



**Collection and Commodification:  
Three “Rushes” to Southeast Alaska  
between 1870 – 1940**

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**ABSTRACT**

*The leisure travel industry, an outgrowth of the European Grand Tour of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, became a marketable industry by the late nineteenth century. Wealth generated by the Second Industrial Revolution, coupled with newer transportation technology and dedicated passenger fleets and tour offerings, allowed for extensive travel to many new destinations. By the early twentieth century, the rise in leisure time and income allowed middle-class Americans to travel to Alaska by the 1920s and 1930s. The increase of Native mass-produced curios devoid of cultural connections to Tlingit and Haida culture in the late nineteenth century coincided with the rise in tourism travel. This paper creates a time frame for the study of the transition in travel and commodification process by Tlingit and Haida artisans between wealthy individuals and museum collectors in the late quarter of nineteenth century and during and in the wake of the Gold Rush of 1898 and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition through 1940.*

The leisure travel industry, an outgrowth of the European Grand Tour of the seventeenth century and eighteenth centuries, became a marketable industry by the late nineteenth century. The growth of wealth spurred by the Second Industrial Revolution meant more individuals could take advantage of travel opportunities and newer transportation technology. Dedicated passenger fleets emerged by the early twentieth century and the continued rise in leisure time and incomes allowed middle class

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travel to Alaska by the 1920s and 1930s. The rise of Native mass-produced items in the late nineteenth century coincided with and was a result of various economic factors including the growth of the middle class with more disposable income and a growing travel industry that began marketing travel opportunities to this new socio-economic group.

The Southeast Alaskan Natives produced goods for the tourist trade that were devoid of cultural significance in their daily lives yet still represented aspects of culture as a response to increased tourism. Wealthy Victorian travelers initially vied with museum collectors for items such as original Yakutat baskets. Carving, beading, and basketry made for the trade emerged as an adaptation to the new money economy of Western capitalism by Alaskan natives by the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> There is no solid time definition to the changes in the tourism industry and the response of Native crafters to the increased tourism traffic. Establishing a general framework to highlight the shift will be divided into three phases or rushes: a brief overview of the intersection between individual wealthy travelers and museum collectors of the late nineteenth century, travel and commodification during and in the wake of the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, and, finally, the changes in the tourism industry in Southeast Alaska and the growth of the associated material culture manufactured by Tlingit and Haida artisans after 1905 – 1940 in response to ever increasing tourist trade.

There are many reasons posited by historians for the increase in tourism to Southeast Alaska<sup>2</sup>: the development, promotion, and advertisement of excursions by the late nineteenth century, the construction of dedicated passenger ship fleets allowed by technological improvements, the advent of two-week paid vacations for white collar workers in the 1910s and 1920s, and exhibits at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition and the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. For example,

Persuaded that vacations for workers could make good business sense, a small number of progressive American companies began during the 1920s to institute paid vacation plans. Although it was not until the last half of

the 1930s that most working-class people enjoyed the privilege of paid vacations.<sup>3</sup>

Within these explanations, there were larger events such as the Panic of 1893 and World War I and World War II that would drive people to seek out new experiences closer to home. The focus here is not to duplicate previous work but to establish a general timeframe for these transitions in Native culture and the tourism trade for future research. The first “rush” is from 1870 – 1897 until the news of the massive gold strike in the Yukon Territory emerged in the general press, the second “rush” is from 1898 - 1905, or the general timeframe of the great Klondike Gold Rush, and the third “rush” begins in 1905 in the wake of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition through 1940 as the White Pass & Yukon Railroad first advertised tourist excursions from Skagway, Alaska, to the White Pass Summit and heavy advertisement from the exposition would spur increased travel. While there is an argument for different dates based on Glasscock and Layton’s work on transitions in carving roughly paralleling this time frame, future research may further breakdown this time frame and incorporate other trends in the tourism industry.

The first of these three “rushes” begins in 1870, the year of regular mail delivery by the Oregon Improvement Company, through 1897. The OIC, along with other shipping companies such as the Pacific Coast Steamship Company and the Alaska Steamship Company, would provide cargo and limited passenger service although dedicated passenger ships that would carry cargo (rather than cargo ships that would carry limited passengers) began to appear by 1880 to provide transportation for tourists as well as residents, government officials, and seasonal workers.<sup>4</sup> In the 1870s and 1880s, competition for passengers and freight to Southeast Alaska between the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, formed by three Seattle entrepreneurs in 1876, and the OIC increased. The fleet of the twelve ships of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company was of great interest to railroad magnate Henry Villard, and he needed a steamship company to extend his railway services.<sup>5</sup> As companies formed, dissolved, or were bought out, the two main United States competitors for the Southeast Alaska trade were the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, the larger

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shipping line until purchased in the 1910s, and Alaska Steamship Company. Henry Villard published a short description of a trip to Alaska taken in 1876 from San Francisco to Portland, Oregon, he describes seeing a company ship while on his way to Portland that had just returned from Alaska.

She brought down from the recently acquired American possession three passengers...and a letter-bag with less than thirty letters...the steamship company had reluctantly undertaken to perform a mail contract...The passenger and freight traffic was too insignificant to make the route a profitable one.<sup>6</sup>

In his assessment in 1899, after a decade of travel, “during the last and present season, fifteen steamers...carried tens of thousands of passengers and freight...”<sup>7</sup> The OIC, now called Pacific (Coast) Steamship Company by 1899, “had the best and largest steamers...on the coastwise route.” Villard realized that “it is evident with the increase in numbers of round-trip passengers...it is not too early to provide a better class of ships”.<sup>8</sup>

The vanishing Indian theory contributed to the scramble to collect ethnographic items – baskets, masks, and poles, as examples – before Western civilization severely impacted Native life. The increase in travel in the nineteenth century continued the acceleration of culture changes to Native life. With the advent of the cash economy, Native craftsmen abandoned traditional crafts and sought employment in canneries and on commercial fishing vessels. Carving, as many travelers lamented, was becoming a lost art. Yet, the tourism trade offered Native artisans new avenues of income through adaption to the tourist trade. Collectors such as George Heye hired representatives to negotiate for cultural pieces (ethnographic items in use). Collecting activity did result in a cultural gutting of tribal legacies.<sup>9</sup> Increasingly, private collectors would compete with museums for ethnographic items. Wealthy Victorians set aside rooms for collection displays and women’s magazines often advised on how to display travel souvenirs.<sup>10</sup>

