

***Traditional Cultural Property Investigation for Auke
Cape, Alaska***

Final Report

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Contract to Livingston Slone, Inc., Anchorage, AK for National Oceanic and
Atmospheric Administration**

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INTRODUCTION

The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), a federal agency, is proposing to build a consolidated office and research laboratory facility in Juneau. Known as the NOAA/NMFS Consolidated Facility, this development would house NOAA Alaska Region's administrative functions and the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) Alaska Fisheries Science Center. The facility also may become home for the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) Juneau Center of the School of Fisheries & Ocean Sciences.

In accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, a Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) was prepared and released for public review in September, 1996. The DEIS considers four alternatives for the consolidated facility: the Auke Cape (also known as Indian Point) site, an Expanded Auke Bay Lab (ABL) site, the North Mendenhall Peninsula site, and a No Action Alternative. The Auke Cape site was identified as the preferred alternative. Figure 1 shows the lots and land ownership on Auke Cape and the siting of the proposed facility in Lots 1 and 2.

Native organizations, including the Traditional Auke Tlingit (Auk Kwaan), Sealaska Corporation, and the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Alaska, and other segments of the community expressed formal opposition to the Auke Cape alternative. Native organizations in particular were concerned that they had not been engaged in "meaningful consultation" by the federal agency as required by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and that the proposed development at Auke Cape could seriously harm the cultural resources and practices associated with Auke Cape. Although archaeological investigations of Auke Cape had been sponsored by NOAA (see Mobley 1992, 1996), some Native organizations felt that additional interviewing and ethnographic work were needed to determine Auke Cape's eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places as a traditional cultural property.

As a result of these concerns, a series of meetings was held between representatives of the Native community and the federal agencies to discuss the proposed action and its potential effects on cultural resources at Auke Cape. It was agreed that NOAA would contract for further archaeological work on the Auke Cape site and also hire an independent investigator to determine whether all or parts of the site constitute a traditional cultural property (TCP) eligible for nomination to the National Register. This report presents the results of the TCP investigation. Further archaeological studies were carried by Charles M. Mobley & Associates in late April and early May, 1997 and a separate report summarizing the findings of these investigations is being prepared concurrently (Mobley and Betts 1997). For more information on the project's history see Mobley and Betts (1997) and the Draft Environmental Impact Statement (NOAA 1996).

PURPOSE

The purpose of this investigation is to determine whether or not all or portions of Auke Cape constitute a traditional cultural property eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Maintained by the National Park Service, the National Register is a list of places--sites, structures, objects, and districts made up of multiple places--that have been found to be important in the history of the United States, individual states and regions, and localities. Places of traditional historical and cultural significance to Native American groups can be included in the Register. The Register expanded by accepting nominations from members of the public, local, state, and tribal governments, and Federal agencies, following rules set forth in the Code of Federal Regulations at 36 CFR 60. Under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), federal agencies must consider the effect of their proposed actions on properties included in or eligible for the National Register.

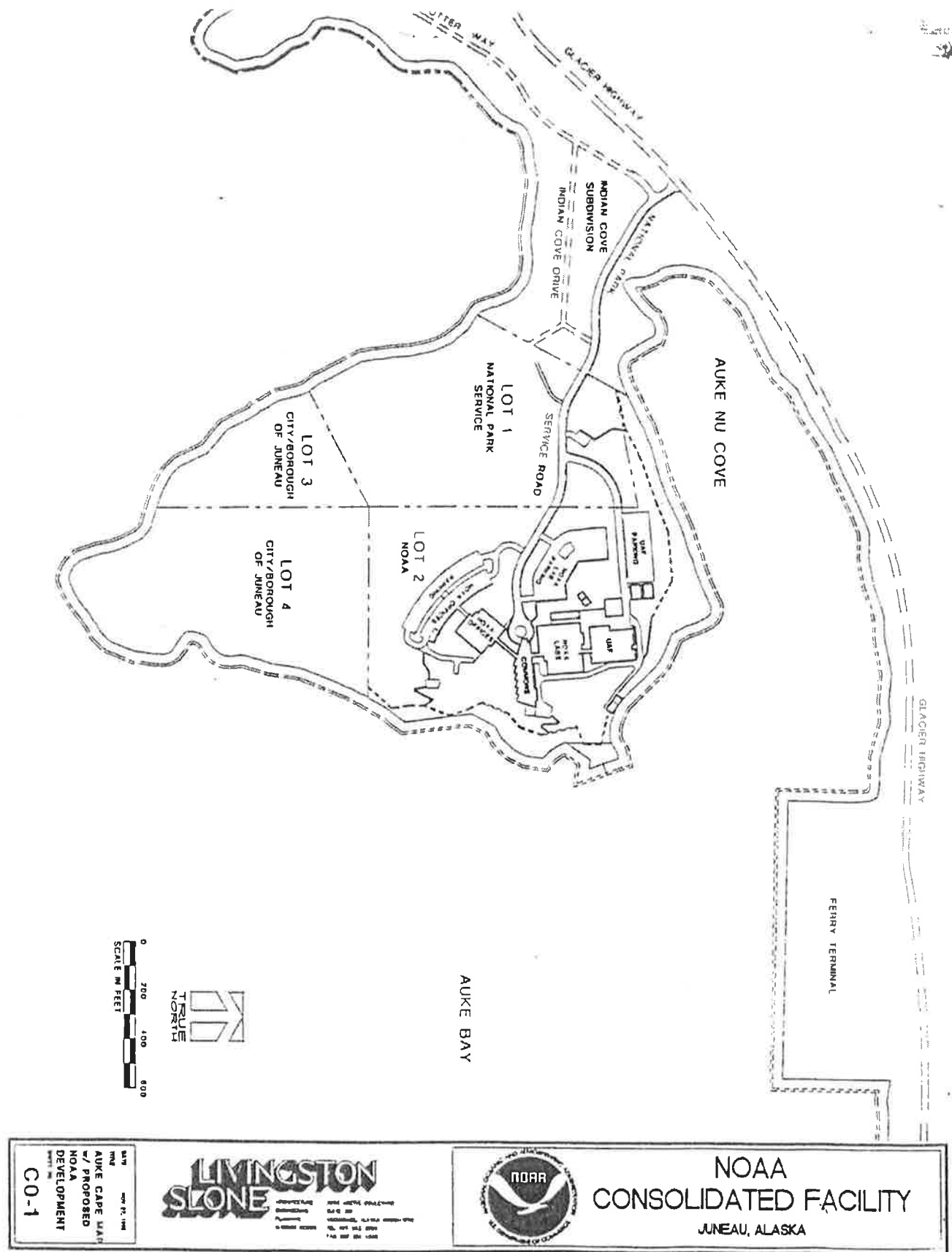


Figure 1. Auke Cape, showing the major lots and plan for the proposed NOAA facility

Auke Bay has a rich history and prehistory suggesting potential presence of historic properties eligible for the National Register. The former Auk Kwaan winter village (and later summer garden and camp), known in Tlingit as *Anchgaltsoww* ("Town that Moved"), lies just a half mile to the west of Auke Cape, the preferred site for construction of the NOAA/NMFS facility. The DEIS (NOAA 1996:2-40) for the proposed facility notes "The site's location, near Auke Bay, Auke Creek, and Auke Lake, and a short distance from the traditional winter Auke Village, makes it likely that Native resources are located on the site." Charles M. Mobley and Associates (Mobley 1992, 1996, Mobley and Betts 1997) specific investigations of Auke Cape under contract for NOAA and other previous archaeological surveys (Sealaska 1975, Gleeson 1989) of the area documented the presence of Native cultural resources on Auke Cape. These findings are discussed in detail below in the Archaeological Resources section under PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY AND SETTING.

Because of the presence of potentially significant cultural resources at Auke Cape, Native organizations' objections to the construction of the proposed NOAA facility at Auke Cape on the basis of the property's traditional cultural values, the federal government's obligations to safeguard those values, and because previous investigations did not evaluate Auke Cape's eligibility to the National Register as a traditional cultural property, NOAA moved in February, 1997 to contract with a qualified independent researcher to prepare an objective evaluation of Auke Cape as a TCP, using the criteria in National Register Bulletin # 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties." This investigation and report employ these guidelines for evaluating the significance of the site and render an opinion as to Auke Cape's eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (NHRP). Currently, there are no traditional cultural properties in Alaska listed on the National Register.

WHAT IS A TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTY?

According to *National Register Bulletin 38*, a traditional cultural property (TCP) is a place that is: "eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that a) are rooted in that community's history, and b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community" (Parker and King 1990). Examples include Native American sacred places, cemeteries, gathering sites, and other prominent places that figure in their traditions as well as those of other groups. *Bulletin 38* was issued in 1990 by the National Park Service partly in response to a trend by federal agencies toward ruling Native American sacred places ineligible for the National Register for various reasons. The word "property" is used by the Park Service because it is relatively neutral and emphasizes the physical place which the Register lists and protects. Although TCPs may contain significant non-tangible attributes, such as religious beliefs and ancestral traditions, these attributes themselves are not included in the Register; they must be tied to a physical property. *Bulletin 38* clarifies federal obligations to protect TCPs and lays out guidelines for evaluating them.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

Like other kinds of historic properties, TCPs must be identified and evaluated through careful and systematic study. Places of significant cultural value, especially those of minority groups, are not always well known to the general public. Thus it is necessary to establish an appropriate level of effort to identify such sites before a determination of the site's eligibility for the National Register can be made. Important steps outlined in *Bulletin 38* include: 1) community participation in planning; 2) contacting traditional communities and groups; 3) background research; 4) consultation with knowledgeable experts; 4) fieldwork; and 5) synthesis and reconciling of sources (Parker and King 1990:5-9).

Natives' reactions to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement for the proposed facility and subsequent NOAA contact with Native organizations in Juneau prompted this investigation. I received official notification to proceed with the investigation on 19 April 1997 and immediately made contacts with the key Native organizations (including Auk Kwaan, Alaska Native Brotherhood, Sealaska Corporation, and the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Alaska), agencies and organizations (including, NOAA, NMFS, National Park Service, USDA Forest Service, City Borough of Juneau, Livingston Slone, Inc., Dames & Moore, Alaska State Museum, Alaska State Library, etc.), and personnel involved for briefings and consultations. I also commenced collecting documentary source material on the Auke Cape and developing a list of key Native and non-Native experts on the history and resources of the site to facilitate interviewing. And I met with Charles M. Mobley and Robert Betts to obtain detailed briefings concerning previous and ongoing archaeological investigations and their potential relevance to this TCP investigation.

It is important to distinguish this study from the previous and concurrent archaeological research of Mobley and Associates. Archaeological and TCP investigations are complementary but distinct. Mobley's work concentrates on identifying physical evidence of cultural resources within the footprint of the proposed NOAA building site and making recommendations for protecting the known and unknown features potentially compromised by this federal undertaking. The results of his investigations, which included on-the-ground surveying as well as archival research and some interviews with Native consultants, provides an important context for the present research. In contrast to Mobley's work, however, this study is concerned with documenting whether or not Auke Cape possesses traditional cultural significance as a historic property. This determination is made not solely on the basis of archaeological remains, though they are a key consideration, but rather on "the role the property plays in the *living community's* historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices" (Parker and King 1990:1, emphasis added). Thus, the tools of ethnographic research developed by cultural anthropologists, rather than those of the field archaeologist, are typically employed in documenting and evaluating Traditional Cultural Properties.

The core of this TCP investigation involved standard ethnohistoric research and interviews with knowledgeable local people about the past and present traditional uses of Auke Cape and the significance of the site. Forty key respondents were interviewed, including 31 Tlingits with ties to Auke Bay. The majority of interviews were conducted by telephone with the investigator taking detailed notes. With consent, face to face interviews were recorded on c-60 audio cassette tapes and the relevant parts transcribed. A list of interviewees and tape recordings is attached in Appendix A. In the course of the field work, I tried to carry out interviews on site, and, where possible, key Tlingit elders were taken around the shoreline of Auke Cape by boat to identify and interpret key cultural features of the landscape. Interviews were semi-structured. A sample interview form is attached in Appendix B. Interviews with Natives focused on the cultural significance of the property, boundaries of particular sites and activities, the integrity of the property, and whether or not (and why) it was considered sacred or vital to the communities' heritage. This information was then compared to those sources in the ethnographic literature and other written records. Oral and documentary sources of information are referenced within the text using social science notation; complete citations may be found in the References Cited section at the end of the report. Regrettably, due to the short timespan allotted for this investigation, not all documentary and interview sources could be reached prior to preparation of this report.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY AND SETTING

Auke Cape lies at 14-mile Glacier Highway just beyond the Auke Bay Ferry terminal. The Cape defines the western boundary of Auke Bay and consists of a broad, 78-acre peninsula tied to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. The bulbous shape of the peninsula

gives form to two sheltered coves on either side of its base: Indian Cove to the west and Auke Nu Cove to the east. The rocky southern tip of the peninsula is a promontory known as Indian Point on USGS maps; however, this name is also used by Natives to refer to the entire peninsula and surrounding tidal lands.

Auke Cape is part of broader cultural landscape in Auke Bay consisting of the key features identified in Table 1 (see Figure 2 for site locations).

Table 1. Key Features of the Greater Auke Cape Cultural Landscape

Site Name	Tlingit Name	AHRS #	Cultural Features (Period of Significance)	Ages (radio-carbon dating)
1. Auke Cape/Indian Point	X'unáxi (perhaps referring to a camping/stopover place)	JUN-537; JUN-701	Habitation site (c. 1160-1970s), subsistence (1160-1980)	AD 1160-1345; 1675-1770; 1800-1940
2. Auke Village	Aanchgaltsoow ("Town That Moved")	JUN-25	Winter village (1500?-1890s), subsistence (1500s-,1940s)	NA
3. Auke Noo	Aak'w Noow or Aak'w Kik Noow ("Auke Lake Fort")	JUN-239	Fort site (1100-?)	AD 1271-1399;
4. Auke Bay	Aak'w Ta ("Behind Auke Lake")		Subsistence site (1100-present)	NA
5. Auke Creek	Gathéeni ("Sockeye Creek")*		Subsistence and historic site (1100?-)	NA
6. Auke Lake	Aak'w ("Little Lake")		Subsistence and historic site (?)	NA
7. Mendenhall Glacier/ River	Aak'w Taak ("Inside Auke Lake")	49-JUN-453	Subsistence site (1300-)	ca. A.D. 1120-1395; 1280-1450

* Also referred to as Aak'w; or Aak'w Héen.

The Auke Lake watershed forms the core of this integrated cultural landscape. This evident both in the naming of places, in which many of the lake's neighboring features-- including Auke Bay itself (Aak'w Ta, "Behind Auke Lake")--are referenced in relation to it and in the naming of the people, the Auk Kwaan (Aak'w Kwáan, "People Dwelling at Auke Lake"), who derive their identity from Auke Lake.

The integration of the landscape is also reflected in traditional subsistence patterns and movements of the Auk Kwaan on the land. According to Auk Kwaan elder Marion Ezrre (pers. comm. 1997), members of her extended family traditionally (i.e., prior to intensive contact in the late nineteenth century) used to move from Auke Village to Indian Point/Auke Cape in the spring for herring, spring king salmon, halibut and other resources and then would move to Auke Creek to harvest sockeye. After the sockeye moved up river into the lake system in late summer, people would move to the Mendenhall Glacier/River sockeye run. She observes, "At that time the glacier used to be much closer to the lake." Other family's moved from Auke Bay in the summers to more distant fishing areas where they maintained camps and harvested salmon and other resources (Cecelia Kunz, pers. comm. 1997). Ownership of these streams and satellite camps was recognized and respected by all groups living within the winter villages at Auke Bay.

