

**THE POLITICS OF POSSESSION:**

**Louis Shotridge and the Tlingit Collections  
of the University of Pennsylvania Museum**

by

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## *Abstract*

For twenty years, from 1912-1932, Louis Shotridge (Stoowukáa V), a Tlingit nobleman of the Chilkat Kaagwaantaan clan, was employed by the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia as field collector, curator, and exhibit preparator. In this position, Shotridge was given full responsibility for the selection and acquisition of a collection of Northwest Coast objects. During this time, Shotridge grew to perceive his collections and their attendant documentation as a testament to Tlingit social structures and ancestral histories as well as the moral and ethical values of the Tlingit clans and the legitimating identities of clan leaders.

While trained by Franz Boas in ethnographic method, Shotridge remained grounded in existing Tlingit social systems, combined with then-current Native American idealism and political objectives. Thus while he traveled through Tlingit territory collecting objects and recording their clan histories, he was also active in the Alaska Native Brotherhood. In his lifetime, Shotridge was respected both by Tlingit peoples and by the anthropological community. Yet more recently, anthropological and popular writers have vilified Shotridge as a traitor, making him emblematic of a continuing colonial discourse constructed to preserve boundaries which recognize only the “pure products” of the “primitive” Native American.

Instead of continuing such dichotomous constructions, this thesis more carefully evaluates the circumstances under which objects were acquired and recontextualized

within a Western institutional museum setting in the early part of this century. Rather than glossing over questions of hybridity, this thesis is particularly concerned with the ways certain individuals penetrate societal boundaries, under what circumstances, to what purposes and within what contexts such associations are initiated, sanctioned, legitimated or contested.

By discussing and contextualizing Shotridge's life and ethnographic activity, this thesis argues for a broader understanding of Native American political circumstances, values, and struggles within a framework of post-colonial relations. Consideration of these various perspectives provides a clearer view of historical representation and ownership of objects, issues which continue to inform contemporary concerns regarding possession and the meaning of objects within both anthropology museum and tribal contexts.

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- a) "Noble Killer Whale" hat acquired by Shotridge in 1926 (University U.M. acc. no. 11741). See also Merrill photographs neg. numbers. PCA 57-22 & 57-20.
  - b) Spruce root basketry hat with carved wood "Killer Whale Dorsal Fin." Woven bark cover for the hat was also acquired (U.M. acc. no. 11743).
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**I. Objects from the Luknaax.ádi Whale House (identified by de Laguna in Emmons 1991:439 as Raven 6) shown in this photograph are:**

- a) "Raven of the Roof" acquired by Shotridge in 1925 (U.M. acc. no. 10511). Once captured by the Chilkat Gaanaxteidi in warfare but returned to the Whale House family through marriage (Shotridge Field Notes, Alaska State Library, Juneau).
- b) The "Octopus-tentacle" staff, acquired by Shotridge in 1925 (U.M. acc. no. 10513), see also Merrill photograph, Alaska State Library, Juneau, neg. no. PCA 57-21.
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- d) Dance collar, acquired by Shotridge in 1925 (U.M. acc. no. 10515).
- e) Shirt acquired by Shotridge, n.d. (U.M. acc. no. 10516).

**II. Objects in the Sitka Luknaax.ádi Sea Lion House collection (identified by de Laguna in Emmons 1991:439 as Raven 6) and shown in this photograph are:**

- f) "Barbecuing Raven" hat acquired by Shotridge in 1918 (U.M. acc. no. NA 8502).
- g) "Raven" hat of woven spruce root with wooden beak acquired by Shotridge in 1918 (U.M. acc. no. NA 8504), acquired by Shotridge in 1918 (U.M. acc. no. NA 8503).

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Initial research on Shotridge and the Tlingit collections and the University of Pennsylvania Museum for this project was conducted in the early 1980s. Some of the material accumulated at that time was published in 1986 in an article entitled "Louis Shotridge and the Objects of Everlasting Esteem" for *Raven's Journey: the World of Alaska's Native Peoples* (Kaplan & Barsness). For that project I traveled to Alaska on a research grant from the museum where I worked principally in photographic archives. At that time I was able to uncover a number of photographs which serve to contextualize objects in the Shotridge Collection. Many years later, when I decided to re-explore the Shotridge material as a thesis topic, a travel research grant from the Department of Fine Arts at U.B.C. enabled me to visit Alaska in 1995. There I met with descendants of Louis

Shotridge, conducted interviews, and visited sites, museums, and archives throughout Tlingit territory.

And finally, it should be noted that even though Shotridge's spelling of Tlingit names and places differs from contemporary Tlingit orthography, there should be no misunderstanding of their meaning. Thus when quoting Shotridge I have retained his manner of expression throughout the manuscript although spelling errors are noted to avoid confusion.

Maureen Milburn  
Salt Spring Island, BC, 1997



*Frontispiece.* Portrait of Louis Shotridge (Stoowukáa V), n.d., photographer unknown, courtesy of Lillian O'Daniel.

## ***INTRODUCTION***

### **GENERAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

This thesis seeks to reconsider the discourse related to the historical representation of Native American peoples, the influence of post-contact period events on collecting activities, and the reactions and interactions of institutions and individuals to these events. It will examine the continuing construction of dichotomous ideas and attitudes towards Native American peoples, a construction which glosses over questions concerning how certain individuals penetrate societal boundaries, under what circumstances, to what purposes, and within what contexts such associations are initiated, sanctioned, legitimated or contested.

More specifically, this thesis focuses on the Tlingit people of southeastern Alaska and their colonization subsequent to the 1867 sale of Russian America to the United States (see maps 1 & 2). For Tlingit peoples this was a time of intense interaction with Anglo-American colonizers and of significant socio-economic change as the encounter signaled the beginning of a loss of previous self-determination.

Many events surrounding these changes in Tlingit lifestyles impacted on the life circumstances of Louis Shotridge (Stoowukáa V, ca.1882-1937), a high-born member of the Kaagwaantaan clan of the Chilkat Tlingit (frontispiece). Shotridge worked for twenty years as a museum preparator, curator and expedition leader for the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. As leader of two University Museum Expeditions to southeastern Alaska, Shotridge was charged with gathering ethnographic information and purchasing Tlingit objects. Because of his collecting activities, Shotridge has been the subject of academic criticism and conjecture. The negotiations, contradictions, dichotomies, and circumstances that imbue Shotridge's life and work define the vehicle by which this thesis advances.

By way of introduction, here is how the *Journal of Science* presented Shotridge to its readers in 1919:

Chief Louis Shotridge of the Chilkat of the Tlinknit [Tlingit] Indians of Southwestern Alaska, long a member of the staff of the University Museum, has returned from four years' explorations among his own people. In that time, he secured many hundreds of unique ethnological specimens for the museum, having spent most of his time collecting and writing down in the native language the manners, customs, traditions and religious rites of the various tribes. It is believed that Mr. Shotridge is the first trained anthropologist who has ever done work of this sort among the American Indians using the native tongue.<sup>1</sup>

Posthumous accounts of Shotridge's life and work, dating primarily from the 1960s onwards, present him quite differently. Biographical accounts, written mostly by academics,<sup>2</sup> describe him in ambivalent terms, invoking words and attitudes which reinforce polarized concepts of "civilized" and "savage."<sup>3</sup> While acknowledging Shotridge's contributions to the collecting process and in some cases his ethnological

achievements, they also portray him as a victim, a pawn in a calculated institutional power play, or a self-serving individual who was “reviled” by the Tlingit.<sup>4</sup> According to anthropologist Edmund Carpenter:

Photographs show him in tweeds, always with a camera slung from his shoulder. He appears on horseback, driving a dogsled, piloting the *Penn*, always apart, in dress and manner, from his kinsmen. They called him arrogant. They still revile his name.... The last known photograph of him shows him beside a small, torn tent pitched in snow. He holds a blackened coffee-pot over a wood fire. His face looks like mask #90, sometimes called “Dying Warrior.”<sup>5</sup>

Besides presuming to speak for Tlingit people, such negative descriptions are unsubstantiated, of negligible academic value. They ignore the complex interaction of social, political, and historic factors involved in the U.S. colonization of Alaska to which Shotridge was exposed. Criticisms of Shotridge’s collecting strategies and motivations erase the circumstances of his time and instead serve to mark the boundaries of the West’s radical separation from and opposition to its constructed “Other.”

In one sense this thesis is a revisionist history in that it adds facts and information about Shotridge’s life which challenge other views of what it means to be “between cultures,” “assimilated,” or a Native ethnographer. By maintaining a customary biographic narrative (i.e., events proceeding from birth to death), I am able to explore Shotridge’s interaction with the various institutions that affected his life. In this respect Shotridge is the interlocutor, but I also perceive his role as that of a conduit for the flow of different forms of authority from one institution to another. By engaging in the sale of Tlingit objects, Shotridge became a middleman in an interactive dialogue between two interdependent parties: the Native owner with his/her social responsibilities and the

ultimate desires of private or institutional repositories of those objects. The objective of this approach is to underscore the relation of the individual to the social order (in this case a complex set of variables) and to the conditions under which objects were de/recontextualized from Native to museum ownership. I will show that Shotridge as the agent of the University Museum controlled the content and scope of the museum's collection and that the choices he made were conditioned and defined by his life circumstances, experiences, and political goals. Thus I intend to examine Shotridge's institutional affiliations, political leanings, and educational accomplishments. In so doing I intend to dispute the discourse that continues to portray Shotridge in exclusively negative terms. Instead I argue that complex socio-political circumstances influenced Shotridge's career and that representations of Native American objects are historically contingent. For example, Shotridge both subscribed to the salvage paradigm in anthropology and challenged its validity in his representation of Tlingit objects in museum collection and display. Further, I will show that a number of interdependent variables impacted on Shotridge's career and the decisions he made as a Native ethnographer: the social exchange values that Northwest Coast peoples placed on objects (both personal and collective); the commercial values determined by individual dealers and collectors; and the objectives, ideologies, and sanctions imposed by dominant institutional interests.

### **Life History as a Context for the Collecting Process**

Within the historical context, the earliest non-Native attempts to document the lives of Native Americans often appeared in the form of fictional accounts.<sup>6</sup> Later

emphasis was placed on those peoples who, through their leadership, personalities or military campaigns, resisted Euro-American oppression.<sup>7</sup> A broadening of focus which included an anthropological interest in “informants” and those who contributed to ethnographic knowledge emerged in the 1920s with a parallel emphasis on acculturation and more diversified perspectives.<sup>8</sup> In 1978 a publication edited by anthropologist Margot Liberty entitled *American Indian Intellectuals* resulted from the 1976 proceedings of The American Ethnological Society. In this publication, “biographies of Native North Americans who have been important sources of published ethnographic or linguistic data” became the focus of discussion.<sup>9</sup> Liberty sought to address the roles of Native Americans as “informants”, teachers, collaborators, co-authors, and independent scholars in ethnography. From these discussions the term “Native Intellectual” emerged as the most accurate and inclusive means of describing this diverse group.<sup>10</sup> Anthropologist Marjorie Halpin was among the first to recognize the contributions of Native ethnographers in that publication. In her biography of William Beynon she writes:

William Beynon, Tsimshian, did ethnography for White anthropologists for over 40 years (1915-1956). Yet he is known to anthropology, and identified in its literature, as an ‘informant and interpreter.’ There is an injustice here...<sup>11</sup>

Anthropologist Margaret Blackman, who published the first life history of a Native Northwest Coast woman, Florence Davidson, argues that, “The life history also complements the ethnographic account by adding to the descriptive and affective or experiential dimension.”<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless there is a disappointing lack of biographical information on those Northwest Coast people who have played a major role in the

documentation, preservation, and revitalization of their heritage.<sup>13</sup> Aside from some brief biographical sketches and notable exceptions,<sup>14</sup> most studies of Northwest Coast peoples have been concerned with romanticized histories, ethnographic description or theoretical discussions of social structures and practices, particularly “the potlatch.”

Numerous individuals who would make relevant biographical subjects can be readily identified and the number is growing yearly.<sup>15</sup> Included in this list are those who worked in a variety of disciplines and contexts as guides, interpreters, collectors, ethnographers, informants, cultural representatives or emissaries, museum curators and preparators, scholars, linguists, teachers, historians, authors, and artists. *Haa Kusteeyi: Our Culture*, a 1994 publication edited by Tlingit historian Nora Marks Dauenhauer and linguist Richard Dauenhauer, relates the life stories of prominent Tlingit peoples. This publication demonstrates the great diversity in individual lives and illuminates a complex world of multiple loyalties.<sup>16</sup> Arising out of previous work done by the Dauenhauers on Tlingit oral history, *Haa Kusteeyi* is exemplary of a larger effort on the part of Native American peoples to tell their own stories. Today, there is a growing interest in life history accounts and projects which judge individual successes and failures by tribal criteria, not that of the dominant society.<sup>17</sup> As the Dauenhauers put it:

We hope that our focus on the specifics of these elders' lives will introduce them not only to readers outside the Tlingit community but also in new ways to younger generations within the community, reminding all audiences, the whole world, how wonderful these people were and are, and why they should be remembered.<sup>18</sup>

Thus a cautionary note on the limitations of the superimposition of Euro-American intellectual structures on Native American lives is in order. Consider, for example,

anthropologist Julie Cruikshank's 1990 publication of the life stories of three Yukon Native Elders, Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned. Entitled *Life Lived Like a Story*, Cruikshank's collaboration with these women produced a series of accounts in which they used storytelling as a vehicle for communication of past events and life stories. From this experience Cruikshank concludes that, "Pre-understandings about how subjective experience should be expressed may disappoint a listener steeped in Western categories."<sup>19</sup> In this respect a comparison of aspects of Shotridge's life and ethnography and Western pre-understandings of how people and objects fit within anthropological taxonomies demonstrates a substantial disparity between some Native belief systems and museum approaches towards objects.

### **Museum Collections and the Recontextualization of Objects**

This thesis is also about the relations between objects in museums and the life circumstances of those who collected them. There is a wealth of information available to the scholar interested in approaching collections from this perspective, information that was often neglected or ignored within the allochronic parameters of conventional anthropology<sup>20</sup> and the conditions of Euro-American colonization.<sup>21</sup> Although anthropology museum theory is now undergoing rigorous reevaluation,<sup>22</sup> many institutions continue to present objects as representatives of a pre-modern "primitive" authenticity.<sup>23</sup> Individual objects are often consigned to exhibit cases, decontextualized, and iconized so as to portray a particular unchanging, dehistoricized perspective.

Similarly art historians often overlook the historical relevance of objects that are informed by the circumstances and wholeness of collection politics, part of a network of what anthropologist Nicholas Thomas defines as the discrete discourses of colonization.<sup>24</sup> Yet this approach is contextually illuminating. For example, one has only to visit three major collections of Tlingit objects -- in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., at the American Museum of Natural History in New York and at the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia -- to recognize salient differences in their content and previous context. When acquired, each of these collections was considered to be a definitive representation of Tlingit lifeways, yet each displays its own unique historic character. Aside from some duplication within the collections themselves, significant differences in objects, materials, and artistic styles becomes clear upon examination of the whole. At the Smithsonian we find war helmets, walrus hide cloaks, and slate armor collected by individuals who were often militarily affiliated. These objects are indicative of a period of initial Native contact with Russians and other Euro-Americans beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. In the American Museum of Natural History there is a preponderance of shaman's objects, many collected between 1882 and 1887 by U.S. Naval Lieutenant George Thornton Emmons. These objects were acquired as a result of the political persecution attending Christian assimilationist policies and a corresponding shift in Tlingit religious practices. At the University of Pennsylvania Museum I will demonstrate that the large numbers ceremonial objects, especially clan hats, were collected between 1914 and 1930 by Louis Shotridge reflect the socio-economic upheaval of U.S. colonization, as well as Shotridge's own desire for the historical recognition of a Tlingit

“nation.” Each of these collections is indicative of different collecting strategies and periods in Tlingit and Euro-American history -- examples of ongoing changes in social and political circumstances resulting from the impact of contact and colonization.

Prior to the 1980s issues related to contact period negotiations were too often relinquished to the disciplines of social history or political science.<sup>25</sup> Art historians tended to focus on formal analysis, subscribing to essentializing dichotomies such as distinctions between tourist and ethnographic objects/collections, usually to determine “authenticity” as well as chronological benchmarks.<sup>26</sup> Methodologically, such studies were little different from the compartmentalized discussions of “culture traits” found in most twentieth century ethnographies. However, for at least a decade Western “aesthetic-anthropological object systems” have been challenged.<sup>27</sup> Recent analyses of Northwest Coast collections have included a mixture of expert commentary (sometimes by individuals of appropriate ethnic groups),<sup>28</sup> a brief historical background (usually from the perspective of the organizing institution or the private patron),<sup>29</sup> and Western analysis of the use-value of specific objects within the collection.<sup>30</sup>

These studies contextualize objects in their capacity as representatives of cultural continuity. Generally they are collaborative in form with contributions from prominent Native scholars and artists. The Native authors speak from a contemporary perspective which provides evidence of their peoples’ relations to their objects and their attendant use in ritual. *The Spirit Within*, edited by Helen Abbott, Steven Brown, Lorna Price and Paula Thurman and published in 1995, is one example of this blended approach. Contributions by Native writers Gloria Cranmer Webster, Robert Davidson, Joe David, and Nora Marks

Dauenhauer offer a picture of the historic continuity and the social value of objects. This theme is exemplified in the words of Nora Marks Dauenhauer:

Beyond questions of its form, the Native point of view asks how an art object functions within a generation, and across generations. For a traditional Tlingit person, art ties many components of folklife together. History (the stories of covenants among people, animals, spirits, and the land), song and dance, visual art, and the ritual use of an art object are inseparable. Museum display often does injustice to this traditional sense of totality and, therefore, can be in some ways disconcerting to Native people. In the Tlingit tradition, visual art is displayed in action as part of a ritual process that confirms its mythic and spiritual context. Museum display in Western tradition is by nature more static and decontextualized, at best like a movie without a sound track.<sup>31</sup>

Voices such as these reject constructions of discrete disciplines. Museum objects emerge from Western-imposed art/culture categories as historical artifacts to be claimed as dynamic embodiments of an ongoing legacy. Yet some individuals are critical of this form of analysis, arguing that it represents yet another limiting partial truth. Native American performance artist Jimmie Durham states, "It would be impossible, and I think immoral, to attempt to discuss American Indian art sensibly without making the political realities central."<sup>32</sup> Such multi-vocal questions of how the objects were gathered, by whom, during what time-frame, and within what socio-political and economic frameworks are critical of those descriptions which continue to neglect contact-period rupture.<sup>33</sup> Anthropologist Susan Bean asserts that, although anthropology museum exhibitions and public programs portray themselves as "multivocal, dialogically constructed, internally contested, culturally constitutive, and ongoing"<sup>34</sup> within the framework of the "transnational museum system," collections continue to be viewed from a homogeneous perspective representing a single point of reference within an established Western value system.<sup>35</sup> Similarly curator

Jonathan Haas argues that although many anthropology museums concern themselves with sharing authority and incorporating diversity, real changes have been modest.<sup>36</sup> The underlying logic is that, as philanthropic and touristic state-dependent representatives of the moral order, many museums find it politically useful to suppress the historical imperative of their collections as colonial documents of Native/Euro-American contact. To Haas, “Voice and power are inextricably intertwined in museums and both are subjects of an intense and sometimes disconcerting dialogue in museums of anthropology.”<sup>37</sup>

Native American peoples are actively involved in this dialogue, particularly with regard to the reevaluation of ownership and the role of anthropology museums as custodians of Native American objects.<sup>38</sup> In the United States, with the passage of the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)* in 1990, these issues rose to foremost importance. Many Native Americans, both in the U.S. and Canada, also raise the issue of intellectual property as well as tangible property. Historian Curtis M. Hinsley Jr. states:

The debate is ultimately not over control of bones at all, but over control of narrative: the stories of peoples who went before and how those peoples (and their descendants) are to be currently represented and treated. The heart of the matter, as always, lies in the negotiation between power and respect.<sup>39</sup>

The view advanced by anthropologist Virginia Dominguez -- that non-Western objects were collected because of “their perceived contribution to our understanding of our own historical trajectory”<sup>40</sup> -- is partially relevant as a relic of the old politics of exclusion. According to this mode of thinking, the collecting process is described as an oppositional rather than interactive encounter between the acquisitive Euro-American and

the exploited “Other.” Yet this process began with a collector/Native dialogue which was influenced by, yet often outside, museum practices and ideologies. This initial exchange was further governed by overarching social, political, and economic currents -- both Native and Anglo-American. To quote anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, “It is the social history of things, over large periods of time and at large social levels, that constrains the form, meaning, and structure of more short-term, specific, and intimate trajectories.”<sup>41</sup> It is to the broader issues of social boundaries and object exchange that this thesis is also addressed.

### **“A Difference of Opinion” -- Ownership and the Value of Objects Among Northwest Coast Peoples**

Euro-American colonial discourses have often obscured the differences in approaches between Northwest Coast peoples and themselves. However, when subjected to closer scrutiny, useful information may be gleaned from among the textual distortions and essentializations of Northwest Coast peoples by military officials, missionaries, explorers, and government officials. Dating from the mid-1800s numerous Euro-American accounts describe objects acquired through purchase, theft, or as gifts. In most cases accounts of Northwest Coast people’s claims to ownership and collective regard for possessions are reduced to the anecdotal, thus trivializing their concerns about the preservation of objects and retention of indigenous practices. Nevertheless, these accounts give us some idea of the types of possessions Northwest Coast peoples were willing to part with as well as those they considered essential to retain. Often recounted in the form

of travel journals or letters from collectors to institutional officials, these Euro-American views are unusually consistent through time. They describe the shrewdness of Native traders and the resistance of Native owners to some sales. Laws pertaining to ownership and individual rights to property had long been established in Euro-American society, and by the late nineteenth century they were being reinforced to resist socialist, communist, and labour movements. However, such rights were usually not extended to Native Americans, either in regard to the remains of their ancestors or in reference to their lands and the objects that validated and reproduced their ancestral rights to subsistence on those lands. "Progress," as defined by resource and labour exploitation, was considered by most Euro-Americans to give absolute rights to various kinds of property. This expropriative aspect of the collecting process, generally neglected in favour of institutional perspectives, has been partially documented by historian Douglas Cole in *Captured Heritage*, published in 1985.

The following discussion is not intended as an exhaustive examination of recorded perspectives on this subject. The author acknowledges that it is also based on secondary sources and the writings of non-Native observers. Yet it does outline many of the principal agencies and circumstances by which Northwest Coast peoples sold or were divested of their possessions. These include situations wherein objects were sold when they became functionally useless as a result of contact period events (such as conversion to Christianity), were gifted to Euro-Americans, or were acquired through clandestine Euro-American activities or as a direct result of the effects of contact (such as the often poverty-inducing effects of conversion to a cash-based economy).

As a result of Euro-American contact, many utilitarian objects lost their exchange value within Native communities but assumed a different value as commodities within a Euro-American cash economy. These objects, and those made exclusively for the Euro-American market, were readily sold as trade goods. In the middle- to late-nineteenth century, metal cooking containers replaced wooden ones, iron blades replaced those of bone or stone, and articles of Western clothing were adopted. For example, in 1881-1882 two German scholars in the natural sciences, Aurel and Arthur Krause, collected 178 Tlingit objects no longer in use, including articles of clothing, especially armor suits and helmets and cuirasses of thick leather; personal utensils such as spoons, knives, bowls, paint brushes, and other household items.<sup>42</sup>

James G. Swan, an early correspondent for the U.S. National Museum, was among the first to note that Native owners varied the price of objects according to their status within the Native community.<sup>43</sup> For example, an old Nuu-chah-nulth whale harpoon staff, broken and repaired but used successfully (the critical point), was worth \$45.00 – far beyond what Swan was willing to pay to purchase the object. On the other hand Swan was able to acquire new, untried almost identical harpoons for as little as \$5.00.<sup>44</sup> Northwest Coast peoples had little difficulty calculating the monetary value of their possessions and some appear to have been deliberately set beyond the means of collectors.<sup>45</sup>

Some socially valuable objects were acquired as gifts, as tokens of friendship or appreciation, or as symbols of political interaction and negotiation. In 1904 Territorial Governor John G. Brady was officially presented with a hat carved in the image of a raven

as a token of détente from a group of Sitka Tlingit leaders.<sup>46</sup> In the area of business relations, Northwest Trading Company agent John M. Vanderbilt was gifted with “valuable specimens” upon his adoption by a chief of the Stikine tribe.<sup>47</sup> In addition John J. McLean, a member of the U.S. Signals Service,<sup>48</sup> who was commissioned to collect for the U.S. National Museum, admiringly described objects that Vanderbilt purchased for his private collection (much of it composed of objects “rendered useless”):

I have discovered that the N.W. Trading Co.’s manager has been making a large collection of ancient stone and bone carvings, carved wooden household utensils such as spoons, bowls, dishes, eating trays, a fine collection of war knives with quaintly carved handles and bead embroidered sheaths, and among them a finely carved stone pipe, a stone ax and several pestles and mortars.<sup>49</sup>

Some objects were simply not for sale even when collectors had “insider” contacts. When Johnny Kit Elswa, a Haida, introduced Swan to important chiefs, thus paving the way in his dealings with them, Swan was unsuccessful in convincing owners to sell what they considered to be important objects. At Klawak, a Tlingit settlement on Prince of Wales Island, a chief’s wife protested to Swan that the poles erected there were in memory of the dead and, “we will not sell them any more than you white people will sell grave-stones or monuments in your cemeteries, but you can have one made.”<sup>50</sup> Finally, at the Kaigani Haida settlement of Kasaan, Swan arranged to have a pole specially carved when he found that none of the old ones were for sale.<sup>51</sup>

When in 1879 the Presbyterian missionary, Rev. Sheldon Jackson (1834-1909) had a pole cut down while on a steamer excursion to an uninhabited Tlingit village near Fort Wrangel, he was quickly reprimanded by his Native guide Kadachan. Jackson found it

necessary to make reparations to the owners of the pole in order to resolve the incident.

Fortunately for Jackson, the owners were members of the Presbyterian Church. Naturalist

John Muir, a member of the touring party described the incident:

*This sacrilege came near causing trouble and would have cost us dear had the totem not chanced to belong to the Kadachan family, the representative of which is a member of the newly organized Wrangell Presbyterian Church. Kadachan looked into the face of the reverend doctor and asked the pertinent question: 'How would you like to have an Indian go to a graveyard and break down and carry away a monument belonging to your family?'*<sup>52</sup>

Monumental objects, especially totem poles, were actively sought after. Because of post-contact period disruptions in settlement patterns and a declining population due to the introduction of Euro-American diseases, villages and poles were often left unattended. In addition, the demands of an increasingly active tourist trade were intimately associated with exploitation. Colonial domination accompanied by the collection of "souvenirs" was often synonymous with one society's marginalization and subjugation of another.<sup>53</sup> The number of poles removed from Native ownership during the early to middle years of the twentieth century was substantial. In 1948 anthropologists Viola Garfield and Linn Forrest noted:

*One hundred and twenty-five poles were counted by a visitor to the deserted town of Tuxekan in 1916. Only sixty were found when Civilian Conservation Corps workers went there in 1939 to remove them to Klawak....Many are known to have been sold to dealers and collectors; others were stolen.*<sup>54</sup>

The Euro-American concept of preserving poles exclusively as "art" objects was alien to most Northwest Coast peoples. In the 1950s anthropologist Wilson Duff acquired

four poles for the British Columbia Provincial Museum from among the Tsimshian. Of that transaction Duff observed,

They seemed unable to divorce the concept of art from its social context. The only meaning of poles to them seems to be as a symbol of social position.<sup>55</sup>

During the heyday of Euro-American collecting The clash of these two systems of “value” was usually overlooked to the advantage of the dominant society.

Grave robbing or poking through abandoned villages was yet another method of securing objects, although less is reported of these clandestine activities. Collectors visiting seasonally uninhabited villages sometimes helped themselves to stored objects.<sup>56</sup>

Johan Adrian Jacobsen, who between 1881 and 1883 collected objects for the Royal Berlin Ethnological Museum, was most candid in discussing his grave robbing activities:

I made a ‘fishing and hunting’ trip that was not for that purpose; we went to an old cemetery near Koskimo, where we got three exquisite deformed skulls to rescue them for scientific purposes. Wooden masks were found in graves near Nanaimo, ‘a few skulls’ near Comox and some old horn wedges or axes from an abandoned village along the Nanaimo River.<sup>57</sup>

In 1898 anthropologist Harlan I. Smith described an acquisition of grave goods with George Hunt.<sup>58</sup> According to Smith, Hunt, who American Museum of Natural History anthropologist Franz Boas’ principal Kwakwaka’wakw collaborator:

Got permission to take these bones. We are doing it secretly however, leaving no traces behind us and will use the permission to cover a possible detection.<sup>59</sup>

Both Boas and George Dorsey of the Chicago Field Columbian Museum collected objects and osteological material from shaman’s caves and burials. However, Dorsey’s

activities were perhaps the most seriously disrespectful of Native beliefs and sensibilities.<sup>60</sup> Eventually Dorsey was publicly criticized by the Anglican clergyman Rev. J.H. Keen and the issue was taken up by Victoria's *Daily Colonist*.<sup>61</sup> Boas' response to Dorsey's transgression demonstrates that his priority was maintaining good social relations in order to facilitate continued collecting, "It is too bad that Dorsey should have proceeded with so little regard to the feelings of the Indians and the interest of future work."<sup>62</sup>

Sometimes collecting in remote areas proved fruitless because objects continued to maintain their value in Native society. In one case Jacobsen commissioned a copy of a Bella Bella chief's seat because he was unable to purchase the original.<sup>63</sup> Jacobsen described his visit to the Kwakwaka'wakw village of Newitti, where he hoped to make some purchases:

My plan of buying ethnological objects was not successful, because the people there were still carrying on their old customs and dances, so that none of the masks and regalia could be bought. The few objects I did secure were very costly.<sup>64</sup>

On the other hand Boas, who visited Newitti in 1889, was more successful because he "established friendly relations with the community," even to the extent of sponsoring a feast.<sup>65</sup> Boas' direct relationship with the Kwakwaka'wakw enabled him to secure sixty-five ceremonial objects with accompanying contextual information from the same village in which Jacobsen had been so unsuccessful six years previous.<sup>66</sup> The differing responses experienced by Jacobsen and Boas underscore the importance of recognizing the effects of diverse personalities, goals, strategies, and financial considerations among collectors.

Jacobsen, like many others, profited from Native conversion to Christianity to obtain the sale of important property. On Haida Gwaii he purchased a pole from a man he described as a lesser chief by the name of "Stilta," who was also called Captain Jim. Jacobsen knew he was fortunate to obtain the pole, and for only \$40.00, remarking that, "The fact that Captain Jim had been converted to Christianity and had adopted many ways of the white man accounts for his readiness to sell the pole."<sup>67</sup> At Hazelton Dorsey purchased the complete paraphernalia of a shaman who had just recently converted to Christianity.<sup>68</sup>

Personal distress or the debilitating effects of contact also played a significant role in parting Native peoples from their objects. These included disease, poverty, and starvation. In 1884 J. Loomis Gould, the Presbyterian Minister at Howkan who collected for Sheldon Jackson wrote, "...[o]ur people are getting poor and ready to sell almost anything, are losing too their estimate of totem sticks and useless carvings."<sup>69</sup> A lengthy history of acquisition as a result of penalties against unpaid debts is often recorded. Swan's 1875 purchase -- a sixty foot Nuuchahnulth canoe -- was acquired as a result of a Nimkish chief's inability to pay his debts.<sup>70</sup> Confiscation was an extreme method of acquisition when, as late as 1922, participants in Kwakwaka'wakw Dan Cranmer's 1921 potlatch were given the choice by the Canadian Government of surrendering their ceremonial objects or going to prison.<sup>71</sup>

## **Indications of Native Attitudes Towards the Preservation of Objects**

In contrast to these incidents are indications that as of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries, some individuals began to take an active interest in the public preservation of their objects and the representation of their history within an Anglo-American institutional context. Among the Tlingit, for example, the imposition of American rules of patrilineal descent affected objects formerly inherited only through matrilineal descent. Contests over inheritance became increasingly prevalent.

Anthropologist Sergei Kan cites examples where items of clan regalia were sometimes presented as gifts to Russian Orthodox missionaries as a demonstration of a commitment to Christianity. However Kan notes, “the missionaries’ own accounts of the circumstances surrounding the transfer of native artifacts suggest other possible reasons for such radical action; for example, the absence of direct heirs who could inherit the crest objects, and the custodian’s fear that they would fall into another rival lineage within the same clan.”<sup>72</sup>

Furthermore, increasing monetary values and pressures from Euro-American art/culture interests were a constant threat. Some custodians, feeling a responsibility for personal or collectively-owned objects, especially such publicly displayed objects as totem poles, sought sanctuary for them within government-supported institutions. For example, the historic site of the Kiks.ádi Tlingit fort at the mouth of Indian River in Sitka was set aside as parkland in 1890 and later became a National Historic Park. The first gifts to the park were received in 1902 from the Haida Chief Son-i-hat of Kasaan. Son-i-hat donated a totem pole, four house posts, a war canoe, and a log community house so that they would stand as memorials to his people.<sup>73</sup>

Also among the earliest examples of this attitudinal shift were the poles secured by John G. Brady, a former missionary and collector who, in 1897, became Alaska's fifth Territorial Governor.<sup>74</sup> When Congress appropriated \$50,000 for Alaska's participation in the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Brady was able to secure fifteen Kaigani Haida poles as a gift to the government.<sup>75</sup> According to Cole, "Brady was himself surprised and deeply touched by the generosity of the Indians, which extended to donating other material he had not even sought."<sup>76</sup> Evidently Brady's "promise to preserve the poles in the Sitka park as memorial to their people" was a deciding factor in the gift.

As will be noted in the case of the Shotridge collection, social systems of value and political aspirations varied among Northwest Coast peoples, between geographical areas and throughout time. For example, anthropologist Audrey Hawthorne noted in the 1950s that many Kwakwaka'wakw saw museums as places where objects might be preserved while new objects continued to be made and ceremonial practices were maintained.<sup>77</sup>

Anthropologist Ira Jacknis observes of this situation:

What had changed was the native attitude toward museums, as well as the anthropological attitude toward native culture. Natives now had an understanding of the archival function of museums, that they might be the best places to preserve fragile, old artifacts. Yet anthropologists no longer believed, like Boas, that native culture was doomed to inevitable extinction. Most of the turn of the century collectors thought it enough to preserve the objects in the museum. Now there was a feeling that the museum had some obligation toward fostering native traditions in general. There was also the pragmatic realization that programs such as these were the only way to make contemporary collections.<sup>78</sup>

To conclude this brief survey, accounts of dispossession include theft, sale, gift-giving, and situations surrounding economic, religious, and social upheaval, and

population decline. Records often show that objects which were readily sold usually had experienced a prior loss of exchange value primarily because of contact period-events such as the introduction of Euro-American trade goods or a crisis in spiritual belief systems.

Northwest Coast peoples did not willingly part with what they considered to be socially significant objects. Nor did they fail to discern fair market value for salable objects. Fears of competition and stories of quibbling over prices permeate the letters of all major collectors -- anthropologists and private entrepreneurs alike. As documented by Cole<sup>79</sup> and Jacknis,<sup>80</sup> the competitive perspective of salvage anthropology led collectors to probe for objects most valued by Native peoples and to cajole owners to sell them. Those in the field made seasonal rounds to keep in touch with their sources, often hoping that what was unaffordable one year might be purchased for less the next. As in the example of Jacobsen and Boas at Newitti, strategy and approach were paramount.

Ceremonial objects and those reflecting family histories maintained more of their social value. Sometimes they were relinquished as prestigious gifts or sold to collectors while some individuals sought secure futures for their objects within a public sphere created by the dominant Anglo-American society. Nevertheless, records show that often Northwest Coast peoples sold or were dispossessed of objects that maintained ceremonial or historical values as a consequence of socially disruptive circumstances of contact. This thesis will explore evidence of struggles and initiatives such as those outlined above among the Tlingit for the period 1867 to 1937. The events of this period were to have a significant impact on the work of Louis Shotridge and the collection of objects he acquired.

## **Objects and the Interlinking Effects of Individual and Collective Native Histories**

Scholars have expended considerable effort in reevaluating the meaning of Native American objects from the perspectives of Western art/culture institutions; and in reassessing histories, collecting processes, and information-gathering activities as they occurred during what anthropologist William Sturtevant calls the “Museum Age” (1840-1920).<sup>81</sup> Studies of this period are largely associated with the activities of prominent East Coast institutions and many are included in discussions surrounding the contemporary self-critique of anthropology.<sup>82</sup> They document the dispossession and repossession of Native American objects and their “metamorphosis” as curiosities, curios, relics, specimens, artifacts, and artistic products.<sup>83</sup> To quote anthropologist James Clifford, “Temporality is reified and salvaged as origin, beauty, and knowledge.”<sup>84</sup>

A number of theoretical discussions have been devoted to questioning the role of objects within a Western colonial aesthetic/anthropological system, notably those of Dominguez,<sup>85</sup> Appadurai,<sup>86</sup> Clifford,<sup>87</sup> and Thomas,<sup>88</sup> but for the area of the Northwest Coast there are few social historical studies of individual collections or individual artists.<sup>89</sup> Correlations between collecting processes and disruptions within Northwest Coast social and political systems such as land tenure, ritual, kinship, power relations, and the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth are similarly lacking.<sup>90</sup> As Haas notes, “In the era of postmodernism, scholars seem to be writing about the anthropology of museums more than anthropology *in* museums.”<sup>91</sup>

If, as Appadurai suggests, the social analysis of things must, “follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories”<sup>92</sup> then priority should be placed on defining pertinent junctures. To scholars such as art historian Susan Vogel,<sup>93</sup> the most significant juncture is at the point of recontextualization from one society to another.<sup>94</sup> “Objectified” and stripped of their histories, objects become part of the “metaphorical vision our culture has of them.”<sup>95</sup> However, these views of the acquisition process as an exclusively Euro-American activity or, as Dominguez puts it, a self-referential occupation of Western institutions, fail to account for the political struggles, successes, and failures of Native American peoples within the larger context of socio-economic interaction.<sup>96</sup> Anthropologist Eric Wolf denies this disassociation most succinctly when he states, “both the people who claim history as their own and the people to whom history has been denied emerge as participants in the same historical trajectory.”<sup>97</sup>

In the area of the Northwest Coast, most scholars have focused their attentions on the collecting enterprise from the perspective of art/culture institutions.<sup>98</sup> Few studies explore the acquisition of objects according to the goals of individual collectors, or indeed, from the vantage of the Native collector.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, current recognition of interlinking, individualistic histories<sup>100</sup> challenges previously one-sided interpretations of the collecting process and offers dynamic possibilities for the re-reading of trajectories of Native American objects in anthropology museum collections. From this starting point I intend to show that the Shotridge collection may be reinterpreted, as Thomas suggests, in

specific social contexts so that it can be appreciated within a range of historical considerations, “which may qualify, specify, or even negate wider systemic criteria such as scarcity, utility, and cultural categorization.”<sup>101</sup>

Within the disquieting obfuscation of colonial discourse, the perspectives of Native peoples on their objects were neglected, essentialized or distorted to fit Euro-American goals and ideologies.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, Euro-American documents (missionary and museum correspondence being two particularly fertile sources) give some indication of the preferences, strategies, and struggles of Northwest Coast peoples to maintain the integrity of socially significant possessions. As I will demonstrate, the objectives of early twentieth century Native political organizations made some efforts in this regard more publicly discernable as did the collecting activities of Native ethnographers such as Louis Shotridge.

The historical record of Tlingit people’s attitudes towards their objects, enclosed as they were within a shifting set of social relations, indicates certain actions and reactions to collecting processes. Analysis of Shotridge’s collecting activities therefore facilitates the exploration of the socio-economic dynamics of object/culture acquisition within a broader framework of both institutional and non-institutional relations and interactions.

This thesis will argue that, contrary to some contemporary accounts (which are shown to be stereotypically regressive), Shotridge was motivated by a complex set of goals and strategies. The various responsibilities he assumed during his lifetime (member of the Tlingit elite, opera performer, museum curator, ethnographer, collector, officer of The Alaska Native Brotherhood, and fisheries inspector) each reflect specific social

interactions and raise issues appropriate to the political and economic history of Native peoples in southeastern Alaska. These multiple contextualizations form a constellation of interrelated socio-economic spheres: Shotridge's personal and family circumstances, the introduction of tourism, the ideals of turn-of-the-century progressive Protestantism, collecting practices, museum objectives, the influence of Boasian anthropology, the aegis of private philanthropy, the pan-Indian movement, and shifting Tlingit perspectives and syncretic and objective strategies towards Anglo-American contact. Each of these spheres of influence or "institutions,"<sup>103</sup> embodied a specific set of goals and hierarchies which impacted on Shotridge, occasionally simultaneously.

As an anthropology museum curator, Shotridge argued that the institutionalization of Tlingit objects served as a means of preserving the dignity of historic Tlingit lifeways. Yet Shotridge's work was shaped by trends that were linked to broader political, economic, and intellectual events in Native American life and anthropology. Shotridge achieved power and respect from non-Natives because he was trained in Boasian ethnography and therefore won the confidence of his Anglo-American employers. Yet I will show that his goals were distinctly different from others in the same field -- both amateur and professional. In so doing, I argue that the Western construct of "culture" was manipulated by Shotridge and other Tlingit of his generation as a necessary strategy to effect political and social change. This manipulation influenced Shotridge's choice of objects and the character of the University Museum collection in very specific ways.

As an Anglo-American art historian, my perspective is individualistic and object-oriented. It is not, as Jose Barreiro puts it, "the view from the shore"<sup>104</sup> -- instead, it is, to

engage a complaint from Tlingit historian Andrew Hope III, “yet another view from the outside.”<sup>105</sup> As such my entree into some patterns of thinking and social circumstances is in most regards accessed through Shotridge’s writings and those of his contemporaries, both Native and Anglo-American. My goal is to explore the socio-economic dynamic and complex interactive nature of the collecting process as a demonstration of the diverse and informative histories inherent in museum collections. Instead of being an allochronic representation of a particular “culture,” I argue that collections are representative of individual histories and temporally significant statements of social and political circumstances. The Shotridge collection is one such document, representing a dialogue among anthropology museums, owners of objects, and the individual who mediated between them. Rather than offering one more contribution to a Euro-American historical trajectory,<sup>106</sup> I propose that Shotridge’s legacy be seen as an articulation of conflicted historical motivations which continue to inform and encourage the study of object relations, anthropology museum approaches, and Tlingit issues of self-representation.

My theoretical assumptions are generated out of a Euro-American academic discourse within an object-oriented specialty. In this regard, a subjective/objective approach which composes the basis of social philosopher Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice informs this thesis.<sup>107</sup> Bourdieu defines the *subjective* as the world of the individual, of the lived experience, and the *objective* as the intellectual relations which structure social practices. This study is about the intersection of the personal and professional -- about how the subjective was informed, regulated, and influenced by the objective, both Western and Native.

Details of Louis Shotridge's life are, for the most part, gleaned from his correspondence, field notes, and his articles published in the *Museum Journal*. Thus autobiographical details of Shotridge's life were filtered through a self-censoring lens, a strategy necessary to accommodate an employee/employer or student/mentor relationship.

Interpretation of Shotridge's life is further informed by the perspectives of the historic period in which he lived and, finally, by other biographical accounts. It should be noted that many non-Native accounts quoted in the text, although often based on eyewitness accounts, were sometimes written years after events took place. For example, S. Hall Young published his recollections in 1915 and 1929, many years after his encounter with the Chilkat in 1879. Where possible, as in the case of Young, I have also attempted to consult original correspondence. Nevertheless, such accounts are often found only in the published literature. It is, however, important to acknowledge that such recollections are likely to be distorted both by subjectivity and the passage of time.

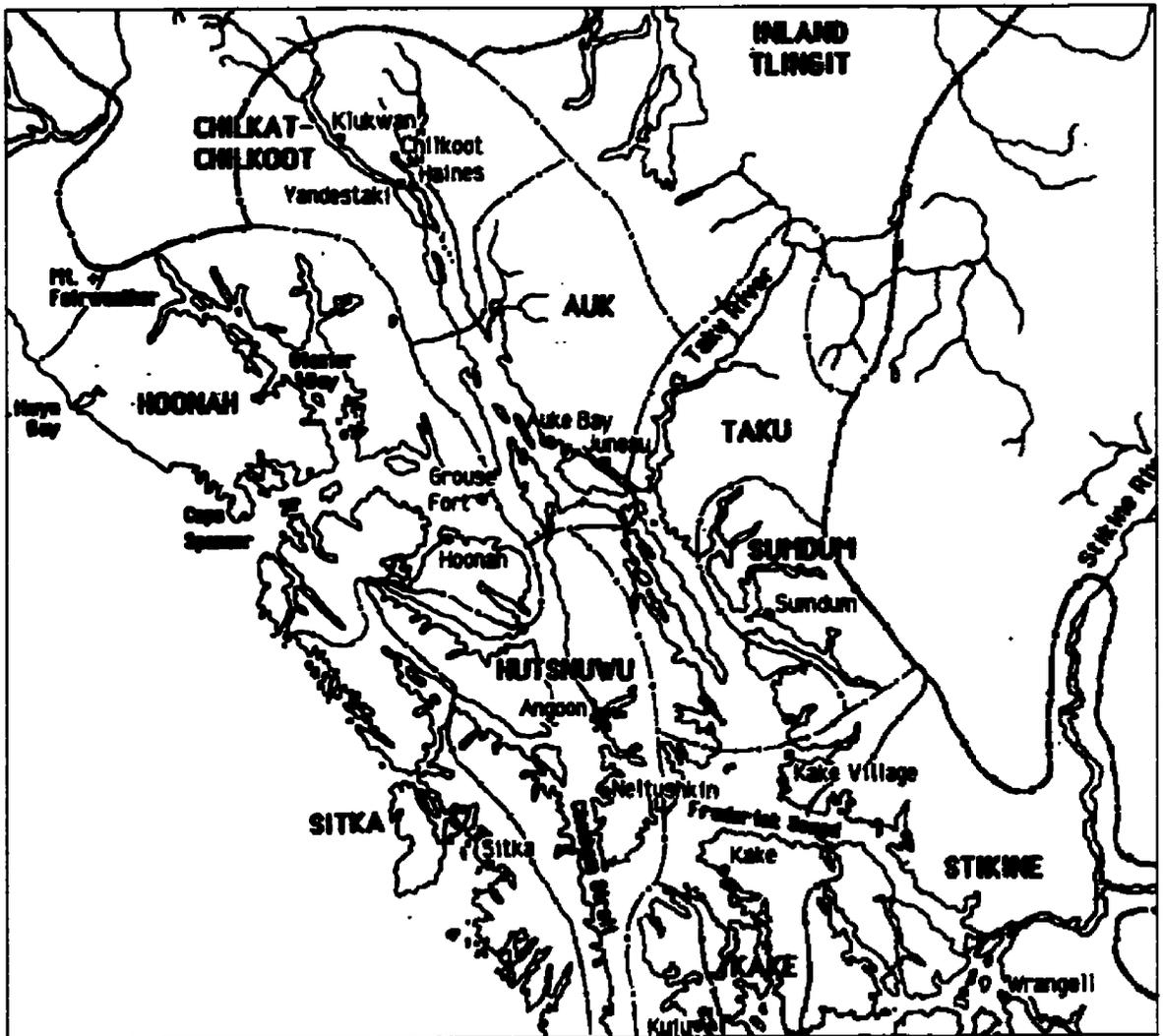
While in Alaska during the summer of 1995, I attempted to locate individuals who knew Shotridge personally or who worked with him. Because Shotridge passed away sixty years ago, I found few people who fit either category. I consulted with members of his immediate family, his daughter Mrs. Lillian O'Daniel and his sister-in-law Mrs. Esther Littlefield. Mrs. O'Daniel was an adolescent when her father died and consequently points out that her understanding of her father's work is limited and her memories confined to personal reflections.<sup>108</sup> Mrs. O'Daniel is supportive of this project and has generously allowed me to use her family photographs in this thesis. Mrs. Littlefield, the sister of Mary Kasakan, Shotridge's third wife, is now quite elderly and her remembrances are limited.<sup>109</sup>

Comments related to Shotridge's personal relationships have not been included in this thesis both because they were shared in confidence and because their content is tangential to the subject of this thesis.

I also corresponded with two individuals, Mr. Walter Soboleff and Dr. Frederica de Laguna, who came into contact with Shotridge as a result of their work. Mr. Soboleff was a member of the Alaska Native Brotherhood executive when Shotridge was Grand President. I am grateful to him for sharing his comments on Shotridge's involvement with that organization. Although her association with Shotridge was limited, I am indebted to Dr. de Laguna for sharing her remembrances of him during his tenure as curator at the University Museum.

Data on objects in the Shotridge Collection at the University of Pennsylvania Museum was compiled by cross-referencing Shotridge's card files donated by Mrs. O'Daniel and located in the Alaska Historical Library in Juneau with ethnographic notes and letters in the University Museum Archives, Shotridge's original collection lists, and photographic documentation compiled from a variety of sources. These images, some of which are included in this thesis, are most useful in determining heretofore unrecognized clan and house affiliations and the use of certain objects in specific events, as well as providing a cross-check on Shotridge's ethnographic information.





Map 2. Detail from Map 1 (from Emmons 1991) showing Klukwan, Haines, Chilkoot, Sitka, Juneau, Hoonah, Angoon, and Wrangell.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> *Journal of Science* 23 May 1919:491
- <sup>2</sup> Mason 1960; Miller and Miller 1967; Carpenter 1975; Cole 1985; Jonaitis 1986; Price 1989; Gmelch 1995.
- <sup>3</sup> Berkhofer 1978.
- <sup>4</sup> Carpenter 1975:20; Price 1989:68-70.
- <sup>5</sup> Carpenter 1975:20 & 22.
- <sup>6</sup> Berkhofer 1978; Feest 1988; Fiedler 1988.
- <sup>7</sup> See for example Josephy 1961.
- <sup>8</sup> See for example Parsons 1922 and Casagrande 1960. Casagrande's work is of interest in that it represents acknowledgement of the "informant" as an individual personality, at least as far as he or she is represented through the anthropologists' perceptions.
- <sup>9</sup> Liberty 1978:241.
- <sup>10</sup> Most recently a 1992 session of the American Anthropological Association Meetings organized by Douglas R. Parks and Margot Liberty revisited the role of the Native American intellectual.
- <sup>11</sup> Halpin 1978:141.
- <sup>12</sup> Blackman 1982a:4.
- <sup>13</sup> Milburn 1987.
- <sup>14</sup> Ford 1941; Halpin 1978; Blackman 1982a; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994.
- <sup>15</sup> Milburn 1987.
- <sup>16</sup> See also Moses and Wilson 1985:3.
- <sup>17</sup> See for example Abbott et al 1995.
- <sup>18</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:ix.
- <sup>19</sup> Cruikshank 1990:x.
- <sup>20</sup> Fabian 1983.
- <sup>21</sup> Thomas 1994.
- <sup>22</sup> Karp and Lavine 1991; Macdonald and Fyfe 1996.
- <sup>23</sup> Torgovnick 1990; Phillips 1992.
- <sup>24</sup> Thomas 1994:50.
- <sup>25</sup> See for example Fisher (1977) or Tennant (1990).
- <sup>26</sup> See Phillips 1992.
- <sup>27</sup> Clifford 1988:209.
- <sup>28</sup> See Gloria Cranmer Webster "On the Contemporary Potlatch" in *Chiefly Feasts* edited by Aldona Jonaitis (1991) or the catalogue of the Washington State Centennial exhibit *A Time of Gathering* edited by Robin Wright (1991) or more recently the numerous contributions by individuals appropriate to the tribal groups discussed in *The Spirit Within* edited by Abbott et al (1995).

- 29 See John H. Hauberg's commentary in Abbott et al (1995:9-17) or Aldona Jonaitis' *From the Land of the Totem Poles* (1988) for a history of the American Museum of Natural History collecting on the Northwest Coast.
- 30 See Jonaitis 1991.
- 31 Nora Marks Dauenhauer 1995:21.
- 32 Durham in Abbot 1994:xx.
- 33 Clifford 1988; Thomas 1994.
- 34 Bean 1994:888.
- 35 Bean 1994:888.
- 36 Haas 1996:S1-22.
- 37 Haas 1996: S1.
- 38 See for example Ames 1992:77-88;140.
- 39 Hinsley, Jr., 1994. Preface to the paperback edition originally published as *Savages and Scientists* (1981) and revised as *The Smithsonian and the American Indian: Making A Moral Anthropology in Victorian America*. See also Stocking (1985:5) on relations of power and museums.
- 40 Dominguez 1986:548
- 41 Appadurai 1986:36.
- 42 Cole 1985:55.
- 43 The U.S. National Museum received Swan's first package of natural history specimens in 1860 (Cole 1985:14). The first specifically ethnological collection was founded in the 1840s in Denmark (Stocking 1985:7).
- 44 Cole 1985:46. Considering the shrewdness of Native sellers in interpreting Euro-American tastes, it is also possible that the Nuu-chah-nulth raised the price on the used harpoon because they knew non-Native buyers placed more value on objects that had not been made for sale. See also Phillips (1992) on the topic of Native American responses to the object market.
- 45 See also Jacknis 1989:94.
- 46 Hinckley 1982:253.
- 47 Miller & Miller 1967:241.
- 48 See Cole 1985:34.
- 49 Miller & Miller 1967:241. It appears that many gifted objects had lost their use-value within Native society but this was not always the case. In 1930 Boas received a mask with ermine skins and a carved cane as a personal gift (Jacknis 1989:95).
- 50 Cole 1985:23. Cole refers to Klawak as a Kaigani Haida settlement.
- 51 Jacknis (1989:99) also notes the reluctance of owners to part with objects when they were in active use. For, example, in April of 1897 Boas asked Hunt to get some posts he had seen in a house in Newitti. Hunt replied that it would be hard to get these posts as the owner "got to give Blanket in the house this Coming Winter." Even though he subsequently purchased the poles, Hunt was not able to take possession of them until two years later.
- 52 Muir [1892]1988:62.
- 53 Stewart 1984:132-166.
- 54 Garfield and Forrest [1948] 1981:8.

- 55 Pers.com.: R. Hawker 1996 from Wilson Duff, 1952 Field Notes, U.B.C. Museum of Anthropology Archives, Duff Papers Box 3, File 3-6.
- 56 See Cole (1985:219) on D. F. Tozier who had "accumulated much of his mass of material by theft or 'by the exercise of a show of force and authority.'"
- 57 Jacobsen [1896]1983:75.& 77.
- 58 Hunt who was raised in the Kwakwaka'wakw community of Fort Rupert was the son of a Hudson's Bay Company official and a Tlingit noblewoman.
- 59 Jacknis 1989:97.
- 60 Cole 1985:171; see also Charles Lillard *The Ghostland People* (1989:281-91) for Dorsey's account of the journey.
- 61 Cole 1985:175.
- 62 Jacknis 1989:101.
- 63 Jacknis 1989:105.
- 64 Jacobsen [1896]1983:73.
- 65 Jacknis 1989:49.
- 66 Jacknis 1989:49.
- 67 Jacobsen [1896]1983.
- 68 Cole 1985:173.
- 69 Carlton 1992:106,122.
- 70 Cole 1985:22.
- 71 Jacknis (1989:96) notes that as late as 1942 museums were still considering confiscation as a possible source of objects.
- 72 Kan 1985:214.
- 73 Cole 1985:204 and *Carved History*, a publication of the Alaska Natural History Association, Anchorage Alaska.
- 74 Territorial Governors were appointed by the President. The first to be appointed was John H. Kinkead in 1884. There was a period of two years overlap during which time Lt. Comm. Henry E. Nichols (U.S. Navy) was also responsible for overseeing governance in Alaska.
- 75 Feldman 1996:59-71.
- 76 Cole 1985:204.
- 77 See also Hawthorn ([1967]1979:viii) who states Mungo Martin was, "influential in directing to the museum many of the Kwakiutl people who were at the point of culture change where they wished to abandon their places in the potlatch system."
- 78 Jacknis 1989:105.
- 79 Cole 1985.
- 80 Jacknis 1989.
- 81 Sturtevant 1969:622
- 82 See for example, Stocking (1985), Cole (1985), Dominguez (1986), Clifford (1988), Jonaitis (1988), Hinsely ([1981]1994), Karp and Lavine (1991) and Karp, Kraemer & Lavine (1992).
- 83 See Dominguez (1986:547-48) on Cole's use of these terms.

- <sup>84</sup> Clifford 1988:222.
- <sup>85</sup> Dominguez 1986.
- <sup>86</sup> Appadurai 1986.
- <sup>87</sup> Clifford 1988, 1991.
- <sup>88</sup> Thomas 1991.
- <sup>89</sup> Art historian Bill Holm's work on Kwakwaka'wakw carver Willie Seaweed being a notable exception.
- <sup>90</sup> Dominguez 1986:547.
- <sup>91</sup> Haas 1996:S7. See also Ames 1992.
- <sup>92</sup> Appadurai 1986:5.
- <sup>93</sup> Vogel 1988.
- <sup>94</sup> See also Dominguez 1986; Appadurai 1986.
- <sup>95</sup> Vogel 1988:11.
- <sup>96</sup> Dominguez 1986:546-55.
- <sup>97</sup> Wolf 1982:23.
- <sup>98</sup> See in particular Cole (1985), Jonaitis (1988,1991) and Jacknis (1985,1992).
- <sup>99</sup> See Carlton (1992) on Sheldon Jackson and Jacknis (1989:1991) on Franz Boas and George Hunt.
- <sup>100</sup> Thomas 1994.
- <sup>101</sup> Thomas 1991:21
- <sup>102</sup> Thomas 1994.
- <sup>103</sup> Defined as a "relatively durable set of social relations which endows individuals with power, status, and resources of various kinds" (Thompson Introduction to Bourdieu 1994).
- <sup>104</sup> Barreiro (1990) commenting on the 1992 Quincentenary Anniversary marking Native American contact with Europeans.
- <sup>105</sup> Hope III (1982:ii) commenting on Carpenter (1975).
- <sup>106</sup> See Dominguez 1992:19-42.
- <sup>107</sup> Bourdieu 1979.
- <sup>108</sup> Pers. com.: Mrs. Lillian O'Daniel, 1995.
- <sup>109</sup> Pers. com.: Mrs. Esther Littlefield, 1995.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **THE SHOTRIDGE FAMILY AND EURO-AMERICAN CONTACT**

Shotridge's life circumstances and by extension the collecting process in which he was involved were mandated by the socio-economic conditions of contact. Dating from the mid-1800s numerous Euro-American accounts describe objects acquired through sale, theft, or as gifts. Following the purchase of Alaska by the United States, social disruption from contact intensified as did the collection of Tlingit objects. As clan leaders, Louis Shotridge's father and grandfather participated in the alteration of many Tlingit lifeways. The written record indicates Tlingit response as one in which Native leaders attempted first to resist, then to negotiate a profitable space within rapidly changing socio-economic circumstances. These negotiations sometimes resulted in the indigenization of certain Anglo-American institutions,<sup>1</sup> but more often they resulted in degrees of displacement and disenfranchisement. Tlingit survival necessitated compromise with the dominant American interests, a situation which continued in various forms throughout Louis Shotridge's life.

This chapter examines negotiations of Shotridge's grandfather, Chief Shaadaxícht, and his father Yeilgooxú, headman (*hit s'aati*) of the prestigious Whale House (*Yáay hit*)

in circumstances of Euro-American intrusion. Their lives illuminate the personal impact of contact period events such as the non-Native appropriation of land and economic resources, disease, alcohol, the introduction of firearms, and missionization. These events were to have a significant impact on the education and upbringing of Louis Shotridge.

### **The Chilkat/Chilkoot People and Euro-American Contact**

Tlingit-speaking people live in Southeastern Alaska from Yakutat Bay in the north to Cape Fox in the south, predominantly on the coast, but with inland communities along the Chilkat and Stikine Rivers in Alaska, and in Southwest Yukon and Northwest British Columbia (see map 1). It is estimated that they numbered about 15,000 at the time of contact in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> They comprised fourteen or more distinct tribal groups or divisions (*kwáans*), each identified with a specific geographical area. The Tlingit people were divided socially into two groups or moieties: Ravens and Eagle/Wolves. Each moiety was exogamous, which meant that marriage within a person's moiety was prohibited.<sup>3</sup> At contact people lived in large communal wood plank houses, each occupied by a lineage or group of matrilineally related men and their wives and young children. One or more lineages sharing a common ancestry and history formed a clan.<sup>4</sup> Clans were hierarchically grouped within their respective moiety and community. At birth an individual became a member of the mother's moiety and clan. The rights to certain names were owned by individual clans or, more often, house groups. They were associated with social position and constituted an important aspect of an individual's social persona.<sup>5</sup> Personal names were acquired at birth (and seen as the reincarnated spirit of a deceased

relative), or during a lifetime (as a result of certain achievements such as hosting a potlatch).<sup>6</sup> As social identity, names were a person's most valued possession.

The house group was the center of socio-economic activity for individual families. Within this structure, children were educated and life crises dealt with, resources exploited and trade organized. According to Tlingit custom, a young male child took up residence in the house of his maternal uncle and was subject to his authority. Throughout a man's lifetime he received instruction, economic support, and social legitimacy from his maternal uncle. Rules governing inheritance were complex but ideally the eldest male child could expect to inherit his uncle's title and privileges.<sup>7</sup> High-ranking individuals or clan leaders were referred to as chiefs but as Kan points out:

The leadership position and aristocratic status in Tlingit society were based on a combination of ascription and achievement, with the headman's pedigree and wealth, as well as the size of the kinship group under his authority, being the key factors determining his rank and status. It also appears that his control over his kin was rather limited.<sup>8</sup>

Through active participation in socially prestigious activities, individuals improved their positions within the system.<sup>9</sup> Persons of high status formed an aristocracy of wealthy leaders and decision-makers. Kan states:

Most of the ethnographers agree that the criteria for defining a person's aristocratic status were fairly clear. They included the high rank and wealth of his parents (especially the mother), the number and the scale of the potlatches sponsored by them in his honor, his marriage to a person of equal or higher rank, and his accomplishments in those activities (trade, warfare, etc.) that generated wealth and enabled him to give his own potlatch(es) or actively participate in those given by his matrikin (compare Olson 1967:47-48).<sup>10</sup>

The headman had ultimate authority in decisions affecting the matrilineal group.<sup>11</sup> Hereditary chiefs, sub-chiefs and their kinsmen were considered the aristocracy (*aanyátx 'i*) of the matrilineal group responsible for upholding traditional customs and clan etiquette and strove to enhance the prestige of their respective households.<sup>12</sup> Traditionally they were supported in their endeavors by individuals of lesser status and by slaves who had no status. Property was owned personally as well as collectively by kinship groups, although Kan states, “the distinction between collective and individual rights was somewhat blurred.”<sup>13</sup>

One tribal division (*kwáan*) the Chilkat-Chilkoot, occupy the territory surrounding the head of Lynn Canal, one of the longest and deepest fjords on the North American continent (map 2). A distinction is made between the people who live along the Chilkat River who are referred to as the Chilkat, and the closely related Chilkoot whose villages were once located north of the missionary settlement at Haines on the Lutak and Taiya Inlets.<sup>14</sup> Prior to 1900, there were four Chilkat/Chilkoot winter villages in the area -- three on the Chilkat River: Yandeist'akyé,<sup>15</sup> Kaatx'awultú,<sup>16</sup> and Klukwan, and one on the Chilkoot River called Chilkoot.<sup>17</sup> Summer villages were located at Deishú (now subsumed by Haines),<sup>18</sup> Dyea, and Skagway.<sup>19</sup>

A principal economic pursuit of the Chilkat/Chilkoot peoples was trading -- a highly lucrative pursuit. Among the goods originally traded were large quantities of eulachon (candlefish) oil distilled from the spring eulachon runs on the Chilkat River. Forays into the interior were frequently undertaken to exchange eulachon oil with Athapaskan peoples<sup>20</sup> and consequently the trade routes became known as “grease” trails.

One route controlled by the Chilkat led from Klukwan, up the Chilkat and Klehini Rivers, and over the Chilkat Pass to Native villages in the upper Alsek River region. Another well-traveled trail owned by the Chilkoot began near the tidewater village of Dyea at the mouth of the Taiya River and extended over the steep Chilkoot Pass to Bennett Lake and into the Yukon drainage.<sup>21</sup> A variety of commodities, both Native and later European, were exchanged for such items as the furs of the beaver, lynx, and fox. During the mid- to late-1800s a Hudson's Bay Company musket, costing approximately ten dollars, was worth its height in beaver skins.<sup>22</sup> Anthropologist Frederica de Laguna provides us with a table of Chilkat trading profits for 1890. For example, the cost of a silver fox to the Tlingit was \$1.25 for which \$4.00 was received from the trader.<sup>23</sup>

Twenty-three miles up-river from the mouth of the Chilkat lies the settlement of Klukwan, where Louis Shotridge was born (figs. 1.1a & b). It is situated on the north shore at the point of a backwater eddy that allowed easy beaching of canoes out of the main current. Due to its location, residents enjoyed a rich harvest of both terrestrial and marine resources. To this day, great numbers of bald eagles converge along the shores of the Chilkat River when the warm upwellings under its surface encourage a fall salmon run.<sup>24</sup> The village was never isolated, for it could be reached by canoe in the warmer months and by snowshoe in the winter. The settlement, famous for its wealth from early contact times, is still inhabited.

The historic plan of the settlement was standard for most Tlingit sites. Permanent structures consisted of rows of wooden communal houses and smokehouses fronting the river and grave houses were located behind. According to researchers, five clans had

houses in Klukwan: the Lukaax.ádi, Gaanaxteidi, Kaagwaantaan, Dakl'aweidi and Dagisdinaa.<sup>25</sup> Two clans, the Gaanaxteidi and the Kaagwaantaan, were most prominent. They occupied the center of the village and members of these groups often intermarried.<sup>26</sup> Thus both social hierarchy and economic prestige were articulated in the layout of the settlement. For some, these two clans constituted the “aristocracy of the tribe”<sup>27</sup> and Louis Shotridge, as a high-born child of the Kaagwaantaan and son of a Gaanaxteidi chief, was considered as such.

Initial European contact with the Chilkat may have resulted from a series of Russian fur-trading expeditions which began with that of Vitus Bering in 1741 and reached the Alaskan Peninsula by 1762.<sup>28</sup> In 1788, an expedition headed by the Russian navigators Gerassim Ismailov and Dmitrii Bocharov was trading at Port Mulgrave on Yakutat Bay.<sup>29</sup> The Russians met a group of 150 natives under the leadership of a chief named “Ilchak.”<sup>30</sup> There is reason to believe that Ilchak and his people had traveled from the Chilkat area, perhaps even from Klukwan.<sup>31</sup>

In 1793-94, a British expedition headed by Captain George Vancouver explored the waters of southeastern Alaska. In July 1794, Lieutenant Joseph Whidbey was sent on a survey of Chatham Strait. At Icy Strait, Whidbey entered Lynn Canal where, he was told, eight important chiefs occupied the territory surrounding the upper reaches of the canal. No Natives were sighted until, his survey complete, Whidbey turned south again and was suddenly met by an opulently dressed individual who presented him with a sea otter skin. The following day Whidbey and his crew were confronted by a group of armed Natives

whose behaviour appeared overly aggressive. The British deemed a swift retreat to the area of Admiralty Island prudent to avoid a possible confrontation.<sup>32</sup>

Although British and American ships came into Tlingit territory during the trading season, the Russians were active in developing settlements in the area.<sup>33</sup> From 1799 to 1867, the Russian-American Company established trading posts among the Aleutian Islands and along the Alaskan coastline.<sup>34</sup> The company's interest in this area derived exclusively from the profits to be gained from the fur trade. During the almost seventy years of company occupation, relations with the Tlingit remained unsettled. The Tlingit disputed the pre-eminence of the Russians, preferring to maintain a competitive position with the increasing numbers of Spanish and, more importantly, British and American traders who arrived by ship. These groups paid better prices for skins and, perhaps of equal significance, often traded muskets or rum, two commodities in limited supply from the Russian-American Company. Throughout this period the company discouraged permanent settlement in the area. Thus during the Russian occupation there was little loss of political autonomy or social structure for the Tlingit, who initially profited from the introduction of "exotic" trade goods.<sup>35</sup>

With the purchase of Alaska by the Americans in 1867 the territory became known as the "the last American frontier." By the late 1800s the frontiersman of America was joined by the scientific explorer -- the naturalist and ethnologist. Expeditions funded by the U.S. Geological Survey documented the natural resources of the country in the interest of supplying the fundamental needs of industrialization.<sup>36</sup> In Alaska, natural scientists joined fur traders, naval officers, and missionaries in exploring America's latest acquisition. Each

had their own particular goals in mind -- economic exploitation, scientific knowledge, Christianization, and assimilation -- but underlying all, the assurance of Anglo-American supremacy over the land and its peoples.

### **Chief Shaadaxícht: Resistance and Accommodation**

The period surrounding the birth of Louis Shotridge (ca. 1880-84) and up to the turn of the century were years wherein many previous Tlingit lifeways substantially altered. Kan describes changes in Tlingit lifeways as a gradual process which “did not gain momentum until the last two decades of the nineteenth century.”<sup>37</sup> These changes and events are particularly well illustrated through the history of Louis Shotridge's family: both his grandfather Shaadaxícht and his father Yeilgooxú (George Shotridge) were chiefs or headmen of their family groups and both had numerous dealings with Euro-Americans arriving in Chilkat territory.

Most practices of Anglo-American contact clashed with Tlingit lifeways and contributed to the erosion of tribal autonomy. Lineage heads often acted as spokesmen for their kinsmen in social, political, and economic affairs resulting from contact-period events. Leaders such as Shaadaxícht first resisted Euro-American incursions and then, with the tide of events flowing against them, negotiated diverse demands within the trauma of extraordinary social upheaval.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately we know little of Shaadaxícht's thinking as there is only one direct quote attributed to him. The accounts related here describe events from both the Euro-American perspective and that of his grandson Louis Shotridge.