While there is a distinction between ethnographic items and curios made for the trade, it is not always apparent. There are some clues though. Bunn-Marcuse notes that “late nineteenth-

century anthropological value judgments” were applied to “fit Western conceptualizations of authenticity and tradition” and exclude items with European influences such as button blankets.<sup>11</sup> Ethnographic items such as Attu and Yakutat baskets were constructed with woven loops to suspend it around the neck while gathering berries, for example. They would be folded to store flat. Specific dyes and patterns used for baskets had a cultural connection. Baskets made for the tourism trade had a distinctive pattern of three bands of design and no loops.<sup>12</sup> The literature of the day often did not distinguish ethnographic items and items made for the trade, calling them all curios. Even advertisements by some of the more well-known curio shops in the late nineteenth century did not differentiate between these two definitions.<sup>13</sup> This first wave was particularly distinguished by their avid collecting of baskets and items with a direct cultural connection, but even by the early 1890s, silver jewelry, moccasins, paddles, and carved fork and spoon sets became common curio trade items. Attracted by the beauty and romantic aura of Indian baskets, the United States was swept up in a veritable “basket craze” around 1890. Smithsonian curator Otis Mason commented that the fad “almost amounts to a disease,” a malady exhibiting a multitude of symptoms.<sup>14</sup> Display space for travel curios was an important part of Victorian culture. Wealthy female travelers especially were targeted by ladies’ magazine articles. “Curio cabinets filled with bric-a-brac from many lands...[and] the rise of the interior as a state set for private fantasy”<sup>15</sup> meant a private room was set aside for travel treasures, or a large section of the parlor. The parlor’s collections, on display for friends and family, “laid claim to character through a careful adherence to the elaborate social conventions of Victorian etiquette”.<sup>16</sup> Wrote Lloyd McDowell in a booklet for the Alaska Steamship Company, “No home is complete now-a-days without a neat and artistically arranged Indian basket corner.”<sup>17</sup>

As an example of the disdain for tourist curios, *The Papoose* interviewed Alice Palmer Henderson, an ethnologist and member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Folklore Society, and the Alaska Geographical Society. To downplay partaking in the “basket fad,” Henderson said “long before gathering Indian baskets...I admired them and cherished a

few fine specimens.” As a part of pride, she describes her basket collection as obtained “from the old Indian women direct. You will find none of those abominable diamond, dyed tourist ‘mongrels’ among my baskets; these are like fine old rugs.”<sup>18</sup> Anna Woodruff Anderson, in an article for *Harper’s Bazaar* magazine, commented on and lamented the passing of the “last industry of a passing race, the shapely basket is fast being replaced by the unsightly gunny bag” and “young women are seldom taught weaving”.<sup>19</sup> She comments on the fad of basketing collection, describing the time to negotiate for quality baskets is during berry-picking season when the ethnographic items are in use by women gathering berries to be dried for winter. The last paragraph of the article details how the baskets should be displayed and “we pause on the edge of this labor saving century to look back with a thrill of sympathy to these patient weavers, the last of a people crowded out, all but lost in the rush and whirl of its machinery”.<sup>20</sup>

The *Boston-Alaskan* commented that the “increase in the tourist travel to Alaska has multiplied many times the commercial value of this native handiwork” and women have returned to the more traditional style of tightly woven baskets due to consumer demand for quality goods over “coarse, vividly colored, poorly woven baskets.”<sup>21</sup> The unnamed writer further lamented that basketry was not being taught to younger girls and “a small fund has been raised and deposited for the purpose of opening at The Sitka Industrial Training School a new department where skilled natives will teach basketry, the weaving of Chilkat blankets, and carving in wood, ivory, and copper.”<sup>22</sup> A series of letters by Horace Briggs published in the Buffalo, New York, *Courier* describes the “Thlingkit (sic) native seated on a plank, fashions from coin bracelets, rings and pins, in forms so unique, and with a jack-knife etches them with figures so original, the lady tourists capitulate at first sight”.<sup>23</sup> The author continues to discuss baskets stating that

native women exhibit great skill, and good taste...the material is the inner bark of the root of the yellow cedar...the dyes...indigenous to the country...they are firm, durable, and so compactly braided that they hold water, and by throwing in hot stones, potatoes can be boiled in them without harm to the texture.<sup>24</sup>

Weaving was not confined to baskets as Briggs commented that

the women in Sitka weave...mats and gaudy covering for walking canes, and bottles...lady passengers, to the utter disgust of their more discreet husbands and brothers, go wild at the sight, and pay the price usually given for the gratification of misguided fancy.<sup>25</sup>

Edward Parkinson comments not only on the totem poles at Wrangell, but the curios as well. Long before “The Queen made had been made fast...the Indians were seen coming with their baskets and trinkets to sell to the tourists at exorbitant prices.”<sup>26</sup> Private collectors such as Mary E. Hart, newspaperwoman, miner, suffragette, and guest lecturer for the Pacific Coast Steamship Company aboard the *SS Spokane* on the Alaska route in the 1910s, bequeathed “To the Academy of Science Museum in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, my collection of Alaska baskets & curios...”, which was part of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, and 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, the museum has no record of her donation after her suicide in 1921. They did receive a bequest of \$100 in lieu of the donation.

While it was rare to find mention of the names of the Native crafters, newspapers and other accounts give some clue. In the handwritten June 1895 edition, the *Eskimo Call*, Klowty (Klow-ty) says he is an ivory worker and curio maker, working out of a basement near Kossa on the Cape Prince of Wales Island in the Arctic (250 miles from Siberia). No Southeast Alaska newspaper mentions curios until 1899. The *Daily Morning Alaskan*, Skagway’s daily paper, and the *Douglas Island News* have just a few references to the curio trade. The *Douglas Island News* reminisced about a visitor the previous year who wrote that “The streets are winding and dirty...On every corner there is a saloon...The next place of business is bound to be either a Yukon outfitting business or a curio shop for the luring of the summer tourist”.<sup>28</sup> Sol Ripinsky of Haines, Alaska, advertised his general merchandise store including Alaska furs and curios.<sup>29</sup> Skagway entrepreneurs Peter Kern and H. D. Kirmse advertised jewelry for sale without specifically mentioning

curios. The term “curio” in relation to non-ethnographic items did not come into common use in advertisements until after the Klondike Gold Rush.

