INTERROGATING INTIMACIES:
ASIAN AMERICAN AND NATIVE RELATIONS IN COLONIAL ALASKA

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Josephine Min-Hwa Pegues and Dick Pegues,

and my daughter, Sông Mikiko Haley Phi-Hu.

ABSTRACT

Interrogating Intimacies examines intersections between Asian and Native peoples in Alaska during the American territorial period in order to critically understand the formation of settler colonialism. In four case studies that touch on the historical periods of Alaskan purchase, the Gold Rush, incorporated territorial status, and World War II, I demonstrate how the colonial project racialized and gendered Native and Asian people in Alaska in different yet interdependent ways. *Interrogating Intimacies* utilizes an expansive archive of texts (historical documents, interviews, travel narratives, literature, and photography) to inform how settler colonialism defines and delimits its proper subject. I contend that the narrative of Alaska as a democratic state rather than a colonial territory depends upon the disavowal of both Asian labor and Native land claims, made possible through the spatial and temporal logics of settler colonialism. Tracing the multiple violences rendered by these interlocking disavowals, as well as possibilities for creative resistance, underscores the crucial benefit to bringing Asian American and Native studies into closer conversation.

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NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

One of the challenging aspects of interdisciplinary work is striving to attain consistency while also respecting the intellectual autonomy and political genealogies of different academic fields and communities. This is particularly true of my mutual engagement with Asian American and Indigenous studies. For example, I identify Indigenous authors by tribal affiliation as is customary, but do not automatically provide ethnic identification of Asian American scholars, usually describing their ethnicity only if detailing their personal history or if it is relevant to their work.

For persons of Asian descent, I use both the terms "Asian American" and "Asian," the former usually when I am speaking within a larger national context, and the latter to signal that citizenship is denied to first-generation Asians in the United States and Alaska, and to stress the political imperative to not assume that Alaska is unquestioningly part of America.[1] I similarly use the term "migrant" to describe those who migrate within Alaska and in and out of Alaska, and use the term "immigrant" when I am describing those who migrate into the US nation-state. When I use terms such as "Oriental," "Asiatic," and "Mongol(ian)," I am referring to the imperial and scientific racial discourse of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I do not hyphenate "Asian American," even when this term is used as an adjective, drawing from Asian American movement history that argued against a hyphenated term as indicative of Asian American marginalization within US society.

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[1] I follow this same system when describing individual Asian ethnicities (e.g. "Chinese," "Chinese American," "Japanese," "Japanese American," etc.).

I use the term “Alaska Native” as that is the most common usage among Indigenous peoples to collectively describe the original inhabitants in the land we presently know as Alaska. Alaska Native is used both as a noun and adjective, and is not hyphenated. I also use the terms “Native,” “Indigenous,” “Indian,” and “Aboriginal.” When referring to specific Alaska Native peoples, I have tried my best to utilize ethnonyms that people use to identify themselves. For example, I do not use the word “Eskimo,” which is derived from outside the culture; instead I use “Yup’ik” and “Iñupiat” (singular Iñupiaq). In some cases, I use multiple terms, such as “Aleut” and “Unanga{.” In this case, I am supporting Unangam language revival in using the term “Uananga{” to refer to the Indigenous people of the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands, alternating with “Aleut” as that is the common appellation used in the eastern (and most populous) part of the Aleutian chain.[2] Words in Tlingit are spelled using the Revised Popular Tlingit orthography; the exception being the word “Tlingit,” because of its common usage and acceptance among Tlingit authors and organizations.[3]

Finally, I do not italicize any non-English terms in this dissertation, taking my cue from scholars Noenoe K. Silva (Kanaka Maoli) and Kale Bantigue Fajardo. In her history *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism,* Silva intentionally does not italicize Hawaiian words, “to resist making the native tongue appear foreign."[4] Following Silva's example, Fajardo similarly does not italicize Filipino language words in his interdisciplinary ethnography of Filipino seafaring masculinities.[5]

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[2] I use the “{“ suffix as it is the most universal, different Unangam dialects employing different suffixes. Unanga{ translates to “Seasiders” and Unangam is the possessive term. See Knut Bergsland, ed., *Aleut Dictionary: Unangam Tunudgusii* (Fairbanks, Alaska Native Language Center, 1994). My knowledge that Aleut is the self-referential term in the Aleutians East Borough comes from anthropologist Katherine L. Reedy-Maschner and her book *Aleut Identities: Tradition and Modernity in an Indigenous Fishery* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010).

[3] In the Revised Popular orthography, Tlingit is spelled (and pronounced) Lingít. The popular orthography was first developed by Constance Naish and Gillian Story in the 1960s, aided by Tlingit speakers George Betts and Robert Zuboff. See Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds., *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1987), 38-48.

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[4] Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 13.

[5] Kale Bantigue Fajardo, *Filipino Crosscurrents: Oceanographies of Seafaring, Masculinities, and Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 191.

INTRODUCTION

When I was growing up in Alaska, my dad liked to tell me a story. It goes something like this: in the 1940s, in the town I grew up in—Juneau, Alaska's capital city—there lived a Japanese American family, part of a small yet visible Japanese American community. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the US government's entrance into World War II, Alaska was included in the executive order for the removal, detention, and incarceration of persons of Japanese descent living on the West Coast (my dad simply referred to it as being sent to "the camps"). The teenage son in this family was a star student and, in a show of solidarity, the local high school scheduled graduation early so that this young man could graduate and address his fellow students as valedictorian, before being interned.[1] This was a powerful story, and one that bolstered my father's self-identity as a fourth-generation Alaskan resident. The pedagogical intent of a white father telling his mixed-race Chinese American children this particular tale was not lost on me, and his desire to imagine Alaska as a place attentive to and protective of larger forces of racial oppression was understandable. At the same time I always wondered, if my hometown was so gracious and noble, why did I not know any Japanese Americans my own age, why was this small yet visible Japanese American community not reestablished after the war? And although I was offered a tale that exemplified the sympathies of an Alaskan town for its Asian American denizens, why did I not learn about the World War II internment of Alaska Native people until college and then only in conversation, not in the classroom?

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[1] For more on John Tanaka and his family, see Alice Tanaka Hikido, "Shonosuke & Nobu Tanaka," in *Gastineau Channel Memories: 1880-1959,* ed. Pioneer Book Committee (Juneau, AK: Pioneer Book Committee, 2001), 499-500.

I open with this story to illustrate several overlapping motivations for my dissertation project. As an Asian American who grew up in Alaska, I was very aware (and often the recipient) of stories such as the one my father repeated. Asian Americans in Alaska are understudied in both Alaskan history and Asian American studies; at the same time, Asian characters pepper the social imagination, in both literature and popular accounts of Alaska. One impetus for my project, therefore, pushes for deeper historical knowledge of Asian Americans in Alaska while also critically analyzing the longevity of certain romanticized narratives of Asian figures in Alaska.

I am not simply interested in the historical occlusion of Asian Americans in Alaska, however, but the interplay of absence and presence in relation to Alaska Native peoples. In the story above, the missing aspect of Alaska Native internment is instructive. Just as Japanese Americans were forcibly relocated from Alaska, the Unanga{ people from the Aleutian chain and Pribilof Islands were forcibly relocated to my home vicinity of southeast Alaska. The inability to link these two events demonstrates an impasse not only between Asian American studies and Native and Indigenous studies, but also a failure to account for complex relationships of racism and colonialism within Alaskan history specifically, and American history and studies generally.

My dissertation project is principally concerned with the differential experiences of peoples who are both colonized and racialized, and emphasizing that the connections between these colonizations are critically important to understandings of US settler colonialism. To that end, I examine intersections between Asian and Native peoples in Alaska from US purchase to World War II (1867-1942). I demonstrate how the often contradictory yet contingent racializations of Asian and Native peoples in Alaska reveals the organizing logics of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism refers to a form of European colonial expansion wherein settlers of colonized satellites created a new and distinct identity, materially dispossessing Indigenous inhabitants while simultaneously concealing such dispossession through a celebratory discourse that remade settlers into anti-colonial inheritors of the new nation-state. Historically, such entitlement was regulated closely, with ever-expanding racialized notions of who could possess membership in the newly-formed national body. In the US, a central feature of settler colonialism is the obfuscation of the state's colonial project through a lens of American exceptionalism articulated through discourses of liberal freedom. I argue that Alaska's articulation as a democratic state rather than colonial territory depends upon the disavowal of both Asian labor and Native land claims.

Tracing the violences, epistemic and material, rendered by these interlocking disavowals provides a means of elucidating the seemingly illegible colonial proximities of Alaska Natives and Asian migrants and settlers. To this end, I ask an interrelated set of questions: 1) How have colonialist, nationalist, and multiculturalist discourses constructed and elided the differential racialization of Native and Asian peoples in Alaska, and what work do such discourses produce? 2) Within the interracial convergences of Native and Asian peoples in Alaska, how does differential racialization articulate the ways that the project of US settler colonialism utilized, regulated, and furthered gendered racial construction to similar and different ends? 3) How does the historical, ethnographic, and literary presence and absence of such intersections point to the impossible yet undeniable knowledge that those in interracial connections must have made their own meanings across difference? I begin answering these questions with an examination of the uneven histories of Asian migrants and settlers in Alaska and Alaska Native peoples, alongside the discussion of racial formation and colonialism within the respective fields of Asian American studies and American Indian studies.

Asian Alaskans and Asian American Studies

Asians traveled to Alaska during the Russian colonial period, or earlier. Records from 1788 show Chinese crewmembers and at least one Filipino seaman aboard the *Iphigenia Nubiana,* a British ship in Alaskan waters to trade with Natives for sea otter furs.[2] During the Russian colonial period in Alaska, Filipino sailors are additionally documented on whaling vessels and Spanish expeditions and Japanese ships sailed into Alaskan waters, brought by the Kuroshio current in the Pacific Ocean. In 1805, Russians aided shipwrecked Japanese on a small island west of Sitka, and today the isle is known as Japonski, Russian for Japanese.[3] Beginning with the American colonial period, however, Asian male laborers arrived in larger numbers. Chinese prospectors were among the earliest waves of argonauts to Alaska in the 1870s and 1880s. With the Klondike Gold Rush in 1897 and subsequent rushes in the Alaskan interior, Japanese prospectors also traveled to Alaska. The gold rush boomtown of Skagway featured a Yokohama Alley.[4]

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[2] Thelma Buchholdt, *Filipinos in Alaska, 1788-1959* (Anchorage, AK: Aboriginal Press, 1996), 3-5.

[3] Buchholdt, 15-20; Ronald K. Inouye, Carol Hoshiko, and Kazumi Hashiki, *Alaska's Japanese Pioneers: Faces, Voices, Stories. A Synopsis of Selected Oral History Transcripts* (Fairbanks, AK: Alaska's Japanese Pioneers Research Project, 1994), 7-8. An American whaler similarly helped stranded Japanese sailors in 1843. It should also be noted that Japonski Island is historically named Yak'w Kashaneix̱í in Tlingit.

Asian male laborers followed the US colonial expansion of industry into Alaska, working as highly mobile and temporary workers in resource extraction economies, such as canning, logging, and mining. The cannery industry, with its high degree of industrialization, specifically recruited Asian migrant workers. In 1878, when the first two canneries began operation in Alaska, one of them employed a small Chinese crew. By the 1880s, almost all Alaskan canneries employed Chinese laborers as a sizable part of the workforce.[5] Chinese cannery workers were followed by successive migrations of predominantly Japanese and a smaller number of Koreans in the early 1900s. Filipino workers starting working in sizable numbers in the 1910s and become the majority of workforce after World War I.[6] These Asian migrants could be considered secondary migrants, as all were coming from the contiguous US Some of these workers settled and formed small ethnic enclaves (with or without Asian female partners), while others joined Alaska Native communities through relationships with Native women.

This early history has been documented by a previous generation of scholars who have studied Asian migrants and settlers in Alaska; I am particularly indebted to the research of Ronald K. Inouye, Thelma Buchholdt, and Donald L. Guimary. This body of scholarship reflects the early period of historical revisionism within Asian American studies, importantly documenting the presence of Asian migrants and settlers in Alaska.

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[4] Ibid., 8.

[5] Donald L. Guimary, *Marumina Trabaho: A History of Labor in Alaska's Salmon Canning Industry* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, Inc., 2006), 29.

[6] Guimary, 68-69. There were also a number of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and African American cannery workers in Alaska in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Regrettably, these authors' publications have gone out of print or, in Guimary's case, his monograph on cannery workers was posthumously self-published by family members.

In any case, this scholarship has not been incorporated more broadly within Asian American studies or Alaskan history. The first extensive history of Alaska published in English is Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of Alaska, 1730-1885*, covering the Russian colonial period up to Alaska's first Organic Act.[7] He describes the emergence of canneries in Alaska yet fails to mention Asian laborers, or any details on cannery labor. Bancroft's history ends in 1885, though Chinese cannery laborers had been working in Alaska since the late 1870s. Even when canneries are a prominent element generally in histories of Alaska, the elision of Asian labor is repeated by accounts of Alaska that follow Bancroft.[8]

Within Asian American studies, the history of Asian migrants and settlers in Alaska becomes synonymous with cannery workers and their various hardships.[9] Most histories mark the particular importance of Alaska as a site for union organizing in the

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[7] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska, 1730-1885* (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1959).

[8] See, for example, A.P. Swineford, *Alaska, Its History, Climate, and Natural Resources* (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally and Co., 1898); James Wickersham, *Old Yukon: Tales-Trails-and Trials* (Washington, DC: Washington Law Book, 1938). One notable exception to the historic elision of Asian migrant workers is Ted C. Hinckley's *The Americanization of Alaska, 1867-1897* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1972). Hinckley includes both Chinese cannery workers and Chinese miners in his monograph. His work is limited, however, because of his naturalizing depictions of Asian workers as "passive, extremely diligent orientals" (127).

[9] Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988); Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans,* Revised ed. (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 1998)**;** Himlice Novas and Lan Cao, *Everything You Need to Know about Asian American History* (New York: Plume, 2004); Lauren Wilde Casaday, "Labor Unrest and the Labor Movement in the Salmon Industry of the Pacific Coast," PhD diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 1938); Jack Masson and Donald Guimary, "Asian Labor Contractors in the Alaskan Canned Salmon Industry," *Labor History* 22.3(1981): 377-397.

1930s among Filipino cannery workers, known as "Alaskeros."[10] While undoubtedly an important site for Asian American labor, the singular emphasis on cannery workers displaces Alaska as a central site for Asian American studies when Alaska operates as the northernmost point on a migrational route and is subsumed into the literature on West Coast Asian American labor. While other points in this migrational cycle have been further explored, Alaska is overshadowed by the larger contiguous motions of workers throughout British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and California. In this way, Asian American studies implicitly reinforces the elisions within Alaskan history by accepting the overdetermination of Asian migrant laborers who travelled seasonally but never permanently settled in Alaska. Further, it minimizes the important connections Asian migrants may have had to Indigenous or non-Asian residents, regardless of the length of their stay in Alaska.[11]

Understanding racial formation through the Asian American studies' frameworks of immigration and mobility provide a way of reading Asian migration to Alaska.[12] If, as

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[10] Takaki; Fred Cordova, *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans* (Demonstration Project for Asian Americans, 1983).

[11] As historian Chris Friday has demonstrated in his study of Alaska cannery organizing in the 1930s and 1940s, resident Filipino organizers were crucial in bridging the gap between those seen as "resident" or "Alaskan" and "outsider" Asian migrant workers, within a racially heterogeneous workforce of Natives, Asians, and whites.[11] Friday's analysis is not only an important contribution to studies of Alaska, labor, and comparative race and ethnicity but also elucidates how social history is limited by the prevailing discourses that permeate both Alaskan history and Asian American studies. See Chris Friday, "Competing Communities at Work: Asian Americans, European Americans, and Native Alaskans in the Pacific Northwest, 1938-1947," in *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West,* Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 307-328.

[12] Historian Erika Lee powerfully demonstrates that it is the immigration of Chinese to America's western shores, the first large-scale wave of Asian immigration, that compels the change to the US identity as a "gate-keeping" nation. See Erika Lee, Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005). For further examples of Asian American studies scholarship on race and immigration, see Mae N. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004); Aiwha Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Hiroshi Motomura, *Americans in Waiting: The Lost Story of Immigration and Citizenship in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Monisha Das Gupta, *Unruly*

Lisa Lowe argues, "understanding Asian immigration to the United States is fundamental to understanding the racialized foundations of both the emergence of the United States as a nation and the development of American capitalism," Alaska emerges as a key site for this transformation, both because of its dependence on Asian labor as well as its status as one of the last two territories to be incorporated into the nation.[13] Lowe demonstrates the ways in which the figure of the Asian immigrant exposes the economic and political contradiction of US capitalism as the competing demands for exploitable labor in which to build the nation exists in contention with the needs of the nation to construct and discipline US citizen as white and heteronormative. Building off this premise, Nayan Shah analyzes the state's racial and sexual disciplinary stakes around the central contradiction between transience and settlement, in which histories of transient male laborers and their crossracial and/or same-sex encounters are rendered invisible and replaced by the normative discourse of white heterosexual family and permanent settlement.[14] I build from Lowe's and Shah's insights on the anxieties produced by these contradictions around immigration and mobility to ask after the relationship between the perceived *external* threat of Asians to the white heteronormative vision of the nation and the perceived *internal* threat of Native inhabitants to the same racial, gender, and normative sexual order.[15]

Immigrants: Rights, Activism, and Transnational South Asian Politics in the United States (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

[13] Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 1.

[14] Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

[15] This idea of Asian as external threat juxtaposed with Native as internal threat comes from the Renisa Mawani's scholarship on interracial colonial encounters in British Columbia. See Renisa Mawani, *Colonial Proximities: Crossracial Encounters and Juridical Truths in British Columbia, 1871-1921* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2009).

With the development of Asian American studies as a field has come a subsequent imperative to view the United States as an imperial project, and many recent Asian American studies titles reflect this analytic shift.[16] Asian American studies scholars have emphasized that even though intersectional work on race, gender, sexuality, and class have generated new knowledge and paradigms, the lens of imperialism also critically informs constructions of identity and nationhood. Moreover, Asian American studies scholars have demonstrated the important role of Asian American history and cultural production in revealing empire's development and effects, crucial because, as Allan Punzalan Isaac reminds us, "the discourse of empire that is so much a part of US history [is] disavowed in its discursive imaginings."[17] My project can be understood as an engagement with the insistence within Asian American studies to make legible both American empire and the US nation-state's concomitant renunciation of imperial identity.

To date, however, Asian American studies has focused primarily on what Lisa Lowe calls the "international within the national," that is, the ways in which racial imaginings of Asian Americans and the vexed policies of Asian inclusion and exclusion affirm US imperial practices and desires outside the bounds of the nation. If we take Shah's argument above, for example, transient labor is placed in opposition to settlement but the Indigenous genocide and land theft that precondition settlement are rendered invisible. In this way, Asian American studies may be seen as producing its own disavowal of indigeneity within its configuration of empire. Asian American and feminist studies scholar Jigna Desai cautions against a celebratory mobility, arguing that it is "crucial to [dissolve] the binary opposition between diaspora and indigeneity and dismantle any simple notion of migration and multiculturalism that does not account for issues of space and place."[18] It is with Desai's principle in mind that I am interested in the ways that Asian American exclusion illuminates the mechanics and logics of *settler colonial space.*

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[16] Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Victor Bascara, *Model-Minority Imperialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), Allan Punzalan Isaac, *American Tropics: Articulating Filipino America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006): Jodi Kim, *Ends of Empire: Asian American Critique and the Cold War* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

[17] Isaac, 4**.**

Alaska Native Studies and American Indian Studies

Alaska is over 590,000 square miles in area, a large landmass with diverse physical geography, environment, flora, and fauna. Over twenty Indigenous languages are spoken in Alaska, and almost half of the federally recognized tribes in the US (225 of 562) are in Alaska. There are eight broadly defined cultural groups corresponding to their geographic homelands: 1) Athabascans in Interior Alaska, 2) Tlingit, Haida, and Tshimshian of the Southeast Coast, 3) Siberian Yup'ik of St. Lawrence Island in the Bering Sea, 4) Yup'ik/Cup'ik/Yupiaq of the Southwest mainland, 5) Iñupiaq of the Arctic region in northern Alaska, 6) Alutiiq/Sugpiaq of Kodiak Island, Prince William Sound, and the Alaskan Peninsula in southcentral Alaska, 7) Unanga{ of the Aleutian Island chain which extends from the southwest mainland, and 8) Eyak of the Copper River Delta, between southcentral and southeast Alaska.[19] (See Figure 0.1)

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[18] Jigna Desai, *Beyond Bollywood: The Cultural Politics of South Asian Diasporic Film* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 99.

[19] Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams, "Alaska and Its People: An Introduction," in *The Alaska Native Reader: History, Culture, Politics,* ed. Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 1-

Unlike the study of Asian Alaskans, scholarly interest in Alaska Native peoples and their material culture extends back to the age of colonial exploration, including records from scientific voyages sponsored by Russian, English, French, Spanish, and American imperial projects. The Indigenous peoples of Alaska were also of great interest to the nascent field of ethnography and the subsequent development of the discipline of anthropology in the late nineteenth century, and Alaska Natives are covered in scholarly texts from that period up to anthropologic studies of the present.[20] These scholarly genealogies, however, are also marked by multiple violences, material and spiritual, enacted upon the Native people and culture that were the objects of study, along with a great deal of romanticizing and misinformation.

After Alaska Native critiques were voiced, and especially when Alaska Native scholars began producing works themselves, a different body of scholarship emerged, in accordance with Native paradigms and political strategies, including counter histories as well as scholarship centered around repatriation, language study, auto-ethnography, and literature. In many ways Nora Marks Dauenhauer (Tlingit) and Richard Dauenhauer's seminal series on Tlingit oral history established a basis for the field, as did the creative nonfiction and memoir writing of Velma Wallis (Gwich'in Athabascan), and the

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11; Steve J. Langdon, *The Native People of Alaska: Traditional Living in a Northern Land* (Anchorage: Greatland Graphics, 2002).

[20] Franz Boas, "The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 9(1897): 123-76; Bill Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965); Frederica De Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), Aldona Jonaitis, *Art of the Northern Tlingit* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986); Sergei Kan, *Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989). George Thornton Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1991).

interdisciplinary art of Larry McNeil (Tlingit and Nisga'a).[21] Today, Alaska Native studies is recognized as an emergent field—with a growing body of creative and scholarly texts on Alaska Native people, culture, and politics written in the last decade, in conversation with national and global Indigenous studies, ethnohistory, social theory, and environmental studies.[22]

The inception of Alaska Native studies as a distinct field may also be due, in part, to Alaska's anomalous treatment within American Indian studies. In particular, Alaska Natives were not legally recognized by the federal government as other Indigenous within the territorial boundaries claimed by the United States. Alaska came into American possession a few years before the formal end to the US policy of treaty making with Indigenous nations, and no treaties were signed between the US and Alaska Native peoples. Instead, Alaska Native people occupied an ambiguous legal status marked specifically by a racialized discourse of civility. In Article III of the 1867 Treaty of Cession between Russia and the US, a distinction was made between the "uncivilized tribes" and other "inhabitants of the ceded territory," and only the second group was designated to obtain rights to be admitted as citizens of the US.[23] Legal and human rights, therefore, hinged not on nation-to-nation negotiations but on citizenship, and qualifications for citizenship, in turn, hinged upon demonstration and performance of being "civilized." This meant that until the Citizenship Act of 1924, citizenship was granted through adoption of white social norms (dress, language, employment, habitation, religious practice) alongside a renunciation of aboriginal culture.[24] In actuality, the process of obtaining citizenship rights for Alaska Native people was often fractured, inconsistent, and idiosyncratic because of the inherent contradiction within federal policy that both emphasized and disavowed Native culture.

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[21] Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1987); Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, *Haa Tuwunáagu Yís, for Healing Our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1990); Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, *Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation 1994); Velma Wallis, *Two Old Women: An Alaskan Legend of Betrayal, Courage, and Survival* (Kenmore, WA: Epicenter Press, 1993); Velma Wallis, *Raising Ourselves: A Gwich'in Coming of Age Story from the Yukon River* (Kenmore, WA: Epicenter Press, 2002); George Bryson and Larry McNeil, *Larry McNeil: Focus on the Heart of Alaska, Its People* (Anchorage: Anchorage Daily News, 1985); Sandy Greer, "Contemporary Imagemaker Expressing Vision," *Winds of Change* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 50-55.

[22] The arrival of Alaska Native studies as a distinct field is affirmed by the recent collection *The Alaska Native Reader*. See Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams, ed., *The Alaska Native Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009). Other recent Alaska Native studies titles include: Ernestine Hayes, *Blonde Indian: An Alaska Native Memoir* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006); Thomas S. Thornton, *Being and Place Among the Tlingit* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Sealaska Heritage Institute: Juneau, 2008); Gwenn A. Miller, *Kodiak Kreol: Communities of Empire in Early Russian America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010); Katherine L. Reedy-Maschner, *Aleut Identities: Tradition and Modernity in an Indigenous Fishery* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010). Additionally, recent titles within Indigenous studies more broadly which incorporate aspects of Alaska Native studies include Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, & Social Imagination* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

The explicit reliance of legal claims on a civilizing discourse also highlights the importance of examining racial discourse in the example of Alaska. American Indian studies scholars have critiqued the slippage between racialization and colonization within ethnic studies, a conflation that elides the very cogent functioning of racialization as a means to further Native dispossession, particularly the depredation of Indigenous land.[25] A flattening of the differences between racist and colonialist state logics also erroneously situates Indigenous peoples within the liberal multicultural demands of citizen-based strategies for inclusion, a simplification that underlies Indigenous resistance to the collective term "people of color" as this type of coalition often subsumes larger issues of political sovereignty and land rights to singular demands for racial equality. As we see in the case of Alaska Natives' relationship to the settler state, however, part of the functioning of settler colonialism is to juridically render illegible Alaska Native claims to Aboriginal nationhood by the overriding paradigm of citizenship, a citizenship that is rendered in racial terms. Understanding settler colonialism in Alaska is therefore a crucial contribution in analyzing racialization and colonization as co-constitutive processes.

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[23] David S. Case and David A. Voluck, *Alaska Natives and American Laws* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2002[1984]), 6. Treaty of Session, June 20, 1867, 15 Stat. 539.

[24] Case and Voluck, 46.

[25] J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli) discusses this in the Hawaiian context and Jean M. O'Brien (White Earth Ojibwe) discusses this with American Indian tribes in New England, See J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

American Indian studies scholars have analyzed colonial racializations of Indigenous peoples, particularly as constructed through the binary of traditional vs. modern. AIS scholars have demonstrated the ways that Indigenous peoples have been affected by the binary worldview used to justify the colonial dispossession of lives and land. In the progressive teleology of settler colonialism, settlers are the modern subjects that inherit the nation-state, while Native peoples are rendered as part of a soon-to-be disappearing past. Of course, Indian peoples have, as Philip J. Deloria (Dakota descent) asserts, "always participated in the *production* of modern discourse—and of modernity itself."[26] Epistemologically, however, modern Indian peoples are rendered anomalous or inauthentic.[27] Formulated as outside time itself, Indian people, as Jean O'Brien (White

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[26] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 238.

[27] *Indians in Unexpected Places,* Philip J. Deloria examines the "anomaly" of Indian celebrities during the first three decades of the twentieth century, a cohort including athletes, Wild West performers, and opera singers. Paige Raibmon interrogates the image of "authentic" Indians to offer a more complex understanding of the colonial encounter and to argue that Native peoples made their own meanings and choices when confronted with the disciplining binary of authentic vs. inauthentic, traditional vs. modern. See Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

Earth Ojibwe) succinctly summarizes, "can never be modern."[28] As O'Brien elaborates, non-Natives constructed their own modernity by refusing modernity to Native peoples. This framing of Native modernity as an impossibility is the central attribute of what I consider *settler colonial time.* In looking at the differential relationship of Indigenous and Asian (im)migrant, peoples, then, I am principally concerned with the connections between settler colonial space and time.

Alaska as Colony and Settler Colony

Within Alaskan history, recent works have taken up a reexamination of the colonial period(s) to highlight colonialism as a salient factor in the construction of the Alaskan state and the US nation state. Such studies are responding, in part, to Alaska Native studies scholars who have been in the forefront of naming the US territorial period as colonial and/or neocolonial. As Maria Shaa Tláa Williams emphasizes, "Current trends in colonial and postcolonial studies have not effectively addressed the complicated legacy of the colonial periods [in Alaska]."[29] Williams and other scholars like her challenge the obfuscation that occurs in narratives of the US nation state that cite the 1867 sale from Russia without acknowledging the transfer from one empire to another, a transaction that occurred with neither Native approval nor participation. My dissertation attempts to correct this elision by looking to the racialization of Asian and Native peoples within a settler colonial framework. The use of "colonial" in the dissertation title reflects this corrective, naming the American territory of Alaska as colonial space.

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[28] O'Brien, xxii.

[29] Williams, xiv.

Historians of Alaska who have focused on colonial frameworks have also implicated the notion of the Alaskan "frontier" as a mythic expression of American exceptionalism. In this type of work, however, an engagement with the history of Asian migrants in Alaska remains obscured and/or under theorized. Perhaps the most regarded in this body of scholarship, Stephen Haycox's seminal monograph *Alaska: An American Colony,* counters the romanticized notion of Alaskan frontier individualism with a national and transnational framework that places Alaska within an American West political economy and context of anti-Indigenous oppression.[30] Haycox's extensive study, spanning from Indigenous communities prior to Russian colonialism to the 1990s is quickly becoming regarded as the definitive text on Alaskan history.[31]

In an otherwise exhaustive history, Haycox gives only cursory attention to Asians in Alaska, mentioning them twice explicitly, both times in relation to cannery work.[32] The salmon industry is a predominant concern as the principal revenue source in the first half of the twentieth century, and because of the concomitant corporate interests in Alaska. Although canneries occupy a central component of Haycox's colonial thesis, Asian workers are configured as absentee or foreign elements, disavowing the labor and residency of Asian migrants.[33] In order to buttress his framework of colonialism, Haycox relies on the notion of Asians as *failed* settlers; that is, they can neither become settlers through permanent residence, nor can they contribute to the economy because of their transience. What Haycox fails to see is that the very discourse of Asian migrants as failed settlers elucidates the logics of settler colonialism as foundational to the construction of the Alaskan state, wherein the use of undesirable Asian labor is what prevented "American" (i.e. white) settlement and, by inference, also prevented statehood. Even exemplary studies such as Haycox's reveal a lack of engagement with postcolonial studies and settler colonialism, even when focused on Alaska's colonial economic relationship to the United States.

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[30] Stephen Haycox, *Alaska: An American Colony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).

[31] See Ted C. Hinkley, "Review: *Alaska: An American Colony*," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34.3 (Autumn 2003): 378-379; Kathryn Morse, "Review: *Alaska: An American Colony*," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 104.1 (Spring 2003): 128-129. Even in his more critical review, historian Claus-M. Naske's largest critique is not of Haycox's historical undertaking but Naske's takes issue with Haycox's central argument that Alaska is a colony. See Claus-M. Naske, "Review: *Alaska: An American Colony*," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 95.1(Winter 2003/2004): 42-43.

[32] He describes the cannery labor force as "mostly Chinese, later Filipino," and a following passage explains that the "labor in a large cannery consisted of 100 to 150 white fisherman and 150 to 200 mostly Filipino cannery workers"; Haycox, 193 and 241.

[33] For example, Haycox's analysis that the salmon industry was an "absentee operation, that is, it did not provide local jobs and produced little local revenue," (192). Another example of this configuration is found when he argues that Asian cannery workers, "labored in isolated locations with little economic

To understand Alaska as a colonial space as well as its constructed illegibility as a colonial space, I turn to the examples of Canada and Hawai'i. In the Canadian context, Asian Canadian and First Nation studies scholars have produced a sustained relational engagement.[34] As Marie Lo argues, "Whereas US racial discourse is persistently framed in terms of black-white binaries, in Canada it is the experience of Indigenous peoples that have become synonymous with racial oppression."[35] Because of this, settler colonialism is a central analytical framework in studies of racial construction. Therefore Asian Canadian studies reconfigures Asian immigration within a settler colonial history and also seeks to critically engage colonialism through the interlocking complexities of indigeneity, migration, and settlement. As First Nation and Asian Canadian scholars

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impact on the territory" (193). Further, Haycox repeatedly describes canneries and other resource extraction economies as "absentee" (226, 242, 243, 245).

[34] Renisa Mawani, *Colonial Proximities: Crossracial Encounters and Juridical Truths in British Columbia, 1871-1921*; Iyko Day, "Tseng Kwong Chi and the Eugenic Landscape," *American Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (March 2013): 91-118; Henry Yu, "Global Migrants and the new Pacific Canada," *International Journal* 64, no. 4 (Autumn 2009): 1011-1026; Marie Lo, "Model Minorities, Models of Resistance: Native Figures in Asian Canadian Literature," *Canadian Literature* 196(2008): 96-112; Rita Wong, "Decolonizasian: Reading Asian and First Nations Relations in Literature," *Canadian Literature* 199(2008): 158-180.

[35] Lo, 98.

Bonita Lawrence (Mi'kmaw) and Enakshi Dua have argued, indigeneity is intrinsic to understanding racial construction and racialization, and one of the central aims of a relational inquiry must be a decolonizing anti-racism.[36] Given the geographic and historical ties between Alaska and Canada, it is all the more surprising that Alaskan history has not similarly been analyzed with attention to settler colonialism and racial construction.

While scholarship on Alaska lacks a sustained engagement with theories and frameworks on colonialism, Hawai‘i is almost always seen within a colonial lens. There are important distinctions between the developments of the two states: Hawai‘i was an independent nation with international recognition that was occupied and overthrown by the United States. Alaska, on the other hand, is a landmass comprised of numerous Native nations, none of which were officially recognized by colonial powers in the nineteenth century, its coherence formed out of the Russian imperial quest for furs and solidified in the sale to the United States. Even with these distinctions, however, both spaces were brought into the US territorial/imperial sphere in the late nineteenth century and were the last two states to be incorporated into the nation, in 1959. As such, Alaska and Hawai‘i were linked in myriad discussions of colonial governance, race, and citizenship by missionaries, government officials, and capitalist interests.[37]

Why, then, has Hawai‘i remained so visible as a colonial possession and its history framed as colonial encounter while Alaska’s colonial relationships remain cloaked by a dominant narrative of liberal democracy? The work of Hawaiian studies scholars on the connections between racial formation and colonialism provides a possible answer to this contradiction, and they are some of the few intellectuals linking Asian American studies and Native studies. Scholars such as J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli) and Dean Saranillio frame the Hawaiian colonial encounter and its attendant discourses and anxieties between the racial categories of white, Hawaiian, and Asian, Kauanui arguing that the racial triangulation of white-Hawaiian-Asian (based on the US racial triangulation of white-Indian-Black) is foundational to the formation of blood quantum regulations for Native Hawaiians. Saranillio elucidates how the twinned racial discourses of Orientalism and primitivism were at the core of Hawaiian statehood—in discussion, opposition, and, ultimately, celebratory narratives.[38] In Alaska, how did similar discourses of Orientalism and primitivism—developed in the same timeframe of US colonial formation and therefore linked in larger national and transnational discourses of race and white supremacy—operate with different racial logics?

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[36] Bonita Lawrence and Enakshi Dua “Decolonizing Antiracism,” *Social Justice* 32.4(2005): 120-143.

[37] Though beyond the scope of my project, the comparative and relational aspects between Hawai‘i and Alaska certainly merit further study.

Saranillio and others point to the formation of Asian settler colonialism, that is, both the majority Asian immigrant population in Hawaiʻi that resulted from Hawaiʻi's plantation economy, as well as the Asian American push for racial equality via Hawaiian statehood in accordance with settler paradigms discursively and materially at odds with Indigenous claims to sovereignty.[39] Although historians Gary Okihiro and Davianna Pomaikaʻi McGregor critique Asian settler colonialism as being ahistorical, the discursive power of the Asian American allegiance to settler narratives of liberal democracy achieved through the nation-state have an especially predominant resonance in Hawai‘i.[40] In contrast, how did the prevailing discourse of Asians as failed settlers influence the genesis and development of US settler colonialism in Alaska?

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[38] J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignity and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008). Dean Itsuji Saranillio, *Seeing Conquest: Colliding Histories and the Cultural Politics of Hawaiʻi State* (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009).

[39] Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds. *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaiʻi* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008).

I propose that the ideas of foreclosure and failure in terms of settler colonialism's proper subject fueled colonialism in Alaska while simultaneously masking its function. In Alaskan history, Asian migrants could be modern laboring subjects yet could not properly inhabit settler colonial space. They were therefore materially expulsed or epistemologically rendered failed subjects. Indigenous Alaskans, on the other hand, were considered inhabitants of Alaskan space yet failed to be modern subjects if they remained Native. Within this pernicious construction, the violence required to occupy land already inhabited was not located within settler colonial ambitions but blamed on a primitive Native culture fundamentally at odds with modernity. These two relational discourses worked in tandem to simultaneously conceal and authorize the land dispossession and labor exploitation essential to the settler colonial project. Not only relational but also differential, these discourses also made incoherent the connections between the very people being colonized.

Unsettling History: On Methodology and Methods

There are inherent challenges in studying the history of settler colonialism because, by its very nature, it actively conceals its own colonial operation. Likewise, it is difficult to study the people whom settler colonialism deems outside the realm of its spatial and temporal logics. How can one fully comprehend Alaskan history when Asians cannot be Alaskan, and Natives cannot be historical actors? As an interdisciplinary historian, I read Alaskan history discursively, principally concerned with the racialized constructions that condition and forestall settler colonial subjectivity, as well as alternative and counter meanings created by those racialized and colonized. In this regard, I generally employ a Foucauldian approach, attentive to the "system of discursivity, in the enunciative possibilities and impossibilities that it lays down."[41] Alaskan history's occlusions are not incomplete records to be filled but absences that reveal the designs of the settler state, with its attendant anxieties, limits, and ruptures. Taking my cue from Haitian scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot, I am concerned with how history functions, in order to "discover the differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others."[42] Therefore, presence as well as absence forms the basis of my historical inquiry. Because settler colonialism's logics attempt to occlude its manifold and overlapping functions, I further endeavor to put silenced narratives, erased peoples, and disavowed violences into conversation.

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[40] Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai‘i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 4; Davianna Pomaika‘i McGregor, "Statehood: Unexpected Catalyst of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance and Sovereignty Movement" (plenary panel on Challenging Inequalities Among Nations, presented at the annual meeting for the Association for Asian American Studies. Honolulu, Hawai‘i, April 22-26, 2009).

I am necessarily allergic to the idea of the archive as a repository of uncovered truths, as the language of discovery is the overarching trope of settler colonialism. Understanding archives as historically constructed, and history's use of the archives as an interpretive act situates me in conversation with critical historians, in company with those who Ann Laura Stoler characterize as turning from reading "archive-as-source" to

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[41] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage, 1972), 129.
[42] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 25.

"archive-as-subject."[43] I similarly reject the idea of a finite or singular archive, as the archives of the settler colony are necessarily diverse, comprised of both official documents and popular opinion. If we understand archives to principally be the material traces that record and order the past, I define my parameters as the documentation that articulates the racial and colonial truths of the settler state, as well as the recorded alternatives that document narratives and discourses illegible to settler logics. So, for example, in my first chapter I am concerned with the racial discourses that accompany the US purchase of Alaska. In this regard, the documented literature of tourist travel both reiterates and proliferates official government narratives. I therefore define the state archive's supporting documents as the literature that shapes the parameters of Alaska's racial and colonial logics. In each chapter I select a different archive (state, folklore, labor, visual) and allow a diversity of texts as well as a diversity of genres to inform how settler colonialism defines and delimits its proper subject within that assemblage. Said again, I use selected yet varied examples of recorded history to ask—who is the settler state's proper subject? Who is the proper subject of settler folklore? Labor's proper subject within a settler state? (Chapter 4 is slightly different in that I use a visual archive housed within state archives to read against settler colonial constructions.)

Even as I focus on the discursive constructions within the settler colonial history of Alaska, I am deeply concerned with the material effects of said discourses. As Coll Thrush stresses in his social and environmental history of Seattle as a Native place,

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[43] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Anxieties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 44-46.

"stories matter."[44] Yes, they do—stories importantly create and reproduce meaning of our lives and world, and they also profoundly impact material conditions. Rather than seeing material and discursive in opposition, I consider them related in an ongoing exchange. South Asian and queer studies historian Anjali Arondekar argues for a reading practice that simultaneously acknowledges the discursive and material:

> The possibility of such readings lies in productively juxtaposing the archive's fiction effects (the archive as a system of representation) alongside its truth effects (the archive as material with 'real' consequences)—not as incommensurate, but as antagonistically co-constitutive of each other. These (new) reading practices emerge not against the grain of archival work, but instead from within the archive's own productions."[45]

To aid me in drawing the connection between the material and epistemic, I look to scholars who have analyzed violence as constitutive of settler colonialism and/or modernity.[46] Particularly instructive, is Ned Blackhawk's history of Indigenous peoples of the Great Basin and their encounter with empire in which he locates violence not only as a central subject but also as a method, opening windows onto the scope and organization of empire. As Blackhawk explains, "Ultimately, violence becomes more than an intriguing or distressing historical subject. It becomes an interpretive concept as well as a method for understanding these understudied worlds."[47] In a similar reading practice, I look within Alaskan history specifically for traces that expose the disavowed violences enacted upon Alaskan Natives and Asian migrants and settlers in the larger settler colonial project.

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[44] Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 206.

[45] Anjali Arondekar, *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 4.

[46] Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: An Apache Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin, 2008); Chandan Reddy, *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the US State* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Jacqueline Goldsby, *A Spectacular Secret: Lynching in American Life and Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[47] Blawkhawk, 5-6.

I employ Asian American studies and American Indian studies to continually ask after the masked material, epistemic, and spiritual violences necessary within the historical formation and maintenance of settler colonialism. Understanding, however, that each disavowal has the potential to undermine the other (e.g. American Indian studies can participate in the erasure of Asian labor in Alaska's history just as Asian American studies has the potential to collude in Native dispossession through configurations of Asian pioneers), I underscore the specific intersectional and relational aspect of my project. The validity and supremacy of settler colonial discourses depend upon the process of reiterated racial and gendered "truths" that colonialism constructs of differently Othered peoples. Therefore, to expose these truths as well as the constant instabilities of settler colonialism to maintain such fictions, I assert the importance of Asian American and Native cultural production, as well as Indigenous knowledge and paradigms, incorporating Asian American and Alaska Native oral histories and interviews into a counterhegemonic archive. Based in investments in critical ethnic studies, postcolonial and settler colonial studies, and women of color feminism, my methodological strategies for unsettling history can be described as a process of rethinking relationships, interrogating intimacies, and employing a decolonial imaginary.

Rethinking Relations

I articulate a relational paradigm as a specific and conscious intervention in comparative modes of thinking. Comparison configures racialized and colonized communities as discrete, further rendering fields within ethnic studies as distinct and separate. Comparison depends on situating racialized communities relationships' with dominant society and/or dominant histories, resulting in a politics of translation, mediated through whiteness. This abstraction also creates bad history, as the lived materialities of racialized and colonized peoples are seldom separate. The hierarchies of capitalism and colonialism position racialized and colonized communities in living and laboring proximities to one other, enmeshed in multiple constellations of antagonisms and affiliations. If we understand that part of ethnic studies' charge is to formulate counter histories, I am less concerned with comparing Asian American and Native counter histories but, instead, I focus on putting these counter histories in conversation while also critiquing what intellectually prevents us from seeing the possibility or productivity of sustaining such a dialogue. There is a definite use for comparative methodology when different systems and processes benefit from a discussion of similarity and difference (the juxtaposition of Hawaiʻi and Alaska above, for example). The overarching framework of comparison for racialized and colonized *peoples*, however, is dangerously limited as it depends on colonial taxonomies and logics. Ann Laura Stoler, in particular, has mapped the function of comparison in colonial projects, in her call for greater inquiry into US histories of imperialism and colonialism.[48] She argues that, "Colonialism was at once a comparative endeavor and a protracted war of assessments over what could be measured by common principles of right and rule—and who should be exempt or excluded from them."[49] Stoler stresses that this historic endeavor was always raced, dictated by racial discourses and, in turn, help to shape them. She stresses that the, "attention here is on the social categories that comparison demands and the explicit and tacit commensurabilities that acts of comparison require."[50] Here, we see that categories of racial classification are requirements of comparative colonial management and that comparison conversely furthers the necessity for such categorization. Also, Stoler is making a crucial point in naming commensurability as a requirement for comparison. In order to understand the relational racialized and gendered functioning of Alaska's colonialism, however, it is necessary to view Asian and Native experiences as incommensurate, as commensurability necessarily flattens key differences.

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[48] Ann Laura Stoler, "Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen," *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History,* Ann Laura Stoler, ed. (Durham, NC: Duke, 2006), 1-22.

I argue instead for a relational approach, signaled by my use of "relations" in the dissertation title, relations generating multiple meanings. I situate my work within a growing body of scholarship that examines relationships between different racialized communities whose lives and histories are bound up with one another, affected by uneven, contradictory, and constitutive processes of racialization, colonization, slavery, land dispossession, labor exploitation, segregation, and integration.[51] Studies such as these stress the intellectual and political necessity of understanding not ordered classifications but the messy complexities of interconnection. My goal here is to examine relationality between Alaska Native and Asian Americans that is more generative than descriptive, paying attention to how racial and colonial knowledge about these two groups of people are constructed and, equally important, how these knowledges continue to be reproduced. I locate this relational investment within the field of critical ethnic studies, signaling a development that builds from previous ethnic studies scholarship and activism but specifically seeks to understand racial formations outside of liberal multicultural frameworks that collude with US nationalism and imperialism.[52]

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[49] Ibid., 5.

[50] Ibid.

[51] David A. Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Yuichiro Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in 20th-Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Vijay Prashad, *Everybody Was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001); Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007); Claire Jean Kim, *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003); Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

The second way I wish to rethink relationships is between Asian American studies and American Indian studies as sites of intellectual knowledge. While both fields are situated within ethnic studies, they are rarely put into conversation with one another. In order to situate American Indian and Asian American studies in relation to one another, I take my cue from Robert Allen Warrior (Osage) who frames American Indian studies as an "intellectual tradition."[53] Viewing American Indian studies and Asian American studies both as having inherent and cohesive (rather than derivative) intellectual histories allows me to understand them as autonomous intellectual projects that yield potential for relational discourse. My reading practice must allow for and dialogue with the central concerns that American Indian studies and Asian American studies have identified within their own field formations. This requires putting postcolonial studies and settler colonial studies into sustained conversation. Specific to Alaska's settler colonialism, I mean to both recognize *and* complicate American Indian studies' focus on land and Asian

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[52] For a detailed description of critical ethnic studies as an intellectual and social transformation project, particularly attentive to the co-constitution of race and sexuality, see Reddy, 18-20.

[53] Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

American studies' focus on labor by bringing these analyses into more sustained dialogue.

A last way I am using relations is to elucidate ideas of belonging and kinship, affective ties that lie outside the pale of settler colonial logics. Relationships imply the ability to not only be subjected to national and colonial discourses of gendered, sexualized, and classed racializations but to, in turn, make meaning of oneself and one's relations. Alaska Native and Asian American peoples in Alaska have a shared material experience within a racialized and gendered colonial matrix that gestures to alternate forms of meaning that exceed national or imperial definitions and it is imperative to acknowledge that those who were racialized and colonized in relation to each other must have made meanings of this interconnection themselves, as much as these meanings are elided in Alaskan history.

Interrogating Intimacies

"Interrogating intimacies" in my dissertation title refers to the way in which the framework of intimacy intervenes in economically reductionist colonial studies to elucidate the complex interplay of racialization and enforced gender norms in the everyday lives of those in colonial realms. Edward Said, whose seminal work *Orientalism* inaugurated the field of postcolonial studies, powerfully demonstrated that knowledge production and the enforcement of colonial rule are interconnected and co-constitutive through the production and management of discourses of racial difference.[54] In the over three decades since, postcolonial studies has witnessed a proliferation of scholarship inspired by and exceeding Said's premise that colonialism depends upon the material and discursive construction of the racial Other. In particular, feminist historians of colonialism have underscored the importance of understanding colonialism through the form and function of race, gender, and sexuality, particularly cogent within colonialism's more intimate realms.[55] Additionally, women of color feminists first posited the formulation of "intersectional" as an analytic tool that formulated the interdependent and contingent relationships of race, class, gender, and sexuality as well as the political and intellectual futility of trying to separate or privilege any of these social categories.[56] Intersectionality elucidates the overlapping interdependence and simultaneity of oppressive forces, a particularly useful perspective in examining the intimate ways that Asians and Natives in Alaska were construed as having nonnormative races, genders, sexualities, and/or family structures.

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[54] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

At the same time, two general oversights within postcolonial studies remain: the ongoing tendency to view colonial relations through an overarching binary of colonizer/colonized, and a general inability to incorporate analysis on settler colonialism. Mary Louise Pratt formulates "contact zones" to understand how empire brings "people geographically and historically separated…into contact with each other and establish(es) ongoing relations."[57] With my project I disrupt the colonizer-colonized binary to reconfigure the contact zone neither as Native-white or Asian-white but to bring Asian and Native into an intimate configuration, highlighting what Renisa Mawani has generatively termed, "colonial proximities." In this framing, the "contact zone was a space of racial diversity and multiplicity but also, and more importantly, [revealed] a heterogeneity that in and of itself was generative of new racial orders and colonial desires."[58] Borrowing from Mawani, I assert that understanding Alaska as a heterogeneous contact zone does not simply illustrate a more historically inclusive Alaska, but theoretically elaborates how the entangled constellation of multiply overlapping encounters critically informs the ongoing dimensions of colonial rule.