Beyond Auke Bay, the collective territory of the Auk Kwaan extended to Point Bishop to the south, Berners Bay to the north, and the eastern shores of northern Admiralty Island to the west (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946, see Figure 4) and the Juneau Ice Field to the east. For a traditionally mobile hunting gathering people like the Tlingit, the cultural significance of the

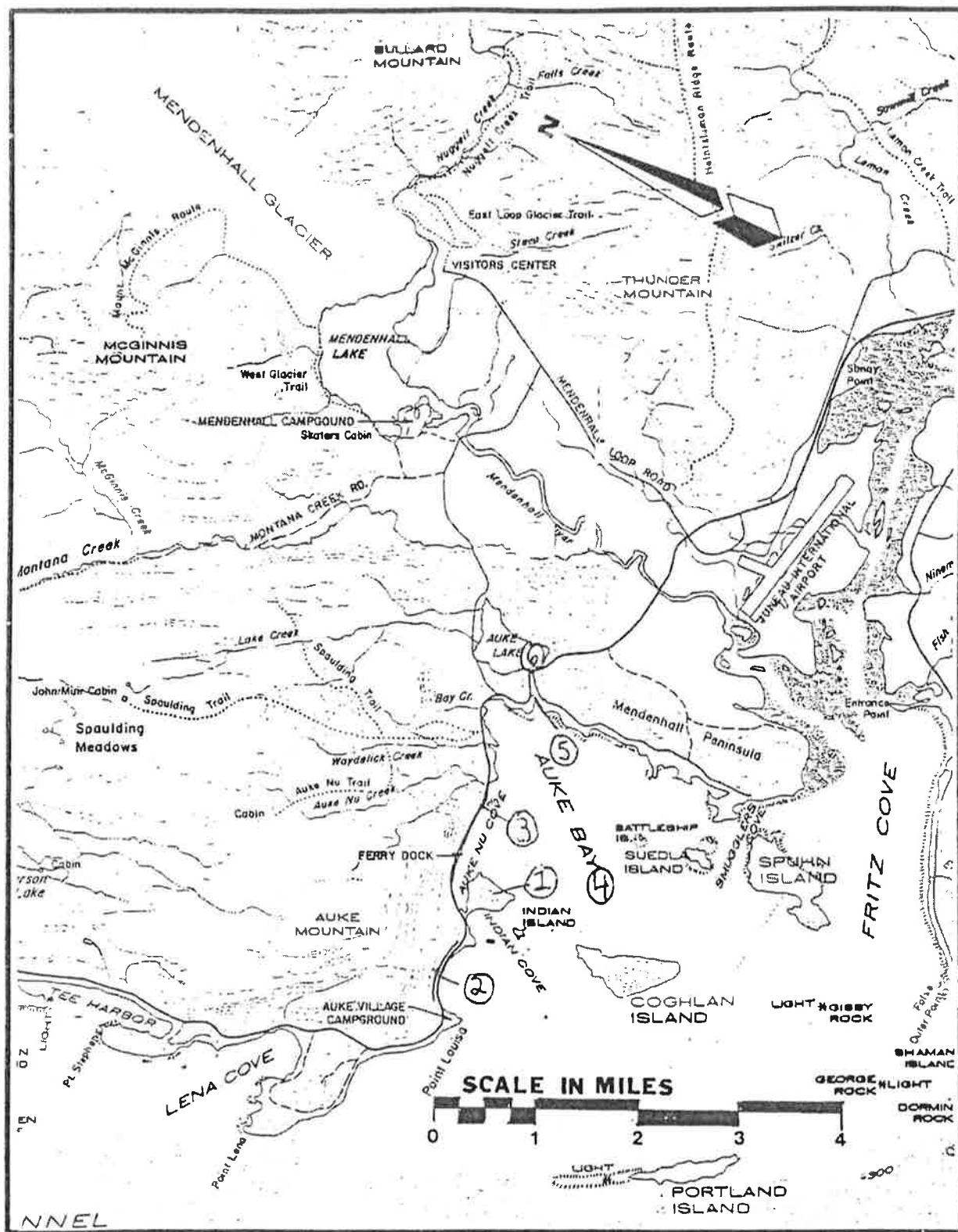


Figure 2. Key features of the greater Auke Cape cultural landscape (see Table 1 for details)

Auke Cape site as a traditional cultural property must be assessed in the context of this broader landscape.

As the core area of Auk Kwaan territory, the greater Auke Cape landscape is rich in oral history. For example, Auke Lake is reputed to be the dwelling place of *Aak'w Ta Shaa* ("Lady of the Lake"), an supernatural woman of extraordinary powers also referred to as "Property Woman," the bringer of wealth (see Swanton 1909:173-175), who interacted with Auk Kwaan living at the village in Auke Bay. Other Auk Tlingit narratives, such as Phillip Joseph's (1967) "History of the Aukquwon" and the story of *Yeeskanaalx* (both discussed in detail below), provide important details about historical activities at Auke Cape and Indian Point. By combining this information with an analysis of the archaeological and natural resources of the area, we can begin to sketch a composite picture of the prehistory of the Auke Bay area.

Prehistory and Archaeological Resources

Although we have broad picture of the human habitation and development on the Northwest Coast over the past 10,000 years, relatively little is known about the prehistory of Auke Bay. Human habitation in northern Southeast Alaska has been dated to at least 9,500 B.P. (Ackerman et al. 1979, Davis 1989). About 5,000 ago the archaeological record reveals a shift in technology (from micro-blade tools to slate technology) and social organization (from small dispersed camps to larger winter villages and satellite camps) which was likely a response to environmental change cause by the post-glacial stablization of streams which, in turn, led to the development of more productive salmon habitat (see Fladmark 1982, Mobley and Betts 1997:7). Northwest Coast Natives took advantage of the increased abundance and predictability of salmon through technological adaptation and, as a consequence, developed greater population densities and more complex forms of socio-economic organization.

Summarizing the existing literature on the prehistory of Auke Bay, Mobley and Betts (1997:8) write:

The prehistoric record of the Auke Bay area is poorly-known....Despite continued interest in the Auke winter village site (JUN-025) by the USFS and others (Sealaska 1975:536; Sackett 1979; Moss 1980; Wiersum 1984; Davis 1984; McMahan 1987; Irish 1991a 1991b; Irish and Starr 1991; Brown 1992; Bower and Brown 1992; Bower and Brown 1992; Price 1992; Williams et al. 1995), its antiquity has not been determined. Radiocarbon dates have been obtained from the nearby fort site of Auke Nu, however, indicating that it was occupied over 600 years ago (Moss and Erdlandson 1992:82). A prehistoric woven basket fish trap

was radiocarbon-dated to about the same time (Betts 1992; Betts and Chaney 1995). A skull judged to be prehistoric was recovered during road-building near

confirm that the area was occupied in prehistory [see Table 1 above].

Through archaeological surveying of the proposed building site (Lot 2, comprising 28 acres of the 78 acre cape and parts of Lot 1) in 1992, 1996, and 1997 and limited interviewing and ethnohistorical research, Mobley was able to add details to the picture of past occupancy and land use in Auke Bay. Among the most significant were

Based on his excavations, Mobley (1996:46-47) concluded that the Indian Point Site was eligible for the National Register of Historic Places based on criterion (d), its potential to yield information important to our understanding of prehistory or history. Among his mitigation considerations, Mobley (1996:48, Mobley and Betts 1997) recommends that this area be avoided in development of the facility and that an archaeologist should monitor all ground-disturbing construction activities.

In sum, though our prehistoric picture of Auke Bay is still sketchy, it is significant that the two oldest archaeological dates available for human presence in the Auke Bay area,

provides further evidence for this assertion. Further archaeological and ethnohistorical research on sites of significance in the Auke Bay area, such as the former winter village at Auke Recreation Area and Auke Creek, may yield further clues as to the patterns of human presence in the prehistory of this important cultural landscape.

The contribution of archaeological resources to our understanding of the historic period is also relevant to the evaluation of Auke Cape as a traditional cultural property.

suggest a continuity of use of Auke Cape throughout the historic era (or at least from the early 1800s through the mid-1900s), which is also consistent with the ethnographic material gathered for this investigation and presented in detail the next sections of this report.

Geology

Late Pleistocene glaciation covered all but the higher peaks in the Auke Bay area with ice. Ice melted at lower elevations by about 13,000 years ago (Miller 1973; Mobley 1996:6). Isostatic rebound has contributed to uplift of about 17 (55 feet) meters in areas around Juneau (Mobley 1996). Present geology is characterized by greenstone and greenstone tuffs, with some limestone, marble, quartz, quartzite, and slate. The shoreline of Auke Cape is generally rocky with a gravel/cobble beaches punctuated by rocky outcroppings. Indian Cove contains some sandy beach.

Marine Ecology

Auke Bay exhibits a variety of intertidal, shallow subtidal, and deep water habitats supporting a wide variety of marine floral and fauna typical of the Southeast Alaska nearshore environments. Offshore habitats support crab, including Dungeness and king crab, shrimp, salmon, sole and flounder, halibut, herring, and other fish. Marine mammals, including harbor seals, sea lions, and whales frequent the area following the herring schools and salmon runs. Collectively, Auke Bay, Auke Creek, and Auke Lake constitute a major fisheries resource, serving as spawning, rearing, and overwintering areas for a wide variety of fish.

Intertidal environments of Auke Bay supported key resources for the traditional inhabitants of the area, especially herring spawn, cockles, butter clams, green sea urchins, octopus, herring, littleneck clams as well as marine plants. An unusually large tide flat occurs in Auke Nu Cove, including large, deep tidepools, some which were apparently dug or deepened during initial construction of the nearby ferry terminal in the 1950s (Van Sunberg, pers. comm. 1997). The intertidal and nearshore areas of Auke Cape were prime spawning grounds for herring until the 1970s. In recent years, however, herring use of the area has declined dramatically probably due to a variety of factors, including overharvesting by commercial seiners, increased development of the Auke Bay shoreline, and increased marine traffic in the bay (NOAA 1996:3-23).

The upper tidal areas support salt marsh and tidal flats ideal for waterfowl and shorebirds.

Marine plants and animals traditionally utilized by the Tlingit in the Auke Bay area are listed in Table 2 in the section on subsistence.

Terrestrial Ecology

Auke Cape is heavily forested by a mixed-aged conifers, primarily western hemlock and to a lesser degree Sitka Spruce. Hemlock, including significant old growth, dominates the central portions of the property, while spruce and red alder are common along the shoreline areas. The understory of the shoreline trees is characterized by a dense growth of salmonberry, blueberry, and huckleberry. Ground cover along the coast is comprised of moss and lichens, with low growing bunchberry, deer cabbage, cow parsnip, and five-leaf bramble. Goosetongue and beech greens are also common along the beaches. The upland understory consists mainly of ferns, devils club, skunk cabbage, rusty menziesia, blueberry, salmonberry, and red huckleberry shrubs. Natives made use of many of these plants.

Land animals in the area are typical of Southeast Alaska's mainland. Residents and users I spoke with have observed black bear, Sitka black-tailed deer, wolves, otter, mink, marten, and porcupine on the Cape at various times over the past four decades. Birds commonly seen include eagles (including nesting eagles), ravens, crows, Stellar's jays, kingfishers, owls, gulls, ducks, and other raptors, songbirds, and shorebirds commonly found in other parts of northern Southeast Alaska.

Terrestrial plants and animals used by Tlingits in the Auke Bay area are also listed in Table 2.

Land Status and Non-Native Use

With the exception of the Indian Cove residential area along the isthmus of connecting the peninsula to the mainland, the bulk of the 78-acre property remains undeveloped. The undeveloped portion is divided into 4 large lots (see Figure 1, NOAA 1996:3-46); the two southern and outermost lots (Lot 3 and 4) are owned by the City & Borough of Juneau. Lot 1 at Indian Cove is owned by the National Park Service and houses a dock, workshop, and residence for Glacier Bay National Park vessels and staff. Lot 2, the proposed building tract, is owned by NOAA and constitutes the largest undeveloped lot. Finally, Lot 2A is controlled by the Bureau of Land Management, and was not included in the transfer of land to NOAA/NMFS. Tidelands are owned by the State of Alaska. A trail, maintained by the city, the Park Service, and volunteers, winds its way through parts of all four lots before terminating at the point. According to Jim Luthy (pers. comm. 1997), captain of the Park Service research vessel *Nunatak*, use of this trail has increased significantly in recent years. Recreational hiking and associated activities such as berry picking, picnicking, etc. constitute the major non-Native use of the area today.

Integrity of the Property

A striking feature of Auke Cape is that it is the largest undeveloped tract of coastal land in Auke Bay, indeed perhaps one of the largest in metropolitan Juneau. Similarly the islands offshore remain relatively pristine. Other than temporary Native campsites, significant development has occurred only in the Indian Cove area, where the Fairhaven homesite has been subdivided into numerous lots for homes which now line the shore, and at the head of Auke Nu Cove, which is now occupied by several homes and a condominium complex. The Park Service property contains a large pier and dock as well as workshop and residence. Otherwise Auke Cape's visual and ecological characteristics retain much of their aboriginal character.

However, the same cannot be said of the marine environment, due to the lack of herring spawn. Once the most productive herring spawning coves in all of Juneau, Auke Nu Cove and Indian Cove have become virtually barren since 1980 (Dick Carlson, pers. comm. 1997). This, in turn, has affected the presence of other key Native resources that feed on herring, such as salmon and harbor seal, which, according to Natives, are not as prevalent in the nearshore waters of Auke Cape as they were when the Bay was a productive herring spawn fishery. Similarly, Tlingits and non-Natives recognize that the effects of development (including sewage emptying into the shallows) in Indian Cove and Auke Nu Cove have compromised the quality of these areas for invertebrate harvesting. The effects of these changes are discussed in more detail below in the section on Auke Cape as a historical subsistence site.

DEFINING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTY

As the National Register guidelines for evaluating TCPs suggest, "Defining the boundaries of a traditional cultural property can present considerable problems" (Parker and King 1990: 18) in part because they are living landscapes associated with traditional human uses (often multiple) that have their own particular historic, cultural, and geographic contexts. In fact, the boundaries of property may vary depending on the particular use context and

may not correlate easily to topographic boundary features commonly depicted on USGS maps. Notwithstanding these problems of definition, a determination of boundaries necessary for placing a TCP on the National Register. In order to determine the boundaries for the Auke Cape TCP, I examine Tlingit conceptions of Auke Cape as both a place (or site) and a property.

Tlingit Conceptions of X'unáxi (Greater Auke Cape) as a Place

As noted above, Tlingits commonly refer to Auke Cape as Indian Point and some elders know it by its Tlingit name, X'unáxi. But what are the boundaries of the property for the majority of Tlingits and what are its salient features? To answer these questions we must ascertain what physical area Tlingits are referring to when they say Indian Point or X'unáxi. Questioning of Tlingit elders on this issue leads me to conclude that most Tlingits conceptualize X'unáxi as including both Auke Cape itself and the tidelands and nearshore waters of Auke Nu Cove and Indian Cove. Most also include the islands just offshore-- Indian Island

Indian Island, according to Tlingit elder Cecelia Kunz (pers. comm. 1997), also possesses a separate Tlingit name, *Saawdaat X'aat* or "Soldier Island," which she says was coined in historic era and is a hybrid name drawn from the Russian word for sailor and the Tlingit word for island (X'aat), an etymology confirmed by linguist Jeff Leer of the Alaska Native Language Center (pers. comm. 1997). Mrs. Kunz stated that the name derives from the fact that soldiers (Russian?) used to camp there during the early historic period. Despite its possessing a separate commemorative name, however, Mrs. Kunz and other Tlingit elders classify Indian Island as part of X'unáxi. For older Tlingits, the English Name "Indian Point" encompasses these same boundaries. Thus 97-year old Wooshkeetaan elder Charles Johnson, in an interview with myself and Marie Olson (also a Wooshkeetaan) repeatedly referred to his Indian Island camp in English as being at "Indian Point," obviously an equivalent reference to the generalized territory embodied in the Native concept of X'unax'i. The etymology of X'unax'i itself is uncertain but Mrs. Kunz says that it refers the fact that both the Indian Island and Auke Cape were utilized as camping places from the earliest times. The Tlingit suffix x'i is a general reference to a camping place according to Jeff Leer.

While there may not be consensus on the outermost boundaries of the X'unax'i, there is agreement that the core of Indian Point consists of Auke Cape and its tidelands. Indeed the perception of Auke Cape as a distinct and unitary geographic feature is shared by non-Natives and Natives alike. As will be shown, specific events and practices that occur or have occurred on Auke Cape or on the nearby islands may be tied to discrete sites within the greater landscape, but in discourse and thought these events are nearly always referenced as taking place at Indian Point, embodying the sum total of the lands and waters just described. The subdivision of Auke Cape into separate lots or properties is not meaningful to the Native community. As Rosita Worl, a Tlingit anthropologist and Board Member of Sealaska Corporation, put it in the December 13, 1996 Cultural Resources Consultation Meeting on the NOAA project (CRCM 1996:4), "The Native people do not think of Indian Point as separate parcels; it is one 'area' and belongs to the Auk Kwaan people," thus affirming the salience of Auke Cape as both a unitary site and as an "owned" property.