Many of the annual governor’s reports comment on the tourism trade. “The governor of Alaska, in the report for the year ending June 30, 1891, estimates the volume of this trade as \$25,000, but because the tourists number about 5,000, the majority of whom are well-to-do...the estimate is considered too low.”<sup>30</sup> The items described as “articles and utensils are made more gaudy and more grotesque each year to catch the tourist’s eye; as ethnological specimens, they are no longer of the slightest value.”<sup>31</sup>

The Pacific Coast Steamship Company provided most of the tourism traffic to Southeast Alaska at this time. In 1884, the first year that the Pacific Coast Steamship Company offered trips to Alaska, 1,650 round trips were taken and by 1880, it was 5,007.<sup>32</sup> Transportation in Southeast Alaska was by water “from large ocean steamers of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company (PCSC) to the Indian canoe.”<sup>33</sup> Additional figures from the reports are not extant because the numbers were not mentioned again until 1918. While this first “rush” encompasses museum collectors and the well-to-do, it did mark the transition from items made for cultural use to items made specifically for the tourism trade in curios.

The first “rush” was replaced by the second “rush” that coincides with the Klondike (Yukon) Gold Rush from 1897 – 1899 and through to 1904. While Gold Rush participants were not focused on curios, the Gold Rush put Alaska on the map for the rest of the world and would firmly establish the curio shop as a ubiquitous part of the Southeast Alaska landscape. Not everyone who went to Alaska sought to make their fortune in gold. Many went to supply, feed, swindle, and photograph the stampeders. There were several routes to the Yukon interior, but the Southeast Alaska route was the most popular and most direct to the goldfields. Gold was discovered in 1896 but the news did not reach the outside until July 17, 1897, when the steamship *Portland* docked in Seattle, carrying a ton of gold.<sup>34</sup> A few days earlier, the July 11, 1897, Sunday edition of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* carried a short story about one Jack Carr, a mail carrier aboard the *SS City of Topeka* and “brings tales of the rich discovery on the



Klondike,” which he discussed a few days later (July 19). The *Post-Intelligencer* published several letters about the gold strikes in the Sunday edition stating, “no one wants to work for wages, but all are prospecting,” and “El Dorado is staked off into claims for eight or ten miles, and every claim so far has shown up big. One claim was sold for \$100,000 three days ago.”<sup>35</sup> In today’s currency, that’s over three million dollars.

It is estimated that in six months, 20,000 to 30,000 people went through Skagway and Dyea, the starting point for the White Pass and Chilkoot trails respectively, and 70,000 people would pass through in two years. William Moore, veteran of the 1849 California Gold Rush, built a small cabin and wharf with his son by 1892. Moore had already pioneered a trail into the Yukon. The first wave of six hundred stampedeers showed up in March 1897 and the next wave of stampedeers came in July and, by August, newspapers reported a tent city of 5,000 – 6,000 people was constructed. The first post office opened in November.<sup>36</sup> The rapid growth of Skagway, once the homestead of Captain William Moore, and Dyea overnight meant that streets were cleared rapidly, tents were thrown up as hotels, brothels, restaurants, and outfitters until timber frame structures could replace them. By July 1897, Moore had built another small wharf and made a trail to the summit. Many questioned his claim to the land since he was a Canadian citizen and his operation was funded by concerns in Victoria, British Columbia.<sup>37</sup> Dyea, the start of the Chilkoot Trail, would sink into obscurity after an avalanche on Good Friday, April 3, 1898, buried over seventy stampedeers and blocked the trail. Stampedeers were required to carry 1,000 pounds of provisions by the Canadian government with the Northwest Mounted Police checking supplies at the disputed summit on the White Pass and Chilkoot Trails while enterprising individuals built tramways or offered wagon hauling to make the trek easier. Several trips were needed to transport the supplies over the mountains and Chilkoot and Chilkat natives often were hired to help pack out the supplies. In the spring of 1898, the White Pass Railroad began construction in Skagway and would soon eclipse both trails which would fall into disuse. By 1899 – 1900, the Klondike Gold Rush was over as gold was discovered in Alaska’s interior and in Nome in 1900. But the thousands of

individuals who passed through Skagway, altering a large unvisited or inhabited region, put Alaska on the map and forever changed Captain William Moore’s small homestead at the top of Lynn Canal.<sup>38</sup> In 1900, only two hundred and sixty-one residents were recorded by the census. Skagway’s population dwindled from roughly 10,000 by the fall of 1897 to 3, 117. Only Nome was larger with 12, 488.<sup>39</sup>

As Skagway refocused its efforts on capitalizing on its Gold Rush history to bring in the growing number of tourists, the Skagway Chamber of Commerce formed in 1900 and the Skagway Commercial Club shortly after. Juneau, Wrangell, Petersburg, and Ketchikan would all form commercial clubs to promote these locations for business opportunities and investment and travel. While souvenirs were not on the minds of stampedeers, some of the men who came to Skagway during the Gold Rush stayed behind to form the core of the early business community. Herman (H.D.) Kirmse, William Case, and Peter Kern were just a few of the men who would succeed. These men were not the only curio dealers in Southeast Alaska nor the first, but they would mark a transition and a new era in the curio trade as tourists sought the experience of the stampedeers without the arduous journey.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904 would bring more interest about Alaska. Mary E. Hart, the lady manager of the exhibits for Alaska, traveled around the territory to engage schools and women’s auxiliaries to provide displays for the exposition. She was “employed January 1, 1904, to assist in securing exhibits in Alaska, especially in the Department of Education...she was designated hostess and placed in charge of the bureau of information in Alaska Building”.<sup>40</sup> Appointed by Governor John Brady, Hart was well-known in Alaska although her first trip there was not until the Nome gold rush aboard the steamer *Zealandia* in May 1900.<sup>41</sup> Her friendship with Jack London and his stories no doubt inspired her work. She was sent to Nome to cover the Gold Rush, opened a Nome office for the *Los Angeles Herald* in 1902, and participated in the gold rush, owning several mining interests.<sup>42</sup>

