HAA LÉEL’K’W HÁS JLEETÍ, OUR GRANDPARENTS’ ART:
A STUDY OF MASTER TLINGIT ARTISTS, 1750-1989

By
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Abstract

This dissertation examines the lives and creations of twenty-three master Tlingit artists that practiced in Southeast Alaska between 1750 and 1989. Biographical examination of master Tlingit artists showcases how artists created sacred art objects, known as at.óow, which play a central role in the social and spiritual life of the Tlingit people. Historic Tlingit artists came from the aanyádi, the aristocratic class, and were tasked with the responsibility of not only creating sacred art, but also serving as community leaders and exemplifying Tlingit values throughout their lives. The study of Tlingit artists and their creations also sheds light on objects omitted by previous scholars, highlights the overlooked work of female artists, and challenges outdated approaches to the study of Northwest Coast Indian art.
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Chapter 1: Introduction: The Importance of Studying Tlingit Artists

This dissertation explores the lives and works of Tlingit Indian artists from Southeast Alaska and provides biographies of twenty-three historic master artists that practiced between 1750 and 1989. Although the artworks of historic Tlingit artists have remained popular, collected, and studied, the makers of these creations have been overlooked by scholars. Examination of their lives shows that historic Tlingit artists, both men and women, came from the aanyádi, the Tlingit aristocracy. The Tlingit aanyádi trained individuals in their families to become leaders, and for a special few, artists. These aanyádi-artists served as leaders in Tlingit society, with Tlingit male artists often becoming clan leaders (khaa šáade nákhx’i) or clan house leaders (hit s’aati), and women artists serving as leaders in their sphere of influence, as well as often marrying khaa šáade nákhx’i or hit s’aati. As leaders and artists, these men and women created items of at.óow, the Tlingit term for sacred and ceremonial art that plays a key role in Tlingit social and ceremonial life. The legacy of these artists includes service, empowering their communities, and creating artworks that spiritually and socially enhance Tlingit life.

Although Tlingit artists have played an important role in Tlingit history, various factors have contributed to master artists being overlooked by scholars. Early studies on the Tlingit were conducted by anthropologists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but their focuses were primarily on documenting the Tlingit society, kinship, mythology (oral literature), and language—not individual artists. German anthropologist Aurel Krause visited the Tlingit in 1881 and published his Die Tlinkit-Indianer (1885) (available in English in 1956), the first
ethnography on the Tlingit produced by a scholar and circulated widely. Krause was primarily concerned with corroborating the structure of Tlingit society, religion, kinship, and daily life. Although anthropologist Franz Boas and ethnologist George T. Emmons had begun to study the Tlingit by the year 1900, Boas’ protégé John R. Swanton came to Southeast Alaska in 1904 and soon produced the first ethnography on the Tlingit in English. He too concerned himself with aspects that Krause had studied, though Swanton focused on Tlingit language and oral literature.

Amid the work of anthropologists since that time, some helpful studies for those interested in Tlingit art have emerged. The oldest includes the study by George T. Emmons entitled *The Chilkat Blanket* (1907) published in the *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* and his edited manuscript on the Tlingit people, *The Tlingit Indians* (1991), published posthumously by Frederica de Laguna. Emmons, originally a naval officer stationed in Southeast Alaska during the 1880s, took keen interest in the Tlingit people, learned their language, befriended some, but also removed art items from the Tlingit community and sold these to museums. Emmons’ *The Chilkat Blanket* and *The Tlingit Indians* offer context on the creation of Chilkat robes and weaving culture, but not individual weavers. His *The Tlingit Indians* does touch briefly on male carvers and painters, mentioning some names in passing.

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Emmons’ work offers important information on art among the Tlingit and clues about artists, some of which are used in this dissertation.

Also of importance are the writings of Louis Shotridge (Stuwukhâa) (1882-1937). Shotridge, an aanyâdi of the Kaagwaantaan Clan of Klukwan and who married Chilkat weaver Florence Shotridge (Khaatkwaxhsnei), became a curator and anthropologist during the 1910s. He first worked with Edward Sapir, then Franz Boas, and starting in 1915, he began a seventeen-year career as Assistant Curator at the University Museum (today the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia). His writings on Tlingit history and art are significant due to their detailed documentation of object histories and cultural context. Not until the 1980s and the work of Nora Marks Dauenhauer (Keixhwnei), Richard Dauenhauer, or Rosita Worl (Yeidiklasókw, Khaahâni) would someone write about at.óow histories or attribute the creators of at.óow. Shotridge’s writings, and accession notes from the University Museum, attribute the makers of many items, some of which are featured in this study.5

The Dauenhauers, linguists and ethnohistorians, and Rosita Worl, an anthropologist, have written about at.óow extensively and their works are cited regularly in this study.6 Both the Dauenhauers and Worl have detailed the life of one historic Chilkat weaver, Jennie Johnson Thlunaut (Shax'saani Kée’k) (1890-1986).7 Their research is thorough and models how biographies of weavers and artists in this dissertation are presented. No additional weavers, however, have been written about extensively or their works substantiated. While anthropologists and ethnohistorians have contributed to the dialog on Tlingit artists and art, art

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5 See the bibliography in the appendix for writings by and on Shotridge.
6 See the bibliography in the appendix.
historians have rarely uncovered attributions or provided biographies of historic Tlingit artists. Early in the career of art historian Steve Brown, he wrote an article (1984) that touched on the lives and works of Tlingit carvers at Wrangell, an important article for its day, but his subsequent works did not focus on artists and additional art historians did not follow suit.8

Although studies of Tlingit art and museum art catalogs exist in plenty, art historians have primarily focused on Tlingit art for its style or aesthetic beauty. This focus was first canonized by art historian Bill Holm in his *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (1965) which documented design elements of Northwest Coast Indian formline.9 His book is currently in its eighteenth printing and in 2014, a Fiftieth Anniversary Edition was published. It has remained a standard introductory text for the study of Northwest Coast art history, though it focuses on formline and not the artists who painted or carved the designs he studied. Since Holm’s work, scholars like art historian Steve Brown have built upon his work. In Brown’s *Native Visions: Evolution in Northwest Coast Art from the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Century* (1998) he ranked, classified, and categorized Northwest Coast art items based on subtle and dramatic formline style

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changes. Brown’s thesis began with the idea of documenting the period of creation for objects in museums, and Brown’s synopsis contends that during different periods of history certain historical innovations, elaborations, or formline design aspects shifted or became more common. By identifying these changes, Brown classified and categorized items into periods of creation.

These periods have been organized into conceptual stages by Brown, which have been accepted as the corpus narrative (the widely accepted and established narrative). The first stage of Northwest Coast art history according to Brown is referred to as the Prehistory Period, which argues that formline design is an ancient art form, at least 2,000 years old based on archeological finds, but formline was not overly elaborate during this period. The next stage, art of the Late Prehistoric Period, contends that formline made amid Euro-American arrival (1750-1820) began to become more stylized and elaborate. The next stage, known as the Early Classic Era, 1820-1865, argues that art underwent a flurry of innovations, changes, and elaborations as Euro-Americans arrived and changed life on the Northwest Coast. Brown sees “elaboration as an evolutionary measure” in the history of Northwest Coast art.10 This was followed by a type of Golden Age of art, the Late Classic Period spanning 1865-1880, which Brown describes as an apex for elaborate creation fueled by wealth Native communities received from trade and the rise of master artists like Haida artist Charles Edenshaw. After this apex, a period of nadir ensued, a type of Quiet Period, 1880-1960, a time of decreased quality and quantity of art due to colonization efforts of Christian missionaries and governments. Northwest Coast art soon rebounded during Brown’s final period of Contemporary Revitalization, 1960 to the present, a time of elaborate artistic revitalization and exploration.11

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While Brown’s methods of examination and periods of Northwest Coast art history have merit and arguably constituted a scholarly breakthrough, certain aspects of his findings are incomplete and problematic. First, his work primarily focuses on the formline design painted and carved by male artists. Women’s art comprises a small portion of his examination, omitting contributions from half the population of the Northwest Coast’s artists. Next, Brown’s findings are primarily based on objects found in museums and private collections, some with unclear provenance histories. While these objects serve as a sample for study, these could not be considered comprehensive since many objects never left Native communities. Many of the artists discussed in this dissertation created art during the purported Quiet Period, which were created out of sight from missionaries and collectors and used inside the Tlingit community ceremonially. The items that never left the Tlingit community have not been studied by scholars like Brown. This undercuts the authenticity of museum and private collections as fully representative samples for study and thus challenges aspects of the accuracy of Brown’s purported Quiet Period. Additionally, while a study of style, design, or aesthetic qualities could be considered a norm for many art history scholars, examination of Northwest Coast art against these principles side-steps the notion that these objects have value beyond aesthetics. For the Tlingit people, arguably the most important feature of items of at.ōow are their ability to serve in ceremonial roles within a khu.ēex’ setting.

More recently, other scholars have weighed in on changing the direction of Northwest Coast art history. Aldona Jonaitis’ Art of the Northwest Coast (2006) is structural history of

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12 For studies on Tlingit women artists that focus on Chilkat and Ravenstail weavings see Cheryl Samuel’s The Chilkat Dancing Blanket (Seattle, Pacific Search Press, 1982); Cheryl Samuel, The Raven’s Tail (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); and Bill Holm, “A wooling mantle neatly wrought:” The Early Historic Record of Northwest Coast Pattern-twined Textiles, 1774-1850,” American Indian Art Magazine 8, no. 1 (Winter 1982): 34-47.

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Northwest Coast art that shifts the discussion in new directions. Although Jonaitis’ work accepts most of Brown’s corpus narrative and partially uses aesthetics as evaluative criteria, she broadens the analysis by including women’s art, offers suggestions to problems with Brown’s Quiet Period, and situates the ceremonial importance of art objects to Native communities.  

Katie Bunn-Marcuse’s dissertation (2007) on Northwest Coast silversmiths is an important formalist examination of Northwest Coast art, which explores how jewelry has “always served multiple functions and values in Native cultures” and “how jewelry can communicate personal and cultural histories.” Her work shifts the focus away from aesthetics and establishes how Northwest Coast art objects have multi-functional values within indigenous communities regardless of aesthetics.  

In 2013, with publication of Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas, Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Jennifer Kramer, and Ki-Ke-In coedited a volume that scrutinized definitions of Northwest Coast art, covered oral versus written knowledge, overviewed surrealist thinking, and examined nationalist ideas associated with Northwest Coast art.  

Although an important contribution to scholarship, their volume does not move the dialog away from aesthetics, offers no content on historic Tlingit artists, or situate women’s art in Northwest Coast art history.  

Lukaaxhádi woman and scholar Nora Marks Dauenhauer has been critical of art historians’ writings. She wrote, “Northwest Coast art has usually been described from a formalist, non-Native point of view in written works. From a Native viewpoint, these descriptions are nearly always incomplete.”  

Books on Tlingit art, both scholarly and museum.

13 Aldona Jonaitis, Art of the Northwest Coast (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).  
catalogs, have often been written for a non-Native readership. Discussion of artists and their roles, creation and/or commission of items, the meaning of atóow, and a host of other aspects leave a void in the historiography. Museums today have not been producing exhibits or catalogs that focus on historic Tlingit artists.\textsuperscript{17} Scholars like Amy Lonetree have argued that art historians and museums are products of history whose exhibits, collecting efforts, and publications about indigenous peoples have been framed by the biases of the dominant and empowered Euro-American culture.\textsuperscript{18} Lonetree argues that non-Native scholars should work cooperatively with tribal communities.

The method of using the biographies of Native artists as an approach to Tlingit history has been encouraged by Kiks.ádi Clan scholar Ishmael Hope (Khaagwáask', Shis.hán, Angaluuk). In 2013 Hope organized a panel of presenters for the Sharing Our Knowledge: A Conference of Tlingit and Haida Clans, held in Juneau, Alaska. The conference, known locally as the Clan Conference, is primarily geared toward a Tlingit and Haida audience, and Hope felt biography was a subject that merited attention in the Tlingit community and by scholars. Hope, a Sealaska Heritage coworker of the author at the time, facilitated this panel in an effort to help shift the direction of Northwest Coast art history away from aesthetics and convey the importance of acknowledging individual artists. Hope opened the panel by outlining these ideas, and was followed by non-Native scholars Aldona Jonaitis, Emily Moore, and the author who each spoke on Tlingit artists. The panel concluded with summary words by Lukaaxh.ádi artist and elder Paul Marks (Kinkaduneek).

\textsuperscript{17} Museums today, however, are supporting and publishing on contemporary and practicing artists. The Minneapolis Museum of Art’s forthcoming exhibit on Native American Women will focus on contemporary and historically significant weavers Clarissa Rizal and Teri Rofkar, both of whom passed away in 2017.\textsuperscript{18} See Amy Lonetree, \textit{Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums} (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2012).
Following the direction of individuals like Amy Lonetree, who call on non-Native scholars to work in partnership with indigenous communities, my doctoral research has involved the Tlingit community (see the Author Research Note provided hereafter). An example of working with the Tlingit community includes the use of biography, a method generally accepted by the Tlingit community. In addition to Ishmael Hope’s recent call for use of biography, it has been applied by scholars Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer (adopted Chookaneidi) in their edited book with biographies of Tlingit elders, *Haa Kusteeyi, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories*. They argue that biography of Tlingit individuals and “life stories can flesh out the bones of social and political history.” In Tlingit society it is considered important and respectful to acknowledge elders and individuals that have passed on, especially if they served others, making biography a method of value to the Native community and scholars alike.

**Author Research Note:**

Aspects of my research for this project began shortly after I was hired in 2007 to be the Archivist and Collection Manager for the Sealaska Heritage Institute (now Sealaska Heritage), a tribal organization based in Juneau representing the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian peoples. It was my job to document objects, recordings, photographs, and collections in Sealaska Heritage’s possession according to professional standards and methods that served the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian. This was a complex undertaking, but one that resulted in learning due to the kindness and teaching of elders, artists, and friends from the Tlingit community. Since leaving Sealaska in 2014, after seven years of employment, I have worked to maintain a working relationship with

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21 This concept of publicly acknowledging individuals for their good, especially at khu.ex’ex’, has been documented best by Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2015).
the Tlingit community. This has included regular presentations for or at the invitation of Tlingit audiences, and sharing drafts of my scholarship for Tlingit review and feedback. Some current scholars that work with the Tlingit community have carried out similar actions, as well as being adopted into a Tlingit clan, such as anthropologists Sergei Kan, Steve Langdon, Thomas Thornton, and Dan Monteith.

I would credit my Northwest Coast Indian art education primarily to former coworker Donald Gregory (Héendei) of the Deisheetaan Clan. Gregory is both a great artist and knowledgeable Northwest Coast art historian. He patiently taught me about the subtleties of Tlingit formline over a period of years. Harold Jacobs (Kaawóotk) of the Yanyeidi Clan has also served as a significant teacher. Jacobs has worked for decades as the Cultural Resources Specialist for the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska (CCTHITA) and in that capacity researches and submits NAGPRA claims to museums. He has helped me learn

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23 For information about working with indigenous communities and being adopted see: Sergei Kan, Strangers to Relatives: The Adoption and Naming of Anthropologists in Native North America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).
about the artists featured in this study, provided leads to pursue, and shared conversation about historic artists. Jacobs is arguably one of the most knowledgeable Tlingit historians of his generation, both publishing and teaching Tlingit history and culture in his community. He has served as the key informant for this dissertation, and has stated that he shared information with me because he wanted it preserved in writing for the Tlingit people. I also see the work of Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer as exemplary in Tlingit studies and community service. Richard Dauenhauer was a member of my graduate committee until his sudden passing in 2015. My former coworker at Sealaska Heritage and peer Ishmael Hope, should also be acknowledged, as our conversations over the years have helped me learn and orient my perspectives. Hope, like his father, Andrew Hope, is one of the greatest minds in Alaska.

**Overview of Dissertation Structure**

This dissertation is divided into sections, which include this introductory chapter, three additional chapters, and a conclusion, as well as a bibliography and appendixes. This introduction has overviewed the historiography and argued the importance of studying Tlingit artists. Chapter 2, entitled “Art with a Spirit: Tlingit Art and At.oow,” introduces Tlingit lifeways, art, and details the concept of at.oow. This leads into a discussion of how Tlingit art items are commissioned and dedicated as well as their ceremonial use and importance in the Tlingit community. Chapter 3 is entitled “Writing with Thread: Tlingit Chilkat Weavers,” which introduces Chilkat robes and tunics, offers context on the weaving process, and provides biographical information about thirteen Tlingit weavers and attributes their known works.

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Chapter 4 is entitled “Shapes and Lines with Meaning: Tlingit Carvers and Painters,” and follows suit from the previous chapter, except that the focus is on ten male carvers and painters of at.óow. The final chapter, the conclusion entitled “True Human Beings: Artists that Empower and Stand as Leaders” presents concluding arguments and offers perspectives for further scholarly consideration. The appendixes include lists of identified Tlingit artists, which may assist future scholars in documenting artists.

Note on Language and Tlingit Spelling / Orthography

Scholars that work with Tlingit language have the responsibility to ensure proper spelling and orthography when using Tlingit words and names. Sealaska Heritage and others have strongly issued this counsel. Spelling and orthography in this study have used Keri Edwards’ 2009 *Tlingit Dictionary* as a primary reference. For Tlingit characters that use an underline (_), I choose the accepted option of using of the letter “h” after the underlined character. An example includes the Tlingit word kwáan / khwáan. Clan and clan house names have been spelled based on Deisheetaan Clan linguist James Crippen’s (Dzeiwsh) online Tlingit Khwáan, Clan, and House List website, as well as Lukaaxh.ádi language scholar Lance Twitchell (Xh’unei). In instances when the spelling and orthography of Tlingit name or word could not be double verified against the above resources or from sources in the Tlingit community, a footnote identifies name or word as needing further study and the application of proper spelling and orthography. In some instances, such as names, the only record of the name comes from an individual in the Tlingit community, and the provided spelling has been used.

Concerning the use of certain Tlingit language words, general Tlingit words are italicized. The names of clans and clan houses, as well as Tlingit names, however, are not italicized, as Nora Marks Dauenhauer did in her publications. Regarding the names of Tlingit individuals, the Dauenhauers and Rosita Worl have often used first names or Tlingit names in their biographies of individuals for terms of connoting familiarity and closeness. Although artists are often spoken of by their last names in Western scholarship, in this study I use first and Tlingit names after the pattern of the Dauenhauers and Worl.
Chapter 2: Art with a Spirit: Tlingit At.óow

During the spring of 2014, I was invited to attend a Tlingit khu.éex’ held in Wrangell, and amid this beautiful event, the Naanyaa.aayí Clan celebrated the return of their very old Marmot Hat. The hat had been repatriated from the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and was now being reunited with the Naanyaa aayí Clan. The hat, however, was not viewed as an inanimate object—an artifact—but as a living member of the community, animate and suffused a spirit. It was viewed as a lost friend that had returned home. The hat was spoken to, welcomed home, and placed on a table near other clan hats so it could reconnect with “old friends.” When sitting on a table next to another clan hat, it was stated that “two old friends are catching up with each other.”

During the winter of 2015, another khu.éex’ was held in Wrangell, and this time the Khaach.ádi Clan welcomed home their Xixch’i S’aaxhw (Frog Hat) after it was repatriated from the Oakland Museum. It was photographed sitting next to the Marmot Hat, and again people were saying, “two old friends were catching up with each other.” For years, I have heard Tlingit individuals speak of their sacred objects, at.óow, as living and having spirits.

Whenever elders have spoken, especially to Tlingit youth, they have adamantly wanted them to learn this notion—these objects have a spirit. I was counseled as a curator at Sealaska Heritage to respect at.óow, to treat at.óow like a precious person. Since these sacred objects are intimately tied to Tlingit communities and contain a spirit, creating an item of at.óow is no small matter for an artist. Creating at.óow is a sacred responsibility. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the Tlingit people and detail the concept of at.óow.

The Tlingit People

Providing an introductory overview of the Tlingit people to readers of this dissertation is not without its challenges. I would question the idea of how one could meaningfully give an overview of a people, their culture and history, in a few short pages. I do not attempt to do so, for it would be an injustice, but it is my hope that by providing recommendations for further study, along with information that orientates a reader about the Tlingit and their values, that it will assist readers in better understanding the Tlingit people and premise of this dissertation’s examination of artists.

For anyone seeking to learn about the Tlingit people they should consult the works of Nora Marks Dauenhauer (Keixhwnéi) (1927-2017) and her husband Richard Dauenhauer (1942-2017). Their books published as the Classics of Tlingit Oral Literature series are arguably the best available publications on the Tlingit people, their history, and lifeways. These include

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29 Richard Dauenhauer was adopted into the Chookaneidi Clan by Nora’s father Willie Marks.

Concerning the Tlingit and their history, as my Tlingit teachers have often stated, they have been in Southeast Alaska since time immemorial. Archaeological excavations and scientific methods have documented Native habitation of Southeast Alaska for the last ten thousand years, but some scholars argue habitation of Southeast Alaska predates this period because climate change and glacial rebound have displaced archaeological sites.
above and below the tide line, inhibiting identification of older archeological sites.\textsuperscript{30} Over this long period, the Tlingit lived and flourished on the Northwest Coast, established inland communities in the Yukon, and developed trade routes to the interior of the main continent and south along the Northwest Coast.

At the time of European contact in 1741, with the arrival of Russian mariners, Tlingit territory extended from the north at Icy Bay to the south at Dixon Entrance, an immense distance comparable in size to the coasts of Washington, Oregon, and northern California. As Euro-American traders and scholars have documented for the last two and a half centuries, when Euro-Americans arrived in Southeast Alaska after 1741, the Tlingit people possessed a complex culture, language, extensive trade network, specialized resource management practices, and a well-developed sense of property ownership and sovereignty.

Prior to 1867, the Russian presence in Southeast Alaska was small, less than 350 Russians according to some scholars,\textsuperscript{31} and the Tlingit retained hegemony. When Russians violated Tlingit laws or threatened sovereignty, Tlingit law resolved the issue through a

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map.png}
\caption{Crop from the Map of Traditional Tlingit Country by Tlingit Readers Inc. Shows Tlingit country by khwaans circa late nineteenth century.}
\end{figure}


legal recompense process, or in some serious instances when recompense was not made, Tlingit law authorized acts of war against Russians. The latter occurred most notably in 1802 when the Tlingit responded to Russian actions in their lands by attacking and employing cannon against Russians at Sitka, defeating Russians in battle and sacking their fort.\textsuperscript{32} This also occurred in 1805 with the destruction of the Russian fort at Yakutat.\textsuperscript{33} In 1867, when Russia sold governance rights of Alaska through the Treaty of Cession to the United States, the Tlingit were not consulted and did not acknowledge the legitimacy or legality of Russia’s sale of their lands. The Tlingit considered going to war with the United States, but opted for diplomacy and negotiations instead.\textsuperscript{34} The United States refused to acknowledge Tlingit claims to Southeast Alaska land and waters, which set in motion a long struggle for land claims.\textsuperscript{35} The arrival of Americans is marked as a period of difficulty and sadness for the Tlingit, as it ushered in the beginning of dealing with American colonization efforts.

American refusal to acknowledge Tlingit ownership of Southeast Alaska greatly contributed to conflict between the Tlingit and U.S. Army. This began in 1867 as the military

\textsuperscript{32} It should be noted that the Russians returned two years later, heavily armed, and defeated the Tlingit in battle. See See Nora Marks Danenhauer, Richard Danenhauer, and Lydia Black, eds., Anóoshi Lingít Aani Ká: Russians in Tlingit America, The Battles of Sitka 1802 and 1804 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{35} Although the U.S. Army’s installment in Alaska would not be legally authorized by Congress until 1870, and America’s legalities of interacting with Alaska Natives remained ambiguous and/or left unsaid at the time and would persist for decades, readings on this subject include David Case and David A. Voluck, Alaska Natives and American Laws: Third Edition (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2013); and Sidney L. Harring, Crow Dog’s Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal Law, and United States Law in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 208-248. With no past federal Indian policy and laws specific to Alaska Natives, scholars have argued that federal officials and lawmakers of the day deferred questions of federal Indian law and policy in Alaska to a future time. The question of applying Indian Country laws in Alaska was largely left unaddressed, resulted in conflicting legal actions and interpretations of Indian law in early American Alaska.
was assigned to serve as the interim governing entity of the Department of Alaska. The U.S. Army governed Alaska from 1867 to 1877 and the U.S. Navy from 1878 to 1884. During this period, the U.S. military attacked multiple Tlingit villages, which lead to the death of Tlingit men, women, and children. The most notable actions included the Bombardment of three Khéexh Khwáan villages in 1869, the Bombardment of Khaachxhan áak’w also in 1869, and the Bombardment of Angoon in 1882.\(^{36}\) Anthropologist Steve Langdon has referred to the military’s governance of Alaska as “gunboat diplomacy.”\(^{37}\) In 1884, Alaska became a District and obtained its first inkling of colonial governance, including the establishment of courts and appointment of Alaska’s first governor. For the next two decades, missionaries operated boarding and day schools in Southeast Alaska, instituting the forced removal of Tlingit children from families in an effort to detribalize them.\(^{38}\) The military’s governance, followed by missionary operations, and laws enacted at the federal level and by Alaska’s District (1884-1912) and Territorial (1912-1959) government greatly impacted the lives of Tlingit people. From around the year 1900 to the 1970s, Tlingit culture had to go underground and be practiced outside the view of the Euro-American community. As anthropologist Rosita Worl wrote, “potlatches went underground and were held in secret or disguised in Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) ceremonies, but the ceremonial activities, particularly those surrounding


memorial ceremonies, never ceased.”39 Although some scholars have pointed out that Canada made formal laws outlawing the potlatch, the laws and actions of Alaskan courts made participating in *khu.éex*’ or practicing Tlingit religion punishable, such as through application of the 1905 Nelson Act.40 The Tlingit story cannot be told without discussing the legacy of colonization and the trauma it has caused in the aftermath.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the Tlingit people have retained a sense of community and regularly work to educate their youth and community about Tlingit history, culture, and language. There is an IRA tribal government in nearly every Tlingit village in Southeast Alaska, and some also contain ANCSA regional or village corporations.41 These tribal governments, as well as the non-profit tribal organizations that continue to emerge in Southeast Alaska, take great effort in training Tlingit youth and caring for the elderly. For the youth, these organizations host annual “culture camps” to teach young Tlingit about Tlingit culture and language, in addition to what families and clans are also obligated to teach Tlingit youth. The Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, a tribal government representing all Tlingit and Haida people of U.S. citizenship, have worked for decades to serve their people, represent their interests, and even offer programs that help the Tlingit people deal with the trauma caused from colonization.

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40 The subject of the legality versus illegality of the *khu.éex*’s practice in Southeast Alaska has not been addressed by scholars sufficiently. A number of early court cases document the arrest and conviction of Tlingit *isht*’ (spiritual leaders) for providing religious services. Cases also document Tlingit individuals being penalized for not living a “civilized” life or participating in *khu.éex*. A court case related to the latter includes *Davis v. Sitka School Board* (1906), and is connected to the 1905 Nelson Act which penalized Alaska Natives for engaging in their lifeways. See David S. Case and David A. Voluck, *Alaska Natives and American Laws* 3rd ed. (Anchorage: University of Alaska Press, 2012).
41 IRA (Indian Reorganization Act) tribal governments were established in Alaska in 1936, after the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act was amended for Alaska. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1917 resulted in the creation of 13 regional Native corporations for all of Alaska, along with individual village corporations for all participating villages/communities in Alaska. These Native corporations, intentionally hamstrung by the ANCSA legislation, but also aimed to bring Alaska Natives into the American capitalist system, provided Alaska Natives with land to manage as a corporation, with tribal members being shareholders. This legislation also occurred in response to Alaska Native efforts to address aboriginal title and land claims.
The Central Council has also articulated the nature of Southeast Traditional Tribal Values, and they encourage all Tlingit people to practice these regardless of how the trauma of colonization has affected families. These values include:

Discipline and obedience to the traditions of our ancestors,
Respect for self, elders and others,
Respect for nature and property,
Patience,
Pride in family, clan, and tradition is found in love, loyalty, and generosity,
Be strong in mind, body, and spirit,
Humor,
Hold each other up,
Listen well and with respect,
Speak with care,
We are stewards of the air, land, and sea,
Reverence for our Creator,
Live in peace and harmony,
Be strong and have courage.  

Sealaska Heritage, an organization that represents all Tlingit, has also outlined four principle tribal values for Tlingit life and business. These include:

- **Haa Aani: Our Land: Honoring & Utilizing our Land**
  - Our ancestors, who have lived in this land for more than 10,000 years, taught us that everything has a Spirit. When we utilize our resources, we must acknowledge the Spirits of the Land, Sea and Air and tell them the benefits that their use will bring to our People. Our ancestors protected the ownership of our land for their children and grandchildren just as we must do for future generations.

- **Haa Latseen: Our Strength: Strength of Body, Mind, and Spirit**
  - The “Way of the Warriors” path is to achieve physical and inner strength. Above all, young men and women are taught to protect and to care for their families and clans. They are taught to seek truth and knowledge and to adapt to changing times while maintaining the integrity of our ancient values.

- **Haa Shukí: Past, Present, and Future Generations: Honoring our Ancestors and Future Generations**
  - We maintain strong bonds with our ancestors whom we honor through our lives and in our ceremonies. We also have responsibilities to our future generations, and we must ensure that we protect our land and culture for our children and grandchildren and those who will follow them.

- **Wooch Yáxh: Balance: Social and Spiritual Balance**
  - *Wooch Yáxh* must be maintained to ensure social and spiritual harmony lest ill will goes wandering and causes harm. *Wooch Yáxh* governs
    - Intereelationships between Eagle and Raven clans
    - Intereelationships between the Tlingit and others, including tribes, nations and institutions.
  - *Wooch Yáxh* includes *Khaa yaa awuné* or Respect for Others and *Át yaa awuné* or Respect for All Things. *Wooch Yáxh* requires that our People and our organizations conduct business with

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42 Southeast Traditional Tribal Values, from the CCTHITA website. Last accessed on February 7, 2017. [http://www.ccthita.org/about/values/index.html](http://www.ccthita.org/about/values/index.html)
Yàn gaa doonéekw or “Dignity,” realizing that everything has its rightful place and that all action and business must be done with integrity.\(^43\)

Many aspects of these values are connected to Tlingit kinship relations. Tlingit kinship frames identity, social relationships, and a person’s responsibilities in the Tlingit community. A Tlingit person’s kinship dictates many of life’s basic roles and responsibilities, but especially life’s most significant events, such as births, marriages, and deaths. These kinship roles, such as protocols for a memorial (funerary) *khu.éex’,* are detailed in the Dauenhauers’ book (1990) *Haa Tuwunátagu Yis, for Healing Our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory.* In regards to Tlingit kinship, it is separated into two main divisions, or moieties, and then thereafter by two subunits, clans and clan houses. Every Tlingit person is either a Raven or Eagle (Wolf).\(^44\) Within each community there are Raven (*Yéil*) or Eagle (*Ch’áak*) moiety clans, a sub-division under moiety. A person’s moiety and kindship is passed matrilineally. Thus, a Tlingit person is known as being a member of the clan (and moiety) of their mother, but they are also known as a child (*yádi*) of their father’s clan. Within each clan, and within each region (*khwáan*) of Tlingit territory, there are specific clan houses (*hit*). For example, one of the weavers examined in this study includes Annie Klaney (K’aanakéek Tlāa) (ca. 1880-1968). Klaney was born in Sitka. Her mother, Martha (Xhóotk’) (b. 1841), was of the Eagle moiety, Kaagwaantaan Clan, and of the Ch’áak’ Kúdi Hít (Eagle Nest House). Klaney would also be of this kinship lineage, since it passes down the matrilineal line. Her father, Sitka Jack (Khaltseixh) (1836-1916), was of the L’uknaxh ádi Clan, thus Klaney was a L’uknaxh ádi yádi, or child of the L’uknaxh ádi Clan.\(^45\)

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\(^43\) Perpetuating and enhancing Southeast Alaska Native Cultures from Sealaska Heritage website. Last accessed on December 22, 2017. [http://www.sealaskaheritage.org/about](http://www.sealaskaheritage.org/about)

\(^44\) In history Eagles were sometimes known as Wolves. Some people today have started to use this older moiety.

\(^45\) In this dissertation I have made significant effort to document the kinship and Tlingit names of people mentioned. This provides important documentation about individuals and their relationships in the Tlingit community. My Tlingit teachers have stressed that this information is essential for the Tlingit community and for tribal history. Most scholarship in the past has not mentioned the kinship or Tlingit names of individuals, a shortcoming of Western-framed scholarship created for a non-Tlingit readership.
Hereafter is a list of Raven and Eagle clans and clan houses from the Jilkháat Khwaán (Klukwan area) circa the late nineteenth century to demonstrate the structure of kinship.⁴⁶ Although many artists discussed in this essay were from or lived in Klukwan, it should be noted that each community has its own respective clans and clan houses. Clans and clan houses have a specific crest that is tied to an event in history for their clan or clan house, a history that is connected to the concept of *at.óow*.

### Table 1: Kinship of the Jilkháat Khwaán Tlingit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raven</th>
<th>Eagle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ghaanaaxhtéidí</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kaagwaantaan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khutís’ Hit (Looking out house)</td>
<td>Ghooch Hit (Wolf house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishká Hit (Frog house)</td>
<td>Kéet Hit (Killer whale house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xh’áak Hit (Ravine house)</td>
<td>Ligooshi Hit (Dorsal-finned house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xh’aakw Hit (Freshwater Marked Sockeye house)</td>
<td><strong>Daghideidáana</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xixch’i Hit (Frog house)</td>
<td>Xheitl Hit (Thunderbird house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaay Hit (Whale house)</td>
<td>Shis’ghi Hit (Sapling house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yéíl Hit (Raven house)</td>
<td><strong>Dakh’aweidi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lukaaxhádi</strong></td>
<td>Ch’ee Hít (Murrelet house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Naach’unéidi</strong></td>
<td>Kéet Déxh’í Hít (Killer Whale Backbone house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Noowshaka.aayí</strong></td>
<td>Kéet Gooshi Hít (Killer Whale Dorsal Fin house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kéet Khwaání Hít (Killer Whale People house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kéet L’oot’í Hít (Killer Whale Tongue house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tleilu Hít (Moth house)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to a Tlingit person’s kinship, another important social status that most often came from birth included a person’s social class. Late nineteenth-century observer and ethnologist George T. Emmons wrote about the Tlingit class system, especially the Tlingit aristocracy.

