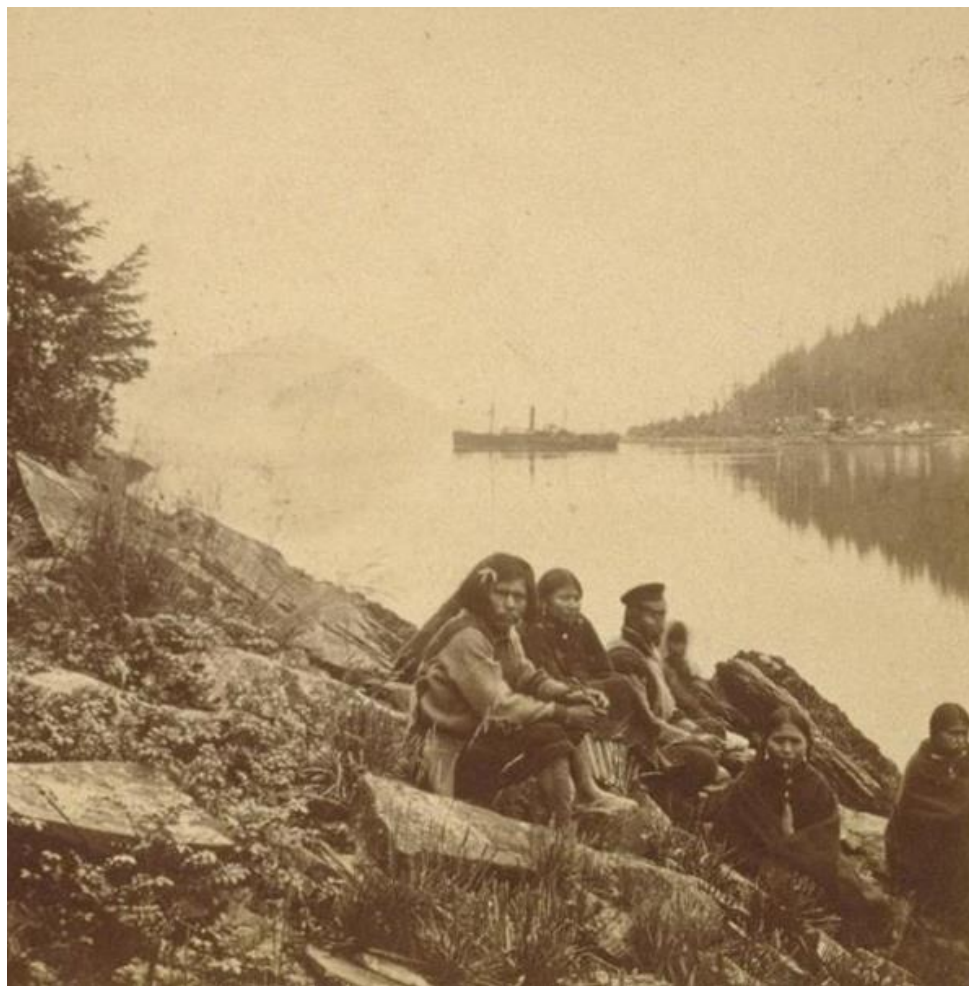


**The 1869 Bombardment of Kaachxan.áak'w from Fort Wrangell:
The U.S. Army Response to Tlingit Law, Wrangell, Alaska**



By Zachary R. Jones

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Cover Image: View of Tlingit Indian individuals in foreground and the U.S. Army’s Fort Wrangell in background, 1868, Photo by Eadward Muybridge. Courtesy UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library. PIC 1971.005:480—STER.

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Introduction

The objective of this report is to document the circumstances surrounding the December 1869 U.S. Army's two-day artillery bombardment of the Tlingit Indian village of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w, Alaska, located adjacent to Fort Wrangell in what was to become the town of Wrangell, Alaska. The conflict developed out of an altercation at a party inside the fort, after which soldiers killed two unarmed Tlingit Indians from the adjacent village of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w. This action prompted an escalation of conflict between the army and the Tlingit, including the shooting of an unarmed American civilian by the Tlingit, which was followed by the army's aggressive artillery shelling of the Tlingit village. The conflict concluded when the Tlingit negotiated a ceasefire and Tlingit man named Shx'atoo surrendered himself to the Army so the Army would halt its artillery bombardment on the people of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w. Two days later the army executed Shx'atoo by hanging him publicly.

For the U.S. Army, the act of shelling a community of Native American Indians in winter and then executing an Indian satisfied the army's perception of justice and duty on America's newly acquired Alaskan territory. Since Alaska had just been secured as a colonial acquisition by the U.S through the 1867 Treaty of Cession with Russia, the U.S. Army's approach toward Alaskan operations included use of force against Alaska Natives when the U.S. Army deemed it necessary. From the U.S. Army's perspective, force was at times needed to educate Alaska Natives that the U.S. was now the new governing entity over Alaska. For the Tlingit the U.S. Army was a quick-to-violence invader, conqueror, and colonizer. The U.S. Army's attack on Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w was a violation of Tlingit law and an attack on Tlingit sovereignty. The Tlingit have viewed the

Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w a part of the historical process that facilitated a foreign nation's (the U.S.) invasion that claimed Tlingit lands.

To explore historical narrative and apply the needed ethnohistorical methods to produce a study on a conflict like the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w it requires the acknowledgement that, as Richard Dauenhauer wrote when documenting historical battles between the Tlingit and Russians at the turn of the nineteenth century, “the same events are viewed from indigenous perspectives and newcomer points of view.”¹ To research and generate a history of this event is not a mechanical process. Not only do the historical sources that have survived represent differing interpretations of the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w, they also document how the people on each side of the conflict held divergent worldviews, understood Southeast Alaska differently, and lived by diverse sets of laws, ethics, and cultural values. These differing perspectives complicate writing a single narrative to document where, why, and how the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w occurred.

To demonstrate a single instance of how differently the Tlingit and the U.S. Army viewed the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w, provided below are excerpts from Tlingit and army sources which narrated Shx'atoo's surrender and execution that effectively ended hostilities between the Tlingit and the army.

Shx'atoo goes to his brother-in-law Shustak's house and he says, “Let us eat our last meal together. I want to eat before I die.” Shx'atoo eats a little salmon, then he smokes, then he gives his gun to his brother-in-law and takes a canoe and sets out across the bay for the fort. “I go to give myself up,” he says, “If I do not give myself up you will all die.” In the fort yard the soldiers have built a gallows. As soon as they have Shx'atoo, the Captain sends word to the Indian village. He invites all the people to come and see how they hang a man.

Shx'atoo is a composer. He sends word for his mother to bring him his dancing hat so he can sing and dance once more before he dies. His mother brings the hat. She is crying. ... Shx'atoo puts on his

¹ Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Richard Dauenhauer, and Lydia Black, eds., *Anóoshi Lingít Aaní Ká: Russians in Tlingit America, The Battles of Sitka 1802 and 1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), xiii.

dancing hat and he dances and sings a song he has composed. As soon as he is finished he gives his mother his dancing hat. He turns and walks stiff and straight up the steps to the platform where the soldiers are waiting. The soldiers start to put a cloth over Shx'atoo's face. They have the rope ready. But Shx'atoo will not have a cloth over his head. He tears the cloth away, the soldiers put the rope around his neck. Everything is quiet except for Shx'atoo's old mother. She is crying and Indians stand around in the rain looking very sad. Shx'atoo is their brother. The soldiers wait a minute. But Shx'atoo does not wait. He does not wait for them to spring the trap. No, Shx'atoo will not wait. He jumps off the high platform [with the rope's noose around his neck]. And so he dies.

Tlingit elder William Tamaree, May 31, 1940

That evening, about nine o'clock, the murderer Shx'atoo was brought in by the chiefs and surrendered to me. The next morning, December 27, a court was organized by general post order No. 76, for the trial of the murderer, who was identified by the five chiefs of the tribe and by his own confession. ... In pursuance of the sentence of the court, the man was duly executed by hanging, at twelve o'clock and thirty minutes, on the 29th of December, 1869, in full view of the entire ranch [Indian village], the five chiefs and the Indian doctor being in immediate attendance at the gallows. The execution passed off without accident, and the body remained hanging until sun-down, when, by my permission, it was taken away by his friends.

U.S. Army First Lt. William Borrowe, December 30, 1869

Although both the Tlingit and army officials felt the involvement and role of Shx'atoo was important to document, clearly perspectives differ on what, why, and how events occurred. Much of the Tlingit historical narrative about the Bombardment focuses on the details of Shx'atoo's actions, including how Shx'atoo acted toward the American invaders and how he later surrendered his life to the army in order to protect his community. For the army, its actions surrounding the Bombardment of Kaachxan.áak'w was more mechanical and duty based—they followed orders and used military force to maintain a recently acquired territory. Shx'atoo was labeled as a criminal by the army and the army was concerned with finding and executing Shx'atoo. One side views Shx'atoo as a person who stood up to injustice, the other viewed him as an Indian criminal to be executed.

Understanding the differences of perspective about the history of Bombardment of Kaachxan.áak'w requires an open mind and a level of cross-cultural knowledge. Speaking to the concept of cross-cultural knowledge, it is arguable that most American readers of this report will have a certain level familiarity with American culture—some

may even have a grasp of American military culture and history—and as result many readers will possess a level of understanding as to why First Lt. William Borrowe composed his military report about Shx’atoo’s and the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w. Borrowe’s narration can be largely comprehended by those with an understanding of American culture, in part because American culture is the dominant culture in the United States.

Shx’atoo actions, as narrated by Tamaree from a Tlingit worldview, were told based on what was deemed important to the Tlingit. For those not familiar with Tlingit culture and what would be considered historically important to the Tlingit, understanding how and why Tlingit elder William B. Tamaree (1862-1956) described Shx’atoo’s actions will not be as easily understood. This is because Tamaree explained this episode of history to a Tlingit audience—to those with a level of familiarity with Tlingit culture and ways of communicating. For example, when I have shown the above quotes to readers some have asked the following questions; why would Shx’atoo so willingly give himself up to the army to be executed? Why did Tamaree tell the story of Shx’atoo’s song and dance performance before his death? And especially, after allowing the hangman’s noose to be placed around his neck, why did Shx’atoo jump from the platform so that he took his own life by hanging, rather than allow the U.S. Army to “spring the trap” and kill him?

Each of these questions, along with many more that surface in the sources and study of the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w can be better understood by cross-cultural knowledge and context. Any historian, anthropologist, or ethnohistorian that seeks to objectively present a historical study that involves multiple cultures should help readers

understand the context of the historical events being examined. This process begins through the acknowledgement that this altercation occurred as two cultures and political systems came together; the Tlingit and the United States. This conflict occurred on Tlingit lands and in association with a Tlingit village, all territory owned and governed by the Tlingit for thousands of years. The newly arrived Americans, and Fort Wrangell U.S. Army soldiers sent to Tlingit lands, presented themselves as owners of Shx'at K̄wáan Tlingit land and enforcers of American law over the Tlingit and the region.² This diversity of worldview, political perspective, and contestation of land ownership contributed to the Bombardment of K̄aachx̄an.áak'w. These factors, and many others, merit being part of the dialog about the Bombardment of K̄aachx̄an.áak'w.

The goal of this report is to document and educate about the 1869 Bombardment of K̄aachx̄an.áak'w and help readers understand the conflict. Research for this project was funded primarily by a grant from the National Park Service's American Battlefield Preservation Program, along with supplemental support from the Sealaska Heritage Institute, an Alaska Native non-profit cultural and educational organization. Work was conducted in partnership with the City & Borough of Wrangell and the Wrangell Cooperative Association, the latter a federally recognized IRA tribal government representing the Tlingit Indians of Wrangell.³ The objectives of this report were guided by the mission statement and goals of the National Park Service's American Battlefield Preservation Program (ABPP), which read;

² For an overview of the United States government viewed Alaska as being or not being Indian Country; see Sidney L. Haring, *Crow Dog's Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal Law, and United States Law in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 208-248.

³ For an overview of the Tlingit Indians of Wrangell and their federally recognized status see; Lee Gorsuch, University of Alaska Anchorage Institute of Social and Economic Research, et al., *A Study of Five Southeast Alaska Communities* (Anchorage: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Alaska, 1994).

ABPP promotes the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with wars on American soil. The goals of the program are 1) to protect battlefields and sites associated with armed conflicts that influenced the course of our history, 2) to encourage and assist all Americans in planning for the preservation, management, and interpretation of these sites, and 3) to raise awareness of the importance of preserving battlefields and related sites for future generations. The ABPP focuses primarily on land use, cultural resource and site management planning, and public education.⁴

In response, this report provides extensive documentation of the conflict known as the Bombardment of Ƙaach̄an.áak'w, including its history, context, battle maneuvers, and battle locations. A specific purpose of this report is to assist the Wrangell community in planning for the possible preservation, memorialization, and interpretation of lands and the history associated with the 1869 Bombardment of Ƙaach̄an.áak'w.

Historiography & Research Methods

Prior to this report, the Bombardment of Ƙaach̄an.áak'w had not undergone extensive study and no mapping of the battlefield had occurred.⁵ Most general surveys of U.S. conflict with Native American Indians omit or briefly summarize the military campaigns in Alaska.⁶ A few publications and dissertations authored by American historians have offered overviews on the history of Alaska Native and U.S. military interactions.⁷ These studies are helpful, but were primarily authored by those without

⁴ Retrieved from the NPS ABPP website, accessed March 5, 2014.

⁵ Excluding the author's presentation at the Alaska Historical Society's annual conference in 2011, the only study nearing a detailed focus on the Bombardment of Ƙaach̄an.áak'w includes a short presentation in 1984 at the annual Alaska Historical Society conference by independent researcher Patricia Watson. See Patricia Watson, "The Bombardment of the Stikine Village," in *Proceedings of Alaska Historical Society Conference*, 1984. [n.p.]

⁶ For example, Jerry Keenan's 1997 *Encyclopedia of American Indian Wars* which sought to document conflicts from the East to West coasts, entirely omits military actions in Alaska. More recently Gregory F. Michno's 2003 *Encyclopedia of Indian Wars*, a survey that sought to examine comprehensively Euro-American/Indian conflict in the American West, also omitted content on Alaska. The work of historian Robert Utley does document the Bombardment of Ƙaach̄an.áak'w, but did not apply ethnohistorical methods, leaving the study incomplete. See Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

⁷ See Erik Hirschmann, "Empires in the Land of the Trickster: Russians, Tlingit, Pomo, and Americans on the Pacific Rim, Eighteenth Century to the 1910s," PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1999; Lyman Woodman, *Duty Station Northwest: The U.S. Army in Alaska and Western Canada, 1867-1987* (Anchorage, 1996); Jonathan M. Nielson, *Armed Forces on a Northern Frontier: The Military in Alaska's History, 1867-1987* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988); Stanley R. Rensberg, "United States

training in Native American Indian history, ethnohistorical methodologies, or Tlingit culture. Studies by legal historians, such as the important work by Sidney Haring, have also been consulted and inform this report.⁸ Although a number of anthropologists have studied the Tlingit over the last two centuries and produced significant ethnohistorical studies, aside from some of the work of anthropologist Rosita Worl,⁹ anthropologists have not published on U.S. Army conflicts with the Tlingit in detail.¹⁰ While some of these anthropological studies include overviews of U.S. Army relations with the Tlingit when the U.S. Army operated in Alaska (1867-1877), most scholars have focused on U.S. Navy interactions with the Tlingit (1879-1885).¹¹

Although past studies have contributed important information toward understanding the Bombardment of Ƙaachƣan.áak'w, additional research was needed to document why, how, and where the altercation occurred. In addition to a review of interdisciplinary published resources, ethnohistorical research methods of reviewing archival materials (especially recordings) and consulting with the Tlingit community

Administration of Alaska: The Army Phase, 1867-1877,” PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1975; and Bobby D. Lain, “North of Fifty-three: Army, Treasury Department, and Navy Administration of Alaska, 1867-1884,” PhD diss., University of Texas, Austin, 1974. Scholars may also wish to review Ted C. Hinckley, *The Canoe Rocks: Alaska's Tlingit and the Euramerican Frontier, 1800-1912* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1996).

⁸ Sidney L. Haring, *Crow Dog's Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal Law, and United States Law in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 208-248.

⁹ Rosita Worl, “History of Southeast Alaska since 1867,” in *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 7. Northwest Coast*, William C. Sturtevant and Wayne P. Stuttles, eds. (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1990): 149-158; and Rosita Worl, “Tlingit Law, American Justice and the Destruction of Tlingit Villages,” Presented for Native American Heritage Month at the Elizabeth Peratrovich Hall, Juneau, Alaska, November 2012, available online at <http://vimeo.com/53955608>.

¹⁰ See Zachary R. Jones, “Search for and destroy”: US Army Relations with Alaska's Tlingit Indians and the Kake War of 1869,” *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1-26. For surveys of Tlingit history and culture see; George T. Emmons and Frederica de Laguna, *The Tlingit Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991); Aurel Krause, *The Tlingit Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970); and John R. Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (Washington: Government Printing, 1908).

¹¹ See recent study; Nancy J. Furlow, “Balancing Values: Re-viewing the 1882 Bombardment of Angoon Alaska from a Tlingit Religious and Cultural Perspective.” PhD diss, University of California Santa Barbara, 2010.

were conducted. A review and amalgamation of documentation from these areas serve as the basis for the findings in this report.

In regards to archival resources consulted, Army records and government reports have been consulted, as well as archival collections, historic and contemporary maps, blueprints, newspapers, and photographs. Unfortunately, despite an extensive search of archival repositories,¹² few written historical sources were identified to document the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w. No diaries or memoirs survived to give soldier or American civilian accounting of the conflict. There are official Fort Wrangell records in National Archives Records Administration collections and the concisely written records left by soldiers involved in the conflict that were compiled by Board of Indian Commissioners Secretary Vincent Colyer, who investigated the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w in 1869 for the federal government (discussed later in this paper). The scarcity of written primary sources authored by Americans is a result of the fact that Fort Wrangell was on the fringes of American settlement. It was a small and remote outpost, newly built by the U.S. Army in 1868, and staffed by only approximately 25 soldiers.

Published materials by travelers or missionaries that came to Wrangell well after the conflict offer speculations and little content of use.¹³ Newspapers were not operating in Alaska when the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w occurred, but some newspapers in California covered Alaska and had correspondents from Alaska authoring articles. Some

¹² This includes research of holdings by the NARA, Alaskan repositories, and holdings at University of Washington Libraries, among others. Exhaustive research and checking with repositories occurred, seeking to track down and possibly see if any soldiers or Wrangell settlers left records, including via WorldCat. It is important to acknowledge that NARA was consulted about their Wrangell Customs Director records, within US Department of Treasury Records series. No sources of assistance were located therein.

¹³ A number of travel accounts and missionary accounts mention the 1869 altercation, but these offer content of a hearsay nature and offer little helpful content. For example see; W.R. Abercrombie, Edwin F. Glenn, O.O. Howard, Ivan Petroff, and P.H. Ray, *Compilation of Narratives of Explorations in Alaska* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 207.

of these newspaper accounts are contradictory or simply copy soldier statements, but a lone January 1870 article anonymously authored by the *Daily Alta California*'s Alaskan correspondent offers important clues and verifies content in soldier and Tlingit records.¹⁴ This *Daily Alta California* article is used in this report to document the conflict.¹⁵

Because Tlingit history has been conveyed orally for thousands of years, working through the local IRA tribal government—the Wrangell Cooperative Association (WCA), oral history interviews were sought from knowledgeable Tlingit elders from 2012 to 2014. For a week in 2013 on-site interviews with Tlingit elders in Wrangell were pursued. The WCA and community members recommended specific elders be consulted, and in total seventeen elders were contacted. Marge Bird, a knowledgeable elder in the community, stated her late brother and tribal historian Herbert Brady had known the oral account of the Bombardment. Other Wrangell elders living in cities like Juneau were also consulted, such as Ethel Lund, who stated her late grandfather Thomas Ukas had known the history of the Bombardment. I also consulted all of these individuals about any possible archival recordings of past family members in their personal collections. From consultations with the tribal community in Wrangell and the recommended Tlingit elders, most felt that the previous generation of elders—whom had recently passed away—could have told the Bombardment's history. There were a number of individuals from Wrangell

¹⁴ See “Tragic and Fatal Difficulty at Fort Wrangle. Capt. Leon Smith Killed,” *The Alaska Times* (Jan. 29, 1870): 1; and “An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Ranche Shelled – Peace Restored,” *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

¹⁵ When reporting on the Bombardment of ƛaachʰan.áak’w most newspaper articles echo or directly quote soldier reports (which would later be compiled by Colyer). However, the January 25, 1870 article in the *Daily Alta California*, from an Alaskan correspondent, was well informed of the Bombardment and did not copy soldier statements. This report offered content that matched soldier accounts, but also gave original and additional information not in other newspaper reports which would later be verified by Tlingit sources discovered with this research project. For example, the *Daily Alta California* author detailed the Christmas party at the fort, which soldiers omitted in their reports because it violated military policy and law to allow Indians in the fort and serve them alcohol.

that stated that their late family members, such as Thomas Ukas, may have found original U.S. Army projectiles used in 1869 on Shakes Island, but no original ordnance could be located. Although the archival recordings generously shared by the people of Wrangell for this project yielded important information about Wrangell's history, no additional content or documentation specifically about the Bombardment of *Ƙaachxan.áak'w* was obtained from work in the community of Wrangell.

In addition to seeking out interviews with living Tlingit elders, special effort was also taken to examine archival recordings, writing, and memoirs of Tlingit individuals speaking about Wrangell's history. Research into repositories that hold notable oral history collections were consulted, such as University of Alaska Fairbank's oral history collection, but no recordings with content were found outside the holdings of the Sealaska Heritage Institute in Juneau. Sealaska Heritage Institute's archival collection contains a copy of the only known audio recording of an oral account of the Bombardment of *Ƙaachxan.áak'w* being told. This recording is of Tlingit elder William Tamaree (1862-1956) (Tlingit name *Sheeshgaaw*) speaking in the Tlingit language circa 1950 about the conflict and was obtained by Sealaska Heritage Institute through the generous donation of Ben Paul in 2001.¹⁶ This Tlingit language recording was translated from Tlingit to English and a transcription is provided in the appendix of this report. This translated and transcribed account is a key product from this grant project. Tamaree, a

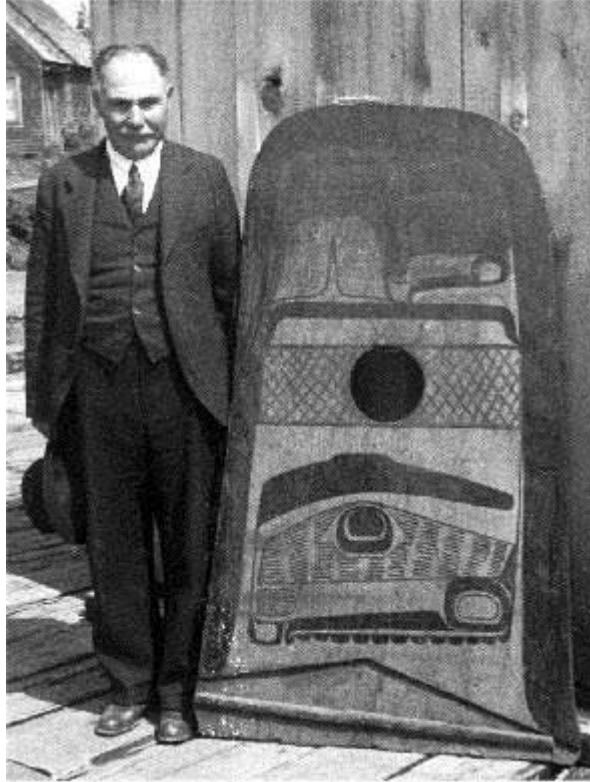
¹⁶ The recording with William Tamaree speaking about the conflict was donated to SHI's archive by Tlingit Ben Paul, whose ancestry is tied to Wrangell. Ben Paul also gave his blessing for the translation/transcription of the recording prior to the project's start. The cassette recording held by SHI's archive is likely a copy from an original captured on open reel prior to Tamaree's death in 1956. The cassette's original label reads "The Death of Shx'atoo, by William Tamaree." The 28 minute recording is undated, contains one or two unidentified speakers, and contains Tamaree giving the oral account of the Bombardment of *Ƙaachxan.áak'w*. The recording was translated/transcribed by Tlingit elder David Katzeek, and edited for orthography by Tlingit Ishmael Hope. This recording should be cited as: "The Death of Shx'atoo," William Tamaree Recording Collection, MC 13, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives.

Shx'at K̄wáan Tlingit elder of the Kayaashkiditaan clan, X'aan hít, was an individual trained by the Tlingit community from his youth to know and tell the story of the U.S. Army's attack of K̄aachx̄an.áak'w. The content by Tamaree provides fundamental context and documentation in understanding the conflict and how the Tlingit responded to the U.S. Army's shelling of their village. Kayaashkiditaan

In addition to this newly translated and transcribed account, an additional English language transcribed oral account that was located. This includes a transcription of William Tamaree telling the history of the Bombardment as published in a 1940 Wrangell newspaper during a week of cultural celebration in coordination with the rededication of the Chief Shakes House.¹⁷ These two accounts by Tamaree greatly complement each other and provide rich context about the conflict. In addition to information provided by Tamaree, content about the conflict was also written about by Tlingit elder of the Teeyhittaaan clan, William L. Paul (1885-1977) (Tlingit name *Shgúndi*), which also has informed this report.¹⁸ These three different accounts combine to provide important information about the Tlingit history of the Bombardment of K̄aachx̄an.áak'w.

¹⁷ See William Tamaree, "Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians," *Wrangell Sentinel* (May 31, 1940): 1. This oral account was given by Tamaree for the newspaper amid the build up for the 1940 dedication of the Chief Shakes House, when much of Wrangell's Tlingit history was being shared by elders for newspaper publication. The same account was republished decades later after a reporter wrote an uninformed article on the conflict, and the local Tlingit population asked the newspaper to reprint Tamaree's original 1940 account. See William Tamaree, "Scutdoo Hero in Native Version of 1869 Battle," *Wrangell Sentinel* (January 14, 1976): 1, 4-5; and "Liquor Triggered a Flair Up: 1869 Battle of Wrangell Ended in Hanging," *Wrangell Sentinel* (January 7, 1976): 1, 4.

¹⁸ See William Lewis Paul, "The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did They Come From? Their Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos," unpublished manuscript, p. 108-10, from William L. Paul Manuscript, Mss 5, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives; and William Lewis Paul and Frances Paul DeGermain, *The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did We Come From? Our Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford, 2011), 153-155.



View of William Tamaree standing next to the “Killer Whale Fin with a Hole,” circa 1944. Photograph by William L. Paul Jr., Courtesy Ben Paul.

Overall, based on a review of the historiography, extensive research, as well as making use of historic maps and photographs of Fort Wrangell and $\text{K}\text{aach}\text{x}\text{an}\text{.}\text{a}\text{a}\text{k}'\text{w}$, and by using sources and working with the Tlingit community of Wrangell, this report seeks to educate about the Bombardment of $\text{K}\text{aach}\text{x}\text{an}\text{.}\text{a}\text{a}\text{k}'\text{w}$, estimate battle locations and maneuvers, and detail aspects of this conflict’s place in American history for the benefit of the community of Wrangell and the general public.

Tlingit Cultural Context and Background Information

The Tlingit Indians state they have lived 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 has displaced archaeological sites above and below the tide line, inhibiting

documentation of older archeological sites.¹⁹ 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 ethnic Russians according to some scholars,²⁰ and the Tlingit retained hegemony. When Russians violated Tlingit laws or threatened sovereignty, Tlingit law resolved the issue through a 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. This also occurred in 1805 with the destruction of the Russian fort at Yakutat.²¹ In 1867 when Russia sold governance rights of Alaska through the Treaty of Cession to

¹⁹ See Madonna Moss, *Northwest Coast: Archeology as Deep History* (Washington DC: Society for American Archaeology, 2011).

²⁰ See Ilya Vinkovetsky, *Russian America: An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire, 1804-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

²¹ See Nora Marks Dauenhauer, Richard Dauenhauer, and Lydia Black, eds., *Anóoshi Lingít Aaní Ká: Russians in Tlingit America, The Battles of Sitka 1802 and 1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

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.²² The United States, however, refused to acknowledge Tlingit claims to Southeast Alaska land and waters.

The American refusal to acknowledge Tlingit ownership to Southeast Alaska greatly contributed to conflict between the Tlingit and U.S. Army. This began in 1867 as the U.S. Army was assigned to serve as the interim civil governing entity in Alaska. 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,²³ the Army served as the American governing entity of Alaska from 1867 to 1877. With these actions and the Army's deployment to Alaska in 1867, the Tlingit faced an invasion of their lands by a foreign military force.

From the Tlingit perspective, the Tlingit were forced to interact with an invading nation seeking to subvert Tlingit sovereignty and claim Tlingit lands through military force. The U.S. Army possessed a military technology that had matured during the Civil War and the Army was given orders to suppress Alaska Natives with violent force when

²² See Rosita Worl, "History of Southeast Alaska since 1867," in *Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 7. Northwest Coast*, by William C. Sturtevant and Wayne P. Stuttles, eds. (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1990): 149-158; and Rosita Worl, "Tlingit Law, American Justice and the Destruction of Tlingit Villages," Presented for Native American Heritage Month at the Elizabeth Peratrovich Hall, Juneau, Alaska, November 2012, available online at <http://vimeo.com/53955608>.

²³ Ibid; David Case and David A. Voluck, *Alaska Natives and American Laws: Third Edition* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2013); and Sidney L. Haring, *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.

deemed necessary. This occurred as Army governance in Alaska first fell under the administration of Brevet Major General Jefferson C. Davis (1828-1879), who established army headquarters at Sitka in 1867. General Davis (of no relation to the Civil War Confederate States President with the same name), a veteran commander of the Civil War, was selected by Military Division of the Pacific Commander Major General Henry Halleck (1815-1872) to oversee army operations in Alaska, notwithstanding Davis's checkered past involving the murder of a superior officer. Known as a man with a violent temper, Davis was considered an able commander under fire.²⁴

Halleck, a man in favor of Indian removal to make way for American settlement, selected and counseled Davis of the need to impress upon Alaska Natives that the United States was their new master. Halleck wrote to Davis that that "if any Indian of a tribe should maltreat a citizen of the United States, the whole tribe, and especially its chief, will be held responsible for the offense or crime ... unless they expel such criminal or deliver him to us for punishment."²⁵ Davis took this counsel to heart in Southeast Alaska and regularly put into practice a policy of hostage taking, imprisoning, bombing villages, and executing Alaska Natives for minor and major offenses.²⁶ Scholars have referred to these early U.S. military interactions with the Tlingit as being "gunboat diplomacy" and "state terrorism."²⁷

²⁴ See Nathan C. Hughes and Gordon D. White, *Jefferson Davis in Blue: The Life of Sherman's Relentless Warrior* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 100-126, 366-397.

²⁵ Henry W. Halleck, Letter to Jefferson Davis, September 6, 1868, Miscellaneous Record Book, Department of Alaska, Records of Geographical Commands, Records of the United States Continental Army Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, National Archives; quoted from Lain, "North of Fifty-three," 129.

²⁶ These actions were all documented in detail by civilians and soldiers in; Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*.

²⁷ See Steve J. Langdon, "Governmentality in the North Pacific Region—Divergent Visions and Agentive Initiatives," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 439-450; Steve J. Langdon, "Unreciprocated 'Reverence': 'Papers,' Political Recognition, and Tlingit Engagement with US Governmentality in the

The Bombardment of K̄aachx̄an.áak'w, however, was not the first altercation between the Tlingit and the U.S. Army after the Army's installment in Alaska. The first major event occurred at Sitka in January 1869 when the U.S. Army attacked some Tlingit, killed at least six, surrounded the Sitka Indian Village, and threatened those in the Native village with death and destruction from gunship and fort artillery. Tlingit negotiations led the Army to forego use of artillery on their village and extensive violence was avoided. Additional military actions occurred in February 1869 as the U.S. Army used its 150 foot sloop-of-war gunship, the *USS Saginaw*, to attack three Tlingit villages near present day Kake. Although these Tlingit communities evacuated their villages to avoid altercation and loss of life prior to the Army's arrival and mounted no resistance to this one-sided attack, the Army destroyed their homes, food, possessions, and canoes with the intent to produce hunger, starvation, and a forced march to neighboring communities during winter.²⁸

Within a little over year of the Army's installment in Alaska, the Army's handling of affairs in Alaska was publicly criticized by sympathetic whistleblowers who obtained and published military correspondence and reports in national newspapers, like the *New York Times*, as attempted exposés of military injustice.²⁹ Additional newspaper articles

Late Nineteenth Century," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 505-536; Zachary R. Jones, "Search for and destroy": US Army Relations with Alaska's Tlingit Indians and the Kake War of 1869," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1-26; Robert E. Price, "The Great Father in Alaska: The Case of the Tlingit and Haida Salmon Fishery (Douglas, Alaska: First Street Press, 1990); Rosita Worl, "History of Southeastern Alaska Since 1867," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7: Northwest Coast*, Wayne Suttles and William Sturtevant, eds. (Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 149-158; and Rosita Worl, "Tlingit Law, American Justice and the Destruction of Tlingit Villages," Presented for Native American Heritage Month at the Elizabeth Peratrovich Hall, Juneau, Alaska, November 2012, available online at <http://vimeo.com/53955608>. Quote from Worl, "Tlingit Law, American Justice and the Destruction of Tlingit Villages."

²⁸ Zachary R. Jones, "Search for and destroy": US Army Relations with Alaska's Tlingit Indians and the Kake War of 1869," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1-26.