According to the Final Report, over twenty million visitors, most of them paid, came to the Exposition.<sup>43</sup> Also part of the Alaska

contingent was L. S. Keller, mayor of Skagway and newspaper owner and publisher, and H. P. King, the mayor of Nome. Hart, in conjunction with O. E. King, provided gold nuggets and personal items such as baskets for the Alaska exhibit. King and Hart formed the first women's club in Nome in 1902.<sup>44</sup> This event was Alaska's first appearance at a world's exposition and the "exhibits shown by them excited the utmost wonder and surprise...Thousands have been led to investigate and seek out more information".<sup>45</sup> Of particular interest were the twenty totem poles collected by Governor Brady that stood outside of the Alaska Building.<sup>46</sup> Large curios collections, loaned by Mary E. Hart and others, included both ethnographic items and trade curios such as "Two small Hoonah rattle baskets" and "2 Attu card cases." Hart also included nineteen gold nuggets from Nome.<sup>47</sup>

The Klondike Gold Rush and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition both increased interest in Alaska and encouraged the tourism trade, but the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was the most effective event in the wake of the Klondike Gold Rush to frame an experience for travelers that relied on not just the scenery but the souvenirs.<sup>48</sup> While visitors would not be able to take a gold nugget home as a souvenir, they could purchase a postcard of a pair of moccasins or a beaded bottle, or a basket to remember their visit to the Alaska Building.

The third rush would come as efforts to boost tourism throughout Southeast Alaska to take advantage of the aftereffects of the Klondike Gold Rush and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition starting in 1905. The White Pass and Yukon Railroad in Skagway would actively advertise excursions to the White Pass summit by 1906 including a whistle-stop at Denver Glacier.<sup>49</sup> Advertisements changed from suppliers to the Yukon goldfields to curio dealers and photographers to develop the Brownie camera, hotels for longer-term visitors, and excursions other than hunting and fishing. The gold stamping mills at Juneau and on Douglas Island had been an attraction since the 1880s and would continue to do so. Wrangell and Sitka would continue to highlight their connection to Russian and Native history in addition to the natural landscape which was an important part of Sitka's survival since the territorial capital would move to Juneau in 1906 as the city eclipsed Sitka in

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importance and location. Juneau, on the Inside Passage between Skagway and Wrangell and growing since the establishment of gold quartz mining, was a natural location for the new capital. Shipping companies located offices in the city and Juneau would embark on a plan to expand their roads and settlement to take advantage of the Mendenhall Valley and Mendenhall Glacier by the 1920s. A more sophisticated marketing effort by passenger ship companies in conjunction with railroads and tour agents capitalized on the exotic nature of a trip to Alaska in the literature. One example was booklets written by publicist Lloyd W. McDowell and printed by the Alaska Steamship Company on several different aspects of Southeast Alaska including totem poles and basketry. *Alaska's Totem Poles*, published in 1906, is mostly accurate if the romantic view of totem poles and their significance. The last two pages describe the two Alaska Steamship Company vessels on the Alaska route at that time. The booklets were designed as souvenirs.<sup>50</sup>

Following up on the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (AYP) in Seattle in 1909. Godfrey Chealander, known as the originator of the AYP Exposition, wrote a brief article in 1906 to dispel the myth of Alaska as a perpetual land of ice and snow. “The popular tours are mostly taken in July and August on the palatial tourist steamers as advertised for that purpose...”<sup>51</sup> Chealander briefly describes the locations visited by the ships, noting that these tours do not include the Interior (circle tours would develop by the 1910s).

A stop is made at all the principal places of interest including Ketchikan, Wrangel (sic), Juneau, Treadwell (mines), Douglas, Skagway, and Sitka. A stop of half a day or so is made at Skagway...here the White Pass & Yukon Railroad have arranged to take passenger up to the famous White Pass.<sup>52</sup>

Mary E. Hart was once again appointed to be the Lady Hostess in charge of gathering exhibits. Appointed by Governor W. B. Hoggatt, Hart was “regarded as the best informed woman of the present day upon the tribal customs, history, and language of the natives in that vast territory”<sup>53</sup> to organize auxiliaries to provide items for the exhibits. As a guest lecturer for the Pacific Coast

Steamship Company aboard the *SS Spokane*, Hart would know what items would be of interest to visitors to Alaska. While in Sitka in 1908, Hart "organized the Ladies Auxiliary for the purpose of collecting material for exhibition in the women's department...[and] goes to Dawson, Circle City, Rampart, and Fairbanks. She has already organized Auxiliaries in all the towns of Southeastern Alaska."<sup>54</sup> Hart was friends with many of curio shop owners, including H. D. Kirmse of Skagway,

the concessionaire for all Alaska souvenirs in the Alaska Building...Nine Indians of the Chilkat tribe, four in the booth and five outside, are employed in the manufacture of such souvenirs as baskets, moccasins, totems, silver bracelets, and silver spoons...the very best product of native work."