The Tlingit among all the clans are divided into two social classes. The first is a hereditary aristocracy… the second is comprised of the people in general. The aristocracy consists of sub-chiefs [clan house leaders] and their families. But standing almost in a class by themselves are the principal clan chief [clan leader] and his family. Succession to this chieftainship is hereditary within his lineage. Through generations of

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⁴⁶ This list and spelling is based on the modern spelling by linguist and Deisheetaan man James Crippen, Ph.D. Crippen based this list on the earlier Traditional Tlingit Country map designed Tlingit Readers Inc. It should be noted that two artists profiled in this dissertation, Clara Newman Benson and Daniel Katzeek, served as informants to anthropologist Ronald Olson, and they provided names of some clan houses not contained in this list, clan houses which predate this listing. See Ronald Olson, *Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska* (Millwood, NY: Anthropological Records, 1967), 7-9.
authority, greater wealth, and a strict observance of established etiquette, these aristocrats have become distinguished by their dignity, intelligence, and address. Their social position is inherited, but must be maintained by the giving of elaborate feasts, distributions of property, and by marriage only with their equals.47

Understanding this Tlingit social order and the functions of aristocratic lineage is important because the artists examined in this study came from the Tlingit aristocracy. The Tlingit word for an aristocrat is *aanyádi*. Although not practiced today to the same extent as in history, historically aristocratic Tlingit families transferred power dynastically along clan lines. The *aanyádi* ensured that their family obtained special education and training so they could fulfill future aristocratic and leadership roles. This study has found that *aanyádi* families selected some in their family to be trained as artists. Female Chilkat weavers were *aanyádi*, as well as the Tlingit male artists overviewed in this study. The Tlingit male artists examined in a subsequent chapter ascended to clan and clan house leadership positions, becoming leaders, or in Tlingit *khaa sháade háni*. Being a Tlingit artist that produced *at.óow* went hand in hand with being an *aanyádi* historically.

**Tlingit At.óow**

Concerning the subject of Tlingit *at.óow*, it is essential do draw a distinction between what is considered art in a Western sense and what constitutes Tlingit *at.óow*. Generally, art in a Western sense is often a creation that is made for aesthetic purposes, something to be admired or worn as a decorative item, while some art is interpreted for meaning or an argument it makes. Tlingit *at.óow* has few parallels beyond both Western art and Tlingit *at.óow* being aesthetic. Tlingit *at.óow* is deeply connected to Tlingit life on multiple levels. It is true that certain genres of Tlingit art never became *at.óow*, such as baskets woven for tourist consumption or silver jewelry which have been consumed by Tlingit and non-Tlingit individuals. Items such as clan

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hats, song leader staffs, house screens and posts, Chilkat robes, and Chilkat tunics are nearly always items of at.óow.

While some scholars have written about the metaphysical and legal connection the Tlingit people have to their artistic creations that become at.óow, it is appropriate here to only summarize the nature of at.óow. Scholars, such as anthropologist Rosita Worl have argued that the concept of Tlingit at.óow should be understood as an object of “tangible and intangible property” that is deeply interwoven into the Tlingit social and clan structure.48 These items embody actual, spiritual, and metaphysical aspects of Tlingit life and history. Worl and scholars Richard and Nora Marks Dauenhauer argue that these Tlingit creations are connected to the Tlingit concepts of shuká and at.óow, which are conceptually both metaphysical and actual. The Dauenhauers use the Tlingit term shuká to refer to the visual depiction on a ceremonial object and its reference to past and future generations, and at.óow for the ceremonial object with this depiction. Haa shuká refers to the concept of past, present, and future generations and the importance of honoring ancestors and future generations.

With shuká embedding the concept of past and future generations onto the at.óow, items of at.óow are situated within the Tlingit religious cosmos through ancestral connections.49

According to Worl, items of *at.óow* arise, are connected to, and document historical processes and events in five key ways:

(1) a supernatural event including the natural phenomena, the human and animal ancestors and their spirits who were involved in the encounter; (2) the names, songs and stories associated with the event; (3) the site at which the event occurred; (4) the visual representation of the event and entities; and (5) importantly the physical object on which the event is recorded, i.e., house, house screen, ceremonial clothing and/or objects.⁵⁰

For example, the Kiks.ádi Clan of Sitka have the crest of a Frog represented on their *at.óow* due to the Frog’s involvement in their history in a sacred manner as indicated above, the same as with the Deisheetaan Clan claiming the Beaver, the Naanyaa.aayí Clan claiming the Bear, and so on with each clan containing one or more crests. It should be noted that the history of clan crests, including the songs, locations, and stories associated with crests, could be considered intellectual property by Tlingit clans. It is appropriate for anyone wishing to detail the history of a crest to seek the permission of the respective clan or clan house leader. For this study, I will not detail the histories of clan crests, nor offer an interpretation of a crest’s meaning, due to these being intellectual properties. Scholars wishing for additional information about Tlingit intellectual properties or examples of

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crest histories should consult the works of Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Richard Dauenhauer, and Rosita Worl.51

Items of at.óow are created when a clan commissions an artist to make an object for the clan, which will then be dedicated publically at a khu.éex’ as at.óow. Dedication of an object requires payment, which Worl explains:

The purchase price was generally made with a human life or other material payment. The primary and major crests of clans were generally purchased with an ancestor’s life. In the second phase, the at.óow moves from the metaphysical to the natural world and becomes the exclusive legal property of a clan. The at.óow, with its five tangible and intangible elements, are ritually presented by a host clan during a ceremony. The host clan then kills money, formerly slaves, which is called daana ak gwa jaak, by distributing it to the guest clans. The ritual presentation and distribution of cash and gifts by one clan together with a response and acknowledgment by a clan or clans of the opposite moiety is a legal transaction. The ownership of the at.óow is publicly validated in the presence of opposite clans. The visual representation of the crest, the object on which the crest is depicted, and the songs, stories, and names, which retain their sacredness, are hereafter recognized as clan property, and at the same time, the crest itself serves as title to the object.52

The public validation of an item as being at.óow, as indicated above by Worl, often happens at a khu.éex’ by way of a series of processes, which are governed by protocols, payments, and public actions that are witnessed by clan opposites.

Figure 8: Khu.éex’ at Wrangell in 2014 wherein two items (hats resting on piled blankets) were dedicated/rededicated as at.óow in front of clan opposites. Photo by the author.

52 Worl, “Tlingit At.óow,” 93–94.
Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer have also written about the process of how items are both commissioned through artists and later dedicated as at.óow at a khu.éex’.

An art object doesn’t automatically receive instant status as at.óow. The design is usually executed initially as a mere piece of art. An individual or clan traditionally commissions an artist of the opposite moiety to create it, although it is becoming increasingly common for members of a clan to produce their own art work. The art object will always feature an at.óow of the clan, such as a frog or bear, a mountain, or a person such as Strong Man tearing the sea lion in half. These images don’t “tell a story,” but alludes to or make reference to stories already known. … Once created, the art object is brought out during a ceremony and given a name. Speeches are made and the art is paid for by the person who commissioned it and his or her relatives.⁵³

Creator of at.óow Chookaneidi carver Willie Marks (Kéet Yaanaayí) (1902-1981) was interviewed multiple times by his daughter Nora Marks Dauenhauer in the 1970s, and he referred to the process of creating an item of at.óow as being a spiritual undertaking. When speaking of two hats he created years before, including the Shaatkhwáan Keidli S’aaxhw (Mountain Tribe’s Dog Hat) and the Tsalxháantu Sháawu S’aaxhw (Mt. Fairweather Women Hat), Marks stated that he was “paid $250 for the two hats” and that it “took three years” to make them.⁵⁴ Marks stated that these hats are “spiritual hats that I made from the stories and direction of the people who wanted the hats.”⁵⁵ Speaking more generally about commissions, he stated how he would spend time thinking about the items of at.óow he had been commissioned to make and how he would make himself aware of impressions that would come to him. He would

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⁵³ Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, Itaa Tuuunáagyu Yis, 16.
⁵⁴ Willie Marks, Interviewed by Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Sept. 8, year unknown, MC 5, Item 381, Tape 323-A, minute 33:25, Dauenhauer Oral Literature Collection, Sealaska Heritage Archives.
⁵⁵ Ibid., minute 31.
take his time, thinking about the item he had been asked to make, and create it in response to these factors.\textsuperscript{56} Artists like the Marks and those examined in this study are individuals that approached their creations in Tlingit ways, as creators of \textit{at.\textcircled{o}ow}, items that came to have spirits.

Items of \textit{at.\textcircled{o}ow} have been especially important for the Tlingit during times when deaths occurred in the community. As the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska has outlined for tribal members, at a memorial \textit{khu.\textcircled{e}ex’} clan leaders or maternal nephews are responsible for “asking who will place the \textit{at.\textcircled{o}ow} on or near the deceased. The widow(er)’s family will place \textit{at.\textcircled{o}ow} of their own behind the deceased to show their in-laws that they are standing with them.”\textsuperscript{57} Although there are many events that make up a memorial \textit{khu.\textcircled{e}ex’}, items of \textit{at.\textcircled{o}ow} are used or referenced during the Face Painting and “Dressing Up” period, when Money is Killed, amid the Blanket Dances of the \textit{Kindachóon Aawanaak} (Standing Upright, Money Dances), and at various other times.\textsuperscript{58}

The ceremonial use of \textit{at.\textcircled{o}ow} for funerary

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Figure_10.png}
\caption{Display of \textit{at.\textcircled{o}ow} in Sitka for a funerary \textit{khu.\textcircled{e}ex’}, ca. 1900. Alaska State Library, PCA57-35-39. Photo by E.W. Merrill.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
events and at a khu.éex’ have been well documented in historical photography and early ethnographic literature. Many historic photographs evidence the display of at.óow around individuals laying in state, such as the photography of E.W. Merrill at Sitka. Anthropologists, such as John R. Swanton who interviewed Kaagwaantaan Clan, Khōok Hit elder Deikeenáak’w (circa 1828–1928) in 1904 about the khu.éex’, transcribed Deikeenáak’w’s description of at.óow being displayed. Deikeenáak’w stated how “they took out all of their crests—such as hats, woven blankets, and emblem shirts—before the visitors, in order to show them respect.”59

The spiritual power and presence of at.óow at memorial gatherings in history and today should not be underrated. Items of at.óow provide a spiritual bridge for the Tlingit. The various components of the khu.éex’ and use of at.óow are designed to assist the Tlingit in maintaining social and spiritual balance, or (wooch yáxh). At khu.éex’ various speeches, songs, gifts, and actions solidify bonds of respect, love, and the importance of wookh.éen (working together), all

combined contributing to

wooch yáxh. As Lukaaxh.ádi elder Emma Marks (Seigheighéi) has said, “Haa at.óowu haa khuseeyíxh sitee. Our at.óow are our way of life.”

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview on the Tlingit people and at.óow in order to assist readers in understanding of the environment and use of at.óow, as well as some reasons Tlingit artists created these cultural objects. Although additional introductory content on male and female artists will be provided in subsequent chapters, it is important to remember that an artist’s kinship, his or her status as an aanyádi, and the spiritual nature of at.óow framed aspects of the artist’s life and work. Members of the aanyádi, the aristocratic ruling class, selected and trained individuals to be artists. These aanyádi artists created at.óow for other members of the aanyádi, most often of the opposite moiety, to serve and empower members of the respective clan. Use of at.óow at khu.éex’ contribute toward wooch yáxh, social and spiritual balance.

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60 Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds., Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories (Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), [vi].

61 These ancient values are still practiced today. These values, previously shown in this chapter, have been made available online by Sealaska for its people. See “Who We Are,” from the Sealaska Corporation website. Last accessed on February 7, 2017. http://www.sealaska.com/who-we-are
Chapter 3: Writing with Thread: Tlingit Chilkat Weavers

At Celebration\textsuperscript{62} 2016 a group of Chilkat and Ravenstail weavers held a symposium on weaving. At this event in Sealaska Heritage’s Walter A. Soboleff Building, Tlingit-Haida weaver Della Cheney spoke about what weaving entails.

When I look into the room and see the weavers, I see how we’re connected. Each of us is a warp and the things we create are the weft. … Each robe, each hat, each apron will move forward with our children and grandchildren through time. Today as I weave and create new regalia, the techniques I practice are from the time before us. … This process of weaving is a healing therapy for all of us, and it’s just a very powerful way of life.\textsuperscript{63}

Cheney’s words are indicative of the past and present spiritual components of weaving, as well as the lasting contribution weavers give to clans, families, and communities. As creators of \textit{at.óow}, Chilkat weavers have played a role in contributing to social and spiritual balance, \textit{wooch yáxh}, for centuries in Tlingit communities.

This chapter’s focus is on Tlingit Chilkat weavers and their works. The chapter presents information in four categories, including, 1) addressing briefly why Chilkat weavers and weaving is a focus of this dissertation, 2) overviewing the origins of Tlingit Chilkat weaving, 3) outlining the context of Chilkat weaving, and 4) presenting biographies of thirteen historic Chilkat weavers and attributing their weavings.

Overview and Context of Chilkat Weaving

This dissertation focuses on Chilkat weavers because their life stories provide insight into the roles and importance of Tlingit women in history. Studying Tlingit women challenges the repressed histories of Tlingit women and combats the gender imbalance in Tlingit scholarship.

\textsuperscript{62} Celebration is a biennial gathering of Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian people in Juneau to celebrate their culture, as organized by Sealaska Heritage since 1982.

due to scholars focusing primarily on the work of Tlingit male artists.\textsuperscript{64} As educated women of the aanyádi, they were knowledge holders and leaders in their communities, producing atóow which empowered clans and giving of their time to serve their community. Documenting historical use of Chilkat weavings illustrates the internal uses of atóow by the Tlingit people, rather than examining these weavings from an aesthetic viewpoint. This chapter also fills a gap in the literature since no scholarship on weavers exists aside from weaver Jennie Johnson Thlunaut.\textsuperscript{65} This dearth of scholarship on weavers has contributed to Chilkat weavings remaining largely unattributed or over-attributed to Jennie Thlunaut. Although Thlunaut’s life has been written about, a summary biographical section on Thlunaut is included in this work to better situate her role in the larger picture of Tlingit history.

Aside from Jennie Thlunaut, the biographies of the other twelve weavers featured in this chapter constitute the first written documentation of their lives and works. Extensive research in tribal and non-tribal archives and consultation with informants in the Native community, especially tribal historian Harold Jacobs, fostered these life histories. Although biographies of

\textsuperscript{64} For information on the gendering of art history, see Norma Broude and Mary Garrad, eds. The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History (New York: Harper Collins, 1992).

these weavers are being presented here for the first time, it should be noted that many additional weavers practiced during the period of 1750 and 1989. More research is warranted. Around the year 1900, George Emmons stated that around twenty Tlingit weavers were practicing in Southeast Alaska, though Emmons never named these twenty women. My research has identified approximately fifty historic weavers by name, as shown in the appendix. Nearly all of these weavers practiced in the Klukwan or Haines area—in the Jilkhaat and Jilkhoot Khwáans. In some instances, only their name is known as they show up in census records as being “blanket makers” by profession, and no additional information about them was found at the time of this study.

In regards to the origins of Chilkat weaving among the Tlingit, a number of tribal historians have carried this knowledge down to the present day. Many in the Tlingit community today look to the writings of Louis Shotridge (1882-1937) who wrote a history on the origin of Chilkat weaving among the Tlingit while he worked as a curator during the 1920s. Shotridge was an aanyádi of the Kaagwaantaan Clan and his first wife Florence Shotridge

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66 Ibid.
(Khaatkwaaxhsnei) (1880s-1917) was a Chilkat weaver. Louis Shotridge had detailed knowledge of this history from his own family and his training as an aanyádi man.

Shotridge wrote that Chilkat weaving in Tlingit country originates with the very old Beaver Apron and Rainstorm Robe. Shotridge does not provide a date or Western time equivalent to when this happened, only conveying that it happened in the Tlingit past. The apron and blanket originated in Tsimshian country, and both came into Tlingit possession through a series of complicated trades through wealthy Naanyaa.aayí aristocrat K’uxhshóo II's interactions with a community of Tsimshian people, according to Shotridge and the research of contemporary scholar Judith Berman. Eventually these items came to the Jilkháat Khwáan, specifically to Klukwan and resided in the home of K’uxhshóo II and his Ghaanaxhteidi wife Yeidukdatán. The weavings were kept a strict secret for a time. Their young teenage daughter Kh’aluwa Tláa studied these

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68 See Louis Shotridge, “Notes on the Origin of the Ceremonial Robe called Chilkat Blanket,” in Maureen E. Milburn’s “The Politics of Possession: Louis Shotridge and the Tlingit Collections of the University of Pennsylvania Museum,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1997, 375-380. Chilkat weavings were mentioned by European explorers during the 1700s, and paintings showing robes begin to surface during the early 1800s.

weavings in detail during her period of seclusion, a time of two winters. With her mother Yeidukdatán, Kh’aluwa Tláa unraveled the method of Chilkat weaving by examining the weavings in detail. Kh’aluwa Tláa then wove the first Chilkat robe in Tlingit country. At a special ceremony in Klukwan, K’uxhshóó II unveiled the robe to those at the ceremony, greatly surprising and amazing those present. According to Shotridge, when it was revealed, the robe “shone forth, like the rays of the rising sun, like a creation the people had never viewed.”

After this Kh’aluwa Tláa wove additional blankets, as did other Ghaanaxhtéidi women. Since that time Ghaanaxhtéidi women have been acknowledged for curating the science and skill of Chilkat weaving. The production of robes by Ghaanaxhtéidi women, and later other clans like the Kaagwaantaan, in the Jilkáat Khwáan resulted in robes being dubbed “Chilkat” robes by English speaking new-comers to Tlingit country, since they were primarily produced in Jilkáat (Chilkat) country. Weaving was practiced only by aanyádi women from the Jilkáat and Jilkhoot Khwáans, and the method and skills of weaving were not lightly conveyed or taught.

To understand the life stories of historic Chilkat weavers, it is important to detail aspects of the Tlingit education system as applied to Tlingit young women. Unfortunately, little has been written about the historic education of Tlingit young women, a subject neglected by nearly all male scholars and anthropologists who visited the Tlingit during the historic period. However,

70 The concept of seclusion for young Tlingit women is detailed in subsequent pages.
the writings of Lukaax̱.ádi weaver Florence Shotridge (1882-1917) in her essay (1913), “The Life of a Chilkat Indian Girl,” showcases aspects of training given to Jilkháat and Jilkhoot young women. For young pre-pubescent Tlingit girls, Shotridge wrote “A young woman is reserved in manners, neat in her work and appearance, not talkative or indulging in too much laughter, was said to be well bred and was respected accordingly. So while the girl was yet quite young the mother taught her quietness; even her cries were repressed.”72 Young Tlingit women were taught about respect, honor, and purpose in life, “beginning at an early age, a child was given an outline of what she was to go through later.”73

With the onset of puberty, Tlingit young women entered into a period of seclusion. As Shotridge stresses, this period was greatly influential in training a young woman to enter adult female life in Tlingit society. Shotridge’s writings detail seclusion, which she likely took part in, and also the production of art as one of the final products from seclusion.

Arriving at puberty, the Indian girl is obliged to cast off everything pertaining to childhood, and become more reserved in manner, as is befitting her years. She is taken in hand by her mother—if motherless, by the nearest female relative and put under special training for a period of from four to twelve months, the difference of time depending upon the parents’ social circumstances. This is considered the most important period in a girl's life, as much of her future welfare depends upon how she is taken care of at this time. A small room near the parents’ sleeping place is provided for her and her attendant. There are two entrances, one opening into the house, the other to outside; the former is used for girls and women visitors, the latter for going out into the open.

The very first thing that a girl does upon entering is to fast for as many days as was agreed upon by her relatives, the usual number is four—drinking water only, towards evening. During her fast, the first instruction is given her on how to accustom herself to the life she is to go through. After this come the many complicated rules which for an inexperienced girl are rather difficult to understand, but are given to her on appropriate occasions. Her food is carefully selected and prepared. Special attention is given to her manners at all times. In drinking water, a bone tube is supplied her through which to sip it. On receiving a visitor, she may smile but not be the first to speak. Personal care is necessary, and that she must learn. Neatness in everything is practiced. Her experience in handwork when a child helps her to become proficient at this time. After she has acquired neatness in everything, she is given some important thing to make, such as a ceremonial costume for a famed dancer, or something for a person holding a high office; this is to have her understand what it is to do things for the public.74

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73 Ibid.
74 Ibid., 101-102.
Aanyādi women were taught clan history, songs, and stories, but also protocols and a host of diverse knowledge, as demonstrative of actions taken later in life by the Tlingit women in this study. The Tlingit weavers in this study have been found to be from aristocratic families, and married into families with aanyādi lineage. Their husbands often became clan or clan house leaders, for whom they produced at.óow.75

The story of Kh’aluwa Tlá’a’s seclusion, and her emerging with a completed Chilkat robe, in combination with Shotridge’s words, is an indication of how young Chilkat weaving started for some aanyādi girls. Being chosen as a Chilkat weaver was a special calling, not given to every girl. Kh’aluwa Tlá’a’s story and Florence Shotridge’s writing also indicate that Tlingit women held an obligation to serve through creation of art and/or at.óow.76

There have also been other examples of how Tlingit women learned to weave. Kaagwaantaan weaver Jennie Johnson Thlunaut’s (Shax'saani Kéek') (1890-1986) father paid Clara Newman Benson (Deinkhul.át) to teach his wife Ester Tom Johnson (Kaakwdagáan) to

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75 It is also important to note that nearly all Tlingit weavers documented in this study lived and wove within the Jilkháat or Jilkhoot Khwáan. The Tlingit of the Jilkháat and Jilkhoot Khwáan retained the secret and skills of Chilkat weaving.

76 One interesting gender exception from my research on Tlingit weavers is a male weaver identified on federal census records as John Kow-wéde (b. 1862) and living at Yandeist’akhyé in 1900. I have been unable to find any additional information about him other than this census listing. He amounts to being the only historic male weaver I have been able to document.
weave, who taught Thlunaut to weave beginning in 1902. After Thlunaut’s mother’s died in 1908, Thlunaut’s maternal auntie Saantaas’ and likely others offered further training in weaving. Learning to weave was not an option available to everyone, it occurred in certain contexts and families, and was something considered carefully. This is true during the late twentieth century also, as contemporary T’akhdeintaan Clan weaver Clarissa Rizal (1956-2017) personally informed the author and others in her public presentations. Before Rizal was eventually taught to weave by Jennie Thlunaut, she noticed for some time that Jennie was often staring at her at khú.ëx’ and elsewhere. Rizal stated she was, at times, curious as to why she was being watched by this elder. Then one day after a number of years, Thlunaut approached Rizal abruptly, and told Rizal she had been observing her for years, watching her to see if she would merit being taught to weave. Rizal was invited to apprentice under Thlunaut, and Rizal became not only a great weaver, but a leader, teacher, artist, and woman that supported and empowered other Tlingit women, including those wishing to become weavers.

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78 Ibid.

79 Story relayed to the author by Clarissa Rizal, spring 2014.
Historical Chilkat weavings were made primarily from the wool of Southeast Alaska’s mountain goats, either natural or dyed with various materials, and intertwined with bark of coastal red cedar trees. The process for harvesting, preparing, and dying materials needed to weave Chilkat robes is highly labor and skill intensive. This preparatory process required extensive scientific knowledge about ecology, biology, and chemistry. Weavers knew not only the materials needed, but the right seasons to harvest, and the naturally occurring chemical makeup materials for dye color. Weavers were also trained about respect for the forest and sustainability, harvesting only so much material from each area so they could return years into the future for an additional harvest. Chilkat weavers are Tlingit scientists. Many scholars have overlooked the extensive education a weaver needed to produce a robe, a labor and knowledge bank that arguably surpassed that of male artists.\textsuperscript{80}

Historically, sources indicate that it often took one to two years to gather and prepare the extensive materials needed to make a Chilkat robe. If not all self-harvested, these items could be traded for at great expense. Observer of Chilkat weavers, George T. Emmons wrote around the year 1900 “for the manufacture of one blanket, three goatskins were necessary.”\textsuperscript{81} After

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\textsuperscript{80} For information about the complex knowledge behind weaving and historiography, see Cheryl Samuel, \textit{The Chilkat Dancing Blanket}. Reprint ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).
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\textsuperscript{81} Emmons, \textit{The Tlingit Indians}, 224.
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obtaining the materials, engaging in the labor and knowledge intensive preparation of the bark, wool, dyes, and other materials, weavers setup a loom.

When beginning, weavers attached their work to the top of the loom and wove from the top down. The designs on Chilkat weavings were woven from a provided pattern board painted by a male artist. The images depicted were formline designs of a specific and usually unique pattern, which as Emmons confirmed, “the weaver made frequent reference to.” As Emmons wrote “these boards were highly valued; the painting of one was worth $5.00, and the boards themselves were valued from $10 to $60.”82

In regards to the positioning of the weaver, “the weaver was seated on the floor in front of the loom, with her legs drawn up in front of her, and wove from left to right in a close twining of two woof strands over each warp strand in succession.”83 It has often been said in the Tlingit community that it takes one dedicated year to complete a Chilkat robe, though Emmons wrote that “a practiced weaver used

82 Ibid., 227.
83 Ibid.
her fingers with great rapidity, and from the time of commencing a blanket, it would be finished in five to six months.”

For most robes completed after 1850, weavers left their signature on the robe, which sometimes assists in attributing weavings. Emmons recorded that “the private mark of each weaver was worked in on each lower corner where the fringe begins, and generally consisted of two colors.”

Evidence suggests that sometimes more than one weaver worked on a single robe, E.R. Scidmore, a traveler to Klukwan in 1884, wrote in her memoir, “In one tent two women were at work weaving a large Chilkat blanket.” Overall, the creation of a Chilkat robe, tunic, or apron was an extensive time and labor commitment. Chilkat weavings have remained one of the most highly treasured and expensive items produced in Tlingit society.

Although most Chilkat weavings in history were created or commissioned for a specific purpose, few detailed examples exist for the bulk of historic creations. My research has found that weavers regularly made robes and tunics that their husbands wore as clan house or clan

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84 Ibid.
85 Scholars should be cautious about their use of signatures in identifying robes. Signatures can help identify robes, but multiple weavers appear to have used the same signature, and some weavers may have signed differently over their years of weaving.
86 Ibid.
87 E.R. Scidmore, Alaska, Its Southern Coast and the Sitkan Archipelago (Boston: D. Lothrop and Co., 1885), 106
88 In my research on Chilkat weavings I could find no evidence of historic Haida-created Chilkat weavings. There is clear evidence of Tlingit-made robes being traded to Haida communities and collected by museums in Haida country, but no evidence could be found that proves weaving occurring historically in Haida country. Haida weaver Evelyn Vanderhoop claims weaving occurred in the Haida community because robes were collected by museums in Haida country, but just because a robe was collected in Haida country does not mean it was woven within or by that community. Some fear her arguments are revisionist history, though perhaps evidence will someday surface to support her thesis.
leaders, such as with the Bear tunic woven by Maggie Kadanaha for her husband Mike. Evidence shows that Chilkat robes have most often been commissioned by the clan to serve as clan *at.óow*. These robes were then dedicated at *khu.éex*. Weavings have also been commissioned for special events, which may include historical, spiritual, or social occasions, as well as to serve as a payment or a gift to another clan. Examples of these are detailed in the biographies of weavers and the pieces they created. It should also be noted that some Tlingit weavers were commissioned to make robes for Haida and Tsimshian clans, of which these became ceremonial objects within the Haida and Tsimshian communities.\(^{89}\)

Exactly how many Chilkat robes, tunics, and aprons have been created over the centuries that survive to this day are uncounted. Some figures exist to provide a general conception of the amount of robes in existence. For example, a 2003 publication by Harold Jacobs indicated that there were about 220 Chilkat robes and 11 tunics in museums within the United States.\(^{90}\) Since that time, Jacobs and I have discovered additional robes and tunics in United States museums. My research has also counted 35 Chilkat robes in European and Russian museums, and 50 robes and 3 tunics

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\(^{89}\) One example includes a robe now at the Canadian Museum of History, robe VII-A-132, which was collected from Tsimshian country. The provenance notes penned by anthropologist and museum curator C.M. Barbeau in 1915 record the robe’s history. Barbeau’s notes included: “Purchased from Mr. Wm. Musgrove, Tsimshian. Was made about 40 years ago. Documentation. Chilkat robe formerly belonging to Gemk lekakigret gipuwundwade of the Ginaxaugik tribe. Gemk in a yeok ceremony adopted the mediek (grizzly) which he had already painted on the front of his house, as a headdress and pattern for robe. He had for this purpose to give away 200 elk skins, 200 blankets, 70 guns and 70 hahoxen (leather bags?). After that ceremony he had the painting [put] on leather and had the best tsiqta (Tlingit) woman weaver to weave it into a blanket. She took a year to weave it and was paid. It was made about 40 years ago. Gemk never actually used it. It passed down from Gemk to Mr Wm Musgrove from whom it was purchased.” Courtesy Canadian Museum of History.

in Canadian museums.\textsuperscript{91} Accurately counting robes and tunics in private collections is not possible. No count is currently available for robes in use among the Tlingit, though that number is growing due to repatriations\textsuperscript{92} and weavers producing new items. Suffice to say, many robes currently exist in locations around the world, though not all Chilkat robes, tunics, and aprons created have survived to this day. Some robes were designated to end their lifecycle in funerary instances, such as robes being placed on graves.

Chilkat weavings have remained some of the most important items in Tlingit communities. Today, some collectors, museums, and the Tlingit wonder if all Chilkat weavings created in the historical period are at.óow. This is a challenging question to answer. In my study of Chilkat weavings, weavers, and information about the process of creation, I find no evidence to suggest that any robe, tunic, or apron made before 1900 was not at.óow. All items made before or after this period should be considered at.óow unless there is firm evidence to suggest otherwise. In the decades after 1900, especially during the 1950s, a small minority of the weavings produced, such as small “child size” robes, were produced for Euro-American collectors. However, small robes were also used as at.óow in the Tlingit community in many instances, as historic photographs

\textsuperscript{91} The author contacted every ethnographic museum in Europe to arrive at this count. Some of the author’s work to document Tlingit collections in Europe was published as Zachary R. Jones, “Clan At.óow in Distant Lands: A Survey of Tlingit Art in European and Russian Museums,” \textit{Box of Knowledge} 1, no. 1 (April 2012): 1-35. Founding issue. Produced by Sealaska Heritage as limited print. These counts omit mini or child-size robes.

\textsuperscript{92} As of 2015, the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska reported that it had repatriated 155 objects, though only some of these were Chilkat robes. See “Central Council Secures NAGPRA Grant,” \textit{Tlingit & Haida Central Council Tribal News} (July/August 2015): 6.
attest by showing these robes adorning children and adults in ceremonial settings. These mini robes should be considered *at.óow* unless the provenance is clear.\(^93\)

In summary, this chapter seeks to provide a brief introduction to Chilkat weaving and the context which weavings have been produced. Historically the knowledge and skill of Chilkat weaving has been acknowledged in the Tlingit community to the Ghaanaxhtéidi women of the Jilkháat Khwáan after they obtained weavings from the Tsimshian. Select women of the *aanyádi* were trained to weave, a discipline that required significant training, labor, patience, and skill. Weaver Florence Shotridge wrote that Tlingit young women learned from an early age and during seclusion they were “given some important thing to make, such as a ceremonial costume for a famed dancer, or something for a person holding a high office; this is to have her understand what it is to do things for the public.”\(^94\) Chilkat weavers produced items of *at.óow* to empower clans, quite often the clan of their husband.

This chapter provides biographies of thirteen Chilkat weavers, arranged based on moiety, with Raven weavers first, followed by Eagle weavers. Raven weavers of the Ghaanaxhtéidi Clan are provided first since the history of Tlingit weaving is attributed to Ghaanaxhtéidi women.

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\(^93\) It should be noted that an item of *at.óow* cannot be sold or given to a private individual or museum without the consent of the whole clan or clan house. I am not aware of any instance in which this has occurred legitimately. Items of *at.óow* are owned communally, not individually, and individuals cannot sell an item of *at.óow*. There are clear lines of clan inheritance outlined for clan properties. See Norm Marks Dauenhauer, “Tlingit *at.óow*,” in *Celebration 2000: Restoring Balance through Culture*, edited by Rosita Worl and Susan Fair (Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 2000): 101-106.

Raven Clan Weavers

Clara Newman Benson (Deinkhul.át), (1856-1935)
Ghaanaxhteidí Clan, Yéil Hit, Kaagwaantaan Yádi

Clara Newman Benson (Deinkhul.át) (1856-1935), often remembered in the Tlingit community as “Mrs. Benson,” was a skilled Chilkat weaver of an aanyádi family of the Ghaanaxhteidí Clan, Yéil Hit (Raven house), 95 and she was a Kaagwaantaan Yádi. Tlingit anthropologist Louis Shotridge recorded the lineage of Benson as being the third daughter of Ghaanaxhteidí Yéil Hit woman Noow T’eiyí and Kaagwaantaan man Tuxsaayí. 96 Some details of her early life are found in the writings of anthropologists or Euro-American individuals who recorded her words. For example, in 1907 when judge and politician James Wickersham interviewed Clara about making Chilkat robes, she informed Wickersham that she was “the 7th daughter who has learned to make blankets at Klukwan.” He also documented that Benson possessed a hereditary tattoo on her left arm, and that her “great grandmother had many tattoos on her arms, both arms

95 There is an indication that some of Clara’s siblings claimed to be from the Xixch’í Hit (Frog house) rather than the Yéil Hit (Raven house). Some in the Tlingit community have felt that Clara was Xixch’í Hit. This could be due to levels of inactivity of the Yéil Hit during the late 1800s as Olson recorded from his informants, prompting members of the Yéil Hit to merge with the Xixch’í Hit or other. (See page 8 of Olson’s ethnography) The Shotridge notes and Clara’s words to Olson state she was of the Yéil Hit.