Shaadaxícht was by many accounts one of the most powerful Tlingit chiefs of his time. He was the headman of the Finned House of the Kaagwaantaan clan of the Wolf moiety.<sup>39</sup> The first physical description of him appears in the writings of Aurel Krause, where he is identified as Chief Tscharrtritsch, a German translation of the Tlingit name Shaadaxícht.<sup>40</sup> The name was later Anglicized as “Chartrich” or “Shathitch” and finally “Shotridge.”<sup>41</sup> Apparently Shaadaxícht received his name from his paternal grandfather, a prominent member of the Wolf moiety of the Stikine Tlingit. According to one source the Tlingit name refers to a shark crest which in translation meant “never hit a shark with a club” or in more practical terms, “very powerful, not to be trifled with.”<sup>42</sup>

The earliest recorded account of Shaadaxícht’s activities occurred as a result of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s construction of Fort Selkirk in 1848. Situated at the junction of the Pelly and Lewes Rivers (now the upper Yukon River) the fort was located 370 km in a straight line from the coast and represented a round trip of as many as 60 days on foot.<sup>43</sup> The Chilkat perceived the fort as an intrusion into their lucrative interior trade monopoly. They jealously defended their trading routes, insisting that trading alliances and the right to trade with certain individuals were inheritable rights, and that the deprivation of their trade would reduce them to a state of slavery.<sup>44</sup> Thus, in August of 1852, a Tlingit war party composed of twenty-seven Chilkat and led by Shaadaxícht, arrived by canoe at the fort. Chief Factor Campbell along with other Company officers, their wives, and some hunters fled while the Tlingit warriors smashed, burned, or carried away everything of value.<sup>45</sup> The raid was highly successful in that the Hudson’s Bay Company’s presence in the area was thereafter eliminated for 85 years.<sup>46</sup>

However, in 1867 when Russia sold its Alaskan territory to the United States, a group of Tlingit leaders met to discuss the expulsion of the new invaders. Chief Shaadaxícht, then fifteen years older and certainly more aware of an increasing Anglo-American military strength, rejected the idea. The newcomers, he pointed out, had “many cannon,” and that was the end of the discussion.<sup>47</sup>

Shaadaxícht, chose to negotiate accommodation for the purposes of economic as well as diplomatic interaction with the colonizers. His position as one of the most powerful Tlingit leaders allowed him to meet and entertain Euro-American visitors to the area, including explorers and missionaries. He and Chief Daanawáak, (also Donawok or Danawak in the historical literature), the head of the Lukaax.ádi clan who lived at Yandeist'akyé, were two of the most wealthy and powerful individuals in the area.<sup>48</sup> Both shared in providing food and shelter to numerous Euro-American visitors and acted as spokesmen for their people. By all accounts no one wanted for anything while staying with the chiefs. In 1869 Secretary of State William H. Seward (who negotiated the American purchase of Alaska, a territory that was thereafter frequently referred to as “Seward’s Folly”) was one recipient of this hospitality.<sup>49</sup> Upon his return home he sent Shaadaxícht a chinchilla blanket emblazoned with the words, “To Chief Shathitch, from his friend, William H. Seward!”<sup>50</sup>

Another memorable visit took place in 1879 when Rev. S. Hall Young, a Presbyterian minister stationed at Fort Wrangel (now Wrangell), and naturalist John Muir, in Alaska to study glaciers, together visited the area. After exploring Glacier Bay, they paddled their canoe up the Chilkat River, arriving at Yandeist'akyé on the first of

November amid great excitement on the part of the Tlingit.<sup>51</sup> Following a Native custom for welcoming important visitors a shower of bullets was unleashed and the canoe and its occupants were carried from the water and deposited at the door of Daanawáak's house.<sup>52</sup>

While being entertained by the chief, Young and Muir were honored by a visit from Shaadaxícht, regally-clothed in the Seward chinchilla robe he had received years earlier.<sup>53</sup> Young characterized Shaadaxícht as, "the proudest and worst old savage of Alaska" and the Chilkat trading position as "unscrupulous."<sup>54</sup> The following day Young, eager to convert these "most quarrelsome and warlike"<sup>55</sup> peoples, preached to a large audience. Later that afternoon, in the company of Shaadaxícht, Daanawáak, and other important persons, Daanawáak gave Young land for a Presbyterian mission at Portage Bay on Lynn Canal<sup>56</sup> (now the town of Haines<sup>57</sup>). "I had offered them a missionary and teachers," Young later recalled, "and had told them of our intention of building a new Christian town where they could speedily learn the white man's ways and Christian habits and where their children could be educated as Boston men and women."<sup>58</sup>

Young was also impressed with Shaadaxícht's great wealth. As a headman who controlled lucrative trading routes into the interior Shaadaxícht had:

Several houses full of blankets, guns, boxes of beads, ancient carved pipes, spears, knives and other valued heirlooms. He was said to have stored away over one hundred of the elegant Chilcat blankets woven by hand from the hair of the mountain goat.<sup>59</sup>

Young's detailed list was likely influenced by a developing market interest in Northwest Coast objects and his association with the Presbyterian minister Sheldon Jackson whose collecting activities were well-established. Although Russian, British,

European, and American explorers had acquired some objects, intensive collecting was just beginning -- a result of a burgeoning interest in Native American peoples among the Western world's natural history museums.<sup>60</sup>

Some "Boston men" or U.S. naval officers took advantage of their stay in Alaska to collect Native-made objects, both old and new. Northwest Coast peoples had been making objects especially wood sculpture for sale to non-Natives since the eighteenth century and by the third quarter of the nineteenth century it was common to commission resident Natives to act as agents in collecting. Some government officials also served as correspondents for the Smithsonian Institution founded in 1846 in Washington, D.C.

Chief Shaadaxicht's wealth was accumulated as a result of the fur trade with the interior and the Anglo-Americans were quick to enter this market. U.S. presence in the land-based fur trade was established largely through the Northwest Trading Company. In 1880, six trading posts were opened in southeastern Alaska, including one at Deishú under the direction of trader George Dickinson.<sup>61</sup> Apparently Dickinson's Native wife Sarah<sup>62</sup> was an exceptional individual. She had studied under the Anglican missionary William Duncan<sup>63</sup> at Old Metlakatla and attended Forest Grove, a Native boarding school in Oregon before beginning her teaching career in 1877 at a school for Native children in Fort Wrangel.<sup>64</sup> There she met and impressed the Presbyterian Minister Sheldon Jackson on his initial visit to Alaska in 1879. When the Dickinsons were posted to Deishú in 1880, Sarah Dickinson was commissioned by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions to open a new school among the Chilkat-Chilkoot peoples.<sup>65</sup>

With the arrival in 1881 of the Presbyterian missionaries the Rev. and Mrs. Eugene (Caroline) S. Willard, construction of a mission house, church, and school at what was then called Haines Mission began. A boarding school was opened in 1883.<sup>66</sup> The Willards stayed with the Dickinsons at the trading post while George Dickinson worked to construct the mission buildings. Seeking an alliance that would promote congenial trading relations with the Tlingit, the Northwest Trading Company provided assistance to Presbyterian missionaries and made it a policy to place Christian men of Presbyterian denomination in charge of their posts.<sup>67</sup> The company profited by supplying construction materials for the mission. Company owner J.M. Vanderbilt wrote to Sheldon Jackson:

I am glad to state that the mission at Chilcat is already started and a building for church and school purposes nearly completed--erected by contract with Rev. Mr. Young for the Home Board of Missions. We have been cooperating with Mr. Young in the matter both at Chilcat and also planned to do so with him at Cordova Bay and have already succeeded in starting Christian [sic] villages for the natives....Paymaster Ring of the U.S. ship "Jamestown" has control of the Sitka saw-mill--he will furnish you with rough lumber ...<sup>68</sup>

During the winter of 1881-82 Aurel and Arthur Krause, two German scholars in the natural sciences, visited the Chilkat/Chilkoot area.<sup>69</sup> The brothers stayed with the Dickinsons and Sarah Dickinson appears to have served as the Krauses' principal informant.<sup>70</sup> With her they studied the Tlingit language and met traders who brought their furs to the post. The relationship enabled the Krauses to purchase 178 objects and in 1885, upon the completion of their expedition, Aurel Krause published an ethnographic account entitled *Die Tlinket Indianer*.<sup>71</sup> In this work Krause provides us with a detailed

picture of circumstances and personalities associated with the earliest period of contact in the area of the Lynn Canal.

A more lasting relationship with an individual who collected Tlingit objects was formed in 1882 when George Thornton Emmons first visited the area.<sup>72</sup> Emmons, who was stationed aboard the *USS Adams*, was first assigned to quell a riot in the Auk village at Juneau. There he met Chief Kowee (Cowie) and initiated a friendly rapport which resulted in Kowee relating a story of the meeting between the explorer La Perouse and the Tlingit.<sup>73</sup> This initial encounter typified Emmons' interest in Tlingit history and his extra-official ability to foster friendly relations with high-ranking Tlingit personalities.<sup>74</sup> Throughout the two decades of his stay in Alaska, Emmons was involved with the Shotridge family at various levels and to varying degrees as Naval official, friend, mentor, historical biographer, and dealer/collector of Tlingit objects. Between 1882 and 1887, Emmons accumulated over thirteen hundred carefully documented items which were sold to the American Museum of Natural History in New York in 1888.<sup>75</sup> Emmons continued to acquire objects from all areas of the northwest coast and his long-lived career as a collector/ethnographer was to outlast Shotridge's by eight years.<sup>76</sup>

Missionary Caroline Willard's descriptions of Chilkat-Chilkoot peoples are informative for her perception of the customs and circumstances of Tlingit lifeways and for her interest in the re-commoditization of their prestige objects as "Indian Art." She described Shaadaxicht and Klukwan in this way:

We found Clok-wan by far the largest Indian village we have seen in Alaska, as well as the richest and most substantially built, many of the houses being elegant in their way. The carvings in many of them are

worth thousands of blankets. Three of the largest of these houses belong to Shat-e-rich, and the largest and costliest one he has given to the Mission: in it we held our service on Sunday.<sup>77</sup>

Many of Caroline Willard's writings describe the upheaval of contact as well as the continuation of pre-contact patterns as with warfare between clans. Such feuding between clans sometimes disrupted family ties. This was the case when one of Shaadaxicht's two wives, a Tlingit woman of the Stikine division, returned to her clan after a dispute erupted between the two groups.<sup>78</sup>

Willard spoke very highly of both Daanawáak and Shaadaxicht, with whom the missionaries often stayed when traveling beyond the mission. "Shat-e-rich," she goes on to say, "is of higher caste than any other chief of the Chilcats, being a Cinnamon Bear and very rich."<sup>79</sup> Both Caroline Willard and her child were "adopted" by Shaadaxicht and soon the chief made arrangements to board his own son at the mission school in Haines.<sup>80</sup> Later when Shaadaxicht and other "good families" from Fort Wrangel and Sitka were convinced to send their sons to Forest Grove to receive additional education, Young proudly proclaimed, "This gives us an additional hold upon the heads of the tribes."<sup>81</sup> The educational initiative also served to disrupt avuncular rules wherein youths were raised within the residences and under the tutelage of their uncles.

In 1881 Haines Mission school opened with four regular pupils and up to twenty-eight casual attendees.<sup>82</sup> By 1883 a boy's boarding school had been constructed with carpenters furnished by Captain Glass of the *USS Jamestown*. Presbyterian missionary Rev. John G. Brady described the dormitory:

Each boy has his own single bed clean and new. A bath-room joins this sleeping room, On the lower floor is the kitchen and many other rooms. On this floor is the fees dispensary for all, where the Jamestown physician attends every morning. The boys are provided with clothing as cheap as possible. There is room for twenty-five boys.<sup>83</sup>

The establishment of Haines Mission was achieved not only through the efforts of Sheldon Jackson but also through the support of Anglo-American interests in the area -- both governmental and commercial. This co-operation between public, private, and religious sectors was characteristic of settlement in Alaska. Such co-operation not only contributed to the rapid pace of Americanization but this form of solidarity gave each individual institution a disproportionate advantage in terms of power and influence over the indigenous Native society.

The combined presence of the Presbyterians and the fur traders had a dramatic impact on the daily life of Chilkat-Chilkoot peoples. Many parents chose to relocate their residences at Haines Mission where their children could receive an Anglo-American education and where they had easy access to the Northwest Trading Company store. A census taken at Klukwan in 1880 lists 500-600 inhabitants and 65 houses whereas by 1890 the population had declined to 326 people in 30 occupied houses.<sup>84</sup> Resettlement caused much disruption in household and village life, and contributed to a loss of the autonomy the Chilkat-Chilkoot had previously enjoyed. During the Russian occupation, bilingual education was the norm; however the Presbyterians and U.S. Government prohibited the use of the Tlingit language in schools and in civic functions.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of their best efforts, the Tlingit language and customs remained strong, so much so that they

were later perceived as significant impediments to Anglo-American concepts of assimilation and progress.<sup>86</sup>

The U.S. Army charged with protecting the mission and the Northwest Company's trading post, maintained an often uneasy peace among the peoples of the area. Disturbances were attributed as much to the debilitating effects of alcohol consumption as to Anglo-American entrepreneurs who trespassed on Chilkat- or Chilkoot-owned trading routes. The opening of the area to commercial exploitation also brought prospectors in search of mineral wealth. In 1874 a prospector named George Holt became the first American to succeed in reaching the interior via the Chilkoot Pass. Holt returned to the coast in 1878 brandishing some gold nuggets given to him by a Native and this immediately fired the imagination of prospectors throughout the panhandle. Shortly thereafter, twenty men protected by a U.S. gunboat arrived at Dyea Inlet (now Taiya Inlet), a short distance from the Chilkoot Pass. A few blank rounds fired from a Gatling gun convinced the local chief to open the pass. However, soon the Chilkoot began to profit from the transport of dry goods for the increasing numbers of gold seekers on their way to the Yukon River.<sup>87</sup>

In 1880 Commander L.A. Beardslee of the *USS Jamestown* was ordered to mediate a war between the Chilkat and Chilkoot. Shaadaxicht was among the four headmen, one from each of the leading Chilkoot and Chilkat villages, who met with Beardslee on board the schooner *USS Favorite*. After some discussion Shaadaxicht agreed to pay reparations for a member of his clan who had taken a life in the confrontation. The commander also settled what had become a long-standing and persistent grievance, a

dispute with a group of Anglo-Americans who had violated an agreement with the Chilkat regarding trading rights.<sup>88</sup>

In 1884 with the passage of the Organic Act, civil government was established making Alaska subject to the laws of Oregon.<sup>89</sup> This act, which allowed for the right to file mineral claims and to homestead land, applied only to U.S. citizens and explicitly excluded Natives.<sup>90</sup> It also stated that, “Indians or other persons in said district shall not be disturbed in the possession of any lands actually in their use or occupation or now claimed by them, but the terms under which such persons may acquire title to such lands is reserved for future legislation by Congress.”<sup>91</sup>

To further the aims of homesteaders U.S. naval vessels continued to patrol Alaskan waters until the turn of the century. The *USS Pinta*, a small navy gunboat, was one such vessel. In 1885 its commander, Henry E. Nichols, wrote to Daanawáak, “This country is free to all White men to go through in the pursuit of their business; it is for your interest to have them here because they bring you wealth by your contracts to work for them.”<sup>92</sup>

When Californian George Washington Carmack and two Natives, Tagish Charlie and Skookum Jim (of Tlingit/Tagish ancestry)<sup>93</sup> recorded their big Klondike strike near Dawson City in 1896, the gold rush was on.<sup>94</sup> Thousands of “stampeder” stormed the Chilkoot trail in a wild scramble for instant riches. Boats brought the expectant treasure-seekers up the north arm of Lynn Canal to the tidal flats of Dyea. There they disembarked to prepare for the steep and arduous climb over the 3,739 foot crest of the pass. “After five miles of good road,” one British officer reported, “hell begins.” By 1898, 28,000 men

and women had traveled the White Pass or the “Golden Stairs,” some twelve hundred steps cut into the ice of the one-thousand-foot, thirty-five degree slope.<sup>95</sup> Prior to 1886 the tiny settlement of Dyea boasted 138 Native inhabitants, 4 non-Natives, and a trading post. By 1897, an estimated three to ten thousand people had passed through the town; a few stayed to erect clapboard hotels, restaurants, and saloons. Historian Ted Hinckley notes that in 1898 Captain R. T. Yeatman of the U.S. Army protested “The forcible removal of Indian homes, the fencing in of land on which the Indian had planted potatoes, and the way Indian freighters were being excluded not merely from work but from using the Chilkat trail itself.”<sup>96</sup> In 1898 soldiers of the 14th Infantry arrived in Skagway to maintain order.

The Canadian government required that each stamper bring enough supplies -- approximately \$1500 worth, to support himself for one year. The Chilkoot and their Chilkat neighbours were the only able-bodied men capable of packing goods in from the U.S. side.<sup>97</sup> During this brief period, they reaped large profits from the Canadian regulation because pack animals were useless on the steep and treacherous slopes of the pass.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless if Anglo-Americans wished to use Native-owned trails to pack their own goods, Lt. Commander Henry E. Nichols of the *USS Pinta* made it clear to Daanawáak, that they were not to be interfered with stating, “the chiefs of the Tribe and the headmen of families are by me held responsible for the good conduct of their people, and the White Chief, who governs the whole country, is very angry with you for this ill treatment of peaceable people passing through your country.”<sup>99</sup>

The Tlingit transport monopoly was short-lived. Aerial tramways, installed in the White Pass in 1898, provided some competition, but with the completion of the White Pass railway from Skagway to Bennett Lake in 1899, an easily accessible route was established. By 1900 the population of the area had declined substantially (Dyea had dropped back to 122), but the impact of those hectic days on Chilkat-Chilkoot lifeways was considerable.<sup>100</sup>

### **The Death of Shaadaxícht and the Passage of an Era of Tlingit Autonomy**

Emmons described his friend Chief Shaadaxícht as “the finest type of Tlingit, tall straight, intelligent, ideally the most prominent chief in Alaska in the first part of this century.”<sup>101</sup> Many years later in a letter to curator J. Alden Mason at the University Museum Emmons stated: “‘Old’ Shartrige (?) was my best friend in 1882-8 and about the time he passed, respected by all.”<sup>102</sup> According to Emmons, Shaadaxícht died in March of 1889 at the age of 70 and designated to Emmons the customary honour of purchasing his ceremonial robe upon his death.<sup>103</sup>

In 1918 Louis Shotridge described events surrounding his grandfather Shaadaxícht’s funeral. According to Shotridge, Shaadaxícht was, “the last leader who, to the last maintained control [sic] both his side and the opposite of the leading families of Chilkat.”<sup>104</sup> Shotridge’s report is consistent with activities associated with the death of a headman, including the smoking ritual, an important aspect of the cycle of mortuary

rites.<sup>105</sup> Everyone in Shaadaxicht's moiety<sup>106</sup> stopped work for eight days (a length of time reserved for important individuals). Louis Shotridge proudly wrote:

Large pipes were provided for the three or four hundred people from without the village who had been invited to the funeral. The relations of the deceased told stories and sang songs relating to the merits of the deceased. The entire moiety of which he was chief were active participants and the complementary moiety was invited to attend. His popularity had been such that the entire tribe wished to help in raising the totem pole (actually a carved marble statue of a bear) over his grave. But George Shotridge and his brothers refused the proffered aid and erected the pole without other assistance (fig. 1.2).<sup>107</sup>

The death of a clan member, especially one as prestigious as Shaadaxicht, set in motion a mortuary cycle which often began with a smoking feast leading up to cremation of the body and culminating in a memorial potlatch, ideally one year later. It was customary for the body of an individual to be washed and dressed by members of the opposite moiety. It was then laid out in the clan house with a number of personal and clan-owned objects displayed around it.<sup>108</sup> These objects, which were carved, woven, and/or painted with crest images, were the greatest possessions of the clan and house/lineage. The crests were represented on totem poles, house fronts, and ceremonial clothing such as carved wooden hats, staffs, or frontlets or woven robes. The right to display a crest was originally achieved by an ancestor who, according to myth or legend, had experienced a supernatural event or phenomenon in the visible manifestation of an animal or natural object. Usually the ownership of a crest and certain crest objects were inherited. Occasionally, however, a crest was acquired from another clan through warfare or some altercation involving perhaps an unpaid debt or a breakdown of social etiquette.<sup>109</sup>

Crest objects achieved validity and increased in prestige when displayed at important events such as memorial potlatches and peace-making ceremonies. The display of crest objects was accompanied by the recounting of oral history, ancestral myths, songs, and dances. Thus, the social value of crest objects stemmed in part from the fact that they embodied the social rank and history of their owners.<sup>110</sup> Inheritance of personally-owned objects customarily followed from the matrilineal line of succession while the widow received very little or nothing.<sup>111</sup>

By the time of Shaadaxicht's death in 1889, Tlingit economic structures had succumbed to the presence of a well-established Anglo-American cash-based economy.<sup>112</sup> Beginning at least two decades prior to the turn of the century, the focus of U.S. economic power and "progress" was defined by industrialization and the exploitation of the country's natural resources.<sup>113</sup> In the lower 48 states the labour of great numbers of immigrants flowing into the country provided a cheap resource for the operation of factories, mills, railroads, and mines. In Alaska, where immigrant labour was secondary, (some Chinese workers were imported from San Francisco), Native peoples with some Anglo-American education were perceived to be an exploitable labour force for operating mills, canneries, and mines.<sup>114</sup>

Two company-owned fish canneries operated in the Chilkat and Chilkoot Inlets, one of which was located at Klukwan. From 1867 to 1882 the Alaska Commercial Company successfully blocked some 25 bills which were introduced in Congress to provide for the proper administration of the territory.<sup>115</sup> The canneries disrupted subsistence lifeways and decreased fish stocks. By 1889 salmon stocks were so depleted

that legislation was required to stave off their probable elimination.<sup>116</sup> The rapid growth of the fishing industry and Anglo-American commercial life, along with the accompanying labor exploitation, dealt a severe blow to customary Native lifestyles. In his final report as governor in 1889, Alfred Swineford charged that the company had:

Reduced the native population to a condition of helpless dependence, if not one of absolute and abject slavery....[i]ts insatiable greed is such that it is not content with robbing the poor native in the price it sets upon the product of his dangerous toil, but it robs him also in the exorbitant prices it exacts from the goods given in exchange.<sup>117</sup>

Extreme population decline also contributed to the erosion of Native autonomy throughout the area. As a result of a lack of immunity to European-borne diseases, smallpox, influenza, venereal disease, and measles ravaged Alaska's Native populations from the mid-1700s on.<sup>118</sup> Especially devastating was the smallpox epidemic of 1835-40, which recorded a loss of 31 percent of the population,<sup>119</sup> and the no-less-severe influenza-measles epidemic of 1900.<sup>120</sup> Medical historian Robert Fortune writes that these epidemics were "examples of historical events in Alaska that caused death, social disintegration, abandonment of traditional homes, and despair on a scale unparalleled by anything but a major war."<sup>122</sup> Those who survived were often so weakened that they succumbed to secondary infections such as tuberculosis. Tuberculosis appears to have afflicted the peoples of southeastern Alaska most intensively.<sup>123</sup>

The introduction of alcohol and Euro-American firearms was equally disruptive and further contributed to Native mortality. During the Russian period, fur traders agreed to restrict the sale of liquor to Natives and the U.S. government eventually extended that law in 1873, but this did little to prevent its availability.<sup>124</sup> The negative health

implications and social trauma brought about by the consumption of liquor were as devastating as those of epidemic disease.<sup>125</sup>

Depopulation caused serious shifts in the social hierarchy when some high-ranking titles became vacant, enabling those of lesser status to claim them.<sup>126</sup> The loss of elders -- repositories of knowledge and oral tradition and history -- was an irreparable blow to all Northwest Coast peoples.

### **A Noble Family**

Shotridge's father Yeilgooxú ("Raven's Slave"), a member of the Raven moiety and the hereditary headman of the Gaanaxteidí Whale House, was of a generation seriously impacted by the debilitating effects of Anglo-American contact.<sup>127</sup> Born circa 1852<sup>128</sup> Yeilgooxú (George Shotridge), at six feet in height, was described by the Krauses as the second tallest man in Klukwan.<sup>129</sup> His mother Qà.tc-xíxc III was of the Gaanaxteidí Whale House family. Yeilgooxú was the eldest son and according to Edward Shotridge, a younger brother, there were thirteen children in his family, 8 boys and 5 girls.<sup>130</sup> During his childhood, Yeilgooxú's mother had undertaken certain rituals to make him a good hunter, to enable him to smell as well as a bear. Apparently the effort was well worth it. As Louis Shotridge recalled:

Once we were out in the interior upon a mountain, my father sniffed the air and said, 'I smell white man.' No one else in the party could smell the white man. But he was right. Four white men were encamped several miles away. He had a good a nose for horses.<sup>131</sup>

Evidently Yeilgooxú's annual trading trip into the interior was something of a social event:

The Chilkat met the Yukon or Stik Indians once a year at a place intermediate between the tribal lands, for the purpose of trading. Here, too, dances were given in extending and returning greetings, the participants being decorated with eagle and ptarmigan feathers. Even the mothers carrying babies on their backs joined in the dances. Each tribe traded with a special man year after year, and would trade with no one else until he had offered his wares to him and he had gotten what he wanted. The right to trade with a particular man seems to be an inheritable right. Shotridge's father traded with a special man among the Stik Indians, this right having been willed to him by the latter's maternal uncle. This Stik would trade with no one else until Shotridge's father had come; when exchange with him had been effected, he was free to trade with any one.<sup>132</sup>

Photographs show Yeilgooxú in both European and ceremonial dress (fig. 1.3).<sup>133</sup>

As headman of the Whale House Yeilgooxú held a prestigious position in Tlingit society. The house according to Louis Shotridge was originally founded as an annex to the Raven House by X̣èt-šú. ẉ II. X̣èt-šú. ẉ II consolidated the Gaanaxteidí clan under one house and hired the master carver Qà-djìs-dùáxtc II<sup>134</sup> from the Stikine tribe to carve the house posts and the "Worm Bowl" that Shotridge described as among "the master-pieces of all carved wood in the country." (See Appendix 1)

The date of the founding of the original Whale House is undetermined but Emmons estimated its construction to be 1835.<sup>135</sup> In 1895 the Alaska photographers Lloyd Winter and Percy Pond photographed its interior in a staged display of clan objects (fig. 1.4). At this time the house was used for ceremonial occasions only. One of this series of photographs was later converted into a postcard (fig. 1.4a)<sup>136</sup> and gradually the house and its crest objects came to symbolize contact-period Northwest Coast "culture" and thus

became an object of desire to Euro-American tourists and collectors alike. The house posts and screen were dismantled in 1899 and the remains of the structure and four “Dog Salmon” posts which were stored therein were photographed in 1900 by Charles Newcombe and again by Harlan I. Smith for the American Museum of Natural History in 1909 (fig.1.5). In 1916 Emmons published a paper on the Whale House in which he quoted Yeilgooxú on ethnographic details. Emmons described the house in this way:

When I first visited Kluckwan in 1885, the large old communal houses of the Kon-nuh-ta-di were still standing, the principal one of which, that of the hereditary chief, Yough-hit, ‘Whale house,’ was in the last stages of decay and uninhabitable, although the interior fittings were intact and it was still used upon festival occasions. It was unquestionably the most widely known and elaborately ornamented house, not only at Chilkat, but in Alaska.<sup>137</sup>

Yeilgooxú actively participated in the ritual events surrounding his duties as headman of his clan. A newspaper account of a Klukwan potlatch hosted by his clansman Chief Kuwdu.aat (see fig.1.3) in 1900 records Yeilgooxú as purchasing 250 boxes of food for the event.<sup>138</sup> As part of his duty it was customary for the headman to build a new house. Consequently, in 1901 Yeilgooxú hosted an inaugural potlatch for the new Whale House, an event that is said to have cost the family over \$10,000.<sup>139</sup> Three Wolf families of the opposite moiety and the Kaagwaantaan of Sitka were invited to attend.<sup>140</sup> According to Louis Shotridge slaves were set free with the erection of each of the corner posts.<sup>141</sup>

Yeilgooxú’s wife Kudeit.sáakw,<sup>142</sup> belonged to the Wolf moiety of the Kaagwaantaan clan and was a member of Shaadaxicht’s Finned House at Klukwan (figs.1.6).<sup>143</sup> Her mother Càxixi III, Louis Shotridge’s maternal grandmother, was

Shaadaxícht's sister and her father Sáy'-dùwù.s II was of the Gaanaxteidí Raven House. Louis Shotridge, the fourth of five children, inherited his Tlingit name, Stoowukáa V ("Astute One")<sup>144</sup> when his elder brother died in infancy.<sup>145</sup> As for his English name, it is said that he was named after Louis Francis Paul, the first missionary to open a school in Klukwan in 1882.<sup>146</sup> According to customary patterns of descent, Shotridge was a member of his mother's clan and house group.

Establishing the exact year of Shotridge's birth is problematic. It was likely around 1882, but the dates recorded on his tombstone in Sitka indicate that he was born on April 15, 1886, and died on August 6, 1937. Shotridge appears in a photograph with Emmons produced in 1885 (fig. 1.6).<sup>147</sup> If Emmons' dates are correct and the young boy in the picture is Louis, then his birth date as it is recorded on his tombstone is inaccurate. A second reference to Shotridge's age is found in a notation on a letter written by Shotridge and sent to Emmons in 1896. The notation reads: "In 1902 Louis G. Shartrich 'Stoo-wooka-h' became the chief of the 'Karquanton' family of the Chilkat tribe at the age of 22 years."<sup>148</sup> Thus according to Emmons' calculations Shotridge was born in 1880. Shotridge listed himself as age thirty when he enrolled in a Philadelphia business school in 1912.<sup>149</sup> A birth date of 1882 would correspond to Louis Paul's arrival in Klukwan and it is conceivable that he was three when the 1885 picture was taken.

Louis Shotridge's sister Klinget-sai-yet, was born in Klukwan in 1874. Klinget-sai-yet married James Bernard "Ben" Moore, the son of Captain William Moore, the founder of Skagway. Ben, the youngest of four sons, was caretaker of the Poindexter Cannery on the Chilkat River when he met Klinget-sai-yet at a potlatch hosted by Yeilgooxú in 1889.

That same year they were married in an indigenous ceremony at Yandeist'akyé and in a Presbyterian ceremony at the Juneau Mission by Rev. Eugene Willard. Klinget-sai-yet was called Minnie by her husband.<sup>150</sup> At this point individuals such as Yeilgooxú appear in the literature with their Anglicized names. Louis Shotridge, his sister, and most likely their siblings were identified by their Anglicized names. Conversion to Christianity and its attendant legitimizing ceremonies as well as the adoption of Euro-American names served to install patrilineal lines of descent as a legitimizing aspect of American social structures.

The Shotridge family stayed with the Moores in Juneau during their early years of marriage so that Kudeit.sáakw might assist as midwife at the birth of Minnie's (Klinget-sai-yet's) first two children. The Moore family later moved to Skagway in 1897.<sup>151</sup> As a younger sibling, Louis Shotridge appears to have spent some time with his sister and her family in both locations. Throughout his life Shotridge stayed in close contact with his sister and her children (three in all.)<sup>152</sup>

## **Conclusions**

Louis Shotridge was born into a society in transition. By the dawn of the new century when he reached adulthood, the Tlingit had worked to adjust to many aspects of Anglo-American society and the exploitive economic systems imported by the fishing, canning, and mining industries. Exploitation of Alaska's natural resources caused further disruption to Tlingit subsistence patterns; especially notable in this regard were the depletion of the salmon stocks and the Klondike gold rush. To quote Hinckley, "The Klondike Rush of 1898 created a genuine crisis for the Tlingit people in the northern part of the Alexander

Archipelago.”<sup>153</sup> A multitude of well-documented afflictions combined to alter Tlingit lifeways, including disease and the violence caused by an influx of firearms and alcohol. Equally pervasive were assimilationist initiatives perpetrated against Native Alaskans in the form of missionary schools, labour exploitation, and the neglect of basic of civil rights by the government.

Initially powerful and wealthy families often chose to profit as much as possible from the non-Native presence and the accumulation of individual wealth within American society.<sup>154</sup> Thus individuals like Shaadaxicht and Yeilgooxú retained a financial independence within the new Alaskan economy.<sup>155</sup> Many Chilkat experienced the Anglo-American’s version of wealth, first by trading furs, then by negotiating with gold seekers<sup>156</sup> and finally by packing cargo over the Chilkoot Pass. But economic benefits accompanying these activities soon dwindled or evaporated entirely. The Klondike strike near Dawson City in 1896 had encouraged thousands of “stampedeers” to scramble for riches over the Chilkoot trail and many prospectors stayed to take up permanent settlement in “the Great Land.” Thus the early period of colonization from the fur trade to Shaadaxicht’s death in 1889 was a period during which Tlingit autonomy dwindled as Anglo-American dominance became increasingly oppressive.<sup>157</sup>

Aside from work in the exploitive labor market of the salmon industry, it became increasingly difficult for Chilkat-Chilkoot peoples to participate in the new cash economy.<sup>158</sup> A critical disruption of Tlingit lifeways came with the establishment of the first forest reserve in 1902 which later became the Tongass National Forest in 1907. This land included all areas not previously homesteaded or claimed by miners and canneries.<sup>159</sup>

While Alaskan Natives were expected to become “civilized,” Christianized, and Americanized, their communities were battered by racial prejudice, Euro-American diseases, the loss of their lands, and general lack of economic opportunity.

For subsequent generations the struggle for economic and social independence continued as the debilitating effects of Euro-American contact intensified. As a member of the next generation, Yeilgooxú felt this additional burden. Yeilgooxú is known to sometimes have had “trouble with the local authorities”<sup>160</sup> and when he passed away circa 1907, <sup>161</sup>his death led to crisis over who would assume the responsibility of headman of the Whale House. Eventually, Yeilxaak, the leader of a related house group, assumed the responsibility, an event which later led to a lengthy dispute over the ownership of the Whale House clan objects.

Nevertheless, as historian Victoria Wyatt cautions, “The extent to which they [the Tlingit] adopted aspects of the foreign culture is not a reliable measure of the degree to which they abandoned their own.”<sup>162</sup> Although the customary framework of Tlingit society was substantially altered, many aboriginal practices continued including: the Tlingit language, the moiety system, matrilineal clans, the potlatch system, a code of justice, arts and crafts, arranged marriages, shamanism, cremation of the dead, oral history, the prestige of certain clan and personal objects, and hunting and trading patterns.<sup>163</sup>



**Fig 1.1a. View of the settlement at Klukwan on the Chilkat River, ca. 1895. Winter and Pond photograph courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau PCA 87-1. See also Wyatt 1989:41,42.**



**Fig. 1.1b. View of the settlement of Klukwan on the Chilkat River, ca. 1895. Winter and Pond photographs, courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau, PCA 87-2.**



Fig. 1.2. Marble statue of Kaagwaantaan bear crest commemorating Chief Shaadaxicht. Louis Shotridge photograph, n.d., courtesy University of Pennsylvania Museum, UM14760. See also photograph by Frederica de Laguna who identifies Shaadaxicht as chief of the Chilkat Wolf 1 and cites the inscription on his grave monument as reading: "SHOTRIDGE/Died March 1, 1887/Aged 70 years/YEES-YOUT/KOUL-KEE-TAR/-----?" (Emmons 1991:278).



**Fig. 1.3. Yeilgooxú or George Shotridge (right) and Kuwdu.aat (Coudawot)(left) two Chiefs of the Gaanaxteidi photographed by Winter and Pond ca. 1895. Photograph courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau, PCA 87-295. Like Yeilgooxú, Kuwdu.aat is identified by de Laguna in Emmons (1991:438) as Raven 3 of the Gaanaxteidi. He is also shown on his death bed in a photograph attributed to George Thornton Emmons (1991:271). Kuwdu.aat's (Coudawot's) tunic was acquired by Louis Shotridge at Klukwan in 1918 and is now located in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (UM acc.no NA 8472). He is wearing the Gaanaxteidi "Frog" crest hat, a major crest acquired from the Sitka Kiks.ádi. See also Carpenter 1975:18; Milburn 1986:61 and Wyatt 1989: fig. 10.**



Fig.1.4. Staged photograph of the interior of the Gaanaxteidi Whale House taken by Winter and Pond ca.1895. Photograph courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau, PCA 87-10. This photograph was taken when the house was no longer in regular use but prior to the dismantling of the house screen and its four house posts in 1899 (Emmons 1916). Kurwdu.aat, in the center with his son, wears the same tunic as in fig.1.3. On display are crest objects (*at.óow*) of the Gaanaxteidi family. This image has been reproduced in a number of publications. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1994:592) provide a detailed description of the photograph including the identity of individuals and a description of some of the objects shown. In 1894 J.F. Pratt produced a similar image of the interior of the Whale House which was entitled "Interior of Koh-klux's House at Klukwan" (see Sinclair and Engerman 1991).

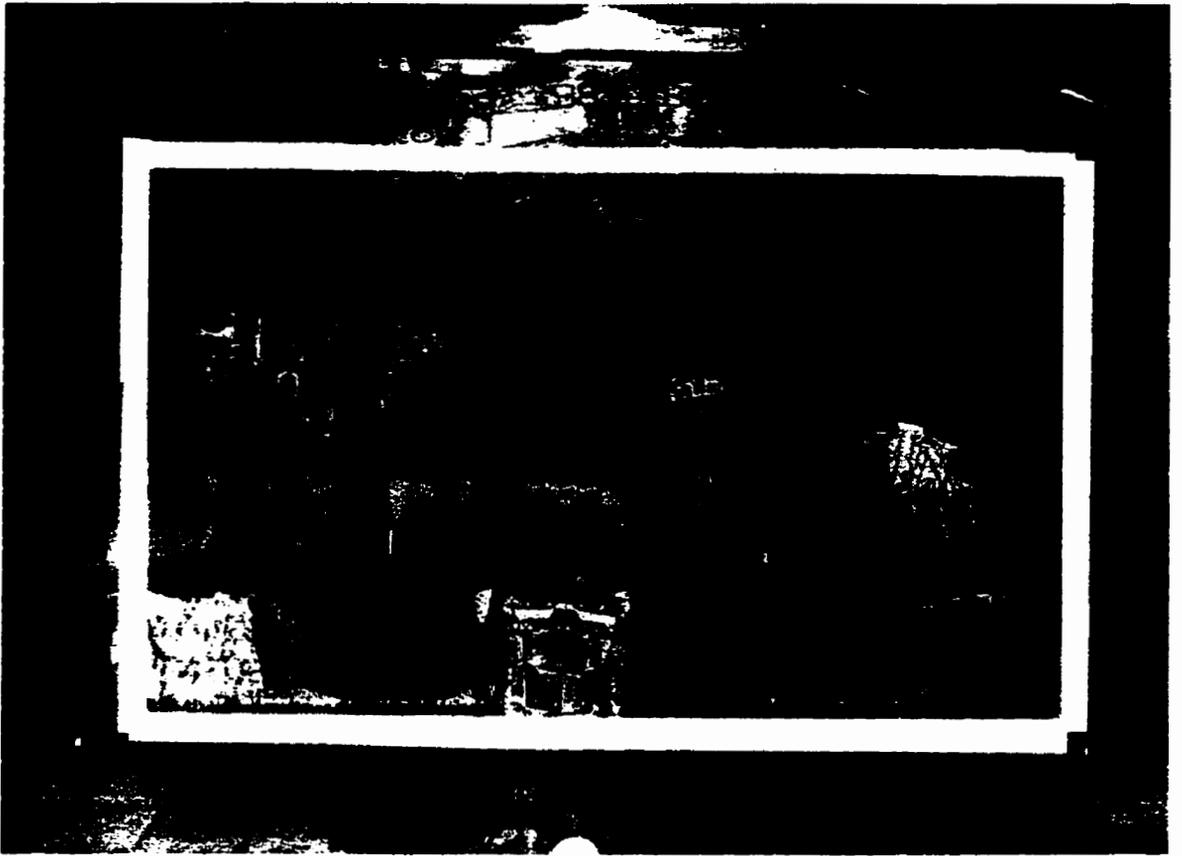


Fig. 1.4a. Postcard image of the interior of the *Gaanaxteidi* Whale House at Klukwan, ca. 1895. Winter and Pond photograph courtesy of the Alaska Historical Library, PCA 87-12. See also Wyatt 1989:8.



Fig. 1.5. "Dog Salmon" house posts stored in the Gaanaxteidi Whale House, Klukwan. Harlan I. Smith photograph, 1909, courtesy of the Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History, New York, neg. no. 46164. The posts are now located in the Rasmussen Collection, the Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon.



Fig.1.6. Portrait of Kudeit.sáakw. Winter and Pond photograph, n.d., courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau PCA 87-42.



**Fig 1.7. George Thornton Emmons and Louis Shotridge as a child. Photographer unknown, 1885, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. no. S4-134560.**

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> See Kan 1985:196-223.
- <sup>2</sup> Langdon 1987:61
- <sup>3</sup> See de Laguna 1990.
- <sup>4</sup> According to de Laguna the more accurate term is "sib" but the term "clan" commonly used by Shotridge and others is retained here to avoid confusion (1972:212).
- <sup>5</sup> Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives
- <sup>6</sup> Kan 1989a:70-71; Emmons 1991:261.
- <sup>7</sup> Oberg 1973:32. See also Halpin 1984:57-64.
- <sup>8</sup> Kan 1989a:81.
- <sup>9</sup> Whether this represented a class system or a ranked hierarchy is a subject of debate among anthropologists. Most recently Kan concludes that, "Heads of matrilineal groups and their immediate matrikin, who were the most likely candidates for the aristocracy, did not form a separate class but were seen as the senior relatives of their lineage and clan mates of lower rank" (1989a:83).
- <sup>10</sup> Kan 1989a:82.
- <sup>11</sup> Kan 1989a:94.
- <sup>12</sup> See also Emmons 1991:39.
- <sup>13</sup> Kan 1989a:94.
- <sup>14</sup> A small settlement still exists on the Chilkoot River.
- <sup>15</sup> Now the location of the airport. See Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994: 225 & Wyatt 1989:46.
- <sup>16</sup> See Wyatt 1989:45 and Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:226. This settlement was destroyed by a mudslide in the 1890s.
- <sup>17</sup> This settlement was abandoned after epidemics in the twentieth century and the population consolidated in Haines. See Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:861.
- <sup>18</sup> For an image of Deishú ca.1885-90. See Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:755.
- <sup>19</sup> Swanton 1908:397; Krause [1885]1956:66
- <sup>20</sup> See Greer 1995 for descriptions of this activity and maps of the trails.
- <sup>21</sup> Olson 1936:214; de Laguna 1972:350.
- <sup>22</sup> Krause [1885]1956:134-35; Young 1915:83; VanStone 1982:51-52.
- <sup>23</sup> Compiled from information provided by Mahoney 1870 (see de Laguna in Emmons 1991:445).
- <sup>24</sup> Forty-eight thousand acres of land adjacent to the village were established as the Alaska Chilkat Bald Eagle Reserve in 1982.
- <sup>25</sup> Swanton 1908:404; Olson 1967:7-8; Oberg 1973:58.
- <sup>26</sup> Emmons manuscript, American Museum of Natural History. Information acquired by Emmons from Shaadaxicht indicated that the Kaagwaantaan originated in Icy Straits and Cross Sound prior to moving to Chilkat. See also Shotridge Ethnographic Notes on family genealogy, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.

- 27 Emmons manuscript, American Museum of Natural History  
28 Pierce 1988:121.  
29 Gunther 1972:147.  
30 Gunther 1972:147.  
31 Krause [1885]1956:28; de Laguna 1972:135. However, anthropologist Erna Gunther (1972:147) notes that Ilchak's principal residence "was on the coast to the southeast, much farther than the great river Tschitskat (probably Chilkat)."  
32 Krause [1885]1956:26 & 66; Gunther 1972:172-73.  
33 Gunther 1972:174.  
34 Accounts of this early period may be found, for example, in Khlebnikov (1976), Lisianskii (1814) or Veniaminov ([1840] 1984).  
35 Kan 1989a:21 & 28.  
36 Hinsley [1981]1984:190; Trachtenberg 1982:19-20.  
37 Kan 1989a:29.  
38 See for example Krause [1885]1956:66.  
39 Krause lists the Kaagwaantaan (translated by Veniaminof as "fire flaring up") as the "most important of all clans" ([1885]1956:75). See also Shotridge genealogy, n.d., Shotridge Field Notes, Alaska Historical Library.  
40 Editorial note Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:551; Emmons stated the original name was "klate Shart-to-which" or "never hit a shark with a club."  
41 Emmons 1991:117 & 262. An individual by the name of Kohklux is remembered for a map which detailed the route traveled into the interior by the Chilkat. The map was drawn by his two wives for the American scientist George Davidson who visited the area in 1896. Kohklux has been identified as Shaada $\acute{x}$ icht by both de Laguna in Emmons (1991:331) and Linda Johnson (1994). An account by Margaret V. Sherlock in "The Medicine Man's Last Prophecy: An Alaska Potlatch Story," in *Alaska-Yukon Magazine n.d.*: 176-179 describes Kohklux as a powerful Chilkat shaman from Klukwan. Young (1915) refers to Shaada $\acute{x}$ icht as "Hard-to-Kill" and Kohklux is described as having a bullet hole in his cheek which may support the identification. Certainly Shaada $\acute{x}$ icht would have acquired more than one name over the course of his lifetime and de Laguna in Emmons (1991:262) speculates that Kohklux may have been a birth name or a name used prior to his acquiring the more commonly used name of Shaada $\acute{x}$ icht. Names on his tombstone include Yees-Yout and Kooul-Kee-Tar (de Laguna in Emmons 1991:238). Nevertheless, after queries to de Laguna (pers. com.:1995) and Johnson (no response), I continue to question whether Kohklux and Shaada $\acute{x}$ icht were one in the same person. J.F. Pratt photographed the Whale House in 1894. One clue may reside in Pratt's notation "Interior of Kohklux's House at Klukwan" suggesting that Kohklux was a member of this house group (Sinclair and Engerman 1991). This would mean that Kohklux's clan was the Gaanaxteidi and Shaada $\acute{x}$ icht is known to have been Kaagwaantaan.  
42 Emmons 1991:262. According to Shotridge the "Sharks" were the warriors in Tlingit society "because they fight like sharks" (Shotridge in Wallis 1918:68).  
43 Krause [1885]1956:135-37. Transportation time varied according to conditions, see Yukon Historical & Museums Association *The Kohklux Map* (1995:10) and Fred Whymper (1868:228) *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska*. Krause ([1885]1956:135) states that the trip into the Yukon took 15-20 days and as many as 50 days to return when packers were fully loaded with furs and trade goods.  
44 Fisher 1977:32.

- <sup>45</sup> Kirk and Parnell 1942:24-25; Emmons to Mason, 1 April 1942, Mason Papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia; McClellan 1970:108;110;127.
- <sup>46</sup> Edward A. McCourt in *Yukon and North West Territories* (St. Martins Press, N.Y., 1969), describes unsubstantiated rumors that suggested the raid was instigated by Russian traders who resented the H.B.C. drawing-off of furs "from territory which for trading purposes they had come to look on as their own" (1969:21). Frederica de Laguna (pers. com. 1995) notes that the actual destruction of the buildings at the fort came sometime later.
- <sup>47</sup> Krause [1885]1956:266
- <sup>48</sup> See Greer 1995:58 for a photograph (La Roche Photo #2006) of Chief Daanawáak at Dyea in 1897. Also line drawing in Krause [1885]1956:99.
- <sup>49</sup> See Sessions, Francis C., *From Yellowstone Park to Alaska*. (New York: Welch, Fracker, 1890).
- <sup>50</sup> Young 1915:90
- <sup>51</sup> Jackson (1880:245-246) indicates that the Chilkat invited the missionaries to their territory after having heard him speak at Fort Simpson.
- <sup>52</sup> Young 1927:206
- <sup>53</sup> Young 1915: 90
- <sup>54</sup> Young 1915:82
- <sup>55</sup> Young 1915:83
- <sup>56</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:244.
- <sup>57</sup> Haines Mission was named after Mrs. F.E.H. Haines who was said to have contributed \$15,000 to the endeavour (Birkenbine 1912:80).
- <sup>58</sup> Young 1927:210
- <sup>59</sup> Young 1915:82.
- <sup>60</sup> Russia's most extensive collecting effort was effected by the zoologist I.G. Voznesenskii from 1840-45. His collections now form the nucleus of the Northwest Coast collection in the Museum of Physical Anthropology and Ethnography in the Russian Academy of Sciences (Cole 1985:7 & Siebert and Forman 1967).
- <sup>61</sup> Krause [1885]1956:68, 132-37.
- <sup>62</sup> Sarah Dickinson is often referred to as a Tsimshian whereas Jackson (1880:144) says she was a Tongass Tlingit. Recent research by Wyatt suggests Dickinson was a Tongass Tlingit (1994:181-182). See Krause [1885]1956:228 for a line drawing of Sarah Dickinson.
- <sup>63</sup> Duncan, an unordained Anglican minister, arrived in British Columbia in 1857 under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society of England. He began work among the Tsimshian at Fort Simpson after five years he founded an alternate community called Metlakatla. There Duncan believed his followers would be beyond the corrupting influence of Euro-American society. A proponent of Native rights Duncan eventually ran afoul of the authorities and in 1887 he led more than 800 of his followers to Annette Island in Alaskan territory. There they resettled in what was known as New Metlakatla (now called Metlakatla).
- <sup>64</sup> Jackson 1886:1886:17.
- <sup>65</sup> See Wyatt 1994.
- <sup>66</sup> Jackson 1886:17.

- <sup>67</sup> Young to Jackson, 9 May 1881. Sheldon Jackson Papers, Presbyterian Historical Archives, Philadelphia.
- <sup>68</sup> J.M Vanderbilt to Jackson, 12 June 1881. Sheldon Jackson Papers, Presbyterian Archives, Philadelphia.
- <sup>69</sup> In 1881 the Krause brothers were appointed by the Geographical Society of Bremen to head a scientific ethnological expedition to the Chukchi Peninsula and unknown areas of Alaska.
- <sup>70</sup> Aurel Krause stated, "Mrs. Dickinson tells us about the life of the Indians" (Krause 1993: xii).
- <sup>71</sup> This publication was subsequently translated into English by anthropologist Erna Gunther and published under the title *The Tlingit Indians: Results of a Trip to the Northwest Coast of America and the Bering Straits*.
- <sup>72</sup> Low 1991:xxvii-xl.
- <sup>73</sup> According to Low (1991:xxviii, xxxix) Emmons noted, "I had a copy of La Perouse with me in Alaska and was familiar with the catastrophe but Kowie's account that had been handed down by word of mouth through a century proved the accuracy of Native history and was most interesting." See also de Laguna in Emmons 1991:xviii "Editor's Introduction."
- <sup>74</sup> See Cole 1985:243.
- <sup>75</sup> Carpenter 1975:16; Wardwell 1978:24-25; Cole 1985:87.
- <sup>76</sup> Throughout his life Emmons worked on an ethnography of the Tlingit. His manuscript, edited with additions by Frederica de Laguna, was published in 1991.
- <sup>77</sup> Willard 1884:78-79.
- <sup>78</sup> Emmons 1991:17; Shaadaxicht's wife was a member of Chief Kadishan's family. Children with this name are found in the school registry in Haines (Sheldon Museum Archives, Haines). See also de Laguna in Emmons 1991:17 and Krause [1885]1956:105.
- <sup>79</sup> Willard 1884:83.
- <sup>80</sup> Willard 1884:146. One of Shaadaxicht's sons was sent to Forest Grove but it is not clear who this was (Young to Jackson, 9 May 1881, Sheldon Jackson Papers, Presbyterian Historical Archives, Philadelphia).
- <sup>81</sup> Young to Jackson, 9 May 1881, Sheldon Jackson Papers, Presbyterian Historical Archives, Philadelphia.
- <sup>82</sup> Willard 1884:47-48; Wyatt 1994.
- <sup>83</sup> Brady to Jackson, 12 June 1881, Sheldon Jackson Papers, Presbyterian Archives, Philadelphia.
- <sup>84</sup> Krause [1885]1956:66 taken from the Compendium of the Tenth Census, Part II, p. 1427 and Bureau of American Ethnography Bulletin 145:541.
- <sup>85</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990:29. For a summation of Jackson's educational policies and particularly his English only policy see Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994.
- <sup>86</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990:29
- <sup>87</sup> Berton 1967:9.
- <sup>88</sup> de Laguna in Emmons 1991:332. A different incident in which Shaadaxicht attempted to act as a peacemaker between two clans is recorded by de Laguna in Emmons 1991:50.
- <sup>89</sup> The act allowed for an appointed governor, one judge, one marshal, a district attorney, a clerk, four commissioners, and four deputy marshals. Nevertheless, negotiations for a better form of government

- were necessary and continued into the next century until in 1912 an elective legislature was provided for (Drucker 1958:15).
- <sup>90</sup> The act which was passed by the House of Representatives on the 14 of May 1884 placed Alaska under the existing laws of Oregon. See Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:38.
- <sup>91</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:38.
- <sup>92</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:754 from "Historical documents from the National Archives and the Raven House Collection pertaining to Chilkoot Lukaax̄ádi history."
- <sup>93</sup> See Cruikshank 1991:122 and Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:768.
- <sup>94</sup> Berton 1967:43-47.
- <sup>95</sup> There was, of course, an alternative route, the other "grease trail" over the Chilkat Pass. The journey took longer, but pack animals could easily be used. It had, however, one substantial drawback in the fierce presence of Jack Dalton, a tough frontiersman who had gained control of the trail. Dalton gave the trail his name and demanded a \$250 toll for its use (Milburn 1986:59).
- <sup>96</sup> Hinckley 1970:266.
- <sup>97</sup> A similar economic boon for a different group of Tlingit had occurred during the Cassiar gold rush in 1874 when the Stikine began freighting cargo up the river in canoes (Drucker 1958:10).
- <sup>98</sup> Prices quoted range from \$5 to \$6 per cubic weight (Wyatt 1987:45) to \$9 to \$12 for each load of 100 pounds (Drucker 1958:10). See also a price quoted in a letter published by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1995:753) which states that the Indians received \$15.00 per hundred pounds. The Athabaskans had the right to pack from the summit of the pass (see Greer 1995).
- <sup>99</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:754.
- <sup>100</sup> Berton 1967:249-55; Spude 1980:xi, xii, 25, 178; Morgan 1967:37-38.
- <sup>101</sup> Emmons to Mason, 1 April 1942, Mason papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- <sup>102</sup> Emmons to Mason, 4 January 1942, Mason Papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- <sup>103</sup> Emmons to Mason, 1 April 1942, U.M. Archives states that he died in 1889. A comment by Krause ([1885]1956:111) tells us something of Shaada<sub>x</sub>icht's generosity and sense of fairness, "according to our own observations the relationship between masters and servants is a pleasant one; we never saw or heard of any mistreatment or oppression, also no complaints on the part of the slaves, who enjoyed a great measure of freedom. When Tscharritsch, the Chilkat chief lent us his slaves as guides, they were allowed to keep a specified part of the remuneration."
- <sup>104</sup> Shotridge Genealogy, n.d., Alaska State Library, Juneau. See Emmons (1991:38) on the choice of Shaada<sub>x</sub>icht's successor.
- <sup>105</sup> Kan 1989a:113.
- <sup>106</sup> Indicated as the Wolf Moiety (Shotridge Genealogy, n.d., Alaska State Archives, Juneau).
- <sup>107</sup> Shotridge in Wallis 1918:79-80. For another photo of this marble bear see de Laguna in Emmons 1991:278.
- <sup>108</sup> See Kan 1989a for more detailed information on customary Tlingit mortuary customs.
- <sup>109</sup> Swanton 1908:415; de Laguna 1972:453-57; Oberg 1973:126.
- <sup>110</sup> See also Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990 or Nora Marks Dauenhauer 1992.
- <sup>111</sup> Emmons 1991:286.

- 112 de Laguna in Emmons 1991:262.
- 113 Trachtenberg 1982.
- 114 Trennert 1987.
- 115 Murray 1985:202.
- 116 Hinckley 1972:126-27 & 187-90.
- 117 Murray 1985:202-203.
- 118 Boyd 1990:135.
- 119 Tikhmenev 1978:447.
- 120 Fortuine 1989:226.
- 121 Fortuine 1989:199.
- 122 Fortuine 1989:199.
- 123 Fortuine 1989:260.
- 124 Hinckley 1982:61-62.
- 125 See Fortuine 1989, Chapter 17 "Alcohol: Alaska's Curse."
- 126 Kan 1989a:29. This circumstance is also well documented for British Columbia especially the Kwakwaka'wakw.
- 127 According to an interview with Don Cameron in Olson (1933:72), the term "headman" is correct if a man stands at the head of a family while the title "chief" was employed to denote a wealthy man.
- 128 Krause [1885]1956:94.
- 129 Krause [1885]1956:92-94 & 99. A pen and ink portrait of Yeilgooxú is found in Krause [1885]1956:99.
- 130 At the time of the interview Edward Shotridge indicated that all had passed away except himself and one sister (Olson Field Notes 1933:107). Louis Shotridge listed eight children, 4 girls and 4 boys (Shotridge Genealogy, Alaska State Museum, Juneau.) We know, however, that Shaadaxicht had two wives and Louis Shotridge lists only the children from one marriage to Gà.tc-xixtc III of the Gaanaxteidi Whale House.
- 131 Wallis 1918:76.
- 132 Wallis 1918:71.
- 133 See Winter and Pond in Wyatt 1989:53 & 111; Blankenburg photo of Yeilgooxú and his wife Kudeit.saakw on the steps of the "Whale House at Klukwan"; Yeilgooxú wearing a Chilkat robe in Emmons 1991:228.
- 134 See Brown 1987:157-175; 1994:74-75.
- 135 Emmons 1916. For a photograph of the structure and details on its construction see Emmons 1991:61-62.
- 136 See Wyatt 1989:117-19.
- 137 Emmons 1916:18.
- 138 "Big Potlatch at Klukwan" *The Alaskan* 1900. For a photograph of the two chiefs see Winter and Pond photograph illustrated in Wyatt 1989:53.
- 139 Wyatt (1987:46) states, "According to Governor Brady, one potlatch held in a Chilkat village in 1901 cost \$17,000." Emmons (1916:33) indicates that, "...over ten thousand dollars in property, food, and

- money were distributed.” See also Olson 1933. The house was damaged by a mudslide in 1913 and rebuilt in 1937 (Abbott et al 1995:46).
- <sup>140</sup> Emmons 1916:33.
- <sup>141</sup> Wallis 1918:70.
- <sup>142</sup> See Wyatt 1989:51. Probably taken when Yeilgooxú and Kueit.sáakw spent time with their daughter and her family in Juneau.
- <sup>143</sup> Also called the “Killer Whale’s Long Dorsal Fin House” Olson 1967:8 and Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>144</sup> Also interpreted as “Wise Spirit” referring to one of the mysterious supernatural beings said to hover near medicine men (Wanneh 1914:282). Shotridge (1928:354) also describes the story of his name and its relation to the Eagle crest of the Shungoo-kaedi. In this article he states: “When I first listened to the legend relating how the Shungoo-kaedi obtained undisputed ownership of the Eagle I could not help but admire the astute mind of chief Stuwuka and I feel honoured and proud of being born of a mother who could bestow such a personal name upon her son.”
- <sup>145</sup> Shotridge Genealogy, n.d., Shotridge Field Notes, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau; see also Emmons to Heye, 2 December 1911, U.M. Archives. Emmons mentions the names of two brothers by name: Walter and Ekecshon.
- <sup>146</sup> For a biography of Louis Francis Paul see Ricketts (1994:469-502); on Shotridge see Mason (1960) and Shotridge (1928:354). In signing his name, Shotridge used the middle initial “V” and sometimes “G”, but it is never made clear as to what the initial stood for.
- <sup>147</sup> Low 1977:7-8. Emmons states: “I knew Shotridge when he was a little boy about five or six and I have a photo of him taken then standing by my knee” (Emmons to Mason, 4 January 1942, Mason Papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.) U.M. Neg.#134560, photographer unknown.
- <sup>148</sup> Shotridge to Emmons, 10 September 1896 courtesy of Edmund Carpenter 1985.
- <sup>149</sup> Cole 1985:352.
- <sup>150</sup> See J. Bernard Moore *Scagway in Days Primeval*. New York: Vantage Press, 1968.
- <sup>151</sup> The two story residence occupied a space in front of the original Moore cabin. It is presently being restored by the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park Service for the 1898 Gold Rush Centennial.
- <sup>152</sup> Shotridge to his nephew Benny, 5 April 1924, Klondike Gold Rush National Park Archives, Skagway
- <sup>153</sup> Hinckley 1970:266.
- <sup>154</sup> Champagne 1990:70.
- <sup>155</sup> de Laguna 1972:258 & Ostenstad 1976:5.
- <sup>156</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:750-51.
- <sup>157</sup> See also Dauenhauer [1980]1982; Klein 1987; Wyatt 1987; Drucker 1958.
- <sup>158</sup> See also Wyatt (1987:43-49) on Native wage earning in southeastern Alaska.
- <sup>159</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:39-40.
- <sup>160</sup> Yeilgooxú was charged with helping Kuwdu.aat resist arrest in the U.S. v. George Shotridge, court record, case 213, RG 21, FRC, Seattle ( Hunt 1993:126).
- <sup>161</sup> Estimate based on statement by Emmons (1916:33) that he passed away soon after the dedication of the new Whale House and on Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives (1906-1915).
- <sup>162</sup> Wyatt 1987:49.

<sup>163</sup> See also Champagne 1990:71.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **TOWARDS A “CIVILIZED” ALASKA: SEGREGATION, ASSIMILATION AND A CHRISTIAN EDUCATION**

In this chapter I consider Louis Shotridge’s early life and activities preceding his employment by the University Museum, including his missionary education and his relationship to Anglo-American influences affecting his decision to participate in the sale of Tlingit objects to non-Natives. Louis Shotridge’s name appears in the registry for the Presbyterian Mission School in Haines where he was in attendance until the fifth or sixth grade (circa 1894-1895).<sup>1</sup> Shotridge was thus among the generation of Tlingit children who, as a result of missionary initiatives in education, were deprived of consistent contact with indigenous Tlingit lifeways. As Kan states:

The price paid by Tlingit youngsters for acquiring the new knowledge was high. In the Presbyterian school, the use of the native language was forbidden, while the students were persistently indoctrinated in Protestant-American values and taught to despise their parents’ way of life.<sup>2</sup>

A disruption in Shotridge’s Haines education may have occurred when the boarding school burned in 1895; it is difficult to determine what schooling he acquired

after that time. However, Shotridge's efforts at continuing an Anglo-American education are evident throughout his early adulthood. His perspective may have been conditioned by his Presbyterian education, a family history of interaction with Euro-Americans, the marriage of his sister to Ben Moore, and his family's friendship with Emmons. A letter written in rudimentary English to Emmons on the 10th of September 1896 indicates an early motivation to further his education at the Sitka Mission. In this letter Shotridge uses his Tlingit as well as his English name -- a practice he discontinued in his later correspondence. The letter is interesting in that the reference to a "load" suggests that Shotridge was, in some entrepreneurial way, attempting to work with Emmons on the transportation of objects. The letter is reproduced here as it was written:

Dear friend,  
I will to tell you about mysilf.  
I am ready to go down to sitka. But I wish you talk to the captin first.  
and send a load to me & I will gave it to the captain in Rustler. And  
please write to me if you want me.  
I like to stay down in Sitka Mission. And the steamer is up here today.  
But if you don't write to me so I don't go down and I am hurry to write  
the steamer will start now. And you excuse me if I don't the words  
right.  
Your friend  
Louis G. Shotrich  
Stoo-woo-kah  
I will say good by for the present.<sup>3</sup>

There is no evidence that Shotridge registered at the Sitka Industrial Training School (originally founded as the Presbyterian Boys' Boarding School in 1882) even though this was his best opportunity to attend a more advanced institution of this nature in Alaska. Nevertheless, because developments at Sitka had the greatest impact on Native

education and Anglo-American indoctrination in southeastern Alaska, they will be considered in some detail.

### **Sitka and Facilities for Educating Native Peoples**

Once the center of Russian occupation in North America, Sitka is located on the seaward side of Baranof island (called "Shee Atika" by the Tlingit) The settlement was named New Archangel by the Russians<sup>4</sup> but, on the 18th of October 1867, when the American flag was officially raised for the first time, the settlement, which was to become the district capital was re-named Sitka.<sup>5</sup>

Sitka was a center of both Native and non-Native populations in southeast Alaska. An 1890 census of the Tlingit population listed 4,583 persons, of whom 1190 lived at Sitka. The Tlingit represented more than seventy percent of the total inhabitants of the settlement which included Russians and Creoles as well as Anglo-Americans. According to Shotridge, Sitka was home to eleven clans comprising thirty-five house groups.<sup>6</sup> With the 1867 purchase, Alaskan Natives, previously recognized as citizens of the Russian Empire, assumed they would be granted similar status under the United States. Under the Treaty of Sale, "civilized tribes" were to be accorded the rights of citizens, a condition that was not met and which generated protest from the Native residents of Sitka.<sup>7</sup>

With the U.S. purchase of Alaska, participation in various Western institutions became essential for Tlingit survival. Kan notes that by the 1880s-1900s, "the Tlingit, determined to overcome a sense of status inferiority created by American domination, had already appropriated many attributes of the Western material culture and life-style."<sup>8</sup>

Membership in an array of political, religious, and civic organizations was “crucial for the constitution of the social self.”<sup>9</sup>

Many families lived in what was called the “Ranche” an area originally separated by a Russian stockade. By the 1880s, single family Euro-American-style houses (fig.2.1) replaced plank houses and crests of clans were sometimes painted on gable ends. Housing changes also indicated alterations in the social structure. In some cases individual allegiance began to include an emphasis on the nuclear family and the extended household based on bilateral kinship ties rather than the matrilineage. These smaller households replaced the lineage as the principal units of production and consumption. To quote anthropologist Sergei Kan:

A number of individuals and their families withdrew from participation in collective lineage and clan affairs, and even sold ceremonial regalia belonging to their matrilineal groups. Some of the lineage houses were sold to nonnatives or became privately owned by nuclear families. On the other hand, some of the more conservative men continued taking care of their lineage houses, passing them on to their matrilineal descendants.<sup>10</sup>

With an increasing Anglo-American presence, prejudice and discriminatory practices toward Native peoples became more common throughout Alaska and Sitka was no exception.<sup>11</sup> Judicial processes favoured Anglo-American settlers, commercial establishments had separate entrances for Natives and Native movie-goers were required to sit on one side of the theatre.<sup>12</sup> Signs in the windows of restaurants read, “No dogs or Indians allowed.”<sup>13</sup> Discrimination within the Presbyterian Church extended to the creation of a separate Anglo-American congregation that met at a different time for services and in 1884 built its own church.<sup>14</sup>

As in Haines, civil and military authorities supported missionary sanctions on Tlingit customs. Thus, opposition to the customary Tlingit cremation of the dead was supported by Governor Swineford who, in the 1880s, threatened to call the Sitka fire brigade if another cremation were to occur.<sup>15</sup> Further injustice occurred in the area of land use. Such was the case in 1897, when Governor John Brady usurped Tlingit land for his family homestead and sawmill operation.<sup>16</sup> This included Brady's putting a road through a Native cemetery, displacing remains, and using some of them for the road bed. Petitions to President McKinley from both Tlingit leaders and Bishop Nicholas of the Russian Orthodox Church were ignored.<sup>17</sup> Brady, who had been trained as a Presbyterian minister, represented a Protestant assimilationist perspective. His active support of Native civil rights in Alaska<sup>18</sup> was aimed at those Native peoples who were willing to abandon their "old customs" and become "civilized."<sup>19</sup>

Both federal and local governments failed to assume responsibility for the health and welfare of Native peoples in Alaska, and consequently basic health care was non-existent.<sup>20</sup> Missionaries attempted to provide rudimentary social services and, in some cases, preventative health care. A 1908 report in the *Assembly Herald* describes the raising of \$900 for the installation of a community water system at Klukwan.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless medical historian Robert Fortuine writes:

The need for hospitals to care for the Native people became increasingly apparent to many during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Nearly everyone recognized that health conditions were deteriorating, principally from the destructive effects of tuberculosis and alcohol.<sup>22</sup>

Little was done to alleviate the situation until 1912 when the first federal hospital for Native Alaskans under the auspices of the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior was opened in Juneau.<sup>23</sup>

After America's purchase of Alaska, Russian influence continued in the form the Orthodox Church and its schools.<sup>24</sup> The Orthodoxy supported bilingualism and exhibited a somewhat greater tolerance towards indigenous values and forms of ritual action. Richard Dauenhauer states:

Rather than attacking native culture and substituting their own, the church leaders supported a program which reinforced local customs and increased popular literacy, while simultaneously winning converts and building up a strong native clergy upon whom continued church vitality could be counted.<sup>25</sup>

In contrast to the Russian Orthodoxy, Presbyterians pursued the assimilationist perspectives of the dominant U.S. society. From the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century, Anglo-American social reformers saw education of immigrants and other minority groups as the cornerstone of democracy, the solution to social problems and the source for inexpensive manual labour. To quote historian Gary Gerstle:

Immigrants were to be educated in the ways of American democracy, young women were to be saved from prostitution, young men from drink. Progressives believed these character-building intentions, which gave rise to crusades for 'good government,' Americanization, social hygiene, and Prohibition, were essential stepping stones to fashioning the unified moral community that they desired.<sup>26</sup>

Similar attitudes applied to North American Native peoples. These Caucasian organizations saw Christianization and "civilization" as their ultimate goals and thus failed to recognize Native American customs associated with family ties and religions.<sup>27</sup>

Initially government commitment to Native American education meant subsidizing the educational work of other groups, usually religious denominations, through “contract” schools. The propriety of this arrangement was seldom questioned.<sup>28</sup> In 1879 Captain (later General) Richard H. Pratt, a former cavalry officer, founded a grammar school for reservation Natives at an abandoned army barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The Carlisle Indian School was the first non-reservation government-sponsored boarding school for Native Americans.<sup>29</sup> Curricula excluded indigenous language and customs and focused on basic academic courses such as arithmetic and geography and industrial labour or service industry courses such as blacksmithing for boys and cooking for girls.<sup>30</sup> Students wore Western clothes and hair cuts, the idea being that external appearance affected internal identity. This educational mix, which essentially provided an industrial labouring class education, reflected the latest thinking among “progressive” educators.

Under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Carlisle Indian School provided a model for government-sponsored education. Its ultimate goal was the extirpation of indigenous identity and the inculcation of American ideals of religious and civil codes. Pratt’s slogan “Kill the Indian and save the Man!”<sup>31</sup> exemplifies what historian Michael C. Coleman calls, “the nonsense logic of the ‘friends of the Indian.’”<sup>32</sup> By 1887, nine industrial boarding schools and a number of reservation day schools were established along the Carlisle model, so that by 1900 more than 20,000 Native American children were attending such schools.<sup>33</sup>

In 1881 Sheldon Jackson and John G. Brady (then a Sitka businessman) co-founded a Native residential school called the Sitka Training (Industrial) School (renamed

the Sheldon Jackson School in 1911).<sup>34</sup> Brady conjectured that the “Ranche” might one day be turned into a commercial colony similar to William Duncan’s Christian community at New Metlakatla.<sup>35</sup> Hinckley describes Brady’s assimilationist and capitalist motivations:

Brady correctly guessed that the district’s economic growth was about to improve; ahead lay fresh opportunities for skilled labor. He admired the manual dexterity of his Tlingit students, and he knew how prosperous and law-abiding the Tshimshians under Father Duncan had become at Metlakatla.<sup>36</sup>

The educational agendas of Jackson and Brady were consistent with those of Pratt and other late nineteenth century social reformers. They shared an antipathy to the reservation system, a commitment to self-respecting individualism, and an English-only rule with regard to Native education. Presbyterian Church policy normally followed the custom of imparting the “Word of God” in the local tribal language, the reasoning being that it would be more acceptable if received in a familiar medium.<sup>37</sup> Conflating church and educational ideals espoused by the government, Jackson’s pervasive English-only rule discouraged the use of the Tlingit language, especially among Shotridge’s generation. Some suggest that Jackson’s contrary English-only policy resulted from his association with S. Hall Young, a strong opponent of all aspects of Native culture.<sup>38</sup> However, this policy was also characteristic of Pratt’s industrial training schools in the lower American states and territories and was a prerequisite for government funding.<sup>39</sup> Under Jackson’s English-only policy, educators adopted the practice used elsewhere in America of subjecting children to physical punishment for speaking their Native language in school.<sup>40</sup>

By 1883 Jackson was the business manager of the Board of Home Missions and the self-appointed supervisor of that Church’s Alaskan missions. He was a persistent lobbyist for educational funds for both Native and non-Native children and was highly successful in his endeavours. In 1884, \$15,000 dollars were appropriated by the U.S. Congress for the Sitka Training School.<sup>41</sup> When, in 1885, Congress charged the Bureau of Education instead of the Office of Indian Affairs (later the Bureau of Indian Affairs) with

responsibility for Native education in Alaska, Jackson was appointed General Agent for Education.<sup>42</sup> Concurrently he was officially appointed head of Presbyterian missions throughout the district. Jackson immediately relocated the geographic center of church power from Wrangell to Sitka. However, he spent only six months of the year in Alaska, preferring instead to keep his permanent residence in Washington D.C., where he maintained access to government officials and fostered numerous political connections.