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[55] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Imperial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[56] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July 1991): 1241-1299. It is important to note that while Crenshaw is credited with the term "intersectionality," Patricia Hill Collins furthered the concept in relation to Black feminist thought, and both were influenced by the prior public intellectual work of women of color feminists.

[57] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2008 [1992]), 8.

The phrase "Interrogating Intimacies," has another meaning, to express the ways in which I question the overreliance on sexual/familial relations as the only form of intimacy, instead arguing for a more capacious framework that includes various aspects of intimate encounters by differently colonized people. I contend that colonized peoples experienced intimate ties through spatial proximities such as the workplace and racially segregated housing, as well as affective ties within connections such as friendship and cultural production. For my expansive framework of intimacies, I take my cue from Lisa Lowe, in her study of "the intimacies of four continents."[59] Highlighting the intersections between Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas in the Caribbean just after the Haitian Revolution, she remarks on the obscurity of the figures of the Chinese coolie and the Chinese woman, and the ultimate loss of the ability to engage the linkages between slavery, genocide, and indenture, intersections that are elided with the construction of liberal humanist narratives. Through her excavation we see both the emergence of modern humanism and a modern racialized division of labor, and how the two are linked. Lowe is working off of what Ann Laura Stoler has termed the "intimacies of empire,"[60] but here I borrow more directly from Lowe's multivalent definition of intimacy to denote not only romantic, sexual, or familial relations, but also the political economies produced from spatial proximity, and the myriad contestational possibilities derived from a lived intersection of differential racialization, what Lowe shorthands as the "volatile contacts of colonized peoples."[61] Each of my chapters is configured using a framework of intimacy, outside of the typical definition of sexual or romantic encounter.

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[58] Mawani, 4.

[59] Lisa Lowe, "The Intimacies of Four Continents," *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History,* ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 191-212.

As productive as Lowe's formulation of multivalent intimacies is, however, Jodi A. Byrd (Chickasaw) offers a cogent critique that such a configuration still cannot comprehend settler colonialism. As Byrd demonstrates, Lowe's framework of intimacies situates the very conditions of freedoms and unfreedoms upon the labor of the colonies, foreclosing subjectivity for the Native:

> By positioning the conditions of slavery and indentureship in the Americas as coeval contradictions through which Western freedom affirms and resolves itself, and then by collapsing the indigenous Americas into slavery, the fourth continent of settler colonialism through which such intimacy is made to labor is not just forgotten or elided; it becomes the very ground through which the other three continents struggle intimately for freedom, justice, equality…. Within the 'intimacies of four continents,' indigenous peoples in the new world cannot, in this system, give rise to any historical agency or status within the 'economy of affirmation and forgetting,' because they are the transit through which the dialectic of subject and object occurs.[62]

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[60] Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History,* Ann Laura Stoler, ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 23-67; see also Stoler, 2002.

[61] Lowe, "The Intimacies of Four Continents," 203.

[62] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xxv.

I argue that Byrd's critique does not mean an abandonment of Lowe's methodological practice, but instead cautions that explication of one disavowal may still work to produce and/or replicate other disavowals. Drawing from Byrd's formulation of an Indigenous critical theory which works within and against postcolonial studies, I assert that any study of colonialism in the Americas must always also grapple with the conditions of settler colonialism, and the specific logics and practices that settler sovereignty generates. Doing so highlights that settler colonialism constructs racialization as an intimate process, articulated through ideas of family, kinship, and blood, however abstract. At different moments, settler colonialism imagines racialized intimacies between colonized peoples and alternately, repudiates any intimate ties between them. A primary imperative, then, is to explicate and juxtapose the alternate ties and connections that Asian and Native people formed in the settler colony, understanding antagonism and affinity both as intimate expressions.

Decolonial Imaginary

I employ a women of color feminist methodology to read for racialized and gendered difference without the colonial imperatives of regulation and management, in an attempt to address rather than correct the incoherency and illegibility within the settler colonial archive. Confronted by the challenge to derive the thoughts and perceptions of colonized peoples within historic documents produced by national and colonial discourses, I enact what Emma Pérez has termed the "decolonial imaginary," a counter and imaginative history that provides an alternative to the colonial imaginary created through official discourses in the historic archive.[63]

The political project of women of color feminism embraces contradiction as a powerful site for analysis and argues for coalition not along lines of similarity, but across difference.[64] Such a reading practice undermines a stable subjectivity and employing such a practice means examining difference as multivalent, open, and always unfinished. Women of color feminism both attempts to capture and understands the futility of capturing, therefore constructing knowledge based simultaneously on what is known and unknown. This articulates a reading and writing strategy in the colonial context for what Jodi Byrd calls cacophony, "discordant and competing representations of diasporic arrivals and native lived experiences."[65] If settler colonialism forecloses certain Native and Asian intersections, then a decolonial writing practice must attempt to imagine impossible possibilities. I assert that this is a form of unsettling history, unmooring narrative construction from its colonial and state-based logics. As Barbara Christian has argued, "People of color have always theorized—but in forms quite different from the Western form of abstract logic… Our theory… is often in narrative forms, in the stories we create, in riddles and proverbs… since dynamic rather than fixed ideas seem more to our liking."[66]

Writing tactics such as circular thinking, repetition, multivalence, juxtaposition, and ambiguity elucidate the messy, contradictory, idiosyncratic, and heterogeneous interracial encounter in Alaska's contact zone. Employing a decolonial imaginary also seeks to highlight the epistemic violence within the project of settler colonial history making. To introduce the three main sections of her monograph *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands,* historian Juliana Barr provides an interlude, a "reconstruction" that imagines a Native-white encounter as it might have appeared through Indigenous "eyes and to understand how these eyes made sense of what they were seeing."[67] Just because these interludes are potentially open and unfinished does not change Barr's powerful intent to radically shift the perspective of this encounter, and in doing so illuminates the absence of Indigenous perspectives within the colonial archive. Similarly, Saidiya Hartman's essay "Venus in Two Acts," centers on a trace in the archive: the mention of a slave ship captain tried for the murder of two Black girls.[68] The remainder of the essay is a contemplation on the impossibility of recovering the stories of these two girls and yet the necessity to address their lives and possibilities. As Hartman explains:

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[63] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

[64] Black lesbian feminist Audre Lorde describes this view of difference, "Within the interdependence of mutual (nondominant) differences lies that security which enables us to descend into the chaos of knowledge and return with true visions of our future." Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," *Sister Outsider* (Trumansburg, NY: The Crossing Press, 1984), 111.

[65] Byrd, xiii.

[66] Barbara Christian, "The Race for Theory," *Feminist Studies* 14.1 (Spring 1988), 68.

> I want to do more than recount the violence that deposited these traces in the archive… It is a story predicated on impossibility—listening for the unsaid, translating misconstrued words, and refashioning disfigured lives—and intent on achieving an impossible goal: redressing the violence that produced numbers, ciphers, and fragments of discourse.[69]

Hartman is speaking directly to the disappearance that is occasioned by the very appearance of this historic trace, and the multiple levels of violence this act engenders. The task in employing the decolonial imaginary in the Alaskan example, where the doubled disavowals of Native land claims and Asian labor render relationships illegible? To recognize the unrecognizable.

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[67] Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 17-20, 295-296. Barr explains that she was compelled to construct these interludes based on Daniel Richter's call for historians to shift to Indigenous perspectives when examining colonial encounters.

[68] Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 26(June 2008), 1-14.

[69] Ibid., 2-3.

Outline

In four chapters that elaborate the recognized Alaskan historical periods of purchase and early US acquisition, the Gold Rush, official territorial status, and World War II, I highlight how the settler colonial project depended upon the racialization and gendering of Native and Asian people in Alaska in distinct yet interdependent ways. Though generally chronological, these chapters are not meant to provide a comprehensive history nor even a progressive narrative. My primary aim in studying these four interracial nodes is not about filling a particular historic gap in knowledge but, rather, to focus on several different moments of Native and Asian intersection when racialized narratives are formed or shift. I selected these moments because they highlight Asian and Native connection in some way, as well as traces of disavowed violence. In each instance, I am concerned first and foremost about the narrative being constructed and work it performs. Using that as my focal inquiry, I use a diverse array of texts in order to highlight the formal and popular construction of what I term an archive, that is, the wide-ranging record of the subject settler colonialism produces or precludes. I am interested in how the intersection of material and epistemic violences enables settler colonialism's appearance and disappearance, and I am able to get at this vanishing point precisely because these different case studies articulate a level of intimacy—a proximity of geography, labor, kinship, and/or cultural production that puts differently positioned communities on the same horizon. Each chapter is organized around a different configuration of intimacy, a conscious attempt to address the illegibility of the colonial archive by bringing Native and Asian into a shared constellation.

In Chapter 1, "Orientalizing Alaska Natives," I illustrate how Alaska Natives were racialized in relation to Asians, even prior to Asian migration to the territory. Following the US purchase of Alaska in 1867, government officials, tourists, missionaries, and ethnographers all contributed to a *state archive* that racialized Alaska Natives as "Orientals," a discourse that positioned Alaska Natives as more exotic than other Native Americans while also marking them as inferior and innately separate from white Americans. Alaska Natives were thus given a *colonial intimacy* with Asians, an abstract racial kinship configured through imagined ancestry. This ubiquitous discourse was complicated with the arrival of Asian laborers, and highlighted the intersection of gendered and racialized anxieties. If Edward Said argued that the construction of the Oriental revealed little about the actual lives of people in the Arab and Asian world and instead represented the logics and desires of European colonialism, how does the formulation of the Alaska Native in relation to a different notion of Oriental inform the contours and intent of American colonialism?[70] Through the example of territorial judge James Wickersham, I argue for an alternate genealogy of connection that highlights the dispossession of tribal lands and the organized expulsion of Asian workers as a way to read material violences as foundational to the settler colonial project in Alaska.

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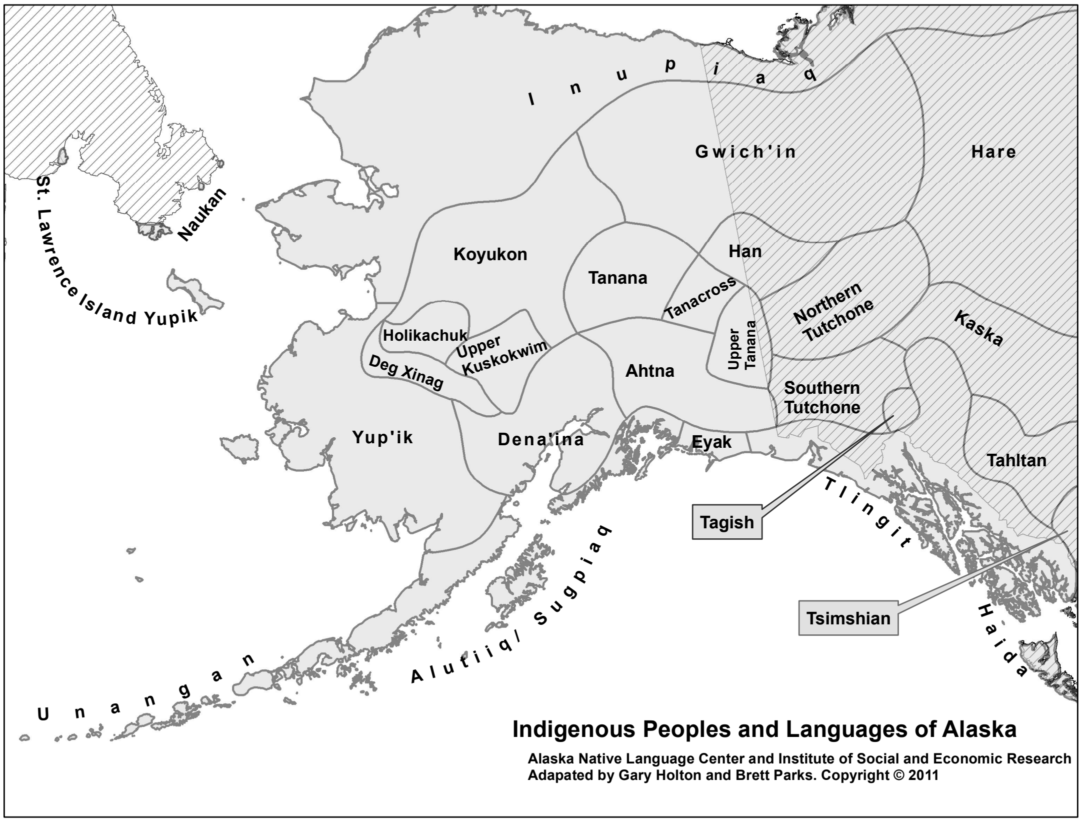
[70] Edward Said, *Orientalism.*

Gold rushes transformed early Alaska, both in terms of economic development and ushering in the first major wave of settlers. Gold Rush stories are essential to Alaska's frontier identity, celebrating white working class heroes while Native and Asian minor characters depict the negative consequences of modernity generally and industrialism specifically. In Chapter 2, "Fictions of the Last Frontier," I focus on the *folklore archive* of Alaskan historical figure China Joe, who appears in two widely reiterated tales: in his generous role as a baker to sustain gold prospectors during a winter freeze, and as the exceptional Chinese who is allowed to stay in Alaska when the Chinese working in a nearby mine are driven out. I configure China Joe's tale as a *frontier intimacy* that incorporates him into the family of white male miners, albeit as a racialized and feminized Other. In response, I use Lisa Lowe's formulation of colonial proximity as a "volatile contact," to ask after alternative Asian and Native intimacies formed out of antagonisms and affinities.

Alaska was officially incorporated as a territory in the 1910s, concurrent to its industrial development. By the early twentieth century, salmon canneries emerged as an integral part of the settler colonial Alaskan economy, dependent on the racialized and gendered labor of migrant Asian men and resident Native women. In Chapter 3, "Unbecoming Workers," I excavate the traces of a 1913 labor union in Ketchikan, Alaska, to examine the ways that Alaskan history, labor studies, Asian American studies and Native studies all contribute to a *labor archive* that limits or forecloses who can become labor's proper subject. Looking to an alternate archive of Asian American and Alaska Native cultural production, I consider two repeating figures, the Asian male sex worker and the promiscuous Native woman, to ask how *unproductive intimacies* elucidate contingent understandings of land and labor.

Chapter 4, “Picture Man” focuses on the life and photographs of Shoki Kayamori, a Japanese migrant worker who settled in Yakutat, Alaska in the 1910s. For three decades he photographed the everyday activities of the town’s Native, Asian, and white residents but when WWII escalated, Kayamori committed suicide as rumors circulated that he was a spy. Based on nearly seven hundred existing Kayamori photographs and interviews conducted with Yakutat residents and Alaska Native organizers on the meanings and usage of his photographs, I argue that Kayamori’s *visual archive* demonstrates multiple *liminal intimacies*. In his photographic work, Kayamori crossed racial and gendered boundaries with Yakutat’s Native community, representing both the indigeneity and racial heterogeneity within Alaska’s colonial encounter. Moreoever, Kayamori’s liminal status allowed him to capture Tlingit strategies for resistance outside of the traditional-modern binary, forming a counter-narrative to settler colonial time. I conclude by suggesting that the framework of liminal intimacy allows for yet another type of reading between boundaries, the intellectual borders between Asian American studies and American Indian studies. Kayamori’s suicide in particular provides a haunting trace that intervenes in Alaskan history accounts of World War II as a progressive event that created the modern condition for Alaska statehood.

In my conclusion, I return to the story of Juneau High School’s 1942 valedictorian, John Tanaka, and recent organizing efforts to honor Juneau’s Japanese American residents who were incarcerated in internment camps during WWII. This project uses Tanaka’s absence at the regularly scheduled graduation as a metaphor for the forced removal of Japanese Americans. I reflect on the relationship between history and memory, including the differences between this narrative and the one I grew up hearing. I also comment on the continued absences within even the expanded story, and ask after a different constellation of affinities that recognizes Alaska's racialized and colonized past as inextricably interwoven, in order to envision a radically different future.


Inupiaq
Gwich'in
Hare
St. Lawrence Island Yupik
Naukan
Koyukon
Tanana
Han
Tanacross
Northern Tutchone
Kaska
Holikachuk
Upper Kuskokwim
Deg Xinag
Upper Tanana
Ahtna
Southern Tutchone
Yup'ik
Dena'ina
Eyak
Tahltan
Tlingit
Tagish
Alutiiq/Sugpiaq
Tsimshian
Haida
Unangan

Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Alaska

Alaska Native Language Center and Institute of Social and Economic Research
Adapated by Gary Holton and Brett Parks. Copyright © 2011

Figure 0.1. Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Alaska.[71]

The eleven linguistic Athabascan groups are noted on the map: Ahtna, Deg Hit'an/Deg Xinag, Dena'ina/Tanaina, Gwich'in, Hän, Holikachuk, Koyukon, Tanana, Tanacross, Upper Tanana, Upper Kuskokwim.

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[71] Michael Krauss, Gary Holton, Jim Kerr, and Colin T. West, *Indigenous Peoples and Languages of Alaska* (Fairbanks and Anchorage: Alaska Native Language Center and UAA Institute of Social and Economic Research, 2011). Online: http://www.uaf.edu/anla/map.

CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTALIZING ALASKA NATIVES

In 1898, James A. Wickersham, a member of the Washington State House of Representatives, delivered a paper to the Washington Historical Society in Tacoma in response to US soldier and geologist John Wesley Powell's question, "Whence Came the American Indian?" Wickersham's lecture elaborated his claims that the indigenous peoples of the Americas had crossed the Bering Strait and were descendants of Asians, specifically Chinese and Japanese.[1] A great deal of Wickersham's credibility rested on his reputation as a noted authority of local Puget Sound Native peoples and cultures—Wickersham was known as a regional collector and lay ethnologist who had, by the late 1890s, established a record of correspondence and publication among other non-Native scholars interested in indigenous peoples and artifacts. By the time he made his presentation to the Washington Historical Society, Wickersham had previously served as Pierce County Probate Judge and Tacoma City Attorney before being elected to the Washington State House of Representatives. In 1900, Wickersham would be appointed as district judge to Alaska, and would go on to serve as Alaska's elected delegate to the US Congress for fourteen years. He was a passionate proponent for Alaskan statehood, a self-proclaimed "friend of the Native," and an enthusiastic and prodigious bibliographer of Alaskan history. His thesis on the Asia-America migration became pronounced with his experience as an Alaskan public figure and, in his later life, Wickersham sought recognition for his contribution to what became known as the Bering Land Bridge theory.[2]

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[1] James Wickersham, *Major Powell's Inquiry: "Whence Came the American Indians?" An Answer: A Study in Comparative Ethnology* (Tacoma: Allen & Lamborn, 1899).

This chapter focuses on the notion of Asian origins for Native peoples concomitant with Alaska's purchase and incorporation into the US nation-state. The formulation of this linkage is an important facet in the genealogy of the Bering Land Bridge theory and, more broadly, elucidates the colonial articulations of the related racial constructions of Alaska Natives and Asian Americans. This chapter is not a scientific study of the Bering Land Bridge, recognizing that the theory is both supported and contended within a variety of fields such as anthropology and geology.[3] Similarly, within Alaska, different Native peoples hold origin stories that alternately coincide or contradict anthropological hypotheses about the first peoples of the Americas.[4]

Rather, I seek to understand the widespread desires by non-Natives in the late nineteenth century in their imagining Native origins in Asia, and the particular place Alaska holds in that imaginative construction. Thomas Richards reminds us that the narratives of the late nineteenth century are full of fantasies about an empire united not by force but by information."[5] In looking to the "fictive thought of imperial control" located in the US acquisition of Alaska, government officials constructed a kinship between Alaska Native peoples and their perceived Asian ancestors.[6] It is this conceptualized familial and biological linkage that I term *colonial intimacy*, conjured by the collective colonial imaginary of a variety of state actors and settler colonial proponents, both official and informal. In examining the work that such an imagined intimacy produces and enables, I am building off the contributions of American Indian studies scholars who demonstrate that the discourse of Asian origins works to discount Native nations' claims to land and territory.[7] Moreover, Native knowledge and paradigms for locating origins are dismissed as falling outside of accepted history. Instead, a conglomeration of government officials, tourists, missionaries, and ethnographers repeatedly constructed Alaska Native peoples' ancestry as, to use the parlance of time, "Asiatic," "Mongolian," or "Oriental," to justify imperial and settler colonial ambitions for Alaska as a territory and future state. I assemble these various actors and their collective discursive contribution as an *imperial and state archive*, that is, the material traces of the American nation-state sanctioned within its imperial and settler colonial logics.[8]

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[2] Evangeline Atwood, *Frontier Politics: Alaska's James Wickersham* (Portland, OR: Binford & Mort, 1979), 392.

[3] See William W. Fitzhugh, "Yamal to Greenland: Global Connections in Circumpolar Archaeology," in *Archaeology: The Widening Debate,* ed. Barry Cunliffe, Wendy Davies, and Colin Renfrew, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 91-144.

[4] For example, Yu'pik and Iñupiat peoples exist in larger Arctic circumpolar configurations. (Iñupiat are part of a network of Inuit communities in Russia, Canada, Greenland, and Scandinavia. Yu'pik live in Siberia and Alaska on both sides of the Bering Straight.) Yu'pik and Iñupiat histories of movement and migration, therefore, do not necessarily contradict Bering Land Bridge theories. Other Alaska Native groups' histories, however, are not as aligned and, as Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams argues, the "hyperfocus" on outside origins elides Indigenous histories that are "more complex and much more interesting because they are related to both physical and metaphysical cosmologies." See Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams, "Alaska and Its People: An Introduction," in *The Alaska Native Reader: History, Culture, Politics,* ed. Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 5, 7.

[5] Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (New York: Verso, 1993), 1.

Both official state actors as well as informal advocates positioned Alaska Natives as superior to and distinct from American Indian peoples within what would become the contiguous US, while also placing them as inferior to and innately separate from white Americans. They made this double move through a constructed racial intimacy with

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[6] Ibid., 2.

[7] Vine Deloria, Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997); David Hurst Thomas, *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity* (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

[8] I identify this chapter as organized around a state archive, and by that I mean an archive of the US nation-state, an archive that includes but is not limited to the Alaskan state. I do this to challenge the notion of Alaska as exceptionally separate from the larger projects of US colonialism and settler colonialism; rather, I see Alaska as an important and integral part of the imperial and settler colonial functioning of the US

Asian peoples. If Edward Said's seminal postcolonial scholarship argued that the construction of the Oriental revealed little about the actual lives of people in the Arab and Asian world and instead represented the logics and desires of European colonialism, how does the formulation of the Alaska Native in relation to a different notion of Oriental inform the contours and intent of American settler colonialism?[9] How is racial construction central to the colonial and settler colonial project in Alaska? Conversely, how is the Western knowledge and construction of race informed by the historical demands of empire and settler colonialism? As I seek to demonstrate in this chapter, race and settler colonialism are interdependent and made through one another.

Although the hypothesis that Asian immigration populated the Americas had been in circulation since the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta proposed it in 1590, based on his missionary work in Peru and Mexico, the specific idea of Alaska Native peoples' racialization through Asian origins became prominent through the latter half of the nineteenth century.[10] By this time, Europe and its settler societies shifted from religious and national origin formations of race to the post-Enlightenment idea of scientific racial difference. Linnaeus' *Systema Naturae,* published in 1735 was pivotal in making this shift, providing a single taxonomy for scientific identification and classification of difference. Formulating what Foucault terms a "science of order," eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars created a body of scientific racism, wherein its totalizing logics naturalized racial hierarchies on a global scale, an intellectual project that worked to explain and justify imperial expansion and violent oppression. With Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859), scientific notions of difference were placed within a unified progressive teleology. As Johannes Fabian has demonstrated, social evolutionists rejected biblical time for a Darwinist secular and all encompassing history. Linnaeus' idea of a totalizing classificatory schema was now applicable to culture and history. The emergent disciplines of history and anthropology naturalized time and progression within a patrimonial racial hierarchy, the "family of man." The linkage between Asian and Native peoples that materialized concomitant to the US colonization of Alaska was an important node in the development of racial thought within western epistemology.

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[9] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

[10] José de Acosta et al., *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).

Government officials proffered racial categorization, albeit shifting and uneven, of Alaska Native peoples as Asian in arguing the case for Alaska's purchase. After the acquisition of the US's first non-contiguous territory, Alaska was alternately configured as an imperial and settler colonial space through the emphasis on Alaska Natives peoples as distinct and exceptional, racial notions that hinged on Asian lineage. The commencement of Alaskan tourism in the 1880s cemented this racial construction within popular culture. Thousands of wealthy passengers made the journey each year and by 1890, 5,000 tourists visited Alaska during the summer season.[11] However, less attention has been focused on Alaska compared to other tourist destinations of the Gilded Age. Two recent contributions highlight the importance of this travel and the profuse publication of travel guides, memoirs, and adventure narratives that brought Alaska into the national imaginary within larger circuits of imperial discourse. Robert Campbell's book *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage* examines travelers' depictions of nature and Natives and the ways these images helped to shape

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[11] Ted C. Hinckley, "William Henry Seward and his Sitka Address of August 12, 1869: Notes on the Heretofore Unpublished and Probably Correct Version," in *Alaska and Japan: Perspectives of Past and Present,* ed. Tsuguo Arai (Anchorage: Alaska Methodist University Press, 1972), 71; Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report of Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1893), 250.

American imperial, white supremacist, and capitalist ambitions.[12] In this way, Campbell locates the ways that tourists construct a body of supporting documents to the official state archive. Throughout Campbell's excellent study are myriad examples of tourists interpellating Alaska Native peoples in relation to perceived Asian bodies or traits. Similarly, Sergei Kan's article, "'It's Only Half a Mile from Savagery to Civilization': American Tourists and Southeastern Alaska Natives in the Late 19th Century," cogently demonstrates the importance of the figure of the Alaska Native as elaborated by tourist narratives, and, like Campbell, he reveals Asian connections, particularly what Kan calls an "anti-Asian bias."[13] I wish to further explore the connections that Campbell and Kan expose (for the associations they draw, while obviously of interest, are neither author's primary focus) in order to understand how this particular constellation of racial thinking, wherein discourses of primitivism and orientalism overlap, influenced larger conversations of American imperial interests and settler colonial projects.

In this chapter I examine the shifting construction of racialized Asian and Native intimacy within the context of Alaska. I start with the imagined racial linkage expressed by government officials concomitant to the support for US purchase and acquisition of the Alaskan colony. This fictive kinship is extended to Indian affairs, setting a precedent of Alaska Native exceptionalism that renders illegible nation-to-nation status in favor of limited rights gained through assimilated individualism. The colonial imaginary that links Asians and Alaska Native peoples through a racialized intimacy is fortified and extended through a broad compendium to the state archive, authored by a diverse group of informal actors including tourists, missionaries, and ethnographers. Tourists in particular normalize the racial intimacies of the colonial and settler colonial project, configuring Asian ancestry for Alaska Natives as common sense to a broader American audience. Women tourists additionally highlight the missionary project of heteronormative assimilation and gendered domestication within the racial and colonial logics of US empire in Alaska. Tourist naturalizations of Alaska Native peoples' raced and gendered attributes were further legitimated by the "expertise" of missionaries and ethnographers—and it is within this power-laden concatenation that James Wickersham participated and hoped to influence. Wickersham also illustrates the fluid placement of state actors, as both an ethnologist and Alaska official (first a territorial judge and later a state delegate).[14] By the close of the nineteenth century, however, the colonial imaginary of Asian and Alaska Native racialized connection started to fracture, driven by anxieties produced by the arrival of Chinese immigrant workers in Alaska. Concurrent to the development of racialized colonial discourse, anthropologists were instrumental in shifting Alaska Native exceptionalism (via Asian origins) from other Indigenous in the Americas to a larger narrative of Asian origins for all Indigenous peoples in the Americas, a foundational moment in the theory of the Bering Land Bridge. I argue that this shift occurred as settler colonial demands for the US nation-state superseded colonial and settler colonial desires for Alaska's future.

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[12] Robert Campbell, *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

[13] Sergei Kan, "'It's Only Half a Mile from Savagery to Civilization': American Tourists and Southeastern Alaska Natives in the Late 19th Century," in *Coming to Shore: Northwest Coast Ethnology, Traditions, and Visions,* ed. Marie Mauzé, Michael E. Harkin, and Sergei Kan (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 201-220.

Returning to the example of Wickersham at the close of this chapter, I suggest a reading strategy that allows us to view the linked material violences that underwrite the racialization constructed by the colonial imaginary. Wickersham is not exceptional in his views; however, he makes for a good study because of his visibility within Alaskan history, including the extensive documentation of his views and deeds. Wickersham is an important figure in understanding the construction of this discourse not simply because he was a prominent Alaskan public official with an enduring preoccupation with this migration hypothesis. Wickersham's theories were not formed out of thin air, as he held material relationships to Native peoples on the Puyallup Indian reservation, as well as with Chinese laborers in Tacoma, and I suggest that his roles in both orchestrating the loss of tribal lands and organizing the expulsion of Asian workers signal different types of material violence that undergird not only the Bering Land Bridge theory but also the settler colonial project in Alaska. Reading for these traces of material violence exposes differential discourses of settler colonial space and time, and the dispossession of Native land and the disavowal of Asian labor that are crucial to US imperial and settler ambitions within and outside of Alaska.

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[14] This type of flexible status is also shared by several missionaries who subsequently took on leadership roles in the Alaskan territory, as will be discussed further in the chapter.

The Racial Classification of the State Archive

In 1867, Massachusetts senator and former chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Charles Sumner presented a three-hour speech in favor of ratifying the US purchase of Alaska from Russia, devoting considerable time describing and classifying Aboriginal Alaskans.[15] He introduced his discussion on Alaska's populace emphasizing that previous population estimates had been greatly exaggerated, and invoked the idea of terra nullius when quoting his recent correspondence from geologist and paleontologist

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[15] Charles Sumner, *Speech of Hon. Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on the Cession of Russian America to the United States* (Washington, DC: Congressional Globe Office, 1867).

Louis Agassiz who related, "To me the fact that there is yet hardly any population would have great weight as this secures settlement to our race."[16] Agassiz was a leading scholar in the study of natural history and also, as his quote above suggests, a contributor to the ideas of scientific racialism, Agassiz believing in polygenism, or the idea that human races were so different and distinct, that they came from separate (and divine) origin. Though Agassiz's ideas and sentiments would become eclipsed with a growing social and scientific acceptance of Darwinism, Sumner citing Agassiz as an expert in his speech signals that the racialization of Alaska and its Indigenous inhabitants was located within larger national and transnational discourses on racial construction and white supremacist thinking.[17]

Although Sumner cited Agassiz's expertise in order to authorize the colonial project of white settlement, he alluded to ethnographic inquiry and common usage to classify Alaska Native people. As he elaborated:

> If we look at them ethnographically we shall find two principal groups or races, the first scientifically known as Esquimaux, and the second as Indians. By another nomenclature, which has the sanction of authority and of usage, they are divided into Esquimaux, Aleutians, Kennians, and Koloschians… The Esquimaux and Aleutians are said to be Mongolian in origin…. The Kenaians and Koloschians are Indians, belonging to known American races.[18]

The racial taxonomy that Sumner provides demonstrates the imperial logics that were circulating even before the purchase of Alaska, and as the territory was enfolded into the

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[16] Louis Agassiz, qtd in Sumner, 24. Sumner and Agassiz were on personal terms, and corresponded regularly. See Christoph Irmscher, *Louis Agassiz: Creator of American Science* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013), 110-111.

[17] Agassiz biographer Christoph Irmscher cautions that singling out memorable scientific racists such as Agassiz obscures the entrenched racial thinking of the era. For example, that viewpoints in favor of racial mixing (such as Sumner's) also relied on racially essentialized categories of fitness, intelligence, attractiveness, etc. See Irmscher, 268-269.

[18] Sumner, 25. In presenting this nomenclature, Sumner also presents the hypothesis of the Bering Land Bridge but calls it "doubtful." He provides no other explanation for Asian origins.

American system of imperial expansion, these discourses were reiterated, argued against, and expanded. In general, however, the idea of distinguishing some or all of Alaska Native people from other Indigenous peoples in the United States became an overriding preoccupation in official and popular discourses, and that distinction was based time and again on perceived Asian origins. In his speech, Sumner almost immediately contradicted the stability of his taxonomy in describing the "Esquimaux" of Kodiak: "Although by intermixture they already approach the Indians of the coast, losing the Asiatic type, their speech remains as a distinctive sign of their race."[19] Both the desire to fix racial categories and the concomitant impossibility of doing so results in reiterated anxieties and ambiguities for officials.

It was not just physical resemblance that motivated Summer's characterization of Alaska Native peoples' uniqueness, however, but a set of attributes tied to both colonial pasts and settler colonial futures. As he explained, "There are general influences more or less applicable to all these races [of Alaska Natives]…. There is something in their nature which does not altogether reject the improvements of civilization. Unlike our Indians, they are willing to learn."[20] Sumner's paternalism of American Indians notwithstanding, the Indigenous Alaskans' propensity to civilization is particularly marked through indices of colonial economies. Of the "Koloschians" of the southeast Alaskan coast, Sumner described them thus: "Some are thrifty, and show a sense of property. Some have developed an aptitude for trade unknown to their northern neighbors or to the Indians of the United States, and will work for wages, whether in tilling the ground or other employment."[21] The aptitude Sumner describes is underwritten by the history of Russia's fur trade, an economic experience that conditioned the Aboriginal people of southeast Alaska (presumably Tlingit and Haida, the Tsimshian relocating from British Columbia in 1887) for their incorporation as wage laborers into a settler colonial America. Sumner not only invokes Alaska Natives as a laboring class but also underlines their respect for "property," an important prerequisite for white settlement.

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[19] Ibid. Interestingly, Sumner doesn't make note of what type of intermarriage is causing this racial ambiguity-- it is unclear whether he is concerned with Alutiiq intermarriage with other Native groups or if he is referring to the long history of Alutiiq intermarriage with Russian fur traders, promyshlenniki. If the latter, he creates an interesting phylogeny in which Asiatic indigenes in their encounter with Russian colonizers become less Asian and more Indian.
[20] Ibid.

At the same time, he creates hierarchy and progression between Russian resource extraction colonialism and American settler colonial ventures. Though Summer cautioned that Tlingit tribes from southeast Alaska were notoriously bellicose to other Native groups and imperial occupants, compared to the Aleutians' "peaceful even to cowardice" demeanor, the Tlingits' assimilative potential out of a perceived fierce and backward culture is prescribed by their participation in American commerce: "And yet this fighting race is not entirely indocile, if we may credit recent report, that its warriors are changing to traders."[22] Sumner is claiming that the Aleut (Unanga{}, whose colonial relationship with Russians enacted huge cultural changes due to forced hunting, relocation, intermarriage, and Russian Orthodox conversation, were feminized through that process. In contrast, Tlingit who traded with imperial forces (Russian as well as British, French, and American) and who attacked Russian forts at Sitka and Yakutat, maintained a militant virility well suited to American economic ventures. This depiction of Tlingit traders articulated the masculine image of the frontier, and served as antecedent for the image of the Alaskan state that develops, situated within the shift from a resource extractive colonialism to settler colonial industrialism, a process that is based on racialized masculinity.

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[21] Ibid., 27.

[22] Ibid., 28. Sumner's description of the Aleut is taken from George Simpson, the Canadian governor of Hudson's Bay Company in the mid-1800s.

Although Sumner was a long-standing proponent of Alaska's acquisition, it was Secretary of State William H. Seward who orchestrated the sale. Seward long considered Alaska a key aspect in the "informal" empire he envisioned for the US, an expansion that included not just Alaska but also Hawai‘i, the Philippines, and several Caribbean islands. So sure of Alaska's benefit to US economic interests, he negotiated the purchase of Alaska with the Russian minister to the US, Edouard de Stoeckl, with neither presidential nor congressional approval. Sumner's congressional speech was, in part, to ensure the ratification of the treaty Seward arranged with de Stoeckl, which passed the Senate only to have the appropriation of funds for the purchase opposed by the House of Representatives. The US Treasury did not approve funding until 1868.

Seward first visited Alaska in 1869, giving a speech in the newly named territorial capital of Sitka (changed from the capital of Russian America, Novo Archangelsk, or New Archangel), which was subsequently published for a national audience.[23] Diverging from Sumner's classificatory system, Seward claimed an Asian origin for all Alaska Native peoples: "All of them are manifestly of Mongol origin. Although they have preserved no common traditions, all alike indulge in tastes, wear a physiognomy, and are imbued with sentiments peculiarly noticed in Japan and China."[24] What these specific peculiarities are, Seward does not elaborate. The differences in Seward's and Sumner's respective racial taxonomies highlight the shifting ambiguities of racial construction, all under the overarching discourse of Asian ancestry.

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[23] William H. Seward, *Our North American States, Speeches of William H. Seward in Alaska, Vancouver's* (sic) *and Oregon, August 1869* (Washington, DC: Philip and Solomons, 1869).
[24] Ibid., 12.

Seward also had to reckon with the fact that unlike the empty land described by Sumner, the population in the new territory was known to be majority Native, minority white. He therefore provided a narrative of the vanishing Indian, asserting that Alaska's Indigenous "must steadily decline in numbers, and unhappily this decline is accelerated by their borrowing ruinous vices from the white man."[25] As historian Ted Hinckley has researched, this section of Seward's speech, on Alaska Native racial origins and speculated disappearance was not reported in the local Sitka paper, suggesting that Seward included this portion of his speech after the fact primarily for his East Coast audience.[26] Hinckley argues that Seward included this additional rhetoric to justify Alaska's purchase, redeeming what detractors called "Seward's folly" or "Seward's icebox." I maintain that the emphasis is not solely on correcting Seward's past political deeds but also on securing his future legacy, which depended upon his imagining a future for Alaska that is settler colonial, predicated upon the perceived disappearance of Native people that, while tragic, allows for and even necessitates white settlement. State officials such as Seward and Sumner placed Alaska within both American imperial and settler colonial longings through their racial classification of Alaska Natives as distinctly exotic yet also assimilable, a complex configuration that relied on orientalizing Alaskan Natives in relation to perceived Asian origins.

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[25] Ibid., 13.

[26] Ted C. Hinckley, "William Henry Seward and his Sitka Address of August 12, 1869: Notes on the Heretofore Unpublished and Probably Correct Version," in *Alaska and Japan: Perspectives of Past and Present,* ed. Tsuguo Arai (Anchorage: Alaska Methodist University Press, 1972), 49-61.

“Races of a Questionable Ethnical Type”

Government attention to Alaska extended beyond the support of its purchase, and into Indian affairs. In 1869, Vincent Colyer produced a survey of Alaska Natives as the secretary of the newly formed Board of Indian Commissioners based on his own observations, previous official reports, and the statements of over a dozen officials or resident leaders in Alaska.[27] He perpetuated the general confusion as to the racial classification of Alaska Native peoples, as his informants debated which of Alaska’s indigenous people were or were not Indian, and which were, “a distinct race of people, purely Mongolian in origin.”[28]

Not only did Colyer reiterate Alaska Natives’ exceptionalism via a speculated Asian origin, but he also repeated the distinct characteristics of Alaska Native peoples, claiming a general consensus that they were more intelligent and industrious than other Native North Americans. For example, the Unanga{ were praised for their schools and churches, resulting in high literacy rates and general levels of education.[29] It was the Tlingit and Haida of the southeast Alaskan coast, however, who elicited the greatest praise. Colyer quoted the former customs agent and mayor of Sitka as saying, “For half a century educated into traders by the Russian American and Hudson’s Bay Company… they have become keen, sharp-witted and drive a hard and close a bargain as their white brothers.”[30] While Unanga{ were complimented for their book learning, it was the Tlingit and Haida “education” in colonial commerce that was more highly regarded under US occupation. Here, again, we see the comparison between different relationships under the Russian (and British) colonial rule ordering the hierarchies for the transition to US colonialism. As the post trader of Sitka described the local Tlingit, "They are industrious and ingenious, being able to imitate admirably almost anything placed before them."[31] This mimetic quality, especially as a trait sought by industrial capitalism, becomes a distinctive feature describing the Alaska Native, and especially seen as an Asian trait. If, as Homi Bhabha reminds us, "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognized Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite," how does Asianness become the site through which both the Alaska Natives' proximity to whiteness and difference from whiteness is determined?[32]

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[27] Indian Commissioner’s Annual Report. 41st Congress, 2d Session, 1869, H.E.D. 1, Part 3, 975-1058.
[28] Ibid., 1029. In this instance Colyer is quoting a government official speaking about the Aleut people.
[29] Ibid., 1032, 1042.
[30] Ibid., 1029.

The authority created in Colyer's report had huge effects related to Alaska Natives and Indian policy. Although Coyler supported Native claims to lands and financial compensation, and recommended reservations as well as funding for Indian agents, schools, and health services, Congress failed to implement Colyer's suggestions.[33] Instead, the importance of Coyler's report lies in its detailed descriptions and his analyzed summaries, conclusions that would influence governmental policy for the next decade and longer. In 1872, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis A. Walker, relied on Colyer's report to argue that Alaska Natives were not Indian and, therefore, fell outside of the purview of the Office of Indian Affairs and the Interior Department that housed the O.I.A. Walker's argument hinged on an Asian racialization:

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[31] Ibid., 995.

[32] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 122.

[33] Colyer's recommendations passed the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs but stalled at the Congressional level. Congress was hesitant due to the administrative structures required for Colyer's plan, and also disinclined due to publicity surrounding Native and army conflict in Alaska, as well as corruption charges related to the Alaska purchase. A general appropriation was made to the Department of the Interior, which ultimately was not spent on Alaska Natives. See Stephen Haycox, "'Races of a Questionable Ethnical Type': Origins of the Jurisdiction of the US Bureau of Education in Alaska, 1867-1885," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 75.4 (October 1984): 159.

> I have never believed that the natives of Alaska were Indians… any more than are Esquimaux or Kanakas, and I am disposed to avoid entirely the use of the word Indians as applied to them. The balance of probabilities seems to me to incline toward an Asiatic origin, at least so far as the inhabitants of the coast and of the islands are concerned. The inference from their geographic position, strong as it may be, is hardly as strong as the inference from their singular mimetic gifts and the high degree of mechanical dexterity which they are capable of attaining. These are qualities characteristic of the oriental, and they are precisely the qualities in which the North American Indian is most deficient.[34]

Walker was not only repeating the prevailing racial discourse of Asian origins, he fused previous official reports on Alaska Native adaptability to industrial labor with those origins. In doing so, he masked the colonial genealogy provided by previous governmental officials through a naturalized hierarchy that postulated a racially exploitable labor class preferred by capital. In Walker's model, the spectrum of Native responses to colonial and settler colonial dictates, from accommodation in colonial economies to resistance to over a century of US settler colonialist violence, were reduced to essentialized notions of capitalist competency and deficiency, all defined in relation to Asianness.

In arguing that the Office of Indian Affairs' jurisprudence should not be "extended unnecessarily to races of a questionable ethnical type, and occupying a position practically distinct and apart from the range of the undoubted Indian tribes of the continent," Walker also furthered land dispossession for Alaska's Aboriginal inhabitants.[35] Historian Stephen Haycox cites the decision of the Indian office to refuse responsibility over Alaska Natives as an overlooked antecedent to the Bureau of Education's primary role in Alaska Native services and infrastructures, particularly through the leadership of Sheldon Jackson and other Presbyterian missionaries, viewing this difference as having a largely beneficial effect on Alaska Native peoples.[36] Equally elided is the way in which Walker's administrative refusal located the rights, and therefore political strategies, of Alaska Natives as distinct from other Indigenous Americans. He articulated that it was in the interests of Alaska Natives to be regarded separately because identifying with American Indians could result in, "constitutional disqualification for citizenship."[37] Nation-to-nation negotiations between Indian tribes and the OIA were being eschewed for the assimilative promise of Native petitions to citizenship as individuals, and this political inducement was based on the colonial history of Alaska Native peoples. Echoing the ambiguity of the Treaty of Cession's figuration of citizenship based on being a member of a "civilized tribe," Walker's reasoning resuscitated the logics of Russian imperial rule, within a new matrix of racialization based on perceived Asian lineage. (Ironically, Asian origins yielded potential citizenship for Indigenous subjects while Asian origins for immigrant workers foreclosed such possibilities.) Part of the OIA's decisions were practical, as Walker did not want to assume the bureaucratic logistics or expenses that would result if the OIA took on responsibility of Alaska Native tribes.

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[34] "Conditions of the Inhabitants of Alaska," 42nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1872, H.E.D. 197, 3-4.

[35] Ibid., 4.

What Walker's rationale both conceals and reveals, however, is that by refusing Alaska Natives status as Indians, he limited the capacity of Alaska tribes to make land claims as *nations* of people. Instead of viewing Alaska Natives as the original inhabitants of Alaska, Walker and other government officials viewed them as having origins elsewhere, which placed them on a trajectory from those Asiatic origins to an American settler future, while everything in between was transitory. Land is being lost here, figuratively and materially. Jodi Byrd cogently argues that indigeneity functions as a transit, a transferable paradigm through which US empire acquires lands and territories, while simultaneously disavowing the attendant violence enacted upon Indigenous peoples. This process is being rehearsed through Walker's reasoning, but unlike Byrd's supposition that this transit pivots on a production of *Indianness,* in this instance Indigenous dispossession is orchestrated through *Asianness.* This in an overlooked functioning of settler colonialism and its racial apparatus, as well as Alaska's important example within the formation of settler colonialism.

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[36] Haycox, 156-163.
[37] "Conditions of the Inhabitants of Alaska," 3.

The Tourist Gaze

Tourists' first-person observations expanded the US state archives' grammar of settler colonialism, naturalizing racial discourses of ambiguity and exception for Alaska Natives, all undergirded by notions of Asianness. The completion of the transcontinental railroads in the latter half of the nineteenth century marked an expanded national economy that included the emergence of tourism by upper class Americans eager to view both sublime landscapes and authentic indigenous peoples.[38] In the 1880s, both the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway and regular steamship travel to and from Southeast Alaska facilitated a new tourist destination in Alaska, similarly fueled by demands to experience pristine wilderness and the Alaska Native indigene. Visible are the tourist demands that fueled this emergent tourist economy; less apparent is the Asian labor that intersected with these tourist routes. Chinese laborers were integral to the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad and, likewise, Chinese labor contracted by Alaskan canneries was a major part of what compelled regular steamship travel along Alaska's Inside Passage. Starting in a US port such as San Francisco, Portland, Tacoma, or Seattle, the main stops would include Fort Wrangel, the mining town of Juneau, and the Alaskan capital Sitka, with visits to Native villages such as the Haida village of Kasaan or the Tlingit village of Killisnoo. Some trips included nature-related sites such at Glacier Bay before returning south. Stops were brief, and the entire journey usually lasted two weeks or less.

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[38] On the tourist desire for sublime landscapes, see Robert Campbell, *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage*; on the tourist gaze on Southwest Indian peoples, Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1997); on tourist engagement with Indians of the Pacific Northwest and Southeast Alaska, see Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast,* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005). I purposely borrow the term "authentic" from Raibmon to describe non-Native desires for a mythic representation of a Native subject divorced from modernity, ironically articulated as "authenticity."

Tourists traveling to Alaska reiterated and expanded the prevailing racial discourse of Alaska Natives' descendence from Asians, frequently asserting their personal observations of physical resemblance. As tourist destinations were predominantly to coastal communities, the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Koniag, and Unanga{ were all observed to have Asian facial features, coloring, or physical stature. Similar to the government officials of the previous decade, tourists debated which tribes, or all of Alaska's indigenous, were of Asian origin. Within this shifting terrain of Asian interpellation, late-nineteenth century tourists also opined on Asian specificities, whether certain tribes were Chinese or Japanese, or if all were generally "Mongolian." Upon visiting the Haida village Kasaan on Prince of Wales Island, traveler Abby Johnson Woodman remarked, "They look much like the Japanese, and possess many of their characteristics."[39] Physical traits were emphasized, as when Henry T. Finck reported, "It is impossible to look at these Indians and not come to the conclusion that they are descended from the Japanese. The whole cast of the face is Japanese: the cheeks, the small, sparkling black eyes, with their scant lashes and brows, and the complexion, are unmistakably so."[40] This closely scrutinizing objectification was also articulated by the most widely read traveler to Alaska, naturalist John Muir, who opined, "It is easy to see that [Alaska Natives] differed greatly from the typical American Indian of the interior of this continent. They were doubtless derived from the Mongol stock. Their down-slanting oval eyes, wide cheek-bones, and rather thick, outstanding upper lips at once suggest their connection with the Chinese or Japanese."[41] What Muir and other tourists underscored was their personal witness (almost uncomfortably so) to physical attributes. As Finck stressed above, given such intimate observations, it was simply not possible to come to another conclusion regarding the origin of Alaska Natives.

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[39] Abby Johnson Woodman, *Picturesque Alaska: A Journal of a Tour Among the Mountains, Seas and Islands of the Northwest, from San Francisco to Sitka* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1890), 132.