Curios were one item that would physically represent Alaska natives and their craft long after the exposition closed.<sup>55</sup> The Ye Olde Curiosity Shop in Seattle, during its existence, was the premiere location in Seattle for curios. In a clever advertisement, it was stated that "Madame Calve, during her recent visit to Seattle, made a veritable raid on the curio stores...fifty of the finest Alaska Indian baskets, many fine pieces of old ivory and beautiful skins of various fur-bearing animals" were available for purchase, showing the diversity of curios available.<sup>56</sup> There were curio dealers throughout the United States. Harry L. George of St. Joseph, Missouri, owned a large curio shop and did business with William Case of Juneau, H. D. Kirmse of Skagway, and others in Southeast Alaska, stocking curios that would sell well in his shop. Some items from the June 11, 1914, shipment from William Case included salmon skin mittens (Eskimo), shark tooth ear bobs (Thlinget), and seal gut sack (Eskimo).<sup>57</sup>

As an indication of the growth in the Alaska curio trade, calls were made by 1920 to protect the Native crafters from fakes. Increasingly, knockoffs were imported for sale in Alaska curio shops. Zenjiro Ikuta of Skagway imported Alaska-themed souvenirs from Japan. The H. H. Tammen Company of Colorado supplied shops in Seattle with Alaska-themed curios, often employing Alaska natives.<sup>58</sup> "(T)hat miniature totem poles are being manufactured in

Seattle and sent to Juneau and an effort to palm them off as native workmanship. A great deal of ivory work is the project of Japanese handcraft”.<sup>59</sup> The *Daily Alaskan* commented that “the leading dealers would welcome such a measure not only as a protection for the industrious natives but to protect the native art of the Territory...The marking of each article as to its origin...”<sup>60</sup> Republican Cash Cole of Juneau proposed and supported the legislation and prepared a bill. Items were required, by pressure from the native crafters, to be displayed separately and labeled as to the origin.<sup>61</sup> It is unclear whether the bill was passed but shops did begin to label and separate native crafts items. As the demand for baskets remained high, “missionaries enthusiastically supported the inclusion of traditional skills of basket making and weaving into the (Sitka) school...By 1916, Tlingit women themselves were being employed by the Sitka Training School to teach native girls about basket weaving and native design.”<sup>62</sup>

By 1918, the annual governor’s reports once again included the tourist trade as a separate section for commentary. Although sometimes a mere paragraph, increasing visitation was clear by the number of increasing passengers. There are no solid figures, but the territorial governor observed that “it was noticed this year that tourists visiting this Territory were mostly women and elderly men,”<sup>63</sup> the bone and sinew of the Nation being conspicuous by its absence,<sup>64</sup> owing to the United States’ involvement in World War I. By 1919, the report commented on the increase in travel to Alaska due to the “closing of trans-Atlantic travel to pleasure seekers and to the well-placed advertising by the bureau of publicity,”<sup>65</sup> centered in Juneau. The PCSC traffic reported dated May 15, 1920, gives some indication of numbers in 1919. Route 1, called the Southeastern Route, included Ketchikan, Wrangell, Petersburg, and Juneau and Douglas. Northbound passengers totaled 12,989 and southbound passengers totaled 12,096 for a total of 25,085 trips, mostly round trips. Route 5, called the Skagway-Sitka-Gulf Route, included Haines, Sitka, Skagway, and two other ports. By far, most passengers went to Skagway with 4,480 northbound and 4,635 southbound passengers.<sup>66</sup>

After World War I, travel to Southeastern Alaska would continue to grow, particularly as more Canadian vessels were

added to the route. Barred from conveying freight by the Jones Act of 1920, the governor commented that "two vessels only of the American companies cater to the tourist travel, and...do a large freight business."<sup>67</sup> The American ships had to discharge cargo in port and stop at canneries to drop freight and workers, sometimes delaying departures and arrivals, and "mar the comfort and pleasure of passengers on sight-seeing bent." Canadian companies such as the Grand Trunk ships and Princess ships of the Canadian Pacific Railroad were "well-advertised, modern ships, equipped and adapted to please tourists...a short but attractive itinerary and maintains its schedule".<sup>68</sup>

The 1923 governor's report stated that two American and one Canadian steamship company carried 20,089 passengers between January and August 31, 1923, estimating that two-thirds were tourists, or roughly 13, 250 "round trippers". It was the highest total to date. The previous year, 5,537 tourists visited Southeast Alaska.<sup>69</sup> The following year, the passenger total increased to 24,838 with the Alaska Steamship Company carrying over 13,000 passengers.<sup>70</sup> The Canadian Pacific National Railways Company entered the Southeast Alaska service in the 1925 season, carrying 25,000 passengers and operated fourteen steamers that year.<sup>71</sup> By 1928, twenty-five passenger ships operate by four companies brough 33,000 people to Southeast Alaska. By 1938, 73,000 passengers were "carried by 12 freighters and 21 passenger ships".<sup>72</sup> The slight decrease in 1939 to 68,000 passengers is attributed to the "generally unsettled labor conditions in the transportation and fish-canning industries."<sup>73</sup> Even in the depths of the Great Depression, passenger totals continued to rise. One theory posits the rise of paid vacations by the employed middle class as a reason for the growing trend. Rising tensions in Europe by the mid-1930s with the specter of another war had Americans and Canadians turning to Alaska as an exotic vacation destination once again. Travel packages had been advertised since the 1870s and by the 1920s, they were marketed to the growing segment of middle-class travelers.<sup>74</sup>

As the number of tourists increased through 1940, so did the number of curio shops throughout Southeast Alaska. While even general stores would carry curios, there were many specific

shops for curios in Southeast Alaska worth mentioning in more detail. Curio shops existed in every town by the 1910s although Sitka and Juneau had the most shops through the early twentieth century. Juneau would grow to be the largest hub for curios in Southeast Alaska after the capital moved there in 1906. Since land excursions were limited in many locations until the 1910s and 1920s, curio shops were one way to pass the time after any principal sights had been visited. The curio trade would be removed from the direct control of the Tlingit and Haida as they increasingly sought to sell their wares through these shops. There were still women who would sit on the docks on steamer days to capture the immediate trade in Southeast Alaska, but the shops began to dominate the curio trade after 1905.

