

A PRELIMINARY HISTORY OF ADMIRALTY ISLAND:

1794 - 1942

BARRY RODERICK  
Box #748  
Douglas, Alaska

## PREFACE

This preliminary history of Admiralty Island was assembled under contract for the U.S. Forest Service between September 1981 and August 1982. It covers a restricted era and area, in fulfillment of the contract -- "to provide an overview of the historic era of human occupation on Admiralty Island National Monument ... the historic land and resource patterns from the earliest contact with Caucasian explorers through the CCC era." Time and funding limits for this project essentially provided for only a document search in Juneau (see Appendix I). Therefore, the following paper is in no way definitive.

Documentation of the use of Admiralty Island falls into three phases -- ethno-archeographic, historic and politico-economic. The U.S. Forest Service contract specified a history of Admiralty Island from 1794-1942. Overlap of these three categories occurs even with this project's limited scope. For example, when do traditional Native events become historic? Do the clan wars of the Mid-1800's that involved the Kootznoowoo Tlingit belong in this paper? The Shelling of Angoon in 1882 certainly does -- because of the wealth of documentation of the event. Undoubtedly, the clan wars would also belong in this paper; however, the ever-present time and funding limitations prevented the amount of documentation that would place them in a historical context -- as distinct from an ethno-archeographic tradition. Oral histories need to be immediately sought to fill in the Native use of Admiralty Island -- as well as diaries, photographs and letters. Also, some very important government records are unavailable to us at this time, i.e., Doroshin's geologic surveys, Meade's report of the Kake Indian War, or Lt. Whidby's diary.

In addition to government documents, I sifted certain Juneau newspapers from 1889-1904 for information about Admiralty Island. These newspapers turned up valuable information that specified and even corrected government reports. The time and funding limits prevented me from researching newspapers from other years and cities. For this reason, Chapters VII through X are the most complete -- in a lop-sided fashion. The surrounding cities of Southeast Alaska utilized Admiralty Island in different areas for different reasons. Juneau focused on mining in the Mansfield Peninsula, Petersburg concerned itself with fishing off the southern Admiralty Coast, and Sitka involved itself with the administration issues of Killisnoo. The newspapers in each of these cities reflected these concerns. Time and funding limitations restricted my newspaper research to Juneau of the 1890's, and, therefore, to mining in the Mansfield Peninsula. And this example is only in one White, status quo media: newspapers. Similar gaps occur elsewhere.

It is to be hoped that this preliminary history will grow into a detailed and fair composite of Admiralty Island's narrative.

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## I. FIRST ENCOUNTERS

### Vancouver's Survey

The first well documented contact between Europeans and the Tlingit of Admiralty Island occurred in 1794. In July and August Lt. Whidbey circumnavigated the Island with boats of Vancouver's expedition. On the July survey, the H.M.S. "Discovery" and "Chatham" stood by Cross Sound while Whidbey's vessels investigated Icy Strait, Lynn Canal and Chatham Strait.

In Icy Strait, the survey encountered fifteen Huna<sup>1</sup>. Tlingits who told of a recent war with the residents of (Chichagof)<sup>1</sup>. Island and pointed out a deserted village where their slain comrades lay buried. This reported war could refer to Kootznoowoo Tlingit opposition to the migrations of Huna Tlingit from the north shore of Icy Strait after an epic ice advance in Glacier Bay forced the Hunas to abandon their ancestral homes for a life on the coast and islands.

In Lynn Canal, Chilkat Tlingit greeted the British explorers; however, Anglo distrust of the Chilkat good will soon transformed the offered hospitality into the hostility of rejection.

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1. Since no distinction of Tlingit or even Native groupings occur in these early writings, I have supplied them from geographic references. They are by no means hard and fast, and do not take into account visiting Natives from other areas or later migrations, for example. Also, the locations of villages and sites, in some cases, I have had to deduce from references; these appear in parentheses.

One chief in particular became very valiant, he was of the last party that had arrived, and was in a large canoe full of Indians, who were well provided not only with spears, but with seven muskets, and some brass blunderbusses, all in most excellent order. He advanced, and hailed the yawl with a speaking trumpet, which he held in one hand, and had a spying glass in the other; a powder horn was slung across his shoulders, and a clean bright brass blunderbuss was lying near him, which he frequently took up and pointed at Mr. Whidbey, in such a manner as evidently shewed he was no stranger to the use and management of such weapons; and by his adroitness in the use of the trumpet and telescope, it would seem that he had not been unsuccessful in copying this part of maritime education.

-- Captain George Vancouver,  
1794.

As the English seamen approached Auke Tlingit territory, their Chilkat escort withdrew. Although this British crew is reported as the first Europeans to visit this part of Southeast Alaska, it is obvious from the above description of artifacts that European trade goods at the very least had penetrated this island fortress of the northern Tlingit. As the yawl and cutter began to enter Stephens Passage they noted the smoke of much habitation and were soon stopped from penetrating the Passage any further by canoe-loads of Auke Tlingit not wanting them to either land or proceed. The survey came about and withdrew to the northern end of Admiralty Island. They commemorated this event by calling their refuge Point Retreat. This is the first documented landing on Admiralty Island by Europeans, although it took another month of surveys for them to ascertain that it was indeed an island. After breakfasting they proceeded south down the Admiralty Island shore of Chatham Straits. Across Chatham Strait to the west they noted many inlets and channels that apparently connected to the open ocean. Kootznoowoo Tlingit at Hood Bay soon confirmed both the geography and the trading patterns the English had conjectured.

From these people he understood, that the western coast was composed of several islands which they had lately passed through, and had traded with vessels in some port on the exterior coast, from whence they procured most of the European commodities they had about them, consisting chiefly of wearing apparel; of which, coats and cloth trowsers seemed by them to be preferred to every other article, excepting arms and ammunition: copper and iron being reduced to a very inferior value.

--Captain George Vancouver,  
1794.

The surveyors warily approached Kootznoowoo Inlet after their recent retreat from the Chilkats and Aukes. After an exchange of mutually misinterpreted gunfire, the Kootznoowoo Tlingit happily surprised the survey crew with an urbane gracefulness and hospitality.

A league to the s.e. of point Parker, in one of these bays, is an opening about the eighth part of a mile wide, where many of the natives in their canoes were assembled, and from the treatment our party had lately received, it was necessary that their firearms should be in readiness, but as some of them had been loaded many days, Mr. Whidbey ordered them to be discharged into the air; this soon after produced a return of nearly an equal number from the Indians on shore; but as the boats approached the opening, the canoes were all hastily paddled off by the natives, and soon disappeared.

In the entrance 5 fathoms water was found, and after advancing about half a mile it proved to be only a shallow rocky place, having a small part of its southern side an island at high water. On each side of the entrance some new habitations were constructing, and for the first time during our intercourse with the North West American Indians in the vicinity of these habitations, were found some square patches of ground in a state of cultivation, producing a plant that appeared to be a species of tobacco; and which, we understood, is by no means uncommon amongst the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's islands, who cultivate much of this plant. On the return of the boats the Indians again made their appearance in a large body, headed by a chief who manifested a friendly disposition, by frequently taking up and laying down his musket, and making signs that those in the boats should do the same. On this being complied with, he sent a young man dressed in a scarlet coat and blue trowsers to invite our party on shore; but Mr. Whidbey thought proper to decline the intended civility, but gave the messenger to understand he wanted some fish; on which the young man, though not without some hesitation, got into the yawl, and dispatched his canoe for the purpose of obtaining a supply. It was not long before the

canoe returned with some small herrings, for which they were well rewarded; and no sooner was this intelligence known on shore, than the whole tribe were in motion, and in the course of a few minutes the boats were surrounded by upwards of five hundred Indians of all ages and both sexes, seemingly with no other intent than that of carrying on a fair and brisk traffic. This crowd however became very unpleasant, and on Mr. Whidbey pointing out to the chief that the throng was inconvenient to our party, he made a short harangue to the surrounding multitude, and they all returned to the shore; the chief followed his people, and sent an abundant supply of fish to the boats, for which kindness a handsome reward was sent back, and Mr. Whidbey pursued his researches.

--Captain George Vancouver,  
1794.

The hydrographic crew then proceeded south and investigated Hood Bay. As they breakfasted there, Tlingit from their last encounter appeared and traded sea otter skins for European wearing apparel. Whidbey noted that they seemed more eager to trade their sea otter skins than their fish and that their fourteen canoes contained no more than four persons each, differing little from the Native canoes northwest of Nootka, except in a finer construction than heretofore seen on the Northwest Coast. The trade broke off amicably and the surveyors continued south past (Chaik) and (Whitewater) Bays before camping at (Wilson) Cove, where, too, a small group of Tlingit visited them. They rounded the southwest tip of Admiralty Island, christening it Point Gardner, but turned back due to time constraints before proceeding very far up Frederick Sound. In passing Kootznoowoo Inlet on their return to the H.M.S. "Discovery" and "Chatham" in Cross Sound, they saw none of the "friendly Indians" and assumed them confined to their habitations due to the inclement weather.

On the August survey the H.M.S. "Discovery" and "Chatham" waited in Port Conclusion on Baranof Island while two parties investigated to the northeast and southeast. Lt. Whidbey again approached Admiralty Island, this time from

the southwest. They sailed up Chatham Strait to Point Gardner and continued northeast through Frederick Sound and Stephens Passage. In Seymour Canal they saw "five Indians, who were very shy" among the central islands. Following Stephens Passage to the north and northwest, they encountered a Tlingit village on either (Horse) or (Colt) Island and another on (Outer Point on Douglas Island). At this time, the surveyors recognized the area from which they had retreated the previous month, thus discovering that they had circumnavigated an island, which they named Admiralty in honor of His Majesty's naval bureaucracy. As they pressed towards Point Retreat to complete their circumnavigation, Auke Tlingit again came in pursuit of them. British musket fire caused the Aukes to retreat -- and taught the tars yet another adaptation of Tlingit boat design -- a protective stern.

In order however that no doubt should in future arise, Mr. Whidbey proceeded to point Retreat. After passing the village, which from that point lies S. 33 E., at the distance of about 10 miles, the boats were followed by many large and small canoes; and as the evening was drawing near, to get rid of such troublesome visitors a musket was fired over their heads, but this as before had only the effect of making them less ceremonious; this was proved by their exertions in paddling to come up with our party, which they did very fast, until another shot was fired at the largest canoe, and was supposed to have struck her, as the Indians all fell back in the canoe, and were quite out of sight; they, however, managed to bring their canoe's stern in a line with the boats' sterns: in that situation they paddled backwards with all their strength, and at the same time screened every part of their persons, by the height and spreading of their canoes' bows, excepting their hands, which, in the act of paddling only became visible, so very judiciously did they provide for their safety in their flight; in which, having gained some distance from our party, who had quietly pursued their course, the canoes stopped for a short time, as if for consultation, but soon made the best of their way back to the village, and Mr. Whidbey proceeded without further interruption to point Retreat.

--Captain George Vancouver,  
1794.

On their return back down Stephens Passage inclement weather forced them to stop near the Auke village on Douglas Island. A great noise arose from the village, which the British assumed to mean that their musket fire had hurt someone of high rank. The next morning two Natives -- an old man and a young boy -- visited them and received presents. The survey party proceeded to the south, investigating the bays, inlets and channels of the mainland until rendezvousing with the other survey party near Point Vandeput. Both parties returned through Frederick Sound and Chatham Strait to their home vessels at Port Conclusion. Vancouver's Expedition then sailed for England.

They did not find the Northwest Passage, for which they had been sent, but they did find a new land for European colonization and imperialism -- a land still in flux from the glacial tectonics of an ice age just departing and filled with wonderful possibilities of exploitation.

Mr. Whidbey in his observations on Admiralty island, remarks, that notwithstanding this island seemed to be composed of a rocky substance covered with little foil, and that chiefly consisting of vegetables in an imperfect state of dissolution, yet like the peninsula just adverted to, it produced timber, which he considered as superior to any he had before noticed on this side of America. He also states, that in his two last excursions several places were seen, where the ocean was evidently incroaching very rapidly on the land, and that the low borders extending from the base of the mountains to the sea side, had, at no very remote period of time produced tall and stately timber; as many of their dead trunks were found standing erect, and still rooted fast in the ground, in different stages of decay; those being the most perfect that had been the least subject to the influence of the salt water, by which they were surrounded on every flood tide: such had been the incroachment of the sea on these shores, that the shorter stumps in some instances at low water mark, were even with, or below the surface of the sea ...

Mr. Whidbey considers (Chatham Straits) as likely to be one of the most profitable places for procuring the skins of the sea otter, on the whole coast; not only from the abundance observed in the possession of the natives, but from the immense number of those animals, seen about the shores in all directions. Here the sea

otters were in such plenty that it was easily in the power of the natives to procure as many as they chose to be at the trouble of taking. I was also given to understand by Mr. Brown of the Jackal, who followed us through these regions, that the sea otter skins which he procured there were of an extremely fine quality.

-- George Vancouver,  
1794.

### Trade Secrets

Major Russian, Spanish, British, French and U.S. exploration had made obvious contact with the Natives of Southeast Alaska, as Vancouver's narrative shows. However, that major exploration had contacted the outside coast only and had not entered the labyrinth of islands and channels that served the Tlingit and Haida as an organic fort. Europeans had known about Southeast Alaska since Bering's second expedition of 1741. However, whether it consisted of islands or mainland remained a nominal mystery until Vancouver's explorations in 1794. Private European traders had no doubt penetrated the archipelago, but their records were generally kept a trade secret or in unpublished letters and logs, if kept at all. Secretive exploration worked out anchorages and trade sites throughout the late eighteenth century. For example, on 17 April 1799 the trading (schooner) "Eliza" discovered an exceptional harbor at the south of Admiralty Island.

The passage was not more than 30 rods wide and almost in the middle was a sunken rock which made it dangerous on account of the currents setting violently upon it ... At length we got in and opened a fine harbour, completely landlocked, which, as our Indian navigator informed us, had no name, we called Eliza's Harbour, in compliment to our ship.

--Captain Rowan,  
1799.

As fame of the sea otter trade spread, dozens of European vessels swarmed into Southeast Alaska each year. The bargains were not always amicable. The Kaagwaantaan incorporated one such encounter into their ceremonies that continues the memory to this day.

Everytime the Kaagwaantaan have a memorial dinner -- after all the ceremonial activities are over with -- then they put on the uniform -- yanuwaa, uniform, navy uniform -- and they cut up with it. And everytime we get up to speak, we all say, "The ship is landing now" and "We're going to tie up in port pretty soon." That's the way we speak. And then we would say, "All hands on deck," when we're going to start the ceremony or when the women are going to serve the food to our guests. Or, if we're going to break for a recess, then we would say, "We are going to have a shore leave for a brief moment -- everybody ashore."

The uniform was adopted by my family, the Kaagwaantaan, and they always refer to one another as the "yanuwaa." "Yanuwaa" means navy people. Anytime we have an occasion such as this, we refer to each other as yanuwaa -- as a "member of the crew." It creates humor. It's universal. We can be serious about it or we can have a good joke on it.

The sailing vessel crew went up the Chilkat and there they wronged a family. In order to get away from trouble, they left there right away. But a canoe pursued them down to James Bay. And the medicine man -- that *ixt'* -- that was with them used his power to bring them to an anchorage where they would deal with them. So, the sailing vessel moved into this harbor and that's what the leader of the family wanted. They (the sailors) dropped anchor and they all went aboard the boat to go ashore to get fresh water. And there they (the Kogwaantaan) were laying in wait for the crew to come ashore on the boat -- they ambushed them. After they all fell, one of the sailors jumped in the water and was swimming out to the sailing vessel. That's what one of their leaders was saying about:

dei yaa gaa huu

was pointing at the swimmer:

dei yaa gaa huu --

"The swimmer is reaching his destination. The destination is the ship, if he reaches that ship he's going to turn all the guns on you and fire and you will never reach home again." And the leader took one of the sharpshooters and told him: "Now, you're a sharpshooter; shoot him -- before he gets aboard the ship." And just as that swimmer reached for the side ladder, he shot him dead. So they stormed the ship and they took all the navy uniforms ... whether

it's English or whether it's Spanish or whether it's American .. I don't know ... but it was navy.

So, yanuwaa. We adopted the custom -- the navy uniform -- and from that time it's handed down from generation to generation to generation.

--Cy Peck, Sr.,<sup>2</sup>.  
1982.

The Russian American Company watched this encroachment on Southeast Alaska from their headquarters in Kodiak. To counteract mercantile subversion by their European competitors, they established forts in Yakutat in 1786 and in Old Sitka in 1799 and sent hunting parties into the Southeast Archipelago after otter.

The next morning as soon as it was light, observing the shore, to the extent of three hundred yards, completely covered with the hunting-boats, we sent our launch, armed with four swivels, to cruize in the Sound, to prevent them from being attacked by the Sitkans; and shortly after I went with some of my officers on shore, -- where the picture that presented itself to our view was new to us.

Of the numerous families of hunters, several had already fixed their tents; others were busy in erecting them. Some were hanging up their clothes to dry, some kindling a fire, some cooking victuals; some again, overcome with fatigue, had stretched themselves on the ground, expecting, amidst this clash of sounds and hum of men, to take a little repose; whilst at a distance boats were seen arriving every moment, and, by adding to the numbers, increasing the interest of the scene. On coming out of the barge, we were met by at least five hundred of these our new countrymen, among whom were many toyons ...

It was formed of the inhabitants of different places; for instance, Alasca, Cadiack, Kenay, or Cook's River, and the Choohaches, or people of Prince William's Sound. When it first set off from

- 
2. None of Mr. Peck's narrative may be quoted or cited in part or in whole. It is compiled and edited from a much longer oral history and use of this selection, in this form, has not yet been authorized by Mr. Peck. Also, the transcriptions of Tlingit words are only tentative approximations. Please contact Barry Roderick, Box 748, Douglas, Alaska with any questions.

Yacootat, or Behring's Bay, it consisted of four hundred bidaraks, and about nine hundred men; but there were now only three hundred and fifty bidarkas and eight hundred men, the rest of the men having been sent back to Yacootat from sickness, or having died on the voyage. The party is commanded at present by thirty-six toyons, who are subordinate to the Russians, in the service of the American Company, and receive from them their orders. They used to defend themselves with the same instruments which they employ in the hunt, such as spears and arrows; but muskets have lately been distributed amongst them by Mr. Baranoff.

Captain Urey Lisiansky,  
1804.

This hunting party, accompanied by three Russian ships, had entered Cross Sound and hunted Stephens Passage and Chatham Strait, capturing sixteen hundred sea otter. Diminishing returns soon forced the Russians to adopt less intensive hunting practices.

## II. RUSSIAN PRISON

### Realignments

The Sitka Tlingit razed Redoubt St. Michael in 1802. In 1804, the Russians laid siege to the Sitkas' fort until a Russian launch intercepted a Tlingit canoe containing a supply of powder and flints from the Kootznoowoo and learned of a report that Kootznoowoo allies were about to reinforce the Sitkas. The Russian parlay turned into cannonade. The Sitkas withdrew to a new fort on Chatham straits, opposite "the Kutsnuwu village" and began to consolidate their forces to drive the Russians out. This mutual enemy of the Russian American Company is reported to have begun Tlingit solidarity and heavier fortification of villages. However, division among the Tlingit allies led to a different tactic.

A few days after this unfortunate event, our old Charon came on board the Neva, not on the part of his former friends of Sitca, but from the people of Hoosnoff, who had sent him with assurances of their friendship towards us. He brought, as presents, two sea-otter skins, and received several articles of equal value in return, with a friendly declaration on our part, that we should be happy to live on terms of amity with all our neighbours, and with the good people of Hoosnoff especially. This venerable ambassador, on receiving so favourable an answer, immediately, like the wily snake, unfolded himself; and, in a speech of some length, requested, in behalf of those who had sent him, that they might be permitted to make war against and subjugate the Sitkans, who did not deserve to be considered as an independent people. They were indeed, he said, held in such contempt by his countrymen -- for he was himself a native of Hoosnoff, but had married a woman of Sitca -- that the very name was used by them as a term of reproach: and he gave as an instance of this, that if a Hoosnoff child committed a fault, he was

told, by way of reprimand, that he was as great a blockhead as a Sitcan.

--Captain Urey Lisiansky,  
1804.

The Tlingit allowed the Russians a fort at New Archangel but with only minimal trade contacts. It was generally felt that this was as far south as the Russians would successfully penetrate, but that such a permanent post at New Archangel would make Yankee and British trade in Southeast Alaska redundant. However, the Russians little reckoned with future deficiencies in their own supplies and the intensity of Yankee and British smuggling. The Russians became prisoners in their own jail -- the Tlingit allowed them out of New Archangel to trade but not to compete. They excluded the Russians from harvesting furs and restricted them into the role of overseas retailers. Tlingit trade in sea otter replaced gang hunts by Aleut serfs. However Tlingit hunters did adopt some of the imported techniques.