Tourists bolstered their perceptions with the official reports that preceded their entry into Alaska, yet their first-person observations surpassed governmental classifications and naturalized an Asian-Native racial connection for a popular audience. The level to which empiricism authorized claims is evidenced by missionary Livingston Jones' critique of naturalist William Healy Dall who asserted that he could see no connection between Alaska Natives and Chinese or Japanese.[42] Jones argued:

> This is surprising, coming as it does from a man of his intelligence and research. Even tourists and transients passing through Alaska have observed the striking resemblance of native Alaskans to Japanese. The Thlingets, especially, seem so closely related to the people of the east coast of Asia, that a European traveller who had been around the world once remarked to a missionary, "How many Japanese you have in

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[40] Henry Theophilus Finck, *The Pacific Coast Scenic Tour: From Southern California to Alaska, the Canadian Pacific Railway, Yellowstone Park, and the Grand Canyon* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1891), 243.

[41] John Muir, *Travels in Alaska* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), 197.

[42] William Dall was a naturalist, specializing in mollusks. He was a member of the Scientific Corps of the Alaskan Western Union Telegraph Expedition in 1865 and also surveyed the Alaskan Coast in 1871. See William Healy Dall, *Alaska and Its Resources* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1870), 373-432.

> Wrangell!" At the time there was not a Japanese in the place. The people he saw were native Alaskans.[43]

The hierarchy of knowledge production that Jones provided is telling. Though acknowledging Dall's authority as a scientist, he stressed that *even* a tourist or transient, using a word that highlights the lower class character of a prospector or laborer, can see what Dall cannot. The erudite scholar failed to comprehend what was obvious and common sense to those visiting and living in Alaska. For Jones, a European tourist indexed a global empirical knowledge while a missionary represented local expertise.

The manner in which tourists engaged and furthered racial discourses within popular culture illustrates what Raymond Williams terms "structures of feeling," or, perhaps more accurately, his expanded notion of "structures of experience." Working from Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony as the co-constitution of coercion and consent, Williams explains that hegemony, " is a lived system of meanings and values… which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming…. It is, that is to say, in the strongest sense a 'culture,' but a culture which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes."[44] As examples of "practical consciousness" (as opposed to "official consciousness"), structures of feeling are "concerned with meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" – in this case, the travel experiences of tourists were shaped by and, in turn, shaped the discourses of racialization, empire, and capitalism.[45] Tourists naturalized the imperial and settler colonial categorization of Alaska Natives as Asian and, through their first-hand accounts, posited that naturalization as what Gramsci termed "common sense" for their readers. Through personal witness, tourists highlighted the phenotypic racialization of colonial intimacy.

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[43] Livingston F. Jones, *A Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1914), 28.
[44] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 110. See also Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* eds. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971).
[45] Ibid., 132.

The notion of visiting and viewing a distant and distinct Aboriginal people tied into larger national and transnational imperial discourses of the exotic and Other. As both Julie Cruikshank and Robert Campbell have detailed, Alaska and Africa were brought into a shared constellation through the adventures of numerous explorers, those who traveled to both destinations such as young Edward James Glave as well as those who narrated their Alaskan adventure with a vocabulary of African exploration.[46] Tourists similarly emphasized foreign difference of Alaska Natives, through Asian associations. Tourists described Native religious practice as Asian idolatry, such as one tourist's assertion, "Shamanism is a religion of awful superstition which prevails in Northern Asia, consisting in a belief in evil spirits, and in the necessity of averting their malign influence by magic spells and horrid rites. The prevalence of this religion among the Alaska Indians is one of the many evidences of their Asiatic origins."[47] As this passage demonstrates, tourists often felt compelled to describe and comment on what they found objectionable or repulsive. Additional aspects of Native culture, on the other hand, met with praise. This was true of Native material culture, particularly craftwork, as evidenced in one tourist's praise for the Haida, who "excel in their stone carvings. We saw some beautiful dark stone vases, very antique and oriental in shapes."[48] In both flattery and denunciation, the tourist discourse of the Other depended upon a foreign and exotic Asianness. Even though American tourists patriotically incorporated Alaska into a larger sense of national belonging, such incorporation was always premised on a future settlement, an envisioning of the white settler nation to come. In terms of their present moment desires, however, tourist fascination was held by a pure and pristine landscape, unsullied by development, a sublime landscape inhabited by a noble and primitive Other. Even as industrial and modern futures were touted and expressed, this forthcoming vision contradicted imperial wishes to dwell in an imagined past, timeless and remote. As we will see in the following sections, the preference for imperial narratives of Alaskan adventures ultimately signaled the waning tourist fascination with Asian and industrialized Alaska Native peoples.

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[46] See Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, & Social Imagination* (Vancouver: UBC Press; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 179-210; Campbell, 18-45.

[47] Edward Pierrepont, *Fifth Avenue to Alaska* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1884), 163. See also George Wardman, *A Trip to Alaska: A Narrative of What Was Seen and Heard During a Summer Cruise in Alaskan Waters* (San Francisco: Samuel Carson, 1884), 128; Eliza Scidmore, *Alaska, Its Southern Coast and the Sitkan Archipelago* (Boston: D. Lothrop, 1885), 181.

"A half mile from savage… to… all human happiness"

While not technically tourists, missionary writings were also part of the larger body of travel literature, as missionaries published widely read articles and books, and were also known to correspond to those interested in Alaska history and culture, including tourists. Additionally, many missionaries served as contributors to the state archive through their flexible transformation into government officials, such as Presbyterian minister Sheldon Jackson, the General Agent of Education for Alaska, and missionary John G. Brady, appointed as Alaska's territorial governor for three terms (1897-1906). For Presbyterian missionary S. Hall Young (who traveled with and befriended John Muir on the naturalist's 1879 trip to Alaska) the Asian racialization of Alaska Natives belied an openness to Christian conversion: "Southeastern Alaska, the most accessible part of the Territory, whose natives descend from the Japanese and are brightest and most susceptible to Christian civilization, has made astonishing progress."[49] Young's mission work provided him the platform to further the racial speculations proffered by tourists, specifically indexing the Asianness of Alaska Natives as a measure of adaptability to Christian modernity.

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[48] Woodman, 189. See also Septima Collis, *A Woman's Trip to Alaska* (New York: Cassell, 1890), 180; Charles M. Taylor, Jr. *Touring Alaska and the Yellowstone* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1901), 153.

The Sitka stop on the southeast Alaska route highlighted the missionaries project at the Sitka Industrial Training School. Founded by Sheldon Jackson, the Sitka Industrial Training School, like African American industrial schools and American Indian boarding schools throughout the US, was premised on a uncivilized vs. civilized dichotomy in which "heathen" youth could be rehabilitated into modern Christian citizens. Tourists visiting Sitka were invited to witness this wondrous transformation by first visiting the Tlingit village, or "Ranche," followed by a tour of the mission school and its neighboring cottages, Victorian houses where graduates resided.

Women tourists were especially conducive to the missionaries' civilizing project, often describing the Sitka "tour" in great detail. As Septima Collis, author of *A Woman's Trip to Alaska*, depicted, "I first went into one of the classrooms of the males, where I saw perhaps twenty dark-skinned Siwash Indian boys, whose Mongolian faces and almond-shaped eyes had assumed an expression of intelligence, so different from the stupid, blear-eyed appearance of the same age and race who I had seen in the rancherie, that is was difficult to realize that they could possibly be twigs of the same tree."[50] In this instance, Collis indexed Asianness as the realization of assimilationist promises, juxtaposing almond eyes to bleary eyes in an illogical leap in racializing assimilated Natives as Asian kin, skipping over unassimilated boys. As she continued, “Those ladies and gentlemen who accompanied me through the rancherie and the school at Sitka can vouch for the fact that it is only half a mile from savage, uncivilized ignorance, superstition, filth, and immorality to education, deportment, thrift, domestic felicity, and all human happiness.”[51] Similar to the staging of the progressive narrative performed at world fairs, the travels from the Rancherie to the mission school not only held out the civilizing promise for Natives, but reinforced the supremacy of white Victorian domesticity. Indeed, Collis described the schoolboys solving an arithmetic problem while the girls mastered sewing skills. Looking at the doubled meanings of “domestic,” of nation and home, Amy Kaplan argues that domesticity in the latter half of the nineteenth century operated as a “mobile and often unstable discourse that can expand or contract the boundaries of home and nation, and that their interdependence relies on racialized conceptions of the foreign.”[52] As Collis praised the mission’s cottages that demonstrated how “pupils live when they marry and go to housekeeping,” she enfolded the racialized and gendered domestic promise of the Sitka Industrial Training School into the larger imperial vision to shape and mold Alaska Natives into civilized and heteronormative members of American society.

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[49] S. Hall Young, *The Mushing Parson* (Fleming H. Revell, 1927), 437.
[50] Collis,121.

As the first major group of white women in Alaska, women tourists performed a particular disciplining function for Alaskan empire in their travel narratives. In contrast to the praise extolled on the Sitka mission school, women writers criticized the Native women who sold curios to tourists. In general, both male and female tourists expressed a combination of fascination and horror to the women who sat along docks and boardwalks, wearing blankets and whose faces, as was the Tlingit and Haida custom, often painted with black grease.[53] Several women writers further asserted specific knowledge on face painting, even while denigrating the practice. As Collis described, "The women all resembled the lowest caste of Chinese, but with coarser and broader faces and larger features; some of them with faces painted entirely black as a complexion preserver, others colored only across the upper portion of their face, indicating widowhood, and all looking the saddest specimens of indifferent wretchedness, so benighted as not to realize the degradation, misery, and filth of their existence."[54] Collis, while admitting that this practice often signals mourning, cannot evoke any sympathy for Native women with their faces painted. Her comparison to "lower caste" Chinese also invokes the preoccupation with Chinese women as prostitutes on the West Coast, providing the litany, "degradation, misery, filth," words used to describe Chinese women as victims, not of global economies of the late 1800s, but of their own culture. Naturalist and photographer Eliza Scidmore (she would become the first female board member of the National Geographic Society) offered a more generous accounting of this practice of using black grease, as a combination sunscreen and insect repellant. As she related, "On feast days and the great occasions, when they wash off the black, their complexions come out as fair and creamy white as the palest of their Japanese cousins across the water, and the women are then seen to be some six shades lighter than the tan-colored and coffee-colored lords of their tribe."[55] In an interesting gendered maneuver, Scidmore establishes Asian kinship ("Japanese cousins") for Alaska Native women, bypassing the darker (and less civilized) Alaska Native men. Also of note, is Scidmore's domestic tone, highlighting Alaska Native women's cultural practice as a cosmetic trick to look good at the next social gathering. Juxtaposing Collis and Scidmore's accounts elucidates both a desire to domesticate Alaska Natives, and the concomitant anxieties that result. That these tensions surfaced during business transactions with Native women selling curios is telling. As we shall see in the next section, this tension becomes even more heightened in the realization of the imperial promise of a laboring class.

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[51] Ibid., 123.
[52] Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 26.

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[53] For example, Charles Taylor describes his reaction to the Native women sellers: "though unkempt and repulsive, [they] present a certain artistic fitness for their surroundings," Taylor, 269.
[54] Collis, 171.

The Anxieties of Laboring Bodies

Similar to Indian Commissioner Francis Walker's racialization, tourists fused the idea of Asian origins and industrial aptitudes, attributing a particular imitative ability as an essential trait of Asians and by extension, Alaska Natives. As one tourist remarked, "The natives… are different from the red men of the United States in appearance, habits, and customs. They seem to have had a Japanese origin, have a Mongolian cast of features, and, unlike our Indians are naturally intelligent, with industrious habits, keen in trade, good mechanical ideas, quick to learn."[56] More than situating Alaska Natives within the popular white supremacist ideology of the time, however, I argue that this constructed relation configures Alaska Native's assimilability precisely at the moment that Asian laborers are entering wage labor in Alaska's resource extraction economies, a material relationship that cannot be overlooked. Travel writer Charles Hallock made this connection when he wrote, “As a whole, the Indians of Alaska… [are] industrious to a degree unknown elsewhere among the aborigines of America…. There is assuredly a strong facial resemblance between the Chinese coolies now living on the coast and some of the native Indians. They seem to affiliate naturally.”[57]

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[55] Scidmore, 88.
[56] Taylor, 153.

Alaska Natives were configured in relation to Asians even as tourists observed them working together in waged labor. On his 1885 travels to Alaska, Edward Pierrepont visited a salmon cannery with Chinese and Native workers:

> We saw nineteen Chinamen and some twenty Indians working at the same long table. But for the dress and pigtail, we could not tell the Chinese from the Alaska Indians, so close was the resemblance of features. Upon inquiry we found that several Chinamen had intermarried with squaws, that they seemed to have a ready understanding of each other and could communicate through their language with greater facility than the whites. I imagine that they must have sprung from the same stock.”[58]

In this passage, Asians and Natives are understood to share origins because they are phenotypically indistinguishable to white tourists as they work together on the cannery line and imagined origins take on an industrial futurity made possible by intermarriage and a “ready understanding.” The racial kinship outlined by colonial intimacy was realized though interracial relations in Alaska’s nascent industrialization. This linkage between Alaska Natives’ singularity and their participation in wage economy was bluntly articulated by territorial governor Alfred P. Swineford who claimed that Tlingits “have not a drop of Indian blood in their veins,” and that “there is not a more independent, prosperous, and contended ‘lower class’ in any country on earth than the native population of southeastern Alaska."[59] As an Alaskan booster, Swineford understood that to picture white settlement as inevitable depended on transforming a majority Native populace into an exploitable and segregated laboring class.

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[57] Charles Hallock, *Our New Alaska; Or, the Seward Purchase Vindicated* (New York: Forest and Stream, 1886), 91-92.
[58] Pierrepont,177.

Not all tourists viewed Chinese immigrant labor as a positive example, however. Tourist adventures that started in San Francisco were replete with descriptions of cramped quarters, malodorous smells, opium dens, gambling, and prostitution.[60] Tourists appeared unable to connect these descriptions to similar understandings of Native villages and Native quarters in boomtowns as debased and culturally othered sites. Instead, several tourists disconnected these negative visions of capitalist expansion by locating Alaska Native origins as specifically Japanese. Here, we see the first fissures in the Asian-Native racialization, that the imperial promise of an assimilable Other is contradicted by the racialized class composition of settler colonial capitalism. Abby Woodman belied the difference in her travel diaries when she wrote, "Dr. Sheldon Jackson, US School Commissioner in Alaska, came on board at Tongas Cannery, bringing with him thirty-seven bright Indian boys…. We have already on shipboard one hundred and fifty Chinamen, about sixty cabin passengers, miners, adventurers, etc., besides Mrs. Willard and ourselves."[61] Woodman reveals the entangled economies that the steamships are involved in: tourist, cannery, and mining. In doing so, however, she draws several distinctions. The cabin passengers are separate from laborers, "miners" and "adventures" are further separated from the racialized Chinese cannery workers, and the Native young men that Jackson intends to educate are separate from the Chinese cannery workers as well. A paradox is presented: while the civilizing project is dependent on racially separating Alaska Natives from other Indigenous Americans through a discourse of Asianness, Asian immigrant workers are also being racialized as improper and Other during this period. While the racial distinctions of Alaska Natives are forged to prevent primitivist interpellation, those who are shaping this discourse must now attend to orientalist configurations of the Asian migrant worker as well. The distinction between these two constructions is evident in the fact that missionaries in Alaska never show the slightest interest in converting Chinese workers or any of the successive waves of Asian immigrant workers to follow. Woodman skirts this contradiction by being one of the many authors who racialized Alaska Natives as Japanese in looks and character.[62]

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[59] Alfred P. Swineford, *Alaska: Its History, Climate, and Natural Resources* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1898), 94, 99.
[60] Finck, 112-199; Pierrepont, 44-51, 99-109.
[61] Woodman, 110-111.

Chinese labor in Alaska revealed both the dream and nightmare for white settler colonialism, a reminder that an exploitable racial class both provided the material base for settlement while also limiting the white futures of that settlement.[63] For John Muir, this contradiction proved that the civilizing enterprise was unneeded and unwanted. Muir bemoaned what he viewed as the decline and eventual disappearance of Native culture, and saw industrial enterprise as a particularly horrific aspect of this declension narrative. On the Harriman-Alaska expedition in 1899, he described, “A fearful smell, a big greasy cannery and unutterably dirty, frowsy Chinamen. Men in the business are themselves canned.”[64] To Muir, the promise of a civilized Native working similar to the Asian laborer was a dystopic vision. Bhabha reminds us that, “Mimicry is… the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both 'normalized' knowledges and disciplining powers."[65] In Alaska, the lauded mimetic abilities of the Asianified Native revealed how "mimicry is at once resemblance and menace," representing the redemptive mission of the Alaska Native on one hand, and the improper labor of the Chinese worker on the other.[66] The imperial advantages of distinguishing Alaska Natives through an Asian racialization were straining under settler colonial development.

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[62] Ibid., 132.
[63] Bhabha, 123.
[64] John Muir, *John of the Mountains: The Unpublished Journals of John Muir,* ed. Linnie March Wolfe (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 394.

American Anthropology and the Bering Land Bridge

Ethnographers, as part of the emergent discipline of anthropology, also participated in the Asian racialization of Native peoples, at once reifying similarities as scientifically based while also, paradoxically, extending the discourse of Asian origins outside of Alaska to include other Indigenous Americans. Anthropologist Franz Boas, whose research included fieldwork in Alaska and British Columbia, connected the popular discourse at the time to scholarly theories. In a report following his research trips to British Columbia in the 1880s, he described the large numbers of Native peoples living and working in an urban Victoria as, "These are squat figures whom we meet here; the color of their skin is very light; they have prominent cheekbones, straight, shortcut hair, and dark eyes. They remind us so strongly of the east Asiatic peoples that throughout British Columbia there is the indisputable opinion that they are descendants of Japanese sailors."[67] This passage is remarkably similar to tourist depictions, echoing the personal observations of tourist authors that are dehumanizingly detailed in physical description. And, just like the tourists traveling to Alaska during the same period, Boas utilizes experientially based knowledge to assert claims of Asian origins, though in Boas' case, his reputation as a man of science lends additional credence to this "indisputable opinion." His reported observations and their resonance with popular racial discourse on Asian and Alaskan connections is also notable when one considers that this early fieldwork in British Columbia is where Boas is developing what will become the branch of anthropology known as cultural anthropology, known for its methodological fusing of empirical observation and field research. Boas' diaries further reveal the moment he personally "discovers" the Asian-Native connection, during an 1888 research trip while consulting with a Haida informant in Victoria, British Columbia and also while collecting skulls in a region northeast of the city. In the middle of writing up notes, "it suddenly occurred to me that Haida and Tlingit did not have the structure of Indian languages, but that of the Asiatic. You can imagine that this thought caused me a great deal of excitement because that would be an important discovery." After musing that this revelation occurs on his birthday, he is compelled to extend his stay, "to find a basis for this idea."[68]

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[65] Bhabha, 123.
[66] Ibid.

Boas was not only engaging with the popular origin narratives of the period but also extending the common racial discourse of the day into scientific discussions of Indigenous origins. Based on his early research in the Pacific Northwest, as well as his fieldwork on the Inuit on Baffin Island in the early 1880s, Boas came to believe that the Americas has been peopled by a migration of early settlers that crossed the Bering Strait, at Ice Age intervals that would have lowered sea levels and made the strait into a land bridge. Other theories were advanced at this time, including an Atlantic land bridge and the hypothesis that American Indians were the lost tribes of Israel.[69] By the turn of the century, the scientific community reached a general consensus that the Americas were people by Asian ancestors who migrated east. This understanding was solidified by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902), a collaborative ethnographic venture to establish the origins of America's Indigenous people by examining the biological and cultural similarities between the Aboriginal peoples of Asia and the Americas. Franz Boas, then the assistant curator of the American Museum of Natural History's department of anthropology, organized and coordinated the expedition.

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[67] Franz Boas, *The Ethnography of Franz Boas: Letters and Diaries of Franz Boas Written on the Northwest Coast from 1886 to 1931,* ed. Ronald Rohner, trans. Hedy Parker (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), 6.
[68] Franz Boas diary, July 9, 1888 in Boas, 1969, 98.

The fact that Boas, regarded as the founding "father" of American anthropology, is a key contributor to the intellectual history of the Asia-America migration theory stands as a powerful marker of this discourse. Boas also helps us understand the shift from Alaska Native exceptionalism configured through Asianness, to locating all of Indigenous Americans through Asian origins and an Alaskan migration. How and why does the exception become the rule? His report and diary entries based on Pacific

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[69] Samuel F. Haven, *Archaeology of the United States, or Sketches, Historical and Bibliographical, of the Progress of Information and Opinion Respecting Vestiges of Antiquity in the United States* (Philadelphia: T.K. and P.G. Collins, 1855). Part of Boas' insistence on the Bering Land Bridge was due to his public disagreement with University of Pennsylvania professor of linguistics and archaeology Daniel Garrison Brinton, who hypothesized that a North Atlantic Land Bridge existed during the last great Ice Age and that the ancestors of America's indigenous were from Europe not Asia. Ascribing to similar scientific racism as Agassiz, Brinton's thesis both allowed him to postulate that Aboriginal people in the Western Hemisphere had been isolated for tens of thousands of years (and therefore uniformly inferior) and that the progenitors of the human species were Europeans. See Daniel G. Brinton, *Races and Peoples: Lectures on the Sciences of Ethnography* (New York: N.D.C. Hodges, 1890); Daniel G. Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1890).

Northwest fieldwork in the late 1880s echo the sentiments of Alaskan tourists during the same time period, even down to the type of objectifying physical characteristics.

This suggests that the two theories, Alaska Natives as distinct from other Indigenous Americans because of Asian origins and all Indigenous Americans as descendants of Asians, are actually built upon the same racialized discourses, the conclusions having been changed to serve different ends. Instructive in marking this change are the anxieties surrounding industrialized racial labor in Alaska, as noted in the section above. As Asian origins become less useful for selling the settler colonial future of Alaska, the overriding fascination with an indigenous Asianness becomes conveniently tied to justifying settler colonial pasts, that is, the settlement of north America. Indigeneity rendered through an Asian lens makes immigrants out of natives, disappearing settler violence along with indigenous claims.

One of the participants in this discussion of American Indigenous origins was the Tacoma lawyer, judge, and elected official James A. Wickersham. Wickersham fashioned himself an ethnologist with particular intimacy with Puget Sound Natives and started writing ethnographic pieces in popular scientific publications, including speculated Asian origins.[70] Wickersham's interest in the Asia migration hypothesis was only fueled by his appointment as an Alaska district judge in 1900. Within a couple of years, he presented to the Nome Literary Society, concluding, "there was no obstacle to the migration of the Mongolian people via the Straits to America."[71] His diary and personal papers reflect an enormous amount of research and writing on the subject of Asian origins for the Native people of Alaska, specifically, and of the Americas, generally. Wickersham's enduring preoccupation with the Bering Land Bridge and Asian origin theories is evident in his 1934 commencement speech to the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines (what would later become the University of Alaska), titled "The Asio-American Migration Route: The Land Bridge from Siberia to Alaska and the Asiatic Animals which Crossed Over It to America." Wickersham's identification with Alaska and his interest in Native culture and the Bering Land Bridge theory are well documented. What is less discussed is Wickersham's early political career in relation to two obscured violences: land dispossession of the Puyallup Indians and Tacoma's driving out of Chinese residents.

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[70] For example, Wickersham described the phenomenon of Japanese junks shipwrecked on the Oregon coast. See James Wickersham, "A Peculiar Occurrence of Beeswax," *Science* 22, no. 544 (July 7, 1893), 10. He was even more direct in arguing that the lack of pottery in Native cultures from the Columbia River north to Alaska proved Asian origins. See James Wickersham, "Pottery on Puget Sound," *Science* 22, no. 566 (December 8, 1893), 315-316.

[71] June 1902 Diaries, James Wickersham Papers, Alaska State Library Historical Collections, Manuscript Collection 107. Hereafter, cited as Wickersham Papers.

Wickersham and Native Land Dispossession

In 1883, the young lawyer James Wickersham moved with his family from Illinois to Washington Territory and quickly established a law practice in Tacoma with pioneer hop grower, Ezra Meeker, before moving on to a solo practice. Wickersham's interest in ethnology grew concurrent to his legal and political career—in the few year after he opened his law offices, he became Pierce County Probate Judge as well as the lawyer for the Shaker Church, an Indian religious movement that started on the Squaxin Island Indian Reservation in Washington Territory in the 1880s and spread throughout the Pacific Northwest. Less well known is his interest in land development. Wickersham formed the Allyn Land Company soon after his arrival in Tacoma, appointing himself as director and holding ten percent interest. He actively recruited eastern investors, including his friend and mentor US Senator John Palmer.[72] Much of Tacoma's land speculation at the time was premised on the city's projected prosperity as the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad. By the 1890s, Wickersham supplied the Northern Pacific with maps and other information in the hopes of enticing the railroad in a sale. To this end, he formed several short-line railroad companies, including the Port Angeles Central Railroad and the Peninsula Railway and Navigation Company.[73] Designs for profits on land sales were intricately tied to the tribally held lands surrounding Tacoma, seen as an obstacle by speculators such as Wickersham. The loss of the Puyallup tribe's land base was due, in part, to thirty-two Tacoma land companies in the late nineteenth century; the same twenty individuals reappeared on the boards of these organizations, including Wickersham.[74]

Wickersham also furthered Native land dispossession in his private practice as a lawyer. Alongside his representation of the Shaker Church, he began defending squatters rights of white settlers, first on the Muckleshoot Reservation in 1886 and, later that year, he represented twenty settlers' land claims against what he claimed was illegal tribal possession in order to form the Puyallup reservation. In this same period, Wickersham corresponded with the commissioner of Indian affairs and the east coast civic group, the Indian Rights Association, requesting information and presenting himself as an acquaintance and supporter of local Indians. Historian George Castile implies that his stated concerns for estates of deceased Natives and their orphaned children was merely a front to plunder Native land under his official status as Probate Judge.[75] Castile more explicitly questions Wickersham's motives by looking at how his private correspondence often contradicted his public statements. For example, in a letter to Washington state's Senator John Allen, Wickersham complained that his case representing non-Native land claims within the Puyallup reservation was decided against him by the secretary of the interior, "upon the usual plan of giving everything to the Indian and accusing everybody who touches a piece of his land a thief," arguing that, "Tacoma's growth and prosperity has been largely retarded by this wet blanket—the Puyallup reservation. It is an outrage upon our citizens—a travesty upon the law, and a swindle upon the govt."[76] Tellingly, Wickersham's word choices—"thief" and "swindle," even as he is working diligently to dispossess Puyallup Indians of their land, reveal the white entitlement he felt that Native people were infringing upon.

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[72] George Pierre Castile, "The Indian Connection: Judge James Wickersham and the Indian Shakers," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 81, no. 4 (October 1990): 123.
[73] Ibid., 124.
[74] John Clinebell and Manuel Quintara, "Puyallup Tribe: The Theft of the Puyallup Land Base," in *National Lawyers Guild Law Student Indian Summer Project: Project Report,* ed. Marguerite Bick (Seattle: National Lawyers Guild, 1973), 7.

Wickersham's letter to Allen was part of a larger campaign to petition Senator Allen and Washington Congressman John L. Wilson to obtain governmental approval to open up the Puyallup reservation for sale. Wickersham and other Tacoma speculators staunchly supported Allen's alternative bill to the one introduced by Henry Dawes, as Allen's bill would remove all restrictions on reservation sales and also uphold squatters' claims. Although Allen's bill failed, the Indian Appropriations Act passed on March 3, 1893, and the Puyallup Land Commission was created, turning Tacoma city officials into trustees for Indian land holders.[77] By 1904, when all restrictions on the sale of Puyallup land were removed, the majority of the reservation had transferred to white ownership.[78]

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[75] Castile, 123-124.
[76] Wickersham to John Allen, June 24, 1980, Box 22, Vol. 6, Wickersham Papers.
[77] Castile, 128.
[78] Clinebell and Quintara, 19.

Wickersham and the Driving Out of Chinese

The Northern Pacific also brought Chinese railroad workers into Tacoma. Chinese had lived in Tacoma since 1873 but by the 1880s a sizable population lived along Tacoma's waterfront in an ethnic enclave. The Chinese community of about 700 (of Tacoma's total 7,000 population) ran laundries and small stores, worked as domestic servants, served in hotels and restaurants, and labored in nearby mills and on farms. Anti-Chinese sentiment was not new or unique to Tacoma's community. Violence against Chinese occurred soon after their migration to the US, with early isolated incidents occurring against Chinese in the 1850s, and becoming more frequent and orchestrated in the 1870s and 1880s throughout the West Coast. With the economic downturn following the railroad's completion in Tacoma in 1883, part of a nation-wide recession that started around 1882 when the decline in railroad construction resulted in similar declines in steel and iron industries, anti-Chinese agitation gained momentum and, in November 1885, Tacoma expelled the entire Chinese community by force.[79] Leading up to the ouster, a number of anti-Chinese organizations materialized, including the Workingmen's Union and the Independent Carpenters Union, which both formed in 1884 with an expressly anti-Chinese agenda. Other organizations soon followed and long standing organizations such as the Tacoma Turn Verein and the local fire department also participated, and by 1885 a local chapter of the Knights of Labor had formed. These groups helped elect R. Jacob Weisbach, a local merchant and public Sinophobe. Anti-

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[79] Historical sources for this event include: Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (New York: Random House, 2007), xv-xxii, 217-229; Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 50-51; Jules Alexander Karlin, "The Anti-Chinese Outbreak in Tacoma, 1885," *Pacific Historical Review* 23 (1954): 271-83; Herbert Hunt, *Tacoma: Its History and Its Builders, A Half Century of Activity* (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1916), 355-383.

Chinese agitation increased throughout the year in the form of meetings, flyers, and press reports. Chinese were not only opposed as economic competitors, but because of their "peculiar diseases," "vile habits," ingrained heathenism," and "ineffable vices."[80] In September 1885 Tacoma representatives attended the Puget Sound Anti-Chinese Congress in Seattle, and Mayor Weisbach was elected president. The decided action by the Congress was a boycott of Chinese businesses, a campaign to fire all Chinese employees, and a November 1 deadline for when all Chinese must vacate the area. In Tacoma a "Committee of Fifteen" was established to lead the local driving out, and Wickersham was chosen as a member. During this time of intense agitation, several hundred Chinese left Tacoma and on November 3, the Committee of Fifteen led approximately 500 white Tacoma residents armed with guns and clubs through the town, rounding up the Chinese and forcing them to Lake View, a railway station nine miles out of town. In the heavy rainstorm that day and night, two men died of exposure and one woman was reported to have gone insane. Some Chinese paid for their own expulsion, purchasing tickets for the morning train to Portland. Others were packed into boxcars, or walked 140 miles along the railroad tracks. Within 48 hours of the driving out, two fires were started in the Chinese quarter, burning it to the ground.[81]

While the ouster of Tacoma's Chinese was part of a larger pattern of anti-Chinese agitation in the American West at the time, Tacoma was unique in that the expulsion was planned and organized by town leaders and not enacted via mob violence, giving rise to the term the "Tacoma method." Indeed, the Committee of Fifteen acted quickly on

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[80] Karlin, 272.

[81] The exceptions to the driving out were a few Chinese house servants who were protected by their employers. This connects to the Alaskan figure of China Joe and his protection from a similar driving out, the subject of Chapter 2.

November 3, before the Knights of Labor could follow through on threats to remove the Chinese through more militant means. Tacoma's leaders congratulated themselves that the driving out was marked by a lack of violence.[82] Wickersham and twenty-six others were quickly indicted and charged with conspiracy and inciting an insurrection but by 1887, the charges were dismissed. Locally and regionally, Tacoma leaders were generally regarded as heroes (and martyrs because of the indictment) and, as Tacoma historian Herbert Hunt summarizes, "The members of the Committee of Fifteen became heroes in the public imagination, and for years they exercised a large authority in public affairs."[83] For Wickersham, his leadership in the driving out certainly helped elevate him to Tacoma City Attorney and the Washington House of Representatives before President William McKinley appointed him as an Alaska District Judge.

The Violences of Wickersham's Migration Theory

While scholars have remarked on Wickersham's participation in the sale of Puyallup tribal lands and Tacoma's expulsion of Chinese, the two activities have never been brought into conversation together. I argue that Wickersham's material role in stripping the Puyallup of their lands and his leadership in the expulsion of Asian workers both haunt the genealogy of Asian-Native racializations. Rather than seeing Native and Asians abstractly connected through the racialized imaginations of government officials, tourists, missionaries, and ethnographers, how might the violence elaborated in

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[82] Of course, we might also reflect on the Tacoma leaders' narrow definition, as the act of enforced removal under threat of guns and clubs certainly seems like a form of violence. More accurately, then, might be the Tacoma leaders' self-congratulations that they were not met with retaliatory violence.

[83] Hunt, 383.

Wickersham's actions connect Natives and Asians in a colonial matrix of land and labor contestation?

Instead of viewing Wickersham's land and railway speculation as a contradiction to his ethnographic interests, both processes involved misconceiving Indian people as timeless others, culturally authentic only in the past. As Paige Raibmon asserts, "Wickersham's writings presented Aboriginal people as ethnographic objects… They were interesting spectacles who had no use for the lands they occupied."[84] In both testimony to Congress and in a widely distributed pamphlet Wickersham asserted that only sixty-eight of ninety-eight reservation landholders were actually Puyallup, based on his qualifications of blood quantum and birthplace.[85] In addition to challenging Puyallup definitions of identity, he further argued that the Puyallup land base of the late nineteenth century was never a reservation because the Puyallup were citizens.[86] Indians existed in the past; therefore, present-day and modern inhabitants of the Puyallup reservation could not be Indian.

In contrast, Wickersham doesn't deny the modernity of Chinese workers but their ability to permanently remain in US space. On the day after the driving out, he defended the actions of the Committee of Fifteen, explaining in a letter that, "The Chinaman cannot become an American and will not try. He is foul physically, morally, and politically."[87] Thirty years after the driving out, however, Wickersham articulated the rationale for his participation in the driving out differently:

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[84] Raibmon, 130.

[85] A. Boston Tillicum [James Wickersham], *A Monograph of the Puyallup Indians of the State of Washington: A Plea for the Puyallups* (Tacoma, 1892). Alexandra Harmon cites Wickersham's pamphlet as prominent evidence in the larger legal and administrative efforts in Washington territory/state in the late nineteenth century to (re)shape Indian identity. See Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 143.

[86] Wickersham to Watson Squire, May 12, 1891, Box 22, Wickersham Papers.

[87] Wickersham to John Palmer, November 4, 1885, Box 22, Wickersham Papers.

> I have always felt that we did a great and good work…that day.… The fear that I have always had was not that the Pacific coast would be overrun by criminals and a foreign race of base and immoral character but that we would be confronted by millions of industrious hard-working sons and daughters of Confucius, who, if given an equal chance with our people, would outdo them in the struggle for life and gain possession of the Pacific coast of America.[88]

Rather than viewing the contradiction in these two statements simply as reflecting different periods of political expediency or (a somewhat egotistical) remorse, I argue that they can be read together to demonstrate the relationship between racial and spatial boundaries enacted against Chinese immigrants. Both passages reflect the "contagious divides" enacted by white anxieties.[89] In the latter passage Wickersham expresses that, in retrospect, he does not object to Chinese for being backward or immoral, i.e. improperly modern, but his objection is to Chinese "possession" to a portion of America. Wickersham is able to make such claims, however, precisely because the improper labor of Chinese workers has been resolved through their expulsion.

Putting the two discourses of Native land and Asian labor into conversation is typically illegible because they are opposing constructions: Native people can be part of the national space but not in modern and historical time, whereas Asian immigrants can be part of modernity but not permanent participants in the space of the American nation-state. The abstracted logics of colonial intimacy simultaneously reveal and conceal the material interconnection of these two racialized formulations within settler colonial architecture. The example of Wickersham's ideas and practices provides a reading strategy, then, both to read for disavowals located in Asian and Native racial construction, and also to ask after the interconnection of these disavowals. In recognizing Wickersham's prominence as an Alaskan public figure, I suggest that understanding the relationship between dispossession of Native lands and the disavowal of Asian labor is crucial in understanding the imperial contours and complexities of American settler colonialism, generally, and in Alaska, specifically.

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[88] Wickersham to Herbert Hunt, Washington Historical Society Archives, Tacoma, quoted in Atwood, 21-22.

[89] Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

Conclusion

Alaska Natives were racialized as Asian from the start of the US colonial period in Alaska. State officials who argued for the acquisition of the Alaskan territory configured Alaska Natives as separate from other Indigenous Americans through a lens of Asianness, a distinction that romanticized imperial conquest alongside the promise of settler colonial futures. This racialization had a long lasting effect on the relationship between Alaska Natives and the federal government, constructing claims based not on a nation-to-nation status but instead instituted through notions of individualized citizenship. Through widely read travel literature, tourists visiting Alaska cemented the perceived Asian origins of Alaska Natives, naturalizing the US's colonial ambitions in Alaska as common sense. Government officials, tourists, missionaries, and ethnographers all configured kinship between Alaska Natives and Asians ancestors, an abstracted intimacy based on physical characteristics and perceived attributes that conditioned Alaska Natives to become a racialized industrial class of workers. This familial construction fractured, however, due to the anxieties that emerged with Chinese labor in Alaska. Though Alaska Native racialization as Asian would be superseded by other discourses, the idea of indigeneity through Asianness would find a lasting articulation in the Bering Land Bridge theory.

As early tourist literature in Alaska made way for the white male heroics of Gold Rush narratives, the discursive gulf between Alaska Natives and Asian migrant workers would further widen within Alaska's narrative development as the "Last Frontier." The next chapter examines these new forms of racialization during the Gold Rush era, as colonial intimacy shifted to frontier notions of kinship and belonging. Centered on romantic ideals of white male triumph over land and labor, Gold Rush narratives furthered the gulf between legible Asian and Native connections. Chapter 2 focuses on the archive of public memory, examining the folktale of Alaska's popular figure China Joe. Continuing the reading practice introduced in this chapter, I examine China Joe's gold rush story by reading for disavowed violences, racial antagonisms, and the possibilities for affinity.

CHAPTER TWO

FICTIONS OF THE LAST FRONTIER: ALASKA'S GOLD RUSH ERA AND THE LEGEND OF CHINA JOE

Day had broken cold and gray, exceedingly cold and gray, and the Cassiar gold miners knew they were facing famine. It was a bitter winter and the Stikine River had frozen early. The last steamboat of the season would never arrive. The miners could not remember the year, so cold was it that they could no longer recall the passage of days, months, years. It wasn't so long ago, in 1872, that mining partners Henry Thibert and Argus McCulloch struck gold in a calm creek that fed into Dease Lake. A large stampede ensued, with tens of thousands of would-be prospectors flooding the Cassiar Mountains, accessible from Ft. Wrangel in American Alaska, by way of the Stikine. The over-wintering community of hardened sourdoughs had gambled on sitting out the cold and gray days for an early start on spring prospecting, and had lost. To be sure, without the last steamship, no one had enough food and supplies to last through the winter. No one, that is, except China Joe, the Chinese baker who cooked for prospectors in the mining camp. Speculators arrived at his tent, wanting to buy his flour to resell for a profit, but Joe refused. These gamblers doubled their offer to no avail. They waved their guns about and threatened Joe, but he would not be swayed. China Joe shared his provisions with everyone in the area (including the two rapscallions who tried to take his supplies), thus saving the miners not only from starvation, but also from their despair. He asked for nothing in return. A few years later, Joe moved downriver to Ft. Wrangel, the old Russian fort where the Stikine meets the Pacific, which was then a bustling town that *outfitted miners on their way to the gold fields. Always ingenious, China Joe built a restaurant and bakery in the hull of the lilting* Hope*, a beached sternwheeler. He rented out the old staterooms to boarders. The miners never forgot the freezing winter on the Cassiar and the generosity of their friend, and China Joe never lacked for customers.*[1]

Gold rushes in Alaska fueled two crucial developments: economic growth and non-Native settlement. Starting in the 1870s, Alaska became a preferred route for accessing the gold country of British Columbia and the Yukon. Traveling on steamship routes already established by the tourist trade, tens of thousands of argonauts disembarked in southeast Alaska to make the trek up rivers and mountain passes to the streams and riverbeds that promised gold. Not only did the quest for gold bring prospectors but also entrepreneurs who flocked to nascent boomtowns to outfit and entertain the gold seekers. Similarly, these towns enticed Alaska Natives with economic opportunities. In 1880, prospectors struck paydirt in Alaska proper; soon after, the first industrial mines were established in three towns along the Gastineau Channel—Juneau, Treadwell and Douglas—turning southeast Alaska into the hard rock mining capital of the world. Alaska was permanently transformed. Alaska's non-Native population surged from under 500 in 1880 to over 30,000 in 1900.[2] With the Klondike stampede that started in 1897, one hundred thousand miners would endeavor to reach the Yukon gold fields, the vast majority traveling through Alaska.[3]

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[1] This opening scene is a conglomeration of the many reiterations of the China Joe tale, with some author liberties as to imagery and hyperbole. The opening lines "Day had broken cold and gray, exceedingly cold and gray," are borrowed from Jack London's short story "To Build a Fire." See Jack London, "To Build a Fire," *Century Magazine* 76 (August 1908), 525.

[2] Stephen Haycox, *Alaska: An American Colony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 166-167.

[3] Anthropologist Julie Cruikshank details how Skookum Jim, his sister Kate, Dawson Charlie (all First Nation Tagish) and Kate's non-Native husband George Carmack found gold near the Klondike River in

Stories of Alaska's gold rush period built from the tourist narratives of colonial adventure and, moreover, they become synonymous with Alaska itself. Gold rush stories are central to Alaska's identification as the "Last Frontier." They reinforce notions of white masculinity and triumph over economic and environmental adversity. These tales exalt white working-class notions of manliness, for in the grand narrative of gold seekers, even well-to-do miners must physically labor and dirty their hands. The idea of Alaska being the final space for such classed, raced, and gendered adventure is undergirded by Alaska's promise for gold, the Last Frontier the setting for the "last" great gold rush, the Klondike stampede of 1897-1899.[4] The Klondike Gold Rush took place during a global depression and, in the midst of bread lines, was especially appealing for its promise of sudden wealth. The Klondike was popularly known as the "poor man's gold rush." The Alaska gold rushes occurring at the turn from the nineteenth to twentieth century promulgated alternatives to the drudgery of industrial wage labor, and the notion of the independent prospector succeeding through his individual hard work and perseverance became a popular image synonymous with Alaska even as gold extraction became dominated by wage labor in mines.

Popular fiction of the Gold Rush period, such as the short stories of Jack London, the poetry of Robert Service, and the novels of Rex Beach, highlighted the white masculine individualism that was needed not just to survive but to succeed in the Great

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1896, starting the rush. Cruikshank provides an exemplary study comparing official gold rush literature with Tagish oral accounts. See Julie Cruikshank, "Images of Society in Klondike Gold Rush Narratives: Skookum Jim and the Discovery Gold," *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 1 (Winter, 1992): 20-41.

[4] It should be noted that the Klondike Gold Fields, as were the Cassiar, were located in the Yukon territory and the province of British Columbia, respectively. The routes to get to these locations, however, passed through Alaska.

North.[5] The story of China Joe, however, appears to contrast the rugged individualism common to Alaska's mythic past. The opposite of the "every man for himself" dictum, China Joe's actions are communitarian. The China Joe story is a standard part of Alaskan folklore, heavily repeated in press and popular histories from the late nineteenth century to the present. China Joe's story is included in stories of the Gold Rush, making an additional appearance in the occasional tourist travelogue.[6] Within Alaska history generally and local histories of Juneau specifically, the China Joe tale appears frequently and with surprising longevity, resurfacing over the years as a central part of Juneau's origin story.[7] Newspapers highlight Joe's prominence as a local figure, during his life and after.[8] The legacy of China Joe includes a former mayor donating a memorial plaque in the 1960s for his gravesite and, in the 1990s, a pair of Juneau residents penning a play about his life.[9] China Joe also surfaces within Asian American literature and history, most notably in Maxine Hong Kingston's interdisciplinary biomythography, *China Men*.[10] Alongside his oft-repeated tale are descriptions such as "the only man in Alaska without an enemy," "a friend to everyone," and "he lived by the golden rule."[11]

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[5] For a more comprehensive study of Jack London's short stories and their themes of white racial mastery, see James I. McClintock, *White Logic: Jack London's Short Stories* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wolf House Books, 1975). Though focused on California and not Alaska, Colleen Lye importantly links the literary nationalism of West Coast authors, including Jack London, to the American construction of Asian stereotypes that move between the two poles of "model minority" and "yellow peril," a formation she terms the "Asiatic racial form." See Colleen Lye, *America's Asia: Racial Form and American Literature, 1893-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[6] T.A. Rickard, *Through the Yukon and Alaska* (San Francisco: Mining and Scientific Press, 1909); D. A. Murphy, "Frontier Incidents at Juneau," in *Sourdough Sagas: The Journals, Memoirs, Tales, and Recollections of the Earliest Alaskan Gold Miners, 1833-1923,* ed. Herbert L. Heller (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1967), 25-27; Frank Buteau, "My Experiences in the World," in *Sourdough Sagas: The Journals, Memoirs, Tales, and Recollections of the Earliest Alaskan Gold Miners, 1833-1923,* ed. Herbert L. Heller (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1967), 93-118; Steven C. Levi, *Boom and Bust in the Alaska Goldfields* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008), 124. For an example of a tourist description of China Joe's story, see Ella Higginson, *Alaska: The Great Country* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1926), 87, 120.

[7] Ted C. Hinckley, "Prospectors, Profits, & Prejudice," *The American West* 2(Spring, 1965), 58-65; R.N. DeArmond, *The Founding of Juneau* (Juneau: Gastineau Channel Centennial Association, 1980 [1967]), 146; David Stone and Brenda Stone, *Hard Rock Gold: The Story of the Great Mines that were the Heartbeat of Juneau* (Juneau: City and Borough of Juneau, Juneau Centennial Committee, 1980), 10-11; Sherry Simpson, *Juneau* (Anchorage: Alaska Geographic Society, 1990), 31.

[8] "China Joe Sees Things," *Daily Alaska Dispatch,* February 28, 1905; "China Joe Entertains," *Daily Alaska Dispatch,* January 23, 1909; Emma Sarepta Yule, "China Joe," *Pacific Monthly* 24, no. 2 (August 1910): 211-213; "When the Chinese Were Driven Out," *Alaska Sourdough,* December 5, 1911; "China Joe Dies of Heart Failure, *Daily Alaska Dispatch,* May 19, 1917; China Joe Is Found Dead in his Old Home," *Alaska Daily Empire,* May 18, 1917; Ann Chandonnet, "Evergreen Cemetery Is Final Home to Pioneers," *Juneau Empire, October 3, 1999;* Ann Chandonnet, "China Joe: Baker, Prospector, and Benefactor Was "One of Us," *Juneau Empire,* August 15, 2003; I-Chun Che, "China Joe: Man of the Golden Rule," *Juneau Empire,* October 10, 2004; Kim Marquis, "Presentation to Pay Tribute to Juneau Pioneer," *Juneau Empire,* January 28, 2008; Jack Marshall, "Accumulated Fragments: Douglas Island's Deep and Sometimes Dark History," *Juneau Empire,* March 11, 2012.

China Joe's story and its ongoing reformation demonstrate the construction of folklore**,** a familiar yet informal tale that is reinforced through its ongoing reiteration. In this chapter, I name this assembly an archive of public memory, specifically a *folklore archive*. This archive is constructed from a conglomeration of local and regional histories, popular press reports, memoir, and literature that highlight China Joe's legend and its importance within the gold rush narratives of Alaskan settler colonialism. I consider this folklore archive records that construct, repeat, and disseminate the legend of China Joe, necessarily including that which is often deemed trivial or anecdotal. Based on speculation and repetition, folklore is particularly well suited to narrate the settler colonial space of gold mining. In July 1897, when the steamship *Portland* arrived in Seattle, just three days after the *Excelsior* docked in San Francisco (both ships bringing prospectors from the Klondike), five thousand people greeted the ship, shouting "show us the gold!"[12] Disheveled miners disembarked, carrying jars and bundles collectively filled with two tons of gold. The Klondike rush was on and within days, thousands had booked their passage north.[13] To have gold fever was not a logical or factual endeavor but a high-risk adventure dependent, to a large degree, on word-of-mouth information. As one author on the Klondike described, "Once in the atmosphere of the gold country one hears constantly of newly found places which are reported to be vastly richer than anything yet discovered."[14] Poet Robert Service revealed that, "The Arctic trails have their secret tales," and the ill fate of Jack London's protagonist in "To Build a Fire?" As London surmised, "The trouble with him was that he was without imagination."[15] The hunt for gold was nothing if not the speculative belief in one's future wealth. It is the speculative nature of gold rush narratives, and the archive of China Joe's tale specifically, that I highlight in this chapter—as in the opening scene of the freezing winter in the Cassiar and China Joe's generosity. Throughout the chapter, I similarly signal a conscious turn to a speculative and fictional tone when writing in italics.

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[9] "C.W. Carter Presents a Memorial Plaque of China Joe to Juneau," *Daily Alaska Dispatch,* October 9, 1960. Brett Dillingham and Mark Whitman, "The Story of China Joe," (1992), "China Joe" Papers, Alaska State Library, Manuscript Collection 217. Hereafter, "China Joe" Papers.