As General Agent for Education, Jackson set up public schools in conjunction with the various missions, a situation Richard Dauenhauer describes as an “arrangement, of very questionable constitutionality.”<sup>43</sup> Initially Jackson envisioned an integrated school system, but under pressure from the Anglo-American community, a two-tier system of education rapidly developed. Native schooling remained under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Education while schooling for Anglo-American and mixed-race children was placed under the office of the governor. It was later recognized that Jackson used his position to channel extra funds towards the operation of mission schools while apparently mismanaging other aspects of the system.<sup>44</sup> As anthropologist Philip Drucker noted, “This materially assisted the program of Indian education, and at the same time sowed seeds of resentment among white Alaskans.”<sup>45</sup>

The Presbyterians argued the success of their programmes. The Tlingit, they pointed out, were becoming increasingly interested in Anglo-American material culture and consequently “more civilized.” Through the Sitka Industrial School, the Presbyterians offered Native Alaskans educational opportunities beyond grammar school, thus further enhancing their profile, if not the numbers of their congregation, especially during the first

two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>46</sup> Jackson helped some Alaskan students journey east to attend Carlisle while others enrolled in various boarding schools throughout the country. In 1886 records show that seventy Alaskans were attending Indian schools outside Alaska.<sup>47</sup> Some of these individuals later became activists for Native American rights in their respective communities.<sup>48</sup>

For some Tlingit peoples, conversion to the Presbyterian faith appeared initially to offer the possibility of achieving economic advantages in areas other than the labour market. As a result of the Orthodox Parochial and Presbyterian Mission school system, a fair proportion of younger and middle-aged Native Alaskans spoke English with ease and were literate. Education at schools such as the Sitka Training School seemed to be the means by which access to the dominant society could be achieved. Nevertheless most Tlingit continued to work in areas such as mining, fish canneries, lumber mills, commercial fisheries, boat-building, coopering, furniture-making, and carpentering -- all occupations which at the time provided a cheap labour pool for Anglo-American industry.<sup>49</sup>

At Sitka the Presbyterians maintained assimilationist pressures beyond the years of formal education, attempting to eradicate the rule of moiety exogamy, the Tlingit language, and the potlatch. They encouraged graduates of the Sitka Training School to intermarry in disregard of the moiety system, and to live apart from the "Ranche" in "Cottages" built by the mission.<sup>50</sup> By the turn of the century, these strenuous policies led the many of Sitka's Tlingit population to reject the Presbyterian Church for membership in the Russian Orthodox religion.<sup>51</sup>

Historian Michael C. Coleman notes that industrial schools in the lower 48 states focussed on “practical but lowly skills” and only a small percentage of Native Americans succeeded in attaining advanced levels of education as a result of attending those institutions.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, in 1897, after almost one hundred years of missionary involvement, the government began to phase out religious association with Native American educational programmes both in the lower 48 states and Alaska. By 1901, the administration of Theodore Roosevelt undertook a substantial remodeling of programmes which involved the installation of a systematic curriculum. Historian Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr. characterizes the era as a time when, “Management efficiency and scientific expertise soon became the watchwords of a generation busily erecting an ‘organizational society’ in which those who could claim status as scientist assumed important advisory roles in policy-making.”<sup>53</sup> Thus when, in 1904, Pratt publicly called for the abolition of the Indian Bureau under whose auspices Carlisle was run, it was Pratt who was forced to resign his position.<sup>54</sup>

In Alaska, education was a major issue for almost everyone -- missionaries, Alaskan settlers, and Tlingit peoples -- and questions concerning Jackson’s management of the education system had been raised for some time. In 1899 a grand jury initiated an inquiry into his educational policies, a process which brought about a groundswell of legitimate complaints. Ex-Governor Alfred Swineford, a long-time political opponent of Jackson, was particularly critical of the low standard of non-Native education throughout Alaska.<sup>55</sup> A 1905 investigation conducted by the Department of the Interior concluded

that “the favouritism prevailing under Jackson had led to laxity and extravagance in the Alaska school system” and Jackson, too, was forced to resign.<sup>56</sup>

In his quarter century as Alaska’s dominant educator, Sheldon Jackson energetically pursued the assimilationist policies of the northeastern United States’ reformers. Jackson used the Presbyterian mission system to penetrate remote areas where he could reproduce the typical late nineteenth century association of Western-style technological progress with Christianity and an Anglo-Saxon education. As a result of his Presbyterian education at Haines and his association with Anglo-American society (through his sister’s marriage and some relatives’ entrepreneurial activities), Shotridge was fully exposed to these assimilationist notions of progress and their promise of increased wealth and influence. He was also keenly aware of the range of educational opportunity available to him both at Sitka and, potentially, beyond into the eastern states; consequently, the evidence of his yearning for a place at the Sitka Mission in his 1896 letter to Emmons.

### **Sheldon Jackson: Curios and “Cordwood”**

That Louis Shotridge chose to deal in ethnic Tlingit “curios” as his entrepreneurial activity must also be related to the influence of Sheldon Jackson on the definition of the Anglo-American ideal of progress for Native Alaskans. Jackson’s interest in acquiring objects of Native manufacture began while he was working among the peoples of the American southwest. There he collected pottery which he sent east as tokens of appreciation to individuals who were instrumental in raising funds for particular missions or as premiums

for a \$50.00 pledge. Later he sold Native Alaskan objects to raise funds for similar purposes.<sup>57</sup>

Soon after his first visit to Alaska in 1877, Jackson began acquiring objects for the Presbyterian Seminary at Princeton. Entitled the “Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection,” partially for the purpose of inspiring young missionaries and attract the attention of moneyed patrons.<sup>58</sup> In 1887, with Presbyterian missions established in Haines, Howkan, Fort Wrangel, and Sitka, the Sheldon Jackson Museum was founded at Sitka. The purpose of the museum, it was stated, was “to carry on scientific investigation and preserve [Alaska’s] history and culture.”<sup>59</sup>

Jackson is said to have personally collected over 3,000 objects for the Sitka Museum.<sup>60</sup> It seems Jackson was as aggressive in his affinity for collecting as he was in setting up schools and missions.<sup>61</sup> His strategy was to enlist the aid of missionaries such as Amanda McFarland at Fort Wrangel, Alonzo Austin at Sitka, J. Loomis Gould at Howkan, and Eugene Willard at Haines. With little money to purchase objects, missionaries relied on gifts or small acquisitions.<sup>62</sup> Jackson’s plan, associated with representation of Native Alaskan history stressed the preeminence Anglo-American authority. He argued that the collections were for educational purposes in Alaska, “to show the coming generation of Natives how their fathers lived.”<sup>63</sup> Jackson’s statement reflected the beliefs of many of his contemporaries that, due to assimilation, the only knowledge the younger generation of Native Alaskans would have with their history would be through Western institutions.

In collecting Native-made objects, Jackson competed with tourists, institutional collectors, and dealers, all participating in a growing trade in “Indian” curios. In Alaska, tourist and attendant souvenir-consumption were first inspired by John Muir’s well-publicized 1879 account of his visit to the “pure wilderness” especially Glacier Bay.<sup>64</sup> With the introduction of steamship excursions in 1887,<sup>65</sup> competition for Native objects intensified. Many purchased small objects, some of which were made exclusively for the tourist market. However, the convenience of cruise-boat travel also allowed tourists to purchase large, quantities of objects such as baskets. The Native trader “Princess” Tom (who was said to be the richest Native woman in Alaska) exchanged goods for furs and salable objects throughout the panhandle and extending north as far as the Aleutian Islands.<sup>66</sup> Artists produced baskets, silver bracelets and spoons, and small wooden objects such as model totem poles to supplement the sale of older objects. In his study of the North American “curio” trade from 1880-1920, art historian Marvin Cohodas notes that Native Americans made a wide range of products “designed to satisfy the diversity of taste among consumers, operating through a diversity of markets,” including touristic, hobby collections, local patrons, and anthropologists.<sup>67</sup> There was general agreement among collectors, shop owners, and tourists that objects should be bartered for and the lowest prices paid. Nevertheless, all recognized that prices were rising as Northwest Coast peoples continually readjusted to the rising market value of ethnically-marked objects.<sup>68</sup>

Institutions such as Jackson’s Sitka Museum competed with tourists, missionaries, and free-lance entrepreneurs for similar kinds of objects. One summer Jackson complained

to eastern fund-raisers that Alaskan stores had been cleared out as a result of the tourist season; while at Howkan, Gould reported that tourists paid exorbitant prices for objects he would have otherwise secured for much less.<sup>69</sup>

Jackson's collecting motivations were complex and varied throughout his career. On the one hand, as a friend and associate of Richard Pratt, Jackson modeled his ideas for the Alaskan Education system on Pratt's concepts of progress.<sup>70</sup> At Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the Bureau of Indian Affairs mounted a series of displays to demonstrate the success of assimilationist policies in education, including a model "Indian School" exemplifying Pratt's agenda at Carlisle. In 1904 Jackson mounted a similar school exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, focusing on samples of school work, including writing, drawing, math papers, and industrial and homemaking skills.<sup>71</sup> Despite official recognition (winning a silver medal) Jackson's St. Louis exhibit failed to attract public interest. The American public was more interested in the romantic recreations of Native American lifeways found in ethnographic displays and in carnival-like "villages" located outside the exposition grounds.<sup>72</sup> While Pratt, determined to terminate Native separateness, refused to celebrate Native ethnicity, Jackson, who had been collecting Native Alaskan objects since 1877, sympathized with the public's interest in maintaining pre-modern constructions of Native Americans as "primitive" forebears of American modernism. Henceforth Jackson included Native Alaskan ethnic material in expositions in which he participated.<sup>73</sup>

By 1887, Jackson began to perceive the tourist market as a means by which students at the Sitka Training School could earn money both for themselves and the

museum as Duncan had done at Metlakatla. Thus, historian Rosemary Carlton notes, “Realizing the potential for cash income and quicker assimilation, Jackson encouraged the maintenance of traditional skills” by offering classes in woodcarving and weaving at the Industrial School.<sup>74</sup> An advertisement (circa 1891) placed by Frederick Frobese, overseer of the collections at the Sheldon Jackson Museum listed, “Genuine Thlinket, Indian and Hyda Relics, used and made by the Native of Alaska, also Facsimiles of the celebrated Black Slate Carving of the Hyda Indians” for sale at the museum gift shop.<sup>75</sup>

Jackson made little distinction between contemporary objects and objects made previously for Native use. Consequently his collections were later faulted by some researchers imbued with the “authenticity” paradigm.<sup>76</sup> One author referred to some of Jackson’s Princeton objects as piles of “cordwood.”<sup>77</sup> However, Jackson’s collecting practices were not exceptional, and many museums, which functioned as the repositories for hobby collections like Jackson’s, contain similar material. Jackson has also been criticized for failing to provide adequate documentation -- even basic identifying elements of provenience. Only in 1888, and possibly witnessing the advent of more professionalized ethnographic practices, did Jackson begin to record, albeit unsystematically, minimal amounts of information on the objects he acquired.

In commenting on Jackson’s collecting motives and in particular his claim to have acquired objects “so the coming generations of Native can see how their fathers lived.”<sup>78</sup>

Cole writes:

If this attribution of motive is at all true, it shows a remarkable consciousness. Ottawa, Washington, and Victoria might bewail the loss of the artifacts from their territories and take measures to preempt that,

but neither Selwyn and Baird nor the 1886 Victoria petitioners conceived of saving materials for the benefit of future generations of Indians. Most thought, if they considered the matter at all, that there would be few future generations.<sup>79</sup>

In fact, Jackson's attempts to assimilate Native Alaskans to Anglo-American Christian and progressive liberal values did not conflict with his attempts to preserve Native ethnicity in his Sitka museum. As in other American museums founded in the late nineteenth century, Native objects were displayed not only as source material for curio producers, but also to provide an object lesson in modernism, an evolutionary benchmark from which to measure Western scientific, technological, and social progress. Jackson directed this object lesson at the younger generation of Tlingit as well to measure their own progress toward modernity. At the end of the nineteenth century, the practices of Sheldon Jackson in missionary, education, museum, and tourism arenas, provided a powerful and synthetic representation of Anglo-American notions of progress for Native and non-Native alike. This synthesis, especially as it related to objects, tourism, and museums, was one to which Louis Shotridge would prove particularly susceptible.

### **The Marriage of Louis and Florence Shotridge: an Entrepreneurial Life**

It was also in the context of his Presbyterian education at Haines Mission School that Shotridge became acquainted with his future wife, Kaatkwaaxsnéi, of the Raven moiety of the Chilkoot people. Also called Susie F. Scundoo (ca. 1882-1917), apparently she was related to the famous Chilkoot Kaagwaantaan shaman, Scundoo.<sup>80</sup> The marriage of Louis Shotridge to Susie Scundoo, subsequently known as Florence, had been arranged at birth -

- the result of a conventional Tlingit agreement between their two families.<sup>81</sup> It was, however, at Haines Mission school that the relationship blossomed.<sup>82</sup>

Much of the biographical information we have on Florence Shotridge comes from newspaper clippings or brief notations found, for example, on photographs. She was a member of the Mountain House, of the Lukaax̄ádi clan. Her village, which is no longer extant, was located on the south bank of the Chilkoot River between Lutak Inlet and Chilkoot Lake, 12 miles southeast of Skagway. In 1880, shortly before Florence's birth, the population of Chilkoot was listed as 120 people living in eight permanent houses.<sup>83</sup> The story of her Tlingit name is recorded in an unattributed newspaper interview from 1916:

As for her name, that is a very long story, and comes from a time when an ancestor chief was giving a party, and instead of mixing ordinary powdered clamshells with the tobacco to be smoked had an idea of making the affair more recherché by powdering and adding the exotic abalone shells. This smart affair and the arranging for it became tribal history, and the name Katkwachsnea, derived therefrom, has for generations been the one which a daughter, who married well and otherwise did the family credit, might in turn give to her daughter.<sup>84</sup>

Emmons described Florence as “a very pretty delicate nice girl.”<sup>85</sup> Around 1900, two years prior to her marriage to Shotridge, he captured a memorable portrait in a photo taken at Chilkoot (fig. 2.2).<sup>86</sup> If we assume Florence was close in age to Louis, she would have been approximately seventeen when the photo was taken. Emmons describes the customary marriage arrangements between Florence's and Louis's families:

All of his maternal relatives, and the immediate male relatives of his father, collected money and valuables, and took these to the bride's family, leaving Louis and an elderly uncle alone. In a reasonable time,

the intermediaries returned with the bride, accompanied by her relatives.<sup>87</sup>

Emmons' account goes on to relate events following the feast given to the bride's relatives and money and gifts exchanged and distributed to brothers-in-law and fellow clansmen after the marriage. Among Tlingit people, social bonds were constructed out of reciprocity between moieties and personal respect. Kan states, "The crucial role of the woman in establishing and maintaining ties between two matrilineal groups is further emphasized by a special relationship of reciprocity between brothers-in-law."<sup>88</sup> On the topic of marriage, Shotridge himself said, "We do not marry out of love but out of respect. We are not told to love one another but to respect one another."<sup>89</sup>

Florence and Louis were also married in a Christian ceremony at Klukwan in the Methodist Episcopalian Church by the Rev. M. A. Sellon on December 25, 1902. The Episcopalians were active in southeast Alaska around the turn of the century; however, both Louis and Florence attended Presbyterian school and their religious affiliation appears to have been Presbyterian. A book of Presbyterian Psalms and an article entitled "Am I a Christian" were found in the Shotridge house in Sitka.<sup>90</sup>

Louis and Florence Shotridge's careers as entrepreneurs participating in the marketing of Tlingit objects began at the 1905 International Exposition in Portland, Oregon celebrating the centennial of Lewis and Clark's expedition.<sup>91</sup> Florence's mother had instructed her daughter in beadwork, basket weaving and, in particular, the intricate details of weaving Chilkat robes. When Alaska Governor John G. Brady visited Haines in search of a woman to demonstrate Chilkat weaving at the Exposition, Florence was

chosen. Louis decided to accompany her to the Exposition, setting off a series of events that were to substantially alter their lives.

Historian Robert Rydell notes that international expositions in the U.S. attracted nearly one hundred million visitors between 1876 and 1916.<sup>92</sup> Rydell argues that these expositions presented the American public with a new form of entertainment couched in terms of scientific achievement and dreams of economic progress. They promoted and propagated the ideas and values of the country's political, financial, corporate, and intellectual leaders and offered these ideas as the proper interpretation of social and political reality.<sup>93</sup> Focusing on ethnological displays at these events, Rydell explains that:

Significantly, such 'villages' were honky-tonk concessions often located in the amusement sections of the fairs alongside wild animal exhibits, joyrides, and other entertainment features. The villages played on the noble savage theme as exemplified in the wild west show and although they degraded and exploited the people on display, anthropologists generally testified to the ethnological value of the exhibits.<sup>94</sup>

Rydell demonstrates that these fairs were among the most authoritative sources for shaping racial attitudes, but they were no less popular with the general public than minstrel shows, circuses, museums of curiosities, dime novels, craft fairs, and Wild West shows -- all spectacles of the pre-modern "Other." In the words of cultural historian James Clifford, "the world's cultures appear ...[a]s shreds of humanity, degraded commodities, or elevated great art but always functioning as vanishing 'loopholes' or 'escapes,' from a one-dimensional fate."<sup>95</sup>

Living ethnological displays of Native Americans and other non-Anglo peoples were introduced to the American public at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago

in 1893. They were found in both the government-regulated anthropological displays and the “villages” adjacent to the official grounds. Much of the programme resulted in the amassing of large “representative” collections of Native American objects, displayed according to current ethnological theories and debates. Funding for construction and display provided by the country’s political, financial, corporate, and intellectual elite insured that their agendas and values were properly interpreted. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to assess the ethics of ethnographic display except to note that participation was self-serving on the part of the scientific community. Immediate rewards were found in increased museum collections and positions, while indirectly, public awareness and interest in “vanishing Indians” translated into increased funding for anthropologists in the form of fieldwork and university support.

The 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition and the subsequent 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle were thematically focused on the possibilities of economic expansion into Asian Pacific markets while providing the region and nation with the usual images of racial progress.<sup>96</sup> Florence Shotridge was the ideal candidate for inclusion. As a weaver of Chilkat robes, she demonstrated her “cultural authenticity;” while her skills in English, a result of her Presbyterian education,<sup>97</sup> were indicative of Anglo-American “progress” in civilizing and assimilating Native Americans and preparing them to work as labourers.<sup>98</sup> The attraction in which Florence Shotridge demonstrated Chilkat weaving has not been described. Like other ethnological attractions, it may have consisted of “cultural artifacts, and lay-figure groupings of ‘primitive types.’”<sup>99</sup>

Associated with such exhibits in Portland were “art galleries” where entrepreneurs and purveyors of Native objects gathered to sell and trade. In one of these, Louis Shotridge exhibited a number of objects from Klukwan, offering many for sale. The specific circumstances, opportunities, or pressures that motivated Shotridge to begin selling Native objects as curios are unknown. However, as previously noted, through individuals such as the Krauses, the Willards and Emmons, the Chilkoot/Chilkat were especially familiar with the American and European market for their tribal objects. Emmons, in particular, had spent considerable time collecting in the Chilkat area, and had become friendly with Shotridge’s family. Emmons’ success as an entrepreneur of Tlingit material would no doubt have set an example that encouraged Shotridge to undertake similar ventures. For Shotridge the pursuit of an entrepreneurial career through interaction with both Native and Anglo-American societies was consistent with the activities of his father and grandfather and thus may be seen as an attempt to achieve a certain income level and thereby maintain his prestige within a changing Tlingit society.

## **Conclusions**

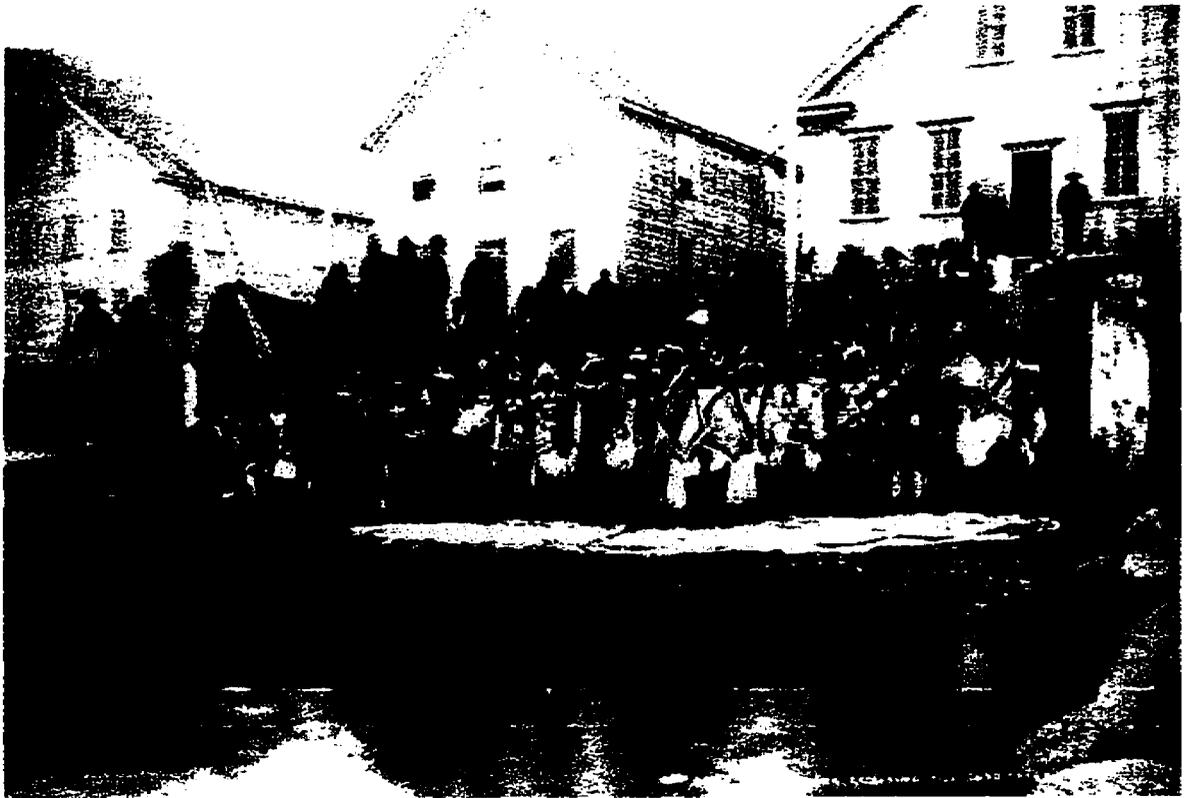
Assertion of Native American independence from American cultural and political hegemony took various forms. As they had from the time of Shaadaxicht, Tlingit people continued to engage in a “dialogue” with the increasingly dominant Anglo-American society whereby elements of Native practice were blended with creative and strategic adaptations to a non-Native environment. As Clifford notes: “recent inquiries into

processes of missionization show that conversion to Christianity was syncretic rather than a radical either-or choice.”<sup>100</sup> Kan, who has explored syncretic adaptation in reference to the Russian Orthodoxy among the Tlingit states:

The growing body of ethno-historical research shows that North American Indians have often reinterpreted Christian ideas, rituals, and institutions, and that their approach to Christianity has been selective, creative, and synthesizing. Christianity, as a result, frequently became indigenized.<sup>101</sup>

Lacking the rights of citizenship and excluded from processes of governance, Tlingit entree into the dominant society, either Russian or American, was often through religious affiliation. Kan, for example, identifies the Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods as a means by which individuals interacted with Euro-American society.<sup>102</sup> During Florence’s and Louis’ childhood the process of missionization was particularly intense. Both were educated in the Presbyterian Mission school at Haines and they were married in a customary Tlingit as well as Christian ceremony. Yet educational opportunities beyond the most elementary teaching were limited and membership in a religious group failed to provide the basic civil rights necessary for full participation in the dominant society. In general the “civilizing” rhetoric of Protestant America was aimed at providing an English-speaking labouring class to serve the needs of a burgeoning industrial society.<sup>103</sup> This class was expected to settle for the injustice of discrimination, segregation, lack of economic opportunity and social disparity. Opportunity for Native American advancement generally did not extend beyond the curio market or labouring class. As elsewhere in North America, Native Americans were viewed as a labouring class for purposes of wage-labour exploitation but as a race for purposes of social relations and ideological

constructions. Individuals like Louis or Florence Shotridge were provided with opportunities for an education in which they would find a life within the labouring class. They were therefore expected to train for the “practical but lowly skills” that would help them find jobs in Alaskan resource-extraction industries.<sup>104</sup> However, Louis and perhaps also Florence Shotridge had ambitions equivalent to their high status in Tlingit society -- ambitions that could be served by family connections which provided them exceptional opportunities for the promotion of the sale of Tlingit objects.



**Fig.2.1. Members of the Sitka Luknaax ádi receiving Killisnoo people at the 1904 Sitka potlatch. Photograph shows Western style housing along the beach at Sitka. Merrill photograph, 1904, courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau PCA 57-18. See also Merrill (PH1737, Isabell Miller Museum, Sitka and Emmons 1971) for photographs of the painted gable end of Chief Annahootz's house in Sitka**



**Fig.2.2. Portrait of Florence Shotridge. Caption reads: "L.S.'s wife, 1900, Chilkoot, Alaska." Photograph attributed to George Thornton Emmons, n.d., courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum, #9163.**

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Shotridge's name is found in the Haines Common School Registry, (The Sheldon Museum Archives) but there are no associated dates for his attendance.
- <sup>2</sup> Kan 1985:199.
- <sup>3</sup> Taken from a photocopy of the letter courtesy of Dr. E. Carpenter. Low (1991:xxxix) also quotes the letter courtesy of Frances Emmons Peacock, the daughter of G.T. Emmons.
- <sup>4</sup> Emmons 1991:439. The Tlingit name of the island was "Shee" meaning "limb of a tree" according to the shape of the island.
- <sup>5</sup> The capital was moved to Juneau in 1900.
- <sup>6</sup> Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>7</sup> Oleska 1994:529.
- <sup>8</sup> Kan 1987:36.
- <sup>9</sup> Kan 1989a:4.
- <sup>10</sup> Kan 1987:38.
- <sup>11</sup> Discriminatory attitudes extended to Russian Creoles and Chinese workers imported to work in the Treadwell mine in Juneau (Hinckley 1982:99).
- <sup>12</sup> Hinckley 1982:99.
- <sup>13</sup> Gmelch 1995:161. This was also the case in Juneau where such discrimination precipitated action by the Alaska Native Brotherhood in 1929 (Drucker 1958:71).
- <sup>14</sup> Kan 1985:200.
- <sup>15</sup> Kan 1987:37.
- <sup>16</sup> Brady served as Governor of Alaska from 1897-1906. He was instrumental in initiating civil, criminal, and land laws for the territory. See Hinckley 1982 for a biography of Brady.
- <sup>17</sup> Oleska 1994:530.
- <sup>18</sup> Impoverished at death, Brady's casket was paid for by the Alaska Native Brotherhood and their band played at his funeral (Hinckley 1982:374).
- <sup>19</sup> See Kan 1986b:15.
- <sup>20</sup> See also Drucker 1958.
- <sup>21</sup> Fred Falconer "Saving Souls--and Bodies," in *Assembly Herald*, 1908
- <sup>22</sup> Fortune 1989:157
- <sup>23</sup> Fortune 1989:160
- <sup>24</sup> Dauenhauer 1982:34. A summary of missions and churches in Alaska as of 1903 lists a total of 82, 16 for the Russian Orthodox and the same number for the Presbyterians. The Catholics and Episcopalians had ten and 14 respectively while others such as the Baptists and Methodists had far fewer. An Alaska-wide system of bilingual parochial schools numbered 44 (Brooks 1953:492; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:47).
- <sup>25</sup> Dauenhauer [1980]1982:34. See also Kan 1985:199-200.
- <sup>26</sup> Gerstle 1994:1044. See also Dauenhauer [1980]1982:22 on Alaskan policies.

- 27 Hertzberg 1971:22.
- 28 Coleman 1993:38.
- 29 Szasz and Ryan 1988:290.
- 30 Also included was the so-called "outing" programme where students worked a few months or more each year for selected Anglo-American families or firms. The system, which was designed to integrate students into U.S. society often degenerated into cheap menial labour for Anglo-American patrons (Coleman 1993:44).
- 31 Hertzberg 1971:17.
- 32 Coleman 1993:46.
- 33 For complete numbers see Berthrong 1988:263.
- 34 See also Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1994: 47-64) on Jackson's philosophical motivations regarding Native education. The school was located on the grounds of what is presently the Sheldon Jackson College (see Hinckley 1982:59).
- 35 By an act of Congress New Metlakatla became a reservation in 1891 and was governed by a "Declaration of Residents" and a city council which exercised almost total economic control over the community (Dunn and Booth 1990:294-97).
- 36 Hinckley 1982:45.
- 37 Two Presbyterian missionaries, Frances H. Willard and William L. Kelly, wrote a Tlingit grammar in 1905, and there was some hymn translation by Tillie Paul and William Corlies (Dauenhauer [1980] 1982:26, 37 & 38).
- 38 Krauss 1980:22-23; Oleska 1992:98-99. Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1994:56) note that Presbyterian Church policy was originally supportive of the Tlingit language as were those of the Russian Orthodox and other church groups who functioned in southeast Alaska.
- 39 Hertzberg 1971:15.
- 40 Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:56.
- 41 Hinckley 1982:60.
- 42 Haycox 1984:156. Haycox describes events leading up to this unusual decision which essentially involved questioning the ethnic identity of Alaskan Natives.
- 43 Dauenhauer [1980]1982:36-37.
- 44 Murray 1985:246.
- 45 Drucker 1958:13.
- 46 See also Drucker 1958:16.
- 47 Hinckley 1982:238.
- 48 See for example the life story of William Paul who was educated at Carlisle and later became a lawyer and driving force in the Alaska Native Brotherhood (Haycox 1994:503-24).
- 49 See Jackson 1886:31.
- 50 Kan 1985:199.
- 51 Kan 1985:199.
- 52 Coleman 1993. Even as late as 1928 the government admitted that few of its schools offered high-school-level instruction (Coleman 1993:45).
- 53 Hinsley [1981]1994:263.

- 54 Roosevelt was on the other hand supportive of William Duncan and the Metlakatians (Murray 1985:247).
- 55 Murray 1985:209
- 56 Murray 1985:208, 246.
- 57 Carlton 1992:52-53.
- 58 Carlton 1992:95-96. The collection was eventually moved to the Princeton University Museum where it found a permanent home.
- 59 De Armond 1987:3-19.
- 60 Hulbert 1987:xi.
- 61 Carlton 1992:40-59.
- 62 Mrs. McFarland mentions receiving a carved mountain sheep horn spoon as a gift; Louis Paul purchased a shaman's headdress for \$2.00, and Eugene Willard acquired a small green chisel and a stone lamp at Klukwan (Carlton 1992:109).
- 63 Cole (1985:93) quoted from Jackson to Mrs. Margaret V. Shephard, 29 April 1893, Jackson Papers, Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary.
- 64 Lee 1991:1-15; Muir [1892]1988:13.
- 65 De Armond 1987:3-19. Lee (1991:7) quotes Hinckley (1965:70-71) on a statistic of 5000 tourists annually by 1890.
- 66 Lee 1991:7.
- 67 Cohodas (in press).
- 68 Carlton 1992:73
- 69 Carlton 1992:105.
- 70 Dauenhauer [1980]1982:37-38.
- 71 Carlton 1992:253.
- 72 Trennert 1987:203-220.
- 73 Carlton 1992:295-296.
- 74 Carlton 1992:136.
- 75 Carlton 1992:179.
- 76 Cole 1985:76. Carleton (1992:114) disputes this charge arguing that the presence of other objects in the collection "stone implements, raw materials and everyday tools" demonstrates its ethnographic importance. More recently this theme has been explored by Phillips (1992).
- 77 Carlton 1992:124.
- 78 Carlton 1992:262; see also Cole 1985:93.
- 79 Cole 1985:93.
- 80 Marriage certificate found by Nancy Nash in the Shotridge house in Haines and placed in the Sheldon Museum in Haines. Also newspaper clipping dated 14 August 1916. Scundoo was photographed by Case and Draper in 1907 (PCA39-222 Alaska State Library, Juneau). Born in 1821 or 1829, Scundoo participated in the raid on Fort Selkirk led by Shaadaxicht. He is said to have died circa 1912 (pers. com.: E. Hakkinen, Historian, The Sheldon Museum and Cultural Center, Haines).
- 81 *Philadelphia Telegraph*, 14 June 1917, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.

- <sup>82</sup> Philadelphia Telegraph, 14 June 1917, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>83</sup> Krause [1885]1956:66; B.A.E.A.R. 26:397.
- <sup>84</sup> Dated 14 August 1916, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>85</sup> Emmons to Mason, 4 January 1942, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>86</sup> Emmons to Mason, 10 May 1942; Royal British Columbia Museum photo, neg. no. PN9163.
- <sup>87</sup> Emmons 1991:270.
- <sup>88</sup> Kan 1989a:159-60.
- <sup>89</sup> Wallis 1918:72.
- <sup>90</sup> Nancy Nash 1989. "A Window on a World Gone By."
- <sup>91</sup> The full title of this fair was "The Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair" (Rydell 1984).
- <sup>92</sup> Rydell 1984:2.
- <sup>93</sup> Rydell 1984:3.
- <sup>94</sup> Rydell 1984:7-8.
- <sup>95</sup> Clifford 1988:244.
- <sup>96</sup> Rydell 1984:185.
- <sup>97</sup> Unidentified newspaper account written by F. Maude Smith and entitled "A Little Chat with Katwachsnea," n.d., Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>98</sup> In Seattle, A.M. Barber, an Arctic trader, was engaged to gather Alaskan Eskimos together for a living exhibit. Barber found thirty-four Siberians to demonstrate the lowest "stage of civilization." Before the Exposition began, Barber housed the Native Alaskans in a Seattle cold storage plant. These people, Barber explained, were partly educated and thus provided an exploitable labour force for operating mills and canneries (Rydell 1984:199). See also Trennert 1987:203-220.
- <sup>99</sup> Rydell 1984:235
- <sup>100</sup> Clifford 1988:303 & 344; Kan 1985:196-197.
- <sup>101</sup> Kan 1985:196.
- <sup>102</sup> Kan 1985.
- <sup>103</sup> Trachtenberg 1982.
- <sup>104</sup> Coleman 1993:46.

## ***CHAPTER THREE***

### **LOUIS AND FLORENCE SHOTRIDGE AND THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM**

This chapter explores Louis and Florence Shotridge's initial construction of "self" as purveyors of exotic Native lifeways and their subsequent emergence as museum-trained employees and, in Louis' case, as a business school graduate. In contrast, within the public context, the Shotridges were promoted as romantic stereotypes and pre-modern remnants of "authentic Indian" times. In spite of their accomplishments, the irony of the Shotridges' circumstances, and indeed that of all Native Americans, surfaces in the inability of Western society to fully accommodate their newly acquired status.

#### **George Byron Gordon and the University Museum**

The Free Museum of Art and Science, (renamed The University Museum in 1913),<sup>1</sup> was officially founded in 1887 with the University of Pennsylvania offering to supply space for the archaeological findings from a privately-sponsored expedition to Nippur (Iraq). The "Department of Archaeology and Paleontology" was instituted as an unofficial academic department dedicated to overseeing the operation of the museum. In

1899 the first museum building was constructed with the help of municipal grants on land donated by the city. One of the stipulations in receiving financial aid was that the University Museum be free to the public.<sup>2</sup> A separate citizens group called the “Archaeological Association” was formed with the sole purpose of securing funds for expeditions and publications of its work.<sup>3</sup>

George Byron Gordon (fig. 3.1) joined the museum as Assistant Curator of the American Section in 1903. Gordon, who received a Doctor of Science in Archaeology from Harvard University, led the 1894 Harvard University Expedition to the Maya site of Copan.<sup>4</sup> Aside from the findings of major archaeological and ethnographic expeditions and donor gifts, objects either made for, or purchased at, various expositions formed the nucleus of the University Museum collections.<sup>5</sup> Through careful buying and trading with other institutions, Gordon orchestrated collections in ethnological material ranging in scope from North America to more distant areas such as Persia, India, and Tibet. Gordon traveled extensively, visiting craft fairs and expositions in search of appropriate objects to round out existing collections.

For some Native Americans, fairs and expositions were an ideal opportunity to sell objects not only to tourists, but also to private collectors and to museum ethnologists (or their agents). In September 1905, Gordon visited the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland. He was on his return to Philadelphia after a collecting expedition in the Kuskokwim area of Alaska. Encountering Shotridge, Gordon purchased forty-nine Tlingit objects, among these “The Weeping Man” mask (fig. 3.2). Evidently Gordon was impressed that the objects were being sold by an knowledgeable and enterprising Native

American, as he later expressed an interest in hiring Shotridge as an agent for the museum.<sup>6</sup> Gordon would also have realized the value of a Native contact whose personal connections with Klukwan's most prestigious families might enable the museum to build a respectable Northwest Coast collection in spite of its late start in the area.

After his return to Philadelphia, Gordon encouraged Shotridge to continue collecting objects for sale to the museum. "I will buy," Gordon advised, "any good specimen that you may procure."<sup>7</sup> Gordon also reiterated the idea that the museum might fund the Shotridges' travel to Philadelphia in order to properly document the museum's existing collection.<sup>8</sup> While Shotridge responded eagerly to the proposal, his comments on the collecting process also described the difficulty inherent in purchasing objects of functional value within Tlingit society:

You were speaking of us getting a collection of old curious [sic] if we agreed to come [to Philadelphia], now I will tell you this. It will take a good while to get a good collection, but I will tell you what I can get now, I can get four more old copper knives and some good old smoking pipes and some old copper dancing rattle and that woman's dancing headdress the same one you saw at the fair in Portland, these are the things we can get now, but the rest the bear and the two wooden hats I can't get them, all of my people did not care to sell them.<sup>9</sup>

Gordon waffled on the employment proposal but encouraged Shotridge to continue collecting. In a letter dated January 1906, Gordon further clarified his interests, "It does not matter so much what the things are as long as they are good specimens, and the old things are always good."<sup>10</sup> Without a firm commitment from Gordon, Shotridge began work as a carpenter on the construction of Fort William H. Seward. He also built a small residence in Haines<sup>11</sup> while Florence Shotridge resumed her education at the mission

school.<sup>12</sup> Gordon, lacking either conviction or sufficient funds, continued to delay employment and the correspondence became sporadic. In the summer of 1906 Shotridge indicated that he had amassed a “good” collection including horn spoons and old pipes and knives. Hoping to make plans for the winter he encouraged Gordon to act on the employment possibility. In his most aggressive sales pitch to date Shotridge declared:

I can secure the very best of every thing there is, the real valuable ones they used to keep things that they never thought of selling before, and I am the only one to get them too, most of the totems are owned by father and some other things by my relatives, I have told them that I am going [to] be collecting and we talked together about these old things.<sup>13</sup>

In response Gordon agreed to purchase Shotridge’s collection and indicated that would be in Alaska sometime in the fall or the early spring of 1907 and he and Shotridge could “talk matters over.”<sup>14</sup> Shotridge’s hopes of traveling to Philadelphia postponed once more, he and Florence found work at Antonio Apache’s Indian Crafts Exhibition in Los Angeles. While there, Florence completed the weaving of the Chilkat robe she had begun for the Portland Exposition and Louis shipped his collection of objects to Gordon in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, Shotridge, inexperienced in dealing with buyers, sent the box C.O.D., an unacceptable procedure rendered even worse by the contents. Gordon responded negatively:

I must say that I was very greatly disappointed in the contents of the box, because I wish to receive only old material as I wrote you several times before whereas nearly all of the pieces which you sent are new and made quite recently. It is true that they are very nice pieces, but I got from you in Portland all of the new things I want. It will therefore be quite useless for you to undertake to collect for us unless you can obtain old things.<sup>15</sup>

Shotridge, perhaps influenced by Sheldon Jackson's activities as collector and stimulator of "curio" production, had purchased some contemporary objects. One report from this period indicated that Shotridge someday hoped to initiate a Native arts co-operative in Klukwan.<sup>16</sup> Although Shotridge had accurately described the objects in his collection as composed of baskets, knives, pipes, and spoons, Gordon may have expected greater things. Shotridge had alluded to "some very nice old dancing hats" owned by an elderly man who was ill and wanted to sell them. He also spoke of objects from Klukwan's

Whale House:

I have already told you about them before, one of the California men is now trying to get them, but I told my father that it will be much niceier [sic] to sell them to you, and told him what you want some[?] thing like that for...<sup>17</sup>

Gordon, whose personality was said to be "sometimes as sharp as the points on his mustache,"<sup>18</sup> purchased ten articles and returned the remainder of the shipment.

Becoming aware that these entrepreneurial objectives were detrimental in his dealings with Gordon, Shotridge wrote an apology and added, "my father thought they were good, and everybody said so because they were the kind of knives and things was used in olden days, so I never thought anymore of it."<sup>19</sup> Shotridge referred to the aboriginal use of copper objects among his people and the fact that some objects had been repaired, an indication he believed of their substantial use. Nevertheless, aside from a brief collecting expedition to Klukwan, Gordon eschewed further business dealings with Shotridge for the next four years.

Shotridge's first unsuccessful dealings with Gordon suggests issues related to Tlingit perspectives and the divergent goals and objectives of institutions. Perhaps the first collection Shotridge sent to Gordon was composed of small, less valuable objects because Shotridge was reluctant to bring more valuable pieces to Los Angeles. However, Shotridge also may have preferred to acquire objects newly made or smaller, personal items that were more affordable. Shotridge's 1905 letter to Gordon outlines the difficulty and expense involved in obtaining more valuable crest objects. On the other hand, the argument employed by Shotridge to purchase objects from his father demonstrates that owners were often concerned with the ultimate destination of their objects. As noted earlier, some individuals believed that museum preservation was an alternative to continued custodianship. This, as much as Emmons' or Jackson's example, may have influenced Shotridge's thinking, as he appears to have been convinced that a museum setting was the most efficacious route to preservation.

In spite of their setback with Gordon the years 1907-11 were highly productive for the Shotridges. They engaged tutors to teach them English and music in their spare evenings. Florence an accomplished pianist, accompanied Louis' supposedly outstanding baritone voice. They were talented and educated, and their abilities enabled them to secure a variety of jobs. They toured with an Indian Grand Opera Company and traveled to craft fairs and other events featuring "Indian" displays.<sup>20</sup> The Shotridges became what Clifford describes as "ex-centric" Natives -- travelers, purveyors of constructed ethnic histories.<sup>21</sup> From the time when Florence was first asked to demonstrate Chilkat weaving through their years of participation in Indian fairs and the Opera, the Shotridges functioned as

entrepreneurs and “cultural” performers, re-inventing their “authentic” and “exotic” selves as the circumstances of their employment dictated.

The Chilkat robe (fig. 3.3) begun by Florence for the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition was eventually finished in Los Angeles at the Indian Crafts Exhibition. Planning a trip to New York in 1911, Shotridge approached Gordon about the possibility of the museum purchasing the garment. Gordon, who in 1910 had been appointed Director of the Museum, responded, “I want very much to see you with regard to the blanket and talk to you about this and some other matters.”<sup>22</sup> Encouraged by Gordon’s interest, the Shotridges shipped the robe from a previous place of engagement, “The World in Cincinnati”, on the chance that Gordon might wish to purchase it. Once again Florence’s weaving provided the impetus for renewed opportunities. Gordon declined the robe, but instead offered Shotridge a temporary position at the museum as an exhibit preparator and model-maker.<sup>23</sup>

In 1907 Gordon had convinced the wealthy New York collector George G. Heye to store his objects in the museum. Anticipating receiving Heye’s objects as a part of the museum’s permanent collection, Gordon sought to acquire detailed information on the objects for display purposes.<sup>24</sup> Thus he approached Shotridge as someone who had the expertise to accomplish this task.

The Shotridges accepted Gordon’s offer from New York and quickly arranged for temporary rooms in Philadelphia. Shotridge’s first assignment was to build a scale model of the central section of the village of Klukwan. The making of small-scale museum models was a common display tactic at that time; miniaturization being a popular method

of presenting the “primitive” in controlled and ordered classifications.<sup>25</sup> Shotridge worked meticulously to render subtle details in his model -- the fish drying racks, the adze marks on the cedar planks, and the paper-thin tanned hide clothing worn by the mannequins and made of mouse skins (fig. 3.4).<sup>26</sup> J. Alden Mason later praised the work, “Although he had had no previous training in this art [model making], he made an exquisite true-to-life model, with everything -- houses, trees, boats, inhabitants -- in perfect replica and to exact scale.”<sup>27</sup>

Gordon also capitalized on the personal presence of an “official Indian Chief” as tangible evidence of a more authoritative authenticity. In keeping with concepts surrounding life exhibits at fairs and expositions, Gordon utilized the Shotridges’ exotic personae to raise the profile of the museum among the general population. Newspapers also announced the couple’s presence in such stereotypical headlines as, “Alaskan Chief here on Visit: Situwaka and His Squaw Will Explain Exhibits in University Museum.”<sup>28</sup>

Because Shotridge’s employment at the museum was temporary, it was necessary to explore possibilities of related work at other institutions. Concerned with his friend’s welfare, Emmons wrote to Walter Hough, Curator of Ethnology at the Smithsonian, recommending him for a job in museum display, but received a negative response. Nevertheless Emmons continued to search out possible employment, even suggesting that the couple attend a church benefit in Cincinnati, “I have mentioned the possibility of procuring the devices of Louis and his wife at an adequate sum.”<sup>29</sup>

While Emmons was pleased to recommend Shotridge for a position in museum display, in a 1911 letter to George Heye he questioned Shotridge’s knowledge of Tlingit

lifeways and therefore his reliability as a source of information. In a reference to Shotridge's upbringing, Emmons noted, "Louis is a nice boy but his knowledge of the past is not altogether certain as his sister married a White man and he had lived with the Whites more than with his own people".<sup>30</sup> Emmons' position, alternately supportive and critical, was clearly influenced by his sometimes irritable personality and his personal association with the Shotridge family. His evaluation of Shotridge as an informant, while being phrased in terms of "cultural authenticity," was also based on economic competition. As collectors, Shotridge and Emmons competed for the same objects and Emmons, a freelance collector would have found it useful to discredit Shotridge in order to augment his position as an authority on Tlingit objects.<sup>31</sup>

The Shotridges stayed the summer at the Philadelphia home of anthropologist Frank Speck. Speck recommended Shotridge as "a very valuable man" to the linguist Edward Sapir in the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey Offices in Ottawa.<sup>32</sup> Sapir responded with interest and began arrangements to offer Shotridge a position in the museum's display area. Shotridge eventually chose to remain in Philadelphia, but suggested that the department might consider the purchase of Florence's Exposition robe. After some negotiations over the price, Sapir convinced the museum to make the acquisition.<sup>33</sup> With it came a short paper written by Florence for the Lewis and Clark Exposition entitled "History of the 'Tina' [*Tináa*] Blanket" in which Florence relates the commonly known bear mother story (see Appendix 2). Florence's decision to create a robe which documented the crests of her father's house served as an intricate biographical and social statement. The grizzly bear crest affirmed both her clan and marital affiliations

(Shotridge's matrilineal crest was the grizzly bear of the Kaagwaantaan), and thereby her social relationship to the opposite moiety.<sup>34</sup>

Years of studying and working with tutors paid off in 1912 when Shotridge was admitted to the Wharton School of Finance and Economics. For admission he was required to read books on mathematics, American history, economics, and civics (political science).<sup>35</sup> Shotridge studied at Wharton for two years, earning tuition from his museum salary. Through talent, ambition, and hard work, the Shotridges had achieved the educational and social refinements necessary to participate in the middle-class worlds of academe, museum patronage, and business administration.<sup>36</sup>

The Shotridges' daily museum duties included the documentation and arranging for display of the growing number of Northwest Coast objects. Another of the couple's duties involved dressing up, in keeping with Euro-American expectations, in Plains Indian garments in order to guide school children through the museum galleries (fig.3.5). Mason later recalled, "Dressed in native costume, he [Shotridge] appealed greatly to the school classes -- especially to the younger grades, who listened to his talks on Indian life and customs more avidly than they would to any white teacher."<sup>37</sup> The "Indian Chief and Princess" personae that the Shotridges assumed for their public duties at the University Museum are well illustrated in a photograph taken of them dressed in "Plains Indian" garments. Their costumes appear to have been part of their personal collection probably worn in their various capacities as ethnic entertainers.<sup>38</sup> The Shotridges also offered music concerts, but it was Florence who was especially popular in her role as "Indian Princess."

Newspaper articles profiling her activities indicate that Philadelphia was smitten with “Princess Katwachsnea” (Kaatkwaaxsnei).

As one who was knowledgeable in Tlingit lifeways Florence Shotridge actively participated in museum work during these early years in Philadelphia. In 1913 she wrote an article for *The Museum Journal* entitled “The Life of a Chilkat Indian Girl.” For that same publication the Shotridges produced a piece called “Indians of the Northwest.” Despite the joint authorship, both articles appear to have been written by Florence Shotridge, whose clear, expository style was quite different from that of her husband. The content of the articles is a mixture of information on social structure and items of technical interest such as house construction, interspersed with biographical details and personal reminiscences.<sup>39</sup> Their diagram of a Chilkat house structure has often been used to describe a typical northern house type. Included also is the story of the woman who married a bear, the same story as represented on the *Tináa* Blanket.

A range of activities and other facets of the Shotridges’ self- and institutional- constructions are revealed in photographs taken for museum purposes. For example, one published in a newspaper in 1912 shows Florence in a fringed buckskin dress sitting in front of the Chilkat robe she wove (fig. 3.6). This photograph partakes of a nineteenth century convention wherein Native Americans and their families would dress in particular, often status- as well as ethnically-marked clothing and paraphernalia designed to construct a tribal affiliation (not always their own) and their individual status. Hence for this occasion Florence Shotridge also adorned herself with two family heirlooms -- a necklace of Russian glass beads and a pair of engraved gold bracelets.<sup>40</sup>

A photographic portrait taken of Louis Shotridge, circa 1912 (see fig.3.7), and published in *The Museum Journal* has been widely reproduced. It is a studio shot taken by the museum photographer with Shotridge dressed in Tlingit ceremonial regalia, including Florence's *Tináa* robe and a crest hat stored at the museum for George Heye. The photograph is compelling in its dramatic construction of a proud and dignified Tlingit nobleman. Compared to similar portraits of potlatch attendees (fig. 3.8) taken in Alaska this portrait intentionally eliminated articles of Western clothing deemed acculturated, to present an image of pre-contact authenticity. Although formally related to the convention of photographic portraiture mentioned above, the context in which this photograph was disseminated demonstrates its quite different function. This was a photographic version of the allochronic image that the ethnographic curator created in exhibit cases. In the *Museum Journal* this photograph of Louis Shotridge represents not only an individual but a nation, devoid of historical reference.

### **Shotridge and The Emergence of “Scientific” Ethnography: Collaboration with Franz Boas and a Position with the University Museum**

Perhaps because of his experience with the Peabody Museum at Harvard and the visionary strategies of Frederick Ward Putnam, Gordon became a strong proponent of the educational value of museums as adjuncts to university programmes. He believed “The University Museum should develop [sic] along its legitimate lines in keeping with the other

departments, and the best guarantee of this development is through the extended exercise of its normal function as a part of the educational system of the University.”<sup>41</sup> After some effort Gordon succeeded in establishing a university-funded anthropology department and taught an initial programme of classes himself.<sup>42</sup>

Gordon’s emphasis on collaboration between museums and university departments also corresponded with the thinking of Putnam’s first protégé, Franz Boas.<sup>43</sup> For a time Boas had fulfilled a joint appointment as Curator at American Museum of Natural History (1901-1905) and professor at Columbia University in New York. At this point in his career, after severing relations with the museum, Boas focused his energies more intensively on linguistics and the gathering of myths and texts.

As Clifford<sup>44</sup> and others have noted, the beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the introduction of the professionally trained ethnological fieldworker in the context of privately funded museums and university departments. For Boas and others, this professionalization required not only distancing from tourism but also discrediting of those amateur collectors of objects and information (e.g. missionaries, military personnel, educators, medical practitioners) on whom the U.S. National Museum, among others, depended.

Amateur collectors often pursued broader visions. As noted previously, Sheldon Jackson collected both old and new objects for missionary and institutional purposes. James G. Swan, who worked for the U.S. National Museum (from 1875) was also interested in purchasing contemporary objects as well as older, used pieces. However, in a new era intent on salvaging what Clifford refers to as the “pure products” of the non-

Caucasian world,<sup>45</sup> newly-made objects such as Haida silver bracelets and argillite were of lesser interest. Institutional criteria that the objects be finely made, “old,” and/or representative of an overarching typology, i.e., tools, musical instruments, (especially made of bone or stone) predominated as anthropologists strove to achieve a “representative” collection, a rational taxonomy.

The area of linguistics offered constructions of both science, in its analytic methods, and complete authenticity, as myths and languages were considered to have survived from pre-contact times. For fullest authenticity, anthropologists such as Swanton worked to acquire texts in the indigenous language -- a requirement that positioned Native ethnographers such as Hunt and Shotridge in the forefront of “scientific” ethnography. This repositioning served to further discredit amateur collectors like Emmons. Indeed, significant aspects of the anthropological shift that affected collecting practices and validated Shotridge’s expertise may be seen in the clash between Emmons and Boas.

Much of Emmons’ Tlingit material was collected between 1882 and 1899, while he was living in Sitka and employed by the U.S. Navy. When he retired from the navy in 1896 Emmons continued to be associated with U.S. Government initiatives in Alaska and he worked to acquire collections throughout the Northwest Coast until his death in 1945.<sup>46</sup> That Emmons collected most of his Tlingit objects during his seventeen years’ residence in Alaska, is a testimony to the impact of changing social conditions within Tlingit society at the turn of the century.

As objects lost their use-value within Tlingit society, they simultaneously acquired a cash value within the Western market economy. Shamanic paraphernalia provides one

example of this trajectory. It appears that Emmons acquired shamans' equipment from graves or from shamans persecuted and "defrocked" by both the missionaries and the military government, furthering the disrepute that attended their failure to cure victims of epidemics, especially smallpox. In addition, some inherited shamans' objects were considered to be a spiritual liability, the shamans' helping spirits being characterized by difficulty of control, unpredictability, and potential malevolence.<sup>47</sup> For Emmons, who often lacked the capital to compete with museum-funded collectors, gathering such devalued objects proved to be a lucrative pursuit.

Unlike Jackson's contemporary interest in object accumulation and social reform, Emmons was motivated to collect and resell objects for financial gain and for the personal satisfaction of being recognized as an ethnological "authority." Most likely Emmons' entrepreneurial pragmatism served as a powerful model for the young Louis Shotridge. When it came to marketing his collections Emmons recognized the value to museums of informative and complete documentation. His documentation includes information on aboriginal usage and material composition. For shamanic paraphernalia, he recorded the place of burial, the name of the original owner, his clan and the identities of the various spirits represented in the kit.<sup>48</sup> An editorial note in the 1888 Annual Report of the American Museum of Natural History described its newly acquired Northwest Coast collection thus:

Each specimen was obtained by the Lieutenant himself, who kept a full record regarding it, and from such authentic data, he has prepared an elaborate catalogue, with full notes on the use made by the Natives of each kind of object....[t]he series is...[p]robably more complete and

authentic than any similar collection ever made in that portion of our continent.<sup>49</sup>

During his long career as a collector, Emmons published a number of articles on Northwest Coast topics, and worked to assemble material for a Tlingit monograph, something he failed to complete but which was posthumously edited and annotated by anthropologist Frederica de Laguna and published in 1991. Although Boas praised the value of Emmons' collections, the professional interaction between the two men was uneasy and sometimes openly hostile, with Boas attacking Emmons' methods as unscientific and lacking in objectivity and Emmons casting aspersions on Boas' character. When Boas edited Emmons' 1907 paper on Chilkat weaving to include material recorded by John Swanton, Emmons became particularly offended. Disturbed by Boas' attack on his previously unquestioned knowledge of Tlingit heritage, Emmons argued that his long personal experience among the Chilkat enabled him to present a more accurate and consequently more authoritative interpretation of the imagery.<sup>50</sup> Boas' rejoinder stressed the superiority of the newly formulated "scientific" objectives of professional ethnography. He wrote:

I pointed out to you repeatedly the necessity of gaining an objective statement of the explanations of designs, and to bring out the fact that there are discrepancies in the views held by different Natives....I beg to assure you that the differences of interpretation obtained from different informants and by different investigators offer one of the most interesting points in the discussion of designs, and are, from a scientific point of view, much more important than any single explanation that has been obtained.<sup>51</sup>

Boas and his university-trained associates (like Gordon) were instrumental in transferring authority from amateurs such as Emmons, who had lengthy, often close

personal experience with Native peoples, to the “scientific” professional equipped with a theoretical perspective and training in principles of empirical research and comparative analysis. In this academic atmosphere, grooming Shotridge to be not only a “cultural insider” with “authentic” knowledge, but also a professionally trained ethnographer carried a tremendous potential for legitimating the growing discipline of anthropology as an “objective” science.

Most likely it was their mutual interest in linguistics that led Gordon to suggest the meeting between Shotridge and Boas which took place during the winter of 1914 at Columbia University.<sup>52</sup> Boas’ collaboration with Shotridge involved the acquisition and study of texts in the Tlingit language to supplement those published by John R. Swanton in 1908.<sup>53</sup> For two months he and Shotridge worked every morning recording Tlingit songs and working on Tlingit phonetics. “We are yet undecided,” Shotridge wrote, “as to the formation of the new system that we are trying to put to use. In spite of the difficulties, the work is very interesting.”<sup>54</sup> Gordon was about to order a specially constructed typewriter when Shotridge cautioned postponement:

I have gone over with Dr. Boas the phonetic key which I had prepared in Philadelphia and so far discovered some unnecessary characters and also characters which ought to be employed in the writing of Tlingit words. Everything seems to point in [the] direction of considerable change in what I have already used, so I think, it will be wise to postpone the ordering of the typewriter which we have planned out for the work.<sup>55</sup>

In 1917 Boas’ publication entitled, *Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians* was published by the University Museum. Shotridge provided a text called “The Origin of Mosquitoes” and a free translation of the story at the conclusion of the grammar.

While in New York, Shotridge attended Boas' General Anthropology classes at Columbia University and participated in weekly anthropological discussions with a group of peers. Although he did not receive a formal degree, Shotridge was the first academically trained Native American ethnographer from the Northwest Coast. This achievement earned him the authority to work unsupervised within the Euro-American art/culture system. In 1915 Gordon offered Shotridge full-time employment as Assistant Curator in the museum's North American Section. He worked for the University Museum for the next seventeen years, the first Native American from the Northwest Coast to be employed full-time within a museum context.

### **Conclusions**

The complexity of Shotridge's circumstances becomes evident in this exploration of his early museum years. The pervasive dichotomies of the "good" and "bad" Indian, or of traditional versus acculturated are falsely limiting within the parameters of this history. Ethnicity or "culture" as then defined by Euro-American society was the only valuable commodity many Natives could still freely sell and many, like Shotridge, took some advantage of this opportunity. For Shotridge, the sale of objects generated funds that could be invested in educational advancement through the employment of personal tutors, as a means of achieving a middle class economic position.

On the other hand, Native peoples lacked control over the way their ethnicity would be represented and re-commoditized. While the U.S. Government and missionaries strove to complete an assimilationist programme, the Anglo-American public and

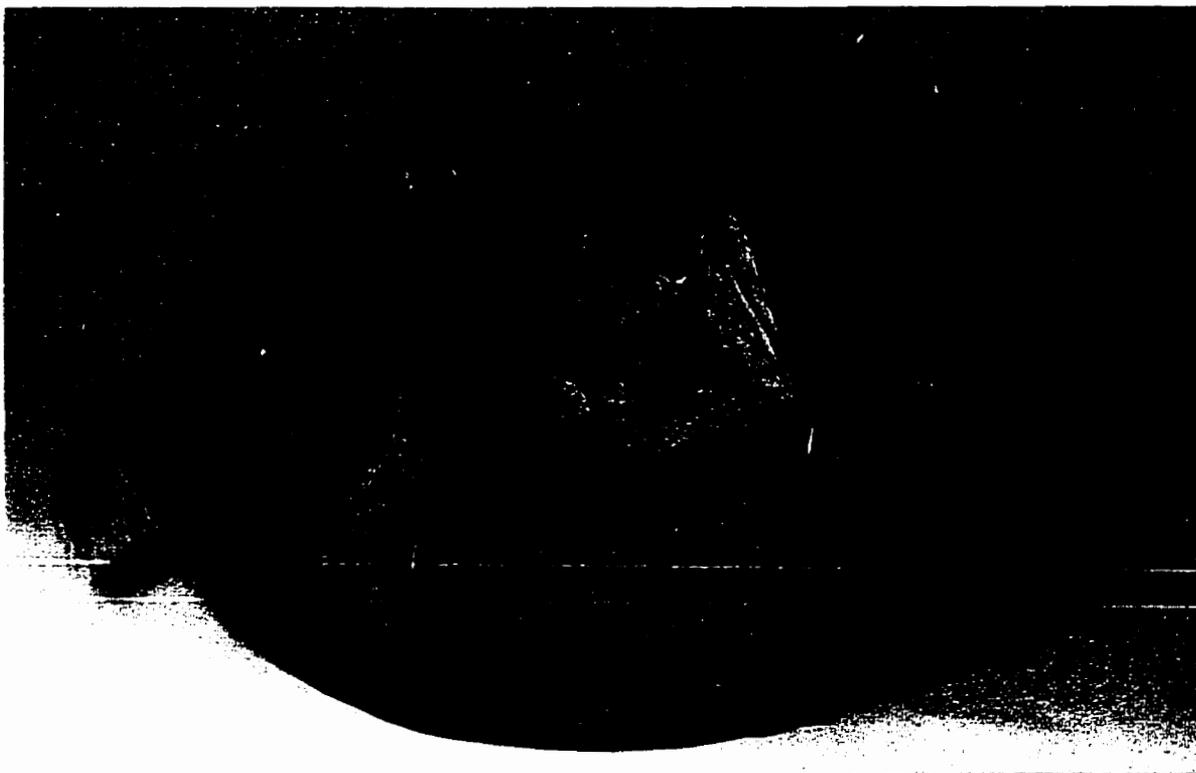
anthropologists continued to promote romanticized images of a pre-contact Native American “Other.”<sup>56</sup> During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Native American political activists, as well as poets or entertainers, were compelled to portray themselves as “Warriors and Indian Princesses”<sup>57</sup> A pervasive need to achieve control over issues of race, class, gender, and nation have been shown to motivate this public representation of Native Americans.<sup>58</sup> Ultimately disempowering stereotypes of both genders obscured awareness of reservation conditions, thereby precluding commitment to social justice.

While working at the museum, the Shotridges maintained a position similar to that which they had occupied in the commercial art/culture market -- this time representing an “Indian Chief and Princess” image within a “scientific” Euro-American environment. This constructed image, reflected in photographs, continued to identify the Shotridges as authentic “Others” in Philadelphia, whereas when later photographed in Alaska, Shotridge repositioned himself as a professional anthropologist headquartered in the field.<sup>59</sup> A series of museum photographs illustrates the Shotridges’ constructions of self as “traveling indigenous culture-makers,”<sup>60</sup> and in the case of Louis Shotridge as an educated professional fully participating in the dominant society. In other words, Shotridge’s construction of self was, by necessity, split -- in Philadelphia his employment dictated that he function as an “authentic” Indian, whereas in Native American society respect was achieved through the image of a successful participant in Western society. In this way Shotridge brokered relationships between Native and non-Native, the metropole (the eastern seaboard) and the frontier (Alaska).

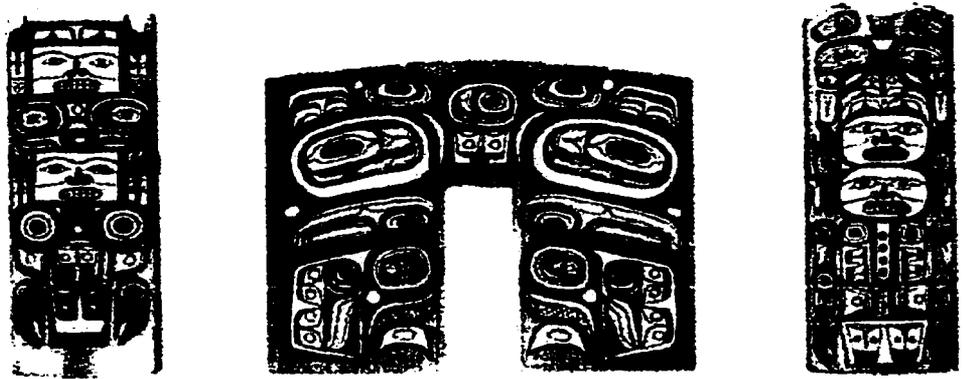
Even so, this range of roles does not begin to match the persona and the various responsibilities eventually undertaken, especially by Louis Shotridge, who was not only a modelmaker, cataloguer/documenter, tour guide, entertainer, lecturer, clan leader, ethnographer, entrepreneur, author, and Wharton graduate but, as I will discuss further, a the leader of two ethnographic expeditions and a politically astute advocate of Native American heritage.



**Fig.3.1. Portrait of George Byron Gordon, photographer unknown, n.d., courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. no. S4-141710.**



**Fig. 3.2. Mask called "The Weeping Man," purchased by George Byron Gordon from Louis Shotridge at the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland in 1905, (U.M. acc. no. NA 1242). Milburn photograph, 1982.**



**Fig.3.3. Photograph of painted house screen and houseposts from model of the village of Klukwan made by Louis Shotridge, photographer unknown, n.d., courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. #12590. The model was finished in 1913. According to Shotridge the main figure on the house screen is identified as a grizzly bear flanked by a bear and its cubs on the left and a wolf and its pups on the right. Below the house screen the post on the left represents a two-headed bear and on the right "Lgayak." The image on the center door panel represents a splayed Killer Whale. See also Mason (1960:12) for a photograph of the model Haida village made by Shotridge.**

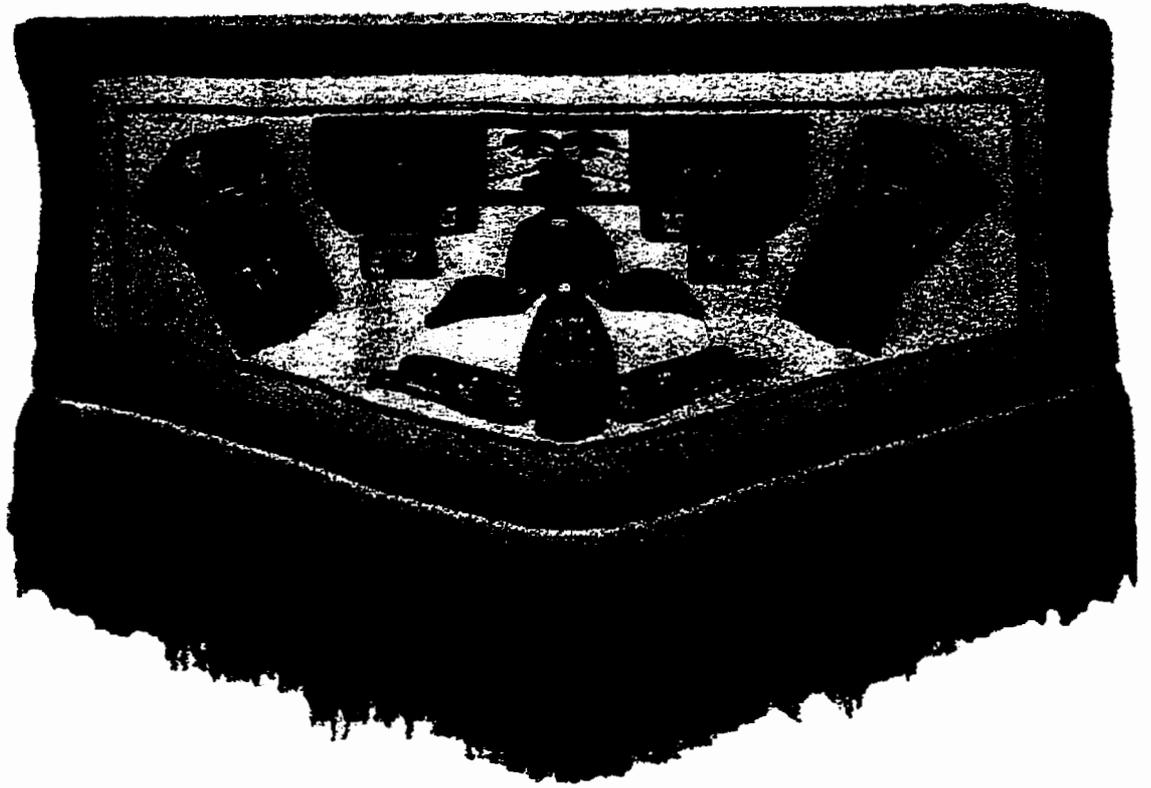
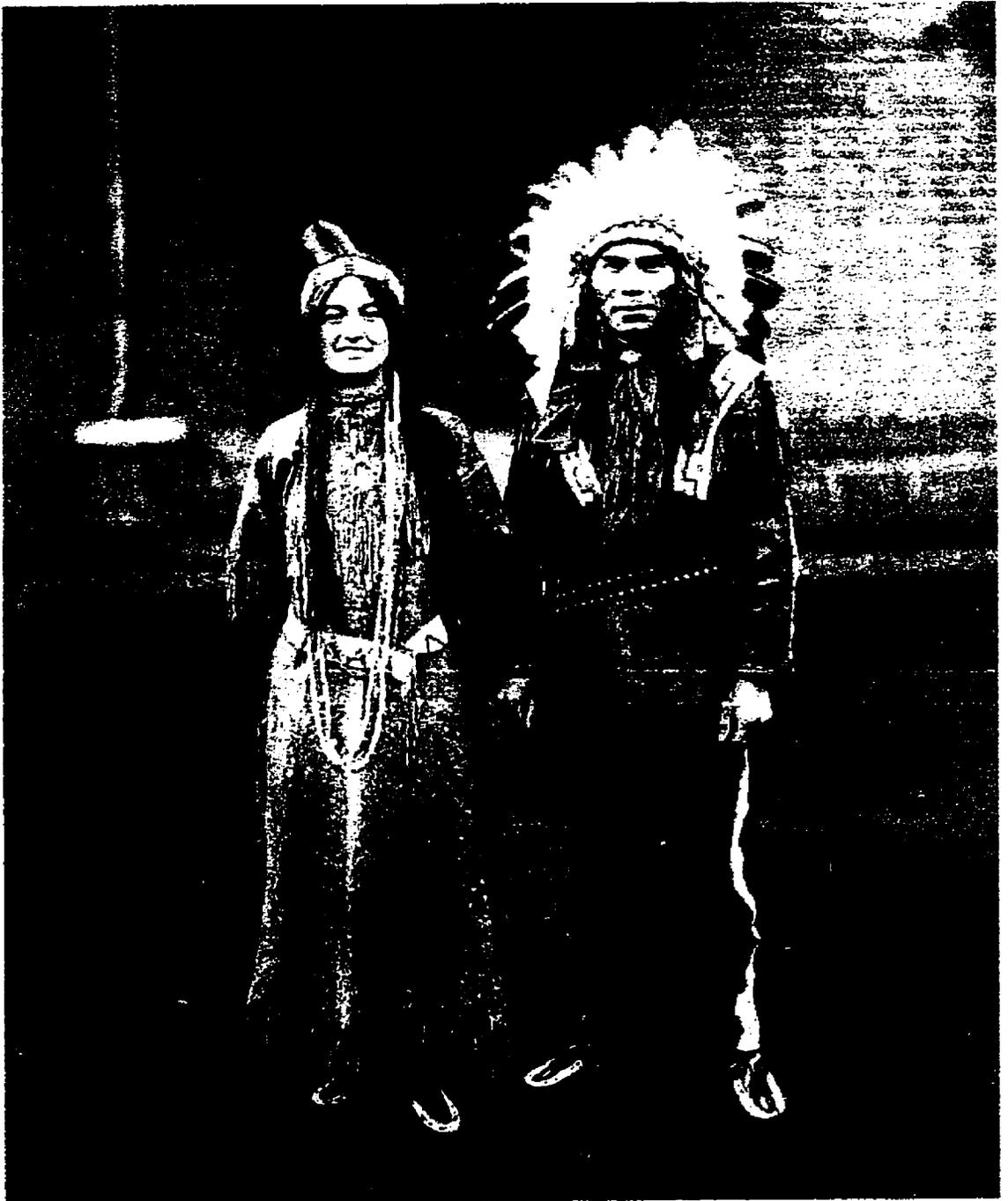
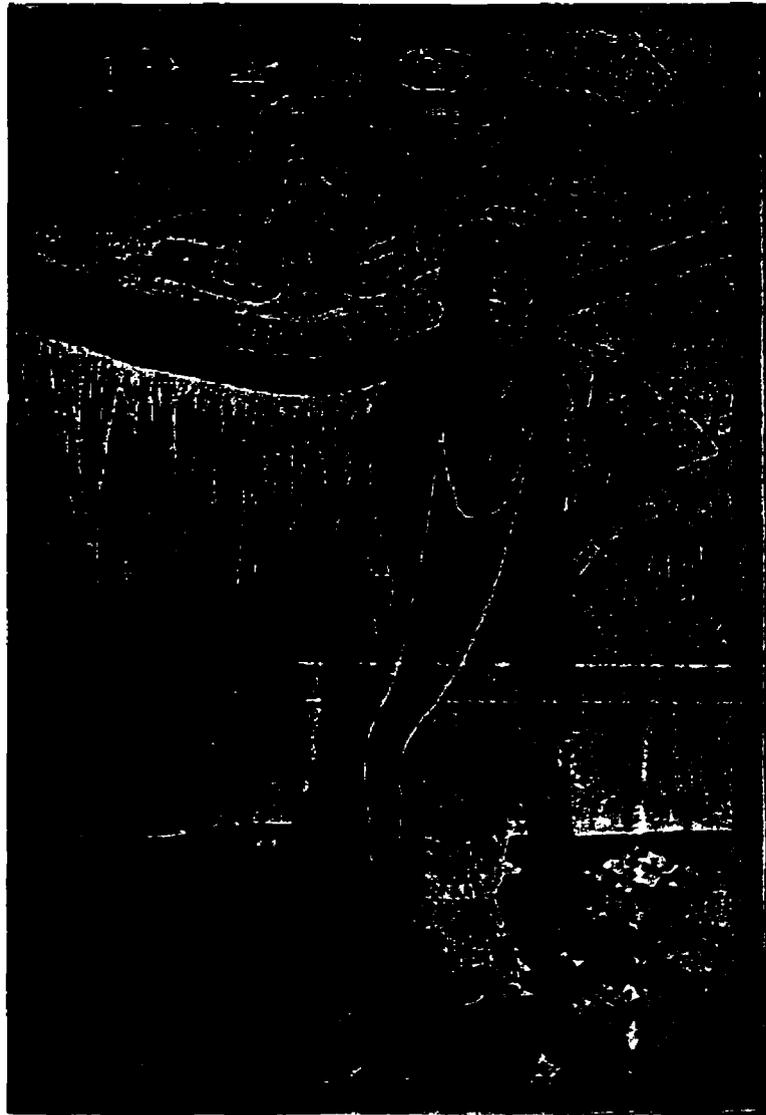


Fig.3.4. "Tináa" robe woven by Florence Shotridge, photographer unknown, n.d., courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec, neg. no. #J-3285.



