

Unsettling Native Art Histories on the Northwest Coast

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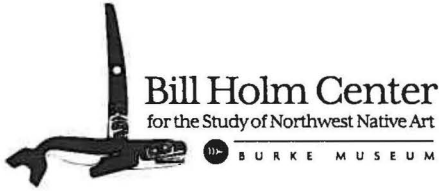
KATHRYN BUNN-MARCUSE

ALDONA JONAITIS

BILL HOLM CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF NORTHWEST NATIVE ART
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Woosh.Jee.Een, Pulling Together

REPATRIATION'S HEALING TIDE

Lucy Fowler Williams with contributions by Robert Starbard

LITUYA BAY IS LOCATED ON THE OUTER NORTH PACIFIC COAST OF SOUTHEAST Alaska within the ancestral territory of the Tlingit T'akdeintaan clan (Raven moiety) of Hoonah.¹ A cherished yet foreboding place of myth and legend, its spirits, great waves, and treacherous tides are remembered in stories, songs, and art.² In the nineteenth century, Tlingit Wooshkeetaan (Eagle moiety) artist Ctuwax'ilge was commissioned to allegorize the bay in a garment named the Rock of Lituya.³ This represented "a last refuge against the onrushing tide of modernity" where T'akdeintaan clan ancestors have sought safety, physically and metaphorically, through hardship and turmoil.⁴ This chapter relays a story of the robe's collection in 1924 for the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum) by Tlingit curator Louis Shotridge, its repatriation, and finally its reintegration at Hoonah. In relaying elements of this case study, our objective is to highlight the possibilities and potential outcomes of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).⁵

In 1990 NAGPRA was signed into law to correct some of the injustices of past collecting practices in the United States and to reframe the prevailing museum paradigm to acknowledge that Native American objects and human remains carry cultural, religious, spiritual, and social significance that is to be valued as much as, or more than, scientific analysis.⁶ Creating a set of legal pathways, the law enables tribes to claim objects of vital importance held in American museums, including human remains, associated and unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. Sacred objects are "needed by specific religious leaders for the continuance of Native American religious practices." Cultural patrimony held "ongoing, central significance for entire communities at the time of its alienation." An important aspect of NAGPRA, separate from the above definitions, is the right of possession.⁷

As the law is written, claimants must show that the item in question was inalienable at the time of its collection; museums must show that they acquired objects with

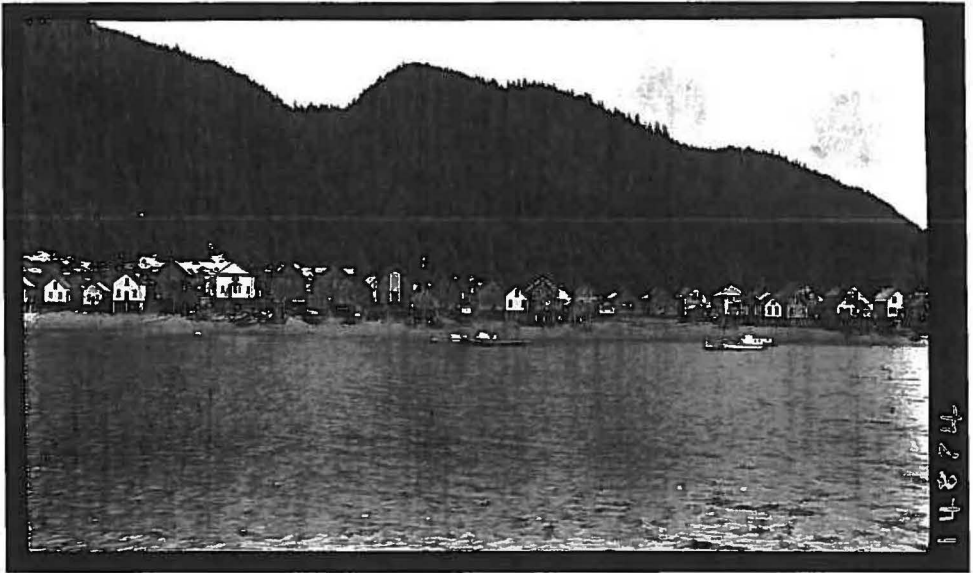
11.1. T'akdeintaan Rock of Lituya robe. Collected by Louis Shotridge, November 22, 1924. Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum Archives.



the voluntary consent of an individual or group with the authority of alienation. If disputes arise, a NAGPRA board is available to make recommendations. Though complexities and challenges still exist, and work remains to be done by both museums and tribes, museums have developed an improved understanding of Native needs and concerns.⁸ The NAGPRA process has created new opportunities for museums and tribes to work together in support of tribal needs and common goals.⁹ In that vein, the Hoonah Indian Association (HIA) and the Penn Museum have developed a new partnership that combines their perspectives to address research questions prioritized within the Tlingit community on topics of history, genealogy, and archaeology that potentially move beyond a museum-collections focus.

November 12–22, 1924: Hoonah, Alaska

On the cold Wednesday morning of November 12, 1924, Tlingit Kaagwaantaan Louis Shotridge crossed into Port Frederick.¹⁰ He cut his engine as he entered Hoonah Harbor to take some photographs of the small town from offshore. His stiff hands fumbled for his camera as he scanned the hillside. There was snow in the mountains, and Hoonah's modern clapboard clan houses hugged the shoreline. A bright American flag hung from almost every upstairs window. Seagulls huddled on the



11.2. Hoonah, 1924. Photograph by Louis Shotridge. Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum Archives.

rooftops, and the flags snapped in the wind (see chapter 14 by Ishmael Hope, in this volume).

As he reached the dock, Shotridge saw that the boardwalk, fresh with wet snow, was decorated with a wrought-iron archway. Draped in evergreens, its words welcomed members to the annual meeting of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB). Wearing long trench coats, spats, and woolen driver's caps against the weather, camp delegates hurried along the boardwalk.¹¹ The Native Christian organization had been going for over a decade, and its goals of acculturation through education, acceptance of settler religion, and by speaking English had helped ANB members (and Tlingit more broadly) gain American citizenship.¹² Although President Coolidge had just passed the US Indian Citizenship Act, Tlingit people could not own land and were barred from hunting on much of their own territories. Hoonah Camp 12 would host the Grand Camp gathering over the next several days, and Shotridge and his cohort continued the fight, drafting new resolutions for land rights, fishing rights, equal access to education for their children and desegregation.¹³