Sea otter were hunted in the open sea by fleets of canoes, each carrying two to four men, that surrounded the animal. This method is one that was evidently introduced by the Russians and their Aleut and Pacific Eskimo hunters. The sea otter was struck by many arrows. These arrows were said not to have been harpoon arrows, although the heads were detachable. They were declared to be the same kind of arrows as those used for hunting land animals. Surprising though this statement is, it is in part supported by our failure to find any small barbed harpoon heads, such as were used by the Yakutat, Pacific Eskimo, and Aleut for sea otter harpoon arrows. The arrowheads used at Angoon were said to have been marked, and all the hunters that struck the animal received a share (presumably of the sales price). No feathers were used on the arrow shaft; this was an Athabaskan device. The archeological evidence would suggest

that at Daxatkanada sea otter were taken with ordinary harpoons like those used for seals.

--F. de Laguna,  
1960.

In command of the international situation of Southeast Alaska, Tlingit transformation by European trade went slowly.

They roast their meat on sticks, after the Cadiack manner; or boil it in iron, tin, and copper kettles, which they purchase of the Russian settlers, or of chance traders. The rich have European stone-ware, such as dishes, plates, basons, &c.: the poor, wooden basons only, of their own manufacturing, and large spoons, made either of wood, or of the horns of the wild sheep ...

The men cover their body with square pieces of woollen cloth, or buck-skin: some dress themselves in a kind of short pantaloon, and a garment resembling a shirt, but not so large. Their war habit is a buck-skin, doubled and fastened round the neck, or a woollen cuaca, to the upper part of which, in front, iron plates are attached, to defend the breast from a musket-ball. Formerly a sort of coat of arms was worn, made of thin pieces of wood nicely wrought together with the sinews of sea animals, as represented in Plate I. Fig. a. The cuacas are not made by the natives, but are furnished by traders from the United States in exchange for sea-otter skins. In the cold season they occasionally wear fur dresses; though woollen cloth is mostly in use. The rich wrap themselves up sometimes in white blankets, manufactured in the country, from the wool of the wild sheep, which is as soft and fine as the Spanish merino. These blankets are embroidered with square figures, and fringed with black and yellow tassels. Some of them are so curiously worked on one side with the fur of the sea-otter, that they appear as if lined with it, and are very handsome.

--Captain Urey Lisiansky,  
1804.

Georg von Langsdorf spent much of his visit to Southeast Alaska in the company of a Yankee trader, D'Wolf of the trading vessel, "Juno" (250 tons). From his own observations and from D'Wolf, who had lately arrived in Sitka from trading

along Chatham "Street," von Langsdorf learned about the process of acculturation and tricks of the trade.

Their arms consist principally of bows and arrows; but since their trade with the American States, they have acquired so large a stock of guns, powder, and shot, that they scarcely use their arrows except in hunting sea-otters and sea-dogs. Captain Dwolf assured me that the best English guns may now be bought cheaper upon the north-west coast of America than in England: if the lock be the least injured, as there is no one who can repair it, the weapon becomes useless to them: it has therefore been found very advantageous, in the latter years, to send a gunsmith with every vessel that comes to trade here, and buy up the useless guns in one place, which are repaired and sold as new ones in another. The Kaluschians nevertheless understand the qualities of a good gun so well, that it is impossible to impose a bad one upon them: even the women are accustomed to the use of fire-arms, and often go out on the hunting parties ...

Another sort of shell, much prized by the Kaluschians, is the sea-tooth, "dentalium entalis," called here "tache" or "keikwa." On account of the great price given for these shells, the American seamen got a quantity of them imitated in porcelain in England, which were so well executed both as to form, size, and polish, that they had a perfectly natural appearance: the Kaluschians, however, were not to be imposed upon; they detected the fraud, treated the pretended shells with the utmost contempt, and the speculation proved entirely abortive. The women also wear several bracelets upon their wrists of a sort of thick steel wire. The children's clothes have a number of rattling ornaments hung about them, particularly the Chinese brass money, which, having a hole through the middle, are easily sewed on: thimbles with a hole bored through the end and sewed on, are also a very favourite species of ornament. At first the sailors of the United States thought that the women of the north-west coast of America must have been the most industrious upon the whole globe, since they wanted such an amazing quantity of thimbles, till, at length, they discovered the use made of them ...

The cloathing of these people is very simple, consisting of a covering round the waist, and an outer garment made of a piece of cloth, or skin, about five feet square, two ends of which are either tied round the neck, or fastened together with a button and button-hole. In latter years, since they have had so much intercourse with the people of the United States of America, they have obtained from them a sort of carter's frocks, made after the European fashion, of woollen cloth, so that it is no uncommon thing here to see Indians dressed like Europeans. Red and blue are the colours which they prize the most. These garments are, however, only worn in their visits to the town, or in severe cold; when

employed in their domestic concerns, in felling timber, in fishing, in making canoes, &c. &c., they commonly go quite naked.

--Georg von Langsdorf,  
1805-06.

He also mentioned that looking glasses were becoming an important trade item and that the carter's frock was occasionally decorated with ermine ornaments and eagle's tail. The Americans introduced rice and molasses, which had caught on as the "choice objects of gourmandise". As to the various customs that obviously revolted European sensibilities, such as the lip plug worn by some Tlingit women, von Langsdorf voiced a sweet tone of cultural parallelism.

To a very natural question which may probably be asked by my readers, what can be the reason for wearing such a hideous and inconvenient thing by way of ornament? I can give no answer. I can only enumerate many customs and habits among the most highly civilized nations, which perhaps, upon a comparison, are scarcely less laughable, scarcely to be any better accounted for, and ask why the Chinese women of distinction consider it a beauty to render their feet useless? -- Why the married women of Japan blacken their teeth? -- Why, when we would appear in great state, we rub the finest flour into our hair? -- Why a more cleanly practice has never been devised than to carry the blowings of our noses about with us in our pockets? ...

--Georg von Langsdorf,  
1805-06.

### Impacts

The key to such a limited trade role lay with a goodly fleet of vessels. The Russians assembled a fleet for trade within their "colonies" that by 1821 consisted of:

three brigs (two 200 tons, one 250 tons)  
three sloops (two 30 tons, one 60 tons)  
two schooners (120 tons, 60 tons)  
two brigantines (306 tons, 120 tons)

The Russians never established a trading post on Admiralty Island, which they called Ostrov Kutsnoi -- Fear Island. It was to both European and Tlingit advantage to maintain a wary commercial distance between Tlingit and Russian villages -- meeting for trade through their vessels. Around this time, Stikine Tlingit raided and destroyed a Taku village at Mole Harbor and logging is indicated on Chaik Bay and a burn site on Kanalku Bay. However, in 1836 smallpox began to spread throughout Southeast Alaska. A vigorous fur trade helped this disease overwhelm Tlingit villages for the next three years.

The disease came northward from the Columbia, and was carried from village to village by Kolosh traders. At one time, at Khutznu village, they found the place deserted, and dozens of corpses lying around, rotting away. They threw some earth over the bodies, and were on the point of leaving again, when an old man appeared and said that all the people who had escaped the disease had moved into a temporary camp in the woods, and that they were afraid to come to the village, but would willingly be vaccinated. When my father and a surgeon's apprentice who was doing the vaccinating had followed the old man a short distance into the woods, they found themselves surrounded by a crowd of men, including one of the most powerful shamans. The shaman was exhorting the people to save themselves and their families from certain death by killing the vaccinators and burning their bodies, and a large fire for that purpose had already been started. The surgeon's apprentice gave himself up for lost, knelt down, and began to pray and make the sign of the cross, believing himself about to die. My father, however, began to talk to the men, showed them the marks of vaccination on his own arm and on that of his companion, and called upon some of the Khutznu men, who had been to Novo Arkhangelsk, to say whether they had seen any of the Russians or creoles die of the disease.

--Unknown Source.

Decline of shamanic tradition with the reinforcement of vaccination and christianity began at this time, along with the consolidation of the Admiralty

Island villages; as elsewhere in Southeast Alaska. Smallpox exterminated some villages entirely, as some maintain for the village on Kenasnow (Killisnoo) Island, where no survivors remained even to bury the dead. Those who survived wandered until they began to assemble in newer or, at least, reconstituted villages. At this time Angoon began to grow.

The Europeans began to carry out several very general census' of the Tlingit in this era. Since Admiralty Island held Auke, Taku, Kake and Kootznoowoo Tlingit, lumped categories are given below.

	<u>KOOTZNOOWOO</u>	<u>AUKE</u>	<u>TAKU</u>	<u>KAKE</u>	
1835	300	100	150	200	Veniaminof
1839	729	203	493	393	Douglas
1861	600	---	712	445	Wehrman

It would appear that the census takers, who were often also traders, noted down more the population of where they traded than an overall view. In this light, the discrepancy of population growth during a smallpox epidemic wherein half the Tlingit people are reported to have perished is explained by the consolidation of the disease-dispersed Tlingit in new or reconstituted villages like Angoon. Wehrman obviously combined the Taku and Auke as one. His reference to the Kootznoowoo cited their village in Hood Bay, which -- when combined with other reports in the 19th century -- indicated that the people of Angoon and Killisnoo were considered as one with those of Hood Bay by the Whites. In 1839, Veniaminof tallied the Tlingit population at 5,000

individuals and 21 years later the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox church listed 447 Tlingit Christians.

### Itinerant Trade

The Hudson's Bay Company began to heavily encroach into Southeast Alaska in the 1830's. This encroachment was nothing new and Russian vessels patrolled the channels to suppress the competition. However, two new things did arrive in 1836. Firstly, the Hudson's Bay Company brought their sidewheel steamer, the "Beaver" into the Pacific Northwest -- the first steamship in the Pacific Ocean. It was 101 feet long with a 20 foot beam and 11 foot depth of hold. It had been built in 1835 and was powered by sail and two 35-horsepower steam engines which each ran a 13 foot paddlewheel amidships. Sailing in Southeast Alaska with its variable winds and treacherous channels had been a dangerous and time consuming operation for the Europeans. The advent of steam allowed a new mobility, which the Hudson Bay Company took advantage of with their "itinerent visits" to Southeast. Secondly, the Russian-British confrontation at the mouth of the Stikine River in 1833 led to the establishment of Fort Durham on Taku Harbor in 1840, which opened up a more direct trade for nearby Admiralty Island residents but cut into their slave trade.

The Fort, though it was only a year old, was yet very complete with good houses, lofty pickets, and strong bastions. The establishment was maintained chiefly on the flesh of the chevreuil, which is very fat, and has an excellent flavour. Some of these deer weigh as much as a hundred and fifty pounds each; and they are so numerous, that Taco has this year sent to market twelve hundred of their skins, being the handsome average of a deer a week for every inmate of the place. But extravagance in the eating of venison is here a very lucrative business, for the hide, after paying freight and charges, yields in London a profit on the prime cost of the whole animal.

Seven tribes, three of them living on islands, and four on the mainland, visit Taco. They muster about four thousand souls; and they are subdivisions of the Thlinkitts, speaking dialects of the language of that nation. These Indians were delighted to have us settled among them; and on this ground they viewed with much jealousy the visits of more distant savages, to whom they were desirous of acting as middlemen. As our interest and feeling in the matter were altogether different, this jealousy of theirs had sometimes occasioned misunderstandings between them and our people. On one occasion, Dr. Kennedy's assistant, having chased out of the fort a savage who had struck him, was immediately made prisoner; while the Doctor himself, who ran to his aid, shared a similar fate. Several shots were fired from the bastions, though without doing, and probably without intending to do, any mischief. And this was fortunate: for though Taco, with a running stream within its walls, was less at the mercy of the natives than Stikine, yet its people, in the event of any loss of life on the part of the savages, might have suffered severely from the workings of treacherous revenge. At length, the affair was amicably settled by ransoming the two captives with four blankets. Still, notwithstanding these little outbreaks, Kakeskie, chief of the home guards, had been a good friend to the trade; and accordingly, though he was absent, yet I ordered that a present should be made to him, in my name, on his return ...

After being detained at Taco from Wednesday afternoon to Saturday morning, by an uninterrupted storm of high wind and heavy rain, we started at daybreak, with about fifteen miles more of Stephen's Passage before us. Having accomplished this distance, we crossed the entrance of the Gulf of Taco, so called from its receiving the river of the same name. This stream, according to Mr. Douglas, who had ascended it for about thirty-five miles, pursued a serpentine course between stupendous mountains, which, with the exception of a few points of alluvial soil, rose abruptly from the water's edge with an uninviting surface of snow and ice. In spite of the rapidity of the current, the savages of the coast proceed about a hundred miles in canoes; and thence they trudge away on foot the same distance to an inland mart, where they drive a profitable business, as middlemen, with the neighbouring tribes. Besides facilitating this traffic, one of the best guarantees of peace, the establishment of our fort had done much to extinguish a branch of commerce of a very different tendency. Though some of the skins previously found their way from this neighbourhood to Sitka and Stikine, yet most of them used to be devoted to the purchasing of slaves from the Indians of Kygarnie and Hood's Bay.

--Sir George Simpson,  
1841.

Fort Durham went out of business in 1843, the Hudson's Bay Company having found it much more profitable to operate from their vessels -- a lower, more

mobile overhead. The Russian American Company, in its turn, watched the decline of the fur that originally brought them to Southeast Alaska and that had been so profuse in Chatham Straits -- the sea otter. The records of sea otter bought from the Natives in Sitka show:

1842-----131	1849-----164	1855----- 3
1843-----198	1850-----260	1856----- 0
1844----- 81	1851-----111	1857----- 0
1845-----144	1852----- 46	1858----- 0
1846-----142	1853----- 1	1859----- 0
1847-----158	1854----- 1	1860----- 0
1848----- 95		

This represented a major decline from 1804, when a catch of 1600 sea otter in one hunt justified the removal of the Company Headquarters to Southeast Alaska.

Besides other advantages, it is in the neighbourhood of the best places for hunting the sea-otter, of which eight thousand might be procured annually, if the ships of the United States did not interfere with the trade: at present, the yearly amount does not exceed three thousand. The woods will also yield a handsome revenue, when the Russian commerce with China shall be established.

--Captain Urey Lisiansky,  
1804.

In pursuit of the maritime trade, the Hudson Bay Company dispatched another sidewheel steamer to the Pacific Northwest in 1859. The "Labouchere" was 202 feet long with a 28 foot beam and a 15 foot depth of hold. A 180-horsepower oscillating engine drove its 680 tons, which traded throughout Southeast Alaska and British Columbia, but not without hazard:

At Hoonah, Saturday, August 2, 1862. Crew employed tending the gangways and trading. Indians very troublesome and numerous. From appearances expected a disturbance. At 10:30 Indians refused to trade sea-otter skins under a very exorbitant figure. At 11:00 A.M. lit fires and prepared to start. At 1:00 P.M. the chief of the lower village came on board, and all Indian women left the ship. After much discussion and anger, from the Sitka Indians especially, they refused to trade and forced the gangway, Captain Swanson and Mr. Compton each being seized by about thirty Indians armed with knives, guns and clubs, and were instantly disarmed, about three hundred savages rushing on deck. By order of the captain, the chief officer placed the men under arms with rifles, revolvers and swords, and succeeded in keeping the Indians aft at the point of the bayonet, but dared not fire as it would be the signal for the instant death of the captain and trader. Ordered the crew forward and trained two cannon aft loaded with grape and cannister, which enabled us, after much discussion and with great forbearance on the part of the crew, to effect a parley, and both sides agreed to discharge arms in the air, our men on the bridge and the Indians on the quarter deck. On the Indians giving two sea-otter skins and the chiefs expressing their contrition, many of them departed, taking the revolvers of the captain and Mr. Compton and retaining possession of them. To please the natives the captain and Mr. Compton entered the chiefs' canoe and paddled around the harbor amidst singing, etc. At 10:00 P.M. succeeded in getting rid of all of the Indians without violence by allowing the interpreter to go ashore with them for two or three hours.

--Log of the "Labouchere",  
1862.

That the trade of sea otter skins was carried on by such vessels as the "Labouchere" well into the 1860's indicates that the Russian American Company's trade was diminished as much by "illegal" competition as by diminishing resources. The Tlingit themselves carried on a vigorous trade over the Chilkoot, up the Taku and to the south.

The canoes are made of huge trees hollowed out, and the war-canoes are sometimes so large as to seat eighty persons with ease. These last are painted with hideous devices in red, black, and yellow, and the sight of one filled with painted natives is enough to give a nervous person the nightmare for a month. The Koloschians are daring navigators, and frequently make voyages of over five hundred miles in these open canoes.

To give an idea of their dauntless courage and intense desire for revenge, it may be interesting at this point to mention an incident

concerning the tribe known as the Kakes or Kekons -- a tribe which has frequently given the whites much trouble...

In 1855 a party of Kakes, on a visit south to Puget Sound, became involved in some trouble there, which caused a United States vessel to open fire on them, and during the affair one of the Kake chiefs was killed. This took place over eight hundred miles from the Kake settlements on Kuprianoff Island. The very next year the tribe sent a canoe-load of fighting men all the way from Clarence Straits in Russian American, to Whidby's Island, in Washington Territory, and attacked and beheaded an ex-collector -- not of internal revenue, for that might have been pardonable -- but of customs, and returned safely with his skull and scalp to their villages. Such people are, therefore, not to be despised, and are quite capable of giving much trouble in the future unless wisely and firmly governed.

--Richard Meade,  
1871.

It has been said that the Russians wanted to sell Alaska because the sailing conditions were so bad here (John Ingalls). Some truth probably lies in that joke by a latter day sailor. Numerous shipwrecks, dot the waters around Admiralty Island. Russian Reef by Whitewater Bay is named for the Russian steamer that found it -- the "Nikolai I". It is thought that the Angoon pictograph of a ship might commemorate this event.

The clearest and apparently most recent painting is that of a three-masted ship, with jib, 3 yards on each mast, and a high stern. Some of the rigging is shown, but not the sails. There may be a flagstaff at the stern, and several vertical lines suggest men standing on the deck. The hull is outlined, not rendered in solid silhouette. The lines are clumsily drawn as if with the fingers or the frayed end of a stick. This picture may commemorate a shipwreck which occurred many years ago somewhere south of Angoon, from which the natives obtained valuable articles. The widow of John Shuwika (cuwika), chief of the Wucitan "Fort House" at Angoon, tried to tell Garfield about the wreck, and her daughter also mentioned it to us, but although it was evidently an important historical event, unfortunately neither of these ladies had sufficient command of English to tell the story, and no interpreters were available. A Russian steamer was lost off Whitewater Bay, and the American schooner Langley somewhere in Chatham Strait (Morris, 1879, p. 56), and there were doubtless other wrecks of which I have been unable to find any record. The picture may refer to one of these, or may possibly commemorate the first encounter with Europeans. Our

informant, for example, was evidently familiar with the story of the meeting with La Perouse in Lituya Bay in 1786.

--F. de Laguna,  
1960.

The "Nikolai I" had been one of the first steamships built in the Pacific Ocean -- constructed around 1840 in Sitka and powered by a 60-horsepower engine, purchased from Boston, for patrol and trade with the inland waterways of Russian America. Steam power or not, the Russians cut their losses and ran by selling their colony to the United States in 1867.

### III. COAL AND CONFLICT: YANKEE COMMERCE

#### Coal

At the time of the U.S. purchase of Alaska from the Russians in 1867, only three Tlingit villages were reported on Admiralty Island -- Neltushkan on Whitewater Bay, Aynskultu on Young Bay, and Kootznóowoo on Kootznoowoo Inlet. The chief concern of the U.S. administrators in Alaska was how to make the new district a paying proposition -- to justify the 2¢ per acre paid. Admiralty Island was seen as a developmental prospect for its coal deposits and prospective gold formations. The mining engineer P.P. Doroshin had examined the coal prospects on Kootznoowoo Inlet in the 1850's and considered them a valid formation for diamonds and possible use in steamships. Later prospectors reported seeing cuts and tunnels in the Kootznoowoo deposits that indicate the Russians had tested the coal but not used it extensively, resorting to higher grade coal beds on the Kenai Peninsula (Coal Harbor). Vessels from the south took on coal from the Washington Territory (Bellingham) or Vancouver Island (Nanaimo) at a cost of \$6 gold per ton. However, the United States occupation of Southeast Alaska encouraged the development of a local supply of coal for use by their resident and itinerent steamships. In 1868, Captain J.W. White made a cruise with the U.S. Revenue Steamer "Wayanda" through Alaska. He followed up Native reports of coal on Kuiu and Admiralty Islands, sending samples to his superiors -- with apologies for the poor condition due to salt water contamination of the surface samples. On the "Wayanda's" return south they visited the Kootznoowoo Inlet coal deposits.