**Fig.3.5. Louis and Florence Shotridge dressed in Plains regalia. These costumes were part of their personal possessions and were probably used while touring with the "Indian Opera." Photographer unknown, n.d., courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. no. S4-142199.**



**Fig. 3.6. Portrait of Florence Shotridge taken from an unidentified newspaper clipping, photographer unknown, n.d., courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.**



**Fig.3.7.** Portrait of Louis Shotridge in Tlingit ceremonial regalia including a “Bear” crest hat belonging to George Heye and a dagger purchased by George Byron Gordon in 1905 (UM acc. no. NA 1288). Shotridge wears the *Tináa* robe woven by Florence Shotridge. Photographer unknown, circa 1912, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. no. S8-140236.



**Fig.3.8. Photograph entitled “Chilkat Indian Dancers” taken by F. W. Nowell circa 1904. Photograph courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Individual on the left wears a “Thunderbird” frontlet acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1924 in Wrangell (no information on ownership).**

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Pers. com.: Alessandro Pezzati, Reference Archivist, The University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1996.
- <sup>2</sup> King and Little 1986: 16-53.
- <sup>3</sup> See Stocking (1985:113) on the support of museums by wealthy benefactors.
- <sup>4</sup> Harrison 1927:6.
- <sup>5</sup> This was common to North American museum collections throughout the country.
- <sup>6</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 24 February 1906, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>7</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 24 September 1905, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>8</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 17 October 1905, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>9</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 30 October 1905, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>10</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 9 January 1906, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>11</sup> Newspapers found during renovations by the Nash family indicate that the cabin was partly constructed out of reject materials from the fort ( pers. com.: Nancy Nash 1995).
- <sup>12</sup> As indicated by the Haines Common School Registry, The Sheldon Museum Archives, Haines.
- <sup>13</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 July 1906, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>14</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 20 July 1906, Gordon Letterbook, UM Archives. Gordon visited Klukwan in 1907 but there is no documentation on the results of this trip or on his discussions with Shotridge.
- <sup>15</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 3 February 1907, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>16</sup> "Alaska Chief Here On Visit" in *The Philadelphia Sun*, 10 February 1907, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>17</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 28 August 1906, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>18</sup> Madeira 1964:30-31 as quoted in King and Little 1986:19.
- <sup>19</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 13 February 1907, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>20</sup> "Alaska Chief Here On Visit" in *The Philadelphia Sun*, 10 February 1912, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>21</sup> Clifford 1992:101.
- <sup>22</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 29 November 1911, Gordon Letterbook, U. M. Archives.
- <sup>23</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 29 November 1911, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>24</sup> Harrison 1927: 33 & 44. Heye transferred his collection to New York in 1916 dealing a devastating blow to Gordon's acquisition plans for the museum.
- <sup>25</sup> Stewart (1984); see also Clifford (1992:98) on previous anthropological focus on the village as a culture synecdoche.
- <sup>26</sup> Shotridge finished the model in 1913. It was on display for a number of years before being placed in storage. In 1982 the museum had the model refurbished and placed back on display.
- <sup>27</sup> Shotridge later produced a second model of a Haida Village for the University Museum.
- <sup>28</sup> "Alaska Chief Here On Visit" in *The Philadelphia Sun*, 10 February 1912, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.

- <sup>29</sup> Emmons to Gordon, 17 February 1912, Emmons Collection, U.M. Archives. Mission fairs were a popular method of raising money among church groups. Often the fair was planned to assist Church efforts in a specific geographical area. Native objects were sold to raise money for the continued operation of the mission.
- <sup>30</sup> Emmons to Heye, 2 December 1911, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>31</sup> Both Shotridge and Emmons were at that time attempting to purchase the "Dog Salmon" houseposts (see fig. 1.5) stored in the abandoned Whale House structure (Emmons to Heye 2 December 1911, U.M. Archives).
- <sup>32</sup> Speck to Sapir, 28 March 1912, Frank G. Speck Collection, The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
- <sup>33</sup> Sapir to Shotridge, 10 June 1914, Sapir Collection, Document Collection, Library, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec.
- <sup>34</sup> As Cruikshank (1990:2-3) notes, Native American women often placed emphasis on mythological events and oral narrative when relating their life stories rather than recounting positivistic evidence about their past. For information on this blanket and its story see Appendix 2.
- <sup>35</sup> A list of admission requirements found in the Nash residence, Haines (pers. com: Nancy Nash 1995).
- <sup>36</sup> One newspaper article from this time states that Shotridge was accompanied in Philadelphia by his wife and daughter. Unfortunately this is the only reference to a child -- all other references suggest that the couple was childless. *Philadelphia Press*, 11 October 1913, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>37</sup> Mason 1960:11.
- <sup>38</sup> Shotridge's tunic and leggings are currently on loan to the Sitka National Historical Park. They are owned by a Tlingit family living in Sitka (pers. com.: Sue Thorsen).
- <sup>39</sup> See Hinckley (1993:12) for another view on Florence Shotridge's writings.
- <sup>40</sup> Unidentified newspaper clipping written by F. Maude Smith, "A Little Chat with Katwachsna," Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>41</sup> King and Little 1986:24
- <sup>42</sup> King and Little 1986: 24. A dispute between Gordon and Frank Speck and the Department of Anthropology later developed and resulted in a split between of the two institutions until after Speck's death in 1950.
- <sup>43</sup> Hinsley [1981]1994:270. Hinsley notes the one exception to this institutional schism was Harvard's Peabody Museum (founded in 1866) where the university department grew out of the museum.
- <sup>44</sup> Clifford 1988.
- <sup>45</sup> Clifford 1988:1.
- <sup>46</sup> See Low 1977:2-11.
- <sup>47</sup> For further information on Tlingit shamanism see Emmons 1991:368-397.
- <sup>48</sup> Emmons Catalogue, American Museum of Natural History, New York.
- <sup>49</sup> American Museum of Natural History, Annual Report, 1888.
- <sup>50</sup> Emmons to Boas, 1 January 1907; 11 January 1908, Boas-Emmons-Newcombe Correspondence, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- <sup>51</sup> Boas to Emmons, 6 January 1907, Boas-Emmons-Newcombe Correspondence, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- <sup>52</sup> King and Little 1986: 24

- <sup>53</sup> Boas 1917:7.
- <sup>54</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 17 November 1914, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>55</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 4 November 1914, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>56</sup> See Trennert 1987: 203-220; Albers and James 1983:123-148.
- <sup>57</sup> Wescott 1994:4-11.
- <sup>58</sup> Rushcheinsky 1995:2-25.
- <sup>59</sup> Shotridge 1919b:fig.23.
- <sup>60</sup> Clifford 1992:101.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE FIRST WANAMAKER EXPEDITION, 1915-1918**

In describing museum attitudes to collecting, Clifford notes:

An excessive, sometimes even rapacious need to have is transformed into rule-governed, meaningful desire. Thus the self which must possess, but cannot have it all, learns to select, order, classify in hierarchies—to make ‘good’ collections.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter I propose to explore the making of a “good” collection -- specifically the Wanamaker Expedition to Southeast Alaska led by Louis Shotridge.

By the end of 1914, Shotridge had completed three years of training with the University Museum. Gordon often sent him to view private collections of Northwest Coast objects with the idea of acquiring them for the museum. Encouraged by Shotridge’s collecting acumen and ethnographic expertise, Gordon proposed a more extensive expedition to southeastern Alaska. As expedition leader, Louis Shotridge chose to apply certain strategies to the assignment. I will show that Shotridge’s choice of objects was influenced not only by his professional training, but also by his personal goals, his responsibilities as a member of Tlingit society, and it was facilitated by the changing terms of Native ownership as a result of Anglo-American contact.

## **John Wanamaker and Turn-of-the-Century Museum Patronage**

Cole notes that the early years of the twentieth century saw a steady decline in the institutional competition for Northwest Coast objects. Museums, he argues, had a surfeit of “representational” material and a lack of funds.<sup>2</sup> In general this was true. Congressional funding previously made available for Native American displays was diverted to other more politically current projects after the St. Louis Exposition. The last supposedly “major” collection (valued in terms of sheer numbers) from the Northwest Coast was purchased from Emmons in 1911 by the University of Washington<sup>3</sup> -- it had been displayed at Seattle’s Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909. As a prelude to encouraging the use of his collection at the Exposition, Emmons described it as “the last real collection that will ever be had from South Eastern Alaska.”<sup>4</sup> A consummate salesman, Emmons cited the touristic desire for ethnic markers, especially those which suggested the less civilized American West and its wide-open opportunities for resource extraction and labour exploitation.<sup>5</sup> Such arguments appealed to Seattle’s business community who hoped to attract Asian clients. After the sale of the collection Emmons continued to stress the myth of the “vanishing American” and rarity of the material stating, “I think that the University will always be satisfied that they have the collection, as no more of this material can be gathered as a consistent collection, as the Natives of Southeastern Alaska are rapidly disappearing.”<sup>6</sup>

In spite of Emmons’ protestations, collectors and entrepreneurs such as George Heye and John Wanamaker (the Philadelphia department store magnate) continued to

employ specialists to purchase Northwest Coast objects for private and institutional purposes. These individuals were willing to contribute large sums of money for important objects, those items owned by families and clans, many of which were considered to be of significant social value.

Moneyed individuals such as Wanamaker were characteristic of the mid-nineteenth century's "Gilded Age," -- a period wherein an elite class interested in the conspicuous display of wealth saw the promotion of "culture" as an upper class responsibility.<sup>7</sup> This concept served to sanction "morally uplifting" attitudes about the value of "cultural" patronage as a boundary-marker for those who sought social privilege and control.<sup>8</sup> Museums, the principal infrastructures which monumentalized "culture," as Trachtenberg notes, "subliminally associated art with wealth, and the power to donate and administer with social station and training."<sup>9</sup>

Lacking government funding the professionally trained personnel who managed museums aligned themselves with this munificence of private wealth. Object- and museum-oriented anthropologists tended to associate themselves with the economically dominant groups in American society and most consequentially, as historian of anthropology George Stocking Jr. notes, "with the cultural ideology that justified their dominance."<sup>10</sup> Stocking describes the relationship between museum anthropology, wealthy benefactors, and objects:

From the perspective of donors whose beneficence was sustained by success in the world of commodity production, palpable and visible objects could be seen as a return on investment, even if their aesthetic or utilitarian value was minimal by conventional cultural standards. From the perspective of anthropologists, the collection of objects for sale to

museums was an important if somewhat tenuous means of capitalizing research on less marketable topics. Between them at the center of the political economy of anthropological research, stood the museums, institutions premised on the collection and display of objects.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the University Museum's early collections were acquired through the patronage of wealthy Philadelphians, many of whom served on the museum's Board of Managers.<sup>12</sup> Shotridge became the beneficiary of such upper class social initiative when, in 1915, John Wanamaker (1838-1922), donated funds for an extended expedition to southeastern Alaska. Wanamaker, who was a member of the Board of Managers from 1896 and Vice President of the Board from 1911-22, was a major donor to the museum (fig. 4.1). In the museum's North American Section, Wanamaker funded E. A. McIlhenny's 1898 expedition to the Arctic and in 1900 and 1901 Museum Director Stewart Culin's field trips to purchase objects from reservations in the western United States.<sup>13</sup> Gordon's expedition to Alaska in 1905 was also funded by Wanamaker.<sup>14</sup>

Wanamaker is described as a retailing innovator who developed one of the first modern department stores in the country.<sup>15</sup> His trend-setting Philadelphia store boasted a six-story glass-domed atrium, a pipe organ, and a massive bronze American eagle as its centerpiece. To quote Trachtenberg:

Of all city spectacles, none surpassed the giant department store, the emporium of consumption born and nurtured in these years. Here the citizen met a new world of goods: not goods alone, but a world of goods, constructed and shaped by the store into objects of desire. Here the very word 'consumption' came to life.<sup>16</sup>

Culin, Gordon, and other curators were strongly influenced by department store display. Culin referred to Wanamaker's department stores as aesthetic centers for urban

communities.<sup>17</sup> Believing that objects were “more agreeably” presented there than in museums Culin strove to imitate Wanamaker’s display tactics.<sup>18</sup>

Wanamaker, who was once hailed as Philadelphia’s “most prominent citizen,” appears to have subscribed to the reformer agenda. Among his philanthropic endeavours, he built three Presbyterian churches, helped establish the Presbyterian Orphanage and Presbyterian Hospital in Philadelphia and was a member of numerous charitable, civic, and religious organizations. He is also known to have participated in Pratt’s “outing” programme for Native Americans attending Carlisle.<sup>19</sup> As previously noted, the reformer’s assimilationist programmes and their association with cheap Native American labour promoted the sale of Native American objects to museums as well as through retail outlets. From his Philadelphia and New York stores Wanamaker sold Native American objects, especially baskets and rugs. Wanamaker’s support for the purchase of Native American objects by museums while concurrently promoting their value in a commodity market parallels Jackson’s attitudes towards tourist consumption and his purchase of objects for his Sitka Museum. Both Wanamaker and Jackson had a flair for marketing “objects of desire.”

Shotridge came to understand the pervasive influence moneyed individuals who managed the Museum Board had on all aspects of its operation. During his internship in museum display, Shotridge would also have been influenced by the innovative aspects of department store display promulgated by both Culin and Gordon. In particular he was impressed with the concept of museum displays which promoted the “greatness” of other societies from previous eras. The value of equal representation within a venue supported

by the dominant American class became, for Shotridge, a persuasive argument in convincing some Tlingit peoples to sell their objects to the University Museum where they would, “stand as evidence of man’s claim of a place in the world of culture...”<sup>20</sup>

Little is known of the negotiations leading up to this first Wanamaker Expedition.<sup>21</sup> As a social reformer and a Presbyterian, Wanamaker did not need to be convinced of the salvage paradigm, associated with Boas among others. The imminent demise of Native American societies was easily foreseen through the assimilationist perspectives of the social reformers. Hinsley and others have noted the pervasive irony of the salvage paradigm -- a premise which contributed to the very demise of societies it professed to preserve.<sup>22</sup> In this regard it was but an extension of the self-serving assimilationist policies directed towards Native Americans throughout the history of Euro-American contact.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Wanamaker recognized the appeal and investment value of Native American objects, due both to their social signification as metonyms of disappearing American lifestyles and their economic value premised on increasing rarity.

### **The Shotridges as Expedition Leaders**

Beginning in 1915 and for the duration of the expedition, Shotridge received an annual salary of \$1,200 plus expenses. Although only Louis Shotridge was officially under salary to the museum, a newspaper report described the expedition as a collaborative endeavor, with Florence Shotridge as co-leader.<sup>24</sup> They were given complete

responsibility for the expedition -- the first such anthropological expedition to be led by Native Alaskans.

On their way to Alaska, the Shotridges visited the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. In response to Gordon's request for an opinion on some Eskimo objects being offered for sale, Shotridge responded that, with the exception of a large musk ox skin, most items were already represented in the University Museum collections.<sup>25</sup> Shotridge assessed the situation and wrote to Gordon, "Small Indian collections are to be seen here and there on the Exposition grounds, but all are mostly new and made for the purpose of selling."<sup>26</sup> The incident demonstrates Shotridge's acquired knowledge of the University Museum collections from the entire area of Alaska. But more pertinently Shotridge's letter indicates a shift in his attitudes towards Native American objects. Initially Shotridge was the seller at expositions and craft fairs, with little experience in the demands of museum collectors. Where he had attempted to sell recent made-for-sale objects in Portland or in his first shipment to the University Museum, Shotridge was now the one in a position to reject contemporary Native American objects. The shift in Shotridge's viewpoint is clearly related to his interim training: his work experience at the University Museum and his time studying with Boas in New York.

The initial purpose of the expedition was to acquire ethnological information for what Gordon called, "a systematic account of the Tlingit," and to augment ethnographic information on the Tlingit collections that already existed in the museum.<sup>27</sup> The museum publicized the goals of the Wanamaker expedition as, "to make advanced studies of the language, manners and customs of many Chilkat tribes."<sup>28</sup> What Gordon appears to have

had in mind was a “classic” salvage ethnography, one which included such topics as economy, kinship, religion, and the arts and industries.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, museum politics quickly interfered with this objective. In 1916 Gordon’s plans for a comprehensive Northwest Coast collection suffered a serious setback. Gordon had anticipated that the Heye collection would remain with the museum permanently. However, without warning, Heye transferred the objects to New York in order to establish a private facility to store his material.<sup>30</sup>

With a large gap in the museum’s Northwest Coast collections and Shotridge already in the field, Gordon approached Wanamaker for acquisition funds. Thus in 1917 Wanamaker donated another \$10,000 to support the acquisition of objects. From this point forward, the focus of the expedition changed substantially and the importance of collecting ethnographic material became secondary to the acquisition of objects. “We must bear in mind,” wrote Gordon, “that for the present and for some time to come the making of collections will be more important for us than the preparation of a book, although this work is also important.”<sup>31</sup>

Shotridge understood that Gordon wished to acquire objects characterized as “authentic” or prior to Euro-American influence but also realized Gordon’s special interest in “artistic merit.” This latter criterion appears to have stemmed from Culin and Wanamaker’s influence on museum display as well as Gordon’s “great interest in the visual possibilities of exhibits.”<sup>32</sup> Gordon emphasized authenticity, rarity (i.e. old objects representing pre-contact lifeways) and visual interest or connoisseurship (i.e. objects

whose visual interest demonstrated skill and fine craftsmanship). Each of these concerns could be highlighted in display, thus increasing the institutional value of the objects.

For Florence Shotridge the return to Alaska was timely. She and Louis had been traveling almost nine years and she was now delighted to return to her family. The couple settled into “field headquarters” in their Haines residence and Shotridge wrote to Gordon, “Mrs. Shotridge and I agree that the Alaska climate is doing us more good than any we have known, and despite of the poor accommodations we prefer Haines to Philadelphia.”<sup>33</sup> With their new income the Shotridges rebuilt their Haines residence creating a comfortable environment for their work (fig. 4.2). Although Florence Shotridge had played an active part in museum activities while in Philadelphia, her health had begun to decline as a result of tuberculosis. Unfortunately she was soon confined to bed and unable to continue her museum activities. Louis Shotridge necessarily began fieldwork alone.

His first concern was to establish a network of reliable contacts. Amateur collectors such as Emmons and Newcombe cultivated agents throughout the coast. Mostly they depended on the same individuals whose names tend to recur in the ethnographic records. George Hunt (1879-1924)<sup>34</sup> and Charlie Nowell (1899-1924)<sup>35</sup> from the Kwakwaka’wakw area, and William Beynon (1888-1958)<sup>36</sup> from the Tsimshian area were among the best known representatives of a small, yet growing, number of Anglo-American educated Native ethnographer/collectors.<sup>37</sup> Following Halpin’s article on Beynon,<sup>38</sup> I have argued elsewhere that collectors of the caliber of George Hunt or Charlie Nowell are more correctly acknowledged as Native ethnographers; nevertheless, they were not treated as

such.<sup>39</sup> Both Hunt and Shotridge constructed their expertise in terms of their abilities to secure the purchase of objects that would not otherwise be available. Both were able to participate in potlatches, listen to stories and songs, view clan objects, and spend time negotiating sales, and both held positions of responsibility within their societies. As

Jacknis notes:

Nowell and Hunt both relied upon a wide circle of relatives and friends. Many of the items purchased by Newcombe, especially on his first trips, came from Nowell's wife and brothers. While Hunt received a great number of texts from his wife's family, he got relatively few artifacts through them. However, his siblings and children often assisted with the location, packing, and shipping of objects. Most of Hunt's collection did come from local contacts.<sup>40</sup>

However, Shotridge was academically trained, someone who approximated the ideal of Stewart Culin wherein collections were "secured in the field by the trained representatives of the museum itself."<sup>41</sup> In this respect Shotridge was defined as a scientifically trained professional while Hunt was perceived as an "informant" and therefore an amateur in the field.

Although most Euro-American collectors were dependent on "professional storytellers" Shotridge was disillusioned with the quality of information he received from such individuals. Jacknis describes the activities of these professional informants among the

Kwakwaka'wakw:

It is likely that many of the Kwakiutl artifacts in Berlin and the Field Museum were made by a small group of people. In 1893 Boas reported that the Kwakiutl whom he had invited to the Chicago World's had made many of [the] specimens which Jacobsen had collected (and because he had retraced some of Jacobsen's steps, perhaps many in his Berlin collection as well)...These claims may have been exaggerated, but there is reason to think that indeed anthropologists were constantly returning to favorite and amenable informants and suppliers. That these

individuals also represented the Kwakiutl at the fairs only compounds the concentration in sources.<sup>42</sup>

Shotridge voiced a negative opinion of information acquired from “professional story-tellers” citing what he considered the commercialization of the narratives. He wrote:

Upon my arrival in Chilkat in the summer of 1915, I immediately set to work collecting material with a view to recording for the Museum a faithful history of the Tlingit people. I proceeded in the usual way of obtaining information from the natives, which is to hire an informant. For a while I traced events one into another and continued so until I discovered inaccuracies in many polished stories. The part that many Tlingit informants play in recording myths and other data has been to a great extent commercialized. Many important stories are polished ready to be given in exchange for cash. A desire to overcome this habit forced me to scheme as to the safest way to approach the natural self of the man whom I am to represent. I took all precautions and gave myself plenty of time. Meanwhile I made frequent visits to different families in various surrounding summer camps and noted different things that are of interest.<sup>43</sup>

Acquisition of “quality” information, especially the recording of oral tradition in Native languages, was increasingly a cornerstone of Boasian fieldwork, and one of the criteria on which Boas dismissed Emmons’ documentation, as with the issue of meaning in Chilkat robes.<sup>44</sup> Shotridge, having studied under Boas and under one of his supporters (Gordon), was under considerable pressure to fulfill expectations of securing “authentic” texts. When Shotridge recorded stories, he was careful to stress both their origin and social significance thus indicating their importance as testament to oral tradition and their value as oral history.<sup>45</sup> So for example, when he recorded a story of the Chilkat acquisition of the first Chilkat dancing apron (fig. 4.3) and the origin of Chilkat weaving, Shotridge indicated that the story was told to him by Yeilxaak (Yeil-hawk), the elderly leader of the Gaanaxteidi, and that it related to the history of his own clan.<sup>46</sup> Shotridge’s

protestations about “professional story-tellers” versus the quality of his information served to situate him within the professional camp and secure Gordon’s trust in his ability to provide ethnographically reliable material as opposed to touristic, or commonly sold “information.”

Although “reliable” information was an issue, criteria for determining accuracy during this period seems to have depended more on the reputation, training and/or ethnicity of the individual providing it. As a museum-trained Native ethnographer and high-ranking member of Tlingit society, Shotridge was accepted as a credible informant within the parameters of Boasian anthropology. But once having secured the independent position of expedition leader he advanced the concept of a Native contact in the field to a new level of responsibility.

As a Native ethnographer, Shotridge employed a number of strategies for acquiring information. For example, during the winter of 1917 he organized a story-telling evening, which was held at the public schoolhouse in Haines, to “impress on the minds of the modern Indian children the former life of the tribe to which they belong.”<sup>47</sup> He lectured on the “more aggressive” Caucasian culture and in return he recorded Tlingit legends and myths told to the children by elders. Today Shotridge’s public pronouncements on the importance of Tlingit history, coming as they did from an Anglo-American-educated member of Tlingit society, are recognized as important early attempts to encourage Tlingit children to learn and appreciate the value of their heritage.

Mobility in the water-oriented subsistence economy of the Northwest Coast was essential. In the fall of 1915, Shotridge purchased a small gasoline-powered boat, paying

half the purchase price out of his personal funds. The boat provided Shotridge with living accommodations and a certain autonomy outside the discriminatory society of southeastern Alaska, where Natives and Anglo-Americans rarely mingled on equal grounds. His freedom of movement secure, Shotridge was able to accompany the men to their hunting camps and thus partake in indigenous Tlingit lifeways for extended periods of time.

Shotridge had worked long to adopt the “new ways” of Anglo-Americans, through entrepreneurship, education, and employment. His anthropological training taught him to value indigenous lifeways as something precious and evanescent. But that training, combined with the fact that it was his own heritage and identity that he had come back to Alaska to value, made the experience transformative:

Here again I lived the life which I desire to illustrate: performing the daily duties of my people and listening to their after day’s work stories, in fact, back to my boyhood days once more. In spite of our frequent associations with the white people, these old families, to my favor, took much pleasure in expressing their old time feelings and living the old life over again.<sup>48</sup>

From his headquarters in Haines, Shotridge made two trips to Klukwan, leading the life that he “seemed to have left in the past.”<sup>49</sup> He stayed nearly four weeks on the second visit. There he attended a memorial potlatch which he referred to as a “call together ceremony.”<sup>50</sup> Shotridge’s published recollections of this fieldwork allude to his insider position. They are written in the appropriately enthusiastic quasi-personal academic/travelogue style characteristic of the *Museum Journal* during Gordon’s years.

## **Issues of Ownership and Conflicting “Regimes of Value”**

As a Native ethnographer, Shotridge was witness to or involved in a number of controversies concerning the ownership of important clan objects. He was aware of these issues when he wrote, “I have been shown a number of other collections of fine old things, the immediate disposition of which is at present difficult for the owners who, in some cases, hold a claim only that of a custodian, but such men are fast becoming sole owners.”<sup>51</sup>

Such circumstances were common throughout the Northwest Coast as disputes over rights to important objects became more prevalent. With the passing of a generation of hereditary owners or custodians,<sup>52</sup> and the introduction of U.S. civil law, Tlingit customs of matrilineal descent and communal property were subjected to question. Some clan objects were sold into Euro-American art/culture markets and this served to increase their monetary value. As Appadurai demonstrates, objects circulate in “regimes of value” created in time and space, and the conditions under which objects circulate or the politics of the exchange denote value.<sup>53</sup> It was within the context of the potlatch that names, ceremonial objects, myths, and songs to function as forms of symbolic property inherited from the ancestors in the matriline. Many individuals continued to support the preservation of customs such as the memorial potlatch and the use of historically significant ceremonial objects. For example, Kan describes the enduring importance of the memorial potlatch:

It became clear that the mortuary/ancestral complex was the most conservative aspect of Tlingit culture, serving as one of the main links between the past and the present. It was the major context in which

matrilineality, dualism, and (modified) hierarchy--the basic principles of the indigenous sociocultural order--were still operating.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, the disruption of the potlatch system was a central reason why objects recognized for their societal importance were retired from public life and sometimes sold to collectors. Thus, the "regime of value" of some clan-owned objects originally established within the potlatch system was transferred to the Western art/culture system and came to validate a different elite. As capitalistic influences became increasingly pervasive, objects previously considered clan property or whose ownership status was dubious were sometimes claimed as personal property. In some cases the focus of object exchange shifted from the clan to the Euro-American art/culture market.

Questions of inheritance and ownership were particularly evident among families of powerful clan leaders. The events surrounding the disposition of Chief Shakes' VI "Killer Whale" canoe give some indication of the complexity of these matters. Shotridge had heard that Shakes' war canoe, "the only one without modern repairs so it is complete throughout"<sup>55</sup> might be available for sale. In an east coast atmosphere of competitive museum display, Gordon was anxious to purchase a canoe similar to that on display at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.<sup>56</sup> His instructions to Shotridge were terse, "I trust that you will use your diplomacy and experience to the best advantage possible to acquire this specimen for the lowest price at which it can be obtained."<sup>57</sup> Shotridge left immediately for Wrangell but arrived too late. Shakes had passed away suddenly and his possessions were frozen pending the probate of his will. Shotridge returned to Haines but soon received a letter from his brother-in-law stating that the family

intended to sell the canoe to the first person who could come up with the asking price.<sup>58</sup> The town of Wrangell was also said to be considering its purchase. Shotridge acted quickly but Shakes' widow suddenly refused to negotiate. Shotridge was able to secure an interview with her because he was "a distant relative of the deceased chief" but he failed to convince her to sell.<sup>59</sup> Members of Shakes clan claimed that the many objects in Shakes' possession were community property and a U.S. court case ensued. The court ruled that the canoe was personal property but further complications arose when a Wrangell merchant laid claim to it, stating it had been transferred to him in payment for a debt owed by the deceased chief. Under these circumstances Shotridge was forced to discontinue his efforts to purchase the canoe.

This example demonstrates that the exchange of Tlingit objects was often subject to a multiplicity of interrelated events and agendas over which the family or clan sometimes had little control. In the case of the Shakes' canoe the distinction between personal objects and clan objects was blurred and subject to controversy. The proposed sale was complicated by multiple claims of ownership and who had the right to sell valuable objects.

Some objects had greater social value than others. Crest objects and especially crest hats embodied the social rank of the clans that possessed them while also serving as repositories of clan histories. In Tlingit they are referred to as *at.óow* which translates as "an owned or purchased thing or object."<sup>60</sup> *At.óow* is identified by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer as "the single-most important spiritual and cultural concept for the Tlingit."<sup>61</sup> "The clan histories," they state, "and other stories recall how such an event happens in the

life of an ancestor or progenitor and various aspects of the event become the clan's *at.óow*.”<sup>62</sup> Crest hats or helmets were therefore deemed among the most valuable crest possessions of the Tlingit clans.<sup>63</sup> In 1917, Shotridge acquired three crest hats belonging to his own clan, the Kaagwaantaan of Klukwan (fig. 4.4). Called by their crest names the “Killer Whale,” the “Under Sea Grizzly Bear,” and the “Murrelet” hats, they were all from the Drum House.<sup>64</sup> Shotridge emphasized the importance of clan hats and helmets, in an article published in 1919a:

The objects of this class were used only when appropriate occasions called for so doing, such as special performances during important conventions or potlatches, peace dances, in wars and on all formal ceremonies. They are classed as community property, and unlike personal effects, each descends from a man to his sister's son; one's predecessor in the holding of any title or right is thus not his father but his maternal uncle.<sup>65</sup>

While crest hats or helmets were usually, “inalienable”<sup>66</sup> clan possessions transferable only through proper lines of descent within the clan, changes in political, social, and economic relations under Anglo-American domination destabilized indigenous patterns of property ownership and relations between various forms of property. Earlier, clan relationships that governed control of lands and exploitation of resources through the organization of labour were also represented and reproduced through the possession and ceremonial manipulation of the important clan objects or *at.óow*. Now that ownership of property and resources was threatened by Anglo-American appropriation and labour relations were changed by population decline and institutionalized education, the relations of important clan objects to its members were also disrupted.<sup>67</sup>

As noted previously, some owners accommodated these changes by adopting Anglo-American notions of preservation. For example, according to Shotridge, “Daqu-tonk, the old leader of the family is very ill and just about reaching his end. This is how he is convinced to find a good place for the old helmets.”<sup>68</sup> Shotridge’s comments suggest the owner was convinced of the importance of providing a “secure” repository for the objects and a measure of financial security for his heirs. At the other end of this negotiation stood Gordon and the University Museum as an institutional arm of the dominant society, able with Shotridge’s documentation to transfer the social importance of the objects from the Native owner to the museum. Upon receiving the helmets, Gordon praised Shotridge and urged him on to further achievements:

I congratulate you on your success in making these collections. The three helmets are of special interest and importance and I am very glad that you succeeded in getting them. If you can continue to procure the old carvings or ceremonial costumes or dishes, we will want to do everything in our power to support you and to provide you with the necessary funds.<sup>69</sup>

However, this negotiation reverberated further. Shotridge later admitted that his removal of three highly regarded crest hats from the Drum House was, “something like juggling a hornet’s nest.”<sup>70</sup> Shotridge was aware that the large sums of money he offered for heirloom objects created tensions and inflamed animosities within Native communities. He used his personal access to owners and objects strategically, but in some instances registered the inevitable conflicts arising from his dual role as a member of Tlingit society and a negotiator for Anglo-American collectors.

## **The Death of Florence Shotridge**

By the spring of 1917 Florence Shotridge's health was deteriorating rapidly to the extent that she was "not in a condition of being moved at all."<sup>71</sup> Upon hearing of the seriousness of her illness Gordon wrote:

I am more sorry than I can tell you to hear that Mrs. Shotridge is in such poor health. I did not at all realize how serious her condition was. I want to say to you now that you must not feel that your duty to the Museum makes it necessary for you to be absent from your wife when she needs your care. You should, on the contrary, place the attention which she needs first and the work of the Museum second.... Will you kindly give Mrs. Shotridge my affectionate remembrances and my very deep sympathy?<sup>72</sup>

In the spring of 1917 Shotridge was laying out his schedule for that summer's fieldwork when those plans were tragically interrupted. On June 12, 1917, two years into the expedition and after a prolonged and painful struggle, Florence succumbed to the disease which destroyed so many Native Alaskan lives. She was buried in the family cemetery at Chilkoot few days later.<sup>73</sup> In Philadelphia her passing was recorded in several articles where she was remembered for her intelligence, kindness, and popularity with museum-goers, most especially the children.<sup>74</sup> Yet the chance to reproduce the tragic archetype of the "Indian Princess" was not overlooked -- a headline in a Philadelphia newspaper read, "'Minnehaha' Dead in Alaska."<sup>75</sup>

Florence Shotridge's thoughts and motivations are difficult to discern. Her writings depict a woman who, in spite of her years at mission school, maintained an active interest in Tlingit lifeways. A telling statement appears in her article describing a young girl's training for womanhood:

A girl who goes through this training can, when entrusted with anything, whether great or small, be relied upon to see to it properly. She is strongly impressed with the idea that it would be a disgrace if she made a failure.<sup>76</sup>

The Shotridges' lives were in many respects metaphorically woven together by the *Tináa* Blanket. Theirs was a collaborative undertaking which shaped both their careers. A grief-stricken Shotridge wrote to Gordon, "Many changes have taken place in the last few weeks so that it seems almost difficult to continue my work, not that I want to give up but my mind seem[s] to be a total blank."<sup>77</sup> Many years later Shotridge wrote that her personality, "was like a shining torch in the way of other women of her race, and until her death, never once did she fail in creating a pure friendship everywhere she went."<sup>78</sup> Personal tributes on the quality of her personality were recorded by all who met and worked with her.<sup>79</sup> Today Florence Shotridge's picture hangs on the wall in Raven House in Haines<sup>80</sup> where it is viewed as a tribute to the memory of an intelligent and remarkable clanswoman.

### **Collecting in Tsimshian Territory**

In 1918 Gordon, hoping to take Shotridge's mind off his loss, suggested he make a trip to either the Kuskokwim area in the north or the Nass-Skeena River country in British Columbia. Not relishing the idea of wintering in the inhospitable climate of the northern interior and feeling a greater affinity for the Tsimshian people, Shotridge chose the latter. He spent two months in the area, visiting fourteen settlements along the Nass and the Skeena Rivers. There he made several significant purchases, recorded a number of

Tsimshian legends and songs, and took more than one hundred photographs. Shotridge later wrote, "I found no difficulty in mixing in with the coast Tsimshians and learn as much as possible the habits of the people living on both Nass and Skeena Rivers, and also gathered all that was obtainable at this place."<sup>81</sup> However, in order to acquire "first class" materials Shotridge argued, a great deal more time was required:

One must camp out on the trail of things and live the lives of the people most of whom, regardless of the press of civilization, appeared to be still primitive especially those living in the interior. I believe it will be worth an effort that might be offered by some capable earnest worker. But like in most of the towns along the coast opportunities, I fear, will last only for a little while longer.<sup>82</sup>

At Aiyansh he purchased, along with information on its use, "a complete ceremonial dance outfit which belonged to one of the secret societies of Naasman"<sup>83</sup> (fig. 4.5). At Gitsumkelum he met a man who had been a friend of his grandfather Shaadaxicht who remembered him as a frequent visitor to the area. Here also he recorded the story of some Tlingit people who migrated to the territory, bringing with them a stone eagle.<sup>84</sup> Shotridge photographed the piece and suggested that the owner might wish to place it in the University Museum.<sup>85</sup> Significantly Shotridge recorded the resistance to sale by the Native owner, quoting him as saying, "I like to do that, if only I have something besides this piece by which to keep in mind the memories of my uncles and grandfathers, but this is the only thing I have left from all the fine things my family used to have, and I feel as if I might die first before this piece of rock leaves this last place."<sup>86</sup>

Shotridge subsequently published two illustrated articles on the journey (see figs. 7.12 & 7.13).<sup>87</sup> In one article he describes a talk he delivered in a church at Port Simpson:

Since my talk was announced to be given on Sunday I was rather compelled to express my true Indian feeling under the influence of the Christian religion. To the disgust of some modern young persons who were in my audience, I appealed too strongly in favor of encouraging the true character of the old time Tsimshian. There were many of the old people in the room, who had lived and learned during the early days, and who expressed much delight in my reception.<sup>88</sup>

For Shotridge the Tsimshian were also, “the first group of Indians I have ever met in the Northwest who foresaw the value of land and who are making efforts to provide some kind of foothold on behalf of the generation to come.”<sup>89</sup> At Getanyow (Kitwankool) he was allowed to photograph a map outlining Tsimshian claims to territory.<sup>90</sup> His writings on Tsimshian land conflict and his lectures on the value of Tsimshian heritage were reiterated within the context of his own circumstances in such forums as public lectures and in his political affiliations. Shotridge struggled with the conflicts of his position and the currency he had gained among the elder generation with whom he worked. For example, he noted his dismay at the extent of missionary influence among Tsimshian people. In a telling insight into Shotridge’s thinking at this date, he expressed what he perceived to be the irony of “modern” Tlingit lifeways:

It was the method of most of the early missionaries, that if the savage man was to be civilized at all, he must be made to forget, as early as possible, his native ideas as well as his language. This is the mistake that the missionaries of today have to transform, and I think that it might take just as much effort to teach the modernized Indian to be original as it did to make him abandon his originality.<sup>91</sup>

Among the Tsimshian Shotridge admitted to experiencing some customary lifeways that he had not participated in since his boyhood and in so doing he created a wistful portrait of vanishing lifeways. For example, at Lak-gal-tsep he stayed at a food-preparation house for Native travelers stating, “I enjoyed it because this was the first time

since my boyhood days in Chilkat, that I squatted down to my meal on the floor of a smoking house.”<sup>92</sup> Although Shotridge’s account of his Tsimshian visit is brief, it is a penetrating reflection on the co-existence and blending of Native and non-Native lifeways. In his brief attempts to record sociological circumstances rather than the vestiges of pre-contact lifeways, Shotridge’s ethnography diverges from that of many of his contemporaries. Trained by Boas and Gordon, Shotridge at least partly subscribed to romantic notions of the “vanishing American” especially when visiting Native American tribes other than the Tlingit. Shotridge, who was later remembered for his fine oratorical style was seemingly never short of a poetic turn of phrase. He wrote, “The very rich old history of the Tsimshian people is fast fading away by the appearance of civilization, very much like the ancient dead glaciers, in their neighborhood, by the heat of mid-summer sun.”<sup>93</sup> The stereotype of the “vanishing American” was commonly referred to by collectors, museums, and social reformers from the time of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.<sup>94</sup> At the turn of the century it was further reinforced by Boasian relativist anthropology as “salvage ethnography.” For Shotridge, descriptions such as those quoted above served to validate his collecting activity as part of an urgent, scientific mission to recover and preserve the remnants of a “primitive” or pre-modern past.<sup>95</sup>

On his return to Alaska, Shotridge was delayed at Prince Rupert by the outbreak of a major Spanish influenza epidemic that afflicted the entire continent. He managed to book passage home and evade quarantine because “the American Consular happened to be an intimate friend of a U.of P. man.”<sup>96</sup> Shotridge traveled aboard the *Princess Sophia*, a CPR ship that went down in a storm on its next voyage, taking all 350 passengers with it.

## **The Expedition Concludes**

During the winter of 1918-1919 Shotridge spent much of his time in Sitka. He was surprised to find so many objects of interest in the area but acquiring them was difficult. Many years later he commented, "Sitka has still the best of its collections, but like Chilkat most men will not be among the first to let go."<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, he was able to purchase two groupings of clan objects from the Kaagwaantaan Eagle's Nest and Luknaaxádi Sea Lion House people and was negotiating with a widow for a set of old clan objects from the Deisheetaan Raven House at Angoon (see fig. 6.3).

Earlier that year Shotridge attended two potlatches, one in Hoonah as a member of the Chilkoot party who were the guests of honor and a Chilkat potlatch, in which he participated as the "director of the guest's part."<sup>98</sup> To Gordon Shotridge described these occasions as opportunities to view old objects and record ethnographic information. He also noted that as a chief of the Kaagwaantaan it was his duty to participate in such gatherings. Again, Shotridge attempted to blend his responsibilities to his community with the requirements of his employment, an arrangement that apparently suited Gordon's criteria for accomplishment. With the expedition concluding, Gordon wrote, "I like the specimens very well, they are certainly representative of the old art of the people and I congratulate you on your success."<sup>99</sup>

Gordon, who was ready to begin installation of the Northwest Coast collections "in one of the exhibition rooms made vacant by the removal of the Heye collection to N.Y,"<sup>100</sup> was now looking for monumental objects to fill the space. Shotridge responded

that, with the exception of four Salmon House Posts belonging the Whale House family (see fig. 1.5), he knew of few monumental pieces that were for sale. The Gaanaxteidi Frog grave house (fig. 4.6) was available but Gordon was wary of its size.<sup>101</sup> He also continued to press Shotridge for short stories on objects that could be published in the local newspapers and the *Museum Journal*. In this way Gordon was able to keep interest in the expedition alive among museum patrons and the general public.

In Sitka during the winter of 1918, Shotridge met Elizabeth Cooke, a woman of the X'at'ka.aayí clan who was a student at the Sheldon Jackson School. On February 27, 1919 they were married in the Presbyterian Church in Sitka and a reception followed at the Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall.<sup>102</sup> After their marriage Elizabeth and Louis traveled to the Chilkat area, where Shotridge introduced his second wife to his family.

The first Wanamaker Expedition to southeastern Alaska officially concluded in 1918. Shotridge had acquired 232 pieces, including 48 from the Nass-Skeena River area.<sup>103</sup> During his five years in the field, Shotridge had also amassed a considerable amount of data, including, myths and legends, photographs, recorded music, and songs.

In the spring of 1919, Elizabeth and Louis Shotridge arrived in Philadelphia to take up residence on Locust Street near the museum (fig.4.7). The *Museum Journal* announced his arrival stating:

The results [of the Wanamaker Expedition] obtained by Mr. Shotridge, both in the matter of collections and records, constitute an important body of material. Mr. Shotridge's task will be to put this matter in order and render it accessible to students of American ethnology and to those who are interested in American art and craftsmanship.<sup>104</sup>

Shotridge now received a yearly salary of \$2,000 and as an added luxury the couple rented a piano.<sup>105</sup> Little is known of their two-year sojourn in Philadelphia except that Shotridge resumed his curatorial duties, worked on his ethnographic and collection notes, and published eight articles. Shotridge was sometimes engaged to deliver public lectures for which he was paid well. For one such event the record indicates that he received a \$40.00 honourarium, the equivalent of his monthly apartment rent.<sup>106</sup> On February 28, 1922 Elizabeth delivered their first child, Louis Jr., in the Philadelphia Presbyterian Hospital (founded by John Wanamaker).

## **Conclusions**

Initially Shotridge's participation in the recontextualization of Tlingit objects resulted from his limited economic opportunities and his quest for a higher level of education and income. Shotridge was the product of a Presbyterian reform-minded education in his childhood, and as an adult he struggled to obtain a post-secondary education. His experience taught him to promote individual as opposed to collective financial gain as employment with the University Museum provided a viable income and personal status within Anglo-American society.

Upon Shotridge's return to Alaska he embraced a multiplicity of roles and positions within a society under strong assimilationist pressures from industry, missionaries, and the U.S. Government. As a member of Tlingit society Shotridge was privy to ritual and social connections otherwise inaccessible to Euro-American collectors. As a trained anthropologist and museum employee Shotridge subscribed to the salvage

paradigm – a concept also shown to be consistent with Anglo-American assimilationist agendas and labour exploitation. Not surprisingly, Shotridge was ambivalent towards the process of change in which he was instrumental. As a chief of the Kaagwaantaa, he participated in potlatching activities and openly lamented their decreasing numbers. In response Shotridge positioned himself to capitalize on changes in the Tlingit social system while actively seeking to nurture a recognition of the value of Tlingit heritage. As an employee of the University Museum, Shotridge promoted the concept of institutional sanctuary as a means of avoiding collective disputes while still preserving aspects of Tlingit heritage.

Shotridge's collecting efforts were often fruitful and indicative of the multiple agencies that influenced Tlingit lives in the face of increasing Anglo-American domination. Shotridge's methods served multiple agendas and were characteristic not only of his business dealings, but the complexity of his personal ambitions. As a result of what his museum employers perceived to be his success in forging a path between and within both Anglo-American and Tlingit societies, upon the completion of the first Wanamaker Expedition, Shotridge's employment at the museum was secure.

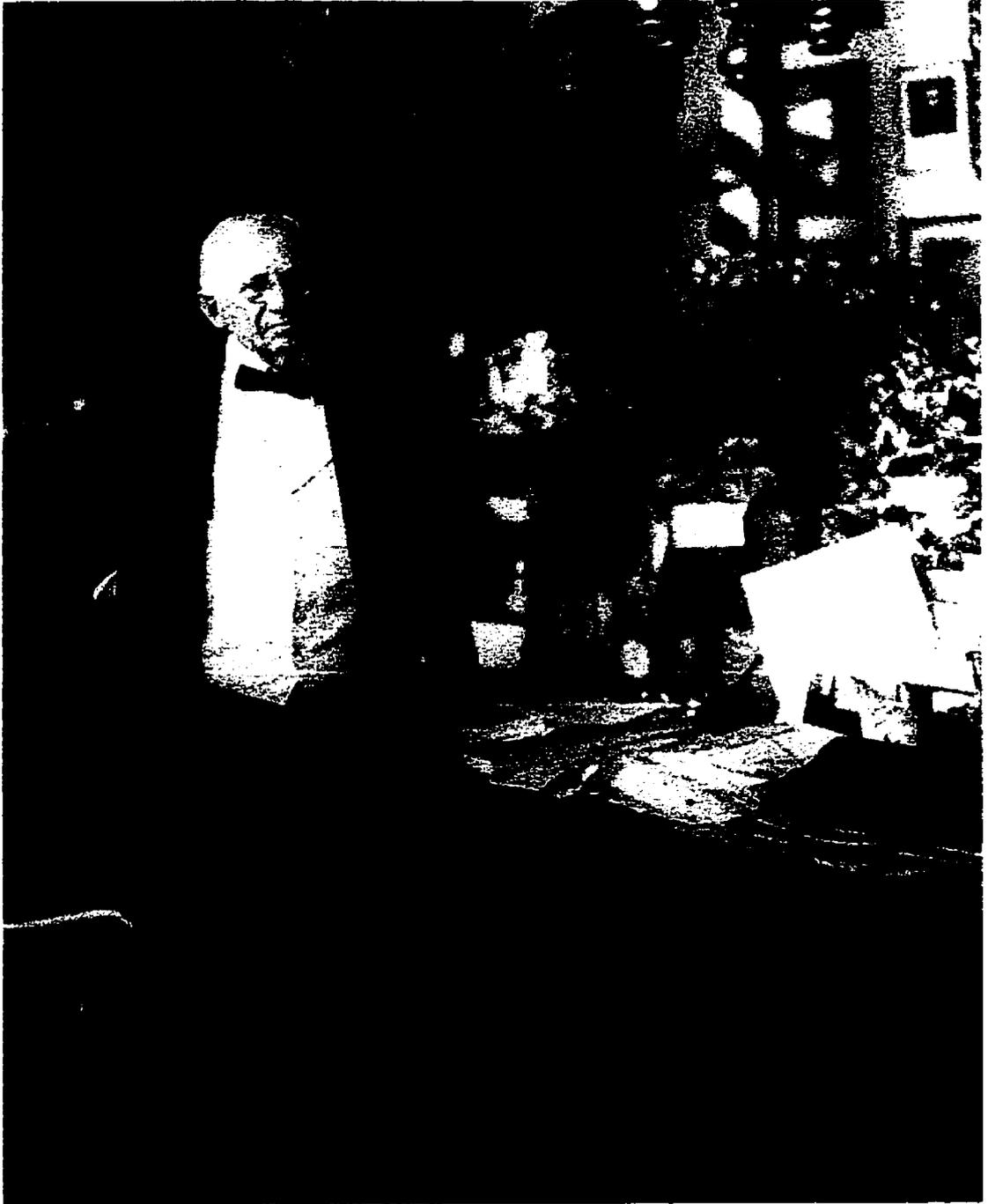


Fig. 4.1. Portrait of John Wanamaker at his desk. Photographer unknown, n.d., courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. no. S4-141157.



**Fig.4.2. Field Headquarters, Haines, Alaska, (now the Nash residence). Louis Shotridge photograph, ca. 1917-1919, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. no. S4-14739.**



Fig. 4.3. Chilkat weave dancing apron (centre, above mask) displayed with Chilkat Gaanaxteidi crest objects. Winter and Pond photograph taken in the Gaanaxteidi Raven House at Klukwan, ca. 1895, courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau, PCA 87-161. See Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1994:594) for further information on this photograph.



Fig.4.4. Three crest hats purchased by Louis Shotridge in 1917 from the Klukwan Kaagwaantaan Drum House family (identified by de Laguna in Emmons 1991:439 as Wolf 1). Photograph attributed to George Thornton Emmons, circa 1900, courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum, neg. no. 1782. The Drum House was built as an annex to the Grizzly Bear House of the Klukwan Kaagwaantaan. Individuals in photograph are identified as Ykeeshar and his wife (see de Laguna in Emmons 1991). The crest hats are identified as: "Killer-Whale Hat" (U.M. acc. no. NA5738), (left); "Under-Sea Grizzly Bear" (U.M. acc. no. NA5739), (centre), the "Under-Sea Grizzly Bear" hat was made for Daqu-tonk, a headman of the Grizzly Bear House); "Murrelet Hat" (U.M. acc. no. NA5740), (right). See Shotridge Field Notes, University of Pennsylvania Archives or Mason (1960:12-13) for further information on the origins of these crest hats.



Fig.4.5. Mask of a "ghost" collected by Louis Shotridge on the Nass River in 1918, (U.M. acc. no. NA 8515). Milburn photograph, 1982.



Fig.4.6. Photograph of the grave houses at Klukwan including the Gaanaxteidi Frog grave house at the extreme right. Winter and Pond photograph, copyright 1895, courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau, neg. no. PCA 87-25. See also Wyatt 1989: figs. 57, 58.



Fig. 4.7. Louis and Elizabeth Shotridge ca. 1920 in Philadelphia. Photographer unknown, courtesy of Lillian O'Daniel.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Clifford 1985:238.
- <sup>2</sup> Cole 1985:212.
- <sup>3</sup> Cole 1985:221. The collection of approximately 1900 objects is now located at the Thomas Burke Museum, University of Washington, Seattle.
- <sup>4</sup> Emmons to Edmond S. Meany, 14 December 1906, Meany Papers, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections.
- <sup>5</sup> Emmons to Chilberg, 5 April 1911, Meany Papers, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections.
- <sup>6</sup> Emmons to Herbert T. Condon, 23 July 1912, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections.
- <sup>7</sup> Trachtenberg 1982; Stocking 1985.
- <sup>8</sup> See Trachtenberg (1982:157-58) on the nineteenth century definition of "culture" as a boundary-marker between the upper class and the uneducated "masses."
- <sup>9</sup> Trachtenberg 1982:144.
- <sup>10</sup> Stocking 1985:114.
- <sup>11</sup> Stocking 1985:113.
- <sup>12</sup> For example, from 1906-1916 Eckley Coxe supported the Egyptian Section almost exclusively. The museum was essentially an expedition-oriented institution both in the fields of ethnography and archaeology. Gordon subscribed to the services of both professional and amateur collectors in his efforts to secure collections of objects (King and Little 1986:16-53).
- <sup>13</sup> Culin was Director of the University Museum from 1892-1903. For further biographical data on Culin see Fane 1991:13-43.
- <sup>14</sup> Pers. com.: A. Pezzati, Reference Archivist, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1996.
- <sup>15</sup> Zulker 1993.
- <sup>16</sup> Trachtenberg 1982:130.
- <sup>17</sup> Fane 1991:38.
- <sup>18</sup> Fane 1991:18; Jacknis 1991:38.
- <sup>19</sup> Luther Standing Bear was among those who worked at Wanamaker's (Moses and Wilson 1985:147).
- <sup>20</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>21</sup> The Gordon correspondence file for Wanamaker is slim suggesting most of the negotiations were verbal (pers. com.: Alessandro Pezzati, Reference Archivist at the UM Archives, 1996).
- <sup>22</sup> Hinsley 1981[1984].
- <sup>23</sup> Hinsley 1981[1984]:277.
- <sup>24</sup> For example, the photo caption reads, "Mrs. Shotridge, a full-blooded Chilkat, is the wife of the explorer. She and her husband will lead the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Museum to Alaska, which has been financed by John Wanamaker."
- <sup>25</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 14 June 1915, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>26</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 14 June 1915, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.

- <sup>27</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 14 August 1916, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives. Cole (1985:218) notes that Heye was "...notoriously contemptuous of accession and catalogue records."
- <sup>28</sup> Unidentified newspaper clipping, published in Boston, 14 August 1916, Shotridge Collection. U.M. Archives.
- <sup>29</sup> See Kan 1989a:6. Part of the objective of salvage anthropology of this era was to have each "tribe" represented by an ethnographic monograph. Gordon's hope was the Shotridge would write the comprehensive monograph on the Tlingit.
- <sup>30</sup> Heye received a gift of land from Archer Huntington, a railroad tycoon in Upper Manhattan where Heye planned to erect a private museum (King and Little 1986:44).
- <sup>31</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 20 April 1917, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>32</sup> King and Little 1986:39.
- <sup>33</sup> Now the Nash residence. For a photograph of the interior subsequent to renovations, see U.M. Photo Archives, neg. #14739. Shotridge to Gordon, 5 June 1916, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>34</sup> Aside from Shotridge, George Hunt is perhaps the best known of this group. Hunt served in a variety of ethnographic pursuits during his lifetime but is most noted for his work with Franz Boas beginning in 1888. In 1906 Hunt began collecting for George Heye but the relationship was short-lived. His final employment was as a consultant on Curtis' 1914 filming of *In the Land of the Head-Hunters*.
- <sup>35</sup> Nowell was Hunt's most serious competitor for Kwakwaka'wakw objects. Born in 1870 Nowell worked for the collector C.F. Newcombe until Newcombe's death in 1924. In his later years, Nowell became the subject of an acculturation study conducted by Clellan S. Ford. The results of the collaboration were later published in autobiographical form entitled *Smoke from their Fires; the Life of a Kwakiutl Chief* (1941).
- <sup>36</sup> Beynon was employed and trained in ethnographic fieldwork and interpretation by the Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau (Halpin 1978).
- <sup>37</sup> Milburn 1987, "Contributions of Northwest Coast Indians to the Documentation, Preservation and Revitalization of their Native Culture."
- <sup>38</sup> Halpin 1978.
- <sup>39</sup> Milburn 1987.
- <sup>40</sup> Jacknis 1989:103.
- <sup>41</sup> Fane 1991:23.
- <sup>42</sup> Jacknis 1989:117-18.
- <sup>43</sup> Shotridge 1917:104.
- <sup>44</sup> Boas 1993 [1907]:387.
- <sup>45</sup> See Vansina 1985:28 on the distinction between oral tradition and oral history.
- <sup>46</sup> The dance apron referred to was photographed in a display of the Whale House objects by Winter and Pond (see Wyatt 1989:118, 119, 120, 121).
- <sup>47</sup> Shotridge 1917:110.
- <sup>48</sup> Shotridge 1917:115.
- <sup>49</sup> Shotridge 1917:110.
- <sup>50</sup> Shotridge 1917:110-114.
- <sup>51</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 7 January 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.

- <sup>52</sup> Cole (1985:232-33) describes similar circumstances among the Haida.
- <sup>53</sup> Appadurai 1986:3-4.
- <sup>54</sup> Kan 1989a:3. Bolt (1992:69) also cites the persistence of customary funeral obligations among Christianized Tsimshian.
- <sup>55</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 30 August 1915, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives. According to Shotridge the canoe was 47 feet long, 6'3" wide, 3'3" deep with a bow that was curved up 7' higher than the level of the keel line. Shotridge refers to a photograph of the canoe loaded with 3 tons of freight and 11 passengers (Shotridge to Gordon June 5, 1916, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives).
- <sup>56</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 20 November 1915, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>57</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 26 January 1917, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>58</sup> George Shakes to Shotridge, 22 January 1916, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>59</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 25 October 1916, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>60</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:25-29.
- <sup>61</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:29. See also Kan 1989a on *at.óow* and the memorial potlatch.
- <sup>62</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990:16.
- <sup>63</sup> See Henrikson (1993:48-59) for a discussion of the differences between crest hats and helmets.
- <sup>64</sup> Shotridge 1919a:44. Along with the three helmets, Shotridge was delighted to acquire two shaman's masks and a Kaagwaantaan medicine bundle stating, "It was only through Christian influence that I was allowed to take this once priceless "Sheeshed" out of the possession of the clan."
- <sup>65</sup> Shotridge 1919a:44. See also Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990:16-18.
- <sup>66</sup> Thomas (1991:39) defines alienation thus, "The alienation of a thing is its dissociation from producers, former users, or prior context."
- <sup>67</sup> See Thomas (1991:28) for a discussion of shifts in commodity states.
- <sup>68</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 22 February 1917, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives and Shotridge 1919a:44.
- <sup>69</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 20 April 1917, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>70</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 28 June 1918, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>71</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 2 April 1917, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>72</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 20 April 1917, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>73</sup> During the 1980's a highway expansion destroyed the graveyard at Chilkoot.
- <sup>74</sup> Mason 1960:11-16.
- <sup>75</sup> Unidentified newspaper clipping, 14 June 1917, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>76</sup> Florence Shotridge 1913:103. Florence Shotridge's attitude was consistent the *aanyátx'i* ideal of morality and proper conduct (see Kan 1989a:96). Olson reported that Shotridge was once reprimanded for speaking about himself as a higher status person. This constituted bragging which was considered unacceptable behaviour for someone of high status (Kan 1989a:96).
- <sup>77</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 12 July 1917, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>78</sup> Shotridge 1929a:137.

- <sup>79</sup> Emmons to Mason, 10 May 1942; Mason to Emmons, 26 May 1942, Mason Papers, American Philosophical Society Archives, Philadelphia.
- <sup>80</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, editorial comment 1994:559.
- <sup>81</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 7 November 1918, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>82</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 7 November 1918, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives. Much of the opinion circulated among collectors and ethnographers deserves closer examination and further study. For example T.F. McIlwraith, a stranger to the Bella Coola, reinforced Shotridge's opinion in 1923 (Cole 1985:278) but when Boas revisited Fort Rupert a few years later he commented, "It is marvelous how the old life continues under the surface" (Cole 1985:279). Both Shotridge and McIlwraith were "outsiders" in the respective territories they canvassed. Shotridge had little trouble accessing objects and ethnographic material among the Tlingit where, like Boas among the Kwakwaka'wakw, he was well-known.
- <sup>83</sup> Shotridge 1919b:62.
- <sup>84</sup> Shotridge 1919c:fig.47.
- <sup>85</sup> Shotridge 1919c:fig.47.
- <sup>86</sup> Shotridge 1919c:131 & fig. 47.
- <sup>87</sup> Shotridge 1919b:49-67; 1919c:117-48.
- <sup>88</sup> Shotridge 1919b:58.
- <sup>89</sup> Shotridge 1919c:140. Tennant (1990:84) notes that early political initiatives were begun by the Nisga'a and Tsimshian in 1887. The Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, a province-wide political organization to pursue land issues, was formed in 1916. The first major speaker at the 1916 founding conference was Andrew Barton (Nisga'a) who stated, "our main desire is the acknowledgement of our tribal rights to the land..." (Tennant 1990:94).
- <sup>90</sup> Shotridge 1919c:140. This map was subsequently used as evidence in the landmark court case of *Delgamuukw v. B.C.*, a land claim brought forth by Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs.
- <sup>91</sup> Shotridge 1919b:56.
- <sup>92</sup> Shotridge 1919b:60.
- <sup>93</sup> Shotridge 1919b:58.
- <sup>94</sup> Fane 1991:21.
- <sup>95</sup> See Clifford 1988:221-224.
- <sup>96</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 7 November 1918, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>97</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 13 March 1926, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>98</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 5 January 1918, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>99</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 15 July 1918, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>100</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 1 February 1918, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>101</sup> Winter and Pond #'s 87-025 and 87-028. (Wyatt 1989:102-103). The monument had been replaced by a marble image and the original (now in pieces) was lying on the grave site (Shotridge to Gordon, 20 February 1918, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives. See also Emmons 1916: fig. 3.
- <sup>102</sup> *The Verstovian* 5(6) March 1919.
- <sup>103</sup> The list of artifacts is extensive and varied. For example, among the objects collected were the three crest hats, two masks from Klukwan, forty-six complete baskets, numerous examples of clothing (some

of them Athapaskan in style), two armor tunics, batons and dancing headdresses, rattles, and a number of small items: spoons and ladles, undecorated boxes, bowls, snowshoes, pack straps and ropes, cedar bark neck rings, hair ornaments, adzes, chisels, ear pendants of shark teeth, a paint bag, a medicine bundle, and three bear's ears headdresses.

<sup>104</sup> Editorial note *Museum Journal* 1919b:69-70.

<sup>105</sup> Pers. com.: Nancy Nash 1995 from a Philadelphia Centennial Bank cheque book found in the Nash residence in Haines.

<sup>106</sup> Pers. com.: Nancy Nash 1995 from a Philadelphia Centennial Bank cheque book found in the Nash residence in Haines.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE POLITICS OF A NATIVE ETHNOGRAPHER**

To more fully understand Shotridge's practice as a collector, his relation to contemporaneous Native American socio-political initiatives must be considered. Concepts of race and culture permeated Anglo-American dealings with Native Americans during this period and partly as a consequence of his early Presbyterian education Shotridge was introduced to assimilationist perspectives associated with race at an early age. These ideas were also shaped by a particular set of social policies later manifest in what are defined as "pan-Indian" political movements.

Accommodating the dominant Anglo-American society, "progressive" thinking Native Americans viewed indigenous lifestyles as part of the past, to be preserved as testament to previous accomplishments. Political progress was defined by new forms of social organization and leadership in tandem with traditional and evolving Native American values. This strategic manipulation of values and customs as they are "provoked by cross-cultural contact and contest,"<sup>1</sup> is defined by anthropologist Nicholas Thomas as "culture objectification."<sup>2</sup> This chapter considers the influences that Native political

movements had on Shotridge's practices and attitudes towards the collection of Tlingit objects.

### **The Society of American Indians and "Progressive" Politics**

By the 1880s Caucasian-dominated Indian rights organizations in the Northeastern U.S. began to lobby for what they perceived as political and social equality for Native American peoples. Well-meaning Christians worked to save Native American peoples from avaricious Anglo-Americans and a paternalistic, often corrupt government.<sup>3</sup> Indian defense organizations such as the Women's National Indian Association (founded in 1879) and the Indian Rights Association (founded in 1882) initiated the struggle against injustice towards American Indian peoples. Their goals were the abolition of the reservation system and the assimilation of Native Americans.<sup>4</sup> It was out of these organizations that there emerged a group of Native American leaders who challenged Anglo-American dominance of American Indian causes. Organized during the first decade of the century these movements were established when a small group of American-educated Native leaders refused to accept the rigidly limited class position of exploited labourers to which the government and educational systems consigned them. Their goals were to achieve religious freedom and respect for their particular heritages as well as what they perceived to be the best of Anglo-American society: racial equality, a right to equal education, citizenship, recognition as "civilized" members of society, and access to social and economic advancement.<sup>5</sup> Historian Frederick E. Hoxie describes in general some of the

circumstances surrounding the rise to national prominence of Native American leaders dedicated to their peoples' emancipation:

Emerging from situations of intense hardship and deprivation, these individuals came from a variety of tribes. They had tried out their voices in churches, tribal council chambers, and village meeting halls before turning their attention to national policy. By 1900 every reservation had a group of spokesmen, from boarding school alumni who were often outspoken on reservation affairs, to Indian ministers who defended their communities, to young chiefs who used their traditional standing in a modern setting.<sup>6</sup>

Arising out of this political ferment, the Society of American Indians (S.A.I.) signaled the end of the period when Anglo-American reformers could dictate the fate of American Indians in isolation.<sup>7</sup> Established in 1912, the S.A.I. was an effective, if short-lived, voice against the political hegemony of the reformer agenda. At the 1911 the founding conference of the S.A.I. in Columbus, Ohio, Native anthropologist Arthur C. Parker (Seneca) asserted that the Native must assimilate yet retain his Indian individuality. His speech which asserts the relevance of building a future, countered the Euro-American modernist paradigm which saw Native American peoples as contributing only to the past. He stated:

No nation can afford to permit any persona or body of people within it to exist in a condition at variance with the ideals of that nation. Every element perforce must become assimilated. I do not mean by this that the Indian should surrender things and passively allow himself, like clay, to be pressed into a white man's mold. I do not mean, by assimilation, that his love of the great esthetic ideals should be supplanted entirely by commercial greed or that his mind should become sordid with the conventional ideas of white civilization, for it is by no means established that the existing form of civilization is susceptible of no further improvement, nor that the white man as a type is the ultimate model. I do mean, however, that the Indian should accustom himself to the culture that engulfs him and to the force that directs it, that he should become a factor of it, and that once a factor of it he should use his

revitalized influence and more advantageous position in asserting and developing the great ideals of his race for the good of the greater race, which means all mankind.”<sup>8</sup>

Western historians define political movements such as these as pan-Indian.<sup>9</sup>

Sometimes the objectives of these movements were spiritual, but the goals were also overtly political, seeking recognition of Native American rights or improved living conditions. In her study of pan-Indian movements anthropologist Hazel Hertzberg notes:

It was among Indians with considerable experience in the ways of the dominant society that the new movement emerged, accommodative in character and clearly evidencing, in the nature of its ideas and organizational forms, the degree to which its participants had become acculturated to the wider society.<sup>10</sup>

Thus many American-educated Native Americans became social activists. For example: Dr. Charles A. Eastman (Sioux), a physician and founding member of the Society of American Indians, wrote books on Indian life, while Quanah Parker (Comanche), was a proponent of the peyote religion and a Washington spokesman for Native American interests. Anthropologists such as Arthur C. Parker, J.N.B. Hewitt (Tuscarora), and Francis LaFlesche (Omaha) testified on behalf of Indian rights at Congressional hearings, and a small group of lawyers such as Thomas L. Sloan (Omaha), Marie L. Baldwin (Chippewa) challenged the unconstitutionality of unequal treatment of the Native Americans in legal matters.