In Juneau and on Douglas Island, one of the earliest dealers was John Fuesi of Douglas Island. Not only did he deal in curios, but he also carried furniture and hardware and, according to the *Douglas Island News*, “received a full line of coffins and undertaker’s supplies.” This is again an example of how some shops were not exclusively curio shops.<sup>75</sup> Fuesi retired in 1911 but the shop still carried his name.<sup>76</sup> Lloyd Winter and Edwin Pond, of the firm Winter & Pond, were prominent Southeast Alaskan photographers. Winter and Pond served as official Alaska photographers for Seattle’s Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition in 1909. During the Klondike Gold Rush gold, Winter was appointed official photographer for the firm, Underwood and Underwood, and the publication, *Leslie’s Weekly*, to cover gold rush activities on the Dyea and White Pass trails to the Klondike. Winter & Pond operated their Juneau-based curio and photography studio for over 50 years until Pond’s death at age 71 in 1943.<sup>77</sup>

Skagway’s premiere shop was Kirmse’s Curio Shop. Kirmse published a large booklet of items in his shop, both for retail and wholesale. In an undated publication, a wide variety of goods are advertised including ivory and nugget jewelry, “Klondike Brooches” with stylized gold pan and pickaxe and shovel crossing underneath the pan, rings, and “H. D. K. Special Souvenir Spoons” with scenes from Skagway depicted as well as a long listing of Indian-made souvenirs including silver bracelets, silver souvenir spoons and carved ivory.<sup>78</sup> Tlingit native Jim Williams and his wife owned the



Native Curio Shop in Skagway and employed Native artists.<sup>79</sup> P. E. Kern also employed Native smiths in his shop. William Case and Horace Draper opened a photography studio and shop in Skagway in 1898, dissolving their partnership in 1907. They were well-known for the Gold Rush imagery. Case opened a second location in Juneau and dealt in curios as previously discussed.<sup>80</sup> Herbert Draper followed the gold rush to Skagway in 1898, married a local schoolteacher named Harriet and became active in the Skagway community. William Howard Case, born in 1868 in Iowa, also went to the Klondike during the gold rush and secured several claims in Atlin, British Columbia, before going into business with Draper. The Case & Draper Photography Studio opened in a small tent in Skagway in 1898 and later expanded to sell photographic supplies, Alaska Native handicrafts, and game specimens. They were best known for their Tlingit portraits, early Skagway images, and the Klondike Gold Rush images. Case moved to Juneau in 1907 where he opened a studio and became active in the community as a Mason and Shriner. He died in Juneau in 1920. Draper kept the studio in Skagway where he lived until he died in 1913. His studio was purchased by the Keller Brothers Drug Company.<sup>81</sup>

In Wrangell, only one curio shop would open – Bear Totem Store – which opened in 1920 and was owned by Walter Waters, a postman who collected furs and curios on his mail run between Wrangell and Sulzer, Alaska.<sup>82</sup> Advertisements for the Bear Totem Store do not appear in the *Wrangell Sentinel* until 1930 although there is a mention of the store in 1926. The advertisements do not mention curios, but it was a well-known stop in the 1920s and 1930s in Wrangell.<sup>83</sup>

In Ketchikan, the Tongass Trading Company had existed since 1898. H. D. Kirmse opened a second shop in Juneau. After his untimely death in 1913,<sup>84</sup> two men purchased the shop from Kirmse’s widow and renamed it Pruell and Berthelson.<sup>85</sup> To create authenticity, they employed “Mr. Mather, a Metlakatla Indian” to make souvenir spoons and silver bracelets.<sup>86</sup> Berthelsen was the manager at Kirmse’s in Skagway. I. G. (Ignatius Gustav) “Gus” Pruell would buy out his partner in 1921 and operate the store under his name. Pruell worked for the Tongass Trading Company early in his career in Ketchikan. He married Laura Young in 1912 in Cedar

Rapids, Iowa, at her family home. She was a clerk at the Merchant and Miner’s Bank in Ketchikan.<sup>87</sup> Items available at the store included “a new supply of old ivory novelties and curios...folding inlaid card cases and cribbage boards...They also have some cigar, cigarette, and card cases woven from whale bone.”<sup>88</sup> Billingsley’s Curio Store, established in 1936, advertised their prices were the lowest in Alaska! The store location, once home to the Knox Brothers, was known for its large totem poles, carved by Sydney Campbell, which were attractions for tourists.<sup>89</sup>

Tracing the growth of curio shops through city directories does not show an accurate picture of their growth since they were not always designated as a curio shop. They also catered to the local population. The 1901 – 1902 *Oregon, Washington, and Alaska Gazetteer* lists curio shops as a separate business designation but well-known Alaska curio dealers are not listed under the general description.<sup>90</sup> Both Peter Kern and Herman Kirmse of Skagway are listed as jewelers.<sup>91</sup> William Case had reestablished his business in Juneau by 1909 and is listed as a photographer and curio dealer.<sup>92</sup> John Feusi is listed with his partner as a “headquarters for nugget and souvenir jewelry” in an advertisement.<sup>93</sup> Curio shops are now a separate listing in the *Gazetteer* and include Kirmse, Case, Feusi, and Winter & Pond in Juneau, Samuel Gowan in Ketchikan, and 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition organizer Joseph Chilberg(sic) and Happy Jack in Nome.<sup>94</sup> Kirmse’s Store was advertised in the 1913 – 1914 *Gazetteer* as the “Big Curio Store in Alaska.”<sup>95</sup> Gus Pruell is listed as manager at the Tongass Trading Company and also listed as proprietor at Berthelsen & Pruell.<sup>96</sup> Without a more complete survey of curio shops through directories and newspaper advertisements in Southeast Alaska, it is difficult to gauge the overall growth of the businesses.

As the Southeast Alaska tourism industry evolved, so did the response to the demand for curios. During the three “rushes” to Southeast Alaska, each stage encompassed a specific aspect of the tourism trade in curios from competition between wealthy collectors and museum personnel for ethnographic items especially baskets, to the immense interest in Alaska created by the Klondike Gold Rush and millions of visitors to the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and, finally, the steady increase of passengers

after 1905 – 1940 and the corresponding increase in the curio trade both in Alaska and around the country. The commodification of the tourism industry created opportunities for Native craftsmen while separating their work from their cultural context. Yet, it was still a representation of the work of an individual. The sale of curios moved from Native women sitting on wharves or greeting ships by canoe to more organized and specialized curio shops through the first two decades of the twentieth century, leading to the commodification of the curios. More work needs to be done within the timeframe established here but it provides a focus and direction for other studies.

