SITKA TRIBE OF ALASKA

HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLAN

for the Sitka Tribe of Alaska

August 1995

Cover and back cover: Love birds, eagle and raven. Example of contemporary art by artist Dan Hoffay, trained by Native elders. (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska.)

SITKA TRIBE OF ALASKA

HISTORIC PRESERVATION PLAN

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Washington, D.C.

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by

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Sitka Native Education Program

for the
Sitka Tribe of Alaska

August 1995

SITKA TRIBE OF ALASKA

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Sitka Tribe of Alaska

Tribal Government for Sitka, Alaska

July 6, 1995

Linda A. Cook
HPS Grants Manager
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2525 Gamble Street
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Dear Ms. Cook:

The purpose of this letter is one of formal support of the document currently being created by Dr. Dorothy Theadoratus. This document is the Historic Preservation Plan for the Sitka Tribe of Alaska.

As you are fully aware, there is the need to document the Tlingit Culture. There is also the greater need for education of our younger generations in the traditions of our culture. Ms. Theadoratus has made great strides for the Sitka Tribe in her efforts to create this document.

We have been a culture of oral history over the generations. There are constant reminders of the dilution of the way of the Tlingit people through the current generations that we see unfolding in today's contemporary lifestyles.

It is our sincere hope that this document will be one more piece to a puzzle, once made whole, that will support our efforts for preserving and protecting our traditions. We further hope that this document will also assist us in promoting our culture as an ongoing and living testament to the resiliency of our people to maintain their traditions.

Tribally Yours,

Lawrence A. Widmark

Lawrence A. Widmark
Tribal Council Chairman

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PREFACE

The *Sitka Tribe of Alaska Historic Preservation Plan* is the first project completed under the Historic Preservation Fund Grants to American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians to be published by the National Park Service. In 1992 the Sitka Tribe of Alaska received a grant to develop a comprehensive planning document that would address ongoing and future cultural activities. As so eloquently stated in the opening paragraph of the grant application, the Tribe aimed to begin a planning process that commemorated its members as true contributors to its preservation, "Through this proposal, the Sitka Community Association [Sitka Tribe of Alaska] intends to carry out the formal development of its Tribal Historic and Cultural Preservation Program on behalf of its members and the general public, as a continuing memorial to the Native People of Sitka -- past, present and future." The final report proved to be a masterful presentation of cultural identity that included a draft preservation ordinance specifically addressing the need to protect and promote cultural activities and language preservation. Dr. Patricia Parker, founder of the National Park Service Tribal Historic Preservation Program in Washington, D.C., recognized the skill with which the plan presented preservation issues from a tribal perspective and committed funding to have it published. The course of events that followed and led to the achievements of this publication involved the dedicated efforts of many people in Sitka, author Dr. Dorothea J Theodoratus, and the National Park Service.

The beauty of this plan is in its ability to inspire similar preservation initiatives. In 1993 a national survey identified 1,863 communities that had preservation commissions. One of the first tasks that a commission usually undertakes is to prepare a preservation plan. As a general rule, most of these plans focus on buildings, structures, and landscapes that have a place in the history of the community. In the Sitka plan, the focus is slightly modified to concentrate on the Sitka Tribe of Tlingit -- who they are as a people and less on what can be ascertained from their built environment. Because the preservation issues are self-defined, the plan radiates with a sense of ownership necessary for tribal preservation. Unlike the preservation plan that is motivated solely by the need to resolve competing land use goals, this plan celebrates the people and asserts cultural purpose -- a premise that once established leads to the ability to set priorities, make professional alliances, and seek support. All necessary components of preservation action.

Finally, this publication embodies the best intentions of the Tribal Historic Preservation Program, the 1992 Amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and the preservation goals set forth in the 1990 report, *Keepers of the Treasures: Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions on Indian Lands*.

It has been a pleasure.

Linda Cook

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Historic Preservation Plan has been a group effort. Since I wrote the original 1992 version, it has been substantially expanded into the 1995 version. This is somewhat a result of my continued contacts and work in Southeastern Alaska, but mostly it is the result of Sitka people's efforts and comments on the 1992 version as well as their additions for the 1995 report.

Gus Adams, who was the Tribal Administrator when the project started, read the 1992 version prior to its submission and assisted in clarifying several sections. Gus was familiar with the objectives and helped with my understanding of issues and amplification of data throughout the writing. He also helped with this 1995 version and allowed me the use of his technical office equipment during the week in July when this report was finalized. It was Gus and Terry Pegues who brought me back to the anthropology of Southeastern Alaska after a 33-year absence, during which time I was deeply involved in native issues in the "south '48." Gus, Terry and I worked together from 1992 through the completion of the 1995 version--Gus first from an administrative level, then from a consultation level, and Terry from a basic Sitka-data level. Both sought to put me in contact with knowledgeable people they felt could speak about the preservation of their own Sitka Tlingit culture. Both encouraged me when I became enthralled and excited about Sitka culture of this century because of the way Sitka people talked about it. Terry shared basic data with me on a daily basis, reading and commenting on all drafts. Gus, Terry and I combined our talents well, and were able to set up the inspirational and knowledgeable Cultural Committee, which became the advisory board for cultural preservation in Sitka.

The Tribal Cultural Committee decided to publish the document after it was offered by the Park Service, but wished to have the 1992 version enhanced so the Sitka Tribe would have a more thorough document for the preservation of their culture history. John Davis and Loretta Ness, Cultural Committee leaders, were always encouraging and positive. Tribal Chairman Larry Widmark was supportive and interested in seeing that the Cultural Committee's wishes materialized. He encouraged my work and facilitated my effort. Tribal General Manager Dr. Ted Wright, and Special Assistant Kathy Erickson, were helpful in finalizing the 1995 Preservation Plan. The STA staff was also supportive and helpful.

Several individuals commented on and/or added to the draft sections of the report. The comments were carefully edited and

integrated into the style of the report by my long-time associate, editor, and close friend, Mildred Kolander. Milly has the ability to take a variety of writing styles and transfer them into a flowing narrative as if it were written by one individual. She carefully mended my writings and melded them with the many contributions made by members of the Sitka Tribe and community. Bob Hicks, photographer and cartographer, was, as always, expert in his efforts to illustrate the document. Nancy Ricketts, archives librarian at Sheldon Jackson College, went out of her way to supply the photographs.

Ellen Hope Hayes graciously went over the entire 1992 version, making corrections and additions throughout, helping to clarify and perfect the report. Isabella Brady amplified the skimpy educational section and added a segment on cannery life --an ommission caught by the Cultural Committee in their reading and discussions of the 1992 version. Terry Pegues added to several sections of the report, and also wrote the segments on the 1904 Potlatch and Boat Building. Keith Perkins added the section on Tourism and inserted several clarifications to the manuscript on present-day Sitka life. Keith's unending enthusiasm and love of his culture was a real inspiration. Jude Pate contributed to the subsistence section, but also helped clarify several other parts of the manuscript. Jude has my greatest respect; he takes on an unbelievable load and achieves great success under pressure. Although he is very interested in subsistence, he seems to take a heavy teasing about his own personal experience in the activity. Jude is applauded for his work on subsistence and related issues, and his impressive progress toward restoration of the Sitka Tribal court.

Herman Kitka, knowledgeable and respected, gave much of his time during the 1992 summer season. He offered a thorough perspective of seascape and landscape. Both Mr. Kitka's and Mark Jacobs' knowledge of subsistence and land use has been important for documentation of the Sitka area, and for the hearings on development and harvest of those areas. Both were willing to give their time for the formation of this Plan. Knowledgeable elder Al Davis provided a view of historic Sitka that was both instructive and pleasant to learn. Ray Nielsen, Jr. allowed me to peruse his photographic collection and selected key audiotapes to answer my many questions. In a sense he addressed my questions on Sitka history by always showing respect to those he felt should be answering the questions--hence the tapes. He did answer questions in general, but was most specifically helpful with Native foods and subsistence perspectives--subjects he knows well, as those of us who have tasted his cuisine can testify. One afternoon while I desperately worked on the final 1995 draft, he cheered me on with a never-empty plate of herring roe--my favorite Native food.

Another kind of support came from colleagues and from the National Park Service. Linda Cook (NPS historic Preservation

Grants Manager, Anchorage) gave her invaluable assistance in promoting the project and presenting the publication possibility in a meeting with the Tribal Cultural Committee. Linda, along with Pat Parker (American Indian Liaison Office, Washington, D.C.) found the funding for the 1995 production. Linda kept the project going, and with her amazing wit and clever use of the metaphor kept me on my toes.

Anthropology colleagues, Dr. Donna Jean Halstead and Dr. Nancy H. Evans, read the first draft and made many comments from their unique perspectives. Both are valuable and thorough readers, who are always willing to give their time and expertise to improve my product. Jennifer Sepez, friend and anthropology graduate student at the University of Washington with a specialty in ethnobiology (fisheries), certainly helped to clarify fish and cannery terminology. She also read the manuscript with a keen eye, asking pertinent questions and making many helpful suggestions. These women, along with colleague Geri Emberson, had open ears and encouraging voices throughout the preparation of the 1992 and 1995 manuscripts. And, Sandy and Jerry Helland's visit to the field was encouraging and fun. The friendship and understanding of Sitka friends Barbara Keener and Jeannie Widmark were ever-present.

Karen Iwamoto and Rachael Myron, Chatham District Forest Archaeologists, became my good friends and inspiring colleagues along the way. They had the trust and forethought to allow the field-checking of important ethnographic data and, as a result, were open to the results. We can confirm ethnographic data through archaeological survey investigation, and we can see that those data are beneficial to both the Forest and the Tribe in their mutual preservation efforts. Sue Thorton at the National Park Service Sitka Historical Park was always interested in the research and anxious to assist in whatever way she could. She donated much person-time to the preservation effort, especially xeroxing historic photographs. Her particular interest is in promoting a tribal archive.

Another kind of help came from Marie Laws, who contributed to my spirit with her sensitivity to my frustrations as a "wannabe" artist, and who nurtured me by conveying a small fraction of her art to me. Her patience and enthusiasm as a weaver and teacher of traditional and contemporary arts touched me deeply. She always added perspective to my efforts and I will be forever grateful for the relaxing times in her studio when she wove on her majestic sea-otter-lined robe, and at the same time taught me northern geometric weave on a smaller loom nearby. I perhaps needed her willingness to share her artistic talent in order for me to weave the words for this complex Sitka culture history.

ANB President, Nels Lawson, made numerous contributions to the effort. He read and commented on the 1992 version,

remained dedicated to the accuracy of the report, and was committed to seeing that I understood the detail as well as the overriding spirit of Tlingit culture throughout the four years of work. Also, it was through Nels' courtesy and effort that arrangements were made for me to work in the quiet of the ANB hall in July 1995.

Others contributed substantially to this preservation plan. Herb Didrickson, always cheerful, gave freely of his time and answered a wide array of questions throughout the duration of the study. He broadened the range of my knowledge from subsistence to village composition; his interest in seeing that I had a clear understanding of Sitka made me always look forward to his presence. Bud Lang's input was also helpful. Robbie and John Littlefield were enthusiastic teachers of their impressive N.A.T.I.V.E. program for the children of Sitka. Boyd Didrickson taught me about legal issues surrounding subsistence issues, and I always looked forward to discussing his creative artistic works with him. Bob Sam graciously took me to cemetery restoration areas and came into the Tribal office to explain the restoration activities and objectives. He then read the 1992 draft version, and helped update it for this edition of the Plan. Carol Shold reviewed the section on education, as did teacher Elvia Torres. Although Archie Nielsen learned of the Preservation Plan near the completion of the 1995 draft, he was very interested in the Plan and what it could do for Sitka. He went out of his way to provide documentation that I had not otherwise been able to obtain. It is my hope that he will be able to use this document to assist in his ongoing writing about Sitka specifically, and the Tlingit area in general.

It was surprising to me to become so involved in the section on sports, but it would have been impossible to overlook after hearing Mo Johnson ("Mighty Mo") regail Gus Adams on the subject. Mo and his ongoing legend (he still practices basketball) made my enthusiasm soar. I heard long hours of sports talk in the Moose Lodge from Terry Pegues and Gus Adams and anyone else (especially Glen Howard and Itch Hanson) who happened to stop and speak with them. Loretta Ness and June Pegues told me of the crowds who attended and the involvement of the community in sports and music. This sports talk all came together in July of 1995 when I had the pleasure of hearing Gil Truitt talk about the history of Southeast Alaskan sports. Gil put sports together for me as only he could do. I have come to see sports as one of the major cohesive factors in the unification of the Tlingit in this century.

Herb Hope's enthusiasm about the Kiksadi 1804 survival march was impressive, as was his willingness and courteousness in sharing his knowledge. So much more could be written about the subject, and certainly the Tlingit view is a must. I would urge Herb and the Kiksadi to bring this view to the public in

writing, since clearly I have learned that this is one chapter in history that needs to be rewritten.

To all of you at Sitka and elsewhere who helped with this report--those remembered in this acknowledgement, but also others who took the time to talk with me--each of you has made important contributions to the history of the Sitka Tlingit in your own way. Together we have made an outline record for future generations to build on. Yes--you have added to my knowledge, but the real value lies in this record you have allowed me to write so we can together preserve and perpetuate this wonderful culture. As for me, I thank you all for this extraordinary experience and its wonderful contribution to my life.

Dorothea J Theodoratus

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PART I. INTRODUCTION

The Sitka Tribe of Alaska (STA, formerly Sitka Community Association) of Sitka, Alaska, a federally recognized Tribe chartered in 1938 under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, on behalf of the membership (which is primarily Southeast Alaska Native American, particularly Tlingit), in 1991 formally sought to develop a Sitka Tribal historic and cultural preservation program. Funding for this activity was achieved through a Historic Preservation Grant to Indian Tribes and Alaska Natives from the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service (NPS Grant No. 02-91-NA-024). In June 1992 the Tribe engaged Dorothea J Theodoratus, Ph.D, as Tribal Research Consultant, to "develop, in consultation with the Tribal General Manager, Tribal Planner and community consultants, a comprehensive historic preservation plan as outlined in the NPS proposal" (Consulting Contract, STA, June 4, 1992). The original fieldwork was conducted during the summer of 1992 from June through August. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric research has been ongoing intermittently since the completion of the report under the NPS grant, and the compilation of all data to date (August 1995) are presented herein (see below, this section.)

The program was to be achieved through the extensive involvement of the Tribal membership in general, and more specifically with the intensive involvement of members who have particular knowledge of, and interest in, Tribal history and the preservation of that history through such a program. The objective of such consultation would be to assess and determine the Tribe's historical and cultural preservation needs. With this objective in mind, Dr. Dorothea J Theodoratus, henceforth known as Tribal Research Consultant, was assigned an office in the Tribal Association headquarters where community members could comfortably come to discuss their interests in the planning process. The Tribal Research Consultant also attended community functions and visited persons in their homes or workplaces, as well as talking with them at meetings, in restaurants, or other informal settings to solicit their input. While informal conversations occurred with a great many persons, formal consultations were held with 44 Native people, almost all of whom were consulted more than once--some up to five times. In addition, several non-Indian people closely associated with the Native population (e.g., by marriage or involvement in Tribal activities) also were helpful. The length of discussions ranged from one to five hours. Particularly sought was the input of the community-elected Tribal Council, since ideally they are representative of the community. Of the seven members, five were particularly inter-

ested and contributed; three of these members devoted considerable time and made extensive contributions to the community plan. (Note: since this study the number of Tribal Council members has been raised to nine.)

Another objective of the project was to consult with "other entities which share similar missions and possess expertise in the areas relevant to the planning, establishment and long-term management of a historic preservation and cultural heritage program" (NPS Grant Proposal, page 1). Consultation in this vein occurred throughout the summer with personnel from the Chatham District, Tongass National Forest, and from the Sitka National Historical Park, National Park Service. As a team, the Tribal Research Consultant, Tribal General Manager, and Tribal Planner met with resource specialists from the Forest Service, and in conjunction they explored integrated preservation efforts and participated in field investigation during the summer seasons. This work is continuing. In addition, consultation and exchange were carried out with preservation specialists from the National Park Service's Alaska Regional Office in Anchorage. The same Tribal team of three also reviewed, along with a National Park Service research team from the Denver office, Sitka Tribal interests in the management of Sitka National Historical Park. Communication was initiated with the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (both the main office in Fairbanks and the Division of Subsistence office in Douglas), and personnel from these offices made significant suggestions for the planning process. Meaningful data on subsistence preservation were also obtained from the President of the Southeast Native Subsistence Commission in Juneau and the BIA subsistence coordinator in Juneau. Discussions with personnel from the Alaska Judicial Council offered perspective, and personnel from the State Historic Preservation Office were helpful in defining the ongoing preservation efforts and compliance in Sitka.

Well-known anthropologists specializing in the ethnohistory of Southeastern Alaska were most cordial, open to the research, and extremely helpful in unmasking disparate accounts of historical events. Interchanges with outside consulting archaeologists about local interest and input were helpful in clarifying the status of prehistoric preservation efforts in the Sitka vicinity. All of these persons who cooperated in a concerted effort to assist in this project made substantive and significant contributions to the preservation objectives of the Sitka Tribe. The results of their contributions are incorporated into the appropriate sections of this study.

Grant objectives also include the continuation and linkage of ongoing programs such as those offered in Native education and previous oral history preservation efforts. In addition, a Tribal Historic Preservation Ordinance was to be developed and a Tribal Cultural Committee formed and made operational (see

Part V, Preservation Plan). These are essential components of the Tribal Preservation Program and as such are discussed in the body of this text.

The investigative procedure usually followed was, first, to inform the Tribal member or members about the study and its objectives. The Tribal community consultants were then asked to state what they perceived as preservation needs for the community and to comment on how they would like to see these needs met. The scope of discussions ranged from tangible items (e.g., manufactures) to broader, intangible areas of significance (e.g., concepts, legend, mythology, undocumented historical events). The latter often led to consideration of complex and interconnecting issues which are basic to Tribal preservation as a whole (e.g., clan houses and kinship affiliations, subsistence, Tribal status). These discussions sometimes led to very specific consultations with persons knowledgeable about a particular event or process deemed necessary for the development of a preservation strategy. Several community consultants offered primary historical data which could then be field tested to determine if meaningful additional evidence could be produced which could expand and/or substantiate Tribal interests in their traditional territory (see Forest Service Coordination, Part IV).

Interviews with personnel in the two federal government entities most closely linked to the Tribe (the National Forest Service and Sitka National Historic Park) centered on their participation in the preservation effort. The research was explained and the ensuing interchanges most often resulted in enthusiastic offers of assistance and cooperation (see especially the sections below under Forest Service Coordination and Sitka National Historical Park Coordination, Part IV). Discussion of plan/report and procedure followed to complete this report.

The method of presentation followed here is first to provide a statement about the Sitka Tribe, their cultural identity and affiliations, and a summary of Tlingit ethnography and ethnohistory to place Sitka in the general context of Southeastern Alaskan ethnology. This presentation will illustrate Sitka's special importance in Southeastern Alaskan ethnohistory because of its early contact situation, its pre- and post-contact status as a major population center of the Tlingit people, and subsequent developments. Historical events particular to the Sitka Tribe are reviewed, followed by a selective overview of the contemporary Sitka Native community and examination of preservation needs as determined through the numerous discussions with community members. This background provides a foundation for development of the Preservation Plan. This report is concluded with a presentation of the Preservation Plan for the Sitka Tribe (Part V).

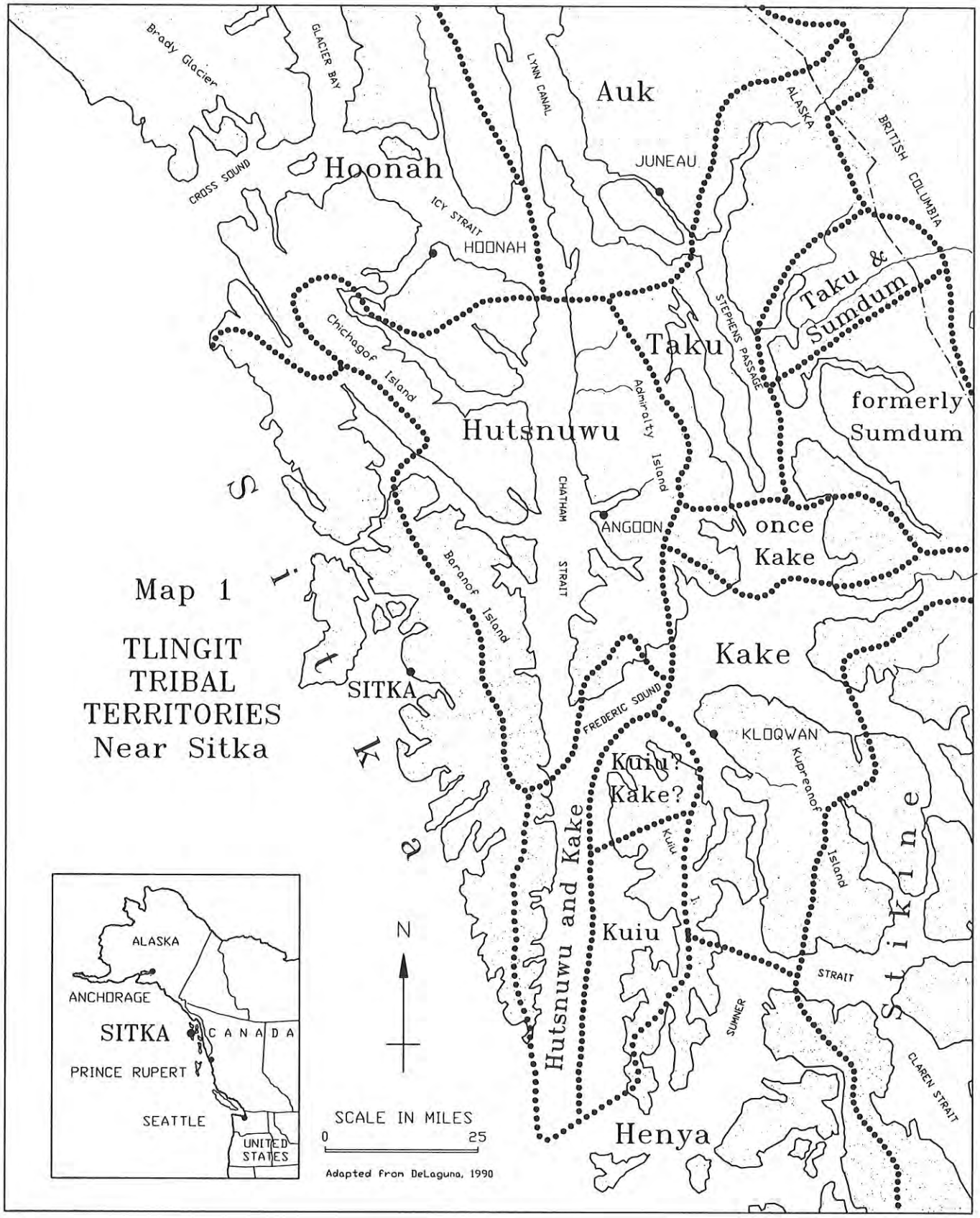
PART II. OVERVIEW OF TLINGIT ETHNOGRAPHY AND ETHNOHISTORY WITH EMPHASIS ON SITKA

The Sitka Tribe of Alaska

The Sitka Tribe of Alaska (STA), formerly the Sitka Community Association, is a federally recognized tribe organized by corporate charter as a federal corporation ratified in 1938 under the Department of the Interior by provision of the Indian Reorganization Act (June 18, 1934, 48 Stat. 984; May 1, 1936, 49 Stat. 1250). According to the constitution and by-laws, the purpose of the charter of incorporation is "to further the economic development of the Indians residing in the neighborhood of Sitka, Alaska . . . [and] to secure for the members . . . an assured economic independence" (page 1). STA is an elected Tribal Council, with a current (1994) enrolled membership of 2,740.

While the majority of the membership traces direct descendance from the Sitka Tribe of Tlingit, many members are originally from adjacent Tlingit communities such as Kake, Hutsnuwu (Angoon), Hoonah, and Yakutat (Map 1). Other membership is from non-Tlingit Alaskan groups such as Haida, Tsimshian, Aleut, Athabascan, and Inuit. Many of these individuals originally from non-Sitka groups also claim a percentage of descendance from a Sitka ancestor and/or themselves have progeny who are partial descendants of the Sitka Tlingit. These variations in population are a result of Sitka being a historical hub for Southeastern Alaska: first as a major population center of the Tlingit, then as an important center for Russian America, and later as a politically important focal point for the United States. Through the years, since the early American occupation, many Natives were drawn to Sitka to obtain an education from Sheldon Jackson or Mt. Edgecumbe schools, and many former students stayed in the community after completing their education. This Native community, with its proportionately small number from various outside ethnic components (especially other Southeastern Alaska Tlingit) is still, however, primarily Sitka Tlingit. The entire ethnic community derives strength of commonality through relationships with Sitka Tlingit and in being Southeastern Alaska Natives from Sitka.

Because Tlingit culture is predominant within the community, recognized internally as such, and is the culture presented to those outside the Native group, an overview of pre-contact Tlingit culture is summarized below. This is followed by a brief summary of early Tlingit/non-Tlingit contact history.


Brady Glacier
GLACIER BAY
LYNN CANAL
Auk
ALASKA
BRITISH COLUMBIA
JUNEAU
CROSS SOUND
Hoonah
ICY STRAIT
HOONAH
Taku &
Sumdum
STEPHENS PASSAGE
Chichagof Island
Taku
Admiralty Island
formerly
Sumdum
Hutsnuwu
CHATHAM STRAIT
ANGOON
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SITKA
FREDERIC SOUND
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Kake?
Kupreanof Island
Hutsnuwu and Kake
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Stikine
STRAIT
SUMNER
CLARENCE STRAIT
Henya
Map 1
TLINGIT
TRIBAL
TERRITORIES
Near Sitka
ALASKA
ANCHORAGE
SITKA
CANADA
PRINCE RUPERT
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UNITED STATES
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25
Adapted from DeLaguna, 1990

Overview of Tlingit Ethnography

According to anthropological scholars, the Tlingit peoples speak a common language of the Athabascan linguistic stock and are comprised of two major divisions, Coastal and Inland, which are united into a "nationality" by linguistic affiliation and a common culture (De Laguna 1990:203). Traditional territory for the Coastal group, which is divided by subdialectical differences into Gulf Coast, Northern Tlingit, and Southern Tlingit, includes the coastal mainland and islands of the Alaska panhandle. Tribal groups such as Sitka, whose language is of the northern division, distinguish themselves by particulars of their local culture, discrete history, and specific foreign contacts. For details of Tlingit culture see the following major works: Barbeau (1950); Boas (1897); Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1987, 1990, 1994); De Laguna (1952, 1954, 1960, 1965, 1972, 1975, 1983, 1990); Drucker (1948, 1950); Emmons (1903, 1907, 1908, 1916, 1930, 1991); Garfield (1947); Garfield and Forrest (1948); Goldschmidt and Haas (1946); Gunther (1962, 1966, 1971, 1972); Holm (1965, 1967, 1982, 1983); Jonaitis (1978, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1986, 1988); Kan (1983, 1985, 1987, 1989); Keithahn (1954, 1963, 1964); Krause (1956, 1981); Moss (1993); McClellan (1954); Oberg (1934, 1973); Paul (1944); Peck (1986); Samuel (1982, 1987); Swanton (1908, 1909).

The topography of Tlingit territory is rugged, composed of deep fjords along the coast as well as along the shorelines of the 80-mile-wide group of islands between the coast and the Pacific Ocean. The coastal lands and rugged mountainous islands are densely forested by spruce, hemlock, and cedar interspersed with terrain covered with dense growth of bushes and berries. Numerous streams cut through the landscape. Precipitation varies from 95 to 200 inches a year.

From this habitat and its offerings the Tlingit obtained their sustenance and materials for manufactures. Salmon furnished the staple food, along with other fish, such as herring and halibut. There was also available a rich variety of additional foods such as shellfish, seaweed, water and land fowl, sea mammals, and land mammals--deer, bear, and smaller creatures. A variety of berries were collected, including blueberries, elderberries, strawberries, and cranberries, as were various roots, shoots, and other plant life. Specific methods of preservation extended seasonal products for use throughout the year.

The technology required to make and use the equipment needed for the various activities was specialized and intricate; concomitant moral and spiritual values formed a part of the procedure for proper and successful use of equipment and of foods or other items obtained from the land and sea. Much of the procurement was seasonal, and different areas offered con-

centrations of different resources, resulting in complex simultaneous seasonal patterns in any given area during a particular season. Resources were procured and preserved for domestic consumption as well as for intra-group sharing and inter-Tlingit and inter-tribal trade (e.g., Athabascan and Aleut groups, Tsimshian, Haida), all of which were both complex and extensive.

