason of witchcraft." Deserting a comrade in the face of danger was strongly condemned. Common law stipulated that such a man should loose everything he owned: his property, his gun, and even his wife. He was forced to "start life again from the beginning" (de Laguna 1972:717).

The adjustment of differences within a clan was relatively simple compared to the adjustment of differences between clans belonging to opposite moieties. The sovereignty of both clans was at stake as well as an elaborate system of mutual exchange: ceremonial labor, status validation, and marriages. This system of exchange was fundamental to the moiety system. A common legal principle, held by the Tlingit, was that a clan assumed responsibility for the behavior of every member. If a member of one clan either willfully or accidentally injured, insulted, or damaged a person or property belonging to another clan, the whole clan of the first person could be held liable (Salisbury 1962:12). Such damages were considered an injustice to an individual and an indignity to his whole clan.

Since clans were exogamous, the spouses in every nuclear family were from different clans. Family life was lived out on the borders of two clans; the relationship between husband and wife represented an interaction between two clans. Any mistreatment of a spouse reflected upon the spouse's clan. Divorce was not permitted. One elder commented, "If a husband abandoned his family, his wife's brother would kill the careless husband." Another elder explained that "If a man killed his wife in a fit of anger, he would then kill himself and cancel out the debt." When a husband passed away, another husband was provided by the deceased man's clan to provide for the widow and her children. In this manner each clan displayed respect for the other by maintaining the obligations implicit in the marriage arrangement. For example, a number of years ago a fisherman turned his season's earnings over to his wife who promptly

disappeared along with the money. The deserted husband philosophically explained the situation, that his wife was "no good" and had left him alone to care for their son. The wife had failed to live up to her clan obligations which were not his responsibility to oversee. Formerly the wife's clan could have been forced to compensate the man for both the desertion and the insult to his clan (Salisbury 1962:120).

Whenever a clan invited guests to a potlatch they assumed the responsibility for their guest's welfare from the time they left home to their safe return home again. Any injuries or disasters that might befall the group along the way were charged to the account of their hosts. An elder remarked, "When we invited anybody we had to pay their transportation and if anything happened to them we had to pay accordingly." Some Tlingit viewed this as a form of "liability insurance." It undergirded the potlatch system by reassuring guests of the various host clans that no mischief would befall them as a consequence of their visit. One Tlingit acknowledged that his mother still lived by this rule and hesitated to invite guests because "if anything happened to them she could be held responsible." On one occasion when a man attended the funeral for a deceased friend from another clan, the man became so grief-stricken that he attempted to soothe his sorrow with whiskey. He died as a result of his drinking. His clan sought and obtained redress from the other clan. Their claim rested upon the fact that if the man from the other clan had not died, the friend would never have attended his funeral, and thus would not have become so saddened that he resorted to whiskey. If he had not drunk the whiskey he would still be alive (Salisbury 1962:17).

Tlingit culture placed a strong emphasis upon the defense of one's clan. Young men were thoroughly trained in the techniques of warfare and taught to be courageous, never to "back down," and to die rather than become a coward

and beg for life. Villages were fortified, warriors were outfitted with protective armor, and settlements were "in a continual state of defense and preparation for war" (Jones 1914:112-113). "The warrior's accoutrements were then the most cherished of the Tlingit possessions" (Peratrovich 1959:75-76). Warfare involved a "degree of formalization" largely overlooked in most accounts of warfare on the Northwest Coast (Olson 1967:70). All of these factors attest to a society in which the people maintained a state of preparedness for war in terms of active engagement in warfare and in defense of the community from outside attacks. Several factors were practiced to resolve conflicts before they developed into blood feuds. Mechanisms for warfare were highly institutionalized; mechanisms for peace were also highly institutionalized.

Several options short of warfare were available to avoid warfare. According to an elder, "If several people were traveling together and a brother-in-law was accidentally killed, we gave the family of the victim a bay of water in compensation and we moved to a new location." Goldschmidt and Haas (1946: 117) report that the Shark Clan acquired the legal title to Tenakee by such an agreement. A dispute that had existed for two generations between two powerful Chilkat clans terminated when a wife persuaded her husband to return a controversial war helmet to the clan of her father (Shotridge 1919:46). When the council of the Killerwhale Clan decided to move, one community house decided to travel north. They reached a community in which they desired to settle so the chief began to drop coppers into the water as he headed into the harbor. According to an elder the local chief said, "You don't have to buy your way because we accept you." A case of trespassing might be settled by inviting the poachers to a feast and shaming the visitors into peacefully leaving the territory (Oberg 1937: 82). A challenge might be met by destroying a considerable amount of property or a number of slaves as the people of Angoon did when their rank was questioned

by the people of Klukwan. It was a matter of shame to have an opponent destroy more personal property in a quarrel. The destruction of property showed who was "richer" and who had the greater "contempt" for property (Tlingit elder). One quarrel ended when a woman rushed into her house, returned with both hands full of coins, and scattered the money to the assembled crowd. This silenced the other woman. A story is told of a chief who once sacrificed some slaves to silence an opponent. During quarrels thereafter people have often referred to the chief's action by warning the conflicting parties to "shut up" or "you might be like Mitken"--the man who was silenced because he lacked property to destroy in order to get even (Jones 1914:95-96).

Trespassing on alien clan territory resulted in punishment or death to the intruder (Boas 1889:833). If perchance an alien was traveling through the area and out of great need shot an animal to satiate his hunger, the alien could indicate his predicament and acknowledge his indebtedness by giving the hide or pelt to the property owners (Oberg 1966:215). Stealing from another clan could be punishable by death if trespassing was involved. However, within a multiclans village stealing might be handled in a more subtle form. One elder explained what he would do if another man stole from him, "I would later carve a pole to insult the man and place it in front of the man's house. This indicated that I had placed a curse upon the man."

In all conflicts between clans the goal in counteraction was to arrive at a settlement that compensated the loss and restored the dignity of both clans in order to create a new state of tenuous equilibrium. In other words, after the exchange of wealth, property, or the slaying of an equal number of individuals having similar social positions, the sovereignty of both clans would be respected because the loss had been equalized. As Oberg (1937:48) stated, "In all legal disputes equality is the norm about which all restitution and indemnity centers."

For example, the killing of a member of another clan created a debt equal to the rank and sex of the victim. The indebted clan could either kill a person of equal rank and sex or pay the offended clan an amount of wealth equal to the status of the victim. The material value of a man's life was equal to the sum of the bride price given in exchange for his mother (Oberg 1937:48). For example, while skipping rocks along the water one boy accidentally hit another boy in the temple causing the second boy to lose consciousness. The boy survived and a payment of blankets was made to the family of the victim. Had the boy died the offender's life would have been demanded in exchange. As it turned out the heads of all the houses in the village met in council to decide the number of blankets to be given (Paul 1938:78). During a quarrel in 1841, a chief in Sitka killed a man of rank. About one thousand of the deceased man's clan gathered to avenge the death. The chief's clan refused to permit their chief to be killed on the grounds that his death would be too much compensation. Simpson reported that on the following day he heard a war cry, saw the momentary clash of arms, watched the retreat of both sides, and viewed the bodies of two slaves killed in lieu of the chief (Niblack 1890:342).

Sometimes an innocent or insulting remark made at a potlatch could produce the spark that ignited hostilities. An eating contest at Klukwan once ended in a bloody fight that caused the death of several warriors (Jones 1914: 116). On another occasion a raven and an eagle were fighting over a small fish. When the totem bird of the Raven Clan appeared to be winning their side cheered and when the totem bird of the Eagle Clan gained an advantage their side cheered. Eventually tempers flared and the simple struggle between two birds developed into a conflict that resulted in the loss of several lives (Peratrovich 1959:84).

According to Olson (1967:70), a war or feud could only be "terminated" by a formal peace ceremony. One elder stated that when "any clan fought against

another, the law was that the brothers-in-law were the go-betweens until there was a death. If a death occurred then the council met to determine someone of equal standing to be killed in compensation for the death." Brothers-in-law were husbands of women's clans involved in the feud. They were concerned mediators, important and respected men, who attempted to defuse the situation and arrange for a peace negotiation (de Laguna 1972:593).

When they were going to make peace, one valuable man from each clan was traded and lived with the enemy for several months. Then the two peace makers came together and talked it out and danced the peace dance. If one of the two men was killed the other man was killed (P.M. 1974: conversation).

Clan mediators were referred to as deer, gowakan, because deer are one of the most defenseless and peaceful creatures. Ideally, peace hostages were to be equal in social status and also should be close relatives of the feuding clans. Peratrovich (1959:84) identified the peacemakers as the heir presumptives of the hostile parties. As future candidates for the office of household heads, they insured a measure of peace against future hostilities between the two clans since they had lived with the members of the other clan and participated in the peace talks.

The use of gowakan was a last resort--a once in a lifetime thing. Gowakan were dispatched when the following conditions existed: (1) when both parties showed good will to arbitrate disputes, (2) when a standstill developed in negotiations, and (3) when wars had progressed to the peace making stage. Respect for another clan was built into our system and the exchange of gowakan was a reminder to display respect. When the peace dance was over all grievances were forgotten and were never mentioned again (B.J. 1974: conversation).

Clan heads represented the conflicting parties involved in a dispute. In the ensuing settlement procedures it was the heads, in consultation with their elders, who ultimately decided upon the terms for peace. The settlement might have been a payment of wealth, property, the death of some slaves, or the loss of a relative of equal status to that of the deceased (Peratrovich 1959:84). One

informant stated, "It was left up to the immediate family to decide what payment should be made." When goods were used in payment they were set aside "for potlatch goods, bride gifts, and for the settlement of future disputes" (Oberg 1937:106).

After we had a war and we desired to regain peace, we had a peace settlement. All the bodies of the dead were lined up and paired off like shoes only according to rank. Sometimes two low class bodies would equal one high class man. Living people were then killed to equal the losses on both sides. The knife used to slay the victims selected was called a grave knife (P. C. 1974: conversation).

Implementation

All phases in the conflict-management model contribute, to some extent, to the implementation phase in Tlingit politics (see Figure 7.3). The goal of respect for people and crests with an emphasis upon restoration of any damages or insults in settlements supported the implementation of decisions in the settlement of specific conflicts. Rules of exposure determined the flow of information and favored those individuals who figured prominently in the bargaining process to assist in the implementation of decisions. The selection of well-trained and capable leaders from each level of politics insured representation at each level of the decision making process. Various levels of organizations and councils permitted a greater opportunity for political participation. An emphasis upon consensus at each level of the political system in the bargaining phase predisposed the general population to accept the final decision since it represented at least a prior personal involvement. In addition, their moral-normative system of compliance appealed to a personal commitment to the decision out of loyalty and respect for their leaders and crests. In theory, all heads of nuclear families participated in household decisions at the grass root level and through their spokesman their concerns were transmitted to higher councils. Decisions reflected the will of the people; their system of

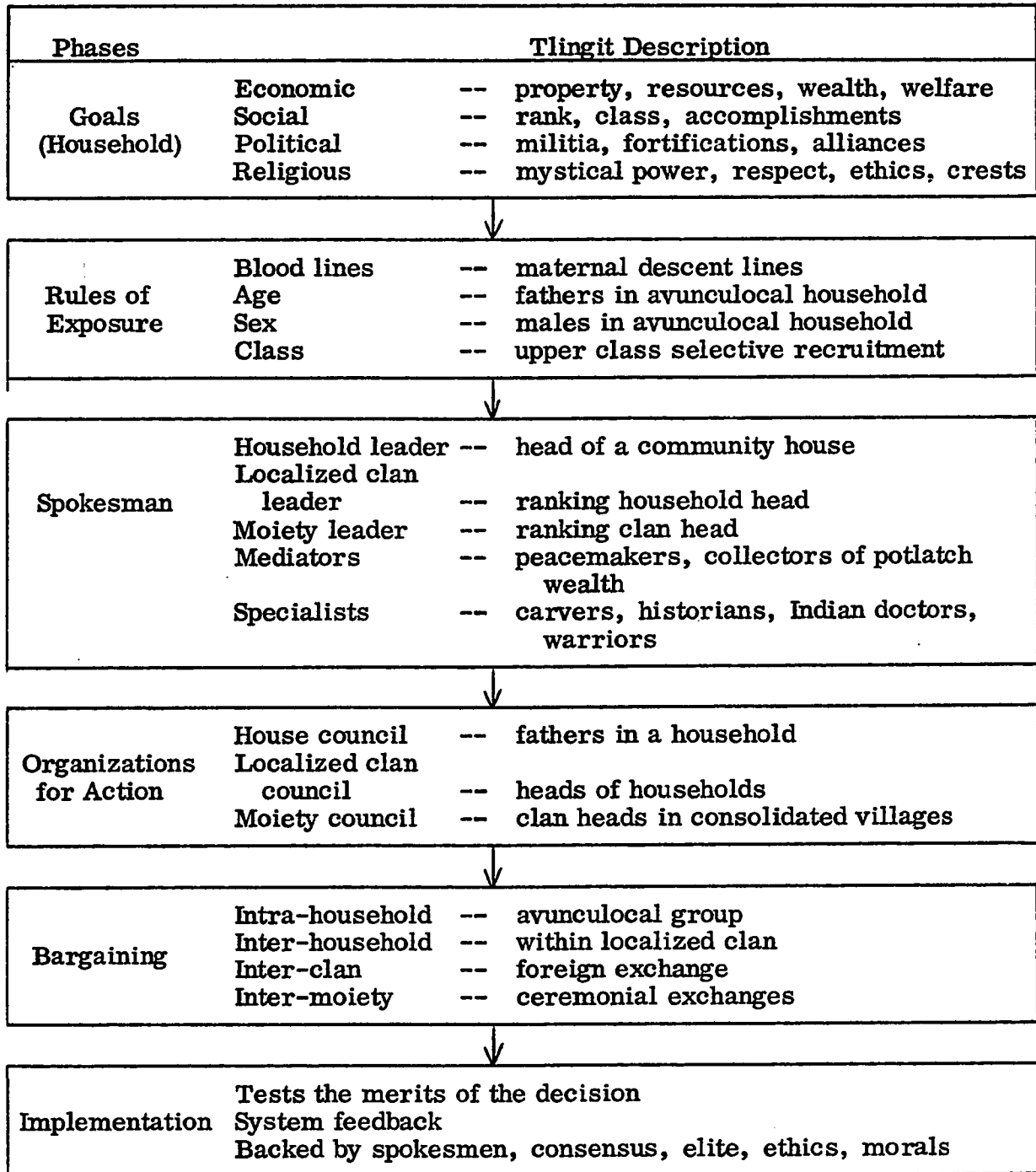


Figure 7.3 Conflict-Management Analysis
of Tlingit Politics*

*The boxes outline the various phases of Tlingit politics in a conflict-management analysis of political process; the arrows show the direction of the political process from initiation to implementation of public concerns. The six phases also have an interaction effect with one another.

compliance evoked personal commitment to the implementation of decisions.

Peace ceremonies included the bargaining and implementation phases. Peace ceremonies were held to decide the basic terms of the settlement. The peace settlement consisted of the use of rituals and symbols to convey a highly condensed information system that expressed the peaceful intentions of both parties in the conflict. The peace ceremony also contained the public fulfillment of the obligations of the terms for peace. If the settlement involved a payment in wealth, a killing of slaves, or a loss of property the terms were carried out publicly and under the sacred canopy of tradition. Peace ceremonies emphasized the elements of common beliefs, mutual respect, and restitution. The end of a peace ceremony closed the case forever. Future references could reopen the case and result in the payment of a heavy fine.

Not all conflicts were settled in an ethical or orderly fashion nor were all decisions fully implemented. Powerful ranking households or wealthy individuals occasionally perverted justice to their own ends. Wronged but weaker individuals or groups might be forced to move to other communities; a peace hostage might be killed; or an invitation to a feast might be a plotted massacre. The threat of a powerful kinship group contributed to a desire to seek a resolution of a conflict and the implementation of the resultant conditions for peace.

Summary

Tlingit politics emphasized participation, consensus, representation, respect, and restitution. An institutionalized peace ceremony provided a cultural means to resolving serious political conflicts through bargaining. Implementation of decisions was greatly facilitated by the Tlingit moral-normative system of compliance which encouraged serious commitment to the political process.

Chapter VIII

A POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE POTLATCH

In the preceding chapter the Tlingit sociopolitical system was analyzed in terms of a conflict-management model. In this chapter, I propose to apply the same model to the study of the potlatch. I argue that the potlatch is a political field in a secondary arena. The importance of this view of our overall understanding of the potlatch as well as for our specific research goals in this discussion will be brought out as the argument unfolds.

I. The General Political Process

Political Field and Arena

The political field is limited to those individuals directly involved in the political activity under consideration; it is defined by "the interest and involvement of the participants" (Swartz 1968:9). In addition to the active participants, the field includes those values, resources, symbols, and relationships that are pertinent to the actors. Each of these constituent elements of the field may be modified, eliminated, or replaced with the passing of time. The composition of the field expands or contracts in response to changes in participating individuals, the intensity of their concerns, and the numbers of people involved.

Many individuals in a society are directly involved in the political system but they may not be directly participating in the specific political process a researcher may choose to study. These individuals are still significant to the actors involved in the field in terms of support--the mobilization of additional

manpower or additional resources that could be appropriated for political input if needed. This environment of people, resources, values, and symbols that are peripheral to the field is designed as "the arena" (Swartz 1968:9). Those individuals who are resources in the arena are pertinent to an understanding of a political field since a knowledge of the arena permits the researcher to take cognizance of the influences external to the field: (1) the actors who have recently participated in the field or who may participate in the near future, (2) the resources that are in the process of being mobilized for input into the field or are potentially available for future use, (3) the competing organizations, and (4) the values, rules, and goals that impinge upon the political process intermittently.

Political Boundaries

The boundaries of fields and arenas are flexible. The boundary of a field responds to the changes that occur in the political process under study. The boundary of an arena depends upon the practical empirical concerns intrinsic to the study. In a very general sense the world could be vaguely designated as an arena for the study of any specific ethnic group. Swartz (1968:15) suggests a practical method of dealing with the universe beyond the local arena by designating the enlarging political arenas as "secondary, tertiary, quarternary."

II. The Formation of the Potlatch Political Field

The importance of the localized clan as a self-governing entity has previously been discussed in this study. In this context, the localized clan will be designated as a primary arena. Localized clans were primary political arenas since they were independent political groups in terms of decisions, administration, and defense. All localized clans, by virtue of the exogamous rule of marriage, negotiated political alliances with other autonomous groups in order to

secure wives and trade goods. These political ties were established or terminated through the institution of the potlatch. As such, these relationships have been described by Adams (1973:112) to be akin to "international" politics. The potlatch provided a political setting, a secondary arena, in which self-governing groups that recognized no common political authority could meet in accordance with mutually acceptable guidelines to conduct their affairs. Within the constraints of the potlatch ceremony that encompassed certain rules, values, symbols, and precedents, groups reviewed and verified the political changes that accrued to their clan.

Occasions

The "primary" occasion for potlatching among the Tlingit revolved around a crisis in the political system--the transition of authority from the deceased chief to his successor (Niblack 1890:373; Swanton 1908:434; de Laguna 1972:294). Additional potlatches were given by the successor, explained an elder, for as long as he lived because a "chief must prove his ability and never stop proving it." The goal for a chief was to sponsor eight potlatches in a lifetime (Shotridge 1919:47; de Laguna 1972:607; McClellan 1950:93). Reportedly only two chiefs, Xat-ga-wet of Yakutat and Shakes of Wrangell, ever achieved the goal of sponsoring as many as eight potlatches (de Laguna 1972:635, 637).

Other occasions for potlatching according to a Tlingit elder, in addition to the inauguration of a successor to replace a deceased chief, were: (1) construction of a house, (2) carving of a chief's hat, (3) completion of a Chilkat blanket, (4) presentation of an heraldic house screen, (5) dedication of a totem pole, (6) removing shame, and (7) the formal introduction of a chief's staff. Apparently the carving of any significant crest object might become an occasion for a potlatch if a chief and his group could afford the expense. One informant mentioned that his grandfather from Kake had a big bowl carved and that guests from

as far away as "Sitka and Klukwan" attended the potlatch. Each of these occasions added to the prestige of the chief and the rank of his household. So prestige derives from potlatching in required events as well as for the least important event.

Formerly, only household heads and heads of affiliated households could "afford to act as a host of a potlatch" (de Laguna 1972:610). The primary significance of the Tlingit potlatch revolved around the office of the household leader as the head of a corporate group and the demonstration of his ability to effectively administer its resources (Miller 1967:116). Thus, the focus of the potlatch was upon the household leader as the spokesman for the group. A household backed their leader who, with every potlatch, increased in prestige. And he in turn shared that prestige with the entire membership (Oberg 1937:101). During a chief's potlatch a number of subsidiary events occurred: (1) naming of children, (2) piercing of noses and ears, (3) tattoo markings on the hands of the high class, and (4) the bestowal of titles (Niblack 1890:369-370). Thus, any and all changes of status of the household membership were recorded at a potlatch and only in the name of and by the authority of a chief (Jenness 1960:330-331). As one informant remarked, the name was "given by the chief for only a chief had the right to bestow a name."

Preparations

Meticulous preparations preceded potlatches. A clan chief initiated a potlatch by inviting the household leaders to a feast, about a year in advance of his intended potlatch. At this feast, he made his wishes known to them. The sub-chiefs, following the feast, sent gifts to the chief to be added to his stock of wealth for distribution at his up-coming potlatch (Niblack 1890:365). A host might also make his wishes known simply by quietly distributing his wealth among the well-to-do people of the village. Also a sister could present a valuable

gift to her brother's wife which obligated the brother to return an appropriate gift with a generous increase (Billman 1964:61). "A man showed respect to his brothers-in-law by returning any present the latter chose to make him with heavy interest" (Swanton 1908:424). Niblack (1890:366) observed that six blankets were returned for four blankets received, approximately the same rate of return recorded by Swanton (1908:424) at Sitka: five dollars returned for three dollars given, eight dollars returned for five dollars given, or fifteen dollars returned for ten given. The gift was returned about a year later just prior to the potlatch or at the appropriate time during the potlatch according to the dictates of local custom (Billman 1961:61; de Laguna 1972:640; McClellan 1950:80). It has been reported that a wife of a Chilkat Raven chief traveled to Sitka to feast her Eagle Clan relatives and to solicit funds for her husband's new community house at Klukwan. During the ensuing potlatch the Raven chief returned \$4,000 for the \$2,000 his Sitka brothers-in-law had contributed to his wife (Swanton 1908:438, 442). Apparently, since the wife was from Sitka, she utilized the brother-in-law respect principle for exchanging gifts. De Laguna (1972:617) stated that brothers-in-law rendered assistance with one another's potlatch wealth. From this custom of giving of gifts and the return of gifts with a relatively fixed rate of interest, the host and his counsel of advisors could draw-up a projected budget for the forthcoming potlatch and decide upon the appropriate amount of wealth to distribute to each guest.

A second consideration in giving a potlatch was the compilation of the guest list. When the list was completed the names of the guests were read aloud and the amount to be given to each person was considered and agreed upon by the host and his council (Niblack 1890:366). The selection of the guests for a potlatch was determined by general principles. Rosman and Rubel (1971:43-47) describe the general principle in the selection of the guests as being based upon the

Northwest Tlingit marriage system. In their analysis, the heir presumptive invites to his inaugural potlatch the localized clan of his wife and the localized clan of his uncle's wife who he would succeed to office. These localized clans may be from the host chief's village or from other villages. Figure 8.1 indicates that ego generally married his father's sister's daughter after he took up residence with his maternal uncle. At the death of his maternal uncle the heir presumptive inherited his uncle's widow. Ego's household was thus linked to two other households of the opposite moiety by marriage ties--to his wife's group and to his inherited wife's group (see Figure 8.1). Guests were traditionally selected from these two groups (de Laguna 1972:611, 625; Swanton 1908:435; Billman 1964: 57-61).

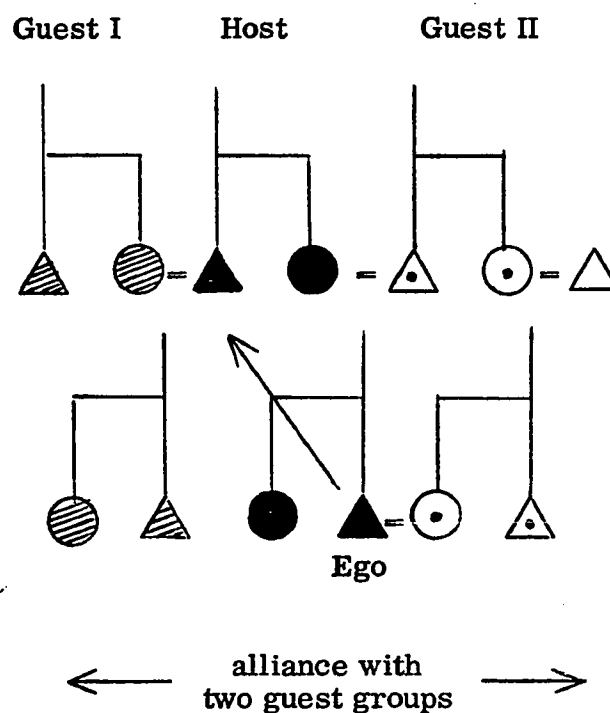


Figure 8.1 Potlatch Guests and Alliances

The selection of a bride and the ensuing alliance with her group, initiated as the result of marriage, is vital to this study because the dynamics for

choosing a bride determined the group from which guests were invited to a potlatch. Rosman and Rubel (1971:45) acknowledge that approximately two out of three marriages conformed to the patrilateral cross cousin pattern, but admittedly fail to explain the other one third. A Tlingit elder explained to the writer that their marriage system was based upon a priority system. The top priority was marriage into father's clan; second priority was marriage with grandfather's or great grandfather's clan; and third priority was with "an alternate" clan. If all Tlingit marriages conformed to the Rosman and Rubel model (1971:41) then father's, grandfather's, and great grandfather's clan would be synonymous. The fact remains that a significant number of marriages fail to conform to this pattern. The answer is that other criteria were also used in the selection of a spouse in addition to kinship: trading opportunities, wealth of the bride's household, and social status. One elder insisted that it was considered a sign of prestige to acquire a bride from a great distance. Such an arrangement opened up new trading prospects and formed the basis for a major potlatch since the guests and hosts would be from different communities.

Olson's (1967:7) census of Klukwan between the years 1880 and 1895 recorded that wives came from as far away as Chilkoot, Angoon, Hoonah, Sitka, Kake, and Wrangell. The majority of the marriages, during the fifteen year time span at Klukwan, were between localized clans. However, important marriages involved alliances with foreign groups, opportunities for trade, and the prospects for major potlatches. Marriages were arranged between individuals of equal social standing and also to create alliances with other households that were of mutual benefit to both groups. As a rule, the relatives of a male began with the most recent affinal alliance with the father's group; then if no suitable prospective bride was available they made contact with the grandfather's household, and finally with the household of the great grandfather. If these three former

alliances failed to produce a qualified bride, the household of the prospective bridegroom explored a new alliance with another household from the opposite moiety. A Tlingit household elder explained their marriage priority system. The following two examples, given by the household elder, reveal that Native perception of marriages make allowance for a range of choices (see Figures 8.2 and 8.3).

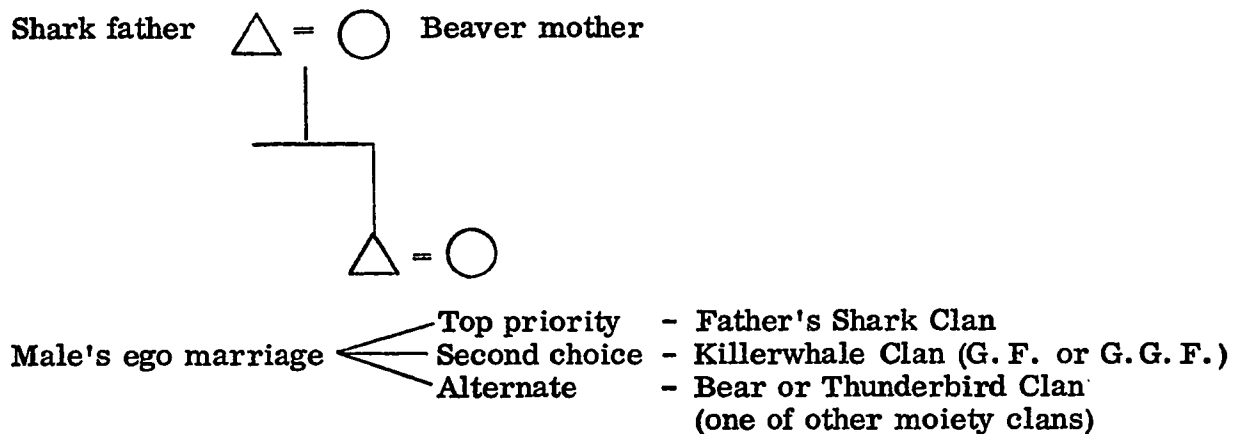


Figure 8.2 Marriage Preferences of a Beaver Male

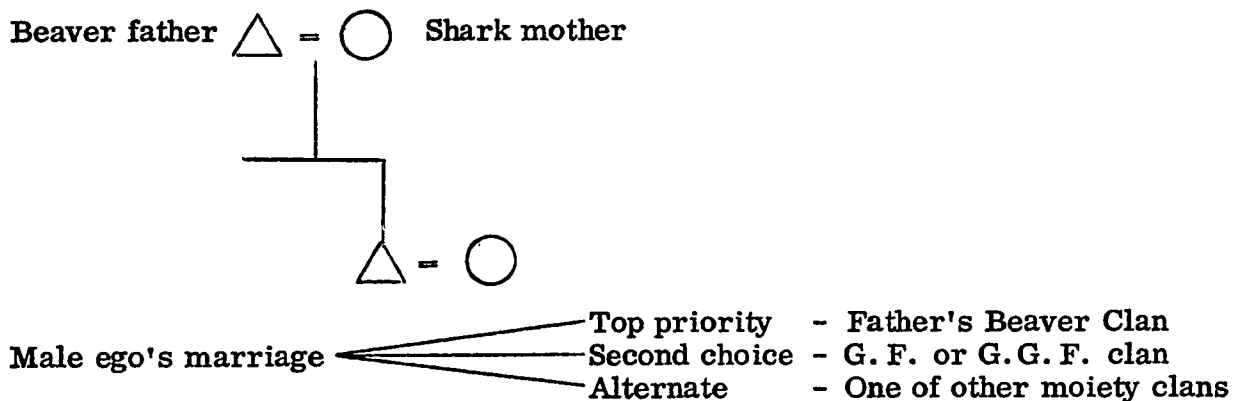


Figure 8.3 Marriage Preferences of a Shark Male

It can be seen, then, that marriage ties were important dimensions of the political arena of a potlatch. During the dancing contests one group, in order to indicate their peaceful intentions, stated that they were "holding your

daughter's hand" (in reference to their marriage tie) (Swanton 1908:440). Peratrovich states that at an inaugural potlatch a series of potlatches were initiated with a group from the opposite moiety. According to Peratrovich (1959:91), this group in theory "should belong to the same lineage as the dead chief's father." Since the dead chief's father was generally the presumptive heir's mother's father, we see the preference for the perpetuation of an existing alliance between the two groups. Such alliances define one of the host groups who would be invited to the new chief's potlatches as long as his wife lives. From the groups aligned to the host through marriage ties, individuals of status would be invited to participate in the potlatch ceremonies.

The host group also considered the amount of food provisions needed and the amount of payments that should be dispersed to those guest individuals who had rendered some ceremonial service in connection with the host group (Peratrovich 1959:127). These ceremonial services included work connected with: funerals, house construction, wood carvings, blanket weaving, personal assistance, etc.

Hosts also prepared themselves ritually for a potlatch. A host practiced ritual bathing, sexual continence, and certain restriction in food and drink to "bring luck" to the participants (Billman 1964:62; de Laguna 1972:616; Swanton 1908:437). Magical medicines designed to bring success to the potlatch were also used.

Contemporary informants from Sitka and Kake and the ethnographic literature agree that Tlingit potlatches were of two types--major potlatches and minor potlatches (de Laguna 1972:610-611; Niblack 1890:362; Swanton 1908:435). Major potlatches included out-of-town guests while minor potlatches were limited to local guests. In either case the guests were divided into two groups (de Laguna 1972:611). Thus, the compilation of the guest list signified the level

of importance of the forthcoming potlatch. Funerals were classified, by informants, as major potlatches if they included out-of-town guests; the birth of a child to the elite and low class funerals were considered to be minor potlatches (de Laguna 1972:606). This study will focus upon the major type of potlatches since they involve a secondary political arena. Major funeral potlatches often included memorials for poor people whose relatives were too poor to give a potlatch.

Invitations

Generally, the guests were notified by respected brothers-in-law of an up-coming potlatch approximately one year before the event was to commence in order to permit sufficient time to make preparations (de Laguna 1972:616; McClellan 1950:79; Niblack 1890:362). Special songs and dances were practiced until they could be flawlessly performed by both guests and hosts. Guests designated song leaders to direct their dances, always two young men to assist one another and sometimes a young woman (de Laguna 1972:618). Niblack (1890:362) indicates that the initial invitation was a general one addressed to the group. Billman (1964:57) reveals that the subsequent invitation was personal and included a formal roll call of each guest, using their honorable name beginning with the name of the guest chief (de Laguna 1972:617).

At the appropriate time before the scheduled potlatch, a local emissary was dispatched by the host chief to formally invite and escort the guests to his potlatch. The emissary contained the host's formal peace-makers, the chief's spokesman, his personal representative should he choose to designate one, and others (Billman 1964:57; de Laguna 1972:617; McClellan 1950:79). William Wells of Sitka described his trip. At the age of about nine years in 1877 he represented his uncle and invited the Kake people. He states that he was dressed in full costume which included headdress, ear rings, and crest shirt.

Before the Sitka group started their trip to Kake they pushed offshore a short distance from the beach and waited for the chief to deliver his speech of invitation to be repeated to the people at Kake. Many people gathered along the shore to listen to the speech. Before the party arrived at Kake they again dressed themselves in full array before approaching the village to deliver the chief's speech of invitation to the invited guests. The host group was then invited to the beach where they were feasted and entertained until good weather prevailed for the return voyage (Billman 1964:57-58).

The "chief's messengers" escorted the guests to the host village and provided food and campsites along the way. Moiety brothers assisted with needed provisions and housing as the ceremonial group passed their villages (Billman 1964:58; McClellan 1950:79; Swanton 1908:438).

When the guests approached the host village they spent the night in a camp near the village with the host group providing the food. The next morning the guests boarded their canoes and were received formally by the host chief after "eloquent greetings" and a considerable amount of "respect talk" (McClellan 1950:75; Billman 1964:59). Greeting speeches extolled the merits of the host in an extended oration (Oberg 1937:98). Accompanying the land ceremony was a mock battle (de Laguna 1972:621; Swanton 1908:439). In the 1877 Sitka potlatch, the chief met the Kake landing party with a skit which appeared to be a hostile threat but in reality was designed to promise peace.

Taking a bow and arrow in his hands he drew it like he was going to shoot someone. Then he ran down to the canoes. Someone in the crowd back of him called "Stook quatch! Stook quatch!" This was as much as to say "Keep coming, kill it!" Then he broke the bow, threw it on the ground, turned back and answered the crowd: "You think Stook is as foolish as that, to kill big game?" (Billman 1964:59).

This concluded the reception ritual and the host party was invited to land. Krause (1956:168-169) reported this ceremonial beaching custom occurred

whenever one group visited another.

A similar incident was reported for the Southern Tlingit. About 1880 a Tongass Island Raven Clan hosted the Bear Clan from Wrangell and the Bear Clan from Tongass at a potlatch. When the guest clan from Wrangell was ready to beach, the speaker for the host inquired of the visitors as to whose war this was. The visitors named their chief who would give a return potlatch at a later date. The host's speaker then shouted to the guest chief that the host chief was waiting to kill him and asked if the guest chief was ready to come. The guest chief then approached in full ceremonial attire with weapons in hand. The hosts sang their song that was used when one of their members had been selected to be killed as a part of the peace settlement to end a feud. The host acted as if he were afraid while his followers shouted words of encouragement. The host chief ran towards the chief in mock combat and then retreated. When this ritual was completed the hosts helped beach and unload the guest's supplies (Olson 1967:66).

The two examples describing mock battles before potlatches are politically significant. The symbolical description of weapons insured the guests of the peaceful intentions of the host. Easton (1965:69) notes that the meeting of authorities in ritual often indicates that a political boundary has been crossed. Wallace (1966:130) refers to this ceremonial crossing of a geographical boundary as a "ritual of passage." The ritual of geographical passage permits the representatives of one political group the privilege of entering the domain of another political group. This ritual of geographic passage strongly suggests that both political entities in the forthcoming potlatch acknowledged the political significance of their sovereignty. It also underscores the importance of considering the institution of the potlatch as a secondary political arena.

Preliminary Festivities

Krause (1956:162) distinguishes key elements in Tlingit ceremonial life: feasts, dancing performances, and the distribution of goods. Oberg (1937:97) adds songs and theatricals to the dancing phase. Following these two writers, I will differentiate between the preliminaries to the potlatch and the potlatch itself.

Not unlike modern diplomatic visits between foreign powers, the visiting potlatch groups were extended many courtesies in the form of songs, dances, feasts, and entertainment. Joviality prevailed during those days preceding the potlatch itself. Billman (1964:59) indicates that the preliminary events lasted about a week; McClellan (1950:79) states that the preliminary procedures extended for a period of four days. Oberg (1937:99) without citing any time reference, states that the potlatch in its entirety was a four day affair. The Billman account, due to its antiquity (1877) and its source (a potlatch participant and an heir presumptive), is probably the most accurate.

On the first day the guests were fed early in the morning and the rest of the day was spent in dancing (Billman 1964:59-60). Traditionally, the out-of-town guests danced first (Swanton 1908:439). The first day's dances were largely for entertainment or in contemporary parlance--"ice breakers." They were often folk dances from other ethnic groups. Swanton (1908:439-440) notes that the Sitka guests began with a Tsimshian song and the Klukwan hosts countered with an Athapascan refrain. The contingent of guests used the opportunity of the first dance to announce the presence of their chief by singing, "There is a rich man coming" (Swanton 1908:439). McClellan (1950:82) observes that the custom of borrowing foreign dances was widely practiced among the Tlingit. Sitka and Angoon groups customarily used Haida and Tsimshian dances; Chilkat, Dry Bay, and Yakutat people borrowed the Athapascan tribal dances with whom

they traded; and Yakutat used Aleut and Copper River dance paraphernalia. Those groups who mimic other ethnic groups' dances indicated their strong trading and intermarrying ties with those groups (de Laguna 1972:624).

The second day was a feast day (Billman 1964:60; McClellan 1950:79). Messengers went from house to house inviting the occupants by first extending an invitation to the household head and then addressing the rest of the occupants by their honorable names in the order of their rank within the clan. When the guests arrived at the feast they were assigned to their honorable places, unless they had breached some common courtesy in which case they were ignored and forced to sit in a corner until the host noted a repentant attitude (Billman 1964:60). In the custom of seating the guests by their social ordering, the host of the potlatch was publicly displaying the social status of every individual. Since social stratification extended beyond the limitations of descent and fluctuated with personal achievements and recent potlatches, the rank ordering of visiting groups was subject to constant change. The host chief and his council displayed their knowledge of recent changes when they called the honorable individuals in ranked order. Mistakes in seating arrangements required pacification of the injured man's dignity with gifts (Oberg 1937:99). Disputed seating arrangements could lead to bitter feuds (Oberg 1937:99). By means of the order of inviting and seating guests, the host acknowledged, confirmed, and established the political field of the opposite political entity to which he would appeal for support in making changes in his own political group during the potlatch proper.

In gratitude for the feast, the two guest groups entertained their hosts with competitive dancing and eating contests. These performances did not pass unnoticed for the hosts kept a close watch and later compensated them accordingly. Competition could become keen and bitter. In order to avoid hostilities, it was customary for each guest group to give an equal number of songs and

dances. Hosts kept their sacred symbols on display as a precautionary measure to maintain peace (Billman 1964:60; de Laguna 1972:614; McClellan 1950:79). Jones (1914:145), who had witnessed several potlatches, remarked how harmonious some of them were. Eating contests between rival groups included one or more men who represented each guest group. Individuals who had made idle boasts or satirical remarks against the host group, prior to the potlatch, might be forced to consume great quantities of food until they vomited. Such humiliation later earned compensation in the form of a double portion of wealth (Swanton 1908:437, 439).

On the evening of the third day of the 1877 Sitka potlatch, following a time of dancing, the chief-elect gave a long oration. No information was included as to the content of this speech. The essence of the long oration, which may be inferred from the events of the evening, was the chief-elect's assertion of his claims for the vacancy caused by the death of their chief three years previously. In the response by the guest chief, the new name Koo-gllh to be bestowed upon the host was announced. The newly acquired name was that of the deceased chief which designated this potlatch as the installation ceremony for a new chief (Billman 1964:63). The announcement was followed by a series of dances given by the rival guest groups.

The fourth day was a day of rest, quietude, and socializing. A large wooden box drum was played during the day to indicate that all previous debts owed to the new chief were due. Crowds watched the debtors as they repaid their obligations, observing the amount each one gave.

On the fifth day only women danced; men stood erect all day and throughout the night. Four ceremonial songs belonging to the host chief's group were sung, followed by the individual songs of each member of his group. The spokesman for the host chief called the names of members of their group one by one.

Each man recited his geneology and family history and then suggested a song. The men joined in the singing while the women danced (Billman 1964:61). In McClellan's (1950:80) description of a typical inaugural potlatch, the host collected his wealth on the fifth day as each person (in order of rank) stood, gave memorial addresses to their ancestors, sang, and danced in full ceremonial regalia. In this manner the political field of the host's group was established for the potlatch. Active participation in a potlatch was limited to those individuals who had received names.

The sixth day was set aside for rest since the songs, stories, and dances had continued through the previous night.