[10] Maxine Hong Kingston, *China Men* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 160-162. As a work that defines genre categorization, I label *China Men* a "biomythography," borrowing from Black lesbian author Audre Lorde who conceptualizes biomythography as a combination of history, biography, and myth. See Audre Lorde, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1982). For another example of China Joe's folktale within Asian American studies, see I-Chun Che, "Lonesome Land: In 1886, China Joe Became the Only Chinese Person in All of Juneau, Alaska," *Hyphen* Issue 6 (Summer 2005).

[11] Jennifer Houdek, "Lee Hing, a.k.a. 'China Joe': The Man without an Enemy," Lit Site Alaska, run by the University of Alaska Anchorage, Online: http://www.litsite.org/index.cfm?section=Digital-Archives&page=People-of-the-North&cat=Heroes-and-Scoundrels&viewpost=2&ContentId=2719.; "China Joe Dies of Heart Failure," *Daily Alaska Dispatch,* May 19, 1917. The last quote comes from the memorial plaque on his gravesite.

In the mining communities of colonial Alaska, a male-dominated world that quickly assembled in boomtowns and gold fields, a frontier community developed that was essential to creating a sense of kinship. The tale of China Joe, therefore, incorporates him as a character in the gold rush narrative as a racialized and feminized, yet exceptional, member of the frontier family. In this way, settler colonial folklore incorporates China Joe into a *frontier intimacy* with white male prospectors, his racialized difference, which is also always read as a gendered difference, working to highlight white masculinity and heroism. Returning to the communal aspects of China Joe's story discussed above, what initially appears as exceptional ultimately reproduces valiant white masculinity.

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[12] *Seattle Post Intelligencer Klondike Edition,* July 17, 1897.

[13] Seattle was also transformed by the Klondike Gold Rush, advertising itself as the "Gateway to Alaska and the Yukon." It is estimated that nearly three quarters of the one hundred thousand miners to depart for the Klondike were initially outfitted in Seattle.

[14] Ernest Ingersoll, *Gold Fields of the Klondike: And the Wonders of Alaska* (Philadelphia: Edgewood, 1897), 80.

[15] Robert Service, "The Cremation of Sam McGee," in *The Spell of the Yukon and Other Verses* (New York: Barse and Hopkins, 1907), 50**;** Jack London, "To Build a Fire," 525.

Chapter 1 and 2 both examine colonial imaginaries, Chapter 1 focusing on the imagined racial intimacies linking Alaska Native people to Asian origins during the colonial expansion of a settler colonial nation while Chapter 2 looks at the construction of a frontier folktale in the settler colonial shift from resource extraction to industrialization. Because frontier intimacy is constructed through the speculative, envisioning networks of affinity and intimacy conditioned by yet outside of the logics of settler colonialism can also be addressed through speculation. With China Joe's mythological story, this requires questioning his asserted exceptionalism, to speculate on his intimate knowledge within a larger Chinese immigrant community as well as to comment on his proximity to Native peoples. In doing so, I engage what Emma Pérez has termed a decolonial imaginary, an imaginative inquiry that provides an alternative to the colonial fictions created through official discourses in the historic archive.[16] This writing practice is likewise noted by an italicized font. By putting both China Joe's folktale as well as speculative alternatives in italics, I highlight the speculative basis, the generative potential and limits, for both the imaginative realms of the colonial and decolonial. I continue this writing practice into the next two chapters.

To use gold rush metaphor, I hope to mine and undermine China Joe's narrative. This historic analysis and creative deconstruction is fueled by my utilization of the reading strategy developed in Chapter 1, reexamining the tale of China Joe's exceptional benevolence through a lens of disavowed violences. I refigure him as part of a larger Chinese immigrant community, connected to the circle of workers who were both driven out of the Cassiar initially, then allowed back in to work the tailings of white miners. Similarly, I challenge the idea of the land created only through the mining activities of white prospectors, looking at the Stikine River as a Tlingit place, as a way to reread the starving winter of the mid-1870s. Rereading for violences is not a particularly difficult exercise when one considers the second part of China Joe's mythology. China Joe's role as a generous baker who sustains gold prospectors during a winter freeze is only one half of his oft-repeated tale. Several years later, China Joe is also the only Chinese person allowed to stay in the mining town of Juneau when Chinese laborers at the Treadwell mine across the channel are driven out. He is protected from the incited mob by old timers, prospectors who remember his magnanimousness in the Cassiar Mountains. Seen through a postcolonial and settler colonial studies lens, however, this is not simply a tale of prospectors repaying China Joe's good will but competing narratives in the shift to settler colonialism, the romanticization of the colonial extraction period winning out over the debased values and violence of industrialized settler colonialism. China Joe remains not so much because of his acts of kindness but because his racial economy is tied to an older model of colonialism that allows him, unlike a class of Asian industrial workers, to participate in the social fabric in a nonthreatening way. Additionally, as a singular Chinese migrant, rather than a class of racialized workers, his gendered feminization is read as upstanding rather than improper.

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[16] Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

The last part of this chapter is a rumination on both the possible antagonisms and affinities of Chinese and Tlingit communities enmeshed in Alaska's gold economies in uneven yet contingent ways. In response to China Joe's incorporation into a settler colonial frontier intimacy, I ask after a different set of coordinates of colonial intimacies, what Lisa Lowe has described as the "volatile contacts of colonized peoples."[17] If the driving out of Chinese is about the response of settler colonial volatility, how does the lynching of Alaska Natives signal a different register of violent control? How do Native and Chinese people operate as internal and external threats to the colonial and social order of Alaska, exposing the unstable and contradictory project of settler colonialism? I close with the insurgent possibilities revealed in Asian and Native labor antagonisms as well as within the social and political potential for affinity.

The Making of a Myth: The Construction of China Joe

The frontier story of China Joe emerged alongside the shift to a gold rush economy in Alaska. Similar to other prospectors, after the decline of the Cassiar rush and Wrangel faded as a boomtown, Joe followed subsequent mining rushes to Sitka and then to Juneau. In 1880 the discovery of gold in the Silver Bow Basin in southeast Alaska was attributed to Joe Juneau and Dick Harris, two prospectors grubstaked by mining engineer George Pilz. Juneau and Harris were veterans of the Cassiar rush, and it is quite probable that they knew Joe, and possibly were recipients of his generosity during the freezing winter of the 1870s. Certainly, they were aware of the China Joe tale. It is reported that

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[17] Lisa Lowe, "The Intimacies of Four Continents," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History,* ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 203.

Joe Juneau's last request, on his deathbed in Dawson in the Yukon, was to be buried in Juneau with China Joe as one of his pallbearers.[18]

Credit for Juneau's gold rush, however, should be given to K̲awa.ée (alternately Kowee, Koweeh, Cow-eeh, Cowee), a leader of the Áuk'w K̲wáan (Auk) Tlingit, k̲wáan referring to the geographical "house" grouping. K̲awa.ée both brought ore samples to Pilz in Sitka, and guided Juneau and Harris, not once, but twice to the mountain valley two and a half miles up what is now known as Gold Creek. It was rumored that the first expedition failed because Juneau and Harris spent their grubstake on liquor and spent almost a month on a drunken binge, never making it past the mouth of Gold Creek.[19] The Áuk'w K̲wáan's historical home included Gold Creek, Silver Bow Basin, and the Gastineau Channel, and K̲awa.ée's actions mirrored many Tlingit leaders in southeast Alaska who sought to incorporate their people into the lucrative cash economy of gold. Tlingit elder Rosa Miller complicates the discovery narrative further with an explanation that K̲awa.ée's gold samples were a collective contribution from the Auk Tlingit, and that it was Sheep Creek Mary (Raven moiety, Dog Salmon clan) who found the nugget that enticed Pilz.[20] By 1881 the rush was on, and soon the boomtown of Juneau sprung up, along with the towns of Douglas and Treadwell across the Gastineau channel on a nearby island. A Tlingit settlement formed along the beach on the outskirts of Juneau, and between Douglas and Treadwell.

China Joe followed this wave of miners to the area and purchased a half lot in Juneau in the summer of 1881, where he built a log cabin bakery with room for his personal lodging in back. He resided in his bakery on Main Street until his death in 1917. The early years in Juneau are not well recorded; the first Juneau newspaper did not start publishing until 1887. Because of this, neither the bakery's establishment nor the driving out of Chinese in 1886 was reported in local presses.[21] The earliest press in Alaska was fueled by missionaries, followed by a surge of newspapers concomitant to gold rush development. Juneau was developed as a mining town without missionary influence and so in the Gastineau Channel area, a large number of newspapers developed in Juneau and Douglas in the 1890s.

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[18] Ed Beattie, "China Joe," *Alaska Sportsman* (September 1949): 18-19, 24-27.

[19] DeArmond, 49.

[20] Rosa Miller, quoted in Ann Chandonnet, "Chief Kowee: Shaman, Chief, and Guide," *Juneau Empire,* June 13, 2003. Like Sheep Creek Mary, Miller is also of the Raven moiety and dog salmon clan.

China Joe's first newspaper appearance was in the *Alaska Journal* in 1893, which reported his registration with the US Commissioner in accordance with the Geary Act.[22] In 1892, the Geary Act renewed the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act for another decade and made proof of legal entry and residence compulsory for all Chinese in the United States. Chinese laborers were required to register with the government and carry identification cards.[23] Having lived in Juneau for twelve years by this time, he was described as "our 'Joe.'" The frontier intimacy extended to "our Joe" in this moment is underscored by governmental surveillance, and his belonging is simultaneously marked as racialized and conditional.

China Joe begins to make a regular appearance in the local press in the late 1890s, and particularly in the early twentieth century, both as a colorful local character and within the reiteration of his Cassiar and Treadwell tales. In several local interest stories,

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[21] China Joe's 1881 deed for sale. "China Joe" Papers. The driving out, however, was recorded in national press.

[22] *Alaska Journal,* May 6, 1893.

[23] As historian Erika Lee points out, no other immigrant group was required to maintain identification cards to demonstrate lawful residence until 1928, when such stipulations were applied more universally. In this way, Lee demonstrates the certificates required by the Geary Act serve as a precursor for alien receipt cards (i.e. "green cards"). See Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 42.

Joe is alternately duped by a magician, makes weather predictions, and repeatedly hosts his Chinese New Year celebrations.[24] At the same time that these supposedly entertaining stories do little more than tell a localized event, the repeated language in these articles assert China Joe as foundational to the Juneau's gold rush origins and stress his singularity. He is repeatedly described as a settler and pioneer, typically modified as the only Chinese settler or pioneer. For example, in one of the articles describing Joe's Chinese New Year festivities, he is identified as "'Chinese Joe,' the pioneer Chinaman of Juneau, and the only Celestial in the city." In this way, his status as a pioneer is tied to his exceptional Chinese status in the Alaskan frontier. As with the "our Joe" above, belonging and paternalism cohere in a frontier intimacy that, at once, incorporates China Joe while maintaining white supremacist boundaries.

Several aspects of these earliest written accounts deserve examination. For one, when China Joe's background is mentioned, it always includes both his saving prospectors from starvation and, in turn, the protection that the old-time miners provide for him during the driving out of other Chinese. Though his generosity toward miners may have been known as oral knowledge prior to 1886, the fact that the first printed accounts of China Joe's life occur after the driving out means that the two parts of the story are always told together. Joe's beneficence is rewarded by his protection, while the white miners redeem their heroism through virile and militant defense. These early stories also tie into the larger literature of the gold rush, in both dramatic and humorous ways. Take, for example, Joe being fooled by a magician to break all his eggs, and his disappointment that there were no gold coins to be found inside.[25] "'Him one debbil,' said the mystified old Chinaman," echoes the French-Canadian who says of the protagonist sled dog in Jack London's *Call of the Wild,* "Dat Buck two devils."[26] It's not surprising that the immigrant vernacular in the China Joe story is similar to London's writing, given that *Call of the Wild* was arguably the most popular literary depiction of Alaska in the early 1900s, having been serialized in the *Saturday Evening Post* before being published as a novella in 1903. Whether or not an accent is ascribed to him in these early Alaska press accounts, Joe is asked about all manner of prosaic, everyday matters: the weather, how long he has lived in Juneau, etc. What he is never questioned about, however, is either his saving the freezing miners in the Cassiar or the Treadwell driving out of Chinese. This shows that the China Joe story is never about Joe's actual historical contribution, or even his agency, but, rather, that China Joe's linked generosity and exceptional status as conferred by the first generation of prospecting pioneers serves a pedagogical function to narrate the Gold Rush in particular ways, as a specific rationalization for colonial and racial violence.

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[24] "Juneau's One Chinaman Celebrates," *Alaska Searchlight,* February 2, 1897; "China Joe Sees Things," *Daily Alaskan Dispatch,* February 28, 1905; "'Chinese Joe' Entertains, *Daily Alaskan Dispatch,* January 23, 1909; "China Joe Is an Authority," *Daily Alaskan Dispatch*, February 20, 1912; "All New Years Are Alike to Juneau's 'China Joe,'' *Juneau Empire,* February 5, 1913.

Some of these early anecdotal stories included the tales of the Cassiar freezing winter and the Treadwell driving out to contextualize the local character China Joe. A few local and regional articles focused more in depth at either China Joe or the driving out. A 1911 article titled, "When the Chinese Were Driven Out," was printed in the *Alaska Sourdough,* a Douglas newspaper published by socialist Arthur B. Callaham.[27] The article begins, "There was at least one man in Alaska in 1886 who was not in sympathy with the anti-Chinese uprising which occurred in that year." That person, however, was not China Joe, but Alaska's territorial governor Alfred P. Swineford. The article proceeds with Swineford's opposition to the mob agitation and expulsion of Chinese miners and his unsuccessful attempts to enforce the law, marked by the resignation of the deputy sheriff and the refusal of the navy commander to return the Chinese to Treadwell. An official report by Swineford is quoted extensively. The last paragraph in the article opens very similar to the first: "However unanimous the general feeling was against the Chinese in the Gastineau Channel generally may have been, there was one Chinaman in Juneau who was not affected by it. That was 'Old Joe,' the one chinaman who lives on the channel today." Joe's generosity to the old-time prospectors is repeated, and the article ends with his protection by Juneau's pioneers. The juxtaposition between Swineford and Joe is telling, Swineford is the exemplary "man," while Joe can only be the "one chinaman." Swineford is quoted extensively but Joe remains silent on his rescue. Swineford and the prospecting pioneers share an aversion to the mob violence of industrial wage laborers and seek to protect the seemingly innocent and powerless Chinese. In this way, Alaska's government, not the local deputy or the federal navy but the person emblematic of Alaska as territory and future state, is read as the same as the pioneering generation of gold rush heroes. The figure of China Joe makes this linkage possible.

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[25] "China Joe Sees Things," *Daily Alaskan Dispatch,* February 28, 1905.
[26] Jack London, *Call of the Wild* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1990[1903]), 19.
[27] "When the Chinese Were Driven Out," *Alaska Sourdough,* December 5, 1911.

In 1910, Juneau's school principal, Emma Sarepta Yule, penned an essay simply titled, "China Joe," for the regional magazine *Pacific Monthly,* published in Portland, Oregon.[28] Frequent contributors included Sinclair Lewis and Jack London. Though Yule admits that she has never met China Joe or visited his bakery, she imagines his "Buddha smile" and wonders what thoughts lie behind "that placid celestial mask." Fascinated by his story, she relies on "his best friend 'Mr. Jack'" to detail Joe's history in Alaska gold rush lore—his role as cook in the Cassiar, as proprietor of the Fort Wrangel hotel on the *Hope,* and his generosity to prospectors during a time of famine. After his protection during the 1886 driving out, Yule reports that he cared for the sick and tended the graves of the old timers. In contrast to the pioneering heroes in the *Alaska Sourdough* article, Yule's essay paints a picture of a completely saintly and selfless individual. At the same time, his magnanimity is always racialized, as when Joe is quoted as saying, "Boy never payee me. No, no—that allee right." Similar to the response of Joe to the magician, such accented language reinforces the mythological character of Joe—in this case fusing his selflessness to his racialized migrant status. Yule's piece also highlights the gendered aspects of this racialization as China Joe's caretaking of the prospectors is rendered as feminine and matronly, from initially cooking for prospectors during a time of hardship, to housing them, caring for them when sick, and, finally, devotedly tending their graves after they have passed. Although the focus of the two longer pieces in the *Pacific Monthly* and the *Alaska Sourdough* feature different protagonists, I argue that they are interwoven—white male heroism and racialized, feminized, immigrant selflessness are mutually interdependent foundations to Alaska's gold rush mythology and, together, they neutralize the very racial and gendered violence of Alaska's gold rush economy.

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[28] Emma Sarepta Yule, "China Joe," *Pacific Monthly* 24, no. 2(August 1910): 211-213.

Taken as a whole, both the anecdotal news items and the longer exposés, the early twentieth century telling and retelling of the China Joe story formed a particularly powerful Gold Rush narrative in Alaska's nascent settler colonialism. It is not surprising that China Joe stories find their first wave of reproduction in the 1900s and 1910s. Though press in Juneau was established in the late 1880s and flourished in the 1890s concomitant to the Gastineau Channel's (Juneau, Douglas, and Treadwell) development in industrial gold mining, China Joe's story proliferates in tandem with Juneau's political importance within Alaska. With the passage of the Alaska Act in 1900, Alaska's seat of government was moved from Sitka to Juneau, a transfer that was completed in 1906 when then territorial governor Wilford Bacon Hoggart opened his office in Juneau. This shift reflected the change from Alaska's colonial past, with Sitka representing the former capital of Russian America, to Alaska's settler colonial future in the gold economy of Juneau, American Alaska's first founded town. Benedict Anderson charts this phenomenon as "print-capitalism," to describe the powerful concatenation of industrial capitalism and print culture that facilitates the discursive development of a shared community and destiny.[29] China Joe's frequent press appearances is not simply a folktale of Alaska's gold rush but also a gold rush narrative constructed through, and in service to, Alaska's settler colonial ambitions. As Patrick Wolfe has cogently elaborated on Anderson's now classic work, the "imagined community," within a settler colonial national formation, simultaneous to a collective memorializing, must also enact a forgetting of the "criminal legacy of genocidal theft."[30] It is the process of forgetting this complex legacy, with its attendant racial and colonial violence, that concerns us in the following sections.

The tale of China Joe has enjoyed a pronounced longevity to the present. Joe's story was emphasized with his death in 1917, and has reappeared periodically within histories of Alaska, and/or gold mining.[31] Emphasizing Anderson's thesis on the creation of common discourse within national formation, China Joe's story is recollected during historical commemorative periods, such as in the 1980s with the celebration of Juneau's centennial.[32] Local recuperation of the China Joe tale has included a play written by a pair of Juneau authors, a photo exhibit of the "five Joes" in the Juneau senior housing Fireweed Place, and a woodcut of China Joe by the Alaska-based printmaker and illustrator Dale DeArmond.[33] As a story that gets carried across different genres, China Joe becomes an established part of the cultural memory. In recent years, China Joe's story has enjoyed an especially marked comeback, China Joe appearing in nearly a dozen newspaper stories since 2000, as well as mentions within recent books on Alaska.[34] With this abundant retelling, the details of the story are essentially the same from the early 1900s. China Joe's enduring repetition demonstrates the mythic power of frontier intimacy.

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[29] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso 2006 [1983]).
[30] Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999), 33.

Ambiguity Personified: The Many Names of China Joe

There is a general consensus as to certain historical aspects of the person known as China Joe. From China, he arrived in Victoria, British Columbia in 1864 and soon after traveled to the gold mining area of Boise, Idaho. In 1874 he followed the rush to the

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[31] Rickard, *Through the Yukon and* Alaska; Murphy, "Frontier Incidents at Juneau;" Buteau, "My Experiences in the World;" Steven C. Levi, *Boom and Bust in the Alaska Goldfields,* 124; Sherry Simpson, *Juneau,* 31.

[32] R.N. DeArmond, *The Founding of Juneau,* 146; Stone and Stone, *Hard Rock Gold: The Story of the Great Mines that Were the Heartbeat of Juneau,* 10-11.

[33] Brett Dillingham and Mark Whitman, "The Story of China Joe," 1992, "China Joe" Papers; Fernand Chandonnet, "Alter Remembered as Cold-Weather Pioneer," *Juneau Empire,* October 30, 2002; Dale DeArmond, "China Joe," in *Juneau: A Book of Woodcuts* (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing Company, 1973).

[34] Levi, 124; Evangeline Atwood and Lew Williams, Jr., *Bent Pins to Chains: Alaska and Its Newspapers* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2006), 48.

Cassiar. Other details of China Joe's history are more speculative. Although China Joe is universally recognized in Alaskan history through his racialized nickname or, alternately, as "Joe the Baker," many different versions of his Chinese name exist. He is listed as Hi Ching on an 1880 US Navy census, as As Hie in 1881 in Juneau documents, as Hi Chung on the 1910 US Census and on his charter to the Juneau Pioneers Association.[35] China Joe registered in 1893 under the Geary Bill as Ting Tu Wee, and he has additionally been identified as Ching Thui, Chong Thui, and Lee Hing.[36] Though some of these names appear to be Anglicized variations of the same name (Ting Tu Wee, Chung Thui, Chong Thui) enough differentiation exists within the entire list to prevent an exact pronouncement. *Given these discrepancies, how can we be certain that the legendary China Joe is one person and not a composite of several Chinese immigrants? Alternately, could the different names also signal something about China Joe's past and his desires for reinvention? Or, more simply, do the variations reflect the myriad complexities and politics of translation?*

The desire for a unified historical "truth," however, is strong. The probate records for China Joe reveal that his file was initially labeled under "Tui Ting Chu" but upon discovering his written will the file was changed to "Chong Thui," so that the heading read, "In the Matter of the Estate of TUI TING CHU whose American name was China Joe but whose true name was CHONG THUI, deceased."[37] In the well-intentioned quest for "true" names, it didn't occur to anyone to notice the similarity between "Tui Ting" and "Chong Thui," slight variations of the same words in reverse order. Looking at

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[35] R.N. De Armond, 146; As Hie deed for property, "China Joe" papers; *Thirteenth Census of the United States,* Microfilm T624, Record Group 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1910).

[36] R.N. De Armond, 146; Ann Chandonnet, 2003; Che, 2004.

[37] Chong Thui probate records, "China Joe" Papers.

China Joe's signature on his will, which contains three characters, the family name he writes is Chu (Yao in Cantonese), so the original name on the file is perhaps the most accurate.[38] This example highlights the absurdity of defining a sole or single truth in the face of such contradiction and multiplicity. I, myself, am tempted to accurately locate his "true" name, if only to avoid referring to him through the racialized frontier moniker "China Joe," as it sounds uncomfortably close to an epithet. At the same time, the multiplicity in his name corresponds to the multiplicity in his story.

Many embellishments and divergences have been made to the standard story of China Joe and his generosity toward white prospectors. In at least two instances, the Cassiar gold fields are changed to the territorial capital in Sitka, where Joe opened a bakery in 1880. A steamer carrying provisions is lost, and Joe solves the food shortage out of his stores.[39] Similarly, in some stories his bakery in the Cassiar morphs into a grocery store; his bakery in Juneau transforms into a laundry. What remains constant is his beneficence, at times magnified beyond the winter of an early freeze, so selfless that payment is not required for his services at any point. In this way, China Joe's historical archival existence, outside and independent from his folktale, is an impossibility. The myth is larger than the man, and as a fiction his name can only be China Joe. Carol Neubauer, referring to Maxine Hong Kingston's chapter on China Joe, argues that ""'China Joe' can be seen as a stock character, the resourceful and industrious China Man who willingly shared his food during difficult times."[40] As Maxine Hong Kingston concludes, "Perhaps any China Man was China Joe."[41]

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[38] Thank you to Josephine Min-Hwa Pegues for translation assistance.

[39] Yule, 211; H.R. Shepard, "China Joe is an Authority."

Chinese in the Cassiar

The tale of China Joe and the starving miners in the Cassiar naturalizes white miners as the only community of miners, the tale scripted to highlight white male struggles for survival with the lone Chinese baker. Chinese were in the Cassiar, however, both before and at the start of the Cassiar Gold Rush, but were pushed out once the stampede was on. Chinese prospectors were in the general area, moving north from previous Canadian gold rushes. Other Chinese followed the Stikine to the Cassiar Mountains alongside other miners. As the rush took hold, white miners forced the Chinese out but no details are given as to how this was accomplished.[42] China Joe was among these early Chinese in the Cassiar and when the Chinese were driven out, he was allowed to stay.[43] This information brings to light other possible motivations for China Joe's action as a baker in the Cassiar. As the only Chinese allowed to stay when other Chinese were driven out, Joe must have clearly understood the white hegemony that undergirded Gold Rush social economy. The essential service that he provided as a baker kept him in the area even as racial exclusion was being enforced. At the same, he must have understood that his exceptional standing in the community was based upon his role in service occupation rather than as economic competition. He would have also understood the inherent risks of being Chinese in the Cassiar, with the tacit agreement that he could never pursue his own gold claims.

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[40] Carol E. Neubauer, "Developing Ties to the Past: Photography and Other Sources of Information in Maxine Hong Kingston's China Men," *MELUS* 10, no. 4 (Winter, 1983): 29-30.
[41] Kingston, 162.
[42] The story of the driving out is told by Diane Smith of the Atlin Historical Society, quoted in Lily Chow, *Chasing Their Dreams: Chinese Settlement in the Northwest Region of British Columbia* (Prince George, British Columbia: Caitlin Press, 2000), 42.
[43] Lily Chow, 46. China Joe is identified as, "one Chinese cook, name unknown." Chow's story proceeds to tell the tale of this cook saving white miners during the winter freeze, so it is assumed to be China Joe.

Chinese also returned to the Cassiar as the rush petered out, picking over former miner's claims. They were recorded in the area starting in 1879, right around the time China Joe moved to Fort Wrangel. From 1879 to 1883, approximately 30 mining claims were issued in the Cassiar District to Chinese miners, some to individual miners but most claims given to Chinese mining companies which worked the claims with crews of multiple Chinese miners. They mined during warmer weather and wintered in Cassiar boomtowns such as Telegraph Creek or Laketon, or went downriver to Wrangel or Juneau. The practice of the Chinese miners following after the gold rush boom was over to mine claims already worked was a practice well established in the American West since the 1849 rush in California, and gave rise to the term "Chinaman's wages."[44] Although technically gold rush miners, the Chinese were essentially wage laborers, contracted by Chinese companies to work over the land in large numbers for low yet guaranteed pay. This contrasted with the image of the high-risk, high-reward taking frontier prospector and, as Christopher Herbert argues, reinforced the idea of Chinese workers as feminized and racialized Others compared to the individual and heroic white male miner.[45] The British explorer Warburton Pike, know for his travels and writings on British Columbia and the Canadian Arctic, observed the Chinese miners in the Cassiar in the late 1880s, "being of persevering nature, satisfied with small returns for their labor."[46]

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[44] J.D. Borthwick, *The Gold Hunters* (Cleveland: International Fiction Library, 1917), 253; Pringle Shaw, *Ramblings in California* (Toronto: James Bain, 1857), 21-22.

[45] Christopher Herbert, "'Life's Prizes Are by Labor Got': Risk, Reward, and White Manliness in the California Gold Rush," *Pacific Historical Review* 80, no. 3 (August 2011): 354.

[46] Warburton Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest: A Record of a Canoe Journey from Fort Wrangel to the Pelly Lakes and Down the Yukon River to the Bering Sea* (London: Edward Arnold, 1896), 58.

Taking into account these two larger contexts of Chinese in the Cassiar, being driven out at the start of the rush and being allowed back in to pick over white miners' claims in groups organized by Chinese companies, China Joe's story of winter time beneficence serves multiple disciplinary functions. Though Joe is the protagonist in this story he is kept from being the hero as it is the white male miners who embody white male masculinity, who risk the elements and starvation. The knowledge that Joe is allowed to stay when the Chinese who are deemed competitors are chased out further undermines Joe's agency in this gold rush tale. He is relegated to the feminized role of cooking for the prospecting men. In this way he is rendered exceptional not just through his racialization as the sole Chinese but he is also exceptional as the only feminine figure in the tale. In the kinship created by the frontier community, Joe must play the solitary feminine role in an otherwise homosocial fraternity. His racialized and gendered status cohere in his exceptionalism—he serves and saves the starving miners simultaneously as the only Chinese and only caretaker in the Cassiar.

The Stikine as an Indian Place

Alaskan gold rush stories often describe the hardship of traversing dense forests, wild rivers, and steep mountain ranges to get to the gold fields of British Columbia or the Yukon. Such stories reinforced white male heroism and capitalist adventurism. Through perseverance and determination, these stories narrated, even the most humble white man could attain fortune and fame. Such triumphant narratives of white masculine success obfuscated not only Chinese labor in the gold fields but also the labors of Alaska Native (and Canadian First Nation) peoples who worked as guides and packers, and who staffed the stores, hotels, saloons, and dance halls of Gold Rush boomtowns. In May 1879, Captain George Bailey visited Fort Wrangel as part of the US Revenue Marine and reported:

> The permanent population (white) is seventy-five persons, although in the winter it is increased by two hundred and fifty or three hundred miners…. The Indians belonging at this place (the Stickeens) number about two hundred and fifty. At the same time, there are upwards of two thousand about the place, consisting of Chilkats, Tahkos, Sundowns, Kakes, and Hydas, during the summer and fall, employed in transporting goods and stores up the Stikeen river to the gold mines.[47]

Even more, viewing the Alaska Gold Rush through the narrow lens of white male adventure and triumph obfuscates the historical land ownership of Native peoples, and the dispossession that occurred in the clamor for gold. All the gold rush routes from Alaska into Canada passed through land historically controlled by Tlingit, such as the 32-mile Chilkoot Pass through Chilkoot Tlingit (Jilk̲oot K̲wáan) land or the Chilkat and White Passes in the domain of the Chilkat River Tlingit (Jilk̲áat K̲wáan).

The Stikine River, the route to the Cassiar Gold Fields is another such place. Tlingit of the Wrangell area trace their origins to the Stikine River, their ancestors having moved from the interior and down the Stikine River to the southeast Alaskan coast many thousands of years ago.[48] This history is expressed in the Tlingit house name of the Wrangell area, Shtax'héen K̲wáan, Shtax'héen the word that Stikine is derived from, thought to mean, "river of bitter, unwholesome water," or "river of water so silty it must be chewed," both referring to the river's murky water.[49] As anthropologist Thomas Thornton explains, Tlingit place names are synesthetic, describing not only the visual but also sounds, smells, and tastes as signature attributes. Colonizers, in contrast, focused solely on the visual and often named places for people. The process is rare in Tlingit culture, or even opposite, when people are named for places.[50]

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[47] George W. Bailey, *Report upon Alaska and its People* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880), 6. The Alaska Native people that Bailey describes are most likely the Stikine (Shtax'heen K̲wáan), Chilkat (Jilk̲áat K̲wáan), Taku (T'aak̲u K̲wáan), Sumdum, (S'awdáan K̲wáan), and Kake (K̲éex̲' K̲wáan) Tlingit as well as Haida residents.

[48] George Thornton Emmons, *The Tlingit Indians,* Frederica de Laguna, ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press; New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1991), 26.

The Shtax'héen territory is very large, covering a sizable part of the coast mainland as well as several islands and parts of islands. Their inland territory extends a lengthy distance up the Stikine River, far into present-day Canada, just beyond the town of Telegraph in British Columbia. Different clans in the Shtax'héen K̲wáan established summer camps along the river, where they hunted mountain goat, beaver, and porcupine, fished for salmon, and harvested berries and root vegetables. The large Shtax'héen territory is partly due to the unification of several smaller villages under the first Chief Shakes, a consolidation that occurred prior to American occupation.[51] Among the Tlingit, the Shtax'héen K̲wáan were known as a powerful and wealthy group, particularly because they controlled trade with interior aboriginal tribes through access to the Stikine River. Whether their consolidation as a house was a result of this trade arrangement or, conversely, was organized to monopolize this exchange is not recorded in written western histories. That the two events are related is fairly certain.

The Shtax'héen colonial encounter started under Russian colonial rule when the Russians established the stockade Redoubt St. Dionysius in 1834 at the mouth of the

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[49] Ibid. The suffix "héen" means "river," so the English "Stikine River" is actually redundant.

[50] Thomas Thornton, *Being and Place Among the Tlingit* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2008), 102.

[51] See Walter R. Goldschmidt and Theodore H. Haas, *Haa Aaní Our Land: Tlingit and Haida Land Rights and Use* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1998), 73-74. For a map of Shtax'héen K̲wáan territory see Goldschmidt and Haas, Appendix C, Chart 11: "Wrangell Territory," unnumbered.

Stikine and named the nearby island Wrangel after Baron Ferdinand Von Wrangel, the governor of Russian America at that time. The Russians had depleted most of the Pacific sea otters due to overhunting and the new fort was part of an effort to obtain land mammal furs from interior tribes. Throughout southeast Alaska, Tlingit tribes held a monopoly on this trade, acting as middlemen between European traders and interior groups. In 1839 or 1840, Hudson's Bay Company leased the fort from the Russians, renaming it Fort Stikine. The Shtax'héen fought with British traders for control of the river, and lost some of their dominance, mostly due to reduced populations affected by smallpox epidemics in 1836 and again in 1840. It was the American colonial period, however, that posed the greatest challenge for Tlingit control of the Stikine River. The stockade was refortified by the US military in 1868 and renamed Fort Wrangel. Military occupation conditioned and disciplined the daily lives of Tlingit people, with extreme consequences. For example, in 1869, a drunken Tlingit man who bit off part of a white woman's finger was executed. In the ensuing escalation, another Tlingit man was hanged, and the Native village south of the fort was shelled by Navy artillery.[52] Even in the face of disease epidemics and armed military violence, the Tlingit control of the Stikine was finally wrested away with the travel of tens of thousands of miners traveling upriver, all looking for gold. Under the sheer number of newcomers, the landscape was changed—marking one important difference between colonial and settler colonial projects.

Understanding the Stikine as a Tlingit place denaturalizes white settler claims to the land, a place poet Robert Service described, "where the mountains are nameless, and the rivers all run God knows where."[53] In contrast, in Tlingit-based knowledge the mountains had names, and the direction and path of the Stikine River was known through complex clan ownership claims to land use and trade rights. Returning to China Joe's story in the Cassiar, Native knowledges are located in the shadow of this tale. Even as the frontier community of settler colonialism wished to narrate a contained tale of white men facing hardship and their relationship to a generous Chinese cook, other connections threaten to emerge. *What Alaska Native people and First Nation people lived in and traveled through the Cassiar? What was their experience of the unusually cold winter? What were Native knowledges of winter food sources? How did reliance on steamboat provisions curtail Native trade, including food items? Did the Cassiar miners understand themselves to be on Native land, and did that ease or heighten anxieties?*

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[52] Emmons, 334-335.

The Driving Out, China Joe as Exception

Until the 1880s, the gold mined until in Alaska and Canada was placer—the dust, flakes, and nuggets that washed down from quartz veins in the mountains and found in the sand and gravel beds of steams. The Treadwell mine was the first industrial mine built in Alaska, a stamp mill with 900-pound pistons slamming repeatedly onto large chunks of ore mined from the mountain, then washed in a sulfur and mercury bath, the gold amalgamating with the mercury. By 1899, the Treadwell was the largest stamp mill in the world.[54] The landscape was changed. The Gastineau channel shook with the incessant thunder of the stamps, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Smoke spewed in the air and sulfur burned all the surrounding foliage, chemicals washing down the beach and into the Pacific.

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[53] Robert Service, "The Spell of the Yukon," in *The Spell of the Yukon and Other Verses* (New York: Barse and Hopkins, 1907), 13.

[54] The Treadwell would be followed in the early 1900s by the Alaska Gastineau (Perseverance) and Alaska Juneau gold mines, transforming Juneau into the lode mining capital of the world.

In the shift from placer to lode mining, from prospecting to wage labor, Treadwell managers complained of both the white prospectors and local Tlingit who sought employment at the mine. Content to wage labor through the winter, both groups were apt to abruptly quit work during warmer months for more attractive pursuits, prospectors to try their luck on their individual gold claims while Tlingit miners left to participate in Native economies of fishing, hunting, and berry gathering. Mine superintendent John Treadwell hired Chinese miners in 1885 citing the need for year-round labor but it didn't hurt that they were paid no more than 2/3 the standard wages for white or Indian miners. In some accounts Treadwell recruited the workers from outside Juneau; in others, the Chinese were seasoned miners who migrated to Juneau, many coming from the Cassiar Rush.[55] If the latter, this holds particular resonance given what transpired within the next year. White animosity and resentment was swift, and Chinese quarters were dynamited in June 1885. Another bombing took place in January 1886; no one was injured but several buildings in the heart of Juneau were damaged. In August 1886, a citizens committee met with Treadwell to demand the ousting of the Chinese. Treadwell refused and on August 6, over one hundred armed white men rounded up over eighty-five Chinese men in Juneau and Douglas and packed them into two small schooners. With no room to lie down, the men made the journey standing up to Fort Wrangel in eight days.[56]

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[55] Barry Rodrigue, "A Draft History of Southeast Alaska," 1982, Barry Hadfield Roderick (Rodrigue) Alaska Labor Unions and Social Activism Research, 1917-1986, Alaska State Library, Manuscript Collection 100; Stone and Stone, 10.

[56] Hinckley, 63-65; "Driving Chinese Away," *New York Times,* August 15, 1886; "Mob Law in Alaska," *New York Times,* August 24, 1886.

One Chinese was not forced out. When the incited mob, a little bit drunk and bristling with weapons, arrived at China Joe's bakery, they found a rope lying on the ground in front of his cabin. A grizzled old timer from the Cassiar gold rush stepped out from the shadows. Rubbing his gray beard, he relayed Joe's generosity in the Cassiar, ending his story with the words, "you are not taking him because he is one of us." To emphasize this proclamation, riflemen appeared from every vantage point—doorways, windows, behind logs and stumps, each ready to lay down his life in defense of China Joe. No Treadwell miner dared cross the line and China Joe lived out his days, the only Chinese person to remain in Alaska's gold country.[57]

On the surface, this tale appears to mirror the Cassiar winter story. Joe's generosity is recognized and repaid by the old timers from the Cassiar rush. The pedagogical intent is to invoke a sense of fairness, and closure, revealing the white prospectors to be as generous in nature as Joe. By reading for disavowed raced, gendered, and classed dynamics, however, this tale appears to reinforce and exacerbate similar dynamics. In this story, the old timers are the overt heroes, their masculinity magnified through the standoff with Treadwell miners, guns cocked. In contrast, China Joe's sense of agency is nonexistent. While this event is an essential part of his folktale, he doesn't actually appear in the story, remaining inside his cabin. His racialized femininity expands in the telling of his rescue by the old timers, transformed from the feminized domestic cook to the heroine the prospectors protect. The story of Alaska that is being performed engages competing narratives of colony and settler colony. The old time prospectors are not only defending China Joe but also their adventures on the Cassiar gold fields as the rightful gold rush narrative, against the industrialized and debased mob mentality of wage laborers. Although the prospectors' frontier justice trumps that of the Treadwell miners' as the most authentic, it also makes acceptable the ousting of the other Chinese who don't share Joe's exceptional racialized and gendered status. The tale functions as settler colonial myth wherein the prospectors become originary, the rightful primogenitors of Alaska, displacing Native provenance.

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[57] This account, similar to the opening scene of this chapter, is a composite of an oft-repeated story. Some aspects are recorded almost verbatim. Playwright Brett Dillingham describes the mob as drunk and "bristling with weapons." He also describes the old timers saying "You are not taking him; his is one of us." See Dillingham, quoted in Ann Chandonnet, 2003. Likewise, Ed Beattie in 1949 describes the appearance of the prospectors: "From every vantage point—doorways, windows, behind logs, and stumps—riflemen appeared, each ready to lay down his life if necessary in defense of China Joe." See Beattie, "China Joe," 26. Of course, it should be noted that these authors are constructing their own speculative versions of this event.

The saving of China Joe from the driving out also marks a turning point in which his racialized exceptionality becomes marked by an honorary whiteness. As part of his fabled protection the day of the driving out, the prospectors declared that China Joe was "Just as good as a white man."[58] Alternately, the miners' mob was questioned why they didn't have "the Chink" when they returned to Treadwell. "'There's no Chink over there,' the leader answered. 'But there's a man they call China Joe, and he's the whitest man God ever let breathe."[59] Whether or not such terms were uttered, China Joe's honorary whiteness was embedded into his legend and propagated in reiterations such as an 1897 article that proclaimed that China Joe, "Though his skin is yellow, has a heart all white."[60] Honorary whiteness was officially conferred on China Joe when his old-time associates declared him "a white man" in order for his induction as a charter member of the Alaska Pioneer Association in 1887.[61] That his whiteness is gendered as masculine in the above descriptions is ironic given that his titular racial status is feminized, as we see in his legendary rescue by prospectors. The kinship and belonging that the prospectors extend to him at once renders him honorary white and honorary female, as China Joe stands in the role of the moral and proper white woman who must be protected from the compromised masculinity of industrial workers by the valiant and stouthearted pioneers. His frontier intimacy is predicated on his status shifting from Chinese to white, which is in turn predicated on a shift from masculine to feminine. While China Joe's homosocial intimacy to white prospectors is chaste, it is still implicitly sexual as the frontier relationship is reproduced in different ways: from a matronly cook to damsel in distress back to matronly cook. Indeed, as Joe looks after and tends to the prospectors in their old age, he is repeatedly described as "kind," "dignified" and "gentle."[62]

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[58] Yule, 212.

[59] Beattie, 26.

[60] "Juneau's One Chinaman Celebrates," *Alaska Searchlight,* February 6, 1897.

[61] H.R. Shepard, "China Joe Is an Authority," *Daily Alaska Dispatch,* February 20, 1912; Ann Chadonnet, 2003.

Joe's exceptionality provides justification for the exclusionary and violent driving out. The fact that not all of the Chinese are driven out, that the heroes in this tale are the old timers, and the villains are industrialized mine workers, maintains settler status quo without complaint. Joe's story is repeated as one that proves the kindness of human nature, while the driving out taking place in the background contradicts this theme. Joe's singularity is repeatedly emphasized in stories throughout his life: "For more than 20 years, he was the only Chinese permitted in town,"[63] there was "No one with whom he could speak his mother tongue,"[64] and "Joe died alone."[65] Such proclamations amplified the tragic and romanticized idea that no other Chinese ever resided in Juneau from that moment on, reinforcing Juneau as a white settler space, even if it wasn't true. For example, when Joe registered under the Geary Act in 1893 (seven years after the driving out), a Chinese cook named An Gee also registered.[66] Similarly, by the 1910s, Joe socialized with other Chinese in Juneau, and while he may have died by himself in his own bed, the night before his death he entertained several Chinese friends late into the evening.[67] The fact that these details are ignored as the story is reproduced over the years demonstrates the discursive power of settler colonial public memory to order its own system of racial and gender logics, and to define legible and illegible forms of intimacy.

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[62] Almost all of the published accounts of China Joe's tale use some combination of these three adjectives to describe him, especially in his later life.

[63] Che, 2004; paraphrased in Yule, 211.

[64] Beattie, 27.

[65] DeArmond, 146.

Differential Colonial and Racial Violence: Drivings Out and Lynchings

In Maxine Hong Kingston's *China Men,* she covers the Treadwell driving out in a short three-page chapter titled, "Alaska China Men." Based on white settler memoirs and travelogues, she begins her story not with an account of Chinese labor in the gold mining economy of Alaska but with the description of a hanging of a Native man. By doing so, Kingston ostensibly introduces the racial dynamics that undergirded miners' law. Instead of collapsing both lynchings and driving outs into a flattened evaluation, their shared appearance in a few short pages provides a way to read these actions as linked together not in their similarity, but in their difference. Frontier justice was known to be violent and harsh, but often also viewed as rash and indiscriminate. What the broader picture of lynchings and drivings out—the differential violence enacted against the colonized and racialized bodies of native and Asian people—exposed was a systemic code of violence enacted in the interests of settler colonialism.

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[66] *Alaska Journal,* May 6, 1893.

[67] Newspaper accounts immediately following his death report that his visitors the night before his death included Jim Young (Yong) who was employed by a local judge, a man identified simply as "Sing" who was a cook for the governor, and a third unidentified Chinese caller. See "China Joe Is Found Dead in his Old Home," *Alaska Daily Empire,* May 18, 1917; "China Joe Dies of Heart Failure," *Daily Alaska Dispatch,* May 19, 1917.

In the summer of 1883, tourists traveling to Juneau arrived to a horrific display—from a makeshift scaffold dangled a Tlingit man, his limp body hanging over the beach at low tide. The tourists onboard included the former US Attorney General Edwards Pierrepont and his son Edward. As the younger Pierrepont recounted, "Even as we touched the wharf, we noticed something unusual in the scene—no bustle, no merriment, no noise; all quiet, men pale…. As our eyes wandered along the shore, searching for a cause, there, standing out plainly defined against the dark background, we saw a newly erected gallows under which an Indian's body slowly swayed to and fro."[68] Sixty to seventy white miners had assembled for the hanging. To assume collective responsibility (and avoid individual punishment), all had pulled on the hanging rope.

The man executed was one of several Tlingit caught in a disagreement between two rum sellers on the two-mile trail from the mouth of Gold Creek to the mining field at Silver Bow Basin.[69] Such establishments were supposedly for white miners, but in actuality did business primarily with Natives. In the altercation, Richard Rennie came after a group of Tlingit with a bung-starter (the wooden mallet used to loosen the cork on a cask) and was clubbed by two Tlingit men, Steve and Charley Green. The two Native men reported that during their fight, his competitor, a Frenchman named Martin, looked on without intervening. After Rennie died, the Greens were arrested along with a Tlingit man known as Boxer who protested or resisted in some fashion. The three Tlingit were jailed to await Navy Commander E.C. Merriman, the highest-ranking military officer in Alaska at that time. The Native prisoners escaped by killing both their jailor and another white settler who tried to stop them, running into the woods. The first man caught was hung after a night session of the miners' court determined his guilt. While the steamship remained in port, another of the men was found in the woods, and shot. The third was turned over by a rival Tlingit clan and was hung as the steamship departed.[70]

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[68] Edward Pierrepont, *Fifth Avenue to Alaska* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1884), 206.

[69] The following description of the altercation and details of the deaths are taken from the following sources: Pierrepont, 206-216; Murphy, 24-25; "Troublesome Alaska Indians," *New York Times,* September 9, 1883.

In examining the lynchings in Alaska, I am indebted to the longstanding scholarship of those who fought to expose and end the practice of lynching of African Americans, starting with Ida B. Wells and Frederick Douglass in the in 1890s, scholars who have elucidated the role of lynching in American racial violence and as a particularly powerful performance of white racial power.[71] At the same time, lynching in US regions outside of the South has been less studied, and lynchings directed as racial violence against other communities are occluded from national consciousness.[72] In historian Philip Dray's comprehensive social history of the lynching of Black Americans, he offers up his preconceived notions as, "I was aware that lynching had been an aberrational form of racial violence in the Deep South, and a means by which cattle rustlers and card cheats had sometimes received rough frontier justice."[73] Though Dray's study critiques his first assumption, demonstrating the lynching of Black people to be a less sporadic and far more systemic form than he had originally postulated, he leaves his second premise of "frontier justice" unchallenged. As Ken Gonzales-Day argues, in his study of lynching in

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[70] The three Tlingit men were all identified as having come from Sitka, but no other clan information is documented.

[71] Frederick Douglass, "Lynch Law in the South," *The North American Review* (July 1892): 17-24; Ida B. Wells, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (New York: New York Age Print, 1892); Ida B. Wells, *A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynchings in the United States, 1892—1893—1894* (Chicago, 1895).

[72] Scholarly works that challenge this historical elision include Ken Gonzales-Day, *Lynching in the West, 1850-1935* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); and Michael J. Pfeifer, ed., *Lynching Beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence Outside the South* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

[73] Philip Dray, *At the Hand of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black Americans* (New York: Random House, 2002), vii.

California, the prevalent myth of the frontier elides the racial dynamics of lynching in the West.[74] As Gonzales-Day's research reveals, the majority of lynching victims in California from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century were people of color and indigenous peoples.[75]

The lynchings in Juneau in 1883 reinforce Gonzales-Day's argument, wherein the miners' vigilante actions are both narrated by notions of frontier justice yet constantly reveal the underlying racial violence toward Native peoples (a contradiction that is repeated three years later with the driving out of Chinese). Though the lynchings in Juneau elicited sadness in Edward Pierrepont over the "violence and lawless death," he rationalized such instances of violence as serving a necessary purpose because, "The whites have no protection from the United States… Miners' rights have sometimes to be contested with the rifle: murderers and desperadoes have to be hanged by lynch-law."[76] The spectrum of killing of Alaska Natives (lynchings as well as shootings) meted by both settlers and the government outlines a broad system of violent treatment. To be sure, the Navy bombardment of Wrangel and three villages near Kake in 1869, as well as the 1882 Navy bombing that destroyed the village of Angoon (under Merriman, the very same Navy commander who was en route to Juneau when the lynchings occurred) contradict the idea that white settlement and the creation of the Alaskan state was a natural or inevitable process; instead, an incredible of amount of violence was necessary to construct a state on land already inhabited by its original occupants.[77] As Pierrepont highlighted, "From all sources we learned that fear was the great force that controlled the Indians," this violence took the form of terrorism.[78] Terrorism, as performed in southeast Alaska, was not indiscriminate about who would be targeted in its violent grasp— it was only indiscriminate in the extreme levels of violence enacted against Native people. Juneau local William Pierce identified the Juneau lynching as a terrorist practice, when he explained that the gallows were left on the beach, "in order that it might be a lesson to them… when they had hung long enough, their bodies were cut down… it had an excellent effect on the natives afterwards. They were quite civil to the whites."[79]

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[74] Ken Gonzales-Day, *Lynching in the West, 1850-1935* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006). Gonzales-Day records lynchings (in descending order) of Latinos of Mexican and Latin American descent, American Indians, Chinese, and African Americans. Jean Pfaelzer states that of over 300 lynchings in California between1 1849 and 1902, nearly 2/3 were of Asians. See Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (New York: Random House, 2007), 54.