96 Louis Shotridge Digital Archive genealogy notes mention Deinkhul.át as being of the lineage of a Ghaanaxhteidí woman named Noow T’eiyí and man named Tuxsaayí. It is possible that this is incorrect, as Harold Jacobs’ research wondered if she was the daughter of a Ghaanaxhteidí woman named Kooleet Tl’aa and Kaagwaantaan man named X’aajoosí. Personal email to the author on September 15, 2015.
and back, one was put on at a great feast when the great grandmother was a girl.” Benson received this same tattoo when young, and allowed her tattoo to be photographed and sketched by Wickersham.

Information about Benson prior to the 1890s, the first 30 years of her life, is limited. It is highly probable that she was married young through an arranged marriage to an aanyádi and clan or clan house leader, though I have not been able to discover his name. She posed for a photograph in the 1890s, which captures her weaving at the loom in Klukwan. No context surrounding the photo is known, but people in the Tlingit community from Klukwan and Haines have long stated that the photo showed “Mrs. Benson.” Information about Clara and her weavings surface during this period of her life. One of the earliest known tunics created by Clara includes the Deisheetaan Clan Tookhka Hit’s (Needlefish House) S’igeidi Naaxein Kudás’ (Beaver Chilkat Tunic). It was woven sometime before the late 1890s when it was photographed in use. This attribution to Clara as weaver of this tunic is confirmed by Dakhl’aweidi man Mark Jacobs Jr. (Saa.aat’, Gúsht’eihéen, Keet wú, Oodéshk’áduneek) (1923-2005). In 1960 Jacobs specifically spoke about the Deisheetaan Tookhka Hit’s S’igeidi Naaxein Kudás’ during a speech for the

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98 Although a number of people have stated this, including Dick and Nora Dauenhauer in in their book Haa Khiséeyi, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories, 598, the late Johnny Marks wanted me to know that the photo was of Clara Benson. Johnny regularly came to my desk during my years at Sealaska and talked about old photographs, being a kind teacher and friend to me.
removal of grief at Sitka, and he stated that it was “Deinkhul.át ji.eeti áhé” (This is the work of Deinkhul.át).99 Today this tunic remains in the Deisheetaan Clan’s possession.

Additional information about Clara surfaces in historical records and a photograph around the turn of the twentieth century, when Clara was in her late 40s. A court record attests to her December 24, 1897, marriage at Sitka to Peter Newman. The 1900 federal census documents her living in Deishū Village near Haines with Newman, with no children in their household. The census lists her by her Tlingit name, “Daq-quil-ut” [Deinkhul.át], being born in 1856, and being a “blanket maker” by profession. When Clara spoke to anthropologist Ronald Olson in the 1930s she informed Olson of her marriage to a Kaagwaantaan Ghooch Hit man named K’axhook Éesh (Dry Mouth, Father), who served as the hit s’aati of the Ghooch Hit.100 It is likely that Peter Newman’s Tlingit name was K’axhook Éesh, as there is indication that Peter was a leader of the Ghooch Hit, and K’axhook Éesh is a Ghooch Hit name.101 She was photographed alongside Peter around 1900, with Peter wearing the Ghooch Hit’s Chilkat tunic. This tunic was likely woven by Clara, as it matches her other weavings and because she was in the possession of the Xóots Naaxein Kudás’ (Brown Bear Chilkat Tunic)

99 Quoted from the research of Ishmael Hope who reviewed Sealaska Heritage Institute’s archival recordings. Message to the author on February 8 and March 9, 2016. Recordings made by the NPS during the 1960s are held by the Sitka National Historic Park and Sealaska Heritage. See Dauenhauer Tlingit Oral Literature Collection, Items 300-302 (Tapes 240-242), Box 4, MC 5, Sealaska Heritage Archives.

100 Olson, Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska, 48.

pattern board. Clara has been documented as having possession of the Xóots Naaxeín Kudás’
pattern board through her works and the words of her clan sister and fellow weaver Mary
Williams (Kháakaltín) (1872-ca. 1940s).\textsuperscript{102} Mary Williams informed collector Axel Rasmussen
that Clara “made several” tunics from Xóots Naaxeín Kudás’ pattern board that passed from
Clara to Mary Williams.\textsuperscript{103}

Up to the year 1900 and shortly thereafter Clara wove multiple tunics. Tunics would have
been commissioned by clans, items that would become at.óow. In addition to the Tookhka Hit’s
tunic and the Kaagwaantaan tunic that her husband Peter Newman wore, Clara has also been
confirmed by Portland Art Museum (PAM) accession records and fellow weaver Mary Williams
as the weaver of the
Xóots Naaxeín
Kudás’ at the PAM.
Sources indicate
that this tunic was
commissioned by
the Yakutat
Teikhweidí Clan,
Xóots Hit, as it has been documented in the possession of the Xóots Hit leader Situk Jim.\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{102} Erna Gunther, \textit{Art in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indian} (Portland, OR: Portland Art Museum, 1966), 207.
Hereafter referred to as Gunther, \textit{Art in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indian}.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid. This includes a robe at the Canadian Museum of History, NMAI, and one in private hands.
\textsuperscript{104} Gunther, \textit{Art in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indian}, 207.
On the reverse side of the Xóots Naaxéin Kudás’ pattern board is the design for the Yéil Naaxéin Kudás (Raven Chilkat Tunic). Clara’s ownership of this pattern board makes it possible that she wove a Yéil Naaxéin Kudás. Fellow weaver Jennie Thlunaut indicated that Clara made a tunic from this pattern board. A total of four Yéil Naaxéin Kudás are known to exist, which includes those at the Portland Art Museum (88.43.21), Penn Museum (31-29-11), Denver Art Museum (1936.298), and one in the private Diker Collection. Each of these tunics have subtle differences and may have made by two or three different weavers.

One final tunic is attributed to Clara by the Denver Art Museum’s (DAM) accession records. These records verify that around the year 1910 Benson wove a sleeved Xóots Naaxéin Kudás’ (Brown Bear Chilkat Tunic) that her second husband John Benson wore, as stated by one of John Benson’s

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105 The tunic (1936.298) at the Denver Art Museum (DAM) has been attributed to Jennie Thlunaut. In consultation with Harold Jacobs, he stated he’d heard a recording of Jennie Thlunaut stating she made the tunics at the DAM and PAM. It should be acknowledged that Jennie Thlunaut wondered if Benson had wove the Yéil Naaxéin Kudás featured in a photograph showing Ghaanaxhíteidi guests in Sitka in 1904 (see Dauenhauer reference hereafter), but Mary Williams stated that Benson did not weave a tunic of that pattern. Ibid; and Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories, 591.


107 Gunther, Art in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indian, 207.
children to the PAM. Based on all the evidence about Clara’s labors as a tunic maker, she was one of the most prolific and sought after weavers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Around this time, sources verify the creation of a Chilkat robe by Clara. This blanket was commissioned as a wedding gift for Mary White, and for her marriage to James Klanott in 1908. Today, this robe functions as clan at.óow among the Shangukeidi Clan, and is cared for by the grandson of Mary White and Shangukeidi khaa sháade nákχ’i David Katzeek (Kingeisti).

Although Clara was sought after for her Chilkat weavings, she was also respected as a teacher of Chilkat weaving. Clara has been remembered as the weaving teacher of Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hít (Wolf House) woman Ester Tom Johnson (Kaakwdagáan), who later taught her daughter Jennie Johnson Thlunaut (Shax'saani Kéek') (1890-1986) to weave. This transfer of weaving knowledge to an Eagle moiety woman occurred when Ester’s husband Mathew Johnson (Yaandakhin Yéil) of the Ghaanaxhteidi Xíxch’i Hít (Frog House) paid Clara to teach his Kaagwaantaan wife to weave. Jennie Thlunaut is known to have woven many

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108 The DAM obtained the robe from Clara’s son William in 1936, who stated it was previously his father’s robe and woven by his mother approximately 20 years previous to the DAM’s accession of the tunic. DAM personal message to author on 9/28/2015.
109 Attribution by Anna Katzeek, who told this to Harold Jacobs. Harold Jacob’s personal message to author on August 6, 2015 and September 26, 2017.
blankets and some tunics in her life. Thlunaut spoke in a 1980s interview about Clara teaching her mother, “My daddy pay my auntie to learn my momma.”

During the time she wove the robe for Mary White’s wedding and taught Ester Tom Johnson to weave, Clara’s husband, Peter, in his fifties, appears to have died. Clara is shown on the 1910 census under the English name Clara Newman and living in Skagway with a cousin named Mary Shakes. During the 1910s, sources authenticate her marriage to Kaagwaantaan Ligooshi Hit hit s’aati (house leader) and widower John Y. Benson (Yeesyat) (1870/1873-1930), a man more than a decade her junior. The 1920 census of Klukwan lists Clara by her new married name of Clara Benson. This union was later confirmed by Clara to anthropologist Ronald Olson. During the 1910s, Clara was also approached by Louis Shotridge (1882-1937) who interviewed her about the history of aanyádi families, ceremonies, and slaves. Clara gave specific information to Louis about the slaves owned by Yeesyat at one time, presumably her husband John Y. Benson (Yeesyat). Clara knew Louis Shotridge’s parents and family well, living in proximity and being a clan sister to his father, a leader among the Ghaanaxhtíd.  

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111 Records and correspondence of John’s document that he was an artist that carved model totem poles, engaged in subsistence lifestyle, a Clerk for the Klukwan Tlingit Presbyterian Church, and a judge (listed as magistrate) for the Klukwan City Council. See Mss 4: John Y. Benson Papers, Sealaska Heritage Archives.

112 Olson, Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska, vi. Clara Newman Benson informed Olson of this marriage. Benson also told Olson her marriage to John Y. Benson’s came after the death of his wife “Xats’u:h.”

113 See the Louis Shotridge Digital Archive, and Shotridge’s notes on Slaves.
Shotridge’s selection of interviewing high-caste Clara demonstrates that she was regarded in her own community for her knowledge.

Documentation about Clara’s life during the 1920s and 1930s, the latter years of her life, show some intimate details about her daily labors. A small collection of personal letters written to Clara and her husband John Benson are held by Sealaska Heritage’s archives, which contain correspondence of family members and friends who lived across Southeast Alaska, including in Hoonah, Sitka, Juneau, and Klawock. Although census records report that Clara had not learned English, her husband John could speak and read English. The English language letters detail Clara and John Benson’s lives as being that of leaders, artists, and especially merchants of subsistence foods to Tlingit people across Southeast Alaska.\textsuperscript{114} They regularly sold crates of pressed and dried blueberries to people across the region. Although busied with these merchant activities, Clara continued to weave during the 1920s, as one personal letter to her husband from family friend Mrs. Frank W. Lamb kindly chided them both for their industriousness, “You work too hard. Mrs. Benson sits at the blankets too much for her eyes.”\textsuperscript{115}

During the final decade of Clara’s life, she evidenced willingness to serve and educate others. In 1929 the Alaska Territorial Department of Education hired her to teach Chilkat weaving at the Eklutna Indian School, near present-day Anchorage. The governor’s annual report stated that “At Eklutna, during the summer of 1929, one of the few remaining Chilkat blanket weavers, Mrs. Benson by name, has been employed to instruct the girls of the school in the making of her blankets.”\textsuperscript{116} Although the governor was incorrect about Clara being one of last weavers, Clara traveled to Eklutna and taught the four young Native female students to weave.

\textsuperscript{114} See Mss 4, John Y. Benson Family Papers, Sealaska Heritage Archives.
\textsuperscript{115} Mrs. Frank W. Lamb to Mr. and Mrs. Benson, Seattle, undated but circa early 1920s, in Fd 3, Box 1, Mss 4: John Y. Benson Papers, Sealaska Heritage Archives.
One of the students that studied under Clara named Rose Rasmusson wrote an article for the school newsletter about her interactions with Clara. Its intimacy speaks about the process of weaving under Clara’s tutelage.

Last summer Mr. Wagner sent Mrs. Benson from Klukwan to teach us girls how to weave the famous Chilkat blanket. … She arrived early in July and we started the very next day to begin to prepare for our blanket. The first thing we did was to boil the cedar bark for about five hours in order to get all the sticky substances out of it. After this was done we hung the bark on a line to dry out somewhat. While we were waiting for this, we began to pick out all the coarse hair from the goats’ wool, leaving only the soft fluffy part. When the bark was not quite dry we tore it into shreds about a quarter of an inch wide and then twisted it with the goat’s wool, making a sort of rope. This all had to be done by hand and was very tiresome. After the robe was made Mrs. Benson picked out four girls to start on the big blanket. She chose Elsie Rasmusson, Louise Davis, Madeline Wells, and myself. Each girl had to work on a certain section.

Mrs. Benson showed us how to measure and fix the robe on the loom. We started on the top boarder which was to be about two inches wide. After that was done we began on the designs. The pattern was copied from one painted on a board and was a very old design. There were mostly animal faces, bears, and frogs. Our blanket is six feet long and four feet wide. It is woven out of black, white, yellow and greenish blue yarn. The rug was hard to work on. It hurt our hands but we worked away every day until November. We enjoyed learning how to make it. It is very valuable too. Mrs. Benson sold two blankets she had made the winter before for two hundred dollars each.117

Eventually this full-size robe was exhibited at the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair according to Yupik student Louise Davis who also studied under Clara and co-wove on the robe.118 Although a photograph of the robe on exhibit at the Chicago World’s Fair exists, the current location of this robe is unknown.

During the early 1930s, her final years, anthropologist Ronald Olson came to Southeast Alaska to learn about the Tlingit. Clara spoke to Olson extensively, as he credited Clara as serving as a core and major

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informant for his work. Although Olson did not publish his manuscript until 1967, his *Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska* contains Clara’s words and histories of the Ghaanaxhtedí and Kaagwaantaan Clans, as well as identified the heads of clan and clan houses in Klukwan and their genealogies. Her contributions preserved ample details of Ghaanaxhtedí and Kaagwaantaan history and genealogy.\(^{119}\) Clara Newman Benson (Deinkhul.át) was a highly educated *aanyádi* woman of the Ghaanaxhtedí Clan that used her skills as a Chilkat weaver to empower clans by creating *at.óow*. She educated, served, and stood as a leader and teacher in her community. She passed away at Klukwan in 1935.

\(^{119}\) Olson, *Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska*, v-vi, 7-13, 26-27.
Khaaxh’eidei.at
Ghaanaxhteidí Clan

Khaaxh’eidei.at is believed to have been a Ghaanaxhteidí Clan weaver from Klukwan. No information about her has come down in history aside from her name, clan, and work as a Chilkat weaver. Identified through the research of Harold Jacobs, Khaaxh’eidei.at has been attributed as the weaver of the Keet Xhaa Naaxein (Killer Whale Flotilla Robe) made for Naanyaa.aayi Clan leader Shéiyksh VI (Gush Tlein). Held by the Naanyaa.aayi Clan today after repatriation from the Denver Museum of Nature and Science in 2007, according to Jacobs “This blanket was woven around 1890 by a Ghaanaxhteidí weaver named Khaaxh’eidei.at for Chief Shakes VI.” Inspection of the robe shows that it contains dyed green warp and weft (fringe) along both sides and the bottom of the robe. Only seven robes in existence contain dying of this style, and Jacobs feels this is a distinguishing characteristic of Khaaxh’eidei.at’s work until proven otherwise.

Figure 35: Photo of the Killer Whale Flotilla Robe by Khaaxh’eidei.at, Wrangell, 2014. Photo Courtesy Harold Jacobs.

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The seven robes containing green include two robes at the Canadian Museum of History (VII-C-2098 and 1972-012-002), a robe at the Alaska State Museum (II-B-861), a robe at NMAI (18/9136), a robe at the Bruce Museum, a missing version of Keet Xhaa Naaxein, and a small Eagle crest robe (held by a Tlingit family). Harold Jacobs informed the author that four of these robes are possibly by Kháax’eideiǝ’t, excluding the missing version of the Keet Xhaa Naaxein and the small Eagle crest robe. The robes at the Alaska State Museum and NMAI both contain “the longest signatures,” the yellow and black signature weave that wraps the sides and bottoms of robes. Only one additional robe is known to have a long

121 It should be noted that a robe of a similar pattern is held by the Winnipeg Museum, Manitoba, but no evidence exists to document the weaver.
122 The small Eagle crest robe was woven by Mary Willard.
signature like this, but it was likely destroyed during the 1940s fire that burned the village of Hoonah. It was photographed in use at Sitka in 1904 at the Kaagwaantaan *khu'éex'. It is possible this robe was made by Kháaxh’eideiát due to the long signature and its style, but this is uncertain and needs further verification.

Its style is similar to the work of two additional robes Jacobs informed the author that may have been woven by Kháaxh’eideiát. These two robes feature a type of multiplying bear crest that, according to Jacobs, “lack a yellow boarder,” a feature also found on the Kéet Xhaa Naaxein.123

Mary C. Williams (Kháakaltín) (b. 1872)
Ghaanaxhteidí Clan, Yaay Hit

Mary C. Williams (Kháakaltín)\(^{124}\) (b. 1872) of the Ghaanaxhteidi Clan, Yaay Hit was born at Klukwan in 1872 according to census records. Although Williams’ parents could not be documented at the time of this study, later in life she self-identified as a descendant of Aan Kingé.\(^{125}\) There is indication that she was married to a man named John Williams, but it is possible he died prior to 1940 as the 1940 census shows her as being a widow in Klukwan and raising one grandchild. No additional information about her early life or family could be confirmed with certainty through use of archival records or consultation with the Tlingit community.\(^{126}\)

\(^{124}\) I would like to thank Harold Jacobs for helping document her Tlingit name. Jacobs emailed me to report that he talked with Smith Katzeek, who provided her Tlingit name. Message to the author, December 29, 2016.

\(^{125}\) Walter R. Goldschmidt, Theodore Haas, and Thomas Thornton, *Haa Aani, Our Land: Tlingit ad Haida Land Rights and Use* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau, AK: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 2000), 105. In this volume it appears Mary stated this was her great-great grandfather. It should be noted that Ronald Olson documented a Ghaanaxhteidi woman with this clan name living in Klukwan during this visit. See Olson, *Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska*, 8, no. 16a. Louis Shotridge’s genealogy notecards also document multiple women by this name.

\(^{126}\) Various efforts of outreach via email, social media, and public presentations at Tlingit conferences could not document much about Williams. Documenting Mary Williams in censuses, vital statistics, or other records prior to 1930 is challenging, if not impossible. There are some Tlingit women listed on censuses in the area with the first name of Mary, including a Chilkat weaver, but it is not possible to firmly document if it is her without knowledge of her husband’s name or information about possible children. Early census takers often recorded individuals by their Tlingit name, and their spellings of these names can prove quite difficult to match. In regards to Louis Shotridge’s genealogy notes, this too is challenging. There is a Ghaanaxhteidi women (#52) listed by a Tlingit name that appears to match the spelling for Kháakaltín, but it is uncertain if this is Mary Williams. If that is her, it lists her first
Although certain details about Mary’s life remain unauthenticated, some sources chronicle her life after 1940. The 1940 federal and BIA censuses show her living in Klukwan as a 67-year old widow and raising her grandson Billy Johnson Jr. Mary’s words are captured that same year when she gave a deposition about Tlingit land use which was used by Goldschmidt and Haas in their landmark study on Tlingit land use and aboriginal title.127 Williams’ testimony demonstrates her knowledge of Tlingit history, clan ownership, and Tlingit lifeways. She speaks of her life as framed by subsistence practices, travel over the water and lands, and respecting sovereign clan ownership of territory. The transcription of her deposition also details subsistence practices, knowledge of food preparation, and local trade of goods. In one statement she spoke about berries.

These berries used to be gathered in great quantities and used in many different ways. We might fill three or four big baskets (a bushel or more) and then go to the next place. Some of these berries, we dried, in the old days. Now, we put them in jars. Dried berries were pressed into cakes and stored in wooden boxes. Blueberries were preserved in hooligan oil, but now we use crocks instead of boxes. We used to put it in cans and sell it to the Angoon and Hoonah people for about six dollars for a five-gallon can. Also, some of the people sold cakes of dried blueberries. Cooked cranberries with salmon eggs into a kind of thick jam and stored it in boxes.128

Amid Mary’s 1944 words on Tlingit land use, she mentioned mountain goat hunting areas, something a Chilkat weaver would know.

Of the few locatable sources about Mary, most relate to Chilkat weaving. Mary allowed herself to be photographed by William L. Paul Jr. next to a robe she was weaving in Klukwan around 1944. Some of her words were also recorded from a 1944 interaction with missionary and

128 Ibid., 106.
collector Axel Rasmussen, who interviewed her about Chilkat weaving and objects. Through her interactions with Rasmussen, fragments of information about her life as a weaver are preserved.

Some of the information recoded by Rasmussen includes information on Mary’s possession of a Chilkat tunic pattern board and her association with Clara Newman Benson (Deinkhulát). Rasmussen detailed that Mary once owned the Xóots Naaxein Kudás’ (Brown Bear Tunic) pattern board, which now resides at the Portland Art Museum (PAM). PAM curator Erna Gunther at the time, who later reviewed Rasmussen’s notes, wrote that “Mrs. Williams told Mr. Rasmussen that she herself had made three shirts from this pattern, and that a Mrs. Benson had made several more.”¹²⁹

On the reverse side of the pattern board is the Yéíl

¹²⁹ Gunther, *Art in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indian*, 207.
Naaxein Kudás (Raven Tunic) pattern. Gunther’s review of the Rasmussen’s notes reported that “only two shirts were made, both by Mrs. Williams.” However, aspects of this statement are not fully correct, as four tunics of this pattern currently exist. Although Mary’s interaction with Rasmussen attributes her as a maker of multiple Chilkat tunics, exactly which tunics remains uncertain.

During the late 1940s, a source confirms Mary’s residence in the Ghaanaxht’idi Clan’s Yaay Hit, but due to failing health, she moved to a new house in Klukwan. Records from the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Cooperative during the 1950s verify that Williams sold her creations to the Cooperative regularly. The Cooperative was an organization designed to market and sell Alaska Native arts on a statewide and national level, which provided economic opportunity and income sources for Alaska Native artists. As an elderly widow, the Cooperative made many purchases from her, including baskets, beadwork, and moccasins from 1953 to 1955. Mary continued producing art until her final years. She passed away during the 1950s.

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130 Ibid. These tunics are held by the PAM, DAM, Penn Museum, and in the private Diker Collection. Two of these tunics are attributed to Jennie Thlunaut, though the attribution of the robe at the DAM to Thlunaut should be investigated.

131 Williams is mentioned as a resident of the house during the 1940s. See the “Chilkat Indian Village Tribal Court, Chilkat Indian Village, IRA, v. Johnson, et. al.” Indian Law Reporter (Dec. 1993): [n.p. page 8 of case].

132 Records of Ethel Montgomery Collection, ANAC Card File, Box 11, Mss 136, Alaska State Library.
Florence Shotridge (Khaatkwaaxhsnéi) (1880s-1917)
Lukaax.ádi Clan, Shaa Hít, Kaagwaantaan Yádi

Florence Shotridge (Khaatkwaaxhsnéi) (1880s-1917) was born in a Jilkhoot Khwáan village near Haines. She was born into a ranking aanyádi family, with her mother being from the Lukaax.ádi Clan, Shaa Hít (Mountain house) and her father being attributed as Kaagwaantaan. Later in life, in 1913, Florence authored an essay entitled “Life of a Chilkat Indian Girl,” which spoke about how young Tlingit women were educated and trained, which likely drew from her own personal experiences. From this essay there are hints of her aanyádi education and family.  

Unfortunately, no definitive information about her parents could be located. Scholar Maureen M. Milburn’s short biography of her could find no firm evidence to verify her parents, but Milburn indicated that she may have been the daughter of Kaagwaantaan man Sam Dennis (Chilkoot Dennis) (1852-1937) and Lukaax.ádi woman Sarah Dennis (1861-1947). Descriptions of her lineage as published in newspapers of the day offer no clarity, as some indicate she was the daughter of a Kaagwaantaan íxht’ (spiritual

Figure 45: Florence Shotridge posing in front of her recently completed Tináa Robe, ca. 1907. Alaska State Library. Portrait File.

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man), another obituary writes that she was the daughter of a “beaver totem” ʼixht’.\footnote{It should be noted that the Kaagwaantaan of this khwáan do not claim a Beaver as their crest. See clippings from the Louis Shotridge Digital Archive, including her obituary from “Minnehaha Shotridge dies at home in Alaska,” 
\textit{Telegraph} (June 14, 1917); and a bio on her in the newspaper entitled “A Little Chat with Katkwachsnea,” 
\textit{North American} (Jan 2, 1912). See also “Civilized Indians, Man and Wife, About to Explore Alaska Wilds,” 
Tlingit Collections of the University of Pennsylvania Museum,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 
1997). Some have wondered if she was the daughter of Sx’andu.o0, who has been attributed as being Kaagwaantaan 
and Shangukuidei in historical photographs. Harold Jacobs has stated he was actually Daghinsaidei clan. I did check 
census records and a photograph of Sx’andu.o’s family and found no evidence of her coming from his family.}\footnote{When trying to document her lineage in the Tlingit community I consulted tribal historians like Harold Jacobs 
and posted information on social media. I also consulted with Lance Twitchell, whose family is from Skagway and 
connected to the Dennis family.}

People in the Tlingit community also were unsure of the identity of her parents.\footnote{Federal census of Deishu Village, 
1900, 6-7.} My research into census records could not locate her on the 1900 census, in the home of Chilkoot and Sarah Dennis, 
or being the daughter of a Kaagwaantaan ʼixht’.\footnote{Florence Shotridge informed those that interviewed her that she learned to weave from her mother. See No 
author, “A Little Chat with Katkwachsnea,” \textit{North American} (Jan 2, 1912), available online via the Louis Shotridge 
Digital Archive. Accessed February 2, 2016.} No young woman with the name of Florence, or a 
census-taker’s approximation of her Tlingit name Khaatkwaaxhsnéi, were identifiable on census records for the Jilkhoot or Jilkháat Khwáan. Since Florence indicated she learned to weave from her mother, I examined all Chilkat weavers in the Jilkhoot Khwáan that could have been her 
mother based on age and location.\footnote{Two identified Chilkat weavers living in Haines of the 
general age that could have been her mother included Mrs. Elizabeth Paddy (b. 1862) and a 
woman named on census records as “Ka-ba-na” (b. 1850), but no evidence connects Florence to 
these women. No death certificate was created by the territorial government for Florence’s death, 
which normally list the parents of the deceased. Further evidence is needed to clarify her lineage. 

Although information on her parents could not be authenticated, she attended the Haines 
Mission School for four years, where she learned English proficiently. During this time she met 
her future husband, Louis Shotridge (Stuwukháa) (1882-1937), a man of a ranking 
\textit{aamyádi} family and son of Ghaanaxhteidei Clan Yaay Hit leader George Shotridge (Yéil Ghooxhú) and
Kaagwaantaan Clan Gaaw Hit (Drum house) woman Mary Shotridge (Kudeit.sáawk).

Biographer of Florence and Louis Shotridge, Maureen E. Milburn, indicated the two enjoyed each other’s company at the Haines Mission Home, but they were married as part of an arranged marriage.\(^{139}\) Although Florence excelled in her Western schooling and was an accomplished singer according to Milburn, she was also a gifted artist. She was an accomplished basket weaver and had learned Chilkat weaving from her mother.\(^{140}\) Being gifted in Tlingit art and fluent in English attracted the attention of public figures like territorial Governor John Brady.

According to a newspaper article, Florence met Governor Brady during the winter of 1904-1905 when he traveled to Haines and Klukwan to examine art in preparation for the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition to be held in Portland, Oregon.

In 1905 the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland, Ore., cause the Governor of Alaska to come to her town during the previous winter to arrange for illustrations of weaving the Chilkat blanket. Furthermore, she [Florence] was chosen because she was the only English-speaking girl of the tribe who knew how to prepare and to weave these beautiful blankets. The Governor marveled that so young a girl could do this difficult work, and, indeed, she had learned it because her mother had compelled her to.\(^{141}\)

At the invitation of the governor, Florence and her husband traveled to Portland and she demonstrated Chilkat

\(^{139}\) Maureen E. Milburn, “Louis and Florence Shotridge,” in *Haa Kusteeyi, Our Culture, Tlingit Life Stories*, 549-564.

\(^{140}\) Ibid.

weaving at the Alaskan section of the Exposition. In Portland she worked on a robe she named the Tináa Robe, which she completed a few years later. She wrote an explanation about the robe’s meaning, now held by the Canadian Museum of History (VII-A131), detailing that it was inspired by the Bear crest of the Kaagwaantaan and referenced the story of the Woman that Married the Bear. The robe was sold by Florence and Louis to the Canadian Museum of History in 1914 where it resided at the time of this study. No additional weavings by Florence are known.

Florence’s life after 1905 changed dramatically. This exposure placed her and her husband in contact with individuals of influence across the nation. She and her husband were hired by the University of Pennsylvania Museum to educate the public about Native American culture. They lectured, published essays, demonstrated Tlingit art, assisted in collection documentation, and helped museums on collecting expeditions to Alaska. Florence and Louis were perhaps the first Tlingit anthropologists to study and publish on their own culture. Florence authored a paper for the museum in 1913 entitled “Life of a Chilkat Indian Girl” and during the same year both she and Louis co-authored an essay entitled “Indians of the

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Northwest” which discussed Native American culture. The two also gained prominence for their performances in the “Indian Opera,” with Florence’s beauty and singing voice as a main attraction.

Florence’s life, however, was cut short. In her late 20s or early 30s she contracted tuberculosis. With her health in decline, in 1917, she traveled home to Haines and died while surrounded by family and friends in Alaska. She was buried along the Chilkoot River.

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Mary Ebbits Hunt (Aneis, Anislaga) (1823-1919)
Ghaanaxh.ádi Clan, Yan Wulíháshi Hit, Teikhweidí Yádi

Sources indicate that Mary Ebbits Hunt (Aneis, Anislaga) (1823-1919) was born on the Nass River, British Columbia at a Tlingit Taant’a Khwáan village. She was born of a Ghaanaxh.ádi Clan, Yan Wulíháshi Hit (Drifted Ashore House) woman named Aanaseet and Teikhweidí clan or clan house leader named Kinnanook (1779-1879), also known as Chief Ebbits. Verifying the proper spelling of the names of her parents has remained difficult. Mary’s death certificate completed in 1919 by her daughter lists Mary’s father’s name as “Ebeats” and Mary’s mother’s maiden name as “June”, both of whom were attributed as being Tlingit and born in British Columbia.

Descendants of Mary have attributed her father as being “Chief Ebbets” of Taant’a Khwáan and her mother being named Aanaseet. Her father’s headstone in Metlakatla reads “In memory of

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145 Vital statistics records that informed by Mary, she told record takers that her birth place was the Nass River.
146 Spelling of Ebbits varies, sometimes spelled as Ebbets. The headstones of Mary and her father spell it Ebbits, which has been used in this study. The spelling of her mother’s Tlingit name has not been verified for orthography.

69
Kinnanook, Neahshot, Tsitfitin Abbits, Chief of the Tongass Indians, Alaska, Year 1879.149

Early in Mary’s life, her father had her marry non-Native government worker Robert Hunt (1828-1893) due to his employment with the Hudson Bay Company, which her father hoped would help his clan gain a trade advantage.150 Mary followed Robert to Fort Rupert and the adjacent Kwakwaka’wakw village on Vancouver Island where she lived for the rest of her life, until her death in 1919. She and Robert raised eleven children and operated the trading post there, with Mary operating it for a number of years after Robert’s death.151 Their female daughters reportedly all married prominent Euro-American men, their male children reportedly all married prominent Native women, according to their dependents.152

In addition to Mary’s role as a wife, mother, business partner, and then sole proprietor, she was an accomplished Chilkat weaver believed to have woven at least thirteen blankets. No information is known about who she learned to weave from, but her blankets are distinct from others. She used no cedar bark in her robes and her style weaving of mouths, noses, and other design forms is unique, making her robes easier to identify. Museums and family members have identified her robes, which are held by the Royal

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149 For mention of Kinnanook in history, see W. H. Collison, In Wake of the War Canoe (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1915), 164.
British Columbia Museum (18734), the Canadian Museum of History (VII-E-1039), University of Hawaii, the Autry Museum (1919.G.1), and in indigenous communities. Her weaving brought Chilkat robes to the Kwakwaka’wakw people, who adopted them into their spiritual and ceremonial life. These robes were used for decades, as photographs by Edward Curtis and others prove.

Recently a robe that had left the Kwakwaka’wakw community during the historic period resurfaced at a 2014 public auction in Paris. Because of the robe’s ceremonial importance to the Kwakwəgə’wakw community, the Kwakwəgə’wakw U’mista Cultural Society engaged in fundraising and was able to purchase the robe and bring it home.153 Today this robe resides with the Kwakwaka’wakw community.

Elizabeth Goenett (d. 1941)
L’uknaxh.ádi Clan

Weaver Elizabeth Goenett (d. 1941) was born in the Jílkhoot Khwáan during the 1860s or 1870s according to census records. Descendants of Elizabeth have indicated she was L’uknaxh.ádi Clan.¹⁵⁴ Source David Williams indicated that her Tlingit name was “Kolchin,” though this name needs further verification, and that she had a sister named Kitty.¹⁵⁵ In 1888, Elizabeth married Kaagwaantaan Clan, Lukaaxh.ádi yádi man Paddy Goenett (Guneit’) (1873-1949) and they lived their life together primarily in Haines. Census records capture them living in Haines, with their last name being an English spelling of his Tlingit name Guneit’. Censuses also document a daughter named Rose (b. 1885) and a son named James (b. 1911). On the 1900, 1910, and 1920 censuses, Elizabeth declared her profession as being a “blanket weaver,” a term used for Chilkat blanket weavers.