Feasting and dancing filled the seventh day. On this day all participants donned their finest ceremonial attire. This was the great day for the dancing competition. The dancers from each guest side scrutinized the dancing, seeking to detect any mistakes in the dancers' movements. "If there was one mistake the people made remarks and that meant that the side making the mistake lost praise" (Billman 1964:62). Should a dancer die soon after a potlatch, the cause was attributed to the strain of dancing and it was said, "The people's looks have killed him" (Swanton 1908:435). Magical precautionary measures such as medicines and fasting were undertaken as an aid for the prevention of such mistakes (de Laguna 1972:616).

Two Potlatch Themes

Two contradictory themes permeated Tlingit society and emerged intermittently throughout the potlatch; these were cooperation and competition. Individuals and groups cooperated by giving and receiving gifts; by assisting brothers-in-law in ceremonial labor and potlatch wealth; and members within a household, clan, or moiety assisted one another in times of danger or physical need. Juxtapositioned to this emphasis upon cooperation was the emphasis upon

competition. Individuals competed against one another within their own household, clan and moiety for wealth and status; households and clans competed for rank, resources, wealth, property, and honors; and upper classes competed against lower classes to control the means of production (Oberg 1937:103; de Laguna 1972:613). The themes of cooperation and competition form a dialectical process. On the one hand it encouraged cooperation which contributed to the perpetuation of the society and the security of the individual and the group and at the same time the theme of competition stimulated individual production and achievement and guarded against the decline in individual production that may occur when the individual's needs are assured from the group's resources (Colson 1953:191).

Two additional reoccurring themes of the potlatch were completeness and respect. Symbolically the idea of "completeness" was repeatedly expressed. The Tlingit symbolically portrayed the body by the number eight which represented the "eight joints" or "eight big bones" of the body such as: right and left upper arm, right and left forearm, right and left thigh, and right and left shin. Many rituals were repeated eight times, lasted for eight days, or included eight items usually in reference to the eight bones. Eight seasons of seclusion completed a girl's puberty rites; eight potlatches traditionally validated nobility; and eight days of fasting plus animal tongues cut from eight creatures completed the powers of an Indian doctor (McClellan 1950:175-176). From these and other references we may conclude that the number eight symbolized wholeness, completeness, and authenticity.

Activities during a potlatch occurred in sets of eight. A chief fasted and potlatched for eight days (Billman 1964:62); the goal of a chief was to sponsor eight potlatches (Shotridge 1919:47); before the collection of wealth, a chief initiated eight songs and dances (McClellan 1950:80); eight posts in a house

required eight days of fasting by the chief (Swanton 1908:437); a chief had eight songs sung at the naming of his grandchildren (de Laguna 1972:636); and eight songs were sung at the dedication of a house (de Laguna 1972:608). Some dances consisted of making four motions to the right and four motions to the left (Swanton 1908:438). Eight men carried the body at a funeral (Olson 1967:59). A host clan sang four songs at the beginning of a mourning period and four songs at the cremation to make the "ceremonial eight, for the eight long bones of the limbs" (Olson 1967:59). These examples are sufficient to indicate the importance of a series of eight events and the stamp of authenticity it bestowed upon the information contained in the rich symbolism of the potlatch.

Another theme that continually occurred in the comments on the potlatch and the behavior during the potlatch was the desire to display proper "respect." In a relatively short narration of an 1877 Sitka Potlatch, William Wells employed the English word "respect" on seven occasions to indicate the proper form of behavior to be demonstrated among Tlingit groups (Billman 1964: 64). Swanton (1908:435, 438, 442) used the phrase to "show respect" three times in describing the activities of the potlatch and the relationship among the clans. De Laguna contrasted the speeches of the Kwakiutl with those of the Tlingit at potlatches. Whereas the Kwakiutl engaged in boastful and arrogant speeches, the Tlingit conversed in courteous and respectful talk. "It's always respect talk" (de Laguna 1972:468). Tlingit culture emphasized bravery, loyalty, and military preparedness. Public insults, a sneer, or contemptuous words at a potlatch aroused the warriors and could provoke bloodshed (Swanton 1908:435). Consequently, every attempt was made to ensure peace at a potlatch through the performance of proper respect, the presence of peacemakers, and the display of sacred symbols.

III. A Conflict-Management Model of the Potlatch Proper

The 1877 Sitka Potlatch Proper lasted for "eight days" (Billman 1964:62). The record seems to indicate that it began on the eighth day of the preliminary festivities with the host of the local clan presenting all of the activities of this portion of the potlatch. Evidence that there may have been some variation in the length of the ceremony proper can be found in the ethnographic literature. Swanton (1908:442) mentions, for example, that it took four days to distribute the blankets; McClellan (1950:81) states that the collection and distribution process encompassed two days and two nights; and de Laguna (1972:629, 606) describes the process in terms of one or two days but acknowledges that a "great ceremony" usually lasted at least eight days. It may be that the length of this portion of the potlatch varied with the type of potlatch and with the claims, resources, and amount of business to be transacted. It was readily acknowledged that the distribution of wealth at a potlatch was "the most important" event at a potlatch (Billman 1964:62).

Few events of the 1877 potlatch itself were recorded. It was stated that the chief fasted to insure good fortune to the proceedings, that it was a memorial potlatch to the late chief, that a newly constructed house was named, and that the chief and some of his people received new names. Two out of the three years that had transpired since the death of the late chief were expended in the construction of a new "chief's house." This new house was the first Native house in Sitka to be built upon a pole foundation rather than utilizing a dugout interior and was given the name of "house on a platform" (Billman 1964:62). Before the newly installed chief bestowed honored names upon his grandchildren (in all likelihood these were potlatch names) he gave a speech on behalf of them

and had their foreheads rubbed on a copper plate that was then thrown into the ocean.

Due to the paucity of materials included in the 1877 Sitka Potlatch, I will use ethnographic references and informants' statements to construct a general model of the potlatch proper. This reconstruction will be presented in terms of the conflict-management principles given in the previous chapter. Many of the goals of the Tlingit household and clan community lacked fulfillment apart from the institution of the potlatch such as bestowing names, installation of a new chief, and renewing alliances. As such, the potlatch represented the culmination of a significant segment of the total political activities.

Goals

One of the economic goals of the household was the accumulation of wealth through local production and local or foreign trade. Wealth goods could be used to trade for food during temporary food shortages or invested in the potlatch system. Oberg (1937:80) described the Tlingit economic system as one in which the surplus goods were "invested." Investment opportunities were limited within the local community or local clan since all were ultimately subject to similar economic, social, and political influences. Hence, there existed a need to invest in other communities in order to promote economic security. This presented a problem since these other communities were, in a sense, foreign governments. In the absence of a common political authority, the institution of the potlatch provided an arena in which such economic transactions could take place with a reasonable assurance that the investment would be secure and eventually returned. Oberg (1937:102) states that one of the principles in Tlingit potlatching included the obligation to return gifts or face the possible forfeiture of crests. Olson (1967:66-67) states that whenever slaves or coppers were given at a potlatch it placed the visiting chief under the obligation to return a gift of wealth of

equal or greater value. Salisbury (1962:42) likens the potlatch to a "business obligation"; Keitham (1963:56) refers to the potlatch as a gift with the expectation that an individual would return a larger gift; and de Laguna (1972:627) indicates that all potlatch goods received included the obligation for a later return. These statements refute the suggestion by Barnett (1968:99) and Drucker (1965:59) that return potlatch gifts should be of equivalent value.

A second household goal related to individual accomplishments and advancement in the group's social status. The achievement of these goals amounted to more than a lavish display of wealth. It required economic sacrifices. Before white contact, slaves and coppers were the exclusive wealth items of the potlatch (Oberg 1937:94-95). Slaves were often purchased prior to large potlatches to be displayed and used as items of wealth in the ceremonies. Coppers and slaves were given as gifts or destroyed in potlatches; many coppers were thrown into the sea while numerous slaves were slain or set free (Billman 1964:63; Oberg 1937:96; Olson 1967:49, 51). Furthermore some of the deceased's personal items accompanied him to the grave or cremation fires (Krause 1956:158-159). Potlatches were financial investments with guaranteed returns and financial liabilities when wealth was destroyed. This necessitated additional production to replace the losses. Potlatching stimulated local production and trade.

The food and wealth consumed in a potlatch became an investment in prestige. Indeed, consumed wealth represented the social and economic strength of the host group in a "public proclamation" of their status (Peratrovich 1959:135). A social goal of a crest group was to advance in rank. According to a rule of exposure this required witnesses and validation from representative groups of the opposite moiety. The destruction of coppers, the slaughtering of slaves, or the liberation of slaves attested to changes in social statuses. Gifts

given to witnesses became future investments and increments of confirmation for changes within the sociopolitical field. The mere acceptance and possession of a gift was evidence for the validation of new social roles by others.

A third goal of the household pertained to the establishment of alliances with foreign political entities. The marriage ties linking households from opposite moieties were strengthened through potlatching. Habitually, the chiefs of opposite clans exchanged sons and daughters in marriage and by means of the potlatch invested a portion of their wealth in one another's village (Oberg 1937: 35; Peratrovich 1959:40; Stanley 1958:54). One writer labeled this emphasis on "amassing wealth" and "continuous labor production" as "incipient capitalists" (Spencer 1965:190).

Rules of Exposure

Rules of exposure determined that the household or localized clan would be the dominant figure at potlatches. All political affairs were transacted with his knowledge, prior consent, and authority. Rules of exposure placed the upper class and highly informed individuals into positions of political authority within the localized clan and became clan representatives at potlatches.

A general rule of exposure required two representative groups from the opposite moiety to witness and validate all changes in the political field. At least four advantages resulting from this custom of outside confirmation may be noted: (1) it made all changes in social status a matter of public record; (2) it bound all villages into an international league that encouraged trade, marriages, and peaceful pursuits by providing an institution that enabled the local groups to maintain their autonomy in a common system of values; (3) it defined the relationships between groups and individuals in terms of respect and deference; and (4) it added stability to the internal structure of the household by placing the political supports for legitimacy outside the local group and thus required

considerable amounts of time, wealth, and planning to initiate internal changes. At the 1877 Sitka Potlatch the installation of a new house chief, the dedication of a new house, and the bestowal of new names upon the grandchildren required validation and verification by the guest groups (Billman 1964:62-63). Each of these factors altered the political field of the host clan and, therefore, must be properly witnessed and publicly recorded. One method for the announcement and recording of a new name was for the host chief or his spokesmen to give a history of the name, mention the accomplishments that accompanied the name, and then announce the new name three times (Olson 1967:69). As a Tlingit elder explained, all the guest chiefs present repeated the new name each time the name was announced. In this way the name became a part of the public record with proper authorization and witnesses. Each name signified a certain prestige and indicated the standing of the person within a household (Olson 1967:48).

Spokesmen

The household or localized clan spokesman was officially in charge of their group at the potlatch at all times. He determined the order of speakers, the songs to be sung, and the crests to be displayed. His advice was sought on numerous occasions concerning specific details of procedure during a potlatch. He appointed a master-of-ceremonies whose duty it was to keep the program proceeding in an interesting and orderly fashion with some humor interspersed between speakers and events. The rank of the households was often displayed in the order in which the sub-chiefs delivered their addresses. One Tlingit elder explained that by permitting lesser chiefs to precede more important chiefs, it allowed the more highly informed individuals the opportunity to develop and enlarge upon the knowledge which the host group intended to share with their guests and guarded against any possible omissions or lack of potlatch etiquette that might embarrass the host group.

The rule of exposure, which required foreign groups to witness and evaluate the claims of the host, contributed to the significance of the role of "peacemakers" at a potlatch. The competition displayed between guest groups, the careless word spoken about a host, or the lack of respect demonstrated to a guest might culminate in hostilities. Peacemakers were brothers-in-law of the visitors, whose sisters were married to some of them. Peacemakers were members of the high class--nephews of the host. They were called "go-betweens" because they represented their local clans in times of peace ceremonies, they made known their group's grievances, and they represented the wishes of their constituency. At potlatches they served as tellers, announcers of honors, and the distributors of wealth (Stanley 1958:52). They ensured the good will of the host, cared for the needs of the guests, and sought to maintain peace at all times (de Laguna 1972:494; Olson 1967:67).

Organizations for Action

The invitation of the guests, based upon marriage ties, determined which organizations attended a specific potlatch. Three foreign governments, in a sense, were represented at every potlatch (Adams 1973:112; Rosman and Rubel 1971:49). The host group belonged to one moiety while the two guest groups, who came as rivals, belonged to the other moiety (Swanton 1908:438). Competition existed among households and clans within a moiety; cooperation largely prevailed between the moieties. The basis for this mutual interest between moieties resulted from their system of marriage and their system of ceremonial labor. Each moiety refrained from certain tasks in order to establish a need for reciprocal labor. Chagnon (1968:98) describes a similar situation among the Yanomamo for the establishment of alliances: the local people decided to stop making certain items in order to trade for them; second they feasted one another; and third they entered into marriage alliances.

Among Tlingit, the affiliated moiety clans declined to perform the following services for their own membership: construction of new houses, carving of ceremonial objects for the community house, and the performance of funeral services. A person or group from the opposite moiety performed these tasks for the members of the other moiety and received proper compensation. Two advantages resulted from this arrangement: (1) it perpetuated a mutual alliance based upon interdependence of ceremonial labor and marriages and (2) it led to communal ownership of all ceremonial objects. No member of a household could claim private ownership of any of the households' heirlooms or crests. According to one elder, in cases where heirlooms were sold, it was considered to be an unlawful practice by the membership. The potlatch functioned to bind the local clan organizations into a common framework consisting of ceremonial services, a marriage exchange system, and an arena for making and participating in significant political changes.

Bargaining

The potlatch was also the location for international bargaining among the autonomous Tlingit political groups. Within the confines of the potlatch, changes in status and rank, economic investments in foreign political governments, political changes, and alliances were consummated. Due to the independence of the organizations represented, their competitive social environment, and a zealous guarding of rank and privilege, the general tone at a potlatch emphasized respect, generosity, and sacred tradition. Bargaining, therefore, consisted of a carefully planned ceremonial system in which logic and evidence were prominent in the presentation of certain claims. The evidence included songs, stories, dances, crests, and honorific titles. The logic involved the consistent application of the evidence (along with the order and simplicity contained in ritual) to the projected claims.

In the preliminary festivities of a potlatch the political field of the host and guests was agreed upon through the calling of household rolls--by order of rank from the highest to the lowest, by seating arrangements, and by the speeches and dances. Agreement was conveyed through personal response and acceptance of the general proceedings of the potlatch.

William Wells (Billman 1964:62) mentions that the ceremonial dances held during the potlatch proper "were the most important" and had "to be performed with careful attention in order to have everything correct" under the threat of supernatural retribution in the form of some future personal misfortune for any mistakes. Apparently, guests refrained from commenting upon these private and sacred "tribal dances." According to a Tlingit elder, the hallmarks of a bona fide Tlingit were the knowledge of their "songs, stories, and dances." Ceremonial dances, therefore, served to attest to the ethnic claims asserted by any individual or group. Much of this evidence was highly symbolic and conveyed a wealth of information in a highly codified form to the initiated. McClellan (1950:80) wrote that the "symbolism of the feast is intense."

The hosts through their songs, stories, dances, and crests presented their claims to rank and resources. Lacking permanent written repositories for legal documents, the people at the potlatches reviewed and renewed old claims as well as recorded new ones. This process of reviewing the record of the host household or clan was time consuming and could extend into a period of several days. Even today it is said by informants that it is not uncommon for a significant story to require many hours to narrate. The accurate presentation of a story, along with the right to relate it, was accepted as proof of the authenticity of the claim.

Ownership of Tlingit land was based upon the principle of "use and occupancy." Land was passed on through inheritance or legal settlements to

a corporate group--not to individuals. Three effective means of recording rights to corporate resources (in the name of their headman) were: (1) by potlatching; (2) by wood carvings, and (3) by rock paintings (de Laguna 1953:54; Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:14). Goldschmidt and Haas (1946:15) saw the potlatch as more than a "lavish display of wealth"; rather it was "a public proclamation of the status" of the host and his supporting group. Each new household head or succeeding chief could establish legal title to his inheritance, as the legitimate head of his group, only through the institution of the potlatch (he might on occasion also record the event on a totem pole). Goldschmidt and Haas (1946:17) assert that nowhere in "North America was there so clear a recording of property ownership as among these people."

Therefore, it became necessary at an inaugural potlatch to carefully trace the historical migrations of the group including the acquisition of all resources and crests belonging to the group. The clan's stories served to validate the claims of ownership of their possessions. Goldschmidt and Haas (1946:16) explain that when a certain household acquired the rights to a section of beach at the mouth of the Copper River, they built a house. This required a potlatch. At the potlatch "all the circumstances of the acquisition were recounted, dramatized and thus made a part of the public record, since each guest was a witness to the legality of the claim." Many Tlingit have proudly proclaimed that Tlingit wars were not undertaken purely to acquire additional land. The Native custom of validating claims prevented wanton aggression for territorial expansion. Territorial aggression "would have brought such censor from fellow tribesmen as to have made life impossible for the owner" (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946:18). It has been suggested that the very purpose of totems "originated in a desire to prevent war, and to knit the tribes more closely together" (Jones 1914:172). Although the totemic system of marriage and potlatching never resulted in the

elimination of warfare from among the Tlingit, it did discourage warfare waged for the purpose of annexing territory.

A host through sacred songs, stories, and dances presented in an orderly, predictable, concise, and simple manner the evidence for his group's claims to the resources and special prerogatives before the visiting group. Legitimacy could only be realized in the form of support from the other moiety; it was never self-evident based upon the sole claim to ownership by one group. It must be validated by another group from the opposite moiety (de Laguna 1972:457). A type of reciprocity of legitimacy for validating claims was implicit within the moiety system. Those who gave support did so with the expectation that, in the near future, they would be seeking support for their claims. As Swartz (1968:30-31) has commented, "This exchange is one in which support expends energy and other resources in taking part in processes which are beneficial to the locus of legitimacy in return for expectations that sometime in the future there will be a return of benefit to them." Along with the stories, dances, and crests the food and wealth distributed and consumed at the potlatch gave legitimacy to the host and his constituency for their proposed changes in their political arena.

Crests were the symbolic representation of real property. In a very real sense crests served as property deeds carved in wood or woven into a blanket. Oberg (1937:55) reports that it was possible for a group to forcibly acquire property of another by seizing the totems and crests which symbolized the ownership. On occasions when potlatch debts lingered on beyond a reasonable length of time the creditors seized a crest for their debtors and held it like a mortgage until the debt was paid (Oberg 1937:102). Crest objects were the symbolic representation of the essence of a group: its ancestors, history, migrations, resources, privileges, rank, and the descendants (de Laguna 1972:451). The

crests also represented the sanctions of mythology relating how the supernatural aid of some creature assisted their ancestors in locating food or finding a desirable site upon which to settle (Oberg 1937:58). The highest symbol of value to the Tlingit was the chief's hat, comparable in symbolic meaning to the crown jewels of Great Britain. All official clan business was transacted at a potlatch when the chief's hat was on display, signifying that the business was conducted by the authority of the group. Oberg (1937:100) stated that the "crests are intimately connected with the potlatch proceedings." Crests also signified the social rank of the clan vis-a-vis the other clans in the area.

The style of potlatch bargaining was based upon general consensus. The claims asserted at a potlatch were considered in the light of the merits of each case. The installation of a chief at a potlatch or the bestowal of honorific names were done with prior consensus of the members of the host group and presented to the guests for their general review and approval. Much of the bargaining at potlatches was contained in the speeches, songs, and dances of the spokesmen for their particular group. Subsequent speeches of acknowledgement by the guest spokesmen presumably contained the consensus of approval by their constituencies. Occasionally individuals did object to the proceedings by insisting that a deficiency of wealth or a lack of compensation was evident on the part of the host group (McClellan 1950:81; Oberg 1937:101; Olson 1967:67).

Implementation

The implementation phase of the conflict-management model of the potlatch consisted in the expenditure and investment of wealth, the changing of names, certain diagnostic personal markings, and the acceptance of gifts as evidence of individual participation in the decision and as an indication that potlatch policies were enacted. When the chief in the 1877 Sitka Potlatch bestowed honored names upon his grandchildren, two men rubbed a large copper plate upon

the foreheads of the twenty candidates. The copper plate was then thrown into the sea. "This was a sign of great respect and high honor" (Billman 1964:63). Olson (1967:67) stated that coppers were equal to from three to five slaves while Swanton (1908:437) evaluated coppers in terms of four to six slaves. Oberg (1937: 102) mentioned that the value of some crest hats was revealed in the name of the hat: "Slaves-half-way-around-the-room," "Slaves-all-the-way-around-the-room," "Two-coppers-facing-one-another," or "A-stack-of-blankets-gun-high." The host group participated in the implementation of decisions by destroying wealth or liberating slaves. By so doing the decisions became matters of public record. The destroyed wealth was similar to a notarized document executed by the will of the people. Implementation within the household was indicated by increased participation in household affairs, increased access to knowledge that accompanied new privileges, and increased status.

The implementation of decisions to change social statuses was demonstrated by personal markings indelibly displayed upon the bodies of the initiated in the form of pierced ears, pierced noses, tattooed hands, and labrets--along with the acknowledgment and consent of the guests (Niblack 1890:369-370; Swanton 1908:434). Those individuals who received new names had new roles and obligations to fulfill in society; their ability to effectively fulfill the newly acquired roles also contributed to the implementation of the decision.

Implementation of decisions was contained in the investment of wealth by the host and the acceptance of that wealth by the guests. Acceptance of the wealth meant agreement with the decisions. At the return potlatch the former guests, who later became the hosts, would implement the decision by a revised roll call of the household and in increased distributions of wealth to those individuals who had received higher statuses.

Closing Ceremonies

Following the completion of the potlatch proper it was customary for the guests to thank and comfort their hosts with a party before departure for home. They expressed their appreciation in the form of speeches, presents, and dancing (Billman 1964:63; McClellan 1950:81). A visiting chief might display an emblem of his household or clan to cheer up the hosts. He might say, as one elder explained, "I am going to share these sacred emblems of our house with you so that you might walk on them during your period of mourning and find your path a little softer." Another elder stated that a chief of a salmon clan might explain the habit of a salmon to remain motionless for some time in the water alert for the first sign of danger. If alarmed the salmon will dart under the nearest bank to seek shelter. The chief might explain that he has offered his emblem as a bank under which the mourning relatives may seek comfort. A second chief might add to and continue the figure of speech by saying that having retreated under the bank of comfort, the mourners should leave their sadness in the darkness of that bank and emerge happy and express their gladness by dancing.

The "thank you" party was held in one of the houses of the guest moiety. To have danced in the newly dedicated host's house would have required a considerable expenditure of wealth. The two guest clans again competed in dancing but the general mood of the occasion portrayed a spirit of gladness to cheer the hosts and to indicate that the guests were pleased with the treatment they had received during the potlatch. The host indicated that their sorrow had been put away, that the "nephew--installed as the new lineage chief and bearing the old chief's name--will take his uncle's widow as a wife," and that the host household was "happy" again (McClellan 1950:81-82). This concluding statement indicated the two paramount reasons for the potlatch: (1) to inaugurate a new household head

and (2) to renew the marriage alliance between the two clans. The newly installed chief promised the members of the guest clan that he would care for the widow (who was also a member of one of the guest clans) of the departed chief. This concise Native appraisal of the essence of the potlatch is significant to this study since it underscores the need to view the potlatch as being basically a political institution.

At the conclusion of the festivities, if the guests were well pleased with their entire visit, they remained for several days to socialize with the local people before returning home. The Kake guests in the 1877 Sitka Potlatch stayed on for about two more weeks after the close of the potlatch party for a total visit of about four weeks (Billman 1964:63). If the guests had been displeased with the potlatch they would have returned home the next day following the conclusion of the potlatch.

Summary

As Tlingit society was traditionally organized local independent groups formed primary political arenas. Potlatches joined two or more autonomous groups in a secondary political arena to transact certain political changes that pertained to the future relationships among the participating clans. A host clan invited the aristocracy from two other clans as guests. Together the three clans processed the political affairs under consideration and incorporated the decisions into future potlatches.

Chapter IX

FROM COMMUNAL HOUSES TO NATIVE CORPORATIONS

Three events that have significantly influenced the Tlingit since the first historic contacts with Europeans are: the opening of the fur trade by the Russians in 1741, the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867, and the formation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) in 1912. The subsequent events set in motion by these three developments are crucial to a review and understanding of Tlingit acculturation.

I. The Russian Period of Tlingit History 1741-1867

European Fur Traders 1741-1794

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the knowledge of the earth's seas and continents was generally known with the exception of the circumpolar regions. Geographers did not know if Asia and America were joined by land or separated by water. The Russians sought to resolve this lacuna in arctic geography. An expedition under the command of Vitus Bering, an officer in the Russian Imperial Navy, solved the arctic dilemma in 1741 when they viewed the straits separating the two continents. On the basis of this discovery Russia laid claim to the rich fur trade in Alaska. The real significance of Bering's discovery in the pageant of history was that it eventually made possible the transfer of Alaska to America rather than eventually becoming a part of Canada by virtue of Captain Cook's expedition under British auspices (Gruening 1954:1-8). Steller,

a ship physician on the Bering voyage, observed that the Tlingit were fishermen and hunters, who lived in wooden plank houses, smoked salmon for food, and worked wood with stone and copper tools (Averkiewa 1971:339).

Captain Alexei Chirikov, in charge of the other ship under Bering's command, became separated from Bering in a dense fog and proceeded on his own to Chichagof Island. Along this coast he sent a ten man landing party ashore. When the boat failed to reappear, a second boat was dispatched the following day. Neither boat returned but later two Tlingit canoes approached the Russian ship in what was interpreted as a hostile manner by the Russians. Lacking smaller boats in which to land, they resolved to return to Siberia (Bancroft 1960:70-71). On the return voyage they encountered numerous sea otters soon to become the object of extensive trade.

Bering's ship fared even worse. On their return trip to Siberia they suffered shipwreck on an uncharted island. Commander Bering and several members of the crew perished as a result of the depravations of the voyage. Due to the scarcity of food, the sailors turned to the consumption of sea otters. The crew preserved the skins which eventually led to the discovery of the new source of wealth in furs derived from the sale of their sea otter skins when some of the members of the Bering crew eventually reached Russia. Stimulated by the potential riches of the fur trader, Bassof engaged in three voyages between the years of 1743 and 1747. In addition to the procurement of hundreds of sea otter, fur seal, and blue arctic fox pelts each trip, he secured additional information on the geography of the area. Thus began an era of vigorous fur trade, the gradual extinction of the fur bearing mammals, and the gradual decline of Native populations due to bloodshed, disease, and increased strife among the Native inhabitants of Alaska (Bancroft 1960:99ff.).

In May 1778 Captain James Cook sailed northward from Nootka Sound naming many mountains (from Mount Edgecumbe to Mount Saint Elias) and describing the rich sea otter herds along the way. The importance of the Russian and British discoveries in the North Pacific Coast were virtually unknown to the general public, until the prompt publication of Captain Cook's journal of this North Coast voyage. The news of the rich sea otter herds and the profits enjoyed by the sale of the furs excited international competition among the Spanish, French, British, and Russian Governments as well as private Boston fur traders (de Laguna 1972:111-112).

In 1786 La Perouse contacted the Tlingit at Lituya Bay. Although it was the first European contact with the Tlingit of this region, La Perouse was surprised to discover the Natives in possession of Russian knives, hatchets, iron, and beads obtained through trade with other coastal ethnic groups (Bancroft 1886:258). One hundred years later in 1886, the Tlingit oral tradition of their first contact with La Perouse was compared with La Perouse's written account. The two descriptions were remarkably similar (Emmons 1911:297-298). According to Tlingit tradition, they first mistook the French ship for an appearance of Raven their Creator who often assumed the form of a large black bird. In fright they fled to the forest. Eventually, an elderly warrior, whose eyes were dimmed by the passing of many years, decided to visit the strange ship. Accompanied by a servant, they paddled out to the ship, boarded, and exchanged a fur coat for some food. This experience opened the doors of trade in this region for other visiting ships.

La Perouse purchased an island in the bay from a local chief for some cloth, hatchets, nails, adzes, and iron bars. The island was used for conducting astronomical observations and as a refuge from pilfering Natives. Both measures proved futile. The Native virtues of honesty and respect were not

extended to the Frenchmen who found many of their possessions missing including their astronomical charts. Natives frequently visited the newly purchased island and undoubtedly observed the metalworkers, the sailmakers, and many foreign tools and techniques. The local people traded some six hundred sea otter pelts and other furs for hatchets, adzes, and bars of iron. During their stay, La Perouse lost two boats in dangerous rip tides containing several of his best crew members (de Laguna 1972:117). The French exhibited new tools and methods of technology to the local residents.

Trading relationships between Europeans and the Tlingit seemed to be characterized for the most part by peaceful barter and shrewdness on both sides. Neither the Tlingit nor the Europeans were trading novices. Bancroft (1960:240) described the Europeans and Tlingit as being "equals in bartering." La Perouse indicated that the Tlingit made bargains as "astutely" as European merchants (Krause 1956:130). Some of the many trading tricks displayed by the Tlingit were as follows: delaying ships so as to sell more fish, dying furs, and deception as a means of obtaining gifts (de Laguna 1972:120-121; Krause 1956:136-137). Europeans exploited the local shortages in iron, copper, tools, and guns by demanding exorbitant prices for these trade items. Bancroft suggested that the exchange of hostages between Europeans and Tlingit was both customary and indicative of the hostilities of trade with the Tlingit. The custom of exchanging hostages was a traditional Tlingit pledge of good will practiced long before the coming of Europeans. Such exchange could also be interpreted as a lack of trust in Europeans rather than a sign of Tlingit hostility. Several traders apparently did not need to exchange hostages: La Perouse, Dixon, and Colnett to mention a few (de Laguna 1972:116-117).

The wealth to be earned in the fur trading enterprise was considerable. Dixon indicated that during the years of 1785 to 1787 (excluding Captain Meares's

activities) 5800 sea otter skins were sold in China netting \$160,700--an average of about \$30 per pelt. In 1772 Alaskan skins selling for \$15 to \$40 brought from \$30 to \$140 in China. Generally, the traders realized a 400 to 500 percent return on their investments: a \$40,000 capital returned \$150,000; a \$50,000 investment gave a gross return of \$284,000. Sturgis, an enterprising American captain, purchased a large quantity of ermine skins in Europe at approximately thirty cents each and exchanged them in Alaska at the rate of five ermine skins for one sea otter skin. According to Sturgis, the average price per sea otter skin was \$20 in 1802 and increased to \$150 per prime skin by 1846. The least estimated return on the ermine skin investment by Sturgis was a minimum of 1,440 percent and a maximum of 10,000 percent gross earnings depending upon the price of skins the year he sold them (Bancroft n.d. :372-373).

These economic profits from the fur trading period were tantalizing to the fur traders and introduced the Tlingit to new sources of metals, tools, weapons, sails, and other European techniques and customs. Until the Russian settlement in Yakutat in 1794, the European contacts were peripheral and beneficial to the Tlingit. For the most part it seemed that the Tlingit were neither overly impressed nor frightened by the Europeans. Two events in Tlingit history, the battle with the Russians in 1793 and the Russian visit to Chief Shakes, illustrated their general attitudes. According to oral tradition when one of the first Russian traders stopped at Wrangell, he invited the Tlingit chief to come out and visit the Russian ship. Two hundred Tlingit canoes towed the Russian vessel to Shakes' village. This was not a unique event since Bancroft (1960:428) mentions that one hundred canoes towed the Neva near Sitka.

Chief Shakes sent word back that he was as big of a chief as the Russian and therefore the Russian ship should come to his area and trade. The captain of the Russian ship replied that the rocks presented too much of a hazard. In response Chief Shakes dispatched two hundred canoes, carrying approximately ten men each, to tow the Russian ship through the Wrangell Narrows. Chief Shakes was

one of the wealthiest Tlingit and lived in a house with eight tiers. Shakes received his name in a battle against the Tsimshian (K. F. 1974: conversation).

In 1793 the Yakutat Tlingit executed a night raid upon the Chugach Eskimo. Unknown to the Tlingit, Russians and Aleuts were also present in the camp. The resultant surprise at the confrontation of the superior weaponry of the Russian firearms among the Chugach only seemed to make the attackers more determined. The Tlingit wearing wooden rod breast armor, with large wooden hats, a face mask and carrying bows, lances and daggers rushed the make-shift fortification. The Russian bullets failed to penetrate the thick wooden hats. "The more intense the fire of the Russians became, the more vigorous was the storming of new hordes of attackers" (Krause 1956:29).

Although the European presence had little overt affect upon the Tlingit during this period of history, their diseases were devastating. A Spanish ship exposed the Sitka Natives to smallpox in 1775 and the ensuing epidemic was reported to have spread north at least as far as Lituya Bay by La Perouse, in 1786, who reported sighting Natives with poxed faces and stated that they were "nearly depopulated" (Portlock 1789:272). Oberg (1937:7) contrasted the former population of the Chilkat valley's "eight thousand Tlingit" with the present population of "less than one hundred."

Russian Settlements and the Tlingit Toleration Policy, 1795-1867

The rapidly depleting fur lands of Southwestern Alaska caused the Russians to turn to the Southeastern sector of Alaska in their search for new sources of furs. The Russians sought to consolidate their claims in the New World and to increase their position of competition with rival European and American fur trading interests by constructing a trading settlement, first at Yakutat and then at Sitka. Shelikof, an organizer in the Russian fur trade, wrote Baronof a letter

dated August 9, 1774 indicating his extensive plans for the establishment of an "agricultural colony . . . on Yakutat Bay." The letter promised "provisions, stores, implements, seeds, cattle, and a hundred and ninety-two persons on board, among whom were fifty-two craftsmen and agriculturists, and eighteen clergymen" (Bancroft 1960:352).

The Russians had encountered some difficulties with the Yakutat Tlingit in 1794 when they appeared with an Aleut hunting party. Hostages were exchanged as a pledge of peace. However, the far ranging Russian directed hunting party soon aroused the Tlingit people when the latter saw their fur seals being consumed by strangers. Only a show of Russian strength, aided by the appearance of a British trading vessel, temporarily resolved the conflict and secured the release of the hostages. Purtof and company departed from Yakutat with their furs and the promise from a local chief for a goodly stock of sea otter furs the next year. The following year the chief's promise was unfulfilled so the Russian hunting party collected four hundred sea otters from the bay further inciting the hostilities of the local residents (Bancroft 1960:347-350).

On a 1795 fur expedition to Yakutat a "few men" were left behind. When relief supplies arrived in 1796, the men were found to be in good health in spite of a food shortage the preceding winter. Baronof constructed a fort on a cliff and left a "garrison" of fifty men. Baronof and his crew constructed several buildings including some houses, a barracks, and some storage houses. Suffering and death awaited many of the settlers the following winter; thirty members perished (Bancroft 1960:356-357). Nevertheless, a ship arrived annually at Yakutat to bring fresh supplies, to replace the dead with new settlers, and to pick up the accumulated furs (de Laguna 1972:169).

On July 24, 1800 Baronof wrote a letter stating that at Yakutat he had "found nothing but trouble and disaster in every department" (de Laguna 1972:169).

The commander asked to be relieved of his post and a new commander was appointed; later the new commander protested the conditions at Yakutat. Meanwhile several people had died from eating poisonous food. Baronof also registered his complaint against the American traders who allegedly were supplying the Tlingit with guns and ammunition. It seems that the American traders offered higher prices for Tlingit furs and furnished the Sitka Tlingit "with pistols, muskets, four-pound cannon, and a few weapons of even heavier caliber" (de Laguna 1972:170). Some of these weapons reached Yakutat. The local Russian leaders at Yakutat were apparently oblivious to the mounting list of Native grievances and hostile signs of revolt.

By 1805 the Russians became concerned about the threatening posture of the Yakutat Tlingit who had erected several forts and were armed with the best weapons available. The last communique received from the local Russian leader was that their cannons were always loaded, guards carried loaded guns, and the entire Russian community was constantly in a state of military alertness. In August of 1805 the Tlingit attacked and destroyed both the fort and the settlement (Bancroft 1960:451). De Laguna (1972:174) reports that one man and a child escaped.

A Tlingit elder (T.D. 1974: conversation) related the following description of a Tlingit version of the expulsion of their Russian intruders:

Shadah was the same age as the Russian prince, Neeshagah Shaneesdah, who adopted him and gave him his own name of Neeshagah. As long as Shadah was alive peace prevailed with Russia. Shadah married a princess from Klukwan by the name of Yuteiudoo. Following the death of Shadah, Neeshagah Shaneesdah mistreated the Tlingits and would not let them travel up their accustomed waterways to the lakes where they had their salmon and oolachan fish traps. The people had to pack their canoes overland for considerable distances. As the Tlingit canoes were returning from the fish drying area, Russian soldiers capsized their canoes and fierce dogs owned by the Russians attacked the men and devoured the meat.

This inhumane treatment on the part of the Russians provoked Tanux, one of the four leaders from the Bear Tribe, to attempt to bring a halt to these unpopular activities. Armed with a hidden dagger Tanux set off for the Russian fort. Spotting the castle cook engaged in the task of chopping wood, Tanux quickly picked a large handful of strawberries and generously offered them to the cook. As the cook reached for the berries Tanux kicked the cook in the shins, grabbed the cook's axe, and hastened into the castle. Finding Shaneesdah inside Tanux demanded to know why the Russians were destroying Tlingit lives and food. Also he inquired into the whereabouts of the young men that were taken away in Russian ships never to return. Shaneesdah dropped to his knees and begged for his life to be spared. Tanux grabbed his dagger and thrust it into the heart of the Russian leader causing instant death. Fellow Tlingits swarmed into the fort and destroyed all the Russians with the exception of a lone man who fled to the lighthouse.

Tanux returned to his people and informed them of his revenge. He waited and watched for the appearance of a Russian ship. When he saw a ship approach the bay he told his people he was going to go alone to meet them and explain that he was responsible for the recent revenge. Taking a young man with him he paddled out to meet the Russian vessel. The Russian ship took Tanux aboard and Tanux explained what he had done to Shaneesdah. They inquired if Shaneesdah had begged and cried to have his life spared. Tanux informed them that he had so done. Then replied the Russian naval officer, "You shall also cry and beg for your life." They tied Tanux to the ship's mast and mercilessly beat him until his back and face were emaciated. Yet Tanux cared nothing for his life. Several days of cruel treatment followed. Finally, the ship's cook took a hot iron and crept to where Tanux lay in a deep sleep. He applied the iron to the skin of Tanux who instantly let out an agonizing cry. So the cook reported to the skipper that Shandeedah had begged for his life. The cook had used the hot iron and lied about Tanux's plea because he did not wish to see the captive receive further torture. The alleged report satisfied the captain of the ship and Tanux was released.

Within a few days the Russian ship landed in Kodiak. Tanux was offered his freedom in exchange for teaching the local people how to construct fish traps. Ten men were given to Tanux and instructed to carry out his orders. Instead of instructing the ten men, Tanux proceeded to slay them one at a time and took their bodies back to the community. Again ten men were dispatched to Tanux's command who repeated his first feat. Someone reported that Tanux did not fear death. Soon he was set free (similar version in de Laguna 1972:233-235).

Desiring to extend their retaliations against the Russians, eight canoes loaded with warriors paddled to a Russian settlement on the Copper River declaring their desire to trade. During the preliminary dancing ceremonies a captive Shugach, held by the Tlingit, escaped and warned the residents of the Tlingit

intentions to destroy the community. The Tlingit were invited to a house under the pretense of receiving a feast and many were slain. A few who escaped from the house met death in heavy seas on their voyage home. Bancroft (1960:452) reported that approximately two hundred Tlingit perished in this abortive raid.

No Russian settlement was ever again established at Yakutat. Except for an occasional trader, the people were virtually left to themselves until about 1880 when some gold prospectors began to invade the area (Krause 1956: 65). The Yakutat Tlingit resisted their encroachment. According to a Tlingit elder, Seetuck Jim, for example, chopped down homesteaders' stakes and fought their presence for about ten years.

The Russian settlement in Sitka ultimately met with some success although it experienced severe reversals and never achieved anything beyond a tenuous peace. On May 25, 1799 Baronof and company landed at Old Sitka, about six miles north of the present city of Sitka. Chief Katlean, head of the local Frog Clan, and who was in charge of Sitka and the immediate vicinity, approached Baronof to ascertain his intentions. The chief stated that the Boston ship anchored a short distance away had obtained their local fur surplus. Baronof offered to buy a parcel of land upon which to construct some buildings. The transaction was completed. One-half of Baronof's men hunted sea otter; the remainder were employed in the construction of buildings including a fort which they christened Michael after the archangel (Bancroft 1960:387-390).

Captain Cleveland of the Boston Ship "Caroline," anchored near Sitka, warned Baronof concerning the military prowess of the Sitka Tlingit. Cleveland purchased three hundred skins in two days at the cheap price of two yards of broadcloth per skin. He reported that several attempts were made to capture the ship and that some crew members narrowly escaped an ambush. Baronof purchased a quantity of supplies for the coming winter from the Caroline to

secure his own needs and to reduce Cleveland's store of trade goods in an attempt to reserve local supplies of furs for the Russians (Bancroft 1960:388-389).

In a letter dated May 14, 1800 Baronof described his first winter in the new settlement in terms of the following: good health and fair success; the completion of palisades, blockhouses, personnel accommodations, and a blacksmith house; and eventually the establishment of "friendly intercourse" with the Tlingit (Bancroft 1960:390). Eighty men, twenty-five Russians, and fifty-five Aleut hunters were reported by Baronof to comprise the male population of the settlement. The friendly relationship between the Russians and the Tlingit began to dissipate the following summer. The gradual depletion of the local food and fur resources coupled with the considerable supply of weapons and ammunition supplied by the English and American traders, undoubtedly contributed to the restlessness and discontent of the local Tlingit community.