²⁹ Jefferson Davis, Letter to General Halleck, Sitka, 9 March 1869 *New York Times* (25 April 1869): 3.

about the U.S. military's role in dealing with the Tlingit also contributed to a federal board's inquiry into U.S. Army actions in Alaska.³⁰ With U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant's administration working to alleviate U.S. military and Native American conflict (an effort later referred to as the Grant Peace Policy), Grant's newly created federal oversight committee, the Board of Indian Commissioners, dispatched its secretary Vincent Colyer to Alaska to investigate.³¹ Colyer came to Southeast Alaska in the fall of 1869 and investigated the altercations at Sitka, near Kake, and elsewhere. By March 1870, shortly after the Bombardment of *K̄aach̄x̄an.áak'w* occurred, Colyer had compiled and submitted a critical report of the Army's Bombardment of *K̄aach̄x̄an.áak'w* to the U.S. President, Department of War, and Secretary of the Interior. His report was published as a government document for the Forty-First Congress, Second Session, and presented soldier documentation about the Bombardment of *K̄aach̄x̄an.áak'w*.³²

The report compiled by Colyer in 1870 contains the Army's reporting of how, why, and where the bombardment occurred (Colyer's report is contained in the appendix). Although Colyer's work at detailing Army actions provides documentation toward understanding the Bombardment of *K̄aach̄x̄an.áak'w*, it contained only sources from soldiers and American settlers. Although Colyer's report is very helpful, it did not provide a Tlingit testimony of the event's occurrence, a Tlingit cultural context, or an explanation of what motivated the Tlingit to respond to the Army in the way they did.

³⁰ When the California-based *Alaska Times* newspaper began that summer, some of the headline articles in the paper sought to defend Gen. J. Davis, commander of the U.S. Army at Sitka, against previous articles that had debased his tenure in Alaska. See "J.C. Davis, the Commanding General in Alaska," *Alaska Times* (9 July 1869): 1.

³¹ See: Francis P. Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

³² Vincent Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel, Alaska: Report of the Secretary of War, Secretary of the Interior, and Letter to the President*. 41st Congress, 2nd Session, Ex. Doc. No. 67 and 68 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1870).

Since Colyer's report was published, scholars have relied on it for information about the conflict, notwithstanding its one-sided perspective on the altercation. To understand the conflict more comprehensively and how and why the Tlingit responded to the Army, it is important to understand aspects of Shx'at K̄wáan Tlingit history, Tlingit law, and certain cultural approaches to conflict, including the concept of *Wooch Yax*.

Chart: Shx'at K̄wáan Tlingit Clans³³

Raven Moiety

Kaach.ádi

Náalx Hít
(Halibut House)
Xíxch'i Hít
(Frog House)
Alkaa Hít
(Gambling House)
Gaach Hít
(Rug or Mat House)
Kaawdliyaayi Hít
(House Lowered From The Sky)
Yaay Hít
(Whale House)

Kaasx'agweidí

Xeiti Hít
(Thunderbird House)
Tl'aadein Hít
(Standing Sideways H.)
Xíxch'i X̄aayi Hít
(Frog's Den House)
Taan Hít
(Sea Lion House)

Kiks.ádi

Gagaan Hít (Sun H.)
Tax' Hít (Snail House)
Xíxch'i Hít (Frog H.)

Taalkweidí

Shaa Hít
(Mountain House)
Kaxkuyendu Aa Hít
(Name of Water Spirit That Lkaayaak'w Killed)
Gí' Hít (Cliff House)

Teeyhittaaan

Wolf/Eagle Moiety

Kayaashkiditaan

Kéet Hít
(Killer Whale House)
Kayaashká Hít
(Platform House)

Naanyaa.aayi

X'átgu Hít
(Dogfish House)
X'átgu Naasí Hít
(Dogfish Intestine House)

Kóok Hít
(Box House)

Hít Tlein
(Big House)

Tatóok Hít
(Cave House)

Chéx'i Hít
(Shadow House)

Aanshooká Hít
(End of Town House)

S'iknax.ádi

X'aan Hít
(Red Clay or Fire House)

Ank'w Hít
(Tsimshian Cane House)

Xook'eidí

Shdeen Hít
(Steel House)

Aandaa Óonaa Hít
(Cannon House)

³³ Chart information and spellings derived from the *Traditional Tlingit Country Map*, 4th ed. (Juneau: Tlingit Readers, 2003), and Tlingit linguist James Crippen's Tlingit K̄wáan, Clan, and House List; available online at; <http://www.drangle.com/~james/tlingit/clan-list.html>. Accessed October 8, 2014.

At the time of Euro-American entry into Southeast Alaska, the Shx'at K̄wáan Tlingit were among the most powerful of Tlingit peoples of Southeast Alaska. For thousands of year the Tlingit of the Shx'at K̄wáan had controlled a large geographic area of land and water near present-day Wrangell, including inland route and major waterway of the Stikine River (Tlingit name *Shtax'héen*, meaning Water Biting Itself).³⁴ Since the Stikine River was a major waterway for trade and navigation, it and other factors facilitated the Tlingit of the Shx'at K̄wáan to not only flourish, but to amass wealth and power.³⁵ Although many Tlingit villages dotted the Shx'at K̄wáan region prior to and by 1868, in 1868 the primary Tlingit village near the Stikine River was K̄aachx̄an.áak'w (translated as Little Lake Accessible to People).³⁶ In 1868 K̄aachx̄an.áak'w was a major settlement for the Shx'at K̄wáan Tlingit, with K̄aachx̄an.áak'w's nine different clans interacting as sovereign entities.

³⁴ Thomas Thornton, ed. *Haa Léelk'w Hás Aani Saax'u, Our Grandparents' Names on the Land* (Seattle: University of Washington Press: Juneau, Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2012), 183.

³⁵ The long history of the Shx'at K̄wáan Tlingit has been documented by Tlingit authors and anthropologists over time, and although much remains to be written, a source of significant importance includes the book by Tlingit author William L. Paul, Sr., *The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did We Come From? Our Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos*

³⁶ Translation and brief history of K̄aachx̄an.áak'w provided by; Thomas Thornton, ed. *Haa Léelk'w Hás Aani Saax'u, Our Grandparents' Names on the Land* (Seattle: University of Washington Press: Juneau, Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2012).



Shx'at Kwáan Tlingit Traditional County Map. Courtesy Tlingit Readers Inc.

Although nine Tlingit clans primarily inhabited the Shx'at Kwáan landscape, and members of different clans from other Kwáans married into the Shx'at Kwáan, each clan has its respective and important history. While a detailed history of even one clan is beyond the scope of this study, understanding an aspect of the history of Naanyaa.aayí clan's clan leader name Shéiyksh is important. Shéiyksh (sometimes spelled or referred to as Shakes) is a hereditary Naanyaa.aayí clan leader name. The name's origins are tied to a historic conflict between the Shx'at Kwáan Tlingit and the Nisga'a people, as result of the Nisga'a attempting to advance north and take possession of fishing waters in the Shx'at Kwáan. Naanyaa.aayí clan leader named Gush X'een led forces against an advancing Nisga'a force and defeated the Nisga'a, with reportedly over 150 Nisga'a warriors being killed. As part of the battle and Nisga'a defeat, Gush X'een took the name of the Nisga'a leader, pronounced in Tlingit as Shéiyksh. This hereditary name has since

been given to Naanyaa.aayí clan leaders.³⁷ Since Stikine River near Kaachxan.áak'w was owned by the Naanyaa.aayí clan, when other tribes, Tlingit clans, or Euro-Americans came to the Shx'at Kwáan in search for inland trade or guidance or transport to mining areas up river during and after Shéiyksh I's (Gush X'een) time as a clan leader, these foreigners often had to interact with a Shéiyksh, a wealthy, powerful, and spiritual clan leader that co-managed sovereign Naanyaa.aayí land and affairs with Naanyaa.aayí clan house leaders and íxt' (clan spiritual leaders).³⁸

When the U.S. Army came to Kaachxan.áak'w and established Fort Wrangell in proximity to the village in 1868, the Naanyaa.aayí clan leader of the time was Shéiyksh V. Prior to being given or “walking into the name” of Shéiyksh V, Shéiyksh V's Tlingit name was Kaawishté. Shéiyksh V led the Naanyaa.aayí clan from approximately 1840 and until his death in 1878, a time a significant pressure on the sovereignty of the Naanyaa.aayí clan. With his clan members being killed by the U.S. Army in 1869, he was at the forefront of negotiations with the U.S. Army on how the situation could be resolved according to Tlingit law.³⁹

Like other complex societies, the Tlingit people have long possessed a legal system to address issues of governance, land ownership, trade, war, peace, crime, and a

³⁷ One source lists the Shéiyksh leadership as being the following: Gush X'een (Shéiyksh I), Gookshí (Shakes II), X'adanéik (Shakes III), Keishíshk' (Shéiyksh IV), Kaawishté (Shéiyksh V – term 1840-1878), Gush Tlein, also known as George Shakes (Shéiyksh VI – 1878-1916), Charlie Jones (Shéiyksh VII – 1916-1944), X'a.áxch (Shéiyksh VIII – 1944-1970), Johnathan DeWitt (Shéiyksh IX – 1970-2007). See Obituary of Johnathan DeWitt, *Ketchikan Daily News* (August 20, 2007); and Chief Shakes, Wikipedia.com, accessed October 9, 2014.

³⁸ See Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*.

³⁹ It is important to acknowledge that the Tlingit did not have a “chief” that spoke for the whole of the Tlingit people. The clans of each Kwáan were sovereign. Each clan selected a clan leader that could speak for the clan, but clan leadership and decision making included consultation with clan íxt' (spiritual leaders) and clan house leaders. Although often men occupied these positions, women have also been known to be leaders and íxt' in Tlingit history.

host of other aspects, which has been documented by anthropologists, legal historians, and Tlingit authors for over two centuries.⁴⁰ Tlingit society revolved around the clan system (a kinship system—see adjacent chart) and the Tlingit recognize the sovereignty of each individual clan, which included that legal matters be settled by or between sovereign clans. In regards to instances of murder, conflict, and war (like the Bombardment of *K̄aachx̄an.áak'w*), Tlingit law regulates the procedures for responding to conflict and the process toward restoring peace and *Wooch Yax̄*, a concept of balance, reciprocity, and respect. It should be stressed that a core objective of Tlingit law is the restoration of *Wooch Yax̄*. In most Tlingit law settles a crime or conflict through a recompense payment process, and for significant instances with a concluding Deer Ceremony (peace ceremony).⁴¹ Clan leadership, often in consultation with clan *íxt'* (spiritual leaders) and with the help of an appointed *Naa Kani* (peacemaker and mediator), act under the authority of Tlingit law to bring about peace and *Wooch Yax̄*.⁴²

For example, if a Tlingit individual was killed by another Tlingit, member of another tribe, or foreigner (Euro-American), the victim's clan had the legal right to claim an equal recompense payment to amend for the offense. Early ethnographer of the Tlingit George T. Emmons wrote that “peace could only be established by adjudging the loss of lives on each side as equal, or by payment for the excess.”⁴³ If a Tlingit was killed by a

⁴⁰ See Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, for a bibliography of scholar publications. For Tlingit authors see; Cyrus Peck Sr., *The Tides People: Tlingit Indians of Southeast Alaska: A Narrative Account of Tlingit Culture and Values Written by a Tlingit* (Juneau: Juneau Indian Studies Program, 1975), and William L. Paul Sr. and Frances Paul DeGermain, *The Alaska Tlingit: Where Did We Come From: Our Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs and Taboos* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford Publishers, 2011).

⁴¹ For information on the processed entailed in a Deer Ceremony, see See Frederica de Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), 592-604.

⁴² See Frederica de Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), 592-604.

⁴³ Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, 329.

foreigner, Tlingit law adjudicated that recompense could occur in two forms; payment in property or payment in lives. Historically, goods have been measured in blankets, rifles, money or other property dependent upon the circumstances, and payment had to equal the value of the life taken—a value set by the victimized clan though often negotiated.

According to anthropologist Frederica de Laguna, “wars or serious feuds usually could not be settled simply by payments of property. For each extra life lost on one side, another from their enemies might be demanded in compensation.”⁴⁴ Depending upon the Tlingit clan’s claim to payment, negotiated recompense could include having the offender turn over individuals whom would be killed, or the offender could kill individuals in view of the clan as payment. Failure to pay the claimant clan’s recompense could result in a seizure of property, hostages, the taking of a foreigner’s life, or continuation of conflict, which has occurred in history.⁴⁵ Without either the receipt of payment, or the seizure of property or taking of a foreigner’s life, peace and *Wooch Yax* could not be restored.

Legal historian Sidney Haring has studied how tribal laws interacted with the United States and its military in history, including the Bombardment of *Ƙaachxan.áak’w*. In his book *Crow Dog’s Case: American Indian Sovereignty, Tribal Law, and United States Law in the Nineteenth Century* Haring documents the U.S. Army’s killing of a Tlingit Naanyaa.aayí clan man in his home at *Ƙaachxan.áak’w* and how Tlingit law responded. This act of the United States initially killing a Tlingit individual (a second died shortly thereafter), triggered use of the sovereign legal system of Tlingit of *Ƙaachxan.áak’w* to address the crime, i.e., the Tlingit man named Shx’atoo’s killed a

⁴⁴ Frederica de Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), 594.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 592-604; and Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, 324-357.

foreigner.⁴⁶ As the Tlingit sought to rectify the situation legally according to their laws, the U.S. Army failed to understand or acknowledge the tribe's legal authority and practices.⁴⁷ This has been documented at other times in Tlingit history, such as by anthropologists Rosita Worl and Nancy Furlow regarding the U.S. Navy's Bombardment of Angoon in 1882 and my own research on the U.S. Army's attacks on the villages near present-day Kake in 1869.⁴⁸ Understanding these aspects of Tlingit law and culture help provide an understanding as to why the Tlingit responded to the situations they encountered in December 1869.⁴⁹

Battlefield Terrain Overview

With the U.S. Army coming to Alaska to serve as the civil governing entity in 1867, headquarters were established at Sitka. In mid-1868 General Davis ordered U.S. Army soldiers to Wrangell to establish a small military outpost. This outpost was established because Wrangell had recently become a launch point for the burgeoning post-1861 gold rush activities along the nearby Stikine River. Between 25 and 30 soldiers from Battery I, 2nd Artillery came to the small community of Wrangell in summer 1868, set up a temporary tent camp, and began building a defensive structure later known as Fort Wrangell. Fort Wrangell was constructed below a hill, Dewey Hill, and slightly

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ See Rosita Worl, "Tlingit Law, American Justice and the Destruction of Tlingit Villages," Presented for Native American Heritage Month at the Elizabeth Peratrovich Hall, Juneau, Alaska, November 2012, available online at <http://vimeo.com/53955608>; Nancy J. Furlow, "Balancing Values: Re-viewing the 1882 Bombardment of Angoon Alaska from a Tlingit Religious and Cultural Perspective. PhD diss, University of California Santa Barbara, 2010; and Zachary R. Jones, "Search for and destroy": US Army Relations with Alaska's Tlingit Indians and the Kake War of 1869," *Ethnohistory* 60, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 1-26.

⁴⁹ It should be acknowledged that in the Tlingit legal system, and with the Bombardment of *Kaachan.áak'w*, the U.S. Army has still not negotiated with the Tlingit of Wrangell for the restoration of *Wooch Yax*.

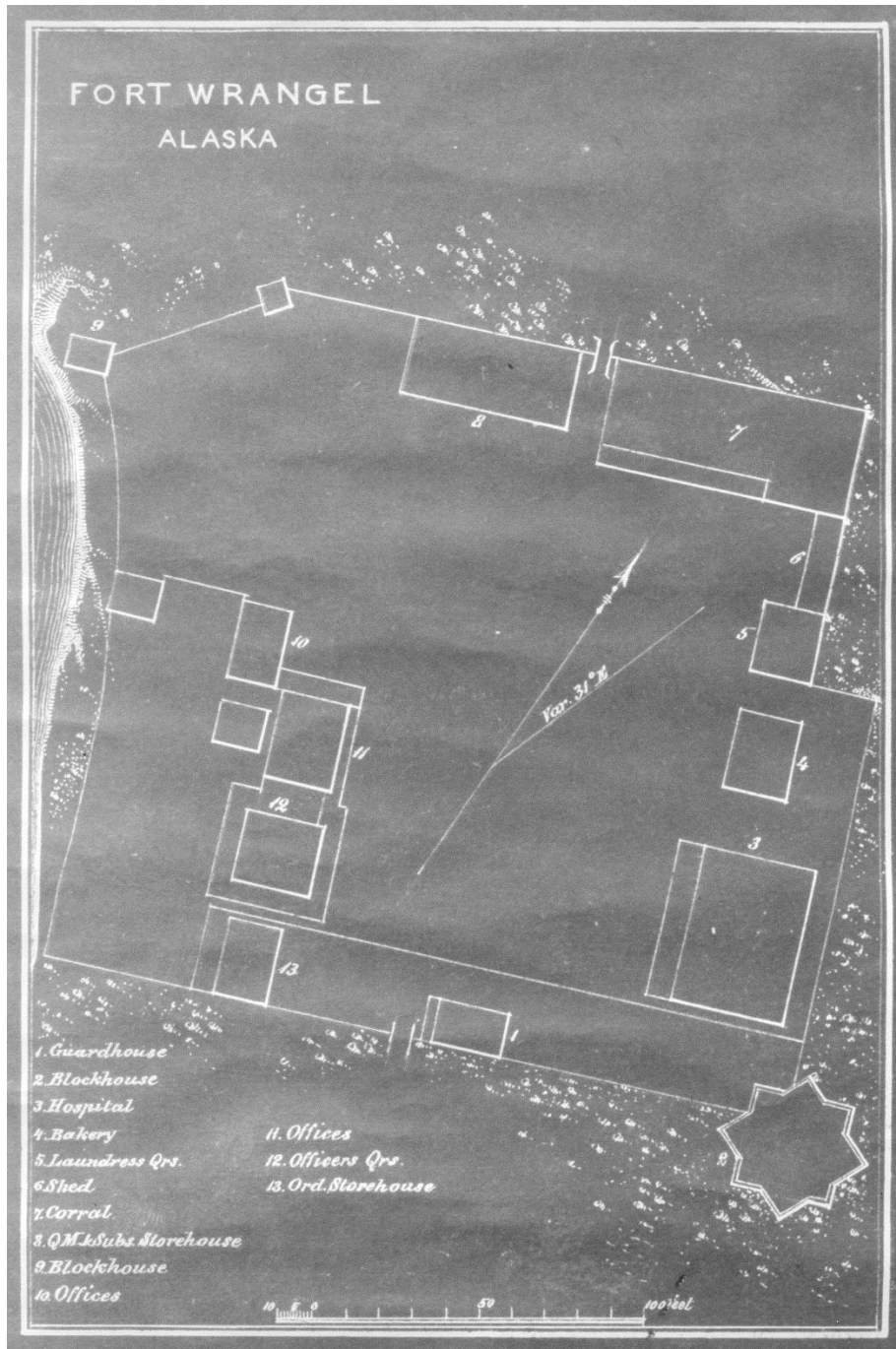
above the tideline on an elevated rocky point to provide the Army with observation and fields of fire over the channel and coastline. Fort Wrangell's fortifications included an encircling log wall ten feet in height, with elevated platforms along the fort wall for observation and firing of artillery. Armaments included a Civil War era 12-pounder Mountain Howitzer and 6-pounder Cannon.



View of Fort Wrangell under construction in background, Tlingit in foreground, 1868, photo by Eadward Muybridge, Courtesy UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library. PIC 1971.005:481—STER.

The fort's slightly elevated position and location on the coastal shore provided the Army with observation and field of fire over the terrain, including on $\text{K}\text{aach}\text{x}\text{an}\text{.}\text{a}\text{a}\text{k}'\text{w}$. When completed during winter 1868-69 Fort Wrangell measured as a 200 by 200 foot square. According to an 1870s architectural layout map of Fort Wrangell (no detailed photos are known to exist), it contained a guardhouse, two blockhouses, a hospital, bakery,

laundress quarters, shed, corral, storehouse, ordinance storehouse, offices, and an officer's quarters.⁵⁰



Architectural layout map of Fort Wrangell, dated circa 1877. Courtesy Anchorage Museum.

⁵⁰ This architectural layout sketch of Fort Wrangell is held by the Anchorage Museum, Anchorage, Alaska.

Less than a month before the Bombardment of Ƙaachxan.áak'w occurred, according to a December 2, 1869 report, Fort Wrangell was occupied by twenty-one enlisted soldiers, one medical staff, and four officers for a total of twenty-six U.S. soldiers. The fort's four officers included commanding officer First Lieutenant William Borrowe, his subordinate First Lieutenant M. R. Loucks, Quartermaster Sergeant Jacob Muller, and First Sergeant Dean. The medical staff entailed Acting Assistant Surgeon H. M. Hirke. No evidence or records exists to denote a change of troop numbers by late December 1869.⁵¹

KOCOA Defining Features of the Battlefield

Positions of the U.S. Army

Fort Wrangell Strengths: Decisive Terrain, Key Terrain, good Observation, and clear Field of Fire upon Ƙaachxan.áak'w.
Weakness: Subject to Observation and being in a Field of Fire from the flank and elevated position of Dewey Hill.

Positions of the Tlingit

Ƙaachxan.áak'w Strengths: None, but southern portion of village is a Dead Space for fort artillery.
Weaknesses: Exposed civilian settlement without Cover. Subject to Observation and being in a Field of Fire from Fort Wrangell.
Dewey Hill Strengths: Dense rainforest and west lower hillside of Dewey Hill provide Cover and constitute an Avenue of Approach toward and to the top of Dewey Hill for the Tlingit, which provides Observation and flanking Field of Fire upon Fort Wrangell.

The adjacent Shx'at Ƙwáan Tlingit village of Ƙaachxan.áak'w was not built with conflict in mind, but was a community established in the late 1830s as Tlingit clans moved and settled adjacent to Russian and later British traders to capitalize on the

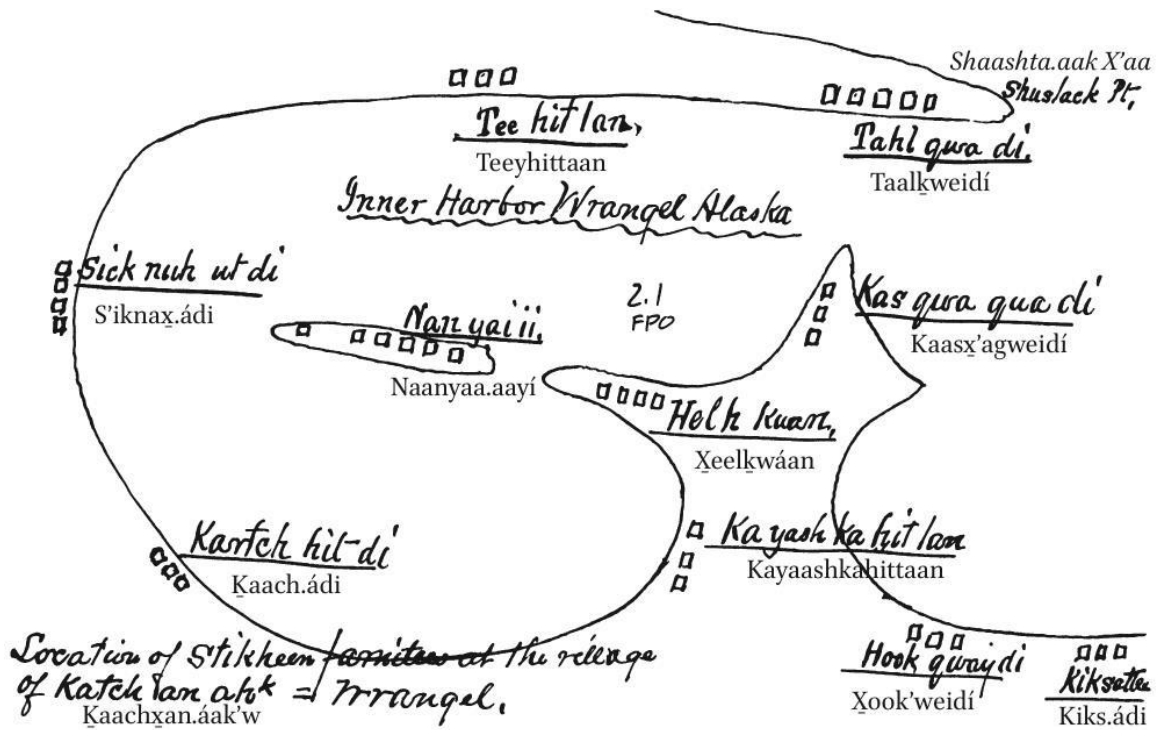
⁵¹ Loucks, Report to William Borrowe, December 2, 1869, Fort Wrangell, RG393 Part 5-Fort Wrangell Records, National Archives. Researchers may also be interested in a published memoir that documents the entrance of America into Wrangell. See C.F. Morison and Patricia Roppel, "A Diary from Wrangell, 1866-68," *New Alaskan* (March 1974): 4-13.

economic benefits of trade. Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w became a central Shx'at Ƙwáan Tlingit village by at least the 1870s, many Shx'at Ƙwáan Tlingit left the nearby village of Shaaḡhít.áan to settle at Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w.⁵² In 1869 the population of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w was documented by Colyer as being 508 Alaska Natives. While a Tlingit village, Tamaree argues that a minority of Haida and Tsimshian Indians also lived in Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w, having moved there for economic reasons.

Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w was built along the coastal beach within two small bays, which offered a safe harbor for boats, but it was not a strategic position for conflict with soldiers at Fort Wrangell. Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w was open and vulnerable to Army cannon and had little to no defensive cover to protect the wooden plank homes from artillery attack. No manmade fortifications were present in the village. Although historic photographs show views of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w during summer 1869, the earliest known map of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w was drawn during the 1880s by U.S. Navy lieutenant and ethnographer George T. Emmons.⁵³ His map, included and adapted for the battlefield map accompanying this report in the appendix, shows the details of clan housing divisions and structures in the village and has been helpful in estimating layout of how Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w may have appeared in 1869.

⁵² For a map and location of Shaaḡhít.áan and surrounding Tlingit villages, see Thomas Thornton, ed. *Haa Léelk'w Hás Aani Saax'u, Our Grandparents' Names on the Land* (Seattle: University of Washington Press: Juneau, Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2012), 144.

⁵³ See George T. Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*, 25.



Map of Kaachxan.áak'w as drawn by George T. Emmons during the 1880s, with modern-day typed spellings for names by Tlingit linguist James Crippen. Courtesy James Crippen.

It should also be acknowledged that past scholarship (though limited) has referred to the Bombardment of Kaachxan.áak'w as the Bombardment of Wrangell. The conflict was first called the Bombardment of Wrangell by Vincent Colyer in his 1870 report. However, the name Bombardment of Wrangell is not appropriate for the conflict, as it was not a bombardment of the town of Wrangell. The town of Wrangell was a Caucasian mining town and where the U.S. Army's fort was located, and from where soldiers fired their artillery into Kaachxan.áak'w. Kaachxan.áak'w was geographically and ethnically separate from Wrangell. Since the U.S. Army bombarded Kaachxan.áak'w, and not Wrangell, the name Bombardment of Kaachxan.áak'w is an accurate name for the event and should be used. In recent decades a number of historic battles and battlefields associated with U.S. military altercations with Native Americans across the U.S. have been renamed or had their names contested, such as with Idaho's Battle of Bear River

being renamed the Bear River Massacre.⁵⁴ For reasons similar these and factors related to location and how this conflict occurred, this Alaskan altercation is named the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w.

The Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w

While a number of background factors contributed to the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w, such as previous soldier abuses of Shx’at Ƙwáan Tlingit,⁵⁵ the immediate situation that triggered the Bombardment occurred on Christmas night 1869 when the Army killed a Tlingit man and mortally wounded another (who died of his wounds the next day). These killings resulted from the environment at a Christmas party hosted by Fort Wrangell soldiers, to which some Tlingit were invited, apparently so Tlingit women would be present for dancing and entertainment of the soldiers. The party was held on the upper floor of Quartermaster Sergeant Jacob Muller’s residence. The party’s occurrence is verified by the *Daily Alta California* newspaper correspondent that covered this conflict who wrote, “on the night of Christmas a ball was given by the men of the garrison to which the Indians were invited.”⁵⁶ William Tamaree’s oral account provides extensive detail about the event and its context, including how “the Indians sit on benches around the wall of the big hall. The soldiers pass plates of sandwiches and

⁵⁴ See Brigham Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985).

⁵⁵ One specific grievance noted by Colyer that contributed to the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w occurred in mid-1869 as a contingent of one-hundred army soldiers discharged for disorderly conduct stopped at Fort Wrangell for a few days on their way to San Francisco. Amid a number of abuses these soldiers carried out, Colyer reported how two soldiers and local merchant Leon Smith unjustifiably beat an innocent Tlingit man near to death. Smith and two of these soldiers “seized the Indian, brutally beat him, and stamped [stomped] on him.” This unprovoked attack on a Tlingit man led to further strained relations, and likely contributed toward community feelings toward Smith. See Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*.

⁵⁶ “An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Ranche Shelled – Peace Restored,” *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

much wine.”⁵⁷ Later, U.S. Army soldiers omitted mention of the party in their records because it was against military regulations to allow Indians inside the fort and against federal law for soldiers to serve alcohol to Native Americans.

In his book on Tlingit history and culture Tlingit elder William L. Paul stated that there not unmarried or available white women in attendance, and soldiers soon led Tlingit women onto the dance floor.⁵⁸ Tlingit sources indicate that a Tlingit woman named Aglan, who had lived at Victoria for a time, danced and greatly impressed the soldiers. Soldiers then brought her married sister-in-law Kchok-een, a woman of the Kaasx’agweidí clan, onto the dance floor.⁵⁹ Tlingit sources mention that Kchok-een was unfamiliar with American dance culture and styles, and soldiers joked and laughed at her. After seeing Kchok-een led onto the floor and then ridiculed by soldiers, Kchok-een’s husband Shawaan of Naanyaa.aayí clan, Xook’eidí yádi, became angry and according to Tamaree, “steps out onto the dance floor and pulls her away from the white soldier and throws her down the stairs.”⁶⁰ This domestic dispute occurred in Sergeant Muller’s house, and at that point Muller’s wife intervened with force to separate Kchok-een and Shawaan

⁵⁷ William Tamaree, “Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians,” *Wrangell Sentinel* (May 31, 1940): 1. Hereafter referred to as; Tamaree, “Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians.”

⁵⁸ William Lewis Paul, “The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did They Come From? Their Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos,” unpublished manuscript, p. 108-10, from William L. Paul Manuscript, Mss 5, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives; and William Lewis Paul and Frances Paul DeGermain, *The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did We Come From? Our Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford, 2011), 153-155.

⁵⁹ Both names for these women have not been documented beyond the English newspaper account by Tamaree and account by William L. Paul. The proper spelling, orthography, and meaning of these names in Tlingit remained unknown at the time of this study release. Kchok-een’s clan affiliation is given by William Paul, who spelled her name in English as Chokeen. See William Lewis Paul, “The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did They Come From? Their Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos,” unpublished manuscript, p. 108-10, from William L. Paul Manuscript, Mss 5, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives;

⁶⁰ Tamaree, “Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians.” Shawaan’s clan affiliation and proper spelling of his name is provided by Tamaree in the Tlingit language version in the appendix of this report.

at the bottom of the stairs. Mrs. Muller attempted to separate husband and wife by locking Kchok-een in a separate room, but amid the struggle Mrs. Muller received an injury to her hand, reportedly, Shawaan bit her middle finger off.⁶¹

The injury of Mrs. Muller, a Caucasian woman, by an Indian man greatly affected those present in the fort, with reactions possibly magnified by alcohol consumption. What happened next, however, is uncertain because soldiers provided a defensive story that does not conform to newspaper or Tlingit sources. Tlingit accounts from Tamaree and Paul indicate that soldiers shot Shawaan and his brother Isteen⁶² at the fort immediately after Mrs. Muller was injured; “soldiers rushed down the stairs and saw blood pouring down her arm ... the captain ordered the soldiers to shoot the Indian.”⁶³ Tamaree records that Shawaan died at the fort immediately after being shot, while Isteen appears to have succumbed to his wounds a short time “later”.⁶⁴ Thereafter the other Tlingit guests fled the fort and back to Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w.⁶⁵ A newspaper account agrees with the Tlingit assessment.⁶⁶ Although Tlingit and newspaper sources conflict with the Army’s story about the location of the killings, Tlingit sources do document that an Army officer came into Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w late that night. Tamaree stated that “later that night soldiers come to T’aawyaat’s house,” and an Army officer asked T’aawyaat; “You want to fight? We have killed your nephews. Are the Indians going to fight?”⁶⁷

⁶¹ This injury is verified in soldier and Tlingit accounts.

⁶² The name of Isteen is given by Tamaree in the English language version printed in the newspaper. It has not been studied for its proper Tlingit orthography, spelling, or history. Soldiers report his name as Esteen.

⁶³ Quoted from William Lewis Paul, “The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did They Come From? Their Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos,” unpublished manuscript, p. 108-10, from William L. Paul Manuscript, Mss 5, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.; and Tamaree, “Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians,” 1.

⁶⁶ See “An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Rancho Shelled – Peace Restored,” *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

⁶⁷ Tamaree, “Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians,” 1.

Alternatively, soldier reports contend that the Army abruptly learned about Mrs. Muller's injury (omitting mention of the party and providing no context), then under orders, a contingent of 20 soldiers went into the village and accidentally killed Shawaan and mortally wounded his brother Isteen while attempting to arrest them.⁶⁸ The validity of soldier reports are compromised on the basis that soldiers had already attempted to hide evidence about the party's occurrence in the fort (and their illegal actions of serving alcohol to Tlingit guests), and they needed to distance the location of Shawaan and Isteen's killings from the fort to protect themselves. Proposing a falsified alternative to what actually happened to avoid possible disciplinary action or court martial suggests motivation to fabricate the story.

After the killing of Shawaan and mortal wounding of his brother Isteen, both Army and Tlingit sources acknowledge the involvement of the Tlingit man named Shx'atoo. According to Tamaree and Paul, Shx'atoo (additional Tlingit name Tseeyáaktláa) was of the Xook'eidí clan, the son of Kayaashkiditaan clan song composer and storyteller named Kaajeenax.⁶⁹ Shx'atoo was the father of Shawaan and Isteen. Tamaree's accounts, from both the Tlingit language recording and English language narrative, offer words from the Tlingit worldview about Shx'atoo's emotions, thoughts, and actions after learning about the death of his two sons.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 3-8.

⁶⁹ William Tamaree identified Shx'atoo's father as being Kaajeenáx, and Kaajeenáx as Tamaree's maternal uncle, a Kayaashkiditaan clan man who was a song composer and storyteller. The name for Shx'atoo's mother is not given. No mention of Shx'atoo's clan house is made. Shx'atoo may or may not have been clan íxt', a spiritual man, but who had a spirit helper named Tlawáaktlein which is mentioned by Tamaree in "The Death of Shx'atoo," SHI Archives.