¹⁵⁴ Eileen Goenett Michna, message to the author, May 15, 2018. Michna stated that her father Jacob was the child of Elizabeth and Paddy born in 1911, and L’uknaxh.ádi.
Both Elizabeth and Paddy were significant figures in their community, with Paddy likely being a clan or clan house leader. In 1919, Paddy pursued citizenship through an Indian naturalization process in the Alaska Territorial courts, a process often undertaken by Tlingit leaders.\footnote{See file for Paddy Goenett, no. 42, 1919, AS 29459, Indian Naturalization Case Files, District Court, Juneau, Alaska State Archives.} They were also supporters and members of ANB and ANS in Haines, with Paddy credited by historian David Light as a founder of the Haines ANB camp.\footnote{See David P. Light, \textit{Brothers in Harmony: The Haines Alaska Native Brotherhood Founders} (Anchorage: D.P. Light, 2002), 108-109.} According to Lee Heinmiller, Paddy was the opening speaker for the 1929 Haines ANB/ANS convention, the historic meeting wherein the Tlingit and Haida chose to sue the federal government over land claims. An additional testimony by Paddy on land claims is published in \textit{Haa Aani, Our Land}, which indicates that they both worked toward land claims and other important issues to the Tlingit community.\footnote{Walter R. Goldschmidt, Theodore Haas, and Thomas Thornton, \textit{Haa Aani, Our Land: Tlingit and Haida Land Rights and Use} (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau, AK: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 2000), 108-109.}
Although no additional biographical information about Elizabeth could be documented, two robes at the Alaska State Museum are attributed to Elizabeth Goenett. At the time of this dissertation, one robe was on loan to the State Museum (LC.244) and another was obtained decades ago through the State Museum’s collecting efforts (II-B-1442). According to provenance records, the robe on loan was made for Andrew Widmark in 1921, with Elizabeth being his aunt. The second robe, a small robe, is also attributed to Elizabeth, which was placed with the museum from a collector. The style of these weavings, as well as some finishing techniques for boarders on the front side of robes are a match and indicative of being made by the same weaver. This and other aspects make weavings by Elizabeth more identifiable. I have identified up to ten weavings by Elizabeth, most in museums or private collections today. In the last twenty years, a handful of robes of this style have passed through auction houses. For example, a robe purchased in 1911 at Haines by former Massachusetts Governor Eber S. Draper that sold at auction in 2016 matches the style of Elizabeth’s work, as well as the robe at the Cantor Museum, Stanford University (1954.241).\footnote{For information on the robe once held by E. Draper see Emily Sweeney, “Former Governor’s ceremonial blanket sold at auction,” \textit{Boston Globe} (July 11, 2016).} In 2018, an East Coast family donated a robe to the Central Council of Tlingit & Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska. This robe is a stylistic

\textit{Figure 55: Robe donated by a private collector to CCKITA in 2018. Robe’s style matches Elizabeth Goenett’s style. Photo Courtesy Harold Jacobs.}
match of Elizabeth’s works. Since its donation the robe has been reincorporated back into ceremonial use within the Tlingit community.
Maggie Kadanaha (Khoonookh), (1873-1959)
L’uknaxh.ádi Clan, Xíxch’í Hit

Maggie Kadanaha (1873-1959) (Khoonookh) was born at Sitka and was of the L’uknaxh.ádi Clan, Xíxch’í Hit (Frog House). Kadanaha was married at a young age by arranged marriage to the much older Klukwan Kaagwaantaan Clan, Kéet Hit (Killer Whale House) clan leader Mike Kadanaha (Kudeinaháa) (ca. 1840-1930). This marriage resulted in her moving to Klukwan and leaving her parents’ house in Sitka. During Maggie and Mike’s years together in Klukwan, they had only one child, but this child died very young in a tragic accident.

160 The 1910 census records her place of birth as Sitka, and birth year around 1873. The 1920 census lists her birth at around 1875. Maggie Kadanaha’s clan affiliation was documented by Thomas Thornton’s ethnographic study of the Klondike. Thornton, however, was unable to determine her clan house, but Maggie has been featured in various photographs as both making and wearing beaded White Frog crests, a crest of the Xíxch’í Hit (Frog house) from Ghiunaaxhoo Khwaan (Dry Bay). Evidence for Kadanaha’s birth location is drawn from the 1910 census, which lists her birth place as being Sitka. In Nora Marks’ unpublished notes on George Emmons’ informants entitled “Indian Names,” copy at the Alaska State Museum, there is a notion that Chief Kudeinaháa had a wife identified as “Tceson.”

161 Clara Newman Benson informed anthropologist Ronald Olson that Mike Kadanaha (Kudeinaháa) became leader of the Kéet Hit after his maternal grandmother’s brother “Tuská’ta.” See Olson, Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska, 9. In Nora Marks’ unpublished notes on George Emmons’ informants entitled “Indian Names,” copy at the Alaska State Museum, there is a notion that the Tlingit name Kudeinaháa refers to a “bear disappearing into his den,” referring to the ability “to move unseen.”

Various sources detail Maggie’s life. Kadanaha is mentioned as being engaged in the subsistence lifestyle at Klukwan by fellow Chilkat weaver Mary Williams. Mary Williams recalled the Kadanahas regularly traveling to the Tsirku River, at “Khitghalgiyá, between the confluence of Summit Creek and of Nugget Creek with the Tsirku. Berries and gophers were obtained from both sides of the Tsirku here. … Mr. and Mrs. Kudeinaháa went up there frequently before his death about fifteen years ago. … This was also a good place for mountain goats.” Mary Williams knew of this mountain goat hunting area visited by Mike, perhaps Maggie also, from which wool could be harvested for weaving. During this period, Maggie wove Chilkat robes and at least one tunic, the Xóots Naaxeín Kudás’ (Brown Bear Tunic), which her husband wore as a Kaagwaantaan leader.

It is unclear exactly when Maggie Kadanaha learned to weave Chilkat, but certainly at a young age. Her husband was photographed around the year 1900 wearing the Xóots Naaxeín Kudás’ and standing alongside a robe she was weaving. Around this time, she and Mike also posed outdoors with her loom for a photograph. Maggie was clearly weaving regularly during this period of her life. A robe woven by Maggie during this period was recently discovered. In

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164 This tunic was repatriated in 2005 from the Phoebe Hurst Museum. The Museum’s records documented that the robe was made by Maggie. For information about the repatriation see n.a., “Old Chilkat Tunic to be Repatriated to Klukwan Clan,” Island News (Oct. 3, 2005): 11.
165 Kadanaha reportedly told Axel Rasmussen that she obtained a Chilkat pattern board from Mary Shotridge (Kudeit.síaw). See Gunther, Art in the Life of the Northwest Coat Indians, 204. The location of the robe being woven in the picture next to Mike is currently unknown.
2016, a donor gave the Bowers Museum a Chilkat robe (2016.14.1), with a letter from the original collector that stated the robe was made by “Maggie Kadenhaw” and purchased at Klukwan from an unknown seller in 1912. Maggie continued to produce art and weave Chilkat during the 1910s and 1920s from Klukwan. However, due to Mike’s age and poor health (he being 35 years older than Maggie), during the 1920s, Maggie became his caretaker and the sole family provider. The 1930 census confirms them living in Skagway with Mike not working and Maggie earning their primary income through selling art.

In late 1930, at around age 90, Mike died from influenza, leaving Maggie a childless widow in her 50s. Klukwan resident Evelyn Hotch stated that Maggie “moved out of the village permanently, since she was not native to Klukwan and had no children, the youngest having died in a tragic accident.”  

166 Hotch articulated that “the custom in those days was that a widow who was not from the village and had no children there must move away.”  

167 Skagway became Maggie’s permanent home for the rest of her life.

According to the research of anthropologist Thomas Thornton, “in Skagway Maggie was a beloved figure, perhaps the most visible and industrious member of the Native community between 1930 and 1955. She made moccasins, baskets, and other crafts for sale to tourists on

\[\text{Figure S8: Robe by Maggie Kadanaha in 1912. Bowers Museum. 2016.14.1. Photo Courtesy Bowers Museum.}\]

\[\text{78}\]
Skagway’s White Pass wharf and along Broadway.”¹⁶⁸ She also sold her works through the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Cooperative and by commission, including Chilkat weavings. Maggie appears to have achieved some fame as a weaver by the 1930s, as collectors sought her works. In 1933, collector Lydia Fohn-Hansen commissioned Maggie to weave a small robe, which was completed two years later. Today this robe (601.0001) resides at the University of Alaska (UA) Museum of the North.¹⁶⁹

Perhaps due to Maggie being publicly known as a Chilkat weaver and artist, in 1939, she was invited to teach Indian Arts and Crafts classes at the Sheldon Jackson School in Sitka. Former teacher at the school Jean Gregorioff mentioned Maggie in the school newspaper, The Verstovian, during this period, stating “Mrs. Kadanaha teaches the girls how to do beadwork, and to line and cut moccasins. One of the things the girls enjoy is speaking Tlingit. Mrs. Kadanaha will later have classes on how to tan skins.”¹⁷⁰ Former student of Maggie, Florence Donnelly, later recalled in an oral history, “I remember that Maggie Kadanaha and Mrs. John Newell were hired to teach their Tlingit basket weaving and Indian crafts. I took spruce root basket weaving

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.
¹⁶⁹ George Sanders is known to have possessed a robe of the same pattern, but not the same robe, as that at UAF. See photographs in Alaska State Library PCA306.
¹⁷⁰ Quoted from W. Leslie Yaw, Sixty Years in Sitka: With Sheldon Jackson School and College (Sitka: Sheldon Jackson College Press, 1985), 58.
from Mrs. Newell, and Maggie Kadanaha taught us our Indian designs. Maggie Kadanaha lived in Skagway and Haines. She was noted for her knowledge of Tlingit art, so Mr. Yaw brought her to Sheldon Jackson to teach us.”  

Although Maggie worked briefly as a teacher in Sitka, Skagway remained her home and she soon returned to Skagway after completing her teaching work at the Sheldon Jackson School. Maggie has been remembered for her kindness and service to others in Skagway during the latter years of life. Those interviewed by Thomas Thornton indicated that “Maggie Kadanaha hosted Natives from all over Southeast Alaska and the Interior on their visits to Skagway, and was a mother and grandmother to Native and non-Native alike, who to this day recall her with great fondness and affection.” Her legacy is not only being a Chilkat weaver, but as being someone that gave time, service, and kindness to those in the Native community. Maggie lived in Skagway until 1959 when she passed away.

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171 Ibid., 55.
172 Ibid., 244.
Eagle Clan Weavers

Saantaas’ (b. 1825)
Kaagwaantaan Clan, Ghooch Hit

Saantaas' (b. 1825) was a weaver of the Kaagwaantaan Clan, Ghooch Hit (Wolf House) of Sitka. Very few sources exist to document her life. She is shown on the 1900 Klukwan census as being a Chilkat blanket weaver, born in 1825, and living as a single aunt in the household of Mr. “Taa-kow-ish” (b. 1840) and Mrs. “Klal-la” (b. 1830).173

Clara Newman Benson’s (Deinkhul.át) words to anthropologist Ronald Olson confirm Saantaas’ as being the wife of a Ghaanaxhteidi man named “Kaudesäh” and living in the Ghaanaxhteidi Clan’s Xíxch’i Hit.174

One source indicates that Saantaas’ may have been one of the Five Brides (possibly five sisters) sent to Klukwan, making her the possible sister of Esther Tom Johnson (Kaakwdagáan), who was the daughter of Khak’weidi Clan man

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173 Federal Census of 1900, Klukwan, Alaska. Their Tlingit names could not be verified for spelling and accuracy.
174 Olson, Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska, 7. Benson referred to the Xíxch’i Hit as being part of the Taagwaneidi (Tákuneidi ?) clan, an old Klukwan clan that eventually merged with or became the Ghaanaxhteidi clan. The Tlingit name Kaudesäh has not been verified for Tlingit orthography or proper spelling.
Shaadaax’ and Kaagwaantaan woman Khúséeyi, but this assertion merits confirmation.175

Another source, Clara Newman Benson, who spoke to anthropologist Ronald Olson, stated that Saantaas’ was one of the “children of sisters [wucklauyádkih] from Sitka.”176 One additional source indicated that Saantaas’ was given the responsibility of being the first Admiral of Yanwaa Sháa, a position held by Kaagwaantaan women who claim the U.S. Navy uniform as a crest in response to the four Kaagwaantaan men killed by the U.S. Navy during the late nineteenth-century, but this claim merits further verification.177

The only known photograph of Saantaas’ was taken by photographer E.W. Merrill, who captured Saantaas’ and her daughter Mary Willard (Akhlé) at Klukwan displaying two recently completed blankets. Although an accomplished weaver, it has been difficult to attribute additional robes to Saantaas’. According the researchers Richard and Nora Marks Dauenhauer (Nora being Lukaaxh.ádi), they documented that Saantaas’ wove the Lukaaxh.ádi Clan’s Sockeye Robe.178 Harold Jacobs also verified that Saantaas’ wove this robe.179 This robe was

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175 In a 2003 recorded interview Agnes Bellinger correctly or incorrectly referred to Saantaas’ as the sister of Khúséeyi. See “Transcription of Agnes Bellinger: History behind the Name Khaa.hani, and use of Military Uniforms as Crests by the Kaagwaantaan,” March 2003, in author’s possession. Original recording can be found in the Tlingit Oral Histories, Oratory, and Events Recordings Collection, MC 22, Box 1, Item 32. The author was counseled that the history of the Five Sisters has been confused within the Tlingit community, as competing claims and interpretations of it exist.

176 Olson, Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska, 7. The Tlingit word wucklauyádkih is shown above and in brackets exactly as originally published by Olson. This word has not been vetted for proper orthography.

177 See “Transcription of Agnes Bellinger: History behind the Name Khaa.hani, and use of Military Uniforms as Crests by the Kaagwaantaan.” March 2003, in author’s possession. Original recording can be found in the Tlingit Oral Histories, Oratory, and Events Recordings Collection, MC 22, Box 1, Item 32. For information about Yanwaa Sháa, see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, Haa Khúséeyi, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories, 585-587; and Sealaska Shareholder (Feb. 1993): 7. The author was counseled that the history of Yanwaa Sháa has been confused within the Tlingit community, as competing claims and interpretations of its history exist.


179 Attribution by Harold Jacobs. Personal message to the author, August 6, 2015.
woven before or around the year 1900, as it is photographed in use around the turn of the century. It has remained with the Lukaaxh.ádi Clan and is used regularly.

No additional information about Saantaas’ could be located, aside from the knowledge of her being the mother of Chilkat weaver Mary Willard (Akhlé), whose life is detailed hereafter.
Mary Willard (Akhlé), (ca. 1867-1959)
Kaagwaantaan Clan, Ghooch Hít

Mary Willard (Akhlé) (ca. 1867-1959) was born at Klukwan, the daughter of Chilkat weaver Saantaas’ of the Kaagwaantaan Clan, Ghooch Hit,\(^{180}\) and possibly Ghaanaxtheidi man named Kaudesáh.\(^{181}\) Willard is remembered for being a prolific Chilkat weaver. While certain information about Willard’s early life is unknown, at some point she married James Willard (Deixhwudu.oo [Buys Two at a Time]) (ca. 1859-1944) of the L’uknaxh.ádi Clan.\(^{182}\) The 1900 census of Klukwan captures their family and Mary by her Tlingit name of Akhlé as “Uh-kla.” On this census, she declared her profession as being a “blanket maker.”\(^{183}\) Also recorded on the 1900 census as living in the Willard household was a 95 year old woman and lodger identified as “Show-wat-kaat,” who is

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\(^{180}\) Establishing the exact birth year for Willard is likely not possible. Census records record her age and birth year differently, with a ten year disparity. I have listed her birth year as being 1867 on the basis of the 1940 census, as well as her husbands.

\(^{181}\) Olson, Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska, 7. Clara Newman Benson indicated that he was the husband of Saantaas’, but it is not 100% certain if he was the father of Willard. His Tlingit name has not been verified for Tlingit orthography or proper spelling.

\(^{182}\) The 1900 census lists Mary Willard’s husband by the name of “Katch-ka-nah” (b. 1860) and working as a trader by profession.

\(^{183}\) US Federal Census, 1900. In the 1940 census she also declared her profession as being a “Chilkat blanket weaver.”
also listed as a “blanket maker.”\textsuperscript{184} Living next door to Mary was her mother, Saantaas’, so Chilkat weaving was in close proximity to Mary on a daily basis.

From the period of 1900 to 1940, only some information about Mary could be documented. Censuses capture her living in Kluhkan and raising a family. One source stated that during this time Mary was given the responsibility of being an Admiral of Yanwaa Shåa, the second woman given the position, but this claim merits further verification. This position was bestowed upon her after her mother’s passing.\textsuperscript{185} Since she was photographed twice by E.W. Merrill around 1900 displaying a robe she had recently finished for the Chookaneidi clan of Hoonah, its known she was in possession of the “multiplying bears” pattern board. The general design of that pattern was woven by Mary multiple times. Photographs from the 1930s in Yakutat, such as in the Alaska Native Brotherhood Hall, prove ceremonial use of one of these robes by Mary. The research of Harold Jacobs discovered this robe’s creation by Mary and its possession by the Teikhweidi Clan of Yakutat. This robe was repatriated from the Whatcom Museum of Washington in 2016.\textsuperscript{186} Additional robes of this general pattern by

\begin{figure}[h!]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image65}
\caption{Yakutat Teikhweidi robe by Mary Willard repatriated in 2016. Photo Courtesy Whatcom Museum.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{184} Information about and the relationship of Show-wat-kaat to Willard remains unknown. This Tlingit name has not been firmly identified or corrected for proper orthography.

\textsuperscript{185} See “Transcription of Agnes Bellinger: History behind the Name Khaa.hani, and use of Military Uniforms as Crests by the Kaagwaantaan,” March 2003, in author’s possession. Original recording can be found in the Tlingit Oral Histories, Oratory, and Events Recordings Collection, MC 22, Box 1, Item 32. See minute 11:36 on recording. For information about Yanwaa Shåa, see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, Haa Khušéeyi, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories, 585-587; and Sealaska Shareholder (Feb. 1993): 7. The author was counseled that the history of Yanwaa Shåa has been confused within the Tlingit community, as competing claims and interpretations of its history exist.

\textsuperscript{186} See “Teikhweidi Chilkat Blanket Repatriated,” Tribal News (Spring 2016): 9; and “Whatcom Museum Repatriates Chilkat Blanket to Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Alaska,” Feb. 29, 2016. Press release by museum available at \url{https://t.e2ma.net/webview/v1ddj/132335a0700b9e05dd69096b6cca0895}. 

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Mary exist, including some in use by the Tlingit community and one in the possession of the Sealaska Corporation (1975-1-23).

Mary was photographed on various occasions weaving after the mid-1930s. The earliest photograph of her weaving appeared in a short 1938 article about Chilkat weaving in *Alaska Life Magazine*, which features a photograph of Mary preparing wool for Chilkat weaving. This photo of Willard was next used in the 1940 *Catalog of Alaska Native Craft Products*, an Office of Indian Affairs catalog aimed to market Alaska Native art and create economic opportunity for Tlingit artists. This publication featured Chilkat weavings that could be commissioned for purchase. By 1940 and aged 73 years old, Mary self-identified to census takers as being a “Chilkat blanket weaver” by profession. Age did not slow Mary’s weaving efforts based on her work over the next two and a half decades.

\[\text{figure: Mary Willard using roll method to prepare wool for weaving, ca. 1930s.}\]

\[\text{figure: Mary Willard displays the recently completed robe for the Deisheetaan clan, Klukwan, 1946. Alaska State Library, PCA466-02-070.}\]

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188 Office of Indian Affairs, *Catalog of Alaska Native Craft Products* (Juneau, Alaska: Department of the Interior - Office of Indian Affairs, [1940]).
The 1940s were a period of robust weaving for Mary. During the 1940s, Mary was photographed weaving two custom commissions for the Deisheetaan Clan of Angoon. She allowed herself to be photographed by Dale Butler during the processes of preparing and weaving one robe, and eventually she posed for photography with the completed Deisheetaan robe in 1946. Tlingit photographer and Alaska Native Brotherhood member William L. Paul Jr. photographed Mary weaving the other Deisheetaan Clan robe, which depicts the Beaver that Slapped its Tail in Basket Bay, during the mid-1940s.\(^{189}\)

Amid this busy period of weaving Mary’s husband died in 1944. The BIA census of 1944 attests to Mary living in the house of fellow Kaagwaantaan weaver Alice Lee, who perhaps allowed Mary to live with her and adjust to James’ passing. Within a short time, Mary moved back into her own home and the 1950 census shows her raising her grandson Billy Willard.

With the onset of the 1950s and Mary in her 80s, she continued to regularly weave to support herself and the needs of clans. In 1954, she was photographed with the pattern board in her possession that features a Bear and two Killer Whales while weaving a robe of the same design. No firm evidence beyond this photograph offers information as to how long this pattern board had been in her possession, and if or how many robes of this pattern she may have woven.

\(^{189}\) Although historic photographs document the use of these robes by the Deisheetaan clan, today these robes are not in clan possession. One is held in a private collection and the other by a museum that has ignored repatriation requests. Information courtesy Harold Jacobs. Personal communication with the author, May 2016.
prior to this period. In 1954, Mary was commissioned to weave a robe of this pattern for the Dakhl’aweidi Clan. Although the Dakhl’aweidi Clan lost this robe to a private collector for many years, it was purchased at auction by the Sitka community via partnership between the Dakhl’aweidi Clan and the Sitka Historical Society and Museum.\textsuperscript{190} Today the Dakhl’aweidi Clan uses this robe for khu.éex’ and other important events.

Amid Mary’s work on the Dakhl’aweidi robe, records from the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Cooperative record her sales during the 1950s. During the time Mary regularly sold art to the Cooperative to support herself. Record of her sales include three Chilkat robes sold at wholesale for $400, $250, and $75 between 1951 and 1952. In February 1953, the Cooperative was offered a large robe woven by Mary for the price of $500 wholesale, but the Cooperative

\textsuperscript{190} For information about the robe being Dakhl’aweidi, see Jacqueline Fernandez, “Curator’s Corner, Artifact of the Month: Chilkat Blanket,” \textit{Sitka Historical Society and Museum Newsletter} (December 2012): 6.
counter-offered at $300. Records do not firmly indicate if the Cooperative acquired the robe.\textsuperscript{191} Although the Cooperative wanted additional Chilkat weavings from Mary, on April 26, 1956, the Cooperative’s record on Mary contain a penciled note about her health, “Mrs. Lucy Willard was in shop and said Mrs. Mary had been very ill.”\textsuperscript{192} Over the next few years, Mary’s health continued to decline. She passed away in 1959.

\textsuperscript{191} See card for Mary Willard, Box 10, MS 136, Ethel M. Montgomery Papers. Alaska State Library, Historical Collections.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid.
Jennie Paddy Warren (Khaa.it), (ca. 1893-1977)  
Kaagwaantaan Clan, Ghooch Hit

Jennie Paddy Warren (Khaa.it) (ca. 1893-1977) was born at Klukwan, the daughter of James Willard (Deixhwudu.oo) (ca. 1859-1944) of the L’uknaxh.ádi Clan and Chilkat weaver Mary Willard (Akhlé) of the Kaagwaantaan Clan, Ghooch Hit. Early in life she was given the Tlingit name of Khaa.it, while later in life the 1938 BIA census records an additional Tlingit name of “Kotchankaane.”

Jennie grew up in a home filled with Chilkat weaving. The 1900 census captures Jennie as a seven-year-old girl by her Tlingit name as “Kah’it” (Khaa.it) and living in the house with two Chilkat weavers, her mother and “Show-wat-kaak.” The 1900 census shows Jennie’s grandmother Saantaas’ living in the adjacent house.

Limited sources concerning Jennie could be located, and sources identified primarily evidence her work as a weaver. During the late-1900s or 1910s, Jennie married Jack Paddy (b. 1890). They had a few children, but Jack died during the 1920s. A few years later she married Edward Warren (ca. 1884-1935). They soon had children, but then Edward died in 1935. This

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193 This Tlingit name has not been verified for spelling or orthography.  
194 1900 Federal Census of Klukwan.  
195 The last name of Warren originally shows up on historical records as being Warne.
left Jennie, in her 40s, as a widow for a second time and with children to feed and clothe. In 1940 census records documented her a being employed as a cannery worker.\footnote{1940 Federal Census of Klukwan.}

While some aspects of Jennie’s life are unknown, sources indicate she created and sold Tlingit art pieces for additional income post-1950. She produced art for collectors and perhaps items of \textit{at.óow} for clans. Unfortunately, little evidence could be found to verify her work as an artist prior to 1950, though it is quite possible she wove Chilkat robes prior to this period. Records do show that by the 1950s Jennie was selling art through the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Cooperative. She regularly sold moccasins of moose, deer, and seal hide, as well as beaded wall pouches on moose hide.\footnote{See card for Jennie Warren, Box 10, MS 136, Ethel M. Montgomery Papers. Alaska State Library, Historical Collections.} In 1954, she was photographed in Klukwan with her family, including her mother Mary Willard, amid Chilkat weavings being created. Jennie stands holding one of the larger Chilkat robes ever created. Her display of the robe in this context likely indicates that she wove or co-wove the robe, which is reportedly clan \textit{at.óow} and resided in Klukwan at the time this dissertation was written.

While evidence suggests Jennie was a maker of clan \textit{at.óow}, other records substantiate her as a creator of child-sized Chilkat robes. One known child-sized Killer Whale design Chilkat
robe was commissioned by Mayreld Swanon Parker during the early 1960s. Jennie posed for a photograph with Parker for the sale around 1962. This robe was on loan to the Sheldon Museum, Haines (1980.021) in 2017. Locatable sources provide limited witness to other aspects of Jennie’s life, but records do suggest that she continued to produce art until her health declined during the 1970s. She passed away in 1977.
Alice Lee (Sheedítéex’), (b. ca. 1871)
Kaagwaantaan, Xóots Hit

Alice Lee (Sheedítéex’) (b. ca. 1871) was a Chilkat weaver of the Kaagwaantaan Clan, Xóots Hit, who lived in the Jilkháat Khwáan. BIA censuses record her place of birth as Yandeist’akhyé, a village upriver from Klukwan. Sources indicate that she married James Lee, perhaps of the Ghaanaxhteidí Clan. Locating Alice or James on federal census records with accuracy was not possible. They do not appear on those records, excluding one possible exception for a couple named James and Alice Lee shown as living in Skagway in 1910. BIA censuses do capture Alice and James in 1944 and 1950 as living in Klukwan.

Although certain information about Alice is unknown, she has been confirmed as a Chilkat weaver. Through the NAGPRA research of Harold Jacobs, who interviewed descendants of Alice about a particular Chilkat blanket, Jacobs identified a robe woven by her. This robe was photographed in the 1940s by George Dale. Dale obtained permission to photograph the robe.

198 When I publicly asked the Tlingit community for help in documenting Alice Lee’s name, feedback from Harold Jacobs and Rainy Kasko (via elder Joe Hotch), indicated that her Tlingit name was Sheedítéex’. Rainy Kasko, personal Facebook message to the author, October 16, 2015. Harold Jacobs, email to the author, October 12, 2016. Jacobs stated “I’ve heard it as: Jeedítéex’ and Sheedítéex’.”

199 Alice told BIA census takers in 1944 and 1950 that she was born in Yandeist’akhyé. BIA Census of Klukwan, MS 38, Sealaska Heritage Archives.

200 1910 federal census of Skagway. On this census it lists them as being Huna Khwáan Tlingit.

201 Harold Jacobs, email to the author, October 12, 2016.
at.óow of various clan houses in Klukwan, and one photo shows a clan displaying two robes and a tunic. The robe on the right, a Kaanaxh Oowool Gooti Xixch’i Naaxein (Frog Coming Out of the Den Chilkat Robe) design, is attributed to Alice. This robe was in the possession of the Juneau Bureau of Indian Affairs Office at the time of this dissertation’s writing.²⁰²

Further record of Alice’s life was captured in photography by George Dale during the 1940s. Alice sat for a photo wearing an Eagle robe. Dale also photographed her in the Ghaanaxhteeidi Yaay Hit holding the large Mother Basket, indicating a relationship to the Ghaanaxhteeidi Clan, perhaps through her husband.²⁰³ Dale also photographed an event that documents Alice as a Chilkat weaver. This photograph shows an event wherein the people of

²⁰² In consultation with the BIA and their collection manager Ken Pratt, the BIA’s records were unclear as to the provenance of the robe. They had no form provenance for the robe, but some scattered information that the robe was woven by Alice Lee or Clara N. Benson. Email conversation with Ken Pratt Sept. 8, 2018.
²⁰³ See the Dale / Butler Collection, PCA 306-1454, Alaska State Library. James Lee was photographed wearing a Ghaanaxhteeidi Woodworm shirt, which may mean he was Ghaanaxhteeidi.
Klukwan presented the Office of Indian Affairs with a small Chilkat robe as an expression of gratitude. The caption on the back of the photograph reads as follows, which substantiates Alice as the weaver of the robe.

This Chilkat blanket is presented to the United States Office of Indian Affairs at Juneau, Alaska, in appreciation of the assistance rendered to the people of Klukwan in representing them in the matter of a highway right-of-way across the Klukwan Native Reservation which protects their homes and cemeteries from any damage due to highway construction. It is requested that the blanket be permanently displayed in the Juneau Office of Indian Affairs. This blanket is a bear design and was made by Mrs. James Lee of Klukwan.\textsuperscript{204}

Additional information about Alice’s life come from her involvement in the Alaska Native Sisterhood. Alice and James’ names appear on the rosters of ANS and ANB camps in the Klukwan area. Photographer of ANB and ANS members William Paul Jr. captured the Lees in attendance at an ANB and ANS function during the 1940s. Records illustrate their presence and continued service to ANB and ANS over many years. For example, in April 1961, the Klukwan ANB and ANS camps held a fundraising banquet in Haines, and Alice sang and likely danced for those present. A newspaper article reported the following:

The Tlingit Indians of Klukwan honored their Haines neighbors with a program of ancient tribal dances in full costume. … The old people of the village turned out in full regalia giving their chants and songs and dancing around … At one time during the program seven Chilkat blankets were on the stage at once. Faces of dancers were painted with several very intricate patterns such as worn by Daisy Phillips and Elizabeth

\textsuperscript{204} See the Butler Dale Collection, Item 1733, PCA 306, Alaska State Library, Historical Collections.
David. ... The chorus was made up of many very old women such as Alice Lee, Mrs. Klaney, Mrs. Dan Katzeek, Mrs. Fritz Willard and aided by Bill Klaney.²⁰⁵

Likely in her 80s or 90s, Alice sang and performed alongside other Tlingit women, a group that included Chilkat weavers, her clan sisters, clan opposites, and longtime family friends. She sang to support the work of ANS and ANB, organizations that sought to empower the Tlingit community. Alice likely passed away sometime during the 1960s.²⁰⁶

Figure 77: James and Alice Lee at an ANB/ANS event, ca. 1940s. Photo by William L. Paul Jr. Courtesy of Ben Paul.

²⁰⁶ In the process of working to document Alice Lee her great-grandson George Carteeti, an artist, spoke to me of her and remembered her from his youth. George accorded her as being someone who influenced him to become an artist. Conversations with George Carteeti and the family. Notes in the possession of the author, October 2015.
Annie Klaney (K’aanakéek Tláa), (1882-1968) Kaagwaantaan, Chalk Kúdi Hít, L’uknaxh.ádi Yádi

Annie Klaney (1882-1968) was born in Sitka, one of the thirteen daughters of artist and L’uknaxh.ádi house leader Sitka Jack (Khaltseixh) (1836-1916) and Kaagwaantaan Ch’áak’ Kúdi Hít woman Martha Jack (Xhóot’) (b. 1841). Early in Annie’s life, she married Ghaanaxhtéidi Clan, Xixch’i Hít (Frog House) man Gus Klaney of the Jilkháat Khwáan, which resulted in her moving to Klukwan and Haines, where they raised approximately five children.

Sources detailing the life of Annie Klaney primarily include information about her as a Chilkat weaver and her involvement with the ANS. She was a life-long member of the Klukwan ANS camp. Annie was photographed amid the group

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207 As with many Tlingit women born during this period, census and vital statistics records vary on her birth year. The 1920 census lists her age as 40, making her birth year circa 1880. The January 1940 census lists her as being 61, making her birth year circa 1879. The 1950 BIA census lists her birthdate at 10/1/1882.  
208 I would like to thank Harold Jacobs for sharing information about her genealogy.
portrait at the historic 1929 ANB and ANS convention meeting when the Tlingit made the decision to move forward and seek land claims by filing suit against the U.S. government. Her service as a member of ANS would continue throughout her entire life.

During the 1930s, sources begin documenting Annie as creating multiple Chilkat weavings. All of the known robes by Annie contain her weaver’s signature of blue and black, which assists in verifying her works.\(^{209}\) One item of at.óow by Annie includes the Hoonah T’akhdeintaan Clan’s Tanaak’wu Naaxein (Medicine Rock Robe). The robe was commissioned and woven during the 1930s. It was used ceremonially for many years. However, the robe was separated from the clan during the 1970s and sold through the Alaska Native Arts and Cooperative Association.

\(^{209}\) It should be noted that although Annie Klaney’s robe all contain a blue and black signature, other weavers used a similar signature. One example is the robe at the Übersee Museum, Bremen, Germany, a robe collected and made before Annie was of age and weaving.
It did not leave Alaska, however, since it was purchased by Sealaska Corporation (1975-1-18) and has remained in its custody since 1975.