During holy week, when the Russians formed a procession in honor of the emperor, the Tlingit interpreted the incident as a military maneuver. In retaliation the Sitka Tlingit seized the Russian interpreter in their village along with some Russian belongings. Baronof interjected a show of military might at the conclusion of the ceremony to impress the Tlingit by firing muskets and artillery. Two days passed without the return of either the interpreter or the property. On the third day, Baronof selected twenty-two men, traveled to the Native village, placed two small cannon in front of their houses, marched directly to the house in which the interpreter was being held, fired some blank volleys, and seized a few men who offered resistance. The interpreter was released, the tension abated, and the Tlingit offered the Russians food (Bancroft 1960:397).

Larionof's letter of March 22, 1801 described the stiff competition exhibited in the fur trade among the Boston ships and between the Americans and Russians. Baronof reported that six to eight American ships annually visited the

area and paid about three times the going Russian prices. Whereas the Russians formerly bartered cloth valued at ten and a half roubles for two skins, the Boston ships gave cloth worth twenty-eight roubles or three cotton lined coats for a single skin. Baronof estimated that the Boston ships averaged two thousand skins per ship for a yearly take of nearly twelve thousand skins from the area (Bancroft 1960:398-399).

Kuksov wrote a letter to Baronof from Yakutat on July 1, 1802 in which he revealed a plot by a confederacy of Tlingit chiefs to expel the Russians and Aleuts from their hunting grounds. Representatives from the Queen Charlotte Islands, Wrangell, Chilkat, and Yakutat met at Angoon to plot their attack on the fort at Sitka the following spring. The Angoon alliance agreed that if the Frog Clan of Sitka refused to participate in the attack that the Frog Clan would share the Russian fate. Kuksov continued by accusing the Americans of telling the residents of Angoon that they would cease to trade with them unless the Russian fort at Sitka was destroyed due to the rapid depletion of the sea otter. The Tlingit-American parley ended with the Tlingit receiving "presents of powder and ammunition" (de Laguna 1972:171).

Meanwhile tensions had been mounting in Sitka. Tradition holds that the final act of disgrace that ignited the raid on Sitka resulted from the humiliation of a prominent Tlingit by the unpopular half-breed mistress of the governor from Kodiak when she spit in the labret of a local chief's wife. Some of the Sitka women "told the men that if they had not the courage to fight the Russians, they would go and attack the fort themselves" (Roquefeuil 1823:104).

According to Plotnikof, a hunter who escaped the destruction of the Russian fort in 1802, the event occurred on about June 24, 1802 before Kiksov had written his letter and before the Angoon plot could be consummated (Bancroft 1960:402). A force of about six hundred Kiksadi warriors fell upon the fort when

some of the hunters were away sea mammal hunting and burned the Russian settlement to the ground (Krause 1956:31).

Three former United States seamen, who had deserted first from an American ship and then from a Russian vessel, took part in the assault. Lisiansky (1814:219) asserted that the seamen were the most active participants in the plot by suggesting the use of combustible torches which were lighted and thrown upon the buildings and in the selection of the powder house as the prime target. A few of the inhabitants in the Russian fort fled to the woods and were rescued by some English ships. The estimated number of people who perished in the Russian settlement was about 150 (Krause 1956:31). Roquefeuil (1823:83) recorded that another two hundred hunters were killed by the Kake or Kuiu Tlingit after their hunting party of three hundred acquired a take of thirteen hundred sea otters in their area.

A Tlingit version of their first contacts with Europeans at Sitka and some subsequent incidents reveals certain basic attitudes and motives on the part of the local residents that are pertinent to this study. The account takes cognizance of Tlingit customs, grievances against the Russians, and their willingness to defend themselves. The informant received her information from her mother-in-law who belonged to the Sitka Frog Clan and was the great granddaughter of the person who witnessed these events. Emmons (1911:297-298) has attested to the veracity of such accounts.

I am talking about a long time ago when the Russians discovered Alaska. . . . My people had lots of skins; they used it for bedding, for blankets, and scattered them around the house. . . . The fur seal were not afraid of people then; all they had to do was club them and take the skin off, remove the fat, and make them into blankets. . . . They had all kinds of skins in their houses.

Once upon a time when they were outside busily preparing food in the spring, they saw this little black thing in the Pacific Ocean. They all looked up and everybody was looking at it. "It must be sickness," they said. "Sickness must be coming to our village." Every day it was getting bigger and bigger; every morning they got

up and looked at it. Finally they saw it again, and a man said, "That black thing is a ship--a schooner." It is coming in. There must be some people across the ocean. They watched it. Finally it came close to them, it hit by the village, and dropped the anchor. It was people. They didn't know what kind of people they were so they all fled to the mountains. One crippled lady who couldn't walk, was the only person left behind. She watched the foreigners through a hole in the wall. They came in front of her house. They talked different; she couldn't understand what they were saying. She just sat on her bed. The people in her house had been drying so many skins that some of them had to be hung outside on a line to dry: land otter, mink, and some very expensive furs. Now they pay \$400 for one of those skins, I guess the expensive furs were sea otter.

Pretty soon they knocked at the door. She didn't say anything--the lady was very scared. They opened the door, came inside and went wild. They saw all kinds of skins in the house. They asked the lady questions but she didn't understand them since they were speaking Russian. She said to herself, "They must be Russian people." She knew they wouldn't hurt her because she was crippled.

On the third day the people, who had fled to the mountains, sent one man down under the cover of darkness to see if the lady was killed. He asked the lady, "Did they hurt you?" She said, "No, they're good people; they're wild about the skins. That's why you see blankets there. They took all the skins that you had for your bedding and your clothing. They took all of the skins and left those things. I think they traded the skins for the merchandise: blankets, nice clothing, shoes, everything. And that ship was just loaded with all kinds of things."

And pretty soon the man went back up to the mountain where the people were hiding. He told them, "They didn't hurt the woman." He told them, "They took all of our bedding, the fur, but they left a lot of things in place of them. They took our furs to the boat." So they all came down from the mountain and talked to the white men.

By motions the white men asked, "Where did you get the skins?" And they said, "All around here. We've got traps." They showed them their traps. "The fur seals are not afraid of us. They come right up to the shore where we are and we just club them." Then the white men gave them guns. "You kill the seals with this." They showed them how to use the gun, the powder, and the bullets. They gave them to the people in trade for furs. [The national origins of the early contacts may have been confused since most whites at the time were classified as Russians.]

They discovered that we had a hole outside of our buildings. It was the Indian storage area because people never kept their food in the same house in which they slept. They made a hole outside in the ground and they filled it up with grass. They put the fish in it: dried meat, dried fish, dried clams, and everything. They had berries in the wooden boxes. They saved all kinds of berries for winter. Then they asked, "How did you make that?" They said,

"We made a fire, put the basket in there, and put the berries in, that's the way we cooked the berries for winter." And to make it thick they would bring the basket of berries to a boil and add smashed salmon eggs. Sometimes they made the rock hot, and when it's hot, they put it in with the berries and cook the berries that way. They had all kinds of dried fish--halibut, salmon, etc.

The white men said, "We will give you some food. Can you give us some of that dried fish and dried meat?" And they said, "Yes." By motions they seemed to understand what they were talking about, so they traded. The white men gave them sugar, molasses, rice, beans, and all kinds of food. "Now, you give us some of your dried meat and dried fish." And they traded with the food. The white men asked, "What kind of meat do you eat?" The Indian said, "We trap the deer. Sometimes a bear gets in the trap but we don't eat the bear's meat because it is too strong. But the deer meat is the meat we eat." They cleaned out the storage areas where they kept their food.

Pretty soon they saw the fur seal coming in. They passed the ship and crawled up on the sandy beach. The Indians clubbed the fur seals. They used the soft black underneath side of the fur seal skin for making ladies coats, but the Indian's didn't know that. The only place they could do that was in Europe. They saw the fur seals with their little ones climb onto the rocks. The Russian men watched the Indians club them. And pretty soon they got all they wanted. They skinned the seals and took off the fat. They were getting along fine. Pretty soon the Russians said, "The boat is full now." They put rock salt on the skins and put the skins into barrels. They motioned to them "We're going to go now, to Russia." They were Russian people. And they told them that on the other side there were big cities full of people--all kinds of people. That's what they told them, by their motions, and the Indians understood it. It's lucky I didn't forget this story; it was the way my mother-in-law told me.

Then the day came they wanted some more food. They didn't have enough food to reach Russia. So all the Indians went deer hunting. They brought it to the man who was doing the buying--the captain. One morning they pulled up the anchor, the ship was just overloaded with skins--fresh ones and dried ones, and they started to sail. When the ship went away they said, "These people are nice to us now. But we don't know what they're going to do after awhile." So all of the women and men had a meeting. They spoke and made suggestions. "Now our duty," said Katlean the man who gave the orders, "is to go away from here maybe on the other side is a better place than this. This place has too large of waves and we've got to save our boats. We'll go on the other side and look around where we can settle down and make our home, so that when they come back they won't find us here." They don't know about this sandy place around Mt. Edgumbe. It had some sandy places and some rocks in the water. [The rocks acted as a breakwater and the sandy beach was a large enough site to accommodate a community.] They all agreed. And the first place they

went was called Silver Bay. They went in there . . . it had seven creeks and a lot of fish inside the river. They said, "No, it's too small. It's too small of a place to build houses . . . we'll go on a little farther." And when they came out of that bay they saw Sitka. There was a small lake behind it. They said, "This is a better place. There's a lot of room for us to make a home and build our houses. We'll go back, tear down our houses, make a raft, and tow the wood to Sitka." And they gave a name to that place, Shitkah. The Indians gave names to all of the bays around there. When they came out of Silver Bay, they saw this place. It's a lake behind it and two rivers running out. It was a better place than the other place, so they settled down and made community houses. They named their houses. When the people were growing and growing they built more houses. That's why Sitka didn't have any trees; they cut them all down close to the water to make houses out of them. They tied them up with tree roots because they didn't have any nails. That kind of tree roots will last a long time. They split the logs.

One morning when they got up they saw a ship coming into the mouth of Silver Bay. . . . The ship is coming in again, they've found us. We can't hide away from them. We'll just have to stay low and see what they do to us. So they welcomed them. On one side of the village they had a large round rock (castle rock), and they all went up on it. I don't know why they didn't stay on it and build houses on it but they built houses on the point. The rock belonged to the Frog Clan. They covered up and watched the ship come in. "It's a different ship," the Indians said. And that's the time the Russians came and they settled downtown. The ship went back and left--I don't know how many people, but there were a lot of people left. They brought lumber with them to make houses and if you worked all day to help them they would give you a pint of whiskey. That's your pay. That's why the Indians started drinking. They liked the stuff because that's what their pay was. This is what my mother-in-law told me.

In one place near Sitka is a place called Black Bay. . . . The trees were all cut down, they made coal out of it, and they sacked it up for winter. And the Indians worked all day at that thing and they paid them a pint of whiskey.

Every time the Indians had some food, they dried it for themselves. They went to the village and traded some food with them because they didn't know how far Russia was. They kept the food going. The Indians didn't know what money was--a paper dollar or silver dollar. Then the Russians said, "The Indians are bad. We're going to make a fort to keep the Indians out." They started to build the Russian Church. Only the people that lived in the Russian town went to church. The Indians were kept out of there. They claimed the Indians were bad. They used a bow and arrow to kill someone. That's what they claimed. But they never did, they were such an innocent people. That's what my mother-in-law said. They didn't know how to use the gun until the Russians taught them how to use it and traded skins for them.

And pretty soon the ship went back to Russia again. It was almost a year before another ship came in. And there were lots of Aleuts who were in that ship. They made it for sailors and some of them looked pretty run down. They were so skinny. And the Frog Clan chief said, "Get all the sailors on the boat and bring them here and feed them. They look pretty hungry. They're so skinny." So they got all the sailors off the boat and fed them. The Frog Clan chief made his slaves get the dinner for them and feed the sailors with whatever he had: meat, fish, and soap berries. Indians beat soap berries up into a foam and called it Indian ice cream. They ate it at the end of a meal.

One little old lady, who claimed to clean the captain's office, was on board the ship. She looked like she had not eaten for many days. She was also fed. That night the little old lady died. The next morning a man was going around the houses. He said, "Who fed the little old lady?" Of course the man thought he was going to get an honor. That's the way the people do. If you feed them, they give something back to show their appreciation. I guess that's what he thought. He said, "Me! I invited all of them yesterday."

The chief was told that the captain wanted to see him. He was the chief of the family--of the Frog Clan. They took him to the ship; they smashed all of his fingers. The captain ordered the sailors to smash his fingers. Somebody went down to the ship and asked, "Where is our chief?" "He's sick." That's what the report was. But they didn't tell this man that all of his fingers were smashed for feeding the little old lady. They started the trouble. Another brother took the chief's place. They called him Katlean. He took his uncle's place to be chief. "Can we have his body?" "He's not dead yet." It was almost time for him to die. They let the family have his body. And then they found out that all of his fingers were smashed and his toes. He died. Katlean said, "We won't do anything now, we're not ready. We can't do anything. We'll just lay low." That's what his command was to his nephews, to his brothers and all of the tribe. They cremated the body. A long time ago they cremated people. They felt awful bad about what these other people had done. "Now we're going to get ready," said Katlean.

Katlean said, "We're going to burn up the building." Pretty soon the interpreter came and said, "The ships are going back to Russia today." They sailed away. Then they went around in the woods finding pitch. They took one tree down and it was all pitch. They broke it up with a rock. Katlean commanded his family, "All right we're going to strike, we're going to burn up that building." They put that pitch all around the log cabin. It burns better than coal oil. They attacked. The women and children watched from the woods. One man volunteered himself to light the pitch. He ran along one side of the river, jumped in, and floated down. They built the cabin right by the river. He held a pitch torch in his hand. When he came close to the building he threw the torch in among the pitch. It started to burn. Everybody inside of that log cabin was burned up: children, men, and women.

They saw where the Indians were hiding. They used the big gun but it went right over their heads. Katlean put on his Raven hat and ran. While he ran they shot at him and he got dizzy and fell down right there by the big gun. A man came out to try to chop his head off. The men up on the bank used their bows and arrows. Then the man jumped back into the building again. He tried again but the people up the river continued shooting bows and arrows. One time he almost got Katlean. He chopped the Raven hat a little on the nose as you can see in the museum today in Sitka. People jumped out of the building into the river and ran toward the woods because the heat was so strong. They tried to save themselves. Then the ship came in and landed in Sitka after they burned up the building.

The ship's captain said, "What happened to the building?" "We don't know what happened to it," the Indians answered because the interpreter was with them. But they saw that the logs were burned. "Did you burn the Russians?" "We don't know. Maybe the house got on fire itself." The interpreter knew that they had fought with the people because of the dead bodies in the building. The captain of the Russian ship said, "Alright we're going to make peace." The interpreter told Katlean, "The captain of the ship wants to make peace with you folks--no more fighting." Katlean said, "Somehow I don't believe it. I don't believe what you say that you want peace." "Yes! I mean it." The interpreter told him what the captain was saying. "He wants peace." They accepted it. "Alright, we are going to try it. You behave yourselves and we are going to behave ourselves too. We're going to listen to you." They didn't even realize that Russia was far or where the ship came from. He asked who was the leader. They said Katlean. They asked Katlean to come on the boat. He said, "No, I can't come on the boat. My uncle went on the boat and you smashed up his fingers and he died. You are the leader of this trouble. That's why we had war with you because you killed my uncle without him doing anything. It's bad to do that to anybody. We don't want people to treat us like that." He's a smart man, they said about Katlean among the Indians. After he died another man came along and took his place and they called him Katlean. That's the way the Indian law is. When you die someone else takes your place. My mother-in-law used to tell me about how the Russians treated them when I was young (C. N. 1974: conversation).

Bubnof brought news to Baronof in March of 1804 that he had been promoted to the status of the nobility. Baronof remarked, "I am a nobleman; but Sitka is lost! I do not care to live; I will go and either die or restore the possessions of my august benefactor" (Bancroft 1960:419). True to his word, Baronof recruited an armada of three hundred Aleut bidarkas and four ships carrying eight hundred Aleuts and 120 Russians. When this flotilla reached Sitka they were joined by the 370-ton man-o-war under the command of Lisiansky.

Baronof desired to punish the Tlingit "who had assisted in destroying the settlement" (Lisiansky 1814:149). Baronof organized his forces on September 27, 1804 and was "determined to attack . . . the Sitkans, without further delay, unless they consented to our forming quietly a second settlement amongst them" (Lisiansky 1814:154). When the Tlingit fled to the woods at their approach, Baronof demolished their homes.

The Sitka Tlingit were equally determined to prohibit the Russians from resettling in their midst and so armed themselves with muskets and constructed a fortified village. Following the advice of the seamen in their midst not to build a fort on a hill overlooking the shoreline so as to offer an excellent target for the Russian's cannons, the Tlingit selected a site among the dense growth of trees on the lowlands adjacent to Indian River. The sediment carried out into the bay by the river prohibited gun boats from approaching to within close range. The density of the woods, the lowness of the target, and the shallowness of the coastline contributed to making the Frog Clan Fort a nearly ideal location (C.N. 1974: conversation).

Baronof landed at Sitka on September 29, 1804, took possession of Castle Hill overlooking the harbor, intending to construct a fort. An ambassador from the village arrived in the evening to discuss terms of peace. On being informed of the conditions of peace, he left in order to relate these to his superiors. The following day the ambassador returned to the Russians with a hostage who, according to custom, "threw himself flat on his back in the shallow water . . . till some of [the Russians] arrived . . . to lift him up"; and conduct the hostage into the fort (Lisiansky 1814:156). Then both sides exchanged gifts--a worn dress for an otter skin. On the second day, October 1, 1804, four Russian ships moved into firing range.

The Native fort was unusually quiet after the ship maneuver, except for an occasional musket fire. Baronof was deceived by the stillness and hastily "ordered the fort to be stormed," a procedure that nearly proved to be fatal to the Russians (Lisiansky 1814:158). As the Russians approached the walls, the occupants "fired upon them with an order and execution that surprised us" (Lisiansky 1814:158). The Aleuts fled in terror leaving the sailors to retreat with the artillery. Almost every sailor was wounded, including Baronof. From the ship, Neva, two sailors were killed and fourteen were wounded, one of which died the next day.

Tlingit tradition holds that following the battle they stripped their dead invaders of their valuables and left them exposed upon the beach. It was said that the beach was lined with their bodies that resembled the white bellies of halibut. Considering the fact that the Russian force comprised well over nine hundred men and that Lisiansky reported six Russian fatalities and a few Aleuts, the Tlingit ask, "To whom did all of those bodies belong?" It is entirely possible that Lisiansky (1814:163), an officer in the Russian navy, desired to play down the actual number of casualties and so stated in his report that "a few Aleuts" were killed.

The wounded Baronof turned the command over to Lisiansky who promptly resorted to his original desire of bombarding the fort until they surrendered. Several hours of shelling brought an inquiry for peace. For the next three days an increasing number of hostages were reportedly sent to the Russians. The Russian's demand for the evacuation of the fort remained firm. One week after the battle began, in the night of October 7, 1804, the Frog Clan abandoned their fort and their supplies; they killed their babies and their dogs to keep their retreat from being detected. According to Lisiansky (1814:163), the Tlingit were forced to flee the fort when they ran low on "powder and ball . . . if these had not failed

them, they would have defended themselves to the last extremity. "

One version of Tlingit oral history describes the second war with the Russians from the Tlingit perspective:

In Russia they reported that the Indians were warlike. But they were the ones that were no good. Katlean said, "You have to be ready. Now is the time to strike back. We're going to strike back. We have guns but no bullets for them. We're going to ask the Great Spirit to help us." The Indians believed in a Great Spirit a long time ago. I don't know where they learned about the Great Spirit--the Russians kept them out of the church. Anyway they believed in the Great Spirit. That's what my mother-in-law said.

Before the ship returned, the Frog Clan started to build a fort on Castle Rock in Sitka. They cut down trees. "No," the interpreter said, "you are doing the wrong thing." Katlean said, "Why?" "The Russians will come back with big bullets. They'll blow things up. One shot and the fort is no more," replied the interpreter.

And the Frog Clan had another meeting among themselves. Katlean said, "The interpreter told me today that it is wrong for us to build a fort here because it's on a hill. The Russians will come back with a big gun." The interpreter said, "You should build a fort on the other side of Indian River." Katlean said, "You build the fort close to the river." So they built the fort on the flat land, along the river, out of big logs.

In the springtime they had a lot of ships coming in. The interpreter said, "Now is the time they are going to fight you with their big guns. What have you got?" "We have nothing. But we have the Great Spirit who is going to fight for us. You just watch. Something is going to happen." The interpreter was on the side of the Indians because he told them what to do.

At twelve o'clock the shooting started at the fort. The bullets passed over their heads and didn't hit them just like the interpreter said. Eight ships came up. Katlean gave encouraging words to his nephews. He was a great man. They had a meeting among themselves. The shooting had been going on for weeks but the Indians were still alive. "What can we do now?" asked the people. "We're going to soak dry fish and put it on top of the fort. Then all the crows and eagles will come," said Katlean. This is an interesting part. They soaked the dry fish and the Indians were hiding underneath the ground. Katlean said to the Indian doctor, "You sit down in that corner and ask the Great Spirit to be with us." And he did what his commander said.

Pretty soon the Russians saw the crows and the sea gulls come and begin to eat the dried salmon. The Russians on the boats said, "No more Indians. You can see the crows and sea gulls eating them now." But they didn't know that it was a trick. Katlean's niece stood behind him and said, "You put drums on each side of the door--one drum on this side and one drum on that side." "They're getting off the ship.

They didn't bring any guns, nothing to fight with. And you concentrate with all your heart to the Great Spirit." That's what Katlean said to the men. They watched through a hole in the fort as the men came up on the beach. They were holding each other's hands and they were singing a portage song. Katlean told his family, "Be brave, now is the time to be brave. You're going to fight for your life. You're going to hold Sitka." When the Russians got almost up to the fort, they opened the gates of the fort, and started to beat the drums very loudly. They imitated the sound of the sea lion. They only had clubs and the soldiers turned around on the rock they were standing upon and didn't know what to do--no guns, nothing. They clubbed them. If a brother didn't kill the sailor, his sister behind him picked up a rock and hit him on the head. One little old man was running around. He had a lot of metals on his vest--all kinds of metals. Katlean said, "Don't kill him, he looks pitiful. He didn't know that he was the commander of the eight ships. That's why he had a lot of metals. That was a mistake he made. Katlean said that they won their victory by the Great Spirit. And they were so happy. Nobody came around to bury the dead sailors and that place began to smell. So the Indians went and cross the mountains to get away from the smell of the Russians because they were all killed by Indian River.

So they packed up. Some people carried food; some people carried the things they needed. They crossed Cross Mountain. A little baby cried so Katlean gave the command to kill it, "because the Russians might find us on account of her crying." They didn't know they had won the war and they had to kill the babies. Only one baby was spared, the great grandmother of George Bartlett. This lady didn't kill her baby. She put it under a log and covered it up, when she cried she hid it. She told the people, "Go and leave me and I will follow you folks." Then they went. The baby started crying and she took the baby out of hiding and put it on her back and followed the people. And that way they crossed the mountain. They hid up in the mountains, away up the river.

Pretty soon they sent one man down the river. He was sneaking around. He saw a lot of Russians. They tore the fort apart. He wondered what they were going to do with the logs. He met this man. He said, "What are you doing here?" He said, "I have come down to see the Russians--to see if they're around here." And this interpreter told him, "Did you know that you won the war?" "Did we!" "Yes! you won the war, didn't you see the flags on the eight ships at half mast? Two ships will go back to Russia. The little man that was running around excited--you didn't kill him." "He looked too pitiful." "He was the commander of the eight ships--like your commander, who commands you folks around. Where's the rest of the Indians?" "They are hiding up there. We killed a lot of little babies because they were crying. We were afraid the Russians might follow us."

"There's no more Russians. Just the remaining ones in there. They're going to build a town here. You see the logs. They're going to build tall cabins and two ships are going to go back to Russia. They want me to go back but I don't want to go back." That's what the man told him.

After he got through talking he went back to the group that was hiding. "You come down to where they are building a log cabin and they won't do anything to you. You won the war. That means the white flag is up." The little white flag said, "We won the war." He was so surprised to have won the war with clubs. Katlean told the Indian doctor to sit down there and pray to the Great Spirit. "You don't do anything but pray." He did what Indian doctors could do.

The next day they went down the mountain and started to build up that building made out of logs. They used medium sized logs. They didn't split the logs in two but used the whole log. The Indians were paid a pint bottle of whiskey. The Indians learned drinking from the Russians. They made a big fence and put two big guns at the gate. "Why did you put the big guns at the gate?" "In case you make war again. It's for defense." That's why they put the two guns at the gate.

By June 1805 Baronof's ambition to rebuild a settlement at Sitka was realized. New Archangel, as it was named, consisted of eight buildings, fifteen "kitchen gardens," and several livestock: four cows, two calves, three bulls, three goats, a ewe, a ram, many swine, and fowl (Lisiansky 1814:218). In July 1805 the Sitka chief of the Eagle Clan approached the Russian settlement and renewed their friendly ties with them. The chief reminded Baronof that he had remained neutral in the previous Sitka battles and explained that he had spent time in Chilkat country during the war. Later in the same month Katlean, head of the Frog Clan and leader of the opposition Frog Clan, sued for peace. Katlean was presented with a blue cloak trimmed with ermine and some tobacco (Lisiansky 1814:230).

The Sitka Tlingit experienced more frequent and prolonged contact with the Russians than other Tlingit communities. Therefore, the nature of their contacts with the Russians, the subsequent cultural changes resulting from that contact, and the toleration policy tacitly extended to the Russians placed the Sitka Tlingit in a better position to cope with European innovations. The peace established in 1805, though often tenuous, was enduring. By in large, the Tlingit tolerated their presence, benefited from their trade, and remained free from their jurisdiction (Gsovski 1940:4).

The first test of the newly established peace came in 1806 when four hundred large war canoes containing over two thousand warriors landed in Sitka under the pretext of fishing for herring. The antecedents of this confederated village military maneuver were undoubtedly rooted in the 1802 Angoon conference when it was decided to drive the Russians out of their territory (Krause 1956:37). The mood of the Tlingit rendezvous was exhibited in daily deeds of violence culminating in the capture and annihilation of an Aleut fishing party actively engaged in the exploitation of Tlingit food resources without proper Tlingit compensation. Historical sources indicated that since the Russians lacked sufficient military forces to either attack the Tlingit or to sustain a seige, the Russian commander Kuskof "resolved to try the effect of peaceful measures" (Bancroft 1960:463). Some of the more influential and powerful Tlingit chiefs were invited to the Russian fort where they were "feasted," "flattered," infatuated by "rum" and presented with numerous gifts. In a letter to Baronof, Kuskof credited a Tlingit girl's assistance in sowing discord among the Tlingit leaders (Bancroft 1960:463). Krause reported that hostilities with the Russians flared up again in 1809, 1813, 1818, and 1855 (Krause 1956:37, 224; Roquefeuil 1823:74). Petrov (1878:30) contended that "no cordial intercourse was ever established" between the Tlingit and the Russians and that their business was always conducted in a "cautious manner, highly suggestive of a state of seige."

The Russian commander inquired from the Sitka Eagle Clan how he might induce the exile Frog Clan to return to Sitka. He was informed that this could be accomplished. By holding a Native peace ceremony and with the exchange of many expensive gifts he could settle the hostilities and motivate the Frog Clan to return to their territory. Baronof agreed to the arrangements. During the peace settlement an elder explained that, the Russian leader was seated on a sword resting upon a large wooden bowl while a peace design was

painted on his face. About 1822 the Frog Clan resettled adjacent to the Russian colony separated by a strong wooden fence including sentinels and cannons.

In Roquefeuil's (1823:81) description of his trade with the Chatham Straits Tlingit, he explained that the principle items of trade desired were guns, ammunition and blankets; other articles included axes, knives, files, mirrors, glass beads, lines, and woolen goods. Bonus items included: rice, molasses, and liquor. Wealthy Sitkans, by this time, were using European tableware such as dishes, plates, and basins; the poor continued to use wooden basins and wooden or wild sheep horn spoons of their own making (Lisiansky (1814:239).

In 1834 a second plague broke out among the Tlingit people. Whereas a paucity of historical data surrounds the smallpox epidemic of 1775, the epidemic of 1834-1840 included some statistical information. Smallpox reportedly broke out among the southern Tlingit and was carried from village to village by Tlingit traders. It was estimated that at least four thousand individuals perished in this epidemic. For instance, in one Tongass settlement 250 individuals died from smallpox out of a total population of nine hundred, one-half of the population of Sitka succumbed, and a large portion of the Angoon population was decimated. It has been estimated that approximately 40 percent of the population was wiped out from the dreaded disease (Bancroft 1960:560-561; de Laguna 1972:177).

The ineffectiveness of Indian doctors to cure the victims of smallpox undermined the people's confidence in them. In contrast vaccinations proved to be very effective. Bancroft described one such confrontation in which a fire had been started for a medical doctor's execution, at the suggestion of an Indian doctor, in an attempt to stay the plague. The medical doctor appealed to the local people, by revealing the mark of his vaccination on his arm, and challenging those who had visited in Sitka to recall a single incident in which a Russian or creole had died of the disease. The medical doctor won his case for

vaccination. Many of the youth of the day were vaccinated, and those that received the immunization were spared in the 1862 smallpox epidemic that again raged in Southeastern Alaska. Veniaminof interpreted the effectiveness of the medical doctor's ability to deal with the smallpox epidemic as a weakening of the public's confidence in the Indian doctor and "the turning point in their spiritual development" (Bancroft 1960:561; de Laguna 1972:177; Krause 1956:224).

Veniaminof, a Russian priest, was transferred to Sitka in 1841. There he began a vigorous program to educate and convert the Tlingit. Following the smallpox epidemic a gradual change in their attitude toward Russians became evidenced when 104 Tlingit including two Indian doctors were baptized in 1843. The following year Veniaminof began the education of Tlingit youth in Christian principles. Other priests in the area followed suit and thus a general program in religious education, reading, and writing was begun. One five-year religious instructional program by a zealous churchman climaxed in the baptism of 150 children. By 1849 a church was erected for the purpose of conducting the worship service in the Native language. Indeed, the overall depth of Tlingit commitment to Christianity during this period has been questioned (de Laguna 1972:177; Krause 1956:224).

Meanwhile the British had been poaching furs in Russian America. Fearing a Hudson Bay Company control of the fur trade on the Stikine River, the Russians hastily established a fort in 1833, "Dionysius Redoubt," at the mouth of the river. After several years of negotiations with the Russians, the British obtained a lease to the area in exchange for two thousand annual land otter pelts and special rates on supplies to Russian American colonies. In 1840 the Hudson Bay Company constructed a fort at Wrangell near the mouth of the Stikine River and another fort at the mouth of the Taku River. The Taku River fort was abandoned in 1843 (Bancroft 1960:555-557).

Almost as soon as Fort Wrangell was completed hostilities erupted with some local Tlingit who attempted to scale the stockade in 1840 in protest to the presence of the British. The next year the fort's fresh water aqueduct was destroyed and war was narrowly averted only because the British seized one of the local chiefs and held him as a hostage. The following year, 1842, two thousand Natives assembled near the fort and undoubtedly could have easily overpowered the fort had not two armed vessels arrived under the command of Sir George Simpson (Bancroft 1960:558). In 1855 the Sitka Tlingit almost succeeded in destroying the Russian fort there, and may have accomplished the feat if they had possessed some cannons (Bancroft 1960:575).

Over a century of fur trading precipitated a fundamental change in the Tlingit economic way of life. By 1820 the Americans and Englishmen had so saturated the Tlingit with firearms in exchange for sea otter skins that it almost brought about the extinction of the sea otter, it caused the Tlingit to be totally dependent upon guns for hunting, and it replaced the old weapons in the surrounding area (Krause 1956:39-40). Peratrovich (1959:134) suggested that the acquisition of guns and wealth from the fur trade caused the chiefs to become more "predatory and warlike." Slave raids became intensified and the number of slaves increased. After the depletion of the sea otter, the skins of land animals became increasingly valuable. The steel trap and the trapping line fostered further changes in the basic mode of existence. Whereas the community household was the former basic unit of the economic system, trapping favored the nuclear family as the basic economic unit. A man and his immediate family lived in the area of their trapline and spent the winter tending the traps. The economic benefits from trapping diminished the importance of the collective activities of fishing and hunting. Consequently, the nuclear family replaced the community household as the unit of production (Oberg 1937:56). Oswalt (1966:329)

notes that by the turn of the century, this shift in economic focus had culminated in the construction of nuclear family dwellings.

Gsovski (1940:3-5) mentioned that two paramount features of Russian influence in Southeastern Alaska were: (1) the establishment of an administrative trading post at Sitka and (2) the distinction they made between the dependent and independent tribes. Through the influence of the Russian settlement at Sitka, many changes were initiated in the Tlingit culture (as previously mentioned). However, at no time could the Russian presence be interpreted as a conquest or subjugation of the Tlingit. Indeed, the Third Russian Charter of 1844 clearly indicated that the independent tribes could not "enjoy the protection of the colonial authorities" without proper respect and then only when the colonial administrators considered it to be consistent with their purposes. Furthermore the Russians defined their relationship in terms of "exchange, by mutual consent, of European wares for furs and native products" (Gsovski 1940:5). Drucker (1958:8) asserted that the idea of Russian control of the Tlingit was "purely mythical."

Most of the early European traders described the Tlingit in terms of behaving as wild savages who could not be trusted and who killed out of some innate urge (Lisiansky 1814; Litke 1834; Roquefeuil 1923). Jones (1914:114-115) took exception to their descriptions:

Their fights with the Russians were not without justification. They were oppressed, insulted, maltreated and debauched by these foreigners. They were fairly driven to avenge the wrongs which these ingrates had inflicted upon them. They were peaceably inclined and showed themselves friendly toward the intruders until they saw with what a set of cruel, avaricious and immoral adventures they had to deal. Then they showed that they did not lack the spirit to avenge their wrongs and defend themselves. As their Caucasian enemies had superior weapons of warfare, in order to gain an advantage they had to resort to strategy and surprise.

Although the Russian regime in Alaska lasted for 126 years, its influence and legacy upon the area was negligible. In Southeastern Alaska, Russian

cultural contributions included: a few Slavic terms, an infrequently attended Russian Orthodox Church, trade items, and minor changes in social customs. Russian land holdings were limited to a fortified settlement in Sitka. However, indirectly, the fur trade eventually culminated in the disappearance of a portion of their economic base and contributed to the termination of communal households. After the Crimean War developed, Russia became fearful that her colony in the New World might pass into the hands of the British and since the Russian-American Trading Company was heavily in debt, they decided to sell Alaska to America and liquidate the company without loss. On March 30, 1867 in a treaty of concession, Alaska was purchased by the United States (Gruening 1954:23).

II. The Period of White Encroachment 1867-1912

On October 18, 1867 the United States officially assumed political control of Alaska and signaled the event by the ceremonial raising of the American flag in Sitka amid the firing of cannons. Two hundred soldiers, marines, and sailors watched along with assembled Russian officials and many confused Tlingit. Russia had completed the marketing of a large portion of land they never owned, the United States had accepted the political controls of an area it refused to adequately administrate for several decades, and the Tlingit had witnessed the sale of their land without their prior knowledge (Gruening 1954:25).

Political Domination

Following the purchase of Alaska, the only vestige of government was the military fort at Sitka and the creation of a customs district by an act of Congress in 1868. The customs official had neither the personnel to patrol the 26,000 miles of coastline nor the authority to prosecute. During the first seventeen years of American control of Alaska, Congress failed to pass any legislation

or to establish any measure of law and civil government. From 1867 to 1877 the military post at Sitka exhibited an administrative record marked by drunkenness, immorality, lawlessness, and a menace to local residents (Bancroft 1960: 607). Sitka's first customs director complained that "the conduct of certain military personnel had been bad and demoralizing in the extreme" (Miller 1967:173-174). The director mentioned that he was often called upon at night to protect local residents from the malice of soldiers. Within six months of the arrival of the soldiers, the Indian village was infested with venereal diseases. Sitka Tlingit often saw drunk soldiers running loose, only to find themselves in the guardhouse when they were in a similar condition--a double standard prevailed.

The arrogance and debauchery displayed by many of the military personnel resulted in a series of hostilities and conflicts between white and Native peoples. Two years following the gun salute signifying the transfer of Alaska from Russia to the United States, several Tlingit villages became the target of American cannon fire. One such incident developed when a drunken post commander at Sitka failed to rescind an order concerning a restriction on the movement of local Natives. Consequently, two American soldiers mistakenly fired upon a group of Tlingit intending to gather firewood. Two Tlingit were killed: one man from Kake and the other from the Chilkat area. According to the Tlingit custom of blood revenge, two whites should have been put to death or a blood-payment made. Relatives of the deceased Kake man demanded an indemnity payment from the commandant but were refused. Two gold prospectors working along the shores of Chatham Straits were killed to erase the stigma placed upon the relatives at the killing of their kinsman at the hands of the army.

In retaliation for the deaths of the two prospectors, Captain Meade of the U.S.S. Saginaw was dispatched to punish the guilty Kake residents. At the sight of the naval vessel, the Tlingit fled to the forest. The Saginaw promptly

destroyed the sixteen community houses at Old Kake Village and proceeded to demolish Old Toms Village five miles to the south as well as another (unnamed) village (Andrews 1947:136; Miller 1967:178). Their canoes and subsistence equipment were also devastated. When the local residents returned to take stock of their predicament they were appalled. Their situation was hopeless. Without canoes and equipment to secure food, they would be unable to sustain themselves while they rebuilt their community houses. Their only recourse was to abandon their villages and migrate to other communities.

Until the destruction of the Kake area villages in 1869, the Tlingit had exercised local autonomy within their various communities. The Russians had posed no menacing threat largely due to their interest in trade and the Tlingit toleration of their presence due to the commercial benefits derived from their trading post. The systematic annihilation of the several Kuiu villages and supplies by the military posed a real threat to all villages and demonstrated the vulnerability of all communities to naval attacks (Drucker 1965:207-208).

Similar incidents occurred in other Tlingit villages where trifling situations were permitted by the military to erupt into serious confrontations. In each situation local Tlingit law included provisions for immediate settlement with the wronged people and thus more serious hostilities could have been avoided. Abundant testimony attested to the peaceful character of the Wrangell Tlingit and their cordial relationships with whites. However, the military sufficiently bungled a minor situation in 1869 until bloodshed had occurred on both sides and the community houses at Wrangell had been bombarded (Bancroft 1960:613-606). A tenuous peace ensued but the memory left many a Native embittered. In 1881 a naval vessel demonstrated its awesome power to the Yakutat Tlingit by blowing up some trees near their town as a warning against insurrection (de Laguna 1972:186). The following year Angoon was destroyed. A handful

of canoes that survived the raid was used continuously to secure food. The residents relied heavily upon the food derived from the tidelands to sustain themselves the following winter.

In 1877 the troops at Sitka were ordered to Idaho to assist the army in the Nez Perce "uprising." Their Alaska departure caused considerable consternation among the whites living in Sitka and Wrangell due to the rapidly deteriorating relations with the Tlingit. After repeated appeals to governmental agencies the U.S.S. Jamestown, under the leadership of Commander L. A. Beardslee, was dispatched in 1879 to become the first of several successive naval officers "to grapple--without legal authority--with Alaska problems" (Gruening 1954:40). Beardslee was successful in initiating a police program that included the appointment of Indian leaders to responsible positions of leadership. In this manner he gained their "confidence and friendship" (Gruening 1954:42). The "Naval Rule" replaced the military authority in 1877 and lasted until approximately 1897 (Andrews 1947:152). After reviewing several documents, Bancroft (1960:723) concluded that when the military occupation terminated in Alaska, Indian disturbances were rare. In almost every instance of conflict the situation was "provoked by the misconduct of the white population."

A Southeastern Alaska Convention, with representatives from Juneau, Killisnoo, Klawock, Sitka, and Wrangell met on August 16, 1881 to draft a memorial to the President and Congress. Mottrom D. Ball, newly elected deputy collector of customs conveyed the convention's memorial to Washington, D.C. They implored the U.S. Congress to establish a civil government in Alaska so that property might be legally owned and purchased; that life and property would be protected; and that a representative body could properly enact public concerns and judges to adjudicate the laws. For the next twenty-five years similar communiques sought to bring those "inalienable American

rights" to the people living in Alaska. Twenty-nine years after the Southeastern Convention, Congress passed a bill granting Alaskans the authority to organize a territorial government. The failure of Congress to act upon any land laws hindered the establishment of town sites. The general attitude of Congress toward Alaska may be inferred from the 1870 census in which Alaska was completely omitted or in the 1880 census when Petroff was commissioned as the lone census taker for the whole of Alaska (Gruening 1954:47-64).

A limited form of civil government emerged in Alaska from the Organic Act of 1883 passed by Congress that provided for a civil and judicial district to be established at Sitka. A governor was appointed to administrate the area and a district court was created to handle civil and criminal cases. The duties of the court clerk included the recording of "deeds, mortgage certificates of mining claims, and contracts relating to real estate, and also to be the registrar of wills" (Bancroft 1960:719). United States marshalls and commissioners were also appointed. Alaska was designated as a land district. Two officials were appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to serve on a commission with the governor "to examine into and report upon the condition of the Indians residing in said territory, what lands, if any, should be reserved for their use, what provisions shall be made for their education, what rights of occupation by settlers should be recognized" (Bancroft 1960:721). Three vital questions raised in regard to the aboriginal population pertaining to their land, their education, and their rights in relationship to settlers were given nebulous treatment in the act. The uncertainty contained in the Congressional Order to the Secretary of the Interior questioning, for example, if any "lands should be reserved for their use" clouded the Native civil and property rights for scores of years. For the most part, the fact that the laws of Oregon applied to Alaska so far as applicable further undercut the legal claims of Natives (Bancroft 1960:720). The ramifications of these

ambiguities will be dealt with in later portions of this chapter.

In 1905 Alaska obtained the right to send a delegate to Congress to represent the Alaskan people in other than voting rights. Finally in 1912, Alaska established a territorial legislative assembly and held its first session at Juneau the following year.