In a more recent examination of Native political movements on the Northwest Coast, political scientist Paul Tennant adds:

The pan-Indians also had the skills, knowledge, and desire to become accepted, or at least to be perceived, as Indian spokesmen. It was they who formed and led the first modern regional and national Indian organizations in the United States. Working with active white

supporters, among whom anthropologists and clergy were prominent, these organizations acted as pressure groups seeking reform both of government Indian policy and of Indian reservation life, in both cases with the aim of furthering Indian assimilation.<sup>11</sup>

For pan-Indians, “conservative” beliefs in the continuation of Indian lifeways were overshadowed by a strong belief in evolutionary process. “Progress” was defined in Anglo-American individualistic terms of self-reliance and self-determination, as a rejection of tribal affinities and reservation politics, and a strong support for, or commitment to Western-style education for Native peoples.<sup>12</sup>

For these “progressive” Native Americans, the concept of an Indian *race* transcended tribal boundaries. The S.A.I., whose constitution was ratified in 1912, limited membership to those of “Indian blood.” According to Hertzberg:

The impetus for the Society of American Indians came from the work of a White sociologist, Fayette A. McKenzie of Ohio State University, who believed that a “race leadership” could build a “race consciousness” on behalf of “all lines of progress and reform, for the welfare of the Indian race in particular, and humanity in general.”<sup>13</sup>

During the nineteenth century, race was a vague, ill-defined term sometimes equated with “nationality” as a major division of humankind but more often with evolutionary theory in the social and natural sciences.<sup>14</sup> According to historian Robert F. Berkhofer, most nineteenth and early twentieth century social scientists equated the “cultural hierarchy assumed under the idea of progress with the physical and mental differences popularly believed to exist among human groups.”<sup>15</sup> However, during the early years of the twentieth century, Boas promoted cultural relativism, thus posing an alternate way of analyzing human diversity. By the mid-twentieth century, racism was discredited

within a scientific context although it continued to enjoy credence among those who espoused a social and political ideology of economic dominance.<sup>16</sup> To quote Berkhofer:

Scientific racism continued into the early decades of the twentieth century as part of the social scientific mainstream in the United States, but new currents arose during this same period that gained command of the social disciplines by the 1930s in favor of the idea of cultural pluralism and provided a new context for the conceptions of culture and cultural relativity....[b]y the mid-twentieth century racism was discredited in science and considered merely a political and social ideology primarily espoused by those who would dominate other peoples for political or economic reasons.<sup>17</sup>

Initially, “progressive” Native American thinkers promulgated *race* as it emphasized a commonality of experience. Culture, with its tribal connotations, was considered somewhat divisive. An S.A.I. periodical entitled the *Journal of American Indians*, (later called *American Indian Magazine*) was first published in 1913 under the editorship of Arthur C. Parker. The masthead legend stated, “the Honor of the Race and the good of the country shall be paramount.” Numerous editorials discussed the development of leaders with broad vision, those who were not bound by a lack of education but who had not forgotten their Native American origins.<sup>18</sup>

In 1914, the S.A.I. held a conference in Philadelphia to which Shotridge was likely an attendee as an article profiling him appeared in the S.A.I. journal that same year.<sup>19</sup> Entitled “Situwaka, Chief of the Chilcats,” the article stressed the political aspirations of pan-Indians.<sup>20</sup> Thus interviewer Gawasa Wanneh framed Shotridge’s personal objectives with the statement that, “Situwaka has one great ambition; it is to equip his mind with the things of modern civilization that he may carry wisdom and developed ability back to Chilcat Land and govern his people well.”<sup>21</sup> A photograph accompanying the article on

Shotridge (fig. 5.1). shows an impeccably dressed young man of urbane manner and confident bearing (see also frontispiece).<sup>22</sup> In contrast to some museum photographs taken during this period and discussed in Chapter Four, Shotridge is presented as an educated researcher, ethnologist, cataloguer, and tribal chief.

The S.A.I. article described the Shotridges' work with the museum, especially their interpretation of what are now called formline designs of Northwest Coast objects, "From what looks to the casual observer like a bewildering, complex, yet balanced and decorative array of curves, dots and eyes -- everywhere eyes -- Situwaka and his wife can point out the conventional outlines of a bear, a halibut, a killer whale or a thunderbird, all of which are quite clear -- after they have been pointed out." Wanneh concluded that, "Situwaka and his wife have been away from home for several years, having started with the express intention of making a tour of the country and studying thoroughly the ways of the white man, for use in settling tribal questions later..."<sup>23</sup> The phrase reiterates the S.A.I. stance that knowledge of Anglo-American lifeways was necessary to assume authority as a Native American leader. Hertzberg states:

Through education a group of Indians arose who shared a common language--English--and who had sense of a common experience in the Indian and white worlds. This education and experience also exposed them to varying degrees and in a somewhat different ways to a set of important ideas and images which they used in defining themselves as Indians and working out their relationships with whites.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, many graduates of Christian boarding schools, whether Carlisle School, Hampton Institute, or the Sitka Industrial Training School, became leaders of Native American Indian political movements.<sup>25</sup> In Alaska, individuals such as Tlingit lawyer

William L. Paul and, to a lesser extent, Louis Shotridge also used their Christian educations to further Native American political goals generally opposed to overly assimilationist ideals espoused by reformers. Shotridge's view that his Western education and employment constituted a strategy to achieve greater political power for his people was consistent with the beliefs of progressive-minded pan-Indian organizations.

### **The Alaska Native Brotherhood**

While Shotridge does not appear to have been a member of the S.A.I., he did become actively involved with the Alaska Native Brotherhood (A.N.B.), also founded in 1912.<sup>26</sup> The first formally established political movement on the Northwest Coast, the A.N.B. had similar goals to pan-Indian movements in the continental U.S.<sup>27</sup> Membership was restricted to English-speaking, Christian Native Alaskans who pledged abstinence from alcohol.<sup>28</sup> The Alaska Native Sisterhood, a parallel organization, was founded three years later in 1915. The A.N.B. and A.N.S. represented the progressive and modernist direction in Tlingit society. Article 1 of the A.N.B.'s 1917-18 constitution stated that the organization's purpose was:

To assist and encourage the Native in his advancement from his native state to his place among the cultivated races of the world, to oppose, discourage, and overcome the narrow injustice of race prejudice, and to aid in the development of the Territory of Alaska, and in making it worthy of a place among the States of North America.<sup>29</sup>

The A.N.B. was dedicated to promoting Native solidarity, achieving U.S. citizenship, abolishing racial prejudice, and securing economic equality, especially through achieving land title and mineral rights and the preservation of salmon stocks.<sup>30</sup> The

majority of A.N.B. founders and subsequent executive leaders (Shotridge was among the latter) were either graduates of the Sitka Training School or a related institution such as Carlisle, or had received sufficient education to enable them to function effectively in the world of Alaskan politics.<sup>31</sup> The Brotherhood deliberately espoused a nonsectarian position although historian Stephen Haycox notes the A.N.B., "...always maintained a close relationship with the Presbyterian Sheldon Jackson school."<sup>32</sup> In 1922, writing in the *Home Mission Monthly*, a publication of the Woman's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, William L. Paul, a prominent A.N.B. organizer noted:

The Brotherhood today is squarely behind the Sheldon Jackson School....[T]he Sitka School has been our greatest force for progress; the advancement of every Thlinget community is a direct result of the work of this school.<sup>33</sup>

As recorded by anthropologist Phillip Drucker<sup>34</sup> a number of clan heads maintained their customary social obligations while they participated in A.N.B. activities. Often these individuals were also members of church organizations such as the Orthodox Indian Brotherhood at Sitka, the New Covenant Legion at Sitka, the Brotherhood of Klawock, or the Women's Village Improvement Society.<sup>35</sup> By the mid-1920s nearly every community in southeast Alaska had a local Camp of both the A.N.B. and A.N.S. and most members of these communities cooperated with the Brotherhood and Sisterhood in various ways.<sup>36</sup>

Because the federal government regarded Native Americans as wards of the state, achieving citizenship and its associated rights were central to the A.N.B. struggle. In Alaska, a Territorial Act of 1915 (similar to the "competency commissions" in the states)

required Native peoples to demonstrate that they had abandoned all tribal customs before obtaining citizenship. Haycox writes that Alaskan Native peoples were expected to:

Adopt Western values and behavior, including gainful employment, Western dress, English as a language, and living in self-contained housing apart from other Indians. Through its first years, the ANB directed its energies to helping Natives meet this test of citizenship.<sup>37</sup>

In 1916, Seward Kuntz, an employee of the Juneau Quartz Mine, became the first Tlingit to officially obtain a certificate of American citizenship, having qualified by reason of his being deemed “civilized.”<sup>38</sup> The Presbyterians saw the event as a great victory for their programmes. *The Assembly Herald* announced:

One of the prominent indications of the advance of the Native is the increasing number of young men employed in various industries who have forsaken the old communal house and life to establish true homes and are taking their place in the civic life. Almost without exception those who thus assume citizenship obligations are the products of our Mission work.<sup>39</sup>

Louis F. and William L. Paul were prominent advocates of A.N.B. initiatives from the 1920s to the 1940s. William Paul was elected Grand Secretary in 1920, the same year he was admitted to the Alaskan Bar, becoming the first Alaskan Native lawyer. A graduate of the Sitka Industrial School and the Carlisle Institute, he became a driving force in the A.N.B. for the next two decades.

William Paul saw the A.N.B. as an organization capable of playing an influential role in Alaskan politics. One of the biggest resource-based problems in the southeast was the management of salmon stocks, particularly in light of the Seattle and California-based syndicates, which had been set up to exploit salmon runs.<sup>40</sup> In 1921, as a representative of the A.N.B., William Paul traveled to Washington to present a proposal which would

exclude fish traps from narrow bays and channels.<sup>41</sup> According to Haycox, the trip alerted the federal government to the existence of an autonomous political voice for Native Alaskans.<sup>42</sup>

During the 1920s, equal rights for Native peoples became the principal objective of the A.N.B.<sup>43</sup> Grand President Louis Paul argued for the recognition of the citizenship rights of all Native peoples in southeast Alaska. With A.N.B. support, this case was brought forward and won by his brother William in 1922.<sup>44</sup> The U.S. Government subsequently passed the *Indian Citizenship Act* in 1924.<sup>45</sup> With this struggle behind them, the A.N.B. then focused on issues such as the 1925 literacy laws, fishing rights, and equal educational opportunities. Throughout the states and Alaska literacy acts required an ability with the English language and were designed to stall civil participation by preventing minority groups from voting. William Paul successfully fought the law in Alaska, becoming in the process the first Native Alaskan elected to political office in the history of the territory. His success is seen as a measure of the effectiveness of the A.N.B. as a political force. To quote Haycox:

Perhaps the most significant consequence of the struggle over the bill was to confirm William Paul's position as a Native leader, and with it, the necessity and the potential for utilizing traditional American political structure to win and eventually to guarantee equal political rights for Natives.<sup>46</sup>

The A.N.B. was also active in issues related to educational equality. According to William Paul:

The last legislature also sought to pass a bill specifically excluding all children having Indian blood from the public schools unless expressly admitted by the local school directors. Under present conditions and

without warrant of law, Indians or part Indians are excluded from the public schools in many towns in Alaska....[t]his in spite of the fact that every Indian pays the tax that supports the public school.<sup>47</sup>

In 1929, according to the Presbyterian newspaper *The Verstovian*, 50 percent of Native American children in the United States were in public schools: nine and one-half per cent in mission schools, and 40 1/2 percent in government-maintained private schools.<sup>48</sup> Although federal government policy was moving towards a single school system for Native Americans, in Alaska the A.N.B. still faced the issue of discrimination in the system. In 1929 William Paul successfully argued before the courts the right of parents to send their children to the school of their choice.

### **Shotridge and the Alaska Native Brotherhood**

Initially A.N.B. leaders believed the political aspirations of Tlingit peoples would best be met through the outward adoption of assimilationist policies that offset Anglo-American ideas such as racial differentiation and discrimination. Thus an A.N.B. position which officially opposed aboriginal customs was strategically espoused by members determined to negotiate political and social change. By the 1920s, issues of cultural pluralism, immigration restriction, and racial purity were being argued at the national level. Minority peoples were besieged with mandatory assimilation, thus eliminating any possibility of achieving progress through ethnic/indigenous politics.<sup>49</sup> Many Native American leaders feared, as Tsimshian Peter Simpson (considered the “Father of the A.N.B. and of the Alaska Land Claims”) did, that their young people would be enslaved without access to their rights as U.S. citizens.<sup>50</sup>

Consistent with their Christian education, leadership of the A.N.B. supported assimilationist objectives (such as the elimination of potlatching) because they were seen to be an impediment to U.S. citizenship. During this period the term “culture” was only vaguely applicable to the aims of the pan-Indian movement. It was viewed in a positive heritage-oriented sense as an important aspect of the past but only marginally related to the present.<sup>51</sup>

In addition, Native American “culture,” as it was increasingly perceived by anthropologists, promoters of Indian Fairs, and collectors, was also viewed as an impediment to political goals. Shotridge’s collecting objectives were therefore consistent, not only with his professional training but with his political objectives, an agenda shared by a politically active group within Tlingit society. Shotridge argued that social and ritually symbolic objects had fallen into general disuse and that their function was no longer pertinent to the challenges of political change. Emphasis was placed on a celebration of the heritage values of past identities, customs, and forms of expression. Thus Drucker writes, “The A.N.B. took a formal stand against everything that was regarded as significant and typical of the aboriginal culture.”<sup>52</sup> In so doing they appeared to support missionary assertions that were unanimous in viewing shamanism and the potlatch as “heathen” undertakings<sup>53</sup> and “devil worship.”<sup>54</sup> Church and civic groups argued that the potlatch was a “relic of barbarism” which would “permanently hinder the Alaskan Indian from ever accumulating wealth”<sup>55</sup> or achieving “civilized” status. In response to Anglo-American emphasis on certain aspects of Tlingit custom, the A.N.B. discouraged potlatching as well as the use of the Tlingit language by stating that their use at formal

meetings was detrimental to progress. As Thomas notes, “self-representation never takes place in isolation” and its forms are often as not internally oppositional for the sake of political gain.<sup>56</sup>

The official A.N.B. stance did not, however, preclude a commitment to preserving aspects of aboriginal lifeways as testament to the historical value of Tlingit heritage. For example, the first indication of Shotridge’s volunteer involvement with the A.N.B. was in a letter to Gordon written in September of 1924.<sup>57</sup> In this letter, Shotridge notes that the heritage-oriented A.N.B. membership in Haines had requested that he put his historical knowledge to use by designing and directing work on a new hall:

The building is to represent the old time Tlingit architecture, and I happened to be the only one who has any knowledge of this, the people here have made an appeal to me to direct the work.<sup>58</sup>

Originally Shotridge justified his work with the A.N.B. as yet another means of networking among his people, “I always have to be on good terms with this people since the success of my work here depends on my dealings with them.”<sup>59</sup> Because of his work with the A.N.B., Shotridge achieved support for his endeavours that other collectors lacked. For example, the A.N.B. journal the *Alaska Fisherman*, first issued in 1923, published an article that described Shotridge’s activities for the University Museum in highly positive terms, while calling for support of his work from within the membership.<sup>60</sup> However, Shotridge’s commitment to the organization went far beyond his museum interests. By 1928 he was seriously engaged in A.N.B. business, to the point where he spent much of his time organizing the fifteenth Grand Camp held in Sitka that November.

The convention hall needed to be finished and accommodations provided for 1,000 visitors. One newspaper clipping described the event mentioning Shotridge's contribution:

Louis Shotridge, ethnoligits [sic] connected with the University of Pennsylvania, chairman of the local committee made possible much of the success of the convention. Without his executive ability much time would have been lost in reception arrangements.<sup>61</sup>

Shotridge was impressed with the proceedings, which included 151 accredited delegates:

Each day, for nearly two weeks, there before me sat in sessions representatives from all class and divisions of the very people in whose life I specialize. Thus, I listened to the discussion of each delegate as he voiced the opinion of his own division: the moves and resolutions, however, were mostly about the great change in life upon our land, but in spite of the overwhelming modern influence there was much to be learned for the interest in our study of the people.<sup>62</sup>

In 1929 Shotridge attended the A.N.B. convention as the Klukwan delegate.<sup>63</sup> At this Grand Camp resolutions were passed on issues related to schools, the prohibition of alcohol, and the depletion of the fishing industry.<sup>64</sup> A report in the Sheldon Jackson School newsletter *The Verstovian* noted increasing membership and further stated:

The Indian of Southeastern Alaska is maintaining his position as a citizen and growing in his desire to uphold his economic independence. He is active and willing. He is not a ward of the government nor in the face of struggle to earn a living in recent years has he cared to be so considered. The brotherhood and sisterhood as organizations seeking to advance the cause of the Indian in religion, commerce, politics, and education are worthy of his support.<sup>65</sup>

Delegates from seventeen camps attended the 1930 convention at Ketchikan, where Shotridge was elected Grand President. Shotridge dealt with issues similar to those listed above. The major engagement during his tenure was in the fishing industry and the difficulties of earning a living especially on the eve of a national economic depression.<sup>66</sup>

Shotridge's presidency was little affected by his collecting activities because by this time funds for the acquisition of objects were exhausted. Shotridge's last major purchase for the museum was made in 1930 (fig. 5.2).<sup>67</sup>

By this time, the A.N.B. had become a credible voice for political change among Native Alaskans. Early A.N.B. strategies had demonstrated a certain form of resistance through accommodation to the dominant society and concurrently generated in many a moral crisis of significant proportions.<sup>68</sup> However, by the 1930s, the A.N.B. began to reintegrate those aspects of Tlingit heritage they had suppressed. The Tlingit language and the potlatch were revitalized within a public forum of Native solidarity. This shift occurred shortly after the A.N.B. achieved many of its initial goals. It was also during this period that cultural diversity became more widely accepted in the social sciences.<sup>69</sup> By 1935 there were twenty-two camps with 2200 members out of a population of approximately 6,000 Tlingit and Haida, and the A.N.B. was recognized as the most important Native organization in Alaska.<sup>70</sup> The A.N.B. continued to function until the 1940s when it was superseded by the Tlingit-Haida Central Council.<sup>71</sup>

## **Conclusions**

By the early years of the twentieth century, some Native Americans who succeeded in attaining a higher level of Anglo-American education were instrumental in forming political organizations, believing this to be a means by which civil rights could be achieved. Organizations such as the Society of American Indians and the Alaska Native Brotherhood were created because of continuing government neglect of Native American

issues and the exploitation of Native American peoples. They offered a political response to specific conditions of political, economic, and social subordination.

Shotridge's values were characteristic of this period of social change and political activism and his leadership of the A.N.B. in 1930 was apparently well-received.<sup>72</sup> During this period social anthropologist Duane Champagne notes, "the acceptance of Protestant values by a leadership group, increasing social solidarity, and cultural orientations that legitimated individual achievement and material accumulation."<sup>73</sup> Shotridge worked to preserve what he considered to be the strengths of his heritage without compromising individual Native American ability to achieve civil equality.

For museum audiences Shotridge grounded his collecting activities in the tenets of salvage anthropology wherein objects were rescued from obscurity or destruction, "I was, at last, permitted to open the old chests and to take out and carry away from their sanctuaries the fine old pieces that had not seen daylight since the white man's religion and law had supplanted those of the natives."<sup>74</sup> The fact that Shotridge was well-funded was not the only reason that he was able to acquire important clan objects. Shotridge's success was influenced by a well-intentioned effort on the part progressive Tlingit political leaders to offset discriminatory views of Tlingit peoples. Thus the early political aspirations of the A.N.B. had a public impact on potlatching and consequently the use of crest objects. Shotridge was successful in his endeavours because he promoted a vision of preserving Tlingit history within a Western paradigm *and* his vision coincided with an important facet of current Tlingit political intentions.

In this regard Shotridge's views exemplified the Native American struggle for recognition within the dominant society. Shotridge was personally impacted by the ambivalent, often contradictory worlds within which he operated. Native progressivism accommodated Anglo-American views that "traditional" Native culture (as defined by the dominant society) was inadequate to meet the demands of modern "civilization." As Berkhofer explains:

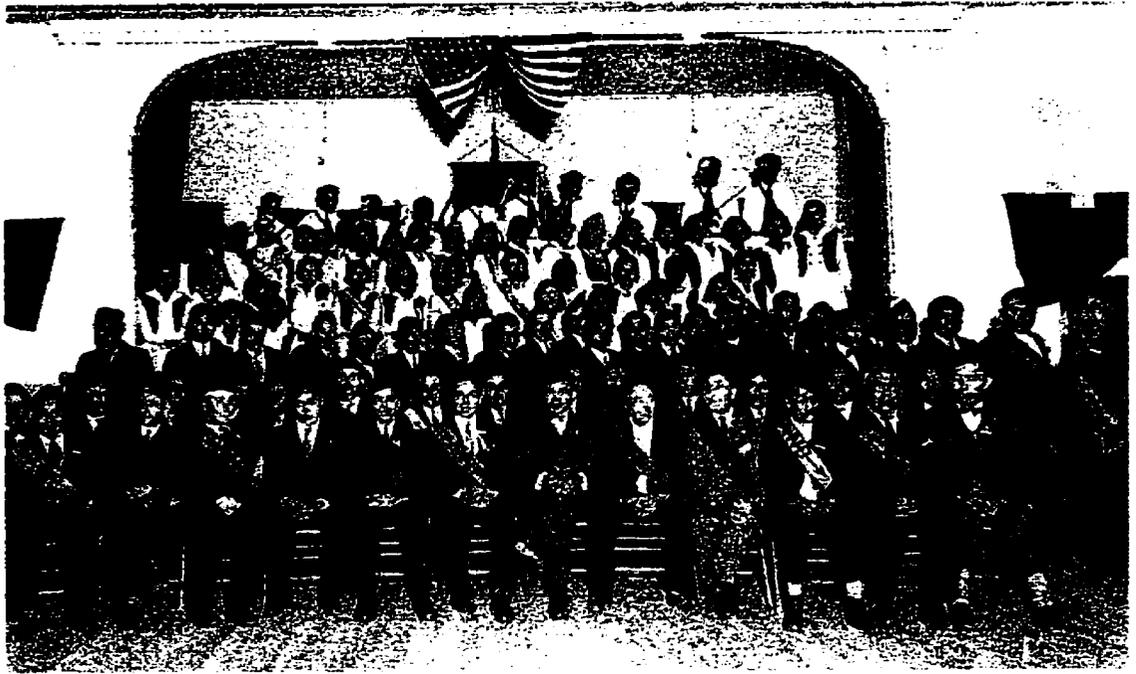
Images of the Indian...[w]ere (and are) usually what he was not or had not in White terms, rather than in terms of individual tribal cultures and social systems...This negative prototype of the deficient Indian began with Columbus but continues into the present as any history of the White education of Native Americans reveals. To this day such education is still too often treated as philanthropy to the "culturally deprived" Indian.<sup>75</sup>

By appearing to have adopted the external requisites of Anglo-American society, Christian-educated Native American leaders rejected "heathen" customs and thus were seen to have assimilated customs defined as "civilized" by the dominant society. However, preservationist attitudes also prevailed. In this regard, Shotridge achieved support from the A.N.B. membership because he wanted to preserve and display objects as texts on the history of Tlingit society and as monuments to the greatness of a Tlingit past. Shotridge's political views were therefore not incompatible with other similarly trained members of his generation, nor were they inconsistent with the salvage paradigm in anthropology. Paradoxically, anthropology museums filled both conflicting requirements of the dilemma many Tlingit faced; museums at the same time removed traditional objects from the community and preserved them as a benchmark to judge both the progress of Western society and the perceived assimilation of Native American peoples.



**LOUIS SHOTRIDGE (C. 1914)**  
Secretary Chief of Institute on Alaska. Was a student at the University of  
Pennsylvania and a member of the University Museum staff.

5.1. Photograph of Louis Shotridge from the *Journal of The Society of American Indians* (1914: 280),  
photographer unknown, n.d.



**Fig. 5.2. Louis Shotridge (front row centre) and members of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood in the Sitka A.N.B. Hall. Photographer unknown, n.d., photograph courtesy of Lillian O'Daniel.**

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Thomas 1992:215.
- <sup>2</sup> Thomas 1992.
- <sup>3</sup> To this end they supported the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 which proved to have disastrous consequences for Native American peoples.
- <sup>4</sup> For a more complete discussion of Caucasian Indian rights organizations see Hertzberg 1988:305-323.
- <sup>5</sup> Hertzberg 1971:22-23.
- <sup>6</sup> Hoxie 1988:221.
- <sup>7</sup> Hoxie 1988:223.
- <sup>8</sup> Hertzberg 1971:63-64.
- <sup>9</sup> Hertzberg 1971:72. See also R.K. Thomas 1968.
- <sup>10</sup> Hertzberg 1971:299-300.
- <sup>11</sup> Tennant 1990:69.
- <sup>12</sup> Hertzberg 1971:72.
- <sup>13</sup> Berkhofer 1988:306.
- <sup>14</sup> Berkhofer 1988:23. See also Berkhofer 1979:51& 55 for a definition of racism.
- <sup>15</sup> Berkhofer 1979:56.
- <sup>16</sup> Berkhofer 1979:61.
- <sup>17</sup> Berkhofer 1979:61.
- <sup>18</sup> Hertzberg 1971:102-03.
- <sup>19</sup> Wanneh 1914:280-83. See also Hertzberg 1988:Fig.1.
- <sup>20</sup> Hertzberg (1971:24) notes that a number of Native American anthropologists were pan-Indians. She cites Arthur C. Parker, J.N. B. Hewitt, and Francis LaFleshe.
- <sup>21</sup> Wanneh 1914:280
- <sup>22</sup> Wanneh 1914:280.
- <sup>23</sup> Wanneh 1914:282.
- <sup>24</sup> Hertzburg 1971:20.
- <sup>25</sup> Hertzburg 1971:15.
- <sup>26</sup> See Drucker 1958; Haycox 1989:39-45; Worl 1990:153-58.
- <sup>27</sup> Hertzberg 1971. See Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1994:648) on the founding of the A.N.B. Also Paul (1922:269). The actual site of the first official meeting of the Brotherhood is unclear, see Haycox (1994:521-22). Officers were first elected in 1913 (Haycox 1989:41).
- <sup>28</sup> Haycox 1994:506.
- <sup>29</sup> Drucker 1958:165.
- <sup>30</sup> For a more detailed study of the history and purpose of the A.N.B. see Drucker (1958) Tollefson (1976) and Worl (1990). In 1906 heads of Indian and Eskimo families were allowed to claim 160 acres of land

but no surveys were done to establish boundaries until 1914. As in the case of the allotments elsewhere many peoples lost their customary lands because they were occupied according to seasonal needs. Governments in both the United States and Canada failed to recognize or address the subsistence basis of many Native lifestyles. The establishment of the forest reserve in 1902 which, in 1907 became the Tongass National Forest, included all lands not homesteaded, or claimed by miners and canneries. As mentioned in Chapter One, this effectively precluded any further lands being transferred to Native hands.

- <sup>31</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:620 & 639. There is also some evidence that the St. Gabriel Brotherhood was instrumental in organizing the A.N.B. – two Orthodox members were A.N.B. founders (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:648).
- <sup>32</sup> Haycox 1989:40.
- <sup>33</sup> Paul 1922:270. A first-hand account of the social life surrounding the Sitka Training School, of living in the “Cottages,” and of events at the A.N.B. Hall is recounted by Carol Feller Brady in her autobiography *Through the Storm Towards the Sun* (1980). See also the biographies of the founding members in Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (194:619-95) Of the 13 founding members of the A.N.B., eight were educated at the Sitka Training School and one, Marie Moon Orsen, graduated from Carlisle.
- <sup>34</sup> Drucker 1958.
- <sup>35</sup> See Drucker (1958) for a detailed account of the political objectives of the A.N.B.
- <sup>36</sup> Drucker 1958:28 & 35.
- <sup>37</sup> Haycox 1989:40.
- <sup>38</sup> William Duncan at Metlakatla had argued for Native citizenship as early as 1885 (Murray 1985:190.).
- <sup>39</sup> *The Assembly Herald*, June 1917, Vol. XXIII, No. 6.
- <sup>40</sup> See also Pennoyer 1988:12-13 & 29-30.
- <sup>41</sup> See Haycox 1994:503-524.
- <sup>42</sup> Haycox 1994:509.
- <sup>43</sup> Haycox 1989:40.
- <sup>44</sup> See Drucker 1958:45.
- <sup>45</sup> See Drucker 1958:46 and Deloria, Jr. & Clifford 1983:11. In 1919 federal legislation gave citizenship to Native Americans who had served in the armed forces during the First World War. See also Haycox 1986:17-37) on the persistent subordination of minorities in the United States and the passage of the 1925 Alaska literacy law requiring voters to be able to read and write.
- <sup>46</sup> Haycox 1986:34.
- <sup>47</sup> Paul 1922:270.
- <sup>48</sup> “A New Educational Policy” *The Verstovian* 17(1), October 1930.
- <sup>49</sup> See Gerstle 1994.
- <sup>50</sup> Johnson 1994:674.
- <sup>51</sup> Hertzberg 1971:63-64.
- <sup>52</sup> Drucker 1958:59. This is what Thomas (1992) refers to as the inversion of tradition.
- <sup>53</sup> As previously noted the circumstances surrounding divestiture of shamanistic objects were such that Emmons was able to acquire a great quantity of material at little personal expense.
- <sup>54</sup> Coyle 1908:252.
- <sup>55</sup> Coyle 1908:253. See also Drucker 1958:59.
- <sup>56</sup> Thomas 1992:213 & 222.
- <sup>57</sup> Aside from his marriage reception to Elizabeth Cooke which took place in the ANB Hall in Sitka, the first reference to Shotridge’s work with the Brotherhood occurs in a letter dated September 1924.
- <sup>58</sup> Shotridge to Gordon 29 September 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, UM Archives.
- <sup>59</sup> Shotridge to Gordon 29 September 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, UM Archives.
- <sup>60</sup> Pers. com.: Steven Brown, 1992. The journal was published from 1923-32 and edited by William Paul. The publication promoted, among other issues, abolishment of fish traps, full Territorial Government and “competent Christian citizenship” and a belief in the soundness of the American democratic system

- (James and Daley 1987:10 & 13). See James and Daley (1987:2-25) on the role of the journal as an organ of the A.N.B.
- <sup>61</sup> Unidentified newspaper clipping entitled "Jotting From Convention" n.d., U.M. Archives.
- <sup>62</sup> Shotridge to McHugh, 28 January 1929, U.M. Archives. Resolutions were passed on issues related to the schools, the prohibition question and the depletion of the fisheries.
- <sup>63</sup> Haycox 1994:522. The year 1929 was one of enormous historical significance in Alaska as elsewhere. That year the land claims issue was raised in the Grand Camp in Haines when Frank Peratrovich made a motion to bring a suit against the government for lands that had been lost. The Native peoples of Alaska never ceded their lands and were non-reservation Indians. The one exception was the Annette Island Reserve, created in 1891 for the Tsimshian village of New Metlakatla. This was the only formal Congressionally established Indian reservation in the territory until 1941. Peter Simpson, originally a Metlakatlan Tsimshian, one of the first graduates of the Sitka Training School and a founder of the A.N.B., first presented the idea to William Paul at the 1925 convention.
- <sup>64</sup> Shotridge to McHugh, 28 January 1929, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>65</sup> *The Verstovian*, December 1930.
- <sup>66</sup> Pers. com.: Walter Soboleff, 31 November 1995.
- <sup>67</sup> Four Kaagwaantaan house posts from the Finned House in Klukwan were purchased in 1930. These were Shotridge's last major acquisition. Shotridge's last shipment of objects to the museum was made in 1931.
- <sup>68</sup> See Drucker 1958.
- <sup>69</sup> To quote Berkhofer (1979:64) on the changing definition of culture, "The most important change was signaled in the switch from the singular to the plural usage of the word *culture*" – a concept that signified a moral relativism rather than a ranking of human groups and instigated a new phase of cultural pluralism. McClellan (1954:75) notes a renewed emphasis on "old ways" during the 1950s partly as a result of land claims actions against the U.S. Federal Government.
- <sup>70</sup> Haycox 1994:515,523-24.
- <sup>71</sup> Haycox 1986:35.
- <sup>72</sup> Pers. com.: Walter Soboleff 1995 who was elected Sergeant-at-Arms the year that Shotridge was elected President.
- <sup>73</sup> Champagne 1990:82.
- <sup>74</sup> Shotridge 1928:351.
- <sup>75</sup> Berkhofer 1978:26.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **THE SECOND WANAMAKER EXPEDITION, 1922-1924**

The completion of the first Wanamaker Expedition sufficiently impressed Gordon to propose a second expedition to the museum's Board of Managers. He argued that, in order to achieve a comprehensive study of the Tlingit, it would be necessary to supplement Shotridge's observations with more years in the field. The objectives of the second expedition were similar to the first -- Shotridge was to accumulate material for an ethnographic publication, actively pursuing objects to round out the University Museum's collections. Wanamaker once again agreed to provide the funding -- \$10,000 over a period of two years beginning in 1922.

As noted previously, much of Shotridge's success as a collector depended on his persistent presence, his family ties, and his participation in Tlingit lifeways. However, in this second expedition Shotridge established a collection methodology, deciding which objects would function best as representative of Tlingit social history. Accordingly he devised a plan to acquire objects belonging to each of the Tlingit tribal divisions, thus producing a scheme of classification which, when displayed, would represent Tlingit social

structure in microcosm. In this chapter, I will discuss these new directions in Shotridge's collecting strategies and demonstrate that they were conditioned by his museum training, his experience in the field, and his political ideology.

### **Working the "Trailess Field"**

After 1920 collecting demands by museums became more focused but no less competitive.

Cole asserts that:

For the Northwest Coast the days of large-scale purchases by encyclopedic museums was a thing of the past. The collecting process did not, however, wither and die: other institutions and even some very major private collectors were entering the field to provide a continuing, though more sporadic and fragmented, demand.<sup>1</sup>

Although the numbers of objects being collected may have declined, correspondence between Gordon and Shotridge dating to 1922 demonstrates a continuing competition for Northwest Coast objects by major eastern museums:

I have just received the *Journal of the American Museum of Natural History* in New York and I read that Mr. Goddard of the A.M.N.H. and Mr. George T. Emmons went to B.C. and Alaska to spend the summer making collections, especially carvings and totem poles. I do not know whether you have seen or heard of them but I thought I had better let you know of their mission.

Do everything you can to get the things that we want and I will do my utmost to support you when I return in a month I think we ought to be able to get everything there is.<sup>2</sup>

To this directive Shotridge responded:

The kind of things we are after at this moment are those which could not be bought with cash some years ago, so any buyer will have to camp right on the trail of a thing he is after. I know where most of the

important things are, and my only obstacle is the everlasting esteem of the native owner for them.<sup>3</sup>

These “important things” that Shotridge refers to were objects with particular social-historical significance. Previously unavailable, they were beginning to appear with more frequency on the market. The recontextualization of Tlingit objects as Euro-American commodities depended on factors associated with contact previously discussed. However, at this time, the passing of a generation of Tlingit elders who were raised prior to the arrival of missionaries and the superimposition of an Anglo-American education had a profound effect on the trajectory of clan-related objects. Conflicts between Native matrilineal and Anglo-American patrilineal systems of inheritance further complicated efforts of conservative-minded individuals to retain objects, as did progressivist interests in American society, and increasing market values for objects.

When Shotridge returned to Alaska in 1922, he wasted no time in securing a larger, more seaworthy boat for travel to Native settlements throughout the panhandle. He christened it *The Penn* and by September he had constructed a pilot house and aft cabin and was equipped to travel (fig. 6.1). Shotridge allayed Gordon’s doubts that such a boat was necessary by responding that as well as providing inexpensive accommodation, *The Penn* would pay for itself by giving him access to places not frequented by steamers. “I am well aware,” he wrote to Gordon, “of the expense and work in handling such a boat in Alaska, but all this to me does not compare not only with the high cost of transportation in Alaska, but the inconvenience and frequent handicaps without a boat in this ‘trailess’ field.”<sup>4</sup> His nomadic life -- which he referred to as “making his rounds” -- began with the spring breakup and continued until the fall. Elizabeth accompanied him but gradually she

became increasingly busy with their growing family. In 1923 a son, Richard was born and a daughter, Lillian, followed in 1925.<sup>5</sup>

On one trip Shotridge hired John Benson, a leading member of the Kaagwaantaan Finned House, as navigator and crew. Shotridge justified Benson's help by using him as a source of information on Tlingit place names.<sup>6</sup> Although Shotridge bemoaned his own inexperience in running a boat or navigating the often treacherous Alaskan waters, he was undaunted in pursuing his "rounds."<sup>7</sup> Meticulous in keeping records of any sort, he maintained a systematic log of his travels, with running times and geographic names keyed to his nautical charts.

During this second expedition Shotridge's letters to Gordon indicate a greater confidence in his judgment and work. Shotridge made independent decisions, determining what was important to collect and what information he wished to record. Being well-funded, he was not averse to paying good prices to acquire those objects he deemed significant for his purposes. Following his plans to represent each of the Tlingit tribal divisions, Shotridge visited most of the southern villages,<sup>8</sup> but because his visits were infrequent, success was limited and collecting proved more fruitful in the northern region.

### **Conflict over the Whale House Objects**

Of Shotridge's negotiations, none sparked more controversy than that concerning the clan objects of the Klukwan Whale House. Yeilgooxú, Shotridge's father, was the custodian of the Whale House objects prior to his death and Shotridge had often alluded to his special status in that regard. Among an array of ceremonial objects, the collection

included the “Rain” screen, the “Woodworm” feast dish, eight elaborately carved house posts, and a number of crest objects. Emmons’ 1916 article on the Whale House illustrated and described the objects providing the myths illustrated therein. Both Emmons and Newcombe considered purchasing Whale House material. In 1902 Newcombe visited Klukwan under contract to George Dorsey of the Columbian Field Museum in Chicago. He viewed the objects but decided their ownership was unclear and the asking price too high -- the posts and screen were then valued at \$1,000.<sup>9</sup> Newcombe believed Tlingit objects were generally overpriced, and he also preferred, by and large, to avoid competition with his good friend Emmons<sup>10</sup> who, it appears, reported that the objects were not for sale.<sup>11</sup>

Gordon viewed the Whale House objects during his 1907 trip to Klukwan.<sup>12</sup> However, the correspondence fails to indicate Gordon’s position on their possible acquisition. This is in contrast to his aggressive stance regarding the former Chief Shakes’ canoe. Most likely Gordon was aware that collectors such as Emmons, Dorsey, and Newcombe had considered the objects and declined to open negotiations. By most accounts the objects were highly priced and Gordon must have realized that the likelihood of attaining them was remote.

Throughout his early correspondence, Shotridge alluded to the possibility of the University Museum acquiring the Whale House objects (particularly the “Dog Salmon” posts) because of his relationship to his father.<sup>13</sup> Whether any of the objects Shotridge was referring to were Yeilgooxú’s personal possessions we will never know. Shotridge

indicated that Yeilgooxú was willing to part with some objects, but due to his untimely death, circa 1907, negotiations were suspended.

In November of 1922, Shotridge again took up the idea of securing the “Rain Storm” house screen,<sup>14</sup> the four house posts<sup>15</sup> and a feast dish called the “Wood Worm Bowl.” He embarked on this undertaking by arranging a meeting with the leaders of the Gaanaxteidi. We have only Shotridge’s version of this event and as such it is incomplete. The following letter to Gordon dated the 27th of January 1923 is quoted in its entirety because it is the clearest documented summary of Shotridge’s collecting philosophy and his perspectives on the role of objects in Tlingit society. The letter also reads from the perspective of a museum employee reporting to his superior on his progress in the field:

About two months ago I called a meeting with the leading men of the Ganah-taedi --my father’s clansmen--, and before these men I presented my idea with regards to finding of a place for the old crest objects which we held to these last days. The idea was to allow these old things a last chance to make another good turn, and that I am in a position to help them serve a double purpose, namely: the price which an important thing may bring will support a creation of something by which the whole community will be benefited. Not only this, but if every ‘big-person’ of all the important house-groups agree on such method the Chilkat people will be releaved [sic] of the everlasting tribal obligation. This is the purpose of [?] the old things will serve upon this land, and upon the other, there is a place where they will stand as evidence for the Tlingit claim of a place in primitive culture.

Come what may from the meeting I cannot say at present, but personally I was profited by the expressions of opinions and discussions of our social relationship. All the remarks of course were made in Tlingit tongue, and it is hard for me to give off-hand interpretation English to do them justice. I write here only parts of my extemporaneous talk that might interest you,

For example, there lay now useless the pride of Chilkat, -- the ‘Whale’; the ‘Raven’; the ‘Tree of the Worm’; the ‘Dark-skinned Hero, or the Champion of Physical Strength’, the four great chiefs of all the pillars in

the Tlingit world. There is also the 'Rain-storm' house-screen. What will become of these one-time master pieces after you have taken leave for the land of souls? This is the question which you now have to answer for yourselves, and if the answer is clear to you, then, what shall we do with them, shall we put them to serve our own selfish designs, or shall we place them where they will continue the part for which they had been intended,-- to stand as evidence of man's claim of a place in the world of culture?

In his own place a man was the maker of his own pride, and if he was successful enough this success was known to be a lasting judgment on the part of a successor. At this moment only very few of us know something about the main thing which stood as a sign for the pride of Sitka; the object which was the pride of Aun-goon, and those of a number of other places. These things are no longer popular, not only because of our harassed native customs, but the main reason for the failure, I believe, was due to the wrong method in presentation. It is clear now that unless some one go to work, record our history in the English language, and place these old things as evidence, the noble idea of our forefathers shall be entirely lost.

In those olden days our world was not as big as it is now. Then it required only a power not much greater than that of the inhabitants of a well organized town to put it under control, and when one did something it was felt or heard in almost every part of it. The great change in this is what most of us do not seem to realize. We have learned too that, in their small capacity, these men of old never stopped and be contented with that which they had accomplished, they improved upon things, and along with the growth of their world there was an increase in knowledge. Thus a change of method in every period of time. They were not afraid either to put things to test which often times required a sacrifice in the feeling of comfort. But it seems that this keeping-up-with-the-times has come to an end with us, and I think this is because we are afraid to put our own new ideas to test.

At this moment a Tlingit who has incessantly discharged his big idea into the world often wondered why it was that the well aimed effort failed to show the effect of old. I believe I know why, -- the big idea charged with the out-of-date method did not echo because the ceaseless roar of modern civilization is now too great, and in order to make any idea be felt or heard it must be charged with the method of the moment and send forth with a proper breeze. I am now asking myself: Why can we not put aside the well worn method of old, and instead form our

own in offering to our people that which we believe to be for their benefit [sic].

After all it was popularity, as well as a good deed, which was foremost in the mind of the man of ability. I feel safe in saying that there is not one man in this room who is prepared to say that a man, even at the present time, called together a great crowd of people, and bring out before them his hard-earned property to be presented, for other purpose than establishing a great name for himself and house-group. I know that some of you have accumulated a number of dollars sufficient to pay for a good size of what the white man called potlatch, and if such be your idea of a good method for acquiring a great name at this moment, let me tell you my friend that you have chosen a wrong one. If you have no faith in this warning you ask some one who is now successful in his social position, and if he is honest enough I am certain that he will tell you the same thing.

I take so much interest in this act only because I am a collector of such old things which appears to be the main object of our talk, but I myself happened to be related to a house-group which sadly needs a building up. It was because of this position that for ten years did I racked [sic] my weak mind, --trying to think of a plan which might at least suggest a way for a more profitable one. During most part of this time the old method, of course, always stood foremost in my mind, which never faltered until I became a member of the 'guest of honor' at the Tlukah-adi dedication ceremony which was held at Giyisun Aun about six years ago. At that time the leading men contributed large sums of money. For what purpose?... Yes, the name of their household, but that name, what was it: how far did it go? I believe that I was the only young member of the party who carried a lasting feeling of the spirit with which the ceremonies were performed, and it was because, at that time, I still maintained that vague hopes for the coming back of the old time spirit, but it was obvious that in general mind the thought of those men who headed the feast lasted only while the money was being handed out, and that name never reached beyond their own threshold.

Do not misunderstand me and think that I have now given up all hopes. The object of my talk this evening will show you that there still remain other means by which to maintain one's reputation, and those of you with minds full of plans for something which might stay the good name of your family, I am with you. We have to do something now in order to hold our place in the estimation of the modern public, but in order to make it a success this something must be in accord with the customs of the present time.

Our aged men speak of the time when the increase in number of our people was so fast that even a great chief found it difficult to provide necessary quarters for his group. Then in our own town a new house was put up every few moons, but you know as well as any sensible person that we cannot repeat [sic] the same kind of a story to our young men, because the great change in life have reduced the number of true men among us to that which was housed in about four of our old time clan houses.

Now one of you, of the once great Ganah-taedi, have in mind to rebuild, ...Which of your many houses? Think hard with me...I cannot think of one with a number of members sufficient to make any such house as you have in mind a necessity. Hence, I believe it is better that we abandon this one sign of national distinction. Let us come together and stand as one family, -- Chilkat; sit in the same council, and in this manner build up in the eyes of the modern public our social position. Again, do not misunderstand me and think that I am trying to convince you to abandon your principles, but bear in mind that I mean only to lessen the clan obligation, and make it to that of a community one.

I am aware of the difficulties in the way of undertaking such move as making a change in the well established custom. It is not only the old time feelings that will form the obstacles here, but owing to the lack of the old time spirit, to collect a sufficient fund with which to get a start will be another. Here is where the proposition which I am about to make to you will come in as a work of the good Fortune. As much as I want to land this move on the trail to success I will never yield to any thing which will place us under an obligation to any one of financial ability. What I have in mind is this: Upon the far land toward the sunrise live a few noble minded men who devote their time to work on making good men of those who are willing. It was my great fortune that in my wandering I strayed upon the way of these noblemen, and learn that white men are not all the same. These new men in their mind are not at all like those who come to our land only for a profit. I have learned too that they know about us enough to appreciate our native feelings.

It was nobleness which moved these men to place their financial power at the disposal of any one who have a desire to acquire knowledge. Only a very small portion of the fund set aside for this purpose has been trusted in my care, with the understanding that I use this sum only in the work which will benefit the study of man, and if the place which I have in mind for this sum prove to be a failuer [sic] you will know that the loss was due to my very limited knowledge of profitable usage. Some foolminded white man will tell you that these rich men will donate to

almost anything because they have such a great quantity of money that they know not what to do with it, but let me tell you that these men do know exactly what to do with their money, and their plans never appear to be selfish either. So never give way to thinking that these men undertake to support any thing like the work which I am now carrying on among you, you may be certain that it is wholly devoid of harmful designs. This work is for the good of the whole world, and I am certain that, if you take advantage of it, it will benefit you more than any other people who might take up the study of our customs at random.

Now that we have said so much, but how are we going to start in this change of method?...I can appreciate just how hard my plan will hit you men who are matured with the old time thinking, but I should not give way to sentiment. We have already stated that a large number of the most important old time ideas have been borne [sic] in Chilkat, thus, Chilkat was known always to be the first to create a change in the Tlingit world. So if we agree on this proposition Chilkat once more shall be the first to make a change. The leading house in Chilkat is the 'Whale' House of Kluckwan, so it must be in the lead, because until this move proved to be a success other houses will never make a move.

My proposition is this: We present to the University of Pennsylvania Museum the Four House Posts, the Screen and the old Worm dish, and in the place of this collection we will build a house. This house will stand as a land mark which will always call to our minds the memory of those men of old, who has done so much in order that we be spared from the 'Dog-trail', (The life of a low class man). Such house will serve not only as a great sign of remembrance, but it will provide, as well, a convenient place where we may hold our public meetings; carry on our in-door amusements, and entertain visiting parties. Thus, a place where not only the members of the Ganah-taedi, but all the Tlingit people of Chilkat may enter with the feeling of welcome.

Of all the noble institutions in North America I choose the University Museum because the leading men of it understand us well, and appreciates our native feelings better than any man of his position, and through his unfailing interest I believe I can put these old things to do the best part in presenting our history to the modern world.

I have managed to get as much a Three Thousand and Five Hundred Dollars, [sic] This amount will be the sustaining fund in our start, to which we can add whatever we can raise by some other means. As a go-between man I feel safe in thinking that the parties on both sides, --You and the Museum man -- will be pleased when I succeed in this plan, hence, I did not wait for an authority in making this offer, but should

either side be disappointed, I shall be willing to give the rest of my life to adjust whatever the cause may be.

This is all that I have to say, and now I shall leave it all to you. After you have talked about this you will let me know your decision [sic] as soon as possible.<sup>16</sup>

Shotridge regarded himself first and foremost as a member of his tribe and his arguments were couched in terms shaped by that identity. But like many Native Americans who had traveled east to the larger urban areas of the U.S., Shotridge had assimilated the magnitude of Anglo-American control stating “the ceaseless roar of modern civilization is now too great.” Instead of clinging to the past, Shotridge argued for actions that were “charged with the method of the moment” and for a reevaluation of the Tlingit social position within the new order. His appeal was towards a collectivity or community of all Chilkat people (“Let us come together and stand as one family, -- Chilkat”), to re-think customary methods of acquiring status in order to function effectively within the changing circumstances of his time (“...there still remain other means by which to maintain one’s reputation...[i]n accord with the customs of the present time”). Shotridge argued that historical changes had superseded many customary means of achieving individual and family status. Shotridge believed that the future strength of Tlingit culture was dependent on how successfully it was presented within the dominant society. Considering the decline in population, in land ownership, and resources, Shotridge foresaw a future strength in the adoption of a collective approach, one that would eliminate competitive clan perspectives and loyalties. “Bear in mind,” he told his listeners, “that I mean only to lessen the clan obligation, and make it that of a community one.”<sup>17</sup>

Shotridge proposed a scheme by which Tlingit identity might be reshaped in relation to the dominant American world and how that new identity might be effected in public action. He argued that, because few people, including the younger generation, understood or appreciated the value of maintaining an “archaic” social structure, there was no future in the “old ways.” If Tlingit objects were to be placed in an Anglo-American institution, he concluded, they could once again be put to a good use. Shotridge’s curatorial experience demonstrated to him that museums publicly validated various people’s histories. Thus he believed if Tlingit objects were placed in the University Museum, they would “stand as evidence of the Tlingit claim of a place in primitive culture.”<sup>18</sup> Thomas’ observation that, “Tradition is not just a burden that must be carried, but also a thing that can be acted upon or deployed to diverse ends” serves well to describe Shotridge’s motivations and proposals for social change.<sup>19</sup>

Shotridge’s emphasis on the concept of institutional sanctuary has been skeptically viewed by some as a self-serving justification. For example, Cole writes:

Shotridge as a museum man embraced this collecting justification and, though he claimed to have convinced one man to part with a shaman’s headdress because it ‘will do a good turn in the written record of his party,’ the efficacy of the argument was probably lost to most of his hearers. Few responded to the appeal that the history of the Ganaxtedi or the Kagwantan could best be kept by a museum in Pennsylvania.”<sup>20</sup>

Quite the contrary: as I have shown many owners were thoughtful and self-assertive when faced with the need to consider the future of their objects. In light of overwhelming social upheaval, some Tlingit did seek sanctuary for objects within an institutional context.<sup>21</sup> For

some, Shotridge's persuasive arguments may have been more palatable than those of the average collector who offered no "honourable" alternatives.

As an employee of the University Museum, Shotridge presented his employer's motives as altruistic, arguing (perhaps naively, perhaps not) that no one was looking for personal or financial gain.<sup>22</sup> Shotridge believed that those who espoused conservative or customary viewpoints failed to recognize the basis of the new and much greater societal system by which collective and individual status could be achieved. His overriding convictions were grounded in the intersection of Euro-American preservationism and a heritage-oriented Native-American response towards changing social circumstances. In this respect Shotridge's ideas were characteristic of other politically active Native Americans of his time.

After meeting with the Gaanaxteidi, Shotridge was convinced that he had the support of two house groups. Shotridge's major opposition came from the aging Gaanaxteidi leader, Yeilxaak (Yael-hawk) George Shotridge's maternal uncle and the leader of the Gaanaxteidi Raven House. Upon the death of Yeilgooxú in 1917 Yeilxaak had assumed custody of the Whale House objects. The political and ideological challenge of Shotridge's proposal which placed customary functions in jeopardy was considered untenable by Yeilxaak. As custodian of the Whale House objects Yeilxaak viewed Shotridge's proposal as a serious threat to his traditional status and responsibilities and its adoption as a potential loss to his family. According to Shotridge, Yeilxaak stated:

The thought of those things of my grandfathers bears a great weight and as much as I have tried I cannot take them like that of light things. Modern men may not appreciate, nevertheless, with me, they are things of great weight indeed.<sup>23</sup>

Whereas leaders of Shaadaxícht's generation had been faced with military and economic threats, the subsequent generation of Tlingit leaders such as Yeilgooxú and Yeilxaak were also burdened with challenges from within Tlingit society in the form of members, such as Shotridge, who called for greater adaptability and flexibility in traditional customs.<sup>24</sup> However, as economic and social historian Eric Hobsbawm asserts, tradition is most frequently "invented" during periods of rapid social transformation, but rarely were such changes proposed by a single initiator, and usually not without lengthy periods of adaptation and transformation.<sup>25</sup>

Yeilxaak, in a move to maintain control over the sequence of inheritance within his family filed a will, which he registered under U.S. law, bequeathing the Whale house objects to his sister's son (the customary sequence of inheritance), Jimmie Young.<sup>26</sup> This move personally angered Shotridge who viewed his uncle, Edward Shotridge (Yeilgooxú's younger brother) and himself as the legal heirs under U.S. law.<sup>27</sup> Setting aside professional objectivity, he convinced Edward Shotridge, whom Shotridge also defined as the "customary" heir, to begin a joint court action against Yeilxaak and his chosen heir.<sup>28</sup> The problem, in Shotridge's opinion, stemmed from the fact that authority had been assumed by Yeilxaak:

During the last years of our native life the Raven house group was headed by Yael-hawk, and that of the Whale by Yeal-gooho, -- My own father --. Since the latter's death his followers, out of respect, recognized the former as their 'big person', but was never authorized as a leader of the clan. Only one of the younger brothers of the late master of the Whale House survived, who, regardless of his unsettled life, is recognized as the right heir to the house and its original possessions.<sup>29</sup>

In the end, Shotridge's plans were questionable. Having made his speech in favour of clan solidarity, he then decided to "ignore all community interest."<sup>30</sup> In 1923, Yeilxaak and his kin, claiming ownership of the objects, posted a notice on the door of the cabin in which the objects were stored. I have not seen this," Shotridge told Gordon, "but I have been informed that this paper showed their desire to deprive my uncle and myself of our rights. We had planned to bring these old pillars and screen down and have them shipped to the museum this autumn, but upon my arrival I found my uncle absent."<sup>31</sup>

Without the physical presence of his uncle for support, Shotridge was forced to let the matter drop for that year. Furthermore, the atmosphere had become so charged that he decided to allow things to "quiet down a bit before my uncle and myself disturb more peace."<sup>32</sup> Winter was coming and the family returned to Sitka where the climate was less rigorous.

In the spring of 1924 when they returned to Haines, Shotridge was determined to take possession of the objects. He traveled to Klukwan to investigate the situation and there he:

Found Yael-hawk the blind chief of our rival party living all alone as a guard over the Kluckwan Whale House Collection. The chief's heir is shrewd enough to know that we would be ashamed to take anything from the possession of the helpless blind man.<sup>33</sup>

According to Shotridge, by early 1925 feelings of animosity had so seriously destabilized the activities of the community that a Tlingit peace-making ceremony was proposed.<sup>34</sup>

The controversy appears to have involved not only the Gaanaxteidi but most of the Chilkat people, who were divided into two opposing factions located at Klukwan and

Haines. The Tlingit community was divided, some supporting Shotridge, others supporting Yeilxaak's position, and some Anglo-Americans in Haines supported the idea of a tourist attraction.<sup>35</sup> According to Shotridge Yeilxaak was already charging admission from tourists who came to view the objects.<sup>36</sup> In private consultation with a conciliatory group of community members, Shotridge was convinced to reconsider the ramifications of his actions. In his words:

The rival feelings between us developed into something dangerous, apparently, that it was necessary for the two communities (Haines and Kluckwan) to bring about the Tlingit custom of peace making. This was performed with much modern influence, but my uncle and I could not get out of it. Then through the counsel of some kind people I realized that I was rushing the old man to his grave by my inconsiderate business methods.

At the last moment our rival party became helpless, but there was nothing that would persuade it to let go the old things without force and blood-shed, -- the old Ganah-taedi pride could not be easily put aside. Here was a splendid chance to show to my people also the Kaguan-taun quality, but unfortunately the peace party was too powerful, and then too I became aware that it was because the white man's law was on my side that I became the master of the affair, and I did not like it. So after the ceremony was over, in contrary to my uncle's wish, I decided to let the whole thing rest for the time being, or until the old man passes on to the land of souls.<sup>37</sup>

These were Shotridge's last recorded words on the issue that had consumed so much of his time and energy for over twenty years. A year earlier he had written to Gordon, "Only very few people understand what it is to operate in this heterogeneous state of tribal affairs..."<sup>38</sup> His quest for the Whale House objects had become his principal objective, something on which he felt his credibility with the University Museum depended. Yet Shotridge actively chose peace and the needs of his community over personal gain. His capitulation resulted from his concern for Tlingit solidarity against the

objectives of his employers. Shotridge went on to acquire many other objects -- those he determined best fit his criteria for representation. In later years he appears to have viewed his successes and failures with some degree of equanimity, "thinking back to the time when I started I thought of things that I passed up which together would have made my success whole, but I have done my best."<sup>39</sup>

### **The Objects of Everlasting Esteem**

In 1923 Shotridge acquired a shipment of material from Kupreanof and Admiralty Islands, along with five pieces from the Hutsnuwu at Angoon, "which he [Emmons] had once failed to obtain with a much higher offer of money, but the owner has died since and left it to one who does not appreciate it."<sup>40</sup> Among the objects, he was able to acquire were a "Beaver" house screen<sup>41</sup> (fig. 6.2) and the "Raven Cape," a feather gorget made in Tahiti (fig.6.3) belonging to the Deisheetaan Raven House.<sup>42</sup>

Although the Second Wanamaker Expedition officially concluded in 1924 Shotridge continued to acquire objects for the museum's collections. His stories detailing the reasons for his collecting successes describe circumstances similar to those prevailing throughout the coast: bankruptcy, public debt, family disputes over inheritance, and conversion to Christianity. An important Kiks.ádi Frog crest hat from Sitka (fig. 6.4) was purchased in 1926 when its owners fell on financially difficult times:

At Juneau, --Auk Division-- one of the leading merchants of the town showed me a very fine old ceremonial hat carved to represent the "Frog", crest object of the Kiks-ádi. The late owner had left this at the store as a security for a loan of two hundred and fifty dollars, but the man died before he recovered the hat.<sup>43</sup>

In 1927 Shotridge acquired a headdress of a high caste Tlingit shaman, “the headdress happened to be in the hands of a man who is well-fixed financially, and for some time appeared with a rather indifferent attitude about the disposition of it, but at last was convinced by the fact that the object will do a good turn in the written record of his party.”<sup>44</sup>

The acquisition of a crest hat, carved in the image of “Ganook” (figs.6.5), a spirit of mist and fog, illustrates another permutation by indicating a shift in historical perspective that some Tlingit experienced during this period of change.<sup>45</sup> According to Shotridge’s information, the “Ganook Hat:”

Was well known among the people to be the only noble object to represent the unspoken dispute over the positive answer to the question: -- “Who was the first man?” which means, -- Did the man who is now known as the Lhigh-naedi found the woman who brought forth the man who is now known as the Shungu-kaedi? (The two sides [the two moieties] of the people). In opposition to the former’s claim on fatherhood the latter would point out an episode in the “Raven Journey”, (the legend of creation of Tlingit life) in which Ganook humiliated the great Raven for saying that he was the most ancient. This was the feeling which the Ganook Hat represents.

When the old chief expressed the feeling about his decision [sic] in disposing of the hat he said:-- “After all the Lhigh-naedi men are our fathers, and we in turn theirs, we beget each other. Why then should I hold on any longer to that which represents an unnecessary prejudiceness [sic]?”<sup>46</sup>

“Besides the Ganook Hat,” Shotridge noted, “the old chief has in his possession other things of importance, but he cannot be persuaded to give these up at present, and his remark explains why he is willing to let go the hat.”<sup>47</sup>

Not all objects were purchased directly from Native owners. For example, Shotridge describes the purchase of a “Wolf” headdress (fig.6.6) whose history was salvaged because of his “insider” knowledge:

This is a crude looking specimen, but it represents a narrative [sic] which is characteristic of the people. It is stated by one informant that this piece was made not as a war helmet, but it had been a part of a war canoe-head, and that in an urgency one brave man had cut this piece of the canoe figure and bore it to his last hour, thence it fell into the hands of a rival party, and since the original owners had neglected the customary form of recovery the late chief of the holders finally sold it to a trader who did not know the history of the thing, but sold it to me as a curio.<sup>48</sup>

In other instances resistance to sale was firm. For example, Shotridge made one final attempt to purchase monumental objects from the Gaanaxteidi at Klukwan. These were two houseposts called the Huts-hun (fig. 6.7a) and Guteetl posts (fig.6.7b), representing the “man-eaters of old.”<sup>49</sup>

They represent two great giants, the first inhabitants of the earth, who for a time did not allow other rational beings to live. These two were said to be the first carved house-posts in Chilkat, and owned by the people who were found to inhabit this division when the Tlingit arrived. It was also said that these had been the only objects of worship of the natives, and up to only a few years ago the custom of feeding the images was maintained by the household, and the daily duty of pouring olachon oil upon the mouths of the objects was never neglected. Both posts are so saturated with the oil that they are no longer like wooden objects; they have never been exposed to the weather, yet the base and top are much decayed, but these parts have not as yet marred the appearance [sic]...The Guteetl and the Huts-hun, according to the legend [sic] relating to them, represent also the former relationship between the original occupants of Chilkat and the interior Athapascan people. Two years ago Four Hundred Dollars was offered for the two, but the head of the house at that time would not part with the old posts for any price. Since the death of this man the new master of the house has taken a different feeling about the old “smelly” objects...One post is 10 feet in height and the other a few inches less; they bear an offensive odor, and

the owner told me that on a warm day the room in which they are kept is filled with this...<sup>50</sup>

With the expectation that he could purchase the posts Shotridge:

Hired a truck and went to Kluckwan to take away the Guteetl and the Huts-hun, the two old house-totems mentioned in my letter of July 9th last, but when the time came to take the posts out it roused such a disturbance among the towns people that it looked as if I were getting into the same kind of trouble which I experienced with the Kluckwan Whale House Collection. A number of persons appeared each with a claim of some sort, but I had learned enough about the old posts, and only for the sake of peace did I consent to postpone until a certain old man who is said to be a rightful owner returned to Kluckwan.<sup>51</sup>

In the end he was unsuccessful in acquiring these also. Shotridge, interpreted the resistance as fear of community reprisal for exchanging objects for financial gain.

Although many objects had lost their social use-value, their continued existence within the community continued to be acknowledged by many as symbolically crucial.<sup>52</sup>

At the conclusion of the Wanamaker Expedition, Shotridge sold *The Penn* and was about to return to Philadelphia when a letter arrived from Gordon expressing concern over his health. "I would," Gordon stated, "be very glad to have your assurance on this subject and to feel certain that your journey here will not involve too much risk from the great change of climate and living conditions."<sup>53</sup> Ironically, on the 29th of January 1927, the day after writing this letter, Gordon had an accidental fall which proved fatal. His death was a shock to all concerned. When Gordon's secretary Jane M. McHugh relayed the news, Shotridge responded thus:

I never thought that such a thing would ever occur, --Dr. Gordon to pass away at such a moment. He understood his men, he understood me, and I was just beginning to understand my wise chief, but now he

has abandon [sic] me, I do not know what to think but I believe that I have now lost a true friend.<sup>54</sup>

Over the years Gordon and Shotridge had cultivated a complex relationship balancing friendship and the demands of an employer/employee partnership. Gordon was Shotridge's mentor and educator -- both Gordon and Shotridge entertained similar goals and the partnership enabled the fulfillment of their respective ambitions.

Due to the change in circumstances, museum officials suggested Shotridge postpone his return until the spring.<sup>55</sup> Under Gordon, Shotridge's yearly salary had been raised to \$2,500 and he was now charged with organizing his field notes for publication. For Shotridge, the act of writing was an arduous and unrewarding experience compared to the challenges of collecting in the field.

Unfortunately, personal troubles involving the family's health interfered with this project. First the children became seriously ill with influenza and then Elizabeth was stricken and confined to bed. In reference to their circumstances, Shotridge wrote:

I do not intend to go out again, but will try to take leave of Alaska at the moment Mrs. Shotridge gets around better, she has not fully recovered. In her rundown condition she did not have enough resisting power with which to fight off further infection in her lungs, and now the disease [tuberculosis] has manifested itself with all clinical symptoms, and she has to have immediate attention. My very faithful helpmate fallen to an almost helpless condition has indeed place [sic] me in a very difficult position.<sup>56</sup>

In November of 1927 he arranged to send Elizabeth to a clinic in Arizona.

Shotridge wrote, "We experienced a rather sad parting with our three little ones, but the little mother was brave enough to take it calmly."<sup>57</sup> They had great hope that the change in climate and a prolonged rest would prove beneficial. The children were left in the care

of their grandmother, Mrs. Matilda Cooke. Elizabeth never saw her children again. During the summer of 1928, Shotridge was notified that Elizabeth's health was failing. He rushed to her side but ten days later, on the 3rd of August 1928, she passed away. Shotridge returned to Sitka where Elizabeth was buried in the Tlingit Presbyterian Cemetery.

The winter was difficult without Elizabeth and much of his financial resources had been depleted in the costs of her final care. Shotridge delivered lectures on Tlingit lifeways<sup>58</sup> to school children and visitors to Alaska. Occasionally he visited people who possessed important objects, but his collecting days were essentially over. He remained in Sitka assisting in the care of his children and editing up his ethnographic material. In 1929, he complained to McHugh, "I do my very best to stick to my writing, but my liking for such confining work, often times, is no match for my desire for going among my people and that is where I am on a slight excuse of listening to Indian stories and taking notes."<sup>59</sup>

### **Shotridge's Final Years with the Museum**

In 1929 before he returned to the Philadelphia, Shotridge convinced the museum to make another purchase, the Kaagwaataan Shark helmet from Sitka (fig.6.8).<sup>60</sup> Shotridge described it as, "the only one of its kind in the Tlingit world...[b]eing the most unique specimen, every buyer who knew of its existence are after the old helmet."<sup>61</sup> Shotridge's training and progressivist agenda did not prevent him from expressing his nostalgia and some ambivalence towards his role as one who removed Native objects from their ancestral homes. For a 1929 article in the *Museum Journal* Shotridge wrote:

When I carried the object out of its place no one interfered, but if only one of the true warriors of that clan had been alive the removal of it would never have been possible. I took it in the presence of aged women, the only survivors in the house where the old object was kept, and they could do nothing more than weep when the once highly esteemed object was being taken away to its last resting place.

It is true that the modernized part of me rejoiced over my success in obtaining this important ethnological specimen for the Museum, but, as one who had been trained to be a true Kaguantan, in my heart I cannot help but have the feeling of a traitor who had betrayed confidence.<sup>62</sup>

Although a certain ambivalence over his role as collector is noticeable in his later writing, when the acquisition of the helmet was announced in news reports throughout the country, Shotridge proudly reiterated his preservationist position.<sup>63</sup>

In May of 1929, Richard and Lillian were left in the care of their grandmother, Mrs. Mathilda Cooke, and Louis Jr., now aged seven, accompanied his father on what would be his fourth and final period at the museum.<sup>64</sup> Shotridge's purpose was to supervise the installation of the Northwest Coast exhibit in the new wing of the museum. Later that summer, Shotridge and his son returned to Alaska by driving from Philadelphia to Seattle.<sup>65</sup>

By this time Horace H. Jayne had replaced Gordon as director of the museum and J. Alden Mason had become Curator of the American Section. A man of wide-ranging interests, of which pre-Columbian archaeology was paramount, Mason did not share Gordon's zeal for Native Alaskan topics nor his concern for Shotridge's circumstances. In 1930, burdened with financial problems caused by the market crash of 1929 and a subsequent loss of private patronage, Jayne wrote to Shotridge, "You may be glad you are away from the turmoil that engulfs us and there are times I envy you very distinctly."<sup>66</sup>

During this time Shotridge often occupied himself with A.N.B. work. Under their auspices, he traveled throughout Alaska, working with various Native groups. He explained to Jayne that the trips were necessary to increase his understanding of the ethnography he was writing. On his way to the 1930 A.N.B. convention in Ketchikan, where he was elected Grand President, Shotridge stopped at Klukwan. There he attended the last council of the head of the Kaagwaantaan Finned House, his hereditary clan house. He succeeded in purchasing a collection of objects from his matrikin, including a Kaagwaantaan bear skin and four magnificently carved house posts (fig. 6.9).<sup>67</sup> Significantly, this acquisition, one of the most striking of his career, was among his last.

He described the event as such:

For two weeks I was storm-bound in Chilkat. I went there to see about the four houseposts of 'The House of Shotridge.' The aged man who is now our elder is very low in health, being an heir I had to be present at his last council, and at last the family agreed on allowing me to take the posts in exchange for Six Hundred Dollars.<sup>68</sup>

In 1932 Shotridge, at the instigation of museum director Horace Jayne, shipped the remains of a shaman's grave and some bones and a skull from Kruzof Island, part of a cave burial found by students of the Sheldon Jackson school, to the museum.<sup>69</sup> This was the only time Shotridge was involved with grave goods especially osteological material. His final shipment in 1932, of objects from the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Burned House collection, was obtained when the owners of the objects went bankrupt (fig. 6.10).<sup>70</sup>

In 1924, Shotridge offered the following comments which appear to summarize his thoughts on his collecting experience:

In our desire to acquire a substantial collection of ethnological material of the Tlingit people I think that we have now approached a position which is closer than ever to important things. From the time the white man was attracted by the unique workmanship in things among the Northwest Pacific coast peoples artifacts of various types has [sic] been generously taken out from the seeming inexhaustible supply in the storehouse of the Tlingit people. Yet, strange to say, the collectors and curio buyers have never approached that which is most important, and that is objects which represent the honorable history of the people.

When the Tlingit realized that the method which the people had employed in building up one's social standing was overthrown by modern ideas, each man quietly placed the object which had come to exist only through an unceasing efforts of many generations, in the bottom of the family chest with a vague hope for its recovery of that honor which it represent, but it is disappointing that these hopes are gradually vanishing. With a rather limited knowledge of the past the present generation hold on to the old things, each man with a fear that another man might laugh [sic] if he let go what he has in exchange for the needed cash.<sup>71</sup>

Due to financial cutbacks associated with the Great Depression, the museum officially cut Shotridge from its payroll in January of 1932 after twenty years of service.<sup>72</sup> Although aware that his employment was precarious, Shotridge was unprepared for the final reality.<sup>73</sup> Writing under his personal letterhead, he responded courageously:

I did not train myself for other work besides that I learned to do in the Museum. So you see I shall have to step out into this unexpected change very much unprepared, but it is good to feel that I did my best in serving the American Section in the Museum, and I hope that in the future the old Tlingit objects in it will always have a fair chance in representing their former masters.<sup>74</sup>

The reasons for Shotridge's collecting successes and failures read like a lexicon of post-contact history. Struggles to adjust to the conditions of colonization both galvanized and split people along personal, clan, and tribal lines. Aware of the confusion and turmoil

associated with this period, Shotridge wrote a vivid portrayal of multiple impinging forces and resulting conflicts:

The feeling of this moment is very much hardened by the evershifting condition of modern life, which makes it difficult to hold the average person's attention to reason. The man who has had the old time training is more confused than ever in the presence of the 'bold modern men,' who preaches the Gospel while the other shouts politics and making promises; at the same time the trader whispering shrewd designs. Thus, we cannot wonder why the Tlingit with the true native mind is beginning to exercise more precaution, and look upon any good offer with a roused suspicion.<sup>75</sup>

Although Shotridge hoped there might be a pension from the museum; none was forthcoming.<sup>76</sup> His participation in the A.N.B. continued, although his term of Grand President was not renewed. He managed to earn a small income from odd jobs, seasonal fishing, and occasional sales of objects, mostly baskets from his personal collection.<sup>77</sup>

Some time between January of 1931 and July of 1932, Shotridge married Mary Kasakan, Katlian's sister's daughter and thus a high-born member of the Sitka Kiks.ádi clan. His previous wife, Elizabeth, had been a member of the X'at'ka.aayi clan, and when she died he was expected to marry another from the same group. Shotridge agreed to do this but apparently there was no eligible woman for him. His mother-in-law offered to marry him, a customary alliance under the circumstances, but instead Shotridge began courting Mary Kasakan, a somewhat younger woman. He financed Mary's divorce in order to marry her.<sup>78</sup> His unconventional actions disturbed the X'at'ka.aayi as well as the Sitka Luknaax.ádi and the Klukwan Gaanaxteidí, who customarily sided with the X'at'ka.aayi and the Luknaax.ádi against the Kiks.ádi.<sup>79</sup> This incident gives some indication of the personal complexities of Shotridge's life, as well as the enduring

importance of traditional marital conventions and alliances among Tlingit clans at this date. Unfortunately it is now impossible to reconstruct how such personal and clan affinities may have influenced Shotridge's work and collecting activities. However, this incident serves as a reminder that the multiple affinities which influenced Shotridge's life were institutionally as well as socially-based.