Tlingit Property Tenure and Social Organization

As the above quote suggests, Tlingit concepts of land ownership and property law are also relevant to understanding the Native view of Auke Cape as both a single site and a property. Far from the stereotype of hunter-gatherers as wandering nomads, Tlingits have historically been property owners and property stewards. In their study of Tlingit and Haida possessory rights in 1946, Goldschmidt and Haas (1946:iv) note that Southeast Alaska Natives:

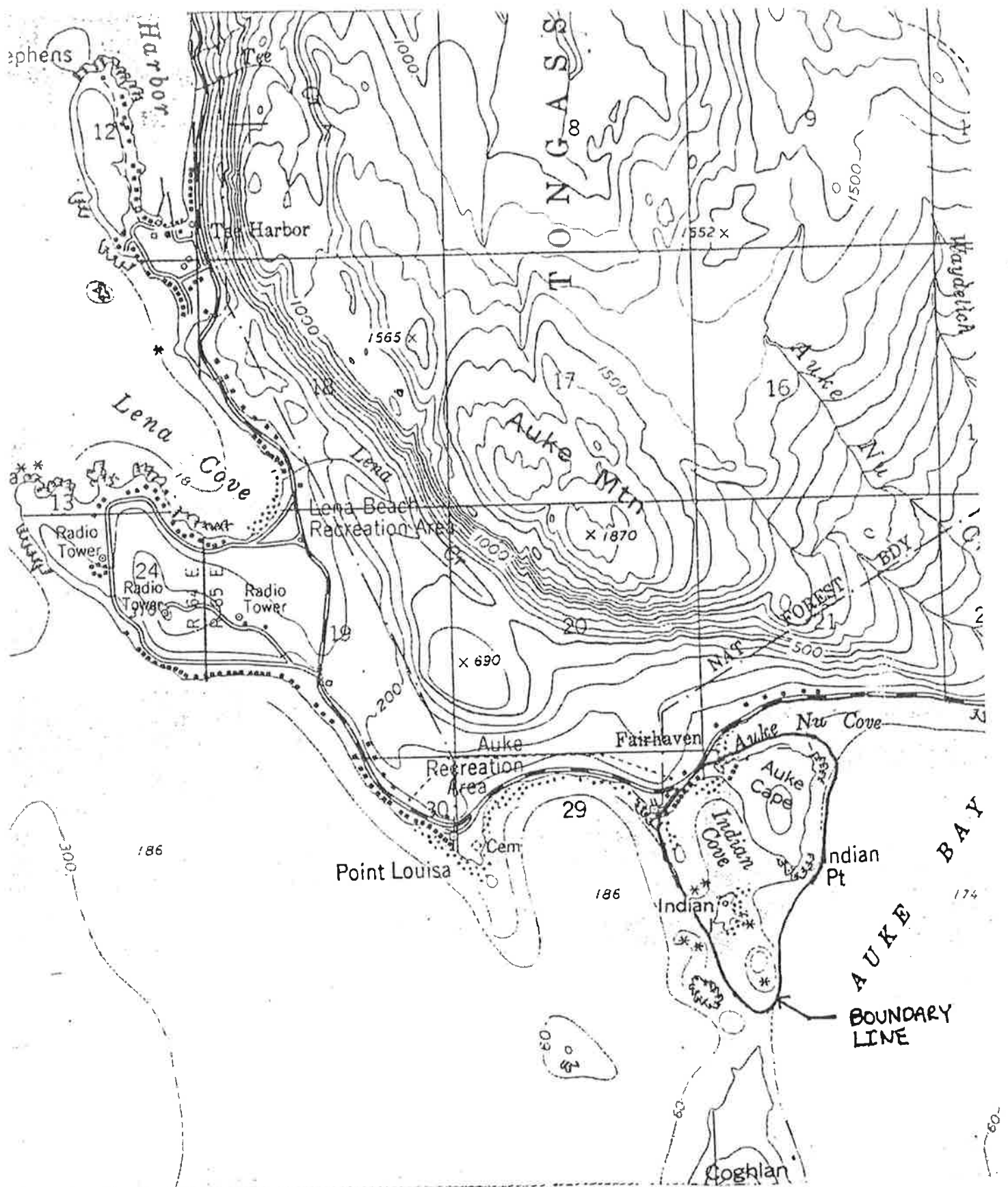


Figure 3. Boundaries of the Tlingit property known as X'unax'i, or Indian Point (1 mi.=2 inches)

Social Unit		Aak'w Kwáan	
Kwaan			
Moiety	Raven	Eagle	
Clan	L'eineidi	Wooshkeetaan	
House	Yaxte Hít (Dipper House)	Xoots Hít (Bear House)	
Groups	Teel' Hít (Dog Salmon House)	Gunakadeit Hít (Sea Monster House)	
	Gaataa Hít (Trap House)	Toos' Hít (Shark House)	
		Xeiti Hít (Thunderbird House)	
		Hít Tlein Taan (Big House People)	

The Yaxtetaan (People of the Dipper House) are most closely identified with the ownership and use of Auke Cape. Other groups are associated with other specific territories, such as the Wooshkeetaan with Berners Bay (see Figure 4).

In the modern era (1900-), the Auke Cape area has been used for subsistence by Auk Kwaan and non-Auk Kwaan Natives alike; nevertheless, in this and other contexts a recognition of the property-owning clan and the local kwáan persists. As David Katzeek (pers. comm. 1997) points out, "this recognition of the host clan is very important and extends to modern day activities, such as [Sealaska Heritage Foundations's] Celebration," a biannual cultural gathering in Juneau, where visiting Native groups always pay tribute to their hosts, the Auk Kwaan, for welcoming the visiting delegations to their lands.

MAINTENANCE AND DEFENSE OF AUKE CAPE AS A PROPERTY

Further evidence for the integrity of Auke Cape as a property stems from the fact that it has been actively maintained and defended as a traditional cultural property throughout history. From earliest European contact with the Vancouver expedition in 1794, the Auks have been identified as living at Auke Bay on the mainland and Young Bay (also sometimes labeled Auk Bay on early maps) on Admiralty Island (Vancouver 1984). Moreover, the earliest written records suggest that the Auk Kwaan were aggressive in defense of their territory. Lt. Joseph Whidbey, who explored Stephens Passage for Vancouver, reports encountering a territorial group of Natives, whom he decided not to engage in battle, instead taking "the more humane course" and retreating toward the northern point of Admiralty Island which Vancouver aptly named Point Retreat, apparently to commemorate the incident (cf. Vancouver 1967; DeArmond 1967:14). Even before this time, oral historical accounts (see, for example, the story of *Yeesganaalyx* below) and research on fort sites

, suggest that Auke Bay was a coveted territory which was maintained and defended as a property. And throughout this century, despite relocating their permanent village downtown, Auk Kwaan have continued to use and defend their rights to Auke Cape.

Efforts to maintain and defend Auke Cape as a cultural property have intensified in the the last four decades, an era in which the Cape repeatedly has been threatened by development. This record of maintenance and defense is worth examining in some detail because it is not well known and because it clearly shows the significance of Auke Cape to the beliefs and practices of the living Tlingit community that are a) rooted in that community's history, and b) are important in maintaining the continuity and identity of the community. According to *National Register Bulletin 38* (Parker and King 1990:1) and *Bulletin 16* (NPS 1991), these factors are key determinants of a site's eligibility for inclusion in the National Register as a traditional cultural property.

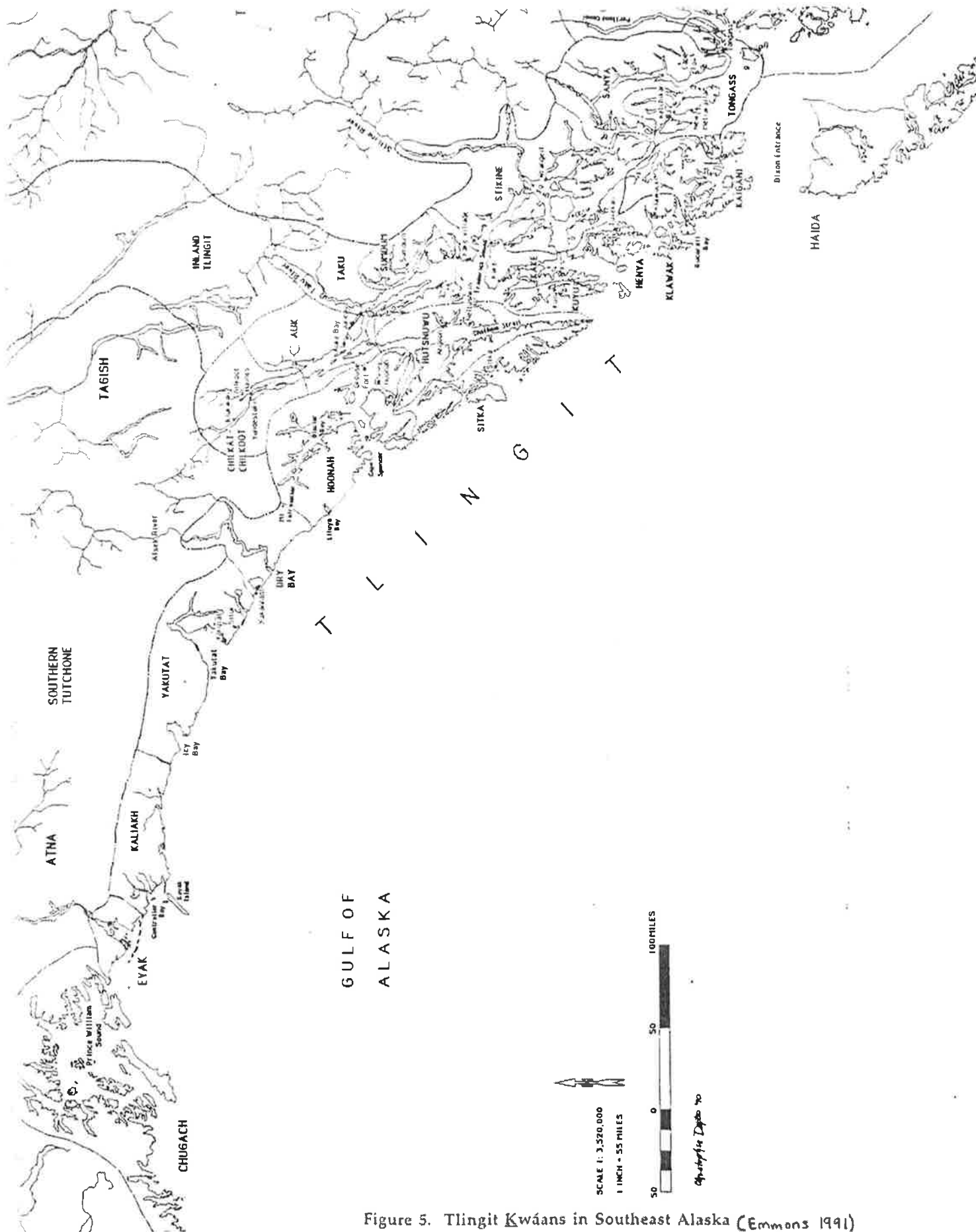


Figure 5. Tlingit Kwáans in Southeast Alaska (Emmons 1941)

had a well-defined system of property ownership which was not unlike our own, except that the land was generally held in the name of a clan or house group, with joint usage by such an extended family. Title to land was obtained by inheritance or as legal settlement for damages; it was never bought or sold. It was recorded in the minds of all interested parties by elaborate ceremonials and the distribution of goods among the people (potlatches) which were necessary before land ownership could be publicly recognized. Deeds were sometimes further recorded in the carvings of the famous totem poles.

Like other territory within Auk Kwaan, Auke Cape and the surrounding lands and waters were owned, occupied, used by specific clans since "time immemorial" (as it is often said) or centuries before European contact. As Figure 4, a map based on the 1946 land claims investigations of Goldschmidt and Haas, shows, ownership of the Auke Bay area is generally attributed to the L'eineidí (Dog Salmon) clan and more specifically to the Yaxtetaan (Dipper House People), who, according to the oral historical record, were the original Tlingit settlers in the area. But, as will be shown, there is also evidence of Wooshkeetaan clan members'

in the area, suggesting that they, too, had certain rights to the area. Though the two clans stem from opposite sides (moieties) of the social structure, they are closely tied through marriage and co-residence in Auke Bay.

To understand the nature of Tlingit property tenure and social relations, a general sketch of their complex social structure is in order. The Tlingit are organized into matrilineal clans, meaning that a child belongs to the same clan as his/her mother. Clans are subdivided into housegroups and aggregated into moieties or sides (Raven and Eagle). Another important social organizational unit is the *kwáan*. The term *kwáan* comes from the Tlingit verb "to dwell" and may be used on a number of different levels. As a sociogeographic term, *kwáan* is most commonly used to describe the collective territory of clans traditionally residing in one or more closely tied winter villages. At this level, Auk Kwaan defines those individuals who descend from clans that historically resided in the Young Bay and Auke Bay villages. Auk Kwaan is one of 13 major *kwáans* in Southeast Alaska (see Figure 5). As a component of identity, this label remains fixed and inalienable regardless of one's actual residence. Thus, for example, a Shangukeidí descended from Klukwan but born and raised in Juneau, perhaps even by parents who were also raised in Juneau, remains part of the Chilkat Kwaan because that is the traditional homesite of his clan. At another level, the term *kwáan* may be applied to a group that both owns and dwells (or dwelled) in a particular territory. Thus, the Yaxtetaan call themselves the Auk Kwaan (or *Aak'w Kwáan*) because they not only dwell in the vicinity of Auke Lake (*Aak'w*) but have a territorial claim to the lake and its environs. At still another level, the term may be more loosely applied to any Tlingit who dwells in Juneau, regardless of their clan identity or property rights.

For most of its early history, the Auk Kwaan tribe consisted of two major clans: the L'eineidí (Dog Salmon clan) on the Raven side and the Wooshkeetaan (Shark clan) on the Eagle side; in more recent times, other clans have settled in the area through intermarriage and other circumstances. The L'eineidí and Wooshkeetaan may be subdivided into the following house groups, each of which is a property-owning entity.

JUNEAU-DOUGLAS TERRITORY

SHOWING ABORIGINAL USE & OWNERSHIP
AND PRESENT DAY (1946) USES

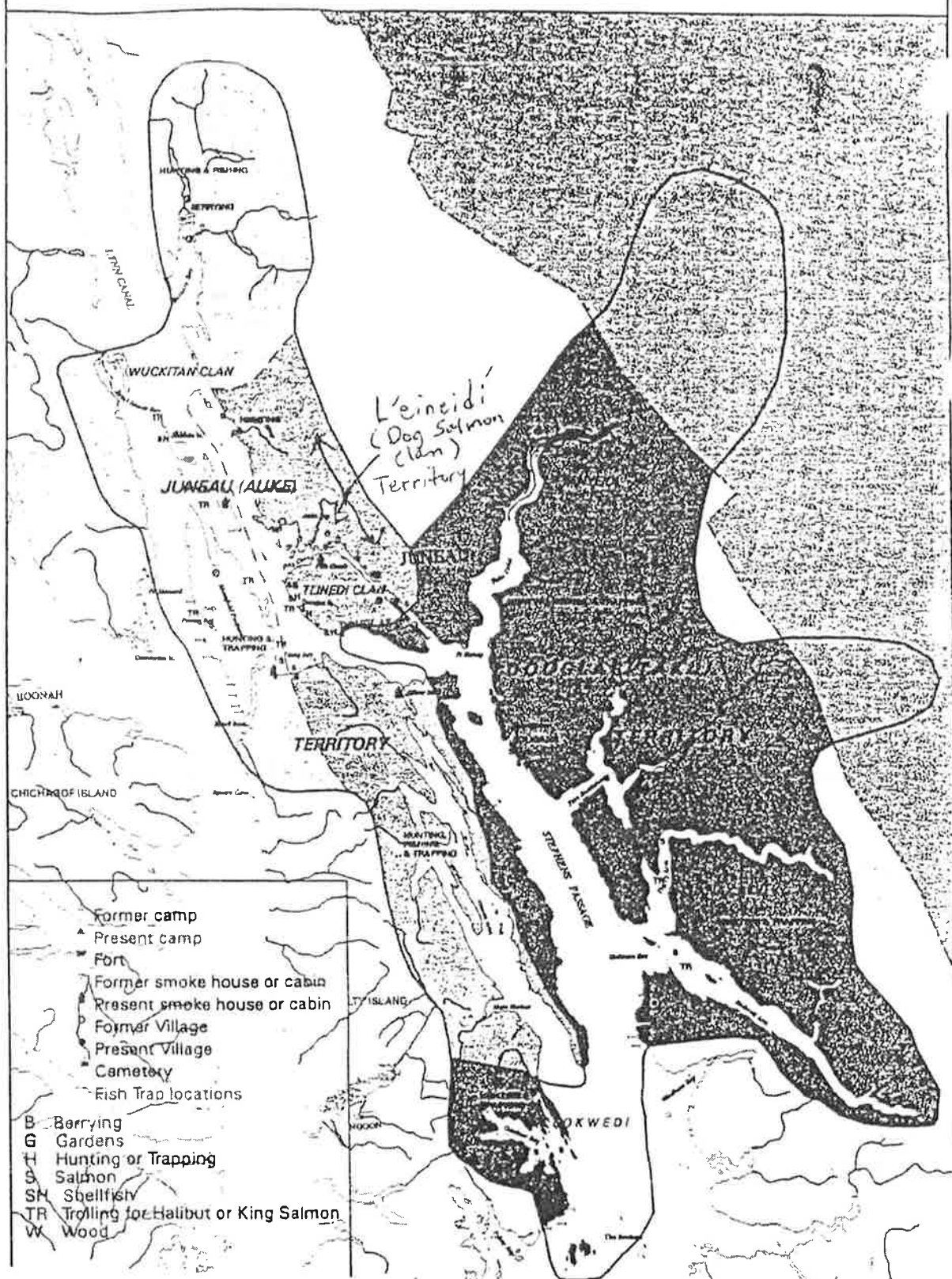


Figure 4. Juneau-Douglas Tlingit clan territories as depicted by Goldschmidt and Haas (map adapted from the 1946 publication). Auke Bay is shown to belong to the Tlinedi (L'eineidi) or Dog Salmon clan.