Economic Exploitation

Decades of fur trade resulted in the near extinction of the sea otter and seriously depleted the supply of many other sea mammals. As the land mammal resources in furs began to wane, interest and economic conditions contributed to the development of the salmon industry. The salmon industry moved northward into Alaska after they had virtually destroyed the salmon runs in the Sacramento and Columbia Rivers. In 1878 canneries were established at Klawock and Sitka. The number of canneries increased until a peak of eighty-two was reached in 1920. At first destructive barricades and other devices were used to trap fish; these contributed to the destruction of future fish runs for present gains. By 1889 salmon equipment was restricted to the use of gill nets, seines, traps, and troll lines.

Canneries and fish traps were a persistent nemesis to the Tlingit. Fish traps accounted for a considerable portion of the annual take and posed a threat to future runs. For example, during the 1925-1934 decade almost 70 percent of all salmon caught were derived from fish traps (Rogers 1960:101). Canneries often located themselves along the better fishing streams and "simply took possession on the basis of squatter's claims" (Miller 1967:206-207). Since Congress had failed to provide any land regulations, neither Natives nor whites could legally claim title to land. By virtue of their economic power, canneries simply helped themselves to the lion's share of the fish runs. Tlingit remained upon their former lands but they lost control of much of their original resources.

Deprived of much of their former livelihood, the Indians were forced to work for the canneries and then secure their winter supply of fish when the canneries closed. The coming of the canneries was one of the most strategic factors that contributed to the break with the seasonal subsistence pattern and a new commitment to the wage economy of the white man. One writer asserted that commercial fishing was one of the most potent factors that enticed the Indian away from his past (Miller 1967:193).

Another significant factor that contributed to changes in Tlingit culture was the repeated gold discoveries in Alaska from 1872 to 1897. By 1879 prospectors swarmed into Wrangell and turned the former Tlingit settlement into a boom town in which drinking, gambling, and prostitution were rife. Each spring an estimated four thousand prospectors traveled up the Stikine River in search of gold and returned in the autumn with average per capita earnings of fifteen hundred dollars. Many Wrangell Tlingit worked for whites transporting men, equipment, and supplies to the mines. An Auke Tlingit chief discovered gold near Juneau in 1880. The opportunities of the thriving community of Juneau after gold was discovered offered many opportunities for labor and attracted many Tlingit to settle there. Commander Beardslee interceded with a Chilkat chief to permit the passage of miners through their territory to reach the gold fields of the interior. The prospectors employed the Chilkat Tlingit to pack loads over the steep mountain passes (Andrews 1947:157; Miller 1967:208).

With the coming of the canneries, prospectors, and settlers, white contacts became more intimate and numerous. Many Tlingit left their communities to become wage laborers and to take up permanent residence in the new towns. The prolific tourist trade that commenced with the establishment of steamship lines also provided an almost inexhaustible market for handicraft: carvings, baskets, and beading (Oberg 1937:4; Miller 1967:193). During the

nineteenth century, self-sufficient community households disintegrated into nuclear family dwellings that were largely dependent upon trading posts for their subsistence goods. Ackerman (1968:42) observes that around 1800 A.D. the ratio of Native goods to foreign goods was nine to one but that by 1890 the reverse had become true--foreign goods outnumbered Native produced goods nine to one. Thus by the turn of the century, the Tlingit were rapidly becoming absorbed into the general economic web of American life. Emmons explained that the long contact with whites had:

so changed their manner of life that our system of living, food and clothing have become acceptable to their well-being. . . . They have passed through that most trying period of contact, the initial stage . . . wholly through their own exertions and industry, without any material assistance from the General Government; [they] have established themselves as an independent, self-supporting population, fully capable of rendering such labor as the conditions of the country demand (Miller 1967: 212).

Social Disruptions

Two new economic components that contributed directly to the decline of communal patterns of subsistence and living arrangements were the trapline and wage labor. The new economic opportunities favored the individualization of labor and the independence of the nuclear family. According to Keithahn (1946: 46), the new influx of wealth contributed to greater social mobility and the rise of a "middle class." The new sources of wealth undoubtedly intensified their emphasis placed upon rank. Stanley (1958:66) has suggested that these new elements increased the pressures upon the upper class to consolidate their positions of privilege and increased their concern with the diagnostics of status such as: names, crests, and prerogatives.

The accentuated concern with wealth and rank seemed to peak about the time of the early American period of white contact. During most of the nineteenth century the Tlingits' astute trading abilities acquired for themselves

quantities of the weapons, tools, and wealth (Miller 1967:260-261). Shortly after 1867 increased white pressures began to converge upon their society: the abolition of slavery, the gradual erosion of clan autonomy, the monopolization of the fish resources by the canneries, wage economy, and the influx of settlers who looked with disfavor on Native social customs. Krause (1956:46-47) reported that the Tlingit permitted their customs to gradually fall into disuse and increasingly replaced them with white customs. He observed that the Tlingit did not seek to escape from contacts with whites. Indeed they sought to foster the burgeoning economic opportunities of easy gain by relocating near salmon canneries, trading posts, and mining communities (Krause 1956:231).

As a result of these influences, many Tlingit neglected to live up to the rigors of the old "tribal laws" and chose wives from lower class women. Shotridge (1919:45) stated that "the more conservative groups gave up their original houses and went to reside with those who were in accord with their beliefs." Hence a polarization between liberals and conservatives began to emerge. By the turn of the century Tlingit culture had been so transformed that one noted anthropologist predicted that some of the museum collections could never again be duplicated on account of the change in their habits of life (Miller 1967:249). Gunther (1972:181) observed that the Tlingit were the "first Northwest Coast people to live with foreign settlers" without becoming radically changed by them. Their size, unity, and competitiveness insured their survival into the latter part of the nineteenth century. The growing numbers of settlers, the mounting socioeconomic pressures, and the ambiguity of the legal status of Tlingit only contributed to the growing restlessness. Emmons cogently depicted the Tlingit predicament as follows:

He is not recognized as an Indian for he has no reservation of land nor receives any gratuity from the Government; however intelligent and educated he may be he is denied citizenship, so he can

neither acquire land, locate mineral claims, nor take out a license as master, pilot or engineer of his own craft (Miller 1967:211).

The Tlingit became acquainted with alcoholic beverages through their contacts with Europeans. Later alcohol became the "most desirable item of trade" (Krause 1956:108). Although Russian and American authorities eventually prohibited its sale, a thriving business in bootlegging developed. The Tlingit first learned to distill their own homemade brew, known as "hooch," at Killisnoo and soon most villages became engaged in the business of manufacturing alcoholic beverages for local consumption and for trade. Alcohol was considered to be the Chilkat's "costliest" item of trade. It was reported that a "still" could be found in almost every home in Kluckwan (Krause 1956:108). During most of the American military occupation, home distilleries were operating "full blast" (Bancroft 1960:632).

The effects of the increasing consumption of alcohol among the Tlingit were pernicious. One writer blamed alcohol for causing "more crimes, cruelty, brutality and misery among the natives . . . than all other things put together" (Jones 1914:217-218). It is clear from published accounts and statements of informants that some Tlingit have died in drunken brawls, overdrinking, drinking poisonous batches of homemade brew, and accidents related to drinking--especially drownings. One Tlingit elder likened alcohol to a giant who was incessantly and relentlessly hunting down and destroying one by one the members of his clan until only a handful have survived.

Another disorganizing effect of white culture upon the Tlingit was the erosion of public trust. Theft was rare among the former Tlingit culture. Before white influence houses were never locked, wood stacked in the woods was seldom stolen, gardens planted miles from home were not plundered, fishing canoes or boats along with supplies and equipment were left unguarded along the beach or dock without loss of possessions, and coveted items placed

upon graves were unmolested. Jones (1914:217-218) charged that much of the thievery attributed to the Tlingit rightly belonged to "white rascals." In a conversation with Vanderbilt, the postmaster of Wrangell in 1878, it was reported that the Indians of Wrangell had earned over \$70,000 during the summer season transporting supplies to the mines. The postmaster stated that not a single pound of merchandise has ever been reported damaged or stolen. The merchandise included such items as: liquor, tobacco, cutlery, and other items that were first loaded into canoes and then packed on their backs (Petroff 1878:22).

Educational Pressures

When the American government assumed political control of Alaska, education largely remained voluntary and under the influence of the few Russian churches. Albeit the church's influence was less restrictive and more democratic after 1867. A Tlingit elder mentioned that while the Russians were in charge of the fort at Sitka, Indians "weren't allowed inside" and therefore "hated the Russians . . . because they kept them out of town. . . . Some of them joined the Russian church and were baptized by the Russian people." After the Americans purchased Alaska they began the practice of having godfathers and godmothers. "I guess the church people got ashamed" in regard to the way they had treated the Natives before the Americans assumed control.

In a 1929 reprinted article from the Sitka paper, Verstovian, an editor attempted to explain the attitude of the Tlingit toward Americans. The writer described the first ten years of American occupation as a period of "no government" in which neglect and debauchery were evidenced. The soldiers preyed upon the people, the traders supplied liquor, and no organizations such as schools, missions, or beneficent institutions attempted to counteract the soldier's influences. Until 1877 there existed a situation almost totally neglected by state, church, and schools (The Alaska Fisherman 1929:Vol. 6, No. 4).

Three Wrangell chiefs, who had been victimized in the 1869 military bombardment of Wrangell, requested the presence of schools and churches in 1877. Philip McKay, a Tsimshian from Fort Simpson, with the help of seven other Indians, established the first mission in Tlingit territory at Wrangell.

By 1880 mission schools were established at Wrangell (enrollment of sixty), Sitka (one hundred thirty in attendance), Hoonah (seventy enrolled), and Haines (seventy-five students) (Petrov 1882:31). Young (1915:91) described his first sermon among the Chilkat in 1879. It seems that he preached from early morning until midnight with occasional speeches interspersed by the noted naturalist John Muir. The people responded by saying, "More, more, tell us more . . . it is a good talk; we never heard this story before . . . Tell us more of the Man from Heaven who died for us." Runners were reportedly dispatched to other villages along the Chilkat and Chilkoot Rivers. This incident culminated in the establishment of missions at Haines and Klukwan.

Public schools were started under the direction of Sheldon Jackson, the administrator of Alaskan education, at Angoon, Haines, Howkan, Klawock, Sitka, and Wrangell (Gruening 1954:61). These meagerly financed government schools offered the basic elements of education and the rudiments of business. However the one educational institution that Southeastern Alaska respected above all others for its standards of excellence was the Sitka Industrial and Training School founded in 1878 and eventually evolved into Sheldon Jackson School. At the time Krause (1956:230) wrote concerning the good influence of the Christian endeavor as being largely nullified by the wanton behavior of lawless whites, it was impossible to predict the extent to which Sheldon Jackson School would influence the lives of the people of Southeastern Alaska. Miller (1967:216) located the cutting edge of the school's influence as being the "quality" of education offered and the "hope" it inspired within the students. The

Sitka Training School brought students, who were eager to learn, into contact with successful models of white culture who believed in the abilities of the Indian and who endeavored to develop the students' intellectual and technical skills to the point where they could favorably compete and succeed in the new economy. Many of the students who attended Sitka Training School were "second effort students." Some were forced to run away from home to attend, others traveled great distances, but most attended because they believed they would receive a better education than if they attended a more convenient school nearer their home.

Several Tlingit have indicated that perhaps the most crucial factor in changing their mode of life was compulsory public school attendance. No longer could the Tlingit migrate to their usual and accustomed autumn fishing and gathering sites. To do so invoked punishment from the local authorities. Consequently, scattered settlements were forced to nucleate around educational institutions. Sheldon Jackson described one method of enforcing compulsory school attendance:

In February 1881 Captain Glass established a rule making attendance at the dayschool compulsory. Forcing the natives to cleanse, drain, whitewash, and number the dwellings in their village, he took an accurate census of the inmates. He then caused a tin label to be tied around the neck of each child, on which were two numbers, one of the house where he lived, and the other of the child. If a pupil was found on the streets during school hours, the numbers on his tag were reported to the teacher by a native policeman, appointed for the purpose; and unless his absence was satisfactorily explained the parent, or chief Indian of that house, was fined. In a few weeks the attendance ran up to 250 (Bancroft 1960:727).

Education was perceived by Indians and educators to be one of the most effective vehicles for survival; it also contained elements of cultural extinction. Missionary educators, according to Shotridge (1919:56), believed that it was necessary to eliminate the Tlingit language in order to be acculturated and succeed in white culture. Rather than teach the students to be bilingual or to use

either Tlingit or English as a second language, the mission schools rejected the Tlingit language as a hindrance to acculturation and, therefore, sought to restrict its use. Olson (1967:v) described the negative side of the missionary's message as a rejection of potlatches, drinking, shamanism, and "everything heathen."

Missionary educators (in spite of their efforts to revamp many elements in Tlingit culture) respected the Indians, gave them the necessary skills to succeed in white culture, and instructed them in white politics. It was hardly a coincidence that the leaders of the Alaska Native Brotherhood were graduates of Sheldon Jackson School. A 1925 Grand Camp resolution expressed the ANB's indebtedness to Sheldon Jackson School at Sitka crediting the institution for "most of the progress of the Natives of Southeastern Alaska" (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 3, No. 1). The ANB became the defenders of Tlingit rights and the vehicle for the political arm of Alaska Natives. Almost without exception the first generation of ANB leaders were accepted and trained by missionaries (Drucker 1958:17; Miller 1967:222-223).

A Tlingit Account of the Early American Influence

One day they saw a lot of ships coming in--lots of them. "Who's sailing them?" asked the Indians. The Indians got scared. They asked the interpreter, "Why are those ships coming?" He said, "The Russians sold Alaska to the American people. The American President bought your country." They were so surprised. "Why did Russia sell our country? Was it their country?" "The Russian people discovered you folks and Alaska." "Oh! They're going to make us slaves now." The interpreter said, "No, they won't make slaves out of you because it is against the American law to make somebody a slave. Don't be afraid. They're a different kind of a people. They're going to teach you the American way."

Katlean told his people, "We're going to fight again. We've got guns now. We're going to fight them."

The ships kept coming in one after another and unloaded lumber, chairs, food, merchandise, and everything. Then the interpreter came to the village and asked, "Do you want to work?" "What kind of work?" asked the Indians. "You unload the ships. They're going to pay you with money." "What is money?" "Well, money is what

you have to use to buy things with from the store. It is good for your clothing, your shoes, and everything. It's silver dollars and they will pay you." All the Indians agreed, "Alright we will go and help the American people." They unloaded the ships.

When the American people came off the ship they sang "Yankee Doodle." I don't know why they sang it. The American people were dancing in the streets. They danced the white people dance and the music was playing. The Indians were so surprised at the way they danced.

When the Indians came home they paid them off for working. The Indians were so surprised. It was the first time they had seen money--paper money and silver money. "They are good people. They're not going to make slaves out of us," said the Indians. They used the lumber to build a drug store, Presbyterian Church, and other buildings. People worked night and day putting up houses.

They saw the bugle blow when the people got ashore. They scattered around underneath the flag. They took the Russian's flag down and put up the American flag on Castle Rock. "It was wonderful," they said. They called the flag a land mark.

The women sat up night and day making moccasins to sell to the tourists. The men made wooden dishes, wooden spoons, wooden forks, totem poles, and all kinds of things. The people were very thankful that the American people had bought Alaska. The people hated the Russians and gave them a hard time. They sent many of our people to Siberia.

Pretty soon they built a big building. The interpreter told them, "You have to put your children in school." "What school?" "They're building it." The man who was soon to be the superintendent of the school came around and asked, "How many children do you have?" "Well, I have three." You will have to put the oldest boy in school so he can learn to talk English and learn our way of living." Oh, the Indians didn't like that. They said, "If they learn how to speak white man's tongue, they're going to be like white men. They're going to tell lies and cheat other people. Well, we don't want that. We taught them the Indian law to respect themselves and to behave so that other people will respect them."

The man said, "No, they're going to learn how to make things in the white man's way. There's going to be a school and each one of the children will be taught to speak English and to make things. You must not be afraid. Some white people, from back East, are going to take care of them." Then the Indians went out camping and took their children with them. When they came back the law took their canoes away and what they got. The judge stepped in and said, "You have to lose your canoes because you don't want to put your children in school and you can't go out camping because you teach them only in your way." It's nice to

know the people's way, but they had to put their children to school. And each child was taken care of by the Presbyterian Church Society. They took care of them--their clothing and their food was supplied by the Presbyterian Church.

Then pretty soon they told them, "You have to pay money"--because they knew they were making money from the American people in Sitka. "You have to collect money every Sunday and you have to come to church," that's what they told the Indians. "You have to come to church and learn to pray." The Indians said that they believed in a Great Spirit too. "If you don't believe in the Great Spirit it will cause your death." They said in Indian, "The wages of sin is death." They knew it before they saw the preacher. They believed in that. "If you don't behave yourself, the wages of sin is death." The Indians believed in that.

The Russians told the Americans you have to keep the fort or the Indians will get in and destroy you. They believed it. But it was their fault. My uncle had a son who went down to the store. It was on a Thursday when the Indians could go and trade for food. He leaned on the show case wondering what was in the case. He leaned so hard that the glass show case broke. The owner went and got a gun and shot the boy. Pretty soon the interpreter came and said, "Your son is killed." They said, "Why?" "He broke the glass show case where the tobacco was kept. He leaned on it and it broke. The owner got mad and shot the boy and he's dead." So he went down and said to the man who owned the store, "You will have to pay for my son's life. If you don't, we're going to burn you up. We're going to do like we did to the Russian people. I will give you until sun down to pay for his life." And the man paid for the boy's life. He paid all kinds of merchandise: blankets, shoes, and all kinds of clothing. He gave them to the father and the mother got what she wanted. That paid for the boy's life.

Then the Indians had a meeting. If he didn't do that they would have fought. All the ships were gone and it was a good chance to fight them. Katlean said, "No, the man paid for his life, we can't do that." So he stopped it. He was the boss of the whole village. What he said goes.

The American people said, "The Indians are good people. It's just that the Russians were no good." We'll tear down the fort and let the Indians come to town and buy what they want. So they tore down the fort that went from the mountain down to the water line. The interpreter came and told the Indians, "You can go to town anytime you want to." When I use to go picking berries, I saw the logs of the old wall laying on the ground. They welcomed the Indians, the Indian people never fought with the Americans, and the Indians were glad that the American people had purchased Alaska. They were very good--they were a different kind of people.

And pretty soon Governor Brady came to Alaska with his family--including three little boys. The Indians had old fashion buildings--

big community houses. Many people lived in them. One day the interpreter came to the village and called for Katlean, head of the Raven Clan. The Indians were saying, "I wonder what the interpreter is up to." The Indians were worried. The judge talked to him. He said, "Katlean is your name?" "Yes," he said. "You go the Presbyterian Church and they will give you a new name." And then he was baptized in the Presbyterian Church. They renamed him Mr. Bean. The judge had said, "After they give you a new name you come back here and we're going to talk to you--the governor and me." The judge had a scar on his face and the Indians gave him a name that referred to it.

One day some Indians came to town drunk! The army asked, "Where did the Indians get the whiskey?" They weren't allowed to buy whiskey because they weren't citizens. The captain told the soldiers, "You go and investigate the community houses." All the soldiers went to the peoples' village. They were making moonshine because the Russians had taught them to make it. The Russians didn't pay them money but told them how to make moonshine. They dumped the moonshine out. "You are not allowed to drink--to make moonshine," said the interpreter. "You are not American citizens. You have no business to make this stuff. It is against the law. It's like your Indian law that says you can't tell a lie; you can't steal. It's the same." So they went to every house and destroyed all the things that were used to make moonshine. A lot of people use to drink. They liked whiskey very much. It killed off a lot of my people. That's why there aren't so many native people in Alaska.

Then Mr. Bean was called. "What do you want to talk to me about?" he asked. The judge said, "We want to talk to you about your living. You will have to change your living--make a white man's house, put a stove in it." Mr. Bean said, "Where will we get the money?" "Mr. Brady's saw mill. You are going to work there and you are going to get paid. If you make moonshine again, you're going to go to jail. Do you see that house up there by the castle? That's the white man's jail. You will be punished by the white man's law." That's what he told them. And the Indians said, "Yes, we understand now. We're not going to make it." So they never made that stuff again. They were not allowed to buy anything that would make them intoxicated.

When Mr. Bean came from the judge, he called all of the Indians to a meeting in his house. People were anxious as to what he was going to say. He said, "We've got to change our living. We've got to build wood houses like the American people: stove pipe, bedroom, and chairs. We've got to learn how to sit on the chairs like an eagle. An eagle sits on top of a tree. Now that's the way we're going to live." That's what he told his people.

"How are we going to get the lumber?" "You work, you buy the lumber, and you make a community house but build it like the American people's houses. That's the order of the judge and the governor." They did what they were told. That's why you

see the white man's houses in Sitka and all over Alaska. They tore down their community houses with a fire in the middle and a hole in the roof. In the first house they built after the judge's order, they put a fire in the middle of the floor. The judge said, "You have to put a stove and bedroom in your house like the white man." So the Indians went and did according to what the white man said. They took the governor's and the judge's word when they talked to Mr. Bean and said that they had to change their way of living. And the American people looked into it and said, "It was the Russians who treated the Indians wrong and that's why they fought for their rights." The books in the library are not like what I have told you about the Russian period of our history. This story was told to me by my mother-in-law because she was a member of the Frog Clan and her grandmother was in the Russian War. So she knew it. I was born the year that the white man discovered the gold near Juneau. [Bancroft placed the date of this gold discovery in 1883 (1960:697) while Andrews credited the chief of the Auke Quan with discovering gold near Juneau in 1880 (1947:157).] (C. N. 1974: conversation)

III. The Era of the Alaska Native Brotherhood 1912-1935

Converging Pressures

Around the turn of the century, a significant and dramatic reversal occurred in the population ratio between the Natives and whites living in Alaska. In 1880 over 96 percent of the resident population of Alaska were Natives. By 1909 the Native population ratio of Alaska had dwindled to approximately 37 percent (Rogers 1960:198). Powerful economic organizations like the mining and salmon industries moved in and assumed control over land previously occupied and controlled by Native groups. The discovery of gold, the prodigious sea resources, and the adventure of a new frontier lured increasing numbers of whites to Alaska. The wealth and property acquired by the burgeoning white population accrued at the expense of the original inhabitants of the land.

The Native residents, however, sought to protect their interests and salvage a portion of Alaska for themselves. In 1899 the Taku Tlingit Chief Johnson delivered a message to a United States senate committee on behalf of many fellow chiefs and the organizations they represented. The essence of the

speech consisted of the following requests: (1) that Tlingit lands be protected from white encroachment, (2) that former lands taken by the whites be restored so that the local people could continue to subsist from the produce of the land, (3) that certain Tlingit lands be made into reservations to be kept in perpetuity for future generations, and (4) that equal rights be granted to Alaska Indians as those received by state Indians. In short, Chief Johnson appealed to Congress for their land, their economy, and for civil rights (Miller 1967:207-208).

The apathy of Congress spared the Tlingit from becoming wards of the government and their placement under the controls of BIA paternalism; it threw the Tlingit back upon their own resources and ingenuity. They developed their indigenous leadership and organized a political fraternity adapted to white political processes but geared to meet their own needs.

The ambiguity of the status of the Tlingit at the beginning of the twentieth century was almost intolerable:

He can acquire no title to anything: land, homestead, mineral claim, or any other property. . . . He is declared not a citizen of any country. Since he supports himself he is not a ward of any country. And yet the United States claims to have jurisdiction over him. It sues him and imprisons him, but it will not let him vote, denys any voice in making the laws by which he is governed or acquires title to property. In rights, he is treated as a foreigner, but in punishment as a citizen. If he has a house and land he cannot sell them and give title. Because of this anomalous position in which he finds himself, he has no incentive to acquire land and improve it, or to gold discoveries (Jones 1914:54).

Consequently, the Tlingit observed the privileges of whites and asked for equal rights under the law of the land: the same educational advantages, the same rights to hold property, the same rights to stake a mining claim, the same rights to vote, and the same protection.

In 1912, the territory of Alaska was formally organized. Caught between the increasing economic controls of a growing white population and the uncertainty of their political status, the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian

organized a Brotherhood, also in 1912, to mobilize their manpower and resources to protect their land and to seek equality of rights under the law. One Tlingit elder explained that the reason they formed the ANB was because the "Tlingit are proud people and didn't like to be pushed around."

Antecedents of the Brotherhood

Many young Tlingit, desiring to prepare themselves for the developing white dominated society, attended Sitka Training School. The school was rapidly acquiring an enviable reputation for its superior academic emphasis along with programs in homemaking and industrial arts. A concerted effort was made to prepare Natives to compete favorably in white culture. One Tlingit leader remarked, "We were just something to be exploited until the missionaries came along to help us." One promising Native leader attracted to the school was Peter Simpson, a converted Tsimshian sorcerer (Wellcome 1887:69). He had traveled to Sitka with the intention of enrolling in school to learn the laws of the white man to enhance his own opportunities and to assist Native people in their struggles with the increased influx of whites.

Those graduates of the Sitka Training School who were considered to be competent and serious in their attempts at becoming acculturated were given building sites by the mission. These sites were fifty feet by one hundred feet and were to be used for construction of a "cottage." Peter Simpson and six other couples located on the mission property near Indian River. While in Sitka, Simpson had married a member of the Frog Clan and immediately became related to all of the other people living in the cottages and in the Indian village.

Mrs. Brady, a missionary, organized the cottage women into a local missionary society. Mrs. Bartlett was designated as the first president of it. Mrs. Brady taught the cottage women how to raise money for the society, she assisted in the election of officers, and she helped to carry on business meetings

based upon parliamentary procedures. The purpose of the society seemed to be: (1) to provide instruction in Christian education and principles of Christian living, (2) to develop personal skills in homemaking, and (3) to raise funds for the general missionary program. In Kake, Klawock, and Hoonah similar organizations were founded and functioned as transitional institutions of change in which the local indigenous leadership received guidance and instruction until such time as they were ready to launch out on their own to determine and shape their own identity and goals. Missionary advisors were assisted by capable Indians like Mrs. Stuteen, Mrs. Tamaree, and others who worked in several Tlingit communities in the organization and training of workers to assist one another in becoming white Protestant Christians (Drucker 1958:18-21).

Their declaration of independence was imminent; the occasion that sparked the movement developed the night of a big celebration given by the Sitka cottage people at the completion of their social hall. Many people from the Indian village and some white people were in attendance at the party. The band played, the people danced, and refreshments were served. Mr. Gamble, a missionary who had worked late, noticed the activity and later reprimanded Simpson for dancing on mission property.

Simpson called a meeting of the cottage people and discussed the situation. Following a prolonged deliberation at several meetings the group decided to relocate the hall on Indian property, under Indian jurisdiction, in front of one of the community houses. A past Grant Camp officer stated that "the ANB was born in that cottage hall."

Being fishermen, the Tlingit traveled considerably and contacts among the communities were numerous. Undoubtedly, many individuals contributed to the organization of the ANB but Dr. Wilbur, a missionary doctor at the Sitka Training School was singled out for special recognition as "one of the men who

is directly responsible for the Alaska Native Brotherhood" along with Rev. Austin, George Beck, John Gamble, and William Kelly (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 5). Rev. McAfee met with six men in 1912 in the Presbyterian Church of Juneau "to discuss the vexatious problems which hindered their progress to higher citizenship." McAfee's advice to the group was "to organize into a society and through solidarity work to achieve the good for themselves, and the territory in general, which they desired. So was born the Alaska Native Brotherhood" (The Alaska Fisherman 1931: Vol. 8, No. 8). An elderly Tlingit mentioned that the "first group of graduates from Sitka Training School met at Douglas and formed the ANB." The roots of the ANB reach into the Douglas, Juneau, and Sitka communities. Drucker (1958:16) mentions Sitka as being the site of its origin. The first Grand Camp met at Juneau in 1913. For several years these three communities represented the hub of ANB activities. Frank Mercer is credited with suggesting the name.

One past Grand Camp official of the ANB referred to Simpson as the actual founder of the ANB, "He planted the seed." Simpson had said, "This is your land fight for it." He had suffered a bitter experience at the hands of the British when the Tsimshian were forced to flee from old Metlakatla to escape the political domination of the English. The memory of that incident had goaded him to seek an education at Sitka. Later it spurred him into a leadership role in the revitalization of the Tlingit culture. Simpson was the catalyst and Grand Camp President of the ANB for many years. In 1924 George Beck described Simpson as "the ideal presiding officer" of the Grand Camp Convention due to his "quiet masterful way of handling all delicate situations" (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 2, No. 2).

During one of the cottage meetings in which they were plotting their future course of action Simpson rose and said, "I'll tell you my story."

The reason why some of my family have moved to the United States was because when the British discovered us in Canada, they forced the people to pay taxes on their livestock, canoes, pots, buckets, and whatever they had in their homes. His auntie, who was one of the leaders had a lot of livestock so she had to pay a large tax on her things. "Where were they going to get the money to pay the taxes?" she asked. The British knew they didn't have any money but they could kill some of the animals and use them for food and furs.

The British put a post in the ground and jumped the claim on the Indian land. Then they said that they owned the land because the post said so. And his people were so surprised. Peter Simpson's auntie's husband, who was the head man, went to the British headquarters and asked, "Why did you put up the post?" "Well, we discovered your land and now we own it." "You can't do that! This is our country!" said the uncle. "We have lived here from generation to generation. We are the owners of the ground. We have a right to hold it. You will have to take that post out that says you claim the land. You didn't talk to us about it. You just took the land. You are going to cheat us and push us around. Now my wife and I can no longer work, we can't make money to pay our taxes."

"But you have to pay what you make," said the British. "That can't be done," the uncle said. They told her if she couldn't pay the taxes they would take the livestock. So they took her horses and all she owned. They took advantage of the Tsimshian. When the uncle left the camp and was heading towards the woods, the British soldiers shot him in the back when he wasn't looking because he had defended his rights.

The news came to the village that the uncle had been shot by the British. Then there was a great sadness among the people. They held a secret meeting and many of the people decided to move. They asked the United States government for permission to move to Annette Island. They felt that if they moved to American territory they would be free from the British. When they left Canada, one man stayed behind and set the buildings on fire after giving the people a two hour head start. William Duncan, Edward Marsden, Peter Simpson, and Peter Simpson's auntie were the leaders.

The British were looking all over for them. They said that if they ever found them, they would kill them all off. They never found them. The people traveled at night. As soon as the day began to break they went into the woods and hid their canoes. They didn't want to go back to Canada.

Peter Simpson said, "The white people are coming into your country like water just as the Englishmen came into the old Tsimshian village. The same thing is going to happen to you. They claim this; they claim that; they file claim for gold, copper,

and nickel mines; they claim everything. That's going to happen to you. That's why I would like to make something among the Indians so they will have a voice some day and help the young ones coming up. Our young people will have a hard time with the white people. That's why I would like to start a lodge and let all Alaska Natives belong to it, if you agree. "

They all agreed. The cottage people were related to Peter Simpson's wife that is why it was easy to organize (C.N. 1974: conversation).

Welcome's account of the relationship between the British and the Tsimshian corresponds to the Simpson story. Welcome (1887:376) charged that the Tsimshian were "robbed, denied justice, their rights bartered away by the British and that the Tsimshian were driven to seek refuge on our shores. " Welcome (1887:337) reported that the people unanimously resolved to escape the British persecution by migrating to Alaska but were denied the right to tear down and remove their buildings and, therefore, he warned his readers of possible bloodshed in the near future.

Moved by the Tsimshian experience and the realism of their own predicament, the Sitka Tlingit set out with a strong will to construct a Native center, even at the cost of personal deprivations and the loss of wages. Simpson contracted with Mr. Mills for the use of his saw mill and when the workers' food supply was depleted Mr. Mills agreed to give them credit until the fishing season. Simpson gave his personal pledge that if anything happened to one of the men he would assume that debt.

Another problem confronting the group pertained to a suitable location and the permission to use the site. Simpson and Willie Wells approached Katlean, head of the Frog Clan and the traditional head of Sitka, for the use of the beach in front of his community house. Katlean refused because the property belonged to his family. No amount of persuasion could change his mind. Facing defeat they realized that they had used the wrong approach. They prevailed upon George Bartlett, Katlean's nephew, to approach the aging leader.

George Bartlett said, "That's the custom of my people. He has a right to say no, but I'll do my best to talk to him." Bartlett went down and talked to his uncle, "You are old now. This ANB is going to help you. You can't stay young all of the time. They want the ground in front of the community house. I want you to give it. Natives from all over Alaska will belong to it. All the people belong to one class. There will no longer be a high and a low class. All will be able to marry."

And Katlean said, "I really made up my mind to refuse to let the house be built there until you spoke to me. Are you sure that they will help me?" Bartlett said, "They will, if we are still alive." So Katlean said, "Yes, you can build the big house in there." He gave his land to his nephew. "If it wasn't for you I wouldn't give it. You are part of this ground: you, your mother, your sisters, and your aunties own this ground. Most of my generation are dead now" (C. N. 1974: conversation).

While the men were working on the building, the women earned money and gave it to Simpson.

Mrs. Brady started the Sisterhood and told me what to do. "Have a coffee sale and serve cake and sandwiches with it," she said. Then I would tell the women, "Okay, we'll do it." Whenever the social hall needed this or that we had a coffee sale . . . the village seemed to understand what the boys were trying to do. The white people came and purchased the food and the "fancy work" that Mrs. Gamble taught us how to knit. We stood by our husbands. We worked just as much as they did (C. N. 1974: conversation).

In 1912, ten Alaskan Natives met in Sitka and pooled their resources to conserve their land and seek their rights. According to an elderly Tlingit, Eli Katanook from Angoon had taken a law course in New York City and was credited as the primary person responsible for the framing of the ANB constitution and obtaining a charter. For the next decade the ANB organized local camps through Southeastern Alaska. Another Tlingit elder related that a Sitka delegation, on the way home from the Grand Camp, stopped by their community in an attempt to win their community over to the ANB. He described the meeting as follows: "They had a big meeting in a tribal house. They explained that the ANB was out to correct the wrongs done to our people. The main point was that the whites were crowding us off from our land. A bright young lawyer from Wrangell, William L. Paul Sr., convinced us that we could sue the government

and get our lands back."

Conflict-Management Model
of the ANB

The dominant theme of the ANB during the early years of its existence advocated acculturation for all Tlingit. The statement of purpose as set forth in the 1917-1918 constitution expressed this goal: "to assist and encourage the Native in his advancement from his native state to his place among the cultivated races of the world" (Drucker 1958:165). In essence, these leaders attempted to lay aside the garb of traditional Tlingit culture to don the cloak of white culture. Those factors that threatened or hindered them in this process were discarded. The Tlingit language, the potlatch system, shamanism, and other customs disapproved by white society were rejected. A member of the ANB Executive Committee remarked, "In 1912 the purpose of the ANB was to do away with Tlingit Culture." Two other concerns of the ANB between 1912 and 1918 closely aligned to acculturation were education and the recognition of Indians as citizens. The full expression of citizenship was the goal; education was perceived as being the means to its achievement. The first six years of the ANB were marked by a general vagueness in their goals and a general weakness in their organizational structure.

A new leader joined the ranks of the ANB in 1918 and contributed immeasurably to its development. Louis Paul was persuaded to attend the annual convention in Juneau when the secretary failed to appear. Paul had attended Carlisle Indian School and possessed a good grasp of the English language. Educated under the influence of General R. H. Pratt, head of Carlisle, Paul infused some of Pratt's thinking into the convention. Pratt believed in the "doctrine of non-segregation of the Indian races." His philosophy of Indian education expressed the need "to civilize the Indian, get him

into civilization; and let him stay" (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 9). Drawing upon the inspiration of his former teacher, Paul cut to the heart of the educational problem by urging the convention to push for the end of segregated education.

In 1918, Alaska Natives were victimized by a haphazard school system under the direction of the United States Bureau of Education. Due to insufficient funds the Bureau schools at best could offer only a third grade level of education. The public school sector maintained that Native students could enter their schools at the sixth grade level. The two year gap between the federal and territorial schools systems was intolerable to the Tlingit. If the Native population were permitted to attend public schools the enrollment would have more than doubled. Desiring to keep school taxes low, some Alaskans asserted that the responsibility for the education of Indians was that of the federal government rather than that of the territorial government. The Organic Act of 1883 made "provision for the education of all children of school age without regard to race" (Bancroft 1960:721-722). The problem was either to integrate the public schools or to upgrade the federal schools. Paul contended that what the Indians needed were better schools. He ignited the convention by stating that if he had his way he would do away with every Indian school in Alaska (ANB Executive Committee member). The 1918 Convention adopted the following goals: (1) to seek improved educational opportunities, (2) to promote the attainment of full citizenship for Natives, (3) to increase their economic opportunities, and (4) to progressively apply their Christian beliefs to their daily living (The Alaska Fisherman 1931: Vol. 8, No. 8).

The 1920 Convention formalized the goals that guided the direction of the Brotherhood for the following decade: (1) to abolish fish traps, (2) to acquire civil rights for Natives, (3) to attain full citizenship, (4) to achieve

equal educational opportunities, (5) to hold yearly conventions for the purpose of promoting understanding within the ANB and to formulate common concerns, (6) to adopt the English language as the official language of the Brotherhood, and (7) to work for Alaska unity--"One Language, One Country, One Flag" (The Alaska Fisherman 1926: Vol. 3, No. 2).

By 1921 the ANB had expanded into every major town and village in Southeastern Alaska (The Alaska Fisherman 1931: Vol. 8, No. 8). The Brotherhood had been strengthened by the reconciliation of a long standing feud between two Tlingit communities (Drucker 1958:21). The 1923 Convention resolved to enlarge the membership; the 1924 Convention added the goal of enrolling "every native man from Ketchikan to Point Barrow" (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 2, No. 2). By 1924 the ANB became concerned with expanding their influence from the First Division into the Second and Third Legislative Divisions expressing the hope of enlisting the aid of all in the cause of "liberty and justice . . . our problem will be to unite the white and native patriots" (The Alaska Fisherman 1928: Vol. 5, No. 1). The decade of the twenties involved more than the goal of expanding the membership in the desire to gain political strength, it also advocated a general concern for the social welfare of the Brotherhood. The 1924 Convention passed resolutions relating to equal pay for Natives, extended medical services to villages, and provisions for an institution for the mentally ill (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 2, No. 3). When the cannery at Kake imported 156 Filipinos to replace Tlingit workers, the ANB appealed to the Governor of Alaska to use his influence to protect the interests of Alaska Natives (The Alaska Fisherman 1930: Vol. 7, No. 7). An appeal was also made to the United States Congress to stop the practice of the seizure of fishing gear until the accused was found guilty and to correct the practice whereby fishermen were often forced to travel from one to three hundred miles to defend themselves

in a district court of law. It was explained that innocent fishermen were often impelled by circumstances to plead guilty to charges rather than face the costly delays and time consuming court trials, that proved to be more expensive than the fines, before their fishing gear could be released (The Alaska Fisherman 1930: Vol. 7, No. 7). Thus, the broadening of the political base and an increasing concern for social services were two developing goals of the twenties. It has been acknowledged that the Sisterhood generally agreed with the ANB resolutions and actually administered much of the Brotherhood's social work (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 8).

Commenting upon the goals of the ANB a local camp president contended that the basic objectives of the Brotherhood have remained unaltered. He stated that the purposes of the ANB transcend change because they are "perpetual needs." He noted that the ANB has always been concerned with the whole man: "mentally, socially, physically, and spiritually." He continued by explaining that "in their haste to help the Native people some of the founders of the ANB tended to become somewhat negative toward certain aboriginal customs" and, therefore, included the requirement in the 1917-1918 constitution that "those eligible to membership shall be the English speaking members of the Native residents of the Territory of Alaska" (Drucker 1958:165). The desire to adopt English as the official language of the ANB gave the organization, whose membership was recruited from several different language speaking groups, a common language. Some objected to the exclusion of non-English speaking Natives. The problem was resolved when a Grand Camp officer simply omitted the reference to "English speaking" in a later draft of the constitution (Grand Camp Officer). In May 1924 the ANB platform printed in The Alaska Fisherman (1924: Vol. 1, No. 8) dropped the reference to "One Language" and added "Competent Christian Citizenship." Eventually many of the early ANB leaders became ranking heads

of their community or clan houses. Charged with the responsibility of the guardianship of the heirlooms, stories, and dances they pushed for the preservation of the old ways. This general change in attitude is reflected in the 1948 draft of the constitution where the article on purpose states: "to preserve their history, lore, art, and virtues" (Drucker 1958:169).

To recapitulate, the early goals of the ANB were political autonomy for Alaska, conservation of fishing resources, full rights and citizenship for all Natives, and effective Christian living. The goal "to aid in the development of the Territory of Alaska" was contained in the Article on "Purpose" in the 1917-1918 constitution. The phrase "Alaska for Alaskans" appeared almost monthly in the Brotherhood publication. The ANB desired that Alaska should take its "place among the States of North America" (Drucker 1958:165). One of the greatest hindrances to conservation in the fish industry, according to the ANB, was the use of fish traps. Therefore, they campaigned for years until the fish traps were ultimately abolished. Privileges of citizenship included the right to vote, attend public schools, hold title to land, receive public assistance, and attend public places without discrimination. Regarding Christian living, a former Grand Camp President stated, "The idea of the ANB was founded upon the Christian principles of equality and brotherhood." The founding fathers were "God fearing men and they set lofty ideals." A local camp president mentioned that "Tlingits have always practiced Christian principles If we obtain equal rights and then turned around and disliked people like you, we would be no better off than when we began. How can we call ourselves Christian?" The four goals of the ANB (home rule, fish conservation, citizenship, and Christian Brotherhood) dominated the conventions and received prominent coverage in almost every issue of their official journal, The Alaska Fisherman.

Their goals were both idealistic and realistic. Their concern for liberty, justice, brotherhood, tolerance, and acceptance were idealistic. On the other hand, they desired change now; and they were willing to commit themselves to meet these objectives. Virtually all of their goals regarding discrimination and citizenship were accomplished within the decade following their articulation.