Each tribal area had at least one principal village, usually located on a sheltered bay with a sandy beach, wide view, and convenient access to resource areas. This village held its highest occupancy in winter; during summer months families left for their various subsistence camps (called "fish camps" by Tlingit tradition) when the variety of procurement activities were at their peak. Nineteenth-century villages consisted of rows of rectangular, gable-roofed plank houses, often with carved and/or painted fronts, located along a beach, facing the water. Totem poles were placed in front or alongside the houses; food-drying racks and canoes of various types and sizes (for hunting, fishing and travel) spotted the beach. Cemeteries were located behind or at one end of a row of houses, or occasionally on a nearby island; again, totem poles were often placed at these sites. A village also included gardens, smokehouses (especially for curing fish), and various huts and shelters for women's cycles, childbirth, bathing, and other specified activities.

Houses accommodated 40 to 50 people related by lineage and clan, including related nuclear families, single adults and slaves. These structures were excavated in the center, with a working and eating area around a central fire. Wooden platforms around the periphery of this central area were partitioned into family sleeping areas, with a screened off section in the back of the house for the clan house leader and his immediate kin. Partitions were removed to convert a house into a theater for ceremonial occasions or other special events. Four interior house posts, partitions, and the house front were often painted and/or carved with the crest of ancestral figures and designs held in exclusive proprietorship by the owner's lineage or clan.

Tlingit communities or "tribes" (e.g., Hoonah, Hutsnuwu [Angoon], Auk [Juneau], Sitka, Kake) were held together by kinship, territorial rights, and affinity to the land (Map 1). Every individual (except a slave, usually from a non-Tlingit group) was a member of one of two exogamous groups: Eagle (sometimes called Wolf among the southern groups) or Raven. These two groups (or moieties), Eagle and Raven, formed the basic units of Tlingit social, political and economic life, and each was comprised of 30 or more matrilineal clans. Each of these clans formed a house group or groups, and was further subdivided into lineages within a house group. Each village had, in its composition, a number of clans from each moiety.

Not all clans would be represented in any one village, and more than one house of an individual clan (forming a lineage group in a named house of a clan; cf. Map 2 under Contact History) were often found in each village. The village size was a reflection of its clan composition. Within the village and between communities, the two moieties formed opposite sides which functioned in the exchange of marriage partners, and for various social and ceremonial occasions.

Social ranking has always been an important part of Tlingit societal organization. The highest ranks were held by the headmen of clans or lineages, and lineages were often ranked. Certain clans also possessed greater wealth and status than other clans, and this condition could vary from village to village. Slaves were considered to be outside this ranked system until the American historical period, when they were absorbed into the house and clan which previously had owned them. Each clan, and beneath it, each lineage, owned certain properties away from the village territory in the outlying tribal territory, and along with the land held all rights to the products, water, and routes within that prescribed locality. In addition, clans held the rights to their associated totemic crests and the representation of these on objects of manufacture as well as the rights to ownership of personal names. Heads of clans and lineages acted as administrators of their respective properties, and thus could, among other activities, designate property use, manage hunting seasons, and plan ceremonial activities. Clans and lineages ranged greatly in size: they could be small and associated with a particular community, or they could be very large, cutting across tribal groups and having several houses in different communities. Myth and legend detail the formations, movements, associations of clan houses, heroes, supernatural entities, and other important historical clan epics and events. The Tlingit have aligned their clans and lineages with the Haida and Tsimshian for cross-group marriage and potlatching.

It was required that marriage be with a person from the opposite moiety, with preference given to a member of the father's clan and house, especially a cross-cousin (father's sister's child, who in this system would be of the same clan and house as the father) of equal rank. This system served to link generations of relatives to each other. Deceased maternal relatives were believed to be reincarnated in the newborn (death took people to another plane of existence until they were reincarnated back into the Tlingit world). Children were born into membership of their mother's clan, and both boys and girls began to learn their duties, clan affiliations and obligations at an early age. By the time a young boy reached about eight years of age he was sent to be trained under a maternal uncle (mother's brother) who was responsible for teaching the boy the traditions and rights of his inherited lineage and clan. Young girls remained with their mothers who, along with

other relatives of the matrilineage who resided in the household, taught them their roles and educated them on their heritage and associated obligations. The importance of kinship and its associated symbolic representations was thoroughly inculcated at an early age, thus securing the continuity of Tlingit traditions.

Clan and lineage totemic crests as represented through the arts (e.g., music, dance, mythology, dramatic presentations, a wide variety of sculptural forms, and fiber arts) were treasured by the clan membership. These crests were depicted on most items of clan or lineage property, and were reflected in titles, in names of persons and objects, as well as in concepts of personal being. The actual creatures or entities associated with a totemic crest were addressed in kinship terms according to the speaker's relationship to the crest.

The clan's display of a crest required payment by the clan to members from the opposite moiety who attended and witnessed the display. If a crest became part of a dispute, its owners were obligated to pay for its redemption. Accidental or intentional injury to a person or property of another clan resulted in operationalizing Tlingit legal mechanisms, and the social ranks of the individuals involved were carefully figured into the costs of settlement. Failure to resolve such disputes could, and many times did, result in the separation of villages (and the creation of new communities) and/or war or feud.

Death rites were basically similar for all persons regardless of age or sex, but were much more elaborate for persons of higher social rankings, in which case memorial potlatches were held to install heirs. Members of the opposite moiety were expected to attend to certain aspects of the services of the deceased (e.g., corpse preparation and care, funeral services, and erection of a memorial), who usually lay in state four days, surrounded by lineage and clan treasures. Cremation was the general custom for most Tlingit up to 1880, when full burial became the custom as a result of non-Indian missionary influence. Funerary practices for shamans were different, involving special rites and interment, along with their paraphernalia, in a special area away from others.

During pre-contact times the most important feasts or ceremonies were for funerals, memorials, and ear piercing for children of high status. After contact, these celebrations, called potlatches, increased in frequency and size, and the memorial feast and children's ear piercing were sometimes combined. The memorial event, hosted by a high-ranking man of the deceased's clan, included all members of the community (the host clan and their relatives by moiety, as well as the clans from the opposite moiety) and a guest clan of the opposite moiety from a different Tlingit group. The climax of the event occurred when the host group paid their guests of the opposite moiety for

conducting services during the funeral feast. Clan members of the deceased contributed to the ceremony, in which other deceased members of the clan, for whom a specific potlatch had not been hosted, were recognized and therefore included. These contributions served to pay the funeral debts and conclude the funerary rites for deceased relatives of the same clan who had not hosted a funerary potlatch. At this ceremonial feast, new titles were assumed (e.g., the heir and newly entitled house master of the deceased took on his inherited title), names were given, crests were exhibited, and ears pierced. Guests received payment for their services and for being witness to, and acknowledgers of, the event. Such an occasion included speeches of welcome and appreciation, dancing, singing, gift distribution, regalia and crest display, recitations of clan history, and feasting. The feasting and dancing could last four or more days, the length depending upon the number of houses or allied clans (associated through the moiety) hosting the celebration. Much wealth changed hands, new statuses were verified, and reputations enhanced. An important part of a memorial ceremony was "ending the grief" for the deceased's clan. At the completion of mourning, relatives and other mourners were freed from any restrictions. The occasion promised the future return of gifts by others hosting potlatches.

Evidence for a Tlingit way of life dates back at least to 3000 years ago, and it is estimated that human occupation existed along the Tlingit coast as early as 10,000 years ago. Tribal traditions, mythology, and legend track historical movements for some clans from the south northward, and for others from the interior westward and northward through ice passages in a treacherous glaciated area. These traditions continue to form an integral part of the various Tlingit clan histories, as have legends about the movements and expansion of Tlingit people along the Alaskan Gulf Coast in the 1700s. As the Tlingit settled into the home areas with which they are now associated, their various localities became known for their regional richness and production of certain resources; the desire for the resources was promulgated, and trade activities among Tlingit groups and with other native groups were established and preserved. Tradition gives Sitka a central position in such trade during pre-contact time, and for the early pre-Russian fur trade with American and English vessels.

Contact History

The earliest recorded non-Indian contact for the Tlingit was with Russians in 1741, a confrontation that is said to have been hostile but brief (De Laguna 1990:223). In 1775, the Spanish explored Tlingit territory and left the Sitka group infected with smallpox. In the next decades, exploration by representatives from several national groups, as well as by various independent fur traders, accelerated; and the Russians extended their fur quest outward from their Kodiak and Aleutian

outposts. There is evidence that during this time the Tlingit had contact and traded furs with merchants from vessels of various nations, including some ships under the American flag.

The Russians reached and expanded into northern Tlingit territory in the 1790s, and by 1799 had established a fort at Sitka. In 1802, this fort was attacked and destroyed by a coalition of Northern Tlingit tribes with a group of Sitka Tlingit. In 1804, the Russians returned, and after a Russian/Tlingit battle in which the Russians were dominant, many Tlingit (primarily six houses of the Kiksadi clan and their relatives) left the fort by inland trail for a safer refuge to the north and east of Sitka, where they remained for about ten years. Their intent was to block the Peril Strait so other nations could not come into the area to trade with the Russians. From a newly established winter village and fort, they continued to live as they had previously, attending to seasonal activities at their fish camps. According to Tlingit tradition, the Russians invited the self-exiled Tlingit back to Sitka, primarily because of the serious impact by the Tlingit on Russian trade with other groups (see especially Hope 1993, 1994). According to Tlingit oral histories, the Russian versions are vastly different from Native versions, and seriously distort the story.

After the 1804 battle, the Russians took over the Sitka area and built a new fort at Sitka (called New Archangel) as well as one at Wrangell. Sitka became the headquarters and administrative center for Russian lands in the New World and remained so from 1808 until the United States purchased Alaska in 1867. Although the Russians established their own housing, a fur factory, shipyards, and "castle" in a specific area of Sitka, they were unable to obtain or exert control over the surrounding Tlingit homeland or the Tlingit people. In spite of the presence of the Russians and the Hudson's Bay Company, the Tlingit were able to maintain their hold on trade with groups to the interior, and persisted in their trading relationship with American ships.

For the Sitka community that had remained during and after the battle of Sitka (1804) and those that subsequently returned to the community after the retreat, life continued mostly in Tlingit style, although a portion of their important village habitat was no longer part of their domain because of the new Russian community built on the site. The Sitka Tlingit Village people continued in residence at the periphery of the Russian town, following, at their own discretion, their customary language, settlement patterns, and social life. Also by choice they incorporated aspects of European culture into their lifestyle.

From the Russians, as well as through their other merchant trade, the Tlingit obtained tools and other commodities useful

to their purposeful enhancement of many aspects of their culture (e.g., through metal forging they were able to accelerate and enhance their wood arts--such as boats, poles, and structures--which in turn affected their social structure). Also during the Russian period many individuals established what would eventually become a very enduring membership in the Russian Orthodox Church. But with the exception of Native religion and the related practice of shamanism, which were severely eroded by the diligent efforts of the outsiders, most Tlingit customs remained intact and were extended into a flourishing period (1840s through the 1860s) of travel, raiding, and trade with other groups as far south as the Puget Sound area in northwestern Washington and along western coastal British Columbia. Throughout this time, Tlingit peoples were able to maintain their language as well as to enhance some traditions, such as social customs and subsistence practices, in part probably due to the additional and enhanced technology gained through their extensive trading ventures.

After the 1867 purchase of Alaska, American occupation brought a much wider range of impacts to the lives of Southeastern Alaskan Native peoples. The territory again became full of strangers--military personnel, miners, and explorers--many of whom drank heavily and abused, demoralized, and purposely corrupted the Native way of life. Justice was unachievable for Natives among a people who intentionally chose to violate Native lifeways and ignore the strong and empowering Native legal system. From 1867 to 1884, the territory was under military rule. Alaska was administered by the War Department for the first ten years (1867-1877) of American occupation. The U.S. Navy ruled the territory from 1879-1884, and it was not until the latter year when Congress passed the Organic Act of 1884 establishing executive and judicial branches of Alaskan territorial government (Worl 1990:151) that civilian administration was finally initiated. During these years, Sitka, where a military presence had been established, was but one of many communities that experienced a devastating collision of cultures.

As a result of non-Indian occupation, Sitka people found themselves mostly congregated into one area of town, to the northwest of the Russian Church and governmental center. This locality was to become known as the Native Village. Between 1899 and 1929, photographer Elbridge Warren Merrill made an important visual record of Tlingit life in the Village during those years (Plates 1, 2, 3; Ricketts 1995a, b). The resiliency of certain aspects of Tlingit culture is apparent through the study of Merrill's photographs, and by noting the number of clan houses in existence as shown in the map of the Village, 1920-1945, compiled by Gil Truit, et al. (Map 2; the Legend which precedes the map lists clan houses and residences). Boat shops, stores, restaurants, and other enterprises, along with the Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall, also demonstrate the crea-

tive and adaptable aspects of Sitka Tlingit cultural life during those years. The number of homes with recognizable, long-standing Sitka Tlingit Village names shows the continuity of Tlingit Village life. Many of these same families continue to reside in the Village today, and it was their ancestors who experienced much of the changing life described below.

Shamanism and Religion

During pre-contact and early post-contact years, shamans represented a powerful force in Tlingit society. This force was intensified by the fact that the shaman (*ixt*) was said to be receiver of a spiritual gift which was to be nurtured and developed through training. Many had special benevolent abilities as healers of both body and spirit; some had telepathic abilities, while others had out-of-body experiences which enhanced their particular talents. Shamans had specialties--no single person possessed all possible gifts for healing.

Shamans were powerful persons of varied accomplishments. They were usually men, although some women were known to have entered this profession. Among other tasks they cured people (although not their own clansmen); controlled weather; brought success in fishing, hunting and war; foretold the future; and communicated with persons at great distances. The shamans' powers came from spiritual beings under their control, who inspired them and spoke through them. Shamans and their families endured restrictive lives. They underwent a variety of constraints such as fasting, purging, food restrictions, and sexual abstinence. Their primary task was the detection of witches through seance. At death, the shaman received special rites and was buried apart from other villagers.

Spiritual affiliations were greatly altered during the early contact years. After contact, shamanism was radically curtailed by outsiders. For example, in pre-contact traditional times neither a shaman nor his wife would customarily comb or cut their hair. When the U.S. Navy forcibly punished these professionals for their activities (1860-1890s) by shaving their heads, many shamans lost their powers (De Laguna 1990:221). Such restrictions quickly ravaged this aspect of Native life, and the eventual results in these early contact years were new affiliations to religions whose doctrines proclaimed shamanistic activities as evil.

Details on pre-contact Tlingit religion are sparse at best, although it is known that, to these people, all living things, features of the landscape, and celestial bodies were inhabited by spiritual beings or "souls." These beings were accorded respect, and assistance was sought from them when it was needed.

The general consensus among present-day Sitka Tlingit is that their traditional (pre-contact) religion closely paralleled the concepts of the introduced western Christianity of post-contact times. They say that since they did not see any basic differences between the belief systems, it was easy for them to transfer to the newly introduced religious doctrines. By the turn of the century, many Sitka Natives had already become active members of the Russian Orthodox Church, and many held important positions in church organizations and participated regularly in church activities (e.g., mutual aid societies, temperance groups, mortuary and memorial rites, house and fishing boat blessings) (De Laguna 1990:224). The Orthodox memorial services were accepted by the Sitka people and, combined with their own approach to a memorial, seem to have accommodated their needs. This Orthodox approach has continued into the present: for example, the 40-day Orthodox memorial has continued as part of the historically ongoing and present-day "potlatch" system (i.e., 40 days after death a feast or "potlatch" is given in honor of the deceased) (Sitka National Historical Park, Photographic files; Field Data). To some extent, this has replaced the older memorial potlatch celebration. Through historic times, many Tlingit (except for spiritual specialists) have been interred in the Orthodox cemetery rather than the customary location directly behind the clan houses. The Russian Orthodox cemetery, however, is located a short distance behind the Village clan houses and is abutted to or melded with the clan house interment areas, thus making it a somewhat appropriate area, by tradition, for interment. The Orthodox cemetery has areas within it where Natives have been and continue to be interred.

After Alaska was purchased by the United States, the Presbyterian Church became active in the Sitka area. Many Tlingit engaged in church activities, particularly as a result of their attendance at the Presbyterian school established there (see Educational Systems, below). Many Native people from throughout Alaska, but particularly Southeastern Alaskans, attended the school and participated in church functions. This influx resulted in broadening the Sitka Native community to include Tlingit people from other areas (e.g., Juneau, Angoon, Wrangell, Klawock, Hoonah), and adding other groups (e.g., Tsimshian and Haida [groups to their south]), which in turn resulted in a Tribal entity that is more inclusive of non-local people than most other Southeastern Native tribes. This expansion also served to broaden the number of clan/house memberships in Sitka beyond those that were present in the indigenous population prior to contact.

The 1904 Potlatch

In 1904 the Kaagwaantaan clan, led by Annahootz of the Wolf House, hosted the last great traditional potlatch held in Sitka. (Note: In the Tlingit language such an event is called

k̲oo.eex rather than "potlatch," which is not a Tlingit word [see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994].) It is known that large numbers of Tlingit came to the gathering from the northern villages of Southeastern Alaska. According to Tribal cultural consultants, it is not known, but it is possible that people also came from the Tlingit villages south of Kake (Map 1) and/or from Tlingit communities of British Columbia and the Yukon Territory of Canada.

The 1904 Potlatch was notable, first of all, for the number of persons who participated in the ceremonies. With what is estimated at over 800 people coming from the outer communities, attendance was probably well over 1000. Second, no other potlatch of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century was ever recorded on film to such an extent as this. The photographic record alone (photographer E. W. Merrill was residing in Sitka at the time) leaves a matchless record of the unique artistic style achieved by the Tlingit people (Plate 5).

Previous to the 1904 Potlatch, according to some Tribal elders, the Sitka people had been told by Territorial Governor Brady, who was supported by Sheldon Jackson and officials of the Protestant churches, that they could no longer hold potlatches. After some "discussion," however, Brady agreed that the Sitka Tlingit could hold this "one last potlatch." Some consultants speculate that the reason the gathering was so large, with so many people from other communities in attendance, was because it was said to be the "last Sitka potlatch" (Field Data).

All this official disapproval did not eliminate or curtail the Native customs involved in the potlatch. For example, the custom has continued for the "40-day party" which is held on the 40th day after a funeral. This party customarily includes the distribution of gifts in appreciation for the help received following the death of the person being commemorated. All persons who contribute to the ceremony--such as pallbearers, grave preparers, givers of food--are recognized in this way. Since these events entail a very high expenditure in food and gifts, they require great dedication in money, time, and effort on the part of the deceased's family.

Although the official ban was put into effect, by 1940 potlatches were again being held in Sitka, and continue to be held there today--as they are in other Southeast Alaska Tlingit communities. Over them all, however, the great Potlatch of 1904 still stands as a point of pride for the Sitka Tlingit people.

Loss of Territory

Perhaps among the greatest effects of the American acquisition on Natives was in the areas of land tenure and land use. Native lands were taken over in spite of the fact that the

Alaska purchase agreement stipulated that owned and occupied Native lands were not to be disturbed by the United States--a stipulation which was repeated in the 1884 Alaska Organic Act. For example, the traditional Tlingit system of land tenure was given little regard by the U.S. Navy which, in its control of the area (1879-1844), opened the land to settlement. Land was also lost when U.S. Customs District agents illegally recorded non-Indian land claims as legal. Under American rule, former Native landholdings became the property of the U.S. government, which either set land aside, or distributed it, or sold it with scarce regard for Native systems of land use and world view. The growing American occupation increasingly infringed on Native land rights; and the concomitant American view of land use served to constrict and/or destroy the complex and highly workable Tlingit system of subsistence and inter-tribal trade networks. "Subsistence" rights quickly became a major issue for Alaska Natives and have remained so from the initial American occupation to the present. By the 1870s, Americans had learned of the rich land and water resources held by this new territory, and American advancement into the territory with the intent of resource exploitation and development began.

The steadily increasing influx of Americans, with their proprietorship approach to the new territory and their goals of resource development coupled with the government agents' disregard for Native land tenure, contributed to the Tlingit's substantial loss of official title to their territories, even though the purchase agreement and the Organic Act had recognized Native rights. The development of gold mining in the 1880s brought thousands to Alaska; the Tlingit organized and appealed to the government for protection and preservation of their lands as well as their hunting and fishing areas, but the government--as was its practice when dealing with Native Americans--chose not to take action, and the loss of land and subsistence resources continued.

Resources on National Forest Land

The creation by presidential executive order in 1902 of the Tongass National Forest served to further alienate lands from the Tlingit and limit their seasonal access to areas where clan (house) group and family subsistence practices (fishing, hunting, gathering) had been established through tradition. In pre-contact times, these "fish camps" were clan/house owned, clan/house used, and inherited through the matrilineal line, although privileges were also accorded to persons related through marriage (affines). Strict adherence to use rules have been, through time, respectfully followed. Customarily, one does not use another's prescribed area without following appropriate procedures to secure permission.

Under the stewardship of the National Forest, one of the earliest actions was to destroy (usually by burning) any "fish

camps" discovered on Forest land and to threaten further destruction if the camps were rebuilt. A camp consisted of a small building which housed the users, and which had a section or an additional structure for smoking fish (Plate 6). In later years the area surrounding the building was often used for gardening. These seasonally occupied camps were the primary processing areas for fish and other products procured from the surrounding water and land habitats. After processing, the products were taken home for storage to sustain the people through the off-season months. Over the years the curtailment of "fish camp" use severely jeopardized the Native life style, especially for those whose food supply was closely tied to first-hand use of the land. The memory and/or legend of this curtailed access of Tribal members and/or that of parents and grandparents is a part of most Tribal members mnemonic or learned history. Thus, this limit of access to seasonal occupancy of rightfully (by Tlingit law) inherited properties is a bitter memory and cause of resentment for many Tlingit.

In 1906, some land was made available by the government, and some Sitka Tribal members applied for their "fish camp" land under the Alaska Native Allotment Act of May 17, 1906 (34 Stat. 197, amended August 2, 1956, 70 stat. 954; 43 U.S.C. 270.1 to 270.3). Application was possible if a Native person were a family head at least 21 years of age and could show continuous use and occupancy of the land for five years. Most Tlingit, however, did not know about or understand the need to apply for these allotments, and thus lost rights to the use of seasonal habitation areas. Others believed they already owned the land, so why should they apply for it?! Often, applications submitted to the government were rejected for minor technicalities, or were simply ignored. Applications made after the 1906 open period have been denied because the courts determined that individuals, in order to get title to the land, had to prove individual use (rather than ancestral use) for five years prior to the establishment in 1909 (exec. order in 1902) of National Forest land. Since most present-day descendants were not yet living at that time (1904), or were not of age then, their applications have been denied.

The ancestral allotments have been in litigation for many years, and descendants of original allotees were not given title to their ancestral lands until 1992, when it was decided that direct descendants of those who had applied could get title to the original allotments. It remains clear, however, that if an ancestor had not applied under the earlier date, achievement of title would not be possible for the descendants of that person. This situation has been complicated further by the fact that land traditionally inherited through a matrilineal system may have been alloted by the federal government to a male (husband) eligible to apply for his wife's family inheritance. Thus, some "fish camp" properties may have been transferred to a different kin group because the standard

Native legal inheritance system was forcibly changed to western concepts of ownership in accordance with early twentieth-century western standards--especially those regarding a husband's property rights rather than those of a woman's kin group. As a result, the traditional Tlingit order of descendance and inheritance has not been passed consistently to younger generations. Although the traditional system is understandable to many Tlingit, knowledge of it has eroded as time has passed.

Fisheries

Long before the first non-Natives came to Southeast Alaska, the taking of fish and marine mammals for subsistence and trade were principal activities of the Tlingit people. Being already proficient in fisheries procurement, it was a logical and easy, as well as profitable, for the Native people to engage in commercial applications of these same practices. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Natives were deriving their chief source of income from fishing or fish processing--a situation which continued to exist through the mid-1970s.

Among other fishing practices, Natives engaged in long-lining for halibut and black cod (sable fish). They caught all five species of Pacific salmon as well as shrimp, crab, and sea cucumbers. Jobs were plentiful, not only in the fishing fleet, but also in the processing plants where fish were canned or frozen (see Canneries, below).

As the territory developed under the jurisdiction of the United States, the commercial salmon industry was established and Alaska became the world leader in salmon production (Gruening 1954:355). With the increase in fishing, the salmon population declined as a result of commercial methods of procurement, and the Native population had to struggle to secure enough fish for its own needs. (For a general history of the salmon industry see Price 1990.) After the 1930s, some Natives were able to acquire their own fishing boats and enter the industry (Worl 1990:152-153). While some of the Native people have operated their fishing boats primarily as family ventures, others have become very proficient in commercial fishing, and through the years have expanded their operations and employed crews. Several Sitka people have become known as "highliners" (i.e., very successful, "the best of the best"), and are highly respected for their knowledge and skills.

During the 1950s, salmon populations in all species became seriously depleted, principally due to the non-scientific management of the resources practiced at the time by the federal government. After the State of Alaska assumed control of the fisheries at the advent of statehood in 1959, a more professional approach to management of the resource was initiated. However, some practices in the state's fisheries rehabilitation

programs resulted in the closure of specific salmon migration routes and spawning areas; other measures limited the types of gear which could be used, and fish hatcheries designed to bolster wild fish stocks were developed. Finally, in the early 1970s, a system of permits, strictly limited in number, was applied to salmon fishing, thus reducing the number of fishermen, including Native fishermen, in the industry. Perhaps as a result of these restrictions, salmon catches now rival those of the "glory days" for salmon in the 1930s. Currently, a new system setting quotas on halibut gear is having the same effect on the long-line industry--that is, in limiting the number of fishing areas and fishermen. Still, many Tribal members continue to derive their living from commercial fishing enterprises, and some of these are still "highliners." Thus, in spite of the devastating losses that Native fishermen have experienced as a result of legal restrictions, the fishing industry has been and continues to be an important aspect of Southeastern Alaskan Native life at Sitka.

Canneries

Many Sitka Tribe members spoke of spending summer seasons at the canneries where their parents worked, and later, when "old enough," they worked there as well. Over the years many Tlingit were employed by the canneries, where they earned less money than non-Indians for the same work.

The fish canneries in Southeastern Alaska flourished during the 1930s and 1940s. There was the Pyramid Cannery in Sitka, and additional canneries in the Peril Strait, Chatham Strait, and Hood Bay, as well as in several other locations. In the springtime, there was an exodus of workers out of Sitka to these outlying canneries. If a fisherman had a boat that delivered fish to a certain cannery, other family members would usually work for that same cannery. Many young people worked at the canneries to earn money for school clothes and to pay their tuition to Sheldon Jackson High School.

Cannery workers remember how everyone looked forward to the coffee breaks, as it was a good time to "get acquainted." There were Filipinos who were hired to work in the out-of-town canneries, and during World War II they also came to Sitka. Everyone visited during break time and tried to guess how much longer it would take to finish processing the fish that were in, and to speculate on whether more boats would come in before they were finished. There were many seine boats that fished out of Sitka, and these vessels also employed fish packers. A popular game among workers in the cannery was to guess the amount of fish a boat might have aboard according to how low it rode in the water.

Cannery working hours were long and tedious, because when the fish came in the processing had to be completed as soon as

possible to ensure that the resulting product would be of good quality. Some types of jobs available in the canneries were: workers who pitched fish onto the ladders conveying fish from boat to cannery; workers who operated the "iron chink," a large machine used to cut off undesirable fish parts (such as heads and fins); fish sorters; fish slimers (cleaning insides out of fish); steam workers (cooking the fish); salters (salting the fish); fillers (putting fish into cans); can loft workers (making cans from flat pieces of metal); elevator workers (lifting fish on a vertical conveyor from lower floor to canning level); patching table workers (sealing the cans); boxers (packaging of the product). When the fish were "coming in," a typical day would be from 15 to 20 hours long. Workers remember the dances that were held on weekends, and how they always hoped they would finish in time to attend the dance!

During the past 20 years, the fish-processing industry has undergone major changes. Canneries where work was once plentiful have been severely reduced in number, resulting in a major loss of jobs. In the northern part of Southeast Alaska's panhandle (Sitka, Kake, Angoon, Hoonah, Tenakee, Juneau, Haines, Klukwan, Skagway, and Yakutat), where once more than 15 canneries flourished, only a few remain. Instead, salmon are cleaned, frozen, and exported for direct marketing or processing elsewhere.