1946 Land Claims Testimony

During the investigation of Tlingit and Haida land rights in Southeast Alaska conducted by anthropologist Walter Goldschmidt and attorney Theodore Haas in 1946, local Native experts gave extensive testimony on land occupancy and use from the earliest times to the present. Native witnesses also chronicled the encroachments and indignities that they had suffered in trying to preserve ties to their traditional land and resource base. In Juneau, Auk Kwaan elder Dave Wallace testified about disruptions which occurred at the traditional herring fishery at Auke Cape and Indian Cove (Fairhaven).

At Fairhaven, between Auke Bay and Tee Harbor, there is a place that the Government has set aside for the fishing people. The Government has put up a sign saying that this place is for the fishermen, both white and Native, and has protected this place against homesteading. Now, however, there is a herring pot on this place which was put up by John Willis, a white man, and he is trying to prevent the fishermen from going in there. (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946, Dave Wallace #25)

Other witnesses, including William Kunz (father-in-law of elder Cecelia Kunz, who also testified) testified that they had used Auke Bay continuously as had their ancestors before them. Along with encroachments at Auke Cape/Indian Cove, reference is made to key subsistence activities that traditionally occurred in Auke Bay between the shores of Auke Creek and the Auke Bay village that were curtailed because of development—construction of commercial fish canneries in the case of Auke Creek and “because [Natives] were put off when the Forest Service set the land aside as a reservation and turned the beach into a recreation area” in the case of Auke Bay Village (Goldschmidt and Haas 1946, Jake Cropley #19, William Kunz #22). Through the land claims process, Auke Natives sought not only compensation for lost lands, but also protection of their existing hunting, fishing, and gathering rights on the lands and waters of Auke Bay and other parts of *Aak’w Kwáan*.

1959 National Park Service Withdrawal of Lot 1

In early 1959, the National Park Service proposed to withdraw some 23 acres of land on the west side of Indian Cove to build a headquarters for combined administration of the Sitka and Glacier Bay National monuments. Notice was published in the Federal Register on March 25, 1959 (PFR Doc 59-25-45). Moving swiftly, the Juneau Camps of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Alaska Native Sisterhood held meetings to discuss the proposed action on March 30th and April 6th, and on April 7th the groups lodged a formal protest against the withdrawal in a letter to the Park Service (see Figure 6). The letter notes that,

positive and united action was voted to protest approval of this withdrawal for the following reasons:

1. The Auke Tribe and clans have claimed said area for generations
2. This is their camp site for fishing and preparing food.
3. That currently this area is used for said purposes.

On April 20, 1959 the ANB/ANS held another meeting and sent a follow-up letter to W.T. May of the Bureau of Land Management in which they reiterated their concerns over the Park Service withdrawal and included a sketch map indicating “our request as marked in red be designated exclusively for our use in our customary manner.” I was unable to obtain the original sketch showing the red ink, but a memo from Charles H. Jones on April 29, 1959, clearly delineates the proposed Native use area on the map as being “an area approximately 300 feet

Juneau, Alaska

7 April 1989

re Protest withdrawal 23 acres
of land on the West side of
Indian Point, Juneau, Alaska

To: The US Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Juneau, Alaska,

Gentlemen:

We have noted with concern a recent news release
relative to a proposed land withdrawal as indicated in the
above part of the communication.

At a meeting of the Juneau Camps, Alaska Native
Brotherhood and Sisterhood, March 30th and April 6th positive
and united action was voted to protest approval of this
withdrawal for the following reasons:

1. The Auke Tribe and clans have claimed
said area for generations.
2. This is their camp site for fishing and
preparing of foods.
3. That currently this area is used for
said purposes.

Respectfully yours,

s/ John Wilson, Sr., President, ANB

s/ Mrs. Mary Brown, President, ANS

Figure 6. Native Letter of Protest to the US Park Service Concerning Withdrawal of
Lands at Indian Point

RECEIVED
FEB 26 1959
JUNEAU OFFICE
JUNEAU, ALASKA

SITKA N.M.

Rev 2/12/59 P.S.P.

SCALE 1" = 600'

Figure 7. Sketch of the Proposed Park Service Withdrawal and Native Camp Site at Indian Point

back from the beach all along the westerly side of the proposed withdrawal area" (see Figure 7). Earlier, on April 7, Jones and Glacier Bay Monument Superintendent L.J. Mitchell had visited Indian Point where they found

The Native people have been using a small area about one hundred feet long, extending fifty or sixty feet back from the beach...

There is an old smokehouse on this campsite and evidence showing three places where there have been campfires. There is a fresh water spring on the site and a swing for children. Evidence on the ground shows that the campsite area has been used for many years.

After Mitchell assured the Native community that their continued use of the area, including fishing and camping, would be safeguarded in the withdrawal order as per their request, representatives of the ANB/ANS reportedly withdrew their objection to the land transfer. The final Public Land Order (P.L.O 1962) authorizing the withdrawal, signed on August 25, 1959, includes this provision:

This order shall not be construed to affect or to impair any rights or privileges the natives of the area may have to the use and enjoyment of their established campsite on the south shore of Herring [Indian] Cove in their customary manner.

There was no provision, however, for exclusive use to the larger tract as requested by the Juneau Natives in their April 21 letter to the Bureau of Land Management. This request was apparently either dismissed or ignored.

Bob Howe (pers. comm. 1997), who succeeded Mitchell as Superintendent of Glacier Bay National Park, remembers that families continued to utilize the site during his residence at Indian Point from 1966-75. He recalls that one family came back every year: "I remember because they used to park in our driveway," in order to gain access to the harvest sites out toward the point.

1969 Proposed Rezoning of Indian Point for Residential Development

The Greater Juneau Borough acquired some 24 acres of land (Lots 3 and 4) on Indian Point from the state in 1968. Initially the area was zoned for recreation, but in 1969 a proposed ordinance was introduced in City Council to rezone Indian Point for residential development. Natives once again organized to oppose development of the property and protect their historic ties to and customary uses of Auke Cape. Borough Chairman Myrton Charney was the chief proponent of the rezoning, while Assemblyman Mike Miller argued persuasively for keeping the area for recreation and traditional uses. In a feature article of the *Southeast Alaska Empire* dated May 17, 1969 (Figure 8), Miller argued the historic values of Indian point to the greater community should be recognized, "For a number of Tlingit Indians are buried here, and the peninsula has served for decades--in fact centuries--as a major beach for gathering herring

There Are Trails, Beaches To Walk

By MIKE MILLER

Assemblyman,

Greater Juneau Borough

Indian Point, that picturesque and surprisingly undisturbed little peninsula which juts into Auke Bay just beyond the state ferry terminal, has been much in the news recently. Reason, of course, is that the Borough Assembly is considering an ordinance which would zone the point "public use."

If the issue is a major one—and it certainly is in terms of public interest and in terms of the hours of testimony presented at the assembly's public hearing May 7—it is also a relatively simple one.

The question is: Should the borough retain the point as recreational land, to be enjoyed by all the people? Or should the point be subdivided and sold into private ownerships?

At the hearing, the assembly heard an impressive array of individuals (representing, among others, the Alaska Native Brotherhood, the Tlingit and Haida organizations, the Auke Bay Garden Club, Territorial Sportsmen, the Sierra Club, and the Alaska Conservation Society) speak in behalf of

public ownership.

Opposition, expressed mostly in letters to the assembly, seemed to center around the concern of a number of area homeowners that a recreational project would create traffic congestion and littering. The question was raised, as well, whether the land actually had recreation value, since much of the beach is steep and rocky, and in fact is largely covered by many high tides.

I wanted to see the area myself. So, last Sunday, five of us Millers joined six Clifford Lobaughs and for a couple of easygoing hours we ambled and scrambled around and over Indian Point.

I can recommend the experience, heartily.

Our conclusions: A gentle, fine-gravel swimming beach it isn't, at least not all around the point. And it isn't recreation land either, in the sense of flat, cleared baseball diamonds or tennis courts. But prime, exciting recreation land it certainly is, with rich potential for a trails system throughout its heavily wooded interior region, additional trails around the perimeter and down to several nicely separated beach areas, and for a number of picnic tables and maybe even tent sites at various overlook points.

Perhaps somewhere on the point, as well, some monument or interpretive plaques could recognize the historic values of Indian Point. For a number of Tlingit Indians are buried here, and the peninsula has served for decades—in fact centuries—as a major beach for gathering herring roe, an Indian delicacy.

On the Weekender cover and this page are a few pictures I snapped during the outing. Nothing spectacular about the photography. The pictures simply show 11 Alaskans enjoying one of greater Juneau's greatest, most accessible natural areas.

I only hope that in the decades to come future generations of Alaskan have the opportunity to take the same outing.



MANY TRAILS—Some of the natural trails throughout the peninsula go one way, some the other—and some go up and down. Here, part of the Miller-Lobaugh party scrambles up a rise in the forest floor. This is thick, largely undisturbed timber area—and a birdwatcher's delight. The hikers found eagle feathers everywhere.

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Figure 8. Southeast Alaska Empire 1969 feature article by Assemblyman Mike Miller arguing against development of Indian Point based on the site's cultural and recreational values.

roe, an Indian delicacy." A headline in the May 6th *Empire* had heralded "Indian Point is Last Herring Egg Area" and reported that some Natives feared that a loss of access to Indian Point might ultimately result in Juneau Tlingits having to "buy back" eggs from the Japanese. A *Tundra Times* article on April 25, 1969 reported that

ANB and other native groups utilize the area [Indian Point] for picnics and other recreational activities. One member of the Auke Tribe, who declined to be quoted, said that recently attempts have been made to close the area to their use.

One example cited was a 'no trespassing' sign which had been posted at the site. It wasn't known whether it was posted by the borough or some other agency.

There was an incident last summer of one member of the Auke Tribe who was shot with a salt-loaded shotgun as he passed the sign to gather eggs.

On May 9th a public hearing was held on the proposed ordinance for rezoning Indian Point in the Borough chambers. The next day the *Empire* reported on testimony affirming the contemporary values and historic significance of Indian Point to the Native community.

"Indian Point is the ONE place where the native people want to go. They are really concerned about it," said Mary Schulz chairman of the Borough Parks and Recreation Committee.

Eight members of the Tlingit and Haida tribes spoke at the Wednesday Borough Assembly hearing to decide whether Indian Point should become a private residential area or be turned to public use.

Rosetta [Rosita] Rodriguez [now Worl], Amos Wallace, Mrs. Edward [Cecelia] Kunz, Nellie Bennett, Hank Cropley, Mrs. Nora Florendo [now Dauenhauer], and Mrs Anita Engeberg.

Mrs. Rodriguez, who is Chairman of the A.N.B Heritage Committee and Secretary of Tlingit and Haidas, said in a prepared statement:

"Indian Point is more than an issue of land or a possible source of revenue. It represents to us a link to our past, our forefathers, and our way of life. Perhaps you may understand this feeling if you think of the many historical sites and monuments, such as Plymouth Rock where the pilgrims first landed, or Abraham Lincoln's humble one-room log cabin, or of the Statue of Liberty. The Federal government has seen fit to designate these and many other areas historical sites. Indian Point is all this to us...."

She concluded by expressing the hope that the Assembly would "see that Indian Point would better serve its citizens by becoming an area where all may go to enjoy its natural grandeur, where Tlingits may continue in their traditional activities."

Others affirmed the historical nature of the sites

because of the herring spawn fishery conducted on the shore. (*Southeast Alaska Empire* 5/10/69)

Ultimately, the coalition opposing development of the site --consisting of Natives, recreational enthusiasts, the National Park Service personnel and others--prevailed, and the proposed rezoning ordinance was defeated.

1975 Sealaska Corporation Native Cemetery & Historic Sites Survey

In 1974 and 1975, the newly-formed Sealaska Corporation initiated a project designed to identify, locate, and survey Native historic and cemetery sites in Southeast Alaska. This project was a response to provisions of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971 which allowed Sealaska Corporation to obtain title to up to 69,000 acres of land encompassing historic sites in the Southeast Region. The consulting firm of Wilsey and Ham was hired to complete the project and published a preliminary report in 1975 documenting some 1300 sites in the region (Sealaska 1975). Among the sites identified in interviews with Native elders in Juneau was Indian Point. In separate taped interviews with Willis M. Peters and Mr. and Mrs. Cecelia Kunz in early 1975, each identified Indian Point/Auke Cape by its Tlingit name, *X'unáxi*, characterizing the property as a trolling camp, campsite, and fort site. In the published report, the site was labeled #145 and targeted for further field investigation.

In the Introduction to the report (Sealaska 1975: 8), the authors acknowledge the sheer abundance of historic sites in Southeast as being of "nearly unmanageable proportions." To avoid exceeding their 69,000 acre limit, it was thus necessary for Sealaska to impose criteria for selection of certain sites over others. Though the ANCSA specifications did not insist that a qualifying site include physical evidence, the survey teams strategically limited themselves to sites with physical remains, such as house pits, burial pits, midden, etc. This evidence combined with the interview data provided the impetus for monumentation and it was these sites that were then evaluated and prioritized for ANCSA 14h(1) selections.

possibly because of this oversight, Indian Point was not surveyed, and it was not forwarded as a 14h(1) selection. Undoubtedly, there are other sites that could have or would have been confirmed had there been more time and resources available for interviews, guides, and field surveying. For the purposes of this investigation, however, it is important to note is that Auke Cape/Indian Point was identified as a historic site in the Sealaska survey and was-- perhaps prematurely--eliminated from priority 14(h)1 consideration.

1996 Proposed NOAA facility

When the Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) for the proposed NOAA/NMFS Consolidated facility was released in September, 1996, Native efforts to protect Indian Point were renewed again. In testimony at public hearings, cultural resources consultation meetings, and in letters to NOAA and in written responses to the DEIS (NOAA 1996), representatives for the Auk Kwaan, Tlingit and Haida Central Council, and Sealaska Corporation expressed formal opposition to the proposal on the basis of the traditional cultural values associated with the site and the federal government's lack failure to consult with the Native community in documenting and safeguarding those values as required by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. As in the past, this opposition was rooted in a sense of maintenance and defense of Auke Cape as traditional cultural property.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROPERTY

This section documents and analyzes the cultural significance of Indian Point as a historic site. As will be shown in the following paragraphs, the greater Auke Cape/Indian Point area has outstanding historical significance to the Auk Kwaan, particularly the Yaxtetaan, in four major respects. First, it is the original habitation site of the Auk Kwaan in the Juneau area--their Plymouth Rock if you will. Second, it was--until the demise of the

herring run--a hallowed subsistence site for fishing and gathering activities. Third, Auke Cape and its nearshore islands are the site of historic Native graves, including those of shamans and other persons of significance in Native history; particularly powerful places that generally are avoided out of respect for the power of the spirit(s) that dwells there. Fourth, Auke Cape is a historic lookout, refuge site, and meeting place-- for key events in Auk Kwaan history, including battles and encounters with other groups. These historical features of the site and their significance to the history and identity of the Auk Kwaan community are examined below.

Auke Cape as the Original Habitation Site for the Auk Kwaan

While the occupation of Auke Bay by the Auk Kwaan Tlingit is generally known, most people associate the first permanent settlement of the Auk Kwaan with Auke Village (*Anchgaltsoww*) about a half-mile to the west of Indian Cove (see Figure 9). But oral and written documents suggest that the original settlement of the first migrants to Auke Bay, the Yaxte Hit, was at Indian Cove and Auke Cape. Here, some 500 years ago according to an estimate made by one Yaxtehitta elder (Joseph 1967) through genealogical reckoning, the Yaxtetaan built their first settlement. Only later did the group move to Auke Village, where they were joined by other groups.