[75] Gonzales-Day, 6, 42.

[76] Pierrepont, 193.

Looking at the 1883 lynching of Tlingit in connection with the driving out of Chinese that takes place three years later exposes the limits of framing frontier justice as simply a precursor to a legal system or an alternate body that acts in the absence of an official court. The 1884 Organic Act established civil government in Alaska, with a federally appointed territorial governor and district court.[80] This ostensibly provided the very mechanism that the miners' committee sought in their argument that lynching is necessary without government protection. However, instead of disbanding once the Organic Act was established, the miners' court was still very much organized and active when they orchestrated the driving out of Chinese workers in 1886. Conversely, the miners' earlier actions in lynching Tlingit belied the notion that the driving out was simply class-based competition but, rather, part of a larger system in which measures of frontier justice enforced levels of racial control and discipline.

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[77] Nancy Furlow examines the historical, cultural, and psychological aspects of the destruction of Angoon by the US Navy, noting the Tlingit concepts of ownership, balance, and reciprocity. See Nancy Furlow, "Angoon Remembers: The Religious Significance of Balance and Reciprocity," in *The Alaska Native Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Maria *Shaa Tláa Williams* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 144-150.
[78] Ibid., 193-194.
[79] W.H. Pierce, *Thirteen Years of Travel and Exploration in Alaska, 1877-1889* (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Publishing, 1977 [1890]), 37.
[80] Organic Act of 1884, May 17, 1884, Section 8, 23 Stat. 24.

Although generative to formulate the linkages between lynchings and drivings out, their differences are perhaps even more illuminating. Prescriptions for violent and terroristic control appeared very separate for Native and Asian (specifically, Tlingit and Chinese) people during the Gold Rush era of southeast Alaska. Nayan Shah outlines the difference in his discussion of the driving out of South Asian migrant workers:

> There was a difference between lynch mobs and driving-out mobs in the outcome of their rage. On the Pacific Coast, South Asians, like the Chinese before them, were numerous enough to be perceived as a threat, but not a sufficiently widespread presence to nullify the belief that they could be expelled and erased. Their presence was fleeting, a temporary nuisance that could be permanently eradicated, and the driving-out mobs underlined the transience…. The driving-out mobs asserted male authority and policed contact, but they were seeking to eradicate their targets, not to impose deference and servitude by force. Unlike in the case of the Native Americans whose land, resources, and claim to place white settlers had usurped, the desire to humiliate and deter any return outstripped the desire to kill.[81]

I want to be very careful here; Chinese were also lynched in the history of the American West, including the mass lynching of Chinese in Los Angeles in 1871.[82] And the forced removals of Indigenous peoples throughout American history constituted a widespread and genocidal regime with policies spanning from the Trail of Tears to the reservation system. At the same time, Shah indexes a complex yet differentiated system of violence that fits Alaska's gold rush era and is concomitant to the national shift to modern industrialism. Instructive here, are scholars of lynching in the South, who contend that the white propensity for racial violence against Black Americans stemmed not from retrograde Southern culture but, rather, reflected white southerners' anxieties in their engagement to an incipient industrial modernity.[83] Simply put, lynchings (and drivings out) are modern phenomena. And in Alaska the formation of settler colonialism coincides with modernity's industrial moment.

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[81] Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2011), 36.

[82] Seventeen Chinese were lynched (including one woman) and two others were knifed to death on the night of October 24, 1871. For a detailed accounting, see Pfaelzer, 47-79.

Both practices were based on dehumanizing violence, with a blatant disregard for human life. Yet neither act was random or confused. Lynchings and drivings out were targeted to a specific community, based upon each colonized group's threat to settler colonial stability and order. In his study of the modern prison system, Michel Foucault reminds us to, "Analyze punitive methods not simply as consequences of legislation or as indicators of social structures, but as techniques possessing their own specificity in the more general field of other ways of exercising power. Regard punishment as a political tactic."[84] Racially exploitable migrant labor produced the capitalist expansion that settler colonialism depended upon; yet the physical presence of migrants was an impediment to white settlement, denying the promise of opportunity to white settlers. Settler colonial space could not allow for Chinese migrants, and the practice of driving out was a response to this contradiction. In contrast, Native life in the settler colony was the conundrum. Settler colonialism narrated its ascendency through an appropriation of Native-ness, celebrating aspects of Alaska indigeneity as part of its colorful and archaic past, yet was threatened by Native claims in its present and future. Settler colonial time could not allow for an Indigenous modern subject, and therefore offered Christian assimilation tempered with threats of execution.

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[83] See Amy Louise Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 5-14; Jacqueline Goldsby, *A Spectacular Secret: Lynching in American Life and Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 23-27.

[84] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison,* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1995), 23.

Both the 1883 lynchings and the 1886 driving out were spectacles—large public events that performed white racial dominance and superiority.[85] They also rehearsed the symbolic power provided by white male protectors and, for these reasons, we might think of lynchings and drivings out as part of the larger Gold Rush narrative. For white spectators, the messages of the two events cohered and complemented one another. As spectacles of racial terror, however, the two events had very different audiences. Putting both acts into conversation produces questions of the settler colonial project. *Was it the same group of "miners" responsible for the lynchings and the driving out? Did the lynchings include the old-timer generation of prospectors? Was there anyone exceptional for them to protect during the hanging of the Tlingit men? Where was China Joe during the lynchings? Not yet bestowed with honorary whiteness, he wasn't uninvited to pull the rope—but was he one of the many onlookers? Did he look or avert his eyes? Or was he behind the doors of his bakery, avoiding white vigilante violence? How did the Tlingit community respond to the killing of three of their members? With so much death swaying in the wind, did they look or avert their eyes? How did they attend to their dead, with a Christian burial, or in the old way, on a warm and comfortable fire? Did they wail, or remain silent? When the Chinese were driven out of the mines three short years later, did the Tlingit look? Did they sing, or remain silent?* As we will see in the next section, China Joe's narrative reveals possible Chinese and Tlingit antagonisms and affinities that further expose the unstable and incomplete project of settler colonialism.

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[85] Formulating the lynching and driving out in Juneau as "spectacle," builds from the scholarship on lynching of Black Americans in the US South. See Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890-1940*; Goldsby, *A Spectacular Secret: Lynching in American Life and Literature*; Jonathan Markovitz, *Legacies of Lynching: Racial Violence and Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004). Though neither the lynching or driving out operated in a larger economy of visual culture, as did the southern lynchings of Blacks, they nonetheless were narratively represented in the press and, moreover, were large public spectacles that made a lasting impact on the local community.

Antagonism and Affinity

One of the conflicting aspects of the driving out relates to the possible participation of local Tlingit in the anti-Chinese organizing. Most accounts blame white agitators for the bombings and rounding up of Chinese miners but a few stories identify the conflict as being between Tlingit and Chinese. As Juneau local D.A. Murphy described, "The local Indians wanted this work but a great many Chinese had been employed by the company and there was the trouble between the natives and the Chinese over the matter."[86] Murphy explained that even though white miners rounded up the Chinese, "There were at least fifty large Indian canoes or war boats propelled by the Indians with paddles and they were loaded with the entire population."[87] According to Murphy, the Tlingit rowed the Chinese across the channel to the schooners. To substantiate such claims, by August 14, Tlingit were working in the mines, replacing the Chinese who had recently been driven out.[88]

In order to read this possible trace in the China Joe story, I use Lisa Lowe's formulation of intimacy as volatile contacts. One of three types of intimacies that Lowe outlines in her study of racial difference in the Caribbean plantation economy, "volatile contacts of colonized peoples," refers to the lived proximities that colonialism engenders (Lowe focuses on slaves, indentured servants, and mixed-race free peoples). Such contacts are revealed in the anxieties of colonial officials and the volatility sparked by cross-racial alliances and rebellions. I expand its usage, here, to encompass possible antagonisms as well as affinities. I argue that antagonisms between differently colonized peoples are particularly potent volatilities that can further reveal the violences of the settler colonial project.

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[86] Murphy, 25.
[87] Ibid., 26.
[88] Hinckley, "Prospectors, Profits & Prejudice," 64.

It is certainly possible that the conflict over the racial division of labor induced native participation in the violence of driving out. Whether such involvement was caused by investments in settler colonialism, however, is highly doubtful. Similar to white workers, Tlingit may have felt the economic threat of Chinese workers at the Treadwell and that was enough to participate. There is also evidence to suggest that Tlingit understandings of wage labor were connected to negotiations over land ownership and rights. George Pilz, the mining engineer who grubstaked the founders of Juneau, detailed his inducements to Tlingit leaders in his search for gold: "I had made a standing offer of a bonus of 100 pair of Hudson's Bay blankets and work for the tribe for one dollar per day, for any ore samples brought me, of rock in place, which I could put men to work at after finding, upon personal examination, that it was valuable."[89] This type of arrangement would have fit into Tlingit paradigms of land use, which were tightly controlled by complex clan-based social systems of ownership, known as at.óow.[90] Tlingit cooperation in the driving out could be read as the belief that Treadwell had no right to abrogate what were Tlingit rights, specifically Áuk'w K̲wáan prerogatives, to hold the jobs because not only did they hold ownership to the land but also had negotiated with Pilz for its usage. If this was the case, Tlingit participation in the ousting of Chinese serves as a powerful "volatile" contact exposing the connection between settler colonial violences of land and labor.

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[89] George Pilz, quoted in R.N. DeArmond, 40.

[90] At.óow is a highly complex Tlingit concept, literally meaning, "an owned or purchased thing," that can refer to such tangible and intangible items such as land, a spirit, a name, a song, among a great range of things. Purchase and use of at.óow are governed by a complex set of rules. For further reading, see Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds., *Haa Shuká: Tlingit Oral Narratives* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1987), 24-29.

To close, I offer one last reading of China Joe's story, moving him away from frontier intimacy with white miners, and into affinity with Tlingit residents of Juneau. I use affinity deliberately here, to signal ties other than blood, an intimate measure of political alliance, or friendship. In the numerous accounts of Joe's life, it is said that he was connected to three groups of people: old timers, children, and Natives. His connection to old timers was evident from his Cassiar days and was narrated through the myths told about him. His generosity for children is a common trope of Asian migrant men—without families, they tended to dote on local children. Joe was known to make cookies and other treats especially for local children.

The traces of affinity to the Tlingit community are interesting given that no reason is provided and all of Joe's mythology connects him to white prospectors. It is reported that, "During his declining years, Joe only baked for a few old timers and Natives."[91] A 1910 article explained that he served Natives even after he stopped baking for children: "After his shop became the bakery for the Indians exclusively, the toddlers would beg to be taken to their friend Joe for cookies."[92] In these accounts it appears that Alaska Natives were the most numerous and longest lasting of all his customers, and that old timers and children were considered more auxiliary. As opposed to viewing China Joe as an exception to the white prospectors' frontier intimacy, we might view the old timers as exceptions to China Joe's regular associates, the Tlingit community.

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[91] Che, 2004.
[92] Yule, 212.

Contrary to the Cassiar mining tale that constructs Joe as the sole baker for a group of white men, these comments suggest an alternate economic role for Joe in the gold mining economy. These comments also suggest segregation, as does the information that once German immigrant Gustav Messerschmidt opened a bakery in Juneau in 1899, Joe became the baker for "the Tlingit and his friends."[93] *Could it be that Messerschmidt refused to serve Native customers, leaving Joe to serve a Tlingit clientele? Or perhaps, discrimination worked in another direction, that once Messerschmidt opened his bakery, all white customers fled to him, leaving Joe with only Tlingit and old timer customers? Or, perhaps, an informal combination of both of these arrangements?* Tlingit elder Cecilia Kunz, born in 1910, fondly remembered going to his bakery as a child.[94] Joe would have been in his late 70s or older by then. *When young Cecelia stepped into the bakery with her family she smelled ginger cookies and doughnuts, fresh bread rising. She felt the warmth of the stove in the weathered log cabin. What did she see? Colorful vegetables from China Joe's garden? Day-old biscuits? A smiling old man with outstretched treats? One thing is certain: she didn't avert her eyes.* I want to suggest that differently colonized people might see each other outside of settler colonial optics, that these traces elucidate possible affinities between those racialized and colonized within Alaska's gold rush economy, affinities of possible friendship and alliance illegible within the frontier intimacies of settler colonialism.

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[93] Ann Chandonnet, 2003.
[94] Ibid.

Conclusion

Today, during the summer months, cruise ship tourists who arrive in Juneau are encouraged to take a historic walking tour, with a Juneau-Douglas City Museum volunteer as their guide. Along the tour, tourists visit notable sites, view local architecture, and hear about the colorful characters that make up Juneau's history, including China Joe.[95] The longevity of China Joe's folktale is demonstrated in this current reiteration, highlighting both the prominence of Gold Rush narratives, and China Joe's place within such tales. As the last frontier, Alaska is the first to be recuperated in American nostalgia. The telling and retelling of China Joe's story, in particular his racialized and feminized exceptionalism works to excuse settler colonial violence, including the driving out of Chinese miners. Reading for disavowed violence allows us to see the extensive labor of Chinese prospectors and miners in Canada and Alaska, as well as recognize Native land and labor within historic Indigenous ownership paradigms. Moreover, reading the racial violences of a lynching and the driving out in conversation elucidates how the project and anxieties of the settler colonial project affect racialized and colonized people differently. Attending to differential violence allows us to not only comment on antagonism but also imagine the possibilities for affinity.

The presence of China Joe's story to tourist audiences also signals the shift from colonial narratives that racialized Natives and Asians together in imagined ancestry (outlined in Chapter 1) to frontier tales in which Asian and Native connections are less legible. The racialized differentiation that marks this transition is constituted by and, in turn, further shapes, settler colonialism in Alaska ushered in with the Gold Rush era. In the next chapter, which examines Alaska's industrial development within the cannery economy, Asian and Native connections are rendered illegible, even as Asian men and Native women work the cannery line together. In Chapter 3, I examine this illegibility and the absences it creates within a labor archive that includes Alaska history, labor studies, Asian American studies, and Native studies.

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[95] Juneau-Douglas City Museum Website, http://www.juneau.org/parkrec/museum/volunteers.php; Cruise Port Insider website, http://www.cruiseportinsider.com/juex71.html#.Ufakv-uE7tI.

CHAPTER THREE

UNBECOMING WORKERS: ASIAN MEN AND NATIVE WOMEN IN ALASKA'S CANNERIES

The facts are few: in 1913 at a salmon cannery in the southeast Alaska town of Ketchikan, cannery workers form a union. Part of the radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Local 283's membership is predominantly Japanese immigrant workers. Little else is known about this local union and its activities. Master narratives in Alaskan history fail to note the event took place, let alone any labor activities of Asian migrant workers. Although the story of the Ketchikan local is recuperated by Asian American studies scholars, concurrent with the Asian American movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, no details are provided. And the narrative of class struggle in the face of economic and racial injustice resurrected by Asian American studies scholars fails to mention Native women when Asian migrant men and Native women comprised the majority of workers at Alaskan canneries by the 1910s. IWW documents also contain traces of this Alaskan union, including retaliation when two of the union's leaders are nearly dragged to death. At the same time that labor studies provides substantiation of this union and its organizing, the ways in which Asian and Native workers are discursively incorporated into larger narratives of multiracial class struggle ultimately elide their participation.

Using the story of a 1913 Ketchikan union as a departure point, I focus this chapter around a *labor archive,* that is, the records within Alaskan history, Asian American studies, Native studies, and labor studies that narrate the story of Alaskan cannery workers. I'm specifically interested in the ways that such an archive constructs the figure of the proletariat, alternately illuminating and eliding who a proper worker can be. Canneries emerged in Alaska during the same period as mining, during the late nineteenth century. Though the cannery industry was initially eclipsed by the monumental Gold Rush movement in terms of population, profits, and popular imagination, canneries made a steady increase through the turn of the century and by World War I, Alaskan canneries packed more than half the world's supply of salmon. This chapter also covers a new era in Alaska's development, following the 1912 Organic Act that organized Alaska into an official, incorporated territory with a territorial legislature.[1] This territorial government was limited, however, without powers to make decisions related to natural resources, land, or money. These three areas constellated around the cannery industry, including Asian and Native cannery workers.

Compared to Chapter 2 and the study of the longstanding presence of the China Joe folktale, the first half of Chapter 3 examines multiple types of absence across different intellectual formations. I am not simply tracing elision, however, but questioning the larger role of obfuscation. Rather than simply looking for the proverbial needle in the haystack, I question the haystack itself—how was it formed and how does it function to obscure the needle? In this process, I return to Lisa Lowe's multivalent formulation of intimacy, in which she stresses the shadow record between colonized peoples, that even though the "contacts of colonized peoples [are] never explicitly named in the documents, [they are], paradoxically, everywhere implicit in the archive in the presence of such ellipses."[2] I look to this absent presence across different intellectual fields to inform the contours of settler colonialism, and what types of subjectivity as laborers are foreclosed. Though still interested and focused on intimacy, in many ways the first half of this chapter is concerned with how intimacies between and among Asian and Native workers are rendered illegible. I argue that the foreclosure of historical subjectivity shapes and is shaped by the powerful disciplining discourse of proper gender and sexuality for racialized workers. Moreover, settler colonial logics of space and time highlight the different ways in which Asian masculinity and Native femininity are pathologized as improper labor, or erased from histories of labor altogether.

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[1] Organic Act of 1912, August 24, 1912, 37 Stat. 512.

In the second half of the chapter, I shift my attention to the concern of presence, and how cannery labor is expressed within Native and Asian American cultural production. Because, as I argue throughout the first half of the chapter, the intellectual fields of Alaskan history and labor studies, as well as Asian American and Native studies are limited by their determination of a proper laboring subject, I examine an alternative labor archive within literary expression to examine both unbecoming workers and their unbecoming ways. Said again, the labor archive is concerned with productive subjects. Alternately, I reject the notion of labor's productive subject in favor of *unproductive intimacies.* Literature becomes the space to do so because it allows for thick descriptions—sensory, visceral, and playful descriptions in excess of productive frameworks. Through close readings of Tlingit author Nora Marks Dauenhauer's poetry and Carlos Bulosan's novel *America Is in the Heart*, I excavate the figures of the promiscuous Native woman and the Asian male sex worker to ask how unbecoming workers elucidate complex yet contingent meanings of land and labor, central frameworks in Native studies and Asian American studies, respectively. Again, looking to Lowe, I utilize her strategy to examine the figures that animate colonial discourses, tracing anxiety and elision to comment on intimate constellations.

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[2] Lisa Lowe, "The Intimacies of Four Continents," *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History,* Ann Laura Stoler, ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 203.

The multiple yet interdependent usages of "unbecoming" in this chapter highlight my engagement with queer theory, particularly the ways in which nonnormativity has been theorized within queer of color critique. I use the idea of unbecoming to signal the foreclosure of subjectivity, similar to historian Mai Ngai who charts the genealogy of the "illegal alien" as a legally "impossible" subject. I seek to expand Ngai's formulation beyond race and immigration to highlight who cannot "become" a proper Alaskan, worker, man, or woman based on the racial and gendered logic of the heteronormative settler state. I connect this to the raced, gendered, and classed disciplinary functions of who is pathologized as a nonnormative subject, exhibiting "unbecoming" or improper behavior. The unraveling of these intertwined functions, historical unbecoming and pathologized unbecoming, signals a third way that I am using this framework of unbecoming, as an act of undoing. In deconstructing the powerful cloaking mechanisms of settler colonialism, I attempt to highlight the proximities that settler colonialism engenders without collapsing difference or claiming subjectivity. My goal in doing so engages queer of color and queer indigenous critique to explore nonequivalent and nonnormative intimacies between Asian migrant men and resident Native women, and building from the idea of affinity at the end of Chapter 2 to suggest a possibility for queer kinship.

Throughout this chapter I have asked the reader to imagine different ways of viewing Ketchikan, Alaska in 1913, signaled by italicized interludes. In this way, I have attempted to enact Emma Pérez's "decolonial imaginary," through several juxtaposed, overlapping, and unfinished narratives formed outside the confines of settler colonial discourses.[3] In the first half of the chapter, these short visualizations attempt to imagine the experiences for foreclosed subjects. In the second half of the chapter, they are invitations to imagine connections and linkages between those pathologized. As much as such possibilities are "unrecoverable" within both proper and alternative labor archives, I remain committed to the fact that alternate meanings, lived in the intersections which exceed the racialized and gendered regulations of settler colonial technologies, are undeniable.

Ketchikan, the "Salmon Capital of the World"

The town of Ketchikan, Alaska lies on the coast of Revillagigedo Island in the southern section of the Alexander Archipelago. The town sits at the foot of Deer Mountain where a salmon stream flows into the deep water channel of Tongass Narrows. American whites settled Ketchikan in the 1880s to take advantage of the salmon runs at the mouth of Ketchikan Creek and an area of level ground that allowed for building and expansion. In the sheer verticality of Southeast Alaska, this narrow strip was prime real estate. Ketchikan first established a saltery in 1886 or 1887, which was soon converted to a cannery.[4]

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[3] Emma Perez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).
[4] Patricia Roppel, "Salting Salmon at Boca de Quadra," *Alaska Southeaster* (December 1998), 10-11.

Of course, white settlers were not the first to discover the natural attributes of this site. Tlingit communities established fishing camps at Ketchikan Creek with clans in the Tongass and Cape Fox villages (Taant'a K̲wáan and Sanyaa K̲wáan respectively) possessing historical ownership claims to the salmon stream as well as other fishing, hunting, and berry picking sites in the general area.[5] As testimonies from an Office of Indian Affairs report from the 1940s illustrate, clans from the Tongass and Cape Fox villages maintained ownership and usage from time immemorial on lands encompassing the greater Ketchikan area, including Revillagigedo Island, nearby Annette and Gravina Islands, Prince of Wales Island to the west, mainland to the east and south, and even parts of present-day Canada.[6] While the name of the newly founded town was derived from Tlingit roots, the white settlers simply named the waterway abundant with spawning salmon, Fish Creek.

American settlement at salmon streams during this period resulted in large-scale dispossession of traditional Native fishing grounds. Even though the Gold Rush changed the Alaskan landscape in drastic ways for Native peoples, the rise of canneries in Alaska had a larger impact on Native livelihood and economies. Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian people depended on salmon as a primary food source and as a major cultural and spiritual element in their histories and cosmologies. In 1898, Governor John Brady convened a meeting of leaders from southeast Alaskan villages and Tlingit chief Kah-du-shan delivered a speech denouncing the theft of Native land due to American canneries. As he explained, "they began to build canneries and take the creeks away from us… and when we told them these creeks belonged to us, they would not pay attention to us and said all the country belonged to the President, the big chief at Washington."[7] As Tlingit scholar and writer Nora Marks Dauenhauer has emphasized, this expulsion was not only a separation from land and resources but also an American dismissal of the symbolic and totemic value of salmon for many clans.[8]

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[5] While the k̲wáan designation describes the geographic area shared by a common wintering village (the word k̲wáan comes from the Tlingit verb "to dwell"), it is the clans within the k̲wáan that own rights to physical property such as salmon streams, hunting grounds, berry picking sites, etc. as well as symbolic property such as names, songs, and regalia. These possessions are collectively known in Tlingit culture as at.óow. The clans in the Sanyaa K̲wáan are Kiks.ádi, Neix̲.ádi, and Teik̲weidí; and the four clans in the Taant'a K̲wáan are Dak̲l'aweidí, G̲aanax̲.ádi, Shangukeidí, and Teik̲weidí. For more explanation of Tlingit social organization see Thomas F. Thornton, "Chapter 2: Know Your Place: The Social Organization of Geographic Knowledge," in *Being and Place Among the Tlingit* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008). For more information on the concept and practice of at.óow see Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987).

[6] Walter R. Goldschmidt and Theodore H. Haas, *Haa Aaní, Our Land: Tlingit and Haida Land Rights and Use* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1998. A map detailing aboriginal use and ownership of the Ketchikan area is located on pages 204-205.

At the time of the town's incorporation in 1900, Ketchikan included a trading post and several salmon canneries. Eighty miles south of Wrangell, Ketchikan eclipsed the mining boomtown as Alaska's gateway city, and was part of the Alaska Steamship Company's regular route by 1895.[9] Although halibut fishing, mining, timber, and tourism would develop as important local economies, the town identified most strongly with its salmon industry origins, and in the 1930s an arch was constructed near Mission and Front streets announcing that Ketchikan was the "Salmon Capital of the World."[10]

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[7] Ronald Lautaret, ed., *Alaskan Historical Documents Since 1867* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1989), 46-47.

[8] Nora Marks Dauenhauer, "Some Slices of Salmon," *Life Woven with Song* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), 3-16.

[9] William C. Barnett further explores Ketchikan's formation as a gateway city to Alaska in his comparative study of Key West, Florida; Galveston, Texas; and Ketchikan, Alaska as three gateway cities whose economic prominence gave way in the shift from a maritime economy to railroad and auto industrialism. See: William C. Barnett, "From Gateway to Getaway: Labor, Leisure, and Environment in American Maritime Cities," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2005).

[10] Dave Kiffer, "Catching a Can in Ketchikan: A History of the 'Salmon Capital of the World,'" Stories in the News, Ketchikan, Alaska website, http://www.sitnews.us/Kiffer/SalmonCapital/092309_ketchikan.html.

Ketchikan emerged during the era of developing canneries in the 1880s and 1890s in Alaska and by the 1910s the growing town was an integral part of the growing Alaskan economy with over a dozen canneries. The improvement from salting to canning salmon meat provided a means to deliver a perishable product to distant markets. Similar to other resource extraction industries that built the Alaskan economy, canneries serviced national and global consumers while cannery towns remained dependent on outside goods and support. As salmon canning operations grew, they became dependent on a large yet seasonal workforce, which was represented by a diversity of laborers. Canneries first relied on an Alaska Native workforce yet quickly recruited Chinese cannery workers, citing increased labor demands. This created general protest from Tlingit clans, who believed they were entitled to profits from salmon canning—similar to Tlingit opposition to Chinese mine workers, such contention could easily stem from Tlingit notions of Indigenous land ownership and use.[11]

Cannery economy grew alongside increased migrant labor. In 1886, a tourist author observed Chinese laborers on board her steamship, including those whose destination was a cannery village near Ketchikan.[12] Cannery ledgers for the Alaska Packers Association showed "China Contracts" in the Ketchikan area starting in 1891 and, by 1905, detailed tallies of the numbers of Chinese workers aboard each ship sailing to Alaska. In 1909, the language shifts from "Chinese" to "Oriental," a reflection that other Asian workers in addition to Chinese laborers were present. In the 1910s, ledgers contain columns designating Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, and miscellaneous categories.[13] The miscellaneous heading may have included Black, Puerto Rican, Korean, or South Asian workers. In one Ketchikan local's recollections of the early twentieth century, the town included whites, Natives, Japanese, and at least one Black resident.[14] While the canneries depended on seasonal migrant labor, they still relied on a Native workforce, with Native men fishing and Native women canning. As a Japanese American man who worked in Alaska canneries in the 1920s and 1930s related, of the local Alaskan residents, mostly Native women worked in the canneries, while all the whites were in management.[15] Within this diverse array of workers, a predominant pattern developed, stratified by a combination of race and gender. White managers and engineers oversaw the canneries; Native and white (often Scandinavian) men fished ocean waters with trolling lines or purse seine nets; and Asian men alongside Native women worked the dangerous cannery line cleaning, chopping, and packing salmon into half and full pound tins.

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[11] For Tlingit opposition to Chinese cannery workers see Ted C. Hinckley, "Prospectors, Profits, & Prejudice," *The American West* 2 (Spring, 1965), 62-63; Victoria Wyatt, "Alaskan Indian Wage Earners in the 19th Century," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 78, nos. 1-2 (1978): 44. Wyatt quotes both territorial governor John G. Brady and Navy Commander L.A. Beardslee.

[12] Abby Johnson Woodman, *Picturesque Alaska: A Journal of a Tour Among the Mountains, Seas and Islands of the Northwest, from San Francisco to Sitka* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1893), 116.

The Subjects of Alaskan History

Prior to statehood, Asian migrants were the largest racialized group of non-Indigenous peoples to reside and/or settle in Alaska and the history of their labor is imbricated with Alaska canneries; however, histories of Alaska have elided their presence. Even when Asian migrants are noted in larger narratives of the state, they are often positioned outside the purview of organized labor. As noted in the introduction, the first extensive history of Alaska published in English is Hubert Howe Bancroft's *History of Alaska, 1730-1885*, covering the Russian colonial period up to Alaska's first Organic Act.[16] In one of the last chapters in the book focusing on fisheries, Bancroft extols the abundance and superiority of salmon from Alaska over the catch in other parts of the US or world. He describes the emergence of canneries in Alaska yet fails to mention Asian laborers, or any details on cannery labor. Bancroft views the impediments to cannery production as "the shortness of the season, the difficulty in obtaining labor, the great cost of supplies, the want of communication, and the fact that no title can be obtained to land."[17] Here, at the onset of the Alaskan cannery industry, the issues of land and labor are explicitly linked. While canneries are a prominent element generally in histories of Alaska, the elision of Asian labor is repeated by accounts of Alaska that follow Bancroft.[18]

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[13] Alaska Packers Association, Alaska State Library Historical Collections, Manuscript Collection 9, Box 1.
[14] James Bashford, "Frontier Town," *Alaska Sportsman* 14, no. 3 (March 1948), 12-13, 39-40.
[15] George Yanagimachi, Alaska's Japanese Pioneers Research Project, oral history transcription, 14 October 1991, Folder Phonotape C64, Alaska State Library Historical Collections.

When histories of Alaska include cursory mention of Asian cannery workers, it is often a formulation that refuses an Alaskan subjectivity to Asian migrant workers. This idea is exemplified by Ernest Gruening, who served as Governor of the Alaska Territory from 1939 to 1953, and as a US Senator from Alaska once Alaska gained statehood, from 1959 to 1969. Gruening writes in his history of Alaska, "Without a single exception the canneries were owned and operated by nonresident corporations whose operators came in the spring, bringing with them all the cheap Chinese and other labor they required, few if any of their employees becoming actual residents."[19] Gruening's account of the canneries is inaccurate on several accounts: the Annette Island Packing Company was (and is) owned and operated by the Metlakatla Indian Community. Similarly, the Klawock Cooperative Association was formed in the 1930s as a non-profit organization in the city of Klawock (on the Prince of Wales Island, 56 miles from Ketchikan) in order to own and operate a cannery for Native residents. These Native-owned and -operated canneries contradict Gruening's emphatic "without a single exception." Similarly, Chinese and other cannery workers did indeed settle in Alaska, their residence reflected in local newspapers and census reports from 1900 forward. Gruening's rhetorical "few if any" obfuscates the multiple and varied ways that Chinese and other Asian migrants established ties to Alaska, including, among other activities, permanent settlement. Further, his reasoning implies that migrant laborers are not residents, even though migrant workers were residents of Alaska for the duration of the cannery season, lasting several months out of the year. Also, migratory white miners were not scrutinized in similar ways, even though most did not remain permanently in Alaska. For Asian workers, however, Alaskan identity was dependent on fulltime or year-round residency. Unlike the mining industry that succeeded in physically expelling its Asian workers, the cannery economy's dependence on Asian migrant labor only heightened the contradiction of settler colonial industrialism. The solution was to highlight Asian transient labor position as failure, epistemically excluding them from the future of the settler state. The fact that Gruening is simply unable to perceive Native-run canneries or Asian residents reflects a pervasive discourse: that canneries, as a modern industry belong to the realm of

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[16] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska, 1730-1885* (New York: Antiquarian, 1959).

[17] Ibid., 662.

[18] See, for example, A.P. Swineford, *Alaska, Its History, Climate, and Natural Resources* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1898); James Wickersham, *Old Yukon: Tales-Trails-and Trials* (Washington, DC: Washington Law Book, 1938). Ted C. Hinckley includes both Chinese cannery workers and Chinese miners in his monograph *The Americanization of Alaska.* He does discuss Asian exploitation due to the contract system but does not consider Asian labor organizing as a possible response, further naturalizing his own depictions of Asian workers as "passive." See Ted C. Hinckley's *The Americanization of Alaska, 1867-1897* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1972).

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[19] Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, 1954), 65.

American, i.e. white, production. When Gruening and other Alaskan leaders critique the corporate absenteeism of the cannery industry, they also reveal that canneries cannot alternately be productive for the state if they profit Native communities or Asian laborers.

Within this ubiquitous discourse on canneries, the formation of Local 283 in Ketchikan remains invisible in Alaska history and documentation. Alaska newspapers for the year 1913 make no mention of Local 283 or its activities.[20] At the same time, lacunae in the archival record surround 1913 and cannery labor. In Alaska Packers Association ledgers for 1914, for instance, a shift in the ethnic composition of the workforce is reflected in the categorical count of laborers. As mentioned above, starting in the 1910s, the "Oriental Contract" is divided into categorizations of "Chi," "Jap," and "Misc." In 1914, however, these categories change to "Chi," "Mexican," "Filipino," and "Misc." A designation for Japanese workers is noticeably absent.

Another indication of labor organizing on the part of cannery workers is expressed in the government's annual report on Alaska fisheries from 1913. Citing difficulties in recruiting Chinese laborers, the resulting workforce is comprised of a "miscellaneous collection of Mexicans and Japanese, Filipinos and other Orientals, who are not as tractable and dependable as the Chinese."[21] The report goes on to caution "constant vigilance" for the "labor troubles that mean heavy loss to the salmon packer."

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[20] I looked at the *Alaska Daily Empire* (published in the territorial capital Juneau) and the *Ketchikan Miner.* It should be noted that the known copies for the *Ketchikan Miner* are incomplete, missing the January 31 and September 19 editions for 1913. The *Alaska Daily Empire* editions are, however, complete for 1913. For these two newspapers, I viewed collections at the Alaska State Library. Microfilm copies of these two newspapers are the same at holdings of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks; University of Alaska, Anchorage; and Anchorage Municipal Libraries.

[21] Barton Warren Evermann, *Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries, 1913* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 94. Interestingly, the author describes this mix of Japanese, Filipino, Chinese and "others" as a "heterogeneous Oriental element" (95), effectively erasing Mexican identity by including them in the reductionist category "Oriental."

An example of organizing among contracted Japanese cannery workers follows, with the proposed solution of "importing white girls" from the Pacific Northwest who are preferable to both Native laborers and migrant workers of color.[22] Traces in the Alaska fisheries report and the Alaska Packers Association ledgers point not only to organizing activity by Asian, specifically Japanese, cannery workers but also the anxieties on the part of cannery management and government officials.

Imagine Ketchikan, Alaska in 1913, an industrial cannery town. Picture steep slopes of spruce and hemlock while downhill, stumps are burned and cleared for small wooden shacks perched on stilts over a Pacific tide. Imagine men arriving by boat for the summer. Black hair, brown eyes: Chinese, Japanese, Filipino migrants coming from Stockton, Turlock, Tacoma. Reduced wages, sliced limbs, rotted meals, and cramped quarters give way to a shut-down, a sit-in, a strike.[23]

The Re(visioning) of Asian American Studies

It is against the backdrop of elision within Alaskan history that Asian American studies scholars recuperate the story of a union formed in 1913 in Ketchikan, Alaska, emerging out of the Asian American movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s and concomitant to the formation of Asian American studies. Local 283 appears in the first published anthology in the burgeoning field of Asian American studies, *Roots: An Asian*

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[22] Ibid., 95.

[23] In this imaginative section, I list three towns that were all known for immigrant Asian labor and for driving-out actions, including the driving out of Chinese from Tacoma, covered in Chapter 1. Whether the Asian laborers who unionized participated in actions such as strikes is purely speculative. Given the fact that they formed a union and there is also evidence to suggest violent retaliation against labor leaders, however, the idea of organized action by the workers during the 1913 cannery season is a distinct possibility.

American Reader.[24] The article "One Hundred Years of Japanese Labor in the USA." was written by Japanese American journalist and communist Karl Yoneda. Born in 1906 and active in union organizing since the 1930s, Yoneda's inclusion in the anthology signaled a link to an earlier generation of Asian American activism.[25] In his essay, Yoneda included a section on the IWW, highlighting the union's appeal to foreign-born immigrants, including Asians, and noted, "The IWW established local 283 in an Alaskan Ketchikan cannery in 1913. Among its members were 100 Japanese."[26] In this way, Local 283 and the organizing of Asian cannery workers in Alaska is situated within a genealogy of Asian American labor and rendered legible both for and because of the nascent field of Asian American studies. This story became important to Asian American studies precisely because Asian American studies claimed it as an originating moment. Though Yoneda did not provide specific citation for Local 283 in this article, in his book *Zai-Bei Nihonjin rodosha no rekishi (History of Japanese Laborers in America)* he attributes 100 Japanese names on the membership rolls of Local 283 that he received personally from another Japanese American.[27] In this way, Local 283 materializes out of an alternate and informal archive of Asian American activism, substantiated through the field of Asian American studies.

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[24] For more on Karl Yoneda's life and development as an activist, see Karl Yoneda "One Hundred Years of Japanese Labor in the USA," *Roots: An Asian American Reader,* eds. Amy Tachiki et al. (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1971), 150-158.

[25] Yuji Ichioka, "Introduction" in Karl G. Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (Los Angeles: Resource Development and Publications, Asian American Studies Center UCLA, 1983), xi-xvii. Yoneda was a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the elected union official of the San Francisco Alaska Cannery Workers Union Local 5, a CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) union.

[26] Yoneda, "One Hundred Years of Japanese Labor in the USA," 153.

[27] Karu [Karl] Yoneda, *Zai-Bei Nihonjin rodosha no rekishi [History of Japanese laborers in America]* (Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1967), 65-66. Translation by Yuichiro Onishi.

Since its appearance in the anthology *Roots,* the example of Local 283 has been reaffirmed within an Asian American labor and activist lineage. For example, Asian American studies and labor historian Glenn Omatsu explains that the Alaska Cannery Workers Union in Seattle, a union of predominantly Filipino workers active from the 1930s to 1960s, "draws from a rich legacy. It has its roots in the Industrial Workers of the World Local 283 in 1913."[28] Similarly, in his essay, "The Hidden World of Asian Immigrant Radicalism," historian Robert G. Lee heralds the materialization of the IWW as a major intervention that allowed an opening for union organization, and contends "hundreds of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian workers flocked to the call of the IWW."[29] As one of several concrete examples, Lee reports, "In 1913, when the IWW established Local 283 in the Alaska Ketchikan cannery, its membership included over a hundred Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino workers."[30] Interestingly, Lee expands Local 283's membership to incorporate Chinese and Filipino workers. Granted, there were Chinese, who had predated Japanese migrants, and Filipinos, starting from 1911, in Alaskan canneries, and it is likely to surmise that they could have been recruited into the IWW as well. It is not my goal to quibble about historical particularities; I am interested in

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[28] Glenn Omatsu, "Racism or Solidarity? Unions and Asian Immigrant Workers," *Radical Teacher* 46 (1995):34-35. Yoneda rehearses a similar genealogy in his memoir. See Karl Yoneda, *Ganbatte: Sixty-Year Struggle of a Kibei Worker* (Los Angeles: Resource Development and Publications, Asian American Studies Center UCLA, 1983). Not only academic sources, but also community and activist spaces echo the formation of a cannery workers union in Alaska in 1913. The on-line "Japanese American Activist Timeline," created as part of the "Legacy of Japanese American Activism Conference" which took place November 5, 2011 at the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, California, recites the 1913 union formed in Alaska within a larger litany of Asian American activist events. Outside of a few slight grammatical changes, the entry repeats Yoneda's words in *Roots* verbatim. See http://jalegacy2011.wordpress.com/about/japanese-american-activist-timeline-five-generations-of-community-activism/.

[29] Robert G. Lee, "The Hidden World of Asian Immigrant Radicalism," in *The Immigrant Left in the United States,* eds. Paul Buhle and Dan Georgakas (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1996), 276.

[30] Ibid.

Omatsu and Lee's desire to locate Local 283 in a configuration of, and antecedent to, pan-Asian activism.

As productive as the Asian American coalitional interpretation of a 1913 union in Ketchikan is, however, it remains problematic. What type of investments are embedded in the narrative of a heroic pan-Asian strike, especially for the field of Asian American studies? What type of subject is produced in this narrative of 1913 Ketchikan and what subjects are obscured? By envisioning a pan-Asian solidarity either in Local 283 or in the genealogy of Asian American labor, Asian American studies, in turn, obscures other possible alliances, particularly among other cannery workers who are not considered subjects of Asian American studies. What possible alliances or oppositions were formed with other migrant workers, Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Black? And given the predominant presence of Native women cannery workers, how might Native women been included or excluded from Local 283? How might Native women have supported or opposed such organizing efforts and why? As much as Asian American labor organizing has been excised from Alaskan history, Asian American studies in turn has occluded the labors of Native women. Here, we see the construction of anti-racist and anti-capitalist analysis complicit in furthering colonial and settler colonial discourses.

Within Asian American studies, the study of Local 283 has been neither furthered nor scrutinized. To date, no other scholars have examined the origin of its citation. Presumably because the case of a union formed in Alaska serves its pedagogical function to assert an early twentieth century example of Asian American activism, serving a capacious function for Asian American laboring subjects. However, this expansiveness, while ethnically diverse, also constructs a particular type of heroic subject and as we will explore below, not only elides the Native woman worker but also nonnormative constructions of Asian male cannery workers themselves. Additionally, it creates normative categories for intimacy, along the lines of race and gender. While Asian American men may form bonds of union brotherhood across lines of ethnicity, appropriate and natural intimacies for Asian men and Native women fall into romantic and sexual categories. What are rendered illegible by these differing categorizations of intimacies are the possibilities for Asian men and Native women to form working alliances as laborers, as well as the possibilities of romantic and/or sexual liaisons among Asian migrant men with each other.

Imagine Ketchikan, Alaska in 1913, a time and place of transition. A summer camp to net and dry salmon—Lingít know this creek as Kichxáan, the sound of thundering eagle wings. Now mispronounced by settler tongues, like dying fish flopping in the mouth. Native men walk off the job, leaving the cannery to hunt or fish their own food. Native women stay working, a life and livelihood away from missionary eyes.[31]

The Gendered Labor of Native Studies

As dominant narratives of Alaskan history overdetermine Asians as unproductive or "absent" cannery workers and elide Asian labor struggle, so too do they render invisible the presence of Native women working in Alaskan canneries. Unlike the greater Pacific Northwest area, where Native labor was supplanted by European and Asian migrant workers, canneries in Alaska continued to employ Native workers well into the twentieth century.[32] As historian Chris Friday has demonstrated, cannery work quickly became gendered for Native workers, with Native men employed as fisherman, while Native women were perceived by management to have a cultural disposition to work handling salmon in the canneries.[33] While the labors of male Native fishermen remain in the master narrative of Alaskan history, Native women in Alaskan canneries have been occluded. Though historian Stephen Haycox tells us that, "many Native fishermen made their summer livelihood selling to the canneries," no mention is made in his lengthy Alaskan history of Native women cannery workers.[34]

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[31] Lingít refers to the Tlingit word for "people," commonly spelled with a "T" in English because the "L" sound in the Tlingit language doesn't not exist in English. The sound that is being described in the name Kichxáan is the sound an eagle makes when it catches a salmon too heavy to fly with and must row to shore. See "Yáa at Wooné-Lingít Aaní, Respect for Tlingit Land," (Juneau: Goldbelt Heritage Foundation, 2011), 5, http://www.goldbeltheritage.org/ed-resources/ed-2012/unit-respect. Here, I also introduce the idea of Native women's labor in canneries as a strategy to remain outside the purview of missionaries and their civilizing objective, a theme that is explored in greater detail below, in connection with Nora Marks Dauenhauer's poetry.

Contradicting this pervasive tendency in Alaskan history, examples of Native women working in canneries are abundant in oral histories and interviews of Alaska Native people. For example, Herman Kitka, a Tlingit elder born in the 1910s, recalls:

> In my lifetime a change in living took place—going to canneries for summer work and seine fishing. All the older men went seine fishing for salmon for two months. The women all worked in the cannery.[35]

Native women recount working in the canneries starting at an early age, such as Amy Marvin (Tlingit name K̲ooteen*)* who began cannery work at Port Althorp at the age of twelve. She was young enough that she wasn't aware how much she was paid.[36] Others remember wages ranging from thirty-five cents to a dollar and a half per day, roughly half the wage of Native men.[37] Native women worked in the canneries as slimers, fillers, and at the patch table. Slimers finished gutting the fish coming down the line, washed fish of blood and viscera, and separated fish into different grades. Fillers sliced and diced fish and put them into cans. Those at the patch table weighed filled cans, and added small chunks of salmon if needed.[38] The commonplace cannery work among Native women, widely acknowledged by Native peoples since the late nineteenth century, cannot be accounted for in the failed settler discourse that renders cannery labor solely as "absentee" migrant Asian laborers.

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[32] Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).
[33] Ibid., 88. This gendered and racialized naturalization is critiqued in the following section on Nora Marks Dauenhauer's poetry.
[34] Haycox, 243. One clear exception within Alaskan history is Victoria Wyatt, "Alaskan Indian Wage Earners in the 19th Century: Economic Choices and Ethnic Identity on Southeast Alaska's Frontier," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 78, nos. 1-2 (1987): 44. Wyatt states that cannery labor started in the late nineteenth century and lasted well into the twentieth, and is well documented in towns such as Klawock, Sitka, Kasaan and Loring.
[35] Herman Kitka, quoted in Thomas F. Thornton, *Being and Place Among the Tlingit* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 124.

At the same time, cannery work also facilitated larger family connections and helped to foster subsistence practices. For the newly married Jessie Starr Dalton (Daax'wudaak; Naa Tláa) in the 1910s, cannery work in Tenakee Springs provided a feeling of independence from the money she earned. In Dalton's case, her husband George Dalton (Stoowukáa) hand trolled salmon for the cannery and family consumption, and they worked a large garden for cash income. They lived with Jessie's parents and their other work (for cash and/or subsistence) included boat building, fish buying, pile driving, mining, hunting and trapping, and berry picking.[39] The Daltons' experiences are common, as Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian peoples utilized canneries as an accommodation strategy to continue seasonal cultural practices.

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[36] Amy Marvin oral history in *Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories*, eds. Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1994), 467.

[37] Jennie White (Jeeník) oral history in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 605; Frank Johnson (Taaks K'wát'i*)* oral history in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 311.

[38] Some of these cannery jobs shifted with increased mechanization. For example, fillers began to run the machine that sliced and diced fish into cans.

[39] Jessie Dalton and George Dalton oral history in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 151-163. Similar labor practices are widespread in oral histories; see Austin Hammond (Daanawák) oral history in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 207-250; Sally Hopkins (Shxaastí) oral history in Dauenhauer and

The overwhelming accounts of Native women working for canneries that are elided in mainstream accounts of Alaskan history demonstrate a stark inability to read for the capacious labor of Native women. The paucity of scholarship on Native labor is pervasive, and as Martha C. Knack and Alice Littlefield acknowledge, "Studies of North American Indian economic life have largely ignored the participation of indigenous people in wage labor, even though for over a century such participation has often been essential for the survival of Native individuals and communities."[40] Knack and Littlefield cite several factors for this omission, including anthropological fascination to view indigenous peoples as part of an unchanging and pre-modern past and ethnohistorical tendencies to focus on federal Indian policy while overlooking the daily economic practices of Native peoples. This is a particularly powerful combination for erasure in Alaska, where the discourse of settler colonial time excludes Native people from modernity and Alaska Native peoples' racial construction has led to a lack of federal recognition.

The elision of Native women's histories working in Alaskan canneries also presents an interesting ethnic studies juxtaposition wherein Asian American studies configures Asian Alaskans as a laboring subject; conversely, examples of Native women

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Dauenhauer, 1994, 269-278; Emma Marks (Seigeigéi) oral history in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 378-406; Jim Marks (K̲uháanx') and Jennie Marks (K̲ultuyáx Sée) oral history in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 407-451; Doris Volzke oral history in *I Never Did Mind the Rain: A Collection of Oral Histories from Southern Southeast Alaska,* eds. Mary C. Smith and Louise Brinck Harrington (Ketchikan: Friends of Ketchikan Library, 1995), 91-95.