The coal occurs in veins of varying thickness, running generally from northeast to southwest, with a dip to the southeast. The adjacent shales and clay rock were full of fossils. The principal

vein thus far discovered is about 22 inches thick, increasing as it passes down and in. The quality of the coal is good, producing extreme heat, but consumes rapidly. Specimens of coal and fossils I forward by steamer. The United States steamer Saganaw has employed the Indians in getting out coal here.

--Captain J.W. White,  
1868.

At the northeast end of Admiralty Island, White reported quartz veins similar to others on the mainland between Berner's Bay and Taku Harbor -- a report that predisposed the gold rush to this area by twenty years. Contrary to Auke reports of minerals, White found no coal, as indicated, towards the south end of Admiralty Island. However, in passing further south and west to Point Gardiner, the "Wayanda" discovered the sought for coal at Surprise Harbor.

Passing southward through Stephens's passage, stood into Holcom bay, to visit the Sumdum village: but finding all the people absent, hunting and fishing, proceeded on through Prince Frederick's sound and along the southeastern shore of Admiralty island, making anchorage in the evening of the 18th in a small bay near Point Gardner, at south end of Admiralty island; this is the only anchorage laid down on the charts in this vicinity, and being situated at the junction of Prince Frederick sound with Chatham straits, has been for years frequently used by the traders. It is, however, exposed to southerly winds, with a very uneven and rocky bottom. Just east of this anchorage we found an excellent harbor, (called by the Indians Quts-ka-heen;) though small, it is easy of access, with anchorage in 12 fathoms, good holding ground, and protected from all winds. The entrance to this harbor bears north-northwest by compass from Yaska island, distant two and one-half miles.

Having discovered traces of coal near the mouth of a small stream which empties into the head of this bay, I remained here three days, to follow up and examine the same. Found small fragments of coal of varying quality lodged along the bed of the stream for about five miles from its mouth, but none in its natural position, though the formation seemed most favorable. Along a smaller stream making into this one from the westward, fragments of coal also occur; we followed these up about two miles further, and to an elevation of 500 feet, where a small vein of coal in soft clay, without fossils,

cropped out of the left bank. About 100 feet higher up the stream there was another larger vein, in similar formation; both of these, however, were of poor quality and but a few inches in thickness; they ran from southwest to northeast, with dip to southeast 60°. That good coal exists in this neighborhood is evident from specimens found, (out of position,) some of which are very fine. The timber here is especially fine, and the facilities for obtaining it are very good.

On the 22d visited Squill-toos-kin village, west side of Admiralty island; was kindly received by the chief, who with his people expressed much friendship to and regard for the "new government;" all the natives I visited during my cruise seemed desirous to express their friendly feeling toward and recognition of our government. It has been my practice to remunerate them for all service and valuable information, and I deem it important that this should be done in future. From here I proceeded through Peril straits to St. John's bay, where I arrived on the evening of the 23d, and thence to Sitka on the morning of the 25th.

--Captain J.W. White,  
1868.

Perhaps encouraged by these discoveries, White recommended a steam revenue cutter and a steam launch, which could use both soft coal and wood, for patrol of Southeast Alaska. He felt this would contribute to the local economy -- the local Natives could cut coal and wood at a reasonable price at points along the steaming ground, which would give them employment and secure their confidence. This system of mobile, marine patrols he felt very superior to a confined chain of military posts, drawing on his experience in settling a dispute between a trader and the Taku Tlingit -- a dispute of transition from the Russian-British system to the Yankee.

On the 17th proceeded down Stephens's passage with the intention of visiting the Indian village near the head of Tako inlet, for the purpose of discovering if possible the truth in regard to charges of misconduct made against these Indians by a trader who had visited them this season. Arriving at the mouth of the inlet and finding quantities of heavy ice drifting down from glaciers near its head, obstructing and endangering its navigation, I continued on to Tako harbor, about 10 miles south. While here I was visited by one of the chiefs of the Tako tribe; learned from him that the misunderstanding between his people and the trader arose from the

latter's refusing to pay the price for their furs they had been accustomed to receive from the Hudson Bay Company. The Indians forcibly removed from the vessel a portion of the cargo, but subsequently, through the influence of the chief, returned it all in good order. I advised the chief in regard to the prompt action of the government in all such cases, assuring him that any future misconduct on the part of either Indians or traders would meet proper punishment. Receiving from him promises of future good conduct, I deemed it unnecessary to pursue the case further, it appearing to me that both parties were somewhat to blame.

--Captain J.W. White,  
1868.

Indeed, the next year, the U.S. Navy steamer "Saginaw" was forced to resort to the Kootznoowoo Inlet coal field.

In the summer of 1868, the commander of the United States steamer Saginaw, cruising on the coast of Alaska, learned from the Indians of the existence of coal of a superior quality at Kootznahoo, on Admiralty Island. He visited the place, verified the reports of the existence of a coal resembling cannel, and brought away a considerable quantity. No survey was made, however, and, in the mean time, the vessel was ordered back to San Francisco, and the officers and crew changed. In the winter of the same year the Saginaw was again ordered to Alaska, and, upon her arrival at Sitka, found her stock of fuel reduced to twenty-six tons, while the Government supply usually kept at Sitka was utterly exhausted. To cruise in these waters in a paddle-wheel steamer without coal was impossible, and the Jews of Sitka, taking advantage of the necessities of the Government, raised the price of their coal to thirty dollars per ton, when the commander of the vessel very promptly refused to purchase. A trip to Kootznahoo was determined upon, though there was no one on board who had any knowledge of the route, and it was considered at any time a hazardous experiment, as the channel to the mine was represented to be full of sunken rocks and rapids; while, should the Saginaw run short of fuel while there, and get none to replace what she burned in getting there, she would be in rather an unpleasant predicament.

Nevertheless, a large scow to contain coal was borrowed from the quartermaster of the post, and the Saginaw left Sitka, January 13, 1869, and, after a short run of sixty miles, anchored behind a small island, known to the Indians as Kenasnow, and within two miles of the Indian village of Kootznahoo.

A few days were necessarily spent in holding a "pow-wow" with the Indians, procuring a guide, and exploring the channel leading to the coal-mines by means of the boats. The only chart in the vessel represented what is now called Kootznahoo Archipelago by a sprawling

figure -- a mere outline without even a name. The annexed map shows the character of the work subsequently done by the officers of the vessel, and, though not strictly accurate, is a good preliminary to any future survey.

The 17th of January was the day selected to make the trip to the mine. Slack water was chosen, and the voyage successfully accomplished through an exceedingly dangerous channel. At dusk, which in January in this latitude ( $57^{\circ} 29' N.$ ) occurs about three P.M., the vessel was safely anchored in a beautiful bay in the interior of the island, which, in memory of the first American officer who visited this strange region, received the name of Mitchell's Bay. An idea may be formed of the wonderful mildness of the climate, by stating that the Fahrenheit thermometer registered  $41^{\circ}$ .

The next day proved a busy one. The lighter was towed to the mine, all the boats sent off to explore the country, and a large gang of Indians hired to dig coal and cut wood. Very soon this wilderness seemed alive with bustle and activity, and the sharp rifle-crack of the sportsmen mingled with the sound of the axe and the dull thud of the pick. The surrounding country showed coal-croppings in almost every direction, though the veins seemed better in the vicinity of the lowland and on the margin of the bayous, which seemed to ramify in endless directions.

The weather being clear and mild, and the Indians working most amicably with the sailors from the vessel, so well was the labor rewarded that, in a few days, enough coal and wood was taken on board to enable the steamer to cruise for some weeks; while the actual cost of obtaining fuel proved so trifling, that the vessel was subsequently run, at a speed averaging seven knots, for the very insignificant cost of twelve dollars per day.

The Kootsnahoo coal is of a recent geological formation, and resembles somewhat the cannel. The surface-coal is filled with strata of pure resin, clear as amber; some of the blocks were beautiful specimens, and it is highly inflammable, burning with a clear flame in the light of a candle.

These coal-fields seem to lie in an extensive valley between two ranges of lofty mountains. This valley is a basin, as it were, filled with innumerable islands, and its extent seems to be about fifteen miles north-northwest and south-southeast, with an average width of about five miles. The islands are small, low, and, near their borders, somewhat marshy. The entire valley is doubtless a vast coal-field.

There are two routes from Sitka to the coal-region: one by the way of Peril Straits, a narrow arm of the sea, separating Baranof Island (upon which Sitka stands) from Tchitchagoff Island, a large island to the north; and the second out seaward, and to the southward round Cape Ommaney, and so through Chatham Straits, north again to the coal-region. This latter is preferable for large vessels, as Peril Straits are dangerous for any but steamers under fifteen feet

draught, owing to the rapidity of the currents, and the numberless rocks in the channel.

--Commander Richard Meade,  
1871.

The coal later proved to burn too quickly and too hot for the boilers of the time, due to a high resin content. Hope for its use for other purposes was expressed in Sitka by none other than the man who bought Alaska.

Mr. Davidson of the Coast Survey, invited me to go up to him at the station he had taken up the Chilcat river to make his observations of the eclipse, by writing me that he had discovered an iron mountain there. When I came there I found that, very properly, he had been studying the heavens so busily, that he had but cursorily examined the earth under his feet; that it was not a single iron mountain he had discovered, but a range of hills, the very dust of which adheres to the magnet, while the range itself, two thousand feet high, extends along the east bank of the river thirty miles. Limestone and marble crop out on the banks of the same river and in many other places. Coal-beds, accessible to navigation, are found at Kootznoo. It is said, however, that the concentrated resin which the mineral contains renders it too inflammable to be safely used by steamers. In any case, it would seem calculated to supply the fuel requisite for the manufacture of iron.

--William Henry Seward,  
1869.

These beds have yet (1982) to be used as cannel coal and the Klukwan iron remains in the ground. It has been remarked that the Tlingit use of the coal beds, as reported by a geographer/geologist who visited Russian America, was the best possible use of it.

The points at which I made an examination of the stratified rock formations were at Sitka and the adjoining islands, and at the mouth of the Stickeen river. At these places they consist of sandstones and shales regularly stratified, and passing in some places into hard slates which project along the shores in thin knife-like reefs. All these strata are uplifted at high angles, and they give the peculiar saw-like appearance to the crests of the ridges. Some of the outcrops are so sharp that they have been used by the savage

Koloshes as saws, over which their unfortunate captives were dragged back and forth until their heads were severed from their bodies.

--William P. Blake,  
1863.

### Conflicts

The camps and villages of Admiralty Island are the product of much clan and family interaction. It is difficult to date the incidents that led to the migrations that in turn led to the settlements without considerable research and extrapolation. At best, the connections are tentative. For example, the Teikweidi migration to Whitewater Bay appears to be connected to the Russian seige of Sitka in 1804, the Sitka Tlingit relocation to Chatham strait and subsequent Tlingit feuds. These inter-tribal feuds often led to protracted hostilities lasting decades. In this light, de Laguna conjectured the reconstruction of several Angoon oral histories concerning warfare between Sitka and Stikine clans in the mid-1800's that spilled over, seemingly, to involve the Wooshkeetaan of Angoon. Much further research needs to be done to anchor these events in the context of western history.

The Kake Indian War began in 1869 when a sentry shot and killed three Tlingit. The sentry acted under orders to allow no Tlingit to leave Sitka. General Davis had rescinded those orders, but the post commander, in a drunken stupor, neglected to pass the countermand along to the sentries, one of whom fired on a canoe of Tlingit from the wharf -- killing two Chilkat and a Kake. The Kake Tlingit's brother demanded restitution for this death, as Tlingit Law provided. The Army administration refused him satisfaction. Following Tlingit Law, the brother retaliated by executing two prospectors at what later

became known as "Murder Cove" on Admiralty Island. The Army then forayed out of the Sitka garrison aboard the U.S.S. "Saginaw" and destroyed three villages of the Kake Tlingit with cannon, torch and gattling gun. The Kake refugees dispersed to other villages ... Klawock ... Wrangell ... Angoon ... scattered to summer fishing camps ... or resorted to the charred ruins of their homes. Seventeen years later, in 1886, U.S. officials apprehended the brother who had executed the two prospectors and brought him to Sitka for examination. He was released. Forty four years later, in 1913, the dispersed Kakes finally regrouped and consolidated their three villages around the ruins of "Old Kake" in order to obtain a school for their children. During the land claim action between the Natives of Southeast Alaska and the U.S. Government (1935-1968) the Government tried to deny the Kake Tlingit their portion of the settlement by claiming they "abandoned" their three original villages.

Several hostages had been taken by Lt. Commander Mitchell aboard the "Saginaw," one of whom was the Kootznoowoo chief, Kitchnath ("Saginaw Jake"). Some of the Kake refugees settled on their tribal lands on southern Admiralty and merged into the identity of that island.

Tlingit acculturation paralleled their entrance into the U.S. mercantile system. Some logging was done at Windfall Harbor in 1868, but whether by Natives or Whites is uncertain. The blanket gradually gave way to European clothing and other monetary standards, it being valued at about three dollars.

These Indians are somewhat thrifty, and show some sense of property, and contact with the traders has rendered them exceedingly sharp and cunning in a bargain. They are tolerably honest, and will readily work for wages. Their proud nature, however, disdains corporal punishment even for their children, and a blow is a mortal insult, only to be washed out in the blood of the offender. Their cardinal maxims are as old as the days of Moses, "An eye for an eye, a tooth

for a tooth," and they will compass sea and land to retaliate for a supposed injury...

For generations these Indians have been warriors, and their character has not changed. Every male has his sporting-gun and his war-rifle; in some cases this last is of the latest and most improved pattern, and they will give the traders any price for such weapons as the Henry and Spencer arms. Every Indian carries the long knife -- quarrels are common, and the duel a recognized institution."

--Richard Meade,  
1871.

However, the basis of the Tlingit economy in Chatham Straits (sea otter), Commander Meade noted in 1869, had disappeared. As the sea otter stocks dwindled, competition for the resource began to break down traditional oral laws as surely as the use of Euro-American artifacts. This erosion of tradition grew with the mercantile Yankee presence. The first cod vessel in Alaskan waters arrived in 1866, the schooner "Porpose" of San Francisco. Its successful season only slightly inspired other attempts to enter the cod fishery. Those few who did still had to play by the Tlingit rules:

In the channels of the Alexander Archipelago the fishing for cod has until lately been confined altogether to the natives of the Thlinket tribes, who opposed all attempts of white men to compete with them in this particular industry. The few small sloops engaged in the business in this region depend altogether upon the inclination of these natives to exert themselves in obtaining their cargoes. These fishermen use their own appliances, fishing with bark lines and wooden iron-pointed hooks, and two men in a canoe feel satisfied with a catch of 30 or 40 fish, which they sell at a comparatively high rate to the captains of the sloops; and thus it happens that these crafts are frequently detained for many weeks awaiting a cargo that could easily have been secured within five or six days by white men.

--Ivan Petroff,  
1880.

#### IV. ONTO THE BACK BURNER

##### Bush Business Beginnings

Scientific collectors began touring Southeast Alaska in addition to the traders. Federal collectors visited Angoon (Kootznoowoo) while searching for artifacts in the Pacific Northwest for the U.S. Centennial Exposition.

On the morning of the 23d we left Sitka, and proceeded north of Baranhoff Island, and anchored at Lindenburg Harbor, near Chatham Strait, where we remained all night. The following morning we reached Koutznoo point and village, on the northeast side of Chatham Strait, east from Lindenburg Harbor. We found the village regularly laid out in streets, lanes, and alleys. The houses were surrounded with garden patches planted in rows, well heaped up to admit of drainage. Each garden was fenced in, and each had narrow strips of bark stretched across from fence to fence over each bed to keep off the crows, which are exceedingly numerous and great pests. These wary birds, however, are always on the alert for a trap or a snare, and the strips of bark make them think the fowler has spread his net for them, and they keep away. This delusion is kept up by the Indians, who hang up the carcasses of several dead crows in each garden patch, tying their legs to the bark lines as if they had been caught in that position. It is a simple and very effectual contrivance. The Indians raise most excellent potatoes at this place.

Although most of the tribe were absent on a hunt, there were quite a number present, who beset me with entreaties for a missionary and a teacher, and I promised them, as I had done the others, that I would present their case to the Indian Bureau.

I procured several articles of these Indians, most of them of an ancient date. At 12 m. we left Koutznoo and ran down Chatham Straits for Kake village, on the north side of Kou or Koo Island.

--James Swan,  
1875.

When trading vessels became sporadic or insufficient, northern Tlingit villagers went to the centers of Sitka and Wrangell with their goods --

especially in the winter months. This became as much a social as a commercial voyage and created turmoil for the District's administrators.

[Extract from dispatch of January 22, 1880.]

The most sacred duty is retaliation; the word in their language which expresses it is "to get even." Their code would necessarily involve them in endless feuds, were it not that all injuries have their prices, and can be paid for.

After due consultation at a pow-wow between the leaders of the two families, a certain price is fixed, which is paid either in slaves, furs, or blankets, according to its amount. I have been called upon several times to investigate and act as arbiter, and have permitted this atonement, which satisfied all parties, in preference to inflicting punishments, which would make all parties dissatisfied.

The difficulties between the Indians and whites are greatly due to this custom, and I became fully satisfied very soon after my arrival at Sitka that the two principal causes of difficulty between the whites and the Indians originate in the former.

The whites turn peaceable Indians into crazy devils by furnishing rum to them, and friendly Indians into enemies by assaults upon them, for which the Indians cannot obtain redress.

Thus, even from the Indian stand-point, the one thing necessary to preserve peace in Southeastern Alaska is a government with strength enough to restrain and fully punish disorderly persons, either white or red, and thus furnish to each an equally needed protection.

--Captain L.A. Beardslee,  
1880.

No doubt with both wholehearted government approval and the commercial interest to corner trade closer to the source, two entrepreneurs -- Carl Spuhn and John Vanderbilt -- organized the Northwest Trading Company with a group of Portland capitalists. The Company set up trading posts in 1878 at Hoonah, the Chilkat Inlet, and Killisnoo (Kenasnow) Island off Angoon, the reported site

of a Hudson Bay Company "station" (probably an itinerent steam-trader stop). Recognizing the valuable herring stocks around central Chatham Straits and Kootznoowoo Inlet, the Killisnoo post began a plant for rendering oil from herring in 1879 and set up a shore whaling station in 1880 -- the first major fish processor in the North Pacific. Smallpox had reportedly killed off the last villagers on this island in the 1836-39 epidemic. Just as smallpox had begun concentration of the Kootznoowoo and other Tlingit into the major villages, the trading post and oilery at Killisnoo continued that concentration in the search for work and trade. Two logging sites appeared at this time on Admiralty -- at Neltushkin in 1878 and at Pack Creek in 1880. Again, it is not known whether these are Native cuts or tied in with White enterprises like the Northwest Trading Company.

### Hootch

In 1873, the Secretary of War officially declared Alaska "Indian Territory" -- prohibiting the sale of fixed ammunition and breachloading rifles to Indians as a deterrent to Native hostilities. However, Whites still had access to these weapons and traders on both sides of the Alaska/Canada border saw to it that their customers -- both Native and White -- got whatever arms and ammunition they wanted. Likewise, liquor sale to Natives was "illegal".

Again, on the plea that the Indians distilled whisky or rum from molasses, the commander of the military at Sitka issued orders that no person should be permitted to purchase more than one pint of molasses at a time. But the Indians can get all the molasses they want at Fort Simpson, and of traders at various points, and, to illustrate the absurdity of this order, I can state as a fact that a schooner was cleared at Sitka for a trading voyage among the Indians at Takow, Chilkaht, and other large villages, with 18 barrels of

molasses on board, and this only a short time previous to our arrival.

The Indians learned the art of distillation from a discharged soldier, who commenced at a place called Koutznou, or Hootznou, and smuggled his poisonous compound into Sitka, where he sold it to the soldiers and natives under the name of Hootznou.

In a conversation with Major Campbell, commandant at Sitka, he was of the opinion that the Indians used only molasses, but I ascertained that they distill spirituous liquor from a ferment composed of flour and sugar. Lieutenant McComb, at Fort Wrangell, told me that he had seized a mash ready to be distilled, which was composed of wheat. Another officer informed me of a mash composed of potatoes, and Marchand states that in 1791 the Russians and Aleutes distilled liquor from the roots of a species of wild lily called by the Indians "white wild rice," from the rice-like granulations of its tuberous roots, and it is well known to all old traders that, from time immemorial, the natives of Alaska have produced intoxication by a beer made from spruce buds and other ingredients, which when old is as strong as brandy. This beer is called "quass." I was told by a reliable gentleman that he had seen and tasted of a very fair quality of liquor which an Indian woman had distilled from dried apples, and in the berry season they distill a liquor from the fermented juice.

--James Swan,  
1875.