Louis V. Shotridge, Stoowukáa (ca. 1882–1937), was an elite Kaagwaantaan of the Wolf/Eagle moiety. He grew up north of Hoonah, over the Chilkat Range in the remote and conservative village of Klukwan.¹⁴ Shotridge lived in the era of assimilation, and in many ways his life epitomizes this period of intense transition. His life and career stretch across missionization, beginning with Reverend Sheldon Jackson in 1880, the US Navy bombing of the Tlingit village of Angoon in 1882, the Alaska Organic Act (which established civil government and compulsory

elementary education, land allotment, the legislation of fisheries), and segregation (which Tlingit continued to challenge through the 1930s). Shotridge was educated at the strict Presbyterian Mission School in neighboring Haines, where he was trained in English and to succeed in a white man's world.¹⁵ As in most Tlingit towns, "if you did not assimilate you basically went away. There were no other choices."¹⁶ The Christian missionaries in Haines insisted that only after Tlingit families sold off all their old things could they become Christian, and many did so.¹⁷ "Louis saw the assimilation policies as a death knell to [his] culture," said Robert Starbard, tribal administrator. "Watching the regalia, the totems being

destroyed. This was quite an affront to his sensibilities."¹⁸

Shotridge was no stranger to the market for tribal art; he was exhibiting Tlingit masks at the 1906 Portland Fair when he met George Gordon of the Penn Museum.¹⁹ The two hit it off and in time Shotridge's elite position and knowledge as a Tlingit culture bearer earned him a job at the Philadelphia museum.²⁰ Gordon hired him in 1912 and, together with Franz Boas in New York City, trained Shotridge in ethnology, museology, and linguistics.²¹ After three years, Gordon sent Shotridge back to Alaska to acquire Tlingit collections for his growing Penn Museum.²² Much has been written about Shotridge—the first Northwest Coast Native to experience long-term employment in a museum, the first Tlingit with academic training in linguistics and ethnography, and the first indigenous transcriber and translator of Tlingit oral literature.²³ Employed for eighteen years, Shotridge assembled a five-hundred-piece collection, which is among the best in the world.

On Shotridge's previous visit to Hoonah, almost ten months earlier, a fellow Kaagwaantaan clanswoman



11.3. The boardwalk at Hoonah welcomes Alaska Native Brotherhood members, November 12, 1924. Photograph by Louis Shotridge. Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum Archives.

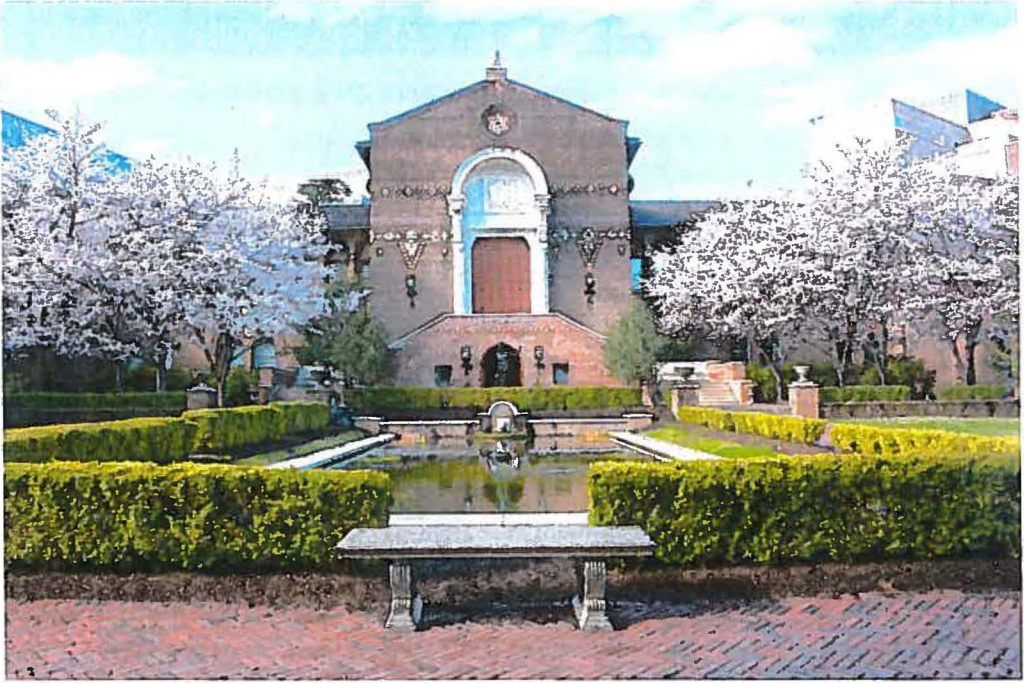


11.4. Louis Shotridge, elected president of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, 1930. Courtesy of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation Archives.

had offered some “old things.”²⁴ In September a T’akdeintaan clan member offered items in his possession for sale.²⁵ Archie White (Dimitrii Tuk’k’axaaw, 1859–1939) was the head of the T’akdeintaan Mt. Fairweather House, the most prominent Tlingit clan in Hoonah at the time.²⁶ White was also the first Tlingit Russian Orthodox priest in all of Southeast Alaska and president of Hoonah’s Holy Cross Brotherhood until his death in 1939. At age sixty-five, American citizenship now a certainty, and with his maternal nephews also parish leaders, White seems to have held onto some items and sold many others.²⁷ Shotridge purchased forty-five objects for \$500, half the asking price proposed two months before.²⁸

After ten days of meetings in Hoonah, Shotridge cruised home to his winter quarters in Sitka. He set to work on the T’akdeintaan objects, typing up his notes and recording the histories he had been told.²⁹ Until now, “none of the many collectors and curio buyers had approached that which is most important, the objects that represent the honorable history of the people.”³⁰ To correct this, Shotridge set out to record the histories of the “once great” clans through their clan art.³¹ He had already secured good examples from the Kaagwaantaan, L’ooknax.ádi, and Deisheetaan, and the Hoonah pieces strengthened his growing collection. Safely cared for and displayed in the Philadelphia museum, they would “stand as evidence of the Tlingit claim of a place in primitive culture” alongside other world cultures such as Greece, Egypt, and China.³² One ceremonial garment, the Rock of Lituya robe, heralded the tenacity of the T’akdeintaan especially well, and Shotridge was eager to get the story down. He unfolded the painted robe and set to work.³³

Shotridge’s cataloging system was a microcosm of Tlingit social organization. Hoonah had four resident matrilineal clans (T’akdeintaan Ravens, Chookaneidi Eagles, Wooshkeetaan Eagles, and Kaagwaantaan Eagles) and each held ancestral territory and rights to natural resources around Glacier Bay. All Tlingit were divided into two matrilineal exogamous halves or moieties, Ravens and Eagles (Wolf), which regulated marriage and ritual practices. The T’akdeintaan were Ravens, and Mt. Fairweather House was the leading house at the time. Each clan had heraldic crests and variations. Within each clan were several houses, each with its



11.5. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia. Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum Archives.