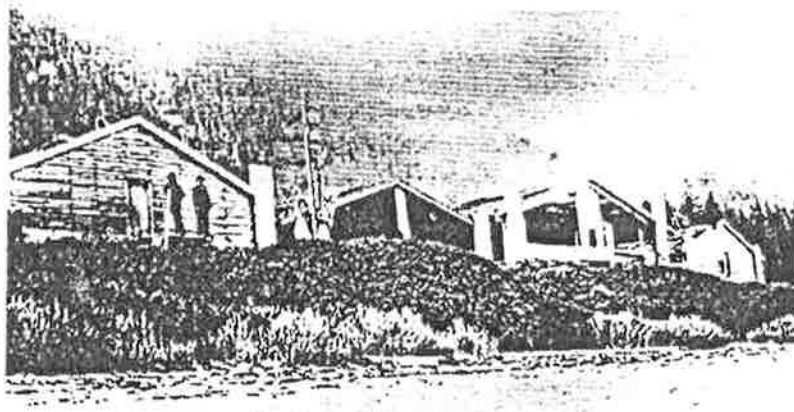


Figure 9. Auke Village, known in Tlingit as *Anchgaltsoww* ("Town that Moved"). Case & Draper, PCA 39-1171, courtesy of the Alaska State Historical Library.

The single best source for this history is Phillip Joseph, an Auk Kwaan elder, now deceased, who began recording the history of his people in the 1960s and published "The History of the Aukquon [Auk Kwaan]" in 1967 in the journal *New Alaskan*. Several versions of the text exist, but all agree on the pertinent facts concerning the settlement of Indian Cove and Auke Cape. Joseph begins his history in the 15th century in a handwritten version of the narrative (Joseph n.d.) and in the early 1500s in the published version. At that time the Yaxtetaan were living at Stikine River near present day Wrangell, but they decided to move because of a quarrel with another group in the village. Journeying north up the coast of Admiralty Island, they stopped at Young Bay before ultimately settling at Auke Cape/Indian Cove. They ended up at Fairhaven, which on USGS maps refers to the old Bavard homesite extending west from the base of Auke Cape around the shores of Indian Cove. Remarkable in its chronology of events and level of geographical detail, Joseph's narrative is worth quoting at length.

The people started off towards the North. This was a rough trip for some people with women and children. It took them weeks. They finally came to Stephens Passage. They explored every island and bay. The only place they didn't explore was the Taku Inlet and Gastineau Channel. They went outside Douglas Island, then they came to Youngs Bay.

Here they discovered lots of seal. They came inside a big hole just above the high water mark. It had a small entrance at the high tide through which the seal comes into the inlet. The seal go after fish in the creek. Then the natives go out to the entrance in small canoes. They line up their canoes across the entrance and use paddles for plungers until the tide goes out. After the tide goes out behind the flats then the seals come down to get out to sea. That is when they use clubs to kill all the seals they need.

The people wanted to stay there but the Chief refused and told them to go on. He told them if they didn't find another place to suit them, they can always go back. When they left.... They came by Outer Point and came to Auk Bay. The Chief then told his people where they would make their new settlement.

They landed in Fairhaven and started building. They put up big houses, huts, and smokehouses. At the same time most of the people explored the whole bay. They soon find Auk Lake. And they find out the creek [that] runs from the lake is a good sockeye creek. They also find out the herring spawns in the spring. There were all kinds of berries, game, and shellfish food.

The name "Auquwon" comes from the lake. In Thlinget, lake means "auk" and "quwon" means the people. That's how the people who go there were named Aukquwon. The name of Auk Bay in Tlingit is "Auk-ta". Then one day the Chief told some of the men and his nephews to go back and up Taku Inlet. When they left they went behind the Island south of Auk Bay and they saw a channel leading through a bar, where the airport now stands. They went through this channel and came out at what is now called Gastineau Channel.

They saw ducks of all kinds, many animals like bears and mountain goats. This place suited them and they [went] right back to report to the Chief. He came and looked the place over. He told his people they will make their settlement in Auk Village to live in winter time. After so many years they start building again for their main village.

They built their Dipper House at Fairhaven. They worked for years, then they moved to Auk Village. Why the chief took pains to find a village site was that they needed a sandy beach because they use canoes and also had to have a shelter like a boat harbor...

The Auquwon claimed the lands from Berner's Bay down to Point Bishop....

After the Dipper House was moved to Juneau it has been rebuilt four times. So the Auk Village should be four hundred years old. The Auke people landed in Auk Bay around 1564...

The narrative continues, discussing such things as interactions with the Taku Tribe and Interior Indians of Atlin and Whitehorse, the coming of the white gold seekers, and Mr. Joseph's own genealogy (the grandson of Sheep Creek Mary) and sources. It also includes a hand-drawn map (Figure 10) of the greater Juneau area. Interestingly, on this map Fairhaven is represented as extending along the west side of the peninsula which appears to be confused with the Mendenhall Peninsula. The facts of the story and USGS maps of the period make clear, however, that Joseph is referring to Indian Cove/Auke Cape when he uses the term Fairhaven. This was confirmed by Walter Soboleff (pers. comm. 1997), an 88-year old elder of the Dog Salmon clan, who also has heard the story of the Auks first landing at Fairhaven,

including Phillip Joseph's version. He offered that, "Phillip Joseph is a very good source. His version is very authentic... That's *X'unáxi*, when he says Fairhaven, that's what he's referring to, *X'unáxi*." Another interviewee, Charles Johnson, mentioned that Indian Point/Cove used to be called "Old Auk Village" because "they built there."

The pertinent facts of Phillip Joseph's narrative are affirmed by contemporary Yaxtetaan elders and elders of other clans familiar with their history, though not everyone is aware of the original village site location at Indian Cove. This is not surprising, however, given the antiquity of the settlement as compared to the longer and more recent occupation of Auke Village. At the same time, other elders amplify parts of the story that Phillip Joseph does not. For example, both Cecilia Kunz and Rosa Miller state (pers. comm. 1997) that it was necessary for the Auk people to clear the beach at Auke Recreation area before canoes could land there and that this work was carried out by slaves. A rocky beach at Auke Recreation area, of course, would have made the greater shelter and small beach at Indian Cove that much more attractive as an initial village site. It may well be, as the story implies, that Auk Kwaan simply outgrew it. Another suggestion is that the Auk Kwaan moved so as not to disturb the herring during their spawning. It seems that the movement of the village to the site at Auke Recreation area is also commemorated in the name that was given to the new town: *Anchgaltsoow*, or "Town that Moved."

LAND OF THE AUKQUWON

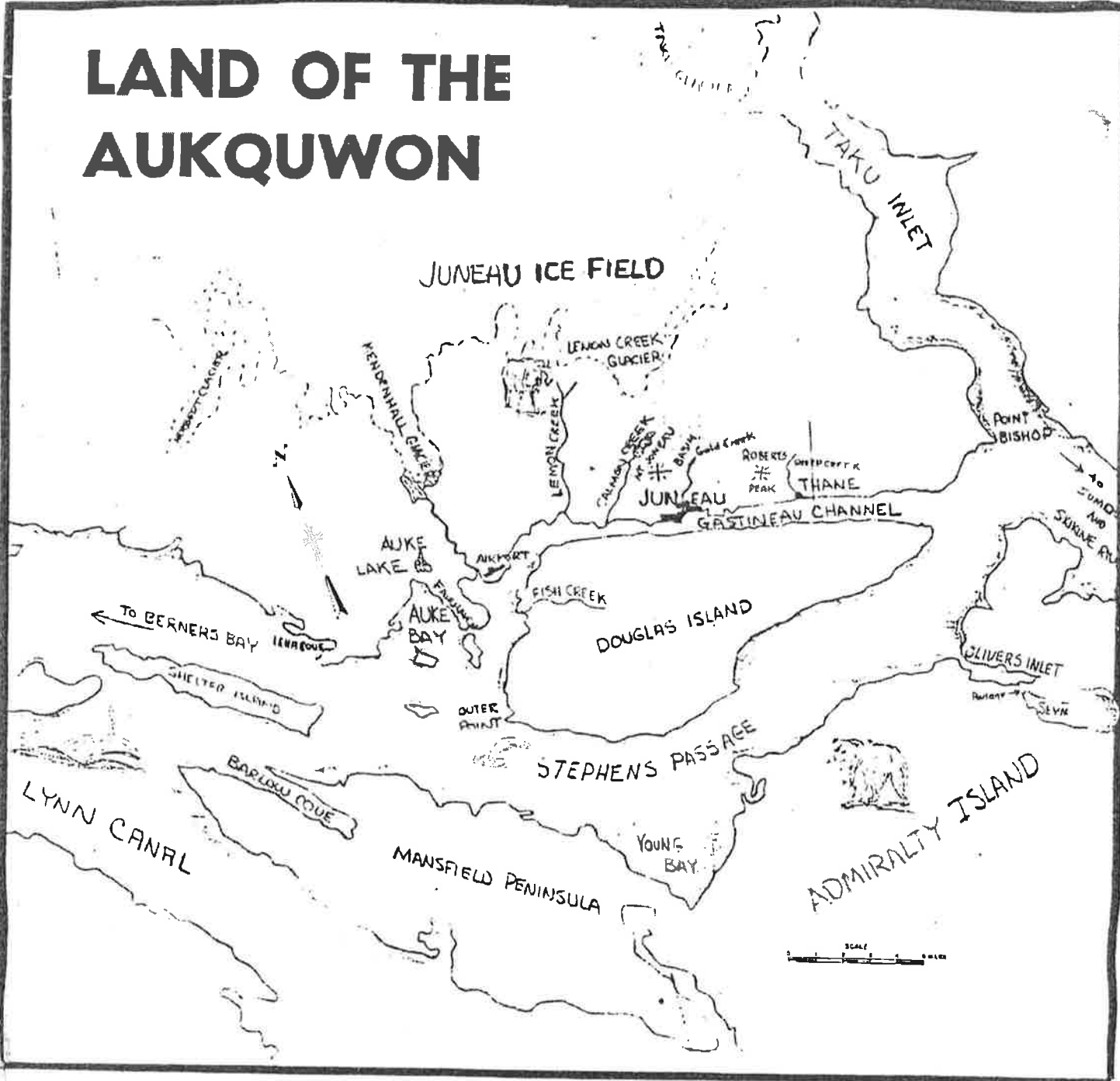


Figure 10. Map Accompanying Philip Joseph's "History of the Aukquwon," 1967.

Indian Point as a Key Subsistence Site.

Key subsistence resources harvested at Indian Point include Pacific herring (*Culpea harengus pallasii*), salmon, clams, cockles, crabs, various kinds of berries, octopus, hemlock branches and bark, wild rhubarb, and goosetongue. Table 2 provides a complete list of wild resources taken by season in the vicinity of the site. The information was compiled from interviews and archival research for this project, my existing field notes, and published sources on subsistence in northern Southeast Alaska (e.g., Newton and Moss 1984).

Table 2. Subsistence Resources Harvested by Tlingits at Auke Cape

Resource	Tlingit Name	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter	Notes
FISH						
Flounder	Dzánti	X	X	X	X	
Halibut	Cháatl	X	X			
Herring	Yaaw	X	X	X		
Herring Eggs	Gáax'w	X				
Salmon, chum	Téel		X	X		
Salmon, coho	L'ook		X	X		
Salmon, king	T'á	X	X		X	
Salmon, pink	Cháas'		X			
Salmon, red	Gaat		X	X		at Auke Creek
MARINE MAMMALS						
Harbor seal	Tsaa	X	X	X	X	
INTERTIDAL						
Abalone	Gunxaa	X		X	X	rare
Clams, butter	Gáal'	X	X	X	X	
Cockles	Yalooleit	X	X	X	X	
Crab, dungeness	S'áaw	X	X	X	X	
Crab, king	X'éix	X	X	X	X	
Gumboots (Chitons)	Shaaw	X	X	X	X	
Mussels	Yaak			X		
Octopus	Náakw	X		X	X	
Sea cucumbers	Yéin			X		
Sea urchins	Nées'	X	X	X		
Seaweed, yellow	Tayeidi	X		-		with eggs
PLANTS						
Devils Club	S'áxt'	X	X	X		
Firewood	Gán	X	X	X		
Goose tongue	Su ktéitl'	X				
Hemlock Bark	Sáx'	X		-	X	
Skunk Cabbage	X'áal'	X	X	X		
Wild celery	Yaana.eit	X	X			
BERRIES						
Blueberry	K'wát'		X			
Huckleberry	Tleikatánk		X			
Salmonberry	Was'x'aantléigu		X			

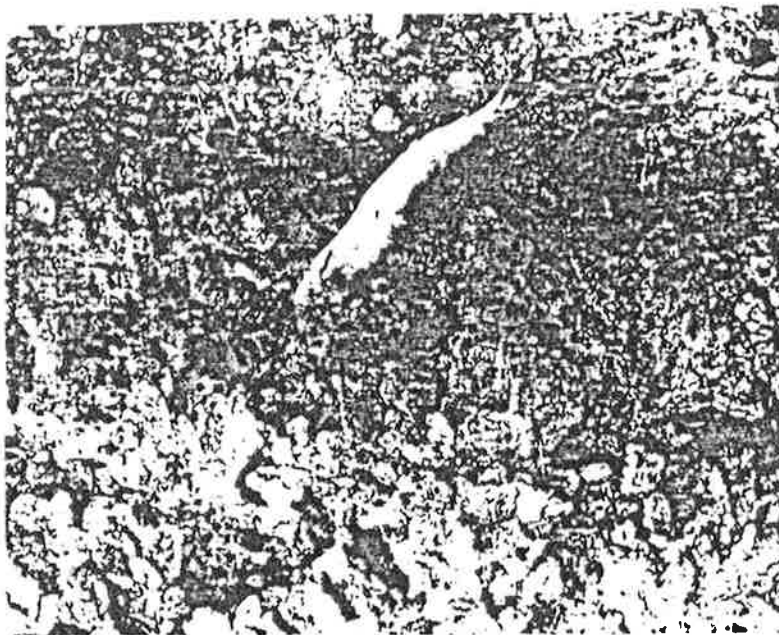


Figure 4.—Herring spawn on rockweed, *Fucus*. Herring in center was trapped in a tide pool and died.



Figure 6.—Spruce boughs covered with eggs deposited by spawning herring.

Figure 11. Herring spawn on spruce boughs (Tlingits preferred hemlock) and rockweed (*Fucus*). (From Fishery Facts 2, U.S. Department of Commerce , NOAA, Seattle, 1972).

Among the most important reasons for inhabiting and utilizing Auke Cape was the herring roe fishery. Pacific herring spawn in the spring, typically in March or early April, in the shallow intertidal and subtidal zones. The eggs are adhesive and thus stick to the intertidal vegetation, rocks, and other substrate that may be placed in the water. Milt released by the males fertilizes the eggs as it drifts among them. Eggs typically hatch within two weeks depending on water temperature.

While herring were abundant historically, good spawning and roe harvesting areas were not; thus, these areas were always considered valuable properties. Sitka Sound, for example, was--and still is--famous for its concentration of herring, and thousands of people from communities throughout Southeast Alaska gathered there each spring to participate in the harvest. In the late 1980s, it was estimated that some 100,000 pounds of herring eggs were harvested for subsistence use by participants (mostly Native) in the Sitka herring roe fishery (Schroeder and Kookesh 1990). Auke Bay was also well-known renowned for its herring spawn, and traditionally Natives from Chilkat and Taku *kwáans* sometimes visited the area to participate in the harvest with relatives among the Auk Kwaan or to barter for herring eggs (George Jim, pers. comm. 1997).

Moser (1899) described the herring egg fishery among Southeast Natives in the late 19th century:

In April the herring come to the shores in countless numbers to spawn, depositing their eggs in the seagrass, rockweed, and on the bushes hanging in the water. At this time the Indians plant the hemlock twigs at the low-water mark, where they become covered with spawn, after which they are gathered in canoe loads. The spawn is heaped upon the twigs, to which it adheres in grapelike clusters, which are sometimes called "Alaska grapes," and is consumed by the natives in large quantities, either fresh or dried, and cooked as occasion demands, and for winter use. Usually it is eaten with a rancid [seal or hooligan] oil, which is the sauce that goes with all their delicacies.

Auke Bay was recognized as the most productive spawning area in Auk Kwaan territory (herring also used to spawn at Eagle Beach and Sunshine Cove), and Auke Cape was among the best places to collect thick, quality spawn on hemlock branches, the substrate favored by most Natives for collecting the spawn. At Auke Cape both herring eggs (*haaw*) and hemlock boughs were readily available. Young hemlock trees with full branches were preferred for use in collecting herring egg deposits. Edward Kunz demonstrated the technique for harvesting herring roe on branches at Indian Point for *The Auk Kwaan*, a film produced by the U.S. Forest Service in 1965 (USFS 1965, K. J. Metcalf pers. comm. 1997). Spawn was also harvested from the rocks and rockweed (*Fucus*) in the intertidal area (see Figure 11), and wherever else it was thick and of good quality. (In other areas of Southeast Alaska, Natives also gathered herring eggs on *Macrocystis* kelp and hair seaweed.) Although most families took only enough herring for their own consumption, some high harvesting families collected hundreds of pounds of spawn to distribute through trade and kin networks (John Marks, pers. comm. 1997; compare Schroeder and Kookesh 1990).