Clan history also records Annie weaving the Sitka Kiksádi S’e Hit’s (Clay house) prized Yaaw T’eiyní Naaxein (Herring Rock Chilkat Robe).  
This robe was commissioned in 1938 by Sally Hopkins (Shxhaasti), but the robe appears to have been finished or co-woven by Jennie Johnson Thlunaut due to Thlunaut posing for a photograph with the finished robe.  
This co-weaving relationship with fellow Kaagwaantaan weaver Jennie Thlunaut is manifest in other ways during this period. Sometime during this period Annie also wove a Raven crest robe, which, though separated from the Tlingit community in 1971, was repatriated in 2002.

Review of historical Chilkat weavings and historical sources show that both Annie Klaney and Jennie Thlunaut wove multiple robes from the Kaanaxh Oowool Gooti Xixch’ Naaxein pattern board. The two may have shared the board, though the

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board moved from Annie’s possession to Thlunaut’s late in Annie’s life. Annie is confirmed as creating robes of this pattern by the 1930s, but she likely wove some prior to this period. A number of robes of this pattern by Annie remain in use by Tlingit clans today as at.óow, and two robes held in museum collections are attributed to Annie, which includes the robes held by the Sealaska Corporation (1993-1-1) and the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM) (18465). The robe residing at the RBCM is clan at.óow. This robe was created sometime prior to 1938, as a picture of it was featured in a short 1938 article about Chilkat weaving in *Alaska Life Magazine*, which shows the robe being worn. During the 1940s, tragedy struck Annie’s family. Her husband passed away and then her son committed suicide in the Klukwan Ghaanaxhtedi Xixch’i Hit. Since her son was Kaagwaantaan, to restore social and spiritual balance, *wooch yáxh*, this robe was given to the Ghaanaxhtedi Xixch’i Hit. In May 1945, Annie posed wearing the robe to verify her as creator. This photo event took place in the Ghaanaxhtedi Xixch’i Hit, whose screen is visible in the background.

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213 This pattern board is currently in the possession of the Royal British Columbia Museum, call no. 18466.
215 Information about the history of this robe is courtesy Harold Jacobs. Message to the author, Jan. 29, 2016.
By 1950, Annie was at or passed her 70th year. The 1950 BIA census shows her living in her home, with her 18-year-old son Archie. To support herself financially, Annie began selling art through the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Cooperative. She sold moccasins made of moose and seal hide, and especially dolls. Although records of the Cooperative are unclear as to whether Annie sold Chilkat robes through it, either full size or small, multiple mini or child sized robes woven by Annie have been discovered. The Sheldon Museum of Haines holds one mini robe by Annie (1985.011), as does the UA Museum of the North in Fairbanks (1982-012-0001). Additional mini robes by Annie were made for individuals in the Tlingit community. Ghaanaxhtedi man John Young Jr. (b. 1906) commissioned Annie to weave a small robe for the birth of his daughter Patty. Daisy Jackson also owned a robe woven by Klaney, as historical photographs document. Both of these robes also contain an inserted figure that is specific to Annie’s weavings. This figure, referred to casually as a “flying saucer” by Harold Jacobs, is featured in many of her weavings.\textsuperscript{216}

\textsuperscript{216} A full sized robe with a Raven crest possesses the “flying saucer”
Although a prolific weaver, Annie was more than an artist. She was a community figure and ANS member. For decades, she is listed on the rolls of the Klukwan ANS camp, often serving in a leadership role, such as a delegate to Grand Camp, president, or vice president of the Klukwan ANS camp. Even during her final and elderly years, Annie served ANS and ANB by giving of her time, talents, and knowledge of Tlingit lifeways. For example, in 1961, when Klukwan was selected to host the annual ANB Grand Camp Convention, the Klukwan ANB and ANS worked to fundraise to support the convention. In April of that year, the Klukwan ANB and ANS camps held a fundraising banquet in Haines, and 79 year-old Annie sang, and perhaps danced, for Haines ANB/ANS members and guests. A newspaper article reported the following:

The Tlingit Indians of Klukwan honored their Haines neighbors with a program of ancient tribal dances in full costume. … The old people of the village turned out in full regalia giving their chants and songs and
dancing around ... At one time during the program seven Chilkat blankets were on the stage at once. Faces of dancers were painted with several very intricate patterns such as worn by Daisy Phillips and Elizabeth David. ... The chorus was made up of many very old women such as Alice Lee, Mrs. Klaney, Mrs. Dan Katzeek, Mrs. Fritz Willard and aided by Bill Klaney.217

Annie Klaney served her community until her passing in 1968 at age 86.

Figure 88: Annie Klaney in at.6ow, undated. Courtesy Harold Jacobs.

Jennie Johnson James Mark Thlunaut (Shax‘saani Kéek‘), (1890-1986)
Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hít, Ghaanaxtheidí Yádi

Jennie Johnson James Mark Thlunaut (1890-1986) was born at Laxhacht’aak in the Jilkháat Khwáan and was the daughter of Ghaanaxtheidí Xíxch’i Hít (Frog House) man Mathew Johnson (Yaandakhin Yéil) and Kaagwaantaan Ghooch Hit (Wolf House) woman Ester Tom Johnson (Kaakwdagåan) (d. 1908). She grew up and lived her life in the Jilkháat and Jilkhoot Khwáans. In 1902, Jennie’s father took steps that would influence her life greatly, for he paid his Ghaanaxtheidí Clan sister Clara Newman Benson (Deinkhul.at) fifty dollars to teach his wife Ester how to weave Chilkat. As Jennie said later in life in a 1980s interview, “My daddy pay my auntie to learn my momma.”218 Over the course of the next few years, Jennie learned to weave from her mother, but also under the tutelage of her Kaagwaantaan Clan auntie Saantaas’. Together Jennie and her mother wove a robe with the Kaanaxh Oowool Gooti Xíxch’i Naaxein (Frog Coming Out of the Den Chilkat Robe) crest, a robe that eventually served as a type of wedding dowry for Jennie. In 1908, Jennie’s mother passed away, but she left Jennie a box of Chilkat weaving supplies. Jennie

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used these and continued weaving, and has since been remembered as one of the most prolific and celebrated Chilkat weavers of the twentieth century.

Jennie Thlunaut’s life has been well documented in the form of two biographies, as well as in a video documentary. As a result of Jennie’s life being documented in publications and a film, this study briefly summarizes her life. Those interested in further detail about Jennie’s life should consult previous works. These publications and film, however, were produced during the 1980s and 1990s, making it important to situate Thlunaut in the larger scope of Chilkat weaving history since time has passed. Some of her weavings have remained unseen and perhaps undocumented since these publications, and her legacy of passing on knowledge of Chilkat weaving has not been fully contextualized. Nor has her weaving contemporaries and teachers been discussed with clarity, such as Clara Newman Benson, Saantaas’, and Annie Klaney.

Concerning Jennie’s early life, in 1905 and around the age of 13, she married John James (Naatl’) of the Ghaanaxht£i Clan, Yaay Hit, a ranking aanyádi man. The robe that Thlunaut and her mother had previously woven was given to James as part of the marriage arrangement. James later sold this robe to purchase a large Tlingit style canoe, which he used in a freight hauling business to support his wife and family. He also used it to engage in subsistence fishing and hunting, both of which helped their family and clans. The 1910 census shows

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219 See Worl and Smythe, “Jennie Thlunaut: Master Chilkat Blanket Weaver,”; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, eds. Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories, 583-602; and Nora Marks Dauenhauer, In Memory of Jennie Thlunaut, 1890-1986, a tribute to the life and work of Jennie Thlunaut – Tlingit master artist. DVD. (Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Institute, 1988);
220 Ibid.
them living in Klukwan. One source indicates they had daughters together.\(^{221}\) However, around 1920, James became ill and passed away.

Three years later she married a Lukaax̱ádi Yéil Hit man named John Mark (Lunaat’) (1891-1952) of the Jilkoot Khwáan and she moved to Haines to live in the Yéil Hit. Together they had two daughters, one named Agnes who survived to adulthood. Around this time, John and Jennie became involved with the Alaska Native Brotherhood and sisterhood, with John credited as being one of the founders of the Haines ANB camp.\(^{222}\) Jennie lived with John until his death in 1952. Although at times Jennie and John had used the last name of Thlunaut, such as on the 1930 census, after John’s passing Jennie went by the last name of Thlunaut permanently. Thlunaut is an English spelling for John’s Tlingit name Lunáat’. Sometime after this period, Jennie was named Admiral of the Yanwaa Sháa. She held this position until her passing. She was also involved in the Alaska Native Sisterhood, giving of her time and efforts to support causes of importance to the Tlingit people.

Thlunaut’s work as an artist was celebrated during her final decades of life, and has been since. Rosita Worl and Chuck Smythe’s biographical essay (1986) on Jennie created a list of her


\(^{222}\) Ibid.
weavings based on Jennie’s memory, which included 6 tunics and 33 robes. This detailed list of her creations is important because it demonstrates the amount of weavings a weaver could make in a lifetime and the later use of these weavings as atóow. No other weaver before Jennie’s time provided a list of their creations, making Jennie the most well documented weaver. Notwithstanding the importance of this list, the verbal recounting of the weavings Jennie told Worl and Smythe about may require revision. Evidence suggests she may have woven more than 33 robes.

Although the Worl-Smythe list of Jennie’s weavings is significant and detailed about certain aspects, it lacks information that facilitates documentation of these weavings today. The Worl-Smythe list does not mention robe size, crest, or the clan that came to use it in most instances. As one example, the Worl-Smythe list records sales to the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Cooperative, including the sale of four robes (robes 15-18).223 No information other than price is listed. A review of the Cooperative’s archived records document that it purchased five robes from Thlunaut, the prices of each different than on the Worl-Smythe list. However, the Cooperative’s archived records are not comprehensive and only document sales from Thlunaut from between 1953 and 1973, with the last robe being purchased from Jennie in 1967.224 This is important because the Sealaska Corporation also purchased two, perhaps three, robes from the Cooperative in 1975 by Jennie (1975-1-18 and 1975-1-24).225 It is unclear how the Cooperative obtained these latter robes as no records survived to provide transparency. This brings the total robes created by Jennie in the possession of the Cooperative at one time to six, perhaps seven. Two possibilities exist to explain the latter possession of the Cooperative; 1) these robes created

223 Worl and Smythe, “Jennie Thlunaut: Master Chilkat Blanket Weaver,” 145.
224 See Ethel Montgomery Papers, MS 136, Box 11, Alaska State Library, Historical Collections.
225 It is uncertain if the Bear crest robe (1975-1-22) held by Sealaska is by Thlunaut.
by Jennie were not purchased from Jennie but rather an individual in the Tlingit community or a collector; or 2) the robes were indeed purchased from Jennie but the lack of a comprehensive archival records do not allow for an authority’s verification. An accounting of the Cooperative’s purchases from Jennie is listed below, as well as the robes purchased by Sealaska. While this example of attempting to track the custodial history of weavings shows some of the challenges of engaging in such an exercise, the findings from this overview provide new documentation about robes woven by Jennie.

Cooperative Archival Records of Purchases from Thlunaut by Date:
1953 – Small robe measuring 28.5” by 11.5”. Paid $70.

Sealaska Corporation Purchases from the Cooperative in 1975 by Accession No.:
1975-1-21 – Mini robe with Raven crest [Photo below]
1975-1-22 – Full sized robe with Bear crest. [Weaver uncertain, possibly Thlunaut]
1975-1-24 – Full sized “Crying Wolf Robe.” [Photo below]

Although certain challenges exist in attempting to document Jennie’s creations comprehensively, the level of documentation surrounding her weavings provides information toward how her creations are used today. During Jennie’s life she made many mini robes, a minority of which she sold to the Cooperative, collectors, or museums, and the bulk went to individuals in the Tlingit community. Some of these mini robes later transitioned into private collections and museums. Photographic evidence shows that Jennie wove two mini robes with a Wolf crest (Tlingit community), two with Bear crests (presently in private collections), three with Raven crests (Sealaska Corporation, 1975-1-24 and in presently in private collections), one with a Frog crest (Sheldon Jackson Museum, SJ-I-A-46), as well as various other patterns. Jennie wove some robes that have been considered the personal property of individuals in the Tlingit community, but never officially dedicated as at.óow, such as the Eagle crest robe in Rosita Worl’s possession. Many of her weavings, including robes and especially tunics, have remained in Tlingit use as ceremonial items and at.óow. Jennie’s impact and legacy in the Tlingit community cannot be overstated, she remains highly revered and celebrated as a creator of items of at.óow.

Of significant importance in the late twentieth century history of Chilkat weaving, less than two years before Jennie’s death she selected two apprentices. Leading up to the selection of
these two apprentices, supporters of Jennie during the early 1980s obtained a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts which facilitated a Chilkat weaving workshop at Haines in March 1985. Multiple Tlingit women attended a Chilkat weaving workshop lead by Jennie and she provided hands-on instruction. Attendee Marie Miller later went on to weave one or more Chilkat robes from the knowledge obtained at this workshop.\(^{226}\) After this session, Jennie selected two attendees and spent months working one-on-one with them. These two women, Ghaanaxhtí Clan Yaay Hit (Whale House) woman Anna Brown Ehlers and T’akhdeintaan Clan woman Clarissa Rizal (Seya) (1956-2017), went on to become the most prolific Chilkat weavers of the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries. Both Clarissa and Anna produced items that are in

\(^{226}\) Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, eds. *Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories*, 583-602. See pages 599-601 regarding this workshop.
museum collections and used at *at.óow* within the Tlingit community, but they have both also given back knowledge to the Tlingit community. Both have served as mentors and knowledge holders to the present generation of Chilkat weavers. Many of Anna Ehlers’ weavings remain in use in the Tlingit community as *at.óow*. Clarissa Rizal especially worked to carry forward the legacy, knowledge, and spirit of leadership held by Jennie and Chilkat weavers. Clarissa’s daughter Lily Hudson Hope (Wooshkhindeinda.aat) continued the tradition of becoming a Chilkat weaver. With her mother Clarissa passing away in 2017, I asked Lily what Jennie’s legacy is for Chilkat weavers. Lily responded thoughtfully.

Jennie was the last living Chilkat weaver who retained all the known techniques and spiritual practices related to weaving Chilkat regalia. Jennie selected Clarissa Rizal (Hudson) as a pivotal apprentice, teaching her all her oral and technical Chilkat knowledge on a joint project from start to finish. Clarissa preserved and perpetuated the teachings, as taught to her, leading many others to a life as honorable weavers, including her two daughters. Jennie’s legacy speaks for itself. She chose and taught the weavers who would carry Chilkat confidently into the future.227

227 Lily Hudson Hope, message to the author, June 5, 2018.
Conclusion

In summary, the knowledge of Chilkat weaving among the Tlingit first came after Ghaanaxhtedí women of the Jilkhal Khwáán obtained a weaving from the Tsimshian, which they studied until learning the methods of weaving. This knowledge of Chilkat weaving became a closely guarded secret among the aanyádi women of the Jilkhaát and Jilkhoot Khwáans, but these women offered to produce robes as at.óow for other clans through a payment and commission process. Weaver Florence Shotridge wrote in 1913 that during seclusion a young Tlingit woman was regularly assigned, “some important thing to make, such as a ceremonial costume for a famed dancer, or something for a person holding a high office; this is to have her understand what it is to do things for the public.”228 Quite often these aanyádi Chilkat weavers were married to clan (khaa shaáade nákx’i) or clan house leaders (hit s’aatti), for whom they created weavings their husbands and his clan used in ceremony to bring about wooch yáxh, social and spiritual balance. The creation of Chilkat robes, items that became ceremonial items of at.óow, empowered clans and benefited the Tlingit in the grieving process during mortuary ceremonies at khus.éex’. In addition to being creators of at.óow, Chilkat weavers often gave of their time to serve in important Tlingit causes, such as supporting the work of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood. These Tlingit women were artists, leaders, and individuals that sought to empower their community.

Chapter 4: Shapes and Lines with Meaning: Tlingit Carvers and Painters

Introduction and Overview

In September 2013, Harold Jacobs sent the author an email communicating information about his great-great grandfather Dick Yeilnaawu, a Deisheetaan Clan hit s’aatí (house leader) and master artist. Jacobs wanted the life and work of Dick Yeilnaawu to be preserved in writing since he had heard I was studying historic Tlingit artists. Jacobs shared information about Dick Yeilnaawu’s genealogy, his Tlingit names, and stories about his life.

One of the stories shared by Jacobs about Dick Yeilnaawu recounts a commission, a khu.éex’, and how Dick Yeilnaawu gave back to the Tlingit community. Jacobs wrote:

George Dalton from Hoonah started telling me a story one day. I was in Hoonah and I was having coffee with George and Jessie [Dalton] and he said that Dick Yeilnaawu made the Wolf house posts in the Wolf House in Hoonah. It was a big party [kuh.éex’] and Dick Yeilnaawu was called out to be paid and he was paid with 300 $20.00 gold coins. After he was paid Dick Yeilnaawu spoke to the hosts and told them to take the money and divide it among the guests so EVERYONE could be a part of it. They did as he requested.229

This story is an example of how people from Hoonah remember Dick Yeilnaawu not only for his ability to create at.óow, but also for redistributing his wealth back to the community through the khu.éex’ system. His choice to share payment with the Tlingit community demonstrates his commitment to Tlingit values like woonch yáxh and woonch.een (working together).

This chapter focuses on Tlingit male artists, primarily accomplished artists that produced carved and painted works of art that became at.óow. Male Tlingit artists came from the aamyádi,
and as educated men they were knowledge holders and many became clan (khaa shàade nákhx'í) or clan house leaders (hit s'aatí). The aanyádi, the aristocratic ruling class, selected and trained individuals to become artists. These aanyádi artists created at.óow for other members of the aanyádi, most often of the opposite moiety, to serve and empower members of the respective clan. Use of at.óow at khu.éex’ plays an important role toward creating wooch yáxh (social and spiritual balance), and dealing with grief and loss at a memorial khu.éex’.

This chapter contains biographies of male Tlingit artists and documents their creations, and is divided into two areas. The first contextualizes how carving and painting is learned and conducted, and the second provides biographies of ten historic Tlingit artists and attributes their works.

**Context for Understanding Tlingit Carvers and Painters of At.óow**

To understand Tlingit male artists from the past, it is essential to overview aspects of the Tlingit education system and Tlingit knowledge systems, which framed a Tlingit man’s thinking from youth. The leadership training provided to Tlingit young men framed how many responded to the complexities of the human existence and life’s challenges. To understand aspects of how Tlingit young men were generally educated, as well as trained to become leaders, the 1980 writings of Sukhteeenid Clan elder Frank G. Johnson (Taakw K’wát’i) are informative. Johnson, who worked as an educator for the Juneau Indian Studies Program in the Juneau School District, wrote in that early on in life Tlingit young men were subjected to physical challenges, pain, and

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230 These ancient values are still practiced today. These values, previously shown in this chapter, have been made available online by Sealaska for its people. See “Who We Are,” from the Sealaska Corporation website. Last accessed on February 7, 2017, [http://www.sealaska.com/who-we-are](http://www.sealaska.com/who-we-are)
hard work to strengthen their bodies and minds. Such training transformed youth into responsible men, making them “physically strong and fit, strong willed and not easily discouraged, having confidence to tackle difficult tasks.” Johnson adds that “alone, a strong body does not make a leader. It was and still is the development of a keen mind that makes a great man.”

In the old days the more respected elders with intimate knowledge of clan history and legends told the young people stories and would test them often. The boys who listened carefully were closely watched. Those that did not come or listen or failed to remember were also noted. The lecturers were sometimes rough on their students. Some boys would leave disgusted or insulted. These boys were ignored and no one forced them to come back. They were just not sharp enough. The Tlingit legends were taught for the same reason Greek myths are studied by American college students. Wisdom or lack of it is made clear in these stories.

The intellectual development that occurs with intensive study of Tlingit oral literature and mythology is influential in framing the worldview of a Tlingit male as he moves from childhood into adulthood. As Lukaax.ádi Clan elder Nora Marks Dauenhauer (Keixhwnéi) has written, Tlingit oral literature helps individuals better comprehend the “ambiguities of the human condition, with which we all must come to grips: coming of age as adults, alienation, identity and self-concept, conflict of loyalty, pride and arrogance, separation and loss—and many other experiences that are part of being human.”

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232 Ibid., 13-14.
233 For the connections between Native American literature and Greek mythology, see Robert Bringhurst, A Story as Sharp as a Knife: The Classical Haida Mythtellers and Their World, 2d ed. (Vancouver, B.C., 2011).
In combination with physical and intellectual training, youth also received education on the interwoven nature of knowledge and spirituality. For a presentation on this subject in 2012, Shangukeidi *khaa sháade nákhx’i* David Katzeek (Kingeisti) wrote:

Since time immemorial the Tlingit people have practiced their beliefs with one of the most powerful words in the Tlingit language *yda at wooné*, respect! This leads us into the way people would live, what they would learn, how they would learn, and how they would apply what they learned. This covered a wide variety of topics, starting with learning to listen, pay attention, and be still, which is important in respecting oneself. It is important to accept one’s intelligence and become responsible for it. Learning how to learn and applying the knowledge gained is important. To respect is the primary cornerstone of the Tlingit house of education and knowledge. Without education and knowledge it is difficult to respect oneself, family, others, community, environment, and all creatures great and small. This includes the water, the ponds, the lakes, the streams, the rivers, the ocean, the seas, the trees, the animals, the rocks, the mountains, hills, and the creatures on the earth, the heavens, the sun the moon and the list goes on.\(^{235}\)

This type of training and education prepared Tlingit young men for life. Similar, but additional, training in leadership was given to those from *aanyádi* lineages.

Although little is written about this subject, the writings of Kiks.ádi Clan elder and educator Cyrus Peck Sr. touch on the aspect of how a Tlingit man becomes a clan (*khaa sháade nákhx’i*) or clan house leader (*hit s’aati*). Training for Tlingit leadership was rigorous and it began early in life, and involved other clan members, such as maternal uncles.

The Spartan training of a young man goes into our way of life. The nephew’s mother nurses him from birth to six or eight years of age. The rule is that she must turn her young son over to her brother (who is an uncle on his mother’s side) to train him in the way of life so that he will not disgrace his clan. He will be a brave man and not be afraid to die for a cause; he will live a straightforward life; he will be a provider; he will respect elderly people; he will be trained to speak when the time is appropriate.\(^{236}\)

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\(^{236}\) Cyrus Peck Sr., *The Tides People: Tlingit Indians of Southeast Alaska, a Narrative Account of Tlingit Culture and Values Written by a Tlingit* (Juneau: Cyrus Peck Sr. and the Juneau Indian Studies Program, 1975), 41.
Training and timing were both important. Peck wrote that a clan leader should “always be anxious to train some younger man to take his place when he dies. The clan was always farsighted in this manner.” Although young men were selected and trained early in life. This is also true of artists.

Although there is little written information about how artists were trained historically, over a century ago George Emmons penned his observations on male gender roles and art.

The man was the worker in stone, bone, metal, and wood. He built the house, fashioned he canoe, chests, utensils, and all the implements and tools used in the labor of both sexes. He made all his weapons, the frames for snowshoes, as well as ornaments of ivory, bone and shell. He made musical instruments, gambling devices, and wooden hats, helmets, and headdresses used in ceremonies.

Although Emmons’ writings are helpful, Emmons does not mention some things known within the Tlingit community, such as that artists were apprenticed under a master for a period of time. Some apprentices were taken on when quite young, some studied under a master for years. Sources indicate that Jim Jacobs had a number of apprentices working under him at times, which may have helped Jacobs complete some of his larger commissions, such as the Panting Wolf House Post. Nora Marks Dauenhauer is known to have said that her father, Chookaneidí carver Willie Marks (Kéet Yaanaayi) (1902-1981), was trained by master Chookaneidí carver Daayakoogéí.

Artist Willie Marks spoke about the process of creating an item of at.óow during a 1970s interview with his daughter Nora Marks Dauenhauer. In this interview he spoke of two hats he carved and painted likely during the 1940s or 1950s. These included the Shaatkhwáan Keídlí

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237 Ibid.
238 Emmons, The Tlingit Indians, 165
239 Peter C. Nielsen, “Totems and Their Meaning and Tlingit Indian Paints,” unpublished manuscript, 1978, in Sitka National Historical Park accession files. It should be noted in this manuscript that Nielson confuses the Panting Wolf House Post with the name of the Multiplying Wolf Posts, but he describes the Panting Wolf House Post.
240 The Daayakoogéí who trained Marks should not be confused with the Daayakoogéí profiled in this chapter. The Daayakoogéí who trained Marks came a generation or two later that the Daayakoogéí profiled in this dissertation.
S’aaxhw (Mountain Tribe’s Dog Hat) and the Tsalxáantu Sháawu S’aaxhw (Mt. Fairweather Women Hat) which are used by clans today. Willie stated that he was “paid $250 for the two hats” and that it “took three years” to carve, paint, and inlay them with abalone.241 The hats, according to Willie, are “spiritual hats that I made from the stories and direction of the people who wanted the hats.”242

When asked by his daughter about the general process of carving a clan hat, Willie stated that he had spent time thinking about the requested at.óow and paid attention to impressions that would come to him.243 This process was both creative and spiritual.

Of the artists examined in this chapter, items of at.óow produced by them include clan hats, house screens, house posts, song leader staffs, and totem poles. Starting in the late nineteenth century, some of these artists also operated businesses that sold Native art to tourists and collectors, art that was not at.óow, such as gold and silver jewelry, model totem poles, painted or carved paddles, and other items. Some of these items, such as gold and silver jewelry,

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241 Willie Marks, Interviewed by Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Sept. 8, year unknown, MC 5, Item 381, Tape 323-A, minute 33:25, Dauenhauer Oral Literature Collection, Sealaska Heritage Archives.
242 Ibid., minute 31.
243 Ibid.
were also purchased and regularly worn by Tlingit people as early as the mid-nineteenth century.

Over time, many hundreds of Tlingit individuals have been artists. Some of these historic artists have been identified by name and are included in the appendix. Artists for this study have been discovered by examining historical records, such as census records and notes created by Tlingit anthropologist Louis Shotridge, as well as consulting with individuals in the Tlingit community, such as Harold Jacobs. In some instances only the names of artists have come down through history, such as with the L’eeeneidi warrior Kichtaayi, the maker of the Eagle war helmet now at the Portland Art Museum.\footnote{This information is courtesy of Harold Jacobs. On September 8, 2015 Jacobs wrote the author that the helmet was quite old, and that “Kichtaayi was a warrior of the L’eeeneidi. His paternal grandfather was Tukhweidi, a nick-name of the Deisheetaan house group Took’kha Hit.”}

In summary, this introductory content has sought to familiarize the reader with how Tlingit men become artists and produce at.óow. In their youth, Tlingit boys were trained and educated to live by Tlingit values and serve others. Aanyádi families selected young men in their clans to receive both leadership and art training, which resulted in a class of aanyádi-leader-artists. These individuals served, lead, and produced at.óow for the Tlingit community.

In the next section of this chapter, biographies of ten Tlingit carvers and painters is provided. Biographies of these artists are arranged based on moiety. In the previous chapter, Raven moiety artists were examined first, and as result, in this chapter the biographies of Eagle...
moiety artists will be provided first. I begin with some master artists of the Dakhl’aweidi Clan from the Jilkhâat and Jilkhoot Khwáans.
Tlingit artist Naakushtáa (Wealthy Nation)\textsuperscript{245} was likely born at or near Klukwan to a Dakhl’aweidi woman during the early or mid-1700s and he lived into the early 1800s. No information could be ascertained about his personal life at the time of this study, aside from the works he created. His name has come down through history by tribal historians like Harold Jacobs as being one of the greatest Tlingit artists of the Jìlkхаát Khwáan. Naakushtáa is remembered as a maker of masks, clan hats, house posts, and a house screen; he painted and carved items that became atóow. 

\textsuperscript{245} Harold Jacobs provided information on the meaning of his Tlingit name. In an email on 8/26/2015 Jacobs wrote to the author that “It refers to the ranking of where people (nàa) slept in the clan house, the boards (t’aa) and the “nation” that were positioned on them according to rank from the fire to the outer walls of the house.” On 5/25/2016 he also wrote more to explain the name; “Naakushtáa, “Wealthy Nation”. Taa = Board, Naa = clan/tribe/nation -- Depending on the rank of the person or family the closest to the fire was reserved for the upper class, and the lower your rank you might wind up against a wall. The name Naakushtáa showed that the rank of the clan showed which “boards” they slept on. Not just any old board. In one village in the 90’s an elderly Tlingit man was asked if he knew the woman who was the subject of the court hearing. He replied “Yes, we sleep on the same board.” In Tlingit it made sense, but it sounded odd to the judge until someone explained the tiers in the old clan houses and all he was saying was that he slept on the same level as that woman, i.e. “they were of equal rank.””
According to the research of Harold Jacobs, Naakushtaa made the Ghaanaxhteedi Xíxch’í Hit’s (Frog House) Xíxch’ S’aaxhw (Frog Clan Hat) and Ghaanaxhteedi Yéil Hit’s (Raven House) Yéil S’aaxhw (Raven Clan Hat). Both of these hats are well documented by historic photography as being used by the Ghaanaxhteedi Clan, such as at the Sitka Kaagwaantaan khu.éeex’ of 1904.246 Today these hats are held in Menil Collection, a private art museum based in Houston, Texas. In addition to these painted wooden hats, Naakushtaa also painted woven hats. Jacob attributes Naakushtaa as the painter of a number of woven hats, including the Yaay Yikdei Wudikhini Yéil S’aaxhw (Raven Flying 246 Multiple discussions between Harold Jacobs and the author occurred during 2016 by email. 122
Out of the Whale Hat), the World Hat at the Alaska State Museum, and a hat currently held by the ethnographic museum in Sweden (1968-19-37).

Naakushtaa’s largest known creation includes his commission to create the Yéil Xh’éen (Raven Screen) and house posts for the Ghaanaxhtedi Xíxch’i Hit.\(^{247}\) Today this screen and one of the posts reside at the Seattle Art Museum (79.98). An additional set of Klukwan Frog posts have also been attributed to Naakushtaa by Harold Jacobs.\(^{248}\) Jacobs also informed the author that one set of the Frog Forehead Masks was carved by Naakushtaa.\(^{249}\)

\(^{247}\) Ibid.


\(^{249}\) Harold Jacobs, message to the author, March 9, 2016, August 25, 2017. It should be noted that there are two historic Frog Forehead Masks, one used as Kiiksádi clan at.óow, the other as Ghaanaxhtedi at.óow based on use by Ghaanaxhtedi people in historic photographs.
Daniel Katzeek (Kéet Eesháank’i, Óoshaak’w, Naakushtáa), (c. 1883-1960) Dakhl’aweídí Clan, Kéet Gooshi Hit

Daniel Katzeek (c. 1883-1960) was born at or near Klukwan to John Katzeek (Tänkw) and Dakhl’aweídí, Kéet Gooshi Hit woman Martha Katzeek. Katzeek self-identified to anthropologist R. L. Olson that he was a Ghaanaxhtéidí yádi. His Tlingit names were Kéet Eesháank’i, Óoshaak’w, and Naakushtáa. Censuses document Katzeek living in Klukwan throughout his life and his 1911 marriage to Ghaanaxhtéidí woman Margaret Judson (Xhéetli) (b. ca. 1893). Katzeek has been documented by anthropologist Ronald Olson and remembered by descendants as an aanyádi, clan house leader (hit s’aatí), tribal historian, and an individual committed to Tlingit values and lifeways. Daniel was

250 Katzeek’s birth year is listed with discrepancy on each census. The estimated birth year provided is based on his obituary, which indicated he was 77 years old at the time of his death in 1960. Most censuses indicate that Katzeek was born at Klukwan, but one BIA census lists his birth place as “Lake Chilkat.”
251 Vital statistics records indicate that John sometimes went by the name George Katzeek.
253 R. L. Olson, Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska, 73.
254 Daniel’s grandson David Katzeek (Kingeistí) wrote that Daniel’s Tlingit name Kéet Eesháank’i means “the humble Killer Whale.” David Katzeek, message to the author, Feb. 1, 2018.
255 Tlingit name of Margaret courtesy of Harold Jacobs. Jacobs also referred to her as being from the Khutees’ Hit (Sentinel House). Message to the author, Nov. 20, 2016. Marriage year given on Katzeek’s obituary. See Obituary of Katzeek; “Dan Katzeek dies at 77,” (Dec. 10, 1960), clipping from the Ethel M. Montgomery Collection, Box 1a, Alaska State Library, Historical Collections. Her age listed on the 1930 census puts her birth year at 1895, on the 1940 census her age is different, placing her birth year at 1893.
trained in Tlingit history, protocols, art, and leadership skills, which he used throughout his life to empower others.

An important source of information about Daniel includes the writings of anthropologist Ronald L. Olson, for whom Daniel served as a cultural informant during the 1930s and 1940s. Daniel’s words are preserved in the writings of Olson’s publications, including a history of the Dakhl’aweidi Clan.\textsuperscript{256} Daniel served as the hit s’aati for the Kéet Gooshi Hit and rebuilt the Kéet Gooshi Hit in 1949. Other sources about Daniel, such as his obituary, stated he participated as a charter member of the Klukwan ANB camp, serving “as its president, vice president, treasurer, council and town council.”\textsuperscript{257} He was also a musician, being a member of the Klukwan Brass Band and an “elder in the Klukwan Presbyterian church.”\textsuperscript{258}

His Shangukeidi Clan grandson and khaa sháade nákhx’i David Katzeek (Kingeisti) has occasionally spoken

\textsuperscript{256} R. L. Olson, Social Structure and Social Life of the Tlingit in Alaska, 29.
\textsuperscript{257} Obituary of Katzeek; “Dan Katzeek dies at 77,” (Dec. 10, 1960), clipping from the Ethel M. Montgomery Collection, Box 1a, Alaska State Library, Historical Collections.
\textsuperscript{258} Ibid.
publicly about his grandfather as being a very kind individual with deep-seated Tlingit knowledge. Daniel was a positive influence on his grandson David. Daniel owned a large dugout canoe that he traveled up and down the Chilkat River during the subsistence season, harvesting salmon with his family and teaching his grandchildren the subsistence way of life. When I showed his grandson David a picture of his grandfather in the canoe, David replied,

“'My precious Killer Whale grandfather, Kéet'i Shaank'i, of the Killer Whale Fin House, on his beloved Chilkat River in his cottonwood dugout canoe he created! Many a fur and many a moose, as well as mountain goat, this vessel brought home. No outboard, no jet boat, no airboat, just brainpower on having the river pull the boat up river on back eddies. What fun! What joy!'”