own house leader, personal names, histories, and ceremonial prerogatives or “emblems” called at.óow.³⁴ At.óow were important clan crests that were owned communally.³⁵ True crest art was commissioned by clan or house leaders from a craftsman of the opposite “side,” named and publicly validated or “brought out” in the ritual context of a “call together” or *ku.éek’ (potlatch)*, an invitation or feast.³⁶

Shotridge described the “Rock of Lituya” robe as a ceremonial robe made of finely tanned caribou hide, fringed on two sides, edged with martin fur, and with a painted design on one side.³⁷ It had been commissioned by the T’akdeintaan (Raven) Mt. Fairweather Snail House Master, Tuqaxawu I, from Ctuwax’ilge, an (opposite) Wooshkeetaan (Eagle moiety) artist for the occasion of a Kaagwaantaan *ku.éek’ (call together)* in Sitka. The robe had been passed down to two subsequent Housemasters, Yakuan and Tukawu II. Shotridge recorded its story: “Amidst the unmerciful waters of Lituya Bay lies a once time-honored reef, ‘the last hope of the lost man.’ A hunter, more than once, who had been carried away by the out-rushing tide, held on to this rock as the last hold of safety. Such has been the experience of the last of our House Master[s] in this onrush of modern life, which incited him to adopt this rock, of our former home, as an object of reverence for his family.”³⁸

The robe’s painted faces were the double-headed rock of Tltu-ah and on either side the angry waters of the rapids.³⁹ Of the forty-five objects, only a few were like

SPECIMEN Ceremonial Robe Called "Rock of Litu'a"

Made by Ctu wāx-īlqē of Wūckī-tān Clan

Owner Tūq'ō-xāw'u I of "Snail House" Family

Occasion Kūq'ān-tān "Call-together" at ōlta

Place "Down Side" Cove (Hoonah P.O.)

Time _____

Years Yak" x"āw'u II Tūq'ā-xāw'u II

Other Information _____

Acquired Nov. 22, 1922 in Hoonah, Alaska

Shipped Nov. 12, 1922 in air box No. 52

Carrier Pack Co. to Dr. Elm. - U. S. P. S. - 1922

The robe is made of finely tanned hide of the caribou, tinged down the two sides and edges, trimmed with strips of fur of the martin.

The painted design:— Within the unmerciful waters of Litu'a (Lituya Bay) lies a one-time honored reef, 'the last hope of the lost man'. A hunter, more than once, who had been carried away by the out-rushing tide, found me to this rock as the last hold of safety. Such has been the experience of the last of our hunters in this onrush of modern life, which invited him to admit this rock, of his former home, as an object of reverence. The middle figure represents the rock of Litu'a. And on either side are shown the angry waters of the rapids.

11.6. Louis Shotridge's catalog card, (a) front and (b) back, for the Rock of Lituya robe, Courtesy of the Alaska State Library.

the robe and held important crests with historic descriptions. Several of these recorded events in the lives of leading shamans in the T'akdeintaan history, including the Box Drum, Owl of the Heavens mask, Raven Head-cover, and Loon Spirit Rattle. Other objects held Raven creation stories, such as the Ravine frontlet, made for a rebuilding of the Mt. Fairweather House when their ancestors lived up north at Dry Bay. The Commander of the Tides dance mask had eyes that opened and

closed. Two months after Shotridge's return from Hoonah, President Coolidge declared the Hoonah Natives' homeland Glacier Bay National Monument and Reserve.⁴⁰ With the stroke of a pen in Washington, DC, this meant more restrictions on subsistence hunting and fishing at Lituya and Bartlett Cove and on gathering berries, cockles, and "gumboots" (an edible marine mollusk) from their beloved "ice box" of Glacier Bay.⁴¹ As Shotridge carefully packed and shipped the Mt. Fairweather possessions via freighter to Seattle and express train on east, he felt relief knowing the "old things" would be safe and appreciated in Philadelphia.

It is important to note that in some Tlingit communities Louis Shotridge remains a controversial figure to this day because he acquired clan objects considered to be owned communally. Some believe that by sending collections to Philadelphia he turned his back on his culture, selling out to make a profit. But as this and other essays have shown, though there were exceptions, Shotridge's detailed records reveal that he collected from clan and house leaders who during these decades of assimilation had the authority to sell the objects, and that his motivations were on behalf of the Tlingit community rather than for his own gain.⁴² Shotridge's goals were to hold up the historical greatness of the clans and to find an institutional sanctuary for Native art objects seen at the time as obsolete, negative, and opposed in a society advocating assimilation to Western norms of patrilineal inheritance and Christianity. As such, his collecting goals were fully compatible with the progressive modernist agenda of the ANB. This was the salvage paradigm of his mentors in anthropology, in tune with Shotridge's own upbringing.⁴³ Hoonah tribal members have grappled with this history. As Starbard had explained: "Tlingit people of Hoonah for a long time really did feel that he stole them, hoodwinked whomever, and depending on which clan you talked to, it was either Archie White, the House Leader who sold them, or more deviously it was his wife who was of the opposite moiety."⁴⁴

Certainly the reasons for the sales to Shotridge (and others) were due to the ongoing effects of colonialism writ large and its destructive impacts on Tlingit cultural practices. For this reason, Tlingit clans have been active in this area and are using NAGPRA as a means to strengthen and heal their communities from the ongoing and devastating effects of the changing times, specifically the repercussions of the anthropological collection of their material culture.⁴⁵

The Request for Repatriation of These Objects

In 1995 Penn Museum received a repatriation claim for the Snail House objects from the Huna Totem Corporation (HTC). The request transformed into a competing claim between HTC and the Hoonah Indian Association (HIA), a federally recognized tribe. After six years the groups came together and submitted a revised claim by HIA. Early versions of the claims failed to address each individual object as

either sacred or cultural patrimony, instead treating them as groups. In 2002 and 2009 the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania asserted their right of possession to the objects. Though details of the decisions are confidential and thus not available for inclusion in this chapter, the university on both occasions agreed to work outside of NAGPRA to repatriate eight objects that met NAGPRA's definitions of sacred object and/or object of cultural patrimony outright, and to find a way to resituate the remaining objects in Alaska with the clan. A notice of Intent to Repatriate was published in 2010, and the Tribe took possession of the eight objects including the Lituya Bay Robe in 2011.⁴⁶

The university also proposed a new partnership that would focus on educational endeavors into the future. In so doing, Penn recognized the spirit of the NAGPRA legislation, acknowledged the university's ongoing respect for the Tlingit people and its desire to continue a relationship with the Tribe that began with Louis Shorridge, and supported Native American religious and cultural integrity. Unsatisfied with this outcome, the Tribe requested a hearing with the national NAGPRA Review Board; a 2010 meeting found unanimously in the Tribe's favor. With NAGPRA Review Board recommendations nonbinding, Penn remained hopeful the Tribe would accept its offer to resituate the remaining objects in Alaska and consider forming a partnership. Six years later, a discussion, initiated by Robert Starbard, HIA's CEO and tribal administrator, concluded with revisions and compromise by both parties regarding aspects of the language of Penn's proposal. A formal memorandum of understanding (MOU) was signed in October 2017. As Starbard explained:

You might start to wonder how we might have changed our view of what Louis did. It's more than that assimilation went away and was replaced by self-governance. It is simpler than that . . . June 14, 1944. The community of Hoonah burned to the ground.⁴⁷ Every house, every drum, was destroyed, except for what was thrown out the windows. When we rethink Louis today, it's not hard to say, but for this collection and the care Penn Museum did for our T'akdeintaan collection we would not have any of it. It has taken time, taken a lot of meetings with elders.⁴⁸

Until the Hoonah Indian Association completes the construction of its own museum and cultural center in Hoonah (currently in the planning stages), the Tribe requested the remainder of the T'akdeintaan Mt. Fairweather Snail House collection be housed at the Alaska State Museum, Juneau, where they are available for use by the HIA and the T'akdeintaan at any time and in perpetuity. When exhibited at any location, the collection will be labeled as cared for jointly by the Hoonah Indian Association and Penn Museum. The museum may also request use of the objects for future educational purposes as mutually agreed. In addition, in keeping with the "balance" critical to the Tlingit, a partnership was made with both Eagle and Raven

clans to work together on future educational projects. As Starbard put it: “The concept of the idea of a relationship stems from a resolution by Penn. Some tribal members were against it. They wondered, what are they wanting to extract from us now? I saw it as a tool, a way to pull together to find a common basis for a relationship. We can’t do it, [perpetuate our culture] alone, the challenges are too great.”⁴⁹

October 14–15, 2017: T’akdeintaan Clan Memorial Ƙ u.éek’, Hoonah

I check my phone. It is noon in the gymnasium as the Ƙ u.éek’ (modern-day “party”) slowly gets started. Guests trickle in and the leading men huddle together in serious discussion around the at.óow table; their beaded seal fur and deerskin vests show their Raven and Eagle crests, and they dart out of the gym, only to be back again a few minutes later. The white box we packed up at the Penn Museum six years earlier is in pristine condition. With great care, they lift the Rock of Lituya robe and place it underneath the Mt. Fairweather Woman Spirit Hat in the center of the table.⁵⁰

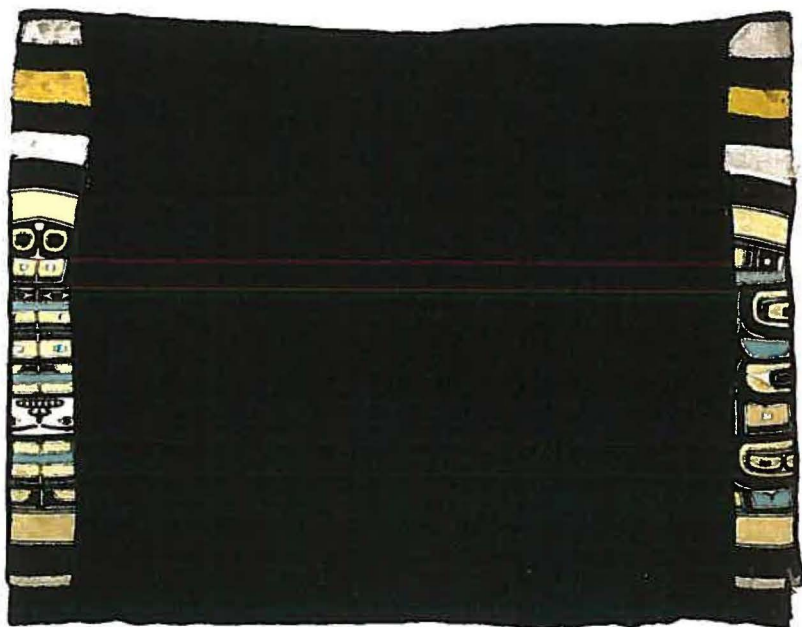
Repatriated in 2011, the robe is reincorporated into the ritual Ƙ u.éek’ context. It is exhilarating to see the Mt. Fairweather Dog Spirit Hat paired with a Chilkat blanket; the Mt. Fairweather Hat, and Kittywake Hat, like dressed relatives, are each paired with robes as well.⁵¹ My Penn colleagues and I carried by hand three more of the forty-five objects for the occasion—Raven the Pilgrim Rattle, the blanket with Chilkat strips, and cedar bark headdress—which are positioned close by.⁵² Also prominent are portraits of the honored deceased: Adam Greenwald, Frank O. Williams Jr., Victor Bean, Freda Borchick, Erling Skaflestad, Paul Rudolph, and Irene Lampe.



11.7. Hoonah Raven at at.óow table showing the Rock of Lituya robe with the Mt. Fairweather Woman Spirit Hat (top right), Hoonah Ƙ u. éek’, October 14, 2017. Photograph by Lucy Fowler Williams.



a



b



c

“Put this on,” whispers clan mother and elder leader Marlene Johnson, as she gently thrusts a red button blanket into my arms. “Stand over there with the others.” The wool blanket is heavy, and I feel its warm embrace. I wait patiently for the *naa kaanx’i yán* (*in-law from the opposite side*) to put the black marks on my cheeks during the initial mourning portion of the ceremony.⁵³ Harold Jacobs, cultural specialist for Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, had taught us about Tlingit protocol over the years, and I had a good understanding and appreciation of what was happening around me.⁵⁴ Two days before, at the Welcome Home Ceremony in Juneau, Penn colleagues Stacey Espenlaub and Wendy White were adopted and I received an honorary name, that of Marlene Johnson’s grandmother, Daax Keil Aatch, whose Western name was also Lucy Williams.⁵⁵ This was very special for each of us, and it was an honor to participate in the celebration.⁵⁶ We stand close together with approximately twenty clan members, robes touching, surrounding the widow and her children at the front of the gym. As the family sings the grieving songs, they quietly wipe away tears, hold each other’s hands, and stare at the floor. Though I can’t understand the words, I feel the sadness. Slow and solemn. I can still feel it now.

The Raven hosts carefully share their stories with their Eagle guests. Following protocol, the Rock of Lituya is placed on leading Raven elders by their Eagle opposites. It is also placed on family members of the deceased as well as young men as a way of honoring and teaching their grandchildren. On each occasion, they call out the names of their ancestors and effectively gather the people at Lituya Bay. Through song, oratory, and the physicality of the robe itself, they are wrapped in the arms and history of their ancestors, connected physically to the spirit and strength of their homeland, the bay and the rock, and to the spirits of their family members. After much discussion, the blanket, headdress, and rattle brought from the Penn Museum are placed on elder Kenny Grant. Arms stretched, he walks slowly and carefully back and forth, introducing his newly returned ancestors to his guests.