[40] Martha C. Knack and Alice Littlefield, "Native American Labor: Retrieving History, Rethinking Theory," in *Native Americans and Wage Labor: Ethnohistorical Perspectives,* eds. Alice Littlefield and Martha C. Knack (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 3.

working in canneries run throughout oral history documents yet Native women are configured outside of labor, even within American Indian studies. These differing discourses result in the construction of two different, yet mirrored, spaces of cannery life. While canneries served as a *homosocial workplace* for Asian migrant men, they existed as a *homosocial family space* for Native women. Women recount meeting and reuniting with women relatives in the canneries, and cannery workers often brought their children with them to the canneries. Young girls often transitioned from babysitting younger children to working on the cannery line when old enough. Sally Hopkin's (Shxaastí) daughter Amy Hopkins remembers watching both her younger sister and cousins while her mother and aunts worked in the cannery.[41] Children also helped with berry picking, both to supplement cannery meals and also for preservation for winter. Women gave birth to children in the canneries, and midwife Susie James (Kaasgéiy) was known to deliver babies both in dryfish camp and at canneries.[42]

In this way, canneries helped to foster family and clan networks among women, even with the dispossession and dislocation caused by the cannery industry. In the face of widespread disorder following the expulsion and theft of Native fishing grounds, Native people utilized the precarious and seasonal nature of cannery economics, including the versatile labor practices of Native women within the canneries. At the same time, Native women exceeded the definitions of cannery worker by enfolding cannery labor into a larger conglomeration of cash economy and subsistence (sometimes referred to as "mixed subsistence"). How might these manifold labor practices broaden the central framework of migrant labor within Asian American studies, as Native women migrated in their movement and tasks between fishing, cannery work, berry picking, and dryfish camp? As Asian American studies has revealed a nonormative subtext to the concept of migrancy, how might we also view Native women as both nonnormative laborers, and nonnormative migrant laborers? While they followed conventions within their own indigenous customary practices, Native women eclipsed the role of workers precisely because they continued to travel in ways that were invisible and illegible to both cannery management and subsequent Alaskan historians. How might Native studies benefit from a framework of the indigenous migrant, which accounts for a central framework of labor as well as land? Lastly, given the separate configurations of homosocial cannery space for Asian migrant men and Native women, how might the intimacy between these two spaces be revealed?

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[41] Sally Hopkins (Shxaastí) oral history in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 272.
[42] Susie James (Kaasgéiy) oral history in Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 287.

Producing Solidarity: The Racial Rhetoric of the IWW

Before we turn to the intimacies highlighted in Native and Asian American cultural productions, I address one more set of elisions, produced within labor studies. In the February 27, 1913 issue of the *Industrial Worker*, the official newspaper of the Industrial Workers of the World, a small item appeared announcing the formation of Local 283 in Ketchikan, Alaska, with the group renting space in the Socialist Hall. No further description of the group or its activities appeared that season in the newspaper.[43] Tracing this cannery union and its members' organizing, then, is also a study of the absence and presence of labor activism. As scholar Glenn Omatsu reminds us, accounting for Asian American labor "means understanding that union history is as much a history of exclusion and racism as it is of inclusion and solidarity."[44] An examination of the discourse of the IWW reveals that this doubled history is evident in the simultaneous rhetoric of racial solidarity or identification coupled with elisions of the material struggles of Asian American and Native workers, occlusions formed around settler colonialist notions of proper subjects in space and time.

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[43] "New Local in Ketchikan Alaska," *Industrial Worker,* February 27, 1913. The *Industrial Worker* suspended publication after September 1913 and was not resumed until 1916 due to internecine disagreements between the editor and publisher. By September, however, the cannery season would be ending or had already ended. This sharing of space between the IWW and the Socialist Party appears quite common as notes from the Juneau Socialist Party in 1912 indicate that Ketchikan's socialists were renting their hall to IWW members in exchange for work. See Socialist Party (Alaska), Alaska State Library Historical Collections, Manuscript Collection 4-7-2, Box 7, Folders 2-1 to 2-4.

The Industrial Workers of the World was founded in Chicago in 1905 by a gathering of anarchists, socialists, and trade unionists around the concept of the "One Big Union"—worker solidarity across industries, an idea in direct contrast to other US trade unions at the time. Emphasizing that the "working class and the employing class have nothing in common," the IWW advocated for worker solidarity across all boundaries, including nation, race, gender, and citizenship status.[45] It is this central tenet of all-inclusive worker solidarity that merits the highest praise for the IWW, among scholars and activists alike.[46]

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[44] Glenn Omatsu, "Racism or Solidarity? Unions and Asian Immigrant Workers," *Radical Teacher* 46(1995): 33.

[45] The opening lines to the Preamble to the IWW Constitution. The first paragraph of the preamble reads, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things in life." The preamble is included in almost all histories and memoirs of the IWW and its members. The preamble was adopted by the IWW on the sixth day of its founding meeting, July 3, 1905. The entire preamble, along with the attendees' discussion preceding adoption can be found in Industrial Workers of the World, *Founding Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World* (New York: Merit Publishers, 1969), 219-248.

[46] Examples abound, such as: "The world of the Wobblies was one realized in its best moments by solidarity across race, ethnic, gender and nationality lines," in Paul Buhle and Nicole Schulman, eds., *Wobblies!: A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (London: Verso, 2005), 3; similarly, "The IWW welcomed Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and other Asian workers to its ranks, once more setting a new standard of solidarity for organized labor," in Stewart Bird, Dan Georgakas, and Deborah Shaffer, eds., *Solidarity Forever: An Oral History of the IWW* (Chicago: Lake View Press, 1985), 140. Similar sentiments can be found in standard IWW histories such as Paul Brissenden, *The IWW: A Study of*

Even though the IWW led its largest strikes among industrial workers in the Northeast, the union is most often associated with the itinerant workers of the West in the social imagination. This migrant labor force was the result of the West's extractive economies—mining, logging, cannery labor, and migrant farm work. The IWW built a counterculture around a lifestyle where red-card-carrying Wobs rode the rails, camped in hobo jungles, and spread their word through song and soapbox oration. The IWW's vision of on-the-job organizing with work slowdowns and wildcat strikes appealed to a workforce that seasonally moved in and out of towns and through multiple industries. The militant stance of direct action over political activity was especially popular to foreign-born immigrants, disenfranchised from the vote.

At its founding convention the IWW clearly articulated its inclusion of workers of all races, even if there were few workers of color in attendance and, as far as the record shows, no Asian workers.[47] From the start, and especially on the West Coast, the IWW was active recruiting Japanese and Chinese workers. Within the organization's first year, the IWW reported that its representatives visited the Seattle-based Japanese newspaper *Hokubei jiji* (*The North American Times*) to invite Japanese workers to a mass meeting.[48] In a 1924 IWW meeting in Vancouver, British Columbia, over 150 members testified on the discrimination that Chinese, Japanese, and South Asian workers experienced. One

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American Syndicalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919); Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States Volume IV: The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* (New York: International Publishers, 1965); and Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).

[47] Industrial Workers of the World, *Founding Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World* (New York: Merit Publishers, 1969). From the names of speakers and union representatives, it appears that the one identifiable person of color at the convention was Lucy Parsons, noted American anarchist and labor organizer of mixed Black, Native, and Mexican descent.

[48] *Industrial Worker*, July 1906.

person present remarked that by 1919, the IWW had as many Chinese members as white workers.[49]

While such archival evidence suggests both recruiting efforts by the IWW and involvement among Asian migrant workers, level of participation is difficult to gauge. Though IWW accounts of the time describe materials in Chinese and Japanese, most IWW archives consist of English-language sources or materials in European languages. Outside of source language difficulties, anonymity was also a common trait within the IWW and many workers were known only through their nicknames.[50] From the vantage of Asian American studies as well, scant documentation exists on Asian worker participation in the IWW. Historian Him Mark Lai contends that the majority of Asian American leftist organizing of the first half of the twentieth century was funneled into the Communist Party apparatus.[51] IWW members were certainly part of this channeling, yet their earlier struggles remain illegible within Communist Party bureaucracy.[52]

In addition, the benefits for Asian American workers to join the IWW were not always clear. Greg Hall, in his study of IWW members in agriculture, argues that most

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[49] Survey of Race Relations Collection, Hoover Institute Archives, Stanford University, Box 24: Major Documents, Number 16.

[50] IWW historian Joyce Kornbluh describes this phenomenon in the union as a "cult of anonymity." See Joyce L. Kornbluh, ed., *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1988), x.

[51] Him Mark Lai, "To Bring Forth a New China, To Build a Better America: The Chinese Marxist Left in America to the 1960s," in *Chinese America: History and Perspective* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, San Francisco State University, 1992), 3–82.

[52] Indeed, in her study of Chinese and Japanese immigrants in Communist movements, Josephine Fowler begins her examination at the close of World War I, after large-scale repression of the IWW leadership and when many IWW members shifted political and philosophical allegiance from industrial syndicalism to communism. See Josephine Fowler, *Japanese & Chinese Immigrant Activists: Organizing in American & International Communist Movements, 1919-1933* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007). Connections to the IWW remain elusive even in formations outside of the Communist Party apparatus, such as the Chinese American anarchist group *Pingshe* (Equality Society). Formed in 1921 in San Francisco's Chinatown, the group appears to have little or no affiliation to the IWW See Jane Mee Wong, "Pingshe: Retrieving an Asian American Anarchist Tradition," *Amerasia Journal* 34, no. 1 (2008): 133-151.

Asian American workers did not organize with the nascent IWW because they already had experience organizing their own, culturally-based labor associations and that the strength of the IWW was in countering racism within the ranks of white workers and supporting alliances with Asian labor groups.[53] Indeed, at the 1924 IWW testimonial meeting described above, the white members present recalled Japanese and Chinese workers in the early 1900s as more organized than white workers, and that Asian migrant workers generally held the position that, "If you can show us a union as large as our own and if you can assure us that the whites will stick we will join you, otherwise not."[54] In his history of the IWW, Philip Foner argues that the IWW's analysis of race could not compel Black membership. The union's stance that there was "no race problem. There is only the class problem," failed to account for Black workers' civil and political rights.[55] Such class reductionism, especially given the presence of active, ethnic-based labor associations, similarly failed to comprehend the racially hostile working and living environment that Asian migrants faced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the West Coast, including Alaska.

An example of such violence can be located in the possible trace of Local 283 in an IWW pamphlet published in 1919, titled, "With Drops of Blood the History of the Industrial Workers of the World has been Written." This pamphlet detailed the persecution of the IWW in the first two decades of the twentieth century, including a litany of martyred members. The concluding item stated, "Two members were nearly dragged to death behind an automobile at Ketchikan, Alaska."[56] While attributing this instance of violent retaliation directed against the workers of Local 283 is speculative, it certainly remains a strong possibility given the sparse archival fragments that exist on Asian IWW members and IWW activities in Alaska.[57] Notably, the last two examples of martyrs on this list were the only ones not mentioned by name, the workers in Ketchikan and four members killed in Grabow, Louisiana in a shootout between the striking Brotherhood of Timber Workers and the Galloway Lumber Company. An IWW affiliate, the B.T.W. was a southern union of both Black and white workers.[58] If the attempted automobile lynching in Ketchikan indeed occurred in retaliation for the organizing efforts of Asian cannery workers, an interesting pattern emerges with the IWW incorporating the struggles of racialized, immigrant, or (in the case of B.T.W.) integrated workers while simultaneously denying their individual subjectivity.

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[53] Greg Hall, *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905-1930* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 58.

[54] "Testimonial Meeting on the Oriental," Survey of Race Relations Collection, Hoover Institute Archives, Stanford University, Box 24: Major Documents, Number 16.

[55] *Industrial Worker*, September 19, 1919, qtd in Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States. Volume IV: The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 127.

This practice of utilizing the stories of workers, including tales of racial inclusion, was part of an IWW practice that worked to obscure the organizing histories of Asian migrant workers. An examination of IWW press reveals more rhetorical support for Asian workers than actual organizing stories. This support for Asian workers from the beginning formed a large part of the IWW's differentiation from the American Federation of Labor and its virulent anti-Asian racism. For the year 1913, several articles and essays in the *Industrial Worker* formed the IWW's inclusive position. A notice in the April 3 issue of the newspaper denounced a California State Federation of Labor resolution directed against Japanese Americans, and pointed out the hypocrisy of opposing Japanese workers when the A.F.L. refused Japanese membership in its union. Editors reminded readers "The IWW accepts all wage workers into membership."[59] A similar article in June castigated A.F.L. claims of organizing Black workers in Seattle. Alongside a partial list of A.F.L. locals which excluded Black workers, the editors pointedly reminded that, "The A.F.L. does not accept Japanese or Chinese to membership," while "The IWW is the only labor organization in America that absolutely excludes no wage worker from membership."[60] At the same time, no Asian American IWW organizers were named in the newspaper in 1913, while the white leaders of national and local struggles were prominently listed.

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[56] Anonymous [William "Big Bill" Haywood], "With Drops of Blood the History of the Industrial Workers of the World has been Written," Pamphlet, 1919.

[57] I am not the first historian to trace this act of retaliatory violence. In correspondence related to his research on the Alaska Socialist Movement, Barry Rodrigue also starts from the presupposition that attempted dragging occurred in 1913. Finding no supporting documentation in the Alaska history archives he consulted, he additionally searched Ketchikan papers from 1912 to 1921 with no results. See, Barry H. Roderick (Rodrigue) Papers, Alaska State Library Manuscript Collection 100, Folder II-1.

[58] For more on the IWW participation in the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, see James F. Fickle, "Race, Class, and Radicalism: The Wobblies in the Southern Lumber Industry, 1900-1916," in *At the Point of Production: The Local History of the IWW,* ed. Joseph R. Conlin (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 97-113; Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 209-219.

As yellow peril sentiments took hold among other labor formations such as the Socialist Party, the IWW's stance set them apart from the rest of the labor movement. In an article titled, "Yellow Peril," the IWW attacked an article in the *Social Democrat,* the official paper of the Socialist Party of California, which argued that Japanese workers in California betrayed the "workmen of California." The *Industrial Worker* responded that, "There are but two nations—the exploiters and the exploited; but two races—the robbers and the robbed."[61] This discourse of an IWW class-based yet color-blind nationalism was further articulated in a long editorial in the newspaper titled, "The Japanese, the

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[59] *Industrial Worker,* April 3, 1913.

[60] "Better Clean His Glasses," *Industrial Worker*, June 12, 1913.

[61] "The Yellow Peril," *Industrial Worker*, May 15, 1913.

Land, and Labor." Here, the authors suggested that anger over Japanese success at small farming was an expression of employers' loss of an exploitable work force, and in a strange rhetorical move pessimistically predicted that Japanese would be forced from their truck farms back to migrant labor but optimistically (for the union) predicted that, "The IWW will be the only logistical place for them to fight." Japanese workers were included in the IWW nationalist (and internationalist) vision as, "They know that we accept them, not as Japanese but as members of our own nation—the working class."[62] Echoing Foner's critique of the IWW, such class reductionism not only failed to address Japanese demands for both economic and racial equality but also put forth colorblindness as a condition for class consciousness.

The IWW's privileging of rhetorical support over material support of Asian workers carries through to contemporary understandings of the IWW as a radical labor formation. The genealogy of the popular moniker "Wobbly" is perhaps one of best examples of expressed solidarity involving Asian workers. IWW workers became known as "Wobblies" sometime around 1912 or 1913, the same time as the formation of Local 283 in Ketchikan. While many theories have been put forth as to the origin of the term (such as a wobble saw used by timber workers or the wobbling motion of a drunken worker), by far the most popular is that of the Chinese cook. Variously told as a Chinese cook in a Vancouver restaurant, a Saskatchewan railroad camp, an Oregon lumber camp, etc. this cook supports the IWW and gives credit, or free food, to striking workers, and cannot pronounce the letter "double u" so asks if the workers are "I Wobble Wobble" or "I Wobbly Wobbly." Startling similar to the China Joe folktale analyzed in the last chapter, this etymology explained in the 1920s by IWW member Mortimer Downing, "hints of a fine, practical internationalism, a human brotherhood based on a community of interests and understanding."[63] Or, as recently described by leftist authors, this nickname "was taken up in friendly fashion rather than racist derision."[64] Rather than debate whether the fondness for a Chinese man's accent is solidarity or mockery, however, it is more important to underscore that this genealogy is cited as part of the IWW's multiracial internationalism.[65] This story does the work of highlighting interracial connection, and the support of Asian American workers for the IWW cause; at the same time, it doesn't answer the question of how, or if, Wobblies in turn supported the Chinese cook and his struggles. Indeed, in this formulation the Chinese cook's part in the origin of the term "Wobbly" positions him discursively as support and not as a worker in his own right. He can name the Wobblies but he cannot be one.

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[62] "The Japanese, the Land, and Labor," *Industrial Worker*, May 29, 1913.

This privileging of rhetorical over material support is also evident in the autobiography of William "Big Bill" Haywood. Haywood was arguably the most well known IWW member, a veteran of the Western Miners Federation strikes of the late 1800s who spent the first decade of his IWW career as a popular orator, traveling to numerous strike lines.[66] In his autobiography, penned from exile in 1929 in the USSR,

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[63] Mortimer Downing, *The Nation,* September 5, 1923, 242.

[64] Paul Buhle and Nicole Schulman, eds. *Wobblies!: A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (London: Verso, 2005), 5.

[65] Mark Leier, *Where the Fraser River Flows: The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1990), 35.

[66] Haywood biographer Peter Carlson utilizes a creative example to demonstrate how Haywood was viewed as larger than life, showing that Haywood was often described as a "giant" who stood "well over six feet" or "almost seven feet" when Haywood stood, in reality, five feet, eleven inches. See Peter Carlson, *Roughneck: The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983), 16.

Haywood typifies the racial rhetoric emblematic of the IWW.[67] While Haywood is careful to trace his respect and admiration for Chinese and Japanese workers over the course of his life and tenure in the IWW, he fails to mention any Asian labor associations or unions, as well as neglecting to mention Asian IWW activists by name; the sole exception being Taro Yoshihara, Big Bill's personal assistant. Even then, Yoshihara is only mentioned once as he was with Haywood when he was arrested in the FBI raids of the IWW in 1917, and no detail is given of who Yoshihara is or his relationship to Haywood.[68] Yoshihara joined the IWW as a merchant seaman, participated in more than a dozen IWW strikes, and was working daily with Haywood by the time he moved to IWW headquarters in Chicago.[69] Unfortunately, none of this is discussed by Haywood, and Yoshihara is uniformly overlooked by IWW historians.[70]

If the rhetoric concerning Asian workers in the IWW was limited, the rhetoric of Native people as *workers* was virtually nonexistent. At the same time, the rhetoric of Indian *identification* was plentiful in IWW literature, with a great number of members and leaders alike hinting or alluding to Indian ancestry. This lore is reiterated in contemporary histories of the IWW, where it is said that a "considerable number of Wobblies were at least part Indian." Indian identity serves as a particular marker of the IWW worker as a frontier figure: "The early Wobblies were above all famous for their Westerners: the part-Indians and the Yankees, sons and daughters of pony-express drivers, and gold prospectors whose families had kept going West but never escaped poverty."[71] Granted, there were individuals such as Lucy Parsons, of mixed Native, Black, and Mexican descent, who spoke at the IWW founding convention, and the self-identified "half-breed" IWW organizer Frank Little, who liked to joke that he was the only real "red" and authentic "American" in the crowd.[72] The majority of Indian identification, however, was vague and elusive. This "playing Indian," as Philip Deloria calls it, occurs throughout US history, wherein an appropriation of Indian images or identity by white Americans is equated with notions of rebellion and freedom distinctly American. Representations of indigeneity become coopted for American national identity. Deloria elaborates that white desires for playing Indian shifted in the twentieth century as a way to wrestle with anxieties of increasing industrialization. Association with Indian identity, then, was a strategy to assert a seemingly natural and authentic American individualism. The part-Indian IWW worker became a particularly powerful figure in this discourse, as a way to contend with impersonal and oppressive industrial capitalism as heroes and patriots, the rightful heirs to an American West.

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[67] William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood* (New York, International, 1929). Haywood also takes credit for the aforementioned pamphlet, "With Drops of Blood." See page 344.

[68] Ibid., 303.

[69] Ralph Chaplin, *Wobbly: The Rough-and-Tumble Story of an American Radical* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 214.

[70] Yoshihara is only mentioned in passing in a few accounts of the IWW or Haywood. Yoshihara is described in Ralph Chapin's IWW memoirs as Bill Haywood's "office boy." Peter Carlson additionally describes him as Haywood's personal bodyguard. Both authors make note of Yoshihara's skills at jujitsu. See Chapin, 214, 225; Carlson, 18. By 1920 Taro Yoshihara left for the USSR and was the only Japanese delegate in attendance at the Baku Congress of Nations of the Orient in September of that year. More speculation regards his later life, with reports that he attended subsequent communist conferences, that he was last known to be held in a Tokyo prison in 1937, and that he was rumored to have been killed on his way to Moscow, near the border between Manchuria and Siberia. See Akito Yamanouchi, "The Early Comintern in Amsterdam, New York, and Mexico City," *Shien (The Journal of History)* (142): 101; Paul Langer and Rodger Swearingen, "The Japanese Communist Party, the Soviet Union, and Korea," *Pacific Affairs* 23, no. 4 (December 1950): 340, n.3; Chapin, 334.

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[71] Both examples come from a collection of visually illustrated IWW stories. See Buhle and Schulman, 7, 52.

[72] Stewart Bird, Dan Georgakas, and Deborah Shaffer, eds. *Solidarity Forever: An Oral History of the IWW* (Chicago: Lake View Press, 1985), 143. But even in the case of Little, a member of the IWW General Executive Board and known for his role in multiple strikes and free speech fights, and who was ultimately lynched in Montana, his Cherokee ancestry is focused on without any mention of his connections to Cherokee communities or Cherokee struggles.

The idea that numerous IWW workers were of Indian ancestry also relied on a romanticized notion of Indians as pre-modern people. This romanticization is highlighted in Haywood's autobiography. While many other IWW writers speculate on Haywood's rumored Indian blood, Haywood only hints at the possibility. Similar to his noted respect for Asian workers, he goes to great lengths to articulate his admiration for American Indian people and to sympathize with their defense against white settler encroachment. The difference being, however, that Haywood situates his racial solidarity with Chinese and Japanese as a workers' alliance while positing indigenous peoples outside of modernity. Most telling is a passage from Haywood's time working in a Nevada mining camp, in which he describes his Indian neighbors.

> Interesting were the Indian dances, where the Indians would gather for their pow-wow and dance sometimes the snake-dance, the ghost-dance, the sun-dance, or some other just as mysterious. Their only music was the drums and the lilt of the squaws…. In the night when the fires were lighted, the hypnotic rhythm of the drums and the springy furtive dance steps of the Indians… were thrillingly weird.[73]

Similar to the unpacking of the Chinese cook in the formation of the term "Wobbly," the point is not simply to name the racist stereotypes presented in this passage but, rather, to analyze the discourse that Haywood's description furthers. The labor of Native people (dancing, drumming, singing) is described as primitive and mysterious, outside the pale of industrial work. Native people are marked by a fundamental difference yet this "weirdness" is "thrilling," that is, desirable on some level to the hoboing Wob who also lives life on the frontier, by the lit fires of the jungle camp. In this formulation, the appeal is to be like an Indian but not an Indian. Hence, white workers with Indian blood make for particularly good members of the international brotherhood of workers, while Indians living Indian lifestyles in Indian communities are viewed to be part of a nostalgic (and dying) past. The romantic notion of Indian peoples tied to a natural and free yet primitive and stagnant way of life allowed IWW members to disregard Indians as workers while simultaneously using Indian identification to further a mythic concept of the hoboing IWW rooted in American history, on American soil. In the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, in particular, the early twentieth-century surge in IWW organizing coincided with many Native communities' nascent participation in wage labor. The relationship of Native people to organized labor, including radical labor formations, remains overlooked when such lasting romantic connotations permeate IWW histories.

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[73] Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book*, 26.

The IWW discursively positioned themselves as including ("liking") Asian American workers while also sharing traits ("likened") with American Indian peoples. At the same time, the union's identification worked to render invisible the actual organizing struggles of Asians or Indians. In this formulation, Asian and Native workers cannot become proper subjects, particularly ironic given the attention to the IWW by labor scholars extolling the union's radical and alternative lifestyle practices. This paradox exposes the IWW's reliance on the contradictory logic of settler colonialism: racialized migrants cannot become subjects of the nation-state while Indigenous inhabitants cannot become subjects of modernity. Labor studies, even radical labor studies, joins Alaskan history, Asian American studies and Native and Indigenous studies in foreclosing the proper worker. In this way, labor's archive, constructed through various intellectual projects, limits the laboring subject to normative race, gender, sexuality, and settler status. In the next two sections, through an engagement with Tlingit poet Nora Mark Dauenhauer and Filipino author Carlos Bulosan, I explore the creative counter archive articulated by those who cannot become labor's proper subjects. By looking at the ways that both authors elucidate quotidian and unbecoming cannery experiences within and beyond the workplace, I highlight the potential for unproductive intimacies.

The Intimate Pleasures of Nora Marks Dauenhauer's Poetry

Nora Marks Dauenhauer is arguably the most widely known and regarded Tlingit writer, of both scholarly and creative texts, including oral history collections, Tlingit language instruction, poems, plays, and essays. Her creative work in particular lends itself to a lens of intimacy. Dauenhauer focuses on the intimate and everyday relationships between people as in "A Poem for Jim Nagatáak'w (Jakwteen)" based on Dauenhauer's relationship with her blind and nearly deaf grandfather, "I could look at him and get/really close. We both liked this./ Getting close was his way/ of seeing."[74] As Gladys Cardiff notes in her review of Dauenhauer's creative collection *Life Woven with Song*, "getting close" is also Dauenhauer's aesthetic lens.[75]

Nora Marks Dauenhauer was born in 1927; her first wage-earning job was in a cannery and she continued to work in canneries throughout her life.[76] Dauenhauer's poem "Salmon Egg Puller – $2.15 an Hour" directly engages her experience working in canneries.[77] The title of this poem identifies cannery work with a specific job task on the assembly line and also the value earned through wage labor. Her poem elaborates on the work entailed as a salmon egg puller:

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[74] Nora Marks Dauenhauer, *Life Woven with Song* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), 57.
[75] Gladys Cardiff, "Nora Marks Dauenhauer's *Life Woven with Song*," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 16.2(2004): 65-73.
[76] Dauenhauer, *Life Woven with Song*, 42.
[77] Nora Marks Dauenhauer, "Salmon Egg Puller – $2.15 an Hour," *Life Woven with Song* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000): 63-64.

> Grab lightly
> top of egg sack
> with fingers,
> pull gently, but quick.
> Reach in immediately with right hand
> for the lower egg sack.
> Pull this gently.[78]

Dauenhauer is engaging with the discourses extolling the gendered aspects of Native women's work in the cannery, and their innate ability to "pull gently." As the cannery industry developed, employment became increasingly gendered, with Native men regarded as having, "little desire to give themselves over to company control," especially when they would often leave cannery work to hunt or fish for their families and communities.[79] Native women were racialized very differently by cannery and government officials as having an "immemorial instinct" for working with salmon, and were often assigned as slimers, those who cut and gut the salmon first coming down the line.[80] Such romanticizations were anything but natural, however, as Dauenhauer intersperses the image of gentle pulling with the monotonous repetition of the assembly line: "Do this for four hours in the morning," then "work four more hours in the afternoon," and after the dinner break, "Go back for two more hours/four more hours/reach/pull gently."[81] This juxtaposition exposes the hard reality of this "gentle" work, resulting in sore, swollen fingers.

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[78] Ibid., 63.
[79] Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor*, 88.
[80] Jefferson F. Moser, *The Salmon and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska: Report of the Alaska Salmon Investigations of the U.S. Fish Commission Steamer* Albatross *in 1900 and 1901* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1902) quoted in Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor*, 88-89.

The racial and gendered assumptions of cannery operators failed to comprehend the complex survival strategies that cannery work enabled. As noted in previous sections, seasonal work allowed Native families and communities to continue clan-based practices while accommodating changes under a colonial modernity. In a time when canneries facilitated dispossession from traditional fishing grounds, the temporary work they demanded ironically allowed some Native communities to continue cultural practices without governmental interference, following the seasons from winter tent grounds to living on boats or in cannery quarters, leaving the cannery to smoke fish, dry seaweed, and participate in ceremonial gatherings. Dauenhauer's family caught and preserved their own salmon even while the women worked in the cannery and the men fished for cannery tenders. While Native studies focuses on the land dispossession caused by canneries and canneries are formulated through the lens of migratory labor in Asian American studies, it is the intersection of the cannery's contradictory demands of land and labor that reveals Native accommodation strategies. Glimpses of this connection are revealed in the poem when Dauenhauer describes one of the first steps of the salmon egg puller: "reach inside the salmon cavity/with your left hand/where the head was."[82] Native cuisine prizes the head of the salmon as the most choice eating while in industrial canning practice the head is often tossed and the body of salmon is shipped for eating in far-flung locales across the globe. At the same time, the recognition of this change while still working with salmon and its preservation signals new accommodation strategies for Dauenhauer and other Native cannery workers.

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[81] Dauenhauer, "Salmon Egg Puller – $2.15 an Hour," 63-64.
[82] Ibid., 63.

We might also read “Salmon Egg Puller” as a comment and response to the Asian male cannery worker constructed by Asian American studies. Many of the intimate details and repetition of the cannery assembly line in Dauenhauer’s poem are echoed in social histories of Asian laborers in Alaskan canneries. At the same time, the tone of Dauenhauer’s poem differs from the accounts in Asian American studies. She opens the poem with the line “You learn to dance with machines,” underlying the accommodation strategies of the Tlingit in the face of the modernity that American colonialism impelled. In contrast, the narrative of this labor constructed by Asian American studies is one of worker noncompliance in which dancing with the machinery of industrial capitalism is not a viable, or even preferable, option. Dauenhauer’s oral history scholarship with her husband Richard Dauenhauer includes the interaction of Native and Asian people in the canneries; however, her creative work is void of connections to Asians in Alaska.[83] This absence read alongside the erasure of Native women in accounts of the 1913 union suggests a narrative impasse between Asian American studies and American Indian studies as well as a productive inquiry into the articulations and disarticulations of colonial constructs of race and gender, labor disputes, and indigenous strategies for survival. In speculating whether Native women participated, opposed, or were excluded from union organizing we might also ask if issues of wage, safety, and worker control were of priority to Native people ensconced in battles for land and cultural survival. We see here that Asian American studies’ overdetermination of labor cannot account for more expansive subjectivities and modes of resistance. A critical engagement with settler colonialism therefore requires Asian American studies to address a more capacious migrant labor interdependent with issues of land dispossession and indigenous self-determination.

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[83] Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 275, 459.

In an autobiographical essay, Dauenhauer remarks in retrospect that the cannery experience was fraught with racial discrimination—pointing out the substandard housing of Native families compared to the bunkhouses of white workers. But even with this admission she remembers the era fondly, "I guess we had fun."[84] Not to minimize or romanticize the harsh working conditions of either Native or Asian cannery workers, it is this idea of pleasure or joy in the intimacy of the cannery experience itself I wish to explore further.

As noted above, Dauenhauer opens her poem with the line, "You learn to dance with machines," with the imagery of dancing continued throughout the poem. In the colonial period when traditional dancing and ceremonies were banned by missionaries and government officials, dancing during the workday was a way to sustain culture and, similar to the subsistence accommodation to seasonal wage labor, dancing formed a contestational maneuver, small and intimate, that remained outside the purview of cannery operators and government agents. Learning this new form of dance, with machines, can be seen as a metaphorical strategy that facilitated the later emergence of the Tlingit renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s, a heritage revival that Dauenhauer herself was instrumental in leading.

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[84] Nora Marks Dauenhauer, "Life Woven with Song: An Autobiographical Essay," *Life Woven with Song* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), 44.

Dauenhauer addresses the gendered aspects of cannery work as a mother in this poem (and as she describes, a "housewife," even though she labors all day in the cannery). Twice in the poem she repeats the line, "Attend to kids, and feed them," describing her activity during lunch and dinner breaks. At the end of the day, "Attend to kids who missed you."[85] Here, multiple meanings are revealed: her alienation from the Tlingit food source of salmon as she feeds her children away and apart from the cannery and its work of food preparation; her wage labor (at $2.15 an hour), however, provides a means for which to feed her children; and a third subtext that the seasonal and temporary nature of the profit-driven, corporate cannery allows her to continue traditional salmon gathering practices with the next generation.

As a space of laboring Native women, the homosocial aspect of "Salmon Egg Puller" is further stressed in Dauenhauer's form of address. In using the second person, Dauenhauer directs her poem to other salmon egg pullers—given the racialized and gendered stratification of the cannery system, Dauenhauer is addressing other Native women. While literary critics often highlight Dauenhauer's pedagogic project to educate non-Natives, we see in this poem that she is detailing not only strategies for coping but suggesting cultural sustenance and opposition for Native women. This oppositional narrative is similar to her popular "How to Make Good Baked Salmon," another poem in which Dauenhauer uses the second-person form of address.[86] As Tlingit scholar Caskey Russell notes, Dauenhauer's prescriptive form of address echoes traditional Tlingit oratory and is, "part pragmatic recipe for preparing salmon, and part exhortation to sensual enjoyment and spiritual wholeness."[87] Similarly, in "Salmon Egg Puller—$2.15 an Hour" Dauenhauer provides tips to other cannery workers on how to survive both the grueling physical demands of the job as well as keeping culture and family intact. Not only is a pragmatic sensuality conveyed in the dance with machines, but in the aftereffects of the workday:

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Nora Marks Dauenhauer, "How to Make Good Baked Salmon from the River," *The Droning Shaman* (Haines, Alaska: Black Current Press, 1988), 11-16.

> When fingers start swelling,
> soak them in Epsom salts.
> If you don't have time,
> stand under the shower
> with your hands up under the spray.[88]

While not the intended addressee for this poem, how might we also queer this reading to provide an alliance to the homosocial Asian cannery worker, to allow for a sensual and pragmatic understanding of cannery work's toll on the laboring body? Here, I highlight a queered affinity that makes for camaraderie between differently yet nonnormatively racialized and gendered workers.

The unapologetic sensual imagery of Native women dancing on the cannery assembly line also intervenes in the pathologization of Native women as promiscuous. The writings of prominent Alaskan officials, most notably missionaries, abound with preoccupation of Native women's perceived negative sexual behavior.[89] Such authors construct Native women on the one hand to be oppressed under Tlingit polygamous marriage yet are also debased by their participation in modernity. We see the intersection of these two discourses when Native women or Native culture is blamed for Native women's prostitution, even though sex work emerges as a growing industry within and among all racial groups during colonial and territorial expansion.

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[87] Caskey Russell, "Tools of Self Definition: Nora Marks Dauenhauer's 'How To Make Good Baked Salmon,'" *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 16, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 44.

[88] Dauenhauer, "Salmon Egg Puller – $2.15 an Hour," 64.

[89] See Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska, and Missions on the North Pacific Coast* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1880), and S. Hall Young, *Hall Young of Alaska: "The Mushing Parson"* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1927).

As one government report described, Native women participated in "indiscriminate prostitution… with the consent, and often under the escort of their husbands, fathers, or other male relatives."[90] Such accounts reveal the depths of the colonial discourse that Native women were available for non-Native men's sexual desires, even to the extent that Native men were viewed as facilitating this process. Rather than view the possible prostitution of Native women as a response to colonial changes, including the sexual demands of non-Native men, and the emergence of a market economy, this colonialist fantasy shifts culpability onto Native men and the representation of a debased Native family/community.[91] If, as Rayna Green asserts, the image of the sexually available Native woman constitutes the corresponding idea of indigenous land to possess and settle, the above quotation illustrates the colonial fantasy of Native community approval for dispossession.[92] Further, it denies the foundational use of coercive sexual violence in the formation of the Alaskan colony, first implemented by the Russian promyshleniki, fur trappers and traders, but expanded to include other Alaska Native peoples by British and American colonists.[93]

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[90] George W. Bailey, *Alaska and Its People: Giving Statistics as to the Numbers, Location, Pursuits, and Social Condition of the Inhabitants; The Climate, Productions, and General Resources of the Country and of The Commerce, Ocean Currents, Etc.* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1880), 44; For a superb analysis of the representation of Alaska Native women as prostitutes, see Robert Campbell, *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 120-136.

[91] I intentionally write "possible" prostitution—even though numerous historical accounts of sex workers exist, it is likely that some of these accounts are mistaken descriptions of Native attempts at kinship alliances through Native marriage unions. See Franz Boas, *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1897), 358-59.

[92] Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16, no. 4 (1975), 698-714.

Scholars of Native and queer studies, such as Chris Finley and Andrea Smith assert that Native peoples are always queerly nonnormative to the disciplines of both heteropatriarchy and the settler state.[94] Similar to discourses of sex work, the territory's new leadership was vexed by Native women's participation in other forms of wage labor such as cannery work. Recent scholarship in Native studies positions Native involvement in the emergent Pacific Northwest/Alaskan Southeast industrialization of the early twentieth century as a mode of resistance to the Christian missionary face of colonialism that pushed Native peoples to settle into permanent American homes as nuclear families. As Coll Thrush explains, "it often seemed to agents that such travel undermined efforts to 'civilize' Native people. From the Makah Reservation, for instance, whole families headed to the hop fields, leaving agency schools empty, Bibles unread, and lessons unlearned…. Efforts to define who belonged where rarely worked out as planned."[95] As Native women's promiscuity with modernity became writ large as a sexual promiscuity in the workplace, Native women became labor and nation's improper subjects and also were erased from accounts of Alaskan history and Asian American studies. Native women might be participating in modernity's capitalism yet still failed to become the subjects hailed by colonial norms of (white and heterosexual) femininity.

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[93] Gwenn A. Miller, "'The Perfect Mistress of Russian Economy': Sighting the Intimate on a Colonial Alaskan Terrain, 1784-1821," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History,* ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 297-324.

[94] Chris Finley, "Decolonizing the Queer Native Body (and Recovering the Native Bull-Dyke): Bringing 'Sexy Back' and Out of Native Studies' Closet," in *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature,* eds. Qwo-Li Driskill et al. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 31-42; Andrea Smith, "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism," in *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature,* eds. Qwo-Li Driskill et al. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 43-65.

[95] Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over* Place (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 11.

Rather than view the sexuality of Native women as deviant, Dauenhauer provides a representation of joyous and unruly survival. What exceeds heteropatriarchal colonial dictates are precisely what Dauenhauer's cannery worker uses to survive the workday—her own body and sensations. Here, I take my cue from Mark Rifkin who formulates an "erotics of sovereignty," to examine indigenous sensory experience as articulating a politics of decolonization. Rifkin formulates "an Indigenous structure of feeling [that refers] to a sensation of belonging to place and peoplehood excluded from settler governance but that remains present, most viscerally in the affective lives of Native people."[96] It is within Dauenhauer's poetry that Native women's laboring bodies are recuperated from both the violence of dispossession and the epistemic violence of historic erasure. Not only are Native women redeemed but, in the sensations they experience together, they are also celebrated. As Dauenhauer exhorts: "Next morning, if your fingers are sore,/start dancing immediately."[97] As Native women dance with each other, on the cannery line, Dauenhauer configures dancing as a complex remedy for survival, accommodation, and pleasure.

Imagine Ketchikan, Alaska in 1913. Imagine a man so beautiful he takes the daily ache away. A man that every other man wants. Imagine a Native woman with all men and no

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[96] Mark Rifkin, "The Erotics of Sovereignty," *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature,* eds. Qwo-Li Driskill et al. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 173. See also, Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 130.
[97] Ibid.

men, her indigenous survival to live, to leave. Imagine love, lust, fighting, forgetting, remembering, desire.[98]

Carlos Bulosan: Queering Labor and Land

Similar to Dauenhauer's poetry, Carlos Bulosan's literature provides a multivalent view of cannery work, engaging in themes of race, gender, land, and labor. Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart*, a novel based on Bulosan's own life as a Filipino migrant worker in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s, is arguably the most canonical Asian American literary text centered on labor and labor organizing.[99] Bulosan's novel provides a site for critically engaging with the nonnormative figures of Asian American men and Native woman, and ultimately, the representation of the intimate pleasures of Native and Asian cannery workers in early twentieth-century Alaska.

The simultaneous fear and fascination with Asian male sexuality within colonial discourses is illustrated in the repeated yet fleeting documentation of Asian sex workers in the canneries.[100] This presence in the archive is presumably due to the profitability for foremen and labor contractors, but can also be read implicitly as a form of anxiety and surveillance toward Asian male sexuality. This anxiety is present in Asian American studies representations of the migrant worker as well. Karl Yoneda, the Japanese American communist and labor organizer who introduces Ketchikan's Local 283 to

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[98] This imaginative interlude attempts to complicate the idea of labor within larger systems of survival and desire.

[99] Carlos Bulosan, *America Is in the Heart* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978 [1946]).

[100] Jack Masson and Donald Guimary, "Asian Labor Contractors in the Alaskan Canned Salmon Industry," *Labor History* 22, no. 3 (1981): 377-397; Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Donald Guimary, *Marumina Trabaho: A History of Labor in Alaska's Canned Salmon Industry* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, Inc., 2006).

Asian American studies was himself involved in organizing cannery workers in the 1930s. He became active in cannery organizing after attending a government hearing on canneries for a Japanese American newspaper. In his autobiography, Yoneda specifically mentions Asian sex workers in detailing the oppressive conditions presented at this hearing: "Boys, some as young as fourteen, were recruited or smuggled aboard ships "to serve" the foremen or contractors. A few homosexuals were hired, who changed into women's attire as soon as ships left port."[101] Several aspects of this description merit mention. "Boys" are distinct from "homosexuals," that is, young men who are engaged in sex work are being exploited whereas cross-dressing men and/or transgendered women, presumably also sex workers, are themselves exploiting the masculine norms of the cannery. In both cases, however, sex workers are located outside the parameters of identity roles prescribed for male cannery workers. More complex narratives that simultaneously register the workers' exploitation, skillful craft, and even pleasure are subsumed under the notion of improper or perverse behavior.

What Yoneda's text highlights is that discourses of deviant working-class sexuality are also always discourses of non-normative racialization. Nayan Shah elucidates this point in his study of "queer sociality" as expressed in the cross-racial encounters (including male-on-male sex) of migrant South Asian workers in the North American west.[102] As Shah explains:

> Drawing racial and civilizational distinctions of dress, behavior, recreation, and livelihood shored up white supremacy and nationalism. At the same time, it naturalized subordination of racialized migrants'

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[101] Yoneda, *Ganbatte*, 86.

[102] Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

> presumed incapacity for maintaining the "natural" gender binary and inequality.[103]

In this way, the surveillance and criminalization of Asian migrant men's sexual and relationship practices reveals the disciplining desires of the heteronormative, nationalist, and, I would add, settler colonial state. Resuscitating the figure of the Asian sex worker and positioning him/her as laborer critically intervenes in the normative tendencies of Asian American historical revision, while also providing a means through which to critique the overdetermination of the Asian migrant as failed settler. The failed masculinity of Asian male sex workers stands as a powerful symbol of all Asian migrant workers in demonstrating their multiple failures in terms of properly gendered subjects, workers, and citizens as contestational to a heteronormative settler colonialism that depends on the disciplining of gender, race, labor, and national belonging.

The figure of the Asian male sex worker is available through a queer reading of Bulosan. Here I take my cue from Melinda L. De Jesús who focuses on the homosocial and homoerotic passages in *America Is in the Heart* to demonstrate the subversive subtext in this canonical text.[104] The narrator Carlos' (nicknamed "Allos") transition from growing up in the Philippines to a life as a migrant worker is marked by his work in an Alaskan cannery as it is his first job in the US In this way, Alaska can be considered a liminal space, or land, that Carlos passes through in his "progress" from Filipino colonial subject to American national subject, illustrating the linkages between colonialism, settler colonialism, and liberal multiculturalism.[105]

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[103] Ibid., 40.

[104] Melinda L. De Jésus, "Rereading History, Rewriting Desire: Reclaiming Queerness in Carlos Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* and Bienvenido Santos' *Scent of Apples*," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 5, no. 2 (2002): 91-111.

At Rose Inlet (one of the canneries in the Ketchikan area) Allos is befriended by Filipino "oldtimers" Conrado and Paulo. Allos takes the time to describe Conrado's "sensual mouth" and later stresses Paulo's desirable "curly hair" and "his even white teeth."[106] It is homoerotic passages such as this that De Jesús points to in arguing that Asian American studies has focused on Filipino migrant workers' sense of thwarted heterosexuality (due to legal and social blocks to white women) while ignoring the intense relationships between and among the men themselves. While Allos remains asexual and innocent in his encounters, we see in Bulosan's homoerotic descriptions the trace of the Asian male sex worker. Such homoerotic admiration instead of being configured outside of labor, as Karl Yoneda does in his detailing of Asian sex workers in the cannery, strengthens the brotherhood of workers as Carlos describes his relationship with Conrado and Paulo as, "the beginning of a friendship that grew simultaneously with the growth of the trade union movement and progressive ideas among the Filipinos in the United States."[107]

As a literary text that includes some of the most detailed descriptions of cannery labor, Bulosan's novel unfortunately replicates the figure of the promiscuous Native woman. At Rose Inlet, Paulo begins a relationship with a Native woman named La Belle. As the cannery season progresses, however, Carlos makes it clear that La Belle has taken up with a number of different men. When La Belle gets pregnant and has a baby, the Filipino men believe the father to be an Italian fisherman. La Belle, however, claims Conrado as the father. Carlos describes this scene as one of conniving entrapment, and expresses dismay when Paulo steps up to claim the child and remain with La Belle in Alaska, saying that he will "stay with this dirty Indian girl."[108] Bulosan doesn't understand Paulo's decision and never sees Paulo again. In her feminist reading of Asian American literature, Rachel C. Lee argues that heroic and brotherly affections of Asian migrant men rely on, "the successful regulation of sexuality" wherein eroticized women embody the failure of comradeship.[109] What are we to make of the disarticulation between Lee and De Jesús's respective feminist and queer readings of *America Is in the Heart*? While Bulosan's novel can be both highlighted for its homosociality and critiqued as a celebration of heroic worker solidary at the expense of disavowing women's labor, Lowe's formulation of intimacy provides a third reading. Because Bulosan locates Asian and Native cannery workers together in the space of the cannery, we are able to establish a nearness, an intimacy, between figurings of queer Asian American men and promiscuous Native women, and even comment on their co-constitution.

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[105] In proposing this postcolonial reading of Alaska within Bulosan's text, I am aware that this is specifically within a Filipino context and would not apply to Japanese migrant workers in Local 283, the original subjects of inquiry in this chapter. Within the larger construction of Asian American cannery workers highlighted within Asian American studies, however, I do believe this framing of Alaska is overlooked.

[106] Bulosan, 101, 103.

[107] Ibid., 101.

I turn now to a telling passage in *America Is in the Heart* as it recounts an intimate act between Asian men and Native women at the cannery:

> It was only at night that we felt free, although the sun seemed never to disappear from the sky. It stayed on in the western horizon and its magnificence inflamed the snows on the island, giving us a world of soft, continuous light, until the moon rose at about ten o'clock to take its place.

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[108] Ibid., 103.

[109] Rachel C. Lee, *The Americas of Asian American Literature: Gendered Fictions of Nation and Transnation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 18.

> Then trembling shadows began to form on the rise of the brilliant snow in our yard, and we would come out with baseball bats, gloves, and ball, and the Indian girls who worked in the cannery would join us, shouting huskily like men.[110]

In this passage Bulosan offers an alternate configuration of freedom, outside of the workday activities of cannery labor. This freedom only occurs at night and this night is described as perverse: an Alaskan dusk of "trembling shadows." This queering of the land is premised by the place of Alaska and its long daylight summer hours. Bulosan is also invoking a metaphor used by Alaska Natives to describe the first half of the twentieth century as a "time of twilight," the in-between space in which Native peoples struggled to creatively maintain cultural traditions in the face of American colonial industrialism.[111] Similar to the complex accommodations in Nora Dauenhauer's poetry, Bulosan highlights the need for pleasurable space within the environment of the cannery. In fact, it is within the contradictions of unproductive pleasure that a more complex relationship between workers, modernity, and indigeneity emerges.

This passage complicates both Lee and De Jesús' readings of *America Is in the Heart*. For Lee, Bulosan constructs women as the other to worker but in the scene above, Bulosan underscores comraderie with Native women. A subtle double move is at play here—Bulosan cannot construct Native women as oppositional to labor (as he does with white female prostitutes, romantic interests, and labor organizers) because of the gendered and racialized intimacy that the cannery constructs—the line is worked by Asian migrant men and Indigenous women. At the same time, Bulosan recognizes Native women as workers in the precise moment they are engaged in an activity unproductive to the cannery owners, playing baseball together. By exploring this simultaneously pleasurable and unproductive intimacy between Native and Asian cannery workers, Bulosan not only acknowledges Native women in the canneries but suggests an alternate engagement for Asian American studies that is not dependent on heroic, or productive, figures. Further, it gestures to alliances formed outside worker claims to production, to a more capacious anti-racism that might account for decolonization.

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[110] Bulosan, 102.

[111] Maria Bolanz, "Memories of My Trap Line," *The Alaska Native Reader: History, Culture, Politics,* ed. Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 49.

This passage exudes sensuality: snow inflamed with sun, shadows that tremble, an eroticism that concludes with Native women "laughing huskily like men." Following De Jesús' treatise that Bulosan creates a queer subtext with his homosocial and homoerotic language, Native women are imbued here with a hale masculinity and in their butchness they become part of Bulosan's internationalist fraternity of worker solidarity. When Bulosan goes on to describe Filipinos and Natives who leave the game to "run off into the moonlight" to sexual liaisons, their physical intimacy is queered by the preceding narrative of masculine and eroticized ball playing. Echoing Dauenhauer's recollection that "we had fun," Bulosan links the description of baseball to nighttime trysts with the doubled-meaning sentence, "We played far into the night."[112] While Bulosan ultimately forecloses this complex scene with the limited portrayal of entrapment by a promiscuous Native woman, it is not before he provides an intimate relationship, a queer kinship, between Native women and Asian men that echoes Dauenhauer's focus of pleasurable freedoms.