The rules of exposure that governed individual access to political information within the ANB were as follows: (1) comprehension of the English language, (2) level of education, (3) knowledge of Robert's Rules of Order, (4) emphasis upon brotherhood and equality, (5) descendants of aboriginal races, and (6) payment of annual dues. These rules were consistent with the dominant goals of acculturation and citizenship for Alaska Natives. They favored these persons who were most familiar with the organizational principles of white society. At first the rule of exposure relating to the comprehension of the English language was restrictive. Membership was limited to English speaking Alaska Natives (Drucker 1958:163). As the Brotherhood spread into some of the more traditional villages (like Angoon, Kake, or Hydaburg where the majority of the people retained their Native languages) this rule proved to be too restrictive. Eventually, the language restriction was dropped. The more exposed local camps conducted their meetings in English as did the Grand Camp. Guest speakers gave their addresses to annual conventions in English. A comprehensive knowledge of English greatly facilitated an individual's awareness of ANB political proceedings. The emphasis upon Brotherhood and the attainment of full citizenship kept the tradition-minded and the acculturated-minded Natives from becoming distracted in the achievement of their common goals. The Grand Camp proceedings favored English speaking Tlingit who were capable of asserting the cause of the ANB in territorial politics.

The goal of citizenship, along with the responsibilities it entailed, placed a premium upon education. In the 1924 annual convention it was considered to be in the best interest of the Natives to provide an educational loan fund for the purpose of helping deserving Native students through college and graduate school in keeping with their emphasis upon an educated membership. The article stated, "The permanent success of the Alaska Native Brotherhood depends to a large extent upon educating its members" (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 2, No. 4). Most of the ANB leadership has been drawn from the more highly educated sector of Tlingit society (Drucker 1958:34, 39; The Alaska Fisherman). Written reports and written resolutions required at conventions tended to favor the abilities of those individuals with the better education.

Robert's Rules of Order replaced tradition as the guideline for organizational procedures. Most of the membership became as astute in their knowledge of Robert's Rules as they had previously been in their knowledge of the rules of potlatching. Previously, those individuals who were most knowledgeable of tradition gained greater access to Tlingit political information. Under the ANB, greater knowledge of parliamentary law equipped a person to more effectively participate in the meetings as well as affect the flow of information.

The goal of Christian brotherhood coupled with the use of Robert's Rules served as political levelers within the ANB. Formerly, the Tlingit practiced class stratification with the wealthy exerting considerable political authority. Theoretically, all ANB members had equal access to address the assembly but limitations could be placed upon discussions of everyone including speeches of chiefs. Traditionally, speeches tended to be indirect, lengthy, and couched in highly symbolic language. Jones (1914:100-101) observes, "They employ much imagery, and their rhetoric is often very flowery. Before coming to the point

they beat about the bush, commencing their remarks with some ancient history of their ancestors." Potlatch gatherings were more social and leisurely. During annual ANB Conventions when delegates traveled hundreds of miles to attend and left their various occupations, time was of greater essence and this necessitated a more orderly and businesslike atmosphere to the meetings. Parliamentary law granted to each member equal voting power and the rule of the majority rather than the elite. However, caution was exercised in the use of the majority rule in regard to delicate issues and occasionally their erstwhile practice of unanimity prevailed. Indeed, this was also consistent with the idea of brotherhood. Equality was also expressed in the resolution to limit the contribution by a local camp to a member's funeral expenses to forty dollars (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 4). Thus, the wealthy, the high status, the officeholder, and the ordinary member received similar treatment.

The constitution stipulated that any member who failed to pay annual dues would be "suspended" and "deprived of all rights of membership while so suspended" (Drucker 1958:167). Traditionally, a person participated in a community house by virtue of being a contributing member to the welfare of the group. The ANB established the right to participate on the basis of a minimum monetary contribution and a majority vote of the group. This rule was highly exclusive; any default in the payment of dues barred a person from participation. In actual practice many non-members within a local community gave support and exercised some influence through the local camp membership.

Another rule of exposure by constitutional directive limited membership in the ANB to descendants of Alaskan Natives. This rule proved to be a nemesis. When the ANB ventured into labor relations, in an attempt to improve the economic conditions of fishermen, they were forced to open the membership to non-Indians. This required a revision in the constitution whereby the Brother-

hood granted the status of "associate members" to non-Indians (Drucker 1958:57). The constitution had previously permitted spouses of Alaska Natives to become members. Ironically, when the ANB sought to bring a land claim suit against the federal government in the early 1930s, they were instructed that they had "too many colors among their membership" and so they would need to form a new Native organization.

The spokesmen of the ANB, who were designated in the constitution, included the following: (1) the Grand Camp officers, (2) the local camp officers, (3) the delegates to the Grand Camp, (4) the personnel on the local and Grand Camp committees, and (5) the officers on the executive committee. Local camp officers were elected by their constituencies to organize and administer the needs and concerns of local communities. Delegates were elected to the Grand Camp for the purpose of conveying the concerns of the local camp to the larger body for political support and to coordinate the activities among the various local camps.

Spokesmen of the Brotherhood were pluralistic and reflective. Several candidates at the annual convention often competed for the same office within an attitude of mutual tolerance. Opposition factions sometimes joined forces at the Grand Camp in jockeying their forces to achieve a common objective. The organization encouraged many spokesmen to participate in the political process in order to champion the concerns of the group they were elected to represent. Delegates were elected by the local camps to voice their concerns and the delegates were pledged to support those concerns--a reflection of local goals.

A subordinate camp chairman presided over the local membership and along with two elected delegates represented the group at the annual convention. The duties of the Grand Camp president were to: (1) preside over the annual convention, (2) chair the executive committee, and (3) retire from office to

become a permanent member of the executive committee. Generally, the better educated individuals received election to the higher ANB offices.

The power and influence of a spokesman need not be commensurate to his office or limited by it. The ability of an individual to stimulate a following, to clearly articulate pertinent issues, and to propose viable solutions largely determined the limitations of his effectiveness. For example, in the 1924 Convention William Paul was not yet elected to any executive office in the Grand Camp and yet he still emerged as "the principle leader of the people. . . . They go to him for advice for they know he has the experience and education needed," wrote Rev. George Beck (The Alaska Fisherman, 1924: Vol. 2, No. 2).

Two levels of organization existed within the ANB organizational structure--the local camp and the Grand Camp. The primary objectives of the subordinate camps included: (1) the caring for the needs of the local Brotherhood, (2) the funneling of information to the annual convention, and (3) the supporting role of backing Grand Camp resolutions. The care of fellow members encompassed sickness and death. When a member's disability extended beyond two weeks, he became eligible for benefits. Benefits accrued at the rate of ten dollars per month to a maximum of six months beginning with the first day of disability. Local camps were encouraged to go beyond the guidelines of assistance in fostering brotherly concern. At the death of a member the local camp was authorized to contribute up to a maximum of forty dollars toward the funeral expenses. Furthermore, the local camp was charged with the responsibility of directing funeral activities such as digging a grave, obtaining a coffin, and collecting money to meet the stipulated obligation if a shortage existed in the local treasury (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 4). Local camps were encouraged to construct large halls to serve as social centers for the community, as gymnasiums for competitive sports, and for hosting conventions. Suggested

dimensions for minimum construction were forty by eighty feet. Most of the local camps held the property title to such a hall or if not, they had access to a local community hall that served the same social need and avoided the obligation of constructing a duplicate facility (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 2, No. 3).

Another responsibility of the local camp embraced the communication of their concerns and goals to the Grand Camp for processing. The flow of information ideally moved from individual, to local camps, and to the Grand Camp. The power base was dispersed in the various subordinate camps. This strengthened the organization: (1) it embodied a political base that comprehended whole communities who were sympathetic to the activities of the ANB and (2) it drew its goals from a diverse constituency resulting in a greater number of goals, a greater creativity in the articulation of those goals, and the survival of only the more acceptable goals. In response to the decisions of the annual convention the local camp expended its resources on those concerns that had the greater area support and therefore the best chance of being fulfilled. In addition, each local camp, by directive of the constitution, had a Citizenship Committee charged with the responsibility of exerting its influence at public elections "to get as many members to exercise their privilege of voting as possible" (Drucker 1958:174).

The Grand Camp possessed two primary responsibilities: (1) the formulation of policies and (2) the appropriation of money to finance the execution of such policies. The structure of the organization was pluralistic and potential. Each contingent of camp delegates arrived at the convention armed with the concerns generated by the local camps. In the process of converting these grass root concerns to convention resolutions a considerable amount of aggregation of groups and compromises resulted. Often the process of political conversion, which relied upon the support of several camps, resulted in the paring down of the public concerns to arrive at the lowest common denominator. Usually this

resulted in short-term material goals since general agreement was easier to obtain than long-term ethical goals. However, the Christian concerns of brotherhood, the golden rule, and the Sermon on the Mount retained a long-term ethical content to much of their political behavior. The ANB organizational structure sympathetically reflected a social arrangement geared to fostering civil liberties within the group as well as seeking it in the larger social matrix.

The broad rules of exposure permitted many concerns and goals to enter the political process at the grass root level as well as at annual conventions. The information flow was from the bottom to the top--the same as traditional politics. Therefore, the concerns brought by a delegation to the convention were potential goals subject to the haggling of group differences. Competition was keen but tempered by traditional values and the common goal of achieving a common place in a white dominated society. All political concerns at the convention level were potential goals but each concern must stand upon its own merits.

In addition to local camps and the Grand Camp, a third type of organization was the Executive Committee that served in the interm period between annual conventions. This committee was granted the power to act when the Grand Camp was not in session. It could not set aside any of the resolutions of the convention but was instructed to act in the best interests of the ANB in any clear emergency.

Bargaining within the ANB could be described as being dispersed and based upon consensus. The location of bargaining was dispersed in that it occurred within the local camps, the Grand Camp, and the Executive Committee. The style of bargaining was based upon a majority consensus. Consensus bargaining includes the elements of a "we" frame, the ability to argue each issue separately regardless of past gains or losses, and by nonzero-sum results.

Brotherhood ultimately prevailed and decisions for the most part were beneficial to everyone. Majority rule prevailed within the ANB. In one of the ANB journal articles it was suggested that troubles in several camps could easily be solved if they would "stick to the rule by the majority and don't crab" (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 4).

Bargaining occurred within three political arenas: (1) within the local camp (to be designated as the primary arena), (2) at the Grand Camp (the secondary arena), and (3) with the Alaska Territorial Government (the tertiary arena). Goals in any political system largely determine the outcome of public concerns (Gorden 1972:12). For many years, almost all of the goals defined in the ANB constitution or resolved by the Grant Camp pertained to political activity in the tertiary arena. Thus, much of the political behavior focused on the mobilization of the ANB manpower to support their resolutions in asserting their claims to civil equality and to economic security within the territorial government. The dominant theme of their organization, as contained in the constitution, was full expression of American citizenship; the thrust of the political activity of the ANB was with those who would deny them their political rights.

The goals of the ANB gave direction to the flow of public information and defined the areas of concern for the Brotherhood in the tertiary arena. Therefore, the concern of this analysis will focus upon these goals. In this section the primary and secondary arenas will be seen as two levels of political activity for the purpose of mobilizing ANB human and economic resources to accomplish their goals.

Two important events occurred in 1920-1921 that contributed to the attainment of several ANB goals during the following decade; both were crucial to the bargaining process. First, in 1920, William Paul Sr., a practicing Tlingit lawyer and a student of Tlingit culture, joined the ANB and added new

legal and legislative dimensions to the organization. Second, by 1921, local camps were organized in all of the major villages and towns of Southeastern Alaska. This marked the first time in Tlingit history that all villages were united in a common cause and formed a powerful political bloc capable of exerting significant pressure upon candidates and electing some of their own members to office (Miller 1967:226). Fey (1955:1522) indicated that the Brotherhood held the "balance of political power in many communities."

A former Grand Camp President likened Alaska in the 1920s "to a Little Rock, Arkansas--all colored people were rather unpopular." He added, "The founding fathers stood solidly behind Paul and they gained their rights." Both the lawyer and the unity were essential. Fey (1955:1522) commented that the most consistent function of the Brotherhood was "for the achievement of political ends." To reach their goals they sought to enroll every Native voter between Ketchikan and Point Barrow and to develop an informed voter (Beck 1924:12). In a commentary on the 1926 primary elections, Senator Will A. Steel referred to the political awareness of the Indian community:

[They] are doing a wonderful work in informing themselves of political conditions and of issues and men who come up for consideration. When they go the polls they are prepared to cast their ballots for the men who have stood the test of their investigation. They have informed themselves and know the men who will labor for those measures that will tend to better their conditions and help to build up and make more prosperous the First Division of Alaska (Steel 1926:12).

In a January 1925 issue of The Alaska Fisherman (1925: Vol. 2, No. 3), an editor sought to explain the actions of the ANB in regard to their voting pattern. First, the ANB was working for the good of all men: white, black, or red. Second, the membership of the ANB could not be swayed by a "boss" since at least two dozen competent men were in leadership roles. Third, the entire membership was carefully studying the issues and candidates and voted intelligently and in accordance with their needs. Fourth, as a Christian organization

the ANB has sought to improve themselves through the institutions of the church, the school, and business. Fifth, the Brotherhood has entered politics due to the moral vacuum caused by politicians and newspaper editors who have failed to address the issues of discrimination and exploitation.

In a December 5, 1925 issue of the Juneau newspaper, Empire, the ANB was charged with being a political organization, totally composed of Indians, and united under one head. The editorial accused the Indians of "endeavoring to unite the Indians into a solid bloc of electors to vote as its leaders determine to be for the best interest of the Indians" (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 3, No. 1). The article also pointed out that during an election of the previous year almost one thousand votes were cast in mass by Indians for their candidates and thereby elected all but one of the legislators from their district. A later publication of The Alaska Fisherman (1930: Vol. 7, No. 7) defended bloc voting on the grounds that many allied unions "support and work in unity for certain candidates." Such political activity was explained to be beneficial both to the group and to the country. The ANB was likewise interested in the improvement of Native economic conditions as well as that of the whole territory of Alaska. The effectiveness of Indian bloc voting was demonstrated in the 1930 election of Sutherland vs. Grigsby (see Table 9.1) (The Alaska Fisherman 1932: Vol. 9, No. 5).

Table 9.1 Village Voting Patterns

Community	Sutherland	Grigsby
Angoon	69	3
Hydaburg	119	0
Kake	98	0
Klawock	153	4
Yakutat	<u>51</u>	<u>4</u>
Totals	490	11

Paul, a talented Tlingit of mixed parentage, entered the political scene by chance in 1920 and added a new political clout to the Brotherhood through recourse to the judicial system. After graduating from college, Paul studied business, theology, and law. He passed the bar examination and was licensed to practice in the State of Oregon. He headed to Alaska to make money. Charlie Jones, a highly esteemed chief of Wrangell, persuaded him to join the ANB at the Wrangell Convention of 1920. Almost immediately Mr. Paul was forced into legal confrontation when his mother was arrested and charged with a felony for translating a ballot for Charlie Jones, a long time Indian voter. Paul's subsequent victory thrust him into the forefront of the ANB leadership because of his education and his legal abilities. Paul was half Tlingit; his white and Tlingit backgrounds along with his training enabled him to move back and forth between the white and Indian communities with relative ease due to his knowledge of both cultures.

White opposition soon arose as the ANB began to flex its newly acquired political muscle. One citizen charged Paul with returning to Alaska and stirring up "a lot of trouble." The citizen charged that "Before he came, the Natives were satisfied and were trying to get along. But he came here and began teaching them that they are just as good as the whites. You know well enough that this is not true" (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 6). The same year, 1924, Paul ran as a Republican candidate and was elected to the Territorial Legislature (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 2, No. 2). Two years later he was reelected. Some two thousand Indian votes were a significant factor as well as the backing of the Republican Party organization. The party nomination is evidence of the political acumen Paul had acquired. He became very active in the territorial government. It was said that he "secured passage of more bills in the 1925 and 1927 Legislature than any other two members of the Legislature"

(The Alaska Fisherman 1930: Vol. 7, No. 4).

Paul was perhaps the most prominent Native leader of the 1920s. Although he was their distinguished leader, he was never permitted to become a party boss. For example, the membership of the ANB backed him only when they considered his ideas merited it. And, when William and Louis Paul actively campaigned for Katanook for Grand Camp President, the Brotherhood did not hesitate to select their own choice, Frank Price of Sitka, by a three to two margin (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 3, No. 1). Paul was the leading ANB spokesman until 1932. In 1932, the ANB appointed a committee to study the various candidates and to report their evaluation to the local camps. From an analysis of the committee report, it was decided that it would be to the best interest of the ANB to back several candidates in an attempt to exert a broader influence upon the political system.

After the ANB organized their members into local camps, gave them political instructions, and elected a member to the legislature, they began to devise ways to accomplish their objectives. With the emphasis upon citizenship and the projection of education as the best means to achieve their objective, it is not surprising that education remained a dominant concern. Since the original purpose of the ANB constitution was "to prepare its members to exercise their privileges as citizens and to do it intelligently . . . it was found necessary that all Indian children become educated." This proved to be an almost insurmountable task. Hundreds of Native children lacked school facilities and hundreds more received educational opportunities limited to three or four years. When appeals and demands failed to produce desired results, the ANB decided it "had to enter the political field" (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 2, No. 2). Due to their nebulous political status, the Indians were discriminated against in voting because of the charge that they were wards of the government but at the

same time exploited by being forced to pay taxes. It was reported that on April 25, 1922 Judge L. M. Churchill of Wrangell refused to permit George Mason to exercise his voting franchise due to his "ward" status. Ironically the next day, April 26, 1922, the same L. M. Churchill serving as a school tax collector approached Mr. Mason, demanded that he pay the school tax of five dollars, and threatened him with legal action if he refused. A somewhat befuddled George Mason paid the tax to avoid trouble (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 4). The law stipulated that "all male Indians between the ages of 21 and 50 years" were required to pay the school tax of five dollars in support of a school system that excluded them from enrollment (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 8).

The Alaska Fisherman (1924: Vol. 1, No. 4) took the position that since the Indians were citizens they should shoulder their fair share of the tax burden. It suggested that the strongest argument for "citizenship" as opposed to "wardship" was the payment of taxes. The journal's advice to Hoonah's school problems was to elect a sympathetic school board that would work to solve local problems. The journal also reminded their readers that they had "the votes" and, therefore, they had "the power." The Alaska Fisherman (1924: Vol. 1, No. 6) advocated the following item in their platform: the "enrollment of all children of this Territory in public schools." It expressed the belief that since the Natives of Alaska were taxed to support the public school system, the territorial government should provide equal or identical educational facilities to that provided for white children. The ultimate solution, according to The Alaska Fisherman (1926: Vol. 3, No. 9), would be the admittance of "natives to the public schools."

Periodically, situations arose in which Natives were refused enrollment into the public school system. One noteworthy example involved the son of an

educated Indian. It seems that the educated Tlingit father was concerned that his son also be provided with an adequate education. The government school at Petersburg employed one teacher. Due to the already heavy teaching load, the government teacher suggested the boy attend fifth and sixth grades at the public school. The school board voted down his application two to one. The case was referred to the Attorney General of Alaska who returned his opinion on November 10, 1924, that the "State or Territory must educate all children within its limits by providing either the same or equal school facilities" (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 2, No. 4). Four days later, on November 14, 1924, the ANB Convention passed a resolution to "ask the Territory of Alaska, through its legislature and the United States Government to see to it that the natives of Alaska be provided with a fully manned and equipped school system" (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 2, No. 5). The same convention followed up this resolution with another creating an Educational Trust Fund to assist Natives with their college education (The Alaska Fisherman 1925: Vol. 2, No. 4).

The ANB took an active interest in the schooling of their children. By 1925 seventeen of the thirty-eight teachers in the government schools were Indians who had received at least a portion of their education in Alaska (The Alaska Fisherman 1926: Vol. 3, No. 2). School attendance of Natives for December 1925 ran high as indicated by the following school statistics: Angoon 100 percent, Sitka 99.71 percent, Haines 99.64 percent, Klukwan 99.42 percent, Hydaburg 98.76 percent, Killisnoo 98.70 percent, and Metlakatla 98.31 percent (The Alaska Fisherman 1926: Vol. 3, No. 5). At the 1929 Convention a resolution was drawn up to order the local camps "to see that every child of our race attends school" and to "use the Compulsory School Act to enforce this resolution" (The Alaska Fisherman 1930: Vol. 6, No. 11).

The Native school problem was ultimately resolved in 1929 in a United States District Court by Judge Justin W. Harding. Paul Jones brought a case against the Ketchikan School Board for expelling Irene Jones from school without cause. By action of the school board on December 8, 1928 a resolution was passed that only those children would be accepted who were not eligible to attend government school. In essence the action prohibited Indians from attending the public school. Consequently, four Indian students, under thirteen years of age, were dismissed from school including Irene Jones.

The defense stated that since the Ketchikan school system was overcrowded and because Irene Jones was qualified to attend the government school she should not be admitted into the public school system. The opposition, headed by William Paul, countered that since the school system of Alaska was established by an act of Congress (Section 70 of Title 48) and was not to be racially segregated, the Alaska Legislature could not supersede such an act. It was reasoned that Irene Jones, as a child of mixed parentage, was qualified to attend a federal school but that this in no way deprived her of the right to attend public school. Evidence was presented to show that the charge of overcrowding was a myth. Four children from another school district were enrolled, seven seats had been removed from the sixth grade room to decrease the number of seats, and still there remained seven vacant seats in the two sixth grades. Judge Harding sustained the right of Irene Jones to attend public school. The test case was a resounding victory for those who opposed segregation in Alaska public schools (The Alaska Fisherman 1929: Vol. 6, No. 10).

A second concern pertaining to citizenship regarded the right to vote and this concern was also readily resolved by a judicial decision. In 1922 Charlie Jones, a highly esteemed Tlingit clan leader, was challenged when he attempted to vote. Having voted in several previous elections he sought out the

person of Mrs. Tamaree, a highly acculturated woman and the mother of the Paul brothers, to assist him in understanding the English speaking voting officials. She insisted that Mr. Jones be permitted to exercise his voting franchise. Both Indians were arrested; Mrs. Tamaree was charged with a felony on account of her interpreting for an Indian in the process of voting. William Paul came to his mother's aid and posted a two thousand dollar bond to keep her from going to jail. The less fortunate Charlie Jones was jailed. The Alaska Fisherman reported that Charlie Jones had been carefully selected by the Wrangell City Council to test the right of an Indian to vote. It was considered to be a good selection for the opponents of Indian suffrage for Mr. Jones was elderly, uneducated, illiterate, traditional, and residing on Indian territory (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 4). When asked why he considered himself to be a citizen he responded by saying:

I was born under the United States flag. I do everything my country asks me to do. I bought Red Cross tickets for myself, my wife, my three children, and for my dog too. They told me my country needed money, so I bought liberty bonds every time for all my family of five, and I was so anxious to help that I counted in my dog. I support my family, send my children to school and I pay taxes. I didn't understand what the war was about. All I understood was that my country needed me. If I had been younger, I would have volunteered among the first, and perhaps I would have given my life to my country, and would not now be disgraced by having my citizenship called in question (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 7).

Paul stated in a conversation that his defense rested upon the opinion that the Native Alaskan's "allegiance was to the United States as the lower forty-eight states Indian's allegiance was to the tribe." No federal treaty had ever been signed with the Tlingit setting aside their aboriginal lands to create a reservation. Therefore, all Tlingit speaking Indians were citizens of the United States by virtue of their birth in the territory of this country. An act of Congress of February 8, 1887 provided "that an Indian who is born in the United States and residing within the jurisdiction . . . is a citizen of the United States and entitled

to all the rights, privileges and immunities thereof" (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 4). It was a personal victory for Paul and a collective victory for all Alaskan Natives who had their voting rights established two years before the Indians in the lower forty-eight states.

A third area in which the civil rights of Indians had been denied was in the dispensation of funds to destitute widows and orphans. During Governor Bone's administration public assistance to the impoverished elderly and orphans was increased. The bill included the stipulation that "no man or woman who has the slightest amount of Indian blood . . . should be entitled to these benefits" (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 6). The ANB promptly inserted into its platform the need for justice to all residents without regard to race.

In 1925, Paul introduced a bill into the Legislature to correct the discrimination clause of the pension bill. In the opinion of Attorney General John Rustgard the pension bill was unconstitutional since it violated the fourteenth amendment which stated that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." In order to correct the situation without depriving those who were receiving benefits by a court challenge to the constitutionality of the bill, Paul introduced House Bill Number 36 to correct the pension fund by extending the benefits to all qualified citizens. The vote in the Legislature ran fifteen to one against the removal of the discrimination clause in spite of the Attorney General's ruling on its unconstitutionality. Mr. Paul related his anger at the hardness of his colleagues to the writer. When given the opportunity to address the floor he warned the Legislature that when the session ended he intended to bring an injunction against the aid bill to destitute widows and orphans stating, "If Indians are not included in these benefits then no one will receive them." Realizing the implications of the court action in response to their recent rejection of an attempt to

correct the situation, the Legislature voted to reconsider the matter and proceeded to pass the bill extending assistance to Natives by a vote of fifteen to one. All eligible Natives were entitled to receive territorial aid unless they were receiving similar federal aid (The Alaska Fisherman 1924: Vol. 1, No. 6; 1925: Vol. 2, No. 8; 1926: Vol. 3, No. 6).

Working through Dan Sutherland, the ANB backed Alaska delegate to Congress, a bill was passed in May 1926 granting the right of Alaskan Natives residing in villages or towns to receive title to their property. Formerly, Indians living on non-designated Indian lands could not acquire title to it. Congress corrected that situation (The Alaska Fisherman 1926: Vol. 3, No. 7).

Although the Tlingit gained legal status as citizens in 1922, they were forced to resort to legal actions, legislative actions, and boycotts in order to acquire the freedoms expressed in citizenship. These actions resulted in the right to attend public schools, right to vote, right to receive public assistance, right to hold title to property, and finally the right to attend public places of accommodations. During the 1920s it was not uncommon to see such signs posted in public as "We cater to white trade" or to see sections reserved "For Natives Only." From time to time some Tlingit protested such treatment by "sit-ins" and "walkouts" at theaters. By 1929 the ANB resolved to end discrimination practices in public places. An ANB officer, who was refused admission to the main floor of a theater, met with the Executive Committee. It was decided to boycott that chain of theaters and this decision was communicated to all local camps. Local camps were instructed to fine any ANB member who crossed the picket lines a sum equal to the price of admission. Within a few weeks the signs were removed. Economic sanctions were applied to other businessmen who participated in discriminatory practices. These businessmen soon became aware of the economic and political strength of the Brotherhood.

Eventually in 1946 the Territorial Legislature passed an antidiscrimination law (Drucker 1958:70-72).

The last flagrant violation of Native rights to be reviewed here pertains to the acquisition of land by non-Indians. As indicated previously, the treaty with Russia excluded the territory of the Tlingit and other ethnic groups. Therefore, much of the property in Alaska lacked clear titles. Paul claimed to have started the land claims movement in 1925 (House Bill 874, 1965:29).

At the Haines Convention in 1929 the land suit began with the assistance of Judge James Wichersham. Congress told the ANB that we couldn't sue the government until they passed a law. Congress then passed a law so that we could sue Uncle Sam. Then they started to work the claim that dragged on for about thirty years (local chapter president).

In 1932 the Senate passed a "Tlingit and Haida claims bill" that permitted them to "present their claims for compensation for lands and other resources of which they have been dispossessed without due process" (The Alaska Fisherman 1932: Vol. 9, No. 2). Congressional action on the measure continued until June 15, 1935 when the Tlingit and Haida Jurisdictional Act was passed granting the Indians the right to bring "suit for claims against the United States in the United States Court of Claims" (Drucker 1958:54).

The land suit accomplishment marked a final stage in a series of political struggles to achieve "citizenship and full rights" for the Tlingit. Throughout the process a remarkable unity was evidenced within the ANB. As was often mentioned in The Alaska Fisherman, "there is strength in unity." With the achievement of most of their goals internal dissensions became evident in regard to leadership, old rivalries, self-interests, and the prospect of a lucrative land settlement (Drucker 1958:39-40; Fey 1955:1523).

The final stage in the conflict-management model has to do with the implementation of the decisions. By 1920 the goals had become acutely defined and the organization had expanded until it developed grass root support in every

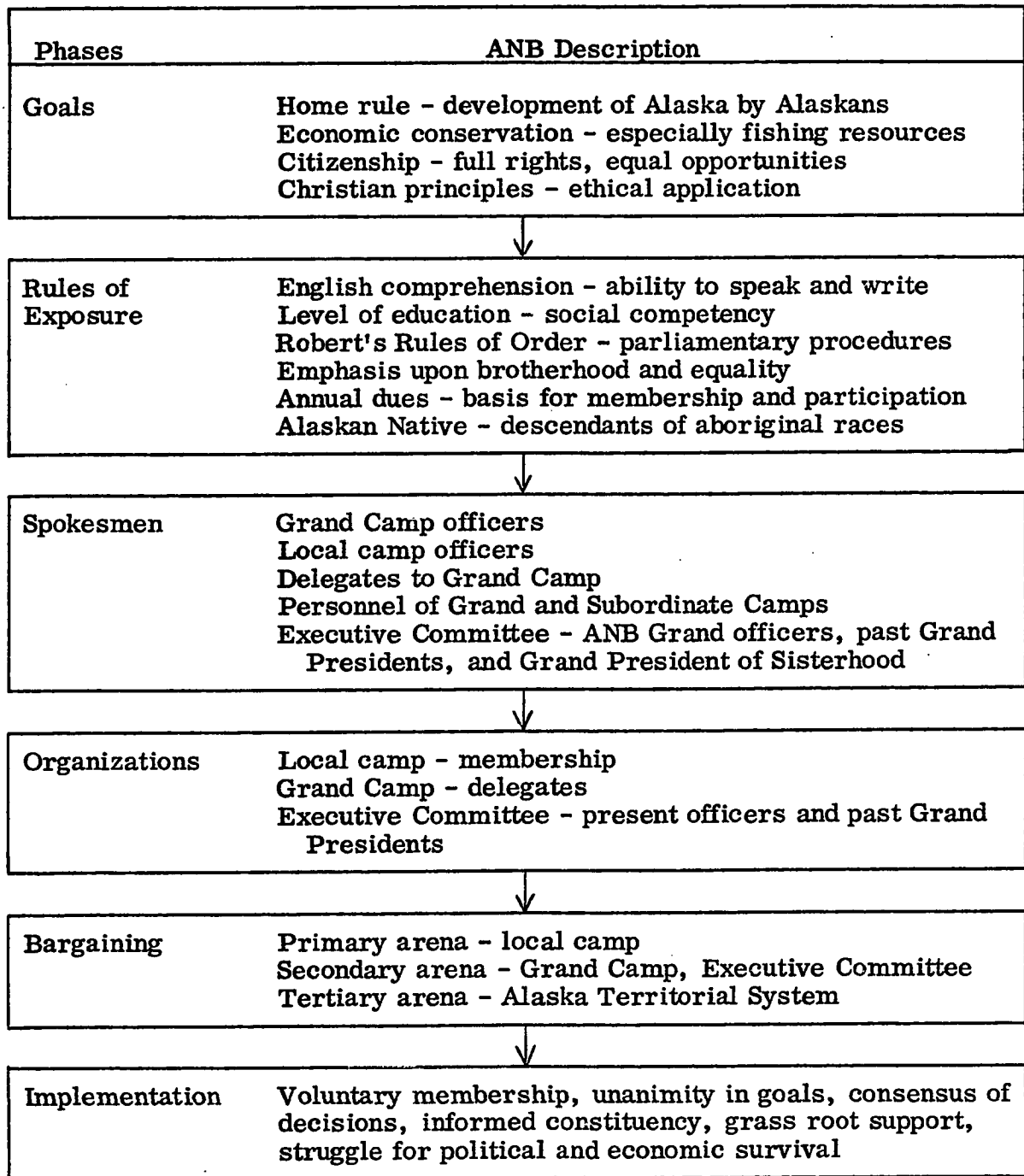


Figure 9.1 Conflict-Management Model of the ANB*

*The boxes outline the various phases of ANB politics in a conflict-management analysis of political process; the arrows show the general direction of the political process from initiation to implementation of public concerns. The six phases also have an interaction effect with one another.

community of any size within their legislative district. The rank and file of the ANB were fully aware that the Alaskan Native was engaged in a struggle for economic and political survival. An intensive effort was made to inform the membership regarding the issues and candidates during elections. The decisions made at annual conventions regarding the tertiary arena were both in agreement with the paramount goals of the organization and the general consensus of the total constituency. Peer pressure at the local camp levels reinforced the decisions by a system of monitoring school attendance, voter turnout, or boycotts. The political sophistication of the ANB enabled them to extend their efforts on almost every conceivable front: legislative, judicial, moral, economic, and political. They learned to use their votes and their dollars wisely in the achievement of their goals. All of these factors contributed to a highly efficient system of translating the goals from convention idealisms to social realisms. The implementation of their decisions was effective; it represented the will of the people and, therefore, received their overwhelming support (see Figure 9.1).

IV. In Pursuit of a Land Claims Settlement

Tlingit and Haida Organization, 1935-1967

One member of the ANB Executive Committee stated that when the Tlingit and Haida (hereafter T and H) Organization was first formed it "split the Native community in half for a time." The annual dues of the ANB were ten dollars; the annual dues of the T and H were one dollar. A former Grand Camp officer commented, "Many people said, 'Let's go with the T and H because the dues are cheaper.' For awhile the T and H was slowly dissolving the ANB." The ANB has traditionally been a "service organization" while the T and H has been basically concerned with the land claims settlement. Gradually the effectiveness of both organizations became acknowledged.

There were several important reasons for the emergence of a separate organization to handle the land claims suit: (1) membership in T and H was restricted to descendants of Tlingit or Haida Indians, (2) the problem of the land claim monopolized too much of the ANB convention, (3) Congress desired to negotiate with one group that would represent the whole Indian population of Southeastern Alaska, and (4) the organizational structure of the ANB disqualified it from bringing a claims suit against the United States Government.

By Congressional action on June 19, 1935 the United States Court of Claims was opened to permit the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska to bring a land suit against the United States. The T and H organized at Wrangell in 1941 to "promote and foster the welfare of the Tlingit and Haida Indians" (House Bill 874, 1965:84). For the next twenty-three years the organization, which was known by several different names, made some progress in the land claims suit and struggled to determine what the best method was for the allocation of the funds. The 1929 ANB Convention had approved a per capita distribution (House Bill 874, 1965:29).

Many persons felt that the 1935 land claims bill needed to be updated to more closely conform to the changing social scene. Urban migration had radically changed the distribution of Natives, the 1935 bill had failed to clearly define the Indian community, and a growing number of individuals shared the concern that the per capita stipulation should be changed to be used for community development not individual desires (House Bill 874, 1965:7).

On August 19, 1965 Congress authorized the Tlingit and Haida to organize an official council to become "the governing body of the Tlingit and Haida Indians" (Sealaska Corporation 1973a:4). On January 19, 1968 the U.S. Court of Claims awarded the T and H the sum of \$7,546,053.80. This settlement was considered to be a mere pittance of the real value of the land. Consequently, a

portion of the money was used to begin a new land claim suit. Most of the money has been invested for future use.

The T and H is a highly structured sociopolitical organization similar to the ANB with twenty-two local chapters, an annual convention, and an Executive Committee. Every Native village between Metlakatla and Yakutat has a local chapter; also there are chapters in Seattle and San Francisco. Seventy delegates are elected from the twenty-two local chapters to the annual convention. Each local is entitled to one delegate per one hundred Natives, or fraction thereof, over the age of eighteen years. The distribution of the representatives is designed to favor the villages (see Figure 9.2). Approximately 30 percent of the population live in villages but are entitled to 50 percent of the delegates. Besides conducting their own business affairs the locals instruct their delegates in regard to their concerns at the forthcoming convention. Only direct descendants of Tlingit or Haida Indians, of any blood quantum even to one-sixty-fourth, are qualified to join (House Bill 874, 1965:90). Considering that only three generations have passed since mixed marriages occurred in any frequency, a few members would be less than one-eighth Native. Robert's Rules of Order are rigidly followed in all meetings.

The sophistication of the political maneuvering at annual conventions would "rival that of a national political convention." Political candidates arrive at the convention with carefully organized platforms. Like state delegations the local chapters set up tables on the convention floor. As the nominating and voting begin, caucusing, vote trading, and exchange of political favors intensify. Eventually a president is elected along with an Executive Committee to assist the president during the interlude between conventions. The two primary responsibilities of the president are to "lobby on the hill" and to chair the Executive Committee composed of six vice presidents. The Executive Committee sets

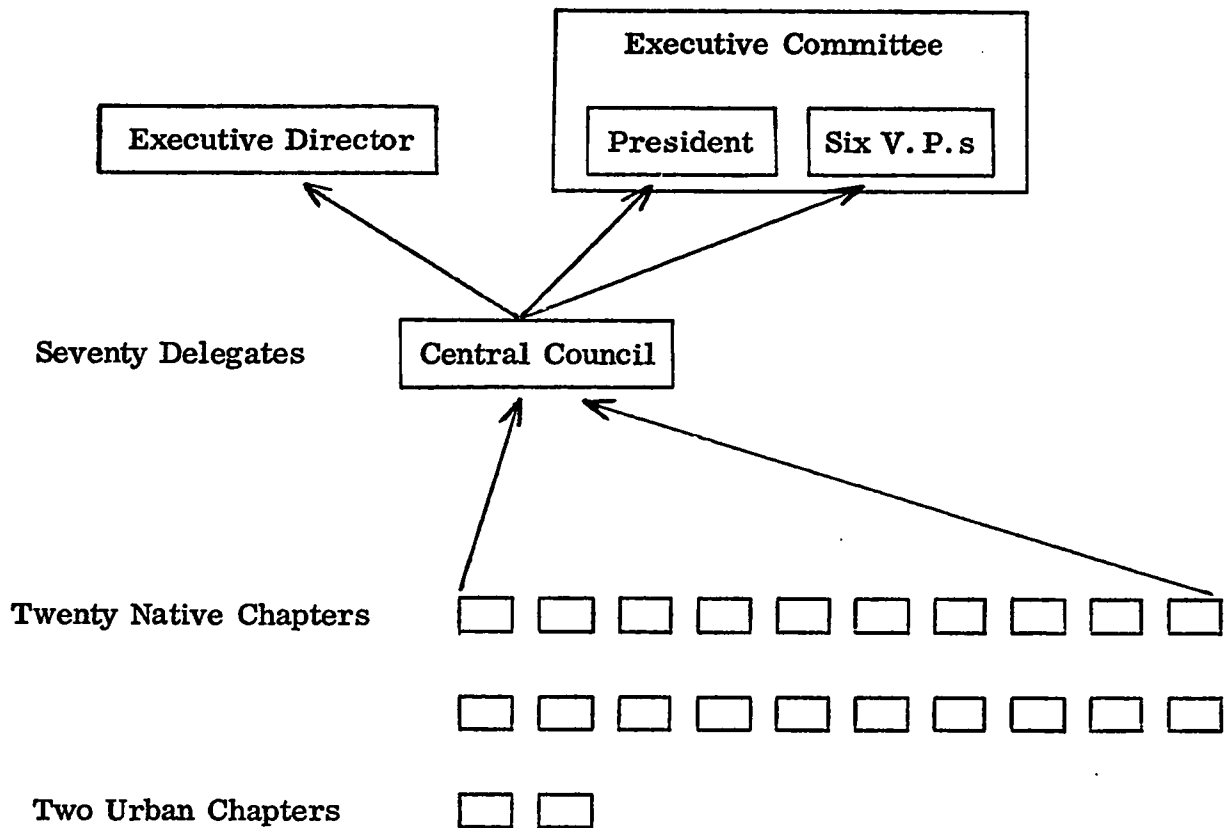


Figure 9.2 The Political Structure of the Tlingit and Haida Organization

policies to be administered by an executive director. The executive director is in charge of the office staff at the T and H headquarters in Juneau, Alaska and oversees the programs and policies of the annual convention (also referred to as the Central Council by a T and H official).

The Central Council meets once a year to consider the business of coordinating the public concerns of the twenty-two locals and the general constituency. Some of the primary objectives of T and H are: employment opportunities, job training, education, community development, health programs, and business development. The paramount goal of T and H is to be self-supporting and to use its resources and influence to assist Native people in the

six areas mentioned. A key project currently under completion encompasses the construction of 360 houses in nine Native villages plus health care and resident units for the elderly. The Tlingit and Haida Regional Housing Authority floated federal bonds for the financing of the homes. Present net worth of T and H is approximately \$7,300,000. A future goal is to become a profit making business so that the organization will be able to provide more social services.

The Sealaska Corporation

In 1959 the United States Court of Claims acknowledged that all of the claims of the Alaska Natives were good against everyone except the United States Government. The sale of land by Russia included fortifications only (fenced land), namely: Nic Nac in the Aleutian Chain, Kodiak, and Sitka. In the transaction Russia acknowledged that it had claimed no sovereign rights over the rest of Alaska. Consequently, the situation demanded that the land titles for most of Alaska be cleared. In the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of December 18, 1971, all aboriginal rights were abolished in exchange for \$962,500,000 and forty million acres of land. The Alaska Federation of Natives with the aid of \$200,000 provided by T and H led the successful legal action to reach the land settlement agreement. The act authorized the creation of thirteen Native owned business corporations which were given the responsibility of "administering, distributing and investing money and land resources due to persons of Alaska Native origin" (Sealaska Corporation 1973a: 1, 1974:5; Cohen 1970:273).