Marlene quietly motions us up again. This time all the Snail House women don heavy red fringes that hang from our ears. Standing closely and swaying back and forth, the T’akdeintaan women sing the wave song, singing the waves into motion; remembering the drownings, the fringes mark the heaviness of the grief. This is what Tlingit art is made and designed to do. In following these traditions, clan members do what their ancestors taught them, and this is the greatest honor they can give them.⁵⁷ In this way they also look forward and train their children and

11.8. Mt. Fairweather House (a) cedar bark headdress, (b) blanket with Chilkat strips, and (c) Pilgrim Raven Rattle hand-carried from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology for the Hoonah *k̄ u.éek’*, October 14, 2017. Photographs courtesy of the Penn Museum.



11.9. Eagles dressing their Raven hosts, at the Hoonah *k̄ u.éek'*, October 14, 2017. Photograph by Lucy Fowler Williams.

grandchildren to do this in the future. The old Rock of Lituya marks the persistence and tenacity of the T'akdeintaan.

The “party” continues through the night. Now it is the Eagles’ turn to reciprocate, and they display their clan art. Each group holds up their named *at.óow* and, with song and words from the heart, tell the stories of their ancestors’ journey. Together with the material objects their words offer comfort, love, and support and sooth the grieving Raven hosts. As they have done for generations, their words and actions strengthen their bonds to the grieving families. As one participant said in a similar ceremony in 1968: “This brother-in law (blanket) has come here for your grief, yes, to remove it from you. And yes, now that blanket: it’s just as if it has become a towel in my hand, to wipe away your tears.”⁵⁸ Tlingit crest art has always been used for spiritual healing. Only by giving comfort to the living of the opposite moiety can symbolic comfort pass over to the clan departed in the spirit world, and in the process, bring spiritual healing and removal of grief to the hosts.⁵⁹

We Ravens work hard through the night to host and comfort our Eagle guests. The party is held by the family to say thank you for the help, love, and support over the previous year. We serve two hundred Eagles coffee, lemonade, and water, and the



11.10. A T'akdeintaan healing-canoe paddle, gifted to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology on October 11, 2017, reminds us that we are in the canoe together and on a new journey. Photograph courtesy of the Penn Museum.

favorite meals of the deceased. Frank O. Williams's family serves ham and fried bread, smoked salmon spread and crackers, and chocolate cake; a few hours later the Greenwald and Rudolph families offer Nayadee (Coho) salmon and potatoes as well as herring egg salad. Still later, Adam Greenwald's family offers deer stew and Sailor Boy crackers. Working in pairs, we literally run distributing enormous sums of gifts—hand-picked apples and berries, oranges and bananas, and hundreds of jars of dry goods, jarred Coho, and sockeye, berries, and fish oil, bath towels, pens and paper, sewing kits, devil's club ointment, dish towels, watches, more salmon, creams, shampoos, clothing, baskets, and blankets. In between gifting and feeding, we entertain our guests with song and dance with open hands to push away the grief. Around 3:00 a.m., Robert Starbard, now in his role as caretaker of the at.óow of the Takdeintaan Tsal Xaan Hit—Mt. Fairweather House aka Tax' Hit—Snail House, publicly thanks and honors the Penn Museum. He introduces us to the crowd and hands me a beautifully carved and painted canoe paddle, a gift that recognizes how far we've come as well as the journey ahead.⁶⁰ The party continues until dawn.

Supporting Tribes in New Ways

Since 1990, NAGPRA has brought transformative change to American museums, perhaps most important the practical requirement of consultation, which necessitates dialogue and discussion. Tribal members often say “NAGPRA has no teeth” because museums still hold the controls to make final determinations.⁶¹ In this case study, the University of Pennsylvania followed both the letter and spirit of the law. Even though it held the right of possession to the objects Shotridge collected, with help from the Tribe, it found a way to return the objects to the Tlingit people. As early as 2002, Penn Museum expressed interest in collaborating with the Tribe on mutually beneficial projects such as educational programs, research, and visiting artist and internship programs. Though we ultimately may have differences of opinion, the museum and university are grateful for the respectful leadership and

persistence of Ronald Williams, Marlene Johnson, Robert Starbard, and others who have opened this discussion inside the Tlingit community and with us at Penn.

With time and conversation, and by listening and learning about one another's views, we ultimately agreed to combine our efforts with the intention of contributing to the ongoing vitality of Tlingit culture (rather than only preserving historic Tlingit culture). In 2018 the Hoonah Indian Association proposed two joint anthropological research projects with the University of Pennsylvania Museum, which are currently under discussion. The first involves working with early twentieth-century Hoonah census data to corroborate traditional Tlingit names with later English names. A second proposal involves an archaeological study and mapping of Hoonah's graveyard at Pitt Island using LIDAR (light detection and ranging) and ground-penetrating radar. Combining our resources, these projects will enrich Hoonah's understanding of its clan ancestry and history, build traditional and historical knowledge, and support Tlingit cultural revitalization. The full impact of the return of the T'akdeintaan Mt. Fairweather Snail House ancestors through repatriation may be known only to the clan. Starbard says:

Yes, the return has been healing. The first objects returned have played an important role in memorial ceremonies and there has been a healing. Regardless of the semantics of how our discussions are framed, for the clan elders, it doesn't matter. If not for Shotridge's and Penn's efforts, they would have been lost in the fire of 1944. We equate it to a kind of universal karma that has allowed a healing to take place. We have had some serious incidents in Hoonah in recent years that have embroiled the community, but we are now becoming whole. This healing continues to provide hope and it is crucial for future generations to use and learn from.⁶²



11.11. Consultation visit at University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005. Photograph by Lucy Fowler Williams.

The NAGPRA process has also been beneficial for the Penn Museum. It has been strengthening for museum staff to talk with Hoonah community members about Louis Shotridge in his own time and to discuss how he adapted like so many Tlingit of his generation, with ambition, hard work, skill, and determination to preserve Tlingit art, history, and culture. Through the lengthy process of this repatriation, we have sensed a softening of understanding of Shotridge's vision and efforts within the Tlingit community. The claim process has reminded the university that the collections we steward in Philadelphia are not passive art objects but often living beings associated with vital communities in real time. Tlingit clan art functions in ritual contexts to remember those who came before and to sooth the grief of the living. Activated through reciprocal dialogue and in balance, it feeds the spirits and eases the grief of those left behind. This story exemplifies the extraordinary ways in which Tlingit communities, and Native Americans more broadly, continue to live with art as containers of knowledge and history that tie them to their ancestors and places on the landscape and forge new pathways to the future. Here, historic emblems hold an enduring life force and, through their unique practices of communicating through balance and reciprocity, hold the community together.