W.H. Dall, the geographer who researched the geology of Alaska in 1885, reported that the first still in Southeast Alaska began production in cabins around the Sullivan coal mine in Kootznouwo Inlet. Since the U.S. military were among the first exploiters of this coal deposit, it is not unlikely that both Dall and Swan's reports on the origin of hootch are correct. John Muir visited Admiralty Island in 1879 and met with a hallmark of distillation.

We arrived at the upper village about half-past one o'clock. Here we saw Hootsenoo Indians in a very different light from that which illumined the lower village. While we were yet half a mile or more away, we heard sounds I had never before heard -- a storm of strange howls, yells, and screams rising from a base of gasping, bellowing grunts and groans. Had I been alone, I should have fled as from a pack of fiends, but our Indians quietly recognized this awful sound, if such stuff could be called sound, simply as the "whiskey howl" and pushed quietly on. As we approached the landing, the demoniac howling so greatly increased I tried to dissuade Mr. Young from

attempting to say a single word in the village, and as for preaching one might as well try to preach in Tophet. The whole village was afire with bad whiskey. This was the first time in my life that I learned the meaning of the phrase "a howling drunk." Even our Indians hesitated to venture ashore, notwithstanding whiskey storms were far from novel to them.

--John Muir,  
1879.

The liquor problem combined with the controversies of christianity, traditional Native factioning, and economic upheavals like the Northwest Trading Company intrusion into the various villages. The combination, in some cases, resulted in the traditional Tlingit removal of contending families to found new villages. Muir, in contrast to the above report of Killisnoo/Angoon, described in idyllic praise a "newly" founded village to the south of Killisnoo/Angoon. It could refer to Neltushkin or Village Point Village; however, Muir places it only ten miles south of Killisnoo and described it as an offshoot of Killisnoo. Other reports at this time refer to Kootznoowoo as inhabiting Hood Bay and refer to a Kootznoowoo village in association with Angoon/Killisnoo called "Scutsken." It could be that this was a new village that never quite got off the ground, moving back to Killisnoo after the upheavals of the 1870's and early 1880's, or that this does indeed refer to Neltushkin.

We arrived at the first of the Hootsenoo villages on Admiralty Island shortly after noon and were welcomed by everybody. Men, women, and children made haste to the beach to meet us, the children staring as if they had never before seen a Boston man. The chief, a remarkably good-looking and intelligent fellow, stepped forward, shook hands with us Boston fashion, and invited us to his house. Some of the curious children crowded in after us and stood around the fire staring like half-frightened wild animals. Two old women drove them out of the house, making hideous gestures, but taking good care not to hurt them. The merry throng poured through the round door, laughing and enjoying the harsh gestures and threats of the women as all a joke, indicating mild parental government in

general. Indeed, in all my travels I never saw a child, old or young, receive a blow or even a harsh word. When our cook began to prepare luncheon our host said through his interpreter that he was sorry we could not eat Indian food, as he was anxious to entertain us. We thanked him, of course, and expressed our sense of his kindness. His brother, in the mean time, brought a dozen turnips, which he peeled and sliced and served in a clean dish. These we ate raw as dessert, reminding me of turnip-field feasts when I was a boy in Scotland. Then a box was brought from some corner and opened. It seemed to be full of tallow or butter. A sharp stick was thrust into it, and a lump of something five or six inches long, three or four wide, and an inch thick was dug up, which proved to be a section of the back fat of a deer, preserved in fish oil and seasoned with boiled spruce and other spicy roots. After stripping off the lard-like oil, it was cut into small pieces and passed round. It seemed white and wholesome, but I was unable to taste it even for manner's sake. This disgust, however, was not noticed, as the rest of the company did full justice to the precious tallow and smacked their lips over it as a great delicacy. A lot of potatoes about the size of walnuts, boiled and peeled and added to a potful of salmon, made a savory stew that all seemed to relish. An old, cross-looking, wrinkled crone presided at the steaming chowder-pot, and as she peeled the potatoes with her fingers she, at short intervals, quickly thrust one of the best into the mouth of a little wild-eyed girl that crouched beside her, a spark of natural love which charmed her withered face and made all the big gloomy house shine. In honor of our visit, our host put on a genuine white shirt. His wife also dressed in her best and put a pair of dainty trousers on her two-year-old boy, who seemed to be the pet and favorite of the large family and indeed of the whole village. Toward evening messengers were sent through the village to call everybody to a meeting. Mr. Young delivered the usual missionary sermon and I also was called on to say something. Then the chief arose and made an eloquent reply, thanking us for our good words and for the hopes we had inspired of obtaining a teacher for their children. In particular, he said, he wanted to hear all we could tell him about God.

This village was an offshoot of a larger one, ten miles to the north, called Killisnoo. Under the prevailing patriarchal form of government each tribe is divided into comparatively few families; and because of quarrels, the chief of this branch moved his people to this little bay, where the beach offered a good landing for canoes. A stream which enters it yields abundance of salmon, while in the adjacent woods and mountains berries, deer, and wild goats abound.

"Here," he said, "we enjoy peace and plenty; all we lack is a church and a school, particularly a school for the children." His dwelling so much with benevolent aspect on the children of the tribe showed, I think, that he truly loved them and had a right intelligent insight concerning their welfare. We spent the night under his roof, the first we had ever spent with Indians, and I never felt

more at home. The loving kindness bestowed on the little ones made the house glow.

--John Muir,  
1879.

### Prospects

The U.S. Army had administered Alaska from 1867 to 1877. The U.S. Treasury Department took over from the Army in 1877 and ran a very limited form of government until 1879. In 1879 the U.S. Navy inherited the administration of Alaska and implemented a system of mobile, marine justice that they had advocated since the Purchase. This mobility uncovered a lot more problems than the previous two administrations. Situations that people in Southeast Alaska had handled themselves were now being settled with gunboats and Navy commanders. At this time, an influx of traders and prospectors increased the interaction between Natives and Whites, which led to a whole new host of problems -- when combined with vigilant constabulary. The Cassiar gold rush had created a base camp at Fort Wrangell that vied with Sitka as a commercial trouble spot in the 1870's and George Pilz's gold mine at Silver Bay near Sitka in 1879 attracted workers from all over the country. He paid good wages.

\$1 per day without board for Natives

\$40 per month with board for Russians

\$3 per day with board for Whites

However, the Sitka Tlingit who worked at the mine refused to allow other Tlingit to work the mine. So, Pilz offered a reward to the Tlingit of one hundred pair of Hudson Bay blankets for any good gold bearing stone brought to

him, as well as a chance to work for \$1 a day if a mine was located in their territory. Many rock samples came in throughout 1879 and the Silver Bay mine didn't prove up as profitably as expected, so Pilz sent his White miners to check out the samples the Tlingit had brought. In this way, Mike Gibbons and his partner went to Admiralty Island to check on prospects indicated by Kootznoowoo samples. Although they found some "fair ledges" at Funter Bay, the large gold find and ensuing rush along the Gastineau Channel pushed Admiralty Island onto a back burner.

To Peter Erussad belongs the honor of bringing the first sailing vessel (named the Flat Iron) laden with general merchandise, but principally Siwash sugar and black strap molasses. He had a rough and tempestuous trip of thirty five days from Sitka and was twice diverted by his Indian crew. There is a spice of romance attached to Peter's voyage. At Killisnoo an Indian princess became very much attached to him, and he got her father the aged chief to send a crew of his followers to assist the bold Peter to his destination. She accompanied him as pilot.

--The Alaska Mining Record  
27 December 1899, Juneau.

The center of action thus shifted from Sitka and Wrangell to Juneau. Killisnoo lay on the major route between Sitka and Juneau, although travel was not easy even for steam vessels.

We had not yet come across (from Auke Bay) before we met the little dory from the launch with Paymaster Ring and a sailor. They were trying to get to Auk Village to buy some fish or anything else to eat. I had only three days' rations for my gang, but Koweeh had given his boy a bundle of dried salmon. We found the launch lying on the beach around the east point of Shelter Island. Lt. McClellan was plumb scared and his crew were demoralized. They were trying to break away with the launch and not return to the "Jamestown." They had no wood nor coal, and they had been at this place for 12 days and were now out of all food. Their ax and saw they had spoiled intentionally so that they could do nothing with it.

I took charge of this whole party and with the aid of our one ax I got enough wood on board to start; but the launch would not steam

## VII. FISH AND STEAM IN THE GILDED AGE

### Fish Factory

The Northwest Trading Company struggled along with wary Native workers and a wary market for herring oil after the Shelling of Angoon. Their exorbitant investment of \$100,000 went for the importation of building materials from Outside, it being illegal to harvest timber on government land for commercial purposes at that time. They constructed a 90,000 gallon water reservoir, warehouses, shops, tryworks, as well as docks for the trading post and fish processing facilities. Around this industrial center on Kenasnow (Killisnoo) Island grew a Tlingit village of workers and the U.S. Post Office set up a station there in 1882.

The Northwest Trading Company hired the Kootznoowoo and other Native emigrees to seine herring, fetching the fish in scows towed behind steam tugs to the oilery. Seines replaced individual hand rakes. It took eleven fishers to catch an average of 500 barrels of herring in each haul of the net. Individual and family subsistence gave way to industrial organization. The oilery rendered oil from the herring, at the rate of three gallons of oil per barrel of herring, barrelling the oil and sacking the carcasses separately.

The capacity of the works per day of 24 hours is 1,100 gallons of oil and 30 tons of fertilizer, the product of 1,500 barrels of fish. 3 steam tugs of 70, 40, and 12 tons register, and 5 screws, each with an average capacity of 1,300 tons, are used in fishing. 2 fishing gangs of 12 men each are employed in fishing, purse seines being used. The fish are hoisted from the scows into the factory by steam. The are cooked by steam in 12 vats, each of 30 barrels capacity. After cooking 3 hours the pulp is pressed 30 minutes in 4 hydraulic presses at a pressure of 20 tons. From the presses the impure oil runs into 16 steam-heated settling vats, where all impurities settle to the bottom, and the pure oil floating on top is

run into barrels for shipment. The stearin is caught by strong cotton strainers placed over the settling vats, from which it is taken, pressed, and prepared for market. It is sold in Portland and San Francisco, and in 1891 20 tons were shipped to Liverpool. After the impure oil is removed by the presses the substance which remains in the presses, locally known as scraps, is shoveled into tram cars and conveyed to the drier, where it is stirred by machinery and subjected to a gentle heat until the moisture is expelled, when the fertilizer is sacked for shipment. The capacity of the drier, 8 tons per day, will soon be increased, as the demand for fertilizer is becoming stronger.

--Robert Porter,  
1890.

Industry used the oil, after refinement, as a substitute for linseed oil in paints, in the tanning of hides, and in soaps. The carcasses went to Hawaii, California and England for use as fertilizer (guano) -- considered "superior" for sugar cane. The herring arrived in April to spawn, Kootznoowoo Inlet being a favorite breeding ground. The amount of oil rendered from the herring depended on the time of year, since they do not eat during the spawning. One barrel of herring would yield:

1/2 gallon of oil -- June

3 1/2 gallon of oil -- September

2 gallons of oil -- December

So, the Killisnoo factory generally operated from June through October. The herring managers reportedly came to Killisnoo from the well developed menhaden fishery of the Atlantic Coast and shipped 82,000 gallons of oil in 1883 at 30¢ per gallon. Smooth sales that year inspired the Northwest Trading Company to experiment with a pack of cod liver oil for pharmacies, shipping five cases Outside; but no subsequent report indicates this as a marketing success.

The Northwest Trading Company cod fishery worked similar to its herring operation. Fishers caught cod from small boats supplied by the company and delivered the cod to scows, which were then towed to the Killisnoo factory by steam launches. At Killisnoo, laborers dressed the cod and artificially dried them in a special house. The tourist, Scidmore, reported that in 1885 one scow arrived from Point Gardner with "8,000 fine, large cod (average weight 3-5 pounds), and 1576 boxes of the dried fish were ready to be shipped south." This system of coddling interfered less with the traditional Native society than the herring fishery. The cod fishers received 2¢ per fish; compared to \$1.50 per day for fishers and \$1 per day for laborers in the herring fishery.

However, the Northwest Trading Company stood in earthquake country. Besides the few actual earth tremors reported at Killisnoo, the seismic contortions of the oil and guano market forced a precarious existence even upon the managers.

Killisnoo  
April 7/85

My dear Syke

No doubt you have received DeGroff's letter telling you that he has gone to Kygani to remain till May steamer, it is I fear the beginning of the end of the N.W.T. Co. & its employees. I have no doubt that the Co. is on the verge of failure as the last steamer brought news that the entire season's oil was held & the highest offer for it 12½¢ per gallon -- of course that settles matters -- the Co. may continue as it is but with everything cut down to the lowest notch to work off stock & see whether prices will revive. The outside stores will be called in & to that purpose DeGroff went to Kygani. I think we are good till the end of next month though of course nothing is certain. The Company refused to buy my little house & the way things are now what little I possess is practically valueless in Killisnoo -- well there is some consolation in knowing that I am not only one broke for Schulze is just as flat as I am and no doubt feels it a thousand times more than I because he has very expensive habits while I am happy to live for my family only. When

DeGross returns from Kygani he and I will stick together as long as we remain in the territory which may not be for long, in the meantime we are doing our best to work up something here but whether we will do so we will know by June. Outside of the N.W.T. Co. matters look brighter and I think that I should not let a favorable opportunity go by for the sake of my dear family & duty to you all. There may be a sudden improvement in the affairs of the territory and if it comes it would make every difference in the situation. It is this, for months past Senator Jones of Nevada & other capitalists have been erecting the largest quartz mill in the U.S. at Juneau, north of here, located on the biggest mine in the world for it is 460 feet wide & is an immense body of ore, this mill will be completed & started up on June 1 or shortly after & if it turns out what is expected by its owners it will create a great excitement -- the affair has been kept very quiet, meanwhile the Co. have acquired other properties, & have had civil law established to protect their interests. Consequently they virtually control the country & when the excitement is started mines will be developed in all directions and you will quickly understand how many chances there will be for a man here particularly when the population now amounts to only a few hundreds -- A gentleman (Mr. Murray) who is deeply interested in the above & other schemes has been staying with me for a week waiting for the steamer, he is now developing coal interests -- 25 miles below here. I have known him for four years & have had now a good opportunity to learn the true situation & he tells me that if changes are made in the officials here that he will work his influence to get me a good place which would place me in a position to become acquainted with the mining men & you can imagine the benefit it would be to me & my friends. I would quickly get on my feet again & would soon be in a position to help you all. Anyway I have no doubt but that I could work up something good if the expected mining excitement occurs -- the only thing that can make the country.

I hope dear Syke that you will fully understand my reasoning. If there was no chance of a boom here I would not hesitate about going east at once, but to run away in the face of chances would I believe be doing injustice to you all at home, particularly when I have no position awaiting me there, and probably be of care to you while waiting for something to do. It is bad indeed to be in the fix that I am in but I cannot help being so, it is what is liable to befall the best & richest at any time. Not for one moment do I lose courage and I am more determined than ever to win. The hardest part of my life is to be separated from those I love but when I feel that is it for their benefit then my loneliness is softened. I could not be in a worse fix than I am in and I have written to Brother Ed to please assist my dear family if they should require assistance & they may be the time that they receive this mail, until I am in a position again. He is better situated to help me and therefore I have appealed to him, though to be compelled to worries me more than I can tell. I never thought that I would have to appeal to anyone.

I am anxiously looking for the 'Idaho' daily & I hope & pray that I will receive only cheerful news.

Until Mr. Murray came I was fearfully lonely & blue for I had not a soul to talk to that I cared for, and I missed Lena & the children keenly every minute in the day. DeGroffs going away was an awful damper. Nothing but necessity would induce me to live here as I am. Lena's and all your letters of love & cheer help me wonderfully through the month, & without them I would feel lost.

I wish old fellow that I could have danced at your surprise party in February but hope I may at your next & that I will constitute the party to surprise you, but I would like it to happen in this way; I to secure a good Government position & before entering upon it arrange financially to go east to see you all -- once in that fix I have no doubt of my ability to make frequent trips. This would be better than to go broke.

Good night and God bless you, all my love to you, Mamie & all at home -- tomorrow I will write to dear Mother.

Affectionately your Bro.  
John

(John Vanderbilt, Manager, AHS  
North West Trading Co.,  
Killisnoo, 7 April 1885)

The oil market did pick up, but not before the factioned company split. The remaining organization regrouped as the Alaska Oil and Guano Company in 1887, run by the autocratic Karl "Baron" Spuhn at Killisnoo, with a variable output.

Year	Oil (gallons)	Guano* (tons)	Herring (barrels)	Herring ( $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels)	Salted Salmon (barrels)	Salmon Bellies ( $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels)
1882	30,000	None	No record			
1883	81,000	None	42,000			
1884	192,000	600	66,000			
1885	300,000	No record	85,000			
1886	368,000	No record	110,000			
1887	335,000	No record	111,000			
1888	100,000	No record	30,000			
1889	157,900	None	52,460			
1890	156,750	None	52,425			
1891	242,050	800	88,222			
1892	318,900	700	93,580			
1893	223,450	900	72,250			
1894	234,350	800	76,530	1,000		50 +
1895	101,650	500	32,550	500		
1896	90,650	550	27,750	250	25	150
1897	125,000	780	35,600	950	105	275

\* The amount of oil and guano made depends upon the demand; some years there was no market for guano.

+ salt codfish

--U.S. Fish Commission,  
1898.

Prosperity always seemed imminent. A shipload of guano bound to Liverpool from Killisnoo in 1891 became the first vessel filled with Alaskan produce to sail from Southeast Alaska for an overseas port since the United States' Purchase.

The price of oil has been as low as 14 cents per gallon, but the market has improved in the last few years, ranging from 25 cents to 32.5 cents per gallon. Until 1891 all shipments were made by the Pacific Coast Steamship Company's steamer, but in that year the oil company chartered the English bark Martha Fisher, 800 tons. The Fisher delivered at Liverpool for a charter price of \$15,000 700 tons of fertilizer, 800 barrels of oil, and 20 tons of stearin.

The business of salting herring was begun by the company in 1888, and 100 barrels were put up; the next year 300 barrels were packed,

and in 1890 the demand for this excellent article exceeded the pack of 500 barrels, so that this branch of the business will be increased. Salt herring is marketed in Portland at \$8 per barrel. About 35 white men are employed, nearly all being in and about the factory. White laborers receive from \$40 to \$50 per month and board; skilled men and foremen are paid from \$60 to \$100 per month and board. About 28 natives are employed, chiefly as fishermen and laborers. The former are paid \$1.50 per day and the latter \$1. 2 Chinese are employed as cooks. A considerable number of natives supply the company with over 1,000 cords of spruce and hemlock for fuel. \$2.50 per cord is paid for the former and \$2.25 for the latter variety.

--Robert Porter,  
1890.

The containment of oil in large barrels demanded skilled coopers to assemble them and the trying of oil required the use of much firewood. However, it was "a-legal" to commercially use forest products from federal land (like Admiralty Island), since no laws had been created to govern such use. The barrels, like the original Killisnoo factory, were assembled from pre-fabricated/knocked-down slats shipped in from Outside. However, the abundance of local timber and the need of that abundance to operate the oilery led the Alaska Oil and Guano Company to flaunt the absense of law. Between 1860 and 1910 approximately 10,000 MBM of timber were cut from 800 acres in the Kootznahoo Inlet area; the NWT/AO&G Company is assumed to have used this timber, as well as perhaps that cut at Chaik and Whitewater Bays in this era, for fuel. However, lack of governmental procedure to commercially market this federal timber to profit-making concerns embroiled the Alaska Oil and Guano Company, among others, in a mesh of prosecution.

The lumber business has been harassed by the unfortunate conditions of land titles and most of the lumber used has been imported from the States. Those who endeavored to supply the demand for it from the Territory are now involved in suits for timber depredations. The depredations reported in 1890 by Timber Agent Gee, including all previous acts by these parties, are as follows:

Sitka Milling Company, Sitka, 213,000 ft.; Theodore Haltern, Sitka, 1700 ft.; Lake Mountain Mining Co., Sitka, 150,000 ft.; Alaska Mining & Milling Co., Douglas, 5,014,000 ft.; Eastern Mining & Milling Co., Douglas, 300,000 ft.; Alaska Fish Oil & Guano Co., Killisnoo, 2200 cords; Silver Bow Basin Mining Co., Juneau, 80,000 ft.; Wilson & Sylvester, Wrangell, 1,000,000 ft. plus 3000 logs; Alaska Trading & Lumber Co., Shakan, 800,000 ft.; North Pacific Trading & Packing Co., Klawock, 218,000 ft.; Edward Cobb, Shakan, 25,000 ft., and William Duncan, Metlakatla, 3,000,000 ft.