Boat Building

The Tlingit people have always been seafarers. Their ocean explorations, commerce, and (when required) warfare, is said to have ranged as far south as California and north and west across the Gulf of Alaska to Kodiak Island. Some experts consider them the finest of all single-hull, one-piece canoe seamen in history.

Sitka itself has played a prominent role in the boat-building trade since the Russian Period, and it has been an important commercial fisheries location since the industry was founded in Alaska during the late nineteenth century. For the Tlingit people, who have always been willing to adopt new technologies, it was an easy next step to learn the single-hull, keel-and-rib design and boat construction techniques of the Europeans, and especially of the Americans.

Although the Russians built and repaired ships in their own boat works at Sitka, where they trained men of mixed Aleut and Russian parentage in the shipwrights' craft, they excluded the Tlingit. Some Native consultants believe this was because at that time the Russians feared the Native people would use such knowledge and skills to build their own ships for use in competitive trade (or even warfare), further tightening the virtual stranglehold the Tlingit had established on Russian commerce in Southeast Alaska.

After the purchase of Alaska in 1867, boat building in Sitka came to a halt, except for the Tlingit who continued to build their single-piece canoes. These vessels were also used extensively by non-Natives--especially traders and prospectors --a practice which continued for almost 30 years. During that period, repairs to American and other non-Native ships were carried out by onboard shipwrights or--in the case of major overhauls--in yards in the contiguous United States or British Columbia. However, this situation changed in the late 1890s-early 1900s when Peter Simpson, a Tsimshian, and George Howard, a Sitka Tlingit, began to build boats which ranged from small skiffs (usually with lapstrake hulls) to vessels of over 60 feet in length. These larger vessels were used as commercial fishing boats, small freight haulers, and for passenger transport. Simpson had learned the shipwrights' craft in the Tsimshian village of Metlakatla, while Howard was trained by expatriate Russians and shipwrights stationed aboard U.S. Navy and Revenue Service (now the U.S. Coast Guard) ships stationed in Sitka at various times.

Peter Simpson established his boat yard in the early 1900s, and George Howard opened his own operation in 1913 (see Map 2, No. 157). Both men taught boat building to students at the Sitka Industrial Training School (now Sheldon Jackson College), and many of these students went on to establish their own careers as shipwrights. Probably the best known of these were George Howard II and his brother David, the sons of George Howard, and Andrew P. Hope (Map 2, No. 151). Peter Simpson, who along with George Howard continued to teach boat building at what was by that time Sheldon Jackson School, maintained his boat-building business through the 1920s and 1930s, and during his later years served as a consultant in vessel design and construction until his death in 1947. Following the death of their father, David and George Howard II took over the operation, passing it on in the middle 1950s to George's sons George III (now George Sr.), Glenn, and Louis. The Howard boatyard continued to produce high quality boats until the early 1970s. In the meantime, Andrew Hope had established himself as a highly respected shipwright with his own successful business, which continued until his death in 1968.

Working independently or together in joint ventures, these Native boat yards and shipwrights produced over 50 vessels during the period from 1910 to 1971. Their boats were greatly valued for their soundness of construction, seakeeping capabilities, and seaworthiness, and in some cases for the roles they played in regional history. In the latter category, some of the more well known vessels were the SHELDON JACKSON (built by Peter Simpson), the SHELDON JACKSON II (built by Andrew Hope), and the PRINCETON HALL (built by the Howard brothers under a contract held by Andrew Hope). These vessels were designed, built, and used to provide support for the missionary and educational activities of the Presbyterian Church in South-

east Alaska. In fact, during this period of over 60 years, only the Tlingit boat builders were able to operate without interruption as discrete enterprises. Although several non-Native businesses tried to compete against them through the years, none could match the quality of design, workmanship, and performance of the vessels built by Native shipwrights.

The *Princeton Hall* is of particular interest, not only for her record as a patrol boat during World War II, when she was commandeered by the U.S. Navy and led convoys through the mine fields of Icy Straits, bound for the Aleutian Islands and other western Alaskan ports. Above and beyond such a rich military history, she is also known for the approach which was employed in her construction. In 1940, Andrew Hope contracted with the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church to construct a 64-foot vessel to serve both the Sheldon Jackson School and the different Presbyterian churches throughout Southeast Alaska, especially those in villages which lacked a regular pastor. Hope was at the same time occupied in building another large boat, so he arranged with the Howard brothers (who were also his brothers-in-law) to carry out the work. They in turn made use of the skills of other Tlingit shipwrights--most notably, Stanley Sutton and George Benson. In addition, some 21 Sheldon Jackson students, many of whom went on to prominence in Native affairs, worked on the project as apprentices. Thus, the construction of the *Princeton Hall* is a near-perfect example of how the Native boat builders of Sitka worked in cooperation and harmony in achieving quality products in order to survive in a cash economy, while passing on their knowledge and skills to the generation to follow.

Sadly, advances in technology resulting in the economical production of steel, fiberglass, and even concrete ships of the size traditionally used in Southeast Alaska fisheries essentially wiped out markets for commercial wooden boats. These developments, coupled with a socio-economic system wherein Native people found it all but impossible to obtain the financing needed to obtain such technology, brought an end to Native boat building at Sitka in the early 1970s. However, it is a matter of history that for over half a century, the Native boat builders of Sitka dominated their trade in an ocean-oriented community which has always been one of the major ports in the State of Alaska--the largest seafood-producing state in America.

Educational Systems

During the relatively short Russian period, Russian settlers also established, in addition to the church, a Russian orphanage and school in Sitka. This school did not require the Native people to board there or to be separated from their families as did the Protestant school which was later established in the area.

By 1880 the Presbyterians had established, under Sheldon Jackson, the Sitka Industrial Training School, which later became the Sheldon Jackson School. Sheldon Jackson's educational efforts were well in place by the time the Organic Act of 1884 provided for the education of all Alaskan children regardless of race. Educational appropriations were inadequate, however, and a governor remarked that Russia expended more funds to educate and Christianize Native children than did the United States. After the 1884 Organic Act, Sheldon Jackson was appointed the general agent for education, with residence at Sitka, where he had already established the Sheldon Jackson Presbyterian Missionary School and the beginnings of a museum. Because funds were minimal, Jackson enjoined the assistance of other religious groups, and by 1888 had fostered the beginnings of the Alaskan school system. During its early years, this school at Sitka initially emphasized industrial training (Gruening 1954:49, 59-61) and later an educational policy which emphasized English and the educational basics, but did not allow the use of Native languages. The goal was to Americanize and Christianize the Native children. The Sheldon Jackson School became a boarding school (Plate 7) and center for Native young people, especially those from Southeastern Alaska, many of whom came from other places to school in Sitka, and settled there after completing their education. Through time, many Natives became and remain active Presbyterians, and the Presbyterian cemetery includes a Native section.

The educational systems in Sitka in the 1920s, '30s and '40s were variable. The Bureau of Indian Affairs ran a government subsidized elementary school for Native children. In the early years, the Territorial schools were not open to Native students. By the mid-1940s, however, Sitka High School had some Natives enrolled--particularly those who proved to be outstanding in sports. The Sitka Presbyterian high school, Sheldon Jackson (SJS), was open to all students, who were required to pay tuition--though some were carried on a scale of payment. Sitka Native students could also attend Wrangell Institute (a high school in Wrangell to the south of Sitka), which was operated by the Alaska Native Service, a division of BIA. Wrangell Institute secondary school closed in May 1947, and another secondary school, Mt. Edgecumbe (on Japonski Island opposite the Native Village), was opened in fall of the same year.

Sheldon Jackson was an accredited high school which offered quality education, and where teaching covered a wide variety of practical subjects--such as how to work in a laundry, kitchen, dining room, and hospital. There were also classes in such subjects as housekeeping, etiquette, and spiritual development. Many of the graduates of Sheldon Jackson and Mt. Edgecumbe high schools went on to become leaders throughout the state. Because young people from all areas of Alaska attended

these schools, former students have formed strong alliances which give them political strength on Native issues in the state.

Mt. Edgecumbe High School was closed in 1983, but the state appealed through an Act of Congress and the school was reopened in 1985 as a state boarding high school. Native students come here from areas where there are no high schools, or from schools where the coursework is too limited to allow the students to go on to college. Mt. Edgecumbe now has an 80 percent Native enrollment.

In the early 1970s, the U.S. Department of Education in Washington, D.C., set up the Indian Education Act, Title 4, a program which was designed to meet the special needs of Indian children. The program, which was begun in Sitka in 1974, was first called the ANB Education Program, and later renamed the Sitka Native Education Program (SNEP). It also received later support from the Johnson-O'Malley funds. The main components of this program were cultural development, preschool assistance, counseling and tutoring. SNEP also developed other innovative teaching methods, as funding would allow. One requirement was that the program had to have a parental committee to ensure that the goals and objectives of the program were being achieved.

The preschool program allowed lower income children to be involved by furnishing van transportation services and a small amount of financial assistance provided by SNEP. The tutoring program helped young people to gain more confidence in their ability to improve their schoolwork. The counselors also helped in the development of self-confidence and self-esteem among the young people. Many graduates from the program now work within it as instructors.

The cultural component of SNEP became one of the best in the state, especially in language, dance, and beadwork. Those interested in cultural development in many other places have sought help from SNEP in setting up similar programs. The success of the cultural program is at least partially due to the invaluable input it has received from the elders. Charlie Joseph, Sr., is one example of an elder who has shared important traditional knowledge with the students. He received the governor's award for the arts, as well as many other awards for his fine work with SNEP.

The Gajaa Heen Dancers, an excellent and well disciplined dance group, has received statewide as well as national recognition. At the Celebration '92, this esteemed dance group received three standing ovations during its performances. The elders of the Tribe appreciated the performers' ability to sing the songs properly, as well as their expertise in the dance and the authenticity shown in their drumming and display of rega-

lia. In connection with the above, a songbook has been developed over the years which has proved to be an invaluable tool in teaching the Native songs.

Much cultural material has been collected from the Southeast on videotapes made during cultural programs. The first program, on "Food the Native Way," was developed by Marcia Strand, staffed with many excellent resource people and funded with a grant from the state. Some of the foods collected were seaweed, clams and cockles, and students were taught how to use these foods properly, in the traditional way. There was also the publication of a Tlingit cookbook by Mary Pelayo. Another book, *Because We Cherish You . . . Sealaska Elders Speak to the Future*, published by the Sealaska Heritage Foundation, came about as a result of the inspiration from Sitka speaker Kaal.atk' (Charlie Joseph), and the things he said during the Gaja Heen dance group's performance for the first Southeast Elders Conference held in Sitka, sponsored by Sealaska (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1981).

The development of the educational system in Sitka, where Native people were brought together from many different towns for the purpose of education and where young people from different areas formed lasting relationships, helped form Sitka into the unique Native community it was to become. Although students from many areas of Alaska came to Sheldon Jackson, most students were from Southeastern towns or villages. These young people would not have been "strangers" to each other, since any Southeastern student would have been a member of one of the two very familiar "tribes," Eagle or Raven, and therefore could immediately establish a hierarchy of identity. Further, by virtue of historical knowledge and intermarriage, students would have been familiar with the various clan houses that existed beyond those in their own community. The structure of the social system, which includes all Tlingit as Eagles or Ravens, and to some extent incorporates Haida and Tsimshian, would have augmented the unity of the school group. The later (1947) establishment of a school at Mt. Edgecumbe further enhanced the broadening of the Sitka community, and the establishment of a junior college at the Sheldon Jackson School in 1944 added local opportunity for Native people as well as others to advance their education beyond high school. In 1968, the high school at Sheldon Jackson School was terminated and the institution is now a four-year liberal arts college. Native students now constitute a portion of its enrollment.

Besides the innovation and development of many inspiring and creative new programs, SNEP has been important in rounding out the Sitka education program for Native youth, and with its cultural component has continued and enhanced much of what was begun under these earlier schools. Recently, a Sitka branch of the University of Alaska has been established, further extend-

ing educational opportunities for all Sitkans and other Southeast Alaskans who choose to come to Sitka.

As beautifully stated by Wallace Olson, for all Tlingit, of which Sitka is no exception:

> For many years, the Tlingit people have encouraged the younger generations to pursue a formal education. Today there are Tlingit businessmen, accountants, attorneys, and other professionals. Several Tlingit are school teachers and school administrators. Many Tlingit college students currently seek professional careers in a variety of fields, but a few have revived an interest in their cultural heritage. Hopefully, they will be able to extract and distill the finest parts of Tlingit culture and preserve them for future generations [Olson 1994:636-637].

Sports and Music

The Sheldon Jackson School (SJS) holds an important place in the memories of local people. The school was well known for both athletic and musical activities, and students were given a chance to excel in these fields. Teachers formed and led singing groups made up of students from dormitories and cottages. Students "sang all the time." They sang for different music programs at the schools and in the Town of Sitka. A local basketball "great" emphasized that his teammates sang together before games, a practice which helped unify the team. Singing was part of sports and part of being an SJS student. The SJS team borrowed hymn books and often sang excerpts from these at church services in whatever town they were attending a sports event (Field Data).

Music was a big part of the Sitka community, as it was in other Southeastern Alaska communities. Each village had a brass band. Sitka had a 46-piece band that traveled on fishing boats--often with the basketball team. SJS students were outstanding singers, and they formed choruses; in fact, local Natives made up most of the Presbyterian and Russian Orthodox choirs. When Mt. Edgecumbe School was instituted, it had a chorus "that topped all other choruses," led by the Russian priest, Father Ossorgin. Organizers made sure this chorus was the last to sing on a program, because it "held the crowd" (Field Data).

Although several different sports were important, basketball became a primary focus, and certain well-remembered Sheldon Jackson teams are often the center of present-day conversations (Plates 8, 9, 10) (Field Data). Many local Natives played, and some players became well known throughout Southeastern Alaska, continuing to be identified many years later by

both their individual and team basketball feats. Many of these went on to play for the Sitka Alaska Native Brotherhood teams, which gained great popularity, since they were "hard to beat." Others played for the Mt. Edgecumbe teams. Native teams played other Native teams, and players from different Southeastern towns developed bonds which are maintained today. Beginning in the 1940s, Native teams began competing with non-Native teams and achieved great success--a condition which still prevails. The history of Sitka sports has been well chronicled by the recognized sports historian, Gil Truitt, whose knowledge and expertise show clearly in his own writings about sports (Truitt 1986a-e, 1991a-d, 1995).

The first recorded Southeast Alaska basketball game was held at Sitka in 1905, with the Sitka Training School (later Sheldon Jackson College) playing the challenging Marines, as reported by the school paper. The Native team lost the game 17 to 5, but as reported by Truitt (1986:6), this may have had to do with the Marine players' knowledge of rules, and as reported by the school paper, the "whistle blower" (referee from U.S. Marine Corps) who made up new rules which were favorable to the Marine team. A return challenge by a "pick-up" team, the Sitka Athletics, with their own whistle blower sharing the referee duties, was also lost. After winning over SJS, the Athletics challenged the Marines for the championship. An argument over the person to be whistle blower resulted in the appointment of the Sitka Training School coach--a missionary--to fill the position. The Natives took the lead 5 to 0, and the Marines walked out of the game claiming favoritism. Although the Marines threatened never to play the local teams again, they played for many years, as did teams from the U.S. Navy (Truitt 1986c:6).

Although the Town of Sitka did not have a formal basketball team, both the school and the town played a number of games in the next five years. By 1910 the Training School was a steady winner over other teams, including the Navy teams from ships that occasionally stopped at Sitka. The first ANB team, formed in 1913, became a tough competitor for SJS teams, the first of which was formed in 1914. Local Native leader, Peter Simpson, purchased the uniforms and equipment for both teams. The first competition between the two teams was in January 1914, with a final score of ANB 27, SJS 26 (Field Data). The Sitka City League was formed in these early years, and it consisted of Sitka ANB, SJS, Athletics, Town Team, Navy, and Sitka Territorial School; but the ANB and SJS teams remained the main competitors in Sitka and the Southeast (Truitt 1986c:6).

By 1918 several Southeast high school teams were in competition with each other: Juneau, Douglas, Wrangell, Petersburg, and the Sitka teams. Ketchikan's team was added in the early '20s, and later additions were Skagway and Metlakatla. The first basketball tournament was included in the first Southeast

Activity Conference in 1922. From 1922 through 1927 these conferences also included programs in academics, drama, debate, spelling, music, and track and field. The years following 1922 brought fierce competition among these teams. The first challenge from the "far North" came from Fairbanks in 1929, with Petersburg winning the first all-Alaska championship. From 1927 until the early 1950s, when the Southeast Alaska Activities Association was formed, the sport of basketball was loosely organized. The Southeast High School Basketball Tournament was started in 1954, with the Mt. Edgecumbe team winning an overtime game against the top-ranked Juneau team (Truitt 1986c:4-5). The biggest Southeastern rivalry was between the two Native boarding schools, Sheldon Jackson School and Wrangell Institute--a rivalry so intense that graduates of these schools rarely married one another and, if they did, such "mixed marriages" were not expected to last (Truitt 1986e:39). When the Wrangell Institute was closed in 1947, the students and team were transferred to the new Alaska Native Service School. Thus, Mt. Edgecumbe (with the Wrangell team) continued the rivalry with SJS (Truitt 1986e:43).

SJS had powerful teams during the 1920s and '30s, and according to Truitt they were even tougher in the '40s (1986c:12). Undefeated in 1941 and 1942, they lost two games in 1943 to military teams in the Sitka area. In 1956, Sitka High School was known to have the best Southeastern team, but lost to Ketchikan in the tournament.

The Sitka community has always taken pride in their teams which played through the years, and this pride has tied the community together. The comradery of the teams was also a strong point among the players, some of whom played together several years--for a few, up to ten years as teammates. Well-known players from the mid-'20s through the '40s who formed the nucleus of the ANB and SJS teams are well remembered, and many of the descendants of these athletes live in Sitka today (e.g., Howard, Didrickson, Donnelly, Kasakan, Peterson, Widmark). There was a tie-over from team to team; for example, the outstanding 1936 team greatly influenced the basketball group that played up to 1949. Sitka produced several basketball greats who set an example, showing that Native people could excel. From the 1940s, Moses "Mighty Mo" Johnson, Herb Didrickson, Jeff David, Roger Lang, Al Perkins, and Charlie Didrickson were among the many memorable players. Forty-one SJS basketball players have been inducted into the SJS Hall of Fame. Many players went on to become successful basketball coaches, such as Sitka ANB player Peter Sing and Mt. Edgecumbe's Gil Truitt. John Hope, a Sitka Native, was one of the four popular announcers of sports events, and has been inducted into the Gold Medal Tournament Hall of Fame for his contributions in the field of sports (Field Data).

Both the Sheldon Jackson and Sitka ANB teams traveled extensively throughout Southeastern Alaska to play basketball. While some Southeast teams traveled by the Alaska Steamship Company, most traveled by fishing boat. Sitka teams traveled by seine boat into the 1960s, sometimes, after a long rough trip through turbulent waters, arriving just in time to walk from the boat to the competition (Field Data; Truitt 1991c). Since the 1960s, teams have traveled at times by air, but most often via the Alaska ferry system.

Particularly through the early years, basketball facilities were sorely lacking throughout the Southeastern area. Sheldon Jackson's Allen Auditorium, built in 1911, was considered superb for the time. A new SJS gymnasium was opened for the 1934-35 season, but it was obsolete immediately due to inadequate seating capacity. However, it was used as the high school gym through the early 1960s. The Town of Sitka had a basement gym with no seating capacity. The Sitka High School gym was opened in 1937. The ANB gym, built in the 1920s, was part of the ANB hall and served many functions other than basketball. Typical for most Southeastern gyms was the lack of seating space, and many also lacked lighting and indoor plumbing (Truitt 1986c:5-6).

Southeast contests and competitions in basketball have contributed tremendously to tradition through the years, adding to the rules and regulations which now guide the High School Activities Association. No other event brings so many Native people out, and to this day, basketball tournament time is a time when no serious work--other than the serious work of basketball--can be accomplished. Southeast towns practically evacuate to the town holding the tournament, and all attention is focused on the event (Field Data).

Everyone attended sports events, and the crowd knew their sports. For the Natives, who were often poor, sports was the one thing to do. For Sitka as well as for other Southeastern competitors, sporting events would "weave the community together," and the community put the standard on sports. It was important to "be a good sport"--since values were high, the crowd would not allow a player to be otherwise.

In the summer, baseball took over and became as big as basketball. Many of the same names were important (e.g., Howard, Donnelly, Didrickson, Ozawa, Perkins, Sing, Walton, Williams), perhaps because training was a year-round activity considered to be very important. The sports groups had uniforms and were held in high esteem. They played double headers on Sunday afternoon with a schedule of games on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Everybody went to the games and the players were idolized. Of particular note were players like Thomas "Governor" Andrews, an outfielder for the Sitka ANB who delighted the

crowd with acrobatic feats, and Nick "Rice" Dick, who was also a colorful character (Truitt 1986b).

The present baseball atmosphere is clearly represented in a story told about the 1940s. After being away for several years, a Sitka couple returned home and found the town empty. They walked from the dock through deserted streets which was devoid of all living creatures. Greatly disturbed by the emptiness, they suddenly heard a loud roar from the town baseball park. Everyone in Sitka was at the baseball game! (Field Data).

When the Native people became involved in sports they always excelled. Another outstanding Native sports activity was track. Before 1920, SJS held running and field events which the entire town of Sitka attended. These ended with a baseball game between SJS and Sitka All Star teams, a tradition which held until the late 1940s (Truitt 1986e:30). In 1947, when Mt. Edgecumbe High School was established, the Mt. Edgecumbe Lions Club Track Meet was started. In fact, from 1924 to 1953, little happened in track except at the schools in Sitka. Many records were set by SJS team members: Harrold Donnelly set the pole vault standard; Kenneth James set the long jump; Bert Leask set the discus throw; Johnnie James' shotputs were unequalled (Truitt 1986e:30); and Louie Minard (now a prominent silversmith) set several records in track (Field Data). In 1954 the Southeast Alaska High School Activities Association revived the competition, and the Mt. Edgecumbe boys' team won from 1954 through 1961 and again in 1966; SJS won in 1965. The Mt. Edgecumbe girls' team won in 1968. The cross-country was run at the SJS track meets in the late 1930s through the '40s, when it was discontinued until the Activities Association revived it in 1963. Mt. Edgecumbe excelled in cross-country as well, winning all Southeast championships from 1963 through 1972 (Truitt 1986a). Mt. Edgecumbe School also held the Southeastern wrestling championship in 1968 and 1981. The same school won cheerleading championships in 1979, 1980, and 1982.

The 1940s is considered by Truitt (1986d) to be Sitka's golden age of sports because of the sports boom brought on by the influx of construction and military men who came to the community to build army and navy bases on Japonski Island. Boxing, basketball, and baseball were popular, and serious competition resulted between military teams and city teams. Native Sitkans were active players. Pool was also played competitively, with "Mighty Mo" Johnson being "about the best." Bowling competition was held at the local Moose Lodge, again with Mo Johnson and Ray Perkins as "tops." The Sitka ANB team won the state bowling championship in 1953. Recently, a military sportsman suggested that a reunion for members of the various teams from that era be instigated--and this may be in the works.

New Organizations

The Presbyterian Mission, with its many church-affiliated community organizations, influenced a group of Native people who founded the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) at Sitka in 1912 with the primary purpose of working for Native rights and equality (Plate 7). In the early days, they sought to achieve these through acculturation (Drucker 1958; c.f., Central Council of Tlingit & Haida 1991; Hertzberg 1988:309; Worl 1990:153-4). Eighty years later it is believed that acculturation probably wasn't the best approach because through this process the tradition was suppressed (Field Data). The 13 founding members included 12 men and one woman; all were Tlingit except one, a Tsimshian. The Sitka Chapter (called a Camp) became Camp No. 1. The Alaska Native Sisterhood was established as an affiliate in 1923. The various camps became active throughout the Southeast and later in other parts of Alaska, and most continue so today. Although the original purpose of the Brotherhood and Sisterhood was to work for the integration of Native peoples into the general Alaskan culture, efforts were also strongly extended to fight for land rights, citizenship (U.S. citizenship was secured for Alaskan Natives in 1922, compared to Congressional Action in 1924 for other Native groups), legislative membership, and subsistence rights (especially in fishing). These organizations also sought to abolish economic and social discrimination through personal and legislative action, with some signal successes, and to incorporate Alaska Natives into key provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, from which they had been excluded (Alaska was added to the ruling in 1936). Through the efforts of the ANB, coverage under the Social Security and Workmans Compensation acts was extended to Alaska Natives; and in 1945, the ANB led the successful fight to end discrimination in access to public accommodations and education in Alaska.

Beginning in 1929, the ANB also fostered a new organization, the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska which, after a struggle that lasted 19 years, achieved a cash settlement for lands lost to the Native people by federal withdrawals which created the Tongass National Forest and the Glacier Bay National Monument. It also set a precedent for--and cleared the way for--the participation by Southeast Alaska's Native peoples in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA). Under this Act, the Sealaska Regional Corporation was formed, and a number of smaller "Village corporations" were authorized. Also under this Act, the Native People of Sitka organized the Shee Atika Corporation, and became one of ten historic Southeast Alaska village corporations with title to surface land rights and the right to become active in the use of the land (e.g., timber harvest and fishing). Shee Atika is one of two Southeast Native urban corporations (the other being Goldbelt in Juneau), and it incorporates the many

different Native peoples who resided in Sitka and chose to join this organization at the time of enrollment. Shee Atika, as the Natives for profit corporation with the largest percentage of shareholders from the Sitka area, is the largest local landowner in Sitka traditional territory.

All of these organizations have had an active role in Sitka Native life and are integrated through membership. In addition, many of the various villages throughout Southeastern Alaska organized as they became more active. For example, the Sitka Indian Village became incorporated in 1938 under the Indian Reorganization Act, establishing the Tribe's formal governing organization. First as the Sitka Community Association (SCA) and later as the Sitka Tribe of Alaska (STA), they have played an active roll in Southeastern Alaskan politics through the years since 1938.

Since 1992, various tribal governments in Southeastern Alaska have joined the Self-Determination Demonstration Project for three years as signatory tribes in compact with the federal government under the Native American Self-Governance Demonstration Program (P.L. 100-472). These tribes, known as the "Southeast Alaska Compact," include STA, Tlingit Tribe of Yakutat, Organized Village of Kake, Ketchikan Indian Corporation, and the Tlingit and Haida Central Council. Signatory Tribes receive their funding directly from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) without going through the BIA Southeast Agency, and are empowered to set their own priorities for spending without BIA approval as in the past. Sitka, nearing completion of its transitional three years, is presently negotiating its status, and in 1996 will become an independent, self-governing Tribe (as per P.L. 103-413, the Tribal Self-Governance Act of 1994). Other Southeastern tribes are now actively considering becoming part of the Southeast Compact (notably, Hoonah and Angoon).

Native Aesthetics

Through all the years of outsiders' contact with Native Southeastern Alaskans, and certainly into the present time, outsiders have sought the spectacular artistic items of Native manufacture (see especially Lohse and Sundt [1990:88-97] for listings of collections from the Northwest Coast). Beginning as far back as the pre-Russian fur-trade period with acquisitions by both individuals and expeditions, collecting continues to this day. Many of the collected artifacts or "curios" of the Sitka Tlingit reside in museums and private collections in both America and Europe, including Russia. After the Alaska purchase (1867), and especially beginning with the Alaska gold rush and the development of commercial fishing, many outsiders began to arrive in Alaska--some to stay, others as visitors or short-term commercial venturers. Whatever the purpose of entry (pioneer, trader, dealer, worker, or tourist),

"curios" made by Alaska Natives became and continue to be an attraction (Plate 4). Some venturers collected artifacts specifically for museums, and many of these specimens came from Sitka people. For example, in 1863 the Smithsonian Institution sought ethnological specimens from persons who were in contact with Sitka sources (note especially J. G. Swan collections from Sitka for the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia; Lohse and Sundt 1990:89). George T. Emmons collected throughout the Tlingit area, including from Sitka, first as a private interest (1882-1893) and later (1896-1938) for the American Museum of Natural History, New York. However, he also sold to the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) in New York, and the Washington State Museum in Seattle, among others (see Emmons 1991; Lohse and Sundt 1990:90-91). Louis Shotridge, a Chilkat Tlingit, based at Haines and Sitka, collected for the University of Pennsylvania Museum from 1915 to 1932 (Lohse and Sundt 1990:92). Sheldon Jackson began collecting early in his Alaskan career and instituted the well known and long established Sheldon Jackson State Museum at Sitka, the only large collection that remains in Sitka. Today, the Sheldon Jackson State Museum and Library (including archival collections) and the City Library Archives house an important record of the past which serves to draw students to the Tlingit way of life.