⁷⁰ For those unfamiliar with Tlingit culture and language, Tlingit language use and cultural expression can be highly poetic, intellectual, metaphorical, and culturally specific.

Shx'atoo's role began when he was awakened by his Naanyaa.aayí wife in the middle of the night and told that his two sons had been killed by Army soldiers.⁷¹ According to Tamaree, Shx'atoo spoke to his wife; "*Háa yá ax naa.ádi! Háa yá ax naa.ádi!* Give me my tribal clothing! Give me my tribal clothing!"⁷² This tribal clothing was clan at.óow, the most significant clan owned regalia,⁷³ and was "*Al'eix kinaa.át háa yá aan al'eix noojín.* The dancing tribal regalia that they would dance in" according to Tamaree. This tribal clothing was described by Tamaree as; "*X'aan yáx yatee.* The color was red like fire," which had sewn sleeves and tassels along the bottom.⁷⁴ In the early morning Shx'atoo donned this tribal clothing, collected his gun, and set off for the fort.⁷⁵ It is important to acknowledge that Tamaree's attention to detailing Shx'atoo's preparatory actions are indicative of Shx'atoo's cultural, mental, and spiritual preparations for responding to the Army's violation of Tlingit law.

Tamaree reports how Shx'atoo first went to the fort, which was locked and no soldiers were present. With the fort locked, Shx'atoo came upon the local merchant Leon Smith, "*Du hít x'akayaash kaakduwagoot ak' guneiteen.* He was pacing back and forth on his front porch, aimlessly."⁷⁶ Tamaree attributes Shx'atoo's next actions to a fulfillment of Tlingit law; "Indian's law says when one of their men is killed by another tribe, other tribe must pay with the life of one of their men. White men have killed

⁷¹ Names and clan affiliation provided by Tamaree in the oral account in the appendix.

⁷² "The Death of Shx'atoo," William Tamaree Recording Collection, MC 13, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives. Included in the appendix. Hereafter referred to as: "The Death of Shx'atoo," SHI Archives. Translator's note; the term "tribal clothing" could perhaps be translated as "clan clothing," denoting a clan ownership/possessiveness and probability of it being clan at.óow.

⁷³ See Rosita Worl, "Tlingit At.óow: Tangible and Intangible Property," Ph.D. diss.; Harvard University, 1998.

⁷⁴ "The Death of Shx'atoo," SHI Archives.

⁷⁵ Tamaree, "Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians," 1.

⁷⁶ "The Death of Shx'atoo," SHI Archives.

Shx'atoo's sons. Here is a white man. So, Shx'atoo raises his Hudson Bay gun and shoots."⁷⁷ "Áx kóok náx a yoowú aawa.oon. He shot him right in the stomach," Tamaree reported.⁷⁸ After shooting Smith, Tamaree indicates that Shx'atoo fled to the forest, dealing with the emotions that came from killing another man and the gravity of the situation.

The killing of Leon Smith was confirmed by soldiers at the fort at approximately 2 am when "a shot was heard from the direction of the store of the post trader" and his body was shortly thereafter discovered by the Army.⁷⁹ Although reports by Lt. Borrowe and Lt. Loucks conflict on Army actions and timing of events 8 hours,⁸⁰ upon learning of Smith's death,⁸¹ around dawn on December 26th Borrowe dispatched a message through a runner, an unnamed bilingual Tlingit woman, to the principal leaders of K̄aachx̄an.áak'w. This message informed leaders that Borrowe desired to meet and discuss the previous night's events. Borrowe stated this message was delivered to the following persons; Shéiyksh V (Naanyaa.aayí clan), T'aawyaat (Naanyaa.aayí clan), Gunaanastí (Kiks.ádi clan), and two additional men identified in Borrowe's report only as "Shonta" and "Hank."⁸² Following the delivery of this message, around dawn on the December 26,

⁷⁷ Tamaree, "Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians."

⁷⁸ "The Death of Shx'atoo," SHI Archives.

⁷⁹ Ibid. It is important to note that soldier records conflict about the time of this event. Loucks stated this occurred at 2 am on December 26, while Borrowe states this occurred at 10 am on December 26.

⁸⁰ During the following morning what exactly happened is not well documented. The existing reports of commanding officer First Lieutenant William Borrowe and his subordinate First Lieutenant Loucks conflict about times that events occurred, why and how events transpired, and who the army met with in K̄aachx̄an.áak'w. These reports constitute the only detailed documentation by the U.S. Army. Their reports do not align well with Tlingit sources, which expressed surprise over the eventual shelling of the village.

⁸¹ Early that morning, according to a newspaper account, "an Indian woman came into the post, giving the name of Capt. Smith's murderer." (Note: Smith was a Confederate veteran of the Civil War, some reports refer to him as Captain Smith.) See "An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Ranche Shelled – Peace Restored," *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

⁸² Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 3. Tlingit names known and identifiable for Shéiyksh V (Kaawishté), T'aawyaat and Gunaanastí have been included here with their correct Tlingit spellings. Although today people often refer to Shéiyksh as "Shakes" when writing, the Tlingit pronunciation and correct spelling for

officer 1st Lt. Loucks proceeded under “a white flag of truce” into Kaachxan.áak’w to deliver the Army’s ultimatum.

Loucks reportedly met with Shéiyksh V⁸³, T’aawyaat, and Gunaanastí with Kaaldéini as a bilingual Tlingit translator and interpreter to facilitate discussion.⁸⁴ Loucks had been ordered by Borrowe to “see the chief of the tribe, Shakes [Shéiyksh V], and demand of him the murderer, the Indians to turn the man over to him there, or failing in that, I gave them until 12 o’clock that day to bring him in” or the Army would “open fire upon them from the garrison.”⁸⁵ Referencing the February 1869 U.S. Army artillery bombardment of the Tlingit villages near present day Kake, Loucks articulated a direct threat to the Tlingit; “I told them all again that their village would be destroyed like the Kake villages last winter and that wherever American steamers [gunboats] found them the same thing would happen.”⁸⁶ Tamaree’s report is similar;

The Captain of the fort comes down to the Indian village. He says, “Where is the man that killed Smith? I want that man!” But the Indians do not know where Shx’atoo has gone. He is somewhere in the woods up back of Wrangell. The Captain says, “If you don’t get that man who has killed Smith and bring him to me, I will turn my cannons on the town. I will shoot up every house in your village.” Everyone is scared.⁸⁷

In response to this threat some Tlingit, especially those with small children, began fleeing into the woods and were “carrying their goods to what they considered places of

this name is Shéiyksh. Borrowe identifies in writing Shéiyksh V as “Shakes,” T’aawyaat as “Torryat,” and Gunaanastí as “Quamnanasty.”

⁸³ Shéiyksh is a hereditary Naanyaa.aayí clan leader name. The name’s origins are tied to a conflict between the Shx’at Kwáan Tlingit and the Nisga’a over fishing waters ownership in Tlingit country. Naanyaa.aayí clan leader Gush X’een led forces against an advancing Nisga’a force and defeated the Nisga’a. As part of the battle and Nisga’a defeat, Gush X’een took the name of the Nisga’a leader, pronounced in Tlingit as Shéiyksh. This hereditary name has since been given to Naanyaa.aayí clan leaders. Prior to “walking into the name” of Shéiyksh V, Shéiyksh V’s Tlingit name was Kaawishté (1840-1878).

⁸⁴ “The Death of Shx’atoo,” SHI Archives; and Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 7.

⁸⁵ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸⁷ Tamaree, “Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians.”

safety.”⁸⁸ Noon, however, came and passed. The Army waited until two o’clock, then Lt. Borrowe gave orders for his troops to open fire on *Ḳaachḡan.áak’w*.

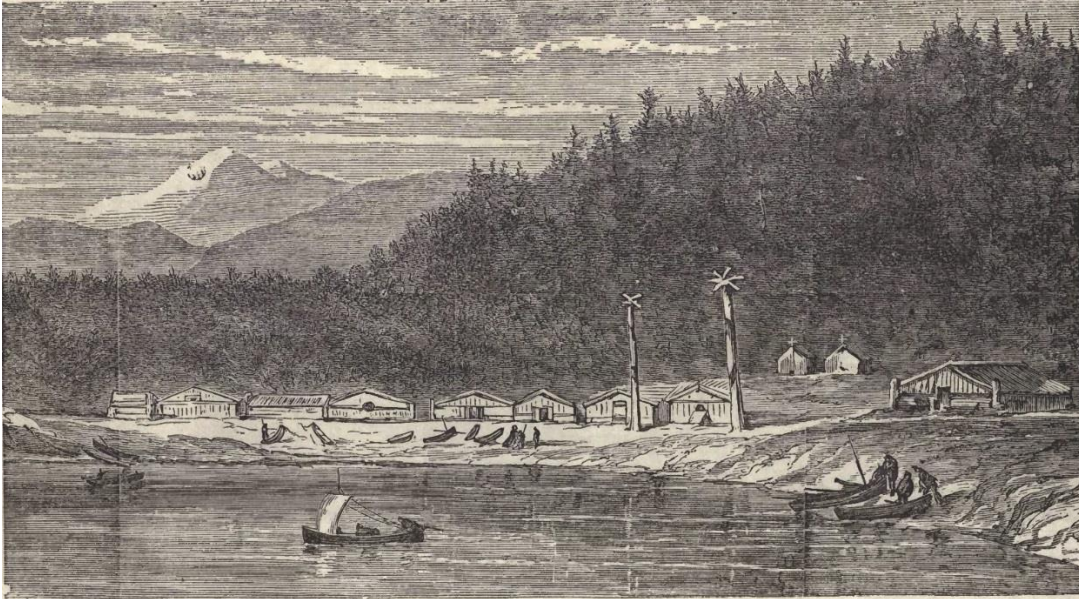
Interpreting the movements and location of the conflict that occurred after the Army opened fire on *Ḳaachḡan.áak’w* is difficult due to limited sources. Tlingit sources acknowledge that the village was bombarded with artillery, but Tlingit sources do *not* mention the small arms firefight between the Tlingit and the Army. The reason for Tlingit omission of the firefight is unclear. Aside from the one *Daily Alta California* newspaper account that offers original content,⁸⁹ only two soldier reports document the firefight engagements between the Tlingit and the Army. The longest report was offered by Lt. Borrowe, but it is concise and quickly overviews the conflict (amounting to a total 272 words). It leaves a number of questions unanswered and unclarified, but remains important because it offers content about how aspects of the battle occurred. The other account includes the fort’s Record of Events report, which summarized the month of December’s events in one page. This Record of Events was composed on January 1, 1870 by an unnamed soldier at Fort Wrangell and is only a few sentences long.⁹⁰ Although

⁸⁸ Clarence L. Spenser, *Wrangell and the Gold of the Cassiar: A Tale of Fur and Gold in Alaska* (Seattle: L Tinker Printing, 1937). Note: this argument is unconfirmed, as its unclear if the author knew this for a fact, or if this was an apologetic statement. Tlingit sources record that individuals were present in their homes during the bombardment.

⁸⁹ See “An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Ranche Shelled – Peace Restored,” *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

⁹⁰ The wording in the Record of Events ledger reads “Fire opened on the Indian village from the garrison Dec. 26, 69 for their refusal to give up the murderer of Leon Smith ... murdered on the morning of Dec. 26, 69 near the store. The Indians having replied to the fire from the garrison Dec. 26, 69, and commenced an attack on the garrison Dec. 27, 69. The village was shelled from the mountain howitzer and the Indians of that day sent a flag of truce and gave up the murderer. ... 15 solid shot, 4 shell, 4 rounds of canister were fired on the village and 110 rounds of ball cartridge. Four Indians are supposed to be wounded, but nothing authentic is known, no casualties among the troops.” Source: Fort Wrangell Report and Record of Events, January 1, 1870, Alaska Post Returns Collection, 0013 MFAR, Historical Collections Division, Alaska State Library.

sources are limited, examining the sources in relation to time, terrain, and wording helps provide a picture of the conflict.



Rendering of a section of *Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w* bombarded by the U.S. Army. Compare to the possible *Kiks.ádi* and/or *Xook'eidi* houses in next photograph. Courtesy Vincent Colyer's *Bombardment of Wrangel (1870)*.

Borrowe reports that the bombardment began at 2 pm from the fort as the Army, under Borrowe's orders, "opened with a solid shot" from the Army's 6-pounder gun on the village.⁹¹ The first artillery shots targeted Shx'atoo's home. Borrowe reported that "several shots struck the house," which Tamaree confirms by saying "*Shux'wáanáx̄ yaa kuduzitee, dé Shx'atoo du hídidéi uwaxíx... Chú tle kei uwasél'! Dei wé at sawooxooxú.* First, the place where Shx'atoo lived the cannon hit. ... His house was ripped apart when the cannon hit it."⁹² (See previous and next photographs for imagery of areas shelled.) Tamaree reports that the Army targeted the Naanyaa.aayí clan's X'atgu Naasí Hít (Dogfish Intestines House), but "*Tlél aan jee wootee, ch'a aax̄ yaa yanaxíx yéix' wusi.aat' tleikdé aawaxeex.* The house was fired on, it was missed because as the cannon

⁹¹ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 4.

⁹² "The Death of Shx'atoo," SHI Archives; and Tamaree, "Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians."

ball was going through the air it cooled, and fell off to the side.”⁹³ Tlingit Teeyhittaaan eye-witness and six-year old child at the time Matilda Kinnon Paul Tamaree (1863-1952), who was raised by the Naanyaa.aayí, later told her children that she “was made to lie on the floor as the cannon balls passed over her head.”⁹⁴



View of Tlingit houses within $\text{K}\text{aach}\text{xan}\text{.}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ak}'\text{w}$, possibly $\text{Kiks}\text{.}\acute{\text{a}}\text{di}$ and/or $\text{Xook}'\text{eidi}$ houses (along present day Front Street), 1868, photo by Eadward Muybridge. Courtesy SHI Archives PO024-119.

With the Tlingit village under attack and in self-defense Borrowe reported that “the Indians maintained their position and returned fire from the ranche [$\text{K}\text{aach}\text{xan}\text{.}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ak}'\text{w}$], several of their shots striking in close proximity to the men.”⁹⁵ The

⁹³ “The Death of Shx’atoo,” SHI Archives.

⁹⁴ William Lewis Paul, “The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did They Come From? Their Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos,” unpublished manuscript, p. 108-10, from William L. Paul Manuscript, Mss 5, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives.

⁹⁵ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 4.

newspaper correspondent confirms that after being shelled with artillery, fire “was promptly returned by the Indians with their muskets.”⁹⁶



View of Tlingit posing in front of a Kaas̱'agweidí house in Ƙaacẖan.áak'w, 1868. Photo by Eadward Muybridge, *Courtesy UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library. PIC 1971.005:484—STER.*

As the artillery assault on Ƙaacẖan.áak'w began, soldiers remained in the fort concealed behind fort walls and allowed their cannon to work for them. As this commenced and small arms fire was exchanged, soldier and newspaper reports indicate that a detachment of Tlingit fighters left the village and used the concealment of the rainforest to secretly travel around and up the hill behind the fort. From an elevated and flanking position the Tlingit attacked, attempted to knock out the artillery, and overtake the fort. Borrowe reported that “fire was opened on the gun detachments [artillery] from

⁹⁶ “An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Rancho Shelled – Peace Restored,” *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

the hills in the rear.”⁹⁷ A newspaper account indicated that “Indian skirmishers posted themselves in advantageous positions in the neighboring hills.”⁹⁸ Borrowe’s wording may indicate that this attack surprised the Army, since Borrowe wrote that the Army “replied” to Tlingit fire.⁹⁹

Borrowe reported that the Army initially responded to the Tlingit position with small arms fire from the “upper windows of the [fort] hospital” until artillery could be repositioned for firing on the flanking hill. Although the fort’s layout shows no elevated observation or firing platforms on the backside of the fort (facing the hill), the Army’s crew overseeing their artillery soon repositioned and responded; “a few rounds of canister in that direction soon drove them away.”¹⁰⁰ The newspaper reported that these elevated Tlingit assailants “were soon dislodged by canister from the howitzers.”¹⁰¹

Excluding the time during the Tlingit flank attack, Borrowe reported that “a slow fire from the 6-pounder on the village was maintained until dark.”¹⁰² Once the sun set and darkness fell, fighting discontinued according to Army reports. Although soldier records offer no information on weather conditions, Tamaree reports that rain and snow fell throughout the conflict.¹⁰³ The reasons for discontinuation of hostilities at dark were not clarified, but possibly due to hindered visibility, wet and cold weather, wet black powder, and exhaustion may have been contributing factors. With darkness falling on Wrangell at

⁹⁷ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 4.

⁹⁸ “An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Rancho Shelled – Peace Restored,” *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

⁹⁹ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ “An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Rancho Shelled – Peace Restored,” *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ “The Death of Shx’atoo,” SHI Archives.

approximately 4:00 pm during late December, there had been approximately two hours of fighting.

At dawn on the 27th, with sunrise occurring at approximately 8 am, the conflict renewed. Although sources are unclear and undetailed, Borrowe wrote that at dawn the Tlingit “opened fire on the garrison from the ranch [K̄aachx̄an.áak’w] with musketry, which was immediately replied to.”¹⁰⁴ The newspaper reported that “the Indians became assailants”¹⁰⁵ and the fort Record of Events reported that the Tlingit “commenced an attack on the garrison.”¹⁰⁶ Although Tlingit sources make no mention of any Tlingit assault, Borrowe reported that seeing the Tlingit “were determined not only to resist, but had become the assailants, I resolved to shell them” again.¹⁰⁷ He ordered his soldiers to open fire on the village with both of his artillery pieces, including solid shot from the 6-pounder and exploding shell from the 12-pound Mountain Howitzer. The double shelling, and especially use of 12-pound exploding shells (which had not been used the prior day), had immediate effect according to Borrowe. Borrowe reported how his troops put “two solid shots through the house of the principle chief, Shakes [Shéiyksh V],” which was the Naanyaa.aayí clan’s X’atgu Naasí Hít (Dogfish Intestine House), and other exploding shells were soon “bursting immediately in front of the houses.”¹⁰⁸ Borrowe argued this artillery barrage terminated the Tlingit desire to fight and a flag of truce was soon spotted

¹⁰⁴ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 4.

¹⁰⁵ “An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Rancho Shelled – Peace Restored,” *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

¹⁰⁶ Fort Wrangell Report and Record of Events, January 1, 1870, Alaska Post Returns Collection, 0013 MFAR, Historical Collections Division, Alaska State Library.

¹⁰⁷ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 4.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

from the village. The fighting ended as negotiations soon led to a ceasefire.¹⁰⁹ It is estimated that fighting had lasted approximately two hours in the morning.

Aftermath of the Conflict

With a ceasefire ensuing on the morning of December 27, Naanyaa.aayí clan leader Shéiyksh V and others in Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w dispatched a message to the fort; Borrowe wrote "that he and the other chiefs wished to talk with me."¹¹⁰ Borrowe wrote that he sent a message to Shéiyksh V that he did not wish to meet because from his perspective "talk was useless," and he would only hold his artillery at bay if Shéiyksh V promised to turn Shx'atoo over to the Army.¹¹¹ Although Borrowe refused to meet, Tamaree narrated that Shéiyksh V was most concerned about Tlingit law and restoring Wooch Yax̄, and acted with sovereign intentions on behalf of the Naanyaa.aayí clan and the two Naanyaa.aayí men that soldiers had killed on Christmas night.

Tamaree reports that Shéiyksh told T'aawyaat that "we are going to the fort. We will talk to the white chief. The soldiers have killed two of our men. We have killed one of theirs. We will take a soldier and we will kill him and then everything will be even." Shéiyksh then put on his military uniform, "Shéiyksh is all dressed up like the soldiers. He has gold bunches on his shoulders and he has a long sword at his side."¹¹² Tamaree stated Shéiyksh loaned T'aawyaat a similar uniform. The dawning of uniforms by Shéiyksh and T'aawyaat was an action to demonstrate status and leadership to the Army.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² "An Indian Trouble – A White Man Murdered – Two Indians Killed – The Indian Ranche Shelled – Peace Restored," *Daily Alta California* (Jan. 25, 1870).

Once clothed in this status clothing, Shéiyksh and T'aawyaat marched to the fort to open a dialog with Borrowe.

The Tlingit and Army accounts of what happened at this meeting differ, but they reflect each culture's interpretation of these events. Tamaree maintains that the Tlingit sought to ensure that Tlingit law was fulfilled. Shéiyksh V requested that the Army surrender a soldier to the Naanyaa.aayí clan to satisfy the death of Naanyaa.aayí clan man Isteen, who had recently died of the wounds he sustained on the night of December 25. This request was that of a sovereign clan asking that the United States to engage in conflict resolution. The Army rejected this proposal. This rejection of Tlingit law and sovereignty greatly affected Shéiyksh V according to Tamaree, but his fellow clan member T'aawyaat offered words to Shéiyksh asking him to forgo seeking legal reparations from the Army for the sake of their people's lives.¹¹³ T'aawyaat stated "Brother, our Chief. They are a big dog. We are only a little dog. If we take a soldier and kill him, they will kill all the Wrangell people. Let them go, my brother."¹¹⁴

The Army's report of the meeting, as written by Borrowe, amounts to the following:

The chiefs on their arrival at the garrison were received by myself and the other officers, and a conference ensued. They were then informed that until "the murderer was brought in no terms would be extended to them; that on that basis alone I would treat." Finding me determined to have the man at all hazards, they then asked what time would be given, and stated that as a proof of their good intentions they would surrender to me the mother of the murderer. I informed them that they must, as they proposed, bring me the hostage at once, and in addition, the sub-chief of the tribe to which the murderer belonged, the head chief being absent up the Stikine River; and that, if the murderer himself was not in my possession by six o'clock the following evening, I would open on them and destroy the entire ranch, together with its occupants. This closed the conference.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ "The Death of Shx'atoo," SHI Archives; and Tamaree, "Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians."

¹¹⁴ Tamaree, "Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians."

¹¹⁵ Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 4.

After the meeting Tlingit leadership returned to Kaachxan.áak'w and discussed how to proceed. Tamaree reports that Shx'atoo came back to the village and stated his willingness “to give myself up” for the safety of the Native community because “if I do not give myself up you will all die.”¹¹⁶ After Shx'atoo had his last meal in Kaachxan.áak'w, he dispersed his possessions to family and clan objects (*at.óow*) to his clan, then Shx'atoo surrendered himself to the Army. The Army records Shx'atoo's surrender at nine pm.¹¹⁷

With Shx'atoo's surrender outright hostilities ended between the Tlingit and the Army. Kaachxan.áak'w had been damaged and its people affected. Based on Borrowe's report, the best estimate for the areas of the village bombarded by artillery include the northern part of the village, the Kiks.ádi, Xook'eidí, Kaasx'agweidí, Kayaashkiditaan, Xeelkwáan, and Naanyaa.aayí clan housing areas. No documentation exists to determine if the Taalkweidí, S'iknax.ádi, Teeyhittaan, or Kaach.ádi houses were attacked. Written a few days after the conflict, the fort's Record of Events stated the Army had fired 110 balls of musketry, four rounds of grapeshot canister, four exploding shells, and fifteen solid cannon shot in the brief melee with the Tlingit. If in fact the conflict's hostilities occurred within four hours, two hours on the evening of the 26th, and two hours on the morning of the 27th, this calculates to an average of an artillery round being fired on the Tlingit approximately every ten minutes. Such a barrage, especially on Tlingit homes where children resided, led Tlingit to seek an armistice and Shx'atoo to surrender. As for the loss of human life, this remains unclear. The fort's Record of Events reported that no

¹¹⁶ Tamaree, “Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians.”

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*; and Colyer, *Bombardment of Wrangel*, 4.

soldiers were wounded, but “four Indians are supposed to be wounded, but nothing authentic is known.”¹¹⁸

Although outright altercations ended with Shx’atoo’s surrender, Tlingit and soldier sources document the concluding actions of Tlingit and Army interactions—Shx’atoo’s execution. Soldier records detail proceedings for Shx’atoo’s December 28, 1869 trial as conducted under General Orders No. 76. At the trial witnesses were called, consisting mostly of soldiers and Leon Smith’s business partner. At the trial Shx’atoo confessed openly to killing Leon Smith, but under the premise of only doing so to make amends according to Tlingit law. Shx’atoo reportedly stated he would explain the whole issue to Smith when he met him in the next world. Thereafter a sentence was passed that called for Shx’atoo to be hung by the neck until dead, and the hanging was to occur the following day. The soldiers ordered that five Tlingit leaders be present at the hanging, and that Shx’atoo would have to remain hanging in view of *Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w* until dark. The trial adjourned (though the trial and execution would later be ruled unconstitutional).¹¹⁹

The following day Shx’atoo was brought before the scaffold, and Tamaree reports how the soldiers allowed Shx’atoo a few last words and actions before his sentence was carried out. Tamaree stated that Shx’atoo had composed a song for his occasion, his own

¹¹⁸ Fort Wrangell Report and Record of Events, January 1, 1870, Alaska Post Returns Collection, 0013 MFAR, Historical Collections Division, Alaska State Library.

¹¹⁹ In 1870 the constitutionality of the Army’s legal authority to convene a trial and thereafter execute a Tlingit Indian was questioned. A federal court reviewed federal laws and jurisdiction in Alaska and found that the Army did not have the legal authority to carry out a trial and execution of an Indian in Alaska. The Army was criticized for this action in the aftermath of this trial. See Woodman, *Duty Station Northwest*, Vol. I, 74-75. See also for additional context on legalities of this matter; Harring, *Crow Dog’s Case*; and Walter Echo-Hawk, *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrom Publishing, 2012). This execution was also the first instance of capital punishment carried out in Alaska, see R. Michael Wilson, *Legal Executions in Alaska and Hawaii: A Comprehensive Registry* (n.p., R. Michael Wilson, 2011).

memorial song it appears, and he was allowed to dance and sing this song before his execution. In front of his mother, family, clan, and other Tlingit leaders Shx'atoo "puts on his dancing hat and he dances and sings a song he has composed."¹²⁰

The actual hanging of Shx'atoo was concisely described by the Army, but Tamaree offers information not offered by soldiers about how Shx'atoo died. Tamaree articulates the following.

"He turns and walks stiff and straight up the steps to the platform where the soldiers are waiting. The soldiers start to put a cloth over Shx'atoo's face. They have the rope ready. But Shx'atoo will not have a cloth over his head. He tears the cloth away, the soldiers put the rope around his neck. Everything is quiet except for Shx'atoo's old mother. She is crying and Indians stand around in the rain looking very sad. Shx'atoo is their brother. The soldiers wait a minute, but Shx'atoo does not wait. He does not wait for them... He jumps off the high platform [with the rope still around his neck]. And so he dies."¹²¹

Tamaree asserts that Shx'atoo did not allow the soldiers to take his life; he took it himself. Shx'atoo's actions of meeting his death with dignity through song and dance, without fear, and not granting soldiers the ability to take his life through his self-determined action of leaping off the scaffold's edge with the rope about his neck, are examples of Tlingit *haa latseen*. *Haa latseen* is a core philosophy in Tlingit society, which Tlingit youth train for as they move into adulthood, and it that refers the idea that the Tlingit should possess a holistic and honorable strength of body, mind, and spirit. In Tlingit history a many instances are documented when Tlingit individuals met their death with song, dance, courage, and strength—*haa latseen*, and Shx'atoo chose to meet his mortal end in a Tlingit way.¹²²

¹²⁰ Tamaree, "Tragedy Marred First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians."

¹²¹ "The Death of Shx'atoo," SHI Archives.

¹²² See de Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias*, and Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians*.

Conclusion

The Bombardment of K̄aach̄an.áak'w is significant in Alaskan history for a number of reasons and much can be learned from this event. This conflict is example of two sovereign entities that came together in attempt to resolve a problem, with each entity acting according to its cultural and legal systems, but a peaceful outcome did not result. The swift and violent actions of the U.S. military toward the people of K̄aach̄an.áak'w were a key but controversial aspect of how the U.S. obtained control over its claimed land holdings in Southeast Alaska shortly after 1867. The story of the Bombardment of K̄aach̄an.áak'w is an important example of what American political ideologies like Manifest Destiny foster and how U.S. military actions are sometimes carried out on local levels without oversight. Non-nationals, ethnic minorities, and especially Native American Indians have felt the brunt of U.S. government and military actions in American history.

The Bombardment of K̄aach̄an.áak'w is also an example of American colonialism, a subject that remains understudied and sometimes unknown among the wider American public. Colonialism is the establishment and acquisition of territory by a people from another territory, which organizes a set of unequal relationships between the colonial power and the indigenous population. In the aftermath of initial colonization, the colonial power seeks to maintain control over the historical narrative and the colonized people's history, often presenting a narrative that is friendly to the colonial power but dispossesses the colonized. Historian and archivist William Hagen has argued this has occurred in America in the following way; "To be an Indian is having non-Indians

control the documents from which other non-Indians write their version of your history.”¹²³

In the decades following of the U.S. Army’s 1869 actions at Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w, practices of this nature were implemented by missionaries, boarding school operators, ethnographic art collectors, and federal officials. These individuals and organizations engaged in practices that dispossessed and traumatized the Tlingit community.

Scholarship has amassed documentation on how the trauma of American military actions and colonial practices against American Indians remains present in Native communities today through a transmittal process from generation to generation, referred to as trans-generational trauma. The trauma from these events is still present in the Shx’at Ƙwáan Tlingit community today, notwithstanding the positive and constructive actions of the Shx’at Ƙwáan Tlingit people.

It has been argued that an important first step for Native communities to recover from this trauma and for relationships of trust and respect to be established, it requires an honest and transparent acknowledgement of the past. Scholar Amy Lonetree (Ho-Chunk tribe) offers poignant words about the importance of publicly and transparently telling the story of instances like the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w.

It is time for us as communities to acknowledge the painful aspects of our history along with our stories of survivance, so we can move toward healing, well-being, and true self-determination. Some may argue that discussing this history keeps Indigenous people mired in the horror of victimization and hence entrenched in the victimhood narrative. In my experience, this statement could not be further from the truth. Emphasizing Indigenous survivance is critical, of course. It concerns me, however, when we fail to provide the context that makes our survival one of the greatest untold stories. Americans—and most of the world—seem somehow stubbornly unaware of what Indigenous peoples on this continent have actually faced. Telling the full story of the Native American holocaust proves a testament not to Native victimhood but to Native skill, adaptability, courage, tenacity, and countless other qualities that made our survival a reality

¹²³ William T. Hagen, “Archival Captive—The American Indian,” *American Archivist* 41, no. 2 (April 1978): 135, 135-142.

against all odds. Our survival is more than remarkable. It is proof of the power of our cultures, traditions, and peoples, proven in the face of the ultimate test.¹²⁴

The community of Wrangell now has the opportunity to tell the story of the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w in a way that benefits the community in social, educational and even economic ways. Community signs, interpretive tours, walking trails,¹²⁵ historic markers and maps, school curriculum, and museum exhibits could be created to provide a transparent and objective story of the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w that fosters community unity, learning, and tourism. The Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w could be listed as a site on the National Register of Historic Places. The community of Wrangell could establish a city or community advisory board that strategically examines how the people of Wrangell could benefit from telling the story of the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w. Teaching and learning about the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w is a healing, empowering, and enlightening process that will benefit the whole community of Wrangell for generations to come.

¹²⁴ Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 6.

¹²⁵ It is plausible that the city's forested area of Dewey Hill could host a historic walking trail with signage that tells the story of the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w, which followed the route of Tlingit fighters atop Dewey Hill. Atop Dewey Hill people could view the whole of the city and area where the conflict occurred.

Appendix I: GIS Topographical Map of the Battlefield

December 26-27, 1869, Wrangell, Alaska

NPS ABPP

Report on the 1869 Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w

BOMBARDMENT OF KAACHXAN.ÁAK'W

DECEMBER 26-27, 1869

PRELIMINARY SKIRMISHING

- 1 Evening - Dec 25 — Christmas Party hosted at U.S. Army Fort Wrangell and in Quartermaster Sergeant Jacob Muller's home, several local Tlingit are invited. Domestic dispute occurs between a Tlingit man Shawaan and his wife. Mrs. Muller is injured while intervening in this domestic dispute.
- 2A After 11pm - Dec 25 — In response to Mrs. Muller's hand injury, soldiers shoot and kill Shawaan and fatally wound his brother at the fort.
- 2B After 11pm - Dec 25 — Lt. Loukes and 20 soldiers enter the Kaachxan.áak'w. They enter a house and kill Shawaan and fatally wound his brother.
- 3 Before Dawn - Dec 26 — Shawaan's father, Shx'atoo, travels toward the Fort, comes to the merchant's store, and fatally shoots merchant Leon Smith.
- 4 Early morning - Dec 26 — Under a white flag, Lt. Loukes and small group of soldiers enter Kaachxan.áak'w to meet with Tlingit leaders. Loukes demands the surrender of Shx'atoo or the Army will open fire on the village with artillery at noon. Tlingit attempt to negotiate and resolve, but the Army remains firm in their demands.
- 5 Mid Morning - Dec 26 — Some Tlingit families are seen fleeing into the woods to avoid injury from the Army artillery bombardment.

BATTLE ACTIONS

- 6 2pm - Dec 26 — Lt. Borrowe orders his troops to open fire on Kaachxan.áak'w with artillery. Shx'atoo's home is targeted, then other portions of Kaachxan.áak'w are fired upon until dark by the Army. Small arms fire is exchanged between the Tlingit and soldiers; the Tlingit from an estimated position in Kaachxan.áak'w and soldiers from the defensive Key Terrain of the Fort. Firing by both parties continue until dark.
- 7 Mid Afternoon - Dec 26 — Estimated Avenue of Approach. A detachment of Tlingit fighters use the cover and concealment of the terrain and forest to travel over the hillside and then - out of sight from the Army - around to flank the Fort from the hill behind and above the Fort.
- 8 Mid Afternoon - Dec 26 — The Tlingit open fire upon the Fort from Key Terrain and Point of Observation, surprise the soldiers, and the soldiers soon return small arms fire from the upper window of the Fort hospital.
- 9 Mid Afternoon - Dec 26 — Army uses exploding canister rounds from a 6-pound artillery piece to stop the Tlingit attack from the hill above. Fighting continues until dark.
- 10 Dawn - Dec 27 - Tlingit purportedly open fire from Kaachxan.áak'w and stage an assault on the Fort with small arms fire. [Estimated route shown, exact route/actions unknown.]
- 11 8am to 10am - Dec 27 - Lt. Borrowe fires solid shot from the 6-pounder and exploding shell from the 12-pound Mountain Howitzer, hitting the Naanyaa.aayi clan X'atgu Naasi Hit, as well as other Tlingit houses. Soon thereafter the Tlingit raise a flag of truce to open negotiations. A ceasefire ensues.