Herring eggs were a prized food consumed not only at special occasions, such as Indian dinners, communal gatherings, and ceremonies, but also at home for meals and snacks. Dorothy Tickell (pers. comm. 1997) even remembers local Natives bringing herring eggs to the Juneau movie theatre in the 1940s to snack on "like popcorn." Fresh herring was also consumed, as was herring oil, which may have been rendered in conjunction with the herring egg harvest or in the fall "when the fish are fat" (Madonna Moss, pers. comm. 1997). Whole herring were traditionally harvested with rakes and also with jig hooks and nets in historic times. Figures 12 and 13, photographs by Winter and Pond, show historical Tlingit herring camps (circa 1890) in the vicinity of Auke Cape, perhaps at Indian Cove. These camps were used to harvest and dry herring roe and also to produce herring oil.

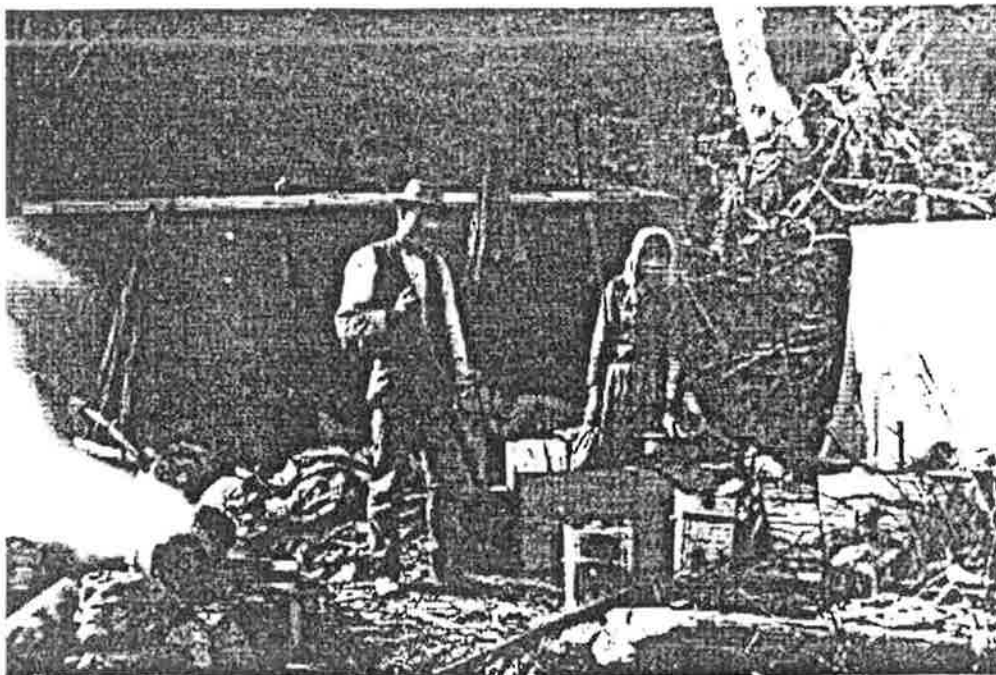


Figure 12. Herring Camp at Auke Bay near Indian Point (1890s). Winter & Pond PCA 87-81, courtesy of the Alaska State Historical Library.

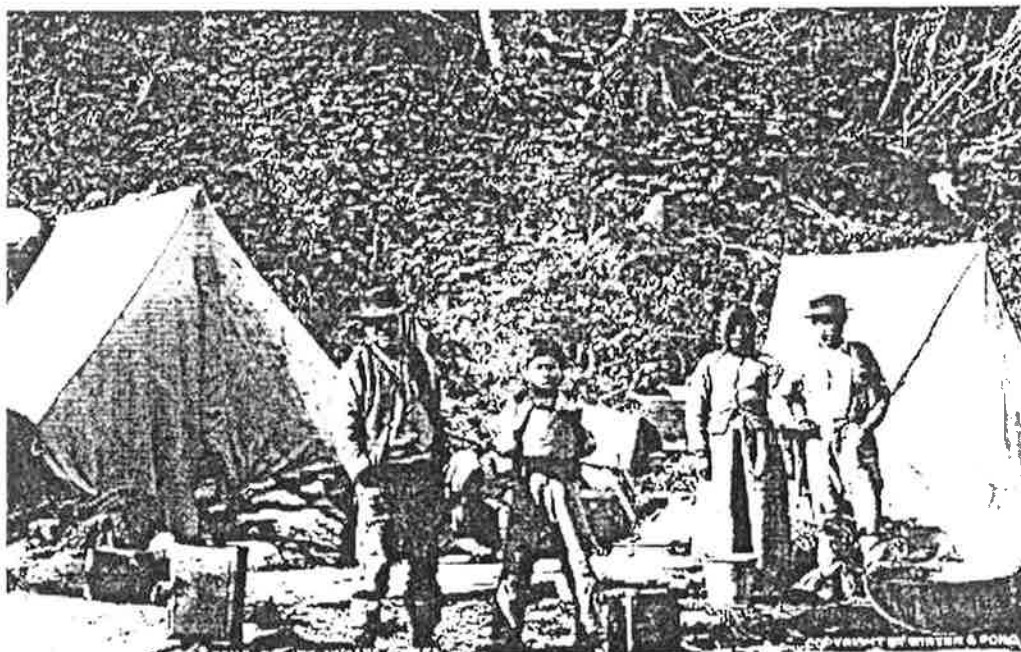


Figure 13. Tlingit Herring Camp at Auke Bay (1890s).). Winter & Pond PCA 87-80, courtesy of the Alaska State Historical Library.

After the Auks moved from Indian Cove to *Anchaltsoow* (Auke Village), they continued to return to the cove to gather herring spawn each spring. The earliest historic accounts of the harvest by non-Natives are in the late nineteenth century when photographers like Winter and Pond captured images of herring camps at Auke Bay. Prior to the extension of the Juneau road (now Glacier Highway) to Auke Bay in the 1920s, most Natives came by boat, with many camping on site and others commuting (Louise Rhodes, Cecilia Kunz, pers. comm. 1997). At times there might be as many as a dozen camps along the shores of Auke Cape between Auke Nu Cove and Indian Cove. In later years, with the extension of the road and the advent of outboard motors, the fishery became increasingly a commuter one, though some families were still coming regularly to camp as late as the 1960s. Katherine Traeger, a daughter of original Indian Cove homesteader Nick Bavard, grew up at the Bavard homestead at Fairhaven and remembers that families used to park along the road and in their driveway to access the beach (pers. comm. 1997). Her father permitted this and is remembered fondly by some of the elder Natives for allowing them access to the spawning grounds through his property (Cecelia Kunz, pers. comm. 1997). Her brother, John Bavard, told Mobley (Mobley 1996a) that the herring were so plentiful that "with a garden rake you could rake them up on the beach." "On the west side of the beach," he recalled, "the Natives would come and put up tents and little shacks dry herring and salmon on sticks...Also, on Indian Island they'd do the same thing." Many Natives I interviewed recalled that Indian Cove "was the best place to get eggs" because they were "real thick" and relatively easy to harvest. Harold Martin (pers. comm. 1997), a Kake Native who moved to Juneau in 1960, remembered being impressed by the fact that "lots of folks used to go in there to get eggs and bait.... It was like a celebration." The communal and celebratory atmosphere of the herring egg fishery--the first bountiful harvest of the spring--is remembered fondly by many Juneau Natives and contributes to the enduring identity of Indian Point as a hallowed subsistence area.

Families that camped regularly at Indian Point included the Marks, Rhodes, Wallaces, Jacksons, Martins, Shortys, Johnsons, Watsons, and Greens. Families that came regularly as commuters included the Kunzs, Millers, Wallaces, and many others. Mrs. Louise Rhodes, an 86-year old elder of the Auk Kwaan now residing in Kenai, picked herring eggs there with her family from as early as she can remember (about 1915) until 1957 when she moved to Kenai (pers. Comm. 1997). Many of those years she camped in a little tent at Auke Cape with her family. While her husband, Roy Rhodes, used to lay down hemlock branches, Ms. Rhodes remembers that Alice Tassel and Elizabeth Edwards picked kelp with egg deposits right from the rocks. "That was in March or April. We went out on the weekends when the tide was low because school was still in session." Mrs. Rhodes recalls, "We lived there a long time. For a small boat, it was the best place. You could row from there almost anywhere. A lot of people came there.... I really liked the place."

There is conflicting testimony as to how long the herring egg fishery continued in modern times. Some suggest that only one or two families were still using the area by the mid 1970s, but Hans Mercer (pers. comm. 1997), a long-time resident of Indian Cove, remembers "a half a dozen to twenty families" returning annually to harvest eggs up until 1980, when the spawn disappeared. I found what appeared to be the remains of a lean-to shelter of recent origin, perhaps from a Native camp in the 1970s, near the bluff on the south end of the Park Service property (Lot 1) on Auke Cape. This is the same area depicted as a Native camp site on the 1959 Park Service sketch map (Figure 7); it was reportedly used by at least one family up until the early 1970s (Bob Howe pers. comm. 1997).

In addition to putting up herring, Auke Cape was a favored spot for salmon fishing. Louise Rhodes remembers living at Indian Point with her brother and sisters in the spring and summer in 1923 while her father trolled for salmon. They followed the salmon wherever they went, but "Indian Point was our base.... Five or six different families stayed out there. I can't remember their names. We would start the season in May when the school closed" (pers. comm. 1997). Frank Miller, a 33 year-old member of the Auk Kwaan, recalls that it was a good site for obtaining a number of key subsistence resources, including king salmon in the

winter and spring, when they could be caught right off the rocks, especially when the herring were present and when the porpoises chased them toward the shallows. Along with False Outer Point, he considered Auke Cape among the best places to catch king salmon from the Juneau area shoreline in the spring (pers. comm. 1997).

Frank Miller also remembers invertebrate gathering activities he conducted on Auke Cape in the 1970s and 1980s with his brother, Derwin, cousins (including Dave Wallace and others), and nephews. In January during the low tides, his family harvested gumboots off the rocks on the southeast side of the cape. Sometimes they used a punt to get to the best rocks. On occasion, he reports that the group would also find abalone on rocks off Auke Cape. And the group hunted octopus that dwelled in the rocky caverns along the shoreline of Auke Cape with trident spears. They would locate the octopus by looking for signs of crab and shellfish remains and following the trail to the octopus' hole. He and his relatives also collected sea urchins, clams, and cockles.

No one I interviewed recalled hunting or trapping land animals on the site, although Frank Miller recalls seeing deer on Auke Cape as a teenager and sometimes playing "hide-and-seek" with them. Hans Mercer noted that land otter used to be more abundant in the 1960s and thought there had been some trapping of this species on the Cape.

Plants harvested at the site included devilscub, usually harvested along the creeks and drainages (where it's most powerful, according to Frank Miller), goosetongue, hemlock bark, blueberries, huckleberries, salmonberries, cranberries, and wild rhubarb. As settlement and privatization of land in Auke Bay increased, Rosa Miller recalls that it became harder to find good berrying areas without being accused of trespassing. As a large, mainly public area, Indian Point was favored by many for plant gathering. But though it was public land, Rosita Worl (pers. comm. 1997) remembers that Auke Cape was still maintained and defended as Auk Kwaan territory and that on at least one occasion she herself was discouraged from picking berries there by some older Auk Kwaan women because she was "not from there" (i.e., she belonged to a non-local clan). Use of Auke Cape for berry picking apparently has not been very high in recent years, though some Natives continue to go there. Special mention should be made of the use of hemlock.

indicates significant use of the area dating back to at least A.D. 1824, according to the limited treering dating carried out by Mobley (1992, 1996). Several uses of these trees are reported in the ethnographic literature and Mobley's and my interviews. First, the inner bark of the hemlock was scraped off in the spring when the sweet sap is best. A crescent-shaped scraper or knife, called *Yees'* in Tlingit, was used. The scrapings were then mixed, cooked, and perhaps sweetened to taste. This food product was known as *sáx'*. Edward Kunz also demonstrated the technique for scraping the preparing *sáx'* on a piece of hemlock bark approximately 18 inches by 5 feet long at a spot near Indian Point for the 1965 U.S. Forest Service film, *The Auk Kwaan* (USFS 1965, K. J. Metcalf pers. comm. 1997). Emmons (1991:152) offers this description:

The inner bark of the hemlock, spruce, and pine was gathered in the spring and eaten fresh with oil, but that of the hemlock alone was prepared and preserved for winter...The tree trunk was debarked in slabs one or two feet wide and four or five feet long by means of wedges made of the limbs of hemlock, spruce, or cedar, pointed at one end and sharpened to a flat edge at the other. The wedge used by men was six feet long, the woman's about half that length. The bark [to be detached] was cut across at the bottom with the pointed end, and pried off upwards with the wedge-shaped end of the stick. Then the woman scraped off the fine inner bark with her crescent-shaped knife, originally of mussel [*yees'*] shell, later of metal. These shavings were dried or steamed in the earth oven between layers of skunk cabbage leaves, then mashed in wooden dishes with the woman's hand hammer, or rubbed

soft with her hands. Then they were formed into cakes and pressed between pieces of hemlock bark, sun dried on the canoe cover, and stored in boxes or strung up on the wall. The preserved bark was softened in boiling water and then mixed with oil before being eaten.

At Auke Cape, the harvesting of hemlock bark occurred in the March or April, "about the same time" as the herring egg fishery, according to George Jim, a 95-year old Wooshkeetaan elder (pers. comm. 1997). The two activities were highly compatible, both involving processing of hemlock trees. In addition to making *sax'*, hemlock bark was also used as medicine and as a cosmetic. George Jim commented that it was sometimes mixed with tallow, to heal the skin or "to make it brown." Similarly, according to Emmons (1991:249), fungus from hemlock was sometimes used as protection against sun and wind and among women to enhance complexion. Finally, hemlock bark might be used taken to make temporary shelters and smokehouses or to use as trays for drying berries (Herman Kitka, pers. comm. 1996, see also Thornton 1997).



Figure 14. Wooshkeetaan elder George Jim at his home in Angoon (May 1997)

Subsistence harvesting activities along the Indian Cove shoreline were sketch-mapped by Gleeson (1989) based on an interview with Cecelia Kunz in 1989 (see Figure 19). I was able to confirm this mapped data and added additional information through interviews with other Native subsistence harvesters who have used Auke Cape. These data are incorporated in Figure 14 by using Gleeson's map as a base and overlaying resource use data gathered for this investigation. It is important to note that Gleeson's map was concerned primarily with Auke Cape itself and, more specifically, areas associated with the Indian Point Trail. His survey did not include activities associated with Indian Island, which, as we have established, was an important spatial component of X'unáxi traditional cultural property, as well as an important base of subsistence operations.

Auk Native Frank Shorty held a Special Use Permit from the Forest Service to build and maintain a fish camp, including a cabin and smokehouse, on Indian Island for many years. (I am not certain of the exact dates of the permit, but it probably extended from the late 1940s, when Forest Service regulations over such sites became more stringent, until Mr.

Shorty's death in 1964.) In reality, however, the property was utilized by many Auk Kwaan families, including Phillip Joseph's family, Marion Ezrre, the Tassel family, the Shortys, and Charles Johnson's family (Marion Ezrre, Charles Johnson, pers. comm. 1997). The following letter (the date of which is uncertain), seemingly penned by one of Frank Shorty's relatives, suggests that Shorty had to fight to maintain his permit, which the Forest Service wanted to terminate.

To Whom it May Concern:

About Indian Island--The Island was originally inhabited by Thlingets and relatives of Frank Shorty for generations back--In surveying the Island you will find building foundations still there with trees growing thro[ugh] them, also pits dug out to keep food in [from] their gardens. Frank Shorty may dry salmon less than seven months a year as stated on forms--but didn't want to underestimate length of time to be drying salmon as it is a slow process. Also, those people lived there before there was ever a white man in the Juneau Douglas-Auke Bay Area. (USFS Permit files, Juneau Ranger District)

When he died in 1964, Frank Shorty's permit was assumed by Charles Johnson (or at least he attempted to assume it) until 1982, when the permit was closed permanently. Mr. Johnson, who is now 97 and resides in the Pioneer Home in Juneau, remembers that many people used Indian Island, Auke Cape, and Indian Cove for subsistence herring, salmon, and halibut fishing. Those who dwelled on the island would regularly come ashore just south of the Park Service dock to get water from the little spring there (see Gleeson Map, Figure 15). Mr. Johnson went there beginning in March of each year to harvest herring roe and dry halibut and lived on the island throughout the summer fishing season catching and drying salmon. He maintained and improved Frank Shorty's smokehouse and cabin on the property. Long-time residents at Indian Cove recall seeing the smoke from the Native fires on the island (Mrs. Ralph Graham pers. Comm. 1997). Mr. Johnson also regularly picked cockles, which he characterized, passionately, as "big son of bitches," from the intertidal areas around Auke Cape, and he jigged for crab offshore (pers. comm. 1997).