LEGEND TO MAP 2

SITKA NATIVE VILLAGE

1920 – 1945

HOUSE LOCATIONS AND IDENTIFICATIONS

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CLAN HOUSES, Front Street

102	Noowdaagaanyaa Aaneil.aax Thomas Sanders, Sr.	Kiksadi
104	_____ Kichgaaw (Caretaker) Peter Church, Sr. Nora Keen	Kiksadi
106	Shteen Hit tl'goo Tleik Charlie Benson Alfred Perkins, Sr.	Kiksadi
114	X'akaa Hit Xixchi tlein David P. Howard, Sr.	Kiksadi
116	Ch'eet Hit Quick	Kaagwaantaan
118	Jiks'aagi Hit Emma Duncan	Kaagwaantaan
120	Chaatl Hit T'awyaat (Caretaker)	Kaagwaantaan
128	Deix x'awool L.aanteech Henry Moy	Kaagwaantaan
132	Deix x'awool Paul Liberty	Kaagwaantaan
134	L'ook Hit Yadi Shtuwaa James Howard	L'uknax.adee
136	L'ook Hit tlein Aanyaanax Tlaa Annie Joseph	L'uknax.adee

Legend to Map 2, SITKA NATIVE VILLAGE (cont.)

CLAN HOUSES, Front Street

138	Kayaash Ka Hit Aan Kadaxtseen Charlie Dick	L'uknax.adee
140	Gooch Hit Anaxoots James Jackson	Kaagwaantaan
142	Gooch Hit K'alyaan Eesh Billy Davis	Kaagwaantaan
144	Lingit'Aani Hit K'axook Eesh Gooch Hit Charles Bennett	Kaagwaantaan
146	Yaay Hit Kaltseix Sitka Charlie	L'uknax.adee
152	Kaawagaani Hit Yeilaxji Eesh Father of Frank Kitka	Kaagwaantaan
154	Daginaa Hit Kunoosgu Eesh Frank Kitka	L'uknax.adee
156	Ch'ak'Kudi Hit Kuxichx' Alec Andrews	Kaagwaantaan
158	Aanigayaa Hit Watla.aan	Kaagwaantaan
160	Kook Hit Saaxaa Morris White Bill Peters	Kaagwaantaan
162	Kook Hit tlein Tjaak k'i Eesh Peter K. John Charlie Joseph, Sr.	Kaagwaantaan
164	Kook Hit Alex John	Kaagwaantaan
170	Xaas Hit Mother of Mrs. Innocent Williams, Sr. Herman Kitka, Sr.	Kaagwaantaan

CLAN HOUSES, Back Street

201	Gagaan Hit Naawushkeitl Sam Didrickson	Kiksadi
211	Xaatl Hit Charles Young	Chookaneidi
213	Xaatl Hit Yadi Geiyax Eesh Frank Paul, Sr.	Chookaneidi

Legend to Map 2, SITKA NATIVE VILLAGE (cont.)

CLAN HOUSES, Back Street

225	_____	Wooshkeetaan
227	Gayeis' Hit Gaandawei Mrs. Thomas Dimitri	Chookaneidi
268	Gudata Hit Kaa t'aawu Dick Johnson	L'uknax.adee
270	Xixch'i Hit Dick Marshall	L'uknax.adee
282	Kook Hit Yaanjiyeet Gaax David Kitka	Kaagwaantaan
286	Danakoo Hit John Sam	T'akdeintaan

RESIDENTIAL HOMES, Front Street

105	Rudolph Walton	148	Lottie Peter
108	Mrs. _____ Kasaakan	149	Chris Lokke
110	Vacant	150	Richard Peters
112	George Lewis, Sr.	153	Garage
115	John D. James	159	George Howard
117	_____	166	Eddie Marshall
122	William Kasko	168	M. T. Thompson
124	David Davis	172	Nick Peters
126	George Davis	174	John Littlefield
127	William Thomas	176	Walter Gray
130	John Michael	203	Vacant
131	Shed	204	Peter C. Nielsen
133	Charlie Joseph, Sr.	205	Chris Didrickson
139	M. T. Thompson	206	Dick Harris
141	Billy Williams	207	Sam Didrickson
143	Charlie Smith	208	Scotty James
147	Shed		

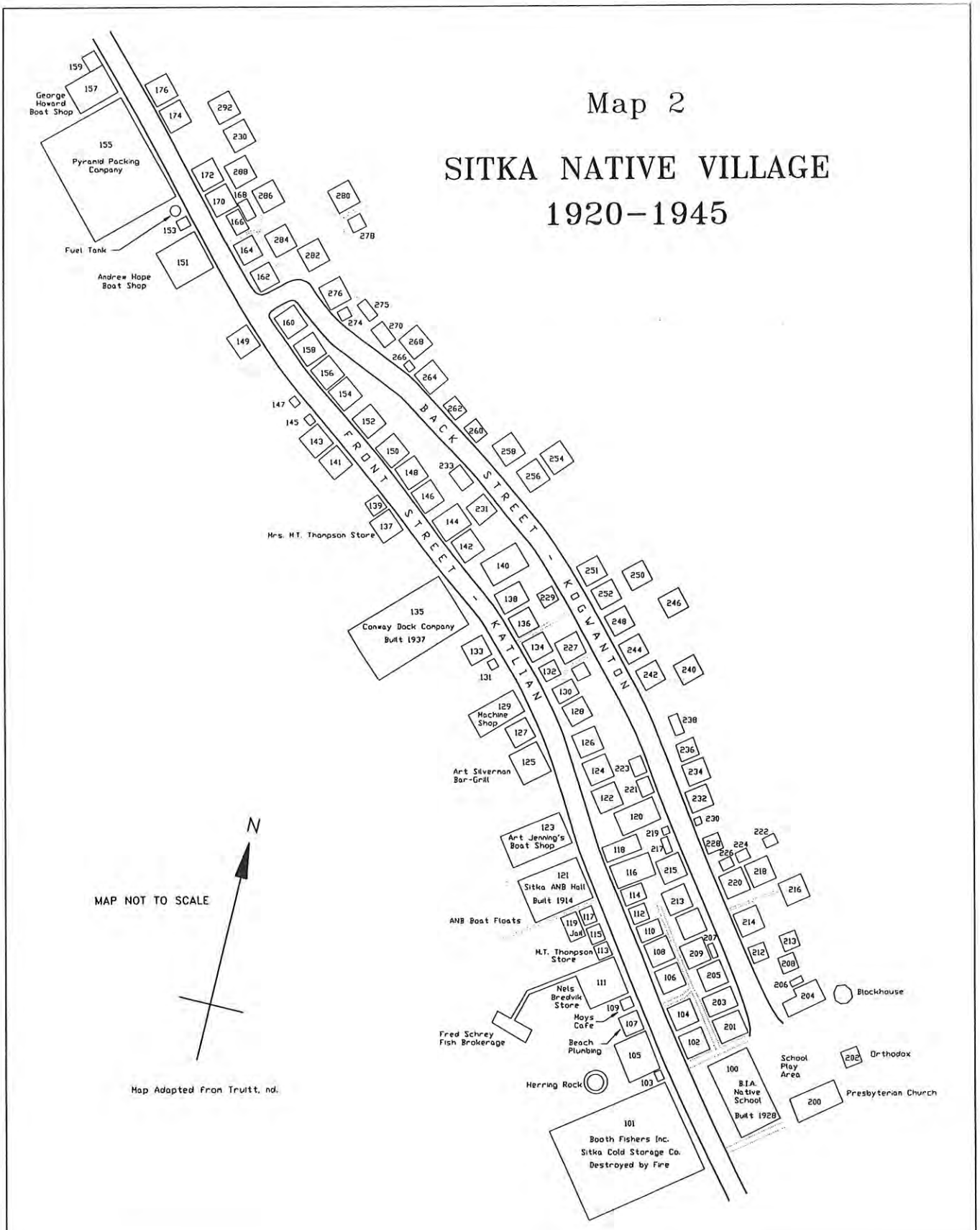
Legend to Map 2, SITKA NATIVE VILLAGE (cont.)

RESIDENTIAL HOMES, Back Street

209	Charles Bailey	240	Don Cook
210	Vacant	242	George Ward
212	John James	244	Frank Marks
214	Jones Family	246	Thomas Sanders, Sr.; Moses Johnson
215	Eli Howard	248	Charlie Dick; Nicholas "Rice" Dick
216	M. T. Thompson	250	Robert Lawrence; Emma Jacobs
217	Richard Katlian	251	Archie Klaney
218	Don Cook	252	Richard Peters
219	Robert Lawrence	254	David P. Howard, Sr.; Mike Aragon
220	John Davis	256	Peter Kitka, Sr.
221	Vacant	258	Andrew Hope
222	"Big Mike"	260	Jim Kitka
223	Cyrus Williams, Sr.	262	Nick Kitka
224	_____	264	Lawrence Widmark, Sr.
226	John James	266	Sam Paul
228	Charlie Benson	272	_____
229	_____ Joseph	274	John Joseph
230	"Shorty" Williams	276	Mrs. Lilly Hoolis
231	Louie Basco	278	Vacant
232	Lester Boyd	280	M. T. Thompson; Jim Carpenter; David Price
233	George Benson	284	Johnnie John
234	Tom Sanders, Jr.; John Young	288	Nick Moses
236	Charles Daniels, Sr.	290	Art Littlefield
238	Thomas Sanders, Sr.	292	Thomas Young, Sr.

Map 2

SITKA NATIVE VILLAGE
1920–1945



PLATES

1 Top: Sitka waterfront, fall of 1913, probably taken from Harbor Island, showing the Sitka Native Village. (Merrill Photo No. 4 identified by Robert DeArmond; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

Bottom: Men and a Tlingit boat on the beach with fish. (Merrill Photo No. 348; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

2 Top: Sitka probably around 1920, showing several Sitka sealers in the foreground. These were built in 1920 or later for fur seal hunting which had not been legal since 1911. (Merrill Photo No. 80 identified by Rober DeArmond; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

Bottom: Sitka with plank sidewalk showing one old house with shake roof and rowboats. (Merrill Photo No. 74 identified by Rober DeArmond; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

3 Top: Five boys in front of steps to a house in the background. (Merrill Photo No. 323; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

Bottom: Racks of drying herring eggs at waterfront. (Merrill Photo No. 355; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

4 Top: Native women selling souvenirs, 1941. (Photo by Harold Davis, Folsom, CA while in the Service at Sitka; Courtesy of H. Davis and L. Ness)

Bottom: Sitka waterfront, 1941. (Photo by Harold Davis, Folsom, CA while in the Service at Sitka; Courtesy of H. Davis and L. Ness)

5 Top: 1904 Potlatch at Sitka. (Merrill Photo No. 801-B6, Courtesy of Sitka National Historical Park)

Bottom: 1904 Potlatch at Sitka. (Merrill Photo No. 801-B22, Courtesy of Sitka National Historical Park)

6 Top: Drying fish at Sitka fish camp; covered boat in foreground. (Merrill Photo No. 354; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

6 Bottom: Basketry grass drying near buildings. (Merrill Photo No. 385; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

7 Top: Sheldon Jackson cottage club. (Merrill Photo No. 343; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

Bottom: Alaska Native Brotherhood Assembly in front of new ANB Hall, November 1914. (Merrill Photo No. 340; Courtesy of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College)

8 Top: Sitka ANB team, 1925. Standing, left to right: George Howard; Thomas Williams; Frank Price, Sr.; Louis Simpson, Sr.; Sam Didrickson; George Jones; Cyrus Peck, Sr.; Richard Peters and Richard Katlian, Sr. Seated: George Dick, Sr., manager. (Photo courtesy of Gil Truitt)

Bottom: Sitka ANB team, 1917. Standing, left to right: Thomas Phillips; Howard Gray; Thomas Williams; Raymond Jones, Sr., Manager; Louis Simpson, Sr.; Charles Daniels, Sr.; Peter Simpson, Coach. (Merrill Photo courtesy of Gil Truitt)

9 Left: Sheldon Jackson School baseball team, 1912. Left to right, Row 4: John Cameron; Louis Simpson, Sr.; and David P. Howard, Sr.; Row 3: "Heavy Duty" Jacobs; Row 2: Walter Gray, Sr.; unidentified; and David Davis, Sr.; Row 1: Andrew Hope and unidentified. (Merrill Photo courtesy of Gil Truitt)

Right: James D. Williams, Sitka ANB pitcher, and Peter C. Nielsen, Sitka Moose pitcher, pose prior to a game in the 1930s. The ANB and Moose were ancient rivals and many of the games between the two teams were of epic proportions. (Raymond Nielsen, Sr., Photo Courtesy of Gil Truitt)

10 Top: Sitka Boy Scouts Troop 643 basketball team, 1937. Players, left to right: Moses "Mighty Mo" Johnson; Jimmy Walton; Jack Lokke; Charlie Didrickson; Bill Brady; Walter Gray, Jr. This was a popular program in the BIA school and one of several activities introduced by Raymond Wolfe, Principal. The team competed against the Sitka School District and teams from Sheldon Jackson. (Alfred Gray Photo courtesy of Gil Truitt)

Bottom: Sitka ANB team, 1949. Left to right, standing: William Walton, Coach; Moses "Mighty Mo" Johnson; Charlie Didrickson; Roger Lang; Herb Didrickson; Alfred Perkins; John Hope, Manager. Kneeling: Lawrence "Buddy" Widmark, Statistician; Jimmy Walton; Joe Truitt; Nick Kasakan; Raymond Nielsen, Sr.; Henry Benson. (Photo Shop Photo courtesy of Gil Truitt)

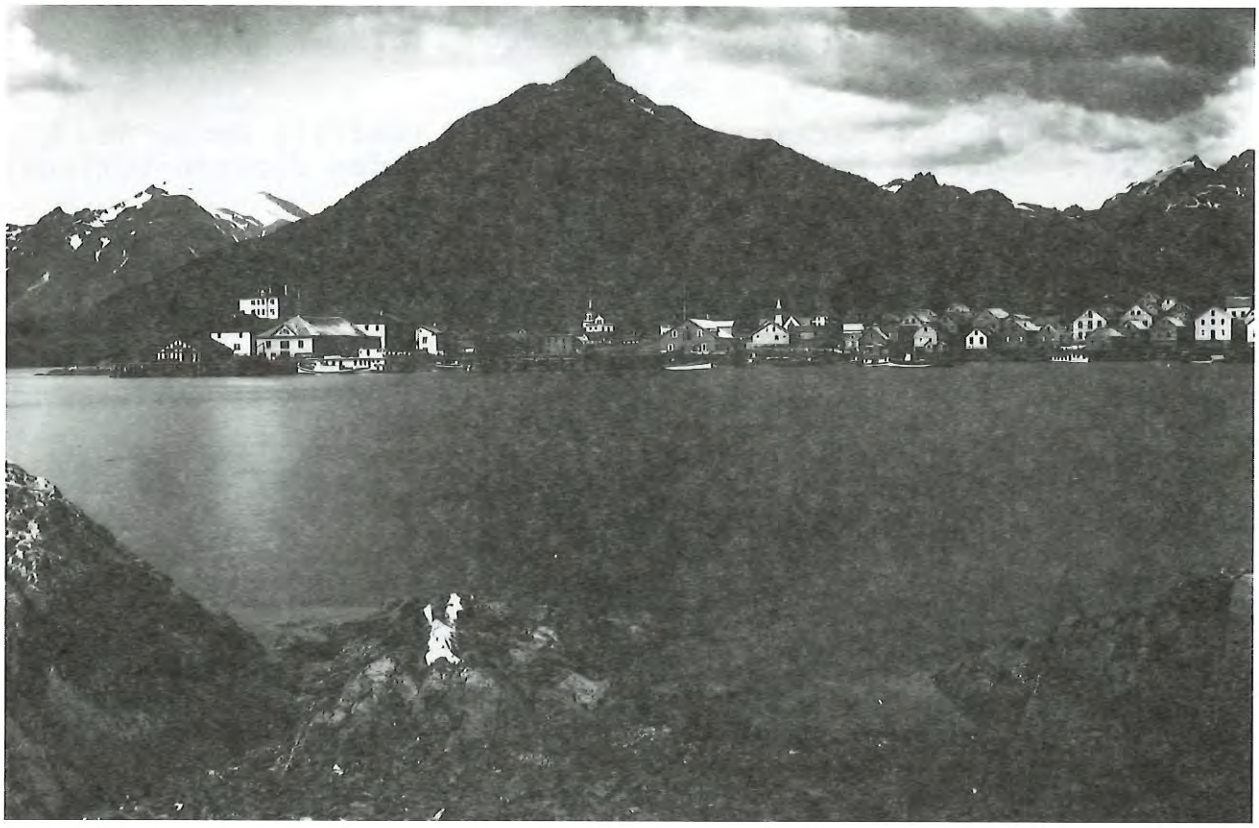


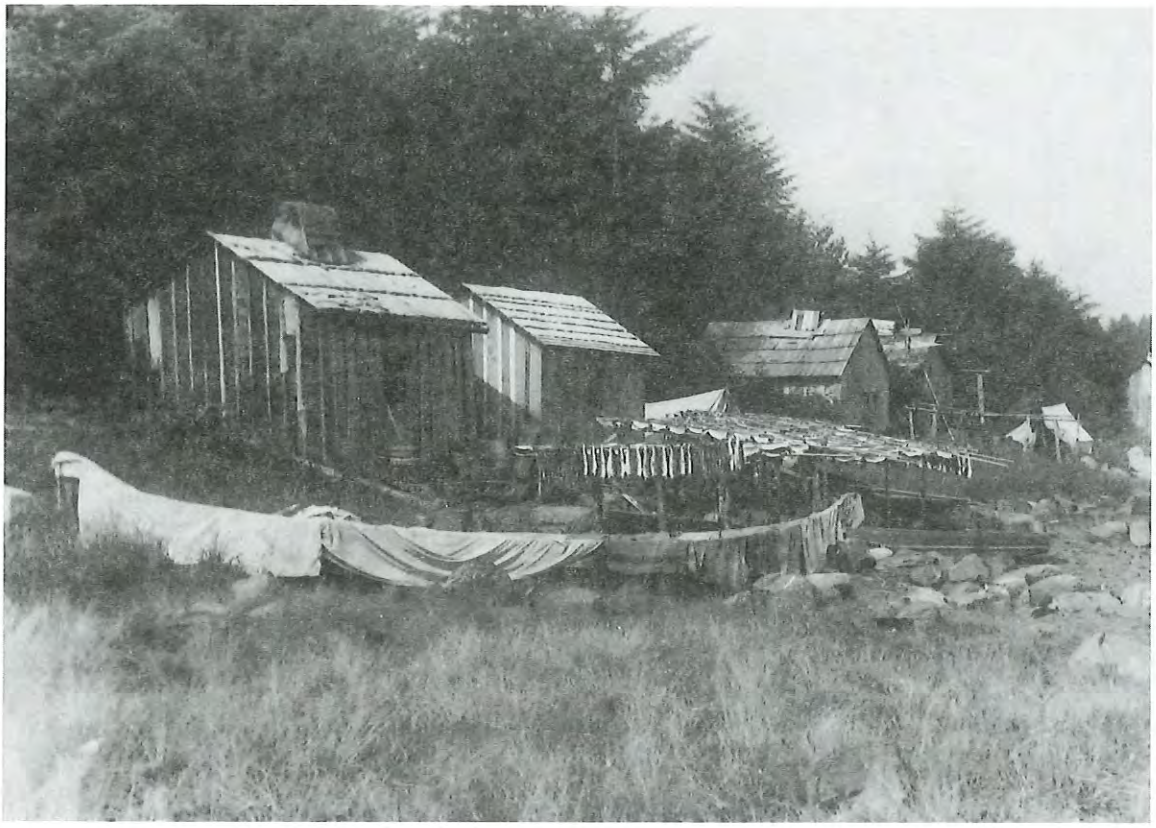
PLATE 1

PLATE 2

PLATE 3

PLATE 4

PLATE 5



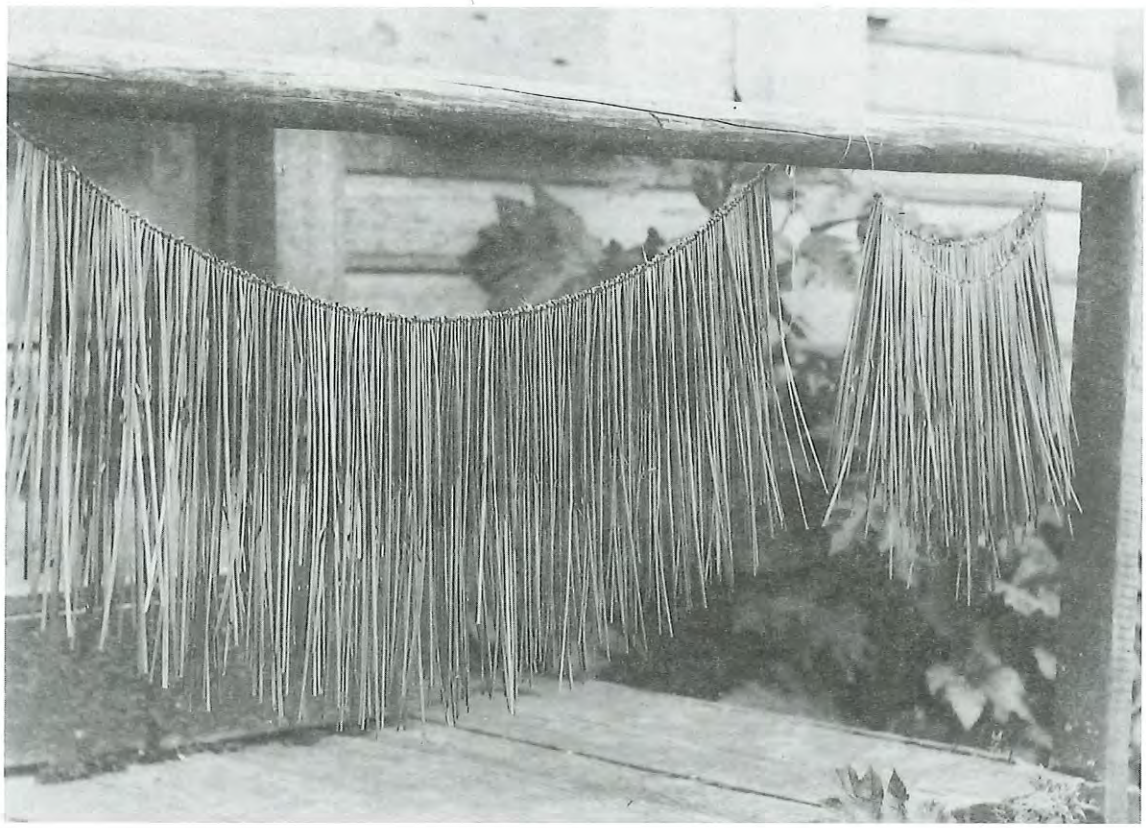


PLATE 6

PLATE 7

PLATE 8

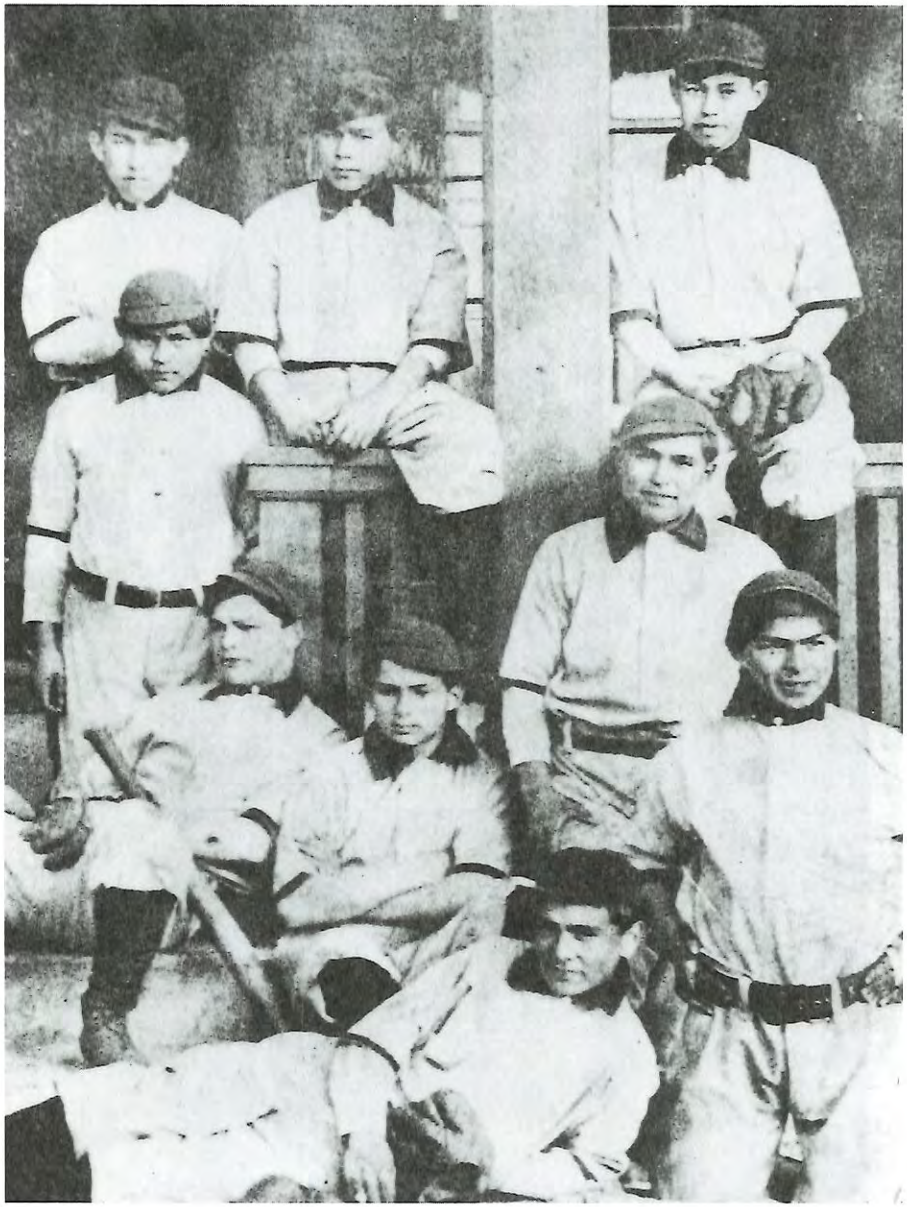


PLATE 9

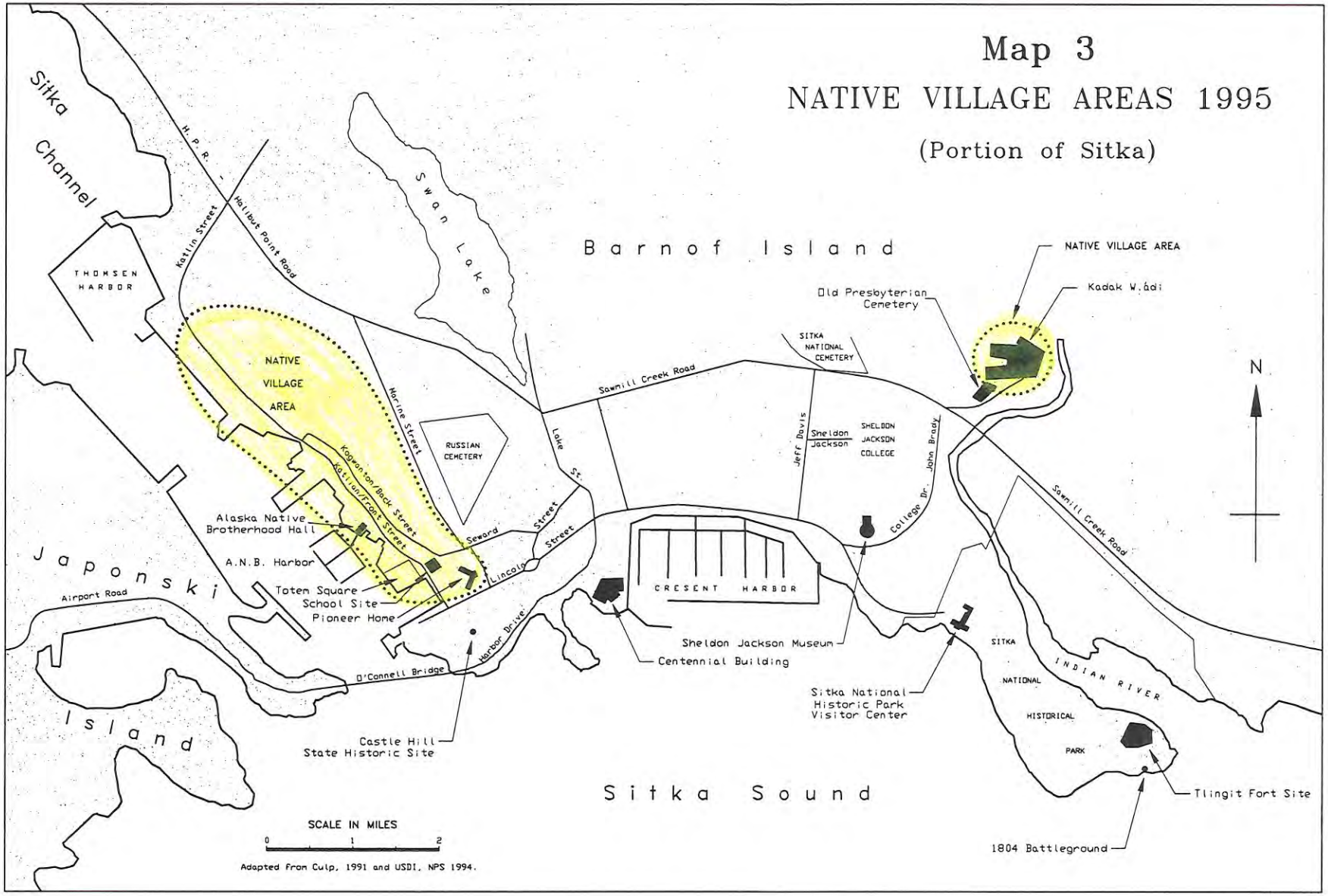
PLATE 10

PART III. THE SITKA NATIVE COMMUNITY TODAY

Sitka today is known for its overwhelming natural beauty, its community charm with vestiges of the older Russian-American community, its Sheldon Jackson State Museum with an abundance of Native treasures, and its easily accessible National Historical Park with Native artisans and walk-through totem pole monuments located amidst giant spruce and cedar trees (Map 3). Thousands (over 200,000 in 1993) of tourists come here yearly by plane, cruise ship, or Alaska State ferry to enjoy Sitka's serene beauty and bountiful history, particularly that history which involved the Native people and the Russians, and of course the blending of these two cultures. These guests form the clientele who today visit the various displays and who frequent the places which sell Alaskan arts and memorabilia. Here they see only the most obvious aspects of Sitka Tlingit culture, especially as depicted in traditional arts and performance--and even in these most obvious (to the tourist) areas, much of the culture underlying the arts is not visible. The following section presents a view of the Sitka Native community most visible to outsiders, followed by discussion of Native community life and concerns not usually obvious to the casual visitor. This discussion is selective in that the elements of culture presented are those seen as necessary to an understanding of the preservation needs identified by contemporary Tlingit people.