Apparently cherishing the hope that the University Museum would once again use his services, Shotridge maintained a sporadic correspondence with Mason and Jayne. In an unsuccessful effort to establish a business manufacturing beaded moccasins, Shotridge shipped some examples to the museum.<sup>80</sup> One pair was sold, another misplaced and never found, and the rest were finally returned unsold.<sup>81</sup> With Mary expecting a child in that spring<sup>82</sup> and his meager savings frozen in a troubled Seattle bank,<sup>83</sup> Shotridge turned to the museum for a loan. He offered a collection of objects he had consigned to a Philadelphia dealer as collateral, but received no response.<sup>84</sup> Circumstances at the museum were equally precarious; only two employees of the American Section, Mason and H. Newell Wardle, continued to receive reduced salaries.<sup>85</sup>

In 1935 Shotridge applied for a position as a government salmon cannery inspector.<sup>86</sup> When a recommendation was requested, Jayne was able to give his "unqualified endorsement" of Shotridge's "integrity and his intelligence," and he was hired.<sup>87</sup> The position, which apparently included stream guard duties, was to have tragic consequences. In 1937 Shotridge was discovered at the base of some scaffolding at a stream guard's shack in Redoubt Bay near Sitka. Shotridge was rescued by a local school

teacher who took him to the Alaska Pioneer's Home Hospital in Sitka.<sup>88</sup> There he was able to dictate letters to set his affairs in order.<sup>89</sup> Contrary to some sensationalized accounts written in the 1960s and 1970s,<sup>90</sup> Shotridge died ten days later, on the 6th of August, of injuries sustained from a broken neck and was buried in the Sitka Cemetery. He was survived by his third wife, Mary Kasakan, and five children.

A stream guard's job, which upheld U.S. restrictions on salmon fishing, was highly unpopular among the Tlingit fishermen,<sup>91</sup> and Shotridge had experienced trouble with a poacher whom he had ordered off the river a few days before his death.<sup>92</sup> A boat from Haines was fishing in the area although it was never sited in Redoubt Bay.<sup>93</sup> Rumors of foul play quickly spread. However, lacking evidence that the death was anything but accidental, the final decision of the coroner's jury was that Shotridge died of "unknown causes."<sup>94</sup> Historian Robert N. De Armond notes that the death of a second stream guard at Redoubt Bay two years later, under remarkably similar circumstances, prompted an official inquiry that led to a conviction of murder.<sup>95</sup>

Louis Shotridge died in obscurity to the extent that the press which had enthusiastically chronicled his career took no notice of his demise. Apart from being remembered among his colleagues, community, and descendants, Louis Shotridge's life story passed into the realm of historical appraisal, conjecture, opinion, and debate.

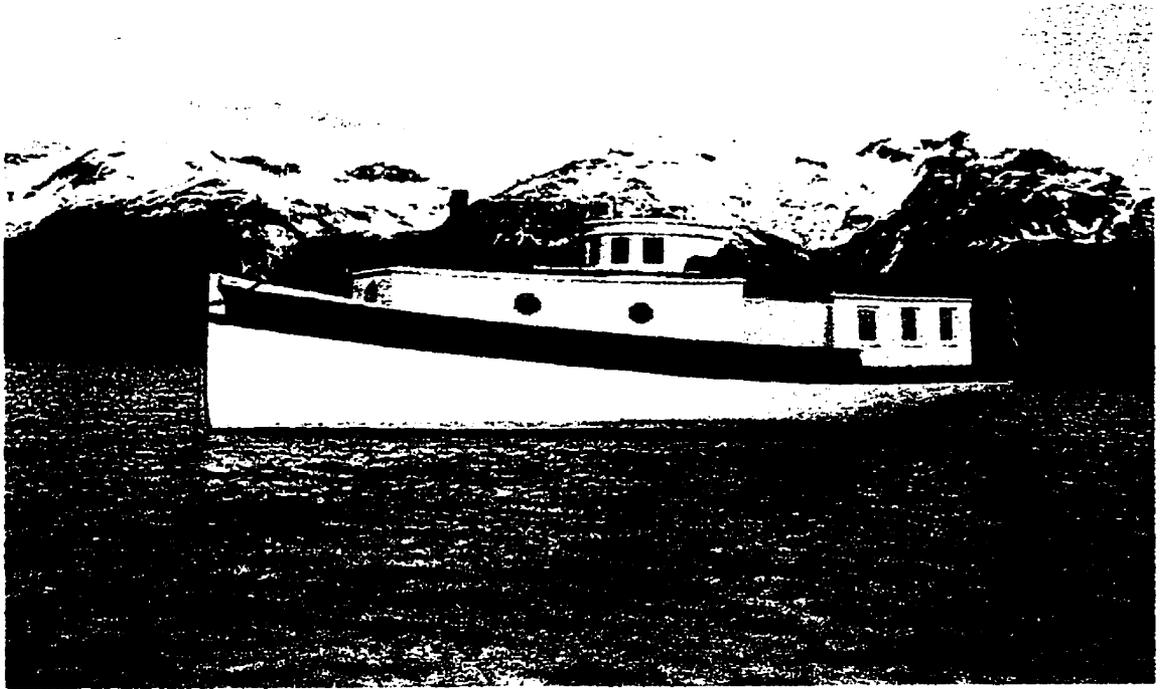


Fig.6.1. *The Penn*, photographed by Louis Shotridge near Haines, circa 1924, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, neg. no. S5-15083.

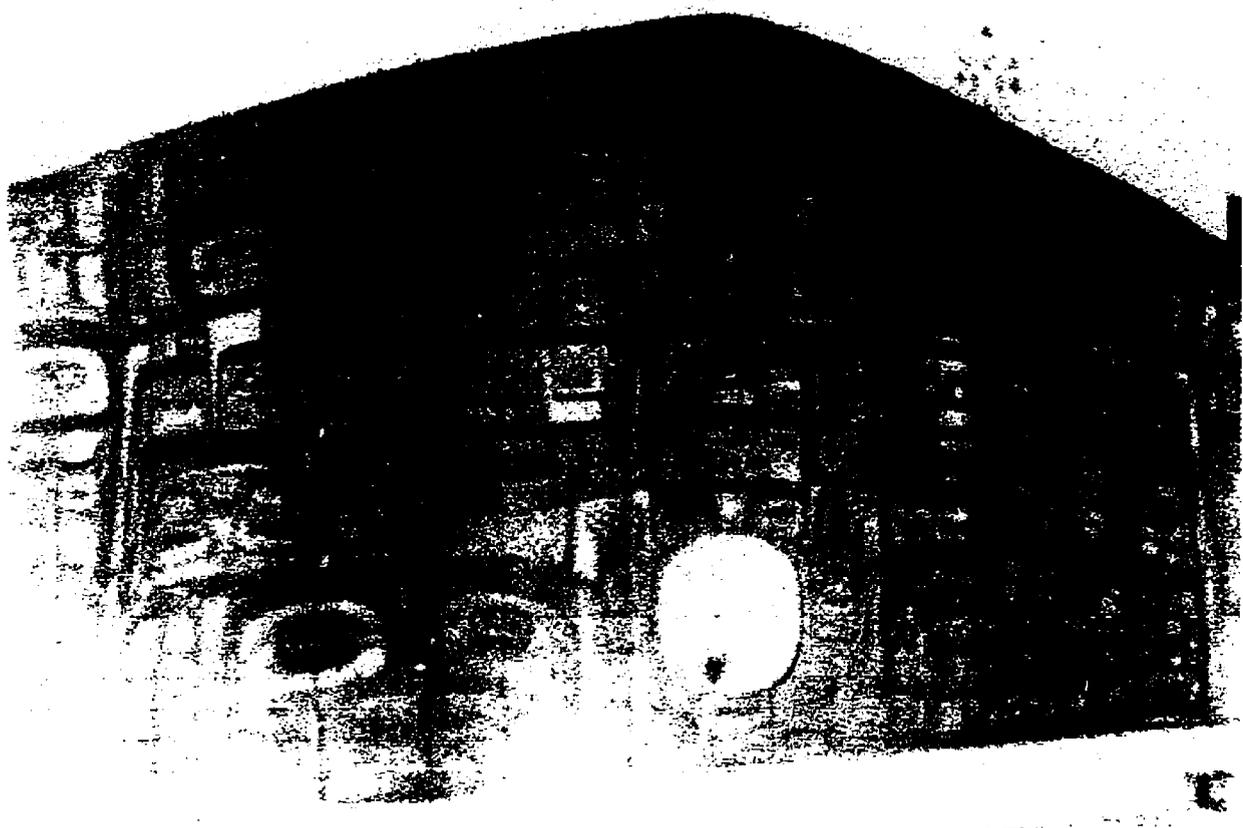


Fig. 6.2. Hutsnuwu "Beaver" house screen from Angoon acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1923 (U.M. acc. no. NA 9499-34). Vincent Soboleff photograph, n.d., courtesy of the Alaska State Library, neg. no. PCA 1- 410. See also Katz 1986:fig.44.



Fig.6.3. Tahitian gorget called "Raven Cape" shown in display (lower right) of objects belonging to the Hutsnuwu Deisheetaan Raven House at Angoon (U.M. acc. no. NA 9476). Vincent Soboleff photograph, n.d., courtesy of the Alaska State Library, neg. no. PCA 1-19. For a further discussion of this object see Katz 1986:78-90.

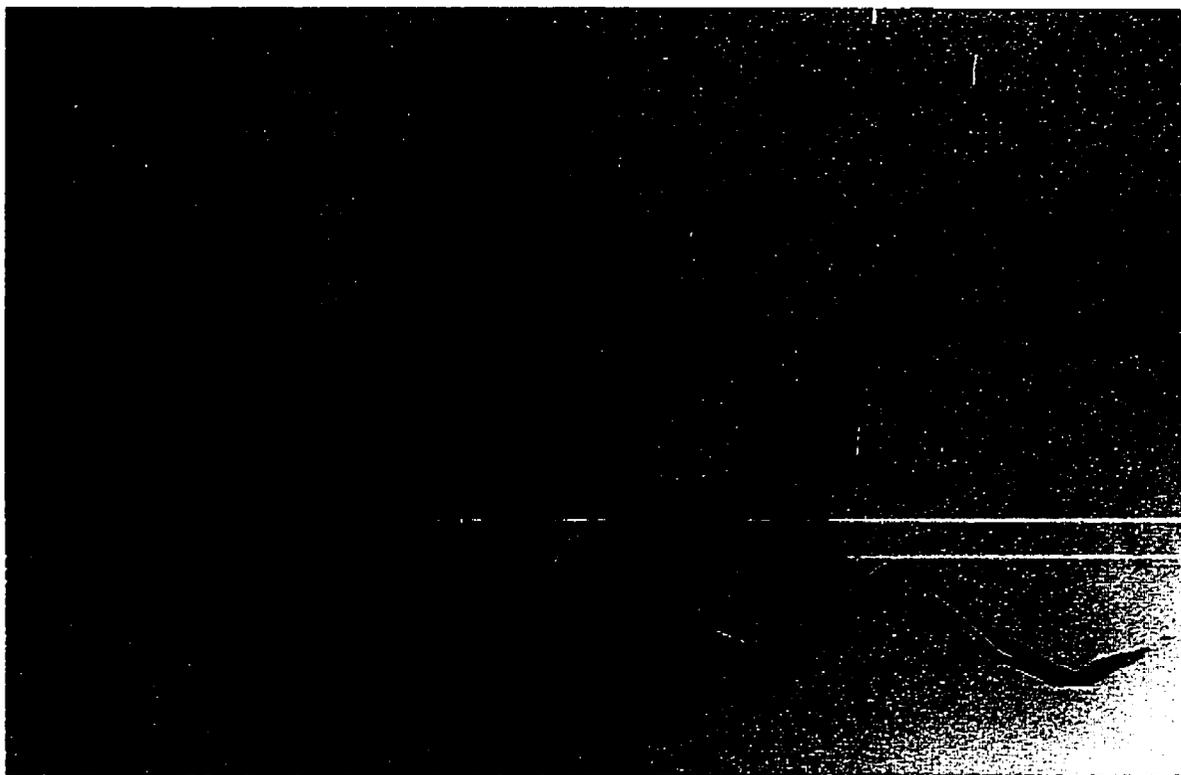


Fig. 6.4. "Frog" crest hat of the Sitka Kiks.ádi acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1926, (U.M. acc. no. 11740). Milburn photograph, 1982.



Fig. 6.5. Photograph of the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Bear House "Ganook" crest hat acquired by Louis Shotridge 1926, (U.M. acc. no. NA 6864). Milburn photograph, 1982.



Fig. 6.6. Ceremonial "Wolf" crest headdress (originally said to have been a canoe prow, but worn as a war helmet in a time of need), acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1924 in Wrangell (no information on ownership), (U.M. acc. no. NA 9471). Milburn photograph, 1982.

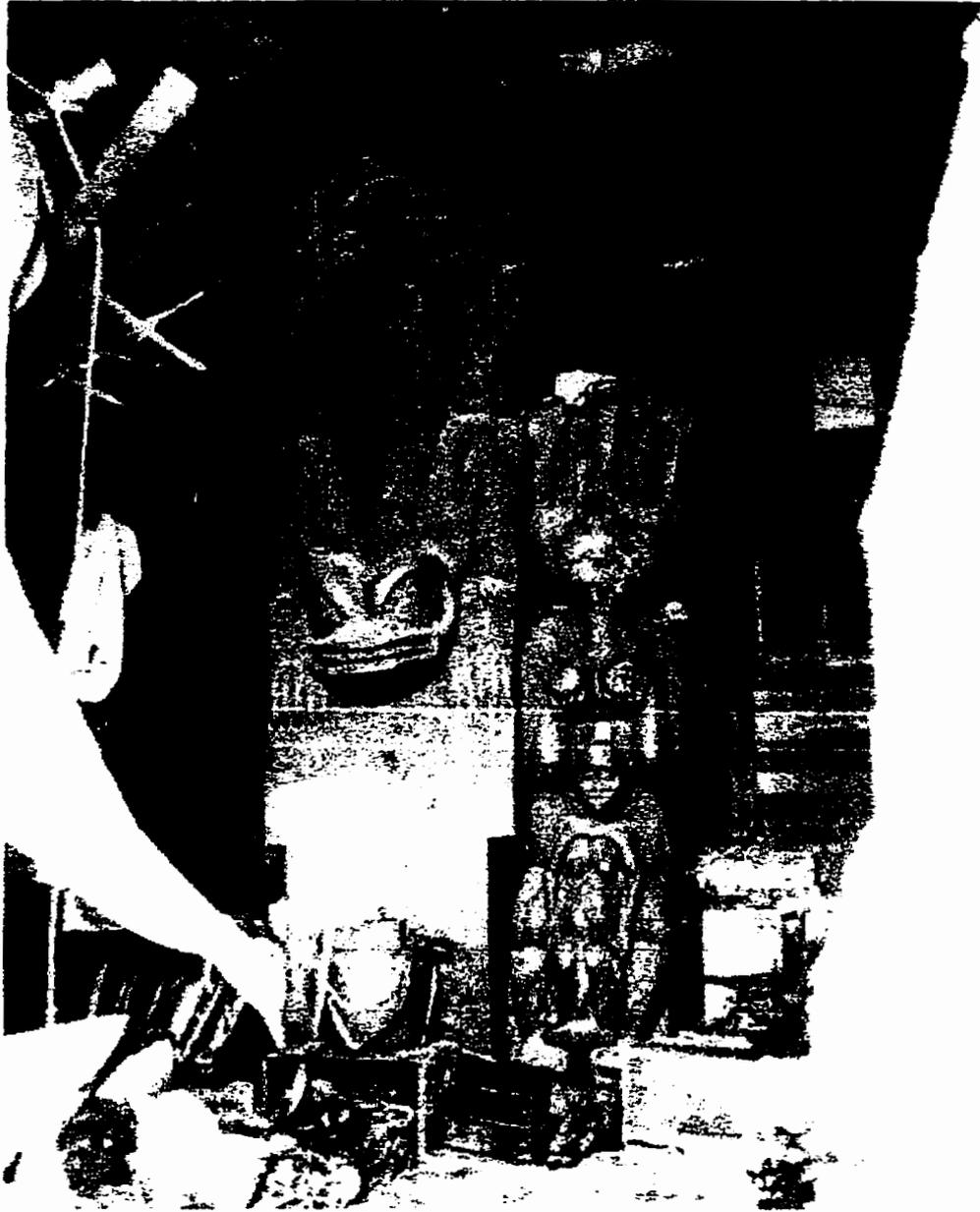


Fig. 6.7a. Housepost (right) called "Huts-hun" belonging to the Chilkat Gaanaxteidi Frog House (identified by de Laguna in Emmons 1991:438 as Raven 3) at Klukwan. Winter and Pond photographs ca. 1895 courtesy of the Alaska State Library, neg. no. PCA 87-14. See also Krause [1885]1956:89; Jonaitis 1986:fig. 11; Wyatt 1989: 76; de Laguna in Emmons 1991:64.

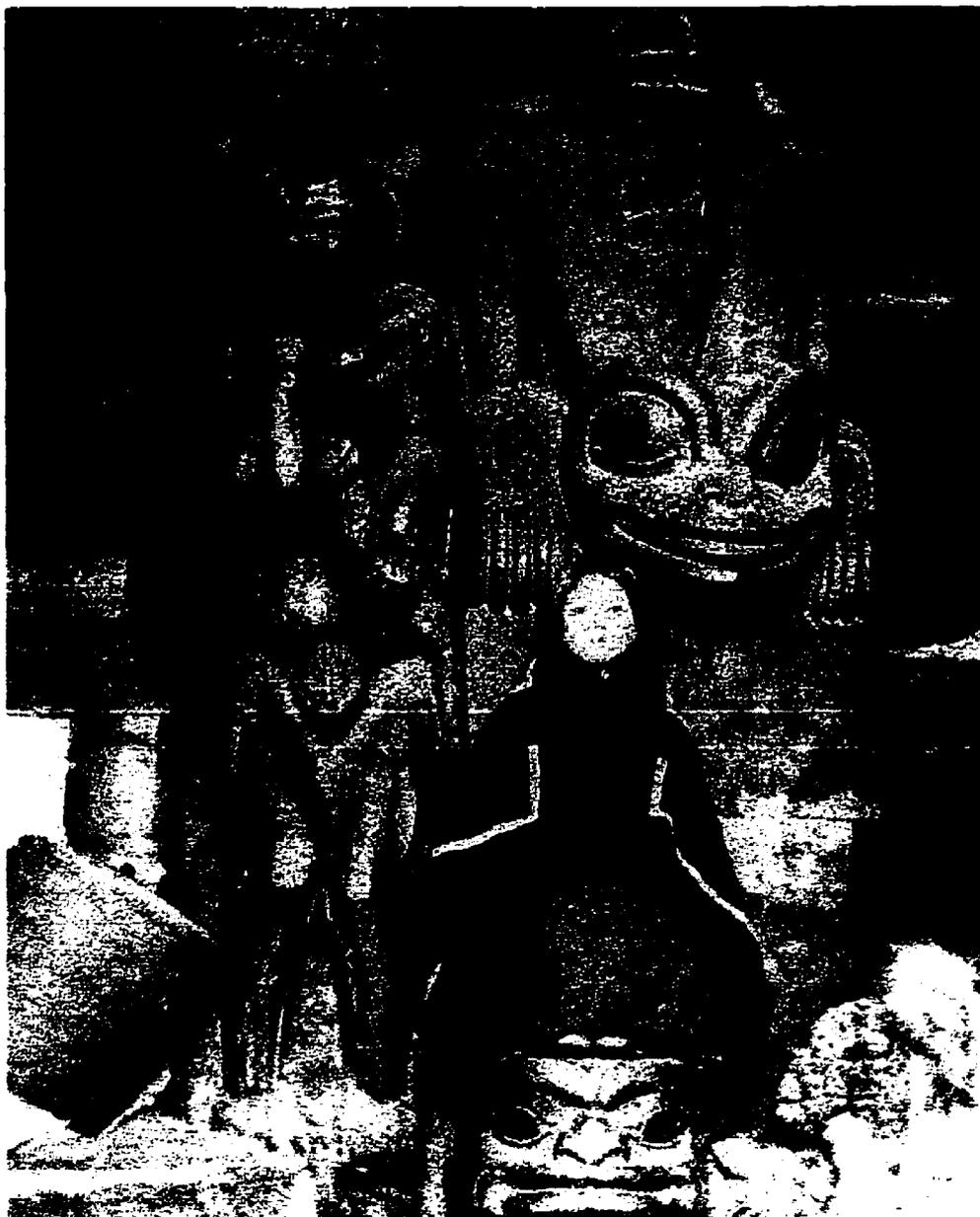


Fig. 6.7 b. Housepost (left) called "Guteeti" belonging to the Chilkat Gaanaxteidi Frog House (identified by Emmons de Laguna 1991:438 as Raven 3) at Klukwan. Winter and Pond photograph ca. 1895 courtesy of the Alaska State Library, neg. no. PCA 87-17. See also Krause [1885]1956:89; Jonaitis 1986:fig. 11; Wyatt 1989: 76; de Laguna in Emmons 1991:64.



Fig. 6.8. "Shark" crest helmet of the Sitka Kaagwaantaan, acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1929, (U.M. acc. no. 29-1-1). Milburn photograph, 1982.

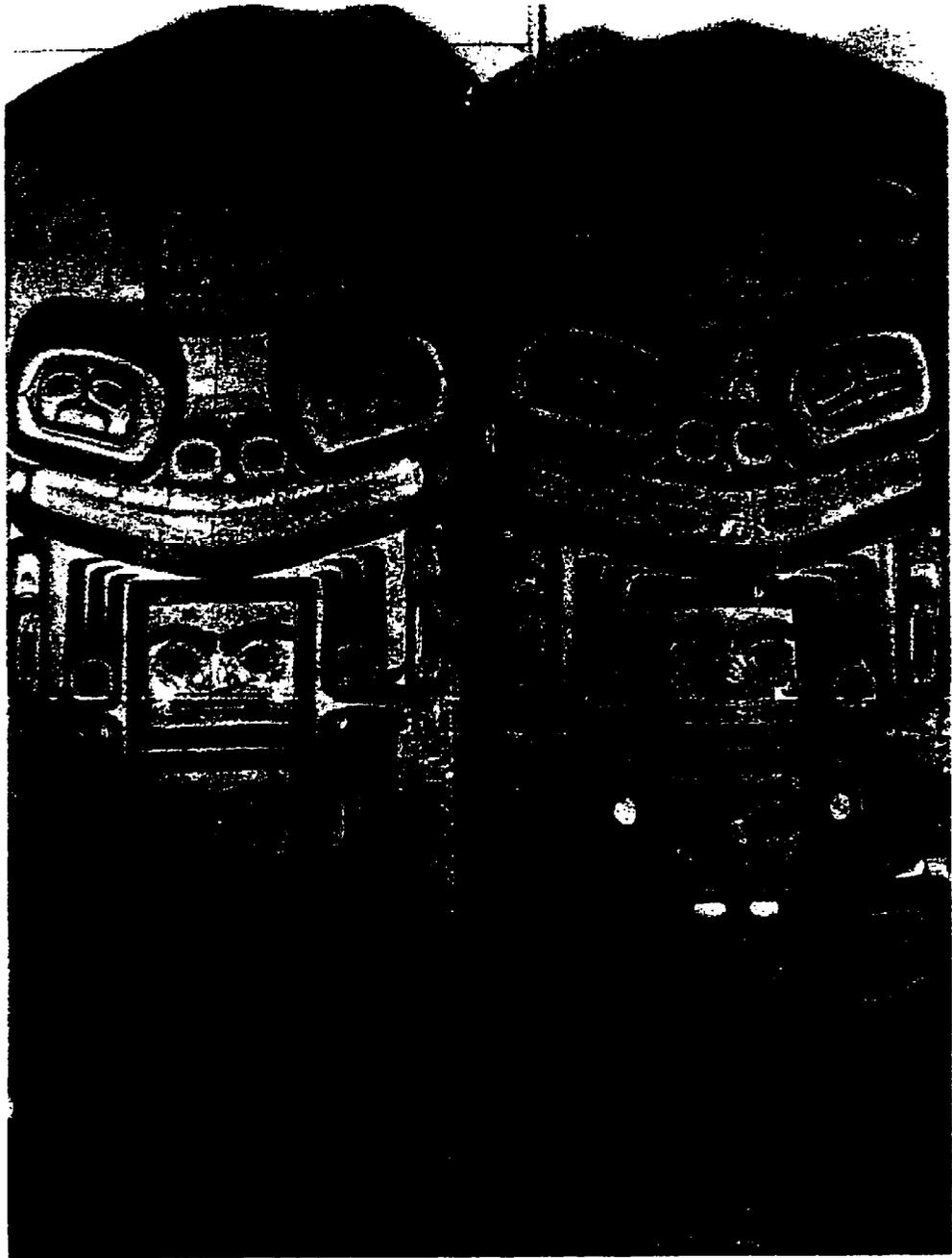
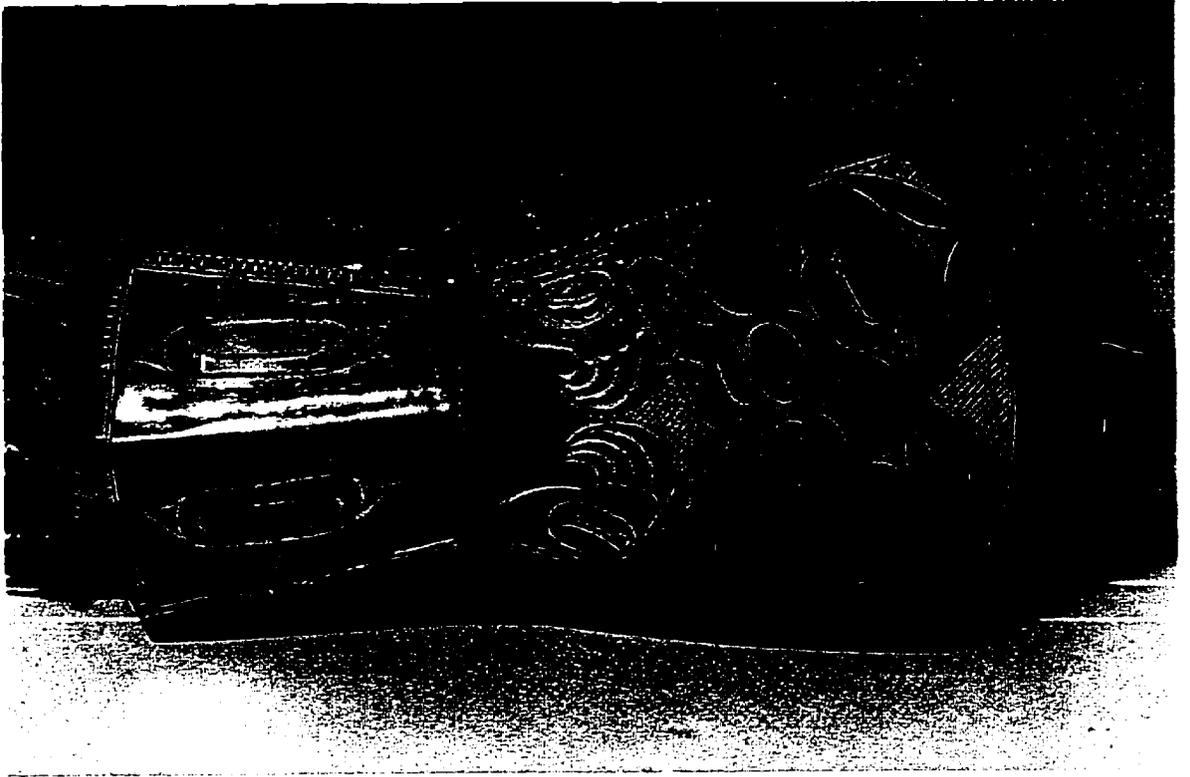


Fig. 6.9. Photograph showing two of four house posts from the Chilkat Kaagwaantaan Finned House at Klukwan (identified by de Laguna in Emmons 1991:438 as Wolf 1). Purchased in 1930 by Louis Shotridge, (U.M. acc. nos. 31-29-13 to 16). Photographer unknown, n.d., courtesy of the University Museum Photographic Archives.



**Fig. 6.10. Headdress from the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Burned House Collection acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1931, (U.M. acc. no. 31-29-4). Milburn photograph, 1982.**

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Cole 1985: 215.
- <sup>2</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 31 July 1922, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>3</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 22 August 1922, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>4</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 22 August 1922, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>5</sup> Richard Thomas Shotridge was born in Haines on the 10th of December, 1923 and Lillian Shotridge was born in Sitka on March 4th, 1925.
- <sup>6</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 8 October 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>7</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 8 October 1923, 29 September 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>8</sup> See for example Shotridge to Gordon, 7 August 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>9</sup> Cole 1985:260.
- <sup>10</sup> Cole 1985:194.
- <sup>11</sup> Cole 1985:260.
- <sup>12</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 20 November 1915, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>13</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 12 March 1906; 27 July 1906; 28 August 1906; n.d. 1906 from Los Angeles; Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>14</sup> According to Shotridge this screen was designed and painted by Ckì-là-qá III, once the headman of the Whale House family. Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>15</sup> The carvings have been the subject of a study by Steven Brown (1987:157-175) wherein he identifies other carvings by this same artist. See also Emmons (1916) on the Whale House objects.
- <sup>16</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>17</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>18</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>19</sup> Thomas 1992:227.
- <sup>20</sup> Cole 1985:261.
- <sup>21</sup> William Sturtevant (pers.com.:1993) notes that the theme of cultural unburdening or of seeking a safe place for socially “charged” objects can be traced chronologically across the North American continent as contact and societal disruption occurred.
- <sup>22</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>23</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>24</sup> Drucker (1958: 59-68) details some of the circumstances of reinterpretation of Tlingit customs within the framework of the A.N.B. membership.
- <sup>25</sup> Hobsbawm 1983:4-5.
- <sup>26</sup> This will was recently found in the Alaska State Museum files by anthropologist Chuck Smythe. According to Smythe’s reading of the will, “He [Yeilxaak] is assigning responsibility to Jimmie Young to take care of, but not sell...He was really concerned about the future of tribal property and the ability of his clan’s people to pay respect to their ancestors and have a record of their history and the events

- that brought them here.” (Smythe to Enge in “Collecting the Past” *Anchorage Daily News*, 6 April 1993).
- <sup>27</sup> Shotridge was angry that the objects might fall into the possession of a rival clan, “The next heir, Mr. Young by name, in the customary rank of our rival party is married to a Yan-eadi woman, and there is a grown son from this union” (Shotridge to Gordon, 7 August 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives).
- <sup>28</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 24 March 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>29</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 24 March 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>30</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 22 April 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>31</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 8 October 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>32</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 22 April 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>33</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 29 September 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>34</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 12 January 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>35</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 3 June 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>36</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 7 August 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>37</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 12 January 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>38</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 24 March 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>39</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 November 1926, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>40</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 8 October 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>41</sup> U.M. acc. no. NA 9499.
- <sup>42</sup> U.M. acc. no. NA 9476. According to Shotridge, “It so happened that the breast ornament was made in Tahiti, an Island in the South Seas and must have been brought to Alaska many years ago on a ship, possibly by Captain Cook himself.” See Shotridge’s comments in letters dated 11 July 1925; 23 [?] July 1925; August 11, 1925; 5 December 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives. Curator Adria Katz (1986) provides a contextualized portrait of this unusual purchase and its possible origins. See also Katz 1986: figs.43,48,49,55 for further photos of the Raven Cape including display and funeral scenes in which the object is shown.
- <sup>43</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 19 July 1926, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives, U.M. acc. no. 11740.
- <sup>44</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 15 February 1927, Shotridge Correspondence, UM Archives. Called *Kushdawusitiyi-qa* and *Nas-qa-yahayi*. From the possessions of C̄ax, a Chilkat *Gaanaxteidi* shaman. “This outfit is said to have been passed down to him from 5 great practitioners before him.” Emmons had been interested in the masks and had bid on them (Shotridge to Gordon, 10 April 1917, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives). U.M. acc. nos. NA 5777, 5778.
- <sup>45</sup> U.M. acc. no. NA 6864.
- <sup>46</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 22 April 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>47</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 22 April 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>48</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 29 September 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>49</sup> See de Laguna object note #'s 5 & 6 in Emmons 1991:6 and Jonaitis 1986:110-11.
- <sup>50</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 29 September 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>51</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 29 September 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.

- <sup>52</sup> This remained true throughout the coast to the extent that during the 1970s-80s some dealers, as a condition of sale, provided replicas of objects when originals were purchased.
- <sup>53</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 28 January 1927, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>54</sup> Shotridge to Jane M. McHugh, 17 February 1927, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>55</sup> Unsigned to Shotridge, 4 February 1927, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>56</sup> Shotridge to Jane M. McHugh, 16 August 1927, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>57</sup> Shotridge to Jane M. McHugh, 15 October 1927, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>58</sup> *The Verstovian* 17(1) October 1930.
- <sup>59</sup> Shotridge to Jane M. McHugh, 5 February 1929, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>60</sup> See Shotridge 1929b:339-343, U.M. acc. no. 29-1-1. Of the "Shark" helmet (1929b:339-343) Shotridge writes: "The very old specimen is made of shrunken walrus hide of the thickest part, and formed into an excellent likeness of the fish's head: the whole object is covered with carving in the most skillful style; painted with true native colors" (Shotridge to McHugh, 29 March 1929, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives). Emmons had also bid on the object but found it too expensive.
- <sup>61</sup> Shotridge to Jane M. McHugh, 29 March 1929, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives. Shotridge was probably referring to the fact that it was the only "Shark" helmet left in Tlingit hands. A similar helmet was collected by Emmons in 1902 and is located in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago and is seen in an A. C. Pillsbury photograph of a Chilkat potlatch dated October 11, 1898 (Henrikson 1993).
- <sup>62</sup> Shotridge 1929b:339 & 343.
- <sup>63</sup> "Old Indian Relic For Philadelphia" in *Denver*, 1 November 1929; also unidentified newspaper clipping from Hoboken, N. J., 14 November 1929, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>64</sup> Shotridge to McHugh, 16 April 1929, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>65</sup> Shotridge to Bruckner, 14 August 1930, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>66</sup> Jayne to Shotridge, 18 August 1930, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives. Shotridge reports that he covered 3800 miles in five days.
- <sup>67</sup> U.M. acc. no.'s 31-29-13 to 16.
- <sup>68</sup> Shotridge to Jayne, 5 November 1930, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>69</sup> U.M. acc. no. 31-29-17.
- <sup>70</sup> U.M. acc. no.'s 31-29-4 to 10. Shotridge to Jayne, 6 January 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>71</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 7 January 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>72</sup> Jayne to Shotridge, 22 December 1931, U.M. Archives; Shotridge to Jayne 16 January 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>73</sup> Shotridge to Jayne, 23 July 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>74</sup> Shotridge to Jayne, 18 January 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>75</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>76</sup> Shotridge to Jayne, 23 July 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>77</sup> Shotridge to Jayne, 23 July 1932; 15 November 1932; 23 November 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>78</sup> Olson Fieldnotes 1933:58 & 63.

- 79 Olson Fieldnotes 1933:63.
- 80 Shotridge to McHugh, 15 November 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 81 McHugh to Shotridge 1 March 1933, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 82 Leonard Katlian (b. 1934 - d. 1987). "Services Scheduled for Leonard K. Shotridge" in *Daily Sitka Sentinel*, Sitka, Alaska, Thursday, 20 August 1987.
- 83 Shotridge to Jayne, 23 November 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 84 Shotridge to Jayne 20 December 1933, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 85 Mason to Shotridge, 9 November 1934, Mason Papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia..
- 86 Shotridge to Jayne, 5 April 1935, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 87 Jayne to Dimond, 3 May 1935, Shotridge Correspondence File, U.M. Archives.
- 88 Wolfe to Jayne, 19 August 1937, Shotridge Correspondence File, U.M. Archives.
- 89 Shotridge believed he had a pension coming to him from the museum although this was denied by museum officials (Wolfe to Jayne 16 August 1937, Shotridge Correspondence File, U.M. Archives).
- 90 See for example Miller and Miller (1967:232) who write, "When Shotridge's body was found near Klukwan, he had already been dead many days."
- 91 Pers. com.: Robert N. De Armond, 28 March 1986.
- 92 Pers. com.: Robert N. De Armond, 28 March 1986.
- 93 Historian Robert N. De Armond indicates that the jury found no evidence of foul play. Yet De Armond rejects the idea of an accidental death stating that the scaffold was purposely rigged to break. In a recent interview with Marilee Enge of the *Anchorage Daily News*, De Armond raises the issue of several Native men who died under mysterious circumstances. Yet he also speculates that Shotridge, "was killed by people from Klukwan....They were very clever at making it an accident....I think it was some of the Klukwan people who were angry at him for having sold so much of the material to Pennsylvania." ("Collecting the Past," 6 April 1993). This issue was not raised by conversation with Mr. De Armond in 1986. Mr. De Armond has graciously clarified this point stating that a boat from Haines was in the fishing in the vicinity, but not actually seen in Redoubt Bay, around the time of Shotridge's fall. Thus, De Armond explains, "two theories" associated with Shotridge's death emerged (pers. com.: Robert N. De Armond 14 May 1997).
- 94 Pers. com.: Robert N. De Armond 14 May 1997.
- 95 Pers. com.: Robert N. De Armond, 28 March 1986.

## ***CHAPTER SEVEN***

### **SHOTRIDGE'S ETHNOGRAPHIC STRATEGIES AND THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION**

The thesis having thus far explored the parameters of Shotridge's life history, this chapter diverges from that framework to address the ways in which he negotiated the sometimes ambiguous position of Native ethnographer, the means by which he maintained positions as both subject and object within the overarching premise of salvage ethnography in the early twentieth century. Like many Native Americans, especially those who also were educated in the non-Native system, Shotridge navigated through the conflicting interests of the circumstances in which he found himself. While such plural existences were not uncommon, they were differently cast in each case. Thus Shotridge constructed an ethnographic strategy to suit both his and the University Museum's particular goals.

In their 1995 publication of Tlingit life stories, the Dauenhauers wrote, "perhaps more than others of his generation, Shotridge was born into a traditional and conservative setting."<sup>1</sup> His credentials and connections as a high-born Kaagwaantaan were exceptional. He acknowledged this when he stated that he was related, albeit sometimes distantly, to most important families among the Tlingit clans. Hence, in addition to his collaboration

with Boas, Shotridge served as a source of information to anthropologists Theresa M. Durlach<sup>2</sup> and W. D. Wallis.<sup>3</sup> However, as a result of his early Presbyterian missionary education, he was initially unfamiliar with the great wealth of Tlingit oral history and myths. As a student of Boas, Shotridge was trained in the anthropological methods of his day and consequently acquired much of his knowledge in the field. He attended potlatches, registered his observations, and candidly noted the conflicting reports of his informants. He took notes on such topics as the genealogies of Tlingit families and geographical place names. Walter Soboleff, who served as Sergeant-at-Arms of the A.N.B. the year Shotridge was Grand President, reports that not only was Shotridge well respected in that organization but, in his opinion, he was well versed in Tlingit customs.<sup>4</sup>

Beyond his access to “insider” information, Shotridge’s particular and often historicist concerns in the production of Tlingit ethnography led him increasingly to pursue specific emphases in collecting objects for the University Museum. These concerns colour the context and content of the visual and textual material he compiled as well as the intent of exhibits he designed and the articles he supplied for publication in the *Museum Journal*. This chapter will therefore consider the types of objects Shotridge selected for purchase, his methods of fieldwork documentation through notes and photographs, and his approach to exhibition and academic analysis.

### **The Shotridge Ethnographic Material**

A reading of the Shotridge-Gordon correspondence suggests that much of the textual material Shotridge accumulated remained with him when his employment with the

University Museum was terminated. Material he was editing in Philadelphia at the time of Elizabeth Shotridge's death was subsequently shipped to him in Sitka and there is no record that the museum ever requested its return. Today, what remains of Shotridge's work is incomplete and restricted to stories he translated into English for the museum, his letters to Gordon and others, ethnographic material (genealogies, data on house groups, myths, legends, miscellaneous information), accession notes, photographs, and the fourteen articles he published in the *Museum Journal*.

Additional material came to light in 1962 when Mrs. Lillian O'Daniel, Shotridge's daughter, donated a metal card box to the Alaska State Museum.<sup>5</sup> This box contains invaluable, albeit incomplete, information on the history of objects Shotridge acquired. Shotridge maintained this detailed card file to record objects he purchased, including the name of the object, its maker, its owners (their house group and clan), the occasion for which it was made, and other pertinent social history. In a few cases, Shotridge was able to collect and document whole complexes of objects belonging to specific house groups -- the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Bear House (figs. 7.1 & 7.2),<sup>6</sup> the Luknaaxádi Whale House and Sea Lion House collections from Sitka (figs. 7.3 & 7.4) and the T'akdeintaan Snail House collection (fig. 7.5 & 7.5a)<sup>7</sup> from Hoonah, to name a few.

Also among the file cards donated to the Alaska State Museum is information on genealogical aspects of the various house groups and individuals at Klukwan and other settlements. I was able to trace the Shotridge family lineage through this material, because Shotridge's detailed historical information on house groups included his own matrilineal house, the Finned House at Klukwan. Shotridge notes, for example, that the name "Fin of

Killer-Whale” was derived because this house group was an annex to the Killer-Whale House and therefore part of the original crest of the animal was used. The house group was founded in order, “To maintain the family rule, that, to consort only with a peer.”<sup>8</sup> “Chief *tàt-xítcx* [Shaada*xí*cht], (son of *Gaanaxteid*’),” was a member of this house. Shotridge also lists the sequence of headmen, along with the principal crest of the house group which was *Kats*, “a characteristic grizzly bear.”<sup>9</sup>

Over the course of his tenure at the University Museum, Shotridge made a list of several hundred Tlingit names for geographical locations with their subsequent English counterparts. Sometimes he included site-specific histories or the locations of old settlements in connection with this documentation. Shotridge’s ethnographic records may profitably augment existing oral history and published data with the objective of reconstructing place names and social groupings at the turn of the century. Of Shotridge’s unpublished material, Tlingit historian Andrew Hope III states that, “These notes have been invaluable in my efforts to learn Tlingit history.”<sup>10</sup>

As previously noted, Shotridge was initially sent into the field to obtain information for a complete Tlingit ethnography which would also supplement existing collections in the University Museum. Shotridge worked in the Tlingit language when recording stories using the phonetics established in his collaboration with Boas (for the first Wanamaker Expedition the museum provided him with a typewriter featuring specially ordered characters).<sup>11</sup> As Gordon explained, “We look forward to having a very valuable systematic account of the Tlingit for publication as a result of your researches among them.”<sup>12</sup>

Gordon encouraged and promoted Shotridge as a professional ethnographer. When Gordon announced the publication of the book Shotridge had been working on with Boas, he added, "The next volume I trust will bear your own name on the title page."<sup>13</sup> Later, in 1926, at the conclusion of the Wanamaker Expedition, Gordon renewed his efforts to encourage Shotridge to publish an ethnography of the Tlingit people:<sup>14</sup>

It is probable that many years more would be required to make a thorough study of the several branches of the Tlingit people located in the territory that has been covered by you. I believe, however, that you have now accumulated enough knowledge to make a comprehensive and authoritative study of divisions; socially, historically, linguistically and artistically, with collections to furnish adequate illustrations of their arts and customs."<sup>15</sup>

Although Shotridge never completed his ethnography, his existing papers provide an opportunity to explore alternate modes of authority and information exchange found in his work. His field notes provide a fragmentary view of the interrelated nature of objects, oral history, place, and political and ideological infrastructures as they informed Tlingit social practice during the early decades of this century.

### **Shotridge and the Oral History of Objects**

Shotridge's fourteen articles in the *Museum Journal* offer a wealth of information on his personal thoughts and opinions, as well as his interpretation of Tlingit objects and customary lifeways. *Museum Journal* editors stressed Shotridge's museum qualifications *and* his connections to a "primitive" or pre-contact authenticity:

We have long cherished a belief that a correct interpretation of Indian legends for readers of English could best be made by a native who, though familiar with our habits of thought and forms of expression, still

felt stirring within him the passionate appeal of his ancestors. This mental equipment, combined with careful training in scientific methods of observation and record, constitute Mr. Shotridge's chief qualification for introducing us to the unwritten literature of his people....[t]he result is a faithful translation which preserves in some degree the epic character of the Tlingit narrative.<sup>16</sup>

Shotridge was proud of his publications, especially "The 'Bride of Tongass'" which he considered his "greatest effort in offering, to my readers, a correct interpretation of the Tlingit thought, and presenting to them the true native character."<sup>17</sup> In this text Shotridge describes the marriage of Saetl-tin, a Gaanaxteidi woman, to Tah-shaw, a member of the Kaagwaantaan. As a prospective bridegroom, Tah-shaw traveled to Tongass where, standing in the middle of a great war canoe, he was presented wearing the Ganook crest hat (mentioned in Chapter Six, see fig. 6.5), a symbol of his substantial status. After four days of negotiations, offers of marriage were accepted. The marriage ceremony with its songs and display of crests and the performance of a "dance of friendship" followed. Many years later, the happily married Saetl-tin cut off her hair and braided it into a wig-like headdress which was worn by Tahshaw upon an important occasion. Shotridge was able to purchase both the "Ganook" crest hat (see fig. 6.5) and the wig for the University Museum's collections.<sup>18</sup> Shotridge's recording of the story demonstrates what he perceived as customary Tlingit lifeways and social values. In this respect, Shotridge's work differs from a formal classificatory analysis or collection of texts.

Shotridge documented clan objects originating in mythical and ancient as well as recent historical time. The Whale crest of the Gaanaxteidi was thus said to be acquired

“during the time of the traditional migration from the south”.<sup>19</sup> The Ganook crest hat was referred to as, “this very old hat is one of the few most important objects in the study of the Tlingit people and to do some justice to the Tlingit history of its creation I shall have to exercise much care in the presentation of interpretations...”<sup>20</sup> According to Shotridge’s ethnographic notes:

In possession of Kē.t-xút’.tc, the chief of the Kàguàn-tà.n of Sitka is a ceremonial hat, carved out of maple wood to represent the Gānū.k, a mythical being which was spoken of as the god of Rain. The very old piece is a representation of a unique record of condition in the Tlingit life of the past. It represents also the early art of the people.<sup>21</sup>

Shotridge’s story of the meeting between Raven and Ganook in which Ganook demonstrates himself to be a more powerful being by engulfing Raven’s canoe in a dense fog, thus forcing Raven to apologize for his disrespectful behaviour, offers an example of the relations between the supernatural/mythical world, Tlingit social structure, and objects. For Shotridge, the object was most significant in that it represented the two basic divisions (moieties) of the Tlingit people and it answered a critical question: who was the creator of Tlingit life -- Raven or Ganook?<sup>22</sup> The story demonstrated the historical claim of the Kaagwaantaan that:

Truth would always place mortification upon a man who, regardless of it, lay a false claim on the honor of bringing forth that which is important in life. Our culture was born through courage, and it was to the men who layed [sic] the foundation of the Kàg u àn - tà. n history [to whom] had been generally attributed such courageous deeds which in turn had brought forth that which constitute[d] a man’s pride.<sup>23</sup>

Shotridge’s textual information on such crest objects may also be compared with the knowledge acquired and produced by George Hunt as agent for Franz Boas. While

Hunt and Boas attached stories to objects, their texts constructed an image of “unconscious” ethnicity or a timeless record of “the culture as it appears to the Indian himself.”<sup>24</sup> In contrast, Shotridge used myth and legend as events which situated the various Tlingit clans within history and place. For Shotridge these agents by which groups were distinguished and social structure was defined were visually articulated in crest objects. Perhaps the closest comparison to Shotridge’s documentation and its Native emphasis on individual ownership is found in the work of William Beynon. In the 1920s Beynon, with Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau, carefully documented the legends and histories of Tsimshian poles “to publish the owners’ claims to established patrimonies and rights that had descended to them mostly from the immemorial past.”<sup>25</sup>

Shotridge’s recordings of songs, myths, and stories in the Tlingit language were serious attempts to preserve the language. Whereas Swanton<sup>26</sup> and other anthropologists strove to record such texts to construct a pre-contact picture of ethnic authenticity for non-Native consumption, Shotridge focused on the preservation of the Tlingit language and history for both Tlingit and non-Native audiences. When it came time to translate texts into English, Shotridge struggled to maintain what he perceived to be the integrity of Tlingit thought patterns. He took great care in translation and scrupulously attended to detail, sometimes even criticizing his published material:

I have just started, in Tlingit phonetics to write myths, commencing with the Athapascans which I am liable to forget. I thought it best to begin while we are facing the particles of Tlingit verbal forms in their proper order so as I can get help from Dr. Boas in correct English translation.<sup>27</sup>

With regards to my work on the Tlingits, I will not be able to finish for some time to come in order to retain the originality of the various

legends. I think it wise to employ this system all the way through, as the translation and interpretation are to be considered separately.<sup>28</sup>

I received the copy of the *Museum Journal*, which contained my article. Also the proofs of the new book on the Tlingit Language. I have glanced through the latter and so far have noticed inaccuracies in the employment of the phonetic characters.<sup>29</sup>

In translating a story about a Chilkat Kaagwaantaan crest object, a knife called the “Ghost of the Courageous Adventurer,”(fig.7.6) Shotridge described his use of a form of diction which he called poetic and archaic. His intention, he stated, was to present a closer translation from Tlingit to English, to avoid the “puerile form in which most of the important legends have gone into record.”<sup>30</sup> The editors of the *Museum Journal* hoped the form would preserve “the literary quality and also (as in the transposition of words) something of the grammatical structure of the Tlingit narrative.”<sup>31</sup> The editors may have also felt that the resulting text served an additional purpose of providing exotic material for public consumption, especially if the kind of poetic speech he was recording was unfamiliar to them personally.

Andrew Hope III, who reprinted five of Shotridge’s articles as a private project, calls “The Ghost of the Courageous Adventurer” an “incredible piece of literature” stating, “The power of the ancestors that lives in the ‘treasures’ that he brought out for the world to see is readily apparent.”<sup>32</sup> For Hope the story and the object functioned as a reclamation of a personal family history. He states:

In that story, a Kaagwaantaan warrior by the name of Kaagooshté turned the ivory, iron, mountain goat wool and abalone into the knife that honored the ghosts of men who journeyed from Klukwan to Chan-yoo-kaa (Copper River). Kaagooshté is my late grandfather’s Tlingit name. The roughed-out knife was smoothed out by Kaagooshté after

grindstone came into the hands of the Klukwan people. My mother's people are the Sik'nax.adi, people of the grindstone.<sup>33</sup>

Hope's statement fulfills Shotridge's expectation that his work would be of value to future generations of Tlingit peoples. His desire to communicate the value of objects from the perspective of oral history may find its greatest resonance within ongoing Tlingit society.

Cruikshank also notes that, "A gap remains in our knowledge about the contribution of expressive forms like storytelling to strategies for adapting to social, cultural, and economic change."<sup>34</sup> In fact, Shotridge's "Notes on the Origin of the Ceremonial Robe called Chilkat Blanket" attributed to Yeil-xaak, then leader of the Gaanaxteidi at Klukwan, is exemplary in clarifying each of these attributes (see fig. 4.3)<sup>35</sup> The story is reproduced in full in recognition of the emphasis Shotridge placed on storytelling as a means of communicating ethnographic information within a temporal structure -- one which relates the concept of change through time (See Appendix 3). The story tells of the function of objects as strategies for enhancing social and economic prestige among tribal groups. In so doing, the value of story-telling as an articulation of the historical process is reaffirmed.

According to Shotridge, the original Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t dance apron (see fig.4.3) was acquired by the Tlingit through unusual circumstances attending a war between the Haida and the Tsimshian. Rivalry among the three trading partners was therefore explained to the advantage of the Tlingit, who would later be shown to be the most perceptive of the group. Further along in the story, the introduction of the apron at a "peace" ceremony demonstrates the interaction between Tlingit clans and the prominence of the Gaanaxteidi as the owners of the object and the hosts of the ceremony. Elsewhere in the narrative,

through the agency of a Gaanaxteidi “maiden” in her puberty confinement (i.e. within the confines of sacred space), the weaving of the apron was unraveled and the secret of its construction discovered. Chilkat women then began to weave the eponymous robes which became desirable items of trade throughout the Northwest Coast. Thus, through Gaanaxteidi “foresight of important things the Chilkat made a popular thing of it [Chilkat weaving].”<sup>36</sup> At its most basic reading, the story embodies multiple layers of meaning: the astute character of the Tlingit as traders, the value of internal social sanctions, the rewards of patience in the talents of a Gaanaxteidi woman, and the social cohesiveness and diplomacy of the clan -- all manifest within the context of the history of a particular object.

Shotridge’s trip to Tsimshian territory left him feeling overwhelmed at the amount of material to be recorded, as when he acquired several versions of the legend of Kit-Selas.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless knowledge of Tlingit myths allowed him to compare stories as he did in the case of “The Raven Traveling,” a Tsimshian myth told by Tlingit families who traced their origins to Tsimshian territory.<sup>38</sup> Such accounts illustrate the a great wealth of information that was shared through population migrations and visits to distant relatives as well as through the more recognized avenue of trade.

Shotridge was one of several commentators to note that Tlingit people often credited the origin of prestigious objects or object types to the Tsimshian. According to Shotridge, “the Tsimshians were esteemed as people of high culture from whom only novel ideas came, and the credit given them was evidently due to the fact that they always had been strangers to the Tlingit, and that which was strange had created a feeling of

novelty.”<sup>39</sup> Thus the “Lord of the Hawks,” (fig. 7.7) a headdress purchased from the Klukwan Finned House family:

Had been obtained from the Tsimshian people, by Kux-cu only for its unique quality. It represented all objects of value that had been known to the makers at the time the piece was made. The copper which was used for the main part of the ornamentation had been of the first copper plate (*Tina*) among the Tsimshians. The abalone shell and the shell which was used for the teeth, were that of a carefully selected kind. Even the pieces of tin had been that cut from the first tin cup. On one corner of thick walrus hide which represents the bird’s tail, on the top, are marks, four in number, cut in short slits, so placed to show the number of slaves killed on various occasions when the object was worn before the public.<sup>40</sup>

Shotridge’s documentation of artists who were commissioned to carve clan hats along with other crest objects may prove invaluable to art historians tracing the formal styles of different artists.<sup>41</sup> For example according to Shotridge, the Kiks-ádi artist Qa-djis-duúáxte II (*Kadjis’ du.axtc*), “the greatest carver of wood in the history of the Tlingit people,”<sup>42</sup> was commissioned by Xèt-śú-w’ II, headman of the *Gaanaxteidí* Whale House, to carve the house posts for the original structure.<sup>43</sup> According to Shotridge, when members of the Sitka Kiks-ádi Mountain House separated from the Frog House they “used the main crest of the paternal grandfathers of the men who were to be its inmates.”<sup>44</sup> A “Small Frog” hat<sup>45</sup> version of the original “Frog Hat” was then commissioned for the dedication of the new house from an artist by the name of Nà.kù.ctá II (see fig. 6.4). He states, “Nà.kù.ctá II this wonderful artist made not only the ceremonial hats mentioned, but also exhibited his great skill by the display he made on the interior carved pilasters and painted wooden screens of the *Gaanaxteidí* Frog House which were erected during the great convention called at Kluckwan by Á.yák’ I on the

occasion of rebuilding the house.’<sup>46</sup> According to Shotridge the Klukwan “Frog” mortuary house (see fig.4.6) was carved by this same artist in his later years. Thus he attributed the crest hat, the Frog House posts (see figs.6.7a & b) and Raven screen (see *The Spirit Within* 1995: fig.8), the Frog hat, and the Frog mortuary house (both noted above), to the same artist.

Shotridge sometimes offered valuable commentary on other objects not included in the University Museum collection. For example, an owl mask seen in a photograph by Lloyd Winter and Percy Pond is documented by Shotridge as belonging to the Gaanaxteidi Whale House people. Shotridge’s comment that this mask was commissioned as a novelty and used only as a source of entertainment is supported by the “akimbo” posture of the mask’s wearer in Winter and Pond and other photographs<sup>47</sup> (see fig. 1.4).

Similarly, the four “Dog Salmon” house posts (discussed in Chapter One) from the old Klukwan Whale House (see fig. 1.5) were:

Said to have been the first four posts made for the chief family of the Qàndxtèdí Clan. Although the Salmon is not the crest of the Yáyí (Whale) Family but the erection of them, immediately after the Qàndxtèdí had settled in Klukwan, was due to the intention of the uplift of the Lìnèdí family whose offsprings are said to became [sic] the first powerful family among the Gànaxtèdí of Klukwan.<sup>48</sup>

Another aspect that underlines the detailed nature of Shotridge’s ethnography is the documentation of more obscure crests (“Great Dipper”; “Sun Dog”<sup>49</sup>) as well as obscure manifestations of better known crests (“Raven-on-the-Roof” see fig.7.3 and “Barbecuing Raven” see fig. 7.3). On one occasion Shotridge’s efforts at documenting the

history of objects led, in the case of a canoe prow head carved in the form of a wolf head, to a reclamation of a lost history. Shotridge wrote to Gordon:

This is a crude looking specimen, but it represents a narrative [sic] which is characteristic of the people. It is stated by one informant that this piece was made not as a war helmet, but it had been a part of a war canoe-head, and that in an urgency one brave man had cut this piece of the canoe figure and bore it to his last hour, thence it fell into the hands of a rival party, and since the original owners had neglected the customary form of recovery the late chief of the holders finally sold it to a trader who did not know the history of the thing, but sold it to me as a curio. I have not yet succeeded in obtaining the whole story about the "Wolf Canoe-head" and if I do it promises an interesting narrative [sic].<sup>50</sup>

Halpin notes that similar data was collected by Beynon and Barbeau among the Tsimshian.<sup>51</sup> Art historian Bill Holm has followed these individuals in attempts at documentation, but unlike Shotridge, Barbeau, and Beynon, Holm's attributions were limited by the available historical materials. Holm's description of a Stikine "Grizzly Bear" mask is one such example. Holm associates the mask with a story of the acquisition of the Naanya.áayí Grizzly Bear crest as told to Swanton in 1904 by Shaadaxícht's son Katishan, a chief of the Stikine Kiks.ádi. Holm notes the use of the crest as described by Muir<sup>52</sup> and traces its ownership associations through old photographs such as an 1878 George Davidson photograph of Chief Shakes V lying in state.<sup>53</sup>

Possibilities for historic reclamation such as these are, however, limited. Curator Steve Henrikson, who has written on clan hats and war helmets, states that: "unless their specific stories are known through the assistance of a qualified historian of the appropriate clan, attributions are merely speculative, made on the basis of form alone."<sup>54</sup> Fortunately, these studies are currently being undertaken by Tlingit elders and historians such as Nora

Dauenhauer of Juneau and Harold Jacobs of Sitka and anthropologists such as Rosita Worl. Previously unused Shotridge material may usefully augment these projects.<sup>55</sup> With the renewed interest in life stories and their relation to oral history, Shotridge's historical narratives as well as his translations of Tlingit myths are receiving broader recognition.<sup>56</sup>

Poet Robert Bringhurst writes in his foreword to *Gágiwdul.àt: Brought Forth to Reconfirm The Legacy of a Taku River Tlingit Clan*,

The best prose summaries of Tlingit oral narratives are, not surprisingly, those written by a Tlingit, Stuwukha, of the Kagwantan clan from Klukwan. He was the first Tlingit writer, so far as I know. Most of his writing was done in the Tlingit country, but he wrote only in English under his English name, Louis Shotridge.<sup>57</sup>

### **Shotridge's Strategic Approach to the Acquisition of Objects**

*"He collected for you the most notable and interesting helmets and ceremonial hats and head pieces that is [sic] or ever will be in any Museum..."*  
*Emmons to Mason, 10 May 1942.*<sup>58</sup>

As with his approach to documentation, Shotridge's collection concerns were guided by his goals of metonymically illustrating and encompassing Tlingit society and its lineage-based historicities. In this, as in other strategies, Shotridge operated through a particular synthesis of Tlingit and institutional Euro-American attitudes and desires.

The Shotridge collection in the University Museum resembles other large collections of Northwest coast material in North American and European museums assembled during the peak era of ethnographic collecting, in that it contains a representative sampling of baskets, tools, household implements, fishing and hunting gear,

rattles, and bowls. However, certain components set the collection apart from those of other major collections of Tlingit material. For example, a healthy acquisitions budget allowed Shotridge to pursue still-prestigious crest objects, including clan hats, house posts, a house screen, dance batons, crest masks, and frontlets.

With regard to collected objects, Gordon was very clear that he wanted only “older and finer things”<sup>59</sup> and in this respect Shotridge is considered to have succeeded. For example, in 1960, Mason reiterated Emmons’ views on the value of the collection, “From them [the Tlingit] came the beautiful and extraordinary collection of ceremonial crests, each with its long history, which is one of the museum’s most outstanding possessions, probably unmatched in quality elsewhere.”<sup>60</sup>

However, Shotridge also transgressed the rule. Whereas Gordon was interested in pleasing the museum, its patrons, and visitors who might see the objects on exhibit, Shotridge hoped to present what his own people considered significant. Thus Shotridge was actively resisting Gordon’s instructions when he collected important pieces which had minimal display value. One example of Shotridge’s interaction with Gordon on this issue is found in their correspondence on the purchase of a medicine bundle.<sup>61</sup> Gordon immediately complained that Shotridge had paid too much for the object, “It seems to me that the price of the medicine is too high, unless there is something of very exceptional artistic value, apart from their sacredness.”<sup>62</sup> To which Shotridge responded:

Two fortune medicine bundles....[c]onsist of two small very common wooden boxes, each containing some old looking objects all wrapped up in rags. Both boxes and their contents show none of what one may call artistic. The value of both is then placed according to their mystic powers.<sup>63</sup>

Although Gordon was concerned with the documentation of the collection and the production of a Tlingit ethnography, when it came to objects and display, aesthetic considerations were also paramount. As previously noted, this emphasis may have stemmed from Culin's previous directorship and/or Wanamaker's enduring influence regarding department store display. A parallel can be drawn to the better-documented circumstances during Boas' tenure (1895-1904) at the American Museum of Natural History. For Boas the most important goal of a museum was in the advancement of science and there would have been no question over the purchase of the medicine bundle.<sup>64</sup> Eventually, however, conflicting interests essentially related to "scientific" and popular approaches caused Boas to resign his position.<sup>65</sup> The A.M.N.H., like the University Museum, operated on a combination of public and private sources of funds.<sup>66</sup> The Board of Trustees was similarly composed of the financial elite of the city who focussed their expectations on public participation and entertainment rather than educational goals and scientific research.<sup>67</sup> In Philadelphia the Wanamaker Expedition was funded by a wealthy patron whose interests in merchandising and display were paramount. Furthermore, display space at the University Museum was at a premium, and the North American Section was competing with high-profile archaeological excavations from all areas of the world, particularly the Near East and Meso-America.

Nevertheless, emerging from the Gordon-Shotridge correspondence of this period is a clear picture that, in spite of Gordon's protestations regarding aesthetics, Shotridge worked to acquire objects which in his mind represented the "historical greatness" of the Tlingit clans. In this regard Shotridge used his funds and his discretionary powers

judiciously. An example of this direction is found in Shotridge's notes on a ceremonial baton belonging to the Sitka Luknaax\_ádi clan. The baton had a significant history and Shotridge pondered the consequences of its purchase stating, "it might be a good thing to have a complete collection of these ceremonial batons, one from every important clan." In the end he rejected the baton because he "hesitated to pay a price which seems rather high" and Luknaax\_ádi history was "well represented in the collection already."<sup>68</sup>

However, later when the "Octopus-tentacle Staff" of the Sitka Luknaax\_ádi was offered for sale, there was no hesitation over its purchase (see fig.7.3). To quote Shotridge, "The 'Octopus-tentacle Staff' was one of the most famous objects among the Tlingit people, and as insignificant as it appear [sic], to the Tlingit mind we have at last taken out one of the most important objects."<sup>69</sup> Gordon perhaps concurred that the visual impact of this object was worth the price as no negative comment was forthcoming.

The following excerpts from the Gordon-Shotridge correspondence further demonstrate Shotridge's concerns regarding the proper representation of the various Tlingit clans:

This attractive Snail House Collection is not as old as those of some other important families, yet the family have its own story to tell relative to its possession, peculiar to its position in the region."<sup>70</sup>

While in Killisnoo I obtained the Taequedi Bear Shirt, and with it a headdress, one of a type which is not uncommon in the museum but, of course, the carving on front piece of this represents a legend which should also be taken into consideration. The old skin Shirt [sic] represents the main crest objects of the once great clan, therefore it was well known among the Tlingit people.<sup>71</sup>

I have now shipped...[o]ne headdress of a high caste Tlingit Shaman, carved to represent the 'Killer-Whale.' This fine old specimen is the

only important carved object that I know of to represent the history of the Northern Division of the Tequidi, the party which had been a part of the main body at Tongass.<sup>72</sup>

Shotridge's emphasis on the accurate representation of the structure of Tlingit society and its various histories became even more of a focus after Gordon's death when he then had sole discretionary responsibility for composing and framing the collection. In Shotridge's final years of employment his project was essentially neglected by museum officials, enabling him to base his purchasing decisions almost exclusively on his own agenda rather than more generalized visual considerations.

To clarify his distinct approach, Shotridge's museum contextualization of the objects he collected may be compared with the work of others in the field. Together Emmons and Swanton, along with Boas, were the most influential anthropological authorities on the Tlingit at the turn of the century. Important distinctions between their work are most apparent in their different approaches to objects and their meanings. For example, three different approaches -- that of Emmons, Swanton, and Boas himself -- emerge in the analysis of designs on Chilkat robes. Shotridge stated, "The design woven on a chief's blanket was always representing the totem of the owner."<sup>73</sup> Indeed Emmons obtained detailed and unique interpretations of several Chilkat robes identifying the images in terms of their associated stories which were the personal possessions of the owners.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, Swanton explicitly discounted the association of myth, oral history, and the imagery found on crest objects. In Swanton's words, crest objects were "not so readily studied in connection with language and myths, and indeed require independent investigation."<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, at Boas' behest, Swanton showed pictures of Chilkat robes

to people in Sitka to obtain their “reading” of the designs.<sup>76</sup> Although the robes in the pictures were decontextualized and therefore socially irrelevant, a number of interpretations were similarly secured. In his editing of Emmons’ treatise on “The Chilkat Blanket,” Boas focussed on the “disparity” between Emmons’ and Swanton’s interpretations of the designs reporting, “some of the explanations obtained by both authorities agree, while others show characteristic differences.”<sup>77</sup> Boas then interjected a formalist approach towards design analysis rather than one which dealt with the issue of ownership and the particular interpretations of individual owners. Boas stated:

The contradictions in the explanations given to Lieutenant Emmons and to Dr. Swanton are so great, that it is quite obvious that no fixed type of conventionalization exists, but that rather the design is inferred in accordance with the position of the various parts of the body and certain symbolic traits. These, however, are ambiguous. It is very characteristic, for instance, that the very distinct figure shown in fig. 548 should be explained to Lieutenant Emmons as an osprey, to Dr. Swanton as a beaver. The reason for this discrepancy is quite obvious. The informant of Lieutenant Emmons had in mind particularly the typical front views of the eagle which are found on trays...One of the characteristic traits of the osprey is the hooked beak, which in front view -- or, perhaps better, in the representation of the animal by two profiles in contact at the point of the beak -- appear like a point separating the long mouth into two parts. In this beak the nostrils are marked.<sup>78</sup>

Boas argued that because the designs were limited and standardized -- they could be recognized and interpreted outside the social context of clan and personal histories.<sup>79</sup> By erasing the social context of the robes he explicitly rejected insider (emic) specificity for outsider (etic) generalization. Hence the tightly knit Tlingit relationship between social structure, personal and clan histories, myths, and objects was obscured when Boas opted to rely exclusively on a formal, decontextualized analysis of design systems.<sup>80</sup>

Halpin argues against “the Boasian rule-based paradigm” with specific reference to Tsimshian-speaking peoples.<sup>81</sup> She notes that Boas’ firm belief in representative imagery obscured his understanding of the co-relations between crest objects and exogamic group or personal histories and affiliations, and territory relationships including collective economic resources. Among the Tsimshian, Halpin notes clan and personal stories account for the “complexities and ambiguities” in the visual imagery and that:

By artificially separating Northwest Coast art from its stories, by creating a system of rules of the art so that it could be interpreted without reference to these stories, Boas and the anthropologists who followed him, and they are many, seriously misunderstood it. Furthermore, by separating art from its stories, Boas and his followers separated art from the community context which gave it meaning and life, and, finally, obscured the vital connection between art and the land which, whether intentional or not, was part of the colonial enterprise of separating Natives from their lands.<sup>82</sup>

In the treatment of Chilkat robes Emmons shared with Boas and Swanton a failure to foreground the function of ownership wherein the designs became personalized. Anthropological museum representation of this era was often based on producing series in which one object could be easily substituted for another; however, Emmons’ mythological and ceremonial identification for each robe aligns instead with concerns of the private collectors. Within that realm of exchange, value was often dependent on an object’s perceived uniqueness. On the other hand Boas’ approach was strategic in that by generalizing meaning it denied individual Native ownership and thus appropriated the object as part of a theoretical model.

For anthropological museums it was essential to recontextualize ownership of Native American objects within a Western patrimony because there was no value in an

exchange that continued to perpetrate concepts of Native ownership and the historic associations they represented. In this regard Shotridge's emphasis on the particulars of collective ownership was at odds with the anthropological configuration of objects within a Euro-American system of acquisition and display.

Shotridge focused on a strategic reapplication of conventional Tlingit ownership, representation, and display. As representatives of Tlingit social histories and political alliances clan objects were of particular significance. Anthropologist Catharine McClellan states, "ceremonial stress is predominantly in terms of kinship rather than common geographical ties."<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless Shotridge's strategy was to emphasize the importance of geographical unity. In his 1923 address to the Gaanaxteidi he stated, "we have to do something now in order to hold our place in the estimation of the modern public, but in order to make it a success this something must be in accord with the customs of the present time"<sup>84</sup> To this end Shotridge chose to display clan objects as representatives of a Tlingit collectivity -- a concept he promoted as a means of enhancing Tlingit status and prestige within the dominant Anglo-American society.

### **Clan Hats and Shotridge's Historical Approach to Ethnography**

A combined oral history and photographic record places objects in the Shotridge collection among the best documented of Northwest Coast objects in any non-Native institution today. The core of that history is found in the clan hats which belonged to individual house groups and were controlled by the highest-status members of each, particularly its headman and a group of related high-born nobles or sub-chiefs. These

objects form another topic wherein Shotridge's approach may be compared with Emmons and other more recent attempts at documentation.