Graves, Burials, and Shamanic Landscapes

Tlingit beliefs and practices concerning death, life after death, and shamanism are well documented in the anthropological literature (see de Laguna 1972, Kan 1989, Emmons 1991). Significantly, Tlingit mortuary customs have changed in the historic period. In pre-contact times, Tlingits practiced cremation with the exception of shamans (*l̥x̥t'*) who were laid in state in prominent locations or structures. The ashes of high caste Tlingits also were sometimes put in ornamented boxes and either buried or laid in state in special places.

Beginning in the mid1800s Christian-style burials became more common. As a consequence of changing mortuary practices, today we find a variety of graves and monuments on the landscape, including conventional marked graves, unmarked graves, boxed or sheltered cremated remains, and uncremated remains of shamans and their associated paraphernalia, and so on. While cemeteries ordinarily are considered ineligible for the National Register, the effects of the presence of shamans and other ancestors on the Auke Cape landscape are very relevant to an evaluation of the site as traditional cultural property.

Emmons (1991:394) reports:

Cremation was practiced by the Tlingit for everyone except the shaman... The charred bones were placed in a chest which was deposited in the family [clan or lineage] gravehouse directly in the rear of the dwelling. The body of the shaman was laid away intact in a gravehouse, a short distance beyond the village, near the water and, circumstances permitting, on a bluff point, as seen at the Sitka, Chilkat, Auk, and [Angoon] villages, or on opposite and adjacent islands as at Hoonah... Or, the deceased shaman might have selected some distant prominent headland, to which the occupants of passing canoes would offer sacrifice in the form of a pinch of tobacco or food, which they believed would be received by him in a material, rather than a spiritual sense....

Shamans were treated separately both in life and death because they were viewed as mediators of the spirit world, who could transcend the boundaries of ordinary human perception and physical capacity. As religious practitioners, shamans served as intermediaries between the natural and supernatural worlds, communicating with and manipulating the many spirits that inhabited the Tlingit cosmos. Their "in-between" status as intermediaries was reflected generally in their unique lifestyle, dress, and habits. Shamans

were especially sought in times of stress, such as sickness and war. Shamans could be of either sex, and, though some trained to acquire their spirits through a strict regimen (e.g., fasting, continence, quest, etc.), it was also partly the spirit's prerogative whether or not to inhabit a would-be shaman. Powerful shamans controlled multiple spirits and were celebrated for their superhuman feats. Because of their power and status, shamans were both respected and feared; consequently, in death they required special treatment.

Tlingits believed that shamans' bodies did not decompose, but rather became dry and hard (Kan 1989), and that their spirits remained active in the immediate environs around the grave site. Emmons (1991:395) notes, "The shaman's spirit after death was believed to go to the land of the dead.... But the body was believed to be guarded always by the spirits belonging to him in life, or friendly to him. In some cases carved figures represent these spirits, or in fact possess the spirit itself, and these were placed in contact with gravehouse or near it...." So great was the respect for the shaman's spirit power, "that years after his death when remains had crumbled away to dust, no one would approach [the] depository" (1991:396-97). Part of this respect was a fear of possibly being involuntarily possessed by a shaman's spirit seeking a successor (George Jim, pers. comm. 1997). There was also a belief that the land immediately around the shaman's grave became charged or polluted, such that if one consumed the food from its soils or beaches, it would make you "sick" or "crazy" (Edward Kunz 1966). While shamans lost influence as a result of contact and the introduction of competing modes of healing and religion, and were even persecuted by Christian missionaries, beliefs concerning the nature of shaman's graves persist into the present.



Figure 19. Cecelia Kunz aboard *The Quest* , May, 1997.



Figure 20. Tlingit shaman with regalia. Winter & Pond, PCA 87-243, courtesy of the Alaska State Historical Library.

Because shaman graves are special, their presence on a property constitutes a unique cultural value with powerful implications for how Tlingits interact with that landscape. I employ the term "shamanic landscapes" to distinguish these unique environments from other values and features of a particular geographic area. In general terms, a shamanic landscape might be defined as any area where a shamanic spirit is believed to be active. In the context of the late 20th century, however, where practicing shamans are absent, such activity typically seems to be limited to the areas around shamans' graves, though in the past I suspect this was not necessarily the case.

this section analyzes in more detail how the presence of shaman graves affects contemporary Native perceptions and values of Auke Cape and, in some cases significantly constrains their interactions with the environment. This analysis is relevant not only to the determination of

eligibility of Auke Cape as a traditional cultural property but also its management as a potential National historic site.

The belief that shamans' graves are highly-charged environments potentially inhabited by powerful spirits capable of invading or injuring a person directly or indirectly (for example, by contaminating the food or water supply or otherwise bringing misfortune) leads most Tlingits to want to minimize disturbances and maintain a respectful distance from the graves and their immediate environs. I have documented such views consistently among those Natives I interviewed for this study as well as in other research. This consensus exists despite the fact that traditional shamanism is no longer practiced and the efficacy of shamanistic rituals and cosmology seems to be at odds with Christian beliefs and other Western values espoused by many Tlingit elders today. Thus, members of the Board of Directors of the regional corporation openly proclaim the urgent need to protect shaman grave sites (Rosita Worl, pers. comm. 1997) and the Tlingit Presbyterian minister underscores the cultural need for Tlingits to pay special respect towards places where shamans were laid to rest (Walter Soboleff, pers. comm. 1997).

There are probably several reasons for this strong persistence of belief in shamanic landscapes. First, there is a high degree of respect for traditional beliefs and ancestors. Thus, ancestral shamans themselves may continue to be celebrated as persons of high status and ability even in the absence of religious shamanism. The same goes for the Tlingit names shamans held and the ceremonial objects (*at.óow*) they possessed, which still may be handed down to younger members of the clan. Similarly, the teachings of elders concerning the power of shamans, shamans' spirits, and shamanic landscapes carry great force, even for those who have never witnessed the power of a shaman directly. Respect for the veracity of elders is widespread among oral cultures, where ancestral knowledge is not treated as hypotheses to be tested, but rather as wisdom to be heeded. Second, shamanic landscapes are linked to other forms of property besides land.

Like the shaman corpse itself, these objects were traditionally considered quite powerful and had to be handled in a ritually prescribed manner. Respectful avoidance of shamanic landscapes was actually a way of maintaining the sanctity of those landscapes. But, in historic times, with increased plundering of shaman graves for museums, fun, and profit, it has become increasingly necessary for Tlingits not only to respect these sites but also to protect them. Finally, I think there is a basic respect for the dead that permeates both Native and non-Native religious traditions and motivates people to protect grave sites of shamans and lay persons alike. Although shamans were traditionally the only persons laid to rest in a way that permitted their spirits to actively inhabit and animate the local landscape, the cremated remains of non-shamans were also treated with respect to insure a smooth passage to the next world. Moreover, to the extent that a change in mortuary practices--from cremation to burial--has occurred for non-shamans in the historic period, it seems that all burial grounds are treated with a degree of sacredness once reserved exclusively for shaman grave sites.

Another important issue in defining shamanic landscapes concerns boundaries. I inquired about boundaries of avoidance. Rosa Miller, Frank Miller, and others suggested that it was necessary to avoid the immediate area around the shaman's grave for a radius of perhaps 20-30 meters (my calculation from their demarcation of boundaries).

Beyond this, if one passed within a certain distance or line of sight of shaman's grave (a line of sight, off a promontory for example, might extend beyond 30 meters), or if one violated the zone of avoidance, it was considered appropriate to pay respects to the shaman's spirit(s) in certain ways. George Jim noted that traditionally only those who ritually prepared themselves to meet (i.e., inherit) a shaman's spirit would consciously seek out a graves as a part of their initiation; and even this was risky, as there was no guarantee that the spirit

would accept him. Similarly, Rosa Miller states that a person must prepare and purify himself before going to a shaman's grave. Otherwise encounters with shaman's graves were generally avoided and if they did occur might need to be mitigated through offerings.

When questioned about it, he said the offerings were a way of showing respect to the ancestors who are buried. Rosa Miller also stated that she had conducted "purification ceremonies" in the vicinity of the Auke Cape graves to "create a balance" among the spirits, although she would not discuss the details of the rite with me. I did witness a separate attempt to promote a "spiritual balance" with the shamanic landscape at Point Louisa through songs and drumming (see Figure 23).



Figure 29. Rosa Miller (center), Fran Houston (left), and Angie Hunt at Auke Recreation Area, April 1997, preparing to sing a traditional song to the spirits of the land. Indian Point is visible in the background.

Although 20-30 meters might constitute a minimal zone of avoidance, in practice I discovered a range of boundaries among respondents for the shamanic landscapes at Auke Cape. Significantly, some of the younger Auk Kwaan, presently in their 30s or early 40s, remember being instructed as children to avoid large segments of the Cape, including what presently constitutes Lots 2, 3, and 4 (Victoria Canul, Angie Hunt, pers. comm. 1997); only Auk Nu Cove, Indian Cove, Indian Island, and the area around Lot 1 were considered "safe." It may be that parents outlined larger zones of avoidance for children as an extra measure of precaution.

On the other hand, for most subsistence harvesters with intimate knowledge of Auke Cape, the shamanic landscapes were more narrowly circumscribed.

Beyond this perimeter, respectful interaction with the landscape (subsistence activities themselves being one example of a respectful interaction) rather than avoidance was the norm.

No respondents reported having encountered a shaman's spirit directly at Auke Cape. But several had heard stories from their elders about adverse consequences suffered by those who did encounter them. Indeed, the potency of shaman spirits is widely attested in Tlingit

oral history and literature (cf. Swanton 1908, 1909). Because such narratives from elders are esteemed as true sources of knowledge, especially in that they reveal what might not ordinarily be seen, they are not dismissed. On the contrary, they are taken as sources of wisdom which become a part of the listener's set of tools for interacting successfully with the natural world. This, in turn, serves to maintain a world view which recognizes the role of shamanic spirits on the land and thus engenders a respectful and cautious attitude towards shamanic landscapes, even in the absence of first hand "empirical" experiences with shamans or shaman spirits.

As a result, shamanic landscapes remain a vital part of the cultural landscape of Auke Cape and still constitute a key constraint in the behavioral environment that shapes individuals' perceptions and interactions with Indian Point. I suspect, too, that the kinds of stories people hear about shamans and other spirits and the site-specific details they acquire--or don't acquire (because they are from non-local clan or whatever reason)--in the context of these narratives, also helps to explain the variety of perceptions we find as to the exact boundaries of shamanic landscapes and zones of avoidance surrounding grave sites.

Auke Cape as a Historic Lookout, Fort Site, and Landing Place

In addition to being a village site and a subsistence camping site, Auke Cape is reported to have been an important historic lookout, fort site, and landing place for Auk Tlingits and their guests.

Tlingits and other Natives of Southeast Alaska constructed "forts" and defensive lookouts many of which date to the prehistoric era between AD 1000 and 1500. Forts are consistently found on steep-sided landforms that are defensible and offer good views of the surrounding waters, such as promontories, peninsulas, and small islands (Moss and Erdlandson 1992). Rosa Miller (pers. comm. 1997) identified Indian Point as lookout that was associated with nearby Auke Noo fort site. The latter was reportedly a large defensive refuge, capable of housing the entire Auk Kwaan Dog Salmon clan in times of war. Forrest DeWitt (1995), in a narrative recorded in Tlingit by Nora Dauenhauer in 1985 (see Dauenhauer 1997), stated that there were houses at Auke Fort (Auke Noo) and that people gathered regularly at X'unáigi. Rosa Miller relates that Indian Point itself was a refuge and lookout site, as well as a gathering place, and that "a lot of our [Auk Kwaan] battles took place on these lands."

In his 1992 survey, Mobley (1992:16) reported that,

No physical evidence of such a site [a fort or lookout] was found in Lot 2 or any other location on Indian Point.

No attempt was made to inspect either fort location, and the existence of a second fort, at Indian Point, is not confirmed.

Further investigations by Mobley in Lots 1 and 2 did not turn up any additional evidence of a fort site, but no further attempt was made to locate a fort site

primarily a lookout, extensive cultural remains may not be present.

If the site was a

In the absence of physical remains, the most persuasive testimony as to Indian Point's role as a lookout and fort site comes from Tlingit oral history. The story of Yeeskanaalx, a famous Auk leader, is one, well-known story which is localized at Indian Point. Bessie

Visaya (Visaya 1972), Cecelia Kunz (Kunz 1997) and Forrest DeWitt (DeWitt 1985) have all recorded versions of this story. Part of the story is also recounted in Swanton's *Tlingit Myths and Texts* (1909:58ff). Rosa Miller tells a version of the story similar to her mother's (Bessie Visaya's) written account but with additional geographic details. Forrest DeWitt's version also includes important geographic clues.

Both the Miller and DeWitt versions place the key event in the story, where the Auk leader (*Kuwudakaa*) meets, challenges, and ultimately defeats his Yakutat rival in a display of wealth--thus earning the name *Yeeskanaalx* ("Newly Rich Man")--at Indian Point. The conflict was precipitated by the Yakutat leader's failure to pay a visit to the Auk leader during a trip down to the Taku River. On the way back north from Taku River, an Auk messenger was sent out to the point (Indian Point in the Rosa Miller and Forrest DeWitt versions; Auk Noo Point in Cecelia Kunz's version) to invite the Yakutat group (the L'oox'eidi clan) ashore at X'unāxi (Indian Point) for a feast. After the Yakutat group had landed, the Auk leader proceeded to insult their leader by burning the ornamented prow of his canoe in the fire.

Angry, the Yakutat chief left, returning to X'unāxi the following spring. A quarrel began, and soon the Yakutat leader started throwing copper shields (*tinuuh*)--symbols of wealth--into the water to show his superior status. The Auk chief responded in kind by bringing out his own coppers and disposing of them in the water. The Auks also brought forth a young woman who imitated her crest, the dog salmon, in a spawning dance, except that instead of laying eggs, she dropped valuable things like copper bracelets, abalone, etc., again as a symbolic gesture to demonstrate the superior wealth of the Auk. Soon the Yakutat leader ran out of coppers, so instead they began using spruce bark. Although they weighted the spruce bark with rocks so it would sink like the coppers, somehow it refloated and their ruse was exposed. Victorious, the Auks then sang an insulting song, prompting the Yakutat group to give up and exit in shame.

From this event, *Kuwudakaa* earned a his new title, *Yeeskanaalx* ("Newly Rich Man"). The L'oox'eidi, it is said, have never been seen since.

The story is important not only because it took place at Indian Point, but also because it was major event in Auk L'eineidi clan history. In characteristic Tlingit fashion, the prestigious name that the Auk leader earns, *Yeeskanaalx*, encapsulates the event itself, serving as mnemonic for the narrative and a symbol of the Auks triumph and consequent elevation in status. The L'eineidi victory over the L'oox'eidi also established them a force to be reckoned with--not only as a major clan but as gatekeepers or "buffers" (cf. Keithahn n.d.) between the Taku to the south and groups like the L'oox'eidi to the north. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the story is significant because it is yet another expression--perhaps the very first recorded--of L'eineidi asserting their property rights over Auke Cape and the greater Auke Bay area as "owned territory" that they were prepared to maintain and defend against those who would trespass without permission. To the extent that the story is handed down, repeated, and validated by listeners of the opposite side or moiety in the context of ceremonials and public gatherings, it serves as a kind of legal title to the greater Auke Cape landscape. This is perhaps the main reason why Rosa Miller presented the story at a public hearing on the NOAA/NMFS facility in 1996.

The story of *Yeeskanaalx* establishes X'unāxi as a historic lookout and gathering site, though not necessarily as a fort site.

As noted above, the etymology of the name X'unāxi also denotes a camping place (*xi*) or stopover (Cecelia Kunz pers. comm. 1997).

Rosa Miller and others long familiar with the site suggest that Auke Cape has always supported a network of trails leading across the isthmus from the canoe runs in Auke Nu Cove to Indian Cove and from the canoe runs to Indian Point. The existing Indian Point Trail is identified as an old trail possibly based on the original Native footpaths (King 1989) used in commuting from the village and the fort to the lookout and gathering place on the Cape.