POST-BATTLE ACTIONS

- 12 Dec 27-29 - Shx'atoo surrenders himself to the Army (27th); he is tried by the Army for murder (28th), then executed outside the Fort (29th).

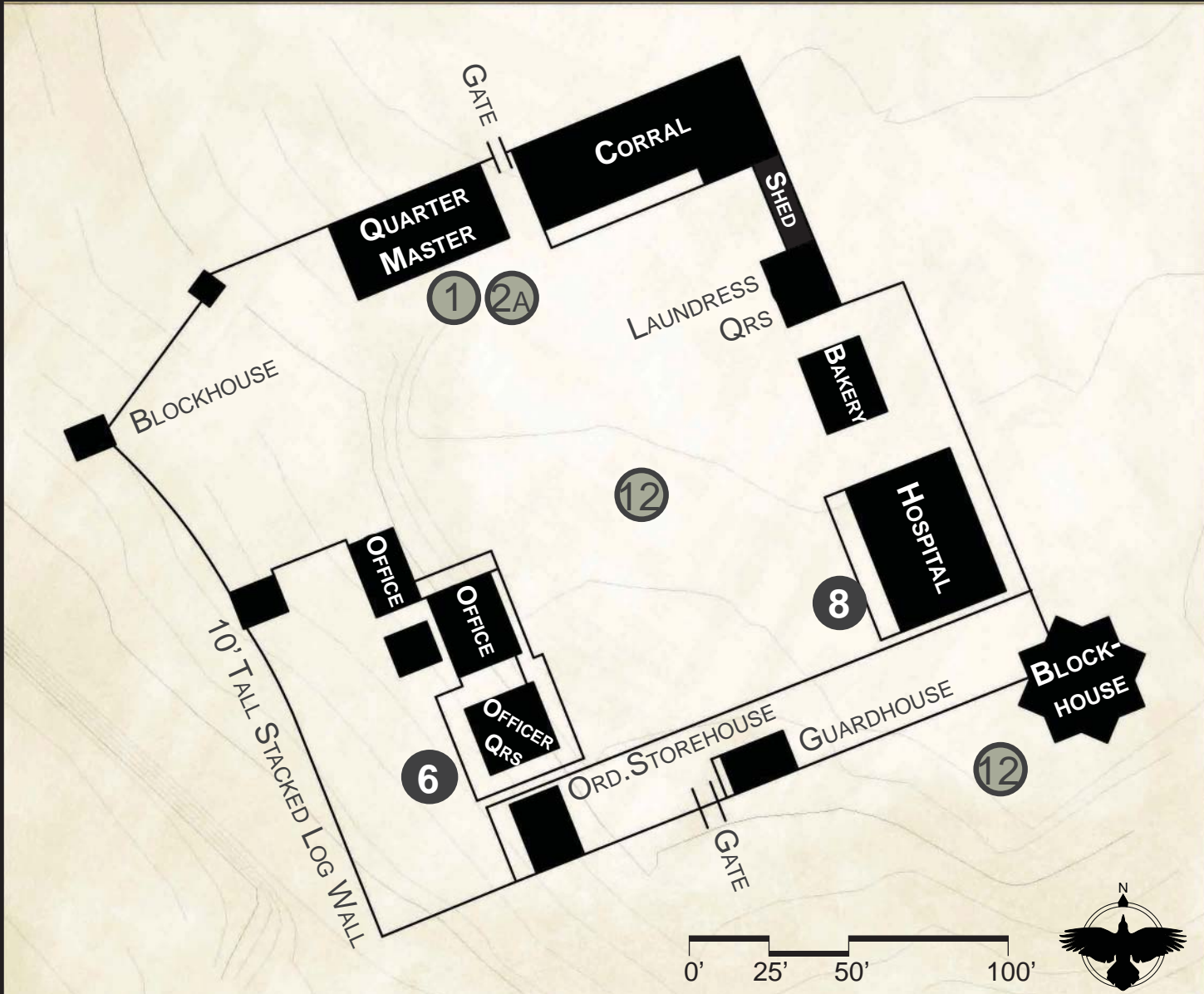
*Tlingit housing areas based on undated sketch by George T. Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians* pg 25.

All routes and locations estimated based on historic photos and documentation of the battle.

Modern base contours provided by the City and Borough of Wrangell.

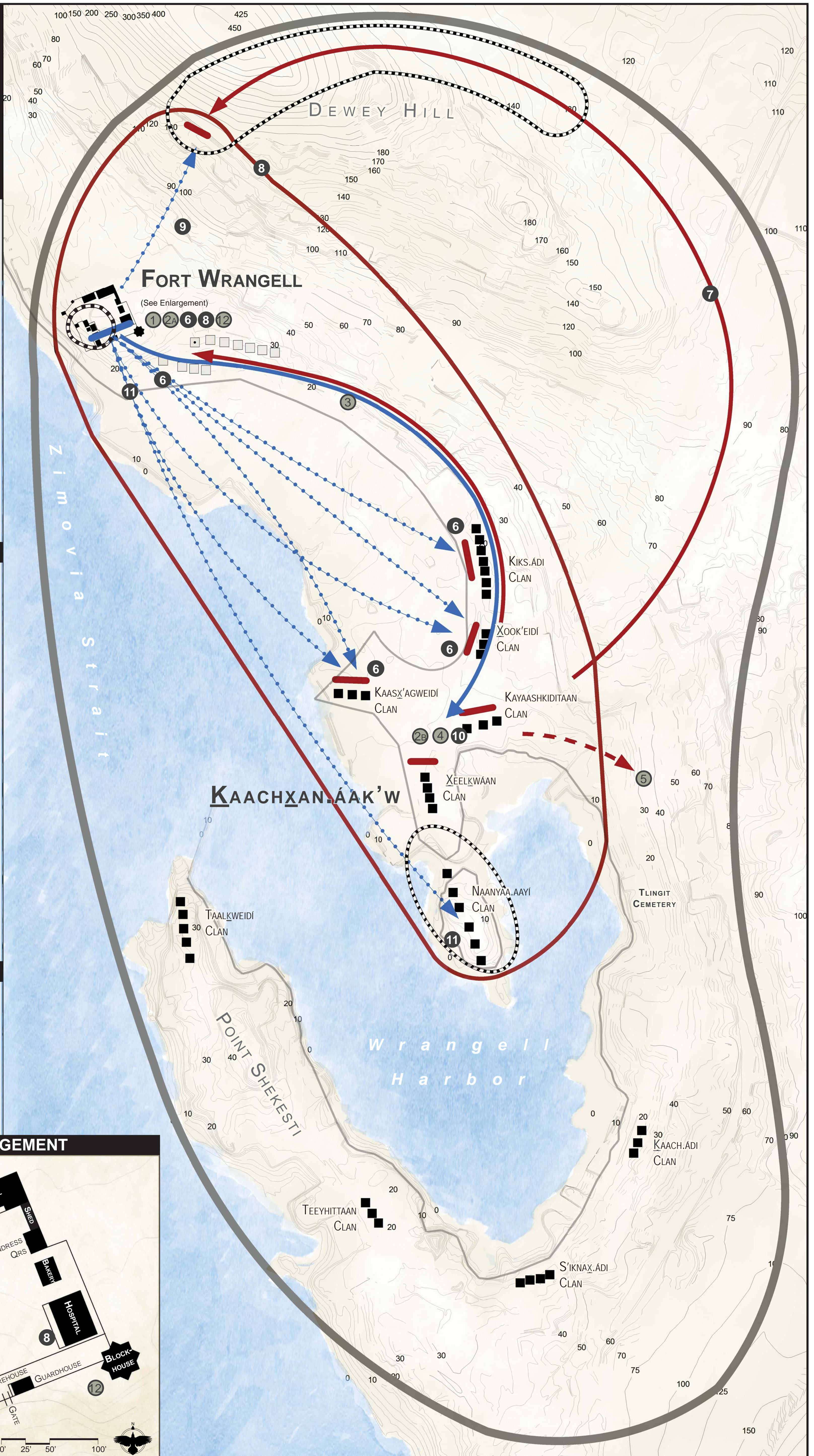
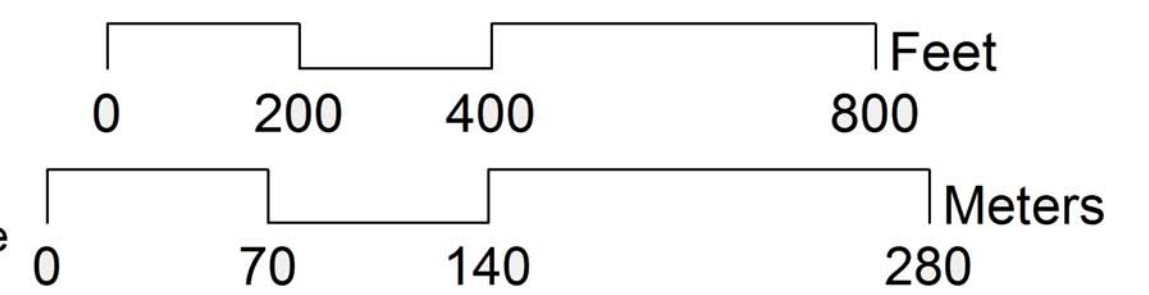
Map of Fort Wrangell layout is based on an original held by the Anchorage Museum.

FORT WRANGELL ENLARGEMENT



Legend

- | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|--|-----------------|--|------------------|--|--------------------|
| | Battlefield Core | | Tlingit Advance | | Tlingit Position | | Clan |
| | PotNR | | Tlingit Retreat | | US Position | | Downtown |
| | Study Area | | US Advance | | US Shelling | | Leon Smith's Store |
| | Historic Shoreline | | | | | | |



Appendix II: Overview of Present Battlefield Lands
with Zoning Map

NPS ABPP

Report on the 1869 Bombardment of Ḳaachxan.áak'w

CITY AND BOROUGH OF WRANGELL, ALASKA



Existing Trail ———

Proposed Priority 1 ———

Proposed Priority 2 ———

Zoning

- Single Family
- Multi-Family
- Rural Residential I
- Rural Residential II
- Commercial
- Light Industrial
- Industrial Development
- Waterfront Development
- Open Space / Public
- Timber Management
- Holding

1 inch = 750 feet

DISCLAIMER: THESE MAPS ARE FOR PLANNING PURPOSES ONLY.
 PROPERTY LINES ARE APPROXIMATE. UPDATED MARCH 2013.
 AERIAL PHOTO 2002.



Overview of Present Status of Battlefield Lands

Since National Park Service's American Battlefield Preservation Program (ABPP) seeks to promote and encourage the preservation, protection, and interpretation of significant historic battlefields for future generations, this section briefly offers an observation about the Bombardment of Wrangell's battlefield areas and sites as they are today. It is important to distinguish that this grant project sought to document the history of how, when, and where the battle occurred, but did not engage in professional surveying to document exact locations of battlefield areas. To obtain precise documentation of battlefield locations, professional surveying, and property ownership documentation would need to be undertaken.

As a general overview, the bulk of the battlefield area associated with the 1869 Bombardment of Wrangell has changed and been developed since the battle occurred, but some areas associated with the conflict remain forested, undeveloped, and are held by city or tribal hands. The coastline has also changed since 1869, with certain areas of the coast being extended with fill, such as the original coastline front of the Kiks.ádi clan housing area or present day Front Street. Included in the appendix, the City & Borough of Wrangell zoning map shows approximate property ownership and development as of 2011.

Concerning the site of Fort Wrangell, after it was vacated by the Army in 1877, the fort stood until the 1880s before it fell into disuse. Today, the area where the fort once stood is located along Federal Way and where the USPS office stands, with some of these lands currently zoned as Open Space/Public. A significant portion of the hillside above where the fort stood, from where Tlingit fighters launched their attack on the fort, is

currently undeveloped and remains forested. Although some of this area is zoned for Open Space/Public space, a significant portion of this area is currently zoned for housing development.

The lands associated with the Tlingit village of Kaachxan.áak'w have changed significantly. Most all of these lands are in private ownership today, with homes, boat docks, and piers built upon this area. A substantial portion of the former coastline and village area has also been significantly altered, with the placement of fill that moved the shoreline to the west of the original tideland, such as along Front Street. However, the historic Naanyaa.aayí clan X'atgu Naasí Hít, known as the Chief Shakes House, remains at its original location which has not been affected by modern development. It is owned by the local tribal government, the Wrangell Cooperative Association, and it is a registered historic monument. The clan house was restored in 1940 as part of a Civil Conservation Corps (CCC) Works Relief project, and was more recently restored and rededicated through the Wrangell Cooperative Association's efforts in 2013, and serves as a landmark for Wrangell history, identity, and tourism.

Appendix III: William Tamaree Oral Account
Translation/Transcription

NPS ABPP

Report on the 1869 Bombardment of Ƙaachxan.áak'w

WILLIAM TAMAREE'S ORAL ACCOUNT OF "THE DEATH OF SHX'AT.OO"

Translated/transcribed from recording on 2/27/2013 by David Katzeek (Kingeisti)¹

Edited by Ishmael Hope on 3/12/2014

Background & Context

The original recording translated and transcribed hereafter is attributed to William Tamaree (1862-1856). It was donated to the Sealaska Heritage Institute's archive in 2001 by Ben Paul, a Tlingit Indian, whose ancestry is tied to Wrangell. The cassette recording held by SHI's archive is likely a copy from an original captured on open reel prior to Tamaree's death in 1956. The 28 minute recording is undated, contains one or two unidentified speakers, and contains Tamaree giving the oral account of the Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak'w. On the cassette is written "The Death of Shx'at.oo," the title of which has been applied in this report and to the collection. The recording was translated and transcribed by Tlingit elder and Shangukeidi clan leader David Katzeek in 2013, and edited for orthography in 2014 by Ishmael Hope, a Tlingit of the Kiks.ádi clan. Because of the complexity of Tlingit language, both Katzeek and Hope felt the hearafter was a good first draft of the translation.

This recording should be cited as: "The Death of Shx'átoo," William Tamaree Recording Collection, MC 13, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives.

Biographical Sketch of William Tamaree

William Baptiste Tamaree (1862-1956) was born April 14, 1862 at Ƙaachx̄an.áak' (Wrangell), Alaska, and was a Tlingit Indian of the Wolf/Eagle moiety, Kayaashkiditaan clan, X'aan hít. His Tlingit name was Sheeshgaaw. He was the child of a Tlingit Kayaashkiditaan clan woman and French-Canadian man.

In Tamaree's youth it appears his biological father died, and his mother remarried a Tlingit man of the Teeyhittaaan clan. Tamaree also credited being raised by Teeyhittaaan clan individuals Mary Thomas and Nick Gush (S'iknax̄.ádi yádi).

Early in Tamaree's adult life, he stated he married a Tlingit woman who was much older than he, and she died of natural causes an unknown number of years after their marriage.

¹ It should be noted that this translation is partially literal; however, much of the Tlingit language is figurative, expressive, and complex. This recording was also made to a small group that "understood" the complexities of Tlingit culture and language, so some details are not elaborated upon by William Tamaree. For those readers outside the worldview and language of the Tlingit, please understand that each sentence has deeper meaning than appears in the literal translation. In some essential situations, brackets "[]" have been used to capture speaker intent that was not actually verbalized, but understood within the language's context.

In 1905 Tamaree married Teeyhittaán clan woman Matilda 'Tillie' Kinnon (1863-1952) and they later raised two children together, Frances E. Tamaree (1905-1958) and Gladys June Tamaree (1908-1924). William Tamaree lived most all his life in Wrangell, though he spent up to five years in Petersburg working in the fishing industry.

Tamaree is often remembered as an advocate for Tlingit culture and tribal sovereignty, as well as for being a respected and highly regarded cultural leader and tribal historian in his community. During the 1930s Tamaree was part of the group Shtax'héen ƛwáan Tlingit that organized the Wrangell Cooperative Association, an IRA tribal government, and he was an active member of the Alaska Native Brotherhood. The 1940 BIA census reported that Tamaree and his wife lived alone in Wrangell, and that he could speak English, but could not read or write. In 1944 he testified in the court case *William L. Paul vs Pacific American Fisheries* about possessory rights and aboriginal title, including words about Tlingit use of the land and waters and the role of the Tlingit legal system in establishing and recognizing clan ownership of certain lands and waters.

In January 1956 Tamaree became very ill and was flown to Oregon for medical treatment, where he passed away.

Sources:

- *Alaska Fisherman* (September 1924)
- Obituary in the *Wrangell Sentinel* (3 Feb 1956)
- BIA Census records (1940)
- Deposition of William Tamaree from *William L. Paul vs Pacific American Fisheries* (1944)

The Death of Shx'at.oo By William Tamaree

Tseeyáaktláa yéi duwasáakw Shx'at.oo.
Shx'at.oo's name is Tseeyáaktláa.

Yáa wduwajagi káa ku.aa Shawaan.
The man that was killed is named Shawaan.

Tlé^l kaa goox' sá oowayaa, káa tlein.
He was not a small man, [but a] big man.²

Á áyá
This is it.

Shx'at.oo, xát Tlawáaktlein áwé du jee yéi wootee.
Shx'at.oo had an ixt' [shaman spirit] named Tlawáaktlein.

Áyá yéi ayasáakw, Shx'at.oo's yoo ayasáakw.
This is what he called Shx'at.oo, it is what he named it.

Tlax asixán yá Tlawáaktlein.
He loved this Tlawáaktlein (shaman spirit) very much.

Ách áyá du sháitch kawulneegí.
This is why when his wife told this news.

Yáa du yéet wudujaagi.
That his son was killed.

Tsú tle shawdinúk.
He got right out of bed.

X'éigaa át yáx shaawatee.
The truth hung like a garment hanging.

Haa wáa sá.
How/why did?

Ch'u dáxnáx has yá woosh kík' sáani uwajél?
Two of these young men, why did they put their hand to them?

Du jee wootee.

² Translators note: the statement that Shx'at.oo was a “big man” does not refer to his physical size, but rather his character. He was honorable, knowledgeable, spiritual, etc., he was “big”.

In his hands.

Shoonjeech oowaják. Aa hó.
Soldiers killed them. That's what happened.

“Háa yá a_x naa.ádi! Háa yá a_x naa.ádi!
“Give me my tribal clothing! Give me my tribal clothing!”

“Al'eix kinaa.át háa yá aan al'eix noojín.”
“The dancing tribal regalia that they would dance in.”

A shoowú ch'a yeisú akaawashoo.
They were still drinking.

Du shátch du jeet yéi awsinee du naa.ádi.
His wife gave him his his clothing.

Naa.ádi yéi daaduné.
He was being dressed.

Xwasiteen yáa, anax yéi daadunéi á.
I saw, here, what they were doing.

Tlé_l tla_x yéi kooyáat' yáa goodás'.
It was not too long, this coat.

X'aan yáx yatee.
The color was red like fire.

Kamdoowa_káa ku.aa yáa a jíni.
The sleeves, however were sewn.

Yá a koon ku.aa kawdujihaan.
The trimming though at the bottom had tassles.

Yá ónaa, shagóon a tú yéix' aa tsu tle l'eex sítee.
This gun tool bag was made out of cloth.

Ch'u tle a ká_x awdlisík.
He had it belted on.

“Goosú a_x óonayee?”
“Where is my gun?”

Du shátch: “Yáadu i óonayee.”
His wife: “Here is your gun.”

“Gu.áa yá_x x'wán a_x xú_x, gu.áa yá_x x'wán.”

“Be of good courage my husband, have courage.”

Ch'u tle tsu yéi.
It happened this way!

Ch'a ldakát dei neildé ƙukawduwak'éet'.
All the people already fled to their homes.

Yáa noow tsú x'awdudziƙít.
The fort too, was locked up.

Ch'u tlél awuskú du shá.
He did not know what was going on in his mind

X'aduskítxi yú noow.
That they locked the fort.

Du toowú lagéiƙ neildéi jiguxdagóot, yéi yoo ƙuwajee.
His mind shined on the thought that they would attack his house, is what he thought.

Yaa nagút!
He is walking! (with determination)

Yaa nagút!
He is walking! (with determination)

Tlél lingít ƙustí.
There were no people around.

Déis ax keeyí ax jeet tí.
Give me my key.

Tléinax ƙáa, yei duwasáakw, tle hoondaakahídi aya.oo.
One man, it is said, that owned a store there.

Woosh daháa hít kooyát' tlein.
The buildings faced each other, a long building.

Atxá ahoon.
He sells food.

At doogú a.oo.
He bought skins/furs.

Aankáawu ƙutlé yoo doowásaakw.
A noble heavysset man of the earth is what they called him.

Lingít asixán,

He liked/loved the Tlingít people.

yáa, yáa adahoon káx ay.oo.
for the sales he made to them.

Lingít kadal.éiyh dleit káach.
The white man marketed to the Tlingit people.

Yéi áyá yatee yá káa, Lingit asixán.
This is the way this man is, he loves Tlingit people.

Kushtuyáx át sixán dáanaa káx.
Regardless of how things were, he loved them for money.

Gwá'! Ch'a yaadéi át awdligén.
Behold! He looked at him nearby.

Du hít x'akayaash kaakduwagoot ak' guneiteen.
He was pacing back and forth on his front porch, aimlessly.

Akoo.éikw teen a yoo sheegook.
With his whistling, he knew how to whistle.

At kát wáas doin'?
What was he doing?

Há ch'u tle ak' ax'ayayawsitán.
Ok, he took aim.

Yá óonaa kwá tléil bullet a tú.
This gun did not have a bullet in it.

Shot yoo duwasáagu át áyá a too yéi yatee.
The ammunition used was shot.

Ducks aant du.únt aa.
The one that is used for shooting ducks.

Doof!
Boom!

Du hít x'akayaash akaawdzigeet.
He fell on the houses front porch.

Áx kóok náx a yoowú aawa.oon.
He shot him right in the stomach.

Tle akawjit'áx'. [?]

It made a sound of crackling.

Aankáawu kutlé! Sh daaduká. Sh daaduká.
He repeated the name Aankáawu kutlé to himself.

Yú noow shakée x'adéis nooch, káa, aawa.áx!
The guard who stands watch at the fort he heard him [holler out]

Ch'u tle akaawaneek!
It was told right away!

Kaa yoo daayadushká óonaa wooshtóogu!
The sound of a man groaning and the sound of a rifle firing.

Chu tle yáa shoonji aankáawu yéi yaawakaa "K'e gaaysateen."
The high ranking officer said, "Go and see what happened."

Dáxnáx káa aadéi has woogoot óonaa teen.
Two men went there with their rifles.

Daa sáyá?
What is this?

Káak'w áyá yáadu téel!
A man's shoe is here!

Du gáts tayeex' sigúk, ch'ú tle
Under his hips it [blood] really flowed.

Has akaawnéek!
They told what happened!

Aagáa tsá aadáx ku.aa ldakát ku.oo aawa.aat, yáa shoonji yinaadéi.
This is when the all the people walked from where this happened toward the soldiers.

Aadáx yáa noow dé yáa koon du shát
From there they carried a person into the fort.

Deinee du jeet du...
They posted a guard for...

Dei ch'a hóoch' áyá dleit káa ch'a tléináx yatee áx'.
There was only one white man there.

Shx'at.ooowch uwa.ún.
Shx'at.oo shot him.

Yáa dléit káa uwajaagi tsá du mind áa yéi wootee.

It was not until after the killing of the white man that he became conscious [of what he did].

Tléil ch'a tlákw kwagaa káa tléil káach uwooskú káa áyá
This does not always happen to a man of war, man does not know this.

Á áyá, yá naawch yéi du shantú.
That is it, alcohol can do this to a people.

Shú yáx̄ uwatee.
It brings the end.

Akoolx̄éitl' du kaa yéi woonee.
Fear came upon him.

Ch'a tlákw yéi yatee káa, tsá kukaajágin káa, akoolx̄éitl'ch du káa yei naneech.
This is the way it always is, it is when a man is killed that fear comes upon the one [who killed a person.]

Ch'a tle at gutóot wujixíx.
He ran off into the forest.

Goosú á?
Where is he?

Du shátch tsu tlél wusteen.
His wife also did not see him.

Ch'as kuwajaagí kwá aawa.áx̄, du xúx̄.
She only heard her husband killed someone.

Tléil aadáx̄ gux̄duwat'eiya yé koostí.
There was nowhere on the land that they could find him.

Ch'as dei yáat Lingít, ch'a gunayéidáx̄ aa Lingítch a shayadihéin áx'̄.
These Lingít people here, and there were many from other communities.

Ch'u tle yei wudlikéil'.
They all ran off [in fear].

Xáat cannery, yéi tsú gux̄satee kuyáat' tlein.
The salmon cannery, it was big and long.

Káa ku.áx̄ji. Kaatleinee yoo duwasáakw káa dei tsu yáat tle aawatee.
There was a man named Kaatleinee that lived there.

Dleit káa ax'aya.áx̄ji káa Canada-dáx̄ haat kuwatín
A person who understood the English language came from Canada.

Wuduwaxoox.
He was called.

“Shéiksh xánde nagú,” yei ayawsikaa.
“Go to Shakes,” he was told.

“Yei yanaská Shéiksh
“Say to Shakes

du xwáayi ax jeet át gaa kwaayi’.
to send his partner to me.”

Yáa káa yá kujaakwtí, aan kudusteech.
This man that murdered, is dealt with.

Hmm. At uwagút Kaacheinee.
Kaacheinee walked there.

Shéiksh áa tle yéi nook.
To where Shakes sat.

Ch’u tle yéi yaawutee Shéiksh:
Shakes had this opinion:

“Tlél xaan oowateeyi kaxéel’ áwé.”
“This problem has nothing to do with me.”

Ch’u yáa ku.aan, du kéilk’, du kéilk’ áwé.
Even though it was his nephew, his nephew.

Kux wudigoot Kaacheinee.
Kaacheinee walked back.

Ch’u tle shoonji aankáawu du een akaawaneek.
He told the high ranking officer what Shakes said.

“Shk’é aadé nagú wáa sás du toowú yatee yáa yeedát yá du geech
yáa wudujaagi yá Aankáawu kutlé has du x’éix at teex káa.”
“Could you go to him [Shakes] and ask him what he thinks of the
one taken down by the name of Aankáawu kutlé, the man who gave them food?”

Kux wudigoot Kaacheinee
Kaacheinee went back

shoonji aankáawu du xán.
to the high ranking soldier officer.

“Tlél xát tsú xaan utí
“This does not have anything to do with me.

“Tlél tsú yaax' chaan kustí.”
“There is no former in-law here.”

Gwál ách áwé yéi wusgeet
Maybe this is why he did this

du eetídáx Shx'at.oo,
in the absence of Shx'at.oo,

big aankáawu tlein.
big man of the land.

“Tléil xát s'é tlél xaan utí.
“This does not have anything to do with me.

“Dei yee.éex' deis.”
“You already called out.”

Tlél ách áwé yéi wusgeet, du yéetx awliyéx.
This is why he did not do anything because he made him his brother.

Tlél yéi yoo yawdzigeet.
He did not do this.

“De ch'u yeewháan yee toowú yáx.
“Be it as you think.

“Ch'a yeewháan wáa sá yeeydaxéech'i.”
“Be it as the way you are pressing, pressuring it within your mind and spirit.”

Shatgwadaagéi áwé yéi yaawdudzikaa.
This is what was said to Shatgwadaagéi.

“Tlél aan ax tuwáa ushgú.”
“I do not agree with it.”

Haaw!
Okay!

Aagáa neek haat uwaxíx.
This is when the news came.

Gaxdu.oon Shéiksh hídi, ka du hídi tsú Shx'at.oo.
Shakes' house will be shot and Shx'at.oo's house also.

Gaxdu.oon. Kei gaxdushtóok, yóo.
It will be shot and it will be blown up it is said.

00:14:44.788 – 00:15:781 Audio not distinguishable.

Aagáa áwé deikéil'.
This is when they ran.

Lingít yéi yasaágu aa.
A place named by the Lingít

Yú x'wáa, Shéiksh Káa aa.
This point, the one Shakes sits on.

Yáa x'áa a t'éináx aadéi wdikéil'.
This point they ran on the other side.

“Seigánx' gaxdu.oon, Shéiksh noowú kei gaxdushtook,”
yéi wdudzikaáa.
“Tomorrow they will bombard Shakes' place,
where he stays, his fort,” he is told.

“Góok!” Wujitook wé yik daa óonaa.
“Ok! It happened!” The gun inside the place fired.

“Hú, hú, hú, hú, hwéi, hwéi, há héi.”
[Expression used by a warrior to encourage himself.]

Yú at katé áx yaanaxíx yé, ch'u tle duwateen yú at katé áx yaanaxíx yé.
That path of the cannon ball, it can be definitely be seen the cannon ball and its path.

Shux'wáanáx yaa kududzitee, dé Shx'at.oo du hídidéi uwaxíx.
First, the place where Shx'at.oo lived the cannon hit.

Gaax yéit yoo tuwasáakw háat oowaxíx.
That which is grieved, cried over sounded over the land.³

Chú tle kei uwasél'! Dei wé at sawooxooxú.
It [the house] was ripped apart when the cannon hit the house.

Aax áwé, yaa haa aankáawu; Shéiksh aayí duwa.oon.
After that our leader of the community, Shakes was bombarded.

Tléel aan jee wootee, ch'a aax yaa yanaxíx yéix' wusi.aat' tleikdé aawaxeex.
Shakes house was fired on and it was missed because as

³ This could also be interpreted as to mean “*that which one has paid the price for sorrow and grief came sounding over the land.*”

the cannon ball was going through the air it cooled and fell
off to the side.

Akawlix̄eitl' Lingít yú gaaw.
At this time the Lingit people were in great fear!

Yá séew ku.aa tlél kux̄de yei wdaneek.⁴
This rain never stopped or slowed down.

Ch'a tlákw daak wusitán.
It was continuous rain.

Haaw!
Ok!

Deisgwach déix̄ uwax̄ee at gutoox'dé.
It was now two days that he [Shx'at.oo] spent the time in the forest.

Goosás aa kéi wdudzitee?
Where did they carry [?] it up there?

Tlél wuduskú.
No one knew.

Tsu yáax' aa yéi x'ayaká shoonjee aankáawu haat kooká yaa kuwajaagi káa kaajaakt.
The high ranking officer said again. Tell the man who killed a person to come so I can kill
him.

Hú áyá yéi x'ayaká.
He was the one saying this.

Nás'k yakyee.
He was out for three days.

Aawadák, tlél séew daak wustán.
It cleared up, there was no rain coming down.

Yáax' a goon Teeyhittaaan aankáawu.
Here at the spring you took the Teehittan man by the hand. His face was saying this. [It
could be seen in his face and demeanor]

Tsú ax' uwax̄ée.
He (Shx'at.oo) stayed there again. [In the forest another night.]

⁴ This reference to rain should also be considered a figurative expression that the events happening (the attack with artillery) came like rain, great and heavy, and did not stop, that emotions and pain were also heavy and were strong during this period.

Tlél séew daak wustaan.
It was not raining.

Yaax' a goon Teeyhittaaan aankáawu. Yan gé uwatee?
Here in the inlet, a Teeyhittaaan tribal leader. Was he on the shore?

Gachx̄ yoo doowsáakw.
Gachx̄ is his name.

Du xooní tlél Tlingít du xooní áa yéi utí, ch'a yáanáx̄ sitee.
His family, his Tlingit, no Tlingit family was not there, just his tribal relations.

Gachx̄ yoo doowsáakw.
Gachx̄ is his name.

Gachx̄ yoo doowsáakw.
Gachx̄ is his name.

Teeyhittaaan káawux̄ site.
He was a Teeyhittaaan tribal leader.

Gwálaa teen áyá a x̄án neil uwagút!
He came into the house with a dagger.

Dei ch'a aadáx̄ kusheex̄.
This is where people run from.

Xalatín yoo x̄'aytánk.
I'm watching him, he is talking.

Aagáa áyá wudzitee du naa.ádi.
This is when his artifacts of cultural patrimony were brought out.

Yáa coat goodás' áyá óonaa shagóon a tú yéix' du.oox aa.
Fine coat, it had a place to put the gun tools into. Fine [in English drawn out for emphasis]

S'áaxw sháat át aa... dleit s'áaxw.
He was wearing a... white hat.

Lingít s'áaxu sháat adateen.
He was wearing a Lingít hat.

Du latín. Du yáax' latín.
He was watched. His face was watched, looked at.

Tlíl yéi ux̄satínji káa yáx̄.
Like a man I had never been seen before.

Tle ch'a yáa kuwujaagí lawx wusitee.

It was not until someone was killed that this became law. [Referencing the bombardment]

Du k'é! Du yáa kugéx sitee.

His goodness, was on his face.

Tlé! kaa tleinx ustí.

He was not a large man.

“Kukkwagoot! Kukkwagoot.”

I will go! I will go!

Ax Aankáawu xánde kkwagoot.”

I will go to the God of the land.

Yá x'aaká, nánde! yashú yeix'...

This point, going toward the north, there...

Tsaagweidí aa yee kaaawux sitee.

Tsaagweidí were the owners of this point.

Different speaker questioning other than the primary storyteller.

Tsé goo gés Eeyá Xéex Tlein?

Do you know Eeyá Xéex Tlein?

Yóo yá x'áa.

That point.

A saayí a tú yéi yatee.

There is a name in it

Storyteller

Aaá.

Yes.

*Different speaker questioning other than the primary
Storyteller.*

Yéi daa dés?

About this one?

Storyteller

Dás...

What...

Different speaker commenting.

Gaayshú ashoowataan.

The end of Gaay [Interior word for eagle] was opened/turned.

Du hít tléin.

His big house.

Aa sél?

Who will?

Gooxú dé, tléix' káa yee aaní!

To a place named Gooxú, one man land.

Duhéin. Yes, (drawn out in English) ááyá

It is claimed. Yeeeeees it is!

Storyteller

Tlaakwteidí aan káawoo áyá.

This is the land of the Tlaakwteidí people.

Shx̄'oowu Té yoo duwasáakw yú x'áa.

It is called Shx̄'oowu Té is the name of that point.

Yú x'áa yáa mountain kát shuksataan, yú x'áa.

That point is connected to that mountain, that point.

Chaashka.aak yoo duwasáakw.