--Governor Lyman Knapp,  
1891.

Settlement came about after much confused litigation and in 1891 Congress passed laws which allowed for the sale of timber from government land in Alaska.

The steamer Yukon, Captain Purvis, left Saturday for Admiralty Island with C.E. Cutcher, James Brandon and Mr. Wilson, who will be gone some time cutting logs for the Douglas saw mill.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
21 January 1895, Juneau.

While the Bureau of Fisheries vessel "Albatross" searched Alaskan waters for good cod and halibut banks, the commercial cod fishery in *Chatham Straits* dropped off with the opening up of better grounds out west in the 1880's by San Francisco schooners. The Alaska Oil and Guano Company concentrated on their titular products, as well as packs of salted herring and salmon.

Commercial salteries had dotted the Alexander Archipelago since the Russian colonization and early scattered canneries had pioneered the emerging salmon fishery since 1878. Then, in 1887, a huge salmon pack at the Karluk River on Kodiak Island sparked a salmon rush to build canneries in Alaska. Cannery construction peaked in 1891, dropping the bottom out of the market

with a glut of salmon. In defense, a number of processors joined together in a collective agreement in 1892 that eventually became the powerful Alaska Packers' Association, Congress activated the first fishery and reserve lands laws for Alaska, and a cannery operator began the first salmon hatchery in Alaska on Kuiu Island. Through all this developing salmon era, the Alaska Oil and Guano Company packed a few barrels of salted salmon, which they purchased from the local Tlingit, who seined the reds and pinks from small local streams and trolled for kings and silvers.

The larger part of the income of the Hoochinoos is derived from the company, and their primitive food supply of fish, game, and berries is largely supplemented by foodstuffs purchased at the company's store. Nearly every family of Hoochinoos is provided with a garden, potatoes and turnips being the principal crops. A large number of deerskins are sold to the company.

--Robert Porter,  
1893.

A salmon developer introduced the mackeral purse seine in 1893 to southern Southeast Alaska, which began competition with the much used drag seine as well as the fewer used gill nets and traps. Salmon products at the Alaska Oil and Guano Company developed accidently alongside the herring fishery.

Species	Number of Fish	Avg Wt (lbs)	Price Pd for Fish	Product	Price Received
King salmon	350	16	1¢/pound live wt.	25 barrels	\$10.50/barrel
Redfish	6,000	6½	5¢ each	75 ½-barrels of bellies	\$6/half barrel
Cohoes	2,500	10	1¢/pound	80 barrels	\$8/barrel
Humpbacks	22,000	3½	1¢/fish	200 ½-barrels of bellies	\$5/half barrel

... An ordinary salmon hook, baited with fresh herring placed lengthwise over the hook, is used. The best results are obtained near the schools of herring. The king salmon seem to follow and feed upon them, and can be taken at all times when the herring are in, but they are more abundant in certain months. In April and May they are plentiful enough for local consumption. Salting is commenced in June, and continued throughout July and August, or until the herring run in such large numbers that all the force must be employed in making guano and oil ... It is said that on the herring ground on the northern side of Kuiu Island, when the steamer is lying to, waiting for the fish to school, king salmon are captured at times in considerable numbers on an ordinary hand line baited with herring. In October, from the wharf at Killisnoo, king salmon from 10 to 12 inches long are frequently taken with hand lines (without sinkers) baited with herring. In Florence Bay, inside of Point Hayes, on the opposite shore, the Indians take large numbers of small king salmon on hand lines during the fall of the year.

Cohoos are also taken on trolls, but the season is short, usually from July 15 and throughout August.

--U.S. Fish Commission,  
1898.

Bureau of Fisheries reports began to mention decline in herring and the appearance of chum and pink salmon in the scow herring brought to Killisnoo for conversion to oil and guano, which began opposition to the oil and guano industry by the emerging salmon industry.

#### Steam Power

Regular steamship runs connected the new Juneau gold camp with the old capital at Sitka. Halfway between Sitka and Juneau lay Killisnoo. The factory docks provided a regular stop for the steamship companies, who facilitated the resource and industrial development of Admiralty Island, as well as the tourist trade.

## TOURIST HOOKS A SHARK

### Excellent Sport From the Side of an Alaska Excursion Steamer

No country upon the face of the globe can compare, in the allurments to the genuine sportsman, with the northernmost portion of Uncle Sam's domain -- Alaska. Game of all kinds, large and small, in abundance, it is truly a paradise for the hunter. While the excursionists are naturally prevented from indulging their tastes in that direction, from the limited stay of steamers at our ports, they have ample opportunity to satiate their appetites with angling. Porvided with immense stout lines many fathoms long, the passengers are favored at intervals with sport that does not come to every one.

On a recent trip, the tourists enjoyed such a treat, and, it will take many years to efface the memory of the occasion. As the steamer touched at the wharf at Killisnoo it was announced that three hours would be devoted to fishing for hulibut and other finny denizens of Alaska waters. The elated passengers were soon pulling in the fish and the excitement was at the fever point when a young lady, supposed to hail from the Golden Gate, found she had hooked something that she was unable to handle. With the aid of a gentleman the something was euticed to the surface and proved to be a ten-foot short (sic) of a variety common to the Northern waters, but not a maneater. The young lady held on and the monster was lassoed, shot and hauled on the deck. It weighed 410 pounds. Several teeth were removed from its mouth and presented to the lady, who probably enjoys the distinction of being the only woman who ever made such a capture upon the Pacific Coast. At any rate, the crowd voted her the prize for the largest fish caught on the voyage.

The passengers secured over 2200 pounds of halibut in the three hours.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
22 July 1895, Juneau

These steamship companies and crews first developed the Admiralty Island coal deposits. For example, in 1885 Captain James Carrol and others sank two exploratory tunnels at Surprize Harbor, exploration cost them several thousand

dollars but they abandoned the mine due to the poor quality and condition of the coal, its scarcity, and the need to develop a two mile transportation system to get the coal from the mine to the shore and from the shore to the vessels. Yet another developer failed in the attempt to work the claim again in 1898. However, ever since the U.S. Navy inspection of Admiralty Island coal in the late 1860's, Kootznahoo Inlet had been recognized as the best and largest deposit of coal in Southeast Alaska. Numerous prospectors had explored the Inlet at Mitchell Bay, Point Sullivan, Favorite Bay, on various islands and even in a reef whose coal seam lay under water at high tide. Several small operations had operated at Point Sullivan and at the Sepphagen Mine, but it took the work of James McCluskey to develop the claims into working operations.

Coal from the McCluskey claims on Kanalku Bay tested "sufficiently" in the steam launch of the U.S.S. "Patterson" in the early 1890's and assayed favorably with other coals of the Northwest Coast.

It has been used acceptably on some of the small steam vessels which ply in the archipelago. As a rough test, some sacks of it were turned over to the engineer of the Patterson's steam launch with a request that he would see what results could be had from it. The launch is No. 18, with coiled tubular boilers. About an hour's steaming was done. The engineer reported that the coal burned well, developed about three fourths the steaming power of the Wellington (B.C., Cretaceous) coal usually used, and was decidedly better than the Comox (B.C.) coal.

Comparison of Kootznahoo coals.

Mines	Moisture percent	Volatile Matter percent	Fixed Carbon percent	Ash percent	Sulphur percent
McCluskey (114)	2.44	44.75	47.93	4.88	0.67
Sepphagen (115)	1.66	35.40	31.80	31.14	0.32
Point Sullivan (116)	0.82	21.86	35.52	41.80	0.51
Mitchell (117)	2.37	31.73	30.89	35.01	0.47
De Groff (118)	2.57	55.44	29.75	12.24	0.89
<hr/>					
Nanaimo, B.C.	2.98	32.16	46.31	18.55	1.73
Mount Diablo, Cal	14.69	33.89	46.84	4.58	4.37

--William Dall,  
1895.

By 1891 Juneau residents anxiously awaited their first shipment of Kootznahoo coal.

About four years ago James McClasky, an experienced miner, discovered and located an extensive coal mine situate at Salmon bay or Coal inlet near Killisnoo. He has ever since been working and developing this coal measure which is of considerable size in the surface croppings. He has run a tunnel over 100 feet on the coal and has quite a number of tons ready for shipment to a convenient market. The coal has been thoroughly tested and is of excellent quality, especially for steam purposes. One of his partners, resident in Juneau, has received encouraging news from Mr. McClasky and contemplate the charter of a vessel to bring up a load of coal for the citizens of Juneau ready for the approaching winter. The opening up of a coal mine near here will be of untold benefit to us all, both for use in the mills and at our firesides. It will be purchasable at a reasonable price and will be the cause of the monopolistic Steamship company reducing their exorbitant charges for Nanaimo coal which we have been paying \$15 a ton for. Brave Jim! Your coal mine is just the thing wanted to foster our industries, and it will turn out better than any old mine for your future benefit.

Forty tons of coal arrived the following June, reportedly with another 40 ton shipment on its heels in December. Coal, like other prospects, needed money to back its development; four years later the Juneau newspapers still sang hopeful, but unfulfilled, praise.

In the near future the McClaskey coal mines will furnish the coal for Southeastern Alaska, and here certainly is a chance for some company to join in with the locators and present owners and open up the mines, as at present they are undeveloped, not through any fears of a loss on such an investment, but for lack of money to put it through.

--Alaska Mining Record,  
8 July 1895, Juneau.

But when William Dall and other members of the federal commission to investigate the mineral resources of Alaska stopped in Kootznoohoo Inlet in 1895, they reported all the mines in an abandoned, collapsed state -- editorial tributes notwithstanding. Oil combustion, cheaper imported coal, and better shipping connections eliminated, for the time being, a demand for the cheaper local coal. Nonetheless the auspicious sounding "Admiralty Coal and Fuel Company" renewed the McClaskey claims in 1898, although they performed no major development on it.

## VIII. THREE TYPES OF SOURDOUGH AND A LIGHTHOUSE

### Gold

Three types of sourdoughs searched for gold and each other in the 19th Century -- prospectors, speculators and capitalists. The prospectors didn't have much money, unlike the salaried geologists of today. They led a "down-to-earth, hand-to-mouth" life. They looked for commercial claims, but they lacked the capital to develop them into working operations themselves. The local speculators would buy up potential claims from the prospectors, work them until a paying operation showed, and then sought major capitalists to buy the claims and develop them into full blown mines. The coal deposits on Admiralty Island reached the second stage of speculative development, but never found major capitalists to develop the resource into an industry. However, the gold deposits did.

In 1868, Commander White had noted good quartz deposits on north Admiralty Island that resembled those on Douglas Island and the Mainland. Twelve years later, Pilz's prospectors found golden quartz at Funter Bay, but the Gastineau gold rush overshadowed the Admiralty Island discoveries. Prospectors and miners spent the 1880's exploring and developing the mainland and Douglas Island from Windham to Berners Bay -- the Gold Belt. In the late 1880's, speculators began consolidating the rich Gold Belt claims and the mining industry started its massive development of stamp mills and service industry. Many of the original prospectors went Interior -- over the Coastal Mountains to the Yukon River Valley -- in the search for gold "ever further

north." However, a goodly number of prospectors stayed in Southeast Alaska, branching out to the islands and coves and inlets. The city that grew up around Juneau needed to eat and the rich food locker of Admiralty Island provided it with deer, bear and fowl. It became a hunters' paradise and a source of timber after developers denuded the slopes around the Gastineau of trees and deer to build the mines, heat the homes, and feed themselves.

The market is well supplied with venison, the last 16 were brought in by John Jackson, they were prime and found a ready market at 8 and 10 cents per pound. Mr. Jackson has been trading around Hoonah and the Hot Springs, he is now quite a sailor, he reports deer very plenty and says the Indians have a large stock of provisions in their houses. They evidently anticipated the long cold winter and prepared for it. A number of Indians from Kake island are at the lagoon where house warmings and general jollification are in progress.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
13 February 1890.

### A Perilous Trip

Oliver Farnum came in from his logging camp in Green's bay, on the northwest side of Admiralty island, on Thursday evening last. Oliver has had quite an exciting experience in getting to Juneau. He left Green's bay afoot and came across the portage to the southwest shore of Admiralty expecting to find Indians encamped there who he intended to hire to cross him over the channel to the Douglas island shore. But there was not a camp fire smoke nor an Indian in that section, although he tramped the beach for miles each way. He spent two nights in a deserted hut, without food or blankets, waiting for a boat to come along, but none came. In tramping the beach he found an old weatherbeaten skiff that would put a flour sieve to shame in point of leakage, and using pieces of rope for oar locks, he launched her and struck out across Steven's passage to Douglas Island, four miles distant, which shore he reached after a hard struggle, and crossing the bar at low tide, walked down the main land shore to Juneau.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
11 March 1895, Juneau.

Killisnoo lay on the steamship run between Sitka and Juneau and Outside. This use of Admiralty Island resources and the 20 year old memory of gold assured the return of speculators, especially when people noted the similarity of the rich Douglas Island finds at Treadwell to its "sister island" of Admiralty.

In 1887, Richard Willoughby and Aaron Ware (Weir) of Juneau staked the Tellurium gold claims at Funter Bay and developed the property to the legal minimum with Indian workers and local timber. At first they found backers for their venture, but it didn't pan out.

Early in the spring the bonding of the Willoughby and Ware property to the Nowell Company for \$50,000 caused a number of prospectors to visit that section, and some very promising locations were made which eventually will become valuable, as this island bears strong indications of being well mineralized. The Nowell Company, after expending several thousand dollars in investigating, abandoned the enterprise, the ledge showing up most flatteringly on the surface, but as it was sunk on, the pay ore gave practically out, the assays indicating too small amounts to pay for working. Other properties in the vicinity of this property have been bonded to an eastern company and development work has been recently commenced, and it is to be hoped that these properties will make a better showing.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
3 October 1889.

They brought in a Huntington revolving mill and a Frue vanner to sample the mined ore in 1890 and began to work in excess of the legal minimum as a further inducement to investors.

#### A MILL FOR ADMIRALTY ISLAND

R.G. Willoughby returned from Funter bay, Admiralty island, yesterday, where he and Aaron Ware have been at work this winter with a force of Indians developing the Telluride group of claims preparatory to erecting a Huntington mill, which will be ordered on this boat. They have completed a three-foot ditch about a mile long, which will furnish an abundance of water power. They also have considerable rich ore on the dump and by the time the mill is completed it is expected there will be enough ore out to repay all outlay. All the timbers and shakes for a mill thirty feet square have been gotten out on the ground. The ore bodies are showing up better all the time and at several points where the ore disappeared

on the previous working of this property they have found the ore again and from the specimens it is not a very low grade.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
13 February 1890.

But still, no one took the bait. The Juneau journals gave helpful nudges for investment.

It is reported that Richard Willoughby is about to make a sale of his Admiralty island property to a syndicate of mining capitalists. Last year Mr. Willoughby erected a small mill on this property and made a short and most satisfactory run and if the property should change hands it is probable that more extensive works will be placed thereon. There are many good mining properties on that island which are only waiting capital to turn them into dividend paying concerns.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
7 May 1891.

And other Juneauites speculated in nearby properties.

#### The Mammoth Ledge.

George Harkrader and Oliver Price returned last week in the formers sloop Shoo-Fly (four fons), from a trip to Admiralty island. They had been over to finish running the lines on their claims which they located last fall. The ledge on which these claims, eight in number, are located is situated on the summit between Lone Rock bay, and Green bay and is the largest quartz bearing ledge that has ever been discovered in Alaska. The vein which has been traced and located nearly a mile, runs with the formation and is from 1200 to 1600 feet in width. The assays made show that the rock taken from it run from \$3 to \$20 in gold and about \$5 in silver. The boys say

that the mighty Treadwell mine could be cut out of this ledge and it would hardly be missed.

--The Alaska Mining Record  
9 July 1894, Juneau.

Finally, in 1895 a sale came through. The Tellurium group of mines went to a group of "eastern capitalists" for \$50,000. The new "Alaska-Willoughby Mining Company" bought up additional claims around Funter Bay from other prospectors/speculators and began intensive development.

#### The Alaska-Willoughby Property

Superintendent Geo. W. Garside has been doing rapid and most systematic work for the Alaska-Willoughby Mining Co. now operating at Funter Bay. The boarding house is completed, having a ground length, including sheds, of about 70 feet, with an up-stairs sleeping apartment. The framework for the stamp mill was landed there by the Al-Ki. The mill will be erected just above the old Huntington mill and the site will be dug out to a sufficient extent to receive a 30-stamp mill; their present mill of ten stamps will be up and running in six weeks should the machinery arrive on the next steamer as expected, and the increase to a 30-stamp mill will be made next summer. About 1,000 feet of railroad track will run along the beach above high tide to connect the mill with five working tunnels, the mouths located at various distances along the track. The building enclosing the old Huntington mill will not be torn down but will be used as a warehouse. The captain of the Al-Ki states that Funter bay is a fine harbor and affords good natural facilities for the quick and safe landing of freight, the Al-ki having discharged her cargo there in about eight hours.

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Quite a number of workmen jumped aboard the Al-Ki when the vessel left Juneau for Funter Bay to seek employment from the new mining company now operating there. They all got work and the vessel did not charge them a cent for landing them there.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
13 November 1895.

A lack of running water prevented milling of the stockpiled ore until the

## VII. FISH AND STEAM IN THE GILDED AGE

### Fish Factory

The Northwest Trading Company struggled along with wary Native workers and a wary market for herring oil after the Shelling of Angoon. Their exorbitant investment of \$100,000 went for the importation of building materials from Outside, it being illegal to harvest timber on government land for commercial purposes at that time. They constructed a 90,000 gallon water reservoir, warehouses, shops, tryworks, as well as docks for the trading post and fish processing facilities. Around this industrial center on Kenasnow (Killisnoo) Island grew a Tlingit village of workers and the U.S. Post Office set up a station there in 1882.

The Northwest Trading Company hired the Kootznoowoo and other Native emigrees to seine herring, fetching the fish in scows towed behind steam tugs to the oilery. Seines replaced individual hand rakes. It took eleven fishers to catch an average of 500 barrels of herring in each haul of the net. Individual and family subsistence gave way to industrial organization. The oilery rendered oil from the herring, at the rate of three gallons of oil per barrel of herring, barrelling the oil and sacking the carcasses separately.

The capacity of the works per day of 24 hours is 1,100 gallons of oil and 30 tons of fertilizer, the product of 1,500 barrels of fish. 3 steam tugs of 70, 40, and 12 tons register, and 5 screws, each with an average capacity of 1,300 tons, are used in fishing. 2 fishing gangs of 12 men each are employed in fishing, purse seines being used. The fish are hoisted from the scows into the factory by steam. The are cooked by steam in 12 vats, each of 30 barrels capacity. After cooking 3 hours the pulp is pressed 30 minutes in 4 hydraulic presses at a pressure of 20 tons. From the presses the impure oil runs into 16 steam-heated settling vats, where all impurities settle to the bottom, and the pure oil floating on top is

run into barrels for shipment. The stearin is caught by strong cotton strainers placed over the settling vats, from which it is taken, pressed, and prepared for market. It is sold in Portland and San Francisco, and in 1891 20 tons were shipped to Liverpool. After the impure oil is removed by the presses the substance which remains in the presses, locally known as scraps, is shoveled into tram cars and conveyed to the drier, where it is stirred by machinery and subjected to a gentle heat until the moisture is expelled, when the fertilizer is sacked for shipment. The capacity of the drier, 8 tons per day, will soon be increased, as the demand for fertilizer is becoming stronger.

--Robert Porter,  
1890.

Industry used the oil, after refinement, as a substitute for linseed oil in paints, in the tanning of hides, and in soaps. The carcasses went to Hawaii, California and England for use as fertilizer (guano) -- considered "superior" for sugar cane. The herring arrived in April to spawn, Kootznoowoo Inlet being a favorite breeding ground. The amount of oil rendered from the herring depended on the time of year, since they do not eat during the spawning. One barrel of herring would yield:

1/2 gallon of oil -- June

3 1/2 gallon of oil -- September

2 gallons of oil -- December

So, the Killisnoo factory generally operated from June through October. The herring managers reportedly came to Killisnoo from the well developed menhaden fishery of the Atlantic Coast and shipped 82,000 gallons of oil in 1883 at 30¢ per gallon. Smooth sales that year inspired the Northwest Trading Company to experiment with a pack of cod liver oil for pharmacies, shipping five cases Outside; but no subsequent report indicates this as a marketing success.

The Northwest Trading Company cod fishery worked similar to its herring operation. Fishers caught cod from small boats supplied by the company and delivered the cod to scows, which were then towed to the Killisnoo factory by steam launches. At Killisnoo, laborers dressed the cod and artificially dried them in a special house. The tourist, Scidmore, reported that in 1885 one scow arrived from Point Gardner with "8,000 fine, large cod (average weight 3-5 pounds), and 1576 boxes of the dried fish were ready to be shipped south." This system of coddling interfered less with the traditional Native society than the herring fishery. The cod fishers received 2¢ per fish; compared to \$1.50 per day for fishers and \$1 per day for laborers in the herring fishery.