Sealaska Corporation, one of the largest regional corporations (in terms of stockholders and funds), serves the Tlingit and Haida Natives. Under the land settlement act, Sealaska will receive approximately \$173 million and over two hundred thousand acres of land. The Articles and Bylaws of Sealaska were approved by the Secretary of the Interior and granted a Certificate of

Incorporation from the State of Alaska on June 16, 1972. Sealaska is managed by eighteen members of a board of directors who are elected by the shareholders for a three-year term, six of whom are to be elected at each annual meeting of the shareholders. The Board of Directors in turn elects a corporation president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer under the conditions set by the board. One-half of the land settlement funds for the region, around \$87 million, along with the two hundred thousand acres of timber, minerals, or other assets selected will become the assets of Sealaska. Sealaska is responsible for nine village corporations: Angoon, Craig, Hoonah, Hydaburg, Kake, Kasaan, Klawock, Saxman, and Yakutat. Presently 25 percent of the shareholders are enrolled in villages with the remaining 75 percent designated as at-large members.

Sealaska assists the village corporations with their planning, land selection, and process of incorporation; Sealaska approves and audits all village corporation expenditures for the first five years of their existence. Sealaska acquired the consulting firms of Wilsey and Ham, and McGaughan and Johnson in 1962 "to compile and map pertinent data relating to the land of Southeast Alaska" (Sealaska Corporation 1973c:1). Following a detailed research program a base map was constructed for each village selection area. Colored transparent plastic overlays were developed for each of the following concerns: withdrawn lands, patented lands, land encumbrances, timber sales, water resources, forest resources, mineral resources, slopes, soils, man-made resources, and historic sites. These maps along with the transparent overlays were distributed to each village corporation Interim Board of Directors for use in land selection and planning. The purpose of the consulting firms' reports was to make as much pertinent data available as possible so the village corporations could select the best areas of land that were most compatible with

their own interests. Patty (1973:A9) noted that Sealaska has "hired the business world's best consulting talent."

Each village corporation is entitled to select 20,040 acres of land under the Settlement Act along with a per capita payment for each shareholder enrolled in the village corporation. For example, Angoon received some \$513,000 in their first year allocation for their six hundred plus stockholders. Village corporations are also incorporated under the State of Alaska laws as a profit corporation. Village Board of Directors determine village corporation goals, interests, and priorities. Village corporations are primarily responsible for land selection, general investments, and village development. Village and regional corporations are acutely aware that they have one big chance to "make a go of it" and so they are proceeding with extreme caution. At least they say if they fail, they were given the opportunity to decide for themselves--something Natives are frequently denied.

Summary

From the time of the Russian discovery of Alaska in 1741 to the sale of Alaska in 1867 the Tlingit culture was only minimally affected by European contacts. Following the purchase of Alaska by the United States, the Tlingit became dominated by foreign economic and political pressures caused by a rapidly increasing white population. In an attempt to assert their claim to equal rights, they formed the ANB to obtain their full rights as citizens. Having obtained the right to vote, to receive public assistance, to attend public schools, and to participate in public accommodations they resolved to right the economic deprivations suffered by the loss of much of their land. Under the T and H and Sealaska, the problem of land claims against the federal government was settled. Today these three organizations, the ANB, the T and H,

and Sealaska represent a three-way effort to protect the interests of Tlingit against discrimination and exploitation.

Chapter X

ANGOON: A TRADITIONAL VILLAGE IN TRANSITION

This chapter is concerned with the natural resources and their commercial development by a traditional Tlingit community, as they adapt to a changing socioeconomic environment. Rather than measuring the development of this community in terms of increased annual income or material possessions, we will use the expressed goals of the community as a baseline and then measure development in terms of progress toward the fulfillment of those goals.

I. Location and Resources of Angoon

Strategic Location

Angoon is a Tlingit settlement containing approximately five hundred people. It is located on the Kootznahoo Inlet which has aptly been described as the most prodigious "life-producing bay" on Admiralty Island (Rosenthal 1973: 26). In the first Alaska census of 1880, the population of Angoon was listed at 420 (Krause 1956:70). The Tlingit term for the traditional site of Angoon is Xutsmuwu meaning "Brown Bear's Fort" (de Laguna 1960:25). The name seems appropriate today since the bears outnumber the people on the island. From north to south the island is ninety-six miles long and about thirty miles wide at its greatest breadth. The island encompasses 1664 square miles of land. Precipitation annually averages over one hundred inches. A few drier spots, like Angoon, lie on the leeward side of the snowcapped mountains of Baronof Island.

Admiralty Island contains valuable timber, its streams produce numerous salmon, its estuaries attract a variety of waterfowl, and its lakes abound in fish. In 1909 Admiralty Island was incorporated into the Tongass National Forest, but for the past several years timber cutting has been prohibited.

Commercial Development

In 1878 the Northwest Trading Company established a fish processing plant for whales, herring, and the production of fish fertilizer at Killisnoo. The processing plant was located at Killisnoo (about two and one-half miles southeast of Angoon) because the site could provide port facilities for large ships. A settlement sprang up around the plant and the community, in essence, became an extension of Angoon as families moved to seek employment opportunities. By 1880, Killisnoo emerged as one of the principal industrial communities in Southeastern Alaska. The town flourished for about fifty years, declined in population, and has since reverted to wilderness. The general productivity of this area is discerned from the fact that during the decade of the 1880s six canneries, in addition to the Killisnoo plant, were in operation in Chatham Straits: "Pybus Bay, Gambier Bay, Murder Cove, Hawk Inlet, Funter Bay, and Hood Bay" (Rosenthal 1973:57).

The Killisnoo fish processing plant went bankrupt in 1885 and there property was liquidated. The plant was reorganized and reopened under new management. The new executives introduced the Atlantic style purse seines and seine boats into this area. This innovation led to a thriving herring business and the creation of many jobs. Villagers from Basket Bay, Chaik Bay, Whitewater Bay, and Angoon moved to Killisnoo to work in the herring plant. This new prosperity at Killisnoo was reflected in the rapid increase in population: 1880 - none, 1890 - 79, 1900 - 172, and 1910 - 351 individuals (Rosenthal 1973:34). Along with the migration came the steamers with freight, tourists,

and trade.

On June 8, 1928 a fire at Killisnoo destroyed thirty buildings including the: school, post office, and church. As a consequence of the fire many families moved back to Angoon. Two years later the Killisnoo Fisheries company closed production due to rising production costs and obsolete machinery. In 1951 the remaining Killisnoo residents moved back to Angoon (Rosenthal 1973:34).

II. Political Development

Development Models

Descriptions of Angoon vary. For example, Morgan (1975:39) depicts Angoon as the "most backward" community in Alaska while Lyman (1973:69) portrays Angoon as the "final stronghold of Tlingit culture." The first account describes Angoon in quantitative terms; the second in qualitative terms. Indeed, Angoon showed the lowest annual per capita income (\$523) of any community in the 1970 Alaska census (Morgan 1975:39). Such comparisons are inconclusive since they fail to measure many other aspects of the total living situation. Although the average family income for the Angoon Tlingit is under five thousand dollars and the average family income for the Seattle Tlingit is over \$7500 ($p = < .01$), the Angoon Tlingit placed both groups at 6.3 on a ten point scale. Kilpatrick and Cantril (1960:158) devised a self-anchoring scale to measure the perceived deprivation of an individual. In spite of the fact that economically the Angoon Tlingit ranked lowest on a state survey, they perceived their total situation in life to be above average. This discrepancy between an economic analysis and the community's perception of their total living condition seems significant.

In some instances political development has been viewed as the result of economic or social change; it may, however, be the cause of changes which may either prohibit or promote socioeconomic development (Anderson 1966:236). Economic models of development tend to be limited to quantitative factors such as various material possessions, per capita income, or industrial expansion and may ignore some of the aspects of modernization such as rising levels of aspirations, identity crises, suicides, and alcoholism which are difficult to quantify (Thiandia 1972:65). One method of measuring development that avoids describing a community in purely economic terms and eschews the imposition of foreign criteria on local situations involves the analysis of political development. One such political development model utilizes the expressed goals of the local community and ascertains the effectiveness and the progress that the community makes toward the implementation of those public concerns. A study of political goals focuses upon the conscious desire on the part of the members of a community to achieve indigenous goals concerning their identity, cultural continuity, and other qualitative factors of life.

Political Organization

Angoon has a mayoral-city council type of government organized in 1917. One resident recalled that the people decided to live "like the white people" and thus organized a town council in an attempt to "improve our living conditions" and to "build a path for younger people" (Morgan 1972:2). The community also organized a system of local government in an attempt to avoid any future confrontations with the United States Government similar to the 1882 bombardment. In 1882 a naval warship almost destroyed Angoon when the accidental slaying of a local Tlingit was ineffectively handled. An American Naval captain refused to permit the customary compensation to the family of the deceased. In the ensuing conflict neither side yielded so the warship Corwin

opened fire on the village destroying most of their houses and canoes (Bancroft 1960:723; de Laguna 1960:192).

The City of Angoon has a number of governmental and quasi-governmental organizations that provide a range of community services. Those include the corporate City of Angoon itself, the Alaska Native Brotherhood, the Alaska Native Sisterhood, the Tlingit and Haida Community Council, Kootznoowoo Inc., and the Angoon Boat Owners Association. Presently Angoon is incorporated under Alaska law as a second class city. The powers of a second class city include: (1) general powers to levy taxes and special assessments, to expend funds for community purposes, to borrow money and issue evidence of indebtedness, to enter into agreements with other levels of government, and to administer its internal organizational affairs; (2) powers to regulate municipal facilities and services such as streets, sidewalks, harbors, libraries, police services, electric power, heat and telephones; (3) regulatory powers including licensing of motor vehicles, food services, animal control, disorderly conduct, garbage disposal, water pollution, etc. (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1975:60-63). The administrative staff of the city, in addition to the elected officials, include a city administrator, a city clerk, secretary, planning coordinator, a city treasurer, a police chief, a fire chief, and a water and sewer superintendent.

The Angoon camps of the ANB and ANS provide local community social services and a connection with a powerful political organization represented in most of the communities in Southeastern Alaska. The Grand Camp lends political support to local concerns and supplies the local camp with a broader political base. The community council of the Tlingit and Haida also provides a link with a powerful economic and political organization represented by the Central Council. Funds received in a partial land claim settlement in 1966 is presently being used to benefit the villages. The Angoon village corporation, Kootznoowoo,

Incorporated, also represents a local extension of a centralized organization. The flow of information between ANB, ANS, T and H, and Sealaska Corporation and the local Angoon organizations provides a major stimulant to sociopolitical development, leadership training, and the desire to improve.

The Angoon Boatowners Association was established to promote the economic interests of local boatowners. The association seeks financial assistance, improved facilities, and desirable legislation affecting that fishing industry.

A recent innovation initiated by Mayor Cyril George concerned a public meeting of the city council in November of 1972 to permit the community an opportunity to assist in the compilation of a list of priorities. Among the concerns mentioned were a cold storage plant, a ferry terminal, and a waterbreak (Morgan 1972:7). Commenting upon the increased community participation, one councilman, Peter Jack, suggested that "people are beginning to believe they might make things happen" (Morgan 1975:275). In 1974 the City of Angoon compiled an overview of community concerns entitled "Village Profile 1974." It listed four major areas for concerted actions: (1) the development of a more stable economic base, (2) the improvement of the level of education and leadership training opportunities, (3) the perpetuation of their cultural heritage, and (4) the retention of their cultural emphases upon community and respect for people.

Economic Development

Rogers (1960:150-152) reporting on a 1948 survey pertaining to the occupational sources of family income among Natives living in Southeastern Alaska showed the following: (1) fishing 35.5 percent, (2) canneries 19.0 percent, (3) trapping 7.4 percent, (4) other wages including logging and clerical jobs 25.2 percent, and (5) other income consisting primarily of welfare benefits

12.9 percent. Fishing ranked first as a source of income in terms of local access, cultural tradition, and personal choice. In 1947 Angoon made a major investment in an attempt to improve their village income with the purchase of a salmon cannery at Hood Bay. A twenty year loan for \$258,000 was arranged through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In 1949 the community of Angoon assumed control of the cannery, paid off \$130,000 of the indebtedness during what was considered to be a "lean" fishing season, and purchased some needed equipment. When the cannery loan was liquidated the community planned to venture into additional enterprises such as the timber business or a cold storage plant (de Laguna 1960:198-199). Their promising business and future expansion plans were short lived when a "mysterious" fire destroyed the cannery and their fishing gear. The economic loss to Angoon was devastating. The BIA "promised" to replace the fishing gear but the assistance never materialized. The present fishing fleet, comprised of fourteen seiners and forty trollers, has been described as "a miracle of floating dry rot" (Morgan 1972:4). Some fishing boats are beyond insuring; still the boats are indebted to the amount of approximately \$1,500,000.

Before 1969 a BIA welfare program was administered by a social worker in Juneau. In 1969 Mayor Daniel Johnson negotiated with the Juneau office to permit the community of Angoon to supervise their own program. The name was changed to "General Assistance" and approximately \$70,000 was dispersed in 1969-1970. The second year child welfare and special needs were added to the General Assistance program increasing the budget to \$90,000 per year. The third year staff travel and rehabilitation provisions were included in the program increasing the annual budget to \$128,000 (city official). The community went on "record" that they did not wish to receive the money as simply "a government handout." Rather, they desired to set a good example for their children by

working for the money. Twenty-three people are presently employed in General Assistance.

The federally funded General Assistance program is operating on a contract of reimbursement. So long as the Angoon social worker is able to justify the need, he is entitled to dispense the funds. The social worker has a revolving fund of \$9,000 provided by the Department of the Interior to meet local emergencies as they arise. Should a need develop, the Angoon social worker consults with the Anchorage office to receive authorization to expend the funds. The amount spent is returned to the local budget to maintain a \$9,000 revolving contingency fund. General Assistance is geared to maintain a minimum local standard of living and thus the available funds are flexible ranging from \$300,000 to \$400,000 per year.

At a conference on General Assistance held in Anchorage in 1970, Matthew Fred from Angoon and Jerry Nelson from Yakutat were requested to give a report, comment upon their administrative procedures, and share the experience they had gained from their successful local projects with those present. In the Assistant Secretary of the Interior's address to the conference, the Angoon and Yakutat General Assistance work programs received special commendation.

He . . . stated that these two villages were model villages of the fifty states and he would like to see other villages follow suit. These two villages are the only two villages under this contract that are effectively improving their living conditions and their livelihood (city official).

Mayor Matthew Kookesh, operating on limited funds, succeeded during his administration in the early seventies in securing thirty low income houses through the Tlingit and Haida Housing Program, in establishing an adult education program, and organizing a youth corps. He added a new dimension to city government by hiring Judy George, a highly esteemed Juneau

executive secretary who possessed extensive training in the area of private and public grants and assistance programs. She also brought to Angoon "a thorough knowledge of the workings of state and federal government agencies" (Morgan 1974:245). Her knowledge has been used to investigate and contact new sources for funding village programs.

A "Community Action Program" (CAP) serves to seek funds for local needs from other agencies. CAP conducted a feasibility study concerning the possible construction of a motel at Angoon and then turned the project over to the Tlingit and Haida Organization. CAP acquired model cities status for Angoon so that the city would be entitled to special considerations relating to General Assistance. CAP studies local communities in an effort to discern areas of need and then seeks resources to meet them. Besides providing general help in seeking funds, CAP has assisted in the development of library facilities, in the ordering of educational films, in dispensing crucial information concerning proxy votes for Sealaska elections to mention a few accomplishments.

One of the most promising areas for future economic opportunities in Angoon is the village corporation called "Kootznoowoo Incorporated." Village corporations originated as a portion of the Land Claims Settlement Act with the federal government to compensate Alaskan Natives. Village corporations were designed to manage the land and resources allotted to Native communities. Kootznoowoo Incorporated is entitled to a selection of 23,040 acres of land for its 610 shareholders. The corporation will receive an annual allotment of money from the U.S. Treasury for the next twenty years. The first cash payment amounted to \$513,000 with decreasing annual amounts thereafter. An interim board was elected in September 1974 to select the land and organize as a corporation. A permanent nine member board was elected in September 1975. Sealaska, the mother regional corporation, oversees the

village corporations, assists in the training of the village corporation members, and provides studies and pertinent information to the local corporations to enable them to make enlightened decisions. Sealaska approves and audits village corporation funds for the first five years. Restrictions placed upon the spending of village corporation funds limit investments (1) to "highly profitable endeavors" and (2) to a small portion of the appropriations it receives. Consequently, the corporation offers little promise for relief to contemporary economic needs.

Historically, fishing has been the economic backbone of Angoon. At present, fishing is the only significant source of income and the sole industry that encompasses the orientation of the present and the hope for the future of many families. An average crew member earns approximately \$500 to \$1500 annually from the two month fishing season. Long range economic goals seek to develop Angoon's traditional interest in the fishing industry: cold storage facility, aquaculture, fish hatchery, and fish marketing service (BIA 1975:115). In the 1974 Angoon "Progress Report," about forty projects were listed as being in the initial planning stage, under construction, in the final stages of construction, or completed. A marine boat and machine shop has recently been approved for construction. A ferry terminal scheduled for 1976 will provide an alternate to the six to eight chartered and regular flights that land near Angoon daily. Tourism, charter fishing, and hunting guide services are very real possibilities in the scenic vicinity of Angoon where mountains, lakes, streams, fish and wildlife abound.

Development of Human Resources

The most reliable predictor or causal factor of modernity, based upon the reports of many field studies, is education. Modernity, in this study, will refer to the process of cultural change from a folk culture to an urban culture.

One study indicated that each additional year spent in school raised the modernity level two or three points on a one hundred point scale of modernity (Thiandia 1972:61-63). During the 1973-1974 school year forty-five Angoon residents were enrolled in college. One family alone had five members in college that year. Thus, over 10 percent of the residents of Angoon were attending college. Education is increasingly being viewed as the most certain road to success and more people are pursuing it.

And yet, inadequate school facilities, the lure of fishing, and migration to other areas offering better employment opportunities have contributed to certain educational deficiencies. The community has acknowledged that "leadership is essential to the development of the city" and that education is vital to acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to making "critical decisions" (Village Profile 1972:1, 4). Immediate measures have been taken to remedy the situation.

Grants from federal and private sources have enabled Sheldon Jackson College to offer an "Associate of Arts Degree" program to individuals living in village communities. The program is designed to enable students to complete the course of study without requiring students to leave the village for extended periods of time. Fifty participants were selected for this program and given free tuition, transportation, and board and room. The course work consisted of assisting in the local school system, weekend lectures, and interterm courses held on the main campus. Requirements include volunteer work in the local schools. Generally, under this special program, it takes three years to complete the regular two year degree program. A diploma from high school was recommended but not required. A number of individuals from Angoon participated in the local study program. A senior division of the local study program is presently being offered through the University of Alaska extension system.

It provides the opportunity to complete a college bachelor's degree by taking three additional years of study--making a total of six years for the normal four year degree. The BIA established an elementary school at Angoon in 1890; a high school program was started during the 1974-1975 school year by adding the ninth and tenth grades. Future plans include the completion of a local high school program. At present, Angoon is part of an "Unorganized Borough" which places the responsibility for the local education on the state and federal governments. The local community is entitled to participate only in an advisory board capacity with few policy making powers. In an attempt to gain greater participation in the educational process, the Angoon community has decided to apply for a third class borough status which involves local school board administration of the schools. Incorporated boroughs receive priority in state considerations for construction of high schools. The Citizens Participation Committee (the local school advisory board) is working on community educational priorities, supervising the local teachers assistance program, and studying state legislation on education.

A local "Work Study Program" was started March 18, 1974 funded by a special education grant that will be continued for several years. The program offers special instruction in vocational education. Those individuals who have reached the age of thirteen and have fallen more than one and one-half years behind their class in reading are eligible. Four options are presently open for vocational instruction: store clerking, store management, library science, and office work. The student spends one hour per day in the program and the employer receives a small amount of compensation. Fourteen students were enrolled in this program during the 1974-1975 school year.

Training programs have been initiated for many organizations within the community. Sealaska assumed the responsibility for the instruction of the village corporation board members. A special Indian education grant provided for school equipment and the opportunity for the local Advisory School Board to receive additional instruction concerning their role in the administration of a borough school system. A concerted effort is being made to upgrade local leaders in their knowledge of city administration, in their understanding of state and federal government through meetings with elected officials and participation in the Alaska Municipal League; and in their awareness of the functions and contributions of various Native organizations: ANB, ANS, T and H, and village corporations. The present community leadership have extended themselves far beyond the point of efficiency in management. Therefore, leadership training programs are being initiated in most sectors of community life to encourage greater participation and to "groom a number of persons for leadership" (Village Profile 1974:5). This accelerated program, which has recently been exhibited in Angoon, seems to be part of an aggressive movement on the part of smaller communities in Alaska to assert themselves in an effort to perpetuate their local way of life. It has been claimed that "exposure and participation [in politics] in the rural areas among the Native peoples appears to be much more extensive than in the Urban setting" (Alaska Student Higher Education Services 1974:4).

Preschool children, three to five year olds, are receiving training in early childhood development. A director and two aids enrolled in the Sheldon Jackson teacher aid program instruct the children in a reading readiness program, math readiness, and motor skills. Community development is comprehensive by covering most of the areas of town life and it is inclusive by embracing all ages.

Perpetuation of Cultural Heritage

The Tlingit language is predominant among the community elders. Few individuals under the age of thirty, however, are able to speak the language with any degree of fluency. Many of these young people are passively bilingual; that is, they understand the language but cannot speak it. Recently the community has become increasingly concerned with the gradual erosion of their cultural heritage; there is now a growing awareness of their cultural identity. In recognition of the importance of language as a symbol of their identity, courses in Tlingit language are offered to all students in elementary school.

Tlingit language studies were begun in the 1971-1972 school year by Art Demmert. It met three hours per week and was mandatory for all students in grades four through eight. A Title I Grant (1973-1974) included a bilingual and bicultural provision to hire several full- and part-time personnel to develop teaching materials geared to the spelling, pronunciation, and interpretation of words in both Tlingit and English. In a general sense, the residents of Angoon have been divided into three classifications relating to their knowledge of Tlingit culture: twenty to forty year olds are considered to be bicultural, forty to sixty year olds are designated as being transitional, and sixty plus years of age are regarded as being traditional (Tlingit elder).

In 1973-1974, a Johnson O. Malley Federal Grant for Native children was awarded the City of Angoon. The city administers the program along with the grade school principle. The first year of the program fifteen adults taught courses in carving, carpentry, Native dancing, knitting, cooking, and beading-blanket-moccasin making. The second year the programs were increased to two hours per day. The school year is divided into four nine week sessions. This permits a student to select four courses in Native studies each school year. Approximately 80 percent of the student body are enrolled in the courses each

quarter. Dr. Elinor Harvey, a psychological consultant for Mt. Edgecumbe High School in Sitka, Alaska regarded these mini-culture courses to be "superior to a regular bilingual program" (memo on recommendations). The seal skin jackets with their elaborate bead work, the moccasins, and the dance classes attest to the fact that Native art is surfacing again in Angoon. It was not "virtually dead" as has been suggested, it was merely in a dormant state awaiting the recent cultural renaissance (de Laguna 1960:16).

Traditionally, dancing, carving, blanket making, language fluency, and many other aspects of culture experienced their finest hour during the potlatch ceremony. This is still true. The arts, crafts, and other talents are still an intrinsic part of the ceremonial life (which is conducted almost entirely in Tlingit). Therefore, the cultural heritage program is a means to a greater participation in the community's ceremonial life.

Retention of Traditional Respect for Community and Individuals

Many activities in Angoon are designed to benefit both the individual and the community. The Public Assistance Program was designed to rewire old houses, install additional plumbing, replace weak foundation posts under houses and churches, and to repair broken water pipes. They also applied for federal funding for housing programs known as House Improvement Program (HIP). Through the program they were able to add additional rooms to overcrowded family quarters. Other homes were insulated, resided, or paneled.

A hot meal program for persons sixty years and older (including spouse) was started in April 1974. Meals are served three days a week and designed to give the person proper nutrition as well as provide an opportunity to socialize. Low income housing units have recently been completed.

Projected plans include a housing unit for senior citizens.

Two health aids have recently been trained to maintain a local health clinic and to make house calls in the community. Two hours per day are spent in house calls and one hour is spent in the clinic. The health aids were selected from the community and given special instruction in checking vital signs, reporting illness and accidents, administering first aid, detecting ill or handicapped children, giving dental care and injections, performing clinical office work, and filling prescriptions. A dentist, medical doctor, social worker, and public health nurse make periodic visits.

The city has improved its services in fire protection with the purchase of sixty-five fire extinguishers and a drive is underway to purchase a fire truck. Police services have been expanded, a new jail constructed, and rehabilitation counseling services initiated. In Dr. Harvey's (1974:2) psychological survey of Angoon, it was noted that the people live a "somewhat protected life where people watch out for one another." This community spirit and concern for the individual is readily observed in day-to-day community discourse. But it is nowhere as elegantly portrayed as when disease, disaster, or death strikes a person. For example, funeral expenses are collected from individuals within the community at a public service held by either the ANB or the ANS. All who desire contribute--usually from one to five dollars; most people share in the expenses. They refer to this practice as "Indian insurance." Traditional survival depended upon the cooperation of the community; the present economic squeeze demands it.

After struggling for several years with a declining fishing industry and experiencing the devastating loss of their economy, the community of Angoon has begun to zero in on those areas of concern that affect their economic and cultural way of life. They have isolated four target areas in which

to expend their time, energies, and resources. Notable progress has been evidenced in each area. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (1975:115) report observed that "the City of Angoon and other groups in the community have made great strides in improving economic conditions and living standards in the community."

With the completion of fifty-five new housing units in the past two years, the building of a community center, the construction of a private motel, a community motel underway, a new city hall and library, a machine shop on the drawing boards, a new high school gymnasium in the process of construction, and many other projects in various stages of planning, leadership training programs in progress, new educational opportunities, a renewed community consciousness, a new commitment to traditional culture, and a multi-million dollar corporation seeking profitable investments Angoon is exhibiting vital signs of community development. A significant indicator of this progress relates to the rapid increase in population. During the past year the community showed a net increase of almost 30 percent from 410 persons in 1974 to 530 individuals in 1975. This increase reveals confidence in the leadership, programs, and the future of Angoon.

Summary

The community of Angoon exists in an area of natural abundance. Until recently, much of the natural resources have remained undeveloped. Due to decreasing numbers of available fish, Angoon is being forced to selectively develop untapped resources and use more effectively existing resources. Using community goals, as the criterion to measure development, the analyst is permitted to include such elements as tradition, cultural enrichment, and local concerns in the evaluation process. Based upon the many projects that have been completed within the past decade, it is reasonable to assert that Angoon is indeed making rapid progress and is seeking to survive with significance.

Chapter XI

POLITICAL REVITALIZATION: A COMPARISON

In this chapter quantitative data pertaining to political revitalization among the Tlingit are summarized. Attitudes of individuals from two contrasting Tlingit communities--an urban community having a high exposure to acculturation and an island community with low exposure to acculturation--are compared.

I. Hypothesis and Measurements

Testing the Hypothesis

The general hypothesis for this study, as explained in Chapter I, asserts that exposure to economic pressures, external constraints, and urban living leads to an increase in political participation and in the use of symbols of identity. This hypothesis will be tested through the use of five specific hypotheses. These five hypotheses are concerned with changes in the following areas: (1) levels of political participation, (2) knowledge and use of symbols of identity, (3) attitudes toward change, (4) political alienation, and (5) relative deprivation. A test of these hypotheses was made by selecting a "treatment" group from among the Tlingit living in Seattle, Washington and a "comparison" group of traditional Tlingit living in Angoon, Alaska. According to the general hypothesis the group experiencing greater exposure to urban life should demonstrate a higher level of political participation, place greater importance upon traditional symbols of identity, reveal a greater openness to

change, exhibit a greater perception of political alienation than the rural group.

Format of Questionnaire

The basic format of the questionnaire used in the Tlingit survey was story opinion questions. When O'Barr (1973:219) conducted her research in Africa, she observed that the informants' reactions to the standard techniques of asking specific questions included suspicion, criticism, and evasion. Noting their frequent use of stories and examples in their ordinary conversations, she transposed her formalized questions into ordinary life situations and studied the peoples' response as a basis for measuring the attitudes of individuals. Although it was not possible for her to use both methods and then compare the responses, O'Barr gives three advantages for choosing story questions: (1) it permits the respondent to structure the answer to fit his perception of the situation, (2) it involves the researcher as a part of the role-playing environment of the respondent, and (3) it places the informant in a position of explaining additional aspects of the culture. Two limitations in its application are: (1) the questions are inherently culture bound and (2) the questions assume that attitudes and behavior of respondents are similar to the characters they select in the stories. Lansky (1968:308-309) noted a high correlation between opinions expressed in story questions and actual behavior.

Learning stories and parables were standard educational procedures in traditional Tlingit culture. Stories contained their history, principles of social organization, and values. Maternal uncles instructed their nephews in the art of speaking in parables so as not to insult the feelings of others. Many of the questions given in the course of this research were descriptions of culturally familiar situations that included the responses of from two to four individuals. A respondent was asked to choose the answer that he agreed with most.

Additional questions were given to ascertain what the informant in fact did in actual behavior. These statements were then compared to the choice selected in the opinion stories. In other words, both story and standard questions were used in an effort to enhance the validity of the study.

The questionnaire used in the Tlingit survey contained three sections: (1) story opinion questions, (2) identity questions, and (3) socioeconomic questions. In the story opinion questions a description was given of a specific "cultural scene" (Spradley 1972:24). Following the description, comments made by two or more characters in the cultural scene were given. The respondent was asked to select the opinions in the cultural scene that most nearly approximated his own thinking. If none of the comments represented the respondent's position, he was instructed to so indicate. The identity section contained two parts: one concerning the individual's general living situation and the other concerning the respondent's estimate of the importance of traditional Tlingit symbols of identity. The items in the socioeconomic section refer to age, sex, income, rank, blood quantum, and similar matters. Frequency tabulations of the responses to these questions are summarized in Part II of the Appendix.

Utility of Scales for Research in Tlingit Society

For over fifty years Tlingit have been educated in public school, voted in elections, served in the legislature, paid taxes, and competed favorably with whites in the labor market. Their knowledge of white culture is extensive. The type of questions contained in the questionnaire required no specialized knowledge of white culture. The standardized questions used asked for a selection of an individual's response to a story opinion question or an agree-disagree response. Matthews and Prothro's (1966) Guttman scale concerning political

participation simply sought to ascertain the highest level of individual political involvement. The self-anchoring scale, composed by Kilpatrick and Cantril (1960), has been widely validated from use in many foreign countries. The symbols of Tlingit identity were devised with the assistance of several Tlingit. Olsen's (1969) Guttman scale regarding political alienation consisted of a few simple generalizations about public officials with an agree-disagree response. Much of the material in this questionnaire has been long standing concerns of the ANB.

Validation of the Guttman Scales

According to Nie, Bent, and Hull (1970:201), there are four statistical measures for evaluating the scaleability (and hence the validity) of a Guttman Scale. These include the coefficient of reproducibility (CR), the minimum marginal reproducibility (MMR), the percent improvement (PI), and the coefficient of scaleability (CS). The CR attempts to determine what proportion of the responses falls into a "pure" scale pattern. A pure pattern refers to increased steps of elimination and difficulty in a scale. In a pure pattern scale a person who eliminates himself or defaults at one step should theoretically default at all remaining steps of increased difficulty. Those responses that do not conform to this pattern are considered to be "errors" in the scale. By computing the range of errors it is possible to determine the effectiveness of the scale. A minimum score of 0.90 has been suggested for validation of a Guttman Scale. "Minimum Marginal Reproducibility" is a measure of the proportion of respondents that passed or failed each item. The MMR measures the minimum CR that could have occurred for the scale given the responses for passing or failing each item. The PI distinguishes between the pattern responses of the CR and the inherent cumulative interaction of the variables measured by the MMR and is the percent of difference between the two

measurements. The CS measure is derived by dividing the PI by the difference between one and the MMR. The resulting ratio varies between zero and one. For a scale to be truly "unidimensional and cumulative" the CS should be well above 0.60. The CR and CS scores will be computed for each scale used in this study.

Samples

The data collected to test the general hypothesis were obtained through the use of a questionnaire submitted to fifty-seven Angoon, Alaska residents and fifty-nine Seattle, Washington residents during 1973-1974. All respondents were over twenty-one years of age and were at least one-fourth Tlingit. Fifty-three percent of the Angoon sample were males; 54 percent of the Seattle sample were males. Ninety-four percent of the Angoon respondents were at least three-fourth Tlingit compared to 46 percent for Seattle.

Role of Chance

In ascertaining the significance of any statistical analysis it is necessary to account for the role of chance. The significance level for this study was placed at 0.10. Glass and Stanley (1970:287) suggest that when study populations are relatively small and where a few responses can significantly affect the results it is often advisable to increase the possibility of a "Type I error" to as much as 0.10 "to insure a reasonable power for a test." This study is viewed as an exploratory guide for future research and subsequent analysis, with the data to be considered suggestive and tentative. Hence, the 0.10 significance level seems warranted.

II. Political Participation

Political Participation Defined

Commonly, political behavior is associated with such activities as voting, campaigning, or running for office. Political behavior also includes more subtle behavior that is crucial in shaping public opinion: conversing with friends, seeking information on forthcoming elections, evaluating the current record of elected officials, or writing letters to politicians. Matthews and Prothro (1966:37), when considering the multiplicity of political behaviors, define political participation as "all behavior through which people directly express their political opinions." This definition includes all public expression of political activity, from talking politics to holding political office. It distinguishes between the personal thoughts of an individual that are essentially private from the outward expression of those opinions, either in verbal communication or overt political behaviors. "Talking politics" includes all verbal expression of political affairs including gossip, complaints, bull sessions, or shop talk in which political opinions are voiced. Thus, for this study, only when a person acts upon private thoughts or communicates those opinions to others is that behavior considered to be political behavior or political participation.

Matthews and Prothro (1966:523-524) designed a scale to measure political participation. In their study they isolated five levels of political participation that were statistically and socially significant. Each level made increased demands upon the individual and, therefore, the higher levels contained fewer participants. The five levels of the Political Participation Scale (PPS) are as follows: (1) none, (2) talking, (3) voting, (4) participating in political campaigns, and (5) holding office.

The questions used to determine the levels of individual participation were of two types: (1) a story opinion question concerning the person's attitude toward the specific level of political participation and (2) a direct question concerning the person's actual participation at that specific level. The first question was designed to introduce the topic and to determine the individual's attitude toward that particular level of political activity. The following story opinion question is one of the questions used in the survey (additional questions in Part I of the Appendix, Nos. 9, 10, 13, 14, 28, 29).

A nephew asked his elders if he should talk about political subjects with other people.

1. The first elder said, "No, you won't accomplish anything and you will probably hurt other people's feelings."
2. The second elder said, "Yes, talking about something is the first step in getting anything accomplished."
3. The third elder said, "Yes, but only talk to reliable and capable people who are also respected elders."

A second type of question sought to ascertain the individual's personal involvement at that level. An example of this second type of question is as follows:

Which of the following groups of people do you talk to about political topics? (circle as many as are appropriate)

1. Relatives
2. Friends
3. Strangers

Testing the Political Participation Hypothesis

Basically the Matthews and Prothro (1966) scale differentiates four levels of political participation--from talking, voting, and campaigning, to holding office. The Coefficients of Reproducibility (CR, a method of analyzing the effectiveness of the scale) for the two cultures included in their study were 0.95 and 0.98--well above the suggested minimum validation score of 0.90. This scale will be used to test the hypothesis that greater exposure to urban influences

increases political participation. Two aspects of political behavior covered in the survey were reported behavior and attitudes. Attitudes were derived from a respondent's identification with a particular character in a story opinion question. The significance of the PPS in the Tlingit survey is shown by the t tests in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1 Political Behavior: Attitudes and Participation

Types of Political Behavior	Attitudes Toward Political Participation			Reported Levels of Political Participation		
	Angoon Mean Scores	Seattle Mean Scores	p*	Angoon Mean Scores	Seattle Mean Scores	p*
Talking	2.3	2.1	n. s.	2.1	2.6	.02
Voting	1.0	1.2	.01	2.5	2.3	.07
Campaigning	1.3	1.3	n. s.	0.9	0.6	.01
Seeking office	2.3	2.3	n. s.	0.8	0.6	.03

*Two-tailed; based on t test of difference in means shown in table.

The political participation scales (PPS) for both Tlingit communities showed a high rate of involvement in politics. A decisive majority from both the urban and traditional cultures participated at all levels of political involvement. The high rate of voting contrasts sharply with the low American voting record. The so-called Nixon landslide involved only approximately one-third of the electorate in spite of large publicity campaigns. Myrdal (1974:72) attributes American apathy to lack of education, being the world's oldest democracy, and weak labor unions among the lower classes. Tlingit activism was attributed in an earlier chapter to special educational emphases at the grass root level, pressure by the local ANB camp to vote, and the influence of relatives and friends. Table 11.2 depicts both the reported political behavior and attitudes toward the reported political behavior as contained in the Tlingit survey.

**Table 11.2 Levels of Political Participation and
Attitudes by Type of Community***

Levels of Political Participation	Angoon N = 54		Seattle N = 56	
	Percent Reporting Behavior	Percent Showing Attitude	Percent Reporting Behavior	Percent Showing Attitude
1. None	7	5	0	8
2. Talking	93	95	100	92
3. 2 and Voting	98	95	96	80
4. 3 and Campaigning	89	73	60	74
5. 4 and Holding Office	78	35	59	28
*CR scores	0.96	0.98	0.94	0.95
CS scores	0.42	0.80	0.69	0.68

At the talking level on the PPS, Seattle Tlingit participated at a higher level but expressed a slightly lower attitude toward discussing political concerns with non-relatives (see Table 11.3). Angoon Tlingit conformed more closely to traditional politics which stressed the importance of discussing politics with

**Table 11.3 Socioeconomic Correlates of Attitudes
Toward Political Participation**

Correlations Between Political Participation Level and Socioeconomic Factors	Angoon		Seattle	
	r*	p*	r*	p*
Talking with education	-0.21	.06		
Talking with income			-0.27	.02
Voting with education			-0.21	.07
Voting with income			-0.25	.04
Voting with sex			0.18	.09
Campaigning with education			-0.18	.09
Campaigning with traditional rank			-0.25	.04
Campaigning with sex			-0.24	.04
Holding office with income			-0.18	0.10
Holding office with sex			-0.21	.05

*Only correlations with a level of significance of 0.10 or above are included in this table.

reliable and respected elders (by a margin of 65 to 42 percent). Almost twice as many Seattle Tlingit talked politics with friends and strangers as did Angoon Tlingit. In a close-knit village environment, politics seemed to be more connected with kinship ties than it did among the Seattle Tlingit who were scattered in an urban setting. Increases in educational levels among the Angoon Tlingit correlated significantly ($r = -0.29$; $p < .02$) with decreased participation (see Table 11.4) in talking politics; whereas an increase in age revealed a high correlation with increased participation at the talking level ($r = 0.36$; $p < .01$). Traditionally, elders, in their role as lineage educators, contributed much in shaping public opinion; this influence has carried over into contemporary politics. Public education undermines the reliance upon elders and has contributed to a weakening of the erstwhile kinship ties and politics as evidenced by decreased individual participation at the talking level among the educated. The research

Table 11.4 Socioeconomic Correlates of
Reported Behavior of Political Participation

Correlations Between Political Participation Level and Socioeconomic Factors	Angoon		Seattle	
	r*	p*	r*	p*
Talking with education	-0.29	.02		
Talking with age	0.36	.01	-0.21	.07
Talking with income			0.31	.02
Talking with blood quantum			-0.22	.06
Talking with sex			-0.22	.06
Voting with education	0.22	.07	0.30	.02
Voting with age	0.30	.01	0.31	.02
Voting with income	0.22	.07	0.23	.06
Campaigning with blood quantum			0.36	.01
Campaigning with sex	0.21	.08	-0.28	.03
Holding office with education			0.25	.04
Holding office with age			0.19	.08
Holding office with sex	0.25	.04		

*Only correlations with a level of significance of 0.10 or above are included in this table.

data indicate a widening gap between increments of education and talking politics. Increases in age and Tlingit blood quantum among the Seattle Tlingit corresponded to decreasing participation at the talking level of politics. This decrease in political participation by older Seattle Tlingit may be due, in part, to the decreased importance of kinship or the availability of relatives to older persons in the Seattle area. As annual incomes increased in Seattle, a significant increase was demonstrated in individual participation at the talking level on the PPS. In Angoon the older and less educated individual participated at a higher rate while in Seattle it was the younger, more highly educated, and mixed breeds who showed the higher level of participation at the talking level.

At the voting level on the PPS (see Table 11.2), Angoon demonstrated a slight lead in participation--96 to 94 percent. Angoon respondents indicated that their voting frequency patterns were as follows: 2 percent were non-voters, 4 percent voted occasionally, 29 percent were average voters, and 65 percent voted most of the time. Again the voting frequencies among the Seattle Tlingit were slightly lower: 4 percent non-voters, 22 percent occasional voters, 14 percent average voters, and 60 percent voted most of the time. Voting is often considered to be one of the more effective means of influencing the policies of a government. Lipset and colleagues (1954:1128) conducted an extensive survey on general voting patterns in the United States and from their study extrapolated four general "explanatory propositions" that summarized the literature regarding high rates of voter turnout for certain groups: (1) "if its interests are more strongly affected by government," (2) "if it has more access to information about relevance of government policies to its interests," (3) "if it is exposed to social pressures demanding voting," and (4) "if the pressures to vote are not directed in different political directions so as to create conflict over which way to vote." These four propositions explain the high level of voter participation

among the Tlingit. In short, their rights and resources were threatened by governmental politics. The ANB responded to white pressures in the 1920s with educational campaigns and committees to encourage, educate, and coordinate the Native vote to back favorable programs and candidates.

In both Tlingit groups voting correlated significantly with age, education, and annual income. This similarity in voting frequencies is very likely attributable to the aggressive influence of Native organizations. A Tlingit elder reported that a white politician in Alaska once remarked to a fellow legislator that if the Indians only knew their political power they could accomplish a great deal. The fellow legislator remarked that "You haven't seen politics until you've seen Indian politics." Seven Alaska Natives--Eskimo, Aleut, and Indians--were elected to the state legislature in 1970. More Natives serve the Alaska legislature than the combined total of Indian legislators in the lower forty-eight states (Officer 1972:83).