It is called Chaashka.aak.

Chaashka.aak X'aayí yéi duwasáakw yá point.

The name of the point is Chaashká.aak X'aayí.

A k'e ku.oowú áyá Teeyhittaanx̄ sitee.

The people of this place are of the Teeyhittaan family.

Downtown-dáx̄ at haa wligás'i yé áyá.

From downtown this is where we moved to.

Chaachka x̄andeikkwagoot, ax̄ Aankáawu x̄ánde.

I will go to Chaachka.aak, to my lord.

Áx' át kax̄aayík, x̄at uwaláxw.

So I can eat there; I'm hungry.

Hooch'een yís at gax̄aa.

So I can have my final meal!

K'idaakaadé s'é kkwagoot.
I'll go next door first.

Kooshtú Yéil xánde kukkwagoot.
I will walk over to Kooshtú Yeil.

Yáa káa ku.aa gwál tlax dei, 100 years sítee yá káa ku.aa.
This man though, maybe is 100 years old, this man.

Tlax yoo x'atánk asheegook.
He really has the ability to communicate, talk.

Ch'u tle tláakw xwajeexeeek aadé, ax léelk'ux sítee.
I really ran fast to my grandfather's place.

Kéix' kei haa wsiwát ax brothereyi teen.
He took care of me and my brother at Kake.

Aaa, áa yéi satí.
Yes, move this over.

Léelk'w haadéi kkwagoot wé kuwajaagi kaa.
The man that killed someone will be coming here.

Haa, hoo, ha, yaagú gaysané!
Haa, hoo, ha, prepare the boat!

Fishing!
Fishing!

Doo wóo, kook áa yan wududzitee.
His father-in-law they put a box down (for him).

Neil uwagút, du óonaayi du jee.
He walked in with his gun.

“Dei ch'a yáa káa hooch'een yís i xánt xwagoot, kushtuyáx.
“Already, and for the final time I have come to you anyway!

Xat gageesateeník.
For you to see me.

Dei yáanáx xánde xat yá gaxduxáa.
I will be transported to the other side.

Tlél ax tuwáa ushgú yáa aantkeeni kaxéel' a jeet xateeyí.
I don't want the community to be punished because of me.

X'éigaa ch'as xát, chúsh jeet kadatee.”
Truly I am, placing this on my self.”

Yú áwé x'ayaká.
This is what he was saying.

“Aaa, yáa x'áa kaadéi kkwagoot, ax aankáawu xánde.
“I will walk to the point, by my tribal leader.

“Cháa, yáa x'áa kaadéi kkwagoot, ax aankáawu
“I will walk over to the point by my tribal leader.

“Áx' at kukkwaxaa. Déix iyaxee.
“I will eat there. Two days without eating.

“Ix'axaa.áxch.”
“I hear you.”

Tle jeewdihaan tlék' tlákw woonee, aadé woogoot aan.
He stood up instantly, using his hands, he was not shook up and walked there with him.

Dei aadé kaaxát yaa Chaacha.át X'aayí.
A path leads to Chaacha.át X'aayí

Dei ch'aa néil oowagoot.
He walked into the house.

“Ax aankáawa Jaala.át.
“My lord, leader Jaala.át

“Ax x'eix at nagaytee yís áyá haat xwaagoot.”
“I came here for me to eat a meal with you.”

Yeis yéi nateech.
Fall time is this way.

“T'á ax x'eix nagayteech.
“King salmon you would feed me.

“Yá neil xwagoot hooch'een yís!
“I came to your home for the last time!

“Hooch'een yís kkwaxwaa.
“To eat my last meal.

“Xat uwaláxw.
“I'm starving.

“Ayaaxwdigoot.
“I went back.

“K'atxaanax kuxanook, yeis du k'éil'ch.
“I went through K'atxaanax things were coming undone.

“Yeisú shéis shukgwaxeex mistakek'w k'wí yáadé ax toowú yanéekw.”
“I wondered if this would lead to a mistake, I was troubled in spirit.”

Tléinax káa yei duwasáakw du xooní, Tseexwáa Éesh yoo duwasáakw.
One of his family members name was Tseexwáa Éesh is what his name was.

Káa tlein!
A man of high nobility, highly honored and held in esteem.

Ch'u tle naaniyax yatee yá káa, litseen!
This man was confident in his strength!

Litseen!
Powerful!

Áa ásgíyá shoonji has du eedéix' kuyawsikaa.
He sent a message to the soldiers.

Gasháat i xooní, gasháat; igaxtukéi.
Get hold of your family/friends, get hold of them; we will pay you.

Yú ásgíyá shoonji du éet yan akuyaawsiká.
This is the message he sent to the soldiers.

Áyá woosh geit awdil'oon.
They (Tlingit & soldiers) snuck up on each other.

Aawa.áx, ch'a daakahídi yeewú á du xooní
He heard that his family member/friend was in the store house.

Ch'u tle aadéi haat uwa_{oo}x.
He went to the place.

Neil uwagút.
He walked into the house.

Gwáa ayáx gwách du xooní yú diyéex' yéi has yatee.
Sure enough his family/friend was at the lower level [of the store house]

Ch'a yeisú tléil uk'et'ch yá du x'éix wuduwateréyi át.
He still did not finish eating the food that was given to him.

Du yát awdligén Tseexwáa Éesh.
Tseexwá Éesh looked into his face.

Xaa gaa gé yaaneegoot yoo káak'w?
Is this the little man who has come for me?

Ch'a nakws'aatí tlein.
Big evil man that he is.

Eew!
Eew!

At gaashaat! Haaw! At gaashaat!
Grab hold of it! Ok! Grab hold of it!

Wa.é tsú wéide ikkwala.oon, yisikóo gé?
You too I will shoot you right there, do you know that?

Tle gáande kux wujixíx!
He ran back out!

“Haaw, ax aankáawu, Gooshhtlein, ch'a aadéi yéi xat na.oo x'wán.”
“My leader, Gooshtlein, please forgive me, have mercy on me.”

Haaw dé.
Ok then.

Yan xat yax du xaa déi
[?]

Aadé, yee kaadáx du xaa dé shoonji xanáx.
To the place, take me from among you, to the soldiers.

Yan xat gax du xaa.
I will be taken there.

Déi tsá xwaa.áx wé shoonji.
I heard the soldier.

Ch'a yaakw yeik duwatsák.
They pushed a canoe down the beach/shore.

Du goox'ú a yík.
His slaves were in it [canoe].

Du goox'ú a yíx wu.aat Shals'aan
His slaves went on board from Shals'aan.

Des'aax wududzitee nas'gináx.
Three of them picked it [the boat up].

Tle digiygéix woogoot.
He went right to the center [of the boat].

Du óonayee áx' awdzitee Chala.áatx aan.
He left his gun with Chala.áat.

Du naa.ádiix wudzitee naayee.
The cloths he had on became his artifacts of cultural patrimony.

Tóonáx k'oodas'i tóonáx a tlákw kutées' yá shoonji aankáawu.
That which is looked through the high ranking officer kept looking through it.

Awsiteen.
He saw them.

Yaalt'aak Kwáan gool yaakw daak nakooxú.
Maybe it was Yaalt'aak Kwaan going out [leaving the shore].

Tle ch'as yéi áwé yaakw awsiteen.
He then saw a canoe.

Ayaawatín k'idéin,
He recognized it clearly.

Tle ch'a yan wukooxú, tléix' káa jikaawaɔkaa du x'ahaadí teen
When the canoe came ashore he gave one instruction regarding the door.

Tléix' héide daak shuwjixín.
The door swung open only one way.

Shx'at.oo wéix yaa nagoot.
Shx'at.oo is walking right there.

Dziyáak saayí yaa kuwaseit.
An ancient name of the past was his name.

Ch'u tle a jint uwashee.
He reached out and took his hand.

Du jee át shuwditán.
He was being taken to...

Tle gayéis' daakahídidé jeewataan
He was immediately led to the jail.

It's a fort!
It's a fort!

X'adát kawdudlitéx'.
He was locked up.

Gáx dustí.
[The people] were weeping/crying.

De ch'a yéi yatee Lingít.
This is the way of the Tlingít.

Du x̱ooních du daa toowú wsinook.
His family was feeling horrific about him.

Duskéew juch.
A high loud groan/cry.

Yaa x'aahí ku.aa a shoowú kei kgwak'éich.
At the end it is better when the shout/cry of courage [is heard].

Yaa kaa géide dushdiyaa.
When opposition is faced.

Ách áwé yéi x'ayakáa nuch Tlingít.
This is the reason for the Tlingit [shout/cry].

Yak'éiyi káa du x'éix aa dudatík.
One that is good person they give food to.⁵

Du naa kei wdudzitee du x'oos kási.
Leg/foot shackles was placed on him.

Dleít káa naa.ádi naax yéi wdudzinee.
White man clothing put on him.

K'idéin, tlél káach yéi daaduné.
Good, no man was doing this.

Gwálaa gaa káa áyú.
A man that was good with a dagger.

Tle aadé du géit jeet kaawutee.
No one could resist his work [to cuff a prisoner]

⁵ Translators note: the term used as “food” is actually “Those that give a shout and chant is like giving food to the soul, the spirit.”

Tle ch'a kawduwaneek.
The story was told within the community.

Aas dí kaxdoos yeik Shx'at.oo yú yéi séixw
Shx'at.oo will be hung on a tree is what was being said.

Tlél gwáa xalatin.
Maybe I will not watch it, see it.

Ch'u tle neek x'éinx kaxaneek wé át.
I'm telling this from the account I heard told.

Oowayaa xaltíni át kwá yatee.
It is as if I'm watching this happen though.

Dulyéix tlél aadé kagaxdushxít yé.
It was being built. There is no way to write about how it is.

Dikée kawdudliyaash.
There was a very high porch.

Seigándéi yan wududzinee du jee.
It was finished the next morning for his punishment.

Shx'at.oo gaxdustí.
People were weeping over Shx'át.oo.

Keiwa.áa yú gaaw.
When the time came it was morning.

Haaw!
Ok

Du een kawduwaneek.
He was told.

Awsiteen.
He saw it.

Du séew yóodu á.
His rain was over there.

Ax' yukgwadaa yé áyú.
Where it will flow.

“Haaw yak'úi, yak'úi!
“It is good, good!

“Ch'u tle tléix' yateeyi át ax tuwáa sigóo.
“There is one thing that I want.

“Ax éesh kakkwwasateen, yéi yís.
“That I would see my father, may it be so.

“Ka ax tláa tsú kakkwwasateen.
“And that I would see my mother as well.

“Aant kei shéex!”
“Land on high I will run up to!”

Ch'a ldakát yáa Lingít tlénx'.
And also the Tlingits of prestige and honor.

Aa sá aankáawux sitee, tsú sháa teen.
Who ever were tribal leaders including women.

Tléi ku.aa yées káa
No young men though.

“Haat ga.aadí x'wán.”
“May they all come here for sure.”

Shoonji aankáawu yéi x'ayaká yáa neiléex'
The commander of the army was saying this in the house.

Gadustíni, Shx'at.oo aadé wuneiyei yé.
When they see how Shx'át oo died.

Aagáa tlél tsu yéi at kukgwasgeet Lingít.
The Tlingit people will not do this again.

Dleit káa has oon gajákx'i.
The way a white man kills people.

Yú ayáx du een yei jeeyeit aant káa.
This is the way they treated people.

Yéi x'akduneeek.
This is what was being said [by the commanding officer].

Káa ku.áxji áwu Kaaldéini.
There was an interpreter there named Kaachéini.

Ch'as aax áwé aawa.át ch'as sitgawsáanit.
They just walked away from there after the noon hour.

Aawa.aat aadé wuskítch, du tláa tsú.
They walked together with his mother.

Shakee.át awsitee du éeshx wusitee.
The ceremonial headdress was brought very carefully by his father.

Du éesh yéi duwasáakw Kaajeenáx.
His father's name is Kaajeenáx.

At kalashí s'aatíx sítee.
An expert in traditional [Tlingit] songs.

Tlám, they got this man.
Oh, oh they got this man.

Yaa kudzigéi du éesh, Kaajeenáx
His father is very intelligent, Kaajeenáx.

Ax káakx sítee yá káa Kaajeenáx.
This man is my maternal uncle.

Ajeewataan du shát.
He took his wife by the hand.

Du wóo dé at guganaayí.
His in-law was going to die.

Tle gwask'éin a yú káa káa yatee.
The body language of one's child gives good measure.

Sháxw daa kagaxdujági.
When a man is going to be hung/killed.

Ch'a tlákw koo yéi kusanéekw.
This is what always gets a person sick.

Dooshgut a een yak'éiyi aa káa yéi guxsatee yá haa yatee.
The parents said to him you are a good child our son.

Tlél haa toowú uwanook.
We do not feel bad.

Yéil kwá aa tul'éix.
We are dancing to the Raven.

X'wáal', yú x'wáal', tlax wáa sá x'atultseen.
Down feathers, down feathers we value very highly!

Káa shá uxgaguteenín ch'u tle káa x'áani shunaxíxch.
When it [down feathers] is put on the top of the head anger subsides.

At tulyeixín.
We used this.

Haaw kushtuyáx wáa sá kudujaagí.
Regardless even if someone was killed. [Referring to the down feathers placed on the head]

“Yáa ax shakee.át x'wán haat gadustée,” yei x'ayaká.
“My headdress, be sure that they bring it to me,” he said.

“Ayáx áwé yít'. Yáadu i shakee.ádi.
“As you say precious son, here is your headdress.

“Aan il'éix nuch shakee.át áyá.”
“This is the headdress you have danced with.”

Ch'u tle tláa, ch'u tle du tláa du jeet wusteeyí teen
a tóode wdzitee nook.
As soon as mom, as soon as his mother gave it to him
Immediately he sat down under it [to be placed on his head].

Gwáa!
Now!

Naakéex' dihaan.
Stood up under [the headdress] placing it on [his head]

Tsú tsu gaa yéi xwajee.
This is what I thought that would happen.

“Du lítaa áyá kei kít'.
“Wedge in his knife.

“Lítaa a tóode i jeet xwatee.
“I put a knife in it for you.

“Yáa shoonji k'isáani yáx yoo kwalajaagin agáa ku.aa.”
“These young soldiers I could have killed them all.”

Yoo áyá x' aayáka.
That is what he said.

“Tlél kakwajaak yá shoonji.”
“I will not kill these soldiers.”

Haaw!
Now!

At awdligén. Dzeit aadéi ksixát.
He looked at it. There were stairs attached.

Ch'u tle áyá kei at kaawashee yoo káa.
The man started to sing a song.

“Kei lahaa yoo aḵ toowú tí!
“Let's fight go to war is what I felt in my spirit!

“Yáa t'l'átk tlél x'us uxdanook aḵ káak hás t'l'átgi.”
“This land it was on, I did not feel, my maternal uncle's land.”

Ch'u oowayaa kaawashoowu káa yáx has yatee
They were like intoxicated men⁶

yáa át shí!
as they were singing!

Yaa nagoot, kagéinaḵ yaa nagoot.
He is walking, slowly waking.

Tléik diwoogoot.
He went to the side.

Tle yáa dzeit kát uwagút.
He walked right to the stairway.

Tlél aḵwdaheen aḵ káak hás hítx'i.
I never mixed or made anything at my maternal uncle's houses. [May be referring to making home brew]

Tlel x'usyee kustí.
There was no footing there.

Ch'a tlákw x'asheeyí áyá.
This is the song he always used.

A kát al'éix.
He danced to this.

Ch'u tlé yaa scaffold aa kéi oowagut.

⁶ Translators note; the frase “they were like intoxicated men” is a figurative expression, and refers to being powerfully overcome, affected deeply, by grief and the emotion of the situation at hand.

He walked up to the scaffold.

Ch'as át ka.ádi káa
Only the hang man was there.

T'ooch' yáx yatee lítaa du jee.
He had a black knife.

Yéi yawdudzikaa yá shoonji aankáawu.
The high officer spoke asking.

Tlél at yoo x'atánk gageetí.
Will you not speak?

Wáa yoo x'atánk nagaatée tsu?
What should I say?

Xwaaják xá, xwaaják Aankáawu kutlé.
I killed him, I killed him Aankáawu kutlé.

Ax yéet uwaják sateeyéech.
For killing my son.

Yéi kuyáat'i s'ísaa du shá naax yéi kawduteegí tin.
As a cloth bag was being placed over his head.

Gaaw kei akawligwál yáa káa.
He beat the man backward with his hand.

Tle a waakt wujik'én, du shá
He jumped into the eye of the noose with his head.

Gwál dei one hour aa yoo yagwál aa one hour yaanáx.
Maybe it was one hour, he struggled for over one hour.

Du léitoox'u yéi kaawayáat'.
His neck was stretched this long [the storyteller gestured].

Yeedát áx kawdudziyaa.
At this time he was taken down.

Aanáx daak uwagoot du éesh, éesh aankáawu.
His father stepped out from the people, father of high ranking.

"Tlél ax toowáa ushgú yát sataani ax yéet.
"I do not want my son to be laying here.

"Gaa yatee yóo, xáach du daakeidí yéi kkwasanee."

“It is ok for me to make his coffin for him.”

Ayáx wootee.
It was so.

Duwaxoox guneitkanaayí yoo doowáakw
They called for the opposite moiety as they are called.

Yéil ka Gooch áyá haa sitee.
Raven and Wolf we are.

Gooch áwé aawaxoox.
He called for the Wolf [clan]

Haaw!
Now!

Yáadei shuwatee.
It was turned this way.

Other speaker:

Yisikóo ch'a yéisú?
Do you still know this?

Storyteller:

Aaa.
Yes.

Other speaker:
Ch'a aadéi x'a yéi na.oo.
Forgive me for speaking.

Storyteller (continues):
Tlaayk' áyá xwaayneek dé.
No, I told it as I know it.

Other speaker:
Tlél ch'as tlél. Tlél xwaa.aaxí, at gageeshee.
I never, just never, never heard the song you will sing.

Storyteller:
Tlé áyá xwaaneek de history tsú a xoowú.
I already told it and history is included.

Other speaker:
Héení x'wanx daa sheeyí

Song about the water.

[Note; Other speaker and storyteller speaking over one another.]

[Note: Then understanding is reached that the other speaker is talking about the song that was sung before Shx'at.oo was hung.]

The song is sung:

Wáa sá yaa Gaanax̄teidí [?] yaa x̄aayá?
What is wrong my Gaanax̄teidí? [?]⁷

Tlél x̄wasi.oo x̄aandé
I did not buy it to be with me

Daa sá yáa yáat?
What is this here?

Yaa chakanaay seití!
Bring it, store it close to you

Aanx̄ ká tee naa saanyáx̄h
You want to leave this land, south.

Tlél x̄'oos du ux̄dayéi
Where foot wear is not used

Daa sá yáa yáat?
What is this here?

Yá tlax̄ a naayseetí aa yoo
This emphatically carry it out

(Vocables)
Aa yoo aa a yoo haa yá haa a yoo. haay

Gwál datóow s'igeit shee yaay yaa ya
Maybe like reading about the beaver?

Ax̄ yátx'i daa toowú ku.a
Thinking about my precious children.

Yéi x̄át wutínji ei.
When I am finally recognized!

⁷ Although further research is needed, William Paul Sr. states the song Shx'atoo sings was to the Kaasx̄'agweidí yadí. See William Lewis Paul, "The Alaska Tlingit, Where Did They Come From? Their Migrations, Legends, Totems, Customs, and Taboos," unpublished manuscript, p. 108-10, from William L. Paul Manuscript, Mss 5, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives.

End of song

Yéi áwé.
That is it.

Haaw!
Now!

Yá shí.
This song.

Aas ch'u tle du káa daak tundataaní du xoonx'ich
As soon as someone starts to think of him, his family would

Tle du shee nuch yá at shí.
The song would be sung.

Gaax kíkt ak.yá át shí.
As they wept they would sing this song.

Káa kugaxdu.éex'in yéi yís.
And when a party was held it would be used.

Ch'u tle dushee nooch ya shí.
This song would be sung.

X'oon dáanaa guxdudlitch.
How much money would be sacrificed?

Ya shí kái Gax du sheeyí.
When this song would be sung.

Aadóo sá kei kaawashée. Cost money.
Whoever sang out the song. Costs money.

Yéi át shoowatán.
This is the way it ends.

Xát áyá yéi xát duwasáakw Lingít x'éináx.
This is me, I am named in the Tlingit language.

Káa X'oonsák yoo xát doowasáakw.
My name is Káa X'oonsák.

Íxt'i saayéech xát duwasáakw. Káa X'oonsák.
I have a name of a spiritual man Káa X'oonsák.

Ƙookt aadáx̄ ax̄ saayí ku.aa Ayseest'anch
The name from my birth pit is Ayseest'anch.

Xwéins Hídi áyá xát.
I'm from the Xweins House.

Tléil Lingítx̄ xat ustí ch'a aan x'axaa.áxch.
[Jokingly] I'm not Tlingit but I understand and speak the Tlingit language.

Note: Laughter in the back ground

Lingít tlél school xwagoot, ách áyá x'axaa.áxch.
I did not go to school, which is why I understand the language.

Lingít.
Human being.

Other Speaker

Dé déi áwé.
Stop now.

Appendix IV: “Scutdoo Hero in Native Version of 1869 Battle,”
Wrangell Sentinel (January 14, 1976): 1, 4-5.¹

NPS ABPP

Report on the 1869 Bombardment of Ƙaachx̄an.áak’w

¹ This 1976 version is a verbatim reprint of the 1940 article. This 1976 article is used because this enlarged digital copy is more legible than the 1940 version. See original at: “Tragedy Marred the First Christmas Eve for Wrangell Indians,” by William Tamaree, *Wrangell Sentinel* (May 31, 1940): 1.

Scutdoo Hero in Native Version of 1869 Battle

(Last week The Sentinel gave an account of how Scutdoo, a Tlingit Indian of old Wrangell, was hanged after an 1869 Christmas-week battle between natives and white soldiers who manned Fort Stikine.

The dry data for the version of the tragedy came from historical sources which themselves were drawn from official accountings written by officers of the fort.

The native version of the story differs markedly from what the whites contended. Lucky for history, there was an eye-witness whose words were taken down and preserved. William Tamaree, who was six years old when the 1869 battle occurred, told his exciting story to Sentinel Co-Publisher Winifred Williams in 1940. He told Mrs. Williams that though he was young he remembered the incident clearly because it had such a grave impression on him.

Taken from a May 31, 1940 issue of The Wrangell Sentinel, here is what Tamaree had to say:)

In the fall of 1869, white soldiers arrived in Wrangell. They hired our people to cut logs to build a fort where the Federal Building now stands. All the time our people work, work, work and by Christmas they have built two log houses and one, another big one where the Captain lives, of lumber. Around all this they built a big yard (stockade) of logs with a big double gate.

There are two towns then in Wrangell. One, the white mans' town, the fort, and the other the Indians' town which is where the sawmill now stands, Shakes Island and across from the island along the curved beach, clear around to the point at the end of the breakwater. There is no main street then in Wrangell. Between the Indian villages and the fort is a wide, sandy beach.

The white soldiers' houses and fort are done.

On Christmas Eve, the Captain of the fort sends word to all the chiefs of the Indian villages: "Tonight is Christmas Eve. It is time to be happy. You come up to the fort and be happy and have a good time."

The Indians say to one another: "What is that for, Christmas Eve?" Our interpreter does not know. The Indians do not know. They have never heard of Christmas. They don't know, then, about Christ being born. They just know the white chief of the soldiers say it is a time to be happy.

Night time comes. It is cold. The wind blows. Raining. Snowing. The Indians go up the beach to the fort. Inside the Captain's house everything is warm. Lights. Music. The soldiers are playing a violin and accordion.

When you come in the door of the Captain's house there is a big stair going up to a wide hall. At the bottom of the stair are two doors opening to rooms off the entry hall. In one of these rooms is the Captain's wife. She does not come to the party upstairs. She stays in the room.

The Indians go upstairs.

Among the Indians are two brothers named Isteen and Chuwan. They are nephews of Towatt, one of the chiefs of the Indian village. They have their wives. Isteen's wife

(Please Turn to Page 4)

arm. The Captain steps forward. He is very mad. He tells the soldiers to shoot Chuwan down. Isteen tries to save his brother and the soldiers shoot both the brothers down. Chuwan falls, shot through the heart, and the other brother, shot through the arm, dies later.

Now, Indians are scared. They fly out the front door and out into the dark, cold rain and snow outside. They run quick for their homes across town in the native village.

Later that night soldiers come to Towatt's house. Towatt, then, has a house near where the sawmill is now. The soldiers say to Towatt. "Towatt, you want to fight? We have killed your nephews. Are the Indians going to fight?" But Towatt sits very still. He says nothing. The soldiers go home. Tramp, tramp. They march down the beach back to the fort.

Not far from Towatt lives the brothers' father, Scutdoo. He is asleep while his sons have been killed. But, his wife, when she hears of it, wakes him. She shakes his shoulder and says, "Scutdoo, the white soldiers have killed your sons. Wake up, your sons are dead. What are you going to do?"

Scutdoo gets up. He dresses. He puts on his red war jacket. I remember it well. I have seen it many times. It is all red and has pockets around the bottom for shells for his Hudson Bay gun. Scutdoo gets his Hudson Bay gun and starts for the fort. He walks along the beach and it is still cold and windy, half raining, half snowing. He walks, walks.

Along the beach lives Leon Smith. He has a trading post where the post office now stands. He is the only white man in Wrangell who lives outside the fort. He has a long, log cabin with a porch across the front.

SCUTDOO WALKS, WALKS. Pretty soon he comes to Smith's trading post. He sees Smith walking across his porch. Well, here is a white man. Indian's law says when one of their men is killed by another tribe, other tribe must pay with the life of one of their men. White men have killed Scutdoo's sons. Here is a white man. So, Scutdoo raises his Hudson Bay gun and shoots. Smith falls dead.

As soon as he has killed Smith, Scutdoo becomes afraid. Quick, he runs through the storm into the woods behind Wrangell to hide.

The next day there is big trouble. The Captain of the fort comes down to the Indian village. He says, "Where is the man that killed Smith? I want that man!" But the Indians do not know where Scutdoo has gone. He is somewhere in the woods up back of Wrangell. The Captain says, "If you don't get that man who has killed Smith and bring him to me, I will turn my cannons on the town. I will shoot up every house in your village."

Everybody is scared. At that time there are many Indian houses in the villages. Kakes, Tsimpsons, many Indians from all around have moved to Wrangell to work for the white soldiers cutting wood for the fort. They are scared. Everybody is scared.

The soldiers go back to the fort. Pretty soon — boom! We all hear the cannons at the fort. Boom! A cannonball

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Galla-Vantings

By Donna Galla

Roosevelt Harbor has once again taken on the look of winter. All the snow we had earlier was gone and bare ground was everywhere. Then it snowed again and froze real hard and snowed some more, so guess it really isn't spring after all.

Several of our families are still gone, and will start returning to camp during the next couple of weeks, as school starts again on Jan. 19.

Our family spent all last week in Wrangell visiting, and we couldn't believe how quiet camp life seemed on return — no telephones, no television, no traffic, just quiet, happy people storing up energy for another long season of logging, and all that goes with it.

Families in a logging camp are definitely a different breed of people — seems like the city sort of divides everyone up, part of a family here part there and part somewhere else. Out here, it's togetherness. Just can't beat it.

Did You Know..

The Wrangell electrical system has 536 utility poles carrying high-voltage primary, which covers 23.3 miles. There are 257 transformers in service on the transmission lines.

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Scutdoo Was Hero In 1869 Battle

(Continued From Page 4)

has gone straight through Scutdoo's house and knocked it down.

Now, Chief Shakes, who is the head chief, gets mad. He rushes to Towatt's house. He says, "Towatt, we are going to the fort. We will talk to the white chief. The soldiers have killed two of our men. We have killed one of theirs. We will take one soldier and we will kill him and then everything will be even." Shakes was plenty mad.

Shakes is all dressed up like the soldiers. He has a uniform with gold bunnies on his shoulders and he has a long sword at his side. He has another soldier suit so he makes Towatt put it on and they go to the fort. They march along the beach up to the fort. The gates are closed but they tell the sentry they want to see his chief. The Captain says, "Let them come in."

IN THE CAPTAIN'S office the Captain says for them to sit down but Shakes says, "No." The Captain then says, "What do you want, Shakes?" Shakes says, "One man. Your man who killed my friend, Chiuwan, and then I will give you Scutdoo who killed Smith."

The Captain says nothing. He sits and thinks. After a while he says, "Shakes, wait for awhile. Our law says we must have the man who killed Smith, but you go home. I will think it over."

Shakes and Towatt go home then. The next day comes and the Captain has said nothing. Then Shakes gets mad again. He is very mad. He goes to Towatt's house. This time he does not go in. He just kicks the door open and says, "Towatt, come! We will go take a soldier and kill him. Are you going to do nothing?"

But Towatt, who is a very smart and peaceful man, says to Shakes, "Brother, our Chief, let them go. They are a big dog. We are only a little dog. If we take a soldier and kill him, they will kill all the Wrangell people. Let them go, my brother." Shakes gets more mad. He slams the door. "You coward," he says. Shakes wants to fight the soldiers.

That day Scutdoo comes down out of the woods. For two nights he has been hiding. Nothing to eat. Nothing to keep him warm. He has heard the guns of the fort firing on the Indian village. He is going to give himself up. He goes around to different houses of the villages. He says to his friends, "Let us smoke. I am going to die. I am going to give myself up to the soldiers." He goes to his brother-in-law Shustak's house and he says, "Let us eat our last meal together. I want to eat here before I die." Scutdoo eats a little salmon, then he smokes, then he gives his gun to his brother-in-law and takes a canoe and sets out across the bay for the fort. "I go to give myself up," he says. "If I do not give myself up you will all die."

In the fort yard the soldiers have built a gallows. As soon as they have Scutdoo, the Captain sends word to the Indian villages. He invites all the people to come and see how they hang a man.

SCUTDOO IS A COMPOSER. He sends word for his mother to bring him his dancing hat so he can sing and dance once more before he dies. His mother brings the hat. She is crying. She has put a knife in his dancing hat hoping that her son can kill the men who want to kill him. But when the soldiers give Scutdoo his dancing hat the knife is gone. Scutdoo puts on his dancing hat and he dances and sings a song he has composed.

As soon as he has finished he gives his mother his dancing hat. He turns and walks stiff and straight up the steps to the platform where the soldiers are waiting. The soldiers start to put a cloth over Scutdoo's face. They have the rope ready. But Scutdoo will not have a cloth over his head. He tears the cloth away, the soldiers put the rope around his neck. Everything is quiet except for Scutdoo's old mother. She is crying and Indians stand around in the rain looking very sad. Scutdoo is their brother.

The soldiers wait a minute. But Scutdoo does not wait. He does not wait for them to, how you say it — spring the trap? No. Scutdoo will not wait. He jumps off the high platform. And so he dies.

PASTOR'S CORNER

It Was 'Unbelievable'

By THE REV. BILL ZEIGER
Pastor, Presbyterian Church



About this time of year one winter, the Motor Vessel Princeton Hall pulled into Little Port Walter on Baranof Island.

The U.S. Weather Bureau, as it was called then, maintained a weather station there, the wettest place in North America. The average annual rainfall is around 250 inches. Some years, it is well over 300 inches.

We were met by Jerry Olsen, station operator. His wife and your daughter lived with him. After we got acquainted they invited us to dinner. Except for the mail box they had had no visitors since the end of fishing season. So we had quite a visit.

They put on a huge, magnificent salmon feast. Really tasty. And it was fresh salmon.

We asked Jerry where he got it, since the bay was frozen. With some embarrassment, he sheepishly said, "I don't really expect you to believe this, but have nothing to gain by lying to a couple of pastors, caught it with my bare hands."

"You saw our weather station across our small bay when you came in? Well, each morning I take our aluminum skiff across to check the readings for my daily reports."

Yesterday morning, there was about half an inch of ice everywhere when I started across. The aluminum hull made a terrific racket breaking up the ice.

Suddenly, the ice broke a little ways off the bow to one side, and a furrow was cut through the ice as something moved along ahead of me. I corrected course a little and opened the throttle in hot pursuit. The thing headed straight for shore where it went right up on the beach gravel, out of the water. It was this salmon! I ran right up on the beach, hopped out and grabbed that flopping King before it could get back into the water. It weighed 43 pounds!

And there we all sat, eating the evidence!

God's ways, too, are unbelievable, unexpected. Suddenly you find yourself living better with overflowing blessings you did not expect, when you seek Him. We received far more than we gave that trip.

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Appendix V: Fort Wrangell Record of Events for Dec. 1869

NPS ABPP

Report on the 1869 Bombardment of Ƙaachxan.áak'w

occupied, the commanding officer will immediately report the fact to the Adjutant General, and to General and Department Headquarters, and note the same on the first subsequent Post Return. Such report and record, in the case of a new post, must indicate its position, which should be identified with some known object—as 25 miles west from ——— river or town—post office ———; and, in all cases, the best means of communicating with the new Post by mail must be stated.

son, will
ags. A
longs.
issues of

RECORD OF EVENTS.

NATURE
OF.

(See Pamphlet of Instructions for making out Rolls, Returns, &c., pages 42, 43, and 44, et seq.)

The troops of this Command were last paid by 98
Genl. Order include Aug 31st 1869.
An Indian killed and one wounded in attempting to
resist the U.S. Authority for their arrest, having assaulted one
terribly, mutilated a Company banner on the night of Dec 25/69.
Fire opened on the Indian Village from the garrison Dec 26, 69
for their refusal to give up the murderer of Gen Smith Pardon of
Dr. H. Bear, murdered on the morning of Dec 26, 69. Near his store
the Indian having replied to the fire from the garrison Dec
26/69 and commenced an attack on the garrison Dec 27/69. The
Village was shelled from the Mountain Howitzer and the Indians
at 12 o'clock of that day sent a flag of truce and gave up the murderer
One Scudder who was duly tried on the following day Dec 28/69
and having confessed his deliberate intention of murdering
some one was by sentence of the Court in presence and with the
concurrence of the five chiefs of the tribe condemned to be hanged
the next day Dec 29/69 at 12 o'clock M. This sentence was duly
carried out without accident in presence of the Indians at
their Village. The Troops of the garrison and the five chiefs of
the tribe, the latter being present at the gallows. 15 Solid Shot
& 4 Shell & rounds of Cannon were fired at the Village and 110
rounds of Ball Cartridge. Four Indians are supposed to be wounded
but nothing authentic is known, No Casualties among
the troops

STATION:

Fort W. A. G. A. A. A.