Various types of headgear served as *at.óow* (old war helmets, bears' ears, dancing headdresses, and basketry hats with rings) and were claimed as representative of clan histories (see Chapter Four for a discussion of *at.óow*). Wide-brimmed wooden clan hats are generally believed to be reproductions of woven basketry hats -- especially those elaborated by a vertical column of thick rings which were made for wearing by speech-giving leaders. Hence the brim of the wooden clan hat was sometimes carved to imitate the twill patterns executed in basket weaving (see fig. 4.4 the "Killer Whale" crest hat of the Kaagwaantaan Drum House). Whereas on the upper part of the woven hats, crest designs are frequently painted over a ground of three-strand twining, the wooden clan hats feature three dimensional carvings of crest animals in the same location.

Whatever their time and context of origin, it seems clear that the numbers and importance of wide-brimmed wooden hats increased during the post-contact period, due especially to the impact of American military rule and the abolition of inter-tribal warfare. Although Shotridge decried the futility of inter-societal competition -- arguing instead for a unified Tlingit "nation" -- such frictions continued.<sup>85</sup> In such a situation of declining warfare but continuing rivalries, the importance of *at.óow* or crest objects, especially clan hats, to socio-political organization and the construction of kinship identity naturally increased.<sup>86</sup> Political-ceremonial events in which competitions were conventionally expressed and through which hierarchy was negotiated continued. McClellan notes that rivalry among clans was usually present in potlatch events.<sup>87</sup> When, in such formal

circumstances, this rivalry got out of hand, important *at.óow* – usually clan hats -- were placed between the rival parties as a means to restore peaceful interaction.<sup>88</sup>

When compared to war helmets (see fig. 6.8)<sup>89</sup> and basketry hats (fig. 7.8), wooden hats with wide brims are generally lacking in early post-contact collections.<sup>90</sup> For example, a catalogue entitled *Antiquities and Curiosities collected in the Territory of Alaska* written by Edward G. Fast lists objects acquired between 1867 and 1868.<sup>91</sup> Fast was among the first to engage local inhabitants to collect ethnographic material.<sup>92</sup> In this publication he stated, “I congratulate myself upon having secured the assistance of several intelligent and courageous natives (one of them being a “medicine man” of old), who at great personal risk scoured the country for graves...”<sup>93</sup> The bulk of Fast’s collection consisted of shamanic paraphernalia obtained from graves, objects used in warfare, domestic implements, and skin clothing, all items which in his words were, “rendered useless” within the context of contact-period lifeways.<sup>94</sup> Fast does not include clan hats in his list.

Emmons included four carved wooden clan hats among the 1900 objects offered to the University of Washington in Seattle in 1909.<sup>95</sup> He identified these as “family” objects to be used on ceremonial occasions only.<sup>96</sup> Although potlatching had declined somewhat, clan hats clearly maintained their status within the Native community. As a private entrepreneur Emmons’ connections and acquisition funds, usually from the sale of previous collections, were more limited than Shotridge’s. In comparison Shotridge who

was better funded and had a different agenda, acquired 23 clan hats while collecting within a slightly later time period.

Because Emmons focused on marketing authenticity through symbolism and function, he discussed the use of clan hats during ceremonial events and their technology or craftsmanship in detail just as with the Chilkat robe.<sup>97</sup> For example, Emmons' entry for a clan hat located in the Thomas Burke Museum (University of Washington) reads:

Ceremonial hat of wood, a family piece in the 'Con-nah-hut-tee family' of the Sou-nah tribe, the emblem of which is the beaver. Found at Ketchikan. It is shaped after the primitive hat of woven spruce root, the crown is surmounted by a beaver which is ornamentally painted as is the brim of the hat. Such a piece would only be worn or shown when the family was giving a feast or upon death, and the display of this type of head piece would indicate the giving away of much property.<sup>98</sup>

Shotridge, on the other hand, directed his efforts toward recording the particular social history and status of each clan object (especially clan hats) and their symbolic relations within house groups and clans. According to Shotridge, clan hats were ranked as prestigious objects not only within the family and clan but between divisions (*kwáans*) as well.<sup>99</sup> Among their other functions the display of important crests in such carvings allows the clan hat to represent the identity of a specific house in terms of its historically-owned prerogatives and its related mythology.<sup>100</sup> Because clan hats were among the most important and specific metonymical representations of the house group, including its rights to lands and resources, Shotridge privileged them in collecting and display. Hence the clan hats Shotridge collected and documented will serve to further illustrate his particular goals and procedures.

As noted with the “Ganook” crest hat, Shotridge stressed the function of clan hats as representative of the mythical world of the ancestors, their migrations, and legends wherein the acquisition of crests embodied a wide spectrum of Tlingit socio-political interactions. Nevertheless while Shotridge stressed the relations between oral history and *at.óow*, he failed to represent clan hats as embodiments of spiritual beliefs or to explore their roles as anthropomorphic mediators between the spirit and human worlds especially within the context of the memorial potlatch.<sup>101</sup> In this respect his agenda may be seen as less ethnographic than politically structured.

Shotridge emphasized the value of clan hats within various forms of exchange relations between opposite moieties, kin, and other groups. This he demonstrated by the circumstances of their acquisition, including: [1] commission for important events such as the memorial potlatch or the formation of a new family group usually associated with the erection of a new clan house; [2] acquisition through trade with the Tsimshian and other tribes; [3] seizure in warfare; [4] gifts accompanying marriage or other extraordinary inter-clan events and [5] inter-clan alliances or gift-giving situations, and [6] post-contact recontextualizations permitting sale to Euro-Americans.

While Shotridge offers various examples of these possibilities in his 1928 article entitled “The Emblems of the Tlingit Culture,” many of the nuances of crest and object history are also found in his unpublished field notes. For example, Shotridge describes the Chilkat Kaagwaantaan acquisition of the wolf crest<sup>102</sup> in a war against the T’eikweidí while the latter continued to maintain the crest: “Hence in spite of the fact that the Kag u an-ta.n bore forth its new emblem to a highest rank that was possible it could not disprove

the Te.qu e.di maintenance of the wolf, as the new one stood for a disposition different from that represented by the original.”<sup>103</sup> Although crest hats were the most obvious bearers of clan identity, Shotridge also documented the historical particulars of other clan objects such as batons. So for example, he noted that the wolf emblem appeared, “on a ceremonial wand [baton] (Specimen No. 7) which was made for the occasion of the Ye-t-guxu [Yeilgooxú] call-together [potlatch] at Klukwan” (fig. 7.9).<sup>104</sup>

The political connotations of collectively-owned objects were precisely the type of information that was of paramount importance to Shotridge. This is confirmed in his writings and in his choice of objects. Appadurai argues that the linkage between politics (or relations of power), and value (with regard to commodities), creates a constant market “tension” which arises from the fact that “not all parties share the same *interests* in any specific regime of value.”<sup>105</sup> Thus while Chilkat robes were held in high social regard as symbols of personal status, Shotridge did not focus his efforts on an extensive analysis or acquisition of these garments, because of what he defined as their personal rather than clan associations. Such acquisitions were made to demonstrate the outstanding technical abilities of Tlingit weavers. Because of his objective to represent each tribal division through its various clans Shotridge directed his energies towards acquiring objects which denoted collective histories rather than individual representations of personal status. Thus Shotridge purchased clan hats, and other crest objects such as dance batons, because they were most critical to his personal agenda to present Tlingit “relations of power” within a Western “regime of value.”

## Shotridge and Museum Display

*“A stranger cannot very well appreciate the part which these old symbolic objects played in the life of the Tlingit until he has some idea of the social system of the people...”<sup>106</sup>*  
Louis Shotridge

There is little record of Shotridge’s display when he arranged the collection at the University Museum in 1929. We do know that in some display cases objects such as feast dishes, war implements, and especially those objects which had lesser socio-political connotations were grouped according to Western anthropological taxonomies. Boas favoured the concept of “life groupings” which, in previous years, had created controversy because of its opposition to what anthropologist Otis T. Mason characterized as the “biological method in ethnology” wherein objects were displayed according to typological arrangements.<sup>107</sup> Boas’ construction of life groups was “to create a functional or contextual setting for its specimens.”<sup>108</sup> Shotridge, on the other hand, emphasized ownership and political structure as most consequential to the display of the University Museum collection. The disparity in their approaches to contextualizing objects within a museum setting may be seen as the difference between Native-implicated attitudes towards representation and Western anthropological conventions.

Shotridge arranged crest hats and other *at.óow* according to moiety and clan ownership and what he understood to be their current status within Tlingit society.<sup>109</sup> But Shotridge’s display agenda went beyond the illustration of indigenous kinship divisions. Perhaps responding to current nationalistic constructions among pan-Indian organizations, and perhaps recognizing the political currency of Boas’ emphasis on context and “culture”

in Western society, Shotridge claimed that the objects were “shown as representative of the native art of a Tlingit “nation.”<sup>110</sup> Shotridge conceived of a Tlingit “nation” or collectivity according to the following reasoning:

One moiety is known as Tlhigh-naedi [Raven]while the other is called Shungoo-kaedi throughout the whole region, and they refer to each other as Klayade-na [Wolf], ‘Oneside-nation.’ The Tlingit word ‘na’ [meaning tribe or nation], thus applied corresponds closely to the English term ‘nation’...<sup>111</sup>

Population decline, Shotridge argued, decreased the impact of clan history in the modern world, and it was therefore necessary to “build up in the eyes of the modern public our social position.”<sup>112</sup> This he believed could only be done through the collective effort of all Tlingit divisions.

Shotridge illustrated his ideas of a united Tlingit nation by organizing his collection to present each of the clans and their crests as representative of various interdependent symbolic qualities. For Shotridge the Grizzly-bear of the T’eikweidi signified power; the Wolf of the Kaagwaantaan, courage, and so on. He argued that each symbolic quality constituted one aspect of a greater collective force that demonstrated the outstanding moral values of the Tlingit nation.<sup>113</sup> In 1928 he wrote, “The old hats and helmets, indeed, portray well the symbolic ideas of their owners, for each clan, in its own geographic location, contributed its share towards the success of the nation of which it was part.”<sup>114</sup>

### **Shotridge and Commercial/Ethnographic Photography**

Shotridge collected relatively late in the peak era of museum acquisition. Many of the important crest objects he acquired were recorded in photographs taken as a result of a

burgeoning tourist trade and Tlingit participation in the cash-based Anglo-American economy. This photographic record of Tlingit people and objects from the turn of the century is related to Shotridge and his collections in various ways. It includes not only additional contextualized documentation of the University Museum collection but also the photographs taken by Shotridge in the course of his collecting and ethnographic research.

A comparison of Shotridge's work with that of amateur photographers Vincent Soboleff and George Thornton Emmons, and the commercial Alaskan productions of Elbridge W. Merrill of Sitka and Lloyd Winter and Percy Pond of Juneau is useful to foreground salient issues. The photographs taken by these individuals offer a contextualized portrayal of people and objects associated with Shotridge and the University Museum collections.<sup>115</sup> In general, these photographs are confined to three locations: [1] Klukwan and the Chilkat area near Juneau, where Winter and Pond and others were located; [2] Sitka, where Merrill resided; and [3] Hoonah and Angoon, Soboleff's home. Shotridge maintained residences in both Haines and Sitka and acquired substantial numbers of objects from both areas.<sup>116</sup> Occasionally objects were traveled, as when the Kaagwaantaan of Sitka were hosted by the Klukwan Gaanaxteidi at the inaugural potlatch for the new Whale House in 1901<sup>117</sup> (see fig. 7.9), or when a group of Gaanaxteidi were photographed as guests of honour at a 1904 Sitka potlatch (fig. 7.10).

Elbridge Merrill worked as a commercial photographer in Sitka from 1899 to 1929, encompassing the period during which Shotridge was actively collecting.<sup>118</sup> Merrill had an interest in Tlingit lifeways and owned a collection of Tlingit objects. He photographed the 1904 Sitka potlatch and was commissioned by some Sitka families to

make lying-in-state portraits.<sup>119</sup> Throughout the years, scenes of individuals close to death or lying in state were recorded by both professional and amateur photographers.<sup>120</sup> Perhaps the earliest were taken by George Davidson in Fort Wrangel of Chief Shakes V in 1878 and W.H. Jackson in 1879 of an individual believed to be Chief Shuky also of Fort Wrangel.<sup>121</sup> As anthropologist Margaret Blackman notes, by the turn of the century, many Native Americans “sought the cultural and personal historical value of the visual record.”<sup>122</sup> The socio-economic value of these records is also noted by Kan:

An interesting innovation was introduced in the mortuary ritual in Sitka and other communities that had access to a photographer. The relatives of the deceased requested that a photograph of the coffin and the crests be taken. Such pictures seem to have become an additional way to validate the claims of matrilineal groups to particular crests and to demonstrate their wealth and prestige. Such validation became especially important in this era of increasing disputes among matrilineal relatives over crest ownership and the efforts of the more Americanized natives to sell crests.<sup>123</sup>

Many objects shown in Merrill’s post-mortem photographs were also displayed at the 1904 Sitka potlatch. For example, the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Bear House and Luknaax\_ádi Whale and Sea Lion House objects were photographed (figs. 7.2 & 7.3) on this occasion.<sup>124</sup> Figure 7.3 is informative in that it depicts clan representatives of both the Luknaax\_ádi Whale House and Sea Lion Houses. Many of the clan hats and other crest objects depicted in these photos were subsequently acquired by Shotridge precisely because of the reasons that Kan outlines above.<sup>125</sup> These photographs represent the collective nature of ownership and display and by extension the social structure of the clan and associated matrilineal groups. When combined with the information on objects provided by Shotridge, these previously unstudied photographs of people and objects

represent important historical documents of matrilineal house groups and their associated crests.<sup>126</sup> In addition, these visual documents provide a contextualized record of what, approximately two decades later, Shotridge chose to recreate in his University Museum exhibition. The commissioning of photographs as records of clan-owned object groupings was mimicked by Shotridge in his attempt to demonstrate customary Tlingit concepts of display to “put these old things to do the best part in presenting our history to the modern world.”<sup>127</sup>

Commercial photographers Lloyd Winter and Percy Pond opened their Juneau studio in 1893. They are well known for their 1895 photographs of Klukwan, its people, especially the Whale House.<sup>128</sup> The Winter and Pond photographs are valuable to this study in that they provide biographical information on Shotridge family members and images of Chilkat territory during Shotridge’s youth. Some Winter and Pond photographs, such as the photograph of Shotridge’s mother Kudeit.saakw were obviously commissioned portraits (see fig. 1.6). Winter and Pond also took photographs at such locations as Howkan, Juneau, Kake, Sitka, Wrangell, Killisnoo, and Taku. They recorded an 1895 potlatch at Klukwan wherein some objects later collected by Shotridge are depicted (fig. 7.11). Like Merrill, Winter and Pond also documented individuals lying in state. However, unlike Merrill’s, Winter and Pond’s images were sometimes circulated commercially.<sup>129</sup>

Of the amateur photographers, Vincent Soboleff, George Thornton Emmons, and Shotridge himself provide useful visual documents. Soboleff, who owned a store near the Tlingit settlement of Angoon, acquired an interest in photography in childhood. His

photographs provide remarkable documentation on the communities of Killisnoo, Angoon, and the Chatham Strait area between 1896 and 1920.<sup>130</sup> Soboleff's brother, Sasha, married Anna Hunter, Shaaxeidi Tláa of the L'eineidí people of Sitka.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps this connection accounted for the memorable photographs Soboleff took of Tlingit people, especially with regard to the ceremonial display of objects, some of which are now located in the Shotridge collection (see fig 6.3).

Photographs dated to 1889 and onwards which that are attributed to Emmons<sup>132</sup> show portraits of individuals, views of the Chilkat landscape, photos of subsistence activities, houses at Klukwan and other settlements, and casual groups of people and objects.<sup>133</sup> Most images suggest that Emmons pursued a casual, friendly relationship with his subjects (see figs. 1.7 & 2.2). Emmons' photographs were aligned to his ethnographic/collecting pursuits which were dominated by a market interest in authenticity, ritual, technology and artistry. Emmons judiciously supplemented his ethnographic undertakings and interests by recording objects in their appropriate contexts while simultaneously objectifying them as desirable museum commodities.

While Shotridge's photographs provide another possibility whereby diverse methods of ethnographic contextualization may be compared, the differences cited in Shotridge's approaches towards written documentation and collecting do not extend to his photographic corpus. Shotridge's images are most closely related in style to those taken by Emmons in that they served as an adjunct to his ethnographic and collecting activities. Some images record sites, usually abandoned, where he traveled in *The Penn*, while others clearly served personal ends (see figs.4.2 & 6.1 and 7.12 & 7.13). Approximately 130 of

Shotridge's images, now in the University Museum Photographic Archives, show objects, portraits of individuals, settlements, totem poles, scenic views, and a few economic activities such as aboriginal fishing methods. There are also photographs published in the *Museum Journal* illustrating Shotridge's trip to the Nass and Skeena River areas. In these he sometimes simulated a contextualized record depicting individuals in ceremonial costumes and, in one instance, the replication of a secret society dance (fig. 7.13).<sup>134</sup>

However, unlike Merrill, Winter and Pond, Emmons or Soboleff, Shotridge generally failed to take photographs of objects being made or used. Nor did Shotridge invoke his insider privileges when it came to recording ceremonial events. Even his article entitled "Tlingit Woman's Root Basket"<sup>135</sup> appeared without illustration -- with the exception of a few baskets which were included as specimen samples. Most of Shotridge's photographs arise from his position as a museum ethnographer/collector and portray objects as specimens. Aside from the Tsimshian photos, Shotridge, for whatever reasons, did not attempt to record the objects he collected within a contextualized setting.

The photographic form of documentation was a Western tool appropriate to record-keeping and knowledge dissemination -- a tool which augmented Shotridge's status as a professional and outsider. This was in contrast to his participation in the potlatch where he observed and recorded knowledge appropriate to Native conventions of record-keeping. Shotridge's letters indicate that he did not maintain an ethnographic distance from his subject in all cases but the lack of contextualized photographs in Shotridge's work suggests that, among his clansmen, he believed his participation in such

events was compromised by the camera -- a cumbersome reminder of his employer and his collecting objectives.

In contrast to the images produced by commercial photographers, this was a period in which ethnographers and collectors generally utilized the camera to “capture” images of objects distinct from the Native lifeways which they believed were “tainted” by assimilation. Blackman notes the overriding emphasis on the “artifactual as opposed to the behavioral” in the content of Northwest photographs taken for ethnographic purposes.<sup>136</sup> In this regard Shotridge’s photographs were no different from the norm, nor did they meet his goals as an historian. They did not serve to contextualize objects in the ways utilized by his clansmen who commissioned photographs from commercial photographers as records of ceremonial events. As an agent of the University Museum Shotridge was content to photograph objects as artifacts, whereas in his ethnography and methods of display objects were central to the validation of ownership and clan affiliation. Ironically it is the commercial lying-in-state and potlatch portraits that were commissioned by the Tlingit themselves that parallel and best document Shotridge’s acquisitions and his strategy to represent the structure of Tlingit society and the relations objects in museum display.

### **Tape Recordings and Film**

Gordon encouraged Shotridge to collect songs as well as historical narratives and myths.<sup>137</sup> Thus Shotridge recorded more than one hundred Tlingit songs on wax cylinders with a machine provided by the museum.<sup>138</sup> In 1917 he wrote:

I have been collecting Tlingit ceremonial songs for some time. Since I do not seem to can [sic] find a native with a suitable voice to sing them in the phonograph I started to sing them myself about 6 weeks ago, but to my disappointment my machine proved to be a failure, I cannot say whether the fault is in the recorder or the machine itself but it seem to reproduce fairly well so the defect must be in the former.<sup>139</sup>

The guttural sounds did not reproduce well and he was forced to commit the songs to memory and subsequently record them on a phonograph when he returned to the museum.<sup>140</sup> These recordings were later de-accessioned with no current knowledge of their whereabouts.

When Shotridge returned to Alaska in 1930, he brought with him a movie camera and in 1932 he mailed his films to the museum. In this medium Shotridge acted as the anthropological observer, capturing more conventional images. Apparently this footage included the weaving of a Tlingit root basket, showing the cooking and splitting of the roots.<sup>141</sup> Clearly aware of the appeal of pre-contact recreations/simulations, and perhaps influenced by the “scientific” film production of Boas or the reconstructions of Edward Curtis among the Kwakwaka’wakw, Shotridge intended to film the weaving of a Chilkat robe.<sup>142</sup> Further he proposed to involve the A.N.B. and A.N.S. in a production of “Old-time Potlatch Dances” as a fund raising-event (the project was never initiated).<sup>143</sup> Because Shotridge’s nitrate-based films presented a safety risk they were eventually de-accessioned by the museum and their current location is also unknown.

Shotridge’s previous experiences with the Indian Opera, fund-raising events sponsored by missionary endeavours, and Antonio Apache’s Craft Fair had convinced him that “exotic” dramatizations of pre-contact lifeways had significant popular currency and

commercial value. Shotridge thus combined a variety of presentations acquired from his various life experiences. His use of various mediums serves to underscore his awareness that the presentation of Tlingit peoples could be manipulated within both touristic and scientific forums. His efforts ultimately demonstrate the complexity and sometimes inconsistency of his approach and the wide scope of his interests and goals.

## **Conclusions**

Although trained in anthropological methods, in the end Shotridge's perspective on the use-value of objects was substantially different from the institutional norm espoused by collectors and anthropologists who scoured the Tlingit region to build "representative" collections. Shotridge's presentation of a Tlingit "nation" corresponded to trends evident in Native American political movements which foregrounded collective concepts over tribal distinctiveness as strategies to effect social change. To this goal Shotridge applied the display of objects and their affiliations as representative of the existing Tlingit social structure, an insider perspective opposed to the structural functional models of organic coherence produced by most museum anthropologists during that period.

In this respect, the Shotridge papers afford a rare glimpse into the rich world of clan histories surrounding Tlingit objects, an underutilized "Native voice." His stories illuminate the complex relations between objects and oral history -- what anthropologist Keith Basso refers to as the "poetics of the senses."<sup>144</sup> Indeed, Shotridge applied this concept both in his attempts at poetic diction and when he stated quite simply that his

objective was, “to illustrate the true psychology of my people by the simple means of their native art.”

The profound effects of colonial dominance were the catalyst for the suppression of some aspects of Tlingit lifeways and the exploration of histories of collections shows that the exchange of objects was, in part, an aboriginal response to the politics of ethnic survival and historical change. Assimilationist strategies such as Christianization, Tlingit political mobilization, religious syncretism, and economic reformation were pursued for distinctly different, yet interrelated purposes.<sup>145</sup> The Shotridge collection demonstrates that fundamental differences which characterize inter-societal exchange are often recoverable in a collection’s histories and analysis, but that these are ambiguous in their origin and open to a variety of interpretations in their readings by different audiences.



Fig. 7.1. Photograph of crest hats acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1926 from the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Bear House (identified by de Laguna in Emmons 1991 as Wolf 1). Photographer unknown, n.d., courtesy of the Isabell Miller Museum, Sitka. "Noble Killer Whale" crest hat (table right) acquired in 1926 (U.M. acc. no. 11741), see also Merrill photographs neg. numbers PCA 57-22 & 57-20, and Soboleff photograph neg. no. PCA 1-31, Alaska State Library, Juneau; spruce root basketry hat, painted with carved wooden "Killer Whale Dorsal Fin" (table centre), woven bark cover for the hat was also acquired, (U.M. acc. no. 11743), see also Mason (1960:15); ceremonial helmet of an "Eagle" (table left), (U.M. acc. no. 11742); individual in the photograph wears the "Ganook" crest hat purchased in 1924, (U.M. acc. no. NA 6864). Another object in this house group acquired by Shotridge and not shown in this photograph is a "Whale" hat woven and painted with carved wooden dorsal fin, (U.M. acc. no. 10512).

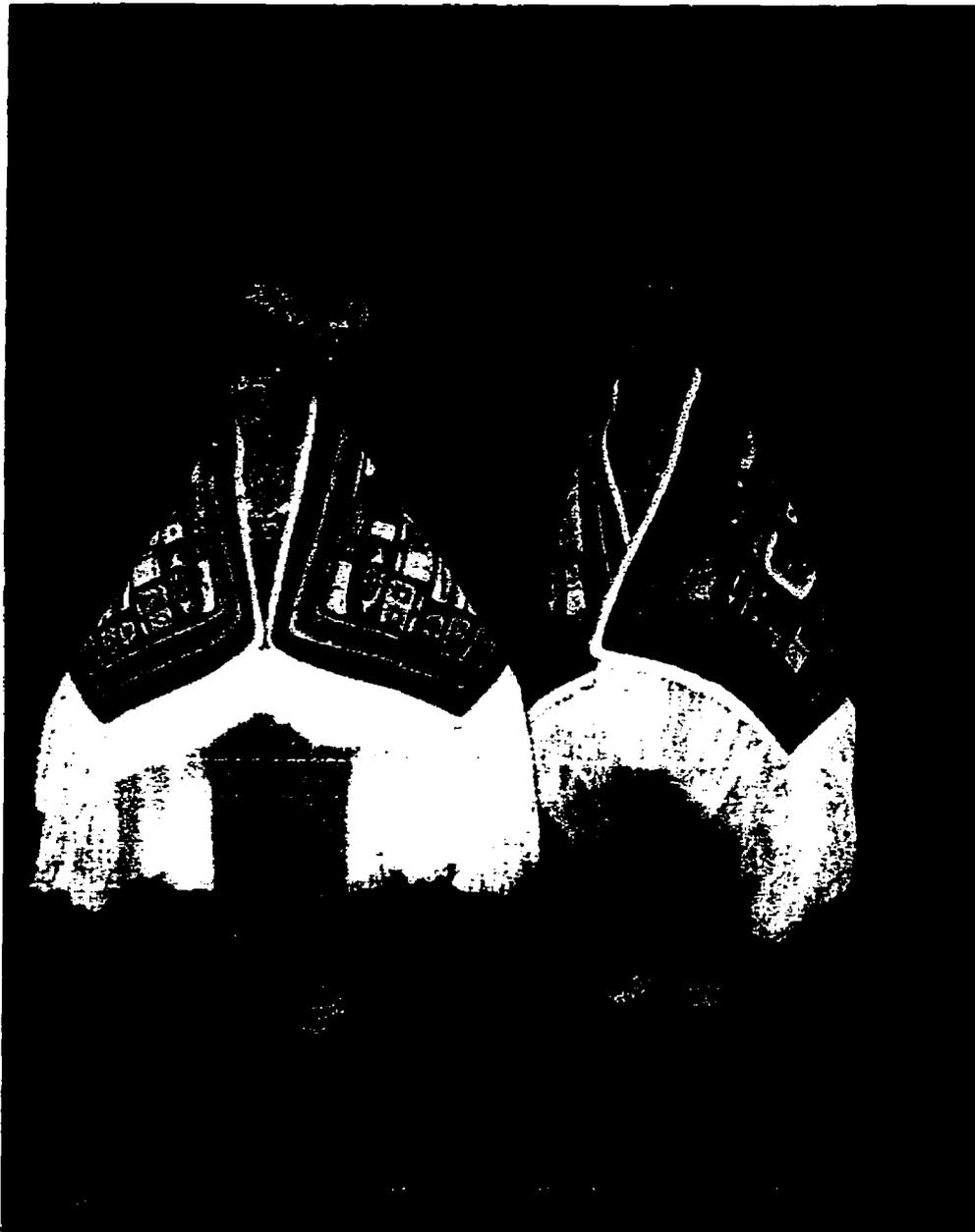


Fig. 7.2. Two chiefs of the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Bear House identified as Annahootz wearing the "Noble Killer Whale" crest hat (left), (U.M. acc. no. 11741) and Kolnish wearing the "Ganook" crest hat (right). Photograph taken at the Sitka potlatch on December 23, 1904. Case and Draper photograph, 1904, courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau, neg. no. PCA 39-784.



Fig. 7.3. This photograph shows representatives of two Sitka Luknaax.ádi clan houses: the Whale and Sea Lion Houses. Objects in the Luknaax.ádi Whale House (identified by de Laguna in Emmons 1991:439 as Raven 6). Merrill photograph, 1904, courtesy of the Alaska State Library, neg. no. PCA 57-31. Shown in this photograph are:

- a) "Raven of the Roof" acquired by Shotridge in 1925, (U.M. acc. no. 10511). Once captured by the Chilkat Gaanaxteidi in warfare but returned to the Whale House family through marriage (Shotridge Field Notes, Alaska State Library, Juneau).
- b) The "Octopus-tentacle" staff of the Whale House acquired by Shotridge in 1925, (U.M. acc. no. 10513). Story attached to this object is associated with "Raven and the great floating house to all the fishes and other animals" (see Shotridge Field Notes, Alaska State Library, Juneau). See also Merrill photograph, Alaska State Library, Juneau, neg. no. PCA 57-21.
- c) "Shanisdá's staff" of the Whale House (U. M. acc. no. 10514) which was captured from the Russians and acquired by Shotridge in 1925 (see Shotridge Field Notes, Alaska State Library, Juneau).
- d) Dance collar of the Whale House, acquired by Shotridge in 1925, (U.M. acc. no. 10515).
- e) Shirt of the Whale House, acquired by Shotridge, n.d., (U.M. acc. no. 10516).
- f) "Barbecuing Raven" crest hat of the Sea Lion House (identified by de Laguna in Emmons 1991:439 as Raven 6), acquired by Shotridge in 1918, (U.M. acc. no. NA 8502). See also *Museum Journal* X, 1-2, pl. I; or Merrill photograph neg. no. PCA 57-21.
- g) "Raven" hat of the Sea Lion House, woven spruce root with wooden beak. Acquired by Shotridge in 1918, (U.M. acc. no. NA 8504).

Other objects purchased by Shotridge from this house group include: wooden "Killer Whale" crest hat acquired by Shotridge in 1918, (U.M. acc. no. NA 8503); robe with Chilkat weave panels, (U.M. acc. no. NA 8506), see also Merrill neg. no. PCA 57-147 Alaska State Library, Juneau; frontlet with raven, wolf, and bear images acquired by Shotridge in 1918, (U.M. acc. no. NA 8505). For a funeral display of objects from both the Luknaax.ádi Whale House and the Seal Lion House groups see Merrill neg. numbers PCA57-158, PCA57-37, Alaska State Library, Juneau and Merrill neg. numbers PH 1760 & 1743, Isabel Miller Museum, Sitka. See also fig. 7.4.



Fig. 7.4. Two individuals from the Sitka Luknaaxádi Sea-Lion House wearing objects acquired by Shotridge including the wooden “Killer Whale” (left) (U.M. acc. no. NA 8503) and “Barbecuing Raven” crest hats (U.M. acc. no. NA 8502) and a robe (right) with Chilkat weave borders (U.M. acc. no. NA 8506). The robe worn by the individual on the left is currently located in the Sitka National Park Service Museum. Merrill photograph, n.d., courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau, neg. no. PCA 57-147.

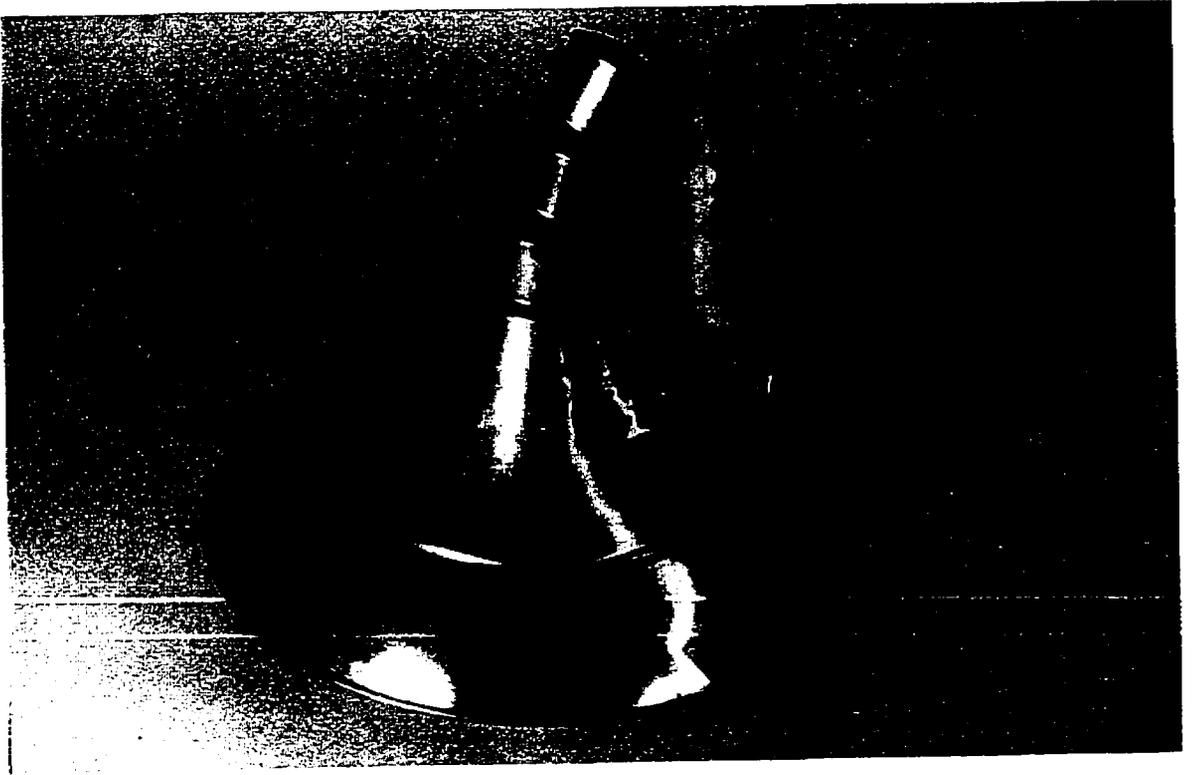
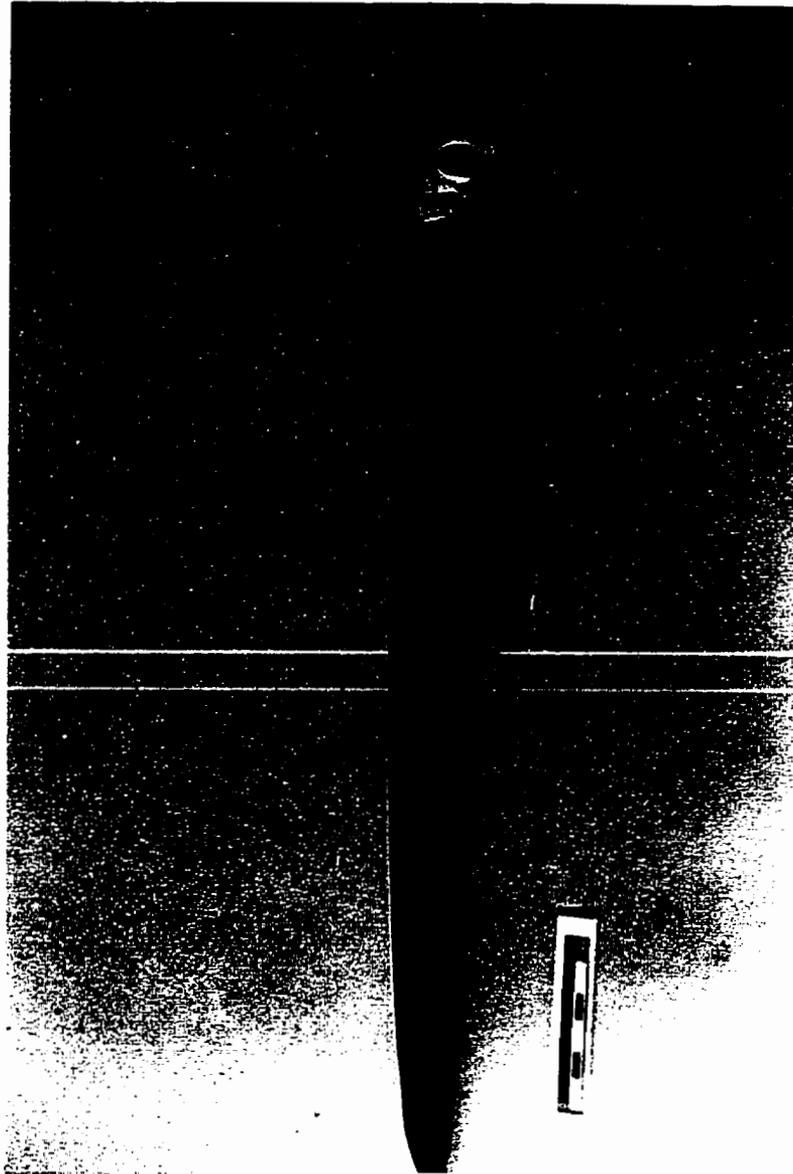


Fig. 7.5. Ceremonial hat made of brass from the Hoonah T'akdeintaan Snail House Collection, acquired by Shotridge in 1924, (U.M. acc. no. NA 6847). Milburn photograph, 1982.



Fig. 7.5a. Frontlet from the Hoonah T'akdeintaan Snail House Collection acquired by Shotridge in 1924, (U.M. acc. no. NA 6834). Milburn photograph, 1982.



**Fig. 7.6.** Chilkat Kaagwaantaan knife called the “Ghost of the Courageous Adventurer” (see Shotridge 1920:350-377 & Hope III 1982:iv) acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1918, (U.M. acc. no. NA 8488). Milburn photograph, 1982.



**Fig. 7.7.** "Lord of the Hawks" ceremonial headdress of the Chilkat Kaagwaantaan Finned House at Klukwan, acquired by Shotridge in 1926, (U.M. acc. no. 10832). Milburn photograph, 1982.

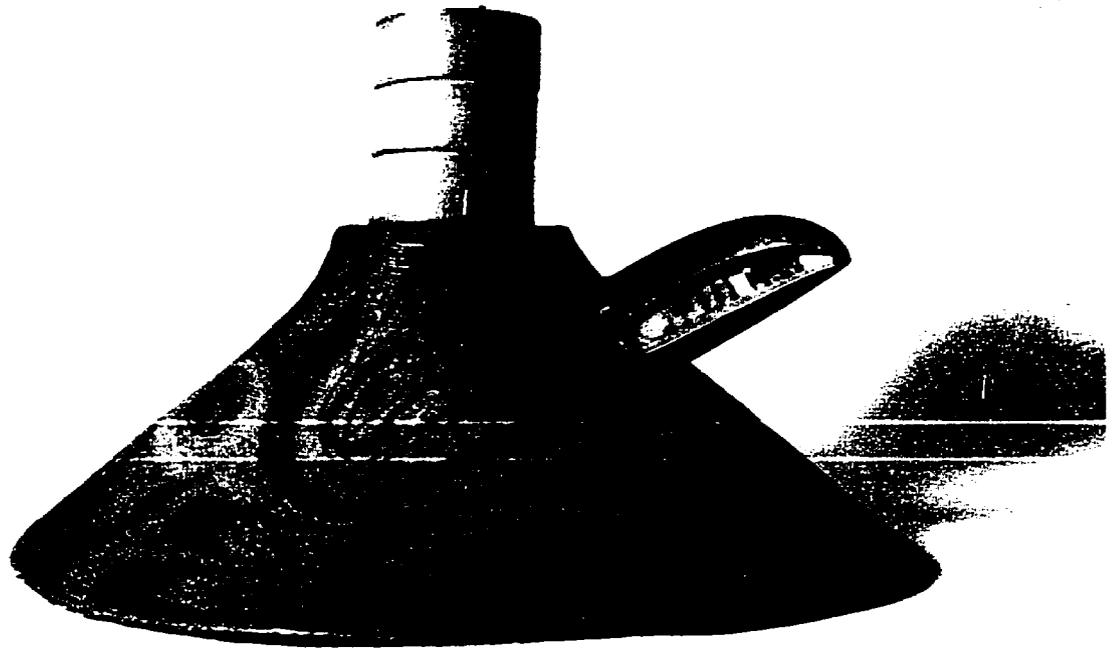


Fig. 7.8. Ceremonial "Raven" crest hat from the Sitka Luknaaxádi Sea Lion House Collection, acquired by Louis Shotridge in 1918 (U.M. acc. no. NA 8504). Milburn photograph, 1982.



**Fig 7.9. Blankenberg photograph entitled “Group of Indians at Klukwan Potlatch.”** Frederica de Laguna in Emmons (1991:303) identifies this photograph as depicting Wolf I Kaagwaantaan guests from Sitka who are attending the 1901 potlatch hosted by George Shotridge and other Gaanaxteidi at Klukwan on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Whale House. Photograph courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, neg. no. #159. Several objects later acquired by Louis Shotridge may be seen in this photograph. They include: a) the “Killer Whale’s Dorsal Fin” dance baton (U.M. acc. no. NA 8495); b) an unidentified dance baton (U.M. acc. no. NA 9494); c) the “Wolf” post (U.M. acc. no. 10524); d) the “Noble Killer Whale” crest hat (U.M. acc. no. 11741); e) the “Eagle” Helmet (U.M. acc. no. 11742); f) the “Ganook” crest hat (U.M. acc. no. NA 6864); g) a dance frontlet in form of a bear (U.M. acc. no. NA 7628) and h) a “Thunderbird” dance frontlet (U.M. acc. no. NA 9472).



Fig. 7.10. Gaanaxteidi from Klukwan attending the 1904 Sitka potlatch hosted by the Kaagwaantaan Wolf House. Case and Draper photograph, 1904, courtesy Alaska State Library, Juneau, neg. no. PCA 39-401. See Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1994:591) for further information on this photograph.



Fig. 7.11. Gaanaxteidi attending potlatch at Klukwan. Winter and Pond photograph, ca. 1895, courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau, neg. no. PCA 87-20. Showing objects later acquired by Louis Shotridge: man (front row wearing button blanket) holding mask called “Man who was transformed into a land otter”, a victim of drowning (U.M. acc. no. NA 5777) and tunic with frog mortuary house image worn by individual in the front row, extreme right (U.M. acc. no. NA 9483). Individual in the center with nose ring wears the “Frog” crest hat of the Gaanaxteidi Frog House.

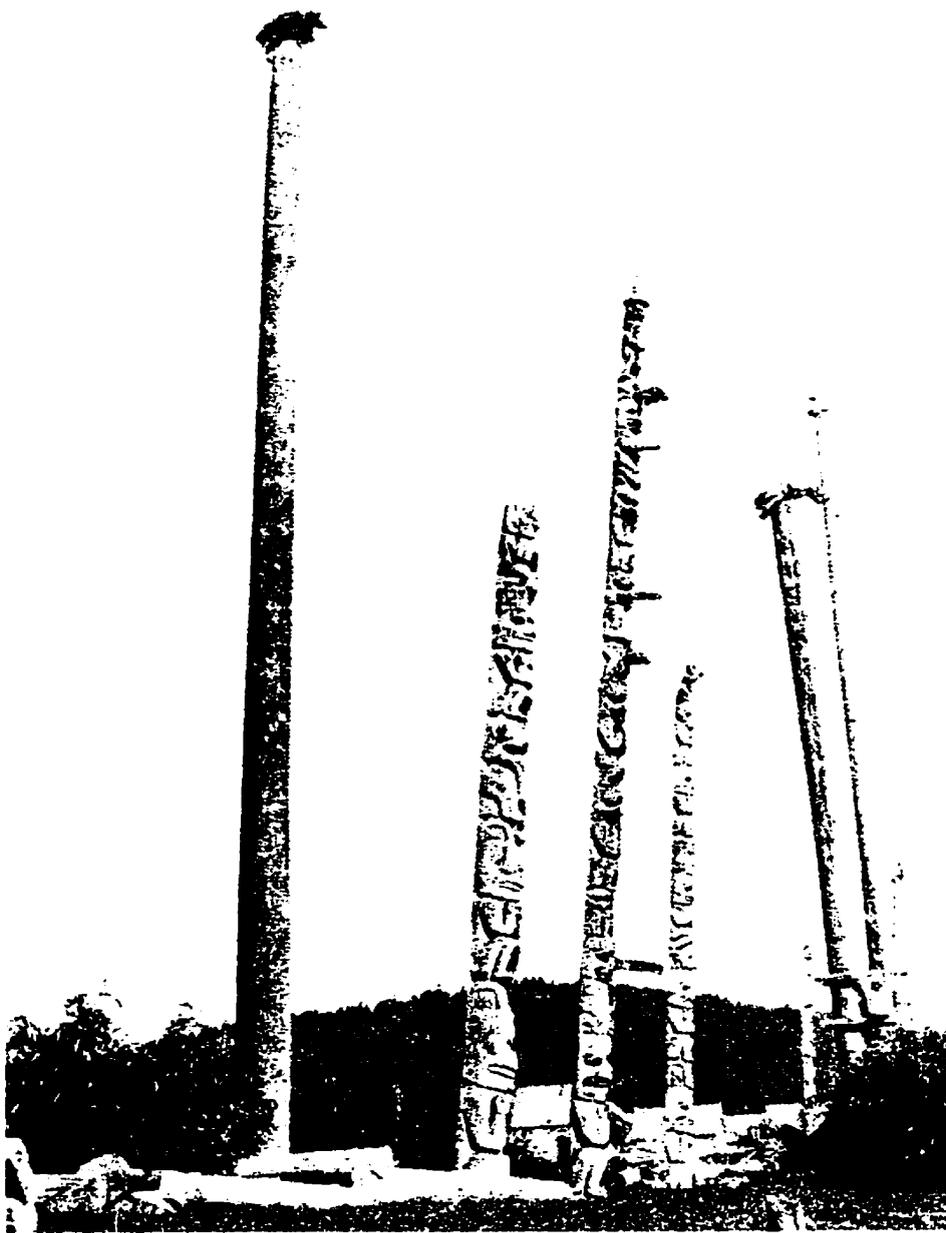


Fig.7.12. Photograph taken by Shotridge, entitled "Remains of Git-lak-temiksh, Naas River," from the *Museum Journal* 1919: fig.18.



Fig 7.13. Photograph taken by Shotridge entitled "A Naas chief in a performance of 'Lo-tlam,' a secret society dance," from the *Museum Journal* 1919: fig.22.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:95.
- <sup>2</sup> Durlach 1928.
- <sup>3</sup> Wallis 1918.
- <sup>4</sup> Walter Soboleff pers. com.:1995. See Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1994:565-582) for a biography of Mr. Soboleff (see also Chapter Five).
- <sup>5</sup> Lillian O'Daniel pers. com.: 1995. The card file is now located in the Historical Documents Section of the Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
- <sup>6</sup> Also included in this house group collection is the Ganook crest hat purchased in 1924, see fig. 6.5.
- <sup>7</sup> See Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990:93
- <sup>8</sup> Shotridge Genealogy, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives. Shotridge states that Shaadaxicht's name was modified from "ʔ-càdù-xítc-x I." No mention of the name Kohklux appears in this genealogy (see also Chapter One).
- <sup>9</sup> Shotridge Field Notes, Alaska State Library, Juneau. Such documentation is unusual but not unique to Northwest Coast ethnography. Halpin (1994) notes similar Tsimshian data was collected by Marius Barbeau and William Beynon.
- <sup>10</sup> Hope III 1982:ii.
- <sup>11</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 28 June 1918, Shotridge Correspondence U.M. Archives.
- <sup>12</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 14 August 1914, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>13</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 29 December 1917, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>14</sup> A basic goal of salvage anthropology in this era was observational and behavioural. Thus the object was to have each "tribe" represented by an ethnographic monograph. These monographs were later condensed to form the basis of "culture areas" offering what was believed to be a comprehensive account of Native American peoples (see for example Driver 1961 or Kehoe 1981).
- <sup>15</sup> Gordon to Shotridge, 3 November 1926, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>16</sup> Editorial comment, *Museum Journal* 1920:6. See Torgovnick (1990:19) on concepts associated with the "primitive."
- <sup>17</sup> Shotridge to Jane M. McHugh, 9 May 1929, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>18</sup> U.M. acc. no. NA 8474 a & b. See Shotridge 1929a:154 for an illustration of this object.
- <sup>19</sup> "Emblematic Objects of the Chilkat Whale House" Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>20</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 12 January 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>21</sup> Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>22</sup> Shotridge Field Notes, n.d., Historical Manuscripts Collection, Alaska State Library, Juneau.
- <sup>23</sup> Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>24</sup> Halpin 1994:6 and White 1963:22-65.
- <sup>25</sup> Barbeau [1929]1973:6; Halpin 1994:9-13. According to Halpin (1994:9) "Barbeau (1917:561) took Boas to task for his reliance on Henry Tate, who collected the texts that Boas (1916:31) believed

- constituted 'the bulk of the important traditions of the Tsimshian,' and for publishing crest lists that were 'inaccurate, and never indicate their owners.'"
- 26 Using Boas' system of phonetics, Swanton (1908:395) focused on recording texts in the Tlingit language as well as the collection of ethnographic data. See Swanton 1908 and 1909.
- 27 Shotridge to Gordon, 27 November 1914, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 28 Shotridge to Gordon, 16 September 1916, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 29 Shotridge to Gordon, 28 September 1917, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 30 Shotridge 1928:351.
- 31 Editorial Comment. *Museum Journal* 1920:6.
- 32 Hope III 1982:iii.
- 33 Hope III 1982:iv.
- 34 Cruikshank 1990: ix.
- 35 Yeilxaak may be referring to the Chilkat dancing apron now located in the Smithsonian Institution collection and photographed by Winter and Pond (fig. 4.3).
- 36 Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- 37 Shotridge to Gordon, 16 November 1918, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 38 Shotridge 1919b:65.
- 39 "Tlingit Arts" Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- 40 *Gidjuk-an-yádi* (Fish Hawk) or the "Lord of the Hawks" acquired in 1926 from Yl.s-yát leader of the Klukwan Kaagwaantaan Finned House and according to Shotridge was said to be "the most pricey object in the possession of the family." Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection. U.M. Archives and Shotridge Field Notes in the Alaska State Library (U.M. acc. no. 10832).
- 41 See Holm 1981: 175-200 on individual creativity within the historical context.
- 42 "The Founder of the Chilkat Whale House" Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives. See also Herem 1990:48-54.
- 43 This attribution has allowed art historian Steven Brown to attribute works in the Wrangell area and elsewhere to this master carver (Brown 1987 and Brown pers. com.:1996), see also Herem 1990.
- 44 Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- 45 U.M. acc. no. 11740 collected in 1926.
- 46 Shotridge Field Notes, Historical Manuscripts Collection, Alaska State Library, Juneau. For photographs of the Frog House screen and posts also Blankenburg photograph R.B.C.M. neg. no. PN1646 in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley or Jonaitis 1986:fig. 1.
- 47 Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- 48 Shotridge to Gordon, 30 August 1915, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 49 The "Sun Dog" helmet (now in a private collection) is illustrated in the Winter and Pond photograph of the Whale House display (fig. 1.4). It is worn by a man holding a rifle or shotgun and identified in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1994:592) as Kindaxgoosh. For further information on this object see Shotridge Ethnography, U.M. Archives.
- 50 Shotridge to Gordon, 29 September 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 51 Halpin 1994:9.
- 52 Muir [1892]1988.

- 53 Holm 1987:192. See also Holm (1984:43) on a raven headdress called "Raven Floating on the Nass."
- 54 Henrikson 1993:50-51.
- 55 Pers. com.: Rosita Worl 1995, Steve Henrikson 1995, and Sue Thorsen 1995.
- 56 Nora Dauenhauer is now working on "The Ghost of the Courageous Adventurer" for a paper to be presented at the Jessup II Conference in New York in the fall of 1997 (pers. com.: R. Dauenhauer, 1997).
- 57 Nyman and Leer 1993: xiv.
- 58 Mason Papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- 59 Gordon to Shotridge, 17 January 1925, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- 60 Mason 1960:12.
- 61 A bundle of medicinal paraphernalia and charms used by a shaman for healing the sick. See for example Emmons 1991:359-367.
- 62 Gordon to Shotridge, 1 February 1918, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- 63 Shotridge to Gordon, 20 February 1918, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives (U.M. acc. no. NA 5744).
- 64 Jacknis 1985:88-89. In final analysis, Boas, unable to reconcile the demands of the museum patrons, public display, and his scientific research resigned from the A.M.N.H. in 1904
- 65 See Jacknis 1985.
- 66 See Jonaitis 1988.
- 67 Jacknis 1985:83-89.
- 68 Shotridge to Gordon, 14 October 1922, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 69 Shotridge to Gordon, 29 September 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 70 Shotridge to Gordon, 12 January 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 71 Shotridge to Gordon, 29 September 1925, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 72 Shotridge to Gordon, 15 February 1927, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 73 Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives and Appendix 1.
- 74 Emmons [1907]1993:329-401.
- 75 Swanton 1908:395.
- 76 Boas [1907]1993:386.
- 77 Boas 1907[1993]:386.
- 78 Boas 1907[1993]:386.
- 79 Boas 1907[1993]:386-87.
- 80 See for example Jonaitis 1995:306-335.
- 81 Halpin 1994:6.
- 82 Halpin 1994:13.
- 83 McClellan 1954:82.
- 84 Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.

- <sup>85</sup> It was not uncommon for clans to have long-term peaceful relations but open hostilities could be equally protracted. For example the Sitka Kaagwaantaan and the Stikine people were in conflict for many years. As noted in Chapter One, clan warfare affected Shaada<sub>x</sub>icht's family when the war between the Stikine and the Chilkat erupted. With the imposition of American military rule, open warfare ceased but violent acts, sometimes resulting in inter-family feuding, continued to occur throughout Yeilgooxú's lifetime.
- <sup>86</sup> See Shotridge "Land Otter-Man" (1922).
- <sup>87</sup> McClellan 1954:86.
- <sup>88</sup> Swanton 1908:435; Emmons 1991:310.; Henrikson 1993:57.
- <sup>89</sup> See Henrikson (1993:48-59) on war helmets which were usually individually owned objects. The "Shark" helmet acquired by Shotridge in 1929 (U.M. acc. no. 29-1-1).
- <sup>90</sup> See for example: Feder 1977; Siebert and Forman 1967; King 1981; Gunther 1972.
- <sup>91</sup> Fast 1869.
- <sup>92</sup> Cole 1985:304-305.
- <sup>93</sup> Fast 1869:5-6.
- <sup>94</sup> Fast acquired more than 2000 objects which were later purchased by the Peabody Museum in 1869 (Cole 1985:13 & 236), see also Fast 1869.
- <sup>95</sup> Emmons to Josiah Collins, Esq., 12 August 1909, Emmons Correspondence, University of Washington Archives, Suzzalo Library.
- <sup>96</sup> Holm illustrates a headdress acquired by Emmons from the Stikine Tlingit (1987:188) and another collected at the Henya summer fishing village of Shakan (1987:190). Emmons did not identify the clan that owned the headdress, a policy he consistently adhered to perhaps because of the secretive and competitive nature of his business. The same was not true of the shamanic material he collected from burials.
- <sup>97</sup> See for example Emmons 1991:314 & 319.
- <sup>98</sup> Transcript of the original catalog of the Emmons Collection, Thomas Burke Museum, University of Washington. See Holm 1987:fig. 78 for a crest hat collected by Emmons from the Henya tribe.
- <sup>99</sup> Shotridge 1919a:43.
- <sup>100</sup> See Shotridge "War Helmets and Clan Hats of the Tlingit Indians" (1919a) and "The Kaguanton Shark Helmet" (1929b).
- <sup>101</sup> Kan 1989a; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1990:99.
- <sup>102</sup> See Shotridge (1928:372) "The Wolf Helmet."
- <sup>103</sup> "The Wolf Emblem" Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>104</sup> "The Wolf Emblem" Shotridge Ethnographic Notes, Shotridge Collection, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>105</sup> Appadurai 1986:57.
- <sup>106</sup> Shotridge 1928:351.
- <sup>107</sup> Jacknis 1985:80.
- <sup>108</sup> Jacknis 1985:82.
- <sup>109</sup> Shotridge 1919a:43.
- <sup>110</sup> Shotridge 1928:350 & 353.

- <sup>111</sup> Shotridge 1928:351. The Tlingit did not constitute a single political unit or “tribe” but according to de Laguna (1983:71) a nationality, “united through conscious possession of a common language and culture and by the name *Tlingit*, by which they call themselves.”
- <sup>112</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>113</sup> Shotridge makes this same point in the story of the origin of the Whale House (Appendix 1).
- <sup>114</sup> Shotridge 1928:353. I find no support for Shotridge’s symbolic attributions in other ethnographies. They may have resulted from his interpretation of clan stories relating to certain crest objects.
- <sup>115</sup> Some photographs by Blankenberg, Pillsbury, Hegg, Nowell, and Case and Draper are also valuable.
- <sup>116</sup> This residence was sold in 1931.
- <sup>117</sup> See de Laguna in Emmons 1991:303.
- <sup>118</sup> Gmelch (1995:159-172) provides a detailed history of Merrill’s work. See also Chambers 1977:138-145. Gmelch (1995:163-164) portrays Shotridge’s collecting activities in a negative light.
- <sup>119</sup> Robert De Armond (pers.com.:1996) states that Merrill, who was a friend of the de Armond family, was paid a fee of \$200.00 for each photograph.
- <sup>120</sup> Prior to and sometimes after the adoption of European housing, the body of the deceased was placed in the back of the clan house in a sitting or reclining position wearing a headdress and Chilkat robes and surrounded by clan objects. After a prescribed period of time, usually three to four days, the body was cremated and the remains placed in a mortuary structure. In the case of important leaders, a memorial potlatch, such as that described by Shotridge for his grandfather Shaadaxicht was usually held at a later date. See Kan (1989a) for a detailed description of the events surrounding the Tlingit mortuary complex.
- <sup>121</sup> See Emmons 1991:272 for the Shakes image and U.S. National Museum, National Anthropological Archives #56,324. See also Kan 1989a: fig. 3 for a drawing by A. P. Niblack dated 1890 of chief Shakes of Wrangell lying in state and Kan 1989a: fig. 4 for a drawing by I.G. Voznesenskii dated 1844.
- <sup>122</sup> Blackman 1980:72, see also Black 1992 on this topic.
- <sup>123</sup> Kan 1987:40; see also Katz 1986:85.
- <sup>124</sup> See also de Laguna in Emmons 1991:293 and fig. 7.2 for additional documentation.
- <sup>125</sup> Reproduction of many post-mortem photographs is now prohibited due to family request. For these reasons I have omitted all such images from my illustrations. Previously published photographs include: Kan 1989a:37 & 39; Holm 1987:194 & 1984:opposite Introduction; Kaplin and Barsness 1986:fig.8.
- <sup>126</sup> A 1986 research grant from the University Museum enabled me to uncover a wealth of photographic documentation on the Shotridge collection. Some of this material was published in Kaplan and Barsness 1986.
- <sup>127</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>128</sup> See Wyatt 1989.
- <sup>129</sup> These were of infants, see Wyatt 1989:37.
- <sup>130</sup> See Anonymous “The Soboleffs, Photographers” in *Alaska Journal* 1971, vol. I, #1(Winter), pp. 29-33.
- <sup>131</sup> As mentioned previously their son Walter Soboleff served on the A.N.B. executive when Shotridge was Grand President.
- <sup>132</sup> de Laguna in Emmons 1991.
- <sup>133</sup> Wardwell (1993:49) argues that there is no evidence that Emmons ever used a camera.

- 134 Shotridge 1919b;1919c.
- 135 Shotridge 1921.
- 136 Blackman 1981:49.
- 137 Gordon to Shotridge, 29 December 1917, Gordon Letterbook, U.M. Archives.
- 138 Anonymous, *Science* May 23, 1919:491.
- 139 Shotridge to Gordon, 12 July 1917, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 140 Anonymous, *Science*, May 23, 1919:491
- 141 Shotridge to Jayne, 6 January 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 142 Shotridge to Jayne, 6 January 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 143 Shotridge to Jayne, 6 January 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- 144 Basso in Marcus 1992:xii.
- 145 See also Thomas 1991 on parallel but fundamental differences in exchange transactions.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **CONTEMPORARY CONSTRUCTIONS**

#### **OF LOUIS SHOTRIDGE**

Shotridge was a man of multiple loyalties who lived in a complex, unstable world. Unfortunately, the complexity of his goals and actions have often been reduced to negative characterizations and stereotypical portrayals. These accounts are representative of Anglo-American tendencies to divide Native Americans into two categories -- unprincipled opportunists and unwitting victims of Western socio-economic hegemony. Descriptions of Shotridge fall within both these realms, dominating representations of him to the present day. They ignore the nuances of a hybrid identity -- of someone who was engaged in what social philosopher Homi K. Bhabha refers to as “culture-as-political-struggle” -- a product of a socio-economic environment undergoing radical revision.<sup>1</sup>

My critique in this chapter is best summarized by two quotes, the first from anthropologist Dean MacCannell:

The best indication of the final victory of modernity over other socio-cultural arrangements is not the disappearance of the non-modern world, but its artificial preservation and reconstruction in modern society....[t]hey establish in consciousness the definition and boundary

of modernity by rendering concrete and immediate that which modernity is not.<sup>2</sup>

And the second from James Clifford:

In fact only a few basic stories are told, over and over, about Native Americans and other 'tribal' peoples. These societies are always either dying or surviving, assimilating or resisting. Caught between a local past and a global future, they either hold on to their separateness or 'enter the modern world.' The latter entry -- tragic or triumphant -- is always a step toward a global future defined by technological progress, national and international cultural relations. Are there other possible stories?<sup>3</sup>

In this chapter, I will critique the stories that have characterized Shotridge for the past four decades and demonstrate how they serve to perpetuate pervasive dichotomies based on the modern and pre-modern, civilized and primitive, authentic/non-authentic, Western/non-Western precepts of assimilation/survival.

### **Telescoping History – Continuing Associations**

Portrayals of Shotridge's life history -- his successes and failures -- are usually tied to his attempts to purchase the Whale House objects. Yet negotiations over the potential sale of those objects continued until the present day, making it the most public and longest running debate over objects in Northwest Coast history. Winter and Pond first recognized the commercial appeal of the Whale House objects when they published their postcard image circa 1895. As Wyatt points out, Winter and Pond did not restrict themselves to stereotypical images of Native Alaskans.<sup>4</sup> Nor were they inclined towards reconstructions of pre-modern settings. Although telltale signs of civilization (guns and Western clothing) offer a poignant image of Native glory and resistance on America's "last frontier," the

photograph, taken in the old Whale House prior to the posts being removed, presents an unusual image of a pre-modern clan house. Other photos of Tlingit house posts and screens are surrounded by post-contact period structures and objects. In choosing to circulate the interior photographs of the Whale House, its objects and clansmen in the form of a postcard, Winter and Pond contributed to the creation of an icon of contact-period nostalgia. The touristic image of Alaska, an untamed wilderness populated by exotic Native peoples, was essentialized in the Whale House image -- an image which pandered to a Western sentiment predisposed to capturing a "pure" aboriginal entity. As previously noted, the touristic potential of the old Whale House had reached such proportions that, by 1923, certain factions in Haines proposed to replicate it as a tourist attraction. Historical contingencies and tourist fantasies combined with the Western equivalent of aboriginal "dreamtime" -- the ethnographic present.<sup>5</sup> To quote Abu-Lughod, "The erasure of time and conflict make what is inside the boundary set up by homogenization something essential and fixed."<sup>6</sup>

Gordon and others who viewed the acquisition of Tlingit objects from the perspective of museum display considered their suitability on the basis of their aesthetic, technical, and ethnographic merit. For his public, some of whom were expected to offer financial support for the museum's activities, Gordon sought a "representative" collection composed of "fine/old" objects. The relation of museum collections to salvage anthropology was predicated on the assumption that Euro-American institutions were the only reliable means of preserving Native American objects and rescuing them from destruction or oblivion. The definition of "salvage" (to rescue or save from destruction)

presumed that Native Americans were incapable of doing so within the jurisdiction of their own communities. This concept also presumed that Native American views on the disposition of their objects, whether left on beaches to decay or preserved by household leaders, were subordinate to the Euro-American approaches to preservation. As a Boasian-trained anthropologist, and perhaps seeing no other options, Shotridge subscribed to this premise of institutional sanctuary.

Simultaneously, Native American objects were increasing in value and prestige in Euro-American consumer and art/culture markets. Edmund Carpenter later lamented the fate of “masterworks” that languished “buried in storage or lost in bad lighting”<sup>7</sup> -- their recovery contingent upon the perceptive eyes of a new generation of aesthetically trained specialists. “Fine/old” ethnographic objects were recontextualized as “art treasures” prized for their aesthetic component and actual or presumed rarity. In this context the Whale House objects became “priceless” art treasures in desperate need of saving.

Over the years, some Whale House objects were sold, while those that remained in Klukwan continued to increase in value. Shotridge’s “progressive” ideas were countered by family interests *and* a pragmatic understanding of the market value of the objects. The debate over whether the objects were private possessions or collectively-owned began to emerge while a series of Anglo-American collectors maintained a speculative interest in the objects. In final analysis, Shotridge’s bid was only unusual in that he proposed a collective rather than a private approach to the use of the money that would have accrued from the sale.

When in the 1960s Native rights movements emphasized the political, economic, and social advantages of retaining objects within the tribal context, the Whale House objects became, for many, symbolic of a resurgence and continuity of customary values and a self-sustaining Tlingit identity. Shotridge's assimilationist/heritage-oriented stance was outmoded; supplanted by the politics of cultural pluralism. Shotridge's failed attempts to purchase the collection and his subsequent legal challenge over inheritance laws were viewed by some as coercive and disloyal. Because Shotridge failed to meet narrow Euro-American expectations, he was depicted as a pawn in an institutional power play, a victim of the greed of the dominant society, and a hapless symbol of the institutional injustice perpetrated against Native peoples.

Issues pertaining to the determination of property rights remain current to the present day.<sup>8</sup> During the 1970s the Whale House posts and screen were clandestinely removed from Klukwan. This initiated a lengthy court battle over disputed claims to ownership and the right to sell the objects. Pending settlement of the case, the objects were stored in a warehouse in Seattle in order that they might be released for sale or returned to Klukwan.<sup>9</sup> As noted previously, the question of clan ownership and who has the right to own or sell objects, was not without precedent. In the case of the Whale House objects the courts ruled in favour of collective ownership and the objects were recently returned to storage in Klukwan.<sup>10</sup>

Much of the press surrounding the court case involved Anglo-American accounts of Shotridge's attempts to purchase the objects for the University Museum. Thus, at issue in any portrayal of Shotridge is the tendency of anthropologists and historians to evaluate

his career according to events surrounding the Whale House controversy or to promote current conceptions of collections and collecting activities. This thesis takes issue with all these tendencies.

### **History, Biography, and Western Interpretations of “Cultural” Politics**

It was during the 1960s that the first posthumous biographical profile of Shotridge appeared. J. Alden Mason described Shotridge’s collection and his work with the museum, but went far beyond these parameters in discussing Shotridge’s personal history:

Poor Shotridge had a tragic end....He had become so accustomed to ‘civilized’ life that he didn’t fit in there; he couldn’t do logging or can salmon, the main occupations of the deculturized Indian. Such is, unfortunately, the lot of many Indians who return to the ‘reservation’ after having been educated outside. Their training very often is useless there and life uncongenial. Their relatives reject them as neither white nor Indian, neither flesh nor fowl....According to native report, Louis was building himself a small house alone in an unfrequented place. Some fatal accident occurred and he was not found until very much later.<sup>11</sup>

Mason’s message was clear: Native Americans who demonstrated competence in the Anglo-American world, who were educated and professionally competent in the Anglo-American world, were anomalous and unacceptably “civilized.” The idea that, once educated in Anglo-American society, Shotridge found it impossible to return to manual labour or to partake in “Indian ways” was expressed as an issue of class which equated “Indianness” and manual labour within a self-contained social stratum. Mason indulged in the unrealistic presumption that all the “Indians” in Alaska were uncivilized and thus traditional -- that none of them could accept Shotridge as an educated and accomplished individual. Perhaps Mason was responding to new trends in Native American politics

which insisted on ethnic distinctiveness and the emphasis on political identity through the active preservation of “cultural” heritage. This was clearly stated in 1962 at an American Indian Movement conference in Chicago where more than five hundred Native Americans representing ninety tribes and bands embodied these concepts in a “Declaration of Indian Purpose.”<sup>12</sup>

Mason’s portrait of Shotridge also reflected current anthropological thinking which assumed that, because Shotridge was seen to be “acculturated” he had betrayed his people: specifically the Tlingit tribe, assumed to be a homogenous entity, uneducated and therefore unable to speak for itself. Failing to offer historical contextualization Mason notes, “there was some bitter feeling towards him on the part of the Indians for having purchased and sent away some of the old ceremonial objects.”<sup>13</sup> Mason thus portrayed Shotridge as a non-conformist within an undifferentiated “primitive” group of Natives -- an individual within an anonymous homogeneity. By subscribing to this limited view of “culture,” Mason continued to invoke the turn-of-the-century paradigm of race and evolution within an exploitive labour market. Anthropologist Lila Abu-Luhgod also notes the unfortunate tendency of the culture concept to “freeze difference,” as did concepts like race.<sup>14</sup>

During this period, museums continued to articulate difference and draw strict boundaries around authentic products. In Mason’s view, this was a criterion Shotridge failed to meet. Authenticity boundaries were necessarily drawn around a pre-modern period and museums as containing institutions, along with anthropology as a discourse, developed to fulfill that function. Art historian Marvin Cohodas has shown that the main

purpose of this boundary-marking process was to obscure economic issues by recourse to race.<sup>15</sup> Mason's sympathy for Shotridge would have been more appropriately focused on his economic and professional loss when, as a victim of internal politics and financial cutbacks resulting from the Great Depression, his museum job was terminated.

Fifteen years after Mason's comment, anthropologist Edmund Carpenter, a former student of Frank Speck's at the University of Pennsylvania, wrote another assessment of Shotridge and his work. This commentary was published in 1975 in the introduction to *Indian Art of the Northwest Coast: A Dialogue on Craftsmanship and Aesthetics*, a book which focused on a formalist aesthetic approach to Northwest Coast Indian art popular at that time. According to Carpenter, the Shotridge collection at the University Museum, was of "unparalleled quality."<sup>16</sup> Because of its great aesthetic merit, the collection was initially targeted as the subject of a discussion on "masterpiece" objects by the two giants of formalist Northwest Coast art studies, Bill Holm and Bill Reid. However, an invitation extended to Klukwan house groups to participate was met with a "divided reception" and the idea was dropped.<sup>17</sup>

As a means of valorizing the University Museum's collection, both Mason and Carpenter pay tribute to Shotridge's ethnography. However, their commitment is to a fictive past predicated on untainted pre-contact behaviour. As a subject, Shotridge himself failed to live up to the "pure product" test of cultural anthropology. Carpenter is critical of Shotridge's boundary-breaking activities as a Native American who functioned successfully in the Anglo-American institutional world. As I have shown, Shotridge's life history undermined the discourse's crucial division between pre-modern Native American

and modern Euro-American societies. However, Carpenter carries Mason's construction of the tragic results of Shotridge's "acculturation" much further. Not merely tragic, Shotridge is portrayed as a villainous traitor, "handsome, intelligent, and friendly but always apart, in dress and manner from his kinsmen....[t]hey called him arrogant, they still revile his name."<sup>18</sup>

Following popular precedent that denied agency to the subordinated Native American populations, Carpenter does not give Shotridge full credit for his decision to collect Tlingit objects for the University Museum. Instead he describes Gordon as the architect of a devious and traitorous plan which offered Shotridge an escape from "mud, boredom, [and] alcohol." To Carpenter it was Gordon who, "devised the plan to have Shotridge infiltrate his own culture to obtain its treasures."<sup>19</sup>

Invoking the aesthetic approach, Carpenter refers particularly to the Whale House objects as priceless treasures, (in the Western art/culture sense of the word), that must be saved from the "filth and rot" of Northwest Coast settlements. Carpenter himself negotiated on the part of a private collector to purchase the Whale House objects but was turned down. He is quoted as saying, "there wasn't 35 bucks in the whole of Klukwan at the time and they turned it down...That's style."<sup>20</sup> Yet Carpenter faults Shotridge for trying to "steal" the objects.<sup>21</sup> Shotridge is thus vilified because he was a Native who attempted to purchase the same objects that Euro-American anthropologists and collectors deemed themselves privileged to acquire. In the Euro-American view Shotridge's real crime was not that he was a "traitor" to his people but that he penetrated the boundaries of economic exploitation established by the dominant society. The contradiction inherent

in this situation is today witnessed in the struggle between anthropology museums and Native Americans over establishing new boundaries and over who has the power, authority, and right to determine how, where, and within what context Native American objects are to be possessed and represented.