In many ways the Tlingit situation resembles that of the Maori in New Zealand (Williams 1969:6, 38, 89). Neither Native group were being "driven to the wall." Indeed, at first both groups benefited by European trade but later were exploited by the arrangements. Both Native groups participated in elections and staged protests, boycotts, and passive resistance. Both groups emulated the European economic enterprise and educational opportunities but sought to preserve their traditional cultures.

A third and generally more demanding level on the PPS involves participation in political campaigns. It encompasses such activities as contributing money, distributing leaflets, or attendance at political rallies. Eighty-nine percent of the Angoon responses compared to 60 percent for Seattle responses participated at the campaigning level. In Seattle, increased blood quantum levels correlated with campaigning ($r = .36$; $p < .01$). In Angoon, women

participated significantly in political campaigns whereas women in Seattle refrained from participation in campaigning with a greater frequency. In the matrilineally oriented Tlingit society women have traditionally been ascribed greater participation in political affairs than white women. For many years white women were denied the right to vote. American politics until recently has largely been the domain of males. Tlingit women in Seattle may have also felt restricted by white politics. On the basis of the two correlations the difference in the levels of participation for the two groups seems highly attributable to this lower female involvement in Seattle.

The highest level of political commitment on the PPS, in terms of time and energies, is seeking political office. Qualification for participation at this level included running for political office or holding an office in a political association. Matthews and Prothro's (1966:51) criterion of belonging to political associations was omitted as a diagnostic for this level since almost everyone belonged to a Native organization by birth, e.g., T and H Organization. In Table 11.2 approximately 80 percent of the Angoon respondents participated at this level compared to about 60 percent of the Seattle Tlingit. Angoon women demonstrated an even greater involvement in holding political offices than they did in campaigning. These two correlations verify the common contention that "the Alaska Native Sisterhood is the backbone of the Alaska Native Brotherhood." Education and age were the two significant socioeconomic factors that correlated positively with holding office among the Seattle Tlingit.

Summary

The survey data failed to support the hypothesis that exposure to urban constraints increased political participation. The Angoon responses indicated that the opposite was true, albeit by a slim margin. However, if the Seattle Tlingit women would have been as active as the Angoon women at the campaigning

and office holding levels the tabulations could have virtually been the same. Indeed, the difference in the responses may be due more to American politics in Seattle which favors male over female involvement.

III. Tlingit Politics: Selected Aspects

Initiation of the Process

According to traditional Tlingit politics, public concerns usually arose in general household discussion. If a public concern involved other households the affair was referred to a council of household heads. Households were ranked; individuals belonged to social classes; and a chain of command rigidly defined leadership. Much of traditional politics changed with the emergence of the ANB: the idea of Native equality gained prominence, political awareness and bloc voting was encouraged, and a new politically minded citizenry emerged. Considering these many changes in traditional politics, respondents were asked to indicate which type of person could most effectively solve Native political problems: (1) Native people, (2) tribal leaders, or (3) national Indian leaders significant at above the .03 level (see Table 11.5). A second question inquired as to which one of the three levels was responsible for initiating the political process (see Table 11.6).

Table 11.5 Type of Person Best Qualified to Solve
Native Political Problems (Question 30, Appendix Part I)

Type of Person	Angoon N = 54		Seattle N = 56	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Local people	28	52	18	30
Tribal leaders			3	5
National leaders	26	48	35	59
Other response			3	5

Table 11.6 Type of Person Best Qualified to Initiate the Political Process (Question 31, Appendix Part I)

Type of Person	Angoon N = 53		Seattle N = 53	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Local people	39	74	36	69
Tribal leaders	6	11	11	21
National leaders	7	13	6	11
Other response	1	2		

The respondents from Angoon expressed about an equal preference for local people and national leaders as the most effective level for solving political problems (52 and 48 percent, respectively). Seattle Tlingit indicated that national leaders was the most effective level by a 60 to 30 percent margin (the remaining 10 percent being evenly distributed between other responses and a preference for tribal leaders). Approximately 74 percent of the Angoon Tlingit and 68 percent of the Seattle Tlingit believed that local people were ultimately responsible for initiating the political process. The remaining responses concerning initiation of the political process were about evenly distributed between tribal and national leaders. Considering the overwhelming percentage of individuals who designated the people as being primarily responsible for the political process, it is not surprising that the Tlingit display a high rate of participation in politics. The ANB continues to stress the importance of individual involvement; traditional Tlingit households taught a religio-political commitment; and both influences are evident in Tlingit participation in contemporary politics.

Leadership Preference

Contemporary Tlingit leaders should be responsive to the will of the people, emphathize with their needs, and aggressively work for the realization of their public concerns according to 93 percent of the Angoon respondents and

80 percent of the Seattle respondents. Leaders were said to represent the will of the people and should speak out in behalf of their constituencies. The criteria for contemporary community house leaders included the individual who had proven his ability to accomplish things along with a genuine interest in household traditions according to 65 percent of the Angoon responses and 69 percent of the Seattle responses (see Table 11.7). Approximately 17 percent from both groups preferred contemporary community house heads who were well educated and successful over interest in tradition. Seventeen percent of the Seattle respondents considered the qualification of high rank to be an important consideration for household leadership in addition to success and interest in tradition. The traditional value of achievement through accomplishments tended to persist into the present, while the importance of rank was of about equal importance with education. Rank was of utmost importance in former times.

Table 11.7 Preferred Qualifications for Contemporary Household Leaders (Question 37, Appendix Part I)

Qualifications	Angoon N = 52		Seattle N = 57	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Success, education	9	17	10	17
Success, interest in tradition	34	65	40	69
Success, interest in tradition, high rank	9	17	7	12

Many of the early ANB leaders received a better education than most Tlingit but generally belonged to lower rank. At first many ANB leaders perceived tradition as a hindrance to the advancement of Native claims to citizenship. Later as these innovating ANB leaders assumed the position of household leadership their concern for the perpetuation of tradition intensified. Since the

ANB advocated equality, brotherhood, and achievement the former emphasis upon rank diminished in importance. It appears that the ability to establish and assert one's rank is becoming increasingly difficult. With the change from a multicentric economic system to a unicentric economic system no material goods have an intrinsic prestigious value limited to a separate sphere of exchange from other material items. Even Chilkat blankets can be purchased with money like any ordinary item of merchandise. Education has largely replaced hereditary titles to land in providing an economic advantage to increased annual incomes. The Land Claims Settlement Act provided equal compensation to all Tlingit irrespective of former claim to rank, title, and control of strategic resources.

Rank, at the present time, is more of a ceremonial affair than an economic and political affair although its ramifications in traditional villages are not completely ignored in these other two categories. Rank is an extension of former prestige continued into the present but devoid of many of the diagnostics that permitted review and readjustments in the sociopolitical sphere. Potlatches provide a partial arena but prestige is largely tallied in dollars which are accessible to all. Hence, the economic pressures of a non-indigenous economy are slowly eroding the meaning and place of rank in determining qualifications for leadership.

Political Activism

The Political Participation Scale assesses the level of participation but does not address the question of political activism. Thus, an additional story opinion question was included to explore this issue. In it two individuals state their opinions concerning the American Indian Movement (AIM). One of the story opinion characters asserts that it is the "only way to be heard"; the other argues that it is not "the traditional Indian way of accomplishing things."

The majority from both samples shared the opinion of the first character who believed that AIM represented the only way to be heard (see Table 11.8). This response reveals, to some extent, the frustration and futility encountered in normal channels of expression and traditional channels of communication that have been available to the Natives in the past. The majority were tired of promises and talk; they wanted action and results "now." Almost three times as many Tlingit in Angoon had participated in political protests compared to Seattle Tlingit (49 and 18 percent, respectively, significant at .04 level). Many older Alaskan residents remember vividly their "sit-ins," "walkouts," and "boycotts" staged from about 1925 to 1930 (see Table 11.9). By and large, the response seemed to be more in sympathy with advancing the Native cause and perceiving AIM as an overt expression of those concerns.

Table 11.8 Attitude Toward the American Indian Movement (Question 24, Appendix Part I)

Responses	Angoon N = 49		Seattle N = 58	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Not traditional way	16	28	17	29
Only way to be heard	32	56	38	66
Other	1	2	3	5

Table 11.9 Reported Participation in Political Protests (Question 25, Appendix Part I)

Responses	Angoon N = 33		Seattle N = 40	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No participation	17	52	33	83
Reported participation	16	49	7	18

Native Organizations

Two Native associations that hold prominence among the Tlingit are the ANB and the recently formed regional corporations in Alaska. Ninety-four percent of the Angoon responses and 84 percent of the Seattle Tlingit believed that the ANB is as important today as it was in the past, significant at the .07 level (see Table 11.10). This response was especially interesting since the Seattle Brotherhood meets on a very irregular basis and the Angoon ANB has few paid-up members. Many of the former responsibilities of the ANB are presently being shouldered by the T and H Organization or Sealaska Corporation. Still the ANB is active in many locations and holds annual conventions to focus their influence on Native concerns. The response seems to be a reflection of a general concern for Native rights and resources as well as an acknowledgment that the ANB represents a political channel for Tlingit concerns. It should be noted that the Sisterhoods in both communities are active and assume some of the affairs of a local ANB camp.

Table 11.10 Present Evaluation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (Question 44, Appendix Part I)

Responses	<u>Angoon N = 51</u>		<u>Seattle N = 57</u>	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Important for social functions	1	2	6	11
Has served its purpose	2	4	3	5
Equally important now	48	94	48	84

Four general concerns voiced by Southeastern Alaska Natives were inserted into a story opinion question:

A married couple visiting one of their parents talked about the formation of regional corporations and the pros and cons about joining.

The father said, "I think that joining is like selling out to the government since the land has always belonged to us."

The mother said, "That may be true, but a small payment is better than none."

The young man said, "I think it will create a few high paying jobs and the rest of us won't get much."

The young woman said, "I wish they were sharing the wealth like Indians have always done in the past."

The family's responses reflect the range of general disagreement inherent in the thinking of many Tlingit regarding the handling of the Land Claim Settlement Act. The Tlingit responses also show a considerable difference of opinion concerning the formation of regional corporations and the handling of the land settlement (see Table 11.11). A small plurality of Angoon respondents indicated that a small payment was better than none; a distinct plurality of Seattle Tlingit preferred the wealth to be shared. Many Tlingit believe that the land settlement is "too little and too late." Perhaps if the land problem had been resolved in the 1920s, before the dispersion of many Alaskans into the "lower forty-eight states," the solution would have been simplified.

Table 11.11 Attitudes Toward Regional Corporations
(Question 42, Appendix Part I)

Responses	Angoon N = 40		Seattle N = 56	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Joining like selling out	8	20	7	13
Small payment better than none	12	30	14	25
Creates a few high paying jobs	5	13	7	13
Share wealth as done in past	11	28	22	39
Others	4	7	6	11

Political Identities

Another area of concern in the survey regarded individual attitudes toward other people. The responses generally confirmed the Tlingit stand against prejudice by accentuating their general acceptance of all people on the basis of individual merit rather than extraneous factors such as race, culture,

or origins. The Brotherhood has maintained the equality of all people and the survey evidenced that the majority of Tlingit in both communities feel equally close to all people (see Table 11.12). This belief undoubtedly facilitates greater interaction with all people--especially whites.

Table 11.12 Personal Identification Preference
(Question 41, Appendix Part I)

Identity Group	Angoon N = 53		Seattle N = 57	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Lot in common with all Indians	7	13	9	16
More in common with whites	1	2	4	7
Equally close to most people	29	55	32	56
Feel closer to my people	16	30	12	21

In addition to noting the general Tlingit attitude toward other people, the writer sought to discern the Tlingit attitude toward other tribes. The overwhelming response indicated that the Tlingit preferred retaining their tribal uniqueness while at the same time encouraging intertribal cooperation (Angoon 70 percent and Seattle 81 percent). Isolation was strongly rejected and only modest support existed for pan-tribalism (see Table 11.13).

Table 11.13 Attitude Toward Tribal Relationships
(Question 34, Appendix Part I)

Responses	Angoon N = 53		Seattle N = 59	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Each tribe should do own thing	2	4	2	4
Get together and form one group	14	26	9	15
Preserve uniqueness, but cooperate	37	70	48	81

IV. Attitudes Toward Change and Political Alienation

Since the time of early European contacts, the Tlingit have become increasingly involved in the process of acculturation leading to many adjustments and changes in the sociopolitical sphere. Feelings of alienation during periods of rapid acculturation are especially intensified in those situations where members of a recipient culture experience marked political discrimination. Two considerations that emerge from discrimination and that impinge upon political participation are: (1) individual attitudes toward change in general and (2) feelings of alienation that may develop during the process of change. A scale devised by Matthews and Prothro to measure attitudes toward change and a scale developed by Olsen to measure political alienation will be used to measure openness to change and political alienation among the Tlingit.

Attitude Toward Change

Matthews and Prothro (1966:526) devised a five point conservative-liberal scale to measure individual attitudes to change (this Guttman-type scale has a CR of 0.92). In order to accommodate the Matthews and Prothro scale into a story opinion questionnaire, an additional opinion was added to each of the five questions that represented an opposing viewpoint to provide a dialogue for a story format. The respondent was asked to select the answer that best represented his opinion. The following example is one of the five questions comprising this scale in the questionnaire (see Questions 8, 19, 32, 38, Appendix Part I, for additional questions in this scale).

Two elderly men sat on a park bench talking about the customs and habits of people.

The first man said, "If something grows up over a long time, there will always be much wisdom in it."

The second man said, "I think that some things can be just as good if they grow up over a short period of time."

The CR scores for the story opinion version of the Matthews and Prothro's scale was 0.93 and 0.88 for Seattle and Angoon, respectively. Thus, it appears the additional statement expressing another opinion (not contained in the original scale) for each question exerted a negligible influence on the validity of the scale.

Both samples exhibited a generally high level of openness to change with the urban sector displaying a small but consistently higher level (see Table 11.14). Thus the data support the hypothesis concerning increased openness to change in urban areas.

Table 11.14 Attitude Toward Change

Questions	Angoon Mean		Seattle Mean		p*
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Short time, much wisdom	1.5	47	1.7	61	.04
Some mature early in life	1.5	51	1.8	70	.01
Many changes are good	1.8	79	1.9	86	n. s.
Evaluate and improve things	1.2	84	1.1	90	n. s.
Study past and then do our best	1.6	47	1.4	61	.03

*Two-tailed; based on t test of difference in means shown in the table.

Political Alienation

A salient feature in the study of political participation pertains to feelings of alienation. Olsen (1969:289) defines political alienation as "attitudes of estrangement from the political system." Olsen described two distinct types of political alienation--"incapacity" and "dissatisfaction." Those individuals with feelings of incapacity perceive the political system as being so highly complicated that participation would be an exercise in futility. Members of society feeling political dissatisfaction are those who choose to remain aloof from the political process due to disenchantment with the political system rather than

due to a lack of understanding of the political process. Olsen expressed the opinion that either type of alienation may lead to individual disassociation from the political process.

Olsen's two-part scale of alienation was refined through a series of tests. The resultant scale was given to a list of respondents "systematically" selected from a telephone book. The Olsen CR score for the incapacity scale was 0.89; for the discontentment scale, it was 0.92. All CR and CS scores for political alienation fell below the suggested minimum level for validation (Angoon CR 0.82 and 0.77, CS 0.50 and 0.40; Seattle CR 0.84 and 0.83, CS 0.58 and 0.57). Although some of the scores were close to the suggested levels (CR 0.90 and CS 0.60) they indicate a need for additional study and modification. A significant difference evident in the Tlingit survey pertains to the question on voting. In Olsen's survey the question concerning voting as the only means of influencing government received the lowest response on the incapability scale, while in the Tlingit survey it received the highest response. The high Tlingit response is probably indicative of the success they have experienced through their concentrated voting practices. On the discontentment scale, the Tlingit response reversed the order of two questions in the Olsen survey. The highest level of Tlingit discontentment was not in a belief in the government's incapability in solving problems; it was the contention that the government often fails to take necessary actions on important matters. Perhaps the attitude of government inaction reflects Tlingit frustration on the land claims suit that extended more than forty years before a settlement.

The results were then subjected to the Multiple Classification Computer Analysis Program which studies the interaction effect among the various variables in a scale. The results of this analysis indicate that even through the incapacity and dissatisfaction categories of political alienation were interrelated

they were also "relatively distinct categories of estranged attitudes" (Olsen 1969:293). Therefore, in this study the two types of alienation will be compared separately and also as one scale.

Three objectives in the present study concern (1) the extent to which the Tlingit may have become politically alienated from the American political system as a result of their loss of land, resources, status, respect, and civil rights, (2) which type of alienation is most prevalent if in fact alienation has occurred, and (3) whether the two samples display the same type and level of alienation. An example of a political alienation statement in the questionnaire is as follows: "I believe public officials don't care much what people like me think" (for additional questions in the alienation scale see Questions 4, 5, 6, 20, 21, 22, 23, Appendix Part I).

The data from the responses on the two scales reveal that the Angoon respondents scored slightly higher on the incapacity scale and that Seattle scored slightly higher on the discontentment scale (see Table 11.15 and Table 11.16). According to Olsen's scales both groups expressed considerable feelings of alienation but varied as to the type of alienation. A specific hypothesis for this study asserted that political alienation would be greater in urban centers. Presumably individuals living in urban centers would by virtue of greater exposure to urban society be more knowledgeable of politics. Therefore, if alienation existed the group confronted with greater exposure should theoretically score lower on feelings of incapacity and higher on feelings of discontentment than the group with lower exposure.

One significant trend emerged from a correlation analysis of political alienation with socioeconomic factors. A significant relationship exists between feelings of alienation on the discontentment scale and diminished levels of blood quantum on three out of the four questions ($r = -0.32$, $p < .01$; $r = -0.26$,

Table 11.15 Political Alienation: Incapacity/Futility Scale

Questions	Angoon		Seattle		p*
	Mean	% Agree	Mean	% Agree	
3. I believe public officials don't care much what people like me think.	0.34	66	0.33	67	n. s.
4. I believe that there is no way other than voting that people like me can influence actions of the government.	0.72	28	0.52	48	.03
5. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that I can't really understand what's going on.	0.66	34	0.67	33	n. s.
6. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.	0.32	68	0.29	71	n. s.

*Two-tailed; based on t test of difference in means shown in table.

Table 11.16 Political Alienation: Discontentment/Cynicism Scale

Questions	Angoon		Seattle		p*
	Mean	% Agree	Mean	% Agree	
20. I think the government is trying to do too many things including some activities that I don't think it has the right to do.	0.39	61	0.42	58	n. s.
21. For the most part, the government serves the interests of a few organized groups, such as business or labor, and isn't very concerned about the needs of people like myself.	0.44	56	0.45	55	n. s.
22. It seems to me that the government often fails to take necessary actions on important matters, even when most people favor such actions.	0.62	38	0.75	25	n. s.
23. As the government is organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today.	0.44	56	0.55	45	n. s.

*Two-tailed; based on t test of difference in means shown in table.

$p < .03$; $r = -0.26$, $p < .03$). Thus individuals possessing lower levels of Tlingit blood quantum experience increased feelings of political alienation. Apparently those individuals who tend to be physically marginal to both white and Tlingit cultures perceive the greatest sense of dissatisfaction with politics.

An anomaly in the survey exists between the high level of political alienation and high level of political participation. According to Olsen's study the politically alienated refuse to participate due to feelings of futility or cynicism. In the Tlingit survey extensive political participation exists at all levels of politics. A key to this puzzle may be contained in the rearrangement of the fourth level question on Olsen's incapacity scale to the first or lowest level. The Tlingit experience feelings of political alienation but they believe strongly that they do in fact have some say in government through voting. In fact 72 percent of the Angoon respondents feel that voting is the only way. Successful demonstrations of bloc voting under the auspices of the ANB have convinced the people of the effectiveness of voting. In spite of feelings of alienation, the people continue to participate.

V. Importance of Tlingit Symbols of Identity

Importance of Symbols

Political revitalization involves manipulation and intensification of the use of traditional symbols in order to simulate a political constituency to a higher level of cultural participation and commitment. Members of a cultural entity, in migrating to urban centers, often become involved in a struggle for power and resources with other ethnic groups and in the process of adaptation will use their values, symbols, and traditions to assist in the organization of a political faction as a vehicle to obtain access to power. Cohen (1969:5) suggests that this process gives distinctiveness and identity to groups and assists

in resolving several organizational problems such as authority, discipline, and ideology. If urban migration is a causal factor for political and cultural revitalization, then those members of an ethnic group who reside in urban centers would be expected to place greater importance upon traditional identity symbols.

Measurement of Symbols

A master list of ten symbols of identity was compiled with the assistance of several Tlingit and non-Tlingit. Members of non-Tlingit tribes were consulted to ascertain those diagnostics which distinguished Tlingit from other Native groups. Le Vine (1966:108) refers to this procedure as "reputational ethnography." Three qualified Tlingit elders were selected to serve as consultants in evaluating the master list. Selection of the three elders was based upon: (1) knowledge of traditional culture, (2) contacts with Tlingit in Seattle and Alaska, and (3) ability to articulate the essentials of Tlingit culture.

A revised master list of ten symbols of identity was included in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to estimate the overall importance of each symbol by ranking it on a five point scale: (1) no importance, (2) some importance, (3) average importance, (4) above average importance, and (5) high importance. One of the hypotheses to be tested in the survey stated that greater exposure to urban constraints would result in a higher level of importance attached to traditional symbols. Hence Tlingit living in Seattle would, if the proposition is correct, be expected to attach greater significance to traditional symbols than the Angoon Tlingit. Our survey data, however, did not lend support to this hypothesis. In fact the reverse was demonstrated. The Angoon Tlingit exhibited a higher level of concern for traditional symbols than the Tlingit in Seattle.

Analysis of Symbols

Of the ten prominent symbols of ethnic identity in Table 11.17 Angoon scored higher on six symbols, Seattle on two symbols, and they tied on the remaining two. Seattle attributed greater significance to physical characteristics and kinship ties. Seattle Tlingit possessed lower levels of blood quantum but placed a slightly higher level of importance to skin color than those from Angoon. Only 38 percent of the Seattle Tlingit, compared to 87 percent from Angoon, were full-bloods. The relatively low importance placed upon skin color by both groups is indicative of traditional values. Actually one of the objectives of the girls puberty ritual included seclusion from society. A sign of high class and long periods of seclusion was light skin. Consequently, light skin became desirable.

Table 11.17 Importance of Symbols of Identity

Symbol of Identity	Angoon Mean	Seattle Mean	p*
Physical characteristics (skin color)	2.2	2.3	n. s.
Knowledge of culture (stories, dances)	4.0	3.7	n. s.
Knowledge of language (ability to speak it)	4.1	3.4	.01
Attendance at group gatherings	3.7	3.6	n. s.
Commitment to "our" way of life	4.0	3.3	.01
Behavioral mannerisms (speaking, acting)	3.7	3.1	.02
Blood ties (relatives and rank)	4.0	4.1	n. s.
Knowledge and meaning of crests	3.9	3.5	n. s.
Defense of one's house (awareness of insults)	3.5	3.5	n. s.
Industriousness (active, busy, skillful)	4.1	4.1	n. s.

*Two-tailed; based on t test of difference in means shown in table.

One background element that correlated significantly with skin color was education. The higher the level of education the greater the perceived importance of skin color ($r = 0.21$; $p < .06$). The importance of blood ties also correlated with blood quantum. The higher the level of blood quantum, the

greater the importance of blood ties ($r = 0.20$; $p < .06$). These two symbols, in which Seattle placed higher importance than Angoon, suggest that (1) skin color increases in importance as a diagnostic of Tlingit identity as the level of education increases and (2) kinship ties increase in importance as the level of blood quantum increases.

Increases in annual income among the Seattle Tlingit showed a high correlation with decreased levels of importance placed upon the following symbols of Tlingit identity: knowledge of culture, commitment to the Tlingit way of life, behavioral mannerisms, knowledge of house crests, willingness to come to the defense of the household crest, and emphasis upon industriousness (the alpha scores were respectively .08, .01, .04, .01, .03, and .01). Economic success in the urban setting lessened the perceived importance of many traditional symbols. This seems to suggest that economic success may be interpreted as positive feedback to persons; that they are part of the present system and, therefore, their dependence upon former symbols of identity is diminished. Approximately one-fourth of the Seattle Tlingit earned over \$12,500 per year and 15 percent were postgraduates--an indication of their ability to succeed in urban environments. Increases in annual income showed one positive correlation at a significant level--importance of social gatherings ($r = 0.32$; $p < .01$). Traditionally, wealth and the ability to host social gatherings were synonymous. Wealth was a prerequisite for feasting and potlatching. Increased financial success leads to greater social involvement.

Seattle respondents who were older, of higher rank, and of higher Tlingit blood quantum placed greater importance upon the Tlingit language, knowledge and meaning of household crests, behavioral mannerisms, and defense of one's house ($p < .05$, .06, .09 and .02, respectively). Tlingit elders have engaged in a lifelong struggle to obtain their rights and resources. To

these elders, the symbols of identity represent the essence of that struggle.

Angoon Tlingit placed a higher level of importance upon six symbols: knowledge of culture, speaking the Tlingit language, commitment to Tlingit culture, Native mannerisms, social gatherings, and the meaning of crests. These six concerns represent those areas of traditional culture most vigorously challenged by educators and missionaries. Many students, for example, experienced severe reprimands for speaking their language while attending school. Two correlations that stand out in this section are those between age and rank; both are positively related to increases in the importance of house crests ($r = 0.21$, $p < .06$; $r = 0.27$, $p < .03$). Age and rank affect an individual's participation in household affairs and ceremonial occasions. Older and higher ranked persons assume responsibility for the communal property of the household, the traditions, and the education of the youth. It is not surprising, therefore, that they place higher status upon house crests. Women place a lower importance upon house crests than do males ($r = 0.20$, $p < .08$). At marriage women were transferred to another household and, consequently, lived under the aegis of another crest. Males, on the other hand, served as spokesmen for their households. And, indeed, Tlingit women are less intimately involved with house crests.

Angoon respondents placed a slightly lower level of importance on skin color and blood ties than the Seattle Tlingit. Traditionally, skin color was never considered to be of high importance since light skin wives were preferred. Both Tlingit groups in the survey placed skin color somewhat below average importance. A significant correlation occurs between high rank and the importance of physical characteristics particularly skin color ($r = 0.26$, $p < .04$). The concern with skin color, on the part of higher ranking individuals, may be due, in part, to the increased frequency of marriages with whites. As one mother

stated, "We use to prefer light-skinned babies but now we hope for darker ones." Higher ranking people occupy a more prominent place in traditional culture and in the present ceremonial life.

Increased levels of education and annual income in Angoon correlate with increased importance of blood ties ($r = 0.20$, $p < .08$; $r = 0.27$, $p < .03$). Education has been both generally valued and viewed with suspicion; it offers an avenue to economic success and yet it distracts attention from many traditional values. However, in this situation education and income foster an emphasis upon blood ties. The only other occasion when income correlates significantly with one of the symbols of identity is with social gatherings ($r = 0.19$, $p < .09$). It appears that in Angoon income, education, social gatherings, and blood ties are interconnected. Traditionally, wealth and social gatherings were interrelated; wealth provided the means and social gatherings the occasion for advancing both an individual and his group. The more highly educated persons in Angoon may, on the one hand, be viewed with reservations but may by virtue of a better education, on the other hand, be the most able financially to contribute to social gatherings. In both situations blood ties would become important for acceptance and security. In Seattle income was associated with social gatherings at even a higher level of significance ($r = 0.32$, $p < .01$).

Seattle and Angoon respondents placed equal importance upon the defense of oneself and one's house (3.5) and being industrious (4.1). A high evaluation of industriousness correlated positively with social rank for Angoon ($r = 0.34$, $p < .01$). Tlingit are known for their perseverance and diligence; they have the reputation of being among the best dressed persons at social gatherings. Tlingit women are known for their ability to work with their hands and their incessant handiwork. Tlingit men take pride in being a member of the crew of a "highliner"--the boat in the area with the season's highest catch

of fish. Industriousness, wealth, and rank were traditional markings of an aristocrat and highly valued by persons of rank even today. Although the Seattle Tlingit placed the same value of importance upon industriousness, their responses showed a high negative correlation with income ($r = 0.43$, $p < .01$). It is difficult to assess why persons with high income in Seattle view industriousness as of lower importance, unless they perceive that most people possessing lower incomes as, ipso facto, lazy.

Coming to the defense of one's house correlated positively with rank among both samples (Angoon $r = 0.26$, $p < .04$; Seattle $r = 0.28$, $p < .02$). Obviously those of rank and privilege within the household structure had more at stake. They felt insults more keenly; they received greater compensation for wrongs. Increases in income among the Seattle responses correlated with a decrease in the willingness of an individual to come to the defense of one's household ($r = -0.27$, $p < .03$). It would seem that greater economic security decreased an individual's feeling of dependency toward the welfare of the household.

From the statistical analysis in Table 11.18 of two Tlingit communities it can be seen that the more aggressive manipulators of cultural symbols of identity were the Angoon Tlingit (Angoon six, Seattle two, and two even). It would appear that the hypothesis concerning urban migration and political revitalization may be too general. The Angoon situation seems to suggest that competition for survival and resources caused by modernization may be even more intensive in rural areas than in urban communities. Some individuals choose to migrate to urban centers in an attempt to survive while others choose to remain, but all eventually become involved in a struggle for cultural survival. These data seem to suggest that the community or area that perceives the greater threat to its cultural and physical survival experiences the

greater revitalization.

Table 11.18 Socioeconomic Correlates of Importance of Symbols of Identity

Correlations Between Symbols of Identity and Socioeconomic Factors	Angoon		Seattle	
	r	p*	r	p*
Skin color with rank	0.26	.04		
Skin color with education			0.21	.06
Social gatherings with income	0.19	.09	0.32	.01
Blood ties with blood quantum			0.20	.06
Blood ties with education	0.20	.08		
Blood ties with income	0.27	.03		
Knowledge of culture with income			-0.20	.08
Knowledge of language with age			0.22	.05
Commitment to life-style with income			-0.45	.01
Behavioral mannerism with income			-0.24	.04
Behavioral mannerism with blood quantum			0.18	.09
House crests with rank	0.27	.03	0.21	.06
House crests with age	0.21	.06	0.20	.06
House crests with sex	-0.20	.08		
House crests with income			-0.38	.01
House crests with blood quantum			0.27	.02
Defense of house with rank	0.26	.04	0.28	.02
Defense of house with income			-0.27	.03
Industriousness with rank	0.34	.01		
Industriousness with income			-0.43	.01

*Only correlations with a level of significance of 0.10 or above are included in this table.

Attitudes Toward Insults of One's House

Traditionally, Tlingit society held that an individual was responsible for his actions and speech. As one elder remarked, "Once the law was made that was it. You didn't change it. You paid for what you did by your life or your wealth." Formerly, the Tlingit system of justice advocated "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Justice was inherent in this system; it preserved the integrity and respect between autonomous groups and restored peace through a system of justice that stressed compensation equal to the offense. The

goal was restoration of compensation.

The Tlingit survey showed that although the old system of justice was widely accepted the concept of forgiveness had gained strong support (see Table 11.19). The Seattle Tlingit strongly supported (68 percent) the traditional value concerning the protection of property, membership, and community house crests from injuries or insults by requiring compensation and personal accountability for insults and actions. Angoon was evenly divided between an attitude of forgiveness and one of personal accountability (46 to 45 percent). Both groups placed the same level of importance upon the defense of one's house (4.1). They differ in their treatment of the offender. Approximately 45 percent of the Angoon respondents shared the viewpoint that people should be quick to forgive. Perhaps most residents in Angoon have witnessed or experienced incidents that could have been avoided if only someone had turned their head and said nothing about an insult or injury. Within a smaller community in which people are in perpetual face-to-face contact and who formerly inhabited separate communities, personal slights become compounded. Elders say that the consolidation of clans required greater tolerance. Undoubtedly, Christian influences have also contributed to this concern for forgiveness. Forgiveness is one of the cardinal doctrines taught by the church. Many of the residents of Angoon are devout Christians. In contrast, the Seattle Tlingit who are from several Alaskan communities and separated in various parts of Seattle cling to the traditional

Table 11.19 Attitude Toward Other People
(Question 16, Appendix Part I)

Attitudes	Angoon		Seattle	
Quick to forgive another person	24	(45%)	17	(29%)
Pay according to seriousness of offense	12	(23%)	23	(40%)
Keep to ourselves, nobody get hurt	5	(9%)	1	(2%)
Responsible for both insults and actions	12	(23%)	16	(28%)

attitudes toward others. This may explain some of the problems encountered in cooperative endeavors among the Seattle Tlingit.

VI. Ethnic Perception of Life

Satisfaction With Life

In this study, Tlingit perception of relative deprivation was measured with a "self-anchoring" scale devised by Kilpatrick and Cantril (1960). Deprivation is a relative and subjective matter varying with an individual's level of aspirations and with whom one compares oneself. The self-anchoring scale essentially asks an individual to locate himself on a scale from one to ten, with one representing the worst possible living situation which he can conceive and ten the best possible situation. The individual is also asked to indicate where he would have located himself on the scale five years ago and where he expects to be located on the scale five years from now. Similar questions were also asked regarding the position of other Tlingits living in urban or traditional communities, the location of whites, and what influence, if any, did owning a boat have on the total living situation.

The self-anchoring technique assumes that each individual lives in a perceived world constructed out of the experiences and values of the person's contacts and that this collection of past experiences and purposes comprises the "reality world" for each individual. Since each individual lives within a unique "reality world" any comparison of an individual's perception of his/her values, goals, and aspirations is improved by taking cognizance of the subjective personal assessment of where the individual is located within the boundaries of that world. The scale has been successfully adapted for use in cross-cultural comparisons due to its simplicity and its versatility. The satisfactory application of this scale in many of the world's cultures commends its use for our research.

Satisfaction With Life Data

Both groups in the survey perceived their present living situation to be above average and improving with the passing of time. For example, the residents of Angoon express a healthy confidence in the future. Now, when thinking of the past (1969), they placed themselves at about average (4.9) on a ten point scale; and when thinking of the future (1979), they project themselves to be considerably above average (8.5). This represents a 75 percent projected improvement in a single decade. In Angoon the rising level of aspirations has been fueled by the many recent accomplishments of the past five years. Fifty-five new housing units have been completed and the resident population of Angoon increased by 110 persons in a single year--an increase of approximately 30 percent (from 410 in 1974 to 530 in 1975, according to city records).

A decade of progress was also indicated for the Seattle Tlingit who projected an improvement in their total living situation from 6.3 in 1969 to 8.3 by 1979--a 30 percent gain. The Seattle respondents perceived less improvement in the past five years than the Angoon respondents (0.5 compared to 1.5 for Angoon) and expressed a lower rate of progress in the next five years (1.5 compared to 2.3 for Angoon). The rising level of aspirations in the survey are, no doubt, stimulated by the recent land claims settlement that includes both immediate and long-term benefits (see Table 11.20).

Angoon residents placed the Seattle Tlingit at the same position on the scale as they did themselves (6.3). The total living situation in Seattle was considered to be equal with life in Angoon. However, the Seattle Tlingit perceived their situation to be about a step higher on the scale. In the survey, Angoon respondents viewed other Native villages with their canneries, cold storage plants, high schools, and other facilities as being about one step higher on the ladder of "the good life." In other words, Angoon residents

considered their living situation to be equal with Seattle Tlingit but one step below other Tlingit communities in Alaska. They perceive village life in Alaska to provide a better living situation for Tlingit. Angoon respondents placed urban whites at 7.8 on the scale and, if they owned a fishing boat, would place themselves at the same level.

Table 11.20 Mean Scores for the Self-Anchoring Scale
(Questions 45-51, Appendix Part I)

Questions	Angoon		Seattle		p*
	Mean	n	Mean	n	
Present situation	6.3	50	6.8	59	n. s.
Five years ago	4.9	50	6.3	58	.01
Five years future	8.6	48	8.3	57	n. s.
Tlingits in Seattle	6.3	47	5.8	57	n. s.
Tlingits in villages	7.1	50	6.0	53	.01
Urban whites	7.8	46	6.2	53	.01
If owned fishing boat	7.8	46	8.4	5	n. s.

*Two-tailed; based on t test of difference in means shown in table.

The Seattle Tlingit placed Alaskan villages at 6.0 on the scale, Seattle whites at 6.2, but located themselves at 6.8. It would seem from this and other data that the Tlingit in Seattle perceive that they have the best of both possible worlds, Native and white, and that their living situation contains an optimistic future. In contrast, the Angoon respondents conceive their life to be equal to Tlingit living in Seattle and life in the more prosperous Alaskan villages as being better than Seattle Tlingit; but place urban whites on the highest level.

Several socioeconomic factors correlated significantly with the responses on the self-anchoring scale (see Table 11.21). In Angoon income correlated positively with increased levels on the self-anchoring scale for the past, present, and future (alpha scores were .04, .04, .05, respectively). Females in Angoon consistently placed lower scores on the living situation for

Table 11.21 Socioeconomic Correlates Toward
the Self-Anchoring Scale

Correlations Between Self-Anchoring Scale and Socioeconomic Factors	Angoon		Seattle	
	r*	p*	r*	p*
Present situation with traditional rank	0.38	.01		
Present situation with age	0.29	.02		
Present situation with income	0.28	.04	0.35	.01
Present situation with sex	-0.26	.03		
Five years ago with age	0.23	.05	0.20	.07
Five years ago with income	0.26	.04		
Five years ago with sex	-0.36	.01		
Five years future with income	0.27	.05		
Five years future with sex	-0.28	.03		
Five years future with education			0.18	0.10
Seattle Tlingit with education			-0.24	.04
Seattle Tlingit with age			0.26	.03
Seattle Tlingit with income			-0.25	.04
Seattle Tlingit with blood quantum	-0.21	.08		
Seattle Tlingit with sex	-0.22	.07		
Traditional villages with trad. rank			-0.24	.05
Traditional villages with income			-0.26	.04
Traditional villages with blood quantum			0.45	.01
Seattle whites with blood quantum			0.20	.07
If owned fishing boat with trad. rank	0.24	.07		
If owned fishing boat with sex	0.22	.07		

*Only correlations with a level of significance of 0.10 or above are included in this table.

the past, present, future, and Seattle Tlingit compared with males (alpha scores were .01, .03, .03, .07, respectively). The survey was conducted a few months before the Angoon women moved into their new homes that were built as a recent housing project. Their lower scores may reflect, in part, the overcrowding and lack of modern conveniences in the smaller and older homes in Angoon. Among the Seattle respondents, income correlated positively with the present living situation on the scale ($r = 0.35$, $p < .01$); with the low placement of Tlingit in Alaska villages ($r = -0.28$, $p < .04$). Income would thus appear to be one of the prominent diagnostics in determining the good life. Another positive

correlation of some significance in Table 11.21 is between blood quantum and a high placement of traditional villages ($r = 0.45$, $p < .01$). Apparently, full-bloods place greater value on village living conditions than other Seattle Tlingit.

Contribution of Education

Since the early days of the ANB, education has increasingly become a prominent value in Tlingit society. Many older Tlingit recall that one of their ambitions, as youth, pertained to the desire to attend the best high school in the area. They explained that since Sheldon Jackson School was the best in Southeastern Alaska they attended it. In an attempt to sample current attitudes toward education, a story opinion question was designed to include three alternatives: (1) to quit school and seek employment, (2) to attend the nearest high school, or (3) to attend the best high school in the area. Sixty percent or more of both groups favored attendance at the best high school in the area. This response is another indicator of their high level of aspirations. It is also a common value in their traditional culture which emphasized personal achievements. Only one individual out of a total of 108 responses suggested it was better to quit school and seek employment.

An additional story opinion question sought to ascertain the importance of education in comparison to certain other values such as making money, knowing who you are, or attaining a comfortable living and future security (see Table 11.22). Sixty-six percent of the Angoon respondents indicated that obtaining a good education was their top priority compared to 32 percent for Seattle ($p < .01$). The mean educational attainment level for Angoon was ninth grade and tenth grade for Seattle. This difference of a single year in mean scores for the two communities seems insufficient to account for the variation in Tlingit response concerning priorities in life. Two pertinent factors affecting this response seem to be a difference in the number attending college (40 percent

from Seattle, 17 percent from Angoon) and a difference in blood quantum (about 50 percent of Seattle Tlingit are one-half or less, about 80 percent from Angoon are full-bloods). Among the Seattle Tlingit, education correlated negatively with the importance of skin color ($r = -0.24$, $p < .06$). Consequently, Seattle Tlingit, who attended college with over twice the frequency and who are mixed breeds, may perceive themselves to be physically and educationally marginal to Tlingit and white cultures and, therefore, place "knowing who you are" as life's top priority. Thirty-five percent of the Seattle respondents indicated that knowing their personal identity was of highest importance. Sixty-six percent of the Angoon respondents selected education.

Table 11.22 Attitude Toward Certain Priorities
(Question 36, Appendix Part I)

Priority	Angoon N = 50		Seattle N = 56	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Getting a good education	33	66	18	32
Knowing who you are	6	12	20	35
Making a lot of money	1	2	-	-
Making comfortable living, future security	10	20	18	32

VII. Exposure to the Mass Media

Geographical Isolation

Angoon, which is the only community on a hundred mile long island, is geographically isolated from urban communities by two mountain ranges. It would be virtually cut off from the rest of the world except for mass media, boats, and pontoon aircraft. Various forms of the mass media have enabled the Angoon residents to keep in touch with state, national, and world events. As one informant expressed it, "At twelve o'clock noon, in Angoon, all the

radios are turned on to the news." (Television has not been extended to the Angoon area as of 1975; proposed plans include this facility.)