Traditional Arts and Performances

Museum displays are an important attraction for visitors to Sitka. Of special importance is the well-known Sheldon Jackson Museum, which exhibits artifacts specific to Sitka as well as to the indigenous culture of Southeastern Alaska in general. A smaller but interesting collection is contained at the Isabel Miller Museum, which is operated by the Sitka Historical Society and located at the municpally owned and operated Sitka Centennial Building on the mid-town waterfront. The Sitka National Historical Park also has a Visitor's Center which includes a small, beautifully prepared and informative indoor display area, with a theater, a totem-pole-restoration display, and a working-artist area. (These artists were originally organized under the ANB, but in 1994 they reorganized under the Southeast Alaskan Indian Cultural Center, an organization for Southeast Alaskan artists who are continuing their traditional art forms.) A well-marked totem-pole display is located along a trail which passes through the fort site where the Kiksadi Clan battled the Russians in 1804. The totems are from a restoration project and include poles from the Tlingit and their neighbors to the south, the Tsimshian and Haida groups. The


Map 3
NATIVE VILLAGE AREAS 1995
(Portion of Sitka)
Sitka Channel
H. P. R.
Katlin Street
Halibut Point Road
Swan Lake
Barnof Island
NATIVE VILLAGE AREA
Kadak W.ádi
Old Presbyterian Cemetery
SITKA NATIONAL CEMETERY
Sawmill Creek Road
THOMSEN HARBOR
NATIVE VILLAGE AREA
Marine Street
RUSSIAN CEMETERY
Lake St.
Jeff Davis
Sheldon Jackson
SHELDON JACKSON COLLEGE
College Dr.
John Brady
N
Kogwanton/Back Street
Katlian/Front Street
Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall
A.N.B. Harbor
Seward Street
Lincoln Street
Totem Square
School Site
Pioneer Home
Japonski Island
Airport Road
CRESENT HARBOR
Sheldon Jackson Museum
Centennial Building
Harbor Drive
O'Connell Bridge
Castle Hill State Historic Site
Sitka National Historic Park Visitor Center
SITKA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
INDIAN RIVER
Tlingit Fort Site
1804 Battleground
Sitka Sound
SCALE IN MILES
0 1 2
Adapted from Culp, 1991 and USDI, NPS 1994.

working artist display presents several artists and their apprentices creating a broad array of beautifully conceived specimens: wood carvers whose works range from small sculptured objects to larger pieces, such as totem poles, in the process of restoration; metal artists primarily etching silver bracelets, pins, and earrings in traditional designs; weavers of spruce-root-twined basketry; or fiber artists weaving on frame looms in northern-geometric weave (also called ravenstail weave) with handspun wool made into capes, leggings, arm cuffs, and breach cloths. These artists are most courteous, and respond knowledgeably to a broad variety of questions from visitors. Further information can be obtained from the concessionary sections of these facilities or from a well-stocked bookstore in the downtown commercial area of Sitka.

Alaska Native artwork can also be seen and purchased in many stores in the town of Sitka. While most shops and/or galleries feature a variety of Native art (both contemporary/traditional and contemporary interpretations from throughout Alaska and northern and western Canada), many local merchants choose to emphasize the Russian period. Emphasizing Native arts, especially Tlingit, Sitka Rose Gallery is owned and operated by local artists who also work on their creations (often on orders from great distances) while tending their gallery. The same is true of 3 Guys By the Chapel, also owned by local Native artists, which offers not only Tlingit but a large collection of arts from the North. The Native-owned Shee Atika Hotel features a Tlingit artist at work in the hotel lobby. Other local Native artisans, particularly women who hand-produce beaded pieces such as Native emblem designs (clan crests), necklaces, and earrings, display their work much as their antecedents for sale during tourist season at the boat docks or at dance presentations in the Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall. Many expert artisans work privately, taking special orders and selling to other Native people or to stores on a consignment basis. It is common to see Sitka Natives wearing traditional Native art, often depicting the wearer's clan or moiety crest, on, for example, a hat or jacket. Some local Native artists also create culturally perceptive contemporary art based on interpretations of pre-contemporary traditional art. These well-known local artists, creators in their own right, show their work in galleries throughout Alaska and the west. One local Native artist, Marie Laws, has demonstrated her work in recent years at indigenous artist symposia as far away as New Zealand (Plate 11).

A variety of products used for material manufacture are needed by those who continue to create traditional arts. Items such as spruce root for baskets (and sometimes for rope used in ceremonial occasions), sea otter pelts and yarn for weaving clothing or enhancement of textile arts, and wood for carving are much in demand by the Native artist. Obtaining such materials (e.g., sea otter pelts, spruce root, cedar bark,

traditionally prepared yarn for textile manufacture) involves complicated procedures and/or processing minimally understood by outsiders, whose observations are focused on the creation of the final product rather than on the lengthy process of material preparation. For example, sea otters, considered an endangered species, can only be taken legally by Alaska Natives, who must register each kill with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Sport or recreational killing of sea otters is not permissible. The edible portions may only be sold within the state among Native people. Procurers dry the pelts and ship them, along with the skull and registration tags, to a federally registered tannery for processing--a costly endeavor at best. Although the pelts are important for the creation or decoration of some traditional arts (termed "handicrafts" by the Fish and Wildlife Service), a finished piece may be sold to non-Natives only if the item is an "authentic" Native piece--made by a Native. This ruling further complicates the creative process. For example, in recent years, a Sitka Tlingit made a parka and hat of sea otter, which was declared by authorities as not "authentic" because it had metal snaps and zippers. An arrest was made, and the issue went to court for determination of what is "traditional Native handicraft" and to question the legitimacy of Native hunting and sale of sea otter manufactures. The Tlingit finally prevailed, but only at great expense in time and dollars before the case was dropped. In spite of these problems, several Sitka Tlingit continue to procure sea otter pelts for artistic purpose. One artist recently completed the weaving of a sea-otter-pelt-lined, northern-geometric-weave "robe" in a traditional pattern--a complicated artistic endeavor involving many pelts as well as the use of other extensive "traditional" weaving materials (Plate 12).

The production of traditional northern-geometric-weave (or Ravenstail weave) clothing is a recently revived art, which also involves a lengthy material acquisition process. This revival developed through the study of two drawings, a photograph, and research on weaving techniques of the 11 Tlingit robes in existence in Europe and America (Samuel 1987:12-15). The robes are particularly important to Sitka because one of the drawings portrays the Sitka Tlingit leader, Katlian, in one such robe. Northern geometric weaving combines several techniques in addition to those used in the more commonly known Chilkat robe weave, but both involve two-strand twining, which requires a tightly spun yarn not available commercially (Plate 13). These yarns are ordered from spinners who prepare them in the traditional colors; consequently, these yarns are back-ordered and the wait is lengthy. During the summer of 1992 there were three well-established Native weavers in Sitka, plus several Sitka Native people in various stages of studying the art. Two of the weavers regularly wove at the Sitka National Historical Park where two recently produced robes were on display; the other weaver, an established artist in many media,

was producing a robe using tightly handspun yarn in combination with sea-otter strips for warp.

Tlingit spruce-root basketry is produced using the same weave as the northern-geometric-weave robes, and basketmaking is a great tourist attraction at the National Historical Park, where the weaving technique is demonstrated. However, both the spruce-root fibers for the baskets and the grasses used for the decorative elements require complicated and lengthy preparation. The process includes choosing the desired quality of tree, digging the roots (spring or summer), coiling them for transport, and, once home, peeling off the bark after roasting or steaming in a prescribed heat, curing the root without discoloring for several months, then splitting the roots several times to the desired two grades necessary for the warp and weft. This lengthy process requires specialized knowledge, since the failure to follow all the details properly will ruin the quality of the fiber. The preparation of the grasses used for the embroidered decoration is also complicated, especially in producing the desired natural colors necessary for the traditional designs. The colors traditionally used in Sitka are said to be black, red, and copper-oxide blue, all available in the Sitka area. This laborious process is much the same today as in the past (Field Data; c.f., Paul 1944), and yet none of the complicated stages are apparent through public display. A few Sitka Tlingit women weave baskets; two women who weave robes at the National Historical Park alternate their weaving between robes and baskets. One artist remarked that basket-weaving is very enjoyable, but preparing the necessary spruce root requires great endurance.

Native dancing and singing are other artistic activities that require traditional knowledge, skill and physical endurance, as well lengthy preparation of Native materials (Plates 14-18). Local dancers of other non-Indian ethnic origins (i.e., Inuit, Aleut, and other non-Indian people) also participate. Dancers perform, whether it be for each other or for the public, in Tlingit regalia which must be appropriately and skillfully made and then ornamented according to the wearer's kinship group (clan and/or moiety). Crest emblems and borders, presented through beaded design or pearl button patterns, embellish regalia such as drums, felt-applique dance shirts, shawls, bags, head bands, bibs or footwear. Many Tlingit also decorate daily wear--such as shirts, jackets or hats--with bead designs depicting their family crests, but it is the dance regalia that is most elaborately decorated with the clan and moiety crest designs. Dance regalia may be of wool, which is handwoven into intricately designed Chilkat and northern-geometric-weave dance robes; leather crafted into dance shirts; footwear (including leggings); and gloves with beaded or painted crest designs trimmed with fur and/or quills; spruce root woven into hats--plain or with painted or embroidery woven design; wood sculpted into headpieces or hats decorated with

painted designs and/or decorated with a combination of inlaid shell, ermine or other skins, and perhaps with basketry tiers topped with ermine streamers. Felt, fur, leather, hair, woven spruce root, beads, pearl buttons, quills and feathers may be used to embellish regalia and dance equipment. The most commonly used colors today are black, red, blue, yellow, green and white. A dancer may carry, as dance equipment, wooden drums (skin covered), dance staffs (sculpted and/or carved in base relief in the form of paddles or spears), and sometimes rattles (often elaborately sculpted). These items may be embellished by painting or inlay shell design, and with hair, feathers, and/or pelt streamers. It must be stressed that a participant would wear only those crests or emblems that would be appropriate adornment for his or her kin group. Few such specialty items are found for sale in Sitka, although many are displayed in the museums and the NPS Visitors Center.

Sitka had two dance groups that performed in their traditional regalia for the public in 1992. The "Gajaa Heen" dance group was formed in 1975, and named after the river which flows through the battle site where a group of Sitka Tlingit were victorious over the Russians. This is primarily a youth group under the Sitka Native Education Program (SNEP), which includes dancers from the sixth grade through high school. However, many of the dancers join for public performance with the "Noow Tlein" dancers, primarily an adult group. This latter group was formed in the late 1970s; it carries the Tlingit name for an important locality taken over by the Russians, now known as "Castle Hill" because of the structure the Russians built there. A third group, Sheet'ka, was developed in 1995. These dance groups perform the various songs and dances which belong to the clans at Sitka. A performance for visitors is accompanied with explanations of regalia, music, and dance, and usually includes some storytelling. These dancers also participate in various cultural events outside the Sitka area--in Alaska, the "Lower 48" states and even in Russia. They are extremely well received, and are renowned for their proficiency in this art. Independent of these Tribal dance groups, there are also Mt. Edgecumbe High School and Sheldon Jackson Cultural Club dance groups.

Traditional Tlingit culture also includes theatrical performances. Dramatic performances involve music, dance, oral literature, and artistic sets. Actors perform in regalia and elaborate masks which depict the particular humans, animals, elements (e.g., moon, sun), and conditions (e.g., wind) that are necessary to illustrate the stories through drama. Theater once formed an important aspect of winter ceremonies for the Tlingit. While there is at this time no formal Sitka theatrical group, some interest has been expressed in the formation of a drama group for theater performance in Sitka. A popular Alaskan Tlingit drama group, the Naa' Kahidi Theater Group,

toured the United States and Europe during the summer of 1992, and two of the performers were Sitka Tribal members.

Traditional arts and performances also serve to help maintain the cultural traditions, as was illustrated by Sitka Tlingit participation in Celebration '92, "Respect for Native Culture and Heritage," which was held in Juneau, June 3-6, 1992, sponsored by the Sealaska Heritage Foundation. This writer's attendance at Celebration '92 was beneficial as a reintroduction, after 33 years, to the obvious ambiance and strength of the Tlingit heritage. This biennial event is a Southeast Alaskan and adjacent Canadian (Yukon Territory and British Columbia Province) Native cultural event (mostly Tlingit groups, but also Tsimshian and Haida). A few other Alaskan Native groups also participate; for example, Interior Athapaskan, Kodiak Alutiiq (Aleut/Koniag), and Ahnuvuk Point Hope (Innuit) dancers participated in the '92 Celebration. Northwest Coast performance groups came from as far away as Vancouver and Seattle. Non-Native people were in attendance, but the event was clearly a celebration of local culture through dance, song, and storytelling--and not a tourist performance. Included were workshops on cultural traditions, a number of booths with various Native items for sale and with information on various Native programs, meals of Native foods, a panoramic photograph taken of willing attendees in full regalia, and a Celebration '92 poster (the latter two items are available from Sealaska Heritage Foundation in Juneau). Sitka people, both as dancers and as individual bearers of Tlingit culture and art forms, are obviously important participants in this celebration. Their presence, whether as members of the dance groups, as individuals whose clothing manifests a variety of Tlingit art forms, or in their interaction on many other levels certainly contribute to the continuance of Tlingit culture.

Celebration '94 (***At Yaa Awune***: Respect for Everything, Everyone, and Self; Respect As a Way of Life) expanded into an additional building to accommodate an ever-growing attendance. Celebration '96 is now anxiously awaited.

The Sitka Village and Community

While tour buses drive quickly through the Sitka "Village" where many Natives live, most visitors do not learn about the thriving culture which overreaches what it is to be Sitkan, what it is to be Tlingit or some other tribal group member incorporated into the Tribal composition, and what it is to hold citizenship in an Alaskan town of about 9,600 population. Beginning during the summer of 1994, STA implemented its own bus tour of Sitka, which presents the community and its history from the Tlingit perspective. The tour has been well received by visitors and the tourism industry alike (see Tourism below).

Traditional arts and performance are obvious aspects of Tlingit culture that the visitors to Sitka take home with them --as purchased objects, in photographs, or in memory-- particularly since these areas are a popular draw for tourists. Such portrayals, however, are only one part of a thriving and active Native community which is not totally obvious to non-Sitkans. Passersby might not even distinguish a Native from a non-Native on the street, and thus may leave thinking they have glimpsed only a culture of the past by observing the various exhibits. Conversely, Sitka Natives participate in many aspects of Sitka life: they work at various professions and jobs, attend local schools, make use of the library, and are actively engaged in local and state politics. They also participate in non-Indian organizations such as the Moose Lodge or the American Legion (where many Natives serve as officers), and take an active role in sports--both public (such as baseball and basketball) and private (such as kayaking, hunting, and sports fishing).

Beyond all this, however, many Native people have contributed greatly to the restoration, preservation, and continuation of Tlingit cultural values and traditions--both in the past and in the present (Plate 19). Following are but a few outstanding examples of contemporary Natives taking on prominent roles in community affairs today. Larry A. Widmark, Jr., is the Tribal Council Chairman. Beyond his leadership role in the Native community, Mr. Widmark is very active through his leadership in youth activities. One of his most prominent successes is in managing youth baseball. In the small community of Sitka, Mr. Widmark has been extremely successful in managing Little League, Senior League, and Big League All Star teams and won a state title with each division. The Little League team he managed approximately five years ago came within one game of going to the Little League World Series in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Keith Perkins, a younger Native, is much involved in community politics, serving on the locally elected body of the City and Borough Assembly. An even younger Native person, Chuck Miller, is effectively engaged in learning and teaching the traditional values of the Tlingit culture. Mr. Miller is highly regarded for his deep knowledge and respect for the culture. He is an instructor of song, dance, regalia making, and traditional values at the Sitka Native Education Program--a program charged with teaching the ways of their culture to Tlingit youth and to others who desire to learn about the Tlingit way of life (see SNEP under Educational Systems). Terry Rofker with the Sitka Rose Gallery and Boyd Didrickson with 3 Guys By the Chapel present the best of class Native arts to the public through their shops. Marie Laws, an artist working in multi-media, has twice represented Alaska in international meetings of indigenous people in New Zealand.

A prominent example of the vitality of this culture was shown during the 1995 summer visit of the *Hawaii Iloa*, a

sailing vessel made out of Sitka spruce donated to a group of Hawaiians by Tlingit people. In July 1995, these Hawaiians sailed this traditional Hawaiian outrigger into Southeast Alaska to pay tribute to those who had donated the Sitka spruce for its construction (Plate 20). The local Native population turned out in great numbers, dressed in resplendent regalia which included some very old and revered pieces, and offered a traditional Tlingit welcome to their fellow ocean-dependent tribal members. Welcoming songs and dances on shore and on the outrigger highlighted the arrival of the visitors to the community. A traditional welcoming dinner, hosted by the Kogwonton/Kiksadi, followed. This spectacular occasion served as a memorable event for the perpetuation of Tlingit culture.

Native people live throughout the town of Sitka--in former Sheldon Jackson School cottages near the National Historical Park; in apartments, houses, and trailers throughout the area; and in the Alaska Pioneer Home on the border between the main part of downtown and the "Indian Village," which holds the greatest concentration of Native people. This area borders the Sitka channel which has, on the water side, fish processing facilities, a pontoon plane port, boat docking facilities, and a variety of other commercial operations. This location is probably very close to the old Sitka Village (hereafter called "the Village"), called *Shee Atika* by the Tlingit, which is said to have been burned by the Russians in 1804 when they retook Sitka and built their city of New Archangel on its ashes. Castle Hill, a central locality for the Russians which is said to have been the center of the old Tlingit community, is just south of the present-day "Indian Village." According to Emmons (1991:15 [re: Kotzebue report]), the Sitka people lived 70 feet from New Archangel in 1825. This was most likely in the same location as where the Village stands today. A perusal of old photographs, and a later diagram of the Village layout (1920-1945) showing clan house locations, provides evidence for the longevity of this locality as the Village site. Photos dated as late as 1898 and 1907 clearly show that the clan houses in the "Village" fronted directly on the beach (which has since been filled to construct Katlian Street, where the commercial and other waterfront facilities referenced above are located) (Plates 1-4).

In today's Sitka, Katlian Street runs north from Castle Hill through the area along the waterfront, between businesses on the west or water side of the street, and several businesses and the main Indian Village east of the street. One block above and parallel to Katlian Street and running through the Village north of the blockhouse is Kogwanton Street--a very narrow avenue flanked by Native homes, including several clan houses. Kogwanton Street joins Katlian Street immediately south of the present Tribal Office buildings. Newer housing has been constructed east and north of Kogwanton Street. Today's Village includes several older homes (most of them

former active clan houses); more recently built or reconstructed homes; a Native-owned bed-and-breakfast guest house; the Sitka Tribe of Alaska buildings; and recently constructed "HUD housing" (a U.S. Housing and Urban Development project), which is scattered throughout the Village area and is administered by the Tribally chartered Baranof Island Housing Authority. On the waterfront on the south end (nearest Castle Hill) of the Village is a small public park (Town Square), and north of this is a former hotel which houses several businesses. This complex is owned by the Shee Atika Corporation--a Native Village corporation formed under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (the Shee Atika Corporation office is located in their modern hotel in the commercial part of town). To the north of the former hotel is the Sitka Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall and boat harbor. The Alaska Pioneer Home, on the east side of the street, is opposite the park and separated from the Village at this southern end by a vacant lot (the "school house" site) and an old Russian blockhouse. This property was obtained from the Municipality of Sitka, or returned to the Tribe from the Municipality, for the Tribe's use as the site of STA's Tribal Cultural Center.

The Sitka Tribal Offices, centrally located in the Village, were constructed with federal funds obtained through the Accelerated Public Works Act of 1976. They house the Tribal General Manager and staff, which include employees (primarily Native) engaged in planning, social work, fiscal responsibilities, education, housing, health, employment, economic development, historic preservation, Tribal court, and technical support for the Tribe. Monthly Tribal Council meetings are held here, as is Bingo gaming two nights a week. The offices of General Manager, Economic Development, Historic Preservation, and Tourism are now located (July 1995) in a smaller building a block away from the main office. This move has been made in response to a need for space to house staff which had been added to administer the new programs which STA has developed since late 1992. These offices are the scene of a steady stream of activity surrounding Native affairs, and during summer months they oversee the distribution of surplus salmon or other subsistence items to the membership. The offices serve as a center for Tribal business, and are linked in a network of Southeastern Tlingit tribes. The HUD housing in the Village and other parts of the community is managed through Baronof Island Housing Authority (BIHA) at the southern end of the street. The HUD board members are appointed by the Tribal Council.

BIHA is an Indian housing authority established in 1980 under charter from the Sitka Community Association. The housing authority was organized to take advantage of Village improvement opportunities, to meet housing needs, and to boost local employment opportunities. BIHA can apply for, build, and administer public housing projects. In 1995 the organization had 40 units under management and 45 units under construction.

Homes recently constructed are in various Sitka locations and those under construction (45) are centered in a "project" called KADAK W.ADI Subdivision, which is located in the southeast section of town, just beyond the Presbyterian cemetery on the Indian River. The Tribal Cultural Committee assisted in naming the new streets after honored elders. These homes are scheduled for completion in late 1995. Funding has been obtained for construction of 20 additional units to begin in 1996.

The Tribe also operates a housing rehabilitation program which is funded through the BIA on a year-to-year basis. In addition, this program carries out housing rehabilitation activities supported by funds from non-BIA sources when funds are available.

The HUD housing construction completed in 1985 is located starting east of Katlian Street and lies, for the most part, east and north of Kogwanton Street. Several Tribal members have expressed concern about this housing, which is said to be built over parts of the old Village. Some of the construction was in the area of former clan houses, behind which was a traditional area for cemetery placement. In fact, human remains were encountered during the construction period (see discussion under Cemetery Preservation, Part IV).

A housing preservation ordinance is currently being prepared by the Tribal attorney for review and approval by the Tribal Council. Once this ordinance is in place, it is anticipated that a stronger emphasis will be placed on the preservation of existing historic clan houses, most of which lie within the Village.

Health Services

The Southeast Alaska Regional Health Corporation (SEARHC [pronounced "search"]; the corporation has recently been changed to a Consortium) was formed in the early 1970s for the purpose of improving health services to Native people in Southeast Alaska. In 1974, as a result of the Indian Self Determination Act (P.L. 93-638), work was initiated which eventually led to a take-over by SEARHC of all Indian health operations for Southeast Alaska Natives (excluding Metlakatla). Planning was implemented in 1974 with the assistance of the Tlingit and Haida Central Council. The effort culminated in the early 1980s when the Corporation assumed control and administration of all Indian Health Services in Southeast Alaska (with the exception of Metlakatla, because it is a reservation). Now a Consortium, SEARHC operates the regional hospital (Mt. Edgecumbe Hospital) and the SEARHC training center in Sitka, two full-time outpatient clinics in Juneau and Ketchikan (a third soon to be opened on Prince of Wales Island), and village health clinics staffed by health aides in every village located

in traditional Tlingit and Haida areas of Southeast Alaska. Complex health cases which cannot be served in the clinics or the Mt. Edgecumbe Hospital are sent to Anchorage; or, if circumstance requires an unusual specialty, the patient is sent (sometimes flown, depending on urgency) to Seattle or Anchorage. The Training Center serves to educate village health aides and others in technical health positions through a community assistance program in cooperation with the Sitka Branch of the University of Alaska and the Sheldon Jackson College. The Consortium is controlled by a Board of Directors appointed by each tribal government and other Native organizations (e.g., ANB/ ANS, Sealaska) in Southeastern Alaska, and has a total staff of over 500 people, making it Southeast Alaska's second largest non-public-sector employee. The Sitka Tribe has had a contract with the Indian Health Service since 1992 to assess the quality of SEARHC's health care, and to determine which areas need improvement or whether the Tribe should provide supplemental care. The final report is due at the end of 1995.

Because SEARHC's hospital and training center is located in Sitka, there is a constant flow of Natives from throughout the Southeastern area for hospital treatment, dental services, eye care, physical therapy, mental health care, and the full range of medical services. This has contributed to Sitka's continuing roll as a trade and communication center for the Tlingit people.

Tourism and Cultural Center Development

In the spring of 1992, the Sitka Tribe of Alaska elected to create a new department of Tourism Development, which is closely related to the development of the long-awaited Cultural Center as a whole. The Tourism Development enterprise was proposed for two specific reasons: first, it was the desire of the Tribe to establish a Cultural Center; and second, it was the need of the Tribe to begin moving away from its complete dependence on the shrinking source of federal funding (Plate 21).

Tourism Development fit into the picture as the immediate opportunity to establish business ventures with a sustainable income that would eventually provide funding to maintain and operate the Cultural Center complex. It also offered a means by which to create job opportunities for Tribal members. The long-term vision of the Tribal Tourism Development office is to create educational and insightful programs for the cultural enlightenment of visitors, while at the same time establishing a financial and economic basis for the ongoing enterprises of the Sitka Tribe.

An initial entry into the visitor industry has been the development of STA Tours--a small local bus tour of Sitka. This tour offers insights to visitors in understanding the long-term perspective of the Native culture, while showing that

Tlingit culture remains important to today's Sitka Tlingit people. The business, in summer 1995, provides approximately five full-time positions and another 45 part-time opportunities in various types of summer employment.

Other proposals being pursued are to include the development of a traditional fish camp as a heritage tourism experience--an "Eco-lodge," which would focus on ecosystem education as well as on cultural education. There would be traditional food sampling, visual and dramatic arts, a retail gift shop, and an annual Native Arts Symposium with a focus on traditional and contemporary Tlingit art forms.