DATE:

July 1st 1870

Appendix VI: Vincent Colyer's 1870 *The Bombardment of Wrangel*

NPS ABPP

Report on the 1869 Bombardment of Ḳaachxan.áak'w

BOMBARDMENT OF WRANGEL, ALASKA.



No. 3.—THE WIDOW OF SKILLAT, THE FORMER CHIEF'S HOUSE AT WRANGEL, ALASKA.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR,
SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
AND
LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT,

By VINCENT COLYER,

Secretary of Board of Indian Commissioners.

WASHINGTON:
1870.

BOMBARDMENT OF WRANGEL, ALASKA.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,

Board of Indian Commissioners,

March 31, 1870.

SIR: I am directed by the Board of Indian Commissioners to call your attention to the recent bombardment of the Indian village at Wrangel, Alaska, by the United States troops located at that post.

By referring to the two official reports, herewith accompanying, from the War and Interior Departments, called for by resolution of the United States Senate, March 14th, 1870, you will see that the village was made up of well constructed habitations, costing the inhabitants years of hard labor to build with their primitive tools; ornamented with carving in wood of most singular and elaborate workmanship; painted with curious imagery, and provided outside and in with many of the conveniences of civilized life

The testimony of Leon Smith, the post trader, who was killed, Wm. Wall and others, shows that these, Indians were perfectly peaceable and "well disposed towards the whites," honest, industrious, always anxious to get employment," and "susceptable of a high standard of cultivation." I visited their cabins and can endorse the above statements of the white residents of the village.

They entertained with great delight my proposition to establish an industrial school among them, arranged enthusiastically for its location, and engaged to aid in the erection of the school building.

This village, containing a population of five hundred and eight souls, of whom three hundred and forty were women and children, was cannonaded with both solid shot and shell continuously from 2 o'clock till dark of one afternoon, and resumed the next morning at daybreak—continuing we know not how long—until these helpless people begged for mercy.

The military reports show that this bombardment was the result of a wanton and unjustifiable killing of an Indian named Si-wau by Lieutenant Loucks, the second officer in command of the Post.

This Indian, who was intoxicated, had severely bitten a woman's finger. The arrest of such a man as this is any day effected by two or three ordinary policemen in our cities with perfect ease and quietness. Instead of this, Lieutenant Loucks, with twenty armed soldiers, went to his house at midnight, placed eight men outside of the door, took twelve in with him, and, though he found only two

drunken Indians with their wives in the cabin, (he says "*perhaps* there may have been some others," he only guesses at that,) he deliberately arranges his twelve soldiers in single file, gives them orders to fire when he shall raise his hand, and then, after some unimportant demonstrations, he says:

"Still wishing to avoid loss of life if possible, I tried to give him two or three sabre cuts over the head to stun without killing him. In doing this I had given the preconcerted signal (by raising my hand) to fire. I should judge about six or eight shots were fired during the melee, and only ceasing by the Indian Si-wau falling at the feet of the detachment dead."

The effect of this firing by the soldiers was to arouse the whole Indian village, and, in about an hour after it occurred, a white man named Leon Smith was shot by a cousin of Si-wau in retaliation for the killing of his relative, and it was for the death of this Mr. Leon Smith, though caused, as we have seen, by an officer's own cruelty, that the Post Commandant, Lieutenant Borrows, ordered the bombardment of the entire Indian village, with its three hundred and forty women and children, in the middle of winter.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior, on page 7, show abuses practised on these Indians which, being allowed to go unpunished, would naturally lead to disastrous results, and on page 10 the Reverend Wm. Duncan, the most successful missionary among the Indians in British Columbia near Wrangel, says:

"Military rule among Indians, while heathen, is, I feel sure, a fatal mistake. It will only breed the troubles it was intended to check. (The blood of poor Captain Smith, lately shot at Fort Wrangel, lies, I am sorry to say, at the door of military authority there,) while both Indian and soldier are reciprocating their vices, and both being plunged into utter ruin. The accounts I have received from time to time of the conduct of the soldiers in the Indian camps of the coast of Alaska are truly shocking. If the United States government did but know half, I am sure they would shrink from being identified with such abominations, and the cause of so much misery."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

VINCENT COLYER,

Secretary.

TO THE PRESIDENT.

BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS:

FELIX R. BRUNOT, Pittsburgh, Pa., *Chairman.*

ROBERT CAMPBELL, St. Louis,	HENRY S. LANE, Indiana,
NATHAN BISHOP, New York,	GEORGE S. STUART, Philadelphia.
WILLIAM E. DODGE, New York,	EDWARD S. TOBEY, Boston,
JOHN V. FARWELL, Chicago,	JOHN D. LANG, Maine,

VINCENT COLYER, New York, *Secretary.*

LETTER
OF
THE SECRETARY OF WAR
COMMUNICATING,

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 14th instant, the report of the commander of the department of Alaska upon the late bombardment of the Indian village at Wrangel, in that Territory.

MARCH 21, 1870.—Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
March 19, 1870.

The Secretary of War has the honor to submit to the Senate of the United States, in obedience to the resolution of March 14, 1870, the accompanying report of the commander of the department of Alaska upon the late bombardment of the Indian village at Wrangel, in the Territory of Alaska.

WM. W. BELKNAP,
Secretary of War.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ALASKA,
Steamer Newbern, January 18, 1870.

GENERAL: Since my last communication with the Headquarters Military Division of the Pacific, the following difficulties with the Indians have occurred, which I think should be specially reported. On the morning of the 16th ultimo Policeman J. C. Parker, of the village of Sitka, shot an Indian under circumstances which I thought unjustifiable, and ordered his immediate arrest. In order to get at all the facts of the case, I ordered a board of officers to assemble and investigate it thoroughly. The board, after taking all the testimony bearing on the case, pronounced the shooting unjustifiable, and I ordered Parker to be kept in confinement until such time as a competent court might demand him for trial, or his release be ordered by proper authority. This is the second Indian Parker has killed within the past year. The killing in both cases was pronounced unjustifiable by the board of officers who investigated them.

The next affair I desire to mention occurred at Fort Wrangel on Christmas day. The official reports of Lieutenants Borrowe and Loucks, herewith transmitted, describe the commencement of this disturbance so minutely, and the course taken by them to put it down, that I deem it unnecessary to make any lengthy report upon the subject. While at

Fort Wrangel I called the principal chiefs of the tribe together and held a talk with them. Their version of the affair agreed in all essential points with the reports of the officers. They express themselves satisfied with the settlement of it, and say they will continue peaceable. After a very thorough investigation of the whole affair, I am satisfied Lieutenant Borrowe acted with promptness and good judgment; a less decided course would probably not have settled it with as little bloodshed as the one pursued. I anticipate no further trouble with this tribe for some time to come.

In conclusion, I would state that in my opinion the chief cause of this affair was the sale of liquor to some of the Indians by two white men professing to be miners living at the post. These men procured the liquor under pretext of its being for their own use. The Indian Siwan, who bit off the laundress's finger, and who, with his brother, resisted the guards sent to arrest him, was drunk; their women were also intoxicated. The Indian Scutd-doo, who shot Mr. Smith, was more or less under the influence of liquor. The white men have been arrested, and are now in confinement.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
 JEFF. C. DAVIS,
Brevet Major General Commanding.

Brevet Maj. Gen. WM. D. WHIPPLE,
Ass't Adj. Gen'l, Headquarters Mil. Div. of the Pacific.

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE PACIFIC,
San Francisco, February 8, 1870.

Respectfully forwarded to the Adjutant General.

GEO. H. THOMAS,
Major General U. S. A. Commanding.

Official:

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Adjutant General.

HEADQUARTERS FORT WRANGEL,
Wrangel Island, A. T., December 30, 1869.

CAPTAIN: I have the honor to submit the following report for the information of the major general commanding the department:

About ten minutes after 11 o'clock on the night of December 25, 1869, it was reported to me that one of the laundresses, Mrs. Jacob Muller, had been badly injured by a Stickine Indian, named Lowan, he having, while in her house, just outside of the stockade, and in the act of shaking hands with her, bitten off the third finger of her right hand between the first and second joints, her husband, quartermaster sergeant of this battery, and a citizen, named Campbell, being present at the time. Learning what had taken place, and that the Indian had escaped to the ranch, notwithstanding the efforts of the sergeant to arrest him, I immediately sent Lieutenant Loucks with a detachment of twenty men to take him, with instructions to bring him in, if possible, without bloodshed, and only to use their arms in case of resistance or in self-defense. Lieutenant Loucks immediately proceeded to execute the order given him, and returned, bringing with him the dead body of the Indian Lowan and his brother Estone, the latter being badly wounded in the arm, the cause of violent measures having been resorted to. The report of Lieutenant Loucks, herewith appended and marked A, will fully explain.

Apprehending trouble, I had turned out the entire force under my command, and as soon as firing was heard at the ranch I immediately sent a detachment of ten men as far as the store of the post trader, some three hundred yards from the garrison, with instructions to act in concert with Lieutenant Loucks's party, should they require assistance. A picket guard was stationed around the camp, and everything placed in a condition of defense.

About 10 o'clock a. m. of the morning of December 26, 1869, the sergeant of the guard reported several shots in the direction of the store, and in a few minutes word was brought to me that Mr. Leon Smith, partner of the post trader, W. R. Lear, had been shot near the door of the store. Mr. Smith was soon after brought in to the garrison and taken to the hospital, where his wounds were examined by the surgeon, who pronounced them of a most serious character, fourteen shots having penetrated the body on the left side, just below the heart, and three in the left wrist. Nothing further occurred during the night, and at daylight in the morning I sent Lieutenant Loucks again to the ranch with a detachment under a flag of truce, with instructions to see the chief of the tribe, Shakes, and demand of him the murderer, the Indians to turn the man over to him there, or failing in that, I gave them until 12 o'clock that day to bring him in, notifying them that if at that hour the man Scuttdor, whom I knew to be in the ranch, was not in my custody, I should open fire upon them from the garrison. I also directed Lieutenant Loucks to inform the principal chiefs of the tribe, Shakes, Torryat, Shonta, Hank, and Quamnanasty, that I wished to see and talk with them at the post as soon as practicable. This message I had sent to each of the chiefs by an Indian woman before Lieutenant Loucks left the post, and I am confident that it was delivered. For the result of Lieutenant Loucks's interview with Shakes and Torryat, I would respectfully call your attention to his report. On the return of Lieutenant Loucks to the post, and reporting to me the refusal of the chiefs to come to the garrison, their indisposition to deliver up the murderer, and the hostile disposition manifested by those present, all of whom were armed, I consulted with the officers present as to the propriety of carrying out my threat of firing on the village, and they were unanimous in the opinion that nothing but the most decided measures would insure the safety of the post. At 12 o'clock no signs were made of any disposition on the part of the Indians to comply with my orders; but their intentions to fight were made evident by the numerous persons engaged in carrying their goods to what they considered places of safety. I waited, however, without avail until nearly 2 o'clock, hoping that they might change their determination; and at 2 o'clock I opened with solid shot on the house in which I knew the murderer, Scuttdor, resided; several shots struck the house, but the Indians maintained their position and returned the fire from the ranch, several of their shots striking in close proximity to the men. Later in the day fire was opened on the gun detachments from the hills in rear of and commanding the post, but fortunately without effect. This was replied to from the upper windows of the hospital, and, in connection with a few rounds of canister in that direction, soon drove them away. Firing was kept up on their part all of the afternoon, and a slow fire from the 6-pounder gun on the village was maintained until dark. The next morning, just at day-break, they opened on the garrison from the ranch with musketry, which was immediately replied to, and seeing that they were determined not only to resist, but had become the assailants, I resolved to shell them, but having only solid shot for the 6-pounder, and the distance being too great

for canister, I still continued the fire from that gun with shot and from the mountain howitzer with shell. The practice was excellent, considering that I have no breech sights for any of the guns at the post— notwithstanding that three requisitions had been made for the same— and after four shells had been fired, two bursting immediately in front of the houses, and two solid shots just through the house of the principal chief, Shakes, a flag of truce was seen approaching the post, and firing on my part ceased. The flag of truce bore a message from Shakes that he and the other chiefs wished to talk with me, and I replied that I would talk with them in the garrison; but that the murderer must be brought in, for without him “talk was useless.”

Soon after the chiefs were seen coming over, and a party behind them with the murderer, who was easily recognized by his dress. Just as they were leaving the ranch a scuffle, evidently prearranged, took place, and the prisoner escaped and was seen making for the bush, no attempt to rearrest him being made. The chiefs on their arrival at the garrison were received by myself and the other officers, and a conference ensued. They were then informed that until “the murderer was brought in no terms would be extended to them; that on that basis alone I would treat.” Finding me determined to have the man at all hazards, they then asked what time would be given, and stated that as a proof of their good intentions they would surrender to me the mother of the murderer. I informed them that they must, as they proposed, bring me the hostage at once, and in addition, the sub-chief of the tribe to which the murderer belonged, the head chief being absent up the Stickine River; and that, if the murderer himself was not in my possession by six o'clock the following evening, I would open on them and destroy the entire ranch, together with its occupants.

This closed the conference, and during the afternoon of the same day the woman and the sub-chief were brought in and placed in confinement. That evening, about nine o'clock, the murderer Scutdor was brought in by the chiefs and surrendered to me. The next morning, December 27, a court was organized by general post order No. 76, for the trial of the murderer, who was identified by the five chiefs of the tribe and by his own confession. For the proceedings of the trial I have the honor to call your attention to the accompanying report appended and marked B. In pursuance of the sentence of the court, the man was duly executed by hanging, at twelve o'clock and thirty minutes, on the 29th of December, 1869, in full view of the entire ranch, the five chiefs and the Indian doctor being in immediate attendance at the gallows. The execution passed off without accident, and the body remained hanging until sun-down, when, by my permission, it was taken away by his friends.

Too much praise cannot be awarded to the officers and men of this command for their coolness and general good behavior, particularly when it is remembered that twenty-two of the men were new recruits, many of whom had never seen any service. I would particularly call the attention of the major general commanding the department to First Lieutenant M. R. Loucks, Second Artillery, whose promptness and decision in carrying out the instructions given him entitle him to the greatest praise, particularly in his interview with the chiefs on his second visit to the ranch.

I would also call your attention to the report of Acting Assistant Surgeon H. M. Rick, United States Army, marked C, of the casualties which occurred during the trouble.

In conclusion, I can only say that, though regretting that extreme

measures had to be resorted to, yet under the circumstances I consider nothing else would have accomplished the object in view—that of bringing Mr. Smith's murderer to justice, and reducing the Indians to a state of subjection to the United States authority. Everything is now quiet, and I have no reason to anticipate any future trouble; yet my vigilance is not remitted, nor will it be, as I have no confidence in any promises made by Indians. They have shown their hostile feelings in this instance, and it is only through fear and the knowledge that any crime committed by them will meet with prompt punishment, that will keep them in proper subjection.

I would also request that the thirty-pound Parrot gun asked for in my last requisition may be sent to me at as early a date as practicable, for, had that gun been in position, I think two percussion shells would have brought the Indians to terms.

Mr. Smith died at eleven o'clock of the night of the 26th of December, 1869. His sufferings were terrible, and death must have been a relief.

Trusting that my action may meet with the approval of the major general commanding the department,

I am, captain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. BORROWE,

First Lieutenant Second Artillery.

Brevet Captain S. B. MCINTYRE,

A. A. A. General, Department Alaska, Sitka, Alaska.

A true copy.

SAM'L B. MCINTIRE,

First Lieut. Second Artillery, and Bvt. Capt. U. S. A., A. A. A. G.

A.

FORT WRANGEL, WRANGEL ISLAND, A. T.,

December 26, 1869.

SIR: About 12 o'clock midnight, on the night of the 25th December, 1869, it was reported through the garrison that the wife of Quartermaster Sergeant Muller, battery I, Second Artillery, had had her finger bitten off by an Indian. I proceeded to her quarters to verify the report, and there saw that the third finger of her right hand had been bitten or torn off by an Indian named Si-wau, as all present stated. I returned for my saber and belt, reported to the commanding officer, then set off for the Indian village with a detachment of twenty men to arrest the Indian Si-wau. Having arrived in that portion of the village nearest to the garrison, I intended to enter Tow-ye-at's house, expecting to find there the Indian I wanted.

Before entering Tow-ye-at's house, I met an Indian in a red cap and shirt, named Soudt-doo,* who, upon being asked to do so, told me that Si-wau had left Tow-ye-at's house and gone to another near by, which he pointed out to me. I entered the house with twelve men, leaving the remainder to guard the entrance outside. Si-wau was sitting down near the fire opposite the entrance, with nothing on but pants. The position of the detachment in the house formed in single rank along the nearest side of the quadrangular space, with instructions to fire whenever I

* This is the Indian who subsequently shot Mr. Smith.

should give the signal. With Si-wau there were Esteen, his brother, Si-wau's klootchman, (wife,) and old Klootchman, (woman,) who was sitting up, and perhaps a few others sleeping in different parts of the house. I tapped Si-wau on the shoulder, saying that I wanted him to come with me. He arose from his sitting posture and said he would put on his vest; after that he wished to get his coat. Feeling convinced that this was merely to gain time, that he wished to trifle with me, I began to be more urgent. Si-wau appeared less and less inclined to come away with me, and in this, the latter part of the parley, he became impudent and menacing in raising his hands as if to strike me. I admonished him against such actions, and tried my utmost to avoid extreme measures in arresting him. About this time, Esteen, probably apprehending danger to his brother Si-wau, rushed forward in front of the detachment, extending his arms theatrically and exclaiming, as I supposed under the circumstances, "Shoot; kill me; I am not afraid." Si-wau seeing this, also rushed upon the detachment, endeavoring to snatch a musket away from one of the men on the right of the detachment. Still wishing to avoid loss of life if possible, I tried to give him two or three saber cuts over the head to stun without killing him.

In doing this I had given the preconcerted signal (by raising my hand) to fire. I should judge about six or eight shots were fired during the melee, and only ceasing by the Indian Si-wau falling at the feet of the detachment dead. Esteen and the others running to their holes, everything became quiet. I then directed the detachment not to renew the firing until further orders. I had Esteen pulled out, and discovered he was bleeding profusely from a wound in his right arm near the shoulder. Two handkerchiefs were tied around his arm above the wound to check the bleeding. My first thought was to arrest him also, for interference, but afterward considering that he was intoxicated, and that his interference was to protect his brother Si-wau, who, in my opinion, was in the same condition of intoxication, I concluded that he had been sufficiently punished, and directed that he be carried over to the hospital for treatment, and that the dead Indian should be carried over to the guard-house.

While preparing to carry over the two Indians, a tumult of challenging by the guard outside the house, and Indians shouting to their friends, began. Leaving First Sergeant Dean to superintend preparations for the transportation of the Indians, I went outside and found there, near the door, the sub-chief, Tow-ye-at, who, I suppose, did the shouting, and was the cause of the challenging. At that time I could not see whether Tow-ye-at was armed or not, although the men said he had a knife, and to beware of him. I told him (Tow-ye at) that I had finished my business, and that I was about to return with the men. I told him that if he wished to say anything to the soldier Ty-ee, he could do so in the morning. With that I gently led him toward the house and advised him to go to bed. That was the last I saw of Tow-ye-at that night.

The two Indians were accordingly brought over and the result reported to the commanding officer. I dismissed the detachment, and supposing no further disturbance would occur, was sitting in post surgeon's quarters, when, about an hour or thereabouts after my return, a shot was heard from the direction of the store of the post trader. Taking with me Private Magee I ran down there, and while on the way Private Magee drew my attention to an object lying on the ground near the plank walk running between the store and the garrison. Upon examination it proved to be Mr. Leon Smith, the partner of William King

Lear, the post trader. Mr. Smith was lying on his breast upon a low stump alongside of the plank walk, with arms extended and a revolving pistol fallen from the grasp of the right hand. I first supposed him dead, but by placing him in a more comfortable position and speaking to him, he groaned merely. I then sent to the garrison for a stretcher and men. At about this time Gleason and Henderson came up.

In order to preserve the body from attempted mutilation, the three present posted themselves near by to look out for Indians in ambush. After a few moments I went up in front of the store, and told those inside to bring out a blanket with which to carry Mr. Smith to the hospital. This done, I posted three men, who had been previously sent to defend the store, behind obstacles in front of it. After having remained posted with the pickets a short time in order to understand the condition of things around the store, and to observe any movements in the village, I returned to the garrison to inquire into the circumstances of the shooting of Mr. Smith, and to receive orders in the case. Directly after reveille, according to instructions, I proceeded with a detachment of twenty men under a flag of truce to the Indian village, to demand that the chiefs should come over to the garrison to settle the difficulty by giving up the murderer of Mr. Smith, at or before 12 o'clock m. that day; or, failing in this, that the commanding officer would open fire upon the Indian village at the expiration of the time allowed in which the surrender of the murderer was to have been made.

When within about a hundred yards of the village, my interpreter pointed out an Indian in a red coat as the one that the Indian chiefs were demanded to surrender. My instructions, and especially the flag of truce at the head of the detachment, as well as the lack of positive proof of identity, precluded any exercise of force to make any arrest this time, or to bring him down with a volley. I there met Tow-ye-at in his war paint and fighting costume, and communicated to him the demands of the commanding officer. Tow-ye-at refused both the interview and the surrender of the murderer. He stated twice that if fire was opened upon the village he would die in his house. I explained to them all that the commanding officer was not angry with all of them, only with the murderer of Mr. Smith, and that if the murderer was surrendered, friendship and good feeling would return; and still earnestly wishing and endeavoring to avoid the necessity of opening fire, I proposed even that the commanding officer might meet the chiefs half way between the garrison and the village, all parties to the interview without an armed escort. Tow-ye-at refused the demands and the modifications which I did assume to make in order to discover the least desire on their part to avoid trouble. Tow-ye-at was stiff. The members of his tribe were continually assembling, armed with Hudson Bay muskets, iron spears, pistols, &c., and more than half surrounding me at different times during the interview, in their eagerness, and, judging from the aspect of affairs generally, evidently determined to have revenge for the killing of one and wounding of another Indian the night before. I insisted and repeated to Tow-ye-at that by having the interview everything could be satisfactorily arranged; but all to no purpose. After a talk of an hour or so with Tow-ye-at and his friends, including also Mo-naw-is-ty, and many of his friends who were within hearing, Shakes at the head of his own tribe came over and took part in the interview. His manner as he approached was quite self-important. His friends, like Tow-ye-at, were, with few exceptions, armed with flint lock muskets, with thumb and finger ready to cock their pieces and open fire in grand style. With Shakes's friends, added to those already on the grounds, about one-half

of the bucks of the Stakeen tribe were assembled, I th Shakes of the demands of the commanding officer, but with no more success than with Tow-ye-at, with the addition, however, that if the commanding officer wished to see him, he (the commanding officer) could come over to the village to do so.

I told them all again that their village would be destroyed like the Kaik village last winter, and that wherever American steamers found them the same thing would be done again. I also made inquiries in reference to Corporal Northrop, Battery I, Second Artillery, who, it was supposed, had been in the village the night previous, and not been seen since that night. All said that he had gone; some said over to the garrison in a canoe, and others said he was drunk in the bushes.

I explained to them until I was tired of it, that the commanding officer only wished a friendly interview, and that it was but one Indian he wanted, the murderer of Mr. Smith.

Shakes indicated that he had no more to say, and believing myself that the whole matter had been fully explained to them all, nothing remained but to return to make my report of the result.

The Indians, so far from acceding to the demands in the beginning of the interview, became more and more stubborn as their numbers increased, and instead of facilitating a peaceful settlement of the difficulties, it seemed to me more probable they might have been increased by an accident even.

I consider that under the circumstances everything possible was done to effect a peaceful settlement, and nothing remained but to execute the threat attached or included in the demand.

Respectfully submitted.

M. R. LOUCKS,

First Lieut. Second Artillery, Officer of the Day.

First Lieutenant W. BORROWE,

Second Artillery, Commanding.

A true copy.

SAMPL B. MCINTIRE,

First Lieut. Second Artillery and Bvt. Capt. U. S. A., A. A. A. G.

B.

FORT WRANGEL, WRANGEL ISLAND, ALASKA,

December 28, 1869.

Proceedings of a trial of a Stakeen Indian, named Scutd-doo, at Fort Wrangel, Wrangel Island, Alaska, in accordance with the following order, viz:

HEADQUARTERS FORT WRANGEL, WRANGEL ISLAND, A. T.,

December 27, 1869.

[General Orders No. 76.]

Prompt and decided action being absolutely necessary, the following-named officers and citizens will assemble at this post to-morrow, the 28th instant, at 12 o'clock m., for the trial of an Indian, named Scutd-doo, for the willful murder on the morning of December 26, 1869, of Leon Smith, a citizen of the United States, at Wrangel Island, Alaska.

Detail: First Lieutenant Wm. Borrowe, Second artillery; First Lieutenant M. R. Loucks, Second artillery; Acting Assistant Surgeon H. M. Kirke U. S. A.; William K. Lear, post trader. First Lieutenant M. R. Loucks will act as recorder.

WM. BORROWE,

First Lieutenant Second Artillery, Commanding.

FORT WRANGEL, WRANGEL ISLAND,
December 28, 1869—12 o'clock m.

Present: All the officers and citizens named in the above order; also the following named Stakeen chiefs:

1. Shakes, Kah-ous-tay Hah Kotsk. 2. Tou-ye-at Hoots. 3. Shus-tah-ack Koun Kay. 4. Qu-naw-is-tay Kosh-Keh. 5. Klah-Keh.

Present: Scutd-doo, Wish-tah, the prisoner.

First Lieutenant Wm. Borrowe, Second Artillery, stated that the prisoner, on the night of the 27th December, 1869, confessed himself to be the Indian who murdered Mr. Leon Smith.

Each one of the above-mentioned chiefs identified the prisoner as the murderer of Mr. Leon Smith, the partner of the post trader at Fort Wrangel, Alaska Territory. Shakes, as well as all the other chiefs, upon being asked what punishment should be inflicted upon the prisoner for his crime, say they agree to whatever punishment that may be necessary. It is then announced that it is the will of the officers and citizens present during the trial that the prisoner, the Indian Scutd-doo, at mid-day December 29, 1869, shall be hanged by the neck until dead, in presence of the troops, citizens, and the five Stakeen chiefs, and that he should remain so hanging until nightfall, when his friends could remove the body. To which all the chiefs assented.

The prisoner, upon hearing this, replied, very well; that he had killed a tyhee, and not a common man; that he would see Mr. Smith in the other world, and, as it were, explain to him how it all happened; that he did not intend to kill Mr. Leon Smith, particularly; had it been any one else it would have been all the same.

WM. BORROWE,
First Lieutenant Second Artillery, President.
M. R. LOUCKS,
First Lieutenant Second Artillery, Recorder.
H. M. KIRKE,
Acting Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., Member of Court.

The prisoner was then returned to the guard for confinement, till the hour of his execution, whereupon the trial closed.

WM. BORROWE,
First Lieutenant Second Artillery, President.
M. R. LOUCKS,
First Lieutenant Second Artillery, Recorder.
H. M. KIRKE,
Acting Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., Member of Court.

HEADQUARTERS FORT WRANGEL,
WRANGEL ISLAND, ALASKA TERRITORY,
December 28, 1869.

The foregoing proceedings are approved, and the sentence of the court will be carried into effect; the prisoner, Scutd-doo, will be executed at 12 o'clock m. of the 29th of December, 1869.

WM. BORROWE,
First Lieutenant Second Artillery, Commanding.

A true copy.

SAML. B. MCINTIRE,
First Lieut. Second Artillery, and Bvt. Capt. U. S. A., A. A. G.

10 BOMBARDMENT OF INDIAN VILLAGE AT WRANGEL, ALASKA.

C.

POST HOSPITAL, FORT WRANGEL,
WRANGEL ISLAND, ALASKA TERRITORY,
December 29, 1869.

SIR: I have the honor to report as the result of the late Indian trouble:

One (1) white man, Mr. Leon Smith, killed.

One (1) Indian killed.

One (1) white woman, company laundress, finger bitten off.

One (1) Indian severely wounded, by gun-shot fracture of the right humerus.

One (1) Indian hung.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. M. KIRKE,
*Acting Assistant Surgeon United States Army,
In charge of Post Hospital.*

First Lieutenant WM. BORROWE,
Second United States Artillery, Commanding Post.

A true copy.

SAMPL B. McINTIRE,
*First Lieutenant Second Artillery, and Brevet Captain U. S. A.,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.*

LETTER

OF

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

COMMUNICATING,

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 14th instant, so much of the report of Vincent Colyer, special Indian commissioner, as relates to the Indian village of Wrangel, Alaska, showing the condition of that village previous to its recent bombardment by United States troops.

MARCH 22, 1870.—Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C., March 22, 1870.

SIR: In compliance with a resolution of the Senate, of the 14th instant, I have the honor to transmit herewith "so much of the report of Vincent Colyer, special Indian commissioner, as relates to the Indian village of Wrangel, Alaska, including the accompanying illustrations, now in the hands of the government printer, showing the condition of that village previous to its recent bombardment by the United States troops."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. T. OTTO,
Acting Secretary.

Hon. SCHUYLER COLFAX,
President of the Senate.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 16, 1870.*

SIR: In response to the resolution of the Senate of the United States, calling for "so much of my report on the Indian tribes of Alaska Territory as relates to the Indian village of Wrangel, including the accompanying illustrations, now in the hands of the government printer, showing the condition of that village previous to its recent bombardment by the United States troops," I have the honor to submit the following report.

Sincerely, your obedient servant,

VINCENT COLYER,
Secretary Board of Indian Commissioners.

Hon. J. D. COX,
Secretary of the Interior.

WRANGEL.

The Indian village of Wrangel is in latitude $56^{\circ} 27' 20''$, and $132^{\circ} 13' 15''$ west, or about one hundred and thirty miles north of the boundary line of British Columbia. It is located on a tongue of land and cove in the northwest shore of Wrangel Island. On the opposite side of the cove or other horn of the Crescent, the United States post is established about eight hundred yards distant, with its guns commanding the village.* There are thirty-two houses in the village, and when all are at home there are five hundred and eight inhabitants. Of these, one hundred and fifty-nine are men, and three hundred and forty-nine are women and children. (See Appendix A.) Of the men, about one-half may be capable of bearing arms, (as with us.) A number of the more athletic are usually absent with the principal chief up the Stikine River, trading with the natives of the interior. Their weapons of defense are a few old flint-lock muskets—mostly of Russian make—some pikes, and knives, as they live by fishing, and the peaceful interchange of smoked salmon and ulicum oil, for furs, &c., with the Indians of the interior. (See Appendix B and F.)

Sketch No. 1 on the opposite page, shows the portion of the village recently bombarded, which is located on the bay nearest the United States post, and sketch No. 2 is a rapidly engraved sketch of the government post on which the guns are located. The right of Sketch No. 2 joins on to the left of Sketch No. 1, and as seen thus shows the narrow cove across which the shelling of the village took place. The small log-house and bowling alley to the right on Sketch No. 2 is Leon Smith's, the post-trader's store.

To the right of the portion of the Indian village, as seen in Sketch No. 1 and out of the picture, is the residence of the widow of Skillat, the old chief of the Stikine tribe at Wrangel. Sketch No. 3, with a view of the interior, Sketch No. 4. Further on is a picture of Shek's house, through which a couple of six-pound solid shot were thrown—Sketch No. 5.

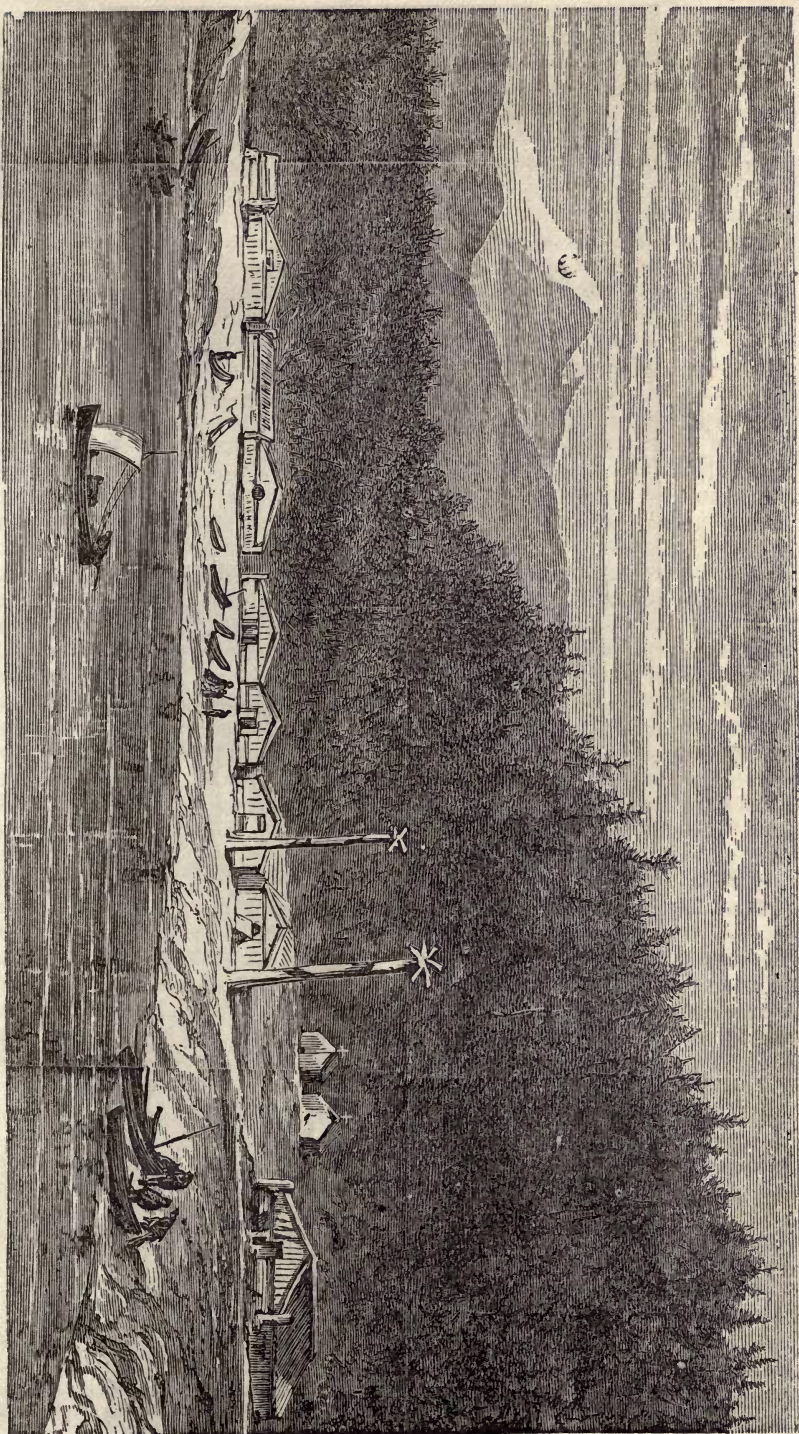
INDIAN HOUSES AT WRANGEL.