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<sup>1</sup> Several authors discuss specific trades such as basketry, carving, and silversmithing so their works will not be mentioned specifically. The commodification process brought on by the response to increased tourism and capitalism has been critically examined as a detrimental impact on Native societies by many historians. This paper does not cover these arguments since they are covered elsewhere. Anthropologist Sergei Kan covers Sitka in several works including *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries*, and the late Douglas Cole and Robert Campbell discuss the influence of Western capitalism and missionaries on Alaska Natives in their works, *Captured Heritage* and *In Darkest Alaska* respectively. Refer to Bill Holm’s *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, Molly Lee’s *Collecting Native Art in Alaska at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, art historian Megan Smetzer’s work on Victorian beaded work, *Painful Beauty: Tlingit Women, Beadwork, and the Art of Resilience*, Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse’s “Streams of Tourists: Navigating the Tourist Tides in late nineteenth Century SE Alaska.” in *Indigenous Tourism Movements*, and June Hall’s *Alaska Souvenir Spoons and the Early Alaska Curio Trade*.

<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive understanding of the history of Alaska history and the Klondike Gold Rush, there are several good secondary sources available. *Russians in Alaska, 1732 – 1867* by Lydia Black provides a comprehensive look at the Russian involvement in all of Alaska, not just in Southeast. *Klondike Fever and Klondike: The Last Great Gold Rush, 1896 – 1899* by Pierre Berton, *Klondike Gold* by Charlotte Jones, and *Good Time Girls* by Lael Morgan. Roy Minter’s *The White Pass* is a comprehensive look at the construction of the White Pass and Yukon Railroad. A very interesting primary source is Adney Tappan’s “The Klondike Stampede.” The article focuses on the time after the Gold Rush as Dyea disappeared and Skagway contracted into a shadow of its original size once the Rush was over.

<sup>3</sup> Aron, “Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States,” 184.

<sup>4</sup> Allison Ruth Parry. “New Works Do Follow Them: Tlingit Women and Presbyterian Missions” (master’s thesis, UBC)

<sup>5</sup> Villard, *A Journey to Alaska* (New York, 1899; Hathi Trust), 8 – 9. The tangle of interconnected and competing steamship companies and railroads with service to Southeast Alaska is quite extensive.

<sup>6</sup> Villard, *A Journey to Alaska* (New York, 1899; Hathi Trust), 33 – 34.

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- <sup>7</sup> Villard, *A Journey to Alaska* (New York, 1899; Hathi Trust), 34.
- <sup>8</sup> Villard, *A Journey to Alaska* (New York, 1899; Hathi Trust), 35 – 36.
- <sup>9</sup> Campbell, *In Darkest Alaska*, 5, 9 – 10.
- <sup>10</sup> Sears, *Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture*, 87.
- <sup>11</sup> Bunn-Marcuse, “Streams of Tourists: Navigation the Tourism Tides in Late-Nineteenth-Century Southeast Alaska”, 428.
- <sup>12</sup> Steve Henrickson, email to author, July, 2021.
- <sup>13</sup> Advertisements, *Douglas Island News*, December 23, 1903.
- <sup>14</sup> Sherri Smith-Ferri, “The Development of the Commercial Market for Pomo Indian Baskets” *Expedition Magazine* 40.1 (1998): n. pag. *Expedition Magazine*. Penn Museum, 1998 Web. 16 Feb 2022 <http://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/?p=5369>.
- <sup>15</sup> Jackson Sears, *Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture*, 88.
- <sup>16</sup> Karen Halttunen, *From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration, and the Culture of Personality*, 110.
- <sup>17</sup> McDowell, “Alaska Indian Basketry”, 1906.
- <sup>18</sup> “The Basketry of the Northwest,” *The Papoose*, July 1903, 5 – 6.
- <sup>19</sup> Anderson, “The Last Industry of a Passing Race”, 965.
- <sup>20</sup> Anderson, “The Last Industry of a Passing Race”, 965.
- <sup>21</sup> Norton, “Alaska Basketry”, 45.
- <sup>22</sup> Norton, “Alaska Basketry”, 46.
- <sup>23</sup> Briggs, “Letters from Alaska”, 46.
- <sup>24</sup> Briggs, “Letters from Alaska”, 48.
- <sup>25</sup> Briggs, “Letters from Alaska”, 48.
- <sup>26</sup> Parkinson, “Wonderland,”, 96
- <sup>27</sup> Mary E Hart, will dated 13 Jun 1919. Mary E. Hart was widely regarded as a booster of Alaska tourism in her time. She was well-known for her newspaper and journal articles on Alaska, but her greatest contribution was as the Lady Manager of the exhibits of women’s work at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase. Research on Hart is ongoing.
- <sup>28</sup> *Douglas Island News*, August 2, 1899.
- <sup>29</sup> *The Daily Alaskan*, April 30, 1899.
- <sup>30</sup> *Population and Resources of Alaska*, 250.
- <sup>31</sup> *Population and Resources of Alaska*, 250
- <sup>32</sup> Hinckley, “*The Inside Passage*”, 65.
- <sup>33</sup> *Report of the Governor of Alaska, 1891*.
- <sup>34</sup> *Seattle Times*, July 16, 1897.
- <sup>35</sup> *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 19, 1897.
- <sup>36</sup> “The Golden Dream, Part 1.” Accessed February 18, 2022. [https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/klgo/hpd1/chap1.htm](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/klgo/hpd1/chap1.htm)
- <sup>37</sup> Spude,” Skagway, District of Alaska, 1884-1912: Building the Gateway to the Klondike”, 40.
- <sup>38</sup> Haycox, “An Alaska Anthology”, 205.
- <sup>39</sup> U. S. Census Bureau. *Statistics of Population, 1900 Census: Volume I. Population, Part 1*, 426.
- <sup>40</sup> United States. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, and United States. Department of State. *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, 1906 ...* Washington: Govt. Print Off., 1906, 242.
- <sup>41</sup> Ancestry.com. 1900 US Federal Census [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA. Ancestry Operations Inc., 2004.
- <sup>42</sup> Los Angeles Herald, 1. (August 11, 1902). Mary E. Hart was a miner, suffragette, civic organizer, writer, and guest lecturer on the SS Spokane for the Pacific Coast Steamship Company into the 1910s. Her extraordinary life is being researched.