Various sources document Daniel’s participation in subsistence. Daniel is documented as maintaining smokehouses in the area by James Lee, who spoke about subsistence use of the area in 1946, “all the Natives from Klukwan and Haines can use the Chilkat Lake, and many do. Dan Katzeek, Victor, David, and Clarence Hotch fish in the lake and hunt brown bear and porcupine around the lake. They trap there during the winter.”

By profession Daniel worked as a gill-netter, hunting guide, and jeweler. In fact, he was one of the most active jewelers of his time in Klukwan. Daniel made gold, silver, and copper earrings, pins, bracelets, and belt buckles. Many museums contain his jewelry, including the Alaska State Museum (2011-16-1 and II-B-1793), Sheldon Jackson Museum (SJIA317), Sheldon Museum (1982.19.51, 1997.15.1, 1998.17.1, and 2010.27.1), UA Museum of the North

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259 David Katzeek, Personal message to the author, December 30, 2016. In 2018 I assisted the Alaska State Museum in documenting that this boat was in their possession. See ASM no. II-B-626.

(84-22-11A), and the Portland Art Museum (48.3.821). Jewelers that came after Daniel, such as brothers Lincoln and Amos Wallace, often credited Daniel as being positive influences upon their work. Daniel’s bracelets can be identified from his individual style, including how he often turned one figure sideways on his bracelets. Daniel allowed himself to be photographed in his jewelry shop during the 1940s by George Dale, which showcases some of his methods of shaping, pounding, and gauging his bracelets.

Daniel is also the carver of multiple items of *at.óow*. Two clan hats made prior to the mid-1950s are attributed to Daniel, with another clan hat possibly also by Daniel. The Eagle Clan Hat of the Shangukeidi Clan is attributed to Katzeek. His grandson, David Katzeek, teacher to the author and clan leader of the Shangukeidi at the time of this study, has publicly stated that his grandfather made the hat. A second clan hat, an

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261 When conversing with jeweler Jenny Lyn Smith, she stated the upturned figure was a Killer Whale. Email to the author, May 10, 2017.
Eagle hat made for the T’akhdeintaan, has been confirmed as Daniel’s work due to photographs showing Daniel creating the hat. Harold Jacobs also informed the author that Daniel most likely made a Killer Whale crest clan hat of the Dakhl’aweidi Clan. This hat is verified in the possession of the clan through historic photographs, but the location of the hat was unknown at the time of this study. It has not been located in a museum, private collection, or other for decades. These aspects aside, Daniel was a prolific artists, leader, ANB member, and individual that served and worked to empower his community.

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262 Harold Jacobs, personal message to the author, Dec. 9, 2015.
Augustus Bean (Kh'alyaan Ėesh, Keitxút'ch), (1852-1926)  
Kaagwaantaan Clan, Ghooch Hit

Augustus Bean (Kh'alyaan Ėesh, Keitxút'ch) (1852-1926) was born in Sitka to a Kaagwaantaan Clan, Ghooch Hit (Wolf House) woman named Teensheixh. At the time of this study, his father’s name could not be documented. Augustus’ family were aanyádi. His mother Teensheixh’s sister was named L’éex’t, who was the mother of James Jackson (Anaaxhoots) (1849-1934), who later became the khaa shaade nákx'i of the Sitka Kaagwaantaan. Augustus and James were, as Harold Jacobs stated, “Woosh tl'aayátx’i, children of mothers who are sisters.” Being both of the same clan and family, Augustus and James regularly interacted during life, with Augustus often supporting James in his leadership role. Historical records suggest that Augustus was a leader and often

identified him as a “chief” in historic records and photos, perhaps being the hit s’aati for the Ghooch Hit, a house also known as the Ch’aak Hit (Eagle House).  

Early historic records reveal aspects of Augustus’s marriage, family, and profession. An 1891 marriage record verifies his marriage to a woman listed as “Mary Ginseteeea,” a marriage conducted by a Presbyterian clergyman. An 1899 property deed records the sale of a Sitka house by Augustus Bean and Mary “Sho-koo-cha” (also spelled “Shah-koo-cha”) to Sam Johnson. This deed also provides some interesting family history, in that it mentions a previous union between Mary and Sam Johnson, and that they had a daughter. She is listed by her Russian Orthodox name, Pariskovia. The document states that “Augustus Bean, uncle of the said child Pariskovia … has heretofore acted as agent and guardian of the said child Pariskovia.” The 1910 census of Sitka lists a child in their household, a niece to Augustus, going by the name of Louisa (b. 1894). This same census lists Mary as being a Huna Khwáan Tlingit. The 1920 census lists an additional daughter, Katherine (b. 1908), living in their Sitka home.

Government records and federal censuses identify Augustus as an Indian Policemen in Sitka as early as 1894, and that he was employed as a policeman for at least a decade. The District Government regularly appointed clan and clan house leaders to serve as Indian Policemen, and records refer to Augustus as a “chief,” offering evidence that he was a hit s’aati

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265 It should be noted that there were 18 Kaagwaantaan houses in Sitka around 1904. This particular Ghooch Hit was also known as the Ch’aak Hit (Eagle House). See Harold Jacobs, “Kéet Gooshi Héen Yaawada!,” unpublished manuscript, n.d., p. 1.
266 Certificates of Marriage, Vol. 1, Sitka, VS 2999, p. 6, Alaska State Archives.
267 Sam Johnson with Mary Shah-Koo-Cha, et. al. Agreement, Sitka, March 22, 1899, OS 595, p. 143, Court Recorder Volume, Alaska State Archives. I have been unable to firmly identify her Tlingit name and its correct spelling.
268 In consulting with Harold Jacobs wondered if her Tlingit name may have been Daas.ooxh, and that she was T’akhdeintaan.
269 1920 federal census of Sitka.
for the Ghooch Hit. Other Sitka leaders and artists, such as James Jackson and Rudolph Walton, served as Indian policemen alongside Augustus. Although records about Augustus’ role as a policeman offer limited information beyond documenting his employment, a letter penned by Augustus in 1900 concerning a high-profile criminal case involving Tlingit men offers insight. The letter, penned by Augustus to a Presbyterian clergyman named Mr. Austin, articulates Augustus’ concern that a miscarriage of justice had occurred in the criminal trial of six Tlingit men. The year prior to Augustus’ letter United States v. Jim Hanson, et. al, was a criminal case regarding the murder of two Euro-American people at Skagway in 1899. In the fall of 1899, couple Bertram and Florence Oliver were found dead on a beach, their deaths caused by gunshot wounds. The police arrested eleven Tlingit individuals from the region, and the Tlingit community was gravely concerned about this case at the time. Eventually six Tlingit men were tried, given multi-decade jail sentences, and Jim Hanson was given the death penalty. Shortly after the trial, Augustus wrote Austin asking for Austin’s assistance in securing the acquittal of five of these six men. Augustus wrote that he had personally heard Jim Hanson confess to committing the murder, but the other men were not present at the scene of the crime and innocent. Augustus wrote that three of these men “are my nephews, they belong to my [clan] house, and were among the first ones whom you baptized.” Although Augustus’ plea to Austin did not result in a retrial or acquittal of the five Tlingit, and no other letters regarding Augustus’ actions toward this case could be located, his willingness to contact public figures in

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270 Multiple boxes of Indian police records exist at the Alaska State Archives. The bulk of these include the Governor’s subject files on the Indian police. The following boxes contain records documenting Bean, VS 2605, VS 2639, and VS 2640.
271 Letter to Mr. Austin from Augustus Bean, Aug. 5, 1900, Sitka. Letter sold to private buyer on eBay during May 2017. Digital copy in author’s possession.
272 See United States v. Jim Hanson, et. al., case # 163, OS 568, p. 179, Alaska State Archives.
273 Jim Hanson’s death sentence was later commuted to life in prison.
274 Ibid.
the community about a perceived miscarriage of justice demonstrates Augustus’ concern about how Western laws were applied to the Tlingit.

Additional stories and circumstances show Augustus as serving alongside his brother-in-law and *k'aa sháade nák hx'i* of the Sitka Kaagwaantaan James Jackson (Anaaxhoots) and Augustus’ role of *hit s’aatí*. In 1904, the Sitka Kaagwaantaan hosted a large *khu.éex’,* regarded as one of the most significant *khu.éex’* in modern Tlingit history.275 As *k'aa sháade nák hx'i* of the Sitka Kaagwaantaan, it was James Jackson and those of his clan that organized the *khu.éex’.* Amid this historic event, photographer William H. Case took a photograph that shows Augustus alongside James Jackson and references them as the “Head men of the Bear Clan at the Sitka potlatch.” In an oral history interview conducted by Rosita Worl with Albert Davis, Albert referenced his grandfather James Jackson’s and Augustus’ close leadership role in 1904, “I’m not sure just how they worked together, but he and my granddad were together.”276

In addition to Augustus’ employment as a police officer and leadership role in the Tlingit community, he worked as a professional artist. Augustus produced carved items that were sold in gift shops to collectors and tourists, similar or perhaps in partnership with contemporaries and his brother-in-law, Rudolph Walton. \(^{277}\) Today museums and private collectors hold carved bowls attributed to Augustus, including the Burke Museum (I-778), Alaska State Museum (II-B-812, II-B-1746), Sheldon Jackson Museum (SJ-I-A-269, 273, 331), and the UA Museum of the North, Fairbanks (0717-0124-1, 2). Some of the artworks attributed to Augustus, however, have some noticeable stylistic differences, such as different 

\(^{277}\) Bean was identified as being leader and artist during the 1927 visit of U.S. President Warren G. Harding to Sitka. According to a magazine article, when Harding visited Sitka he was presented with a carved bowl made by “Chief Bean.” However, this story may be apocryphal. Sources indicate that Bean died the year prior to the President’s visit and the Harding Museum has no record of the President receiving a carved bowl at Sitka. See C.B. Arnold, “They Come—they Learn,” *Alaska Life Magazine* (Sept. 1938): 6.
formline shapes for eyes, ears, ovoids and u-forms, which may indicate some incorrectly attributed items, or that Augustus put more time into certain items than others. Another possibility includes co-created items, with Augustus and Rudolph Walton producing together. Many of the items that sold at auction have possessed notations and inscriptions on their bases attributing them to both Bean and Walton. It is possible that Augustus sold his works through Rudolph Walton’s Sitka store. One commonly produced Frog crest bowl has been attributed to Augustus, which also perfectly matches the Frog crest on the Alaska State Museum’s Savage rifle (99-3-1), also attributed to Augustus. The author investigated the attributions given to Augustus’ works at museums and could find no clear provenance to determine if these styles are both or not both the work of Augustus. All documentable attributions to Augustus for items in museums come primarily from curators Erna Gunther and Steve Henrikson on the basis of their style. No objects were signed by Augustus and no provenance records detail a certain or clear line of provenance, such as the items being donated by family or descendant of someone that personally purchased the item from Augustus. Further verification is warranted.

One of Augustus’ most prominent carvings is an Eagle clan hat in the possession of the Alaska State Museum (II-B-1010). The attribution for this hat comes from the State Museum’s provenance records. According to the Alaska State Museum’s records, the museum’s first curator Andrew P. Kashevaroff (hired ca. 1919) commissioned Augustus to carve the hat for the museum’s collection. Carved by Augustus during his final years of life, the hat was modeled after a historic Kaagwaantaan Clan hat, which was removed from the Tlingit community by anthropologist Louis Shotridge during the 1920s. With the dispossession of the original hat,

278 Photographs of these items in the author’s possession.
279 An attribution for Bean as the carver of this hat is also given in William L. Paul and Francis Paul DeGermain, The Alaska Tlingit: Where did We come from; Our Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos (Bloomington, IN: Trafford Publishers, 2011), 247.
which resides at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, in recent decades the Kaagwaantaan Clan has secured the permission of the Alaska State Museum to wear and use the hat carved by Augustus for ceremonial purposes. Although more research on Augustus’ work is merited, his carved Eagle hat continues to serve the Tlingit community today. Augustus Bean passed away around 1926.

![Figure 121: L to R: Very old Kaagwaantaan Eagle clan hat currently at the Penn Museum. Photo Courtesy Harold Jacobs. Eagle hat by Bean on exhibit at the Alaska State Museum in 2016. Alaska State Museum, II-B-1010. Photo by the author.]
Daayakoogeit
Chookaneidí clan

Daayakoogeit of the Chookaneidí Clan of Hoonah was a master carver of the eighteenth century. Nothing about his life could be documented aside from a few works of art he created for clans. Daayakoogeit’s works have been documented through the writings of Louis Shotridge and by Tlingit historians like Harold Jacobs.

Louis Shotridge’s object notes attest to Daayakoogeit as the maker of Khaashashxháaw Shakee.át (Dragonfly Headdress), held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (referred to as the Penn Museum hereafter).

Harold Jacobs also felt that Daayakoogeit made the Khaashashxháaw Shakee.át. Although the Dragonfly is a crest of the Deisheetaan Clan, the shakee.át was in the

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280 Daayakoogeit of the eighteenth century should not be confused with a Chookaneidí artist of the same name that practiced around the turn of the twentieth century. The more recent Daayakoogeit is the maker of the T’akhdeintaan Taxh’ Hit shakee.át at the University of Pennsylvania museum and the Daayakoogeit that trained artists Willie Marks (Keet Yaanaayi) and Jim Marks (Khuháans’).

possession of the T’akhdeintaan Clan before it was collected and placed in Penn Museum.

One additional item believed to have been made by Daayakoogéit includes the Deisheetaan Clan’s S’igeidi S’ix’ (Beaver Dish). The S’igeidi S’ix’ is not only an item of at.óow, its place in the historical memory of the Deisheetaan Clan is significant. In October 1882, the United States Navy used artillery on the Tlingit village of Angoon, known as the Bombardment of Angoon. As the Bombardment was occurring and the village was on fire from artillery shelling, leader and artist Dick Yéilnaawú ran back into a Deisheetaan Clan house and rescued S’igeidi S’ix’ before the house totally caught fire and burned down. As Harold Jacobs wrote to the author, the S’igeidi S’ix’ was “saved by Dick Yéilnaawú from the October 26, 1882 bombardment of Angoon by the U.S. Navy. He ran into the woods with this dish and the one called Nées’ Xhákwt’i (Empty Sea Urchin Shell). The Beaver Dish was made

![Figure 125: Photo of Deisheetaan at.óow at Angoon, the S’igeidi S’ix’ sits at their feet, ca. 1900. L to R is Dick Yéilnaawú, Alfred Perkins, and William Peters. Alaska State Library, P1-17. Photo by Vincent Soboleff.](image)

![Figure 124: The S’igeidi S’ix’ as photographed by William L. Paul Sr. ca. 1945. William L. Paul Collection, held by Ben Paul.](image)
by carver Daayakoogëit.” This dish is in clan possession, though on loan to the Alaska State Museum at the time of this study. No additional items could be documented as being made by Daayakoogëit.

Very little information is known about Kux’laa, a Chookaneidi artist that carved at Dry Bay. His works are old, around the turn of the nineteenth century. His name has come down in history through Tlingit curation of knowledge, which was documented in writing by Louis Shotridge. Shotridge’s records confirm two clan hats by Kux’laa, the Yéil S’éeghí S’aaxhw (Barbecuing Raven) and the Ghaanka Yéili S’aaxhw (Raven of the Roof) clan hats. The Yéil S’éeghí S’aaxhw was made by Kux’laa at Dry Bay around the year 1800 and is an L’uknaxh.ádi, Taan Hit (Seal Lion house) hat. As an item of at.óow, it was photographed in ceremonial use prominently in 1904 at the Sitka Kaagwaantaan khu.éex’. It was

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283 Louis Shotridge Field Cards, Specimen Cards for the Barbequing Raven Hat and Raven of the Roof Hat, Alaska State Library, Historical Collections, MS37-1-1. Also available online the Louis Shotridge Digital Archives.
removed from the Tlingit community’s possession in 1918 by Louis Shotridge and remained at the Penn Museum for ninety-nine years until it was officially repatriated in 2017.\textsuperscript{284}

The Ghaanka Yéili

S'aaxhw was removed from the Tlingit community through the collecting efforts of Louis Shotridge in 1925, but it also was repatriated in 2017 and is now used by the Tlingit community.

Shotridge’s collection notes from 1925 concisely document an aspect of the clan hat’s custodial history. Shotridge attributed the hat as being owned by the Ghaanaxhteidi Yaay Hit, but it had had been held by the L’uknaxh.ádi. Shotridge wrote that “It was the Ghaanka Yéili [S'aaxhw], which was once, during the war over the right to custodianship of the emblem, taken by its Ghaanaxhteidi party to Chilkat [Klukwan] where it remained until Yakexudetsaak’ał was married to Skawaye’il, who returned it to her father.”\textsuperscript{285}


\textsuperscript{285}Text from the reverse of the Shotridge notecard on the Ghaanka Yéili S’aaxhw (front of card shown below). Courtesy Louis Shotridge Digital Archives. The Tlingit names provided above could not be verified for proper spelling and orthography.
William James Ukas (Yeeka.aas), (b. 1834) Naanyaa.aayí Clan

William James Ukas (Yeeka.aas) (b. 1834) was born near or at Khaachxhan.āak’w (present-day Wrangell) to an aanyadi Naanyaa.aayí Clan woman.286 Although the parents of William could not be documented, Shtax’héen Khwáan (Wrangell region) historian and Kiks.ádi elder Herbert J. Bradley stated that William was a “half-brother” to a Naanyaa.aayí clan or clan house leader.287 Sources document William’s marriage to a Kiks.ádi woman named Susan (Stook) (b. 1855). Together they raised at least two children, which the 1900 census and descendants verify as Ned (b. ca. 1884) and Thomas (Ghunaanasti, Aak’wtaatseen) (b. ca. 1888).288 William’s self-declared profession on the 1900 census was silversmith jeweler. Historic Wrangell property records dated December 1897 document an 80 by 200 foot lot of beach property in Wrangell owned by William, as well as a 44 by 126 foot lot of property co-owned by a Sarah Ukas and William Ukas.289 Descendants of

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286 According to Ishmael Hope in a message to the author on September 10, 2017, Ukas’s son Thomas Ukas stated in a recording that his father was from a branch of the Naanyaa.aayí, specifically the Hittleinhitan.
288 Conversations and communications with Mike Hoyt and Ethel Lund, 2015; and the 1900 federal census of Wrangell.
William indicate that he died around 1902 of an accident, but William has often been remembered in his family as producer of *at.óow*.290

Aspects of William’s early life have been documented by historian and Kiks.ádi man Herbert “Herb” J. Bradley (1907-1992). In a 1979 oral history interview, Herb reported that William was a warrior, leader, and artist during his life. During William’s early life, Herb stated that “He was a general. He fought in the war when they drove the Puget Sound Indians clear back to Puget Sound. He and Kudéiyi, two generals.”291 In regards to William’s status in his clan, Herb reported that William was a great orator, and although his clan was led by William’s half-brother, “the main speaker was Yeeka.aas.”292 Herb also spoke about William as an artist, “he was such a good expert goldsmith and carver.”293 Herb overviewed a commission made sometime prior to 1900 in the Jilkháat Khwáan (Klukwan region) saying, “they hired him, just like they send diplomats to foreign countries … and he stayed there for two winters carving for them, and bracelet work, gold bracelets.”294 Herb also mentioned a commissioned “Raven pole” for the Naanyaa.aayí Clan in Wrangell that William made.295

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290 Mike Hoyt, personal conversation with the author, August 15, 2014.
291 Oral history interview with Herb Bradley, 1979, minute 27. Sealaska Heritage Archives, MC 22, Item 6. No additional information or dates about William Ukas as a general were given by Bradley.
292 Ibid.
293 Ibid., minute 26.
294 Ibid., minute 26.
295 Ibid.
Documenting when William created his works has remained challenging. A comprehensive examination of the evidence about William’s work as an artist points to the notion that William was a highly sought after and respected artist by at least his mid to latter years of life. He was commissioned to produce at.ôow for both Eagle and Raven moiety clans in and outside the Shtax’héen Khwáan. William was remembered by the elders of the Shtax’héen Khwáan during the 1990s when art historian Steve Brown sought to document his work. During the 1990s, Brown interviewed various Shtax’héen Khwáan Tlingit about William and examined totem poles from the Shtax’héen Khwáan to identify William’s style. Brown’s published research reported that William was commissioned circa 1895 to carve the Kiks.âdi Ghagaan Hit pole to “memorialize a Kiks.âdi leader named Kohlteen.” Brown’s findings provided evidence for William as being the carver of the “original Kiks.âdi pole, the One Legged Fisherman Pole, several grave monuments that no longer exist, and the original Raven Pole.” Brown argued that the One Legged

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297 Ibid., 83. See also Dan Rudy, “Names given to faces on some stored totems,” *Wrangell Sentinel* (May 26, 2016).

298 Ibid.
Fisherman Pole was carved shortly before 1898, and that “the pole was constructed as a grave or memorial totem for one of the Naanyaa.aayí, I believe named Kauk-eesh.” Brown’s research also confirmed William as the painter of a large canoe, the Kéet Yaakw (Killer Whale Canoe), remembered by his descendants and documented by photography in historical use at Wrangell.

Additional research by Brown resulted in locating a mask at the Denver Art Museum by William. The provenance files for this mask, the Ghagaan L’axhk’eit (Sun Mask) (1953.408) document William as its maker. The Ghagaan L’axhk’eit is Naanyaa.aayí clan at.óow, an item William carved for his own clan. The Ghagaan L’axhk’eit can be identified in historic photographs from 1890s when Naanyaa.aayí Clan khaa sháade nákhx’í Shéiyksh VI (Gush Tlein, Ltúshaax’w) allowed the Naanyaa.aayí Clan’s at.óow to be photographed. It appears in one photo just above and to the right of the wood burning stove, partially covered by another clan hat’s large Killer Whale fin.

Since the 1994 publication of Brown’s essay, evidence has surfaced that attributes additional items to William. One item not used at Wrangell includes a large carved Raven’s head. This Raven’s head, originally mounted on a house at an unidentified Taku River Tlingit

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299 Ibid.
300 Ibid., 84.
village, was collected in 1893 and added to the holdings of the American Museum of Natural History. Collector Herbert G. Ogden reported to the museum that the Raven head (E168156) was carved by a Tlingit artist named “Ehkas.”

I showed pictures of the Raven carving to Steve Brown and he felt it was classic William Ukas carving, matching his style. In consulting Harold Jacobs, he acknowledged that William had some T’aa k Khuwán ancestry, which could account for its placement in the T’aa k Khuwán.

Additional efforts to document items of art and atóow created by William directly crossed my path when working at Sealaska Heritage. During some routine work on an archival collection of recordings made by William Ukas’s son Thomas Ukas at Sealaska Heritage, my coworker Ishmael Hope identified a Tlingit clan hat being auctioned by an art gallery outside of Seattle. Accompanying the hat was a 1968 letter from William Ukas’s son Thomas. Thomas Ukas wrote that the hat was begun by his father in 1898, but due to an accident that took William’s life, the unfinished hat was stored in the Ukas family’s attic.

During the 1960s, Thomas took up the challenge of finishing the hat begun by his father, then he shipped it to a

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301 Accession records for this record have been placed online, including the original 1893 inscription that it was made by Ehkas. See http://collections.nmnh.si.edu/search/anth/?bc=E168156

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Mr. Lewis from Wrangell who was living in Washington. It was determined that the hat had never been claimed or dedicated by another clan, and the Wrangell Kiks.ádi Clan needed a clan hat, so the Kiks.ádi Clan took steps to purchase the hat at this auction. Then soon-to-be appointed Wrangell Kiks.ádi Clan leader Richard Rinehart drove to the auction, bid on the hat, and won the auction. In the spring of 2014, the hat was officially dedicated as Kiks.ádi Clan at.óow at the Wrangell khu.éex’ in front of clan opposites, which the author witnessed.

In 2014, an additional hat attributed to William surfaced for auction through Sotheby’s. Steve Brown argued that this hat matched the style of William Ukas. This Aleut shaped but Tlingit clan hat was known in the Tlingit community and had circulated through the hands of private collectors. Due to a past relationship between the Kiks.ádi Clan and Aleut people, including how the Kiks.ádi came to own some Aleut songs traded to the Kiks.ádi in history, the hat is known to the Kiks.ádi Clan, which claim it as their at.óow. At some time prior to 1990, the hat left the clan’s possession. It sold at public auction in the 1990s, remained out of sight for more than three decades, but resurfaced in 2014 at public auction. The Kiks.ádi Clan was very concerned about the hat and felt it was being illegally trafficked. Various Tlingit organizations, including Sealaska Heritage where the author worked at the time, called on the auction house and

\[302\] Thomas Ukas to Mr. Lewis, Wrangell, Jan. 31, 1968, on loan to the Wrangell Museum.
law enforcement officials to halt the sale. The auction occurred regardless of the outcry. Since the Kiks.ádi Clan could not stop the auction, they sought to purchase the hat. Richard Rinehart, Mike Hoyt, and others from the Wrangell Tlingit community created a Kickstarter fundraising webpage, and over $40,000 was donated from the Tlingit community and their friends toward the hat’s purchase. All Sealaska Heritage staff watched the auction transpire online and live (I was present in my office as this transpired), but the hat sold for over $300,000 and remained in private collector hands. The location of this hat is currently unknown due to private ownership, but the Wrangell Kiks.ádi Clan continue to wait for this item of at.óow created by William Ukas to resurface.

303 For information about this event, see Melissa Griffiths, “When Auction House Looks to Tlingit Art, the Sacred Goes on Sale,” Juneau Empire (May 16, 2014); and Melissa Griffiths, “Tlingit Hat Sells for $365,000: Southeast Organizers Raised more than $26k for Failed Bid,” Juneau Empire (May 21, 2014).
Raven Clan Carvers and Painters

Jim Jacobs (Yéilnaawú, Kíchxhaak), (1846-1941)
Khoosk’eidi Clan, Xaas Hit

Sources indicate that Jim Jacobs (1846-1941) was born at Sitka in 1846, the son of a Khoosk’eidi Clan, Xaas Hit (Cow House) woman. His Tlingit names were Yéilnaawú (Dead Raven) and Kíchxhaak. Jacob’s parents could not be identified at the time of this study, but the informants that spoke to Frederica de Laguna documented Jim’s ties to northern Tlingit country, such as the Ghunaxhoo and Yaakwdáat Khwaans (Dry Bay and Yakutat regions). Jim’s family and clan relationships played into his art commissions in later life, including for the L’uknaxhádi Clan, a clan with a historical connection to the Khoosk’eidi. Jim descended from an aanyádi family and was trained to be an artist and leader, later serving as the Khoosk’eidi Clan khaa shāade nákhx’i. As the khaa shāade nákhx’i and caretaker of his clan’s at.óow, Jim was photographed wearing the Xaas Naaxein Kudas’ (Cow Tunic) and caretaking the clan’s Mouse Clan Hat and other at.óow during the 1930s. Early in life Jim

304 Frederica de Laguna, Under Mount Saint Elias, 290, 325.
305 A photograph captures Jacobs wearing a L’uknaxhádi clan hat at the funeral of what may have been a Khoosk’eidi clan person, showing a relationship with the L’uknaxhádi clan. L’uknaxhádi and Khoosk’eidi clan at.óow have been displayed alongside each other at memorial khu.éeex’.

Figure 139: Jim Jacobs poses in the Xaas Naaxein Kudas, Sitka, 1931. Alaska State Library, P110-04.
married Anna Jacobs (Yéitxhóoteen) (1843-1941) of the Kaagwaantaan Clan and they lived in Sitka.

Jim’s life is documented in various sources due to his fame as an artist and khaa sháade nákhx’i. Sources document him as being one of the most sought after and highly regarded Tlingit artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of the earliest evidence about Jim comes from published travel accounts in the 1880s, which mention him as an accomplished artist, especially for his skill as a silversmith jeweler. Jim operated an art shop in Sitka which had a large window facing the street along a road tourists frequently passed. He demonstrated his arts for collectors and sold his works daily during the cruise ship and tourist season. He was known as Jim the Jeweler, Silver Jim, and Silversmith Jim in Sitka during his lifetime, names bestowed upon him because of his ability as a jeweler and maker of collectable silver cutlery. For example, in 1889, traveler Isabel S. Shepard came to Sitka, and later wrote of Jim in her published travel memoir.

With two friends I visited the Ranche [Indian Village] one day.... We paid an interesting visit to “Jeweler Jim”: an Indian, who is very clever at converting gold and silver money into ornaments of various kinds. His latest effort was a set of after-dinner coffee spoons, each one made out of a half dollar, and a very pretty shape. He will make you for three dollars, in two days’ time, a gold ring, with an Indian design, out of a ten-dollar gold piece. He had a handsome silver napkin ring well under way when we interrupted him.\footnote{Isabel S. Shepard, The Cruise of the U.S. Steamer Rush in Behring Sea, Summer of 1889 (San Francisco, Bancroft Co., 1889), 234-235.}
Others, such as traveler and self-styled ethnologist Anna Bugbee wrote after examining the Tlingit art trade in Sitka in 1893 that “Jim is known to tourists by his ability to make spoons and bracelets out of coins, and by his fancy prices for the same. There are other jewelers, but he is the best.” In fact, ethnographer George T. Emmons wrote in his manuscript that Jim helped him learn about silver jewelry around the turn of the twentieth century.

At the time of this dissertation’s writing, the author identified nearly twenty silverware items in museums by Jim. Initial research found only three bangle bracelets in museums attributed to Jim, these are at the Sheldon Jackson Museum. After significant research and review of works for stylistic

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308 Emmons, The Tlingit Indians, 189.
similarities, the author since identified and attributed additional bangles, floral bracelets, formline bracelets, and napkin rings. Based on the amount of materials in museums created by Jim, he was one of the most prolific Tlingit silversmiths of his time. He was not only prolific, but well regarded by the non-Native community. Due to his accomplished skills as a jeweler Sitka’s municipal government had Jim create two gold napkin rings as a gift for U.S. President Warren G. Harding during his visit to Sitka in 1923. Today these napkin rings (HI5612) reside at the Harding Museum.\footnote{“President Warren G. Harding’s visit to Sitka,” \textit{Daily Sitka Sentinel} (July 22, 1988): 22. Thanks to Richard Wood of Juneau for locating and sharing this newspaper report.}

While Jim was regarded by his peers for his skill as a jeweler, his abilities as a creator of \textit{at.\textipa{d}ow} for Tlingit clans resulted in multiple substantial commissions from Tlingit clans. Evidence supports that Jim was the artist of nine, perhaps ten, major commissions. Two of the earliest items of wearable \textit{at.\textipa{d}ow} made by Jim include his creation of the Khoosk’eidi Clan’s Mouse Clan Hat and the Wooshkeetaan Xheitl.
Hit’s (Thunderbird house) *shakee.át* (headdress, dance hat). Jim posed for a picture wearing the Wooshkeetaan hat during the 1890s, perhaps shortly after its creation. Jim is one artist that allowed his commissions to be photographed. On multiple occasions during his life, he posed for a picture wearing or standing next to his commissions.\(^{310}\)

Other commissions created by Jim consist of large objects, such as the painting of a canoe (*yaakw*), carving of a crest object and house post (*gáas’*), and painting of multiple house screens (*xh’een*). One of the earliest large commissions includes a canoe given to Governor John Brady that was painted by Jim. The canoe, originally made by the Haida, was reportedly given to Brady by Chief Son-I-Hat. It came unpainted, and for reasons unknown, Brady appears to have commissioned Jim to paint the canoe which Brady put on display at Sitka near government offices circa 1900. Collector George T. Emmons wrote that the canoe was painted by a Tlingit artist at Sitka named “Jim”\(^{311}\) and the formline style is characteristic of Jim’s work. Correspondence to Alaska Governor Thomas Riggs Jr. about historic objects and the totem parks in Sitka during in 1920 confirms Jim as the painter. By 1920, the canoe needed to be

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\(^{310}\) These attributions come from the research of Harold Jacobs. Unfortunately the Mouse Clan Hat and the clan’s Xaas Naaxcïn Kudàs’ were removed from the Tlingit community in 2015, being sold illegally. Harold Jacobs, multiple communications to the author between 2014 and 2016.

repainted, and a request was made of the Governor to rehired “Jim the Jeweler, a Native who worked on the same canoe at the request of former Governor Brady.”\textsuperscript{312}

The remaining commissions were for clans at Sitka and Yakutat, the first occurring in Sitka for the L’uknaxh.ádi Clan. The informants that spoke to Frederica de Laguna, stated that Jim and Yakutat Teikhweidi artist Daniel Benson were commissioned by the L’uknaxh.ádi Clan to carve a White Frog crest object to be hung over the door of the L’uknaxh.ádi, Xixch’i Hit (Frog House) at Sitka. The informants that spoke to Frederica de Laguna reported that “Daniel Benson and Yéilnaawú carved it together. They were the best carvers.”\textsuperscript{313}

The White Frog was mounted on the exterior of the Xixch’i Hit after the L’uknaxh.ádi held a \textit{khu.éex’} in 1899. It was later removed due to the Kiks.ádi Clan’s concern of a Frog crest being claimed by another clan on their land when the Frog crest was the primary crest of the Kiks.ádi.\textsuperscript{314} Although damaged amid the disagreement, the White Frog appears to have remained in Jim’s possession for a period due to a photograph showing him alongside it around 1904. Today the White Frog remains on loan to the Sitka National Historic Park.