The houses are well constructed habitations, built of plank fastened on heavy timbers, well morticed together. They are large, being about forty by fifty feet square, one story high, and subdivided within into smaller apartments. The interior apartments were, doubtless, copied by the Indians from ships' cabins, as these were the kind of habitations mostly seen by the natives on board the ships so frequently visiting their coast; and this illustrates quite remarkably the ability of these Indians to improve, and the quickness and skill at imitation.

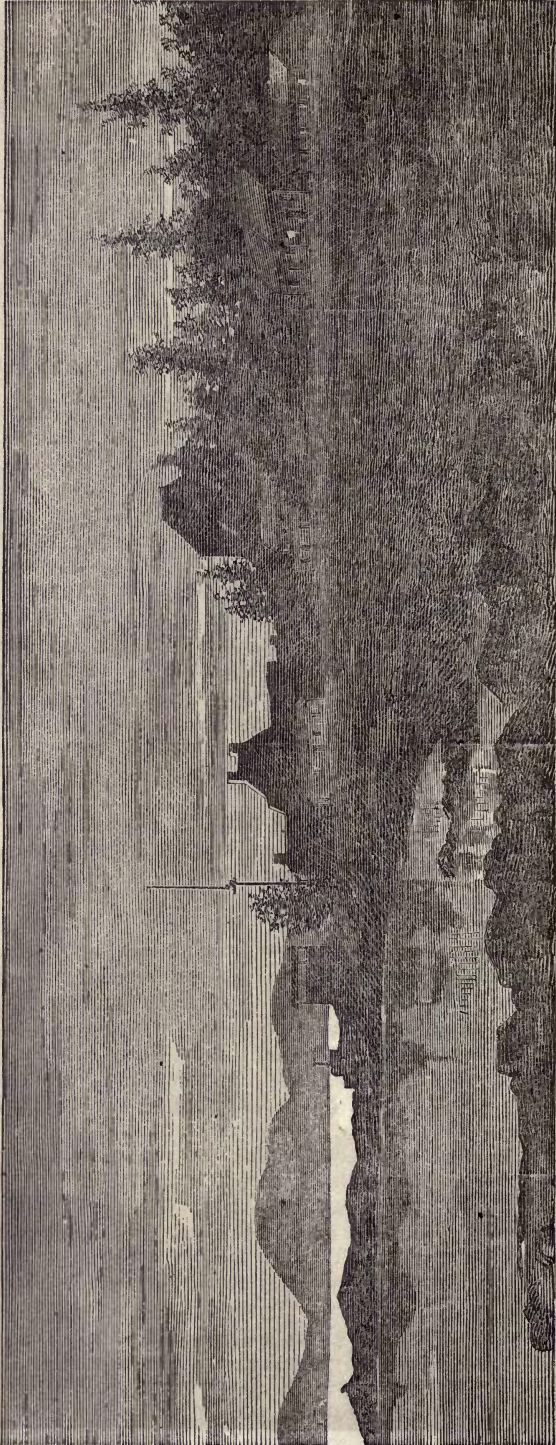
These cabins, or private sleeping-rooms of one family, are seen in Sketch No. 4, built on raised platforms. They are as neatly finished as most whaling ships' cabins, and have bunks, or places for beds, built on the inside around the sides. They vary in size, being usually about ten by twenty feet, with ceilings seven feet high.

Some of the young men are quite skillful mechanics, handling carpenters' tools with facility, and if you will closely examine the sketch you will see that there is a floor and raised platform of boards, neatly fastened together, below the private cabins or rooms spoken of, so that the amount of carpenter work about one of these houses is considerable.

* The post is garrisoned by Company I, Second United States Artillery, First Lieutenant W. Borrowes, commanding.



NO. 1.—A PORTION OF THE INDIAN VILLAGE AT WRANGEL, ALASKA—500 YARDS FROM THE POST ON OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE COVE—RECENTLY BOMBARDED BY THE COMMANDER OF THE POST, SKETCH NO. 2.



Leon Smith's store and bowling alley.

Hospital.

Commandant's residence. Guns.

No. 2.—THE UNITED STATES POST AT WRANGEL, ALASKA.

They have a large opening in the roof, through which the smoke of their fire passes, as seen in No. 4. Usually, this opening in the roof is covered with loose boards, which are placed on either side of the roof, according as the wind may blow, always with an opening left, through which the smoke passes out. Sometimes they build a large wooden chimney, like a cupola, over this opening, but more commonly it is only covered with boards as described.

You will notice in Sketch No. 4 a frame-work erected in the center of the cabin. On this rack of untrimmed sticks they hang their salmon and other fish to smoke and dry them over the fire. They then pack them for use in square boxes neatly made of yellow cedar, smoked, oiled, and trimmed with bears' teeth, in imitation of the nails we use on our trunks—like the old brass nails of former years.

Some of these Indian houses are quite elaborately painted on the front, as seen in Sketch No. 3, the residence of Skillat's widow.

These paintings have an allegorical meaning, and frequently represent facts in the history of the chief or the tribe.

In front of the entrance there is usually a porch, built with railing, to prevent the children from falling off, and you will notice the round hole for the entrance. They are covered inside with heavy wooden doors, securely fastened within by large wooden bars, as if for safety against attacks. The doors are usually about four feet in diameter, and their circular form resembles the opening of the "tepé" or tents of the tribes of the plains.

In front of most of the cabins of the chiefs, large poles, elaborately carved, with figures imitating bears, sea-lions, crows, eagles, human faces, and figures, are erected. These are supposed to represent facts in the history of the chiefs, as well as being heraldic symbols of the tribe. By referring to Picture No. 1, you will see the poles (very poorly engraved) standing in front of the cabins; in another sketch not engraved is an enlarged copy of these poles, and on No. 5 are some very curious colossal frogs, a bear, and war-chief, with his "big medicine-dance" hat on. All of these things show a great fondness for art, which, if developed, would bear good fruits. It also shows that these Indians have the time, taste, and means for other things than immediately providing the mere necessities of existence.

In the carving of their canoes they display great skill, making them entirely by the eye. They are as accurately balanced and beautifully modeled as possible. A copy of a canoe, with a group of Indian women dressed in their highly-colored blankets and calicoes, you will find in Sketch No. 10, (not engraved in this edition.)

PEACEFUL CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS AT WRANGEL.

The testimony as to the peaceful and industrious character of the Indians at Wrangel is abundant. On this point Leon Smith, the post-trader, who was killed, says in a letter to me dated October 30, 1869, "I have found them to be quiet and well disposed toward the whites." Again, "The Stikine tribe are a very honest tribe and partial to the whites." (See Appendix C.) W. Wall, interpreter at Wrangel, says: "The majority of these Indians are very industrious and are always anxious to get employment," and he adds, "In conclusion, I have no hesitation in stating (after nearly three years' experience in their means and ways) that these Indians if properly instructed and advantage taken of the resources of the country, might not be comfortable, but by

the sale of furs and their other produce, might become wealthy." (See Appendix D.)

Hon. William S. Dodge, ex-mayor of Sitka, says of the Alaska Indians, as a whole: "They are of a very superior intelligence, and have rapidly acquired many of the American ways of living and cooking. Their houses are clustered into villages, very thoroughly and neatly built, and far more substantial and pretentious than the log-houses usually constructed by our hardy backwoodsmen."

In this description Mr. Dodge includes the Stikines, Kakes, Kootze-noos, and the Koloshan tribes generally.

Of the Sitkas Mr. Dodge says: "They supply Sitka with its game, fish, and vegetables, such as potatoes, turnips, beets, and radishes, and they are sharp traders."

Mr. Frank K. Louthan, post trader at Sitka, says of the Sitkas: "They are industrious and ingenious, being able to imitate admirably almost anything placed before them." He tells of their "chopping and delivering one thousand cords of wood for the United States quartermaster, under many disadvantages, as well, if not better, than it would have been done by the same white labor, under similar circumstances."

Mr. Louthan further says: "That our Indians are susceptible of a high standard of cultivation I have no doubt." "This can only be done by the aid of industrial and educational schools. The missionary is working to good advantage at Vancouver Island and at Fort Simpson, in whose schools can be found men and women of high culture and refinement, fit to grace almost any position in life."* "The Koloshans, our own Indians from Tongas to the Copper River, are quite as intelligent and easy of culture, needing only the same liberal system of education to, in a very short time, utilize them for every purpose of government and usefulness." (See full report of F. K. Louthan, Appendix E, and report of H. G. Williams, Appendix B.)

LIQUORS BROUGHT TO WRANGEL.

As I have reported at Tongas, so it was at Wrangel. A quantity of porter and light wines, ten barrels of ale, and five barrels of distilled spirits, (whisky, brandy, &c.,) were hoisted up from the hold of the Newbern, marked Leon Smith, post trader at Wrangel. As I had called the attention of the revenue officers to the violation of President Johnson's order in landing the liquors at Tongas, the officer commanding the post at Wrangel asked me my opinion of the business. I called his attention to the wording of the papers permitting the shipment of the liquors from San Francisco. It was the same as at Tongas—for the "use of the officers at the post." The captain read this, reflected a moment, and then said that he would not permit it to land. The beer and porter was landed and taken into Leon Smith's store, and the whisky, brandy, rum, &c., was carried up to Sitka.

At Wrangel, as at Tongas, there is no medical attendance, nor care or supervision of any kind whatever, other than military, over the Indians.

DEMORALIZING EFFECT OF THE NEAR PROXIMITY OF SOLDIERS AND INDIANS.

I have spoken of the ill effects of the near proximity of soldiers to the Indian villages, and of the demoralizing effects upon both. It is the same in all Indian countries. It appears to be worse here because more needless. Nowhere else that I have visited is the absolute uselessness

* Under charge of Rev. W. Duncan, who wrote the letter on page 10. V. C.

† Brevet Captain Borrowes, U. S. A.

of soldiers so apparent as in Alaska. The only communication being by water—there are no roads by land—it follows that vessels suitable for plying up the inland seas, manned by a few revenue officers or good, smart sailors, will do more toward effectually preventing lawlessness among the Indians, and smuggling or illicit trade with the whites and Indians, than five hundred soldiers located at post. Nearly all the United States officers that I have conversed with agree on the above, and recommend a reduction in the force in this Territory. There are five hundred here now, when two hundred would be ample for the whole Territory.

The soldiers will have whisky, and the Indians are equally fond of it. The free use of this by both soldiers and Indians, together with the other debaucheries between them, rapidly demoralizes both, though the whites, having the larger resources, and being better cared for by the government in houses, clothing, and food, endure it the longer.

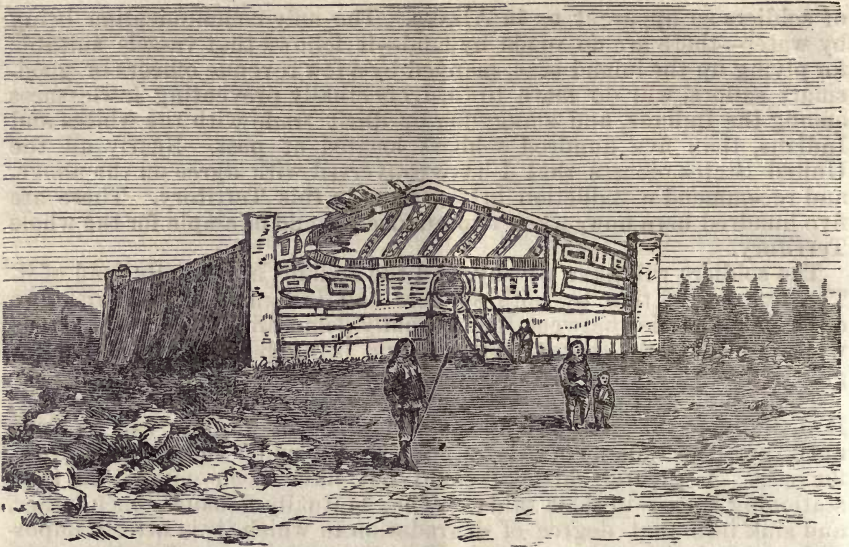
The United States medical director of the department of Alaska, Dr. E. J. Baily, says: "I am satisfied that little or nothing can be done until they (the Indians of Alaska) are placed under more favorable influences. A greater mistake could not have been committed than stationing troops in their midst. They mutually debauch each other, and sink into that degree of degradation in which it is utterly impossible to reach either through moral or religious influences." (See report, Appendix G.)

ABUSE OF INDIANS AT WRANGEL.

On my return trip, while stopping at Wrangel, October 29, Leon Smith, assisted by two half-drunken discharged soldiers, assaulted an Indian who was passing in front of his store. Mr. Smith, ex-confederate officer, said that he was under the impression (mistaken, as he afterward admitted) that the Indian had struck his little boy, and he only shook the Indian. The drunken soldiers standing by then, of their own accord, (unsolicited, Mr. Smith says, by him,) seized the Indian, brutally beat him, and stamped upon him. I had been taking a census of the village that afternoon, and hearing the shouts of the party, met the Indian with his face badly cut and bleeding coming toward his home. I immediately went to the post and suggested to the commandant that he should have the drunken soldiers arrested and retained for trial. He sent a lieutenant, with two or three men, "to quell the disturbance," the Indians meanwhile having become excited, and to "use his own discretion about arresting the men." Lieutenant Loucks returned soon after without the drunken soldiers, and gave as his reason that "the Indian struck Mr. Smith's boy," which, as I have said, was disproved.

The drunken men belonged to a party of over one hundred discharged soldiers who had come down on our steamer from Sitka, and were on their way to San Francisco. Some of them had been drummed out of the service for robbing the Greek church at Sitka, and for other crimes. I had informed the commandant of their character the morning after our vessel arrived, and suggested to him the propriety of preventing any of them from landing and going to the Indian village. He replied that he had no authority to prevent any one from landing. I was surprised at this, as I supposed Alaska was an Indian territory, and that the military had supreme control.

The day after the assault upon the Indian, the commandant came on board the Newbern and asked very kindly my opinion about the propriety of attempting to arrest the two drunken soldiers, but as there



No. 3.—THE WIDOW OF SKILLAT, THE FORMER CHIEF'S HOUSE AT WRANGEL, ALASKA.

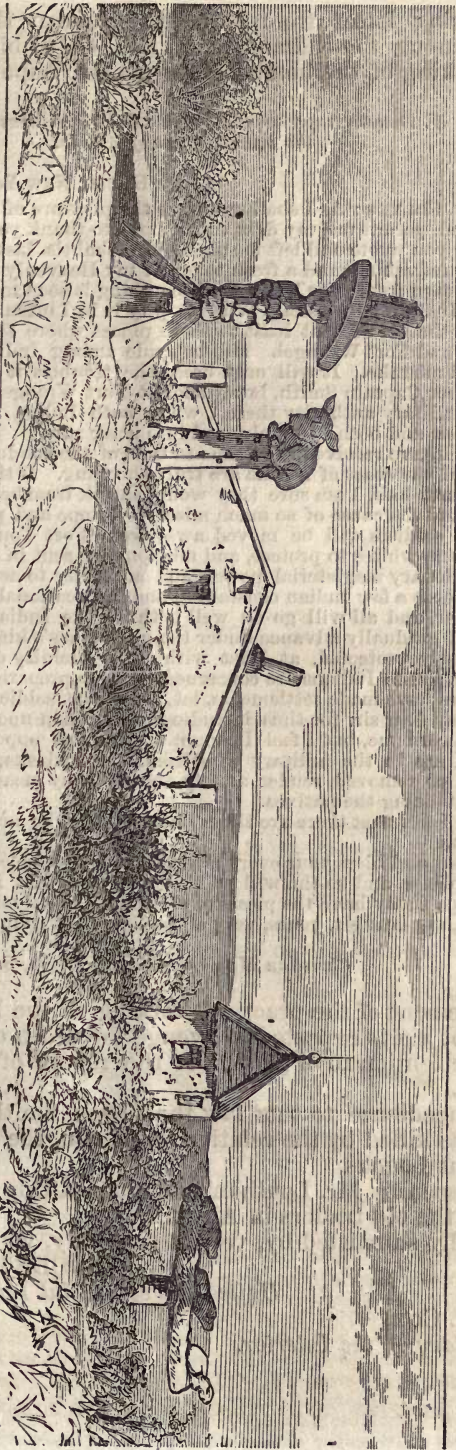


No. 4.—INTERIOR OF INDIAN HOUSE AT WRANGEL, ALASKA.

were over one hundred soldiers on board, and the affair had occurred at near twilight, so that it would be impossible to recognize the men, the impracticability of doing this at that late hour was apparent.

The news of the bombardment of this village by the commandant of the post reached us as we close report.

The connection of some of the events narrated above with those mentioned in the report to the Secretary of War in his communication to the United States Senate, (Ex. Doc. No. 67,) inclosing the report of Lieutenant Borrows concerning the recent bombardment makes them interesting.



Chief's son,
carved bear.

Tomb of the
chief's son.

Three colossal frogs carved in wood.

No. 5.—SHEKS, THE SECOND CHIEF'S, HOUSE AND MONUMENTS AT WRANGEL, ALASKA.—TWO CANNON BALLS WERE SENT THROUGH THIS HOUSE DURING THE RECENT BOMBARDMENT BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE POST, NO. 2.

The following letter from Rev. Mr. Duncan the most successful missionary among the Indians in British Columbia near the coast of Alaska, speaking of the bombardment, is also important :

Letter from Rev. W. Duncan, superintendent of the Indian missions in British Columbia, near the boundary line of Alaska.

ASTOR HOUSE, NEW YORK, February 28, 1870.

MY DEAR MR. COLYER: As I shall not have the pleasure of meeting you on my way home to England, permit me, my dear sir, by note, to thank you most sincerely for the very kind letter you wrote and left for me at Metlakahla last November. Your sympathy was very refreshing, and a fresh token of my Heavenly Father's care over me.

I am glad to learn from your letter that something is soon to be done for the spiritual welfare of the Indians of Alaska. What a pity it is, I often think, the missionaries did not precede the soldiers, at least to those places where there are only Indians, as at Fort Tongas and Fort Wrangel. Military rule among Indians, while heathen, is, I feel sure, a fatal mistake. It will only breed the troubles it was intended to check. (The blood of poor Captain Smith, lately shot at Fort Wrangel, lies, I am sorry to say, at the door of military authority there,) while both Indian and soldier are reciprocating their vices, and both being plunged into utter ruin.

The accounts I have received from time to time of the conduct of the soldiers in the Indian camps of the coast of Alaska are truly shocking. If the United States government did but know half, I am sure they would shrink from being identified with such abominations, and the cause of so much misery. I hope and pray, that in God's good providence the soldiers will be moved away from Fort Tongas and Fort Wrangel, where there are no whites to protect, and missionaries sent in their places.

Give the missionary magisterial power, and authority to act as a custom-house officer; let him choose a few Indian constables, and be occasionally visited and supported by a ship of war, and all will go on well both for the Indians and the country too. The Indian will gradually advance under the missionary's kind rule, the customs laws will be efficiently protected, at least within the vicinity of the mission, and the country (so far as the Indians are concerned) become prepared for the white settlers. When the whites have made settlements, let, if need be, soldiers be sent to them.

Excuse me, my dear sir, for thus intruding my opinion upon matters which in one sense do not concern me, but I feel I cannot let pass this opportunity for venting my grief at what I see in the military establishment of Alaska, which will, I am sure, unless changed or removed, render utterly abortive any measures you may adopt for teaching and civilizing the natives.

How rejoiced I feel that there are those in this land who are seeking the welfare of the poor Indian.

May God direct and bless your every effort in your benevolent undertaking.

If it should please, and be the will of Almighty God that I shall return to Metlakahla, I do hope I may have the pleasure of seeing you on my way thither.

Believe me, my dear sir, yours, very sincerely and gratefully,

W. DUNCAN,

Christian Missionary Society House, Salisbury Square, London.

For a statement of the practical working of the Indian law by which the nearest of kin is expected to avenge the death of his relative killed, I call your attention to a portion of the report of Frank K. Louthan, Appendix F.

It was in obedience to this law that Leon Smith, the post-trader at Wrangel, was killed by the relative of Siawan, the Indian shot by order of Lieutenant Loucks.

It will be seen by Mr. Louthan's report that this law was well understood by all the old traders in Alaska.

Respectfully submitted by, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
VINCENT COLYER,

United States Special Indian Commissioner.

Hon. J. D. COX,
Secretary of the Interior.

APPENDIX A.

Census of the Indian village (Stikine) at Wrangel, Alaska.

Houses.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Houses.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
First	7	5	4	5	Eighteenth	5	5	3	3
Second	4	4	1	1	Nineteenth	5	5	2	2
Third	7	10	1	10	Twentieth	4	7	7	1
Fourth	4	6	4	1	Twenty-first	5	5	1	0
Fifth	10	9	0	10	Twenty-second	4	3	4	0
Sixth	3	3	4	0	Twenty-third	5	7	1	4
Seventh	1	1	1	1	Twenty-fourth	5	8	1	0
Eighth	6	4	6	4	Twenty-fifth	8	10	3	7
Ninth	5	7	3	0	Twenty-sixth	6	9	7	4
Tenth	5	6	0	3	Twenty-seventh	4	9	3	7
Eleventh	5	5	0	4	Twenty-eighth	4	5	1	2
Twelfth	2	2	1	0	Twenty-ninth	7	10	2	0
Thirteenth	6	6	0	10	Thirtieth	2	2	5	0
Fourteenth	7	5	1	1	Thirty-first	3	3	3	2
Fifteenth	2	2	1	1	Thirty-second	8	6	3	2
Sixteenth	2	4	3	3	Total	159	183	77	89
Seventeenth	8	10	1	1					
Men						159			
Women and children						349			
Total						508			

APPENDIX B.

Report from Harry G. Williams.

THE STIKINE INDIANS AT WRANGEL.

FORT WRANGEL, ALASKA TERRITORY, *October 30, 1869.*

DEAR SIR: Immediately after leaving you on board the steamer Newbern, I was snugly stored away as a guest of the post surgeon, in his quarters. H. M. Kirke, acting assistant surgeon United States Army, gave me a very interesting account of the nature, customs, means of livelihood, occupation, and also of the diseases and manner of their treatment among the Stikine Indians.

Of their nature, he says, they are very docile and friendly, ingenious, and labor well and faithfully, but by being brought into contact with unprincipled white men are soon found to adopt and imitate their manners and ways.

In their customs they still maintain the most of those originally observed by their nation. However, many of them take great pride in imitating civilized ways of dress, which in their opinion renders them equally as good as a white man. Their means of livelihood are chiefly by salmon fishing, which they catch in immense numbers, and prepare for winter use by drying and smoking, after which they are stored away carefully. Many of them use flour, but prefer hard bread and crackers when they are able to obtain them. They are very fond of coffee, sugar, and molasses, and like all other Indians easily become fond of ardent spirits, to obtain which they will sometimes sacrifice nearly everything in their possession. In this manner they are imposed upon by those who know no principle or law, who have been known to sell them essence of peppermint, Stoughton's bitters, and absinthe, charging them four dollars a bottle, (holding one pint.) Absinthe is a compound which, if used as a constant beverage, soon unseats the mind, produces insanity, and sometimes death. Dr. Kirke tells me that he can find none among them who are entirely free from the indications of some form of disease. A large number of them are more or less inoculated with the different forms of venereal diseases, which, had they proper protection, could be avoided. But I regret to say that men cannot be blamed for following examples set by their superiors, the consequence of which is the Indian women become mere concubines, at the will of those whose duty it is to try and elevate and not degrade them. These women are never known to seek any such degrading intercourse, but permit it merely for the pecuniary gain it affords them. Justice, honor, and manhood point the finger of scorn, and cry shame to such. Men with virtuous, noble wives and children, even to stoop to such acts! Thank a kind heavenly Master, there will be a time when such men can be

seen in their true character, and be made to feel the power of an avenging hand. I am fully convinced that by kind and careful teaching this great evil could be remedied and the Indian race again restored to its former virtue and honor, and gradually become an intelligent, industrious, and educated people.

THE STIKINE RIVER.

After remaining at Wrangel one week I procured an Indian guide, purchased a canoe and sufficient provisions to last three months, and Monday, at half past one p. m., September 13, started on a tour of inspection up the Stikine River, the mouth of which is about ten miles north from Wrangel Island. We reached main land about four p. m., and after luncheon again resumed our journey, overtaking a number of Indians during the afternoon.

These Indians were from Wrangel, and on their way to the interior, where they go every fall to trade for the furs of more distant tribes. A systematic form of exchange is carried on from one tribe to another until it reaches the coast tribes, thus bringing many valuable furs many hundred miles from the interior of a vast and unexplored country.

As we advanced, day after day, the general appearance of the country gradually assumed a better appearance. The scenery along the river is far beyond my power of description. Immense mountains, whose snow-crowned heads pierce the dome of heaven in solemn and domestic grandeur, rise in every direction.

COAL, IRON, AND COPPER.

In many places on these mountains could be seen huge masses of coal, looking as though a little push would set them tumbling down their sides. Iron and copper abound in many places, and gold can be found in every direction, very thinly scattered. As yet no discoveries have been made that would warrant a speedy acquirement of wealth by mining, but the indications are very good that at no distant day very rich mines will be found. A strong party of prospectors left Victoria in May last, for the purpose of exploring the entire interior westward, and are daily expected to make their appearance somewhere along the coast. Many are ready and waiting to embrace any new discoveries they may have made in their long journey. As we advanced to the interior we found a greater change in the condition of the Indians. They being removed from the coast, had no idea of wrong or evil actions. They are far more honest than the same number of white men would be under the same circumstances. You can form an idea of this from the following, which I learned from an eye-witness: In 1862 a large immigration of miners to this coast was caused by the discoveries of gold about two hundred miles up the Stikine River, at a bar named after the discoverer, (Mr. Chockett, nicknamed Buck,) hence the name of "Buck's Bar," which was worked but one or two years, (owing to the difficulty of getting provisions,) and then nearly all of them returning, many left their entire kits of tools and working utensils and goods of every variety; some hung them up on trees, others stowed them away in caves and niches in the rocks, and abandoned them. The Indians are continually passing them, and have been known to replace them when their fastenings would give way and let them fall to the ground, thereby showing not even the existence of a wrong thought in the minds of these red men. The only thing they have ever been known to appropriate was a few potatoes and about five pounds of flour belonging to one of the miners there, and this they were almost forced to take from inability to procure sufficient food to sustain life. This instance can be multiplied by many more of the same nature, were it necessary. Fifty miles up the river is an abandoned house, once used by the Hudson's Bay Company for trading with the Indians.

THE GLACIER OF THE STIKINE.

Opposite this place is an immense glacier, about four miles long and an unknown width, extending westward between two large mountains, until it is no longer discernible. It varies in depth from one to five or six hundred feet, commencing near the water and extending along its course. The top is furrowed and cut by the rain into every variety of shape, only needing a small addition to form correct images of houses, towers, giants, caverns, and many other forms. Viewed from the east side of the river, when the sun is shining full upon it, it presents a most beautiful appearance, its innumerable points glistening like burnished silver, and its caverns becoming more dark by comparison. Toward sunset the effect of the day's sun causes it to crack, which makes a deep rumbling noise that can be heard for ten or fifteen and sometimes twenty miles. Immediately opposite its center, across the river, is a boiling spring, bubbling up in eight or ten places, whose water is so hot that it will crisp a person's boots in a very short time, as many incautious persons can testify. It seems as if nature must have been on a frolic during her stay here, and becoming chilled from the glacier, came across the river and found this warm stream in which to sport.

Along the river are four other smaller glaciers, but, compared with this one, they become mere snow-balls. Seventy-five miles from the mouth of the river is located the trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, in charge of their agent, Mr. Chockett, known throughout the country as "Buck;" he is esteemed very highly by the Indians, from the fact that his dealings have been uniform, and his promises always faithfully redeemed, thus gaining a firm place in their estimation. At the time of my visit he showed me over eight hundred marten, one thousand beaver, and a large number of many other kind of furs; this being about the middle of the trading season with him. He has been two hundred and seventy-five miles from there up the river into the interior prospecting for gold. Sixty miles from there you reach an immense cañon, ninety miles long, extending through the Coast or Chigniet Mountains. The current in this place runs so rapidly that you can form no idea of its speed. It reminds you of a huge gun, as you see fragments of trees and logs fly along in its angry foaming waters. In some places the rocky sides gradually incline inward, until at a distance of two or three hundred feet above the water they come so close that a good jump will take you across the yawning chasm below. In the spring, when the ice breaks up in the river, the water rises from forty to sixty feet in this cañon, and you may imagine its appearance then.

After crossing the mountains, you reach a beautiful prairie, well watered and plenty of fine timber. Here are found deer, bear, antelope, mountain sheep, beaver, and nearly every variety of game, excepting the buffalo. The gold continues about the same, and is found to a small extent in river bars. No quartz existing precludes the idea of any large deposits in this vicinity.

The change in the climate is more striking than that of the country. It is clear, bright, and invigorating, with but very little rain. The atmosphere is so pure that you can see much further and more distinctly than in any other climate. The nights are almost as bright as the day; so bright that you can easily read coarse print. The Indians in this vicinity have almost an Eden to live in; game and fish in endless number seem to be only waiting their will. These tribes make annual journeys overland southward, and meet those coming from the coast, thus finding a ready market for their furs, for which they obtain ammunition, guns, axes, buttons, cloth, and tobacco; also many other small notions. But very little liquor ever reaches them, and thus they escape the great source of degradation and corruption which soon sweeps away nations, power, and happiness. I do not wish my readers to think that I am a rigid temperance man, for I am not. I regard liquor the same as any other article of drink or food; that is, if it is properly used, it will not injure any one; but abused, it becomes a scourge and lashes hardest those who embrace it most, degrading them even below the brute creation. Its effect on the Indian is much different and more dangerous than on the white man. When an Indian becomes intoxicated, he becomes wild, reckless, and cruel, not even hesitating to kill any one who may meet his displeasure. They will continue drinking as long as they can procure liquor, thus showing how rapid would be their course toward a fearful end.

At the time of my leaving Philadelphia, my opinion was like the masses who had never seen or inspected the Indian in his own native power and country; *i. e.*, "that he was incapable of ever being civilized or becoming of any importance whatever." Since my journey and inspection of the different tribes whom I met, and observing the change produced in them by association alone, every item of doubt regarding it is turned to a certainty, that they can, under honest, faithful instruction, be advanced far beyond our imagination.

After running up the Stikine, I then entered one of its tributaries, about one hundred and fifty miles up, called the Clear Water River. It was named by a party of miners, from the fact of its water being much more clear than the Stikine. The Clear Water runs southeast. It is a very rapid stream indeed, and in many places very shallow. It can be navigated with difficulty about fifteen or twenty miles in canoes, where rapids occur so frequently that no one cares to risk life and property by braving them. Here the climate is very fine and healthy, inhabited by the "Stick" or Tree Indians. These Indians partake of the same descriptions and traits as those along the Stikine. We left our canoe moored in a small side stream in full view of a trail in constant use by this tribe, and during a week which I spent in traveling from there in every direction, not a single article was disturbed by them. I frequently met them, and would ask them in their own language ("Mika manick, mika canin?") "Did you see my canoe?" They would say ("Moitka") "Yes;" and on returning I could see their trail pass it, but no indication of their approaching. I prospected in many places for gold, and found but very little difference between the deposits here and elsewhere, with one exception. About ten miles from camp, and five miles up a large creek (coming in from the northeast) called Boulder Creek, deriving its name from the amount of large boulders found along its course, is a fall of about five or six feet, at the foot of which are some small deposits of coarse gold buried among huge boulders of many tons' weight. It is not in sufficient quantities to warrant an investment in mining tools

&c., necessary to overcome these obstacles and remunerate any one for time and trouble.

Becoming fully convinced that there was nothing in this section sufficient to recompense me for the sacrifice of home and its surroundings, I determined on returning to them as soon as possible. Accordingly, October 21, all things being in readiness, at day-break I bid farewell to our old camp and its pleasant surroundings, headed the canoe down stream, and began a journey of nearly five thousand miles homeward bound. In the first day's travel we run about eighty miles, encountering many dangerous places, but coming through them all safely. Many times, in spite of our united efforts, the current would sweep us against its rocky boundary, and almost smash our canoe. Again in trying to avoid huge trees (left in the river at high water) we would be forced to head our boat directly for them, and with a silent prayer wait the result. The canoe being gradually rounded from its bottom up to a long sharp bow, and driven ten or twelve miles an hour by the strong current, would strike the tree and seem to leap out of the water over it, as if it was running from some fearful danger.

The next day's run we reached the Great Glacier, and camped in the old house, remaining there one day to overhaul our goods and feast our eyes on the beautiful scenery. After tramping over a large mountain and shooting some grouse and squirrels I returned to camp, and next morning determined to reach Wrangel again. It was a long and hard pull of sixty miles, the river having become much wider and the current ran from four to six miles an hour. We reached there about 9 p. m. tired and hungry, and were welcomed back and well entertained. Our friends were about sending a canoe up after us, fearing that we would not survive the dangers of the return trip. We were disappointed at not finding any letters from home there for us. Thursday night we were awakened by the signal gun of the Newbern, and our hearts gave a great bound of joy at the prospect of a speedy return to the dear ones far away. If in this simple, unpretending letter you find anything instructive or interesting I shall be amply repaid for this attempt at a description which, in good hands, would fill a large volume, every item being of interest. As it is I must endeavor to double the "one talent" given, that it may be well with me. For the kind Christian advice given me by you on our way up from San Francisco I thank you most earnestly, for through it I have been greatly benefited. Although I may never repay you, your reward awaits you in heaven. May God's blessing ever rest on you and your efforts is the wish of

Your devoted friend,

HARRY G. WILLIAMS,
Philadelphia, Pa.