She was the manager of four world expositions in her lifetime – one for California and three for Alaska.

<sup>43</sup> United States. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, and United States. Department of State. *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, 1906 ...* Washington: Govt. Print Off., 1906, 76.

<sup>44</sup> United States. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, and United States. Department of State. *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, 1906 ...* Washington: Govt. Print Off., 1906, 240; California Herald, Vol. 29, No. 318, August 17, 1902, n.p.

<sup>45</sup> United States. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, and United States. Department of State. *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, 1906 ...* Washington: Govt. Print Off., 1906, 240.

<sup>46</sup> United States. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, and United States. Department of State. *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission, 1906 ...* Washington: Govt. Print Off., 1906, 243.

<sup>47</sup> District of Alaska Exhibit, The Louisiana Purchase Exposition 1904, 46 – 47.

<sup>48</sup> Spude, “Skagway, District of Alaska, 1884-1912: Building the Gateway to the Klondike,” 129. Historian Robert Spude wrote a report on the architectural transformation of Skagway, Alaska, and uses 1905 as the transition year of Skagway as gold rush town a tourism town.

<sup>49</sup> *The Daily Alaskan*, May 25, 1906.

<sup>50</sup> McDowell, “Alaska Indian Basketry,” 1906, 4.

<sup>51</sup> Chealander, “Tourist Travel in Alaska”, 331.

<sup>52</sup> Chealander, “Tourist Travel in Alaska”, 334.

<sup>53</sup> *Stockton Independent*, 22 August 1908.

<sup>54</sup> *The Thlinget*, November 1, 1908.

<sup>55</sup> A Splendid Exhibit of Alaska Curios, *Alaska-Yukon Magazine*, July 1909, 265.

<sup>56</sup> *Alaska-Yukon Magazine*, 1906, 37.

<sup>57</sup> William Case to Harry L George, June 11, 1914, Harry L. George Collections, St. Joseph Museums.

<sup>58</sup> Hall, *Alaska Souvenir Spoons & the Early Curio Trade*, 25.

<sup>59</sup> “Protection for Native Curio Art is Being Planned”, *The Cordova Times* (Cordova, AK), December 31, 1920.

<sup>60</sup> *Daily Alaskan* (Skagway, AK), January 11, 1921.

<sup>61</sup> *Daily Alaskan* (Skagway, AK), January 11, 1921.

<sup>62</sup> Allison Ruth Parry. “New Works Do Follow Them: Tlingit Women and Presbyterian Missions” (master’s thesis, UBC), 16.

<sup>63</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1918, 54

<sup>64</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1919, 87.

<sup>65</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1919, 87.

<sup>66</sup> Pacific Coast Steamship Company, *Passenger Traffic Report*, Route No. 1, 1919.

<sup>67</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1927, 9.

<sup>68</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1927, 9

<sup>69</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1923, 5.

<sup>70</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1924, 9.

<sup>71</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1925, 12.

<sup>72</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska, 1938, 6.

<sup>73</sup> Report of Governor of Alaska 1938, 6.

<sup>74</sup> Various historians including Ted Hinckley, Douglas Cole, Robert Campbell, Ken Dickson, and Frank Norris have published and commented extensively on the growth of tourism.

<sup>75</sup> *Douglas Island News* (Douglas, AK), September 26, 1900.

<sup>76</sup> *Douglas Island News* (Douglas AK), February 1, 1911.

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<sup>77</sup> Alaska State Library. “Guide to the Winter and Pond collection: Southeast and Alaska-Yukon related views, 1893-1943.”

<sup>78</sup> Kirmse, Skagway, Alaska, n.d. Kirmse’s still exists in Skagway today although it was sold out of the family in 1977.

<sup>79</sup> Bunn-Marcuse, “Streams of Tourists: Navigation the Tourism Tides in Late-Nineteenth-Century Southeast Alaska”, 425.

<sup>80</sup> Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park. “Skagway’s Camera Club.”

<sup>81</sup> Alaska State Library. “Case and Draper Photograph Collection.”

<sup>82</sup> *The Wrangell Sentinel*, March 4, 1920; April 8, 1920.

<sup>83</sup> *The Wrangell Sentinel*, June 17, 1926.

<sup>84</sup> *The Vancouver Sun*, 28 Nov. 1912.

<sup>85</sup> *Ketchikan Miner*, advertisement, December 31, 1914. This advertisement mentions that they are the successors to H. D. Kirmse. Berthelson is an alternate spelling often seen in newspaper accounts.

<sup>86</sup> Bunn-Marcuse, “Streams of Tourists: Navigation the Tourism Tides in Late-Nineteenth-Century Southeast Alaska”, 426.

<sup>87</sup> *The Gazette*, June 5, 1913. Laura Young’s, Margery, also lived and worked in Ketchikan but the wedding announcement did not elaborate.

<sup>88</sup> *Ketchikan Miner*, advertisement, June 6, 1913, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Tongass Historical Society, Artifact of the Month: February 2017

<sup>90</sup> Ancestry.com. *Oregon, Washington and Alaska gazetteer and business directory: 1901-1902*.1242.

<sup>91</sup> Ancestry.com. *Oregon, Washington and Alaska gazetteer and business directory: 1901-1902*, 920.

<sup>92</sup> Ancestry.com. *Polk’s Alaska-Yukon gazetteer and business directory: 1909-10*, 287.

<sup>93</sup> Ancestry.com. *Polk’s Alaska-Yukon gazetteer and business directory: 1909-10*, 169. As a side note, Mary E. Hart’s husband, Frank Hart, is listed at a postal clerk in Cordova on page 147. Mary is not listed.

<sup>94</sup> Ancestry.com. *Polk’s Alaska-Yukon gazetteer and business directory: 1909-10*, 612.

<sup>95</sup> Ancestry.com. *R.L. Polk & Co.’s 1915-16 Alaska-Yukon Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 201.

<sup>96</sup> Ancestry.com. *R.L. Polk & Co.’s 1915-16 Alaska-Yukon Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 201.

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