However, the Northwest Trading Company stood in earthquake country. Besides the few actual earth tremors reported at Killisnoo, the seismic contortions of the oil and guano market forced a precarious existence even upon the managers.

Killisnoo  
April 7/85

My dear Syke

No doubt you have received DeGroff's letter telling you that he has gone to Kygani to remain till May steamer, it is I fear the beginning of the end of the N.W.T. Co. & its employees. I have no doubt that the Co. is on the verge of failure as the last steamer brought news that the entire season's oil was held & the highest offer for it 12½¢ per gallon -- of course that settles matters -- the Co. may continue as it is but with everything cut down to the lowest notch to work off stock & see whether prices will revive. The outside stores will be called in & to that purpose DeGroff went to Kygani. I think we are good till the end of next month though of course nothing is certain. The Company refused to buy my little house & the way things are now what little I possess is practically valueless in Killisnoo -- well there is some consolation in knowing that I am not only one broke for Schulze is just as flat as I am and no doubt feels it a thousand times more than I because he has very expensive habits while I am happy to live for my family only. When

DeGross returns from Kygani he and I will stick together as long as we remain in the territory which may not be for long, in the meantime we are doing our best to work up something here but whether we will do so we will know by June. Outside of the N.W.T. Co. matters look brighter and I think that I should not let a favorable opportunity go by for the sake of my dear family & duty to you all. There may be a sudden improvement in the affairs of the territory and if it comes it would make every difference in the situation. It is this, for months past Senator Jones of Nevada & other capitalists have been erecting the largest quartz mill in the U.S. at Juneau, north of here, located on the biggest mine in the world for it is 460 feet wide & is an immense body of ore, this mill will be completed & started up on June 1 or shortly after & if it turns out what is expected by its owners it will create a great excitement -- the affair has been kept very quiet, meanwhile the Co. have acquired other properties, & have had civil law established to protect their interests. Consequently they virtually control the country & when the excitement is started mines will be developed in all directions and you will quickly understand how many chances there will be for a man here particularly when the population now amounts to only a few hundreds -- A gentleman (Mr. Murray) who is deeply interested in the above & other schemes has been staying with me for a week waiting for the steamer, he is now developing coal interests -- 25 miles below here. I have known him for four years & have had now a good opportunity to learn the true situation & he tells me that if changes are made in the officials here that he will work his influence to get me a good place which would place me in a position to become acquainted with the mining men & you can imagine the benefit it would be to me & my friends. I would quickly get on my feet again & would soon be in a position to help you all. Anyway I have no doubt but that I could work up something good if the expected mining excitement occurs -- the only thing that can make the country.

I hope dear Syke that you will fully understand my reasoning. If there was no chance of a boom here I would not hesitate about going east at once, but to run away in the face of chances would I believe be doing injustice to you all at home, particularly when I have no position awaiting me there, and probably be of care to you while waiting for something to do. It is bad indeed to be in the fix that I am in but I cannot help being so, it is what is liable to befall the best & richest at any time. Not for one moment do I lose courage and I am more determined than ever to win. The hardest part of my life is to be separated from those I love but when I feel that is it for their benefit then my loneliness is softened. I could not be in a worse fix than I am in and I have written to Brother Ed to please assist my dear family if they should require assistance & they may be the time that they receive this mail, until I am in a position again. He is better situated to help me and therefore I have appealed to him, though to be compelled to worries me more than I can tell. I never thought that I would have to appeal to anyone.

I am anxiously looking for the 'Idaho' daily & I hope & pray that I will receive only cheerful news.

Until Mr. Murray came I was fearfully lonely & blue for I had not a soul to talk to that I cared for, and I missed Lena & the children keenly every minute in the day. DeGroffs going away was an awful damper. Nothing but necessity would induce me to live here as I am. Lena's and all your letters of love & cheer help me wonderfully through the month, & without them I would feel lost.

I wish old fellow that I could have danced at your surprise party in February but hope I may at your next & that I will constitute the party to surprise you, but I would like it to happen in this way; I to secure a good Government position & before entering upon it arrange financially to go east to see you all -- once in that fix I have no doubt of my ability to make frequent trips. This would be better than to go broke.

Good night and God bless you, all my love to you, Mamie & all at home -- tomorrow I will write to dear Mother.

Affectionately your Bro.  
John

(John Vanderbilt, Manager, AHS  
North West Trading Co.,  
Killisnoo, 7 April 1885)

The oil market did pick up, but not before the factioned company split. The remaining organization regrouped as the Alaska Oil and Guano Company in 1887, run by the autocratic Karl "Baron" Spuhn at Killisnoo, with a variable output.

Year	Oil (gallons)	Guano* (tons)	Herring (barrels)	Herring ( $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels)	Salted Salmon (barrels)	Salmon Bellies ( $\frac{1}{2}$ barrels)
1882	30,000	None	No record			
1883	81,000	None	42,000			
1884	192,000	600	66,000			
1885	300,000	No record	85,000			
1886	368,000	No record	110,000			
1887	335,000	No record	111,000			
1888	100,000	No record	30,000			
1889	157,900	None	52,460			
1890	156,750	None	52,425			
1891	242,050	800	88,222			
1892	318,900	700	93,580			
1893	223,450	900	72,250			
1894	234,350	800	76,530	1,000		50 +
1895	101,650	500	32,550	500		
1896	90,650	550	27,750	250	25	150
1897	125,000	780	35,600	950	105	275

\* The amount of oil and guano made depends upon the demand; some years there was no market for guano.

+ salt codfish

--U.S. Fish Commission,  
1898.

Prosperity always seemed imminent. A shipload of guano bound to Liverpool from Killisnoo in 1891 became the first vessel filled with Alaskan produce to sail from Southeast Alaska for an overseas port since the United States' Purchase.

The price of oil has been as low as 14 cents per gallon, but the market has improved in the last few years, ranging from 25 cents to 32.5 cents per gallon. Until 1891 all shipments were made by the Pacific Coast Steamship Company's steamer, but in that year the oil company chartered the English bark Martha Fisher, 800 tons. The Fisher delivered at Liverpool for a charter price of \$15,000 700 tons of fertilizer, 800 barrels of oil, and 20 tons of stearin.

The business of salting herring was begun by the company in 1888, and 100 barrels were put up; the next year 300 barrels were packed,

and in 1890 the demand for this excellent article exceeded the pack of 500 barrels, so that this branch of the business will be increased. Salt herring is marketed in Portland at \$8 per barrel. About 35 white men are employed, nearly all being in and about the factory. White laborers receive from \$40 to \$50 per month and board; skilled men and foremen are paid from \$60 to \$100 per month and board. About 28 natives are employed, chiefly as fishermen and laborers. The former are paid \$1.50 per day and the latter \$1. 2 Chinese are employed as cooks. A considerable number of natives supply the company with over 1,000 cords of spruce and hemlock for fuel. \$2.50 per cord is paid for the former and \$2.25 for the latter variety.

--Robert Porter,  
1890.

The containment of oil in large barrels demanded skilled coopers to assemble them and the trying of oil required the use of much firewood. However, it was "a-legal" to commercially use forest products from federal land (like Admiralty Island), since no laws had been created to govern such use. The barrels, like the original Killisnoo factory, were assembled from pre-fabricated/knocked-down slats shipped in from Outside. However, the abundance of local timber and the need of that abundance to operate the oilery led the Alaska Oil and Guano Company to flaunt the absense of law. Between 1860 and 1910 approximately 10,000 MBM of timber were cut from 800 acres in the Kootznahoo Inlet area; the NWT/AO&G Company is assumed to have used this timber, as well as perhaps that cut at Chaik and Whitewater Bays in this era, for fuel. However, lack of governmental procedure to commercially market this federal timber to profit-making concerns embroiled the Alaska Oil and Guano Company, among others, in a mesh of prosecution.

The lumber business has been harassed by the unfortunate conditions of land titles and most of the lumber used has been imported from the States. Those who endeavored to supply the demand for it from the Territory are now involved in suits for timber depredations. The depredations reported in 1890 by Timber Agent Gee, including all previous acts by these parties, are as follows:

Sitka Milling Company, Sitka, 213,000 ft.; Theodore Haltern, Sitka, 1700 ft.; Lake Mountain Mining Co., Sitka, 150,000 ft.; Alaska Mining & Milling Co., Douglas, 5,014,000 ft.; Eastern Mining & Milling Co., Douglas, 300,000 ft.; Alaska Fish Oil & Guano Co., Killisnoo, 2200 cords; Silver Bow Basin Mining Co., Juneau, 80,000 ft.; Wilson & Sylvester, Wrangell, 1,000,000 ft. plus 3000 logs; Alaska Trading & Lumber Co., Shakan, 800,000 ft.; North Pacific Trading & Packing Co., Klawock, 218,000 ft.; Edward Cobb, Shakan, 25,000 ft., and William Duncan, Metlakatla, 3,000,000 ft.

--Governor Lyman Knapp,  
1891.

Settlement came about after much confused litigation and in 1891 Congress passed laws which allowed for the sale of timber from government land in Alaska.

The steamer Yukon, Captain Purvis, left Saturday for Admiralty Island with C.E. Cutcher, James Brandon and Mr. Wilson, who will be gone some time cutting logs for the Douglas saw mill.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
21 January 1895, Juneau.

While the Bureau of Fisheries vessel "Albatross" searched Alaskan waters for good cod and halibut banks, the commercial cod fishery in *Chatham Straits* dropped off with the opening up of better grounds out west in the 1880's by San Francisco schooners. The Alaska Oil and Guano Company concentrated on their titular products, as well as packs of salted herring and salmon.

Commercial salteries had dotted the Alexander Archipelago since the Russian colonization and early scattered canneries had pioneered the emerging salmon fishery since 1878. Then, in 1887, a huge salmon pack at the Karluk River on Kodiak Island sparked a salmon rush to build canneries in Alaska. Cannery construction peaked in 1891, dropping the bottom out of the market

with a glut of salmon. In defense, a number of processors joined together in a collective agreement in 1892 that eventually became the powerful Alaska Packers' Association, Congress activated the first fishery and reserve lands laws for Alaska, and a cannery operator began the first salmon hatchery in Alaska on Kuiu Island. Through all this developing salmon era, the Alaska Oil and Guano Company packed a few barrels of salted salmon, which they purchased from the local Tlingit, who seined the reds and pinks from small local streams and trolled for kings and silvers.

The larger part of the income of the Hoochinoos is derived from the company, and their primitive food supply of fish, game, and berries is largely supplemented by foodstuffs purchased at the company's store. Nearly every family of Hoochinoos is provided with a garden, potatoes and turnips being the principal crops. A large number of deerskins are sold to the company.

--Robert Porter,  
1893.

A salmon developer introduced the mackeral purse seine in 1893 to southern Southeast Alaska, which began competition with the much used drag seine as well as the fewer used gill nets and traps. Salmon products at the Alaska Oil and Guano Company developed accidently alongside the herring fishery.

Species	Number of Fish	Avg Wt (lbs)	Price Pd for Fish	Product	Price Received
King salmon	350	16	1¢/pound live wt.	25 barrels	\$10.50/barrel
Redfish	6,000	6½	5¢ each	75 ½-barrels of bellies	\$6/half barrel
Cohoes	2,500	10	1¢/pound	80 barrels	\$8/barrel
Humpbacks	22,000	3½	1¢/fish	200 ½-barrels of bellies	\$5/half barrel

... An ordinary salmon hook, baited with fresh herring placed lengthwise over the hook, is used. The best results are obtained near the schools of herring. The king salmon seem to follow and feed upon them, and can be taken at all times when the herring are in, but they are more abundant in certain months. In April and May they are plentiful enough for local consumption. Salting is commenced in June, and continued throughout July and August, or until the herring run in such large numbers that all the force must be employed in making guano and oil ... It is said that on the herring ground on the northern side of Kuiu Island, when the steamer is lying to, waiting for the fish to school, king salmon are captured at times in considerable numbers on an ordinary hand line baited with herring. In October, from the wharf at Killisnoo, king salmon from 10 to 12 inches long are frequently taken with hand lines (without sinkers) baited with herring. In Florence Bay, inside of Point Hayes, on the opposite shore, the Indians take large numbers of small king salmon on hand lines during the fall of the year.

Cohoos are also taken on trolls, but the season is short, usually from July 15 and throughout August.

--U.S. Fish Commission,  
1898.

Bureau of Fisheries reports began to mention decline in herring and the appearance of chum and pink salmon in the scow herring brought to Killisnoo for conversion to oil and guano, which began opposition to the oil and guano industry by the emerging salmon industry.

#### Steam Power

Regular steamship runs connected the new Juneau gold camp with the old capital at Sitka. Halfway between Sitka and Juneau lay Killisnoo. The factory docks provided a regular stop for the steamship companies, who facilitated the resource and industrial development of Admiralty Island, as well as the tourist trade.

## TOURIST HOOKS A SHARK

### Excellent Sport From the Side of an Alaska Excursion Steamer

No country upon the face of the globe can compare, in the allurments to the genuine sportsman, with the northernmost portion of Uncle Sam's domain -- Alaska. Game of all kinds, large and small, in abundance, it is truly a paradise for the hunter. While the excursionists are naturally prevented from indulging their tastes in that direction, from the limited stay of steamers at our ports, they have ample opportunity to satiate their appetites with angling. Porvided with immense stout lines many fathoms long, the passengers are favored at intervals with sport that does not come to every one.

On a recent trip, the tourists enjoyed such a treat, and, it will take many years to efface the memory of the occasion. As the steamer touched at the wharf at Killisnoo it was announced that three hours would be devoted to fishing for hulibut and other finny denizens of Alaska waters. The elated passengers were soon pulling in the fish and the excitement was at the fever point when a young lady, supposed to hail from the Golden Gate, found she had hooked something that she was unable to handle. With the aid of a gentleman the something was euticed to the surface and proved to be a ten-foot short (sic) of a variety common to the Northern waters, but not a maneater. The young lady held on and the monster was lassoed, shot and hauled on the deck. It weighed 410 pounds. Several teeth were removed from its mouth and presented to the lady, who probably enjoys the distinction of being the only woman who ever made such a capture upon the Pacific Coast. At any rate, the crowd voted her the prize for the largest fish caught on the voyage.

The passengers secured over 2200 pounds of halibut in the three hours.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
22 July 1895, Juneau

These steamship companies and crews first developed the Admiralty Island coal deposits. For example, in 1885 Captain James Carrol and others sank two exploratory tunnels at Surprize Harbor, exploration cost them several thousand

dollars but they abandoned the mine due to the poor quality and condition of the coal, its scarcity, and the need to develop a two mile transportation system to get the coal from the mine to the shore and from the shore to the vessels. Yet another developer failed in the attempt to work the claim again in 1898. However, ever since the U.S. Navy inspection of Admiralty Island coal in the late 1860's, Kootznahoo Inlet had been recognized as the best and largest deposit of coal in Southeast Alaska. Numerous prospectors had explored the Inlet at Mitchell Bay, Point Sullivan, Favorite Bay, on various islands and even in a reef whose coal seam lay under water at high tide. Several small operations had operated at Point Sullivan and at the Sepphagen Mine, but it took the work of James McCluskey to develop the claims into working operations.

Coal from the McCluskey claims on Kanalku Bay tested "sufficiently" in the steam launch of the U.S.S. "Patterson" in the early 1890's and assayed favorably with other coals of the Northwest Coast.

It has been used acceptably on some of the small steam vessels which ply in the archipelago. As a rough test, some sacks of it were turned over to the engineer of the Patterson's steam launch with a request that he would see what results could be had from it. The launch is No. 18, with coiled tubular boilers. About an hour's steaming was done. The engineer reported that the coal burned well, developed about threee fourths the steaming power of the Wellington (B.C., Cretaceous) coal usually used, and was decidedly better than the Comox (B.C.) coal.

Comparison of Kootznahoo coals.

Mines	Moisture percent	Volatile Matter percent	Fixed Carbon percent	Ash percent	Sulphur percent
McCluskey (114)	2.44	44.75	47.93	4.88	0.67
Sepphagen (115)	1.66	35.40	31.80	31.14	0.32
Point Sullivan (116)	0.82	21.86	35.52	41.80	0.51
Mitchell (117)	2.37	31.73	30.89	35.01	0.47
De Groff (118)	2.57	55.44	29.75	12.24	0.89
<hr/>					
Nanaimo, B.C.	2.98	32.16	46.31	18.55	1.73
Mount Diablo, Cal	14.69	33.89	46.84	4.58	4.37

--William Dall,  
1895.

By 1891 Juneau residents anxiously awaited their first shipment of Kootznahoo coal.

About four years ago James McClasky, an experienced miner, discovered and located an extensive coal mine situate at Salmon bay or Coal inlet near Killisnoo. He has ever since been working and developing this coal measure which is of considerable size in the surface croppings. He has run a tunnel over 100 feet on the coal and has quite a number of tons ready for shipment to a convenient market. The coal has been thoroughly tested and is of excellent quality, especially for steam purposes. One of his partners, resident in Juneau, has received encouraging news from Mr. McClasky and contemplate the charter of a vessel to bring up a load of coal for the citizens of Juneau ready for the approaching winter. The opening up of a coal mine near here will be of untold benefit to us all, both for use in the mills and at our firesides. It will be purchasable at a reasonable price and will be the cause of the monopolistic Steamship company reducing their exorbitant charges for Nanaimo coal which we have been paying \$15 a ton for. Brave Jim! Your coal mine is just the thing wanted to foster our industries, and it will turn out better than any old mine for your future benefit.

Forty tons of coal arrived the following June, reportedly with another 40 ton shipment on its heels in December. Coal, like other prospects, needed money to back its development; four years later the Juneau newspapers still sang hopeful, but unfulfilled, praise.

In the near future the McClaskey coal mines will furnish the coal for Southeastern Alaska, and here certainly is a chance for some company to join in with the locators and present owners and open up the mines, as at present they are undeveloped, not through any fears of a loss on such an investment, but for lack of money to put it through.

--Alaska Mining Record,  
8 July 1895, Juneau.

But when William Dall and other members of the federal commission to investigate the mineral resources of Alaska stopped in Kootznoohoo Inlet in 1895, they reported all the mines in an abandoned, collapsed state -- editorial tributes notwithstanding. Oil combustion, cheaper imported coal, and better shipping connections eliminated, for the time being, a demand for the cheaper local coal. Nonetheless the auspicious sounding "Admiralty Coal and Fuel Company" renewed the McClaskey claims in 1898, although they performed no major development on it.

## VIII. THREE TYPES OF SOURDOUGH AND A LIGHTHOUSE

### Gold

Three types of sourdoughs searched for gold and each other in the 19th Century -- prospectors, speculators and capitalists. The prospectors didn't have much money, unlike the salaried geologists of today. They led a "down-to-earth, hand-to-mouth" life. They looked for commercial claims, but they lacked the capital to develop them into working operations themselves. The local speculators would buy up potential claims from the prospectors, work them until a paying operation showed, and then sought major capitalists to buy the claims and develop them into full blown mines. The coal deposits on Admiralty Island reached the second stage of speculative development, but never found major capitalists to develop the resource into an industry. However, the gold deposits did.

In 1868, Commander White had noted good quartz deposits on north Admiralty Island that resembled those on Douglas Island and the Mainland. Twelve years later, Pilz's prospectors found golden quartz at Funter Bay, but the Gastineau gold rush overshadowed the Admiralty Island discoveries. Prospectors and miners spent the 1880's exploring and developing the mainland and Douglas Island from Windham to Berners Bay -- the Gold Belt. In the late 1880's, speculators began consolidating the rich Gold Belt claims and the mining industry started its massive development of stamp mills and service industry. Many of the original prospectors went Interior -- over the Coastal Mountains to the Yukon River Valley -- in the search for gold "ever further

north." However, a goodly number of prospectors stayed in Southeast Alaska, branching out to the islands and coves and inlets. The city that grew up around Juneau needed to eat and the rich food locker of Admiralty Island provided it with deer, bear and fowl. It became a hunters' paradise and a source of timber after developers denuded the slopes around the Gastineau of trees and deer to build the mines, heat the homes, and feed themselves.

The market is well supplied with venison, the last 16 were brought in by John Jackson, they were prime and found a ready market at 8 and 10 cents per pound. Mr. Jackson has been trading around Hoonah and the Hot Springs, he is now quite a sailor, he reports deer very plenty and says the Indians have a large stock of provisions in their houses. They evidently anticipated the long cold winter and prepared for it. A number of Indians from Kake island are at the lagoon where house warmings and general jollification are in progress.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
13 February 1890.