VINCENT COLYER,
Special United States Indian Commissioner.

APPENDIX C.

Letter from Leon Smith.

WRANGEL ISLAND, A. T., October 30, 1869.

DEAR SIR: In answer to your questions of yesterday, permit me to say the number of Indians at this point is estimated to be about 500.

Since my arrival here, the 1st of March, 1869, I have found them to be quiet, and seem well disposed toward the whites.

They live on fish (smoked salmon) and game, and they provide themselves with clothing from the furs they gather, either by trade or trapping.

Twice a year most of the Indians make a trip up the Stikine River to Talyan, at which place the Stick tribe reside, and trade with them for interior marten, mink, beaver, bear, wolverine, lynx, land otter, and some other skins. They take up salmon, fish oil, blankets, domestics, red cloth, beads, molasses, flour, and in fact every other article suitable for Indian trade. They give about ten yards of print for one prime marten; three and a half pounds of salmon, three gallons of molasses, for the same, and for other skins in proportion.

The Stick tribe a very honest tribe, and partial to the whites. I will now start from this point and go with you to Talyan, on the North Fork. We leave here and go about seven miles to the mouth of the Stikine with, say, five Indians in my canoe. The current is rapid at all seasons. We reach the glacier, thirty-five miles from the mouth, in two days; from there we proceed to the Hudson's Bay Company's post, two miles above the boundary line between Hudson's Bay Company and Alaska, a distance of thirty miles, in two days—four days from the mouth. From here we find the current very rapid, and we tow our canoe along the two banks; we send three of our men on shore to tow, and keep one in the bow and stern. We tug along about ten miles a day until we reach Shakesville, named after the chief of the Stikine tribe, with

whom you are acquainted. We reached Shakesville in about five days, about fifty miles from the Hudson's Bay Company, being about one hundred and thirty miles from the mouth. From here we tug along twelve miles to Buck's Bar, at which point, or in its vicinity, some eleven miners are at work on surface digging. They average about three dollars a day, and generally come to the mouth to winter. The men do some trading in furs. They here find silver, copper, coal, and iron, but, with the exception of coal, not in large quantities. The coal near the North Fork is of good quality, the vein being some thirty feet. We now leave Buck's Bar, bound to Talyan, a distance of twenty miles. We work hard for three days, and at last make fast to the banks at Talyan. We are received kindly by the chief, Nornuck, and by all the tribe. The tribe remain away from home, and at their hunting grounds, about six months out of the year. They do their trading with the Stikines; the Hudson's Bay Company sends goods up, and in fact do most all the trading. * * * * *

I spoke to you of Mr. Charles Brown's farm and waterfall. He tells me that he has raised about fifteen tons of potatoes, two tons of cabbage, four tons of turnips, and a large quantity of beets, lettuce, peas, carrots, &c. He has a turnip weighing six pounds. Potatoes average well; some came aboard yesterday.

The lake is about one mile wide, and two and one-half long; the fall is about forty feet, with water enough to run forty saw-mills. Mr. Brown has been living at that point about two years; it is about ten miles from here.

Out of six pounds of seed Mr. Brown tells me he raised four hundred and fifteen pounds of potatoes.

Mr. Hogan, a miner at Buck's Bar for two years, tells me that the altitude of the country will not permit them to raise vegetables; the country is broken, mountainous, and swampy.

Of the other tribes of the Territory I know nothing.

Hoping you will excuse this hurriedly penned memorandum, I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

LEON SMITH.

HON. VINCENT COLYER,
Special Indian Commissioner.

APPENDIX D.

Letter from W. Wall.

FORT WRANGEL, A. T., November 8, 1869.

DEAR SIR: The Stikine Indians live at present on a small bay near the northern extremity of Wrangel Island, and within about seven miles from the mouth of the river Stikine. They number altogether about three hundred, and are divided into nine tribes, each tribe having a chief, and all subject to one chief.

The present chief is Shakes; he does not possess by any means the authority and influence which his predecessor did; the principal reason is he is very poor, and another is he reports to the commanding officer all the misdeeds of the village. He is well disposed, and his only fault is his fondness for whisky, which is the cause of his poverty.

The majority of these Indians are very industrious, and are always anxious to get employment, but, like all the Indians on the coast, are passionately fond of whisky. Such is their desire for it that they will dispose of their most valuable furs at a most extraordinary sacrifice to obtain it. However, since the country came into the possession of the United States they have not as many opportunities as formerly of gratifying their passion.

It is a well-known fact, that the sale of whisky to Indians on this coast, (and to the interior Indians through these on the coast,) has reduced their numbers, caused petty feuds, idleness, theft, and predisposes them to disease and mortality, reducing them to the level of the lowest brute. They are artful and cunning, and to gain a point will tell lies in a most bare-faced manner; at the same time they look upon a respectable white man as incapable of telling an untruth; and if a white man once deceives them by telling an untruth, or otherwise, they look upon him as below caste, and will avoid as much as possible all future dealings with him.

It is also a well-known fact that immorality among the Indian tribes is not so general as when they associate with the white population. Both male and female seem to suffer alike by the association, and the natural consequence is quite evident—disease and a remarkable decrease in population.

The principal sustenance of these Indians is fish, berries, fish oil, seal oil, venison, and mountain sheep. Potatoes and turnips they are very fond of, and buy them in considerable quantities from the Hydahs, who live further up, and seem to understand their cultivation.

The soil and climate here are well suited for the growth of potatoes, turnips, cabbage, carrots, parsnips, beets, &c.; but both from the want of knowledge and of implements, the Indians never make an earnest attempt; they simply cultivate a few potatoes in a most indifferent manner.

The fur-bearing animals on the coast are numerous, and good of their kind, viz: bears, mink, and hair seal; and it is strange how these Indians neglect, in a great measure, this very important source of wealth. I can account for it in this way: their appliances for procuring the means of subsistence are so indifferent, and their total neglect of raising any vegetables leaves them in that condition that they really have neither the time nor the independence to go out for a two or three months' trapping expedition. However, there are some exceptions which go to prove the statement which I make. I know one Indian who last winter killed twelve large and eight small bears, about thirty minks, and a number of hair seals; he had besides a small patch of potatoes; this Indian had only his wife to assist him. *In conclusion, I have no hesitation in stating, (after nearly three years' experience in their means and ways,) that these Indians, if properly instructed, and advantage taken of the resources of the country, they might not only become comfortable, but by the sale of furs and their other produce become comparatively wealthy.*

I have much pleasure in offering you these hurried remarks, hoping you might find them useful in assisting you in the good work you have undertaken.

I am, sir, yours, most respectfully,

W. WALL.

Hon. VINCENT COLYER,
United States Special Indian Commissioner.

APPENDIX E.

Report from F. K. Louthan on the Indian tribes of Alaska.

ALASKA, October 23, 1869.

DEAR SIR: A residence of nearly two years at Sitka, intimately associated with the trade of the country, and in daily communication with the Indians, has afforded me some advantages for observing the habits and wants, manners and customs, of these people.

I need only refer to the Sitkas, whose history and character afford an example that pertains, in a peculiar degree, to all of the tribes on our coast, from Fort Tongas, near our southern boundary line, to Copper River, away to the northward and westward, about six hundred miles.

The village of the Sitkas consists of fifty-six houses, well built and comfortable, adjoining the town of Sitka, or New Archangel, being separated only by the palisade, a rude defensive line of upright logs, placed by the old Russian American Company. The village contains a population of about twelve hundred souls all told. They have been, and are now, governed by one great chief, aided by sub-chiefs, all of whom are elected by the tribe. It is impossible for me to give the number of the latter, their position being neither arbitrary nor perpetual, as is that of the great chief or "tye." They live by fishing and hunting, each in their proper season, the men devoting a large portion of their time trading with the interior Indians for furs, giving in exchange their dried salmon and halibut, cotton goods, printed and plain, blankets, guns, powder, balls, &c.

They are industrious and ingenious, being able to imitate admirably almost anything placed before them. Of their industry, I need only to refer to the fact that for the quartermaster and myself, in a few days' notice, they supplied, under great disadvantages, both of weather and means, one thousand cords of wood, Russian measure, of 216 cubic feet each. This large amount of wood was cut from one to four miles away from our town, and delivered and corded by them as well, if not better, than would have been done by the same white labor under similar disadvantages.

Our Indians are shrewd traders, readily understanding prices and values, easily understanding both our coins of different denominations, and our "greenbacks." They are tractable and kind when kindly treated, but vindictive and exacting full compensation for wrongs inflicted, come from what quarter they may. All difficulties, even that of killing one of their number, is measured by an *estimated value*, "so many blankets," or the equivalent in money, or what they may elect. The failure to promptly pay for a real or supposed injury is at once the signal for retaliation. I can but look with great favor upon the system on the part of the government, of adapting itself to the one idea, *immediate settlement* with their people for all wrongs of magnitude, (whether on the part of the military or the individual,) entirely upon *estimated*

value. This is the time-honored custom of the red man in Alaska, and pertains to all alike, wherever dispersed throughout the vast Territory.

At present it is more than folly to attempt to induct him into any other way of looking at a wrong or injury. Authority, with definite instructions to our rulers, whether civil or military, to in this way settle all disputes, especially when life has been taken, will always keep him (the Indian) peaceable and friendly, and in the end save to the government many notable lives and a large expenditure of treasure.

I am led to these reflections by observing that in this way the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian-American Fur Company have, for nearly a century, lived in comparative security among the Pacific coast Indians, failing in but few instances, a confidence betrayed, property taken, or life endangered,

Again, my own personal experience is a powerful example of the system of such a course. Last New Year's eve a difficulty occurred at the market-house in Sitka, between a Chilkah chief and a soldier; a sentinel, which resulted in the imprisonment in the guard-house of the chief, and through some unaccountable manner the death by shooting, in a day or two afterward, of three Indians. For a full account of these early difficulties I refer you to a report of General J. C. Davis, made about that time.

Among the Indians killed was one Chilkah, one Kake, and one Sitka. The Kakes very promptly sought the usual remedy, but, failing to satisfy themselves, adopted their extreme remedy, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth;" meeting two white men near their village, promptly dispatched them, thereby lost all of their village, burned by order of the general commanding; hence the so-called "Kake war."

For nearly five months no coast or interior Indians appeared among us, to the great detriment of trade, the Chilkahs especially keeping themselves aloof from us all winter. Well knowing the chief and most of his people, I determined to pay them a visit for purpose of trade and to restore friendly relations. First, a small schooner reached their village in May last, and found them sullen and listless, and effected but little in any shape for several days. At the end of the fourth day our little vessel was suddenly boarded by about seventy-five well-armed men, bent on satisfaction either in property or life, for the man killed at Sitka nearly five months previous. The exigencies of my situation required prompt and immediate action. Asking, from our closed cabin, an audience, it being granted, I stepped out among them with my interpreter, an Indian, and while protesting against their wish that I should pay for what had been done by our military chief at Sitka, satisfied them by giving them a letter to the general commanding, asking him, for the sake of trade and security to life, to pay for the man killed, giving my promise to the Indians to pay for the dead man if the general refused.

The general refused to listen to the delegation waiting on him with my letter. I returned with my vessel again to Sitka and to Chilkah, when I promptly paid the price asked—thirteen blankets and one coat, amounting in value, all told, to about fifty dollars, coin. I feel quite sure that in this simple settlement I arrested serious trouble to myself and probably to the government.

I made afterward a similar settlement with the Chilkahs in Sitka, for one of their men killed by a young man in my employ. I can safely say that, dealt with in this way, there need never be any serious complication of Indian affairs in this Territory. Many irregularities and immoralities exist among our coast Indians. Like their brothers of the plains, they are great lovers of whisky, and will barter their all to get it. They should be prohibited its use, but how to effect this is a problem I am unable to solve, unless the importation is entirely prohibited. That our Indians are susceptible of a high standard of cultivation there can be no possible doubt. This can only be done by the aid of industrial and educational schools. The missionary is working to good advantage at Vancouver among the Hydahs, and at Fort Simpson among the Chemseans. In these two tribes can be found men and women of high culture and refinement, fit to "grace almost any position in life."

The Koloshan, our own Indians from Tongas to the Copper River, are quite as intelligent and easy of culture, needing only the same liberal system of education to, in a very short time, fully utilize them for every purpose of government and usefulness.

The inhospitality of the country, differing as it does so widely from the usual fields of civilized men, must for a long time make the Indian the nucleus of population of Alaska; and if so, how very essential that he be at once advanced through education and example to his high destiny.

While the manners and customs are the same of the whole Koloshan race, there is a marked difference in the wealth and condition of those tribes living on the mainland coast over that of the islander. Position, custom, and numbers have given to the former the entire control of the valuable trade with the interior, in some five of the great mainland tribes, each warlike and powerful, and equally jealous of any encroachments on their peculiar privileges.

Beginning north we have the Copper River Indians, variously estimated from three to four thousand strong; but little is known of this people. They are, however, known to be very rich in furs.

The early Russians told fabulous stories of the existence of both gold and copper on this river, which is proved by the fact that the Indians are at times seen to use these metals in their ornaments.

Next in order, south, are the Klahinks, about one thousand strong. They live in the great basin or park known as Behring Bay, between Mount St. Elias and Mount Fairweather, and have a splendid communication with the interior by means of two long, fine rivers emptying into the bay. These Indians are gentle, hospitable, and kind, but are poor, having been neglected by the traders for the last three years. They are in quick communication with a splendid fur-bearing country, and only require a market to develop splendid resources.

Next in order are the Hoonid, or Cross Sound Indians, two thousand strong. They live on the eastern bank of the sound for a distance of sixty miles, and are the oil merchants of the coast, taking enormously large quantities of seal, dog-fish, and ulican oil, which they barter to their brethren along the coast. These oils are used largely by our Indians as an article of food; it is used by them as we use butter.

At the head of the Chatham Straits, almost due north from Sitka, two hundred and twenty miles, are the Chilkahs, at least ten thousand strong. They are a brave and warlike people, "more sinned against than sinning." I have had much to do with them, and ever found them honest, faithful, and kind. Their villages extend from the mouth to a distance of seventy-five miles up the Chilkah River. Coal and iron abound in inexhaustible quantities; huge masses of iron can be found among the boulders almost anywhere along the banks of the noble stream. The Indians state the existence of gold in the mountain passes of the river. The "color" has been found near the mouth. On every hand can be seen quartz cropping boldly out from a width of from one to twenty feet. Nothing is known of its character or value. These Indians are among the richest, if not the wealthiest, of our coast Indians. Large quantities of the most valuable furs are annually gathered and sold by them. They are in every way independent.

Twenty miles north of Sitka, and east of Admiralty Island seventy-five miles, are the Takoos, living at the head of Takoo Inlet, on the Takoo River. These Indians claim to be richer in furs than any of the tribes around them. About the same quantity can be got here as on the Chilkah. Some idea may be gathered of the large trade at one time done with them when I state but a short time ago the Hudson's Bay Company made their trade lease from the Russian-American Company's furs taken in a single trip of their steamer over five thousand marten skins, and other valuable skins in proportion.

The Takoos number about the same as the Chilkahs, and are a proud and haughty race. Gold is well known to exist anywhere along this river, but the Indians have steadily refused to permit any development. Coal is also found here in large quantities; indeed it is found throughout the coast and islands of our inland waters. Of salmon it would be invidious to particularize; they are found in endless numbers anywhere in our fresh-water streams. The largest and best are found in the Takoo, Chilkah, Behring Bay, and Copper River, reaching an enormous size, many of them weighing seventy pounds.

Give Alaska a market and she will soon develop a second New England.

The conformation of our mountain ranges are not unlike those of Washington, Oregon, and California. They form our coast and are iron-clad—a greater portion of them iron. A distance of twenty or thirty miles will pass one through this range, where is found an almost level plateau well covered with timber. This plateau extends inland for a distance of from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty miles, when another chain of mountains is reached, answering to what is known as the Cascade Range in Oregon, or the Blue Range in California.

There can be no doubt, from what the Indians tell us, in this plateau, between the two ranges, the prospectors will at no distant day develop a field as rich in the precious minerals as any found in the southward.

Very respectfully,

F. K. LOUTHAN.

HON. VINCENT COLYER,
Fort Wrangel, A. T.

APPENDIX F.

Letter from Frank Mahoney on the Indians and their trade in Eastern Alaska.

SITKA, A. T.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your request I give you my views in relation to the various Indian tribes of this Territory as far as my observation goes. In regard to the population and number of some of the tribes I have no data; of others I can speak from observation; that is to say, from Cook's Inlet to the southern boundary.

From what I can learn of the extreme northwest, in the Behning Sea to the Straits,

the Indians lead a wandering life, and are variously designated as the "Kochunsky," "Onossky," "Cagatsky," and "Colching." These tribes are estimated from four thousand to five thousand. During the winter months, say from October to April, they will wander over immense tracts of country, in bands of from fifty to one hundred, sometimes undergoing great privation; and it has been said that they will sometimes sacrifice one of their number to save the rest from starvation. Their occupation is trapping and hunting the reindeer. They will travel during this season of the year from the valley of Yukon to Copper River, stopping for short periods where game and furs are plenty. They will sometimes touch the shores of Prince William Sound, Cook Inlet, and also the western shore, in Behring Sea. The skins they collect are fine marten, mink, silver and black fox. The few natives the writer has seen show them to be a peaceable race and respectful to the white man, looking upon him as a superior; there is no doubt but they could be shaped into useful citizens in time.

To the south, on the Aleutian chain of islands and on the peninsula of Unalaska, are the Aleutes, a very quiet race, and nearly all Christians. Their number is said to be about seven thousand. Those living on the islands are engaged in fur-sealing, sea-otter hunting, and trapping the fox, of which there are the silver, cross, and red. They are found employed at the different trading posts in the Territory.

The Indians of Cook Inlet and adjacent waters are called "Kanisky." They are settled along the shore of the inlet and on the east shore of the peninsula. A very sociable race of Indians, their number is from five hundred to eight hundred. During the winter months they leave the shores for the purpose of hunting and trapping, when in the spring they return to their summer homes, dispose of their winter products to traders for tea, sugar, tobacco, sheeting, prints, clothing, flour, hardware, such as knives, axes, hatchets, &c. The spring and summer, till the latter part of June, is passed in idleness, when the salmon season commences, and lasts until August, when they dry large quantities of salmon, weighing from forty to one hundred pounds each.

East of Cook Inlet, in Prince William Sound, there are but few Indians; they are called "Nuchusk." There may be about four hundred in all, with some few Aleutes.

Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. have a post on the south end of Heuenbrooke Island, which is the depot for the furs that come down the Copper River, although they collect many sea-otter, for which the shore about the mouth of Copper River and around Middleton Island is famous.

Every year, the middle of June, three or four large skin-canoes, capable of carrying five tons each, are sent up Copper River, loaded with trading goods, done up in one-hundred-pound packages, covered with water-tight skins, so that should accident happen, which not unfrequently occurs, the goods are portable to handle. It takes about eighty days to make the trip; the canoes are hauled most of the way on the ice, on their ascent of the river. On the return, the winter collection of furs is brought down, the river then being clear of ice. The magazine is about eighty miles up the river. The Indians about Copper River are called "Madnussky," or Copper Indians, and may be classed with the wandering tribes. To the east, along the coast, about one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of Copper River, we come to Behring Bay. The most northern of the Kolosh Indians, of which there are numerous tribes, extending to Portland Canal, all speak the same language with a little difference in dialect. They are a savage and piratical race, and as a general thing are not to be trusted. Fear of punishment for outrages keeps them in order.

I herewith add a list of the tribes from Behring Bay to the southern boundary :

Residence.	Name of tribe.	Number.
Behring Bay.....	Yakutat.....	300
Behring Bay.....	Stikine.....	1,200
Behring Bay.....	Tongas.....	800
Cross Sound.....	Whinega.....	500
Cross Sound.....	Whinega, (interior).....	800
Chilkah Inlet.....	Chilkah.....	2,500
Chilkah Inlet.....	Anega.....	300
Stephen Passage.....	Takon.....	2,000
Stephen Passage.....	Sitka.....	1,000
Admiralty Island.....	Hoodsinoo.....	1,000
Admiralty Island.....	Kake.....	750
Admiralty Island.....	Auk.....	750

Of the Yakutat tribe, they have but few furs in the winter; they do nothing in spring. They trade and trap with some Indians to the south of them, who live on some small streams that empty into the ocean. I could get no information from them respecting their neighbors, regarding their numbers and language. All they said was that they were more numerous than themselves, and they made good trade with them for marten, mink, fox, bear, wolverine, and lynx, for which they gave them tobacco, brown sheeting, needles, thread, knives, buttons, beads, &c.

The Yakutats have been in the habit of trading with the Sitkas and Chilkahs, who in the summer season pay them visits, taking from Sitka such articles as dry goods, powder, shot, knives, and trinkets, bringing back furs.

The Whinegas have but few furs; they are chiefly employed in hair-seal fishing, of which they get abundance; they get in trade about eight cents apiece for them. They also get some marten, mink, fox, and bear from Cross Sound.

We go north to Chilkah, at the head of the inlet so named, where there is a river on which are three villages; each village is presided over by a chief.

The Chilkahs are the most numerous of all the Kolosh tribes. They catch some furs about their own grounds, but the greater portion comes from the interior, or where they go to trade twice a year, spring and fall. There is no doubt but they make a big profit on the skins they bring down.

Nothing is known of these interior Indians, only what the coast Indians say, that they are called "Si-him-e-na, or Stick Indians." They will allow no whites to pass up the rivers. The trade which the coast Indians take into the interior consists of dry goods, blankets, tobacco, powder, shot, and light flint-lock muskets, if they can get them. Although the ammunition and muskets are a prohibited trade in this Territory, still the Indians get them from the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson. Steel traps, knives, hatchets, needles and thread, and little cheap jewelry, form their principal trade, for which they get in exchange, marten, mink, silver, cross and red fox, black, brown, and grizzly bear, lynx, wolverine, ermine, beaver, land otter, and some inferior skins. The price they give may be represented thus: Marten, 50 cents; mink, 25 cents; lynx, 20 cents; silver fox, \$1 25; cross and red fox, from 25 cents to 50 cents; wolverine, 37½ cents; bear, black, 50 cents to \$1 50; bear, grizzly, 50 cents to \$1 50; bear, brown, 50 cents; beaver, 20 cents to 40 cents; land otter, 50 cents.

These they exchange with the trader at an advance of from two hundred to four hundred per cent. for such articles as they require. The traders' tariff may be quoted: For prints and sheeting, 25 cents per yard; tobacco, \$1 50 per pound; molasses, \$1 per gallon; powder, \$1 50 per pound; shot, 50 cents per pound; blankets, (assorted,) \$3 to \$6. Steel traps, knives, vermilion, flour, hard bread, beans, rice, and some few articles in the way of clothing, pants, shirts, (cotton and woolen,) blue cloth caps with glazed covers, shoes, and some minor articles.

The trading prices for skins are: Marten, \$2 to \$3; mink, 25 cents to \$1 50; bear, black, \$1 50 to \$3 50; bear, grizzly, \$1 to \$3 10; bear, brown, 50 cents to \$2 50; fox, silver, \$4; fox, cross, \$1 50 to \$2; fox, red, 75 cents to \$1; beaver, 80 cents to \$1 per pound; land otter, \$1 50 to \$2; hair seal, 8 cents to 10 cents; deer-skins, 15 cents to 20 cents.

The above may answer for the Indians from Chilkah to Portland Inlet. Of the Tooks, the same may be said as of the Chilkahs and tribes above Stephen's Passage.

On the east of Admiralty Island are the Koot-se-noos. They have but few furs, but collect considerable hair seal and deer-skins. They also raise quantities of potatoes of good quality and fair size.

Coming east through Pearl Straits to Sitka are the tribe of that name. They are employed in trading with the other tribes, hunting, and fishing, and are employed as porters and laborers about the town of Sitka. They also cut nearly all the cord-wood that is used by the citizens. They may be considered very useful adjuncts of the town citizens, as they are their chief purveyors, supplying them with all kinds of fish and game, such as ducks, geese, venison, grouse, &c.

Going south around Baranof Island, and up through a portion of Chatham Straits, we come to the Rat tribe on Kyro and Kespriano Islands. They catch some furs, such as lynx, bear, and hair seal, besides trading with some of their neighbors. Their trade has fallen off considerably since the occupation of the Territory by the Americans. They formerly were in the habit of getting their trading goods from small crafts from Victoria, but at present the Indians north, south, east, for two hundred miles, either come to Sitka or get their wants supplied from small crafts that load or are owned by Sitka merchants.

Passing east and south through Frederick's Sound, we come to Wrangel Island and the mouth of the Stikine River, where are the villages of the Stikine tribe. They were some years ago a numerous tribe, but liquor and its concomitant vices materially lessened their numbers. They collect considerable marten, mink, bear, and lynx. They have formerly carried on considerable trade with the interior tribes, but since the discovery of gold in 1862, the competition of the whites has lessened their trade.

The furs that are collected in this section are principally disposed of at Fort Wrangel. To the west and south of Prince of Wales Island is an off-shoot of the Hydah or Queen Charlotte Island Indians. They number some three hundred and are called An-e-ga. They, it may be said, are the only Indians from Behring Bay to Portland Inlet that speak a different language from the rest. They raise considerable quantities of potatoes, trap mink, bear, and beaver. They also go up the Naas River in March for the collection of the hoolicon or candle-fish oil, which, when pressed, is as well flavored as leaf lard.

In Clarence Straits and adjacent islands they are the connecting link between the Kolosh race and Simpsians on the British side. They speak the Kolosh, Simpsian, and Hydah tongue. They catch considerable mink, bear, beaver, wolverine, and some sea otter. The An-e-gas collect large quantities of candle-fish oil or grease. It is put up in tight cedar boxes, from fifty to eighty pounds, and taken north as far as Chilkah, and brings good prices in furs.

The Indians from Puget Sound to the northwest catch and dry large quantities of salmon; the further north the better the salmon.

In Cook Inlet the salmon commence running in June and deteriorate in quality as they go south. July and August are the months about the latitude of Sitka, and gradually later as they go south, so that at Puget Sound in September and October they are the most plentiful, and not as good flavor.

Take the Indians of the coast of the Territory they are as well supplied with the necessaries of life as the aborigines of any country in the world. The forests are filled with game, the waters with fish, and the beach and rocks with clams and muscels. They are a healthy and vigorous race; both men and women can back very heavy loads. The men and women are more on an equality than the Indians of Puget Sound and east of the Cascade Range. They are steady and good workers for a short time—say one month—when they like to knock off for about the same time. The writer thinks that it would be an impossibility to turn the Indian from his vagabond life. The change to order, with laws and schools, might last for a short time, but the novelty would wear off, and they would fall back into their old ways. They soon pick up the vices, with none of the virtues, of the whites. It is the opinion of the writer that it would take a generation to shape them into useful citizens, although a partial success has been obtained by Mr. Duncan a short distance below Fort Simpson with the Chimpsians, and still they fall off.

The writer is not at all prejudiced against the Indians. Wherever he has come in contact with them, which has been much in the last sixteen years, he has endeavored to show them the bad policy of their predatory ways; shows them advantages which can accrue by industry, that this may act as a stimulant.

Respectfully yours,

FRANK MAHONY.

Hon. VINCENT COLYER.

Special United States Indian Commissioner.

APPENDIX G.

Medical Director Bailey on intemperance and debauchery.

SITKA, ALASKA TERRITORY, October 25, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR: I inclose for your information the report of Acting Assistant Surgeon John A. Tonner, United States Army, in medical charge of the Indians in this vicinity, in conformity to instructions given him by me. A copy of the same is inclosed.

This report is instructive and contains important suggestions which, if carried out, would go far toward improving their condition.

I am satisfied that little or nothing can be done until they are placed under better and more favorable influences. A greater mistake could not have been committed than stationing troops in their midst. They mutually debauch each other, and sink into that degree of degradation in which it is impossible to reach each other through moral or religious influences.

Whisky has been sold in the streets by government officials at public auctions, and examples of drunkenness are set before them almost daily, so that in fact the principal teaching they at present are receiving is that drunkenness and debauchery are held by us, not as criminal and unbecoming a Christian people, but as indications of our advanced and superior civilization.

These Indians are a civil and well-behaved people; they do not want bayonets to keep them in subjection, but they do want honest, faithful, and Christian workers among them; those that will care for them, teach and instruct them in useful arts, and that they are responsible beings. I look upon the different military posts in this department as disastrous and destructive to their well-being; they are not, and can never be, of the least possible use; they are only so many whisky fonts, from whence it is spread over the country. If we ever have trouble with them and become involved in war, it will be found to arise from these causes. From the nature and character of the country, posts never can render the least influence or afford protection against contraband trade; this can only be done by armed vessels, in command of choice men. To go into detail on all points would require pages; you have seen enough to satisfy yourself; and in giving you the inclosed report I only want to add my testimony

against what I conceive to be a most grievous error in the management of the Indian affairs in this Territory.

When you go home send us honest, faithful, Christian workers; *not place-seekers*, but those who want to do good work for *Christ's* sake and kingdom. Send men and women, for both are wanted.

When you can do away with the evils spoken of, and which are so evident, and adopt this latter course, then there will be hope, and not until then.

Sincerely your friend,

E. J. BAILEY,

Surgeon U. S. A., Medical Director Department of Alaska.

Hon. VINCENT COLYER.

APPENDIX H.

Letter from Captain Edward G. Fast (late of the United States Army,) on the character of the Koloshan Indians.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 15, 1870.

DEAR SIR: In response to your letter of the 14th instant, in which you request my opinion as to the general character of the Koloshans, particularly whether any trouble with them may be apprehended by the United States troops or traders, if they are treated with ordinary fairness, I have the honor to state:

As to the original character of the Koloshans I can only corroborate the graphic description of the Hon. Charles Sumner, in his speech on the cession of Russian America to the United States. It is doubtless familiar to you, and therefore I refrain from going into particulars. But on the other hand, the influence of their intercourse with the white man has effected so great a change of their original character that I must necessarily refer to it.

Thrown together with the whites for more than eighty years, the Koloshans, like the aborigines in the western plains, have willingly adopted the vices of the white man and sacrificed many a virtue of their own. Their intercourse with the Russians was of very extraordinary character. They were never conquered by the Russians; and in all the inimical encounters they had with them they were either victors in fact, or in a measure reaped the fruits of a victory by receiving donations of blankets and other necessaries of life, to effect a reconciliation. So they not only remained entirely independent, but were brought to the belief that the Russians feared them. To this inconsistent policy of the Russians we have to ascribe, that when the American government took possession of the country, we were looked upon with distrust and even suspicion. The Koloshans expected at least the same consideration as they had enjoyed with the Russians. In that they found themselves deceived. But more, they found that they were deprived of sundry luxuries with which they had been freely provided by the Russians; a loss the more keenly felt as they observed the unlicensed indulgence of the Americans in the very articles withheld from them. In this respect I must principally refer to the use of liquor which had become a second nature with them.

One of the first very necessary actions of the new government was the prohibition of liquor to the Koloshans, but which was enforced in a manner exceedingly humiliating to them, and only by cunning artifices and extravagant offerings they were able to procure the much-desired whisky from the Americans. Yet they had daily before them the revolting spectacle of drunkenness and dissipation publicly and shamelessly presented by the Americans, and even by such, from whose official standing they naturally supposed the origin and enforcement of the restrictions imposed. Who will condemn them, when they, having such examples before their eyes, were filled with deadly hatred and contempt for the Americans, who, not unfrequently, in their drunken recklessness, heaped all sorts of insults upon them; and who can wonder that these people, injured thus in their innermost feelings, were led to deeds of violence which found so bloody and summary retribution?

From my personal experience, I know that these people can be managed by fair and just dealing. I might compare them to a stubborn and wayward boy, led astray by evil example; he can only be managed by persevering kindness, but he must know, nevertheless, that there is the will and strength to punish insolent defiance. The Koloshans must learn that we do not fear them, and then they will respect us; they must be made conscious that we do not misuse them, then they will have no opportunity to misinterpret our doings. Distrust is a leading trait in their character, and selfishness the motive of their actions. Let us be *just* to them, and their mistrust will vanish, and their selfishness no longer find an ailment. In the quiet possession, and the development of the resources of Alaska, we shall need to fear nothing more than a serious quarrel with the Koloshans. Such a quarrel has already begun, and in view

of their martial spirit, of their vindictive disposition, and persevering energy, will have no other termination than their complete extinction, should we not assume a policy entirely different from that hitherto exercised toward them.

The relics I found among the Koloshans give proof of a comparatively high civilization, and admirable skill and steadiness. By their intercourse with the white man, now they are victims of rum and whisky; laziness and indolence have supplanted the virtues of their forefathers.

The Koloshans differ very much, by many distinct peculiarities, from the aborigines in the western plains, and possess qualities facilitating an earnest and systematic effort for their civilization.

As I have already advocated, on another occasion, our true policy should be to bestow upon them the blessing of civilization, and to promote their material welfare by a peaceful and benevolent management, not only for the sake of Christian philanthropy, but also for our own material interest, in order that at least their preservation, and, if possible, their numerical increase, may be secured.

The influence of the climate, and the peculiarity of the soil of Southeastern Alaska, are, with few exceptions, opposed to the introduction of agriculture, the main foundation of a new colony. All necessaries of life, which agriculture produces, have to be imported from Victoria, or from American ports, and as there are but few points on this extensive coast which enjoy a direct communication with these parts, and, as it happens not unfrequently, particularly in winter time, that several months pass before a new supply can be had, what would become of the settler if the friendly natives did not furnish him with game, which only they know where and how to find? And, again, without his assistance, the capture of fur animals would amount to very little, and its cost would be so large that furs from Alaska could hardly be considered as an article of commerce. In one word, Alaska, without her natives, is worthless.

May these suggestions, based upon incontestable facts, and made in good faith in the sincerity of our government, contribute to the adoption of a policy that will be to the benefit of these people, ourselves, and the great cause of humanity and civilization.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

EDWARD G. FAST,
Late Captain United States Army.

Hon. VINCENT COLYER,
Secretary Board of Indian Commissioners.



Statue of the
chief's son.

Carved bear.

Tomb of the
chief's son.

Three colossal frogs carved in
wood.

No. 5.—SHEK'S, THE SECOND CHIEF'S, HOUSE AND MONUMENTS AT WRANGEL, ALASKA.—Two cannon balls were sent through this House during the Recent Bombardment by the Commandant of the Post, No. 2.