Use of the point as both a lookout and a shaman grave raises questions of compatibility. Shaman grave sites themselves were chosen in part for their expansive

viewsheds, but the previous analysis of shamanic landscapes suggests that the area around a shaman's gravesite would likely not make a comfortable look out for any one but a person who was in control of the spirits that dwelled in this landscape: in other words, another shaman. But in the story of *Yeeskanaalx* it is not specified that the Auk sentinel was a shaman. Were the two sites, then, separated by some distance in space or time? One possibility is that the site preceded its use as a shaman grave; Cecelia Kunz's suggests that only came to be used for graves after people had dwelled there for some time (pers. comm. 1997). If not, how was the shamanic landscape at the point related to the lookout? Further research may yield definitive answers to these questions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

National Register Bulletin 38 (Parker and King 1990) lists the following steps for determining the eligibility of a traditional cultural property:

- 1) Ensure that the entity under consideration is a property
- 2) Consider the property's integrity; including
 - integrity of relationship to traditional cultural beliefs or practices
 - integrity of condition necessary to maintain these relationships
- 3) Evaluate the property with reference to the four National Register criteria for historical significance:
 - a) association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
 - b) association with the lives of persons significant in our past.
 - c) embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; representative of the work of a master; possessing high artistic values; representative of a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.
 - d) history of yielding, or potential to yield, information important in prehistory or history.
- 4) Determine whether any of the National Register criteria considerations make the property ineligible.

Based on data gathered in this investigation concerning the significance of Auke Cape in relation to the above criteria, I recommend that Auke Cape be considered eligible for nomination to the National Register as a traditional cultural property. A step-by-step evaluation is carried out below. This analysis is followed by a brief section regarding the assessment of potential adverse effects that the proposed NOAA facility might pose to the traditional cultural property and how these affects might be avoided, reduced, or mitigated.

Step-by-Step Determination of Eligibility

1) *Auke Cape is a Property*

Analysis of the ethnogeography of the site, including Native place names, reveals that Auke Cape is a single, integrated property. Called *X'unáxi* in Tlingit, the Native toponym refers not only to Auke Cape itself but also the nearshore areas of Auke Nu Cove and Indian Cove

My findings concerning the boundaries of the property are sketched in Figure 3. The constellation of site-specific

activities that occurred on different parts of the property--from herring roe harvests to copper-trashing contests--were referenced historically under this single name.

the natural features of the site--its promontories, its beaches, its spring water, its sheltered cove, its plants, animal, and fish resources, etc.--were associated with significant cultural traditions. Moreover, the site has been defended as a single, integrated property from the effects of encroachment for more than a half century. Historically, it it was owned by a single clan, the L'eineidí, but in historic times it has come to be used by other Tlingits and non-Natives residing in Juneau. The property remains an important material and symbolic landscape for the Auk Kwaan.

Table 4 locates the specific sites of significance at Auke Cape and attempts to specify their period of significance based on the available data presented thus far.

Table 4. Location of Historically Significant Sites Within Auke Cape (X'unáxi) TCP with Periods of Significance

Sites of Significance	Location	Period of Significance
Original settlement site of the Yaxtetaan	at Indian Cove and Lot 1 at Auke Cape	ca. 1500-1600 (Joseph 1967) as a village site (otherwise a campsite); symbolic value as an "origin" site continues through the present
Subsistence	nearshore areas of Auke Nu Cove, Auke Cape, Indian Cove, and Indian Island	ca. 1160-1345; 1675-present (though subsistence activities have declined in recent decades with development of the area and the demise of the herring)
Shamanic Landscapes		pre-1900 but earliest dates for graves cannot be determined from the archaeological or historical records.
Lookout, Fort Site, Landing Place, etc.		perhaps 1160-1800s based on oral history, published records (e.g., Vancouver 1984)

2) Integrity of Relationship and Condition of Auke Cape

Auke Cape is the largest and best preserved wooded coastline area in Auke Bay. The basic ecological integrity of the terrestrial landscape contributes much to the continued strong relationship of the Auk Kwaan to the site. However, there have been deleterious effects on the marine environment--the demise of the herring run, pollution of the clam beds and nearshore waters, loss of beach areas to development, etc.--which have damaged the integrity of Auk Kwaan Tlingits' relationships to Auke Cape.

The matrix in Table 5 below summarizes the integrity of relationship and condition of the key sites of significance. The Comments column provides additional commentary on integrity and raises additional issues for consideration based on the proposed federal action and the potential nomination of the site for the National Register.

Table 5. Evaluation of Integrity of Relationship and Condition at Auke Cape (X'unáxi)

Site Significance	Integrity of Relationship*	Comments	Integrity of Condition*	Comments
Original settlement site of the Yaxtetaan	good	oral history of the site still conveyed but geographic details of the origin story are known by only a few elders	fair	original structures, are gone; housing development exists on part of probable site; exact location of first clan house is unknown; National Register process could enhance the integrity of relationship by documenting and communicating site's history
Subsistence	fair	strong traditional links to subsistence, but 2 decades without herring spawn has capped a decline in use; strong appetite for roe (now obtained elsewhere) persists; some fishing and gathering still occurs	good-uplands poor-marine	demise of herring has hurt connections to the site; other subsistence activities associated with presence of herring also have declined; relationship will improve if herring return to spawn (restoration could be a priority objective for the new lab); site is still accessible and mostly public, but proposed facility will destroy resource and habitat and bring more people to the area; use access must occur within a context of respect for shamanic landscapes
Shamanic Landscapes	good	widespread recognition of shamanic landscapes, but location and identity not certain	fair	shamanic landscapes still respected; presence of shamanic spirits enhances the cultural value of the site, but also emphasize the need for protection; development is potentially onerous and threatening to these features
Lookout, Fort Site, Landing Place, etc.	good	oral history is well known; site is still used as a landing place and viewing area, though less commonly than in past	good	condition of the physical property is excellent; lookout promontory still largely in tact; use

*Ratings: Excellent, Good, Fair, Poor

A key consideration with respect to integrity is the fact that, overall, Indian Point is probably the best preserved, or least disturbed, historical site of the Auk Kwaan. The nearby Auke Village recreation area is not maintained as a traditional village site (although this use is noted on one interpretive sign), and most other areas of Auke Bay are developed. This factor

adds to Indian Point potency as a symbol of and for the Auk Kwaan: for its soils hold the beloved remains of ancestors now dead, and its waters the vital food resources of life; its deep history reflects origins of the Yaxtetaan in Juneau as well as their ascendance as social group (captured in the story of *Yeeskanaalyx*), and its modern history encapsulates the struggle of Auk Natives to hold on to portions of their land base and heritage in the face of repeated encroachments.

3) Evaluate the Property with Reference to National Register Criteria

- a) Auke Cape is closely associated with key events in the history of the Auk Kwaan, especially the Yaxtetaan (Dipper House) L'eineidi clan, for whom it was an original settlement site, lookout and meeting place, subsistence site, The settlement of the Auk Kwaan in Auke Bay has contributed to the broad patterns of development of Southeast Alaska history by establishing Natives in the Juneau area, which in turn paved the way for discovery of gold by white prospectors in the late nineteenth century (c.f. Keithahn n.d.; Joseph 1967).
- b) Auke Cape is associated with significant figures in Auk Kwaan history, though these figures are not widely known outside of Auk Kwaan. Most important is the legendary Yaxtetaan chief *Kuwudakaa*, who lead the Auk Kwaan to Auke Bay and later earned the exalted name *Yeeskanaalyx* ("Newly Rich Man") by defending his territory against disrespectful encroachment by outsiders.
- c) not applicable.
- d) Auke Cape has already yielded significant cultural resources and will likely yield more because of its central location within the broader Auke Bay cultural landscape.

Research to date highlights the connection between oral history and archaeology and the need to integrate findings in identifying, evaluating, and maintaining traditional cultural properties.

4) No Considerations Make the Property Ineligible

- a) the property is not owned by a religious institution or used primarily for religious purposes. The shamanic landscapes on the site are based not on an organized religion but rather are expressions of traditional cultural beliefs.
- b) the property is not relocated.
- c) cultural value, significance, and integrity of the property. They mark historical, social, and spiritual ties to the landscape.
- d) the property is not reconstructed.
- e) the property is not constructed to commemorate an individual or event.
- f) significance was achieved more than 50 years ago. Ties to the property can be traced back some 800 years.

Assessing and Minimizing Adverse Effects

The above findings in favor of Auke Cape's eligibility for nomination as a traditional cultural property in the National Register of Historic Places highlight the need for additional consideration of proposed facility at Auke Cape. Identifying and evaluating historic properties is only Step 1 in the Section 106 review process--the Federal review process designed to ensure that historic properties are considered during Federal project planning and execution. Successful nomination or probable eligibility of a proposed building site to the National Register does not in itself preclude development; it does, however, necessitate that potential effects of the development be rigorously assessed in light of Auke Cape's historic significance as a traditional cultural property.

This assessment constitutes Step 2 in the Section 106 review process. If historic properties are found in an area slated for a proposed federal undertaking, it is the Federal agency's responsibility to make a determination of the effects of the action in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) and other pertinent sources. Based on criteria found in federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation regulations one of the following three determinations is made: 1) no effect: the undertaking will not affect historic properties; 2) no adverse effect: the undertaking will affect one or more historic properties but the effect will not be harmful; and 3) adverse effect: the undertaking will harm one or more historic properties.

While it is beyond the scope of this investigation to make definitive determinations regarding potential adverse effects of the proposed NOAA facility on the Auke Cape cultural property, based on my analysis of the property, I conclude that there is a significant possibility of adverse effects. I am particularly concerned about the effects of the proposed facility on the sanctity of shamanic landscapes in the area; but there also potential conflicts with subsistence and archaeological resources and with less tangible, symbolic, intellectual, emotional, and spirit values associated landscape at Auke Cape. Therefore, I recommend that NOAA consult and work closely with Auk Natives, anthropologists, and the SHPO before proceeding with development to formally evaluate potential adverse effects of the proposed undertaking on the cultural property and to formulate measures to avoid or mitigate these effects as necessary.

Consultation is Step 3 in the Section 106 review process. Consultation is designed to result in a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA), which outlines measures agreed upon that the agency will take to reduce, avoid, or mitigate the adverse effect. In cases where an MOA cannot be consummated, alternative approaches are available to adjudicate the issues.

CONCLUSION

The archaeological, documentary, and oral historical information on Auke Cape indicates that the site is rich in Tlingit history and cultural values. Based on this evidence, I find that Auke Cape is eligible to be nominated as traditional cultural property for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Analysis of the multiple beliefs and practices associated with the property, including its status as the first village site in Auke Bay, a key subsistence use area, a locale for shamanic sites, and the venue for key historical events in at least one clan's--the Yaxtetaan's--history, shows that the property is a) *deeply rooted in that community's history, and that the tangible resources associated with the site* b) *are important in maintaining the continuity and identity of the community.*

The Auk Kwaan have maintained an intimate and proprietary relationship to this property for centuries, despite encroachments and disruptions to the integrity of the marine environment. Inclusion in the National Register may prove a useful vehicle for allowing them to continue to maintain this association in ways which will not further compromise the integrity of their relationship to the property and at the same time enrich our national heritage.

In the meantime, before proceeding with development of the proposed facility at Auke Cape, NOAA should carry out steps 2 (Assessing Effects) and 3 (Consultation) of the Section 106 review process thoroughly in order to avoid, reduce, or mitigate adverse impacts of the proposed undertaking on this important cultural landscape.

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- Visaya, Bessie. 1972. The Story of Yees-cah-halg. Letter to the Juneau City and Borough Administrative Office, October, 30, 1972.

Appendix A: List of Interviews and Formal Consultations

Antonsen, Jo, National Register Specialist, State Historic Preservation Office, Anchorage.
Betts, Robert, archaeologist, Vanguard Research.
Brown, Cathy, archaeologist, US Forest Service, Sitka.
Cochrane, Tim, anthropologist, National Park Service, Anchorage.
Carlson, Richard, fisheries biologist, NOAA Auke Bay Lab.
Collier, Lillian, Auk Kwaan Tlingit, now living in Seattle
Conul, Victoria, Auk Kwaan Tlingit.
Dauenhauer, Nora, Juneau Tlingit and Tlingit language and culture specialist.
Ezrre, Ed, Auk Kwaan Tlingit.
*Ezrre, Marion, Auk Kwaan Tlingit elder.
Goodwin, Chuck, Juneau Tlingit, descendant of Sheep Creek Mary.
Graham, Mrs. Ralph, Indian Cove Resident.
*Harris, Ellen, Juneau Wooshkeetaan Tlingit elder.
Hayes, Dixie, Wooshkeetaan Tlingit and longtime resident of 13-mile Glacier Highway
Hillman, Ernie, Sealaska Corporation, Natural Resources Division.
Hope, John, Sitka Tlingit, longtime Juneau resident and active member of the ANB.
Houston, Frances. Auk Kwaan Tlingit.
Howell, Wayne. Archaeologist, National Park Service, Glacier Bay National Park.
Howe, Bob, former Indian Cove resident and Superintendent of Glacier Bay N. P.
Hunt, Angie, Auk Kwaan Tlingit.
Isturis, Leslie, Auk Kwaan Tlingit.
*Jim, George, Wooshkeetaan elder, now living in Angoon.
*Johnson, Charles, Wooshkeetaan elder and longtime seasonal resident of Indian Island.
Leer, Jeff, Linguist, Alaska Native Language Center, Fairbanks.
Katzeek, Anna, Chilkat Tlingit elder, longtime Juneau resident
Katzeek David, Chilkat Tlingit, longtime Juneau resident, consultant to NOAA
*Kunz, Cecelia, Juneau Tlingit elder.
Loeschner, Robert, Vice President of Sealaska Corporation.
Luthy, Jim, National Park Service, resident of Indian Cove.
Marks, John, Juneau Tlingit.
Martin, Harold, President, Southeast Native Subsistence Commission.
McGee, Pat, Wooshkeetaan Tlingit.
Mercer, Hans, longtime resident of Indian Cove.
Mercer, Herb, Juneau Tlingit elder.
Metcalf, K. J. , ret. USFS employee involved in cultural resource work at Auke Village.
Miller, Frank, Auk Kwaan Tlingit.
*Miller, Rosa, Auk Kwaan Tlingit elder.
Mobley, Charles, archaeologist, Charles M. Mobley & Associates.
Moss, Madonna, archaeologist, University of Oregon.
Myron, Rachael, archaeologist, US Forest Service, Juneau.
Olson, Marie, Wooshkeetaan Tlingit
Olson, Wallace, Emeritus professor of anthropology at Univ. of Alaska Southeast.
Parker, Patricia, National Park Service, Washington D.C.
Petershoare, Lillian, Juneau Tlingit.
Reishl, Dave, longtime Auke Bay resident.
Rhodes, Louise, Auk Kwaan elder, now residing in Kenai.
Sheakley, Florence, Juneau Tlingit.
Soboleff, Walter, Tlingit elder, minister, and author of a report on Auke Village.
Sunberg, Van, Alaska Dept. of Transportation employee and lifelong Juneau resident
Traeger, Katherine, daughter of Nick Bavard, who homesteaded Fairhaven.
Thorsen, Sue, archivist, National Park Service, Sitka National Historical Park.
Wallace, Amos, Juneau Tlingit elder.

Wallace, Liana, Auk Kwaan Tlingit.
Willard, Bob, Alaska Native Brotherhood.
Worl, Rosita, Juneau Tlingit, anthropologist, Sealaska Corporation Board Member.
Williams, Mamie, Hoonah Tlingit elder, former resident of Juneau.
Trambitas, Edith, longtime resident of Auke Bay of Tlingit descent.
Tickell, Bruce, longtime resident of 13-mile Glacier Highway area above Auke Cape.
Tickell, Diane, longtime resident of 13-mile Glacier Highway area above Auke Cape.

*Tape-recorded interview

Appendix B: Sample Native Interview Form

Name:

Indian Point/Auke Cape TCP Interview Form

I have been hired by NOAA (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration) to conduct a Traditional Cultural Property Assessment of the area known as Indian Point and Auke Cape in Auke Bay, just beyond the Juneau ferry terminal. Part of Auke Cape is now being considered for a NOAA consolidated facility. In public hearings, Natives and others have raised concerns about impacts of the proposed facility on the site. Through this study, we hope to document more clearly the history of occupancy and use of the Indian Point area and its significance as a historic, cultural landscape, especially for the Native Tlingits of Juneau. To this end, I would like to ask you a few questions concerning your knowledge of Indian Point. The information you share with me will be used to help determine the eligibility of the area for the National Register of Historic Places. If you prefer that your name or specific information not be made part of the public record, please tell me during the interview so that I may insure confidentiality. If you have questions about the project or the procedures, please stop me at any time. May we proceed?

Consent? Yes: No: Confidentiality restrictions (List if any):

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Date of Birth: _____

I. What is the history of use of the Indian Point by the Auk Kwaan? (Activities/Dates/Exact Locations)? Why did [__ activity] cease?

II. Is the site significant? Why? What is the present use/ significance of the site (including boundaries)? Is it sacred? Why?

III. Do you know anything specific about who is buried there? Did the presence of the graves affect your use of the site in any way? Other persons of significance associated with site?

IV. Do you know of any written documentation, photographs, or other persons knowledgeable about Auke Bay?

V. How would the proposed construction of the NOAA facility affect the cultural landscape at Indian Point?