### A Perilous Trip

Oliver Farnum came in from his logging camp in Green's bay, on the northwest side of Admiralty island, on Thursday evening last. Oliver has had quite an exciting experience in getting to Juneau. He left Green's bay afoot and came across the portage to the southwest shore of Admiralty expecting to find Indians encamped there who he intended to hire to cross him over the channel to the Douglas island shore. But there was not a camp fire smoke nor an Indian in that section, although he tramped the beach for miles each way. He spent two nights in a deserted hut, without food or blankets, waiting for a boat to come along, but none came. In tramping the beach he found an old weatherbeaten skiff that would put a flour sieve to shame in point of leakage, and using pieces of rope for oar locks, he launched her and struck out across Steven's passage to Douglas Island, four miles distant, which shore he reached after a hard struggle, and crossing the bar at low tide, walked down the main land shore to Juneau.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
11 March 1895, Juneau.

Killisnoo lay on the steamship run between Sitka and Juneau and Outside. This use of Admiralty Island resources and the 20 year old memory of gold assured the return of speculators, especially when people noted the similarity of the rich Douglas Island finds at Treadwell to its "sister island" of Admiralty.

In 1887, Richard Willoughby and Aaron Ware (Weir) of Juneau staked the Tellurium gold claims at Funter Bay and developed the property to the legal minimum with Indian workers and local timber. At first they found backers for their venture, but it didn't pan out.

Early in the spring the bonding of the Willoughby and Ware property to the Nowell Company for \$50,000 caused a number of prospectors to visit that section, and some very promising locations were made which eventually will become valuable, as this island bears strong indications of being well mineralized. The Nowell Company, after expending several thousand dollars in investigating, abandoned the enterprise, the ledge showing up most flatteringly on the surface, but as it was sunk on, the pay ore gave practically out, the assays indicating too small amounts to pay for working. Other properties in the vicinity of this property have been bonded to an eastern company and development work has been recently commenced, and it is to be hoped that these properties will make a better showing.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
3 October 1889.

They brought in a Huntington revolving mill and a Frue vanner to sample the mined ore in 1890 and began to work in excess of the legal minimum as a further inducement to investors.

#### A MILL FOR ADMIRALTY ISLAND

R.G. Willoughby returned from Funter bay, Admiralty island, yesterday, where he and Aaron Ware have been at work this winter with a force of Indians developing the Telluride group of claims preparatory to erecting a Huntington mill, which will be ordered on this boat. They have completed a three-foot ditch about a mile long, which will furnish an abundance of water power. They also have considerable rich ore on the dump and by the time the mill is completed it is expected there will be enough ore out to repay all outlay. All the timbers and shakes for a mill thirty feet square have been gotten out on the ground. The ore bodies are showing up better all the time and at several points where the ore disappeared

on the previous working of this property they have found the ore again and from the specimens it is not a very low grade.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
13 February 1890.

But still, no one took the bait. The Juneau journals gave helpful nudges for investment.

It is reported that Richard Willoughby is about to make a sale of his Admiralty island property to a syndicate of mining capitalists. Last year Mr. Willoughby erected a small mill on this property and made a short and most satisfactory run and if the property should change hands it is probable that more extensive works will be placed thereon. There are many good mining properties on that island which are only waiting capital to turn them into dividend paying concerns.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
7 May 1891.

And other Juneauites speculated in nearby properties.

#### The Mammoth Ledge.

George Harkrader and Oliver Price returned last week in the formers sloop Shoo-Fly (four fons), from a trip to Admiralty island. They had been over to finish running the lines on their claims which they located last fall. The ledge on which these claims, eight in number, are located is situated on the summit between Lone Rock bay, and Green bay and is the largest quartz bearing ledge that has ever been discovered in Alaska. The vein which has been traced and located nearly a mile, runs with the formation and is from 1200 to 1600 feet in width. The assays made show that the rock taken from it run from \$3 to \$20 in gold and about \$5 in silver. The boys say

that the mighty Treadwell mine could be cut out of this ledge and it would hardly be missed.

--The Alaska Mining Record  
9 July 1894, Juneau.

Finally, in 1895 a sale came through. The Tellurium group of mines went to a group of "eastern capitalists" for \$50,000. The new "Alaska-Willoughby Mining Company" bought up additional claims around Funter Bay from other prospectors/speculators and began intensive development.

#### The Alaska-Willoughby Property

Superintendent Geo. W. Garside has been doing rapid and most systematic work for the Alaska-Willoughby Mining Co. now operating at Funter Bay. The boarding house is completed, having a ground length, including sheds, of about 70 feet, with an up-stairs sleeping apartment. The framework for the stamp mill was landed there by the Al-Ki. The mill will be erected just above the old Huntington mill and the site will be dug out to a sufficient extent to receive a 30-stamp mill; their present mill of ten stamps will be up and running in six weeks should the machinery arrive on the next steamer as expected, and the increase to a 30-stamp mill will be made next summer. About 1,000 feet of railroad track will run along the beach above high tide to connect the mill with five working tunnels, the mouths located at various distances along the track. The building enclosing the old Huntington mill will not be torn down but will be used as a warehouse. The captain of the Al-Ki states that Funter bay is a fine harbor and affords good natural facilities for the quick and safe landing of freight, the Al-ki having discharged her cargo there in about eight hours.

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Quite a number of workmen jumped aboard the Al-Ki when the vessel left Juneau for Funter Bay to seek employment from the new mining company now operating there. They all got work and the vessel did not charge them a cent for landing them there.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
13 November 1895.

A lack of running water prevented milling of the stockpiled ore until the

following year. Development of the mines and property continued. Although cited as "the most complete plant of ten stamps that has been erected in Alaska," they evidently resorted to inexperienced miners and labor intensive techniques.

#### A Hard Fight at Funter Bay

William Williamson, a brother of "Sandy" Williamson, now in charge of the stampmill at Funter bay, was attacked on Saturday by an Indian named Billy George, alias Indian Charley, and had a piece bitten out of his lip and being somewhat bruised. Williamson, who is learning to mine, refused to strike double-handed with the Siwash, fearing to hurt him as he (Williamson) had no experience in double-handed work. He finally consented to turn the drill but on again refusing to strike the Siwash, who already has a record as a "biter" attacked him, with the above results. Young Williamson might have fared worse but that he dodged the native when the latter tried "butting," with the result that the Indian's hair is liberally plastered on the walls of the shaft where they were at work. After 20 minutes the Indian ceased his attack, to which there were no witnesses, calling for his time. Within two hours he had squaw, papposes and household goods loaded in his canoe and was away, thus preventing further trouble growing out of his unjustifiable attack on Williamson who is a popular fellow.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
10 June 1896, Juneau.

The development of the Tellurium property with the promise of a minimum of \$8 per ton of free gold and up to \$200 per ton for concentrates brought hope to the sourdough speculators in Juneau.

Instead, the Alaska Willoughby Mining Company sold its own property in 1897 to the Boston and Alaska Gold Mining Company, who reorganized as the Funter Bay Mining Company in 1902, and operated in the same manner as its predecessor until 1904 when they failed to perform any assessment work and Outside speculators relocated the claims for themselves. Over these twenty

years miners had removed nearly 2,000 tons of good ore from the north Admiralty diggings for a return of less than \$20,000. The gold seekers also had located other mineralizations of copper, lead and zinc near Fishery Point on Chatham Strait and between Swan Cove and Windfall Harbor on Seymour Canal. However, if gold claims wouldn't sell at this time, these other minerals didn't. Fifty years later prospectors could not even locate the old President Prospect near Fishery Point, which could indicate the descriptive optimism of the original claimants. Yet the newspapers continued to sing the songs of the speculators to ensnare Outside investments right up to the present as if the shores of Funter Bay were ringed with 16 karat gold bear traps. The speculators blamed much of their economic failure on federal neglect.

The federal government has expended large sums of money in maintaining what is called war vessel in Alaska and which has never been of the least utility. There has also been stationed in its waters a surveying ship, which has done little more than make a few additions to the old and reliable charts of former distinguished navigators, and as there is so little traffic in these waters it does not confer much benefit on Alaska.

The steamer Albatross, under the direction of the fish commissioner, has also visited these waters and its officers must or should undoubtedly have reported favorably respecting the fish industries, but still no benefit to Alaska. Both the cod and salmon fisheries are still in their infancy compared to what they should be.

There have been partial geodetic surveys made but without any important results. That which would be more useful in this line is the appointment of a learned and conscientious state geologist who, in company with the local United States mineral surveyor, could make a general survey of the mineral belt and examine all the various formations for the discovery of the rarer metals which no doubt exist in Alaska, besides reporting to and satisfying the government and the mining world of the true nature of our valuable mineral resources, and to controvert incorrect and injurious representations. The people of Alaska now look forward with

confidence in the future government doing something to further our progress, and may the day be not far distant.

--Juneau City Mining Record  
24 November 1892

To press for remedial action a public meeting in Juneau called for a territorial convention at which Killisnoo received a sizeable representation.

Juneau	30	Newtown, D I	10
Treadwell D I	10	Sitka	15
Killisnoo	5	Wrangell	7
Chilkat	3	Yakutat	2
Kodiak	3	Wood Island	3
Unga	3	Sand Point	2
Unalaska	3	Yukon Territory	6
Klawak	2	Kitch can	2
Howkan	2	Hoonah	2
Seward City	4	Sumdum	3
Loring	2	And all other	1
		White settle- ments each	

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
27 August 1894.

The convention, however, reduced Killisnoo's delegate strength to one.

### Navigation

Just as the Natives had shown many of the early prospects to the Whites, transportation corridors developed along old trails and portages of the Natives, like the trail across the Mansfield Peninsula from Funter Bay to Bear Creek and the Oliver Inlet-Seymour Canal Portage.

Oliver Inlet is situated on the northern end of Glass Peninsula and empties into the western branch of Stephens Passage. It is accessible only to steam-launches and smaller boats at high water,

the narrow entrance being barred at low water by a natural dam formed by a nest of rocks over which the water flows like a miniature water-fall during the latter part of the ebb tide. On the top of high water small vessels drawing not over six feet can pass with safety.

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There is a portage of about one-half mile in length connecting Oliver Inlet with Seymour Canal, and on this portage the Indians have placed skids, after the fashion of laying railroad ties, for convenience in hauling their canoes. By means of this short portage the Indians have direct communication between Frederick Sound and Juneau by way of Seymour Canal, the portage, Oliver Inlet, and Gastineau Channel, thus avoiding the large open water of Stephens Passage, except the short run across the passage between the inlet and Gastineau Channel.

Oliver Inlet will have no other practical use than that just described for the convenience of the Indians or for mining prospectors using canoes.

--Lt. Commander Thomas,  
1888/89.

Thomas had also used photographs for, perhaps, the first time in hydrographic surveys of Southeast Alaska. After the United States purchase of Alaska, navigators had been forced to rely on old Russian and British charts and the sporadic ammendations by U.S. surveyors like Davidson and Dall. Vancouver's hydrography of Southeast Alaska remained the best until the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey began their systematic surveys of Southeast Alaska in 1881/82, setting up tide gauges and astronomical stations on Admiralty Island. Debates occured right up through the 1890's as to whether Kootznoohoo Inlet connected to Seymour Canal, as it appeared on U.S.G.S. charts of the time. However, more than just surveys and mapping needed doing. Alaska lacked any systematic placement of buoys and totally lacked lightstations. Sporadic navigators had placed the occasional marker on much used routes in the most dangerous places -- such as a beacon for the ledges

off the Southeast point of Killisnoo Island, a nun buoy on Lone Rock for entering the harbor and dots on rocks at the entrance to Kanalku Bay.

The Petterson then proceeded to her own working ground, stopping on the way at Wrangell Narrows to locate an uncharted shoal reported by the "City of Topeka", at Killisnoo to land signal lumber, and at Sitka to take on board the boats and equipments stored at the close of the previous season.

The regular field work of the season was begun May 13 in Chatham Straits at the point reached last autumn, and at the close of the fiscal year the party had made good progress. A tide gauge was established on the east face of the "Alaska Oil and Guano Company's" wharf at Killisnoo, the longest that could be obtained in the locality, was connected with the triangulation of the previous season, making a satisfactory junction, and from it the triangulation was extended into Hootznahoo or Kootznahoo Inlet and across Chatham Straits into Peril Strait as far as Broad Island. The hydrography has been nearly completed within the same limits, but in certain localities some further development may be necessary; and the sketching of the topography has been carried down Chatham Strait on the west side as far as the north side of Peril Strait and on the east side to Danger Point, including Hootznahoo Inlet.

--U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey  
1894/95.

The USCGS completed its major hydrographic survey in the vicinity of Admiralty Island, however, disaster struck that same year. The strong winds -- "Taku's" and "Woolies" -- swept off the glaciers, down from the mountains, along the channels, in from the open ocean. It was not uncommon for a sailing vessel to be held up for a week trying to navigate Stephens Passage, past Taku Inlet, because of high winds and ice. Not a few sank.

## WRECK OF THE ELWOOD

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### One man Drowned and the Rest of the Crew Make a Narrow Escape

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Another vessel has succumbed to the stormy winds and seas of Southeastern Alaska. This time it is the schooner Elwood, owned and commanded by Capt. E.E. Wyman.

On August 3 the schooner sailed from San Francisco for Seattle with a partial cargo of groceries, provisions and lumber for Cooks Inlet. Arriving at Seattle they completed their cargo and sailed from there direct on the fifth of September. They arrived at the Inlet quite late, owing to rough weather, and did not leave there until the 18th of October, when they sailed for Glacier Bay which place was reached on November 24th. There considerable ice was taken aboard and the vessel left in search of halibut fishing grounds, intending to take a cargo of fish to the Sound. Rough weather was experienced on her homeward trip, and when she reached Killisnoo she was six weeks behind her time.

On the morning of the 14th of this month high winds were encountered off Cape Gardiner, the southernmost point of Admiralty Island. While off the shore between two and three miles a gale struck her, and the captain seeing that the vessel was liable to be driven ashore let go the fish anchor with 200 feet of line but notwithstanding this she was carried onto the rocks jutting out from the point and there utterly dashed to pieces.

The crew, consisting of Captain Wyman, of Seattle, M.E. Burges of Mich., Arthur R. Sullivan of Seattle, P.B. Tyler of Seattle, D.W. Feldt of San Francisco, Adrian F. Gastrom of Sweden, and two Indians, clung to the vessel for about eight hours. Gastrom made an attempt to go ashore before the tide had receded and was drowned. When the vessel broke in two a boy about 15 years of age, called "The Kid," sprang overboard into the ice-cold seething waters. His companions clinging to the wreck supposed that they would never see him again. But the little fellow was an expert swimmer, and upon coming to the surface he swam for a rock that he saw projecting out of the water a few feet distant. The waves were breaking over the rock so high and hard that he made several attempts before he could make a landing, where he had only a few seconds rest, when a higher wave, rolling clear over it, washed him off his little perch into the sea again. He swam for another rock and after several attempts succeeded in making a landing on that one, only to be washed off again as quick as before. But all the time he was gradually making towards the shore. Projecting above the seething turmoil of breakers directly before him was another rock which he struck out for, and succeeded in crawling upon it when he was nearly cramped with cold and his young energies nearly exhausted. Here he safely rested awhile, trying to get his chilled blood into circulation

again before making another attempt. Between this rock and the shore the sea was almost devoid of breakers, or at least was quiet enough for the expert little swimmer, after his short period of rest, to gain the rocky beach in safety. At daylight the next morning the crew, still clinging to the wreck, were amazed and overjoyed to see "Their Little Kid" standing in the fork of a tree from which elevation he was sizing up the predicament of the vessel and his companions. But only a boy, he still was one of a thousand of even strong men who could have swum from that vessel to the shore in the cold waters of an Alaskan winter, which were rolling and beating at their highest pitch.

When the gale and tide had receded the balance of the crew that clung to the wreck reached the shore in safety. A few articles from the ship washed ashore, including a sack of flour, some bacon and a small quantity of canned milk. The stranded sailors had not even enough clothing to keep them warm. They experienced great sufferings from cold and hunger while the storm lasted. Several of them received severe cuts and bruises from the tossing of the ship. After partially recovering from their fatigue, and with starvation staring them in the face, two of the crew started out to seek assistance, and soon located an Indian camp, and after offering every inducement, those savages promised to take them by canoes to Killisnoo, but, however, not until a great pow-wowing among the Indians, who were the notorious Kakes, as to the advisability of annihilating the whole crew, which tragedy was only prevented by the interference of an old Indian and his wife. Eight days elapsed before they reached Killisnoo, on the route the whites having to grin and bear the many taunts and insults that were heaped upon them by the overbearing devils that necessity compelled them to travel with. The cutter Wolcott brought them from Killisnoo to Juneau, landing them here on Saturday evening last.

The Elwood was a schooner of 92½ tons burden. It was formerly the Yukon, a government vessel, running on the coast survey. She was valued at \$3,400, and was uninsured. Gastrom, who was drowned, was a single man 21 years of age, the whereabouts of his relatives being unknown. Most of the crew will go below on the next Topeka.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
25 December 1895, Juneau.

Wrecks such as these, as well as the increasing commerce shipping through Southeast, drew attention to the need of navigational aids. However, villages came and went with internal and external industrial developments. As villages appeared and disappeared, the steamship routes connecting them changed. Officials were chary of expending money and effort on unstable, albeit dangerous, navigation corridors.

The Pacific Coast Steamship Company runs the large and comfortable steamer "City of Topeka" regularly, twice a month throughout the year, from Seattle to Sitka, and the large and commodious steamer "Queen", of the same line, also makes semimonthly trips during June, July, and August. They both pass through the northern part of Chatham Strait, stop at Killisnoo, and proceed thence through Peril Strait; returning, the "City of Topeka" follows the same route, while the Queen returns by way of Point Gardner, and is the only regular vessel at present navigating the southern waters of Chatham Strait. Two small steamers, the "Wallapa" and "Chilkat", were started this summer over the same route as that pursued by the "City of Topeka".

--U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey,  
1895/96.

However, the discovery of a major gold deposit in the Klondike that same year jerked attention, once more, away from Admiralty Island. Successive strikes "further north" -- Nome, Tanana, Denali -- began to divert attention permanently away from Southeast Alaska, let alone Admiralty Island; although Southeast Alaska remained as the principal doorway to the North. The excitement about northern gold coupled with the marginal profits of Admiralty coal, gold and herring oil to stop steamship connections to Killisnoo -- it just wasn't worth it. Private vessels took up the slack, but they still needed navigational aids. In 1901 the S.S. "Islander" struck a submerged iceberg, her boilers exploded, and she went down between Admiralty and Douglas Island in Stephens Passage. Filled with Klondikers, their gold and families: forty people died; but the story of the sunken gold ship from Skagway would lure salvage speculators for the next thirty years. The federal government finally began to set aside lighthouse reserves in 1901 and the first two light stations in Alaska on the Five Fingers (off Point Gambier) and Sentinel Island (off the Mansfield Peninsula) in 1902, followed by a light station at Point Retreat in 1904.

## IX. A PROBLEM OF PEOPLE

### Land

The U.S. Congress williwawed back and forth between two philosophies for administering American Natives -- separation from white economy by placement on reservations or assimilation into the white economy by individual land grants. The United States had acquired Russian America during their prediliction for reservation policy. No substantial economic or governmental development of Alaska occurred before the Gastineau Gold Rush of 1880, so Congress had merely considered Alaska just a very large "reservation" in itself and let the question of Native policy slide north of 50°. However, the discovery of gold and the ensuing development of the District of Alaska forced the issue of Alaskan Native rights. Congress passed the First Organic Act for Alaska in 1884, which gave Alaska a rude form of governmental structure based on Oregon law. Three years later Congress passed the General Allotment Act, which officially changed federal policy towards American Natives again, from "reservation" to "assimilation." According to the General Allotment Act, Native applicants could receive up to 160 acres of non-mineral, agricultural land to use "individually" and thereby integrate themselves into the mainstream white economy.

1. The Reservation system belongs to the past,
2. Indians must be absorbed into our national life, not as Indians but as American citizens,
3. The Indian must be "individualized" and treated as an individual by the Government,
4. The Indian must "conform to the white man's ways, peaceably if they will, forceably if they must,
5. The Indian must be prepared for the new order through a system of compulsory education, and

6. The traditional society of Indian groups must be broken up.

--U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs,  
1889.

But the General Allotment Act did not apply to the "uncivilized tribes" of Alaska. It took a special allotment act in 1906 to include them.

The Juneau journals freely vented their contempt for carpetbaggers out to fleece the Natives. Alaska had acquired the laws of the State of Oregon in 1884 with its First Organic Act. When Senator Dolph from that state visited Southeast Alaska, the Juneau journals seemed to make something of the Senator, the laws and the Oregon based Alaska Oil and Guano Company.