\textsuperscript{312} Harry Morton to Gov. Thomas Riggs Juneau, Sitka, Nov. 27, 1920, VS 182, Office of the Territorial Governor, Alaska State Archives.

\textsuperscript{313} Frederica de Laguna, \textit{Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit} (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), 290.

\textsuperscript{314} Ibid. See also See Kach-koo-tay, Kat-tlan, Rotch-hun, Kah-koo-ish, & Nah-shock, et al. v. Daniel Benson, Katch, Star-gon, Little Harry, Henry Took-sah, et al. (1898), Case 832, AS 32275, Sitka District Court Records, Alaska State Archives.
Over the next few years, Jim was commissioned to make six major items of atóow. He was in his late 50s and mid-60s when he made these items. Between 1900 and 1901, Jim was commissioned by James Jackson (Annaxhootz) to paint a house front for the Sitka Kaagwaantaan, Ch’aak Kūdi Hit (Eagle Nest House), which was installed around 1902. After completing this commission, according to Kiks.ádi elder Peter C. Nielsen (1900-1983) (Aakashookh), Harold Jacobs, and other tribal historians, Jim was commissioned in 1902 by the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Clan again to create a house post for the Ghooch Hit (Wolf House).\footnote{Harold Jacobs, message to the author, July 18, 2013; and Peter C. Nielsen, “Totems and Their Meaning and Tlingit Indian Paints,” unpublished manuscript, 1978, in Sitka National Historical Park accession files. It should be noted that in 1904 there were 18 Kaagwaantaan Houses. Some houses were known by multiple names. See Harold Jacobs, “Kéet Gooshi Héen Yaawada!” unpublished manuscript, n.d., p. 1.} For Sitka National Historical Park, Neilson provided an account of a 1926 discussion with Jim, wherein the

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image146.jpg}
\caption{Ch’aak Kūdi Hit house front by Jim Jacobs mounted on the exterior, ca. 1902. Photo Courtesy Harold Jacobs.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image147.jpg}
\caption{Kaagwaantaan individuals stand next to the Kaawashkhee Ghooch Gaas’ at its unveiling, Sitka, 1904. Alaska State Library, PCA450. Photo by E.W. Merrill.}
\end{figure}
elderly Jim Jacobs told young Neilson the history of the commission. Neilson recalled of their conversation, Jim “stated that he supervised and directed carving the Wolf totem which is now standing in the Visitor’s Center at [the] Totem Park in Sitka [SNHP]. In the year 1902 at the Indian Village in Sitka, the Kaagwaantaan Clan, Eagle moiety, gave (Yéilnaawú) Silver Jim Jacobs of the Raven moiety the order to carve, out of red cedar, a House Post.” Neilson’s account refers to Jim’s work to carve, paint, and inlay with abalone of the Kaawashakhee Ghooch Gaas’ (Panting Wolf House Post), which was unveiled by the Kaagwaantaan Clan at the 1904 *khú.éex*. As an item of Kaagwaantaan *at.óow*, the Kaawashákhee Ghooch Gaas’ remains a clan possession, but on loan to Sitka National Historic Park.

An additional set of posts created during this period were created by or in cooperation with Jim. Evidence supports that Jim oversaw or co-created the Kaagwaantaan Multiplying Wolf House Posts and Screen. Harold Jacobs and some elders in the Tlingit community have stated he made the posts and screen, or at least oversaw their creation. The Multiplying Wolf House Posts possess aspects of Jim’s style, but there are also some unique stylistic

![Figure 148: Multiplying Wolf House Posts at Sitka, ca 1904. Alaska State Library, PCA450-3832. Photo by E.W. Merrill.](image)

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316 Peter C. Nielsen, “Totems and Their Meaning and Tlingit Indian Paints,” unpublished manuscript, 1978, in Sitka National Historical Park accession files. It should be noted in this manuscript that Nielsen confuses the Panting Wolf House Post with the name of the Multiplying Wolf Posts, but he describes the Panting Wolf House Post.

317 While it is possible that Jacobs was involved, and there have been two sets of Multiplying Wolf House Posts carved for the Kaagwaantaan in recent history, one set of posts one done by Rudolph Walton.

318 See Julie Widmark, oral history interview, 1967, Tape 12804, Sitka National Historic Park. Per a phone call between house leader Andy Gamble and the author on 3/19/6/2018, Gamble confirmed Jacobs as the maker of these posts.
aspects to the posts. It is possible that Jim was associated with the creation of the Multiplying Wolf House Posts and Screen and that he oversaw their creation and had other carvers and painters involved. As a recognized elder carver, Jim may have instructed other carvers, perhaps apprentices, and gave them freedom to work on the pole, with Jim contributing.319

The final known piece made by Jim during this period includes his commission by the Yakutat Teikhweidí Clan, Gaaw Hit (Drum house) to make their house screen. The informants that spoke to Frederica de Laguna attributed the screen to Jim. He also posed for a picture with the screen to document him as the painter.320 It was unveiled by the Teikhweidí Clan for the 1905 khú.éex ’held in Yakutat. It was dedicated and became clan at.óow. Today the screen is held by the Alaska State Museum.


320 de Laguna, Under Mount Saint Elias, 325.
After the completion of these items, no evidence could be found of major commissions by Jim during the 1910s or 1920s. It is quite possible that he created items of *at.óow* during this period, but no sources could be found to substantiate attributions. Evidence is clear that Jim maintained his store and sold materials to tourists throughout this period. Amid this time, however, Jim’s son died. A source sheds light on the death of his son, George Jacobs, in 1911 shortly after his graduation from the Sheldon Jackson Training School.\(^{321}\) This tragic event left a lasting impression on Jim.\(^{322}\)

By the 1930s, sources document multiple items of *at.óow* being created by Jim. During this time, Jim was commissioned again by the Sitka Kaagwaantaan Ch’áak Kúdi Hit to create their house screen. He was asked by Ch’áak Kúdi Hit *hit s’aati* Alex Andrews (Kooxíchx’) to replace the original screen Jim had made around 1901.\(^{323}\) Commissioned at a time when the colonial government and dominate Presbyterian community deeply resented and oppressed Tlingit culture and

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\(^{321}\) A notice printed in a newspaper indicates George died after experiencing stomach troubles. He was remembered a baseball pitcher. See “Notes” *The Thlinget* (Feb. 1, 1911): 4.


\(^{323}\) Harold Jacobs and Ishmael Hope should be credited for documenting Jacobs’ creation of the Ch’áak Kúdi Hit screen. Both informed the author of this work. Additional verification of Jacobs’ work in creating this screen came from the Kaagwaantaan clan leader, Ch’áak Kúdi Hit house leader, and Kaagwaantaan individuals that attended the author’s 2015 presentation at Sitka during the question and answer session after the main lecture. Citation: Zachary R. Jones, “Silver Jim Jacobs: The Life and Works of a Sitka Master Tlingit Artist,” Presented at the Sitka National Historic Park, Sitka, as part of a Native American Heritage Month Lecture Series, November 2015.
spirituality, this new screen was created in secret from the Euro-American community. It was mounted inside the Ch’áak Kúdi Hit, then the residence of Alex Andrews.

With Jim’s completion of the Ch’áak Kúdi Hit, he was in his 90s. Although advanced in age, photographs offer evidence for Jim as creator of an item of Chookaneidi Clan at.óow. As with other carvings made by Jim, he posed for a picture around 1935 with the Bear crest shakee.at made for the Chookaneidi Clan.

By the late 1930s, Jim was known in the region for his art. He made jewelry into the 1940s and had become a recognized part of Sitka’s community. As an unidentified non-Native newspaper author wrote about Jim the fall of 1939:

Silversmith Jim is one the most picturesque people in Sitka. Some visitors to Sitka have come to see him just as much as they have come to see the Greek Orthodox Church or Lovers Lane. His handiwork in silver, from which his name is derived, has brought him a little fame on the “outside.” Some of his work on silver rings and bracelets may be in many sundry shapes along the Alaskan coast and clear down to the large cities in the States. Today we see Silversmith Jim infrequently, but when we do, he is dressed in the old Indian style of using English cloths. This is almost as picturesque in its quaintness as the true Indian dress.324

Stories about Jim’s love of his wife and lost children have survived to this day. Jim and his wife had children, but it appears that most died young, including their son, George Jacobs, in 1911.325

Sitka resident and local historian Hugh Brady gave a talk “Early Days in Sitka” and recalled how

325 See “Notes” The Thlinget (Feb. 1, 1911): 4.
Jim kept his late infant and young children’s toys in a prized chest. He displayed these to Brady with what Brady described as love and a father’s tenderness.\footnote{Hugh Brady, *Early Days in Sitka* (Sitka, Sheldon Jackson Museum, 1965), 10.} For those who knew Jim during his later years, and the memories of his descendants, they recalled the devotion he showed his elderly wife. Jim’s obituary offers words about their final years together, “His wife, who remains to mourn him, has been blind for many years and the care which he gave her would make many anyone stand high in a community.”\footnote{Obituary, *Sitka Sentinel* (Jan. 24, 1941).} Jim’s wife died seven days after he passed, as I have been told by Harold Jacobs, of a broken heart and longing to be with her husband.\footnote{Harold Jacobs, message to the author, July 18, 2013.}
Ned James (Sdagwáan)
L’uknaxh.ádi Clan, Xíxch’i Hít

Ned James (Sdagwáan) (d. 1921) was an aanyádi artist born to a L’uknaxh.ádi Clan, Xíxch’i Hit woman. No information about Ned’s parents could be documented. Discrepancies in sources make it difficult to document the year of his birth with accuracy. A headstone in the Sitka Native cemetery documents a man named Ned James living from 1841 to 1921, while the 1910 federal census records his birth year as 1859. Ned is believed to have lived at Sitka for most, if not all of his life, though he and his clan had close ties to the Ghunaxhoo and Yaakwdáat Khwáans (Dry Bay and Yakutat regions). Aspects of Ned’s life are documented slightly before the turn of the twentieth century, primarily from the informants that spoke to anthropologist Frederica de Laguna and the writings of anthropologist Louis Shotridge.

The informants that spoke to Frederica de Laguna, including Mary James and Annie George, indicated that early in Ned’s life he was married to a Teikhweidi Gaaw Hit woman named Jenny Abraham White (1872/1874-1918) and that they had a daughter named Violet. Sources indicate they separated and remarried, and the 1910 federal census of Sitka documents a carver named Ned James as married to a woman listed as “Sahgoat” (b. 1849). It is unclear if

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329 See de Laguna, Under Mount Saint Elias, 325.
330 The 1910 census identified James as having the Tlingit name of “Untleahn.” This Tlingit name, and the name of his wife “Sahgoat” have not been verified for proper spelling and orthography.
Ned served in a leadership role for the Xixch’i Hit. Records detail that the hit s’aati of the Xixch’i Hit, a man named Sdagwaan, died in 1898.\(^{331}\) While evidence is limited as to if Ned served in a leadership role, sometime in life he was given the Tlingit name Sdagwaan, an aanyádi name of past leaders.

Ned’s life is documented around this time by sources from Louis Shotridge and the research of Harold Jacobs. These sources document Ned as the creator of aankháawu wootsaagháa

(Leader Staff\(s\))

and/or shi s’aati

wootsaagháa (Song Leader Staff\(s\)).\(^{332}\)

Louis Shotridge’s notes document Ned as the maker of the L’uknaxhádi

\(^{331}\) See Kach-koo-tay, Kat-tlan, Rotch-hun, Kah-koo-ish, & Nah-shock, et al. v. Daniel Benson, Ka-tech, Star-gon, Little Harry, Henry Took-sah, et al. (1898), Case 832, AS 32275, Sitka District Court Records, Alaska State Archives. These court records indicate (without detailed explanation) that Sdagwaan died during the year of the 1898 civil court case. See also de Laguna, Under Mount Saint Elias, 273, 290-291, 320.

\(^{332}\) Harold Jacobs informed the author that the literal translation for aankháawu woodzakaa is “rich man’s cane.” Jacobs has written about staffs. His 2012 self-produced calendar with historic photos and teachings articulated the following about Speaker and Song Leader Staffs: “A song leader is called shi s’aati (song master). The Song Leader’s Staff is sometimes called ‘shi s’aati woodzakaa’ which is the literal translation. The correct name is kéet Gooshi, or “Killerwhale Dorsal Fin”, no matter what the imagery is or the clan association, and obviously so named because of the shape. There were three or four song leaders. If one forgot the words the others could fill in; at the same time, having more than one gave the dancers an-all-around view to follow. With the kéet gooshi, Crest hats, gangóosh (abalone fin headdresses) or the shakee at or any other types of hats were not worn, instead he wore a feather headband or similar ornament as seen in the following photos. The song leader called out the words to the song as well as changes: Ch’u yéi! (repeat it), Hei déi! (when a new verse was to start), Hooch’a (to end the song), Yaadaachoon! (sing the tune). The song leader also gave the rhythm and the drum would follow the song leader; today it’s been switched. Lowering the staff to and angle meant to start the song, a sharp thrust at the same angle meant to end the song. NOTE: They appear especially in Tlingit imitation of the Tsimshian dances. Crest hats, gangóosh or the shakee.at or any other types of hats were not worn by the song leader (or by the drummer). This differs from their use in the Inland Tlingit and or imitation of Gunanaa style dancing by the Tlingit.”
Raven Staff, that was made on the “occasion of the ‘call together’ to celebrate the rebuilding of the Killer Whale House of Klukwan during the year 1889.” Shotridge also wrote that Ned made the Kaagwaantaan Ghooch Hit staff. Shotridge articulated that Ned was commissioned by Kaagwaantaan leader James Jackson (Annaxhootz) to make the staff during what Shotridge referred to as a “Call-Together” event at Klukwan during the winter of 1900. According to Harold Jacobs, sometime around this period Ned made the Frog Staff. The L’uknaxh.ádi Raven staff and Kaagwaantaan Ghooch Hit staff were photographed in ceremonial use shortly after their creation, but especially in the 1904 Sitka Kaagwaantaan khu.éex’. Ned appears in photographs wherein members of his clan hold his clan’s Raven staff.

Ned surfaces in few additional sources, making the final years of his life difficult to document. The 1910 federal census documents him living in Sitka and working as a carver. James died in 1921 and was buried in the Sitka cemetery.

333 Specimen card for Baton by Sdagwáan, Louis Shotridge Digital Archives.
334 Specimen card for Dance Baton by Sdagwáan, Louis Shotridge Digital Archives.
335 Harold Jacobs, message to the author on Sept. 30, 2013.
Rudolph Walton (Kaawóotk’, Aak’wtaatseen), (1867-1951)  
Kiks.ádi Clan, Tináa Hit, Kaagwaantaan Yádi

Rudolph Walton (Kaawóotk’, Aak’wtaatseen) (1867-1951) was born in Sitka in 1867 to a Kiks.ádi Clan, Tináa Hit (Copper Shield House) woman named Ida Walton (Doosuch)\(^{336}\) (d. 1902) and Kaagwaantaan Clan, Xóots Hit (Brown Bear House) man named Ghunahéin\(^{337}\) (Strange Waters) (d. 1891). Rudolph was one of three children, his two sisters were Nettie A. Walton (d. 1884) and Delia Walton (Sxlawan/Sxawaan)\(^{338}\) (b. 1861) who married James Jackson (Annaxoots). Much of what is known about Rudolph is detailed in the biography of him produced as a 1998 doctoral dissertation by his granddaughter, Joyce Walton Shales.\(^{339}\) Shales used family history knowledge, interviews, and historical records for her research, including Rudolph’s own diaries.

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\(^{336}\) This name has not been veted for proper orthography. The name was given on Joyce Walton Shales, “Rudolph Walton: One Tlingit Man’s Journey through Stormy Seas, Sitka, Alaska, 1867-1951. Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1998, p. 25.

\(^{337}\) Research of Walton’s granddaughter found different spellings of his Tlingit name, one from a Presbyterian ledger “Gunnah-heen”, the other on Walton’s death certificate, Kaw-heen, and his headstone reads “Kon-na-hil.” “Ghuna” is a partial derivative of a Tlingit word meaning different, “hein” is the Tlingit word for river. The family has said the name means “Strange (other) Waters.” Historical records also document his father’s name as “Mr. Walton,” one perhaps as James Walton. Page 24-25.

\(^{338}\) The spelling of Delia’s Tlingit name needs additional verification on spelling and proper orthography.

Shales' research detailed that Rudolph received a Western education at the Sitka Industrial Training School (later the Sheldon Jackson School) where he learned to speak, read, and write English. In his youth, Rudolph embraced Christianity and served as a youth teacher in a Native Presbyterian congregation. After completing his studies at the Sitka Industrial Training School, Rudolph married in 1886. Shales wrote that Rudolph had been prevailed upon to marry the widow of his uncle. However, he chose to marry Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hit woman Daisy Jackson (Teensheixh) (1868-1905), a fellow student at the school. Arranged marriages and marrying the widow of a close family member were long standing Tlingit marriage practices among the aanyádi. The Presbyterian Church was committed to stopping Tlingit marriage practices, with the Tlingit at Sitka being heavily pressured to conform to Euro-American Christian marital practices. Daisy was an appropriate marriage due to her being an aanyádi of the opposite moiety. It is unclear if the Presbyterian Church realized the appropriateness of this marriage in Tlingit terms, or simply saw it as two of their perceived detribalized and Christianized students choosing to marry.

Shortly after this marriage, Rudolph took employment at the Silver Bay mines, which required him to live away from his new wife at Sitka. The Presbyterian Church expressed its pride in Rudolph, often showcasing him as a purported model of an assimilated Indian. In October 1886, the Presbyterian Home Missionary journal wrote about him,

Rudolph, the first boy married in the “Home,” is working in the mines at Silver Bay. The Superintendent likes him very much, he is so industrious and trustworthy. They pay $2 per day and board. He is saving his money to build a Boston house upon our mission land. We feel he is a credit to our Institution, and we have others like him.  

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340 Daisy Jackson’s Tlingit name given by Shales, see J.W. Shales, “Rudolph Walton,” 92. This name was also held by her maternal aunt, the mother of Augustus Bean. Daisy Jackson was also the sister of artist Augustus Bean (Kh’alyaan Éesh, Keitxít’ch). A few months after Walton’s marriage his sister Mary married Augustus Bean.  
However, Rudolph soon disliked working at the mine because of the low pay, dangerous conditions, and being separated from his family. He began looking for new career options.

Amid this time, Rudolph signed an agreement with the Presbyterian Church on December 6, 1888, to live in the newly established and church owned housing area known as the Cottages. The contract Rudolph signed contained numerous clauses that articulated the church’s vision for the purpose of the Cottages and those who lived therein. It read that the Cottages,

provide model healthful and comfortable homes for the young men and women trained in the Presbyterian Mission School and for the people who have been rescued from heathenism and started towards a Christian civilization; to create a family and life and break up the customs of several families living in the same room; to keep free them from the petty persecutions of their heathen neighbors; to separate them from the constant sight of the heathen practices...342

The church viewed the Cottages as an environment where its goals of creating a societal Christian utopia for detribalized and Christianized Indians that had studied at the Sitka Industrial Training School could occur. They offered Rudolph the first house on the first block, which indicates that Rudolph was at the front of the line in the eyes of the church.343 Rudolph could live free of cost in the Cottages so long as he adhered to the terms of the contract.

Around this time, Rudolph quit working at the Silver Bay mine to pursue a career he enjoyed and that allowed him to live in town with his wife. Rudolph chose to work as an artist and produce Native art for Euro-

342 “Lease of Lot 1, Block 1, Mission Plat to Rudolph Walton, Dec. 6, 1888,” p. 158, OS 605, Court Recorder Volume (Juneau/Sitka), Alaska State Archives
American tourists and consumers. He opened a store at the edge of the Sitka Indian Village, a prime location for tourists who came through shopping for Native American collectables. According to Shales, “Rudolph spent his days working as both an artist and merchant.” He became one of Sitka’s most prolific Tlingit artists, working as a metalsmith jeweler, scrimshaw artist, and woodcarver. He regularly produced collectable silverware, bracelets of gold and silver, ivory scrimshaw cribbage boards, and wooden bowls. Many of Rudolph’s creations have survived in private collections, museums, and in Tlingit homes today. His silverworks can be identified by Rudolph’s distinctive cursive handwriting of the word “Sitka.” Because of Rudolph’s


Figure 159: Carved bowl by Walton, Private collection. Photo by the author.

344 J.W. Shales, “Rudolph Walton,” 100.
prominence as an artist, ethnologist George T. Emmons secured the services of Rudolph as an informant. Emmons had Rudolph sketch formline designs into Emmons’ personal notebook.\textsuperscript{345}

During the 1902-1904 years, a number of significant events occurred in Rudolph’s life, some of which changed his life. Around 1902, Rudolph was commissioned by Kaagwaantaan \textit{khaa sháde nákx’i} James Jackson (Anaaxhoots) to carve two Ghooch Gaas’ (Wolf House Posts) for the Kaagwaantaan Ghooch Hit (Wolf House), a house also known as the Ch’áak Hit (Eagle House).\textsuperscript{346} These posts were commissioned for unveiling at the 1904 Sitka Kaagwaantaan \textit{khu.éex’}. Rudolph likely carved these posts between 1902 and 1904 and he engraved the year “1904” on the posts. Rudolph has been credited by members of his family, clan, Harold Jacobs, Alaska State Museum’s records, and other sources as the carver of this set of Multiplying Wolf House Posts.\textsuperscript{347}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure160.jpg}
\caption{Wolf House Posts on display at the Alaska State Museum by Rudolph Walton, 2016. II-B-1110. Photo by the author.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{345} Emmons, \textit{The Tlingit Indians}, 201-202.
\textsuperscript{346} J.W. Shales, “Rudolph Walton,” 119; Harold Jacobs, “Kéet Gooshí Héen Yaawada!” unpublished manuscript, n.d., p. 1. Copy in the author’s possession. Paige Raibmon, \textit{Authentic Indians}, 189. It should be noted that this Ch’áak Hit was also known as the Ghooch Hit (Wolf House). There were 18 Kaagwaantaan Houses in 1904. The author was hesitant to refer to these posts as Multiplying Wolf House Posts.
posts were unveiled at the 1904 *khu.éex’* and became clan *at.óow*. According to records, Rudolph was paid $140 by James Jackson (Anaaxhoots) to create the two posts. At the time of this study the posts were on exhibit at the Alaska State Museum (II-B-1110). Around this time, Rudolph was also commissioned by the Kaagwaantaan Clan to carve a Bear crest clan hat. While few sources could be located to document the hat’s history, as of 2018 the hat is in the possession of the Alaska State Museum.

Amid this busy time of Rudolph’s art career, tragedy struck as his wife Daisy died of tuberculosis in July 1904. As an *aamyádi* widower, the Tlingit community facilitated Rudolph’s second marriage, which occurred in 1905 to a Kaagwaantaan woman named Mary Davis. Davis was also an *aamyádi*, the widow of Fred Davis, so their marriage was appropriate in the Tlingit community. This marriage was handled by Tlingit community and according to Tlingit marriage practices. The Presbyterian Church learned of this marriage conducted outside of their perceived authority. Historic records suggest that Rudolph’s marriage to Mary in the Tlingit community

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349 In the court case commonly known as *Davis v. Sitka School Board*, Walton was questioned about his carving activities and admitted to being paid $140 by James Jackson for these posts. See Dora Davis, Tilly Davis, John Littlefield, Lottie Littlefield, Lizzie Allard and Peter Allard, by their guardians ad litem, Rudolph Walton, v. W.P. Mills and Mrs. Geo. Stowell, as the School of Sitka School Board (1906). Case 534A, US District Court Civil Cases, Juneau, AS 31356, Alaska State Archives.  
350 Knowledge of the hat’s Kaagwaantaan ownership and attribution is known in the Tlingit community and was documented by Walton’s descendants in J.W. Shales, “Rudolph Walton,” 106.
angered the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian Church prided itself on producing
detribalized and Christianized Indians, and Rudolph had been a perceived example of such in the
Church’s eyes. This, and other factors such as Rudolph’s work as an artist and creating items of
at.óow for the 1904 Kaagwaantaan khu.éex’ prompted the Presbyterian Church to withdraw
sponsorship and evict Rudolph’s family from the Cottages sometime around 1905.351 They
choose to settle in the Sitka Indian Village.

It appears that this confrontation with the Presbyterian Church did not silence the
Waltons, rather it emboldened them against Christian and colonial power structures that
oppressed Alaska Natives. In 1906, the Waltons challenged these powers. The Nelson Act of
1905 contained a clause that allowed Alaska Native children who met certain criteria to attend
the better funded schools that Euro-American (Caucasian) students attended, rather than only the
segregated, abusive, and underfunded boarding schools for Alaska Natives. The Nelson Act
outlined that Alaska Native students could attend school with Euro-American children if they
could prove they lived an assimilated life. Since the boarding and day schools in Sitka were
already distressing to the Tlingit community,352 Rudolph and his wife sought to have their
children attend the better and well-funded K-12 school for Euro-American children. The
Waltons’ request to have their children attend the regular school was rebuffed by the school, who
took the Presbyterian Church’s word on the Walton family’s lifestyle.353 The Waltons took the
issue to court in 1906 as Davis v. Sitka School Board.354 The Sitka School Board’s defense
sought to prove that the Waltons were not assimilated Indians. During this case, Rudolph was

questioned about his business operations, “What is your business? My business is silversmith,” and if he had participated in the 1899 or 1904 khu.éex’ held in Sitka. Walton stated he did not participate in these khu.éex’, but admitted he had been paid by James Jackson to carve the Kaagwaantaan Clan’s Multiplying Wolf House Posts. The defense also used photographs as evidence to document Mary Walton’s former and late husband Fred Davis had indeed participated in the khu.éex’. The Waltons’ lost the case since they had a record of associating with Tlingit individuals that participated in Tlingit religious ceremonies.

In the following years, Rudolph continue his work as an artist and activist. The experiences Rudolph and his family had endured provides context to why Rudolph supported the establishment of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) in 1912. As an organization that fought to address Southeast Alaska Native concerns with the federal and local governments, Rudolph was a strong and supportive member of ANB. He regularly appears in

355 Ibid., Transcript of case 534A, p. 12 and 49.
historic photographs at ANB gatherings and is mentioned in historic ANB records. For the remainder of Rudolph’s life, he served in ANB, giving his time, money, and talents in support of future generations of Tlingit people. Rudolph Walton passed away in 1951 at Sitka.
Dick Yéilnaawú (Tleix’yaanagút, Yéilnaawú), (1855-1915)
Deisheetaan Clan, Yéil Hít, Teikhweidí Yádi

Dick Yéilnaawú (1855-1915) was born around the year 1855 in the village of Angoon of aanyadi parents, the son of a Deisheetaan Yéil Hit woman named Margaret Jackson (Kháachx’uskaayi) and a Teikhweidi Xóots Hit man named Mitchell Yaanachúxh (Ambling Shoulder Movements of a Bear When it Walks). At birth, they gave their child the name Tleix’yaanagút (Forever Walking Raven). In his youth, he was schooled in the principles of leadership, as well as Tlingit art. It is possible one of his carving and painting teachers included his maternal uncle Yéilnaawú (Dead Raven), a major Angoon artist of the day. Dick’s life is connected to aspects of his uncle Yéilnaawú’s life, but also to historic events in Angoon. The history of Dick’s life has been carried down orally by historian Harold Jacobs, a descendant of Dick Yéilnaawú; “this is my father’s mother’s mother’s father,” according to Jacobs.357

356 Harold Jacobs has provided the following information about the parents of Dick Yéilnaawú. “His father was “Mitchell” Yaanachúx (The Ambling Shoulder Movements of a Brown Bear) whose wife was known as Kháachx’uskaayi (Measuring Out), or Margaret Jackson in English; Margaret’s father was Khaalil’ee, a Dakh’aweidi man whose Keet Kháa Daakéidi Kooteeyaa (Killer Whale Mortuary Pole) can be seen in some old photos of Angoon; his father was a Deisheetaan man named Tíl’ Tlein (Big Dog Salmon) whose mother was Lyetú. Mitchell Bay by Angoon is named after Yaanachúx. Mitchell’s father was a Deisheetaan man named Tlédíx’ee (No Backbone in the Raven) whose wife was known as Seitoow.” Facebook post by Harold Jacobs, February 11, 2016. An earlier version of Jacobs’ research was published as Harold Jacobs, “Xhoodzidaa Khwaan: Inhabitants of the Burning Wood Fort,” in Will the Time Ever Come?: A Tlingit Source Book, edited by Andrew Hope and Thomas Thornton (Fairbanks: Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 2000), 39.

357 Message to the author, August 19, 2017.
In October 1882, when Dick was around 27 years old, the U.S. Navy attacked the village of Angoon with artillery from the Navy’s gunboat. This event has been remembered as the Bombardment of Angoon, a major and traumatic event in Angoon’s history. The bombardment resulted in the immediate death of six children and destruction of the community’s possessions and homes by fire. Additional suffering occurred due to the loss of the community’s winter food storage due the village’s burning. Harold Jacobs has regularly spoken publicly and to the author about Dick Yéílnawú’s actions amid the bombardment. In discussing a historic photo featuring Dick Yéílnawú with the author, Jacobs wrote the following:

Dick Yéílnawú was a young man when Angoon was bombarded on October 26, 1882. He grabbed the S’igeidi S’ix’ (Beaver Bowl) that’s in front of him in this photo, and Nees’ Xhak’wti (Sea Urchin Shell Dish) and ran into the woods with them. He went back to get the Yéíl S’axh’wti (Raven Hat) but the house was already burning and collapsing and he had to be held back by clan members.

In the aftermath of the Bombardment of Angoon, the community worked to rebuild. Initially carver Yéílnawú, uncle to Dick, was commissioned to replace items of at.óow. However, Yéílnawú passed away and his nephew Dick took on new roles. According to Harold Jacobs,

After the bombardment his uncle Yéílnawú was hired to paint the front of Kéet Hit (Killer Whale House) in Angoon, but he died before that could happen and Tleix’yaanagilt stepped into his place and inherited the name Yéílnawú as well. He [Dick Yéílnawú] did the painting on the house and was a well-known carver.

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359 Harold Jacobs, message to the author, August 20, 2015
With the passing of his uncle Yëlinaawú, Dick inherited the name and eventually became the hit s'uaatì of the Yël Hit (Raven House). As a leader and recognized artist, Dick continued to replace various items of at.óow.361

Harold Jacobs has often spoken and written about the items made by his great-great grandfather Dick Yëlinaawú. In 2016, Harold wrote the author that;

He was a well-known carver, as well replacing several hats lost in the bombardment of Angoon in 1882, including the Killer Whale Hat of the Dakhl’aweidi that eventually wound up in the care of his son Archie Bell, and the Bear Hat representing Kaats’ (the Man Who Married a Bear), and is the likely carver of the Beaver Canoe Prow Figure and several other items the Deisheetaan still have. He also painted the Killer Whale House image Woochdakadin Kéet (Killer Whales Facing Away From Each Other) that still stands in Angoon today. He also made the Wolf House Posts for the Kaagwaantaan Wolf House in Hoonah.362

Most of these items remain in Tlingit hands today, functioning in ceremonial roles for the clans. Multiple clan hats were made by Dick, which are featured adjacent and attributed by Harold Jacobs. Dick Yëlinaawú spent many years making multiple items of at.óow, a service he provided for clans.

361 Speaking of the hat worn by Dick Yëlinaawú above, in 2016 Harold Jacobs wrote the following in a FB post. “The Raven Hat he’s wearing was made for his uncle but his uncle died before the hat was finished and the house, so Dick stepped into that position. (Personal communication from my grandmother Annie Jacobs, his oldest granddaughter)”

362 Harold Jacobs, message to the author, August 20, 2015.
Dick has been remembered not only for his creations of \textit{at.óow}, but for redistributing wealth obtained through his art commissions. The story and circumstances of one particular commission showcase how Dick has been remembered. Harold Jacobs reports that sometime around the turn of the century Dick was commissioned by the Kaagwaantaan Clan of Hoonah to carve two Wolf House Posts. Dick spent considerable time creating two large posts, which were eventually sent to Hoonah for installation and dedication at \textit{khu.éex}'. Harold Jacobs informed the author of what happened when these posts were dedicated at Hoonah. Hoonah elder George Dalton told Harold Jacobs that Dick Yéilnaawú was brought forward publicly at the \textit{khu.éex'} to be paid for creating the posts. He was reportedly paid with “300 $20 coins,” a sum of $6,000.
Dalton stated that “after he was paid, Dick Yéilnaawu spoke to the hosts and told them to take the money and divide it among the guests so everyone could be a part of it. They did as he requested.” This act of redistributing wealth back into the Tlingit community was a demonstration of his commitment to serving and empowering clans.

In addition to his work as an artist, in his personal life Dick was a father, husband, community member, and hit s’aati of the Yéil Hit (Raven House). Early in life, he married a Dakhl’aweidi Kéet Hit woman named Anna Halken (Sxhaalghén) (1854-1902), the daughter of a Dakhl’aweidi Kéet Hit woman named Kátkatoowulát and a Deisheetaan Shdéen Hit man named Killisnoo Jake.

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Dick and Anna had three known children, including Mary Bell Paul (Kh’udëi) (d. 1909), Elsie Bell (Tsaakáak’w) (b. 1883), and Archie Bell (Daanaawú, Stuteix, Naalkh, and Gusht’eihéen) (1870-1942). Census records show Dick and Anna living together in Killisnoo in 1900, with their daughter Elsie living in the household at age 17. The 1910 census of Angoon, taken after Anna had died, show Dick and a new wife, a young woman named Emma (b. 1890) from Hoonah. These censuses record Dick’s profession as being a silversmith and woodcarver.

As a house leader for the Yéil Hit, Dick attended the 1904 Kaagwaantaan khu.éex’ in Sitka. He posed in a picture on the steps of a Kaagwaantaan house, standing next to family and friends. In the adjacent picture, he stands on the back row on the right, wearing the Raven Hat (sometimes referred to as the Flag of Angoon) and wearing the S’igeidi Naaxein Kudás’ (Beaver Chilkat Tunic). On his direct left is his son-in-law John Paul Jr. (Kháa Tlein) (Big Man), who had married his daughter Mary Bell Paul (Kh’udëi). To John Paul’s left is Dick’s father-in-law, Killisnoo Jake (Kichnáalxh), the father of Dick’s wife Anna Halken (Sxhaalghén).