These various forms of Tourism Development will lead in turn to the three-phase development of the Cultural Center project--a Tribal vision of the past 20 years being brought to fruition today. The desire of the Tribal Council, STA's governing body, is to enhance the Sitka Tribe's mission of preserving, protecting, and promoting the traditional values of Tlingit society. This dream involves creating a complex that would showcase Tlingit culture, and it is beginning to come into reality today through a three-phase construction plan.

Phase I of this plan is currently underway (summer 1995)--that is, the design for construction of a traditional Tlingit Community House. Besides fulfilling a wish of the elders of the Native community by erecting a traditional structure, the Community House would serve as a meeting/activity facility for the community, further expanding the foothold gained in the visitor industry by the STA Bus Tour operation. During summer months the facility would provide space to present a traditional foods sampling program, dramatic storytelling performances, song and dance interpretations, drama, and opportunities for visual arts demonstrations.

Phase II in the development of the Cultural Center complex calls for construction of another, separate structure--a contemporary theater facility with a seating capacity of approximately 400-450. This facility would be the home of traditional song and dance programs, as well as drama productions, much like the Naa' Kahidi Theater Group (a theater arts group made up of Tlingit people from throughout Southeast Alaska). Its main purpose would be to augment earlier efforts to gain a larger part in the tourism industry. The facility would also be rented out to various user groups in the community as a means of gaining additional support for the Center. In short, this theater would be one generator of the cash flow needed to maintain and operate the Cultural Center complex and, in particular, its most important Phase III.

Phase III, the main focus of Cultural Center development, is to be a "Mini-Smithsonian"--that is, a museum/archive/library facility that would be an addition to the Phase II

theater. (Upon completion, Phase II and III would be under one roof.) The plan is for this museum to house the large collection of Tlingit artifacts which have been made available through the Native American Grave Protection Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) legislation, and which are now located in many other museums throughout the United States. With the enactment of NAGPRA, there is a tremendous opportunity for the Tribe to bring home these artifacts which were appropriated by visitors and removed from the Tlingit homeland. Under this legislation, these pieces will be returned to the Tribe, where they will be reviewed, displayed and maintained by the Collections Management staff of the Cultural Center. A library, gift shop, and possibly artists' demonstration shops would round out the Phase III facility.

In sum, the Cultural Center complex is a large part of the vision of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska. Completion of this project will enhance the ability of the Tribe to further its mission of preserving and protecting the traditional values of Tlingit society.

PLATES

11 Top: Love birds, eagle and raven. Example of contemporary art by artist Dan Hoffay, trained by Native elders. (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

Bottom: Raven's rattle (1985) by Master Carver Reggie Peterson (in collection of Anchorage Art Museum). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

12 Left: Artist Marie Laws in her ravenstail-weave robe lined with sea otter. (Photo courtesy of Marie Laws)

Right: Artist Teri Rofkar in her ravenstail robe and cedar bark hat at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

13 Left: Irene Jimmy in felt-button robe trimmed with Chilkat weave at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

Right: Mark Jacobs, Jr. in Chilkat robe at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

14 Left: Marie Thiemeyer performing in traditional regalia she created for her personal use. Noow Tlien dancers, 1994. (Photo by Francis E. Caldwell, courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

Right: Tlingit dancers performing at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

15 Top: Tlingit dancers performing at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995); Nels Lawson, Sr. on right. (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

Bottom: Elmenda Miller, drummer for Tlingit dancers, performing at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

16 Top: Nels Lawson, Jr. performing in traditional regalia with Gajaa Heen dance group, 1994. (Photo by Francis E. Caldwell, courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

Bottom: Dancer Chuck Miller in ravenstail robe at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

17 Top: Tlingit dancers performing at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

Bottom: Tlingit dancers performing at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995); dancers turn away from viewers at the conclusion of each dance. (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

18 Top: Marie Laws, Irene Jimmy, Teri Rofkar at 25th year celebration of Sitka Historical Park Cultural Center (1995). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

Bottom: Tlingit dancers in regalia, Sitka Tribe of Alaska, at Sitka National Historical Park. Summer performers for Tribal tour operation, 1994. (Photo by Francis E. Caldwell, courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

19 Top: Ray Nielsen, Jr. and John Nielsen holding filet salmon strips outside smokehouse in Sitka, 1992. (Photo courtesy of Ray Nielsen, Jr.)

Bottom: Dog salmon (chum) strips sun drying on rack before smoking (smoking is the last step), and belly strips drying on trays, 1992. (Photo courtesy of Ray Nielsen, Jr.)

20 Top: 1994 photo of "end of the trail" in the Peril Strait across from Point Craven commemorating 1804 Kiksadi survival march at location where monument will be erected. Herb Hope on left, Fred Hope on right. (Photo courtesy of Ray Nielsen, Jr., Support Services, Cultural Committee, Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

Bottom: Traditional Hawaiian outrigger made with Sitka spruce at Sitka, July 1995. (Photo courtesy of Ray Nielsen, Jr., Support Services, Cultural Committee, Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

21 Conceptual design of Phase II of Cultural Center Complex (by Lynn Shimamoto, Architect, Seattle, WA). (Photo courtesy of Sitka Tribe of Alaska)

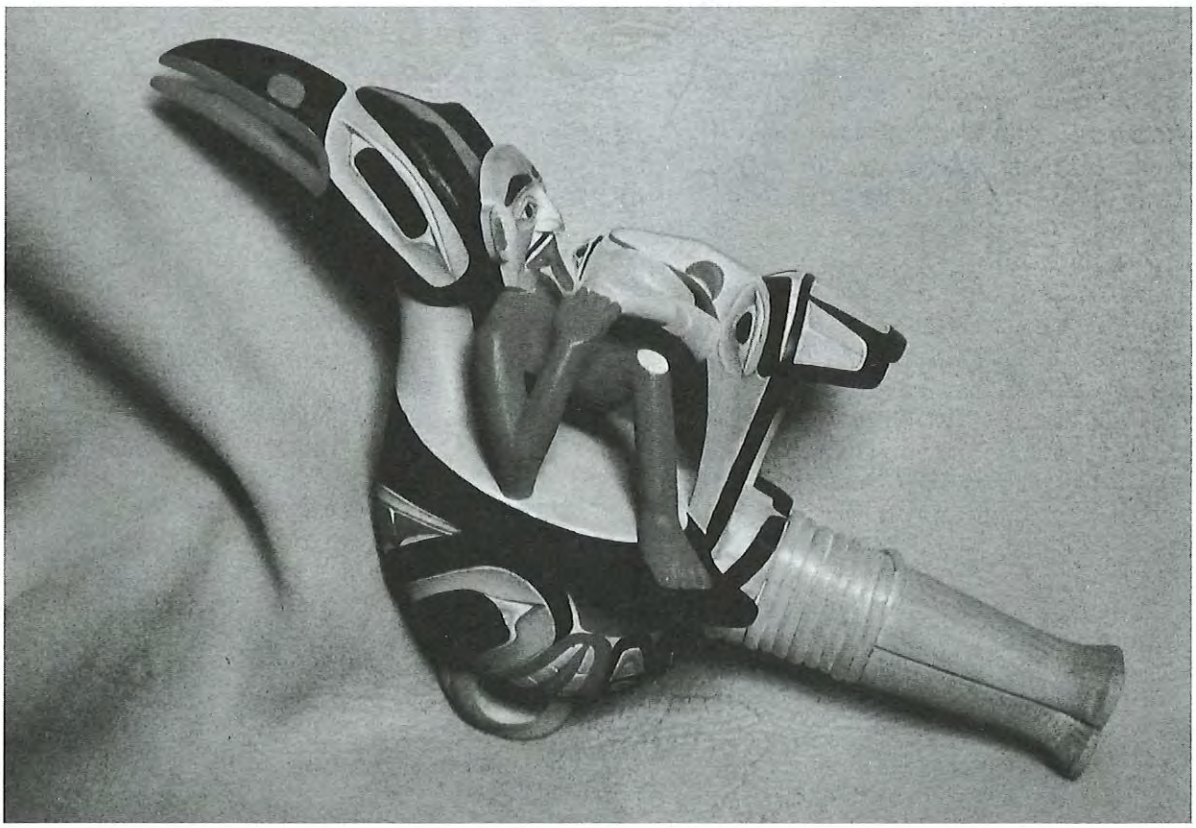


PLATE 11

PLATE 12

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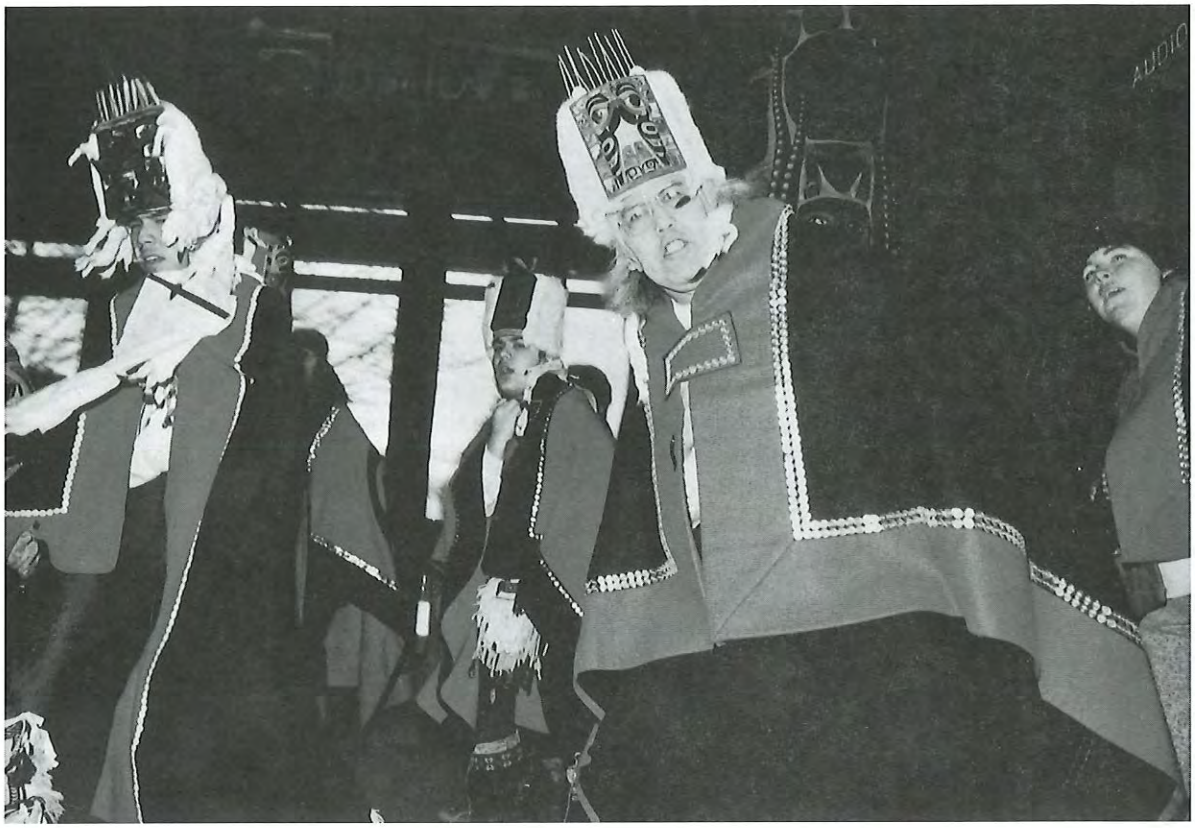
PLATE 14



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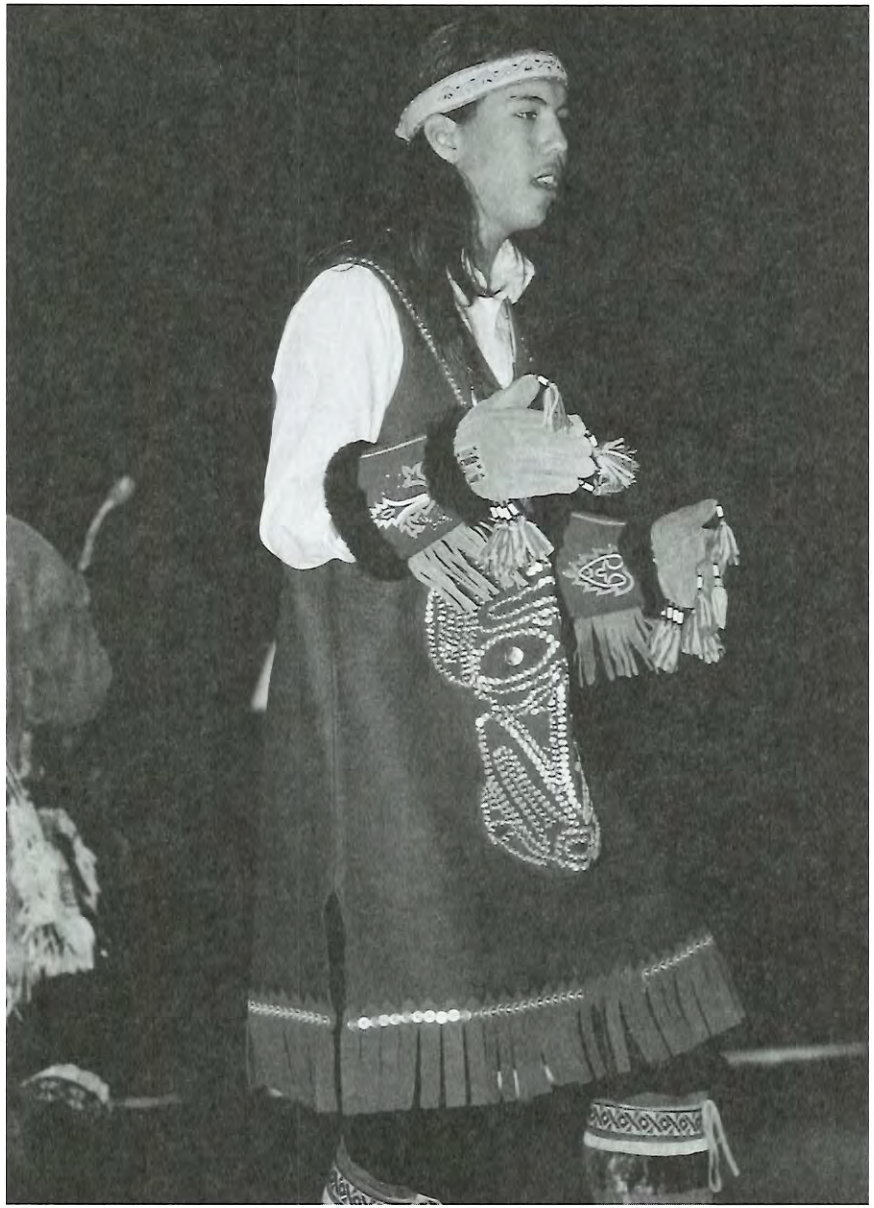

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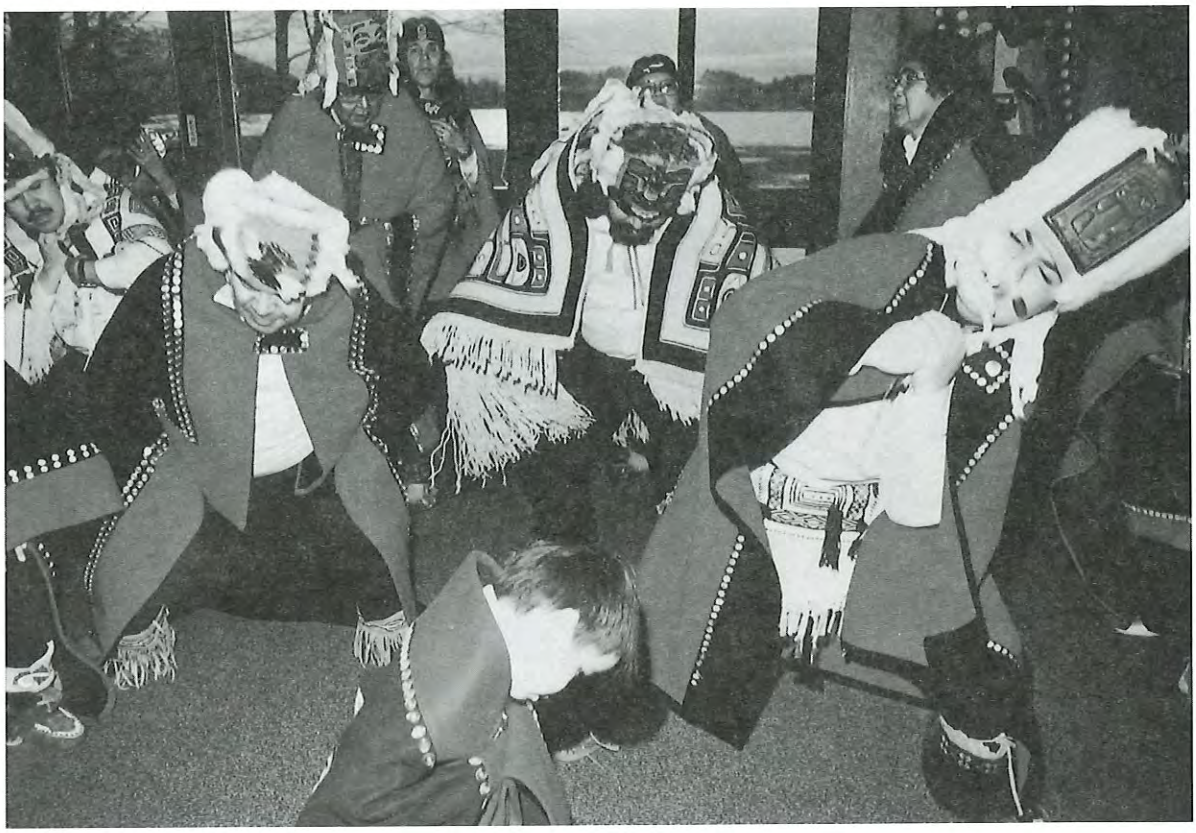

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PLATE 18

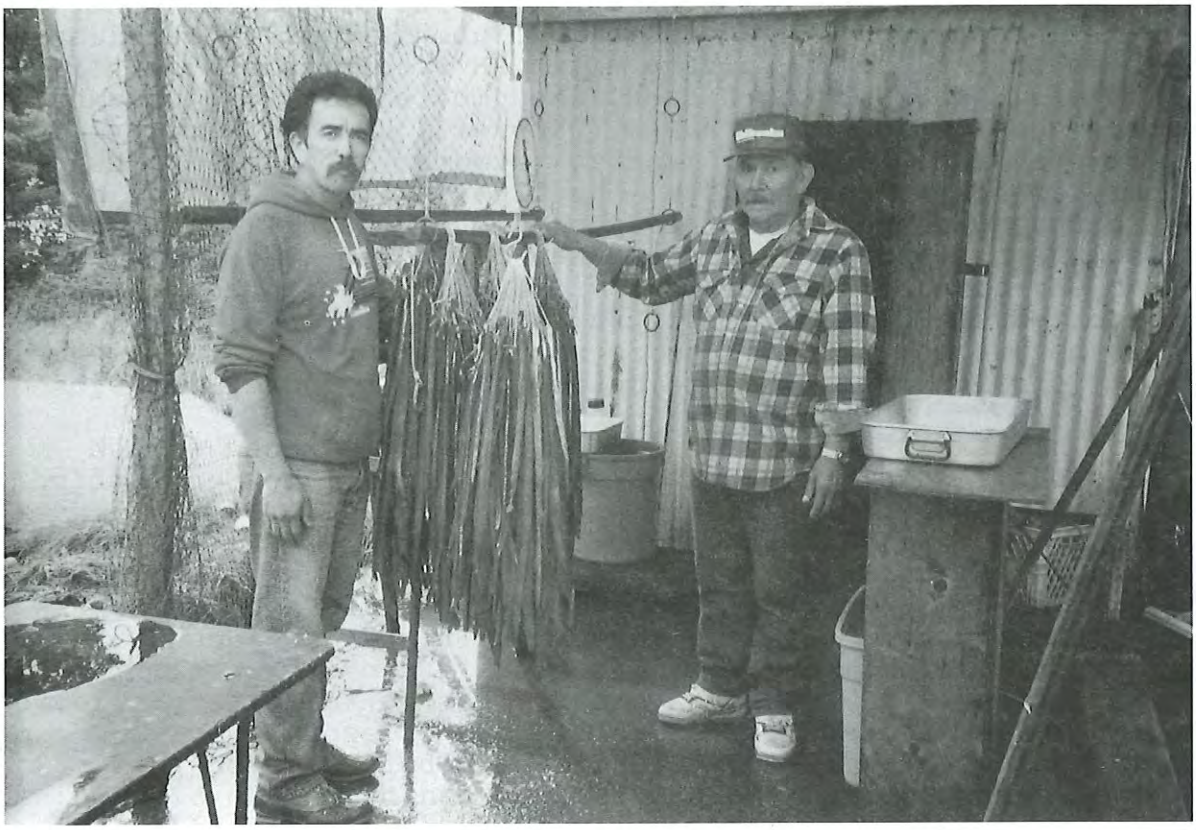
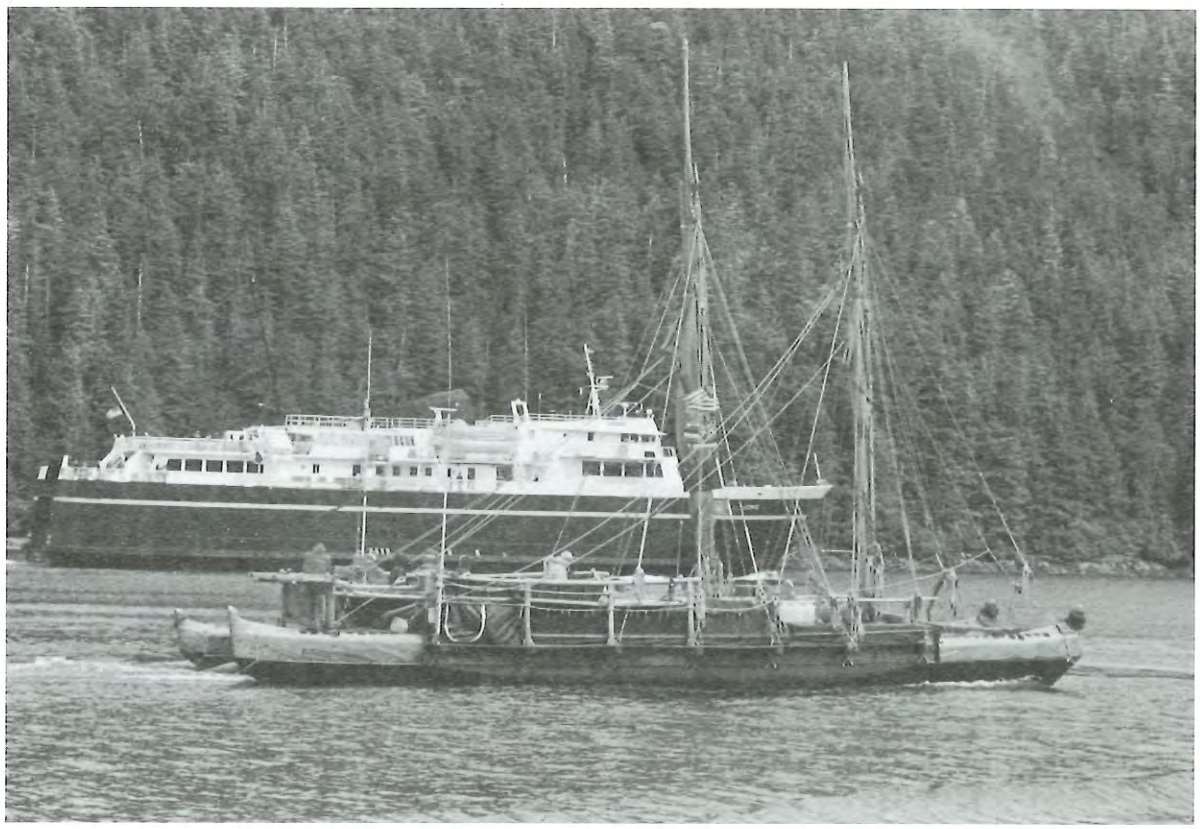


PLATE 19



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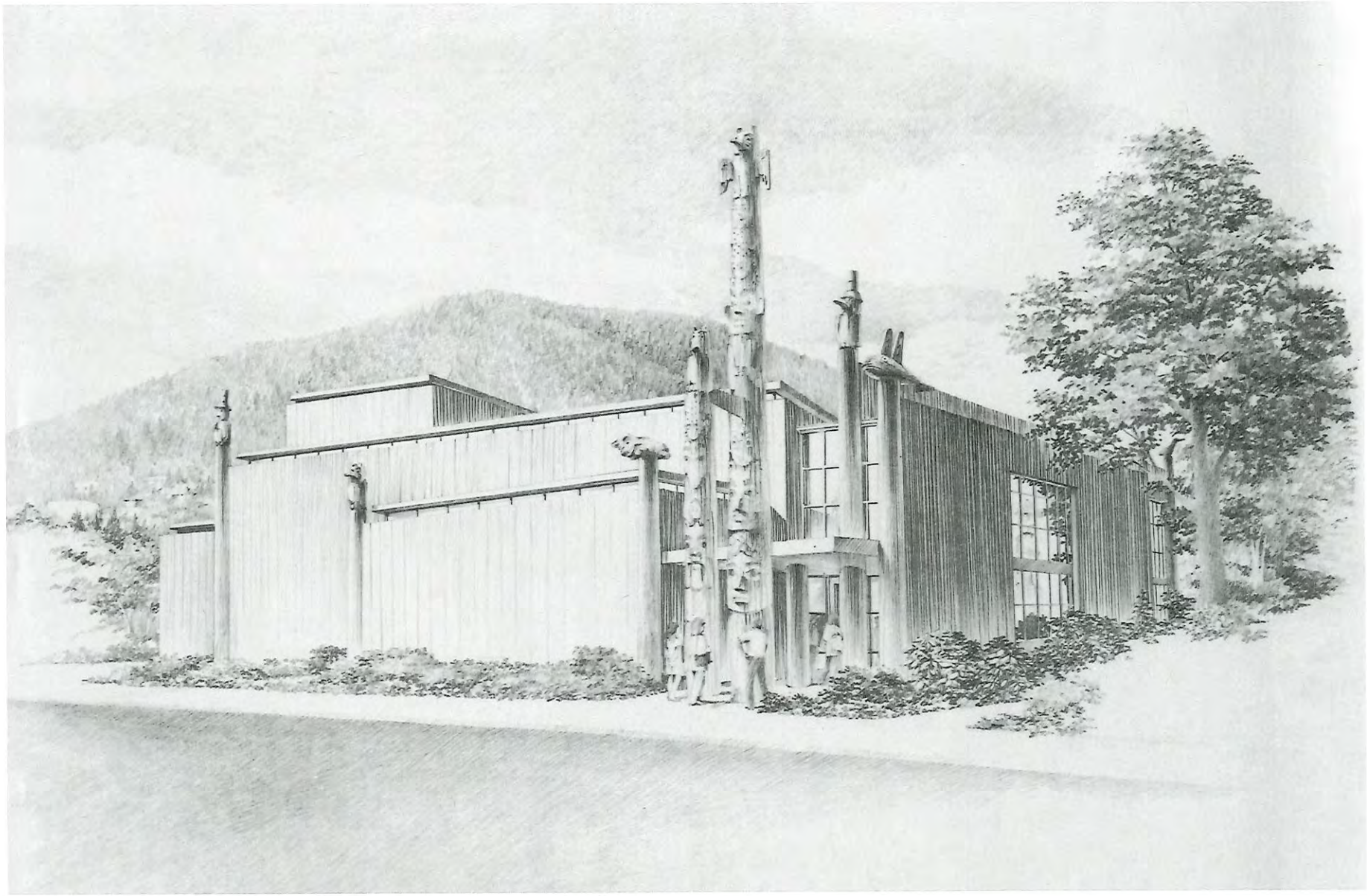

PLATE 21

PART IV. PRESERVATION ISSUES AND CONCERNS

Southeastern Alaskan Natives, of which the Sitka people are no exception, experience daily what it is to be a part of a community such as the one just described and, at the same time, to have the strength to deal with the disempowerment and alienation of being Native in an ethnically stratified society. It is because of problems inherent in this daily existence--as Americans, as Sitkans, as Tlingit or other tribal group members incorporated into the Sitka Tribe of Alaska--that the actions initiating this research were derived. The modern Sitka Native community, while held together by Native identity, is caught in the struggle for historic and cultural preservation regarding issues they feel are at the core of Tlingit identity. This section focuses on the issues and concerns that are seen as vital to the continued strengths and preservation of the Sitka Tlingit community and culture.