Finally, HIA's interest in collaborating further with the Penn Museum by directing research questions to develop new knowledge about Tlingit history and anthropology has strengthened our bond and gives new direction to our relationship. Rather than focusing on our differences, we are combining our strengths to find common ground on future educational projects to help encourage the young people in the community and to protect and perpetuate Tlingit culture.

11.12. Children of Hoonah in song as they attend the healing ceremony at Bartlett Cove, August 2018. Photograph by Lucy Fowler Williams.



August 25, 2018: Glacier Bay, Alaska

As the final shipment of Snail House objects arrives from Philadelphia, it travels first to the Xunaa Shuká Hít (Huna Ancestors House) at Bartlett Cove in Glacier Bay to be welcomed by the ancestors.⁶³ The objects sit quietly inside this magical, peace-filled hand-hewn cedar house, surrounded by a carved house screen and four massive house posts that visualize the origin and migration stories of the four Hoonah clans. Clan leaders, state dignitaries, clan members, and guests gather outside to witness the raising of a new twenty-foot red cedar healing pole to commemorate Hoonah's improving relationships with the National Park, recent healing programs in the community around issues of domestic violence, and the return of the collection and a new partnership with Penn. The new pole honors and promotes a Tlingit copresence inside the park and its symbol of Lituya Bay is one of many visual emblems that tell of the Hoonah clans' journeys and tenacity through time. Like the old art in practice, this new art brings strength and healing to the Hoonah people spiritually.

In describing the artwork, Starbard in effect described the qualities needed for the HIA and Penn Museum to work successfully together:

The exterior panel of the Xunaa Shuká Hít at Bartlett Cove demonstrates tenacity. On one side, the left side of the tribal house is the Raven opening the box of knowledge. On the right side is the Eagle, in the clutches of the Eagle's talons is the tinaa [a Tlingit object], symbolic of wealth, but for us, the wealth we are



11.13. The Xunaa Shuká Hít interior, Bartlett Cove, Glacier Bay. Photograph by Lucy Fowler Williams.



11.14. Xunna Shuká Hit, Bartlett Cove, Glacier Bay. Photograph by Lucy Fowler Williams.

holding on to is our culture. It is not necessarily the tinaa, but the eagle that is clutching the tinaa. For an eagle to release his talons he must release the opposite pressure. If too big he will swim to shore to press down to release his talons. Here the Master carver is trying to depict that we have held onto our culture with the tenacity of the Eagle and we refuse to let it go. . . . Our relationship [with Penn Museum] has grown and has been fostered. We are at the very beginning and we are trying to find out how it might work. If any of you are married, you know a relationship takes work, communication, tenacity, and compromise.⁶⁴

NOTES

Details in this chapter are taken from Louis Shotridge's ethnographic notes, letters, and writings housed in the Archives of the Penn Museum and the Alaska State Library; see Louis Shotridge Digital Archive, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (UPM) Archives, www.penn.museum/collections/Shotridge/index.html.

- 1 Tlingit society is arranged by matrilineal clans of descent. All Tlingit are also organized by matrilineal exogamous moieties, Raven and Eagle (Wolf). Four clans settled Hoonah: the T'akdeintaan (Raven), Wooshkeetaan (Eagle), Chookaneidi (Eagle), and Kaagwaantaan (Eagle). For a good introduction, see Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Walter R. Goldschmidt and Theodore R. Haas, *Haa Aani Our Land: Tlingit and Haida*

- Land Rights and Use*, edited by Thomas Thornton (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau, AK: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1998), 196.
- 2 G. T. Emmons, "Native Account of the Meeting of La Perouse and the Tlingit," *American Anthropologist* 13, no. 2 (April–June 1911): 294–98; Frederica De Laguna, *Under Mt. Saint Elias, the History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), 273; and Rosita F. Worl, "Tlingit At.óow: Tangible and Intangible Property," PhD diss., Harvard University, 1998, 304.
 - 3 Some Tlingit art is produced in balance according to proper clan protocol.
 - 4 Louis Shotridge's catalog description, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (UPM) NA6829.
 - 5 This chapter emphasizes outcomes rather than processes of our negotiations.
 - 6 Sangita Chari and Jaime M. N. Lavalee, eds., *Accomplishing NAGPRA: Perspectives on the Intent, Impact, and Future of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2013), 8.
 - 7 For details, see NAGPRA of 1990, 25 U.S.C. §3001(2)(3)(C); §3001(2)(3)(D); and §3001(2)(13).
 - 8 Patricia Capone, "Amending Wonder: Museums and Twenty Years of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act," in *Accomplishing NAGPRA*, edited by Chari and Lavalee, 115–34.
 - 9 See Martha Graham and Nell Murphy, "NAGPRA at 20: Museum Collections and Recon-nections," *Museum Anthropology* 33 no. 2 (2010): 105–24; National Park Service, *Journeys to Repatriation: 15 Years of NAGPRA Grants (1994–2009)*, compliance by Sangita Chari and Lauren A. Trice (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, 2009); Eric R. Hollinger, Edwell John Jr., Harold Jacobs, Lora Moran-Collins, Carolyn Thome, Jonathan Zastrow, Adam Metallo, Gunter Waibel, and Vince Rossi, "Tlingit-Smithsonian Collaborations with 3D Digitization of Cultural Objects," *Museum Anthropology Review* 7, no. 1–2 (2013): 201–53; and Chip Colwell, *Plundered Skulls and Stole Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 265.
 - 10 Louis Shotridge itinerary, UPM Archives.
 - 11 Before 1924 the Alaskan Citizen Act of 1915 required strict suppression of the Tlingit language and religious *ku.éek'* were strictly forbidden. A *ku.éek'* is a potlatch or ritual feast held to mark important occasions such as memorials held a year after the death of a clan member.
 - 12 Philip Drucker, *The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast*, Bulletin, Smithsonian Institutions, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1958); and Stephen Haycox, "William Lewis Paul," in *Haa Kusteeyi, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories*, volume 3 of *Classics of Tlingit Oral Literature*, edited by Richard and Nora Dauenhauer (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau, AK: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1994), 506.
 - 13 The ANB is a federation of individual community chapter organizations called camps. Shotridge was a member of ANB Sitka Camp 1 (Maureen E. Milburn, "Weaving the Tina' Blanket: The Journey of Florence and Louis Shotridge," in *Haa Kusteeyi, Our Culture*, edited by Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer," 560). Six years later, in 1930, Shotridge was elected ANB grand president. It would be another ten years before the US government would recognize Tlingit land claims, and only then would ANB members begin to focus their efforts on reinstating the Tlingit language and religion.
 - 14 His mother, Kudeit.sáakw, was Eagle Kaagwaantaan, and his father, Yeilgooxi, was Raven Gaanax.teidi (see Maureen E. Milburn, "Louis Shotridge and the Objects of Everlasting Esteem," in *Raven's Journey: The World of Alaska's native People*, edited by Susan Kaplan and Kristin Barsness, 54–77 (Philadelphia: University Museum Press, 1986), 60.
 - 15 Milburn, "Louis Shotridge and the Objects of Everlasting Esteem," 60.