Harold Jacobs recalled his grandmother Annie (Sxhaalghén, Kháatúkhł.aat) telling him about Dick Yéilnaawú, a recollection which shows Dick’s playfulness to family and his small grandchildren. Harold, speaking of his grandmother Annie and her brother Frank Paul (Kháaneitl, Oodéishk’áđúneek), stated that “Their grandfather would be busy carving, usually
silver or gold, sitting by the window she said, and he would look over his glasses at them and the way he would look at them would always make her brother Frank get the giggles. She would laugh every time she told me this story." He has been remembered fondly by family. After experiencing stomach pains in 1915, Dick died in Angoon. He was buried at Ghaanaxh Sháa Noowú, the point that sticks out right in front of Angoon overlooking Sitkoh Bay.

364 Harold Jacobs, message to the author, August 19, 2016.
Conclusion

In summary, Tlingit male artists worked to empower their communities. Artists came from the aanyádi and were often leaders of Tlingit clans (khaa šáade nákhx’i) or clan houses (hit s’aati). They also fulfilled the needs of clans by creating items of at.óow through a commission process, items which assisted the Tlingit community ceremonially and in maintaining wooch yáxh, social and spiritual balance. In addition to being creators of at.óow, Tlingit carvers and painters often gave of their time to serve in important causes, such as supporting the work of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood in its fight for land claims, social justice, and human rights. These Tlingit men were artists, leaders, and individuals that sought to empower their community.
Chapter 5: Conclusion: True Human Beings; Artists that Empower and Stand as Leaders

Now that the lives and creations of the master Tlingit artists discussed in this study are outlined, seeing a bigger picture of Tlingit artists and their roles in Tlingit society is possible. Tlingit aanyádi artists served as leaders in their communities and produced items of at.óow that empowered and fulfilled spiritual needs of the Tlingit people. Being a Tlingit artist was not a pathway these individuals took to self-enrich or self-aggrandize, rather they lived their lives through lens of leadership and community service. The title of this conclusion refers to the concept of a Tlingit person being a “true human being” and the notion that Tlingit artists stand as leaders and work to empower others. To be a “true human being,” a phrase used by my teacher, elder, and Shangukeidi khaa sháade nákx’i David Katzeek (Kingeisti), is to be someone that embodies Tlingit values, strives for wooch yáxh (social and spiritual balance), and lives their life in a Tlingit way of serving and showing kindness to others. The biographies of the artists in this study illustrate these principles. Throughout history, Tlingit artists have stood as leaders in their communities. They have served as teachers, helped young people prepare for adulthood, redistributed money earned from their art back into the Tlingit community, and answered the call of clans in producing at.óow in order to help the community with its social and spiritual needs.

This dissertation also challenges aspects of the corpus narrative of Northwest Coast art history that originated with Steve Brown and has been continued by other scholars. Some of the artists in this study lived across the delineated stages of Brown’s Northwest Coast art history. Artist Jim Jacobs and Daniel Katzeek, for example, worked amid Brown’s Late Classic Period, the apex of creation for Brown, but both created major pieces during the Quiet Period. Their work occurred outside the eyes of most scholars, museums, or collectors, which resulted in them and their works being overlooked by scholars. Chilkat weavers like Annie Klaney, Maggie
Kadanaha, and Jennie Thlunaut were also prolific producers during the Quiet Period, and producers of weavings featuring new Chilkat designs. The history and work of Tlingit women artists requires the rewriting of the Northwest West Coast art history.

Finally, although this dissertation has opened the lid toward further attribution and study of Tlingit artists, many additional artists and themes can be examined that were not addressed in this study, including the art created by women, for or used by the ixhi’ (spiritual men and women), warriors, subsistence practitioners, and architects. The pursuit of documenting historic Tlingit women that were master beaders, button blanket makers, or basket weavers is largely untouched. The future is bright for Tlingit studies in partnership with or by the Tlingit community.

**Tlingit Artists Today**

Although this study is about historic artists and their works, I believe it is appropriate to offer perspective on how the past and the present intersect. During my time working at Sealaska Heritage and continued time volunteering or serving at events in the Tlingit community, I have witnessed Tlingit artists and their role in the Tlingit community. Tlingit artists do not brag or speak of themselves, they are focused on others, upholding their clan, and respecting clan opposites. Tlingit artists today make money to support their families, and some of this money is redistributed into the Tlingit community through the khu.éex’ and other community events. I have witnessed accomplished artists

![Figure 173: Bear crest bracelet by Donald Gregory donated and raffled to raise money to support the dedication efforts of the Chief Shakes Tribal House in Wrangell. Photo Courtesy Donald Gregory.](image-url)
such as Nathan P. Jackson, Israel Shotridge, Donald Gregory, Rico Worl, and many more give generously to their community. Many artists have donated items, often bracelets, for fundraising raffles at *khu.éex’,* Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood events, charity auctions, and to support educational programs offered by organizations like Sealaska Heritage and Goldbelt Heritage. These gifted items raise money that help and empower the wider Tlingit community. The practice of today’s Tlingit artists serving their community is a continuation of artists living Tlingit values.

Each year new items of *at.oow* are being created, dedicated, and used. In 2014, when I was invited to attend a *khu.éex’* in Wrangell, I witnessed the efforts of the Tlingit community in supporting a clan’s commissioning of a new clan hat, the Kayaashkiditaan Clan’s Kéet Koowaal S'aaxhw (Killer Whale With a Hole In Its Fin Hat) to replace *at.oow* displaced during the historic period. The clan commissioned Harold Jacobs to carve and paint the hat. In preparation for the 2014 *khu.éex’,* Tlingit monies had been given, exchanged, and used to pay for the creation of this hat. The hat was dedicated at the *khu.éex’* with visible joy among the Kayaashkiditaan and those in attendance supporting the members of their clan. Harold Jacobs, a clan house leader, generously gave money and goods at appropriate times during the *khu.éex’,* and at the invitation of Wrangell clans, worked to instruct the clans present about ways in which *khu.éex’* can be conducted. Leaders and artists like Jacobs in the

![Figure 174: The Kayaashkiditaan Clan’s new hat by Harold Jacobs amid the dedication process at the 2014 Wrangell *khu.éex’. Photo by the author.*](image-url)
past and present work to instruct and lead, redistribute their wealth, and create items of *at.óow* in order to empower clans. The tradition of Tlingit artists using their creations to serve their communities has never died, it remains strong and active today.
Selected Bibliography:

Selected Secondary Sources:


**Selected Primary Sources:**


Museum collections from around the United States, Canada, and Europe.
Appendix A

List of Chilkat Weavers by Name\(^ {365} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name &amp; Info</th>
<th>Clan &amp; House</th>
<th>Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allen, Lily Johnson(^ {366} ) (b. 1872)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson, Clara Newman (Deinkhul.at) (1851-1935) Ghaanaxhteidí, Yaay Hit</td>
<td></td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chee-sack(^ {367} ) (b. 1850)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dok-touk, Mary(^ {368} ) (b. 1875)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Haines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehlers, Anna Brown (b. 1955)</td>
<td>Ghaanaxhteidí, Yaay Hit</td>
<td>Juneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwards, Emma(^ {369} ) (1850)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goenett, Elizabeth(^ {370} ) (ca. b. 1871) (“Kolchin”) Lukaaxh.ádi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Haines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George, Shgendotaan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dakhl’aweidi, Kéet Ooxhú Hit - Juneau / Angoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope, Lily Hudson (b. 1980) (Wooshkhindeinda.aat) T’akhdeintaan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Juneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudson, Ursula</td>
<td>T’akhdeintaan</td>
<td>Colorado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt, Mary Ebbets (Anislaga) (1823-1919) Ghaanaxh.ádi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson, Dorica(^ {371} ) (Kóon Tláa)</td>
<td>Dakhl’aweidi, Kéet Gooshi Hit</td>
<td>Saxman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Annie(^ {372} ) (1875-1964)</td>
<td>Kwáashk’íkhwáan, Tsisk’w Hit</td>
<td>Yakutat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Ester Tom(^ {373} ) (Kaakwdagáan) (d. 1908) Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hit</td>
<td></td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^ {365} \) This list of weavers focuses on historic weavers, though some contemporary weavers are listed. In some cases, only the names of these weavers are known based on identification through census and other records. Footnotes provide some documentation about their identification in historical and wider biographies. Names on this list should be considered preliminary research, as more information about these weavers is needed.

\(^ {366} \) 1940 census lists her as Chilkat blanket weaver. Possibly the daughter of Billie Johnson and “Kla-an-da”.

\(^ {367} \) 1900 census lists her as a blanket maker. Proper spelling of Tlingit name unknown.

\(^ {368} \) 1900 census lists her as a blanket maker. Proper spelling of Tlingit name unknown, if her last name comes from a Tlingit name.

\(^ {369} \) 1920 census lists her as a blanket maker.

\(^ {370} \) Tlingit name not verified for spelling, source Ken Lea’s genealogy website recorded that David Williams said this was her Tlingit name.

\(^ {371} \) Wife of Lukaaxh.ádi clan leader and artist Nathan P. Jackson. Although not Tlingit by birth, Dorica has been adopted and has woven multiple Chilkat blankets. Her Tlingit name may be Kaagwaantaan.

\(^ {372} \) Informant Mary Johnson told Frederica de Laguna that her mother Annie Jonson and grandmother were Chilkat weavers, though de Laguna questions this assertion. See Under Mount St. Elias, 431. I emailed Judy Ramos on 8/5/2015 about Mary Johnson’s assertion, Ramos asked her mother, and Ramos stated that “Annie Johnson's mother was Chewshaa,” and stated her mother did not remember them as being weavers. The thesis of Annie Johnson being a Chilkat weaver is not certain, it merits more evidence and study.

\(^ {373} \) She was Deisheetaan/Khak’weidi yádi.
Johnson, Jessie\textsuperscript{374} (1871/1875-1957) \hspace{1cm} Kluwan

Ka-ba-na\textsuperscript{375} (b. 1850) \hspace{1cm} Haines

Kadanaha, Maggie (Khoonookh) (1873-1959) L’uknaxh.ádi, Xíxch’í Hít - Kluwan/Skagway

Kanut, Mrs. Mark\textsuperscript{376} (b. 1868) \hspace{1cm} Skagway

Katadah, Jessie\textsuperscript{377} (b. 1873) \hspace{1cm} Haines

Ka-tate\textsuperscript{378} (b. 1852) \hspace{1cm} Kluwan / Chilkat River

Kháaxh’eideiát\textsuperscript{379} \hspace{1cm} Ghaanaxhtéidi \hspace{1cm} Kluwan

Kh’aluwa Tláa\textsuperscript{380} \hspace{1cm} Ghaanaxhtéidi \hspace{1cm} Kluwan

Kis-neech\textsuperscript{381} (b. 1860) \hspace{1cm} Kluwan / Chilkat River

Kiis-neech\textsuperscript{382} (b. 1825) \hspace{1cm} Deishú Village

Klaney, Annie J. (K’aanakéek Tláa) (1882-1968) Kaagwaantaan, Ch’áak’ Kúdi Hít - Kluwan

Ko-lú-yuk\textsuperscript{383} (b. 1860) \hspace{1cm} “Chilkat Valley”

Kóon Tláa\textsuperscript{384} \hspace{1cm} Dakhl’aweidi (?) \hspace{1cm} Kluwan

Koosakoo, Kitty\textsuperscript{385} (b. 1872) \hspace{1cm} Haines

Kow-wáde, John\textsuperscript{386} (b. 1862) \hspace{1cm} Yandeist’akhyé

Lee, Alice (Sheediteexh’\textsuperscript{387}) \hspace{1cm} Kaagwaantaan, Xóots Hít \hspace{1cm} Kluwan

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\textsuperscript{374} 1920 and 1940 census lists her as being a Chilkat Blanket weaver. She was born at Haines, died at Kluwan, and was married William Johnson.

\textsuperscript{375} 1900 census declares her as being a Chilkat blanket weaver. Proper spelling of Tlingit name unknown.

\textsuperscript{376} 1900 census lists her as being a blanket weaver.

\textsuperscript{377} 1910 census declares her as being a blanket weaver.

\textsuperscript{378} 1900 census lists her as being a blanket maker, and her 15-year-old daughter She-ka (b. 1885) as being a weaver. Proper spelling of Tlingit name unknown.

\textsuperscript{379} Name and information about her courtesy of Harold Jacobs.

\textsuperscript{380} Daughter of woman Yeidukdatán and man K’uxhshóo II of the Naanyaa.aayí. The spelling of her Tlingit name was provided by Judith Berman, “That which was most important, Louis Shotridge on Crest Art and Clan History” (2013). In M.E. Milburn’s dissertation on Shotridge (1997 UBC), Milburn gives Shotridge’s spelling as “Gátuwal-lá.”

\textsuperscript{381} 1900 census lists her as being a blanket maker. Proper spelling of Tlingit name unknown.

\textsuperscript{382} 1900 census lists her as being a blanket maker. Proper spelling of Tlingit name unknown.

\textsuperscript{383} 1900 census lists her as being a blanket maker. Although no firm correlation exists at this time, the Tlingit name Khultyaxh is a Lukaaxh.ádi name, see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, \textit{Haa Khuseeyi, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories}, 207.

\textsuperscript{384} Old name of weaver, name given to Dorica Jackson. Name means “flicker mother.”

\textsuperscript{385} 1910 census declares her as being a blanket weaver.

\textsuperscript{386} 1900 census lists him as being a blanket maker, married with three children.

\textsuperscript{387} Tlingit name Sheediteexh’ obtained from Joe Hotch.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louise</td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Maria Ackerman</td>
<td>Klukwan / Haines [?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paddy, Eliza/Elizabeth</td>
<td>Haines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker, Kay</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>Juneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rizal, Clarissa</td>
<td>Juneau (1956-2017) (Daalsak'u Tlää) T’akhdeintaan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saantaas</td>
<td>Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hit</td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel, Cheryl</td>
<td>Caucasian (?)</td>
<td>Lower 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She-Ku</td>
<td>Klkwan / Chilkat River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shotridge, Florence D. (Kaatkwaaxnéi)</td>
<td>Lukaaxh.ádi, Shaa Hit</td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shotridge, Mary</td>
<td>Kluagwaantaan (Kudeit. sáawk) (1880)</td>
<td>Kluagwaantaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susie</td>
<td>Haines / Pyramid Harbor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagaban, Ricky</td>
<td>L’uknaxh.ádi, Daganaa Hit</td>
<td>Juneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thlunaut, Jennie J.</td>
<td>(Shax’saani Kéek’) (1890-1986) Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hit - Klukwan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren, Jennie J. Paddy</td>
<td>(Khaa.it) (1895-1977) Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hit</td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren, Phoebe</td>
<td>(Kaaxhashalugaaxh) (1938-2008) Kaagwaantaan</td>
<td>Kluagwaantaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

388 A picture from the Dale / Butler collection shows the beginning stages of a specific Raven robe being woven at Klukwan, and the reverse caption reads “robe being woven by Louise.” It has remained a challenge to document who this is. Women by the name of Louise from Klukwan are listed below, but it is unknown if one or any are this same weaver. Klukwan weavers with first name of Louise: Cranston, Louise “Dondaka” (1887-1945), wife of Walter Cranston. Born at Klukwan; Donawalk, Louise (b. 1905), Child of Emma and John. Married Leo Dennis. Born at Klukwan; Willard, Louise (perhaps Louise Donawalk); and Williams. Louise Hayes (1886-1995), born at Haines; and the 1900 census lists Ko-lu-yuk (b. 1860) as a blanket maker, and her daughter’s name is listed as Louisa (b. 1893).

389 Weaving at the time of Jenny Thlunaut, but one generation younger than Jenny. Acknowledged as a weaver by Clarissa Rizal.

390 1900 and 1910 census lists her as being a blanket maker.

391 1900 census lists her as being born in 1825, as being a blanket maker living in the house (as an aunt) of another weaver named “Klal-ta”.

392 The 1900 census of “Chilkat River” lists her as a blanket mother. She is 10 years old on the census, living in the home of her parents, her mother Ka-tate is also listed as a blanket maker. Proper spelling of Tlingit names unknown.

393 At this time, the author suspects her of being a weaver, but evidence is limited. She is suspected of being a weaver because Maggie Kadanaha stated she received a pattern board from her, and she was of the correct aristocratic lineage and circumstances to have been a weaver.

394 1900 census lists a woman only by the name of “Susie” (b. 1850) at Pyramid Harbor Village as being a blanket maker. See also Susie Williams.

395 He is a Wooshkeetaan yádi.

396 Deisheetaan yádi. She learned to weave in 1902 from her mother. Mother died in 1908.

397 Name spelling needs verification. Lukaaxh.ádi yádi, daughter of Austin Hammond. Obituary documents her as a Chilkat weaver.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willard, Mary (Akhlé) (1863-1959)</td>
<td>Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hit</td>
<td>Kluwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Kitty (b. 1884)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kluwan / Haines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Mary (Kháakaltín) (b. 1872)</td>
<td>Ghaanxhteidi, Yaay Hit</td>
<td>Kluwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Susie (b. 1845)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kluwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, Frances (Sa.áaxhw) (b. 1867)</td>
<td>Ghaanxhteidi, Xixch’i Hit</td>
<td>Kluwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya-ta-keu (b. 1860)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kluwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeidukdatán</td>
<td>Ghaanxhteidi</td>
<td>Kluwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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398 1910 census lists her as being a blanket weaver.
399 I would like to thank Harold Jacobs for helping document her Tlingit name. Jacobs emailed me to report that he talked with Smith Katzeek, who provided her Tlingit name. Message to the author, December 29, 2016.
400 1920 census she self-declares as being a blanket maker. 1900 census lists a woman only by the name of “Susie” (b. 1850) at Pyramid Harbor Village as being a blanket maker. Perhaps Susie Williams or another woman, unknown at this time.
401 1940 census lists her as being a Chilkat blanket weaver. She is also identified as a weaver in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories, 607.
402 1900 census lists her as being a blanket maker. Proper spelling of Tlingit name unknown.
403 Mother of first Tlingit weaver, Kh’aluwa Tlää.
Appendix B

List of Tlingit Painters and Carvers by Name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name &amp; Info</th>
<th>Clan &amp; House</th>
<th>Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bates, Henry 405 (b. 1830)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sitka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bates, Oscar 406 (b. 1830)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sitka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bean, Augustus 407 (Kh’alyaan Éesh, Keitxút’ch) (1852-1926) Kaagwaantaan, Ghooch Hít</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sitka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beasley, Mick</td>
<td>“Coho”</td>
<td>Juneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beasley, Rick</td>
<td>“Coho”</td>
<td>Juneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bennett, Thomas 408 [Raven clan]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sitka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson, Daniel (b. ca. 1868)</td>
<td>Teikhweidi</td>
<td>Yakutat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson, George</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Charles 409</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saxman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Steven C.</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>Washington State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, William N. 410</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saxman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryson, James</td>
<td></td>
<td>Klukwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilton, Doug</td>
<td></td>
<td>Juneau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilton, Gene</td>
<td>Deisheetaan, Yéil Hít</td>
<td>Juneau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

404 This list of artists should be considered as preliminary research, and not comprehensive historically or contemporarily. Hundreds of names could be added to this list. Names listed here come from census records, knowledge shared with me as an archivist/curator at Sealaska, and other sources. This list could be significantly expanded by listing the artists documented in the Ethel Montgomery Papers, MS 136, held by the Alaska State Library, Historical Collections.

405 1910 census lists him as being a carver. Living with his father, also a carver.

406 1910 census lists him as being a carver. His Tlingit name is listed on the census, but the handwriting is difficult to read. It appears to read “Joyat.”

407 When asked about Bean, Harold Jacobs wrote on 5/27/2016 that “He was from the Wolf House that was also called Ch’aak Hít (Eagle House) which is the one the Angoon people are in front of in the famous “Last Potlatch” photos. His names were Kh’alyaan Éesh and Keitxút’ch. His mother Teensheixh was a sister to Ł’eex’t who was the mother of James Jackson (Araaxhoots). Woosh tlaa yatx’i - children of mothers who are sisters. I have a picture of him and his wife, and one of him and James Jackson. I think his wife’s name was Daas.ooxh, T’akhdeintaan.”


409 Attributed as carver of the Seattle totem pole.

410 Attributed as carver of the Seattle totem pole, CCC carver, and the pole at the Governor’s mansion.
Cojeke, Jackson (b. 1861)
Collins, George
Coxe, Tom
Daalghéink
Daayakoogéit
Deikeenáak’w
Galanin, Dave
Galanin, Nick
Gunnok, Charles (Góonwakh)
Gunyah, George
Hopkins, Sam
Jack, B. A.
Jack, Sitka
Jackson, Nathan
Jackson, Norman L.
Jacobs, Leo

Wrangell
Wrangell
Yakutat
Angoon
Hoonah
Sitka
Sitka
Sitka
Kake / Wrangell
Klawock
Yakutat
Sitka
Ketchikan
Kake
Haines

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411 1910 census lists him as a carver.
412 CCC carver.
413 1900 census lists him as a carver. It lists has clan as being “Slogeneti.” Frederica de Laguna’s work talks about him.
414 Shotridge notes list him as the maker of the Angoon Beaver Screen.
415 See also studies by Ishmael Hope: [alaskanativestorvteller.com/2012/01/ancestors-in-a-lineage-of-master-carvers/](http://alaskanativestorvteller.com/2012/01/ancestors-in-a-lineage-of-master-carvers/)
416 1910 census lists him as a totem carver. 1900 census lists him as a carver, and as Chief Gun-yeh.
417 Carved mortuary pole for Yakutat leader as documented in Frederica de Laguna, Under Mount St. Elias, 65.
418 Harold Jacobs noted on May 12, 2016 in response to the question of this Sitka Jack also had the Tlingit name Aadeil.aat; “I have wondered if this was Sitka Jack or an earlier one who was the father of Louis Shotridge's mother. Sitka Jack's father was Kaagwaantaan, a brother of Kudeinaháa, a predecessor of Mike Kadanaha. The name, Anglicized, was pronounced Kuh-DAY-NUH-haw, slightly different than the Tlingit pronunciation. His mother was born in Angoon and was named Xaahnook.” An 1880 census of Sitka by the US Navy lists Sitka Jack as being a silversmith, see Report of United States Naval Officers Cruising in Alaskan Waters, 47th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 81, p. 23.
419 Clan house leader and friend of the author.
420 When I made a public Facebook post about Jacobs on January 19, 2016 Wayne Alex wrote the following: “Leo Jacobs was a personal and very good friend of mine in Haines. His family was from the village there, called Deishu, now Haines. He was a gillnetter, and boat builder. He had arthritis in his ankles, and was one of the original carvers at the Indian Arts and Crafts at Port Chilkoot. The photo was taken on the parade grounds there, you can see the Officers Housing behind the group. The Fort was also called Fort Seward and Chilkoot Barracks at various times. After Leo and his wife Agnes (Bellinger) divorced, he eventually moved to Juneau. Most of the guys of his
Jacobs, Jim (Yéilnaawú, Kichxhaak) (1846-1941) Khoosk’eidi, Xaas Hit Sitka
James, Frank (Nahóowu and Haatl’ilikáts) (1893-1959) Deisheetaan, Tukkhá Hit
James, Ned (Sdagwáan) L’uknaxh.ádi, Xixch’i Hit Sitka
Johnson, Abner (Ghooch Eesh) (1927-1997) Deisheetaan, Tukhká Hit Sitka / Seattle
Jones, Charlie⁴²¹ Naanyaa.aayi Wrangell
Kahdusteen, Jack⁴²² (b. 1855) Sitka
Kardeetoo, Jim (1862-1937) Yakutat [?]
Kasko, Edwin⁴²³ (Suk Éesh) (1922-1995) Dakhl’aweidi, Kéet Gooshi Hit Kluwan
Kasko, William (Shaayi Éesh), (b. ca.1875-1940) L’uknaxh.ádi Sitka
Katzeek, Daniel⁴²⁴ (Kéet Eshank’í) (1884-1960) Dakhl’aweidi, Kéet Gooshi Hit - Kluwan
Khaajisdu.áxhch Kluwan
Kichtaayi⁴²⁵ L’eeneidi
Kittleby, Herbert⁴²⁶ “Chichagof Island”
Kok-ety, Bill⁴²⁷ (b. 1873) Klawock
Kochotla, James⁴²⁸ (b. 1865) Wrangell
Kongedah, David⁴²⁹ (K’aank’edaa) (b. 1865) Kaagwaantaan, Déixh Xh’awool Hit - Sitka
Koo-ka-ish, Johnny⁴³⁰ Juneau / Douglas
Ko-sak, Johnson⁴³¹ (b. 1875) Klawock
K’uanyádi⁴³² Chookaneidi Hoonah [?]

generation knew how to carve, spoke very fluent Tlingit and knew all the old ways. He was a very good seal and mountain goat hunter in his prime. There were always lots of hides on stretchers in front of their house, when I was a little kid. On good days Agnes and her mother, Jennie would be out scraping the skins.”

⁴²¹ CCC carver.
⁴²² 1910 census lists him as being a carver and being from Yakutat.
⁴²³ Clan house leader
⁴²⁴ His other Tlingit names were Ooshank’w and Naakushtáa.
⁴²⁵ Maker of an Eagle war helmet. Message from Harold Jacobs in 2015, “Kichtaayi was a warrior of the L’eeneidi. His paternal grandfather was Tukhweidi, a nick-name of the Deisheetaan house group Took’kha Hit.”
⁴²⁶ Alaska Daily Empire (Feb. 23, 1915) lists him as a totem carver from Chichagof Island.
⁴²⁷ 1900 census lists him as a carver in Klawock originally from Hoonah, but also with a Juneau address.
⁴²⁸ 1900 census lists him as a totem maker.
⁴²⁹ 1910 census lists him as a curio maker.
⁴³⁰ Photo of him carving identifies him as an artist.
⁴³¹ 1900 census lists him as a curio maker.
⁴³² Attributed as artist by the L. Shotridge notes, mask maker. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.
Kucheesh^433 (Dark Wolf)

Kulk’ii^434 Koosk’eidi Hoonah

Kúx’laa Chookaneidí Dry Bay

Marks, Alex

Marks, Horace

Marks, Leo

Marks, Jim W. (Jakhwteen) (1941-2009) Lukaaxh.ádi Juneau

Marks, Paul (Kinkaduneek) Lukaaxh.ádi^435 Juneau


Mercer, Frank^436 (Sgháaxh’) (ca. 1876-1931) Dakhl’aweidi, Keet Hit Juneau

Michael, John^437 (S’aaw Éesh) (1875-1942) Kaagwaantaan, Déixh Xh’awool Hit Sitka

Naakushtaa (Wealthy Nation) Dakhl’aweidi Klukwan

Náat’asheech^438 Juneau / Douglas

Nielsen, Ray^439 (Khaase Éesh, Kóoxh’oonaak’) Chookaneidí Sitka

Nielsen, Peter C.^440 (Áak’ashookh, Lsaghuháa) Sitka

Osbourne, James Hoonah

Price, Wayne Haines

Ross, George^441 (Naalxhák’w) (b. 1879) Kaagwaantaan Sitka

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^433 Documented as a dagger maker by Harold Jacobs.
^434 Attributed as artist by the L. Shotridge notes, headdress maker. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.
^435 He was Chookaneidí yádi.
^437 Tlingit name and clan affiliation courtesy Harold Jacobs, message to the author on February 8, 2018
^438 Name “Na-ta-óách’” given by James Wickersham’s notes at the ASL as the maker of the Swan Hat. In consultation with Harold Jacobs by email on January 2, 2018, he provided a spelling for the name. He mentioned the hat’s location was unknown, and that it “was interesting that it was made for Shalaghéi who was Yanyeidi (my brother’s name) yet wound up in the hands of the Raven clan.”
^439 On August 18, 2017 Harold Jacobs informed the author by email that Nielsen was the son of Pete Nielsen, and that Pete learned to carve from John Michael.
^440 Tlingit name and clan affiliation courtesy Harold Jacobs, message to the author on February 8, 2018
^441 1910 census lists him as a carver and being from Hoonah. A history by Peter C. Neilson lists him as an artist and his Tlingit name as being “Náalth-óke” with him being Kaagwaantaan. See Peter C. Neilson, “Totems and Their Meaning and Tlingit Indian Paints,” unpublished manuscript (1978), Sitka National Historic Park. Tlingit name and clan affiliation courtesy Harold Jacobs, message to the author on February 8, 2018. Jacobs also mentioned that he was from the House Lower Than the Others.
Ross, Morris442 (Shaawát Neixh’ Éesh) Kaagwaantaan Sitka
Rudolph, James443 (Kushxheet) L’eeneidi Juneau
Sdagwáan (the older) L’uknaxhádi, Xixch’i Hit Sitka / Yakutat
Shkeedlikháa444 KluKwan
Skan, Johnnie445 (b. 1860) Klawock
Skilaxhá446 Ghaanaxhtéidi, Yaay Hit KluKwan
Stepan447 Kaagwaantaan Sitka
Stuteen, David (Xhóot Shaan) S’eet’khweidi Kake
Stuwaxhilgé448 Wooshkeetaan Hoonah [?]
Tagook, Charlie Joe449 (Khaakinxh) (b. ca 1866) Lukaaxhádi Juneau / Haines
Tamaree, William B.450 (Sheeshgaaw) (1862-1956) Kayaashkiditaan, Xh’aan Hit Wrangell
Tsaxhane451 T’akhdeintaan Hoonah
Tassell, Joe452 Douglas
Thomas, Joe453 Wrangell
Tunáx454 Teikhweidi Killisnoo [?]
Ukas, Thomas (Gunaanasti) Kiks.aádi Wrangell
Ukas, William (Yeeka.aas) (b. 1834) Naanyaa.aayí Wrangell

442 Tlingit name and clan affiliation courtesy Harold Jacobs, message to the author on February 8, 2018
443 Attributed as the maker one of the Thunderbird Screens. His wife was named Katxun, who was a Thunderbird. Courtesy Harold Jacobs on April 14, 2016.
444 Attributed as a likely carver of the Whale House screen by I. Hope.
445 1900 census lists him as a carver.
446 Attributed as artist by the L. Shotridge notes, clan hat maker. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.
447 Identified as a carver and artist of the Kaagwaantaan clan in the book Portal to Romance (1930).
448 Attributed as artist by the L. Shotridge notes, robe painter. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.
449 He was a Wooshkeetaan yádi, the son of Jim Tagook. Tlingit name provided by email from Nathan Jackson on 9/12/2017, reviewed by Steve Brown for orthography. Final review orthography review by Harold Jacobs.
450 CCC carver.
451 Attributed as artist by the L. Shotridge notes, mask maker. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.
452 Prolific carver as represented in the records of the Alaska Native Arts Cooperative records in the Ethel Mongomery Papers collection at the Alaska State Library, Historical Collections.
453 CCC carver.
454 Attributed as artist by the L. Shotridge notes, headdress maker. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.
Ward, James (b. 1923)  
Klukwan

Watson, Archie  
Klukwan

Wallace, Amos (Jeeyaawdustaa) (1920-2004) T’akhdeintaan  
Juneau

Wallace, Lincoln  
T’akhdeintaan  
Juneau

Walton, Rudolph (Kaawóotk’, Aak’wtaatseen) (1867-1951) Kiks.ádi  
Sitka

Webster, Billy (Káattleindein)  
Deisheetaan  
Killisnoo / Angoon

Williams, David  
(Khaakwsak’aa) (1904-1973) Chookaneidí, Xoots Hi  
Hoonah / Juneau

White, Archie  
(T’uuk’axhaaw, Yookiskookheik’) (1869-1939) T’akhdeintaan  
Hoonah

Xhak’usaka  
Chookaneidi  
Hoonah

Xhinyeik  
T’akhdeintaan  
Hoonah

Xhuta  
Kaagwaantaan  
Sitka

Xhut’ul  
Noowshaka.aayi  
Klukwan

Xhuwáka  
Ghaanaxh.ádi

Yandu’ic  (d. ca. 1887)  
L’uknaxh.ádi  
Yakutat

T’aawayat  (d. 1879)  
Naanyaa.aayi  
Wrangell

Woochjinx’oo  
L’uknaxh.ádi

Yéilnaawú, Dick (Tleix’yaanagút) (1855-1915) Deisheetaan, Yéil Hít  
Angoon / Killisnoo

455 On November 17, 2017 Harold Jacobs wrote about him; “Khaatlendéin, who painted the “Killer Whale Chasing Seal” house front in Angoon.” Other spellings for his Tlingit name have been given.


457 See Haa Tuvunàagu Yís, note 89a, p. 383, gives his Tlingit name and says he was a T’akhdeintaan yádi.

458 His Russian Orthodox name appears to have been Dimitri. He was of the Taxh’ Hít.

459 Attributed as artist by the L. Shotridge notes, maker of a headdress. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.

460 Attributed as artist by the L. Shotridge notes. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.

461 Attributed as a female artist by the L. Shotridge notes. Her name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.

462 Attributed as an artist by the L. Shotridge notes. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.

463 Attributed as a maker of a headdress by the L. Shotridge notes. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.

464 Listed in Under Mount St. Elias, p. 324, as a carver of houseposts.

465 Steve Brown’s essay documents him as a carver.

466 Attributed as the maker of one of the Thunderbird House screens.
Yisgánalx⁴⁶⁷  
Ghaanaxhteidi  
Klukwan

Yetlen⁴⁶⁸  
L’uknaxhádi  
Sitka [?]  

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⁴⁶⁷ Attributed as a maker of the Hawk Dish in the L. Shotridge notes. Tlingit name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.

⁴⁶⁸ Listed as the maker of a staff by L. Shotridge notes. His name, as spelled above, has not been vetted for correct Tlingit orthography and spelling.