Cemetery Preservation

Cemetery preservation was an important need discussed by Sitka community consultants. One major concern was the unearthing of human remains during the 1985 construction of HUD housing within the Village. Several community members reported they went to the Tribal Office (during an administration previous to this research) and expressed to the administrator at the time their concern over the cemetery decimation. In at least one case, a known person's burial had been destroyed. The Tribal administrator listened to the complaints but was said by Tribal members not to have initiated any action, so the complainants gathered as many of the human remains as possible and reinterred them. These Tribal community complainants were upset that the construction workers (some of whom were Native) were lacking in concern about the situation, and another person who was said to be employed by the Tribe (Native, but non-Tlingit) found the concerns expressed to be humorous. No one, including the HUD inspectors, seemed to be aware of the strict federal laws regarding such decimation, and which exist for the protection of cultural properties during a federal undertaking. However, some in the Native community have taken the matter very seriously, and in July 1993 the Tribal Planner attended the basic course on Sec. 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in order to provide in-house skills in handling future situations of this kind. An application has been made for advanced training in November 1995. (Note: National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) [P.L. 89-665] 80 Stat. 195, 1966, provides a national policy for historic preservation and provides policy guidelines [36 C.F.R. 1994].)

Other cemetery destruction was also reported. Community consultants said human remains were uncovered during the construction of the Sitka airport; but again, although concern was expressed by some, construction proceeded and the burials were destroyed. Concern was also noted regarding a development at Mt. Edgecumbe Hospital in 1987, where human remains were encountered. In another case, the Tribal Research Consultant was told about a Sitka Tlingit man who took government personnel, at their request, to a shaman's burial cave. When he returned to the location sometime later he found that the burial, including the shaman's paraphernalia, had been removed. It is said that this person, who is very knowledgeable about Tribal traditions, consequently now refuses to reveal to anybody Tlingit localities in the Sitka Tribal territory. He does, however, participate on a regular basis in the activities of the Tribe's Cultural Committee.

Some Tlingit, including a group of young people as well as some non-Natives, actively attend to some of the cemeteries in Sitka. Cemetery restoration and preservation was started in 1986 by Robert Sam and John Davis (later joined by John James and Leon Kanosh) who first worked on restoration of the Russian Cemetery. In 1988 Bob Sam received a volunteer-of-the-year award for his leadership in this work. The restoration activity involves clearing such heavy overgrowth as salmonberry bushes, nettles, small alders, and Indian celery. Some heavy equipment is required (chain saws, chippers), and brush is burned on the spot. Due to the lush environment, the undergrowth returns quickly, thus requiring regular maintenance. Other important tasks involve straightening headstones and filling in sunken graves.

The Russian cemetery, located immediately east of the Village, has a very long history of Native interment. It requires constant clearing, since it lies in a forested area and is quickly overgrown by lush undergrowth. The old Presbyterian cemetery (also called Indian River Cemetery but now called the ANB Cemetery) located off a dirt road southeast of Sheldon Jackson College, has a Native section which is also regularly cared for by this group. This cemetery restoration, although started earlier, was mostly done in 1994 with volunteers. These included church members, STING (Sitka Teenage Indian Native Group, a high school organization) and UNITY (United National Indian Tribal Youth, a grade school group). The Pioneer Home Cemetery, located near the Presbyterian Church, was restored in 1991 as a result of a call from a City office because of concern that Native interments might be located there. It was generally believed, however, that the interments were primarily "pioneers," but as a result of the restoration activity, it was learned that many were Native interments. As the volunteers worked in this integrated cemetery, they "realized how much the pioneers helped shape Native people the way they are today." These cemeteries have been in

continual use up to the present, although other cemeteries are also used by the Native population. Although this restoration activity needs to be carried out on a regular basis, funds are not available to do so. The volunteers are limited in their contributions of work by the need to earn a living in other occupations (Field Data).

As a result of this ongoing activity, many local people, both Native and non-Native, have become involved and aware of where their family and ancestral plots are located. Consequently, many people now care for their own family plots. In fact, personal involvement and care of family plots has been steadily increasing since 1986. The Department of Public Works, City of Sitka, has become involved, providing heavy equipment for clearing as well as groundskeeping personnel to oversee the many volunteers. Sponsored by the Alaska Day Committee, the groundskeepers coordinate a variety of volunteers (e.g., U.S. Army, Ninth Infantry, 7th Battalion from Fairbanks; church groups from different parts of the country--Oakland, Palo Alto, and Tucson; as well as members of the Sitka community). Instigated by members of the Native community, cemetery restoration and preservation of Sitka's historic cemeteries has become, in the short period of time since 1986, a well-known and established activity for Sitka people, and certainly a contribution to the whole of the community.

Cultural Sites and Artifacts

Protection of cultural/historical sites and artifacts was discussed with many Tribal community consultants, most of whom were unaware of the present-day laws and regulations protecting such areas, both marked and unmarked. A body of federal law governing all cultural resources has been in operation but has not always achieved its intended function. For example, the 1906 Antiquities Act (P.L. 59-209; 34 Stat. 225) was designed to protect any objects found on federal land, the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (P.L. 89-665; 80 Stat. 195; amended, 16 U.S.C. 470) makes preservation a national policy, as does the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act (P.L. 91-190; 83 Stat. 852) which further requires consideration of cultural resources when federal projects are proposed and which provides guidelines for implementation (40 C.F.R. 1994). The 1979 Archaeological Resources Protection Act (P.L. 95-96) establishes protection of archaeological resources and provides for Native American input and interests in the cultural resources on public and Indian lands. (For a cursory summary of federal law and individual state law, see Price 1991:45-46.) With these laws and regulations in place, any federal agency must issue public Notices of Application (NOA) of their plans, to which anyone may respond. In addition to federal preservation requirements, the State of Alaska also has preservation requirements which cover state lands or any state-funded construction, although the state regulations are not as strict as

the federal. It is unclear whether or not NOA's (with the exception of those issued by the Forest Service) are regularly sent to the Sitka Tribal Office for their response. It *is* clear that, in 1992, the Sitka Tribe was very aware of the need for cultural preservation action which would be responsive to the needs of the Tribe as well as to state and federal regulations, and subsequent to 1992 established the position of Historic Preservation Officer, which was assigned to staff member, Terry Pegues.

The Sitka Tribe's Historic Preservation Officer has been well involved in working with the federal agencies which manage lands within traditional Tribal territory, particularly the Forest Service and the National Park Service. Gaining knowledge of the various federal legislation and implementation has been primary for the Historic Preservation Officer, who has attended specialized coursework on the subject. Of particular concern for the Tribe at this time is the 1990 Native American Graves Protection Act, usually called NAGPRA (P.L. 101-601; 104 Stat. 3048). This legislation concerns the repatriation of Native American, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and items of cultural patrimony held by federal agencies and institutions which receive federal funds. The agencies and institutions are required to inventory their collections of human remains and associated funerary objects, as well as to develop summaries for unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony. Cultural affiliation (as close as possible) is to be determined, and those tribes and organizations believed to have affiliation must be notified. Tribes (or lineal descendants) may then request those items with which they are culturally identified. Given the collecting activities which have occurred in Southeastern Alaska during the American historic period (the law applies only to the U.S.), determining cultural affiliation becomes an enormous task. This activity has consumed a large amount of the time of the Historic Preservation Officer (see under Historic Preservation Plan).

Another cultural preservation task currently underway by the Sitka Tribe is a Historic Building Ordinance. Several clan houses exist within the village, and a few of these continue to serve their original function. One is in serious disrepair; others have been turned into residences. The Tribal Attorney, Jude Pate, working with the Tribal Council, is preparing this ordinance and is developing procedures to identify important Tribal buildings. Many Tribal members have expressed concern over the condition of some clan houses. For example, during the 1992 research, the caretakers of one clan house were interested in funding for structure restoration as well as placement of the clan house on the National Register of Historic Places. Once the ordinance is in place, the Historic Preservation Officer, with the Tribal Council, the Cultural Committee, and the

individual clan spokespersons will be able to take action and set priorities for building restoration and landmark status. At this time one building in the Village, the ANB Hall, is a National Historic Landmark.

Sitka Preservation Ordinance

In late summer, 1992, a historically minded non-Native citizen's group presented the Assembly of the City and Borough of Sitka, Alaska, with a proposed City Preservation Ordinance for public consideration. Initially, the interests of the Sitka Tribe were not included in this document. Since this public discussion, the Tribe has been actively involved in the preparation of the city-wide ordinance and has also developed a Tribal ordinance (Appendix). The inclusion by the city of Tribal preservation concerns officially serves to alert the city directors to Native preservation considerations beyond the usual local interest in Russian and non-Indian American history. The ordinance provides for a seven-person board, two of whom are Alaska Natives, of which one is appointed by the Tribe. The positive interaction among groups will ensure broader preservation considerations in the future, and will certainly even further enhance Sitka's present attractiveness to outsiders.

Subsistence

Of all the cultural preservation issues at the forefront with contemporary Tribal Sitkans, the loss of subsistence access is of paramount concern. That this is a long-term concern is indicated by the fact that individual Sitkans have, through the years, actively presented their subsistence cases before the state legislature as well as in the state and federal courts. The circumstances throughout Alaska vary according to geographical area and status under ANCSA and ANILCA (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1972 and Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980), so each area has its case. Sitka elders Herman Kitka, Mark Jacobs, and John Dapcevich brought suit in 1991 in an attempt to force Alaska to honor Native subsistence rights under ANILCA. The court, however, later dismissed the suit for procedural reasons without ruling on the merits. The preference for rural subsistence users required by ANILCA (versus urban subsistence users) has been the source of an extended and incredibly acrimonious debate for the whole of Alaska. The State of Alaska managed statewide subsistence harvests until late 1989, when the Alaska Supreme Court ruled that the rural residency preference required by ANILCA violated the Alaska Constitution. Despite repeated efforts, the state was unable to bring its regulatory framework back into compliance with ANILCA. Under these conditions, the federal government was required by law to put into place the Federal Subsistence Management Program including a Regional Advisory System. Under the Regional Advisory System,

for the first time Alaska Natives were given what they generally feel is fair opportunity for representation in the management of subsistence resources. In 1994, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals gave Native and rural subsistence users (including the Sitka Tribe, which joined the suit as an *amicus*) an important victory when it upheld this federal management structure which had been challenged by the state. The future for Native subsistence is at a crucial point with the implementation of these laws. The subsistence issues are extremely complicated and are closely monitored by the federal and state agencies, the Native corporations, the Southeast Native Subsistence Commission, Sitka Tribe's Subsistence Committee, and members of each tribe.

Another issue bearing on subsistence is the issue over whether or not subsistence products must be for the procurer's own personal use. At issue is whether or not subsistence products may be sold, or what constitutes "customary trade and barter." The point has been the Southeastern Alaska issue of the customary trading of herring roe on kelp. Two Sitka men were involved in a court case on this issue, but were acquitted because what constitutes "customary trade" is ill-defined in law. Herring roe has been and continues to be a favorite traditional food among Native Sitkans, who also collect it on hemlock boughs placed in spawning beds, or scrape the roe from more shallow beds with rakes. Herring roe is served as a delicacy prepared in a variety of ways at public events. Difficulties surrounding herring roe procurement were often discussed, as was traditional trading of commodities such as herring roe, eulachon (candlefish) oil, and seal oil (cf., Dolitsky 1992).

Other heritage subsistence concerns surrounded fishing practices and fish habitat, particularly those regarding salmon and halibut. For example, of concern were rules forbidding the processing of fish for home use on commercial boats. Land alterations caused by Forest practices (e.g., the extent of clearcutting adjacent to streams) were of concern as well, because of the many ecological consequences with negative impacts, such as the warming of streams above appropriate temperatures for fish habitat. Through discussions on subsistence issues it becomes apparent that many Sitkans, Native and non-Native alike, have a depth and breadth of knowledge on the various subsistence strategies of the Tlingit culture--particularly those used in fishing. These include, for example, impressive Native techniques for planting new species in streams. The various historically derived and very workable adaptive strategies have excellent potential for a more comprehensive understanding of Southeastern Alaska subsistence, which would be helpful in solving some of the issues before the state. There are several Sitka Tlingit who could greatly assist in the preservation of this aspect of Sitka culture. (Note: The early Bureau of Indian Affairs study by Walter

Goldschmidt and Theodore Hass on *Possessory Rights of the Natives of Southeastern Alaska* [1946] provides general information on this topic, as does more recently accomplished research by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. Much of the latter was done by survey techniques rather than by in-depth, first-hand research, which is necessary for the understanding of subsistence strategy [Personal Communication, Alaska Department of Fish and Game; cf., Schroeder and Kookesh 1990; Thornton et al. 1990].) Today, both federal and state wildlife personnel attend to the crucial Alaska Native claims on a daily basis. State Fish and Game personnel, including several anthropologists, make efforts to understand the subsistence problems and to coordinate their efforts with the federal Fish and Wildlife Service. However, state employees must comply with policies established by current state leadership. Depending on the sentiments of state leadership, the state may or may not be sympathetic to what it may consider manifestations of tribal sovereignty, such as Native subsistence use and management. For example, the Hickel administration policies were hostile to any and all aspects of tribal sovereignty. However, the current administration of Governor Knowles takes a relatively sympathetic and moderate stance, while the current leadership in the legislature promotes the policies of the former Hickel administration. Therefore, the level of support that Alaska Natives may expect from state employees will continue to fluctuate with the election returns.

It was clear during this field study that the Sitka peoples' desire to maintain subsistence patterns have changed little since the 1946 Bureau of Indian Affairs study on Native "Possessory Rights" (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946). Traditional foods such as fish (many varieties, but especially salmon, halibut, herring, and candlefish); fish roe; berries (many varieties); oil (especially eulachon and seal); seaweed (several species); shell fish; vegetables (especially wild celery and goose tongues); as well as other foods, continue to be valued and are supplied as plentifully as possible at community gatherings and celebrations. Some methods of procurement may have been altered or syncretized since contact to accommodate both Native and non-Indian cultural systems, but the desire for a continuing Native cuisine is strongly maintained today.

In a slightly different sense, the importance of subsistence concerns is illustrated by the establishment of a program to teach children subsistence strategies. Many subsistence-knowledgeable Sitkans (elders and a core of volunteers) freely participate in a youth program for ages six to 16, located at the Dog Point Fish Camp on a five-acre Native allotment east of Sitka. This land, a short distance from Sitka, has been owned for generations by one Sitka family, the Littlefield family. It is accessible by boat and is part of an application as a traditional subsistence area (see reference to Alaska Native Allotment Act in Part II, Contact History, Resources on

National Forest Land). The camp, close to an old Kogwanton clan house location, has been organized into a non-profit organization, N.A.T.I.V.E., or North American Traditional Indian Values Enrichment Program, Inc. The intent of the camp program is to teach traditional skills to children who learn to subsist on Native foods harvested at the camp. They learn survival and subsistence skills, as well as an appreciation of Native culture, especially the philosophy, values and history surrounding subsistence practices. The camp is financed (e.g., liability insurance, equipment) through money-raising events such as food and T-shirt sales, and by grants and donations from such entities as the Sitka Tribe, Shee Atika Inc., and local businesses. Children, graduates and supporters also contribute to these events. About 70 children participated in the Summer 1992 program. By 1995 the program had grown to the point where the organizers were forced to turn away children from the first of three separate week-long camps scheduled for the summer. After many discussions about the N.A.T.I.V.E. program, the Tribal Research Consultant spent a day at the site, and concluded that the camp's objectives were impressively met. This program does much to preserve Sitka Tlingit culture through traditional methods of teaching, and as such illustrates the depth of interest in this preservation need.

Because subsistence was of paramount concern to Tribal Sitkans, the Tribal General Manager and the Tribal Research Consultant established a Sitka Tribal Subsistence Committee and a Traditional Foods Program with a full-time coordinator during the course of the 1992 summer. The committee is made up of three Tribal Council members and two Tribal members who are particularly active in subsistence issues and activities. At the first meeting, one of the major issues discussed was, "How much input should such a committee have on cultural resource issues that impact subsistence?" Concern centered on the impact of timber harvest on subsistence as well as on historic "fish camp" sites. The committee now serves as an information source for current subsistence issues and to connect the Sitka Tribe and Tribal citizens with other Native subsistence-user groups, the Federal Subsistence Management Program, and tribal governments throughout the Southeast. The committee also serves as the Tribal respresentative in negotiations with the U.S. Forest Service to protect subsistence uses during timber harvest operations. In the winter of 1994 these negotiations resulted in a formal written agreement which recognized Sitka Tribal co-management responsibilities to determine buffer strips to protect habitat along salmon streams. (See below under Forest Service Coordination.) Also, under the committee leadership, the Sitka Tribe is now a full member of the Native American Fish and Wildlife Society, and in 1995 the Traditional Foods Program Coordinator, Ray Nielson, served as host for the traditional feast, which served over 400 people during the society's national conference in Anchorage.

The Sitka Tribe has also made substantial progress in the other areas of "hands on" management of natural resources. The Sitka Marine Mammal Commission, established in 1992 as the Sitka Sea Otter Commission, is a leader in Tribal management efforts, not only in the Southeast but in Alaska as a whole. Under Tribal ordinance, the Commission regulates the harvest of marine mammals within the customary and traditional territory of the Tribe under a permit system. The Commission also plays an instrumental role in the current negotiations for the Tribe to assume authority over the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's tagging operation. Another example of the development of Tribal management systems within Sitka is the Sitka Tribal Indian Herring Commission, which works to protect Native subsistence use, and successfully implemented a community watch program in the spring of 1995 to protect Tribal citizens' herring sets (i.e., hemlock branches laden with prized herring eggs) from pirating.

Forest Service Coordination

In the spring of 1992 both the Sitka Tribe and the Forest Service saw a need to coordinate their preservation interests on Forest Service land. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Sitka Tribe of Alaska and the USDA, Forest Service, Tongass National Forest, Chatham Area, was signed into agreement. The purpose of the MOU, which is the first such arrangement in Alaska, was "to establish a framework for cooperative relationships between the FOREST SERVICE and the TRIBE . . ." Interaction was immediate and the results positive on both sides. Previous to this agreement, two Tribal elders had regularly attended Forest Service public meetings to provide Tlingit cultural input into the Forest's planning process. The Tribal General Manager and Tribal Research Consultant recognized the need to support Tlingit public input and, as a result, began participating in the Forest's public meetings. In addition, an arrangement was made for a Forest team to visit the Tribe to explain the cultural resource process to Tribal staff. The Forest archaeologist provided the Tribal Research Consultant with maps showing areas of Forest Service projects; the latter then discussed these project areas with Tribal members who provided cultural/historical data meaningful to the Forest's purpose. The Forest team, including their Native liaison officer, who is a Tribal member, and the Tribal Research Consultant checked these data against aerial photographs and then field tested some of the information with very positive results. It was determined that Tribal community consultants could assist with information which could direct and/or re-direct Forest project plans for the protection of resources during the formative process. Similar research for the Forest was undertaken by the Tribal Research Consultant in the summer of 1993, and again community interviews on historic events proved invaluable. Also, the Tribe at this time was making extensive progress in translations of their collection

of audiotaped oral histories. This work was performed by trained Tribal translators, and supported by an Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grant. The resultant data, acquired at an earlier time from community members (many now deceased), have been invaluable to the Tribe, especially in determining resource use and Tribal territory. Most importantly, the Tribal input of such important data into the early planning process will be valuable for agencies such as the Forest Service in achieving protection of those resources having historic and cultural value to the Tribe.

During 1994 the Forest Heritage Program began, and the Forest personnel and the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer have worked closely together, sharing cultural and archaeological information in planned project areas. These collaborative efforts have continued, involving not only the Tribe's Historic Preservation Officer, but also the Tribal Attorney and the Traditional Foods Program Coordinator. Some of the information the Tribe shared with the Forest Service has again been field checked with very positive results.

These efforts have resulted in co-management responsibilities for the Tribe during timber harvest operations to protect not only subsistence (see above section) but also Native allotment sites and areas of cultural significance. This formal agreement concerning operations in Ushk Bay and Poison Cove was finalized in the winter of 1994, and is currently being carried out through a series of meetings between Tribal elders, Tribal governmental representatives, and Forest Service officials. The Sitka Tribe and the Forest Service have taken this government-to-government relationship to an even more sophisticated level with the development of a Sitka Tribal environmental impact statement as input into the planning stages of timber harvest operations. This Tribal environmental impact statement, currently in draft form, recorded the subsistence, cultural, allotment, and aesthetic concerns of over 20 Tribal citizens during the spring of 1995, and was delivered to the Forst Service planning team for Northwest Baranof for incorporation into the project design alternatives.

National Park Service Coordination

During late summer, 1992, in recognition of a similar need for cooperation, an MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) process was initiated between the Sitka Tribe and the Sitka National Historical Park, National Park Service (SNHP, NPS). This MOU is now in final form and should be approved by the Tribal Council upon receipt of the approved final draft from the Park Service, Alaska Regional Office in Anchorage. The Tribal General Manager and Tribal Research Consultant met with visiting NPS personnel from Denver to offer STA input to, and cooperation with, the SNHP planning process. The Tribal Research Consultant also met with NPS researchers from the Anchorage office to

establish a cooperative effort so both the Tribe and NPS would benefit from their respective research on the SNHP. The SNHP personnel offered full cooperation to alter a permanent exhibit objected to by a Tlingit donor family. In June 1995, the Sitka Tribe actively participated in the development of a new General Management Plan for the Sitka National Historic Park. Because the park is based on a Tlingit historic event, the Tribe at this time seeks more active participation in park management and activities. For example, the Tribe would cut unwanted white alder from the park, which in turn would help with the Tribe's supply of alder for smokehouses. This cordial NPS/ Tribal cooperation continued throughout the Tribal Research Consultant's stay and has since been maintained by the Tribal Planner. As an example, NPS will, during 1994-95, conduct a Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) informational demonstration at SNHP, which will involve the NPS, a Park Service consultant, and the Tribe.

Kinship Preservation

Preservation of the kinship system is necessary to present-day tribal organization. Sitka Native people have not forgotten their genealogical history, although many individuals do not understand all of the details of clan and moiety structure. Today, people refer to themselves as being of the "Eagle tribe" or "Raven tribe" (exogamous matrilineal moiety structure). Each of these moieties is made up of clans--such as Kiksadi, Kaagwaantaan, or L'uknax.adee. Clans are further subdivided into house (or lineage) groups, such as Point House (people of the Kiksadi clan, Raven group/moiety/tribe); or Killer Whale House (Kaagwaantaan clan, Eagle group/moiety/ tribe). The moiety structure arranged individuals into opposite groups whose members married each other and performed services for each other (such as at funerals). Certain clans remain prominent in Sitka, and many of the clan houses are still standing today. (For Sitka clan houses 1920 to 1945, see Map 2 and Legend.) Clan and house pride remain a central interest today among Sitka people. For example, members of the Kiksadi clan remain proud of their 1802 defeat of the Russians, and their cross-island trek to self-imposed exile at the eastern entrance of the Peril Straits in 1804 (they returned to Sitka in about ten years). Several Kiksadi, especially members of the Hope family, have been researching (both through documents and in the field) this overland route from Sitka, with the desire eventually to establish the route for preservation as an official historic trail. The Tribe, the Sitka National Historical Park, and the Forest Service have all been supportive of this preservation effort (Plate 20).

Many Sitka clan members are fully aware of their clan and moiety histories and the importance of these to community composition. However, many younger people are unsure of their clan history. Several Tribal members mentioned the importance

of clan and clan house histories and membership as a necessary area of data collection for cultural preservation. Activities to meet this need were initiated in the summer of 1993. Funded by a grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA), two of the Tribe's certified translators were employed to translate from Tlingit to English a series of oral history tapes made by Sitka people, many of whom lived in the last century and told of times past. These tapes relate clan and house histories as passed from generation to generation, as well as genealogical data and inter-group relations; therefore, knowledge of the history of Sitka Tlingit social organization, as well as other historical data, will be greatly enhanced by these translations. The sheer volume of work involved was such as to preclude the translations being completed within the grant period. As of 1995 a number of tapes had been translated, and the Tribe is making plans to continue the work, which, assuming two translators work on a full-time basis, is estimated to take at least 12 months.

Education Program Coordination

One of the concerns of the community as expressed in the preservation grant was ongoing coordination with Tribal education personnel. Efforts were made to coordinate the historic preservation planning effort with the Sitka Native Education Program called SNEP, but the director of this program was away on vacation during the summer of 1992 fieldwork. However, the SNEP staff is very supportive of STA's historic preservation activities, and its cultural consultants are active members of the Tribal Cultural Committee.

Through its Native Education and Johnson-O'Malley grant programs, SNEP offers instruction in the Tlingit language and sponsors lessons in dances, songs, drumming, and Native art design and manufacture. The success of this program was clearly illustrated by the reception of the Sitka children's dance group at the Celebration '92 event in Juneau. SNEP also houses a collection of tapes on Tlingit culture, and Native consultants emphasize that there is much work still to be done with the many videotapes and audio cassettes that have been recorded through the years. These need not only to be preserved, but to be interpreted and put to use. Also, there are documented charts with Tlingit names of various fish camps, which are helpful in verifying Native areas for the preservation effort.

The leaders of the SNEP program would like to see an orthography established so that all people will learn to use the same spelling of the language. They also think it would be advisable to have Native teachers continue to instruct the children in Tlingit. Although young people can read and write the language, they do not understand it well. However, since

they have the basics, with a little more help they could become fluent speakers.

Although there is much yet to be done, elders who have observed the youth through the years say that excellence is being pursued, and young people have begun to take pride in who they are and in their Native heritage.

ANB/ANS Preservation Activities

The ANB (Alaska Native Brotherhood) and ANS (Alaska Native Sisterhood) maintain an important role in preservation for the Native community, and the ANB hall is used for many Native cultural functions. Since the Sitka Camp No. 1 of the ANB was the first to organize, it holds an important place in the development of Native affairs in Southeastern Alaska. The history of these two related organizations is critical to preservation planning and plan implementation for the Sitka Tribe. The ANB has shown its interest in historic preservation through its committee, the Southeast Alaska Indian Cultural Center, which implements and coordinates the Southeast Native arts demonstration projects at the Sitka National Historical Park. In 1968, "The Southeast Indian Culture Center" was formed through the initiative of Sitka Camp No. 1, ANB, and has since been operated by Camp No. 1 with space and logistic support provided by the U.S. National Park Service, along with some funding assistance from the Alaska Council on the Arts. In 1995, the Sitka Tribe sponsored, through resolution, a successful National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) grant application for the design and production of a 30- to 40-foot totem pole which will commemorate all the Sitka clans. The culture center is governed by a board appointed by Sitka ANB Camp No. 1, and employs an executive director and secretary. The role of the ANB/ANS was clearly demonstrated during the Tribal Research Consultant's attendance at one of their functions, where she was particularly impressed with the strength of their organizations and the comradery of their membership--a state which continues today. In February 1995, ANB Camp No. 1 donated 170,000 dollars to STA for use as seed money in the construction of the first phase of the Tribe's planned three-phase Cultural Center.

Sitka Tribal Cultural Committee

Under the grant, a projected activity for the Tribal Research Consultant was to investigate the feasibility of a Cultural Committee for the Tribe, with "defined function, responsibilities and authorities." This committee was to be "composed of a workable mix of elders and other interested persons representing all clans historically linked to Sitka" (STA Historic Preservation Grant Application 1991:4). In accordance with this directive, the Tribal Research Consultant conducted informal interviews with numerous key community members to determine felt needs on preservation for the Sitka

Tribe. The establishment of a cultural committee was seen as a priority by the Sitka Tribal people, and suggestions were made for a representative membership to be composed of clan leaders --much as was proposed in the grant application. Throughout the summer the Tribal General Manager, Tribal Planner, and Tribal Research Consultant worked on the committee composition, which initially numbered ten community members, three Tribal Council members, and three Tribal staff (Manager, Planner and Research Consultant).