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[112] Bulosan, 102.

Imagine butch Tlingit women. Imagine butch Tlingit women on strike. Imagine Asian femme men. Imagine Asian femme men on strike. Imagine thundering wings, a summer salmon camp, imagine a life away from missionary eyes. Imagine spruce and hemlock. Imagine cramped quarters, imagine taking the daily ache away. Sit-in, shut-down, lust, desire. Imagine.[113]

Conclusion

The labor archive constructed by Alaskan history, labor studies, Asian American studies, and Native studies is alternately read through the formulation of the unproductive detailed within Native and Asian American cultural production. Nonnormative and multivalent intimacies of Native women and Asian men, in same-sex relationships, in polyamorous affairs, in workday dances and nighttime games, in off-the-clock *and* on-the-clock pleasurable pursuits disrupt the boundaries between "laboring" and "loving." As sex workers and workers who have sex, and as subjects who exceed the labels of either sexualized object or laborer. Activities shunned by state authorities and historians alike as perverse and unproductive are reconfigured not as pathology but through the lens of those having multiple desires.

The story of an Alaskan labor union, and the centrality of cannery work for Asian American studies, is radically reconfigured through an engagement with Native studies, paying attention to analytic categories of indigeneity, race, gender, and sexuality. When Asian American studies and Native studies are put into direct conversation, land and labor are neither discrete nor competing frameworks but, rather, settler colonialism can be understood within the processes and logics of overlapping and contradictory racialized, gendered, and economic oppressions and opportunities, all within the valence of land dispossession. Read in this way, the intimacies between and among Native women and Asian men in southeast Alaska in the 1910s are central to understanding the settler colonial period in Alaska, specifically the co-constitution of an emergent industrialism and a heteronormative nation-state. The literary works of Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Carlos Bulosan recuperate the pathologized figures of the promiscuous Native woman and the Asian sex worker to embrace unproductive pleasures and contestations. Highlighting nonnormative resistance and potential collaboration is central to two interrelated projects: Native nationhood that is predicated on neither heteropatriarchy nor the nation-state, and a politics of decolonizing anti-racism. Dauenhauer and Bulosan suggest that Asian and Native subjects could be intimate partners in such endeavors. Asian American studies and Native studies should be as intimate.[114]

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[113] This interlude attempts to highlight the overall intent of these sections: to imagine what is unimaginable because of the way that the labor archive is framed around a productive subject. This interlude also brings the different interludes into conversation together, ending where it started—with the imaginary.

In the three chapters thus far, I've explored how settler colonial logics conditions Alaska Natives and Asian migrants as racialized others, but in differential terms. Alaska Natives are viewed as outside of settler colonial time, their participation impossible as modern Indigenous subjects. Hence the missionary focus on assimilation, as rejection of Native culture is posited as the answer for Native participation in modernity. Conversely, Asian residents are allowed modernity, but cannot be part of settler colonial space, and are either physically expelled or discursively framed as failed settlers. In my final chapter, I look at the life and photography of Japanese immigrant Shoki Kayamori to explore the ways in which Kayamori provides alternatives to settler colonial time and space. Kayamori's visual archive articulates a racially heterogeneous Alaskan space with modern Indigenous subjects.

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[114] Thank you to David Chang for suggesting this excellent turn of phrase.

CHAPTER FOUR

"PICTURE MAN": THE LIMINAL INTIMACIES OF PHOTOGRAPHER SHOKI KAYAMORI

This story begins in the 1960s in Yakutat, Alaska in the attic of a derelict church. Years after Presbyterian missionaries abandon their post in this rural Native village, youth play in the church's dusty rooms, sunlight leaking through wood-slatted walls and the yawning holes of missing windows. Yakutat residents make plans for demolition and as a local couple cleans out the attic, they discover a number of glass plate negatives tucked among other discarded and forgotten objects. The photographs are stacked in small crates or scattered across the floor, some cracked and broken. The outlines of the images are beginning to peel and bubble. The town attempts to enlist various archives and museums to store the photographs but is unsuccessful. In the late 1970s, the people of Yakutat raise half the funds to develop the photographs with the Alaska State Library. Though it is unclear how this collection of photos came to be stored in a church attic, it is immediately and collectively known among Yakutat residents that these images are the work of the deceased photographer Shoki Kayamori.[1]

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[1] Sources for this segment include Yakutat resident Caroline Powell (who found the photographs in the abandoned church) and an article by journalist Margaret Thomas. Caroline Powell, telephone conversation, June 1, 2011; Margaret Thomas, "Was Kayamori a Spy?" *Alaska* (November 1995): 53-54. In this passage, I refer to Yakutat as both a "village" and a "town" deliberately, to signal its small population, rural isolation, and historical Native presence, as well as its involvement in national and global commerce, including a nationally and internationally diverse workforce. I use both terms to describe Yakutat throughout this chapter. As well, I am mirroring many residents' self-reference to Yakutat as "town."

In the 1910s, Japanese immigrant Shoki Kayamori traveled to Yakutat, Alaska to work the cannery season and stayed for the remainder of his life.[2] (Figure 4.1, shows a landscape view of Yakutat taken by Kayamori.) Chronologically, this chapter begins at the moment examined in Chapter 3—Asian migrant labor in Alaska's canneries in the 1910s—and takes us through the interwar years to the onset of World War II. For close to three decades, Kayamori documented the quotidian activities of the village's denizens, capturing a simultaneously Native and multiracial Yakutat in portraits and during community events. As WWII escalated, Kayamori committed suicide amidst rumors that he was a spy, with his avocation of photography specifically cited by government officials to warrant suspicion and possible detention.[3]

Based on nearly seven hundred existing Kayamori photographs archived at both the Alaska State Library and Yakutat City Hall, and interviews conducted with Yakutat residents and Alaska Native organizers on the meanings and usage of his photographs, I examine Kayamori's *visual archive*—the photographic history of the people, place, and events of Yakutat from the 1910s to the early 1940s. Kayamori's corpus may be considered an archive not only because of its configuration within a state library collection, but also because it was found and preserved through the efforts of those documented and their descendants. I argue that the Kayamori archive demonstrates a *liminal intimacy* across racial and gendered boundaries with Yakutat's Native community, representing both the indigeneity and racial heterogeneity within Alaska's colonial encounter. Kayamori's photographs and his own lived history in Yakutat represent the complex and dynamic relationships that are created within contact zones, demonstrating the very encounters that are rendered illegible within settler colonial logics. As the corpus of Kayamori's images reveals, Asian and Native experiences of settler colonialism are never discrete but, rather, are contingent and overlapping processes that produce multiply authored counter narratives.

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[2] Though Kayamori has been identified as "Fhoki Kayamori" in various scholarship and archives, Fhoki is not a Japanese name. Margaret Thomas has confirmed with Kayamori's family that his given name was Seiki, of which Shoki is an alternate pronunciation of the same Japanese characters. I refer to Kayamori as Shoki as I believe that was his preference.

[3] R.C. Vogel to J. Edgar Hoover, December 7, 1940. Kayamori Collection, Alaska State Library Historical Collections, Photograph Collection 55. Hereafter, Kayamori Collection.

My study builds upon previous scholarship on Alaskan photographers, commercial and amateur, such as Lloyd V. Winter and Percy E. Pond, William H. Case and Herbert Draper, and Elbridge Warren Merrill.[4] At the same time, I am interested in the ways that Kayamori as a racialized and gendered subject, a migrant who settled but was denied the citizenship of settlers, identified and represented his subjects in different ways than the canonical cohort of European American photographers. Lorenzo Veracini makes a distinction between settler and immigrant, noting that, "Settlers are *founders* of political orders and carry their sovereignty with them…. Migrants can be individually co-opted within settler colonial political regimes, and indeed they often are. They do not, however, enjoy inherent rights and are characterised by a defining lack of sovereign entitlement."[5] How did the foreclosure of citizenship, the inability to attain what Veracini names as "sovereign entitlement," influence Kayamori's life and work?

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[4] Victoria Wyatt, *Images from the Inside Passage: An Alaskan Portrait by Winter & Pond* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Alaska State Library, 1989); S.B. Gmelch, "Elbridge Warren Merrill: The Tlingit of Alaska, 1899-1929," *History of Photography* 19, no. 2 (1995): 159-72; Sharon Bohn Gmelch, *The Tlingit Encounter with Photography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2008). Anthropologist Sergei Kan, who has published extensively on Tlingit culture and history, also has a forthcoming book on Russian American Vincent Sobeleff's photography in southeastern Alaska.

[5] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3.

Kayamori's identity as a local photographer, especially among Native residents, is shared by other Asian American immigrants who lived and worked in the Pacific Northwest during the early twentieth century. Japanese immigrant Frank Matsura documented the Native, Asian, and white inhabitants of Washington's Okanogan County from 1903-1913, and Chinese Canadian C.D. Hoy similarly photographed Native residents, and Chinese and white migrants and settlers in the Cariboo region of interior British Columbia from 1911-1923. Recent scholarly attention to these photographers underscores their importance in challenging national narratives of Manifest Destiny as well as the concomitant myth of the "vanishing Indian," particularly because of their localized intimacy with their subjects, whether Native, Asian, or white.[6] This cohort of Asian American photographers, which includes Kayamori, could not conform to heteronormative and racially normative citizenship, and subsequently demonstrate their disassociation with the settler state in documenting the different yet overlapping lives of racialized migrants and indigenous inhabitants.

Kayamori's photographic representations and status as local documenter signal multiple liminal positions within both the Native community he inhabited and the emergent settler nation-state. I begin with the framework of liminality offered by anthropologist Victor Turner to demonstrate the radical possibilities of social marginality, but I'm most interested in how liminality has been taken up within Asian American studies.[7] As Asian American studies scholars have asserted, the liminality of the Asian immigrant can be located within the legal preclusion of citizenship, wherein racialized policies work in tandem with discourses of foreignness.[8] As historian Mae N. Ngai elaborates, "illegal aliens, alien citizens, colonial subjects, and foreign contract-workers—all liminal status categories that existed outside the normative teleology of immigration, that is, legal admission, permanent-resident status, and citizenship."[9] In Kayamori's case, however, it is not just distance from white normative citizenship that establishes his marginality, but also his affiliation with Tlingit residents of Yakutat. Instructive, here, are Asian American studies scholars who have framed Asian Americans as liminal figures to racial construction, particularly within a Black-white paradigm.[10] Leslie Bow, for example, configures Asian Americans in the US South as racial anomalies, stressing that "what an anomaly reveals is not merely a more nuanced account of racialization, but the counter-narratives that interrupt the work of the dominant, the partial stories that characterize the *unevenly* oppressed."[11] Kayamori similarly inhabits an anomalous position within Alaska, and his photography provides counter-narratives to the dominant settler ideology.

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[6] Rayna Green, "Rosebuds of the Plateau: Frank Matsura and the Fainting Couch Aesthetic," in *Partial Recall: Photographs of Native North Americans,* ed. Lucy R. Lippard (New York: New Press, 1992), 47-53; Faith Moosang, *First Son: Portraits by C.D. Hoy* (Vancouver: Presentation House Gallery and Arsenal Pulp Press, 1999); Glen A. Mimura, "A Dying West? Reimagining the Frontier in Frank Matsura's Photography, 1903-1913," *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (September 2010): 687-716; Margot Francis, *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 59-94.

I want to caution, however, against only viewing Asian American liminality within racialized terms, or as conditioned by the settler state. To do so overlooks

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[7] Victor W. Turner, *Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969).

[8] Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Mae N. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Sang Hyun Lee, *From a Liminal Place: An Asian American Theology.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010).

[9] Ngai, 13.

[10] Leslie Bow, *Partly Colored: Asian Americans and Racial Anomaly in the Segregated South* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), Claire Jean Kim, *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

[11] Bow, 11.

Kayamori's relationship to the Tlingit community, which may have been conditioned by racialized and colonized liminalities, but remained independent. In relation to Tlingit community, Kayamori was also liminal, and occupied a simultaneous insider/outsider position. Though he did not establish kinship bonds within Tlingit community, his life in Yakutat and work as a photographer afforded an ongoing intimate connection with Tlingit residents. Additionally, his liminal position as a racialized settler allowed him to build community (what Turner calls *communitas*) across racial and gender boundaries, but also continued to re-establish his marginal position.

Given this nexus of multiple liminal positions, I am specifically interested in how Kayamori's work speaks to settler colonialism. I argue that because of his liminal position in Alaska's settler colonial project, Kayamori's photography represents multivalent expressions of space and time that extend beyond the limitations of settler colonial logics. In capturing the everyday images, ordinary and intimate, of Yakutat and its residents in the early twentieth century, his photographs refuse the exclusion of racialized migrants within settler colonial space, instead documenting the proximities of racialized migrants and Native inhabitants. In this way, through his own liminal aesthetic, Kayamori reveals settler colonial Alaska as a simultaneously racially heterogeneous and indigenous space.

Kayamori's in-between status reflects a level of ambiguity and multivalence in his photographs, providing representations that intervene in both the static and timeless notion of the vanishing Indian as well as the progressive teleology of the assimilation project. I am interested particularly in the ways that Kayamori, as a liminal subject and photographer, records Kevin Bruyneel's political concept, "third space of sovereignty," an indigenous form of expression and resistance, "that resides neither simply inside nor outside the American political system but rather exists on these very boundaries, exposing both the practices and the contingencies of American colonial rule."[12] If, as Bruyneel argues, the spatial and temporal logics of settler colonialism supposed Native sovereignty to exist outside the nation, and that claims to sovereignty are reduced to archaic rather than modern times, Kayamori's representations explode the inside-outside and traditional-modern binaries by showing Native people generally, and Tlingit people specifically, engaged in everyday and multifaceted responses to colonial change, irreducible to essentialized notions of timeless cultural practice or assimilationist inevitability. In this way, Kayamori's photographs both expose and reject the logics of settler colonial time and its disavowal of Native subjects. At the same time that Kayamori is able to document modern Tlingit subjects, he himself remains liminal to the creation of such spaces, and I suggest that his possible yet unrecorded participation in Tlingit political organization challenges the very binaries of traditional and modern upon which settler colonial time depends.

I conclude by proposing that the framework of liminality allows for yet another type of reading between boundaries, the intellectual borders between Asian American studies and American Indian studies. Kayamori's suicide in particular provides a haunting trace that intervenes in Alaskan history accounts of World War II as a progressive event that creates the modern condition for Alaska statehood.[13] A combined Asian American and Native studies reading of Kayamori's suicide, alongside the internment of mixed Native-Japanese and Aleut peoples, elucidates a disavowed militarization and surveillance that reinforces the argument that in Alaska, colonialism and modernity are always intertwined processes. To summarize, I suggest three different readings that liminal photographer Shoki Kayamori provides: an alternative to settler colonial space that demonstrates the imbricated lives of racialized migrants and Indigenous inhabitants; a counter-narrative to settler colonial time that expresses modern Indigenous engagement with colonial changes; and a haunted legacy of disavowed violences that condition the possibility for a collective undertaking by Asian American and Native studies.

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[12] Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xvii. Bruyneel is working form postcolonial scholar Homi Bhabha's formulation of "third space." See Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

In this chapter I again engage in a practice of decolonial imaginary writing. I propose various entry points into Shoki Kayamori's life and photography as a way to stress the multivalency of his work and influence as well as to make legible different intersections that may not be evident within the structure and logics of dominant narratives within settler colonial Alaskan history. I provide multiple origins for telling Kayamori's story, restarting the narrative from different beginning points, to signal the ways in which Kayamori's photos, as a found archive, necessarily resist order and linear progression. As Kayamori left no written record, I am attempting to write in a manner that reflects Kayamori's photography as a decolonial representation of time and space.

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[13] Stephen Haycox, *Alaska: An American Colony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 257-272; John Haile Cloe, "The Legacy of War," in *Alaska at War, 1941-1945: The Forgotten War Remembered,* ed. Fern Chandonnet (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008), 393-398.

The Racial and Gendered Intimacies of Kayamori's Photography

This story begins in 1912 when a young Japanese migrant worker leaves the port of Seattle aboard a northbound clipper ship. He travels through the Alexander Archipelago, the "Panhandle" of Alaska, passing tall mountains that reach down to the water's edge, their limestone cliffs carpeted with sphagnum moss and lichen, while dense forests stretch for the sky. Ravens chatter at the shoreline and eagles wheel in the sky above. Moving past misty islands and alongside glaciers, he arrives in Yakutat to work at the maroon and black cannery seated at the head of a bay. There, he works as a cooker, boiling tins of humpy and chum salmon. At the end of the summer, his fellow sojourners—Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Black— return south on their seasonal migration. A few, like this worker, choose to stay, making their home in this Tlingit community.[14]

Shoki Kayamori was born in 1877 in the Japanese village of Denbo, part of what is present-day Fuji City in Shizuoka Prefecture.[15] He arrived in the US in 1903 and by 1910 was living in Seattle with other Japanese lodgers. Records list his occupation as a "Cleaner & Passer" at a dye works.[16] He was a member of a cohort of Asian American laborers on the West Coast, Pacific Northwest, and Alaskan Southeast whose livelihoods were limited due to racially hostile working and living environments expressed in both institutional and extralegal maneuvers. The Yakutat that Kayamori arrived at in the early 1910s was a Native village—the original inhabitants of the area were Eyak but by the twentieth century Yakutat was predominantly Tlingit with a number of Eyak and Athabascan intermarriages. During the eighteenth century the area was visited by Russian, British, Spanish, French, and American explorers and the Russian American Company built a fort in Yakutat in 1796 (which was destroyed by Tlingit in 1806). At the northern edge of Tlingit territory, Yakutat is located at the terminus of the archipelago that makes up Southeast Alaska, as the multitude of islands opens to the Gulf Coast. As such, it was past the point of the gold rush and most tourist routes in Southeast Alaska, and most non-Native inhabitants came in relation to the cannery, to pursue homesteading, or as part of missionary efforts. At the time of Kayamori's arrival, residents in the Yakutat area numbered two hundred seventy-one, and this number included approximately one third of the cannery workforce population.[17]

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[14] Sources for this segment include descriptions of the cannery workers' journey by Donald Guimary and Yakutat fisherman Oscar Frank Sr.'s memory that Kayamori worked as a cooker at the cannery. See Donald Guimary, *Marumina Trabaho: A History of Labor in Alaska's Canned Salmon Industry* (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, Inc., 2006); Thomas, 1995, 50-51. The multiracial demographics of migrant cannery workers is discussed in Chapter 3 of the dissertation—I reiterate them here to connect Kayamori to the multiracial migrant waves of cannery workers while also signaling the choice of some of these transient workers to settle.

[15] Shoki Kayamori, Alien Registration Form, December 8, 1940, Form Number 5749551, US Department of Homeland Security, US Citizenship and Immigration Services Genealogy Program.

[16] US Bureau of the Census. *Thirteenth Census of the United States,* Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, Microfilm T624 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1910).

The fact that Kayamori made the decision to permanently reside in Yakutat underscores his status as a liminal subject, particularly his ambivalence as a US settler through his chosen intimacy with Native community. Kayamori was in his mid-thirties when he came to Yakutat and had lived in the US for almost a decade. What motivated a Japanese migrant worker to settle in Alaska, ending his previous history of migrant work? Given the environment of anti-Asian hostility described above, perhaps the remote village of Yakutat appealed to a Japanese immigrant. In Yakutat, Kayamori would still be a minority, but not in a majority-white environment. Here, he lived in a majority-Native community. Kayamori's permanent settlement contradicts the predominant framework in both Alaskan history and Asian American studies that configures Asians in Alaska as migrant and seasonal workers, an overdetermination that elides Native and Asian intersections and relationships. It is important to assert that all non-indigenous peoples participate in settler colonialism. We might also ask after the importance of looking to the desires of racialized migrants who choose to live in Native surroundings. In the early 1900s in Alaska, multiracial communities that were overwhelmingly male formed as a result of the racial and gendered demands of colonial economic development. At the same time, most Alaskan villages and towns remained predominantly Native. Kayamori's choice of Yakutat reflects the simultaneous multiracial and Native nature of early twentieth century Alaska and, in turn, he represented this reality in his photography. As a liminal subject, Kayamori was able to move beyond the discursive bounds of settler colonial space, visually expressing both indigeneity and racialization in his work.

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[17] US Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1913), 1129, 1133.

Kayamori began taking photos soon after relocating to Yakutat as one photograph in his collection has been identified as being taken in the winter of 1913.[18] Kayamori documented Yakutat's denizens for the next three decades, recording townspeople and events in portraiture, action shots, and landscapes. The wide variety of his photographs reveal how integral he was to the local community, and the events he photographed include weddings, funerals, school plays, Fourth of July footraces, Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood gatherings, clan house meetings, dances, basketball games, fish arriving at the cannery, and at least one memorial ceremony, koo.éex', commonly known by non-Natives as a potlatch. "He was just part of the whole big family in town," recalls Mary Ann Paquette, a Yakutat Tlingit resident born in 1924. "Whenever something was happening, he was there."[19] Paquette's statement underscores the belonging that Kayamori likely sought and, to some extent, achieved.

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[18] Wedding photograph of Sheldon and Annie James (Alaska State Library, Kayamori Collection, P55-514). The date of December 1913 is attributed to Yakutat resident Raymond Sensmeier.

Kayamori's photographs document the racial diversity of Alaskan villages and towns during this time period, brought on by the colonial expansion of resource extraction industries such as canning, logging, and mining. In the photo of Lon Wun Gee's Café (Figure 4.2), the Chinese proprietor stands behind the counter while four Native men sit on stools at the bar. The young George Bremner's swinging legs appear as a blur in the photograph. The subjects in Kayamori's photos have been identified by Yakutat residents as Tlingit, white, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino, while those unidentified might also be Latino or Black.[20] Kayamori provides representations of the racially diverse and predominantly male communities that emerged within Alaska's colonial development, alongside Native communities in transition. It is in looking at the juxtaposition of Kayamori's work in total, however, in the immense volume of his daily photography that reveals the mutual constitution of racialized migrant male and Native communities, exposing the myriad contingencies between the colonial projects of land dispossession, enforced assimilation, economic exploitation, and exclusion legislation, and the affinities and affiliations between those racialized and gendered by such logics.

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[19] Thomas, 1995, 50-51.

[20] I offer this assessment to highlight the multiracial aspect of Alaska documented in Kayamori's photos, realizing the problematic nature of identifying markers of ethnicity and race, which are always fraught with limitations and guesswork, including that of the author. In the photo of Lon Wun Gee's café, the proprietor and men have been directly identified in the photo. Lon Wee Gee was Chinese, and those sitting at the counter (L-R), Dick Albert, George Bremner, Sam Henniger, and Richard Reese were Alaska Natives from Yakutat. According to the 1930 census, Henniger was a mixed race Tlingit. See U.S Bureau of the Census *Fifteenth Census of the United States,* Records of the Bureau of the Census, Microfilm T626, 1B (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930).

Kayamori's ability to capture the myriad lives of those in Yakutat stem from the fact that he resided there as a local and permanent member of the community—he lived and worked alongside his photographic subjects. Kayamori was known for having many different livelihoods throughout his life, including cannery cooker, store clerk, and dog trainer. His intimacy with the predominantly Native community of Yakutat included hunting and gathering practices as well as the colonial cash economy. Don Bremner, a Yakutat Tlingit (of the Beaver House in the G̲alyáx̲ Kaagwaantaan clan) is the son of one of Kayamori's closest friends. He asserts that Kayamori's employment mirrored that of the Native community, consisting of the occasional odd job but sustained from living off the land. Bremner recounts his father, John Bremner Sr., telling him that Kayamori had a camp on the Ankau River near a coho salmon stream and trapping sites.[21] Here, I want to carefully avoid romanticizing Kayamori's participation in traditional Tlingit economies as subsistence, cognizant that Native subsistence in Alaska is understood as more than simply survival but rather, "forms a web of connections between the people, the land, the sea, the wildlife, and the spirit" that Kayamori may or may not have been a part of.[22] At the same time, I wish to acknowledge Kayamori's intimacy with Tlingit worldviews of food, survival, and economy. Unlike European Americans who went "Native," Kayamori's affiliation was not initiated as part of a larger system of colonial economic relations (such as fur trapping), based on marriage or sexual partnership with Native women. Instead, his intimacy with other Yakutat residents was formed in ways illegible to the settler colonial state.

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[21] Don Bremner, interview with author, May 31, 2011, Yakutat, Alaska.

[22] David Avraham Voluck, "First Peoples of the Tongass: Law and Traditional Subsistence Way of Life," in *The Book of the Tongass,* eds. Carolyn Servid and Donald Snow (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 1999), 89-118.

Kayamori is repeatedly described as a bachelor and those who remember him say he never dated. As Asian American studies scholars have critiqued the oversimplification of configuring Asian migrant communities as (heterosexual) "bachelor societies," Kayamori's example offers a generative reading of bachelorhood that facilitates an alternative framework of intimacies in a colonial context.[23] Here, I am working from Lisa Lowe's multivalent notion of intimacies generated by colonial proximities that are not limited to sexual or marital encounters.[24] Take, for example, Kayamori's photo of Mary Thomas (Figure 4.3). She stands in front of a Sitka spruce tree near Kayamori's house, which emphasizes the photographer's local status as he took the majority of his portraits on the porch of his small cannery cabin or, like this photo of Thomas, to the side of his house in the trees. Wearing a dress and stockings, the young Tlingit woman's hands are tucked comfortably into her pockets. Whether on her initiative or Kayamori's, she playfully perches on a large rock, her enthusiasm displayed in her smile directed to the camera. This portrait of Mary Thomas suggests an intimacy with Kayamori across race and gender boundaries, and one that was not predicated on romantic relations.

Kayamori's portraits stand in contrast to commercial Alaskan-based photographers who relied on the profitability of racial and gendered stereotypes to sell their images. For example, the Case and Draper studio photographed semi-nude images of Tlingit women, most likely for local miners. Three models appear topless in their photographs: “Stene-Tu,” “Kaw-Claa,” and “Sha-e-dah-kla.” As Sharon Bohn Gmelch has analyzed, these photographs, along with captions depicting the women alternately as “maiden,” “clutch,” “Amazon,” and “princess” relied on and perpetuated stereotypes of Tlingit women as racially exotic and sexually willing.[25] Notably, these women also posed in Case and Draper photographs wearing Chilkat blankets and in dancing regalia, highlighting the “economies of Otherness” which undergird both ethnography and pornography.[26] In contrast, Kayamori’s photo of Mary Thomas lacks the spectacle of Otherness, instead focusing on the everyday appearance of a young Tlingit woman. Even Winter and Pond, Juneau photographers whose photos ranged far beyond the stereotypical images of Case and Draper, rarely showed Tlingit women smiling in their photos.[27] Of course, there may have been many reasons for their stern countenances, including the wishes of those photographed. The juxtaposition is informative, however, to point to the importance of Kayamori’s photo of Mary Thomas and others like it for they demonstrate familiarity, the sheer rapport, Kayamori had with his photographic subjects.

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[23] Jennifer Ting, "Bachelor Society: Deviant Heterosexuality and Asian American Historiography," in *Privileging Positions: The Sites of Asian American Studies,* eds. Gary Y. Okihiro et al. (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1995), 271-279; David Eng, *Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

[24] Lisa Lowe, "The Intimacies of Four Continents," in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History,* ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 191-212.

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[25] Gmelch, 2008, 69-84.

[26] Christian Hansen, Catherine Needham, and Bill Nichols, “Pornography, Ethnography, and the Discourses of Power,” in *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary,* ed. Bill Nichols (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 204. In making this connection, I want to be clear that I offer no judgment on the Native women who posed for these types of photos. I have no investment in pathologizing these choices. Rather, it is my goal to point to the intersection of settler colonial, white supremacist, and misogynistic desires in such representations.

[27] I base my assertion on a survey of Winter and Pond photos in Victoria Wyatt’s book and photographs from the Winter and Pond collection available on-line. See Victoria Wyatt, *Images from the Inside Passage: An Alaskan Portrait by Winter & Pond* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Juneau: Alaska State Library, 1989); Winter and Pond Collection, Photography Collection 87, Alaska State Library Historical Collections, on-line access through the Alaska Digital Archives, http://vilda.alaska.edu.

Although historically recognized commercial photographers may have been based in Alaska, they also profited (in finances and reputation) from selling their photographs to presses within and outside of Alaska. For Kayamori, on the other hand, his photos of the community were viewed by the community. Thus, his work importantly highlights Native viewership of Native images. The Native consumption and reception of photography is evident in the portrait of Jack and Emma Ellis (Figure 4.4) in which photographic prints are displayed on the wall behind them. Anthropologist Sharon Bohn Gmelch asserts that Tlingit consumption of photographic images of themselves and family members reveals an important and agential response Tlingit people formed to this emergent technology. To emphasize her argument, Gmelch points specifically to two of Kayamori's portraits in people's private homes that show previous photographs taken in the background, including the photo of Emma and Jack Ellis.[28]

That Native viewers were the intended audience of Kayamori's photos is also revealed in the appearance of Kayamori's photographs in museum exhibits and oral history collections, where prints of his work are donated from Native families' personal collections.[29] When I interviewed Tlingit elder Lorraine Adams, she arrived with several framed photographs of family members taken by Kayamori.[30] Similarly, Don Bremner described a wedding photo of his parents taken by Kayamori and, when showed the print taken from the glass plate negative, remarked that the photo he remembered growing up had been cropped by Kayamori to highlight his parents.[31] Given the rich history of

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[28] Gmelch, 2008, 169-171.

[29] Thunderbird House Exhibit, Permanent Collection, Alaska State Museum, Juneau, Alaska; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994, 389.

[30] Lorraine D. Adams, interview with author, June 2, 2011, Yakutat, Alaska.

[31] Don Bremner, interview with author.

Tlingit visual culture, Native consumption, and even connoisseurship, of Kayamori's photographs suggests a possible understanding of his images as artistic representations to convey identity, history, and status even as missionaries and anthropologists alike were predicting the end to such artistic achievements.[32]

Accounting for Native viewership imbues Kayamori's work with a doubled meaning of the gaze, both the gaze of the photographer and that of the Native viewer. Returning to Mary Thomas' portrait (Figure 4.3) we may read her friendly smile as both a sign of familiarity with Kayamori as photographer, and also as one of self-awareness and self-representation. She is posing not just for Kayamori but also for the intended viewer—herself, her family, and her peers. The doubled gaze also signals Kayamori's liminality, as this configuration renders him simultaneously as insider and outsider, his proximity and intimacy to his Native subjects facilitates their viewership, yet in this formulation Native consumption articulates a sense of collective ownership that excludes Kayamori from the defined community, or at least renders him to the margin. As we see below, this insider/outsider status repeats itself in both Kayamori's images of Tlingit responses to colonialism and also haunts the circumstances involving Kayamori's death and accounting of that event.

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[32] Thank you to Angelica Lawson for pointing out the connection between Kayamori's photographs and Tlingit visual culture. For scholarship on Tlingit visual culture, see Franz Boas, "The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 9 (1897): 123-76; Bill Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965); Aldona Jonaitis, *Art of the Northern Tlingit* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986).

Documenting and Disrupting the Third Space of Sovereignty

In the beginning a glacier covered Yakutat Bay. The Kwáashk'i K̲wáan were Copper River people living at Chitina. Their Raven chief killed a giant moose and used the moose horn to make a large ornate dish, which he displayed when he hosted koo.éex', customary ceremonies. After the Raven chief dies, fighting ensues over the dish. One group at Chitina gets the dish; the other group leaves, heading out onto the glacier.

The people walk for a long time, and they meet starvation on the glacier. When they see a wolverine in the distance, they walk towards it. Once they get closer, the wolverine turns into an island, bristling with trees. They walk still. Soon after the people see a rabbit sitting in the snow and follow it. For two days and nights they walk to the rabbit and then see the rabbit is the top of a mountain, fluffy fur all white snow. This mountain is known in Tlingit as Yaas'eita Shaa, the mountain behind Icy Bay. Later, after the Russians come, the peak is also known as Mount Saint Elias.

The people dance down the mountain, first to Icy Bay and then to Yakutat, in the beginning. In the beginning, a glacier covers Yakutat Bay. Yakutat is not a Tlingit name, but Eyak for "lagoon" or "a lagoon is forming here." As the glacier melts, the people settle in Yakutat.[33]

Yakutat figures prominently in histories of Alaska and anthropologic studies of its Native people. Mount St. Elias, the second highest peak in North America, rises in the distance from the village, and it is this snow-covered mountain that Vitus Bering of the Imperial Russian Navy first spotted in 1741, leading to his being credited with "discovering" the land now known as Alaska. The mountain is an important named-place in the origins of Yakutat Tlingit, particularly the Kwáashk'i K̲wáan clan. Yakutat Bay was also a stopping point for the 1899 Harriman Expedition to Alaska. The two-month long survey of the Alaskan coast was the largest and most publicized expedition of its time. Financed by railroad magnate Edward Henry Harriman, the passengers and crew numbered one hundred twenty-six and included scientists and artists, who collected a hundred trunks of specimens and produced over 5,000 drawings and photographs that were later catalogued and compiled in a thirteen-volume edition. The expedition included naturalist John Muir and photographer Edward Sheriff Curtis.

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[33] The sources for this segment are oral histories provided in Frederica de Laguna's *Under Mount Saint Alias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit*, as told by Harry K. Bremner (231-32), Maggie Harry (235-36), Sarah Williams (237), Katy Dixon Isaac and Violet Sensmeier (238-39). See Frederica De Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972). The Tlingit word for customary ceremonies, koo.éex', is provided rather than the English term "potlatch" which has no origins in the Tlingit language or culture.

The most prolific photographer of North American indigenous peoples, Curtis remains one of the most controversial. Curtis opened his studio in 1890 and over the next several decades he photographed more than eighty tribes in the US, Alaska, and Canada, publishing the monumental twenty-volume series *The North American Indian.*[34] He formed an impressive archive of over 40,000 negatives with a lasting importance to museum curators, (art) historians, and indigenous people seeking images of family ancestors. At the same time, Curtis constructed and naturalized notions of a "vanishing race" of Indian peoples, doomed to extinction. Influenced by the Pictorialist arts movement, Curtis' photos were characterized by soft-focus, shadowed lighting, and sentimental staging to evince highly evocative and romanticized images. Curtis aspired to represent what he perceived as pre-contact and pre-modern activities, even if it meant supplying wigs and costumes to his subjects.[35] As Curtis participated in the Harriman Expedition in his early years of photographing Native North Americans, Alaska marks a formative point in Curtis' genealogy that led to his enduring fabrication of Indigenous peoples as forever disappearing.

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[34] Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (Seattle: E.S. Curtis; Cambridge, MA: University Press, 1907-1930).

As much as he promulgated the trope of the vanishing Indian, Curtis was not the sole architect of the stereotype; the mythic image enjoyed popularity with Alaskan officials prior to the Harriman expedition, particularly among missionaries. Missionary activity in Alaska was led by the Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions in Alaska and US General Agent for Education in Alaska, Sheldon Jackson, and hinged on the progression from "savage" to "civilized." In her study of colonial photography of the Pacific Northwest, Carol J. Williams asserts that portraits of converts, "exemplified the pedagogical use of the camera and photography by missionaries who tried to prove the efficacy of their contributions toward Indian conversion and acculturation. The category of the 'good,' or in the missionary case, 'reformed,' Indian was consistently invoked as the ideal model (in contrast to the bad or resistant Indian)."[36] Located in the impossible binary of traditional vs. modern, such assimilation goals, as Indigenous studies historian Raibmon concludes, "denied the possibility of a middle ground."[37]

As a liminal subject it is precisely such a middle ground that Kayamori documents within the colonial encounter. Take, for instance, his photo of a tooth brushing lesson outside of the Mission School, later the Covenant Church (Figure 4.5).

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[35] Mick Gidley, "Pictorialist Elements in Edward S. Curtis' Photographic Representation of American Indians," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 24 (1994): 180-192.

[36] Carol J. Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 28-29.

[37] Raibmon, 158.

The scene shows the mission nurse demonstrating proper tooth brushing techniques while her class of Native students (and one white teacher's aide) emulate her example. The scene takes place outside, presumably because the students must spit upon the ground. We view the scene from the nurse's back, while the gaze is directed at the students and their responses. While some of the students engage in the collective brushing, others appear wary about the activity. One young man in front eyes the nurse with a frown, and holds the brush up to his closed mouth. A small girl to the side holds no brush, her hands clasped in front of her dress as she fixes the nurse with a serious stare. The pedagogical project of introducing hygiene to the "uncivilized" Native is no longer the theme of this event; instead, Kayamori captures the chaos and indeterminancy of the moment. Instead of Curtis' soft-focus sentimentality, Kayamori records this moment in a frank and open style. Through the students' responses, he illustrates multiple reactions to colonial dictates, a range of accommodation and resistance.

It is not only Kayamori's social intimacy with the community but also his specific location as a racialized subject that allows for counter narratives to settler colonialism's civilizing project to emerge. Kayamori's photograph stands in stark contrast to the many images of the Sitka Industrial Training School, a part of the Presbyterian mission schools in Alaska. Taken by missionaries, staff, and commercial photographers, photos of the Sitka Industrial Training School normalized the civilizing discourse of the school itself: boys were dressed as soldiers, girls wore virginal white dresses, genders were segregated, students stood in orderly rows, and in general photographs were static and posed. (As discussed in Chapter 1, tourists, particularly white women, were both producers and consumers of this particular racialized and gendered idea of settler colonial progress.)

These photos functioned to witness the "miraculous change that Tlingit children were undergoing," and were published in school newspapers and sent throughout the US to raise funds among national donors for the school's continued work.[38] Photographers of the Sitka Industrial Training School promulgated the colonial assimilation policies of the missionaries, and furthered naturalized discourses of colonial and industrial progress dependent on gendered and racialized notions of Native peoples as undeveloped, uncouth, and backward.

That Kayamori's photograph does not reiterate these concepts suggests that his racialized subjectivity as an Asian immigrant meant that he held little investment in the colonialist premise of white superiority and supremacy. Or, perhaps, his racialized subjectivity provided an affinity with his Native neighbors, in which he allied with their anti-colonial leanings. Above all, it is Kayamori's marginalization from settler colonial logics that underpins this image as his photo stands as antipode to the representations of the Sitka Industrial Training School. Instead of static and posed, this photo and others like it show the nurse's colonial instruction for what it is: an encounter.[11] While missionary photographers relied on a before and after transformation, Kayamori documents the transition, with all its possible ambiguities and tensions. He represents Native students as dynamic participants rather than miraculously converted and, in doing so, reveals that missionary narratives of assimilation were never absolute or inevitable. In the tooth-brushing lesson, instead of order and progression, the natural landscape dominates. Patches of snow and scraggly trees surround the scene and everywhere an unruly contestation threatens to erupt. Not without a sense a humor, Kayamori's photograph informs the viewer that whether or not these students succeed in good tooth-brushing habits bears little upon their perceived assimilative status.

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[38] Gmelch, 2008, 86.

Like missionaries, anthropologists were also influenced by the ideology of the vanishing Indian, but instead of trying to assimilate Native peoples, they sought to study and preserve what they perceived as premodern. Anthropology stakes a specific claim to Alaska and its indigenous inhabitants, and anthropologist Frederica de Laguna is most important to Yakutat. After WWII, de Laguna set out to conduct an archaeological, historical, and ethnographic study of Tlingit culture. Working north to south, her first stop in scouting possible sites was Yakutat. She ended up staying six weeks, returning for the summer of 1952 and the spring of 1954, forming lasting relationships with her informants. Two decades later she published *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* as part of the Smithsonian Contributions of Anthropology series.[39] A three-volume, 1,395-page text, it remains a seminal work that provides an invaluable resource for and about Yakutat Tlingit specifically and Tlingit culture generally. De Laguna's study also provides us with Shoki Kayamori's first published photographs, courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Harry K. Bremner's personal collection. It is also the first printed attribution given to Shoki Kayamori's work: "Photograph by Fhoki (sic) Kayamori, a Japanese photographer who lived in Yakutat from 1912-1941."[40]

De Laguna was a student of Franz Boas, the founder of modern American anthropology, who extensively studied aboriginal people in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest. As a proponent of salvage anthropology, Boas attached findings to the problematic notion that Native culture was static and separate from colonial influences. Salvage anthropologists erased Native participation in wage labor such as canneries and Native use of technology such as sewing machines.[41] While anthropology differed from missionary education, the two practices depended upon on a particularly flawed presumption, that Indian peoples cannot be traditional and modern simultaneously. As such, anthropological discourses suppressed capacious representations of Tlingit people and their activities that exceeded the limited binary of traditional vs. modern.

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[39] Frederica De Laguna, *Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972).
[40] Ibid., 1000.

Kayamori, in contrast, represented the Native community of Yakutat in more complex ways, demonstrating a counter narrative to salvage anthropology and its attachment to settler colonial time. Take, for example, his photo of a 1921 dance at Billy Jackson's house (Figure 4.6). This photo shows dancers in motion, wearing regalia. Undesirable to a salvage ethnography that erased perceived aspects of modernity, this event takes place inside a European American-style dwelling. A ceiling lamp hangs over the dancers and wallpaper lines the walls. Audience members are dressed in western hats and wool coats.[42] These juxtapositions also counter Curtis' representations of Indians in a "pure" and frozen past—the prolific photographer was known to manipulate images, erasing objects such as clocks, parasols, suspenders, and wagons.[43] In contrast to Curtis' anachronistic project, Kayamori depicts Native subjects in real time and space. This photo also challenges the presumed gaze of the ethnographic viewer, that is, of the non-

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[41] Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, "'The Foundation of All Future Researches': Franz Boas, George Hunt, Native American Texts and the Construction of Modernity." *American Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (1999): 479-528.

[42] It should be noted that other resident Alaskan photographers with close connections to Native communities, such as Winter and Pond, E.W. Merrill, and Vincent Soboleff, also photographed Native dancers in regalia, and their subjects often wore a combination of Western dress (Wyatt, 1989, 35-36). Kayamori's photograph remains unique in capturing a dance indoors in a European-American-style house.

[43] Christopher M. Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 85-86, 106.

Native modern subject viewing the soon-to-be vanishing Indian. Although Boas was known to be critical of what he perceived to be Curtis' unscientific portrayals to Native peoples, they both shared a practice of erasing Native participation in modernity.

Kayamori not only captures the dance but the audience in attendance, those who fill the bottom half of the frame. Compared with the visible performers, the audience is at once local, yet ambiguous. Noting the black hair of the majority of audience members, we might assume the audience to be Tlingit. Given the international residency of Yakutat, as discussed above, we might also ask after the possibility of Asian-born migrants or settlers in attendance. In either case, as opposed to an abstract and ahistoric representation for an outside colonialist audience, this activity marks a specific and contextual event. The dance at Billy Jackson's house was part of a fundraiser to build an Alaskan Native Brotherhood (ANB) Hall, according to husband and wife Bert Adams, Sr. and Lorraine Adams.[44] Bert Adams, Sr., is a Tlingit elder of the Boulder House in the L'uknax̱.ádi clan (Coho Salmon), a noted author and artist who writes under the pen names of Kadashan and Naats'keek (his Tlingit names) and Lorraine Adams is a Tlingit elder of the Frog House in the L'uknax̱.ádi clan (Coho Salmon) and a master Tlingit speaker and educator. They are longtime members of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Alaska Native Sisterhood.

As this photo illustrates, Tlingit people engaged in a number of activities and strategies that incorporated different levels of what could be conceived as traditional and modern but all were Native. Anthropologist Rico Worl of the Raven House in the Lukaax̱.ádi clan (Sockeye Salmon) reframes the context by arguing that the colonial encounter is not a process of Tlingit people becoming westernized but western culture becoming informed and changed through Tlingit culture.[45] An anthropologist for the Sealaska Heritage Institute, Worl's primary responsibility is working with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, a law that allows tribes to repatriate cultural objects and funerary objects that are in federally funded museums. He underscores that while the early twentieth century was a time of great pressure and adjustment for Tlingit peoples, changes were never unilateral.

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[44] Lorraine D. Adams and Bert Adams, Sr., interview with author, June 2, 2011, Yakutat, Alaska.

One example of how Tlingit people responded to colonial pressure was the formation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in 1912, followed by the companion organization Alaska Native Sisterhood in 1913. Founded by the first generation of Alaska Natives in southeast Alaska (majority Tlingit but also Haida and Tsimshian) who were educated in the mission schools, the ANB/ANS' initial agenda stressed citizenship rights, education, and the abolition of indigenous customs. (After 1918, the ANB organized mainly through legal battles, including land claims.) There is a general consensus that the ANB, particularly in its early years, sought Native rights through a Christian assimilationist approach.[46] Such an assimilationist stance was not simply the influence of missionaries, however; it also reflected the ambiguous legal status of Alaska Natives, and the centrality of a civilizing discourse in that status. As discussed in Chapter 1, the 1867 Treaty of Cession between Russia and the United States, made a distinction between the "uncivilized tribes" and other "inhabitants of the ceded territory," and only the second group obtained rights to be admitted as citizens of the United States.[47] Legal rights of citizenship, therefore, hinged upon demonstration and performance of civility and, until the Citizenship Act of 1924, citizenship was granted through adoption of white social norms (dress, language, employment, habitation, religious practice) alongside a renouncement of aboriginal culture.[48] This created an inherent contradiction, based on the impossible binary of traditional vs. modern. Paige Raibmon describes it as such: "a civilized Aboriginal existence was an oxymoron. Only once a Tlingit *community* was no longer discernable could a Tlingit *individual* qualify as civilized. But the absence of Tlingit community would erase the traits that marked individuals as Tlingit."[49] We can locate the political predicament Alaska Natives experienced by placing their ambiguous status into the larger US timeline that legislated the end to formal treaty making in 1871. As Kevin Bruyneel elaborates, this period "came to represent the beginning of a postcolonial challenge for indigenous politics. The challenge would be to reclaim this 'neither-nor' [neither assimilated nor Other] location as a third space of sovereignty to express indigenous political identity, agency, and autonomy in resistance to the impositions of American colonial rule."[50] Rather than seeing the progressive and assimilationist stance as universally informing the vision of the ANB, I propose viewing it as a specific strategy to gain rights within Alaska's contradictory and racialized legal codes. Renouncement of Native customs, therefore, operated as a tactical articulation (especially to the larger non-Native community), while internal organizing remained tied to certain forms of Native cultural practice. Former ANB Grand Camp President, Rev. Dr. Walter Soboleff elucidates this complexity when he states that the ANB and ANS relied internally on Native governance along tribal and clan lines.[51]

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[45] Rico Worl, interview with author, May 25, 2011, Juneau, Alaska.

[46] Philip Drucker, *The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1958), 41-44; Donald Craig Mitchell, *Sold American: The Story of Alaska Natives and Their Land, 1867-1959* (Hanover, CT: University Press of New England, 1997), 193; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1994, 83-96.

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[47] David S. Case and David A. Voluck, *Alaska Natives and American Laws* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2002 [1984]), 6.
[48] Ibid., 46.
[49] Raibmon, 196.
[50] Bruyneel, 65.

Kayamori's photo points to a larger conception of community-based self-determination that contradicted a universal or absolute disavowal of Native culture. In contrast to the limitations imposed by settler colonial time, Kayamori documents the flexible and contingent nature of Tlingit political resistance in his photo at Billy Jackson's residence. Even with the Alaska Native Brotherhood's progressive and assimilationist stance against Native customs, dancers in regalia fundraised to build a hall for the organization. Here, Tlingit cultural practice materially supported the ANB and ANS and, conversely, the ANB/ANS is shown to support Tlingit cultural practice. The example of the dance at Billy Jackson's house is echoed when a Presbyterian missionary complained that a Tsimshian founder and leader of the ANB hunted and fished on the Sabbath, and also, "played at the Native dances."[52] Though this religious official viewed the ANB leader's participation in "Native dances" as an apparent contradiction to ANB goals, ANB members expressed a third space of sovereignty that allowed for organizing through a modern expression of Native identity.

Shoki Kayamori documented this third space of sovereignty, serving as the unofficial photographer of the ANB/ANS in Yakutat. He covered the numerous events at the ANB Hall and the 1931 ANB convention with attendees from throughout southeast Alaska. Jack and Emma Ellis (Figure 4.4) are most likely dressed for this convention, with Jack wearing his ANB sash. Don Bremner asserts that Kayamori did not just photograph the ANB, he was also a member.

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[51] Case and Voluck, 354.
[52] W.B. Adams, quoted in Mitchell, 196.

> How could anybody think that he was just here to visit? No, he lived his life here. This was his place. This was his life. Hundreds of photographs proved it. He was… part of the town and the Alaska Native Brotherhood.[53]

While histories of the ANB do not acknowledge Kayamori as a possible (and non-Native) member, Bremner is adamant that he was told this by his father and uncle, both active leaders in the ANB How might this radically configure the relationship between American Indian studies and Asian American studies, to view Kayamori not only as a photographer with an intimate alliance to his Native community, but as a member of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, one of the earliest indigenous political rights organizations in American history? Is it such a fantastic claim not simply because Kayamori is non-Native, but because the logics of settler colonialism render such incorporation illegible?