Like Mason, Carpenter describes Shotridge's life as that of a solitary, somewhat pathetic outsider. Carpenter acknowledges and accepts the "Sitka version" of Shotridge's death, that he was "killed for ordering a fisherman off the river"<sup>22</sup> but asserts that "he died an 'outlaw,' unprotected by community codes."<sup>23</sup> Thus the anthropological rejection of one who transgressed boundaries is here projected onto the Native society. Carpenter appears to view only unacculturated, poverty-stricken "Indians" as authentic cultural representatives. This is apparent in his description of Shotridge's ethnographic fieldwork:

He spent long periods in areas where there was nothing to collect, seeking out recluses, blind elders living alone in otherwise abandoned camps, far up remote tributaries. He lived with them, listening....[i]t was these trips that proved technologically most fruitful and, I believe, helped turn Shotridge, in the end, into a tribal elder himself.<sup>24</sup>

In 1982 Tlingit historian Andrew Hope III published a description of Shotridge's later years that contrasts radically with that of anthropologists Mason and Carpenter. In *Raven's Bones* Hope questions Carpenter's interpretation of Shotridge:

Carpenter has tried to paint a picture of Louis the outlaw, martyred and destroyed by his people, but where did he get this information? Carpenter says that the Tlingit resented the fact that Louis 'went out' -- but didn't all Native American people have to go out and come back?<sup>25</sup>

Elsewhere Hope states:

After being let go by the museum during the depression, Louis spent his final years in Sitka, becoming very active in the Alaska Native Brotherhood. He is remembered by Sitka Natives as an outstanding

orator and the first of the modern Tlingit aristocracy; owner of a fine home near Totem Park and a car. He brought western culture to the people of his homeland, organizing social dances and orchestras.<sup>26</sup>

Although Hope is also critical about Shotridge's collecting activities stating, "Gordon paid for the pieces with his bankroll, Louis with his life,"<sup>27</sup> Hope presents an equivocal, yet essentially more balanced view of Shotridge. Shotridge himself noted that his actions regarding the Whale House objects were controversial -- stating that certain "factions" in Klukwan and Haines both supported and opposed his actions.

The spectre of "cosmological retribution" for wrong-doings is again raised in 1985, in Douglas Cole's *Captured Heritage*. Cole quotes from Hope that, "Louis gave his life to the old time spirits; final payment for his part in taking what was not his."<sup>28</sup> To which Cole adds:

But there may be something more and something less, even a 'stranger truth.' Perhaps the fall was accidental in the ordinary sense, but to many Tlingit the 'real' cause might have been a cosmological retribution for his several transgressions.<sup>29</sup>

Cole characterizes Shotridge's preservationist ideas as a "developed [sales] pitch" to which few Tlingit are said to have responded.<sup>30</sup> Clearly, if Cole were correct and few Tlingit had responded, the Shotridge collections at the University Museum would be far smaller. In glossing over the complex issues of the period, Shotridge's authenticity is destroyed in order to uphold that of Tlingit people whose view Cole presumes to represent. Then, as now, opinions differed on the disposition of objects. It is unlikely that Shotridge would have become the Grand President of the A.N.B. if he had been "reviled" by most of his clansmen. At issue is not the fact that Cole repeats Hope's objections to

Shotridge's collecting activities but that Cole choose to emphasize the negative -- to present what is ultimately a highly pejorative account of Shotridge's career. In so doing Cole constructs a timeless representation of the pre-modern that is the inverse of Euro-American scholarship. This form of emphasis characteristically represents the central irony of twentieth century "progress": that is, modernity constructing the "primitive" as its inferior opposite as a benchmark of its own Western superiority.

Cole wrote during a period when issues central to the repatriation of Native American objects to their original tribal groups had begun to emerge. His profile thus focuses on the ethics of Gordon's strategy pertaining to Shotridge's "insider" status:

Such collecting, aimed at securing the most impressive prestige items of a native culture rather than at a systematic collection of both household and ceremonial objects, was a difficult and different kind of collection. Gordon and his protégé were after treasures and that could best be accomplished by the patient wheedling of an insider, by a native of rank. Tlingit culture, even that at Klukwan, had undergone great changes, but its most deeply held aspects remained impervious to erosion.<sup>31</sup>

Cole recognizes the contact period disruption in the shift from matrilineal to patrilineal inheritance but this is his sole reference to the complex circumstances relating to social history and American colonization. Shotridge's endeavours to acquire the Whale House "treasures" are seen not as an unfortunate incident characteristic of greater socio-cultural turmoil, but instead as indicative of Shotridge's unethical "wheedling." Although Cole admits his portrait of Shotridge is harsh he claims that it is sustained by evidence. Shotridge's tragic flaw, he asserts, was his "tactless" personality, this in spite of the fact that Shotridge chose the solidarity and peace of his community over the objectives of his employment when he relinquished his attempts to purchase the Whale House objects.

In the final analysis, Cole's portrait of Shotridge as a self-serving pawn in an institutional game is a rearticulation of Mason and Carpenter, essentializing a stereotypical racial division between the superior modern Euro-American and the inferior primitive "Indian." Cole attempts to soften his criticism by assigning a kind of hopeless futility to Shotridge's life, further constructing Native inferiority by recalling the tropes of European tragedy in his hubristic flaw, "He had spent most of his life interpreting Tlingit culture to whites in an institution which he seemed to believe offered the last chance of perpetuating the pride of his native people."<sup>32</sup>

In 1986, the University Museum published this writer's biography of Shotridge's life and collecting activities, based on documentation overlooked by previous authors.<sup>33</sup> Yet Sally Price, in her 1989 publication *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*, a strident critique of museum practice, bases her assessment of Shotridge on the writings of Carpenter and Cole. Price discusses Shotridge's work under a chapter entitled "Power Plays," and uses Shotridge as an example of how, "particular individuals become victims....[a]s allegiances are manipulated and new concepts of ownership [are] introduced."<sup>34</sup>

These attempts to reinforce the authenticity-boundary ideologically dividing Native and Euro-American are not limited to scholarly anthropological discourse, but pervade more popular media as well. The relation is direct because the public looks to anthropologists as experts on any subject concerning Native Americans.<sup>35</sup> Hence it is not surprising that playwright Ann W. Hanley turned to published works in constructing her 1989 play *Shotridge*.

*Shotridge* was described by one reviewer as “the story of a turn-of-the century Alaska Native caught between his culture and his career.”<sup>36</sup> According to a newspaper article entitled, “Life of Native Outcast Shotridge Told in Play,” Hanley’s interest in Shotridge was piqued when she attended a lecture in Washington D.C. over twenty years ago.<sup>37</sup> Her play was given a staged reading in Juneau in 1989, it won the University of Alaska, Anchorage, Alaska Native Plays Contest in 1992 and a 1995 production was staged at the University of Alaska, Anchorage.

A description of the plot is given in the play’s “Synopsis.” In 1911 Florence and Louis Shotridge are working for Antonio Apache’s Indian Crafts Exhibition rehearsing a play based on a Raven myth. Hanley states that:

When one of the actors pulls off Florence’s tunic revealing a scanty costume underneath, Louis is enraged. He will not stand for his wife being displayed onstage like a cheap artifact. Frustrated at having wasted six years of his life in the tawdry Indian show, he has it out with the show’s owner and quits.

The momentary satisfaction he feels from burning his bridges quickly evaporates when he looks into the worried face of his wife. They are broke and she is pregnant. Louis is ready to give up and go home to Klukwan, Alaska. Florence won’t let him. Louis has wanted to become an anthropologist. If he had his degree, then they could both dedicate their lives to saving the last important emblems of their culture.

Six years earlier Shotridge lent an important dagger to an anthropologist in exchange for a promise of training and employment at the University Museum in Philadelphia. Despite many letters to this man who is now the Director of the Museum, Shotridge has had no reply. Florence proposes trying again, but this time she will go to the Director herself. Through a combination of her good looks, her weaving skills, vague promises to help the Museum acquire some inaccessible pieces and threats to take back the ‘borrowed’ dagger, Florence lands them both jobs as ‘Resident Indians’ at the museum.”<sup>38</sup>

The story bears scant relation to the archival record of Shotridge's life but instead is highly fictionalized and capitalizes on perpetuating the stereotypes of the "Indian Princess," the imperial male gaze, a woman's body as property, and the victimized, yet opportunistic "Indian." It concludes with Shotridge stealing the robe Florence wove from the museum for her burial, with his apprenticing himself to a shaman, and finally with his living alone in the Whale House in a world of myth devoid of human reality. Hanley thereby satisfies popular desire to maintain a firm boundary between Native and Euro-American by returning the Native to a mythical pre-contact and therefore "authentic" world, separate in time from a Euro-American present.

Upon the staging of the play in Anchorage in May of 1995, some Kaagwaantaan and other relations of Shotridge were offended by its content. Hanley then issued a somewhat self-contradictory apology in local Sitka and Chilkat Valley newspapers. In it she abdicates responsibility for her manipulation and distortion of Shotridge's life:

The play is a work of dramatic fiction which in no way attempts to present a factual or comprehensive look at the person or events of the time. In writing the play I relied exclusively on the written record because I did not want the moral or legal responsibility of tampering with people's actual memories. I am not an historian, biographer or an anthropologist. I am a playwright.<sup>39</sup>

While Hanley argues that she is both reliant upon, yet exempt from, the constraints of the historical record because she is a playwright, she demonstrates an insensitivity to the understanding that revolutionized approaches to literature in the 1980s, that fiction influences peoples' opinions as surely as any other form of discourse. Furthermore, beyond the personal attack on Shotridge and concomitant insult to his living relatives, Hanley's play is yet another example of the tendency of Euro-Americans to distort Native

American history freely and fictionalize Native individuals for their own ends. Such presuppositions continue to perpetuate nineteenth century colonialist ideas that elide colonialism, tourism, ethnography, and artistic expression -- discourses which share the same oppositional dynamics of the Euro-American power/knowledge system.<sup>40</sup> To quote

Comanche writer Paul Chaat Smith:

The discourse on Indian art or politics or culture, even among people of good will, is continually frustrated by the distinctive, romanticized type of racism that confronts Indians today. This romanticism is a highly developed, deeply ideological system that encompasses language and culture and, of course, has its own historical roots.<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusions

From the perspective of post-colonial examination of imperial processes and the strategies that subvert them,<sup>42</sup> and the post-modern critique of cultural anthropology's premises,<sup>43</sup> the views of Anglo-American scholars on Shotridge continue to reiterate historic evolutionary thinking as they elide class and conflate culture and race in order to essentialize an authentic "Other."<sup>44</sup> These perspectives ignore the complex interaction of economic, social, political, and historic factors involved in the American colonization of Alaska. Individuals such as Shotridge presented special dilemmas to an earlier system of cultural anthropology which was based on a fundamental distinction between the Western self and the "Other" -- a construction which ignored the interconnectedness of post-contact relations and presumed a hierarchical "us/them" superiority.<sup>45</sup> Western criticisms of Shotridge which construct him as separate and inferior also highlight the inability of Euro-American scholars to accommodate the role of an indigenous

collector/ethnographer. They continue to perpetrate colonialist practices of speaking for the “Other” under the assumption of a Western authoritative voice. Such images of Shotridge invoke the art/salvage paradigm while also capitalizing on the current ideas of “culture capture.” Their views stress a three-fold approach to evaluating collections: as ethnographic documents, repositories of artistic excellence, and dichotomizing metonyms of Anglo-American dominance and Native American resistance/regeneration.

During the 1960s and 1970s an anthropological bias for the “conservative” element (itself an essentialized stereotypical category) of Native American was evident. Such biases continued to perpetuate late nineteenth- early twentieth-century colonialist attitudes inscribed in the discrete disciplines and categories of the modern Western discourse. In so doing they obscured -- denied, diminished, and delegitimized -- the rich texture and variety of Native American action and experience. The complexity of Native American lives has often been trivialized by the romanticism of heroic resistance<sup>46</sup> and a Western nostalgia for the primitive preempts the value of those who lived in non-traditional worlds.

As I have demonstrated, this portrayal of Shotridge and, by extension, many other Native Americans, has its historical precedent in the social Darwinism and progressive liberalism of the twentieth century. However, the persistent tendency to describe Shotridge as a tragically flawed victim restates a much deeper historical stereotype, what Berkhofer calls, “the negative prototype of the deficient Indian.”<sup>47</sup> I suggest this concept is central to continuing self-referential Euro-American attitudes towards the acquisition and custodianship of Native American objects.

More recently some anthropological studies have undermined these stereotyped reductions, insisting on telling stories of fully implicated lives.<sup>48</sup> To quote Abu-Lughod, “By focusing closely on particular individuals and their changing relationships, one would necessarily subvert the most problematic connotations of culture: homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness.”<sup>49</sup> Accounts of Northwest Coast peoples such as those by Blackman and Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer<sup>50</sup> portray individuals who “attest to the vitality and panoply of Indian cultures.”<sup>51</sup> To quote Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer:

European contact created conflict between the Tlingits and the newcomers, but it also created conflict within the Tlingit community, by presenting an array of new choices, options, and strategies for addressing the forces of change. Along a complex spectrum of cultural activity, some people and communities were conservative, while others inclined toward or even embraced assimilation. Some ran away from school, others ran away to attend school. Some clung tenaciously to Tlingit, others switched to English. Issues ranged from technical innovation and lifestyle to radical or subtle changes in spirituality, social structure, and world view.<sup>52</sup>

This chapter underscores the necessity of considering the work of Louis Shotridge from a diachronic perspective. That some Northwest Coast peoples historically subscribed to Western preservationist concepts for whatever reasons (economic, custodial), is demonstrated in the events surrounding Shotridge’s life history. Louis Shotridge participated actively in both the anthropology museum system and the multiple facets of Tlingit society. To view Shotridge’s acquisition of Tlingit artifacts from a dialectical perspective, as an institutional “power play” or unprincipled acquiescence to unethical institutional demands, continues to disallow Native American people political or historical agency. Such a narrow vision of history ignores the political struggles, successes, and

failures of Native American peoples within the larger scheme of Anglo-American contact and interaction.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Bhabha [1988]1995:206-209.
- <sup>2</sup> MacCannell [1976]1989: 8-9.
- <sup>3</sup> Clifford 1988:342.
- <sup>4</sup> Wyatt 1989:23.
- <sup>5</sup> Little 1991:152 and Carrier 1991:196.
- <sup>6</sup> Abu-Lughod 1991:153.
- <sup>7</sup> Carpenter 1975:24.
- <sup>8</sup> Most recently, as a result of the Native Graves Protection and Repatriation Act enacted by the U.S. Congress in 1990, the villages of Klukwan and Hoonah have requested the return of some objects from the Shotridge collection. See Feest 1995:33-42 for historical background on the passage of this act.
- <sup>9</sup> The objects were removed in 1984 in violation of a tribal ordinance passed by the village of Klukwan in 1976. The details of this case are highly convoluted involving wide-ranging issues that are beyond the scope of this discussion.
- <sup>10</sup> The removal of the objects in 1984 was contested by residents and, after a lengthy legal battle, the case was referred to a village court in 1990. In 1996 U.S. District Judge James van der Heydt ruled in favour of the village of Klukwan. Van der Heydt further concluded that the village is a federally recognized tribe. The case set a precedent in Alaska in that it was the first ever to be referred from federal court to village court. The judge ruled that the objects were the property of the Gaanaxteidi and as such it was improper for individuals to sell clan property. The history of the Whale House objects (much of it related to Shotridge's negotiations and taken from Carpenter 1975 and Milburn 1986) and the legal battle was covered extensively in the press. See for example: *Seattle Times* for 1994; *Chilkat Valley News* for 1993; *Anchorage Daily News*, 5 part series, 4-8 April 1993.
- <sup>11</sup> Mason 1960:16.
- <sup>12</sup> Moses and Wilson 1985:1.
- <sup>13</sup> Mason 1960:16
- <sup>14</sup> Abu-Luhgod 1991:144.
- <sup>15</sup> Cohodas (in press).
- <sup>16</sup> Carpenter 1975:18.
- <sup>17</sup> Carpenter 1975:24.
- <sup>18</sup> Carpenter 1975:2.
- <sup>19</sup> Carpenter 1975:18.
- <sup>20</sup> Marilee Enge "Collecting Tlingit Art" in *Anchorage Daily News*, 6 April 1993. Carpenter was working on behalf of Adelaide de Menil, a New York City philanthropist who was said to be planning to donate the works to the American Museum of Natural History (Linda Keene, "Totems' Return Ends Long Fight, Alaska Village Regains Prized Art" in *Seattle Times*, 19 October 1994).
- <sup>21</sup> Carpenter 1975:22.
- <sup>22</sup> Carpenter 1975:22.

- 23 Carpenter 1975:22. See also Miller & Miller 1967:252 for a similar reconstruction and opinion of Shotridge's death.
- 24 Carpenter 1975:22.
- 25 Hope III 1982:iv.
- 26 Hope III 1982:iii.
- 27 Hope III 1982:iii.
- 28 Cole 1985:266 from Hope 1982:iv.
- 29 Cole 1985:266.
- 30 Cole 1985:261.
- 31 Cole 1985:258.
- 32 Cole 1985:266.
- 33 Milburn 1986:54-77.
- 34 Price 1989:68.
- 35 This was evident in recent press reports on the Whale House court case. See for example Marilee Enge in a 5 part series published in the *Anchorage Daily News*, 4-8 April 1993.
- 36 Paula M. Story "Life of Native Outcast Shotridge Told in Play". in *The Daily Sentinel*, Sitka, 25 April 1995.
- 37 Paula M. Story "Life of Native Outcast Shotridge Told in Play", in *The Daily Sentinel*, Sitka, 25 April 1995.
- 38 Hanley 1992:ii.
- 39 Hanley "Playwright Issues Apology" in *Chilkat Valley News*, 25 May 1995.
- 40 See Little 1991.
- 41 Smith 1994:34.
- 42 Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1995.
- 43 Clifford and Marcus 1986.
- 44 See Griffiths (1995:237) on the "authentic" voice.
- 45 See Abu-Lughod 1991; Carrier 1991.
- 46 See Moses and Wilson 1985.
- 47 Berkhofer 1978:26.
- 48 Clifford 1988; Abu-Lughod 1991; Smith 1994; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994.
- 49 Abu-Lughod 1991:154.
- 50 Blackman 1982b; Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994.
- 51 Moses and Wilson 1985:4. See also Cruikshank (1990) for the Yukon.
- 52 Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1994:xxiii.

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

*It is important to recognize that material products, as well as belief systems such as Christianity, or resources such as literacy, are always acted upon and reformulated by indigenous populations, but these acts of derivation and displacement take place as political circumstances change, and the ramifications of the entanglement of local polities in wider relations need to be appreciated, rather than denied by some search for an authentically different culture.*

Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 1991

In my 1985 biography, “Louis Shotridge and the Objects of Everlasting Esteem,” I stated that Shotridge was an individual caught between two worlds, a commonly-held perception about Native Americans who succeeded in both Anglo-American and Native society. Today I realize that such a statement continues to perpetuate an “us/them” dichotomous relationship which suggests that Shotridge ultimately had no legitimate position at all. Instead, as this thesis demonstrates, Shotridge lived in a complex world of multiple affinities.<sup>1</sup> Moses and Wilson describe individuals such as Shotridge in the following manner:

All of these remarkable men and women attest to the vitality and panoply of Indian culture. They did not live in two worlds, but in one world of great complexity that challenged, sustained and sometimes destroyed them, but never removed their ‘Indianness.’<sup>2</sup>

Today's intellectual climate of post-colonialism promotes the active pursuit of alternate concepts of contingent and non-hierarchical relations. Within this framework, we are able to reconsider the dynamics of contact period events and the life circumstances of the Shotridge family. As Clifford inquires, "what if identity is conceived not as a boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject?"<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly this thesis argues for a broader understanding of Native American political circumstances, values, and struggles within a framework of colonial relations. Tlingit resistance and cooperation alternately characterized the struggle for survival and advantage. This challenge of conflicting perspectives is seen to begin in earnest with the purchase of Alaska by the United States during Chief Shaadaxicht's generation. While those in leadership positions were expected to be the upholders of tradition, they were also expected to traverse a rapidly changing socio-economic and political environment. Respected and authoritative individuals such as Shaadaxicht were among the most prestigious and powerful of Tlingit families. As Kan<sup>4</sup> and Wyatt<sup>5</sup> note, many Tlingit chose to adapt to their new circumstances, and of even greater consequence, sought to benefit from them.

The strategy of Tlingit peoples during Shaadaxicht's lifetime was that of a limited accommodation of the Euro-American intruders. The relations forged by this generation were ultimately overturned by the Anglo-American drive to dominate Native Alaskans through the increasing appropriation of land and other resources and the neglect of basic civil liberties. Native Alaskans were affected by varying degrees of displacement, disenfranchisement, exploitive wage labour, and degenerative physical and psychological

conditions. As the Anglo-American presence became more invasive, individuals like Yeilgooxú ultimately clashed with the new authority. Yeilgooxú, who embraced the newcomers through family circumstances, found that his responsibilities towards his clansmen often set him at odds against increasingly oppressive intrusions into Tlingit lifeways. With increasing land-based settlement and resource exploitation, Tlingit leaders sought to redress the imbalance through active resistance and the maintenance of customary Tlingit lifeways. Concurrently, the evolutionary paradigm of social scientists placed Native Americans within a continuum ranging from “savage” to “civilized.” The political underpinnings of social Darwinism and progressive liberalism undermined cultural difference as “uncivilized” and discriminatory practices prevailed. As Berkhofer writes:

Since Whites primarily understood the Indians as an antithesis to themselves, then civilization and Indianess as they defined them would forever be opposites. Only civilization had history and dynamics in this view, so therefore Indianess must be conceived of as ahistorical and static. If the Indian changed through the adoption of civilization as defined by Whites, then he was no longer truly Indian according to the image, because the Indian was judged by what Whites were not.<sup>6</sup>

The effects of accommodation and colonial domination were visibly manifest in a 1904 Sitka potlatch, the last publicly-recorded potlatch of Yeilgooxú’s generation. The implications of this event, which was held eight years prior to the formation of the A.N.B., are telescoped for the purposes of this discussion. The Sitka *Alaskan* heralded the potlatch as a “the last of its kind to be given by the Sitka Indians to tribes of Killisnoo, Hoonah, Juneau, Chilkat and other villages.”<sup>7</sup> The event is described by Hinckley and his words are telling in themselves:

Tlingit leaders were hosted at the military installations ashore and afloat, and a section of Japonski Island was turned over to the visitors for their

festivities. It was quite a pageant. Stretched out in a single column, the large wooden canoes representing the various native communities of southeastern Alaska slowly approached the Sitka waterfront....Fortunately photographers captured the face-painted celebrants. In a sense it was the Tlingits' last hurrah....Before the native hierarchy had dispersed to their insular villages, the governor staged a formal ceremony to dramatize what he hoped would be the final potlatch. Katlean, Annahootz, Kitchcock, Kolnish, and a few other Tlingit leaders came forward and presented him with the historic raven hat, a headpiece said to predate Baranov's arrival. They solemnly renounced their old customs. Hands were shaken. Then accompanied by the aged Tlingits, John [Brady] walked to the Sheldon Jackson Museum. There, after further ceremony, John deposited the raven hat, "An emblem," he told them, "always to be saved, in memory of what they had done."<sup>8</sup>

The complexity illustrated by this tableau, and the larger ethical, judicial, and religious challenges this generation of Tlingit confronted were manifold. Hinckley's retelling of this historic event -- in which the potlatch was supposedly renounced overnight, as was the Tlingit law of retribution -- captures the mood of what must have appeared to Brady to have been an enormous success. Brady cleverly deflates resistance by appropriating and glorifying the potlatch as part of a past history. (It is not clear whether Brady received financial support from the government for his initiative. Earlier he had requested three thousand dollars for the transportation and entertainment of the participants for "a general conference to be held in Sitka."<sup>9</sup>) His idea had supposedly come in response to indications from elderly Tlingit leaders that "the time had come for [the Indians] to abandon their old ways."<sup>10</sup> The autonomy constructed by Tlingit assertions of status and identity was threatened, deflected, and ultimately weakened by Anglo-American settlement and military domination. The results of non-compliance were made manifest, when for example, the village of Kake was destroyed by the U.S. Army in

1869 and the village of Angoon was bombarded by the U.S. Navy in 1882.<sup>11</sup> Tlingit leaders, faced with overwhelming odds and the tragic decimation of their populations, sought peaceful solutions to the violence of outright resistance.

The 1904 Sitka potlatch thus became a highly public, well-photographed event (see figs. 7.2, 7.3, 7.10) not unlike the exotic, touristic recreations of ceremonial events enacted at the world's fairs Brady so avidly supported. The presentation of a valued crest to Brady signaled a formal *détente* between two forms of authority: colonial and indigenous. In reality the event underscores the imposition of one system of control over another. The choice of a crest hat to signify this event demonstrates the symbolic authority vested in such objects, a view Shotridge later hoped to express (but for different purposes) in the University Museum collection. The event foregrounds the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century role of crest objects as bearers of history and symbols of political arrangements not only among Tlingit clans but in reference to the interface between Tlingit and non-Tlingit relations as well.

Through this single event, Brady was certainly attempting to formally relegate the autonomous and resistant lifeways of Tlingit peoples to past history and lock up their objects in Western museums or National parks forever. In 1904 Brady's choice of museum display was apparently suitable to all parties involved. This was because it served two contradictory purposes: to reinforce indigenous practices of display wherein objects defined social status and relations between clans (a concept Shotridge used to his advantage) and other forms of government, and Western concepts of capture and containment within non-Native institutions. Nevertheless, within the Sheldon Jackson

Museum, the symbolism of the “Raven” crest hat was recontextualized and subverted from a political signifier into a tourist attraction and its use-value as a social document was subsumed within a Western art/culture system of classification.<sup>12</sup>

Many of the same clan objects photographed at the 1904 Sitka potlatch were later recorded by Merrill at funeral scenes. With the passing of a generation of traditionally-educated clan leaders, a new group of U.S.-educated individuals who were equipped to work inside Anglo-American systems emerged. The moiety system, clan structures, and hereditary positions continued to function while new socio-political organizations began to interact with within the dominant society. The political successes of the Alaska Native Brotherhood reveal the inaccuracy of asymmetrical constructs of “vanishing” aboriginal cultures and Anglo-American appropriation. Survival politics, according to the early A.N.B. platform, involved a cooperative approach to Anglo-American belief systems (such as Christianity) and the co-opting of social resources (especially language and education) of the dominant society. This reformulation of resistance involved the voluntary public suppression of certain Tlingit lifeways in direct response to Euro-American definitions of “culture” and “civilization.” The concerted A.N.B. effort to alter public perception of Tlingit “culture” has interesting parallels to a situation documented by historian Clarence Bolt, wherein during the 1870s, the Tsimshian sought to manipulate their conversion to Christianity for their own political ends.<sup>13</sup> According to Bolt:

There was a deliberate, conscious effort by the Tsimshian to change their cultural orientation by converting to Christianity, and they willingly submitted to Crosby’s leadership. What he had to offer, and what they wanted coincided. When the circumstances deviated from what the

Tsimshian felt conversion should entail, they turned from his leadership and attempted to complete the conversion process themselves.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly among the Tlingit by the mid-1930s, when many of the initial socio-political goals of the A.N.B. were achieved, the membership then began to reintegrate the Tlingit language and the potlatch into a political forum of Tlingit solidarity for certain aboriginal lifeways. This shift coincided with concepts of cultural pluralism as they became popularly accepted in the social sciences.<sup>15</sup> Anthropologist Nicholas Thomas discusses “cultural objectification and inversion” among Pacific Islanders. To quote Thomas:

If we apply our common sense about change in art to other peoples’ reifications of custom, sociality, and the past, we will see that tradition can be an objectification of the heritage one has but wants to be rid of, as a resource it is as necessary to progressivist projects of nonconformity as it is to those of cultural affirmation and preservation, which, naturally enough, have attracted more anthropological attention and sympathy thus far.<sup>16</sup>

Shotridge was aware of the impact historical circumstances had on the use-value of ceremonial objects. In 1924, he reflected, “each man quietly placed the object, which had come to exist only through an unceasing effort of many generations, in the bottom of the family chest with a vague hope for its recovery of the honor which it represent[ed], but it is disappointing that these hopes are gradually vanishing.”<sup>17</sup> Some more publicly controversial objects, such as those belonging to the Gaanaxteidí Whale House family, assumed a revised public stature as both icons of Tlingit resistance and pawns in the economics of cultural tourism. But with the passing of Yeilgooxú’s generation and the weakening of the political effectiveness of clan structure, for many the continued use-value of clan-owned objects appeared limited, thus enabling Shotridge to purchase objects under the rubric of institutional sanctuary and historical preservation.

Art historian Ruth Phillips notes that, “Although we have become relatively adept at reading exhibitions as texts, less attention has been paid to the anatomy of collections as historically contingent object records that permit or exclude certain representational possibilities.”<sup>18</sup> Thus analysis of socio-political events tells us why the Shotridge collection is unprecedented in its number of important clan hats and clan signifiers. A comparison of other Tlingit collections and collecting strategies of individual collectors such as Emmons and Jackson reveals historical patterns and disjunctures between the tenets of salvage anthropology, tourism, and socio-political changes within Tlingit society. I have also demonstrated that changes in the use-value had the greatest impact on collecting processes and the availability of salable objects. As political circumstances shifted, Shotridge became part of a persuasive, well-intentioned effort to offset damaging Euro-American views of aboriginal race and culture and social Darwinism. While race maintained a dominant profile, Euro-American constructs of “culture” as they pertained to aspects of Tlingit lifeways were, in some cases, repressed, segregated or manipulated to achieve political ends.

I have shown that Louis Shotridge’s life story and the history of the University Museum collection are intimately connected with Native responses to Anglo-American religious and civil institutions. As Yeilgooxú’s son, Shotridge lived his initial years in a communal house in Klukwan. But like many Chilkat children, he was soon sent to boarding school at Haines Mission. During Shotridge’s childhood the process of missionization was particularly intense, yet educational opportunities beyond a grade school level were limited. The Presbyterian Industrial School in Sitka offered one such

opportunity but, for whatever reasons, Shotridge does not appear to have attended this institution. Because Shotridge's sister Klinget-sai-yet was married to Ben Moore, his associations with Anglo-American society were more intensively interactive. Nevertheless, his educational opportunities were few and employment was limited to the then-exploitive labour markets in industries such as mining, fishing, carpentry, and canning.

Perhaps because of family contacts with George Thornton Emmons and with the numerous collectors that visited the Chilkat area, Shotridge was introduced to the Euro-American market in Native-owned objects. When his first wife Florence was asked to demonstrate Chilkat weaving at the Lewis and Clark Exposition in 1904, Shotridge joined other Native American entrepreneurs who sold objects outside the official fair grounds. Lacking opportunity in Alaska, the Shotridges became purveyors of exotic Native lifeways. In this regard they were neither unusual in their efforts to transcend their circumstances nor in the means by which they accomplished this task. Such strategies were commonly utilized by Native Americans seeking to escape the manual labour jobs to which a mission school education consigned them. Their efforts and those of their generation foreground the misguided limitations of nineteenth century social reformers and the failure of American civil authority to adequately address the basic needs of aboriginal peoples.

Through such strategies of self-construction, the Shotridges gradually became more financially secure and better educated. These circumstances eventually led Shotridge to the Society of American Indians and other Native Americans striving to achieve social equality while his personal abilities and knowledge of Tlingit objects enabled him to secure employment at the University Museum. The circumstances of a Native American working

for an anthropological museum were in themselves not exceptional. However, in 1914 when Shotridge became the head of a museum-sponsored expedition, he achieved the unprecedented position of a Native ethnographer who had sole responsibility for the framing and purchasing of a collection of Northwest Coast objects.

An examination of Shotridge's documentation and the types of objects he collected demonstrates that while he satisfied the requirements of then-current anthropological concerns and the display interests of University Museum Director George Byron Gordon, Yet Shotridge's work diverged substantially from the norm. Shotridge perceived his collection and its attendant documentation as a testament to what he described as the "greatness" of Tlingit society and as a valuable record for future generations of Tlingit peoples.

Shotridge employed storytelling as a means of identity construction, not only in his writings and ethnographic accounts, but also in speeches and other forums directed toward Tlingit peoples and children in particular. A 1930 report of a talk he presented to a group of students at Haines High School provides an example of his approach. Having spoken of the mythical origins of the Tlingit people and the development of the two moieties, Shotridge added:

The Tlingit people have a mythology of folk lur [sic] second to none in the world. It is a wonderful collection of tales and fables. It should cause the Native to be proud of his ancestors and stop trying to [be?] like white men.<sup>19</sup>

Shotridge primary objectives in representing his collection were not associated with object technology, typology or other superimposed Western classifications. Instead they were related to particular crest objects and the clans that owned them. Because of

their detailed histories the objects constituted a metonym for the existing fabric of Tlingit society. In assembling the collection Shotridge therefore balanced the requirements of a number of discrete perspectives: Gordon's and probably Wanamaker's display objectives and aesthetic considerations, the constraints of his formal anthropological training, and his political objectives.

Shotridge believed the relation of narratives to objects and the construction of history was more than an academic project. He hoped the objects and their oral histories would serve as educational tools for the moral and ethical foundation of a modern Tlingit nation. Thus Shotridge rearticulated Tlingit customs of using a story to contextualize an object and the object to legitimate the story in order to present the objects within the "modern" world.

Accordingly Shotridge recontextualized the objects he collected within a temporal model associated with turn-of-the-century Native American political concepts of nation. For Shotridge, "the roar of modern civilization is now too great, and in order to make any idea be felt or heard it must be charged with the method of the moment and send forth with a proper breeze."<sup>20</sup> What concerned him was the representation of Tlingit social divisions, ancestral histories as well as the moral and ethical values of the Tlingit clans, and the legitimating identities of Tlingit leaders. By employing Shotridge, Boas and Gordon validated their own anthropological authority, but Shotridge also inverted their goals and used the museum to further his own agenda. Like the missionaries, the government, tourists, and anthropologists Shotridge also presented an essentialized portrait of Tlingit society and its relation to objects.

Thus Shotridge differed from other collectors and museum anthropologists in his emphasis on ownership and on an historical rather than allochronic presentation of Tlingit heritage. His convictions were grounded at the intersection of anthropological preservationism, indigenous values associated with oral history, and a heritage-oriented pan-Indian progressivism. In 1922, Shotridge wrote to Gordon, "It is clear now that unless someone go[es] to work, [to] record these old things as evidence, the noble idea of our forefathers shall be entirely lost."<sup>21</sup> In his final words to the museum he continued to refer to the historic value of the collection, "I hope that in the future the old Tlingit objects will always have a fair chance in representing their former masters."<sup>22</sup>

Shotridge's circumstances demonstrate that dislocation produces further dislocations and that these are not exclusively Western dominated processes. While grounded in existing Tlingit social systems and then-current Native American idealism and political objectives, Shotridge's portrayal of Tlingit objects was a response to the impact of post-contact events within Tlingit society as well as his personal experiences and objectives. Shotridge's museum display constituted a strategic self-representation that was as "authentically" Tlingit as any other form of practice at the time. This further demonstrates Thomas' point that ethnicity exists only as a series of "pluralized identities that emerge through historical dislocations."<sup>23</sup> I suggest that it was these pluralized identities and interactions, not the anthropological itemization of cultural patterns, that governed late nineteenth -and early- twentieth century collecting processes.

Throughout history, members of nations or ethnic groups may express different views through the display and classification of objects as changes occur in social and

political circumstances. For example, Clifford<sup>24</sup> discusses a group of repatriated Kwakwaka'wakw objects at two tribal museums in British Columbia. He notes that at the U'mista Cultural Center at Alert Bay the emphasis is placed on tribal ownership. While personal possession is acknowledged, it is overridden by tribal concerns and political concerns encouraged by a history of intersocietal conflict and interaction:

The objects belong to specific families since, traditionally, there is no such thing as tribal property. Their current home in a tribal museum is the result of a political arrangement.<sup>25</sup>

Clifford contrasts the U'mista display with an exhibit at the Cape Mudge Museum on Quadra Island in which the objects are arranged to emphasize individual (family) property rather than political and historical concerns of the tribal group.<sup>26</sup> Shotridge's display at the University Museum was a precursor of such contemporary Native exhibits in that his emphasis was on clan ownership and tribal divisions rather than Western typology or life groupings. To Shotridge and others of his era, preservation and representation were key factors in seeking institutional sanctuary for objects, while today, control over representation and possession are the issues that dominate Native American peoples' concerns. To quote Clifford, "Tribal identity and power have always been fashioned through alliances, debates, and exchanges -- between local communities and, since the mid-nineteenth century, with intrusive whites."<sup>27</sup> What emerges from this discussion is a realization of the historically contingent and politically charged nature of possession and its long and complex history among Northwest Coast peoples.

Shotridge maintained his position as leader of the Wanamaker Expedition for eighteen years, respected by members of both Tlingit and anthropological societies.

Concurrently, he supported social change as an active member of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and eventually served a term as its Grand President. Yet as a result of the politics of cultural revival beginning in the 1960s, Shotridge has generally been described by Anglo-Americans as a victim of institutional greed or as one who “sold out” exclusively for personal gain. These accounts of Shotridge’s life and work are emblematic of a continuing colonial discourse constructed to preserve an “us/them” dichotomy. More specifically they are about the analogy between the way societies construct individuals and the way they use objects as possessions.<sup>28</sup>

Upon arriving at the University Museum, the Shotridge collection was reconstructed within an anthropological discourse, one which at that time recognized only the “pure products” of an allochronic pre-modern. The historical contingencies of Shotridge’s life, like that of the objects in his collection, were subsumed beneath these overarching anthropological constructs. Shotridge himself was reconstituted as the stereotypical “deficient Indian” -- a character in a self-referential Euro-American system of displacement and dominance.<sup>29</sup> However, Tlingit historian Andrew Hope III sees Shotridge in a different light:

Didn’t all Native American people have to go out and come back?....For ideas, for strength, Louis is the man to get me out of the hole. Each tradition has its own sources.<sup>30</sup>

Ultimately this thesis is about acknowledging the perspectives of Native American peoples on the construction of their own histories and the necessity of recording the stories of individual, implicated lives while refusing primitive/touristic reductions. Not only does it reevaluate Shotridge’s life story, and by extension the history of the objects he

collected; but in so doing, it demonstrates conclusively the fact that existing collections of objects differ according to the period in which they were collected and the strategies of the collector(s) who acquired them. The dynamic interaction between Shotridge's life story and the objects he chose to collect can now be understood as a complex dialogue between Tlingit resistance and accommodation, ethnographic authority, and historical circumstances -- processes which interpenetrate and weave themselves together as the politics of possession.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Moses and Wilson 1985:3.
- <sup>2</sup> Moses and Wilson 1985:4.
- <sup>3</sup> Clifford 1988:344.
- <sup>4</sup> Kan 1985.
- <sup>5</sup> Wyatt 1987.
- <sup>6</sup> Berkhofer 1978:29.
- <sup>7</sup> Hinckley 1982:251.
- <sup>8</sup> Hinckley 1982:253.
- <sup>9</sup> Hinckley 1982:251.
- <sup>10</sup> Hinckley 1982:251.
- <sup>11</sup> The date of this destruction was October 26, 1882. See Laurence Golden, *Angoon: 100 Years Later* (1983).
- <sup>12</sup> Exchanges of Native American objects to reinforce political agreements were common throughout the history of contact, wampum belts being among the earliest examples (Tooker 1978:422-423).
- <sup>13</sup> Bolt 1992:111.
- <sup>14</sup> Bolt 1992:111.
- <sup>15</sup> Berkhofer 1978:64.
- <sup>16</sup> Thomas 1992:227.
- <sup>17</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 7 January 1924, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>18</sup> Phillips 1992:2. For analysis of exhibitions as texts see, for example, Karp and Lavine 1991.
- <sup>19</sup> Shotridge, *Chilkat Breeze* 1930. I am grateful to Elisabeth Hakkinen, Historian at the Sheldon Museum in Haines for this account. Shotridge appeared to be comfortable delivering lectures to diverse groups. An account in *The Verstovian* (October 1930) notes that Shotridge lectured at the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka to a group of University of Oregon students on a summer school course in Alaska.
- <sup>20</sup> Shotridge speech to the Gaanaxteidi over the dispossession of the Whale House objects in Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>21</sup> Shotridge to Gordon, 27 January 1923, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>22</sup> Shotridge to Jayne, 18 January 1932, Shotridge Correspondence, U.M. Archives.
- <sup>23</sup> Thomas 1994:194.
- <sup>24</sup> Clifford 1991.
- <sup>25</sup> Clifford 1991:227.
- <sup>26</sup> Clifford 1991:229.
- <sup>27</sup> Clifford 1991:248.
- <sup>28</sup> See also Kopytoff 1986:89. To quote Ivan Karp (1991:283), "The operative term is *possession*. Whether these possessions are skills and knowledge or material resources, claims to authority based on ownership or possession is a fundamental feature of elite culture."

<sup>29</sup> The criticism of Shotridge for doing things that non-Native anthropologists commonly undertook to do further underlines the premise that museums worked to maintain ideological and economic boundaries between “Indian” and “White” (see Simard 1990).

<sup>30</sup> Hope III 1982:iv & v.

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## APPENDIX 1

**“The Founder of the Whale House” by Louis Shotridge**  
(From the Shotridge Ethnographic Field Notes, University of Pennsylvania Archives.)

Ḫèt-̀sù-̀w̃ II, was a man to be admired as a leader of men. He possessed a thinking power that none of his successors approached; he was the outstanding figure among the Chikat patriots, and to his magnanimous policy was credited the foundation of the Gànàḫ-tè.dí power. The Gànàḫ-tè.dí, as the composition of its name implies (from within Gànàḫ-ádi) was a party, only a small one to begin with, which wandered away from the Gànàḫ-ádi at Tongass, the main body to which it had been a part, and during its immigration up along the coast a number of other small groups joined it, and these came onto the head of the Lynn Canal in its company. Among themselves the immigrating groups referred to one another by certain names, each of which had derived from the geographic position whence the bearer had come.

For a time, after the Gànàḫ-tè.dí made its settlement at the place which is now known as Kluckwan, on Chilkat River, no one ever thought of forming the various small groups into one body, until Ḫèt-̀sù-̀w̃ II stepped into the leadership of the leading group, and it was with him the most important part of the Gànàḫ-tè.dí history began.

Eventually the leading group grew to such a body of men that it was necessary to build another house. This move was made, however, not only because of increase in number, but the members developed into different ranks. Such was the motive of the foundation of the Whale House. The foundation of the new house was an opportunity for Ḫèt-̀sù-̀w̃ II to put to test his great plan, - to strengthen his own party by making the other small groups combined with it so that this new division will have a defensive power. The members of the other groups, then, did not know enough to appreciate the meaning of the organization until the time came for them to realize the danger of an attack by other comers to the region.

The foundation of the Whale House in Chilkat, indeed, set an example not only for the division, but for many others as well. The whole thing was operated in such a magnanimous manner that the different groups were not at all aware of the astute man's intention until each became a part of the great Gànàḫ-tè.dí clan. As already stated, it was thought that the Whale House was to be build [sic] only as an annex to the Raven House dedicated to commemorate the incident from which the clan adopted the Whale as its emblem, and to accommodate the different classes of the members, but, as was learned later, there was a deal more than that to the founder's plan.

In carrying out his plan Ḫèt-̀sù-̀w̃ II began by holding a council with the different groups that lived in company of his own. When they all were seated, he laid before him his plan, : “Càkà-q̃ à.n; Tìx-è.dí; t̃àw̃ yik-è .dí, and Gànàḫ-tè.dí.” Addressing the different groups: “Together

we come to the land of our choice, and here we are destined to remain. By our own making we may enjoy our lives together, or we might prefer to remain indifferent to one another's company. But why should we not all be friends? Before us flows Chilkat; together we drink of it, and together partake of its bounties in place. Indeed the good Goddess of Fortune have looked upon us with favour. But to maintain this peaceful life we must create some sort of defense lest some on else will take form us that which we enjoy. We should stand together, each man in place like a timber of a well constructed stockade; unless we form such a defense the inmates of Kluckwan are still exposed to the danger of attack.

The foregoing is all that was remembered of X̄èt-šù.w̄'s address at the first council of the Gànàx-tè-dí clan. The members of three allied groups are not educated enough to appreciate the gist of the idea, but it seemed that there was none else to do but to accept the proposal of the chief; in a half-hearted manner the elders of the groups acceded, - they had more to do than to follow the leader.

In his own native way X̄èt-šù.w̄ II was educated, - he was well versed on conditions of affairs of the Tlingit world, and he knew all the persons of importance in the various divisions, and in turn the astute man was well known, therefore, he was in a position to call on anyone from most any Tlingit town.

Qà-djis-duáxte II, of Ctàx Hí.n Kiks-ádi, was well known in the Tlingit world, for his unusual skill in carving wood. Ctàx Hí.n (Stikine River) was a great paddling distance from Chilkat, but Qà-djis-duáxte was the only one then who could fill well the requirements of the Gànàx-tè.dí project in Chilkat, hence, distance was no obstacle [sic] to X̄èt-šù.w̄, when he requested the service of the great carver.

It was in the spring of the year when the messengers, from Chilkat, arrived in Qàt-sèʼn and old town now know known as "Old Wrangell." The mission of the party was, of course, well known to the Ctàx-hín-q̄ʼn, for the news of the Gànàx-tè.dí Chilkat affairs were then far-reaching in the Tlingit world, therefore the messenger party was received in a manner that befitted a representative of the great chief, but in order to avoid unnecessary delay the customary receptions were made brief, for the travelers were taking advantage of the fair condition of weather. Qà-djis-duáxte himself had been informed that his services were to be called for from Chilkat, therefore he was prepared, and awaited only the arrival of the message, so immediately following the brief reception the party set out on its return voyage to Chilkat.

From the moment the messenger party left the shore of Qàt-sèʼn, an elder, who had come along for just such purpose, began to relate to the chief carver "The Journey of the Raven" the noble old legend which stands as a foundation to all that pertains to the creation of important things in the Tlingit world.

At each camp, all the way, Qà-djis-duáxte whittled away at the thick pieces of bark of the cotton wood, as he listened to the narrator. Thus, by the time the small party approached

Chilkat the master carver had fashioned the models of the four house pillars that were to be the master-pieces of all carved wood in the country.

One year, thence, in Chilkat Whale House stood Qà-djis-dùáxte II, the greatest carver of wood in the history of the Tlingit people: passing around in the course of the sun and pronounced the names of the four pillars that he had just finished, starting with the one placed on the North corner: - "This oh chief, is the Tree of the Worm." Then he passed on to the one on the Eastern corner: "This is the Raven. - For the sake of justice the creator of things deceived the gods." And again he passed on to the one on the Southern corner: "This one is the Whale, when the Raven flew into the stomach of the Great chief of the sea." At last he passed to the front of the one on the Western corner: "This one is the Black-skinned Giant, - the Champion of Physical Strength." Qàdjis-dùáxte then turned to the face of the chief and said: "Oh chief, no genius [sic] lives who can do justice to the working power of the noble mind, yet withal I offer to thine hand these, the result of a humble attempt, but because of their owner I should have a hope that these posts shall serve their purpose." Thence, these few modest words remained in company of the greatest pieces in history of Tlingit art in wood carving.

During the ceremony of the dedication of the Whale House, the four different groups, that were to form the Gànàx-tè.dí, were each assigned its place in the council house: - the Tàw yik-è.dí was allotted its place by the Tree of Worm; the Càkà-q' à.n by the Raven the Artificer; the Gànàx-tèdí proper took its place by the Whale post, and the Tix-è.dí was assigned its place by the Black-skinned Giant.

Thus, the different groups became as one body, regardless of origin. Though each resided in its own house, to the east they were all represented in the Whale House, and looked to this in a manner something like a state does its capital home. This was the manner in which the Gànàx-tè.dí of Chilkat acquired the reputation of being the most successful party in the region.

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **“History of the Tìná Blanket” by Florence Shotridge (From the Archives of the National Museums of Canada.)**

According to tradition in the many events of another day, the animals of land and the sea, and the birds were adopted as crests by the different tribes of southeastern Alaska.

In the following article I will give a brief account of how my fore-fathers adopted the grizzly bear (called “hoots” in the Tlingit tongue) that is used on my father’s house totems of which my blanket is a copy.

There once lived a chief who had many sons and an only daughter. The girl was beautiful, just growing into womanhood, and was much sought after by young men and many villages, but all were refused for some reason. The boys were great hunters and brought rich furs to be made into garments and robes for their sister.

One day the princess and her friends formed a little party and went berry-picking. After gathering all they wanted they started for home. They had gone a short distance when the princess stepped in bear manure and slipped, remarking at the same time something uncomplimentary about bears, which was considered wrong, for it was believed that the spirit of an animal could hear and would often treat the offender according to the offence. The girls stopped and helped the princess up. A few steps farther the pack-strap of her basket broke, the girls waited until she fastened it, but after going a short distance the strap broke again, this time she told her companions to keep on going, she would catch up with them in a little while. It was dusk already. The girls went on and left her to fix her strap. While she was working on it she heard footsteps behind her. With a frightened look she turned and saw a handsome young man standing close by. He offered her assistance, she accepted; he picked up the basket and told her to follow him, which she did. Late in the evening they reached the village, but it was not the girl’s home. She immediately thought that this young man was the prince she was waiting for and that he had come to take her to wife. Feeling that she did right in following him she decided not to speak to him just then. He finally said, “This is my father’s village, his house is in the middle of it, there I am taking you.” when they came to the entrance of the house he said, “Father, I am bringing home a wife.” The chief arose and welcomed them, called together his people and gave a feast in honor of the couple.

For a while the princess lived contentedly with her husband’s people, but later she began to see many strange things. Men came in from fishing with wet coats, and as they shook them in front of the fire to dry them, the drop of water would blaze up in the most extraordinary way. All this was puzzling to her. She longed to find out what it all ment [sic], so she asked her husband if she could go with him on the next trip to the fishing camp. At first he would not

let her go, as she was not used to doing rough work. She insisted and he finally gave his consent, so she went along.

At the camp, while the men fished the women got wood for the fires. The girl gathered the driest wood she could find. The other women, she noticed, were gathering water-soaked logs and sticks. After making a large pile she made her fire in the way she knew her people made it. It was burning nicely until her husband came from fishing when he shook his big wet coat by it the drops of water put it right out. The girl was ashamed of not knowing how to do her part, and was even more so when she saw how the other women's fires blazed up when their husbands shook their coats by it. Her humiliation was more than she could bear. She knew now that there was some mystery about the people among whom she was thrown.

The day's fishing done, all went home. That night the girl thought of all that had happened and had a troubled sleep. In the middle of the night she awoke with a shock. What monster is this in the place of her husband? A large grizzly bear! The monster felt her start and awoke with a low "ah" and with that he turned into the form of the man she knew as her husband.

It all came to her now: she was among the bear people; the lights and blazing up of wet logs were phosphorus; this bear had taken her for revenge because she had abused the bears when she slipped in the manure. She wanted to run away, but could not do it as she had been there nearly three years and had two sons. A longing for home came over her and she felt miserable. But while in this mood she felt her mind change and was her former self again. The bear had power over her.

In the meantime the parents and brothers of the girl gave up all hope of finding her and mourned for her death according to the custom among the Tlingit. It was early in the spring of the same year that their sister discovered her situation that the brothers went hunting in the direction they had never taken since their sister's disappearance. They knew that there would be plenty to kill there as the place had not been hunted. This place was where their sister lived with the bear people.

In the bear's dens which looked like houses to the girl, there was a general preparation of going away to the summer camps -- spring coming on the bears were getting ready to come out. One morning the girl's husband all of a sudden was startled, straining his ears as if he heard something at a distance; then looked confused; he began taking his spears down from the wall and sharpening them (it looked so to the girl, but the bear was grinding his teeth), for well did he know that hunters were near. All at once they heard a dog barking outside; the bear jumped up and rushed out; he caught the dog and threw it in; the girl recognized it as her brother's dog. She was quick to think; called to her husband and said, "Do not fight, they are your brother-in-law." The bear drew back and waited for the hunters to come up, then went forward and gave up his life, for he knew he was in the wrong by taking away the princess.

After a little while the girl heard voices; she came out and saw the bear lying on the snow with arrows at its side and men, who were her brothers, just about to cut it. She spoke and said,

**“Do not take the bear, he is your brother-in-law.” They looked at her, as may be imagined, with surprise, sorrow and gladness, surprised to see her in that place; sorry for the life she went through, and glad to find her. In a few words she told her strange life. She had never noticed her appearance until after speaking to her brothers; her dress was torn and ragged up to her knees, a pitiful sight to see. The men buried the bear, and took their sister home, leaving her two sons, for they were cubs with half human faces, one of whom was “Kats.” The name is still used.**

**Through this woman the Kagwantans claim the grizzly bear as their crest, emblem of strength and high rank. It is always the principal figure on their totems. The design on the “Tina Blanket” being taken from the house totems consists of more than one animal which is not common in those made for currency.**

**The “Tiná” which gave the name to the blanket forms the figures in the lateral fields. On the Tina: in the upper half are the ears and the mouth of the bear, and in the lower half the paws. The middle square figure represents the main face of the bear on each side of it are the “head-of-salmon-trout” figures, and under these two are “half-face” figures which represents [sic] a halibut. The middle lower figure is a full form shark, pictured as appearing above the water after missing its prey the halibut -- the two half-faces.**

#### **MATERIAL:**

**Wild mountain goat’s wool is used in the manufacture of the blanket; the wool is not sheared but plucked from the skin; after the long hairs are pulled, the down is separated and rolled on the lap and so spun into the fine yarns; the warp, which also forms the fringe, is interspun with fine strips of yellow cedar bark that gives body to the blanket. The dyes are vegetable and mineral; the hemlock bark is used for the black, the yellow tree moss for the yellow, and the copper ore for the bluish green.**

### **APPENDIX 3**

#### **“Notes on the Origin of the Ceremonial Robe called Chilkat Blanket” by Louis Shotridge**

(From the Shotridge Ethnographic Field Notes, University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.)

Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t “Beaver Breech-covering” also known as “Yáx-djidùsné” (Exemplar), is one of the most important objects among the Chilkat Whale House family collection of native arts. The kidet, as we shall Anglicize the Tlingit term of breech-covering, being the original piece, after which the first ceremonial robe had been made, was indeed an object of pride of the owners.

In presence of the immediate development of his form of native art the Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t remains without rival in having the honor of being a paragon of beauty in textile art throughout the whole of the Tlingit land in spite of all attempts made by various expert weavers to create its match. The workmanship on this very old specimen indeed justifies its claim to the highest place of the art of this nature - Every item of form in design and color of this piece has in it the true element of the old-time native art. It presents in all its features the highest development of textile art at the time of its creation, and even at the present time it is the one piece which will compare well with the best products of other lands.

The Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t was obtained from the Haida people of one of the divisions on the Q.C. archipelago, and as will be seen in the story about its disposal the Haida owners had preferred the Tlingit as its permanent owners. As to the age and the maker of the piece no one living can tell. The story about the acquisition of the Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t was related by Yè.i-xá.k of Chilkat, the last of the recognized chiefs of the once great Gànàx-té-dí Clan. For the sake of clear interpretation of the Tlingit thought I frequently have to employ forms that convey most faithfully the thought and sacrifice the original idioms which are peculiar to the translation of the native tongue. Hence the absence of the quotation marks in the following narrative:

The existence of the Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t was not generally known among the Tlingit people, until Kùx-òù (Kuhshoo) II of the Nàn'yà-àyi party brought it to Chilkat. From the day of its arrival the piece was indeed an object of admiration, but for some years no one ever thought of making one like it, even among those women who were in a position to do such work. In those days it seemed that all fine work of this nature was left only for the daughters of the rich. The reasons for this may have been that the women of the poorer class could not afford to spare the time for doing things besides those they had to do for immediate use.

Only for the jealousy which existed between the Tsimshian and the Haida peoples, we might never had the honor of being the makers of the Nà.xè.n (Nahaen, Chilkat Blanket). In the

beginning it was jealousy which led this style of weaving to us, and by their foresight of important things the Chilkat made a popular thing of it.

Kuhshoo II was the son of a Haida chief, therefore he was familiar with affairs upon his father's land. In his day the half Haida was known as one of the greatest traders of the Tlingit nation, and he appeared at the beginning of the foreign influence upon our land. During his earlier days, for many years this man carried on a lively trade between the Haida, the Tsimshian and the Tlingit, particularly the Chilkat people. In exchange for objects of barter that this man brought from the southern people the Chilkat people gave him moose hide, beaver pelts, robes of skins of the foxes, marmot and the [?] under-ground squirrel. The moose hide then was something like the paper money of the present times, only the hides were valued according to sizes and quantity. Most of the fire arms and the various sorts of iron that are found in the possession of the Chilkat leading family are those same pieces brought here by Kuhshoo, mostly for Kàqáyi, his brother-in-law.

It was on one of his unusual trips to the "Out-land" that Kuhshoo halted for a brief visit at the town of Kùhí.qù, a well known Tsimshian chief. Kuhshoo of course was received and entertained in a style befitted his station in life. It was told that the two chiefs were very familiar with each other, and their greetings here were nothing more than a friendly meeting. After the informal feasting was over the two men talked about the current events and new things of the moment, it was then the host must have thought of his latest acquisition an addition to his collection of objects of art, and then the ceremonial robe was brought out for the inspection of the visiting chief. When the wonderful robe was unfolded and spread out Kuhshoo stiffened and straightened in his sitting position; as if to blow through it held his clinched fist at his mouth; cocked his head to one side and then moved backward as if to focus his view at a right range: "My blanket, my friend - It represents the Rainstorm. In truth the great Sánàxè.t (The God of Storm) is known to make his grand appearance always with the rain as a forerunner, and all creatures would flee to their hiding to make way for his approach. It is the result of a mere woman's effort, the outcome of the dream of a maiden, and I have it only for a show." Said the Tsimshian chief.

For a moment Kuhshoo was silent, still held in his position of inspection, as if ignoring his host's presentation, when he spoke: "It is admirable -... my friend this shall be mine." Nothing then can escape Kuhshoo, for he was a rich nobleman, and had the reputation of one who would have the object of his desire regardless of cost and difficulty. But this time it would seem that the great trader made a deal which cost him not only a great sum of property, but a great amount of the blood of his father's people as much.

By some means the Tsimshian chief had learned of a box of tìnx (A red berry sometimes called "Squirrel Berry," found only on high land) among the things that the Tlingit visitor was taking to Wè.há, one of the great chiefs of the Haida nation. The tìnx being a delicacy, at that time, imported from Chilkat only for the rich chiefs of the south, constituted the important part of the cargo. And when the Tlingit trader made a bid on his robe the Tsimshian smiled over his thought - This was a moment of a splendid opportunity in which to deride his rival Wè.há, and

[he] was determined to prevent, at all cost, the box of tinx from reaching the party for whom it was intended.

So it came about that Kuhshoo wanted the "Rain storm" Robe, and Kuhaedgu wanted the box of tinx. It was said that the property which Kuhshoo offered in exchange for the ceremonial robe was an amount sufficient to pay for anything in the nature of this unique robe, but the owner made it known to his guest that unless the box of tinx was included in the deal he would not agree to the exchange. This demand was indeed a surprise to Kuhshoo, and not until he agreed to include the "mere" box of berries, did he realize the meaning of the Tsimshian's desire for the possession of the box of berries - He knew then the purpose for which the Tsimshian wanted the berries.

So it would seem that the motive of the serious war, between the two powerful tribes which followed, was a box of berries. But the Tsimshian and the Haida were never friendly. From the time they had knowledge of each other's presence the two peoples were always in a rival attitude, and as trifle as being deprived of enjoying the sweet berries may seem it proved to be a mighty good excuse for starting the trouble which had so long been impending.

Since he gave up the present which he had carried for his Haida friend Kuhshoo had to change his plan of travel, and instead of continuing on his intended visit to his father's land the trader started out on his return journey to the north. The trader's failure in fulfilling his promised visit to Wè.há only added more to the enraged feeling of the Haida chief, for he soon learned the reason for Kuhshoo's failure in coming to his land.

The Tsimshian chief may have been satisfied with his scheme in disappointing [sic] his rival, but he only added more to the sting cause[d] by it when he remarked, while partaking of the berries: "Ha, if only Wè.há could see me now. Me thinks the old greasy faced would swallow hard." These few words of taunt found wings and rushed to ears of Wè.há, and when he heard this, it was as much as the Haida chief could bear of the abuses imposed upon him by his rival, and the war spirit broke through the last bar in his heart.

Immediately upon his decision Wè.há set out for the mainland to pay his respects to Kuhaedgu, and there the Tsimshian warriors were overpowered. In this first battle Wè.há slew his rival chief. After it was all over the stomach of Kuhaedgu was cut out; like that of halibut this was inflated, and out in the middle of the Naas River the Haida anchored the stomach of his insulting rival Tsimshian, and there it floated at a point where the Nishkah could not miss but see it. This act predominated among all abuses suffered during the serious war which followed.

Wè.há knew that the Tsimshian people will never rest until they took his life in return for that of his rival chief, therefore he decided to fix things so that nothing important should fall into the hands of the enemy party, and upon his return home the rich chief called a council, and before his people brought out all the objects that represented various events in the making of their history. Among the most important objects in the collection was the Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t

which represented the first of its kind. How and where the Haida got this piece no one knew, but it was stated that it was by this that the Tsimshian "Rain Storm" ceremonial robe was made. Of course it is known that the design on the form of art was the out-come of a dream of a Tsimshian maid, and it is likely that this people made also the original piece.

After he made known to his people his intention Wè.há placed a beautiful headdress, one which represented the Gùna-kàdè.t on the fire. Now the great chief had two wives, the elder of these was of his own people, and the younger was no other than Yèt-ka-t'i.s of Chikat Whale House family, and it was the elder wife who went forth and took the headdress from the fire, and in the manner the Haida woman rescued the other important objects, but when she reached to take the Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t the chief, with his walking stick, checked his wife and said: "This you are not to take." Right then Kèt-kàtè.s came forth and took the object from the fire, the chief did not interfere, but allowed his Tlingit wife to rescue the object. It was said that it was in a woven black case when it was put on the fire, hence its escape from possible damage. All this sounds like a well rehearsed act, and I think that the chief had all this planned.

So it seemed that the Sàgè.dí Ki-dè.t was rescued from a total destruction to be Yáx-djèdùsné upon another land. Thus in its original home, the art of weaving in wool came to its end with the two great chiefs, but to appear once more, only in a more appreciative attitude, upon a land where all objects representing culture were received with open arms.

As it was stated the woven object remained in the Chilkat only as an object of admiration, and no one ever thought of making one like it until Gàtùwà-lá, who was Kuhshoo's daughter was old enough to take up the woman's art. It was during the period of her confinement in puberty that the maiden, in a secret manner practised on the weave of the "Rain Storm," and after months of raveling and reweaving succeeded in learning the weave of the intricate twists of strands in the design. The maiden's secret for two long winters was known only to her mother and attending servants, and persons who were employed in making patterns and preparing of materials. It was because of her undertaking that the confinement of the maiden was prolonged to 16 months, hence her reputation as one who observed to the full extent the customs imposed upon a girl at puberty and it was said that within this length of time Qàtùwà-la made and finished the first "Chilkat Blanket."

Immediately upon its completion this first "Chilkat Blanket" was put away, and not to be shown until an appropriate occasion occurred. Thus, for many years, the existence of the new ceremonial robe remained a secret until peace was decided upon after a long siege of war between the Gànàx-te.dí and the tùkàx-ádi clans. At that time the most important person of the four men taken as hostages from among the tùkàx-ádi was Qùtàx-tì.k who was named Gù.x Qùwàkà.n, "Slave Deer," (Qùwàkà.n "Deer" is a name of the harmless animal applied to one taken as a hostage). It was an ancient custom that a hostage was given a name which implied either some meek or harmless animal or something pertaining to current events. Some of these that became popular were: "The Humming Bird," "The Salmon," "The Fish Hawk,"

“The Canoe,” and in recent years “The Steam-boat.” All these characters were imitated with much skill in the solo dance of the hostage, and each was usually performed to its own song.

On this particular occasion Qùtàx-tè.k was named “The Slave” (meaning, the noted warrior had been a slave to the affairs of his own party). I wondered just how such character as a slave could be imitated with great skill a stupid person in servitude, one who has been rebuked by a dissatisfied master. They say the great house shook continuously from the stamping feet of the crowd of admirers during his performance.

The formal peace dance was usually performed within the blazing of the evening fire which lasted about four hours, and while each performer “sang his own song” (i.e. the dance songs are the same in number as the performers) the hostage or the hostages stood in the background, and face the audience only during each song, but turn their backs with a conclusion, and their parts were performed as a final of each ceremony. After one solemn song which was of his own clan, the hostage then comes forward to dance to a song of rejoicing, while the performers accompany him in a half-circle formation.

It was preceding this solemn part of the hostage that a [sic] customary speaking parts were performed, in this Yè.i-xá.k, the master of ceremony, came to the front and spoke his part in this wise: “My slave, he did not answer, where could he be? Me thinks the stupid slave is now about some unheard of mischief. Make way, let me look for his whereabouts.” With this the performer elbowed his way into the crowd of performers with his lines he went on, “Ah here he is, the indolent slave. Come and give account of yourself.” At this point Yè.i-xá.k led his slave Deer to the front. This part was unusual, for the hostage was supposed to be in his place in the back row until it was time for him to dance, but the master of ceremony had purpose.

In the presence of the great Chilkat audience stood Qùtàx-tì.k the hostage who represented the covenant of absolute peace between the two great clans. The hostage, as he appeared was indeed like an indolent slave, adorned in a robe of skins of the under-ground squirrel which had not been new for many winters. For a moment the people wondered about the reason for adorning the distinguished person in such fashion, but such thoughts, at once, turned to a surprise when the old gopher robe was removed. There was shone forth, like the rays of the rising sun, a like creation which the people had never viewed.

When the hostage made a turn to perform his solemn part, the design of this wonderful robe was in full view of the audience, and at this moment Yè.i-xá.k pronounced the name of the creation, and quoted Kuhaedgu the Tsimshian chief: “Rain Storm, this robe of my Deer. In advance of Sánàxè.t comes this storm to clear away all foul matter out of the way of the great chief of the south wind.”

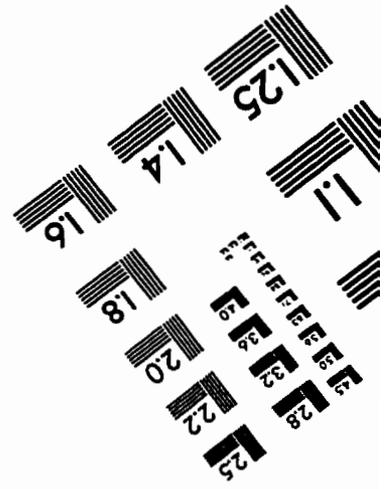
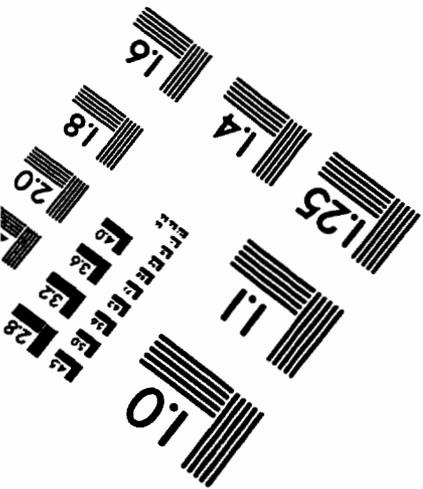
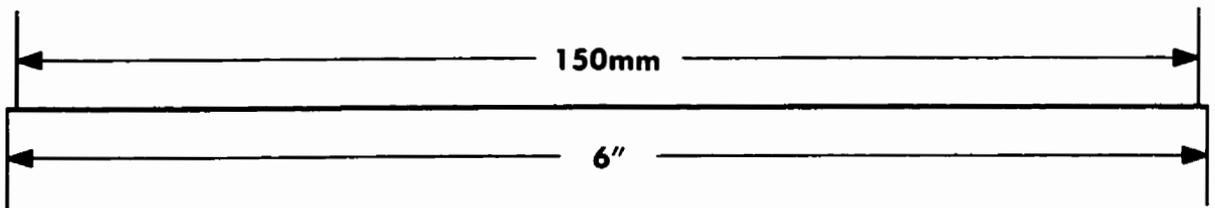
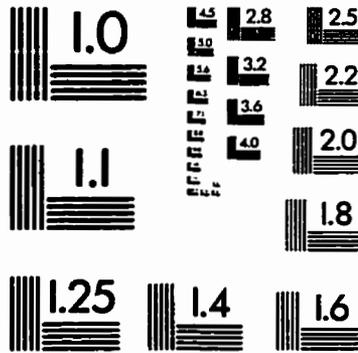
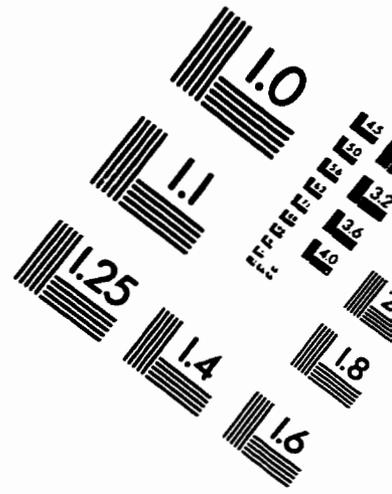
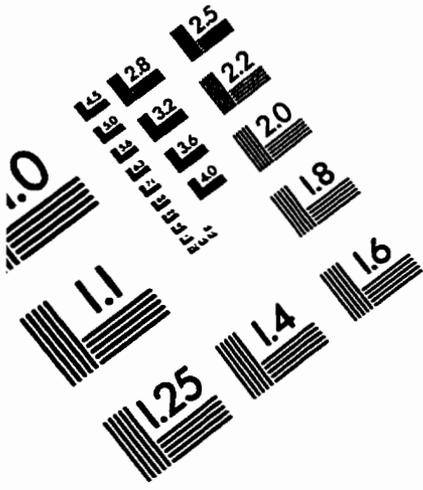
Thus, the “Chilkat Blanket” in this ceremonious manner made its first appearance on the land from which, eventually, received its permanent name.

The Chilkat Blanket is woven entirely by fingers, without the use of loom and shuttle. Two elements enter into the construction of the robe, - the pure wool of the wild goat constitute the woof and the covering of the warp: The inner bark of the yellow cedar with the wool twisted, by rolling into two-stranded cord, forming the warp the lower ends of which hangs as the fringe.

The old-time Chilkat Blanket was woven in about four months time, while the preparation of the material required more time, that was an industrious [woman could] turn out, on the average one blanket a year.

The purpose of the blanket was that of a ceremonial robe. Its great value, then, placed it beyond the reach of all but the man of wealth, and it became a necessary part of a chief's possession. The design woven on a chief's blanket was always representing the totem of the owner.

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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