Survey Responses

In the survey, the Angoon Tlingit identified more readily with the news media than the Seattle Tlingit (see Table 11.23). However, the Seattle Tlingit newspaper subscription rates were almost three times higher than the Angoon Tlingit and magazine subscriptions for the Seattle group were approximately 20 percent higher. Angoon residents explained that the cost of their mail subscriptions to newspapers was prohibitive and the news was always one day old. Magazine subscriptions were also lower for the Angoon survey, although the size of the community permitted a much greater exchange of reading materials than for the Seattle group. Consequently, Angoon's geographical isolation in no way seriously debilitated their political awareness or their political participation as demonstrated by their concern for public affairs.

Table 11.23 News Media: Attitudes and Subscriptions
(Questions 11, 12, 17, 18, 27, Appendix Part I)

Type of Medium	Angoon		Seattle	
	Favorable Attitude	Ave. No. of Subscriptions	Favorable Attitude	Ave. No. of Subscriptions
Newspaper	98%	0.6	91%	1.7
Magazine	94%	1.9	88%	2.4
Radio news	96%	-	83%	-

Among the Seattle Tlingit (see Table 11.24) age correlated negatively with attitudes toward reading newspapers or magazines and listening to radio news ($r = -0.23$, $p < .04$; $r = -0.33$, $p < .01$; $r = -0.20$, $p < .07$). In Angoon age correlated negatively with reading magazines ($r = -0.19$, $p < .09$) but positively with listening to radio news ($r = 0.22$, $p < .06$). The negative correlation

between age and exposure to the mass media may be due to a desire on the part of older Seattle Tlingit to shut out the influences of urbanization. Older Seattle Tlingit placed the Native villages at near the top of the best life conceivable on the self-anchoring scale and located urban whites below urban Tlingit. It would appear that the older urban Tlingit are reaching back to their former living situation in traditional villages. In contrast, traditional villagers see whites as enjoying more of the conveniences of life, as being located higher on the self-anchoring scale, and education as the means to improve the totality of life. Thus, the residents of Angoon are attuned to the news media, interested in current happenings, and reaching out to acquire those elements in white society that would enhance their life.

Table 11.24 Socioeconomic Correlates of Attitudes
Toward the Mass Media

Correlations Between News Media and Socioeconomic Factors	Angoon		Seattle	
	r*	p*	r*	p*
Newspapers with education			0.19	.08
Newspapers with age			-0.23	.04
Magazines with education			-0.41	.01
Magazines with age	-0.19	.09	-0.33	.01
Magazines with income	-0.26	.05		
Magazines with blood quantum	-0.22	.06	0.25	.03
Magazines with sex	0.26	.03		
Radio news with rank	-0.37	.01		
Radio news with age	0.22	.06	-0.20	.07

*Only correlations with a level of significance of 0.10 or above are included in this table.

Education correlated positively with attitudes toward buying newspapers and magazines ($r = 0.19$, $p < .08$; $r = 0.34$, $p < .01$) among the Seattle Tlingit. Increases in levels of blood quantum among urban Tlingit (see Table 11.25) showed a negative correlation with newspaper and magazine subscriptions

($r = -0.27$, $p < .03$; $r = -0.20$, $p < .08$). Although blood quantum correlated negatively with magazine subscriptions for Angoon, social rank correlated significantly with magazine subscriptions ($r = 0.31$, $p < .02$). Traditionally, increased knowledge was associated with high rank due to the superior education given members of the upper class. Also it was noted that younger people consulted with their elders concerning political affairs.

Table 11.25 Socioeconomic Correlates of Subscriptions to News Media

Correlations Between Subscriptions to News Media and Socioeconomic Factors	Angoon		Seattle	
	r	p*	r	p*
Newspapers with blood quantum			-0.27	.03
Magazines with traditional rank	0.31	.02		
Magazines with income			0.40	.01
Magazines with blood quantum	-0.25	.05	-0.20	.08
Magazines with education			0.34	.01

*Only correlations with a level of significance of 0.10 or above are included in this table.

Income showed a negative correlation with attitudes toward magazines in Angoon ($r = -0.26$, $p < .05$) but a positive correlation with magazine subscriptions in Seattle ($r = 0.40$, $p < .01$). Women indicated a positive attitude toward magazines ($r = 0.26$, $p < .03$) in Angoon. Their exposure to American culture as portrayed in magazines may go a long way in explaining the lower scores they allotted to the past, present, and future living conditions in Angoon, if they were unconsciously comparing their situation to that depicted in magazines.

Both groups in the survey displayed an attitude of acceptance toward the mass media. In Angoon, lower levels of income and increasing age correlated with a lower level of importance given magazines. This is understandable

since many of the older people received limited educational opportunities and were less proficient in reading skills. Older persons in Seattle also placed lower importance on reading magazines. However, as people increased in age in Angoon they placed more value upon listening to radio news broadcasts, whereas in Seattle older people decreasingly listened to news programs. In Angoon older people tended to spend considerable time together sharing news and happenings and thus depended upon one another for news in addition to going directly to printed material.

Summary

The statistical data presented in this chapter failed to substantiate the general hypothesis of the study on political revitalization of the Tlingit since the rural Tlingit scored higher than the urban Tlingit on most measurements. The data do attest to the considerable importance attributed by both Tlingit groups to political participation and to cultural symbols of identity. Most Tlingit participate in the political process and believe that the primary responsibility for the initiation of the political process ultimately is inherent with the individual. Formerly, Tlingit were excluded from the territorial governmental system. Even though this situation has changed, the Tlingit feel somewhat politically alienated from the present political process and display a vigorous political and cultural commitment in an attempt to protect their resources and concerns. The Tlingit conceive of their present living situation as being better than average and express considerable optimism in the future.

Chapter XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the material presented in the previous chapters is summarized in three sections. The first section presents a concise summary of traditional Tlingit culture, a description of Tlingit-white contacts, and a discussion of five key ethnographic issues. The second section contains a discussion of the meaning of revitalization as used in the present study, along with an analysis of the five specific hypotheses used in an attempt to measure revitalization. In the third section, four significant contributions that developed in the course of this study are briefly described.

I. Ethnographic Summary

Summary of Traditional Culture

As migrating groups of Tlingit moved down the rivers to the ocean or pushed northward along the coast, they selected favorable locations to construct large community houses. Although much time and labor was expended building these large houses, they were very durable and doubled as both house and fort. An increasing population eventually caused fission within the household leading to the construction of several new households which were bound together by common kinship ties, communal property rights, and ownership of crests. At first, each settlement was inhabited by only one crest group, but prior to the arrival of the white man a nucleating process began. However, as multiple clan villages came into existence each localized clan retained its local autonomy.

The early explorers and fur traders expressed considerable amazement at the remarkable trading ability of the Tlingit. Trading occupied a dominant place in the Tlingit economy. Trade routes connected interior groups with the coast, the coastal people with the islands, and the Tlingit with non-Tlingit. Temporary local abundance was traded with other groups to augment local resources. In addition to supplementing local needs, trade offered an opportunity to invest local resources in wealth items as a measure of protection against future needs and misfortunes. Wealth items were used for bride wealth payments, settlement of disputes, compensation for accidents, acquisition of slaves, or procurement of emergency provisions. Wealth items were also presented to respectable people from other communities for safekeeping with the trust that an equal or greater amount of wealth would be returned at a later date. This reinvestment of wealth in other villages tended to give a measure of security to the local household in the event of a fire, raid, or natural disaster. It protected the local household from any total loss of possessions.

Politically, local households managed their internal affairs and cooperated with other households belonging to the same localized clan in the administration of their joint concerns. Older and more established households controlled the most strategic resources. With the passing of time, these households' ability to manage their wealth derived from their more lucrative resources led to the formation of an aristocracy based upon status, wealth, and prestige. The aristocracy of one community tended to marry into and trade with the aristocracy of other communities. Since all local communities were also autonomous, the potlatch emerged as a secondary political arena in which the nobility of various local groups could meet in an institutionalized framework for the furtherance of peaceful pursuits. At potlatches all public affairs which pertained to future relations among the various participating

parties such as marriages, changes in status, installation of new household leaders, or peace settlements were conducted.

At first, European trade goods augmented Native resources. Gradually, the depletion of the local resources which were exchanged for articles of trade transformed the formerly self-sufficient Tlingit into a group dependent upon foreign trade. As a money and wage economy began to gain supremacy over traditional forms of barter and subsistence, the Tlingit began to abandon their community houses, in increasing numbers, in preference for nuclear family dwellings located near white settlements or trading posts.

Following the purchase of Alaska by the United States, an influx of white settlers, prospectors, fishermen, businessmen, and industries threatened to overrun all Native rights and resources. In an attempt to protect their aboriginal resources and to assert their claim to U.S. citizenship, the Tlingit spearheaded the organization of a Native political movement--the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB). During a period of several years, the ANB procured the following rights: to vote, to attend public schools, to hold title to property, to frequent public places of accommodations, and to receive public assistance. The political activities began a land claims suit that eventually culminated in the Alaska Land Claims Settlement concerning all Native groups in Alaska.

A historical reconstruction of community development patterns substantiates the Tlingit claim that formerly they inhabited autonomous localized clan settlements. This in turn resulted in a reevaluation in intercommunity relations and the emergence of the consideration of the potlatch as a secondary political arena. The principle participants during potlatches were the groups who controlled the most productive resources, managed the largest labor force, and controlled the most wealth. This participation in turn elevated their status.

Summary of Five Key Ethnographic Issues

In this study five key ethnographic issues were discussed. These issues concerned (1) the effect of population pressures upon patterns of land tenure, (2) whether or not aboriginal communities were single or multiclan units, (3) the role of the potlatch in the structure of community politics, (4) the relevance of calibrated versus social class models of social stratification, and (5) the applicability of a conflict-management model to the study of politics. Regarding the first issue it was noted that estimates of aboriginal population generally were based upon projections made many decades following initial contact. However, several disease epidemics had greatly reduced the population. Moreover, historical evidence such as lists of settlements, eye witness accounts of battle records, losses reported during epidemics, and the comparative statistics of contact depopulation in other areas seem to support the assumption that traditional population estimations may need serious revision. In Chapter II we suggested that the previous aboriginal population estimation of ten thousand should be increased to about three times the original projections or approximately thirty thousand inhabitants.

Some authorities (Oberg, Wike, Stanley) have suggested that Tlingit village structure included the presence of two or more clans, since the dynamics of moiety social organization would be unable to operate properly in single clan villages. However, the overwhelming external evidence from historical sources and the internal evidence from Tlingit testimony support the contention that the general settlement pattern was single localized clans. It was argued (see page 109) that clans were organized into districts and so consequently villages did not need a minimum of one clan from each village. These localized clan communities carefully guarded their autonomy. Even to the present time, the autonomy of other clans is respected.

Since local communities acknowledged no common political authority, there developed the need to establish some formal means of conducting inter-community affairs in an environment of trust. Potlatches provided the necessary political arena. Protocol, political bargaining, and political support were enacted within the institution of the potlatch. Localized clans could retain their political autonomy and stabilize their political structure through potlatch protocol which was required in order to validate all changes in local government, to provide additional investment opportunities, and to settle disputes.

Those households which managed strategic resources and made profitable investments in wealth goods were invited to distant potlatches. Members of these wealthy households regularly intermarried with the result that they consolidated their social prestige and formed an upper social class. Leaders of wealthy households recruited a retinue of nephews and slaves to assist in production, trade, raids, and protection of the local wealth and resources. Class lines were sharply drawn in terms of education, marriage, ceremonies, speeches, rules of conduct, physical markings, dress, compensation for damages and insults, titles, and ability to pay for services rendered.

A conflict-management model of Tlingit political organization was used to assess how the goals of the households channeled public concerns toward specific ends. The model also focuses upon rules of exposure which favored certain individuals in acquiring critical information for exerting potential power of their organizations in the political process. By using such a model, it was possible to describe the function of the spokesmen and their relationship to the organizations they represented. The bargaining phase of the political process showed how parties concerned with key issues adjusted their differences in an attempt to arrive at a decision. In the implementation phase of the political process we noted some of the methods of compliance and consensus inherent in

the Tlingit political process.

The conflict-management model provides a dynamic perspective of the interplay of ideas, people, and resources. That is, it permits us to see that expanding Tlingit population made strategic resources even more valuable; that an increased emphasis upon wealth placed additional importance upon class membership; and that increased contacts among autonomous communities placed additional need for a secondary arena to publicize changes in local communities and to resolve differences between groups. The conflict-management model permits an analysis of the natural resources, the human resources, and the material resources within a decision making process in which people decide the value and use of each resource. A conflict-management analysis is an aid to the study of change. For example, the political model of traditional culture (p. 201) and the political model of the ANB (p. 312) provide a significant basis for a future assessment of changes in Tlingit politics.

II. The Revitalization Data

Discussion of Revitalization

In the process of continual contact with modernized nations, many traditional societies have either become annihilated or assimilated by a dominant society. However, other traditional societies have demonstrated remarkable political resiliency and through cultural modifications have continued to survive with significance. Wallace, Hagen, and Cohen focus on various aspects of this cultural adaptation process and attempt to identify some of the factors involved. Although several terms have been suggested for this adaptive response to change, we prefer the term revitalization. This term suggests a continuity in the process of change; a revision of a previous style of living to fit the contemporary situation.

Faced with the depletion of land and sea resources which formed the basis of their livelihood, the encroachment of whites on their land, and the erosion of their political autonomy, the Tlingit organized the Alaska Native Brotherhood to serve as the political vehicle for their attempt to reverse these trends. In the first decade of its existence, the ANB experienced considerable difficulty in the clarification of their goals, the organization of their membership, and the gradual emergence of a new interpretation of former customs. In the next decade, however, the Tlingit were able to forge a political organization that enabled them to establish equal rights with whites under the territorial government of Alaska and to adapt to increasing urban influences.

On the assumption that the Tlingit would be faced with greater competition for political, economic, and cultural survival in urban centers, the following hypothesis was established as the focus for this research: exposure to economic pressures, external constraints, and urban living leads to an increase in political participation and in the use of symbols of identity. In particular, we expected political participation in Tlingit communities to be made more effective by increased use of symbols of identity. Several specific hypotheses were derived from the general hypothesis. A questionnaire containing standardized scales to measure the dependent variables in these specific hypotheses was administered to a comparison group in Angoon, Alaska and a treatment group in Seattle, Washington. The results of this statistical survey were analyzed with the aid of a computer. The findings for each of the specific hypotheses are summarized below.

Political Participation

In the first specific hypothesis we suggested that exposure to urban influences increases the level of political participation. Using Matthews and Prothro's Political Participation Scale, both groups were surveyed concerning

their political activities. The survey showed that both Tlingit groups participated extensively at all levels of the political process. A significant difference in the political participation of the two groups was discernible at the campaigning and office holding levels. At these two levels the Angoon respondents reported a considerably higher level of participation (about 90 to 60 percent and 80 to 60 percent, respectively). A partial explanation for the lower political participation (at the campaign level) is derived from the positive correlation between Seattle women and their attitude toward campaigning ($r = 0.24$, $p < .04$). We believe that this positive attitude about the political process by Seattle Tlingit women at the campaigning level and low participation at the same level is due to urban political practices which have given greater stress to the role of males in politics. The basis for this assumption rests upon the political activity of Angoon women for whom (unlike in Seattle) there was a positive correlation between reported behavior at both the campaigning and office holding levels of the political process ($r = 0.21$, $p < .08$; $r = 0.25$, $p < .04$). It appears that the women of both Tlingit groups talked and voted at approximately the same level of frequency, but that the favorable attitude of Seattle Tlingit women toward participation in political campaigns failed to gain expression in the political process and, hence, their noticeable lack of participation at that level. Thus, it appears that certain aspects of political revitalization may be both stimulated and repressed by exposure to urban life. The research data failed to support the specific hypothesis put forward by Cohen that political revitalization demonstrates its highest level of expression in urban communities. The Angoon survey revealed a consistently higher level of political participation. However, the data strongly support the contention that exposure to urban society results in increased political activity on the part of members of a traditional society.

Symbols of Identity

The second specific hypothesis derived from the general hypothesis asserts that exposure to urban influences increases the importance of traditional symbols of identity. With the assistance of three prominent Tlingit leaders, the writer devised a list of ten key symbols of Tlingit identity. On the questionnaire, respondents were asked to indicate the level of importance of each symbol according to a five point scale ranging from no importance to high importance. A comparison of the mean scores revealed that Angoon placed a higher level of importance upon six symbols, Seattle placed a higher level of importance upon two symbols, and both groups placed equal importance upon the remaining two symbols. Both groups attributed a considerable level of importance to the ten symbols of identity. Again the survey data failed to substantiate the hypothesis concerning urban exposure if one accepts Cohen's assumption that urban communities will show a higher level of importance toward traditional symbols of identity. Indeed, the research data support the contention that exposure to urban influences results in a considerable level of importance attached to symbols of identity.

Satisfaction with Life

A third hypothesis stated that exposure to urban influences increases the perception of relative deprivation between urban and traditional cultures. Kilpatrick and Cantril have devised a ladder model to measure individual perceptions of the "good life." Respondents are asked to locate themselves somewhere on the scale between one and ten--one representing the worse type of life conceivable and ten the best. Angoon respondents placed the Tlingit in Alaska and Seattle below urban whites; the Seattle Tlingit also placed Tlingit in Alaska and Seattle below urban whites (see pp. 374-375). Thus, the survey data from both communities substantiate the hypothesis concerning exposure to

urban influences and increased feelings of relative deprivation.

Political Alienation

Fourth, it was hypothesized that exposure to urban influences increases the perception of political alienation. Olsen devised a Political Alienation Scale to measure two types of alienation--incapacity and dissatisfaction. This scale proved most useful in an explanation of Tlingit feelings of political alienation. Both groups displayed a moderate level of alienation but differed as to type of alienation. The Angoon sample displayed alienation of the incapacity type (i. e., they perceived themselves to be separated from the political process due to its complexity), while the Seattle Tlingit expressed dissatisfaction with the political process. It is a judgment, to be sure, but in terms of the hypothesis, it can be argued that the Seattle Tlingit exhibit somewhat greater feelings of political alienation since the dissatisfaction type of alienation represents an active rejection of the political process, whereas the incapacity type of alienation represents merely a lack of understanding of the political process. Moreover, the Seattle Tlingit had a lower political participation score than did the Angoon Tlingit. Tentatively, then, it appears there is weak support for the hypothesis that exposure to urban life contributes to increased feelings of political alienation.

Attitude Toward Change

Fifth, it was suggested that exposure to urban influences increases openness to change. Matthews and Prothro constructed a Conservative-Liberal Scale which was used for this attempt to measure attitudes toward change. The Seattle Tlingit demonstrated a significantly higher level of openness to change than the Angoon respondents; the Seattle Tlingit indicated a 5 to 20 percent higher level of openness to each question in this scale. These data lend support to the

hypothesis for this study that urban influences contribute to an increased openness to change.

Summary

The survey data have shown that, in spite of two centuries of white contact, Tlingit culture is still highly valued by Tlingits. Moreover, individual Tlingit are concerned enough to become politically active in order to preserve their identity. Both communities reported a high level of political participation and placed average or above average importance upon nearly every cultural symbol listed in the questionnaire (only skin color was considered to be of below average importance). The general hypothesis stated that exposure to economic pressures, external constraints, and urban living would lead to an increase in political participation and in the use of symbols of identity. This hypothesis was drawn from research by Cohen (1969) in which the urban Hausa centers are described as being engaged in a struggle for power with other ethnic groups. He noted that these urban Hausa developed a more powerful political organization and manipulated traditional Hausa symbols more intensively than did the non-urban Hausa.

From Cohen's general description and our general hypothesis, we formulated two specific hypotheses to measure political participation and the use of traditional symbols of identity. In both of these specific hypotheses, the research data failed to replicate Cohen's findings concerning increased political participation or the manipulation of traditional symbols of identity in urban communities as compared to non-urban communities. Indeed, the reverse situation was demonstrated. The non-urban Tlingit community (Angoon, Alaska) showed a higher level of participation in the political process and a higher level of importance attached to traditional symbols of identity. These findings suggest that Cohen's analysis of urban ethnic politics can not be generalized directly to

all other ethnic groups. In fact, they raise the question as to whether or not Cohen's focus upon the urban settings may not have overlooked a crucial process of revitalization occurring among non-urban Hausa. No where in his study does Cohen attempt to study the effect of urban exposure on the non-urban Hausa.

Three specific hypotheses suggested by other studies and indirectly related to Cohen's study were also tested. People exposed to urban influences often experience feelings of political alienation and feelings of relative deprivation as they compare certain aspects of their culture to urban cultures. Also, people exposed to urban influences are called upon, in the process of adaptation, to demonstrate an increasing openness to change. In testing the three specific hypotheses relating to political alienation, relative deprivation, and openness to change, the urban and non-urban communities showed a mixed response. The Seattle Tlingit showed an increased level of openness to change. The Angoon respondents revealed a feeling of political alienation of the incapability type; the Seattle respondents experienced political alienation of the dissatisfaction type. Both Tlingit groups demonstrated feelings of relative deprivation by placing urban whites higher on the scale of "the good life" than they did themselves.

Overall, these five specific hypotheses lend some support to the general claim that exposure to urban life can contribute to cultural revitalization. However, the findings also indicate that it is impossible to predict that cultural revitalization will be greater in either urban or non-urban communities. Indeed, various categories of revitalization may fluctuate--some higher and some lower in both communities.

III. The Overall Significance of This Study

A general point of significance is that this research both reaffirms and clarifies the importance of a careful examination of historic and ethnographic data in the investigation of a contemporary anthropological problem. Put differently, a clear understanding of Tlingit political life today requires that the researcher first gain comprehension of the social and political features of note in the traditional life of the Tlingit. In this instance, this examination led to a critical reevaluation of much of the existing anthropological literature on the Tlingit. Some of the key points discussed in the course of this study include the potlatch and the class system, both of which were seen as vital for the development of this study's major foci--the use of a conflict-management model for the study of political processes and the assessment of the nature of Tlingit cultural and political revitalization.

Potlatch Politics

Rather than attempt to describe the potlatch in terms of an economic model or a "shreds and patches" model based on data from several cultures, this study explained the potlatch as a part of the total decision making process regulating and adjusting relationships between autonomous communities. The potlatch was viewed as a secondary political arena in which local communities could conduct their public concerns in a system of international diplomacy.

Incipient Class System

Traditional Tlingit society was composed of two distinct social classes based upon economic, social, and prestige factors. The upper class controlled the strategic natural resources, accumulated quantities of wealth through production and trade, and acquired special social prerogatives. The lower class had

access to less productive resources, possessed little wealth, and lacked special social prerogatives. A slave class owned by the aristocracy was effectively used to increase the wealth and status of the upper class.

Conflict-Management Model

The conflict-management model focuses upon the interaction of goals, spokesmen, and organizations in the decision making process. Traditional Tlingit politics, potlatch politics, and the Alaska Native Brotherhood were explained in terms of the conflict-management model. This model explains the political process in terms of six factors that interact and the contribution each factor makes to the total process.

Political Revitalization

Political revitalization among the Tlingit was measured with the use of proven measures. The non-urban Tlingit showed a higher level of political participation and attached increased importance to symbols of identity. The urban Tlingit exhibited greater openness to change and greater feelings of alienation. Both Tlingit groups experienced feelings of relative deprivation in comparison to urban whites. However, these findings failed to substantiate the hypothesis that exposure to urban influences resulted in a greater manifestation of revitalization in urban communities. Rather, the survey showed that cultural revitalization occurs in both urban and non-urban communities in response to the exposure to urban influences.

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APPENDIX

Part I. Survey Questions

Section A. Story Opinion Questions

Directions

I am working on a study of public opinion on community interests and preferences. I would like to share some ordinary conversations that take place. The people in these conversations state how they feel about a given subject. Which one of the stated opinions do you feel most agrees with what you believe? Please circle the opinion or advice you agree with most.

* * *

1. A nephew asked his elders if he should talk about political subjects with other people.
 - a. The first elder said, "No, you won't accomplish anything and you will probably hurt other people's feelings."
 - b. The second elder said, "Yes, talking about something is the first step in getting anything accomplished."
 - c. The third elder said, "Yes, but only talk to reliable and capable people who are also respected elders."
2. Which of the following groups of people do you talk to about political topics? (circle as many as are appropriate)
 - a. Relatives
 - b. Friends
 - c. Strangers
- 3-6. Four fellows were talking about the part people play in the operation of U.S. government. Please put a plus (+) before each opinion you tend to agree with or a minus (-) before each opinion you tend to disagree with.
 - ___ 3. The first man said, "I believe public officials don't care much what people like me think."
 - ___ 4. The second man said, "I believe that there is no way other than voting that people like me can influence actions of the government."
 - ___ 5. The third man said, "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that I can't really understand what's going on."
 - ___ 6. The fourth man said, "People like me don't have any say about what the government does."
7. How would you describe your relationship to the American Government and culture?
 - a. Separate from
 - b. Marginal to
 - c. Average loyalty
 - d. High loyalty

8. Two partners were evaluating their business at the end of the year.
 - a. The first partner said, "I think we should evaluate new ways of running our business to see if we can improve it."
 - b. The second partner said, "If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse."
9. Two brothers were discussing their economic conditions and the government.
 - a. The first brother said, "I vote in every election and on every issue I can to make my influence felt."
 - b. The second brother said, "I don't vote."
10. How often do you vote? (circle one)
 - a. Some of the time
 - b. Average
 - c. Most or all the time
11. A man was reading a newspaper on a boat. Later a second man joined the first man and started up a conversation.
 - a. The first man said, "I don't buy newspapers."
 - b. The second man said, "I think that newspapers are a good way to keep up on information that relates to our problems."
12. How many newspapers do you subscribe to?
 - a. None
 - b. One
 - c. Two
 - d. Three
13. Two men were talking one day about the different candidates running in a local election.
 - a. The first man said, "I think all people should either give money, hand out leaflets, attend political rallies, or work in some way to help elect people to office."
 - b. The second man said, "I think people who help in elections end up with nothing but disappointments."
14. Have you ever helped in getting someone elected to an office in one of the following ways?
 - a. Contributed money
 - b. Handed out leaflets
 - c. Attended meetings
 - d. Other activities
15. A long illness of an aging leader in a certain Tlingit House caused them to think about the recognition of a younger leader to assume the responsibility.
 - a. The first person said, "I think we should recognize the best educated and most successful man."
 - b. The second person said, "I think we should recognize the one who has proven his ability to accomplish things but one who also has a real interest in the traditions of our house."
 - c. The third person said, "I think we should recognize the man who is successful, has an interest in house traditions, and is from a high ranking family."

16. Some Tlingit men were talking about ways people treat one another.
 - a. The first man said, "I think we should be quick to forgive a man when he says or does something to another person."
 - b. The second man said, "I think adults are responsible for what they do and they should pay according to the seriousness of the offense."
 - c. The third man said, "I think we should keep to ourselves and then nobody will get hurt."
 - d. The fourth man said, "I think a person is responsible and should be held responsible for every insult in addition to his actions."
17. Two Tlingit women were reading in a library. In the course of time they began to talk to one another.
 - a. The first woman said, "I think magazines are informative."
 - b. The second woman said, "I don't read magazines."
18. How many magazines do you subscribe to?

a. None	c. Two
b. One	d. Three or more
19. A Tlingit student complained to one of his relatives about his parents' attitude toward him. The parents disagreed concerning the young man's ability to make many of his own decisions.
 - a. The father said, "A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years."
 - b. The mother said, "Many men mature at an early age."
- 20-23. The government had promised a local Tlingit village a new water system. After several years of delay the village council met to discuss the situation. Please put a plus (+) before each opinion you tend to agree with or a minus (-) before each opinion you tend to disagree with.
 - ___ 20. The first member said, "I think the government is trying to do too many things including some activities that I don't think it has the right to do."
 - ___ 21. The second member said, "For the most part, the government serves the interests of a few organized groups, such as business or labor, and isn't very concerned about the needs of people like myself."
 - ___ 22. The third member said, "It seems to me that the government often fails to take necessary actions on important matters, even when most people favor such actions."
 - ___ 23. The fourth member said, "As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today."
24. A son came home one day and informed his father that he had joined the AIM (American Indian Movement).
 - a. The father said, "The people who belong to that organization don't behave the way Indians were trained."
 - b. The son said, "That may be true but it is the only way to get people to hear your opinions."
25. Have you ever participated in a protest?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

26. A few ANB members were discussing the importance of speaking Tlingit.
- The first member said, "The best members are those who can speak the language."
 - The second member said, "Speaking the language has nothing to do with being a good member."
 - The third member said, "As a rule the better a person knows how to speak the language the more he understands the reasons for the ANB."
27. A man was listening to his radio while working in the boathouse. Before long a group of men stopped to chat. Soon the conversation turned to radio programs.
- The first man said, "All I ever listen to is the weather reports and the sports news."
 - The second man said, "I listen mostly for the music."
 - The third man said, "I like news and other programs."
 - The fourth man said, "I seldom listen to the radio."
28. A young man asked three wise men for advice about becoming a candidate in a local election.
- The first wise man said, "Sooner or later all politicians become corrupt so stay out of politics."
 - The second wise man said, "The only way to change the system is to vote and elect good men to office."
 - The third wise man said, "The only way to bring about effective changes in the system is to be elected to an office and then you can help make decisions."
29. Have you ever sought or held an office in the ANB, ANS, AFN, T&H?
- Yes
 - No
30. Three fishermen, mending their net on a dock, were discussing the way the government was interfering in their business.
- The first fisherman said, "I think we should get the people in this area together and talk about the problem so that we can arrive at a common solution."
 - The second fisherman said, "I think we should let the tribal leaders work out the problem among themselves."
 - The third fisherman said, "I think we should elect a man from all of the tribes in this area to organize a staff of helpers and speak for the Indians in this area directly to the government."
31. Which of the following groups of people do you think has the most responsibility for making our government work?
- The people
 - The tribal leaders
 - National Native leaders
32. Two Tlingit women were discussing the many changes that are taking place.
- The first woman said, "It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about."
 - The second woman said, "Many changes that occur are good for mankind."

33. A government man asked some other men how they decided when an individual was a Tlingit.
- The first man said, "I think a Tlingit is anyone who has Tlingit parents."
 - The second man said, "I think a Tlingit is anyone who is born of a Tlingit mother or is adopted into a Tlingit tribe."
 - The third man said, "I think a Tlingit is anyone who marries a Tlingit or who is adopted by a Tlingit."
34. Three people at a Tlingit meeting expressed their opinion.
- The first person said, "Tribes are all different so each tribe should do its own thing."
 - The second person said, "Many tribes have forgotten most of their customs so we should all get together and form one large group."
 - The third person said, "I think that each tribe should continue its own culture but at the same time work with all the other tribes whenever possible."
35. A few eighth grade students were discussing future plans.
- The first student said, "I plan to attend the nearest high school."
 - The second student said, "I hope to attend the best high school in this area."
 - The third student said, "I plan to quit school so I can do something practical quickly."
36. Four successful businessmen were discussing some of the things that were most important to them.
- The first man said, "I think that getting a good education is the most important thing in life."
 - The second man said, "I think that knowing who you are is the most important thing in life."
 - The third man said, "I think that making a lot of money is the most important thing in life."
 - The fourth man said, "I think that making a comfortable living and having future security is the most important thing in life."
37. Three women beading some moccasins decided that one of the problems confronting contemporary Tlingits was the lack of better leadership.
- The first woman said, "I think we need leaders who can think for themselves these days."
 - The second woman said, "I think we need leaders who listen to the people, advise them, understand them, and work aggressively on the problems we face."
 - The third woman said, "I think leaders can only speak for themselves and not for the people."
38. Two students expressed their ideas in a history class.
- The first student said, "We should study about our past and then do what we think is best."
 - The second student said, "We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did."

39. A young man asked his uncles if he should join a political organization.
- The first uncle said, "No, because all political organizations are useless and a waste of time."
 - The second uncle said, "All political organizations have strengths and weaknesses and therefore you must decide for yourself."
40. Please circle all organizations to which you belong or have belonged?
- T and H
 - ANB, ANS
 - AFN
 - T and H, AFN
 - T and H, ANB
 - AFN, ANB
 - T and H, ANB, ANS, AFN
41. Four Tlingit college girls at the university attended a lecture on the Indian place in American society.
- The first collegiate said, "I feel that I have a lot in common with all other Indians."
 - The second collegiate said, "I feel that I have more in common with whites than I do with other American Natives."
 - The third collegiate said, "I feel that I am about equally close to most people."
 - The fourth collegiate said, "I feel closer to my people than I do to any other group."
42. A married couple visiting one of their parents talked about the formation of regional corporations and the pros and cons about joining.
- The father said, "I think that joining is like selling out to the government since the land has always belonged to us."
 - The mother said, "That may be true, but a small payment is better than none."
 - The young man said, "I think it will create a few high paying jobs and the rest of us won't get much."
 - The young woman said, "I wish they were sharing the wealth like Indians have always done in the past."
43. Two elderly men sat on a park bench talking about the customs and habits of people.
- The first man said, "If something grows up over a long time, there will always be much wisdom in it."
 - The second man said, "I think that some things can be just as good if they grow up over a short period of time."
44. A group of men were engaged in a serious discussion about the merits of the ANB organization.
- The first man said, "I think the ANB serves an important social function by keeping us together as a group."
 - The second man said, "I think it has served its purpose in obtaining equal educational and economic opportunities."
 - The third man said, "I think the ANB can be an important vehicle today as it was when it was founded. We also need to work together so that our rights will be protected and our opinions voiced."

Section B. Identity Questions

Directions

How would you describe the following situations? Here is a picture of a ladder. Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible living situation that you can think of and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible living situation you can think of. In your opinion indicate the number on the ladder that best answers each of the following 7 questions. Please place that number on the line before each question.

* * *

Best Situation

10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1

Worst Situation

- ___ 45. Where on the ladder would you put yourself, that is, your present living situation?
- ___ 46. Where on the ladder would you have put yourself five years ago?
- ___ 47. Where would you place yourself on the ladder five years from now?
- ___ 48. Where on the ladder would you put most Tlingits living in the greater Seattle area?
- ___ 49. Where on the ladder would you put Tlingits living in Angoon, Hoonah, Wrangell, or in other smaller communities?
- ___ 50. Where on the ladder would you put whites living in Sitka?
- ___ 51. Where would you place yourself on the ladder if you owned a fishing boat?

Directions

The following is a list of things that are often used to identify groups of people. How important do you think they are in trying to identify a Tlingit? Place a check () in the box that shows how important each item is, in your opinion, in identifying a Tlingit today.

* * *

	No Impor- tance 1	Some Impor- tance 2	Average Impor- tance 3	Above Average Impor- tance 4	High Impor- tance 5
52. Physical characteristics (as skin color, shape of face)					
53. Knowledge of culture (as stories, dances, crafts)					
54. Knowledge of language (ability to speak Tlingit)					
55. Attendance at group gatherings (willingness to attend)					
56. Commitment to "our" way of life (individual's choice to be a Tlingit)					
57. Behavioral mannerisms (style of speaking, acting)					
58. Blood ties (relatives and rank)					
59. Knowledge and meaning of crests (to identify houses and people)					
60. Defense of oneself and one's house (awareness of insults)					
61. Industrious - active, busy, skillful (opposite of being lazy)					

Section C. Socioeconomic Questions

Directions

This finishes the regular part of the interview. Now we need to ask a few more questions about you so that we can compare the answers of people in different age groups, men and women, people in different jobs, and so on.

* * *

62. Continuous residence in this community?
 a. 1 -14 years
 b. 15-29 years
 c. 30-44 years
 d. 45 and over
63. Place of birth?
 a. Alaska
 b. Lower 48 states
64. Place of childhood?
 a. Village
 b. Small town
 c. Small city
 d. Large city
65. Largest community visited?
 a. Under 500,000
 b. Over 500,000
 c. 1-2 million
 d. Over 3 million
66. Most distant place visited?
 a. Alaska
 b. Washington
 c. West of Mississippi River
 d. East of Mississippi River
 e. Islands of the Pacific
 f. Europe
 g. Asia
 h. Latin America
67. Did you visit these places in the armed services?
 a. Yes
 b. No
68. Present status:
 a. Single
 b. Married
 c. Divorced
 d. Separated
 e. Living together
 f. Widowed
69. Number of years of education?
 a. 1- 8 years
 b. 9-12 years
 c. 1-4 years of college
 d. Graduate degree
70. Present occupation? (was if retired)
71. Do you work for:
 a. Yourself
 b. Someone else
 c. A company

72. If fisherman:
- a. Do (did) you own the fishing boat
 - b. Manage a boat
 - c. Rent a boat
 - d. Operate a boat on shares
 - e. Paid to operate a boat
73. How large of boat do (did) you own?
- a. Under 25 feet
 - b. 25-50 feet
 - c. Over 50 feet
74. There used to be quite a lot of concern with rank among the Tlingit. Using the traditional system where would you place your rank?
- a. Lower class
 - b. Middle class
 - c. Upper class
 - d. All equals
 - e. Unknown
75. In which of the following age brackets would you be placed?
- a. 20-34 years
 - b. 35-49 years
 - c. 50-64 years
 - d. 65 and over
76. Now would you tell me how much income your family made altogether during the last year, 1972. I mean before taxes, if you fall in the category that pays taxes, including the income of everyone in the family. Just circle the letter in front of the correct amount.
- a. Under \$2,900
 - b. \$ 2,900 - 5,000
 - c. \$ 5,000 - 7,500
 - d. \$ 7,500 - 10,000
 - e. \$10,000 - 12,500
 - f. \$12,500 - 15,000
 - g. \$15,000 - and over
77. What degree of Tlingit blood are you?
- a. Quarter
 - b. One-half
 - c. Three-quarter
 - d. Full
78. Sex:
- a. Male
 - b. Female
79. Skin color:
- a. Light
 - b. Medium
 - c. Dark
80. Residence:
- a. Own house
 - b. Rent house
 - c. Apartment

Part II. Frequency Tabulations of
Responses to Questionnaire

Question No.	Angoon						Seattle					
	Answer											
	a	b	c	d	e	f	a	b	c	d	e	f
1	3	32	20				4	38	16			
2	2	30	19				4	10	34			
3	31	16					38	19				
4	13	34					27	29				
5	16	31					18	37				
6	32	15					40	16				
7	3	3	24	16			0	0	3	4		
8	46	7					52	6				
9	52	2					46	11				
10	2	16	37				11	7	30			
11	1	54					3	53				
12	27	16	5	2			10	15	16	11		
13	38	14					42	12				
14	5	42					19	29				
15	9	34	9				10	40	7			
16	24	12	5	12			17	23	1	16		
17	50	3					52	7				
18	21	5	5	20			11	11	7	20		
19	26	27					15	40				
20	28	18					32	23				
21	25	20					30	25				
22	17	28					14	42				
23	25	20					25	31				
24	16	32					17	38				
25	17	16					33	7				
26	3	27	23				1	29	27			
27	1	1	50	0			2	5	49	3		
28	1	34	19				1	39	16			
29	12	43					22	32				
30	28	26					18	3	35			
31	39	6	7				36	11	6			
32	10	42					8	50				
33	32	15	6				40	8	10			
34	2	14	37				2	9	48			
35	21	31	0				19	36	1			
36	33	6	1	10			18	20	0	18		
37	2	49	2				9	46	2			
38	24	31					38	18				
39	1	52					0	58				

Question No.	Angoon										Seattle									
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
40	0	18	0	1	22	2	9				16	3	2	8	4	0	18			
41	7	1	29	16							9	4	32	12						
42	8	12	5	11							7	14	7	22						
43	27	24									20	35								
44	1	2	48								6	3	48							
45	5	0	1	3	9	11	5	5	2	9	2	0	2	4	3	14	14	8	3	9
46	10	1	7	2	10	6	5	2	2	5	4	0	4	7	10	6	5	9	4	9
47	0	1	0	0	2	1	6	11	7	20	1	0	0	0	2	4	9	12	9	20
48	2	1	6	2	8	5	5	8	4	6	0	1	5	7	13	14	6	7	0	4
49	1	0	0	2	9	11	5	9	4	9	1	5	2	3	11	9	9	6	2	5
50	2	1	0	2	1	5	5	7	9	14	2	1	0	2	11	17	8	8	2	2
51	1	2	0	2	2	5	5	7	6	16								2	1	2
52	25	10	12	2	7						19	16	16	0	7					
53	1	4	13	13	26						5	6	9	19	19					
54	0	7	11	6	32						8	10	10	10	20					
55	1	12	10	10	24						8	4	13	12	20					
56	4	2	15	6	30						6	13	13	8	18					
57	2	9	12	14	19						14	5	17	6	16					
58	1	7	12	7	30						5	4	7	7	35					
59	4	7	10	5	30						8	7	14	5	24					
60	5	12	9	9	21						9	7	9	13	19					
61	2	2	12	14	26						6	0	9	12	31					
62	7	12	20	10							20	17	14	4						
63	49	1									46	12								
64	40	9	5	0							15	17	5	18						
65	12	22	3	5							0	16	19	19						
66	9	10	11	6	1	0	3	0			0	2	13	18	8	3	7	1		
67	9										8									
68	4	46	2	0	0	1					8	40	4	3	0	4				
69	14	30	9	0							11	23	16	8						
70	-----										-----									
71	8	9	4								5	1	8							
72	6	1	0	5							2	1	0	1						
73	2	4	3								-----									
74	4	29	11	1	2						3	10	34	0	7					
75	19	22	20	4							12	20	18	8						
76	18	6	7	6	4	1	5				9	2	15	7	5	9	6			
77	0	3	4	46							13	19	5	22						
78	29	26									32	27								
79	2	48	2								22	37	0							
80	31	16	3								37	11	10							

BIOGRAPHY

Kenneth D. Tollefson was born in Cedar Falls, Iowa, on October 26, 1935. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Willard D. Tollefson, is married to Ruth Tollefson, and the father of Susan and Kenda. His undergraduate study included work at Central Junior College (McPherson, Kansas) and Manhattan Christian College (Manhattan, Kansas). Prior to enrolling at the University of Washington in 1966, he earned the M. Div. Degree in 1961 from Asbury Theological Seminary (Wilmore, Kentucky) with a major in Philosophy and Christian Missions and the M. A. Degree in anthropology from the University of Oklahoma in 1965. He has taught anthropology at Seattle Pacific College since 1965.