- 16 Quotation from Robert Starbard in “Woosh.Jee.Een, Pulling Together: Xunaa & Penn Museum in Partnership,” the Anthony Paredes Memorial Lecture on Sustainable Partnerships given by Robert Starbard and Lucy Williams at the annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, April 4, 2018, Philadelphia.
- 17 Austin Hammon in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, *Haa Kusteeyi, Our Culture*: 847.
- 18 Quotation from Starbard in “Woosh.Jee.Een, Pulling Together.”
- 19 Milburn, “Louis Shotridge and the Objects of Everlasting Esteem,” 57.
- 20 Milburn, “Weaving the Tina’ Blanket,” 553.
- 21 Gordon arranged for Shotridge to spend two months with Franz Boas in New York City in the winter of 1914. He attended Boas’s classes in ethnology at Columbia and worked with Boas on Tlingit phonology. See Franz Boas, *Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1917).
- 22 Eleanor M. King and Bryce P. Little, “George Byron Gordon and the Early Development of the University Museum,” in *Raven’s Journey: The World of Alaska’s Native People*, edited by Susan Kaplan and Kristin Barsness, 16–53 (Philadelphia: University Museum Press, 1986), 41.
- 23 Alden J. Mason, “Louis Shotridge,” *Expedition 2* (1960): 11–16; Edmund Carpenter, “Collecting Northwest Coast Art,” in *Indian Art of the Northwest Coast: A Dialogue on Craftsmanship and Aesthetics*, edited by Bill Holm and Bill Reid, 9–27 (Houston, TX: Rice University Institute for the Arts, 1975); Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985); Milburn, “Louis Shotridge and the Objects of Everlasting Esteem,” 54; Nora M. Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, “Louis Shotridge and Indigenous Tlingit Ethnography: Then and Now,” in *Constructing Cultures Then and Now: Celebrating Franz Boas and the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, edited by Laurel Kendall and Igor Krupnik, 165–84, *Circumpolar Anthropology 4* (Washington, DC: National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution Press, 2003), 165; Ishmael Hope, “You’re Going To Hear about This: Frank Johnson, Louis Shotridge, and Civil Rights,” August 24, 2011, www.goldbeltheritage.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/24a-Other-Notable-Tlingit-Civil-Rights.pdf; Robert Preucel, “Shotridge in Philadelphia: Representing Native Alaskan Peoples to East Coast Audiences,” in *Sharing Our Knowledge: The Tlingit and Their Coastal Neighbors*, edited by Sergei Kan, 41–62 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015); and Lucy Fowler Williams, “Louis Shotridge: Preserver of Tlingit History,” in *Sharing Our Knowledge*, edited by Kan, 63–78.
- 24 Louis Shotridge letter to George Byron Gordon, January 7, 1924, UPM Archives.
- 25 In a letter of September 29, 1924, Louis wrote to his employer, museum director George Gordon, about his intention to inspect items available in Hoonah (in the UPM Archives).
- 26 Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 490.
- 27 Kan, *Memory Eternal*, 491. White’s motivations are ambiguous. The objects were likely anathema to his position, he may have needed cash, and he may have wanted to find a safe place for the objects.
- 28 Contents of Package No. 9, Louis Shotridge to GBG; Ethnological Specimens Purchased for the University Museum, Louis Shotridge, UPM Archives. Shotridge paid significantly higher prices than other collectors of his day; see Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 256.
- 29 Gordon had trained him to document, and Franz Boas had helped him develop a Tlingit orthography system. See Williams, “Louis Shotridge: Preserver of Tlingit History.”
- 30 Louis Shotridge letter to George Byron Gordon, 1924, UPM Archives.
- 31 For a detailed overview of Shotridge’s collections and writings, see the Shotridge Digital Archive, www.penn.museum/collections/Shotridge/index.html.

- 32 Louis Shotridge letter to George Byron Gordon, January 27, 1923, UPM Archives.
- 33 Shotridge wrote about the “moods and emotions” of Tlingit people and their art. Louis Shotridge, “The Emblems of the Tlingit Culture,” *Museum Journal* 19, no. 4 (1928): 350–77.
- 34 Kan, *Memory Eternal*, 6. Shotridge translated “emblem” as “at.u” (Boas, *Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians*, 157). Other scholars, including John Swanton (1909), also used “emblem.” See Swanton, *Tlingit Myths and Texts* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909).
- 35 See Nora M. Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds., *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives*, volume 1 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), for the processes of at.óow.
- 36 Nora M. Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds., *Haa Tuwunaagu Yis, for Healing Our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory*, volume 2 of *Classics of Tlingit Oral Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau, AK: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1990).
- 37 Louis Shotridge UPM catalog card NA6829.
- 38 Louis V. Shotridge, UPM Digital Archive, asl_sm37_394_01; and Louis Shotridge catalog card housed in the Alaska State Library Archives, Juneau.
- 39 Louis Shotridge exhibit label, “Lituya Bay Robe,” UPM Archives.
- 40 Glacier Bay National Park was established in 1924. Sitka National Park was established in 1910, Old Kasaan in 1916, and Katmai National Park in 1918.
- 41 Thomas F. Thornton, *Being and Place among the Tlingit*, Sealaska Heritage Institute (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 90.
- 42 Maureen Milburn, “The Politics of Possession: Louis Shotridge and the Tlingit Collections of the University of Pennsylvania Museum,” PhD diss., Department of Fine Arts, University of British Columbia—Vancouver, 1997; and Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, “Louis Shotridge and Indigenous Tlingit Ethnography: Then and Now”; Hope, “You’re Going to Hear about This”; and Preucel, “Shotridge in Philadelphia.”
- 43 Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, “Louis Shotridge and Indigenous Tlingit Ethnography: Then and Now,” 168.
- 44 Starbard, “Woosh.Jee.Een, Pulling Together.”
- 45 Robert Preucel and Lucy Williams, “The Centennial Potlatch,” *Expedition* 47, no. 2 (2005): 9–19; Graham and Murphy, “NAGPRA at 20”; and Eric C. Hollinger and Harold Jacobs, “A Killer Whale Comes Home: Neil Kuxdei woogoot, Keet S’aaxw, Mark Jacobs Jr. and the Repatriation of a Clan Crest Hat from the Smithsonian Institution,” in *Sharing Our Knowledge*, edited by Kan, 483–95.
- 46 *Federal Register* 75, no. 239 (2010): 77897–98, Tuesday, December 14, 2010, www.penn.museum/documents/collections/nagpra_Snail_House.pdf.
- 47 This is a reference to “500 Homeless after Fire Sweeps Hoonah,” *Sitka Sentinel*, June 16, 1944.
- 48 Starbard, “Woosh.Jee.Een, Pulling Together.”
- 49 Starbard, “Woosh.Jee.Een, Pulling Together.”
- 50 The Mt. Fairweather Woman Hat depicts the woman inside Mount Fairweather, just north near Lituya Bay. Her spirit was a vision of a T’akdeintaan shaman (see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, *Haa Tuwunaagu Yis, for Healing Our Spirit*, 91).
- 51 The original Dog Spirit Hat burned in the Hoonah fire of 1944 (see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, *Haa Tuwunaagu Yis, for Healing Our Spirit*, 102); and Thornton, *Being and Place among the Tlingit*, 70.
- 52 Traveling to Alaska on October 10, 2017, to celebrate the new HIA/Penn Museum partnership, Penn staff Lucy Williams, associate curator and keeper, Stacey Espenlaub, NAGPRA coordinator, and Wendy White, Office of General Counsel, returned three more objects in the Snail House collection.