Considering Kayamori as a possible member of the Alaska Native Brotherhood allows for a critical engagement with the third space of sovereignty, initially posed by postcolonial scholar Homi Bhabha and taken up by Kevin Bruyneel in critical Indigenous studies. Though Kayamori is able to photographically represent the ANB's strategic deployment of the third space of sovereignty, he, himself, cannot be represented by it. As documenter of the ANB, he still remains marginal, outside. Jodi Byrd critiques third space for an inability to disrupt the very binary formation that it is responding to. As she elaborates, "Focused as it is on the dialectics initiated by formal administrative colonialisms, Bhabha's ruptured discourse is more difficult to mobilize along the axes of other/others, where racialized and colonized peoples, existing in the same geographical space interact with one another as well as the colonizer."[54] As someone outside the colonizer/colonized axis of white-Native, Kayamori's liminality refuses binary formation. In this way, Kayamori both depicts and disrupts third space, exposing the opportunities and limits within politics that cannot account for multiple racialized and colonized conditions.

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[53] Don Bremner, interview with author.

World War II and the Haunting Violences of Racism and Colonialism

This story begins in 1941 as US entry into World War II looms, and hostility towards Americans of Japanese descent spikes. In the sleepy fishing village of Yakutat, rumors and behind-the-back whispers circulate, speculations surface concerning the local unofficial photographer, known to residents as Kayamori, popularly called "Picture Man." Having lived in Yakutat for almost three decades, Kayamori's hair is now greying, and he makes his living as the cannery's night watchman. Once sought after to document the cannery's latest technological invention as well as the newest family member, Kayamori is now pariah, alongside accusations: outsider, traitor, spy. His prominence as a noncommercial photographer is exactly what arouses suspicion.

This story begins with an FBI file.
It begins with the bombing of Pearl Harbor.
It begins with a beating by army soldiers.
It begins with a suicide.
            Begins with a death certificate.
                        one word.

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[54] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 52-53.

one sentence.

one question.

“drug?”

It begins with an unmarked grave that no one living can remember.[55]

World War II and the concomitant militarization in Alaska proved a key moment in the economic and political development of the territory within the larger structure of the US nation-state. Due to the fears of Japanese occupation of the Aleutian Islands, coupled with Alaska’s strategic location between the US and Asia, Congress made the decision to remilitarize Alaska in 1940. During the course of the war, the US War Department sent approximately 300,000 military personnel to the territory.[56] As part of this militarization, the U.S Army Corps of Engineers arrived in Yakutat to build an airfield that would serve as a refueling and service base to the Aleutian Islands and points north (Anchorage and Fairbanks). An entire base was built to accommodate the airfield, including a fueling dock, rifle range, numerous roads, and living quarters. The beachfront was fortified with cannons and tanks, perched just inside the tree line.[57]

Far outnumbering the local population, which in the early 1940s still hovered around two hundred, the influx of thousands of soldiers changed the village in many ways. Yakutat became not only the locale for the largest airfield in Alaska at the time but also an R&R spot for off-duty soldiers. In this way, the militarization of Alaska not only installed a system of infrastructure but also pulled Alaskan residents into American popular culture and its attendant discourses. The ANB hall began to show US government newsreels on the war, and also sponsored food sales and dances that soldiers were invited to. Once the base was built, socializing between soldiers and Yakutat residents increased in scope. The USO sponsored movies and other forms of entertainment, and soldiers traded with children, giving them candy. Youngsters also translated for their parents, who provided items such as moccasins for purchase.[58] This socializing was highly gendered as one elder remembers that it was the single women in Yakutat who were invited to weekend dances on the base, accompanied by their mothers as chaperones. Troop carriers would transport them.[59] Outside of the social aspects, the war was viewed as bringing economic opportunities to the community, mostly in the form of construction jobs.

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[55] Sources for this section include Margaret Thomas’ articles, Ronald Inouye’s article on WWII and Alaskan residents of Japanese descent, and Shoki Kayamori’s death certificate. See Thomas, 1991; Thomas, 1995; Ronald K. Inouye, “For Immediate Sale: Tokyo Bathhouse—How World War II Affected Alaska’s Japanese Civilians,” in *Alaska at War, 1941-1945: The Forgotten War Remembered,* ed. Fern Chandonnet (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008), 259-263; Shoki Kayamori Death Certificate, Territory of Alaska, 1942, Bureau of Vital Statistics.

[56] Fern Chandonnet, “Introduction,” in *Alaska at War, 1941-1945: The Forgotten War Remembered,* ed. Fern Chandonnet (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008), ix.

[57] Corbin Demmert, “W.W. II.” in *Painting a Portrait: The Colors of Yakutat,* eds. Corbin Demmert et al. (Yakutat: Sawmill Cove, 1994), 38-42; Eric Anderstrom, et al., *Invasion! World War II Comes to Yakutat* (Yakutat: Sawmill Cove, 1994).

Not everyone, however, remembers this era fondly. Native elder Lena Farkus, who was a young child during WWII, attributes increased alcohol access and consumption to the soldiers and their social activities.[60] The military was also criticized for chemicals and wastes disposed in the community, and the void in employment left in the wake of its post-war departure. Land dispossession also occurred during the military's tenure. Sig Edwards' land was taken by the army to build a dock with promises of return but the army subsequently sold the fueling dock to Standard Oil.[61] The most common complaint, however, was that of surveillance. Residents were not allowed to leave Yakutat without permission, and taking photographs were forbidden. Activities in the area surrounding the village, such as berry picking and seaweed harvesting, were met with distrust.[62]

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[58] Nellie Lorde and Lena Farkus quoted in Leah Dennis and Allison Yamamoto, "People and the War" in *Invasion! World War II Comes to Yakutat*, eds. Eric Anderstrom, et al. (Yakutat: Sawmill Cove, 1996), 20-21.

[59] Mary Ann Paquette, qtd. in Demmert, 41.

[60] Dennis and Yamamoto, 21.

This atmosphere of suspicion was deeply felt by Yakutat resident Shoki Kayamori as this was a period that witnessed the emergence and increase in anti-Japanese sentiment throughout Alaska. Similar to other Japanese Americans on the West Coast, Issei were accused of sabotage while second-generation Nisei were generally suspect.[63] In a village as heavily militarized as Yakutat, inundated with soldiers and the material and social infrastructure of the armed forces, apprehension was particularly directed against Kayamori. In late 1940, Kayamori's name was included on an FBI list of those who should be investigated and a year later, FBI records officially classify him as a suspect to be detained in a national emergency.[64] The day that Pearl Harbor was bombed, soldiers stationed at Yakutat beat up the stooped and graying 64-year-old Kayamori. Mary Ann Paquette, a teenager then, says the army "hushed it up [but] everybody in town knew what happened."[65] Two days later, a community meeting was held to discuss the US declaration of war. Elaine Abraham (Tlingit elder and Board Chair of the Alaska Native Science Commission), who was a young girl at the time, remembers that Kayamori was noticeably absent.

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[61] Ibid., 22.
[62] Demmert, Dennis and Yamamoto.
[63] Inouye, 259-263.
[64] Special Agent of the Juneau Field Division R.C. Vogel to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, December 7, 1940, Kayamori Collection; US Army Brigadier General Sherman Miles to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, December 13, 1941, Kayamori Collection.
[65] Thomas, 1995, 53.

> And somebody said, "Where's Mr. Kayamori?" He was the only one that wasn't there. It was already evening. It was about seven o'clock in the evening, and you know, it's dark, very dark. Several of the young men took lanterns up to his house, and they found that he had committed suicide. He did not leave a note.[66]

Kayamori had apparently donned a suit, written a will, and expired in his armchair, the military doctor who wrote his death certificate suspecting that he had ingested a drug.[67]

Since his suicide, some residents have wondered whether Kayamori could have been a spy during the time he was living in Yakutat.[68] Many more locals vehemently bristle at the accusation. Federal agents questioned Yakutat's minister and postmaster about Kayamori's correspondence after his death; years later his son asserted that espionage claims were the result of "stupid hysteria. He was a tremendous individual… I bet my bottom dollar that Kayamori was no spy."[69] Don Bremner emphatically rejects any notion that Kayamori was disloyal and, further, positions Kayamori as an insider based on his photographic production.

> So, how many photos would it take to convince the world that he was part of our community, part of our lives? Would it be, say ten nice ones? Or ten general ones? What about six hundred to prove that he was part of our life because if you think of the time that it takes for the kind of photographs he took of this land, of the wildlife and the people, that almost the bulk of the photos are of people. So, how could anybody think that, well, he was just there to visit. No, he lived his life here. This was his place. This was his life. Hundreds of photographs prove it.[70]

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[66] Inouye, 260.

[67] Thomas, 1995; Shoki Kayamori Death Certificate, Territory of Alaska, Bureau of Vital Statistics, 1942.

[68] Other photographs that illustrate instruction at the school or clinic similarly show students in action, rather than the end "product" of assimilation. In these photos, Native children demonstrate a range of actions, from curiosity with the instruction, disinterestedly looking away, and, in one case, mugging for the camera. Alaska State Library Kayamori Collection, photos P55-001, P55-22, P55-100, P55-193, P55-463, P55-524.

[69] Wayne Axelson, quoted in Thomas 1995, 52.

[70] Don Bremner, interview with author.

Bremner's assertion contrasts sharply with FBI suspicions that targeted Kayamori because of his photographic activities. In describing the reasons he was to be investigated, the Juneau field office notes that Kayamori was a "Japanese citizen… has worked in Yakutat fish canneries for a long period of time. Is reported to be an enthusiastic photographer and to have panoramic views of the Alaskan coast line."[71] Juxtaposing Don Bremner's and the FBI's comments reveal radically different configurations of land and labor. For the FBI, Kayamori's identification to the Japanese nation-state predominates, and his labor as a cannery worker further signals his (im)migrant worker status. Moreover, the only labor that is recognized is cannery work, his photography is regarded only as proof of suspicious activity. And land in this formulation is simply geo-political. In contrast, Bremner elucidates Kayamori's photography as labor and, importantly, the labor that should be utilized in understanding Kayamori's connection to place. Here, land is populated with people and animals, and has a purpose unto itself. Victor Turner reminds us that while liminality affords creative possibilities, it is also an unstable process. Larger structures of power cannot be disregarded. This moment is instructive, however, to show two social systems, that of the larger settler colony and that of the Native community. Kayamori's photographic oeuvre marks him simultaneously outside and suspect to the American nation-state at the same time it constructs him as an insider to Yakutat.

Caroline Chung Simpson argues that Japanese American WWII forced relocation and imprisonment, and its attendant disenfranchisement, comprises an "absent presence" in US social life that deeply shaped subsequent Cold War culture. I suggest that Shoki

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[71] R.C. Vogel to J. Edgar Hoover, December 7, 1940, Kayamori Collection.

Kayamori and his photographs exist as spectral presences to signal traces disavowed in progressive narratives of WWII militarism which propel Alaska into its modern and realized statehood.[72] For, as Avery Gordon reminds us, haunting is "something akin to what it feels like to be the object of a social totality vexed by the phantoms of modernity's violence."[73] Kayamori haunts the archive: his photographs demonstrate Native responses to colonialism and participation in modernity long before WWII militarization, positioning WWII not simply as a liberatory project but also as part of a larger continuation of Alaskan colonization, which has always relied upon and made legible through militarism.

Similarly, a spectral reading of his death disrupts discourses that militarism's modernity and US cultural absorption in Alaska was total or complete. Accounting for Kayamori's suicide makes legible Native fears and anxieties around WWII relocation and incarceration. While recalling Kayamori specifically and the interaction of Natives and Asians in Yakutat generally, Tlingit elder Lorraine Adams reveals that her grandfather was Japanese and the community hid the Japanese ancestry of her mother, herself, and her siblings during World War II, fearing for their safety.[74] Internment policy in Alaska called for the evacuation of all males over the age of sixteen with mixed Alaska Native and Japanese parentage, and Native wives of Japanese men endured social ostracism and financial hardship after their husbands (and sons) were imprisoned outside Alaska.[75]

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[72] Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945–1960* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).
[73] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007 [1997]), 19.
[74] Lorraine D. Adams, interview with author.
[75] Inouye, 262.

Centering the history of WWII relocation and incarceration in Alaska also highlights Aleut internment.

During the war, nearly nine hundred Unanga{ from the Aleutian and Pribilof Islands were moved to overcrowded and substandard "camps," usually abandoned canneries, throughout Southeast Alaska, experiencing high illness and mortality rates.[76] The Civil Liberties Act of 1988, also known as Public Law 100-383, addressed both Japanese Americans and Unanga{ forcibly moved and held during World War II; however, the legislation is generally recognized for Japanese redress. Although a much smaller number of Aleut were interned compared to Japanese Americans (900 versus 120,000), accounting for Aleut internment, and reading it against Japanese American internment illuminates the twinned processes of racism and colonialism in Alaska, specifically, and in the US more generally.

Congress opens the act with a statement of purpose, including acknowledgement of the injustice of evacuation, relocation, and internment; an apology for such acts; and the government's intent to provide restitution for losses suffered.[77] Then, in Section 2 of the Act, Congress makes separate statements to those of Japanese and Unangam descent. In addressing those of Japanese ancestry, Congress states that a "grave injustice" was done due to "racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership." Such actions resulted in "fundamental violations of… basic liberties and constitutional rights," and Congress reiterated its apologies.[78] The Congressional statement to the Unanga{ noticeably lacks any articulation of racial prejudice or acknowledgement of infringed rights. Instead, Congress summarizes Aleut evacuation and relocation as being "under United States control and in the care of the United States, until long after any potential danger to their home villages had passed." The injustice in this case is articulated as the failure "to provide reasonable care for the Aleuts, and this resulted in widespread illness, disease, and death." And, in lieu of an apology, Congress states that, "there is no remedy for injustices suffered… except… compensation."[79] In the case of Japanese Americans, forced removal and incarceration is framed as an issue of racial discrimination and civil rights. In contrast, the grievances of the Aleut are viewed under the overarching rubric of colonialism; that is, wards of the government who were treated unfairly. Separating their claims ignores the racial discrimination undergirding government indifference to Aleut danger and suffering, as well as the colonial confinement and surveillance of Japanese Americans during WWII. This separation illustrates the level of differential logics under which settler colonialism operates. Even as Japanese Americans and Unanga{ made common cause in seeking redress, racist and colonial injustices are rendered discrete and disparate.

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[76] Dean Kohlhoff, *When the Wind Was a River: Aleut Evacuation in World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995); Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, DC: The Civil Liberties Public Education Fund; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 317-359.

[77] Public Law 100-383, 100th Congress, August 10, 1988, 903.

Accounting for both Native and Asian Alaskan elisions in the larger WWII archive, Kayamori's death can be read alongside the history of Aleut internment. While his death haunts dominant narratives in Alaskan history, likewise Aleut internment remains in the shadow of Japanese American internment, including accounts of redress. These paired apparitions point to colonial violences disavowed in post-WWII American narratives of modern progress; in Alaska that colonialism has always been expressed as military occupation, elucidating the historical antecedents of Army and Navy rule of Alaska in the absence of civil government, including the bombardment of Native villages Kake and Wrangell in 1869, and Angoon in 1882. Unlike the US government's apology for internment issued in 1988, at Tlingit Remembrance Day, on the 100-year commemoration of the bombing of Angoon, the time in the program reserved for the US Navy's apology was met with silence.[80] The interconnected hauntings of Kayamori's suicide, mixed Native-Japanese internment, and Aleut internment in Alaska highlight the need for Asian American studies and Native American studies to develop a decolonial epistemology that can account for the colonial violences lodged within modernity and the differential yet contingent responses of Asian and Native peoples within such systems. Kayamori's photography speaks to such possibilities.

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[78] Ibid., 903-904.
[79] Ibid., 904.

Conclusion

There exists only one known photograph of Shoki Kayamori (Figure 4.7). Unidentified in the first labeling of his found archive, Yakutat elders were adamant in naming Kayamori as the man posed outside a hunting tent, holding two hunting dogs on a short leash, a rifle grasped in his other hand. Kayamori was buried across the bay from Yakutat on Kahntaak Island, with only US soldiers in attendance. The military subsequently paved over the burial site to build a naval ramp and neglected to move his grave.[81] In recent years local residents have attempted to locate the site but the abundant growth of Southeast Alaska's temperate rainforest has rendered their efforts unsuccessful.[82] Kayamori's photographic archive, including a single representation of the photographer, remains his monument.

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[80] Nancy Furlow, "Angoon Remembers: The Religions Significance of Balance and Reciprocity," in *The Alaska Native Reader: History, Culture, Politics,* ed. Maria *Shaa Tláa* Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 150.

As a racialized migrant who remained in Yakutat, Kayamori captures Yakutat as both a historic Tlingit place that remains majority Native, as well as a multiracial node in US settler colonial economy. Because Kayamori cannot attain settler citizenship, his liminal position facilitates intimacies across race and gender with his photographic subjects. In this way, Kayamori's photographs provide generative and multiply authored representations of the colonial encounter in Alaska, one of the most important being the articulation of a "third space of sovereignty," Native forms of resistance that are neither inside nor outside the system, and which also disrupt binary notions of traditional vs. modern. As those in Yakutat reclaim the haunted history of Kayamori and the visual culture he helped to facilitate and sustain, so too must the fields of American Indian studies and Asian American studies account for the epistemic erasure located within the colonial history of Alaska. Doing so exposes colonialism and modernity as mutually constitutive processes that both enact a range of violence, as well as inspire a multiplicity of creative resistances.

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[81] John Bremner, Sr., quoted in Thomas 1995, 53.
[82] Don Bremner, interview with author.

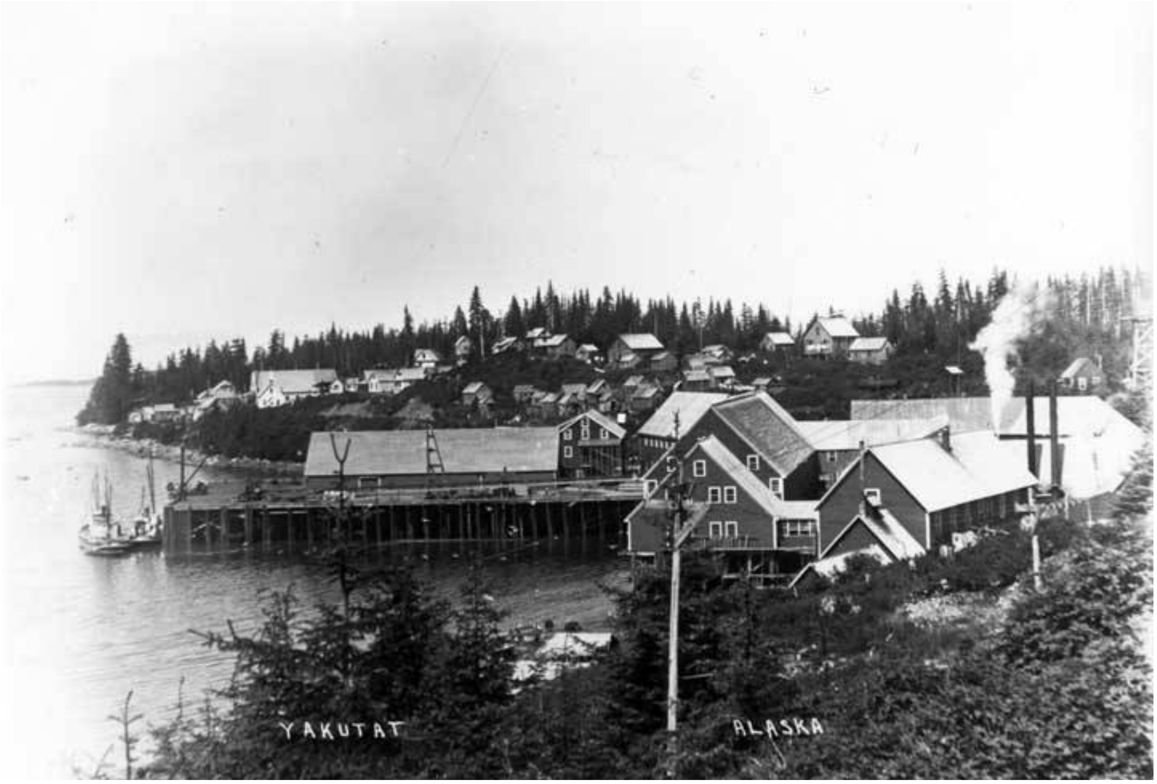
YAKUTAT
ALASKA

Figure 4.1. Yakutat, Alaska (Alaska State Library, Kayamori Collection, P55-206)

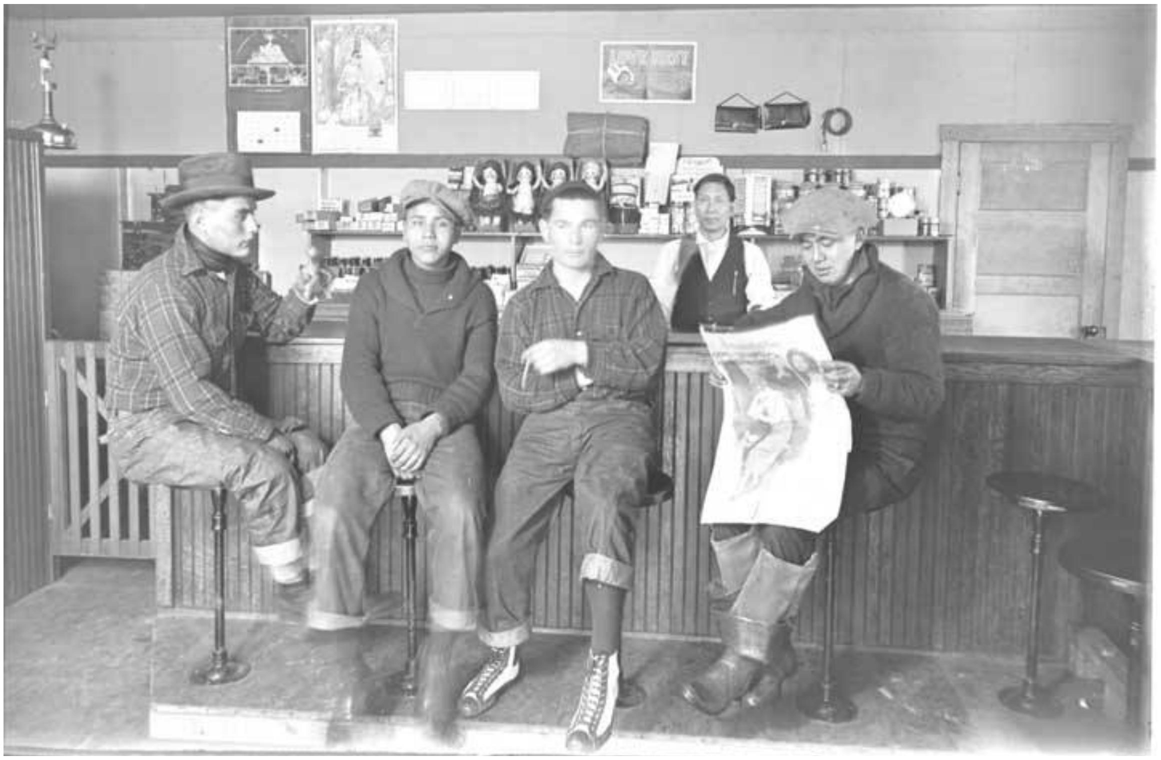

Figure 4.2. Lon Wun Gee Café (Alaska State Library, Kayamori Collection, P55-007)

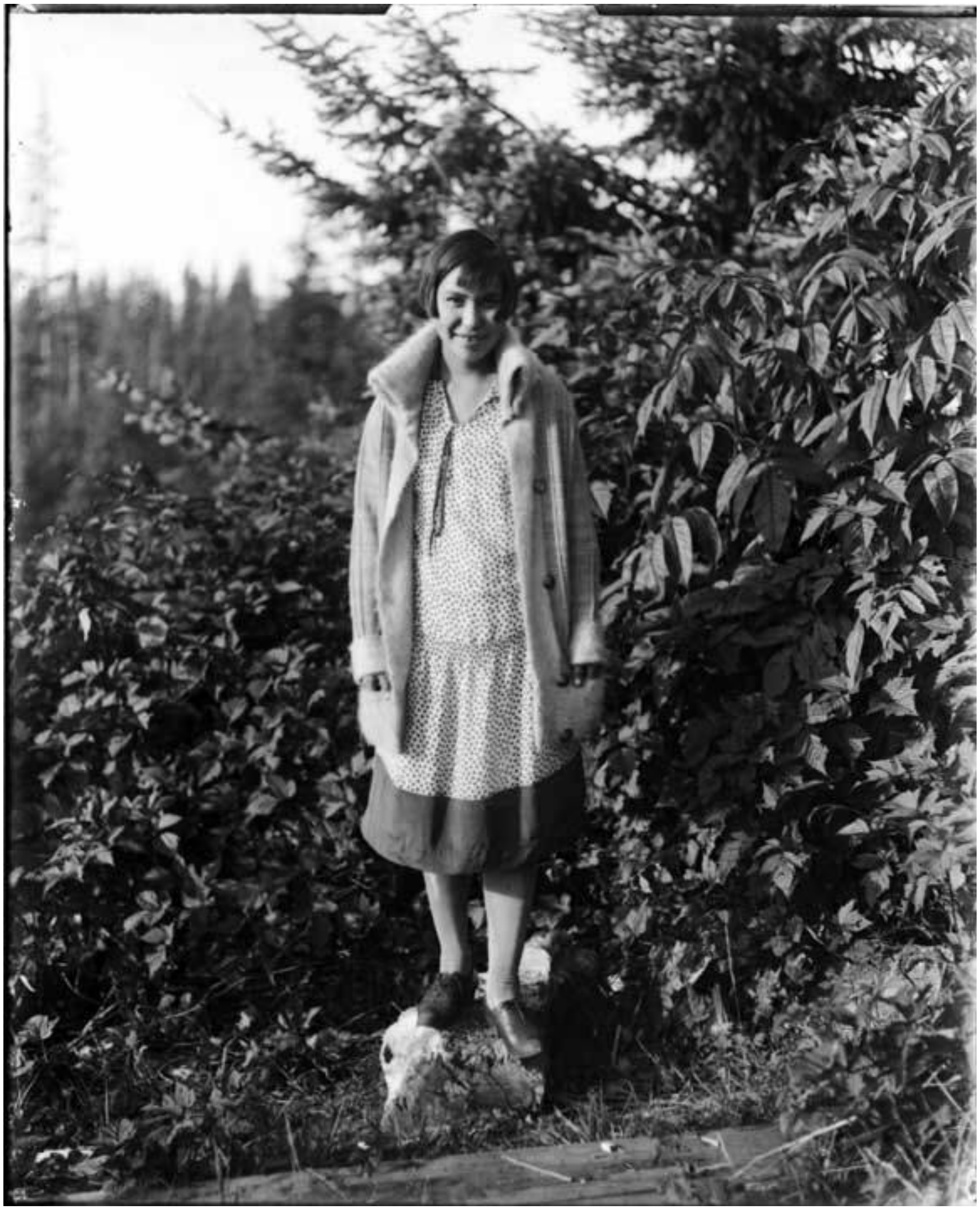

Figure 4.3. Portrait of Mary Thomas. (Alaska State Library, Kayamori Collection, P55-270)

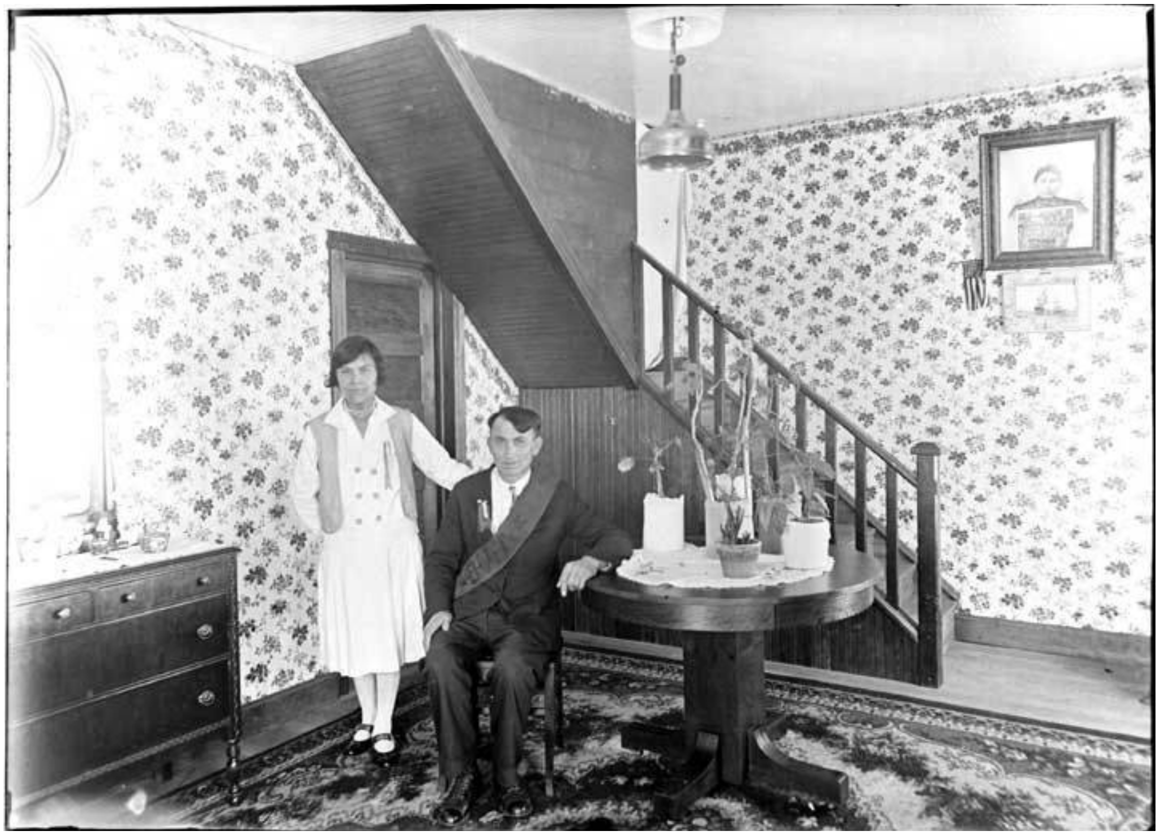

Figure 4.4. Jack and Emma Ellis (Alaska State Library, Kayamori Collection, P55-599)

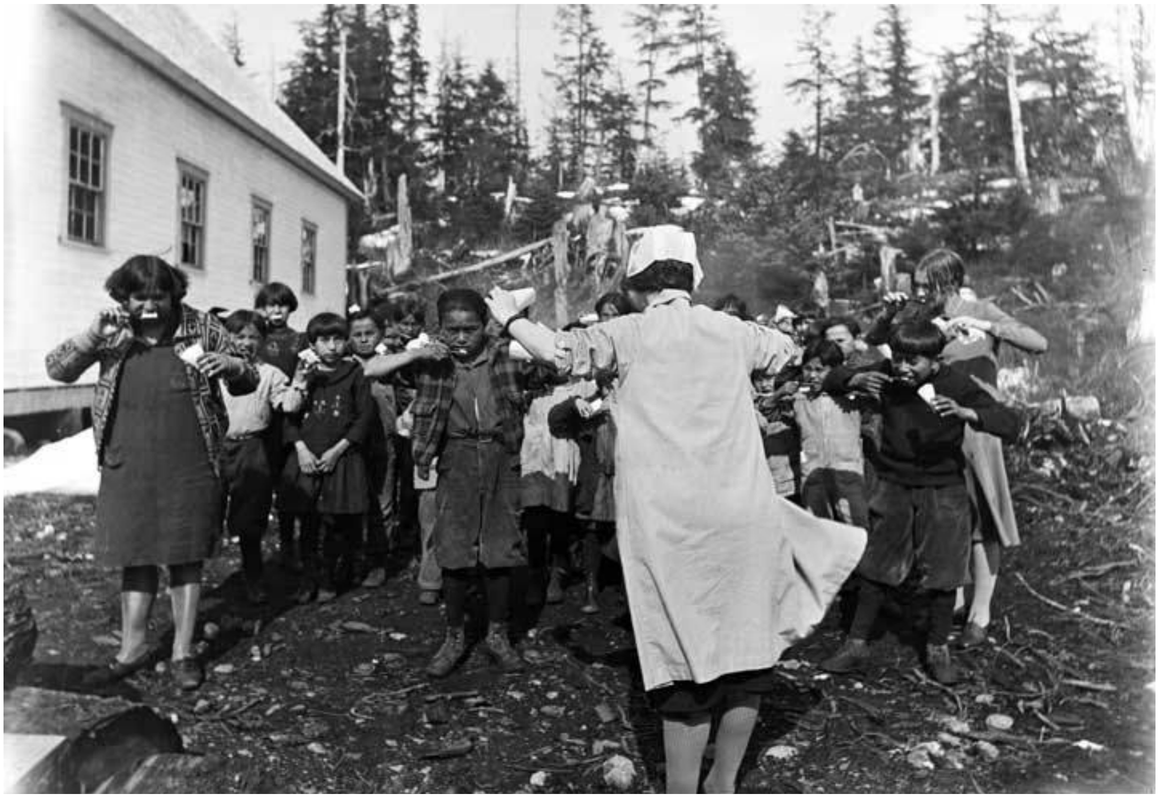

Figure 4.5. Tooth-brushing lesson outside Mission School (Alaska State Library, Kayamori Collection, P55-395)

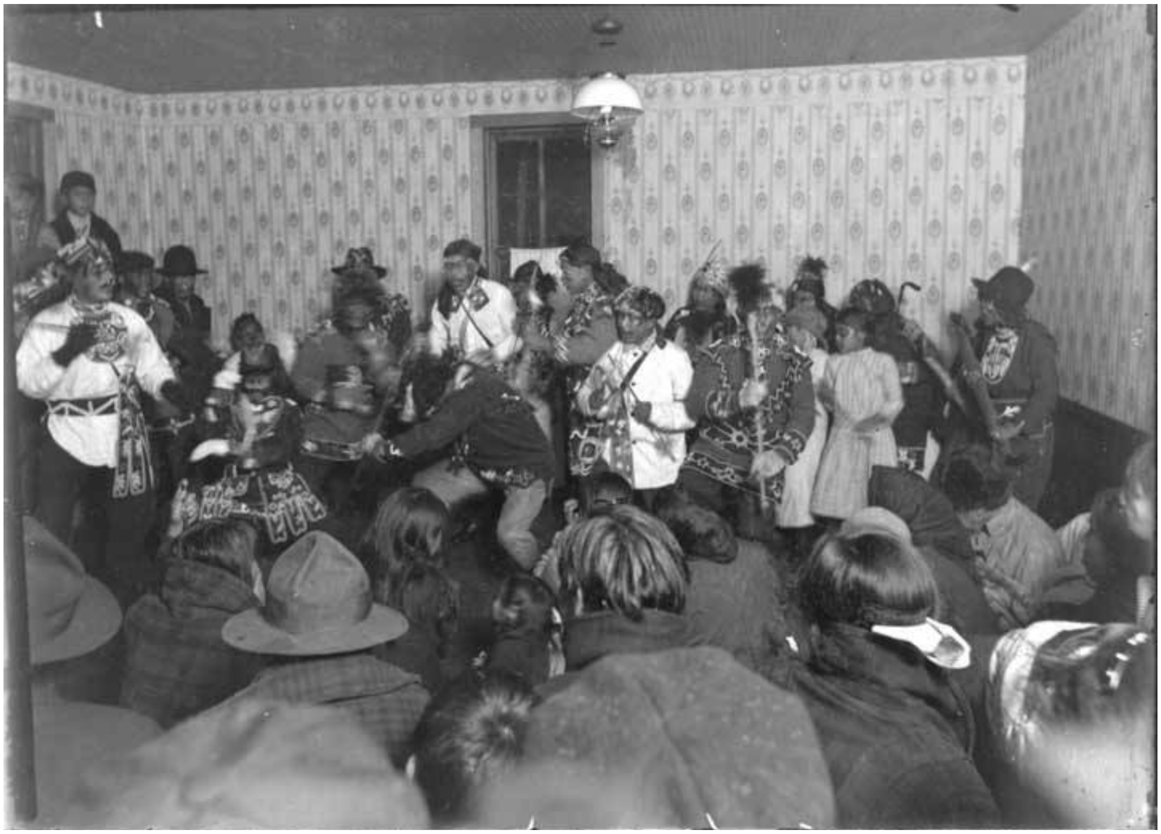

Figure 4.6. Dance at Billy Jackson's House (Alaska State Library, Kayamori Collection, P55-348)

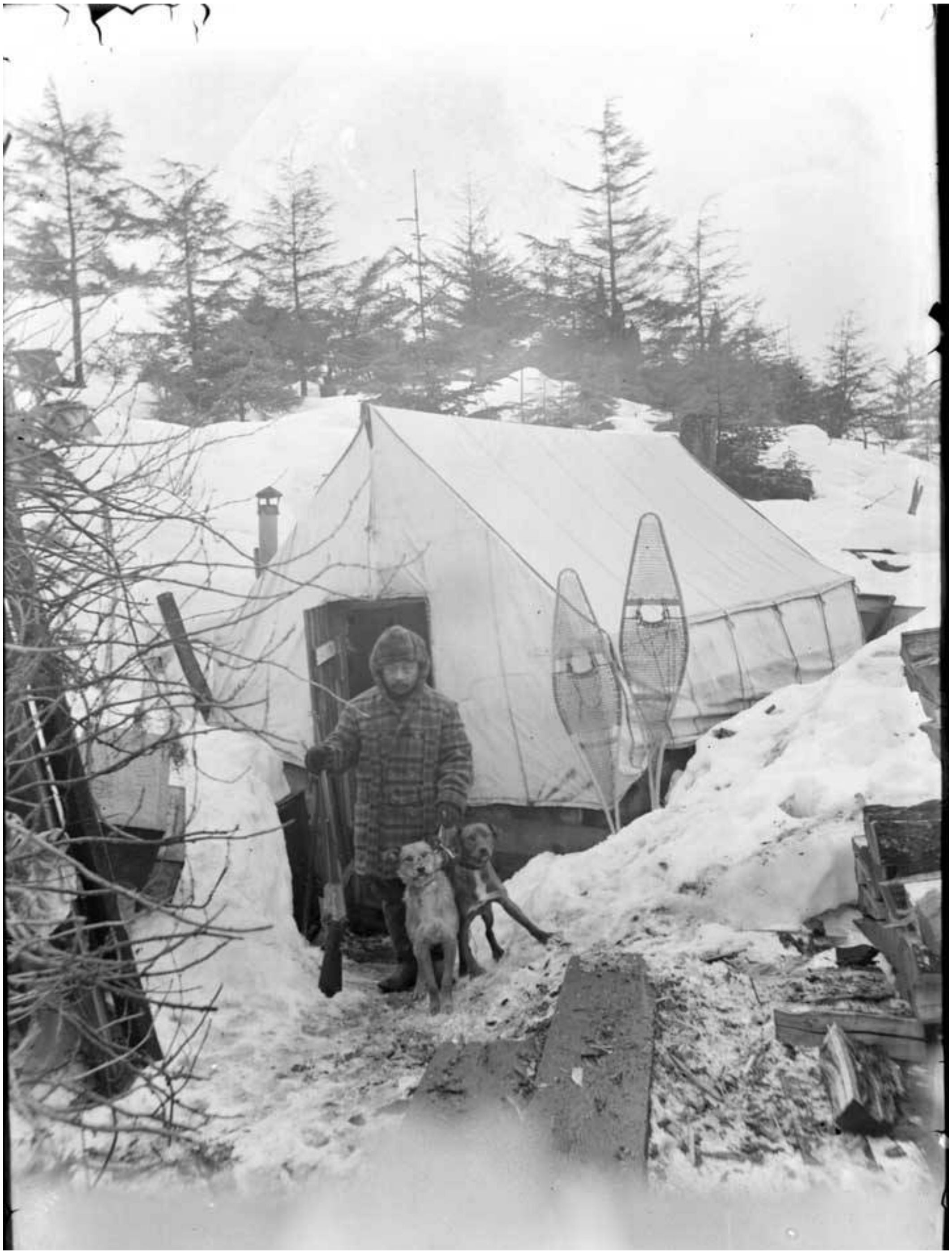

Figure 4.7. Kayamori with Hunting Dogs. (Alaska State Library, Kayamori Collection, P55-140)

CONCLUSION

In 1942, in response to the US executive order for the removal and detention of all persons of Japanese descent on the West Coast, Juneau High School in Juneau, Alaska held a special early graduation ceremony for John Tanaka, valedictorian for the class of 1942. The school gymnasium was packed with students and local townspeople. When the regularly scheduled graduation took place in June, an empty chair acknowledged and honored Tanaka's absence and, by extension, the rest of Juneau's Japanese American community. In 2012, the 70th anniversary of the Japanese American internment, a group of Juneau High School graduates from the class of 1958 (including John Tanaka's younger sister Mary Tanaka Abo), initiated a project to build a memorial, the first of its kind in Alaska, to honor Juneau's Japanese residents who were interned during WWII. With support from the Juneau community, the "Empty Chair Project" commissioned a sculptor to design and construct a bronze folding chair atop floorboards describing the event and remembering the names of those interned. The sculpture will be placed in Capital School Park and is scheduled for completion in the spring of 2014. As part of the project, interviews with the interned Japanese Americans from Juneau and their descendants have been conducted and copies will be donated to local libraries and museums. The Juneau-Douglas City Museum will also host an accompanying exhibit in Summer 2014.[1]

This dissertation opened with my childhood version of John Tanaka's graduation story, although I wasn't told, or didn't remember, his name. Similarly, my dad chose to highlight the local community's support for Tanaka's graduation rather than the more metaphorically tragic empty chair. These differences highlight, on a small scale, my interest in stories and the power they hold—to shape history and memory, to sanction or occlude certain narratives. As I conclude this dissertation, I am excited to know that the Empty Chair Project examines and expounds on Juneau's Japanese American community before, during, and after World War II, as well as remarking on the previous elision of Japanese American internment within Alaskan history. Just as an empty chair serves as a powerful symbol of the missing Japanese Americans from Juneau and other parts of Alaska, however, additional absences are still located in this particular story, disappearances that link Japanese American internment in Alaska with Alaska Native experiences, within a larger matrix of racial discrimination and colonial dispossession.

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[1] The Empty Chair Project website. Online: http://emptychairproject.wordpress.com/.

As I've endeavored to demonstrate in this dissertation, Native peoples and Alaska migrants and settlers in Alaska have a long history of connection through a differential and colonial racialization. Starting with the purchase of Alaska, Native peoples were racialized through a *colonial intimacy* that linked them to Asian origins.

Though the Alaska Native colonial racialization as Asian would be superseded by settler colonial discourses, the idea of indigeneity constructed through Asianness would find a lasting articulation in the Bering Land Bridge theory. As the Gold Rush era brought both prosperity and nonnative settlers to the Alaskan territory, Gold Rush narratives centered on romantic ideals of white male triumph over land and labor. Even as Gold Rush narratives furthered the gulf between legible Asian and Native connections, *frontier intimacies* between Natives and Asians are exposed within disavowed violences, antagonisms, and affinities. With the increased industrialization of Alaska in the early

1900s, Alaska officially became an incorporated territory in 1912. Although the cannery industry relied on the labor of Asian migrant men and resident Native women, Alaskan history, labor studies, Asian American studies, and Native studies all obscure this connection through an investment in manufacturing a proper laboring subject. It is within an exploration of *unproductive intimacies* that linkages become legible. Likewise, the *liminal intimacies* of a Japanese immigrant photographer facilitate a visual record of the multiple associations between racialized and colonized peoples.

Alaska was (and is) both a racially heterogeneous and Indigenous place. Similarly, Alaska's history is both racially diverse and Aboriginal. What should be a basic and obvious premise is obscured by settler colonial logics. In several examples, I have shown that Asian migrants were either materially expulsed or discursively disregarded as belonging to Alaska. This formation of Asians as failed settlers constructed white settlers as the proper heirs to a future state, and is the defining feature of what I consider *settler colonial space.* Conversely, the overarching settler discourse of Native peoples is temporal, what I term *settler colonial time.* Settler society recognized Alaska Native peoples within the space of Alaska yet failed to acknowledge them as modern subjects if they remained Native. This idea of failed modern subjectivity blamed Native culture for the wide-ranging violences required to settle Indigenous lands. Read together, settler spatial and temporal logics obfuscated the very land and labor that settler colonialism depended upon, let alone the intersection of these double disavowals. It's difficult to fully comprehend Alaskan history when Asians cannot be Alaskan, and Natives cannot be part of history.

Methodologically, I have been able to get at these linkages, as much as settler colonialism occludes them, through a creative and expansive framing of both intimacies and archives. As outlined above, I frame each chapter/period in Alaskan history through a set of intimacies outside of the typical view of sexual/familial connections—through the living and laboring colonial proximities of racialized peoples in Alaska. A multivalent view of intimacies also allows me to engage the abstracted intimacies that settler colonialism produced and foreclosed with alternative notions of relations proffered by those being racialized and colonized. This capacious framing of intimacies may be useful to critical ethnic studies, postcolonial studies, and gender and sexuality studies as a way to think through the function of race, gender, and sexuality within colonialism's more intimate functions. Similarly, I organize each chapter around a capacious construction of an archive, in which I gather multiple traces that speak to the types of subjects constructed within settler colonialism. Tourists inspecting Natives for perceived Asian traits support the *state archive* racializing Alaska Natives as having Asian origins. Local newspaper stories document the enduring legacy of the *folklore archive* of the legend of China Joe. In contrast, Asian American and Alaska Native literary works form a counter narrative to *labor archive's* proper subject. The found *visual archive* of a Japanese immigrant photographer records the imbricated Alaska Native and Asian American geographies and histories that exceed settler colonial notions of space and time. I hope that this type of framing of the archive generates more dialogue between historians and cultural studies scholars who both grapple with the archive's meaning in contrasting and overlapping ways.

My enduring investments are located within Asian American studies and American Indian/Native studies. I have attempted to take seriously the imperative to deepen the connected analysis of colonialism, settler colonialism, and racial formation, and I look forward to the ways in which scholars within Asian American studies and American Indian studies will reflect upon, dialogue with, and challenge my work. The scholarship I have presented in this dissertation gestures to further inquiry in a number of areas: an examination of Alaska's colonial and settler colonial history in relation to Hawaiʻi; Alaska within a larger (and post-Civil War) national landscape very much concerned with issues of race and citizenship; Alaska within a larger concatenation of US imperial ambitions at end of the nineteenth century. As much as I've been concerned with understanding Alaska as a colonial and settler colonial space, certain questions remain as to the relationship between Alaska's colonial status and the progression of settler colonialism, as the two formulations are variously sequential, oppositional, overlapping, or simultaneous.

My investments in this project are not only scholarly—as my interest in the Empty Chair Project indicates, the questions of differential and relational colonization and racialization in Alaska are very much present outside of academia with lasting importance to the present day. In Alaskan history, World War II is viewed as marking a turning point, in which the military provides the modern infrastructure needed for statehood, achieved in 1959. This narrative of modern progress undergirds the movement to statehood in the Cold War era, a discourse of modernity that only succeeds with a concomitant disavowal of racial and colonial violences. From the point of American purchase forward, Alaska's settler colonialism is made possible by the dispossession of

Indigenous land, alongside Asian and Native labor. At the same time, the settler colonial project narrates itself as liberal democracy through the disavowal of this colonized land and racialized labor. Rather than see the internment of Alaska's Japanese and Japanese American residents as a wartime anomaly to liberal democracy, I suggest viewing internment along a larger continuum of racialized, colonial violences. How might an empty chair also symbolize the specter of Shoki Kayamori? Or the occluded internment of multiracial Native and Japanese people and families? Or the Unanga{ people, not only absent from their Aleutian homeland but also suddenly present in the southeastern Alaskan landscape outside of Juneau?

That Alaska Natives and Asian migrants and settlers in Alaska have been brought into an intimate constellation through the racial and gendered logics of settler colonialism exist in traces of the Empty Chair Project. At a February 2013 panel at the Juneau Downtown Library meant to educate on internment experiences in Alaska and explain the current memorial project, Randy (Akagi) Wanamaker, a prominent Tlingit and local leader, described his grandfather's evacuation from the historical Tlingit village of Killisnoo.[2] In a different example, Alice Hikido Tanaka, another of John Tanaka's sisters, provides a video interview of her family's evacuation from Juneau. She connects the various Japanese American families and single male laborers that were spread throughout Alaska and their collective experience of removal and detention when she summarizes their transport out of Alaska on an Army transport ship, saying, "We were all in the same boat."[3] Could the constellation of internment experiences extend to Unanga{ forced removal and relocation, as it is likely that the "same boat" transported them to southeast Alaska? Regarding different yet connected removal experiences illuminates a filled ship as a powerful metaphor alongside an empty chair—together they speak to the absences and presences that highlight militarization, modernity, and settler colonialism as intertwined processes.

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[2] Wanamaker's Tlingit name is Tsaaw Eesh, and he is a member of the Kaagwaantaan (Killer Whale) clan. He is the former board chair of Goldbelt, Juneau's Native corporation, as well as a former Juneau Assembly member.

The interracial intimacies between Alaska Native and Asian peoples in colonial Alaska underscore the importance of understanding the complex and contradictory construction and function of settler colonialism. Just as this project seeks to demonstrate that racialization and colonization are distinct yet interdependent processes, neither can we collapse racial justice and decolonization nor view them as disparate projects. Colonial imaginaries may be tenacious but they are never absolute. Recognizing the historical past of shared antagonisms and affinities of Natives and Asians within settler colonialism means we must endeavor as partners to condition the possibilities for a mutually liberatory future.

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[3] Empty Chair Project website, August 30, 2012 entry. http://emptychairproject.wordpress.com/page/4/.

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