The first meeting was held July 10, 1992. Eight Tribal participants met with staff and discussed the proposed agenda, which included discussion of the following: 1) a committee mission and goals statement; 2) expanding the committee membership to include other Native organizations, clan house representatives, and interested individuals; 3) establishment of a cultural center, including feasible locations, components (e.g., museum, library/archives, performing arts area, storage/curation), grants, staffing; 4) preservation of culture and history, including repatriation and cultural patrimony, involvement in preservation procedures (state/federal), environmental impact statements, cooperative agreements, an observer program, historic preservation ordinances, a Tribal history book; 5) Tribal budget and/or historic preservation staff position 6) additional items; and 7) the next meeting. The agenda was much too large to cover in detail but gave the initial committee ideas for directions they might like to pursue. The participants discussed their various interests in preservation and agreed that the development of a cultural center is a primary goal. The following goals statement was adopted by the Cultural Committee:

SITKA TRIBAL CULTURAL COMMITTEE

GOALS

July 10, 1992

The Sitka Tribal Cultural Committee has been organized to examine the feasibility of the Tribal Cultural Center and to determine the historic preservation needs of the Tribe. The goal of the Sitka Tribal Cultural Committee is to:

1. Determine a location and build a Cultural Center.

2. Provide advice in the development of plans for the Cultural Center which will meet federal guidelines (to be eligible for federal funding support).

3. Provide advice on seeking financial support for the construction of the Center and for the necessary furnishings and equipment.

4. Provide advice for training and employment opportunities for Tribal members to operate the Cultural Center.

5. Establish a Board of Directors.

The Sitka Tribal Council met July 15th and supported the Committee by adopting Resolution No. 92-15 "To Enact a Plan to Preserve and Protect the Cultural History of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska."

The Cultural Committee met a second time on July 27, 1992. In attendance were six community members, two councilmen, the Tribal General Manager, Tribal Planner, and Tribal Research Consultant. The intent was to continue with the first meeting's agenda. Committee composition/membership was discussed extensively, especially Native organizational representation, as well as individual representation. A National Park Service training workshop was discussed, as was the importance of Sitka's often overlooked twentieth-century history--focusing not only on "traditional" culture, but also on Native participation in sports, music, commercial fishing, challenges of self-governance, the ANB/ANS roles in history, and cemetery research.

The Cultural Committee did not meet during the winter of 1992-93, principally due to a change in Tribal general managers, which occurred during the period of August-October, 1992, and the absence of the Tribal Planner, which was the result of major surgery and a fairly lengthy recuperation during the period December 1992-March 1993. However, the Tribal Planner did maintain telephone contact with the united membership and potential new members, which was sufficient to sustain the momentum of interest developed during the summer of 1992.

Starting in May 1993, regular meetings were resumed on a monthly basis. Membership was expanded to include *all* members of the Tribe who have an interest in historic/cultural preservation--an effort to include maximum representation from as many as possible of the 36 clan houses which existed in Sitka shortly after the turn of the century. (The approach embodied in the smaller group in 1992 was not adequate to meet this objective.) The result, while not one hundred percent successful, has been encouraging. The role of the Cultural Committee has been expanded to provide that it serve as the "official advisory group to the Tribal Council on all historic preservation matters." Attendance since May, 1992, has *averaged* 37 Tribal citizens (plus staff and representatives of

interested federal and state agencies). The Cultural Committee meets not less than eight times per year. This is the largest participation experienced by any Tribal committee, and is certainly an indication of the extent and strength of interest in its activities.

A principal activity of the Cultural Committee has been the identification of locales appropriate for the site of the Tribe's planned Cultural Center. Working with staff, the Committee identified the "Old Native School Site" as the first preference for the location of such a facility. This location was once the site of a large clan house, which sat immediately adjacent to the log stockade erected by the Russians to protect themselves from the Tlingit. The site is located in downtown Sitka, immediately adjacent to the Sitka Pioneer Home, opposite a public park known as Totem Square, and just below the Russian Blockhouse (Map 3). This vacant lot would situate the Sitka Tribal Cultural Center in a very visible location, since many visitors come to the park and to the Pioneer Home. The site would also be easily accessible to the many elders who live at the Pioneer Home, and whose contributions to Sitka Tribal history would be invaluable. Another asset would be the proximity of the historic Russian cemetery, which also is well visited. The nearby location of the ANB hall and the old hotel, which have been converted into a University of Alaska facility including student living accommodations and meeting rooms, could also be an asset. Thus, it is apparent that the Tribal Cultural Committee possesses great promise for input into the preservation planning process for the Sitka Tribe (see Part V, Preservation Plan).

Building upon this information, Tribal staff entered into negotiations with the municipal government to effect the transfer of this property from the City and Borough of Sitka to the Tribe for the purpose of constructing a Tribally owned and operated Cultural Center. The municipal assembly passed an ordinance to this effect in July of 1993, and the title was transferred to the Tribe in March 1995.

In the early summer of 1993, a burial was uncovered by children playing at the "Halibut Point Recreation Area," the most popular beach-front public recreation site in Sitka. This area was developed in the 1930s as a WPA project, and has undergone several major upgrades in facilities (e.g., trail systems, parking areas) over the ensuing years. Yet somehow the burial, which sits inside a knob of ground close by the main picnic shelter, had never been uncovered. The State Division of Parks and Recreation immediately contacted the Tribe and asked to work cooperatively in developing a reinterment/ protection plan for the human remains and the site itself. The Tribal Cultural Committee, working from the oral histories of the Bear House of the Sitka Kogwanton Clan, identified the remains and recommended that the clan determine the form of

reinterment. The State Division of Parks designed a system to protect the remains once reinterment takes place, and it was mutually agreed that the state will furnish materials for reinterment, and that the Tribe will provide the necessary labor. Clan elders have determined culturally appropriate methods for reinterment, and the ceremonies are scheduled to take place in the fall of 1995.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)

Dating from the time of the earliest American fur traders during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and due to its historic and continuing status as one of the three major population centers of the Tlingit people, Sitka and lands traditionally controlled by the Sitka people have been a major target for collectors of funerary objects and objects of cultural patrimony. The results of such collecting practices are clearly reflected in the inventories (many of which are incomplete: e.g., the American Museum of Natural History in New York; the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia) which have been received from over 60 museums and agencies across the United States. These inventories reveal that over 4,000 repatriatable objects and accessions, most often classified into general categories (e.g., fishing implements) rather than by specific objects (e.g., halibut hooks), are housed within these repositories. It is the Tribe's estimate that the aggregate of all such objects may constitute one of the largest and finest collections of Tlingit cultural properties existent outside Russia.

Because of the extreme importance of such a collection to the Tribal people, the Sitka Tribe of Alaska has determined that its NAGPRA activities must be carried out in a carefully planned, systematic course of action which is in accordance with applicable federal law, professional practice and methodology, Tribal policy, and the traditional laws and customs of the Tlingit people. Thus, the Tribe has developed a four-stage process in determining artifact ownership, as follows:

1) Families whose ownership can be demonstrated through direct lineal descent (given Tlingit property/ownership practices, this will occur only infrequently)

2) Clan houses of origin

3) Clans, when clan house ownership cannot be determined

4) Sitka Tribe of Alaska, when other traditional property rights cannot be determined

Due to the fact that most of the collecting was carried out during the period from the 1790s through the 1920s, it is anti-

cipated that ownership rights of many objects may not have been recorded and/or may have been lost, either due to the lack of original record-keeping or maintenance. Although it is hoped that these questions of provenience and clan ownership will be mitigated through the detailed review of accession notes and related materials, the historical origin of many older objects will, in all likelihood, never be clearly established. While the Tribe will lend all possible assistance to families, clan houses, and clans (as applicable) in securing repatriation of these artifacts and human remains, those objects which cannot be attributed to one of the first three sources will, in accordance with federal law, become the property of the Tribe. In fact, many clan houses and clan leaders have indicated their desire that the Tribe should deal with such repatriated objects. For this reason, the Tribe is moving ahead with efforts to develop a Cultural Center, which would include a facility to follow federal guidelines (36 CFR, Part 79) that will house and care for these cultural treasures. This Cultural Center is to be supported by Tribally owned and culturally related economic development initiatives. Given the current scarcity of funds and lack of an existing revenue base, this entire process is anticipated to take from three to five years to accomplish in its entirety.

Summary

During the research for this report, the Tribal Research Consultant endeavored to gain an understanding of the ethnohistoric context of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska, as well as to gain a perspective on present-day Sitka Tribal preservation needs in order to produce a historical preservation strategy which would most closely correspond to the needs expressed by members of the Sitka Tribe. Research was conducted from a base at the Tribal Office in Sitka over a period of ten weeks during the summer of 1992. During this time, the Tribal Research Consultant observed Sitka contemporary culture, studied Sitka Tribal history, interviewed Tribal members to gain insight and assistance in the determination of their preservation needs, and discussed Native cultural preservation with specialists at government agencies. The Tribal Research Consultant also sought to activate some preservation procedures for the Tribe. For example, she worked with Forest Service archaeologists to help create an integrated Tribal/Forest process for recording archaeological/historic/ethnographic sites within the Forest Service's jurisdiction. In this effort, oral testimony was field checked and an integrated recording procedure was established as an important component of the Forest's project-planning process. This system is now (1995) operational on a continuing basis, and is considered an important mutual benefit carried out under the STA-USFS MOU. In another effort, the Tribal General Manager, Tribal Planner, and Tribal Research Consultant sought Tribal input into the planning processes of both the Sitka National Historical Park and the City and

Borough of Sitka. Suggestions were also made to Tribal officers, staff, and interested community members on ways to become more actively involved in their own historic preservation and in becoming an integrated part of the preservation efforts of the City and Borough of Sitka. As pointed out elsewhere herein, these initiatives have met with considerable success.

Discussions with Tribal members revealed the need to establish a program and a Cultural Center which would include the broadest range of activities relating to historical/cultural preservation. Two committees involved with preservation issues were formed: the Sitka Tribal Cultural Committee and the Tribal Subsistence Committee. The Sitka Tribal Council voted July 15, 1992, to enact a plan to preserve and protect the cultural history of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska (Resolution No. 92-15).

PART V. SITKA TRIBE PRESERVATION PLAN

This report has presented a historical perspective on Tlingit culture from pre-contact time through the summer of 1995. Particular emphasis has been placed on contemporary culture which, as a result of ten weeks of intensive observation and participation, is seen to be deeply rooted in historic Tlingit culture--especially material culture, aesthetics and the arts, subsistence activities, and social identity. Through the years of contact, contemporary traditions have been selected from past traditions for perpetuation by Tlingit people. These include, especially, broad categories of kinship relationships; artistic design (graphic, plastic, dance, music); subsistence practices, especially as these are related to resource, harvest, and cuisine, as well as the intense memories of former kin-owned subsistence areas removed from Tlingit jurisdiction by the federal and later by the state government; and, a strong sense of community associated through membership in community organizations and participation in community activities. It is upon these cultural realities that this preservation plan is based.

The Preservation Plan

The Sitka Tlingit community, while similar to other Southeastern Alaska Native communities in many ways, is unique among Tlingit communities because of its strategic locality in the fur trade, its early and continuous non-Native impact from Russian through American occupation, its early and continual relationship to Sheldon Jackson School and College, its formation as a federally recognized Indian Tribe, and more recently as a Compact Signatory Tribe. Clearly, the Tribe is an integral part of the Sitka community's awareness of its place in Southeastern Alaskan history.

The following outline for historic preservation proposes an ongoing positive direction for the Sitka Native community which will lead to the continuation of the Sitka Tribe as the strong cultural unit that community members seek. Parts of this plan were set in motion during the summer of 1992 through the development of Tribal cultural and subsistence committees, and through the integration of cultural management strategies with local, state, and federal agencies. To assure the future success of the Tribe's preservation goals as set forth in the National Park Service preservation grant, it is important that these Tribal committees be kept active, and that a cultural officer be employed by the Tribe to integrate and coordinate committee activities, keep records, and work for Tribal benefit both with the Tribe and with the involved outside agencies.

OUTLINE FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

A. Develop and implement a Sitka Tribe Preservation Ordinance (see Appendix).

B. Develop a Sitka Tribal Cultural Center to operate with a staff adequate to accomplish necessary tasks. This center will be developed and maintained by the Tribe, and will house a performing arts center, a design arts sales facility, and a Tribal museum with curation facility, Tribal archives section, and an office of Tribal historic preservation.

1. The purpose of the performing arts center is to address several functions and needs as follows (in descending order of importance):

a. To provide a facility (anticipated to be the only modern, 400-seat, full-production stage facility in Sitka) for producing a wide variety of culturally based programs by Tribal members and for education of visitors in the history and traditions of Tlingit culture.

b. To have in place a successful revenue-generating activity to support the costs of operations for the Tribal museum and archive, which is extremely important given that research shows museums/archives are not self-supporting.

c. To provide a facility that will be available to rent to other user groups in the community when the space is not needed for Tribal functions.

2. The Sitka Tribal museum will emphasize through exhibits for public consumption several areas of interest to the Tribe.

a. Historical emphasis will be on Tlingit cultural viability through time. This is in contrast to other Sitka museums (Sitka National Historical Park, Sheldon Jackson Museum, Isabel Miller Museum) which emphasize mainly "traditional" culture. As such, Tribal choices and efforts at cultural maintenance (e.g., potlatches, funerary customs, clan houses, oral histories) showing the dynamic of Sitka Tlingit culture will be displayed, thus accenting the adaptability and strength of Tlingit people and culture through time.

b. Cultural emphasis will be on living contemporary arts (e.g., music, dance, textile, metalsmith, wood); Tlingit social activities (e.g., sports, community gatherings); organizations (such as Alaska Native Brotherhood and Shee Atika Corporation); the maintenance of traditional culture today (e.g., subsistence activities, educational concerns, cultural aesthetics).

c. Socially, the exhibits will emphasize that the Sitka Tlingit people have maintained a vigorous contemporary group-identity with significant continuity to their past; and that they are, as well, a strong, viable group with full participation and visibility in contemporary Sitka society.

d. Politically, an exhibit will demonstrate Sitka's involvement in contemporary national activities by the fact that many items of cultural patrimony will be returned to the Sitka Tribe under the Native American Graves Protection Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA). Museum displays involving NAGPRA-generated items will clearly show Sitka as a hub of historic activity where many visitors collected Native patrimonial objects during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These artifacts can also be used to enhance the historical and cultural displays, and may well result in a graphic demonstration of the impact of collecting as well as the results of NAGPRA.

3. Adequate space will be set aside for the Sitka Tribal museum curation facility, which will house and care for Tribal collections and will be built to the requirements and specifications of 36 CFR Part 79 (Curation of Federally Owned and Administered Archeological Collections 1991), which ensures the best-known preservation environment for cultural materials.

a. Collections will include retrievable elements of the Tribe's cultural patrimony, to be received from various cultural repositories as a result of P.L. 101-601 (Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act, 1990).

b. Collections will also include artifacts from various agencies, groups and individuals who wish to donate archaeological, ethnographic, and historical collections to the Tribe, thereby enabling the Tribe to have jurisdiction and access to artifacts of their own cultural history for the purposes of Tribal research and display.

4. Space will be provided in the Sitka Tribal archive for collection and housing of documents (including Tribal records); photographs; oral history tapes and translations; film; videotapes; and other visual documentation (both originals and copies) which are relevant to Sitka Tribal history. This facility will coordinate its efforts with the Sitka Kettleson Library and the ANB, whose facilities presently house many such documents.

5. The Tribe, through its Cultural Committee, will establish a Tribal historic preservation office to be located in the cultural center.

a. A preservation officer and staff will be employed to fulfill the duties of this office. Personnel will be Sitka Tribal members who are trained or interested in professional training in the historic preservation/museum fields (including collection of oral histories) and/or other professionals as deemed necessary by the Tribal Cultural Committee. The Cultural Committee may employ professional consultants to assist the Tribal trainee(s) in establishing procedure for the preservation office.

b. The historic preservation office staff will develop an archaeological and cultural resource planning strategy, thereby providing opportunity for preservation of Tribal historical interests and Tribal input into the planning/development process in the Sitka area.

c. The historic preservation office staff will promote the collection of twentieth century history, much of which has not been recorded, from Sitka Tribal elders who hold a wealth of information relevant to the broad gaps in and discrepancies of this historic period.

d. The historic preservation officer will be responsible for communicating the planning strategy to governmental agencies, such as the City and Borough of Sitka, Chatham District of Tongass National Forest, Sitka National Historical Park, Alaska Department of Fish and Game and any other agencies or entities with similar interests.

e. The historic preservation office will confer and consult with federal agencies and the Alaska State Office of History and Archaeology in those preservation activities which must be coordinated with various governmental agencies, especially for compliance in terms of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended, 16 U.S.C. 470); the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321-4347); Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 469); the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (16 U.S.C. 470); the Alaska Historic Preservation Act (Alaska Stat. 41.35.010); and other federal, state, and local acts and ordinances which apply in this endeavor.

1. The historic preservation office staff shall attend to the regulations and guidelines of these acts, and will coordinate with the agencies' efforts for Tribal cultural preservation of archaeological sites; historic properties (e.g., clan houses, cemeteries, other historic sites); lifeways; traditional cultural properties; museum collections; and historic records.

2. The historic preservation office will review project applications for development throughout the Tribal area, and prepare Tribal input addressing Tribal interests and concerns in such projects.

3. The historic preservation office will develop and/or review applications for National Register nominations and National Historic Landmark nominations as appropriate.

4. The historic preservation office will coordinate with the Sitka Tribal Educational Committee to promote education among the Sitka community, especially youth.

C. Encourage the Sitka Tribal Educational Committee and instruct the Tribal Educational Office to coordinate with the Tribal Cultural Committee and Cultural Center staff in efforts to retain, enhance, and expand the knowledge of Sitka Tlingit culture.

1. Develop Sitka cultural materials for teaching aids at various grade levels in local schools and for school age children occupied in activities at the Cultural Center.

2. Encourage community efforts at cultural teaching which are outside formal classroom activities (e.g., N.A.T.I.V.E. Fish Camp project, student collection of oral histories) and provide, through the Cultural Center facility, space and as much support as feasible to maintain such cultural education.

3. Encourage and support as much as possible the continued development of language training specific to the Sitka community, and work with the Dauenhauer linguistic team in Juneau in this effort, which should include:

a. vocabularies, grammars and dictionaries;

b. Tlingit texts and other language materials;

c. cultural geography of the Sitka Tlingit area, including place names and geographical concepts; and

d. Tlingit/Russian linguistic affiliations.

D. Assure the continuation of the Sitka Tribal Subsistence Committee in order to keep abreast of subsistence issues in the Sitka Tribal area, and to work on subsistence concerns as these apply to Southeastern Alaska in general, and to the Sitka Tribe specifically. This committee will coordinate with the Tribal Cultural Committee and Cultural Center staff to assist in the maintenance of records on subsistence history, and to continue collection of subsistence data for future use (e.g., legal verifications and implications) by the Tribe.

E. Develop a Tribal ethnohistory book for public sale, to strengthen the base of knowledge for Tribal members and the general public alike. The revenue from such a book will be used for preservation purposes (e.g., educational, research). This publication will cover the early Sitka Tlingit history, Russian and American/Tlingit history, and will especially emphasize the development and maintenance of a viable Sitka Native community in the twentieth century.

F. Coordinate Tribal preservation efforts with other Tlingit entities and programs in Sitka (e.g., Tlingit-Haida Council, Alaska Native Brotherhood, Alaska Native Sisterhood, and Shee Atika Corporation) for the use and pride of all Tlingit Sitkans.

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APPENDIX

SITKA TRIBE OF ALASKA

ORDINANCE NUMBER 6

HISTORIC AND CULTURAL PROTECTION ORDINANCE

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SITKA TRIBE OF ALASKA

ORDINANCE NUMBER 6

HISTORIC AND CULTURAL PROTECTION ORDINANCE

06.01 TITLE AND PURPOSE

06.01.01 TITLE: This ordinance shall be known as the Historic and Cultural Protection Ordinance.

06.01.02 PURPOSE: The purpose of this ordinance is to preserve and protect irreplaceable archaeological resources within the jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe from unauthorized excavation, removal, damage, alteration or defacement as authorized by the Constitution in Article VII entitled "Powers of the Tribal Council," and to preserve and protect religious or cultural sites on public lands or private lands owned by Sealaska, Inc. or Shee Atika, Inc. and by appropriate federal, state and local law.

06.02 JURISDICTION

06.02.01 The Constitution of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska, Article II, establishes the Territory and Jurisdiction: The Jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska shall extend to all lands constituting the Native Village of Sitka and the areas formerly known as "Indian Possessions" and "Cottage Settlement," and to all surrounding areas of Indian Country, if any, including all customary and traditional use and access areas in the vicinity of Baranof Island, Chichagof and surrounding islands, and all fee lands and allotments and lands owned by Sealaska, Inc. or Shee Atika, Inc. located therein (the Native corporations established pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act [P.L. 92-203] as amended to hold the land and other benefits provided by Congress in partial compensation for the extinguishment of the Tribe's aboriginal land rights), to the fullest extent permitted by federal and tribal laws.

06.03 REMOVAL OF ARTIFACTS AND HUMAN REMAINS

06.03.01 ARTIFACTS: No person shall enter the jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe for the purpose of buying, trading for, or soliciting the purchase of artifacts without first requesting and obtaining permission to do so from the Tribal Council.

06.03.02 HUMAN REMAINS: No person shall enter the jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe for the purpose of buying, trading for, soliciting the purchase of, or otherwise seeking to arrange the removal of human remains without first requesting and obtaining permission to do so from the Tribal Council. If descendants of the persons whose human remains are in question can be determined, then the Tribal Council shall not make any decisions in regards to those remains against the descendants' wishes.

06.04 LESGISLATIVE FINDINGS -- Federal Laws -- Preemption

06.04.01 Under the Federal Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, 16 U.S.C. 470cc(c), the responsible federal official must notify the Tribe whenever a permit application is being considered which might adversely affect any religious or cultural sites on public lands.

06.04.02 Under the provisions of the Federal Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, 16 U.S.C. 470cc (g) (2), no federal permit for excavation or removal of any archaeological resource located within the jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska can be issued without the consent of the Tribe.

06.04.03 There can be no exchange or disposition of archaeological resources from the jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska without the consent of the Tribe pursuant to the Federal Archaeological Resources Protection Act, 16 U.S.C. 470dd.

06.04.04 The National Historic Preservation Act, 16 U.S.C. 470 et seq., declares a national policy to work in partnership with Indian tribal governments to protect cultural resources and provides a mechanism by which tribal governments may carry out the provisions of that Act (16 U.S.C. 470-1; 470a [c]).

06.04.05 The Sitka Tribe of Alaska finds that an orderly procedure must be established for considering and acting upon such notifications, requests, and review functions

06.04.06 The National Historic Preservation Act (1966) does not confer upon state governments the power to nominate sites within the jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska to the National Register.

06.04.07 The Sitka Tribe of Alaska finds that the power to make such nominations to the National Register must be exercised by the Tribal Council, and that an effective procedure must be established to carry out this activity.

06.04.08 The Sitka Tribe of Alaska hereby declares its intent to preempt the field of nomination to the National Register of Archaeological and Historic Sites located within the jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska.

06.04.09 The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (P.L. 101-601; 104 Stat. 3048; 25 U.S.C. 3001-13) declares a National Policy which sets forth the rights of Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations with respect to human remains, funerary and associated objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony with which said tribes and organizations can demonstrate lineal descent or cultural affiliation. The Act provides, in part, conveyance to such groups of the right to decide disposition or take possession of such items. The Act also requires that federal agencies and museums (public and private) inventory holdings of such remains and objects, and work with Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations to reach agreements on the repatriation or other disposition of these remains and objects.

06.04.10 The Sitka Tribe of Alaska finds that an orderly procedure must be established for considering such inventories and notifications and taking necessary actions to obtain possession or arrange for the beneficial dispositions of such human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and items of cultural patrimony.

06.04.11 The Sitka Tribe of Alaska, which is the federally recognized Tribe for Sitka, Alaska, hereby declares its intent to assert its authority to deal with all public agencies, museums and other institutions which fall within the purview of the provisions of P.L. 101-601; 104 Stat. 3048; 25 U.S.C. 3001-13 as concerns all human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony and to take possession of, or decide the disposition of, all such objects originating in or taken from lands located within the jurisdiction of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska.

06.05 DEFINITIONS

06.05.01 CULTURAL/ETHNOHISTORIC: Any materials which are of archaeological or ethnohistoric interest. Such material item shall include, but not be limited to: woven objects, bottles, weapons, weapon projectiles, tools, utensils, structures or portions of structures, rock or wood paintings and/or wood carvings, graves, human remains, or any portion or piece thereof, whether or not found in an archaeological or ethnohistoric context. No item shall be treated as an archaeological or historic resource unless deemed by the Cultural Committee to be of significant cultural/historic value to the Tribe.

06.05.02 ARTIFACTS: Reserved

06.05.03 HUMAN REMAINS: Including, but not limited to hair, bone, teeth, mummified flesh, burials, and cremation remains.

06.06 ISSUANCE OF PERMITS

06.06.01 TERMS AND CONDITIONS: Reserved

06.06.02 TO TRIBAL CITIZENS: Reserved

06.06.03 TO ALL OTHERS: Reserved

06.07 PENALTIES

06.07.01 CIVIL: Reserved

06.08 ENFORCEMENT Reserved

06.09 HISTORIC AND CULTURAL PRESERVATION COMMITTEE

06.09.01 ESTABLISHMENT: There is hereby established a Historic and Cultural Preservation Committee which shall serve as the advisory group to the Tribal Council on matters dealing with historic and cultural preservation.

06.09.02 PURPOSE: The purpose of the Tribe's Historic and Cultural Preservation Committee shall be to consider all subjects and issues which relate to Tribal historic and cultural preservation and to make recommendations concerning such subjects and issues to the Tribal Council for disposition.

06.09.03 MEMBERSHIP: Members of this Committee must be Tribal citizens pursuant to the Constitution of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska in Article III entitled

"Citizenship." There is no limitation on the total membership of this Committee other than the requirement of Tribal membership.

06.09.04 COOPERATION WITH AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS: It shall be the policy of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska to consult and cooperate with other Tribal and non-Tribal government departments and agencies, and with private organizations involved in archaeological and historic protection activities. Cooperation activities will aim ". . . to foster conditions under which our modern society and our prehistoric and historic resources can exist in productive harmony and fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations" (16 U.S.C. 470-1).

06.10 HISTORIC AND CULTURAL RESOURCES PROTECTION PROGRAM

06.10.01 ESTABLISHMENT: There is hereby established a Historic and Cultural Resources Protection Program within the organization of the Sitka Tribe of Alaska.

06.10.02 PURPOSE: The purpose of the Historic and Cultural Resources Protection Program is as follows:

(a) Conduct day-to-day operations of Tribal historic and cultural preservation activities.

(b) Complete an inventory of cultural resources and development of a comprehensive cultural resource inventory data base which will serve to assist in the development and support of cultural resource management plans.

(c) Conduct liaison activities between the Tribe and non-Tribal entities and individuals as necessary to carry out the historical and cultural protection and preservation policies and activities of the Tribe.

(d) Develop and maintain a comprehensive cultural training program to provide continuing education for technical staff, Historic and Cultural Preservation Committee members, and others as appropriate to carry out the Tribe's historic and cultural preservation program. Such training will include but not be limited to: survey, exploration, excavation, stabilization and restoration, museology resource management, and familiarization with applicable law.

(e) Serve as the secretariat for the Historic and Cultural Preservation Committee.

06.10.03 PERSONNEL: Personnel of the Tribe's Historic and Cultural Resources Protection Program will consist of a Program Manager and other staff as may be required to carry out the tasks involved in the execution of the Tribe's Historic and Cultural Resources Protection Program.

06.10.04 DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

06.10.04.01 DUTIES: Duties of the Program Manager are as follows:

(a) Formulate overall administrative and operating procedures pertaining to the program and take action(s) as necessary for their accomplishment.

(b) Represent the program at the executive level planning function, including necessary programming and budgeting.

(c) Seek federal and other funds for operations, special projects and technical assistance as may be available for the development of cultural and historic preservation resources.

(d) Develop such amendments to the Tribe's Cultural and Historic Preservation Plan as may, from time to time, become necessary.

(e) Integrate cultural and historic preservation activities with others to bring about cooperation and a team approach to programming, problem solving and decision making.

(f) Actively seek public participation in the Tribe's cultural and historic preservation activities.

(g) Provide staff support to the Tribe's cultural and historic preservation activities.

06.10.04.02 RESPONSIBILITIES: The responsibilities of the Program Manager are as follows:

(a) The successful planning, implementation and operation, within the restrictions resulting from funding limits, of the Tribe's Historic and Cultural Resources Protection Program activities.

(b) Compliance with cultural and historic preservation policies established by the Tribal Council.

(c) Response to the supervisory direction of the General Manager.

(d) Preparation of any required funding proposals, required reports and administration issuances applicable to the Program.