- 53 Lily White and Paul White, “Koo.eex’: The Tlingit Memorial Party,” in *Celebration 2000*, edited by Susan W. Fair and Rosita Worl, 133–36 (Juneau, AK: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 2000).
- 54 Penn Museum loaned clan hats to Tlingit *ku.éek’* in 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2009 in Sitka, Juneau, and Angoon. See Stacey O. Espenlaub, “Building New Relationships with Tlingit Clans: Potlatch Loans, NAGPRA, and the Penn Museum,” in *Sharing Our Knowledge*, edited by Kan, 496–508. To date, all the hats loaned have been either repatriated or are part of a competing repatriation claim.
- 55 Mary Catharine Martin, “After Almost a Century Absence, Sacred Objects Return to the Tlingit People of Hoonah,” *Juneau Empire*, October 13, 2017, <http://juneauempire.com/news/local/2017-10-12/after-almost-century-absence-sacred-objects-return-tingit-people-hoonah>. A Welcome Home Ceremony and Celebration was hosted by the Tsal Xaaan (Mt. Fairweather House) Tax’ Hit (Snail House) at the Sealaska Heritage Institute Shuka Hit, Juneau, on October 11, 2017. Emceed by Gordon Greenwald, this event involved Raven and Eagle clan leaders, a Welcome Home Ceremony and T’akdeintaan clan welcome, including Raven and Eagle welcome speeches and Spirit Songs, and a formal thank you from the clans to the University of Pennsylvania. Following the transfer, Espenlaub and White were adopted into the T’akdeintaan clan. Since I had been adopted previously by the Kiks.adi, I received an honorary T’akdeintaan clan name. For generations Native Americans have actively named outsiders as a way of marking and strengthen their relationships. NAGPRA has inspired Tlingit clans to adopt or name museum staff. See Sergei Kan, ed., *Strangers to Relatives: The Adoption and Naming of Anthropologists in Native North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); and Aldona Jonaitis, “Tlingit Repatriation in Museums: Ceremonies of Sovereignty,” *Museum Worlds* 5 (2017): 48–59, for further discussion on this practice.
- 56 In my experience Tlingit clan leaders adopt museum colleagues to honor and thank them for their work as individuals, to build alliances, and also for pragmatic reasons such as to keep repatriation activities, procedures, and participants safe and “in balance.” Adoption effectively gives outsiders a place or role by making them family. See Kan, *Strangers to Relatives*.
- 57 Nora Dauenhauer, “Tlingit At.óow,” in *Celebration 2000: Restoring Balance Through Culture*, edited by Susan W. Fair and Rosita Worl, 101–6 (Juneau, AK: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 2000), 102.
- 58 Austin Hammond’s speech at a 1968 *ku.éek’* in Hoonah, cited in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, *Haa Tuwunaagu Yis, for Healing Our Spirit*.
- 59 Richard Dauenhauer and Nora Dauenhauer, “Evolving Concepts of Identity and Clan,” in *Coming to Shore: Northwest Coast Ethnology, Traditions, and Vision*, edited by Marie Mauze, Michael E. Haskin, and Sergei Kan, 253–78 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 276.
- 60 The healing canoe is a revitalized traditional form used as a symbol of healing; see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, “Evolving Concepts of Identity and Clan,” 272.
- 61 Robert Starbard, personal communication, April 3, 2018.
- 62 Robert Starbard, personal communication, July 2018.
- 63 The House was dedicated in 2017 as part of the Return to Homeland Centennial Celebration to strengthen the relationship between the HIA and the National Park Service (NPS). See Mary Beth Moss, “Two Totem Poles Raised in Front of Huna Ancestors’ House,” *Juneau Empire*, June 1, 2017, <http://juneauempire.com/art/2017-05-30/two-totem-poles-raised-front-huna-ancestors-house>; and National Park Service, News Release, “Hunaa Shuka Hit: A Collaborative Milestone,” September 2, 2016, www.nps.gov/glba/learn/news/a-collaborative-milestone.htm.
- 64 Starbard, “Woosh.Jee.Een, Pulling Together.”

ROBERT STARBARD, T'akdeintaan (Raven).Tsaixaan Hit (Mt. Fairweather house), is tribal administrator of the Tlingit Hoonah Indian Association, the tribal government of the Xunaa Tlingit living in Hoonah, on the north shore of Chichagof Island on Icy Strait near Glacier Bay, southeast Alaska. Skilled in both business and communications, he works closely with community members to protect and support tribal health and welfare, and to develop educational and economic initiatives that preserve and perpetuate Tlingit culture.

EVELYN VANDERHOOP, Gaw Gitanee clan, Haida, is an artist of traditional Northern Northwest Coast textiles. Her art is in private, municipal, and museum collections internationally. Among the museums that hold her weaving art are the Burke Museum, Seattle; Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Quebec; the Haida Gwaii Museum, Skidegate, British Columbia; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Teaching and perpetuating techniques and cultural knowledge of Naaxiin and Ravenstail techniques is a legacy she received from her mother and grandmother, which she has passed to her daughters as well as other students. Researching and sharing cultural knowledge of Haida history is an important goal Vanderhoop strives for in her travels to institutions and museums. She holds a BA from Western Washington University, Bellingham.

LUCY FOWLER WILLIAMS, PhD, is associate curator and Jeremy A. Sabloff Senior Keeper of American Collections at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia (Penn Museum). A cultural anthropologist, she received her PhD from the University of Pennsylvania. Recent projects include the Louis Shotridge Digital Archive about the work of the Tlingit Alaskan curator and the 2014–21 Penn Museum exhibition *Native American Voices: The People Here and Now*. Her research interests include issues of Indigenous identity and revitalization, histories of collecting and representation, textiles, and material culture.