The great orator and senator from the state of Webfoot was here in Alaska a short time since. After many and much consultations with -- well -- with the judge of the district court; the governor of the district; the marshal of the district; the clerk of the court, and secretary of the district; his card to the commissioner of justice; a large lunch with the collector of customs; an official visit to the captain of the invincible war ship Pinta.

The senator said: "Why, I have consulted all these fellers, and they don't seem to know what they want!"

What a commentary on consultation -- "I have consulted all these fellers."

Read above who they are. Think of their interest in the country, outside of their general interests as citizens of the United States.

Wise and billiant senator! You can be assured that when he consulted Carl Spunh of Killisnoo, what Spunh did not know, Dolph could suggest for the reason he gathered a bogus land law that his confederates could get in the steal contemplated around Killisnoo and Kootzenoo to displace the natives of that country. The waters of Admiralty island are what he is after to make more and add to his millions.

He, his Webfoot majesty, consulted did he? Well, we purpose consulting the people of Oregon somewhat, and in the near future see

if the bladder of gas cannot be pricked: a few years will tell.  
SITKA, Sept. 9, 1891.

--Juneau City Mining Record  
17 September 1891.

It appears that the editors of the JCMR had their sights square on Outside speculators and government graft, but their windage veered with closer shots. On the local level, with the gold rushes in full swing, sensitivity to Alaskan Native rights did not even exist as an ideal. Part of the problem lay in no system for private patenting of government land in Alaska -- for anyone, Whites included -- until federal legislation in 1891 and 1898 finally established a system for Whites to acquire land. They then "sat as smug as a Christian with four aces" (Mark Twain).

EDITOR MINING RECORD --

It seems that in Alaska we have a landed aristocracy and that the land is held by parties who hold it for game preserves, as witness the following letter, lately received by Mr. P. Fox, of Douglas island:

Mr. Fox, -- People say you took some land near Seimour channel, in the Bay, after Pt. Pybus. That bay and land belong to our family from immemorial times. There live old man by name Tzekan my uncle, he wanted our land. Please don't molest our rights we don't want to sell our land. But if you help us and to old man Tzekan certainly we can have some understanding when I will come to Juneau. Please don't allow to nobody more to take our land, and yourself only run your quartz business if that is profitable. My all relation and my own brother died in that Bay and we claim it as our, what all people know.

Yours truly,  
Nahudwish,  
Mary Rete.

KILLISNOO, Sept. 20, '91.

Mr. Fox for about three years has had a man working on some mining claims which they jointly hold on a bay near Point Pybus at the mouth of Seymour channel. The Indian sending it does not even live there, but lives at Hoochinoo, near Killisnoo. The letter evidently is the work of some white friend of the Indian. The week before last, Donald Fraser, George Turkey, John McWilliams and brother, returning to camp on Admiralty island, opposite upper end of Douglas island, from prospecting found their house in flames and camp robbed also, their boat turned adrift and gone; they had one boat with them. The Indians in this vicinity robbed one other prospector twice in succession; also another white man prospecting there. At Sumdum and Snettishane bays they have been giving the prospectors trouble. We know of course that the Indians would naturally give some trouble; but the fact is the trouble is aggravated by over-zealous friends of the Indians, giving them "papers." These papers set forth that the Indian is possessed of certain lands or fisheries and waters and that he must be suspected in his rights or else he writes something in the style of the above letter which is one of the "papers." If those over-zealous friends of the Indians would read the laws of Alaska they would see that the Indian is entitled to such land as he was in actual occupancy of at the time of the passage of the law session of '83 and '84 of congress; also a tract of 640 acres at each mission. These founded not among mission since founded as some of our missionaries, who have claimed 640 acres for missions since 1884. Public opinion and influence should be brought to bear on those persons writing these "papers" for the Indians and have it stopped. The Indians own all the land, and we are all trespassers, especially the prospector and fisherman.

DOUGLAS ISLAND, Alaska, October 1891.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
29 October 1891.

### Religion and School

Acculturation problems also revolved around religion. The Russian Orthodox Church became the scapegoat, especially for Killisnoo where the entire village had requested baptism, in part, to ward off proselytizing protestant missionaries. The U.S. Bureau of Education, run by the Presbyterian minister, Sheldon Jackson, staffed the Killisnoo Public School (built in 1888) and the Angoon Public School (built in 1890) with the occasional missionary and minister. The Killisnoo faithful built St. Andrews

church in 1889. But a reaction grew amongst non-orthodox against the Russian Church in 1891 over the alleged maltreatment of children in the care of the Bishop of Alaska and the Aleutians at the San Francisco Seminary. The jury acquitted the Bishop but the WASPs of Southeast made hay of the situation with muckraking attacks about the Russian Orthodoxy of Killisnoo.

#### CHRISTIAN WORK AT THE CITY OF SMELLS

EDITOR MINING RECORD:--

Changes have come to us since last writing. We have grown older in years, and correspondingly so in wickedness. After gathering in many sin-sick souls, Father George left us, for new fields of labor. Father Joseph Levin came and made an earnest and honorable effort in the right direction, but found "church circles" to be a quagmire of degradation and immorality, hopelessly beyond his depth. He also left us broken in spirit and at open war with his ecclesiastical superiors. To him are principally owing the exposures made in San Francisco, and of drawing the attention of the authorities to the crimes of the Greek church.

Since Father Joseph's departure we have had no one here who could rightfully claim to hold a mortgage upon salvation. No one who knew all the grips and signs, and could advertise as a reliable guide upon the path of rectitude and virtue. We have been compelled to worry along as best we might, with such home talent as the camp affords. The burden of keeping the flock together has mainly devolved upon the guardian (angel) and treasurer of the church, Joseph Zuboff. No dazzling success is attending his endeavors in the siwash salvation line. Converts are as scarce as plums in a poor house pudding. Sacred candles are selling at a sacrifice; while relics of defunct saints, chips of the true cross and holy pictures are a drug upon the market. Miracles also are languishing, and there has not been a boom, in signs from heaven, since Saginaw Jake's clock stopped at 7 p.m., which gospel authority interpreted as meaning that the powers above expected a nightly ghost dance or prayer meeting at above named Jake's house, who would thereby do penance for getting drunk and thrashing his squaw. The anxious seat is becoming dusty; the mourner's bench is inviting occupants, and a night shift in the babtismal works is a thing of the long ago past.

Thanks to the noble count though. His rather phenominal success at increasing and multiplying, through his connections with a native handmaid of the Lord's, enables us to keep in practice, as far as infant babtism is concerned. Nevertheless, church affairs are going to the dogs metaphorically speaking, and a revival by Talmage, Spurgeon, Moody and Sankey, or John L. Sullivan would come very opportune. It is barely possible that Bishop Vladimar may

undertake to whoop up this thing and make it blossom like the rose in its former pristine purity and original glory. He is about to pack up his furniture and leave San Francisco, where people do not seem to appreciate or give his lofty aims due encouragement. In about two months from now, he will hang out his shingle and be ready to attend to and operate upon any world weary soul, at his place of business in Sitka, Alaska, where, thanks to Maurice Kennealy, no prying newspaper exists to inquire into his peculiar methods, or comment upon his laudable efforts at church-burning, or his maltreatment of friendless orphans of which he stands accused.

Very respectfully,  
J. Blaine.

KILLISNOO, Alaska, August 23, 1891.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
17 September 1891.

Notwithstanding yellow journalism, when the Killisnoo Public School burned in 1894 and could not be rebuilt because of budget cuts in the Bureau of Education, the children attended the Russian Orthodox Church school.

### Trade and Alcohol

The age old problems with white traders and alcohol persisted on Admiralty through the 1880's and '90's.

I had been one of the members of the ill-fated Frank Starr whaling crew, which after months of hardship on the beach, waiting for the winter gales out of the Takou inlet to subside that we might get around Point Gardiner into Chatham straits, at last made the passage and reached Killisnoo. We were all dead broke, but Starr went to work repairing a wharf for the Northwest Trading company and I turned over to him my share in the oil we had cached on Admiralty island in return for an order on the company's store at Juneau for \$7, the amount of my canoe passage from Killisnoo to that place.

This was exceedingly cheap fare, but a Sitka siwash, whom I had known at Treadwells, was anxious to reach Juneau, and through his intercession and the added consideration that I work a paddle throughout the trip and supply flour for the crew while en route,

the Sitka's uncle was prevailed upon to make the voyage of some 70 miles.

The night before I was to leave Killisnoo Starr handed me a letter to Koehler, the manager of the company's store at Juneau, which I naturally supposed contained the order for the \$7 I was to pay my siwashes.

It was in the middle of winter, and there is little daylight in that latitude during those months, so, what with making camp as darkness fell and breaking camp only by daylight, our voyage consumed five days, and holy smoke! but what a hole those siwashes did make in my sapolil (flour).

We landed on the beach at Juneau about 5 o'clock in the afternoon of a January day. The darkness blacker than the hinges of hell, and only relieved by the glint of the lights, gleaming on the snow cast from the Franklin house and Slim Jim's saloon.

Never for a moment mistrusting the validity of the order I carried within my shirt, I told the siwashes to haul the canoe up on the snow and we would go to the company's store, where they would be paid.

Never had sight been more welcome to me than the glimmer of those lights of Juneau, and it was with a light heart I led my little party to the Northwest Trading company's corner. Entering the store, the first person I met was Denny La Porte -- a Frenchman of education, exiled for some cause, whose cheery heartiness, courteous manners and known pluck had given him the brevet name of "Count." To him I handed my letter, asking at the same time that he pay the siwash as quick as possible, as I wanted my traps taken out of the canoe to the Franklin hotel, it being a rule of the Indians of the north that settlement be made for transportation before the cargo be landed.

Denny took the sealed letter, opened and read it and then, with an odd look of inquiry at me, passed back to the office and handed the letter to Ned James, the bookkeeper, Koehler, the manager, being absent. James read the letter and a discussion followed between he and the "count." A moment later I was called into the office.

"Steve, what do you believe this letter contains?" asked James.

"Why, it's an order from Killisnoo for you to pay \$7 to these siwashes for bringing me here and to give me credit for some underclothes, overalls and a pair of gum boots," I answered.

"Read it," said James, handing me over the letter.

To my dismay and anger, the order instead of being what I had expected, and been told, was to the direct contrary, its substance

being that under no consideration were Frank Starr's men to have any further credit.

What to do, I had no idea. There were the siwashes waiting to be paid, and there were my sole possessions, poor as they were, in the canoe. It was then that Denny the "count" came to the rescue.

"Who's watching the canoe?" he asked.

Two boys, sons of the old siwash," I answered.

"That's good," said Denny. "Now I'll tell you what to do. Ned and I will hold the old man and Sitka Tom here in the store and you hurry down to the canoe and have the young siwashes pack your things up to the Franklin hotel, and tell Flannigan or George Wheelock (the two proprietors) to look after the luggage."

It was no sooner said than done, and a few moments later the habitués of the Franklin hotel bar-room were startled by seeing the door open and a procession formed of one white man and two Indian youths, the former ragged and unkempt to a degree, enter and deposit sundry parcels upon the floor. For their trouble I presented one of the young siwashes with my ax and the other with some fixed ammunition for a 45-caliber rifle I had lost in a capsized month before.

Without a word to anyone in the room I left the Franklin and returned to the store, hoping at least to borrow enough money to set the drinks up for the house when I returned, and thus hide my busted state of finances from Flannigan, who was behind the bar of the hotel, when I with my "serving men" had entered.

"Have you got everything out of the canoe?" asked Denny, on my again reaching the store, "the siwashes are becoming restive."

"Everything safely landed in the Franklin," I answered.

Scribbling a few words on a card he handed the bit of pasteboard to the old Indian and in a few choice Chinook words told the siwash I was not a C.O.D. package, but was to be paid for on the return of the canoe to Killisnoo with a receipt for my safe delivery and he was giving him the receipt. Vainly the Indian argued and spluttered. It was of no avail against the "count's" edict.

--Harry Stevens in the Alaska  
Mining Record,  
24 March 1897, Juneau,  
about events in the early 1880's.

It was small wonder that more events like the following did not prevail with

these economic ethics.

The evidence in the case went to show that on or about May 5th last Victor Wyborg and J.T. Williamson in a small sloop were anchored at a point some distance below Killisnoo. In the evening two canoes, carrying five Indians, three of whom were the prisoners, with women and children, came in sight of the schooner and upon being hailed by the white men pulled up alongside and Sam, Frank and John went aboard. The white men offered them a drink of whiskey, which they at first refused to take, but after a repeated offer they drank it, and several rounds of drinks followed. Another Indian, Ko-kesh, a witness in the case, sitting in the canoe, joined in on the rounds of drinks that were passed around, and also purchased three and a half bottles of whiskey from the white traders giving them ten martin skins in payment for the same. The traders then asked the Indians gathered there to buy more whiskey. Sam, who was an Indian police officer, told the traders that they must stop selling whiskey to his people, to which an answer was given in another round of drinks and a further entreaty to the Indians to buy more. Policeman Sam thinking he had a right to and exercising his duty as an officer with the authority to stop the sale of liquor to his people by white men, seized the cargo, consisting of two kegs that were full and another that was about half full. This, along with the firearms belonging to the two men, were put into one of the canoes, and the sails were hoisted to take the sloop to the shore, where Policeman Sam said he would deliver up the fire-arms. As a natural consequence the two traders rebelled at such a confiscation of their stock-in-trade, and a row begun, according to the testimony given the white men starting the fight. Policeman Sam and Frank were both knocked senseless in the first round, both being struck on the head with the boat's tiller and Sam received also numerous cuts on the head and face inflicted with a jack-knife. In Wyborg's struggle to get into the canoe after the fire-arms that craft was upset, dumping women, children, arms and whiskey out into the bay. No testimony was brought forth proving just how or by whom the two white men were killed, but circumstances that happened go to show that Wyborg was hit on the head while struggling in the water and Williamson was killed on the deck of the sloop and his body afterwards thrown overboard. The witnesses claimed that it was growing dark when the canoe upset, and much of its load, including the fire-arms and the two full kegs of whiskey, sunk and were not recovered, but the half-keg was secured, which afterwards the Indians have said, with its contents. Policeman Sam delivered up to the deputy marshal at Fort Wrangel and also sent an Indian messenger to Commissioner Kelly at that place with a letter giving him a full account of the affray, however, these were not proven to be facts as neither the marshal nor the commissioner were placed upon the witness stand.

The only evidence in the case that could be produced was that given by three Indian witnesses, the wife of Policeman Sam, and the

Indian Ko-kesh and his wife who were occupants of one of the canoes, and who bought the three and a half bottles of whiskey. The fifth Indian was an old man who committed suicide some time after the killing. Whether or not these witnesses gave out the full and truthful facts of the occurrences as they took place is a matter of conjecture. Upon reaching a certain point all further knowledge of the affray seemed to drop, in fact they knew nothing further in the case. In eliciting the whole truth and facts of what occurred and how it occurred from an Indian witness the attorney has to work under the great disadvantages in having to do his cross-questioning through an interpreter, which advantage is all upon the side of the Indian witness, who has not the faintest preception of an oath, and can lie a lawyer clear over a rail fence and stick to it.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
4 December 1895, Juneau.

The jury convicted the three prisoners of manslaughter.

### Inequities

When the District of Alaska held court, they called juries from all around Southeast to enjoy the vicissitudes of steamship travel through Killisnoo, the "City of Smells."

After the arrival of the steamer, as usual, everything in the capital was in confusion. Court adjourned and there was a general rush to secure staterooms on the magnificent and palatial steamship Yaquina. About 45 were successful while nearly that number were not. Some few who had blankets sought rest and repose in the airy apartments of the steerage where already a goodly number of the maidens of the forest were quietly domiciled for the trip; while the steerage was not the most comfortable quarters, yet it was far better than the accommodations extended to many who paid for first-class passage and received really worse than that afforded in the steerage, in so far as many had no place to lay their head only on the soft side of the cabin floor and even then there was not sufficient room for all as a notable person known as Saginaw Jake, who was dressed in his regimentals, "a la gubner," had stretched himself flat on his back with his head close to the heating apparatus and the graceful curve to his legs reached both sides of the social hall, therefore occupying enough territory to accommodate a half dozen men with comfortable sleeping apartments. His enjoyment was for the time being only as some one taking in the situation turned on the steam in the heater and with a snort this noble siwash arose and hauled off his coat and dropped back into the

arms of Morphia in a perspiring condition and soon the fumes of herring oil filled the palatial social hall and all were only too glad to seek a restorative in the shape of the invigorating sea breeze which could be obtained on deck. This individual left the ship at Killisnoo about 3:30 in the morning and his space was then jumped by those plebians who had paid for first-class fare. There was quite a sea rushing after leaving Killisnoo and the commodious old ship rolled majestically on the bosom of the deep and quite a number of the court tourists succumbed to the inevitable and yielded up that which they had partaken of as guests of the P.C.S.S. Co. but to their credit when breakfast was announced they refused to partake of any more hospitality which was so generously offered. Those who paid for first class passage and were permitted to stand up all night owing to the generosity of the steamship company seemed to have a certain enjoyment which those who retired to staterooms did not. They put in the night in singing songs, giving dramatic rehearsals and recitations and delivering stump speeches some of which were eloquent in the extreme, in fact so eloquent that many who had retired could not find repose owing to the attractions offered in the social hall. Daylight came too soon and with it brought all (XX) to one of the most interesting and brilliant scenes ever enacted on board of a first class excursion steamship which had more passengers than it could accommodate and more than a legal license would allow or permit to carry.

As the ship rounded Douglas island at a little past 9 o'clock in the evening never did the lights of Juneau shine with a more illuminating brilliancy. Every one rushed on deck to catch a glimpse of the light which brought cheer to the weary court tourists and a feeling of delight seemed to seize one and all through the consciousness that in a short space of time we would be relieved from the torments inflicted upon all at the rate of \$15 per head for the privilege of standing up for 30 hours where there was scarcely standing room on a palatial steamship, the usual avocation of which is carrying hogs from the southern coast to the San Francisco market and the dining room of which has a seating capacity for fifteen and opens out into the water closets at one end and the hog pen at the other. Her builders evidently had an eye to convenience. The weather during the return trip was cool and invigorating consequently cholera or other diseases did not make an appearance. Up to latest accounts all those who returned from the capital on the Yaquina are still alive, which fact is due more to Providence than the steamship company who were well aware that about one hundred jurors, etc., would require accommodations from Sitka to Juneau and the company over exerted itself in sending the best boat on the line

to bring them back. The people of Juneau are a grateful people and will not forget the courtesy of the P.C.S.S. Co.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
11 December 1890.

Dick Willoughby claimed that the brown bear around his Funter Bay claims grew so large because of the nourishing smell wafted on south winds from the Killisnoo fish factory.

Not the least of frontier problems came from a lack of medical care and infrequent transportation.

One of the sadest events that has occurred in our midst was the death of Mrs. F.D. Daniels, nee Nilsine Knudsen, a native of Kongsberg, Norway, and aged 38 years. Mrs. Daniels was residing at Killisnoo with her husband and some days ago was taken sick in child-birth, but there being no medical aid at hand no delivery was brought about. Upon the arrival of the steamship Elder she was brought to this place and the best medical aid was summoned and an operation performed but too late to save the life of the unfortunate lady who had suffered untold agonies and whose spirit passed into the realms of the great unknown yesterday afternoon. The funeral took place this afternoon at 2 o'clock.

--Juneau City Mining Record,  
9 January 1890.

Despite the deficiencies in health care, the population of Angoon/Killisnoo continued to grow. No doubt this growth, as in the past, came from village consolidation and an undifferentiated census breakdown.

	<u>1880</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>
Angoon	420	381	--
Scutskon	246	--	--
Killisnoo	246	79	172
Stephens Passage (Auk)	300	--	--
Seymour Channel (Kake)	75	9	--
Taku River & Inlet (Taku)	269	--	--
Funter Bay	--	25	--
Gambier Bay	--	8	--
Pybus Bay	--	26	--

As the White population grew and spread out, their attitudes to the Natives changed. At first dependent and magnanimous, they grew aggressive and hostile. Finally, with the arrival of telephones and electricity in the 1890's, they became contemptuous.

#### Saginaw Jake.

Kitch-nat-ti, or Saginaw Jake, head chief of the tribe at Killisnoo, is a character who has figured prominently in Alaskan history. He is a short, square-built, and bow-legged specimen of the native race, with a fondness for military dress and proud of his past achievements. About twenty four years ago his tribe committed so many crimes against the whites that a government ship was sent to put them down, and Saginaw Jake, their chief, was carried off as a hostage for their future good behavior. He was retained in captivity until he acquired a knowledge of the English language and had become so docile that it was deemed wise to send him to his people again and let him set up his authority. He appears to have been truly converted, in the way that converts are generally made -- by holding out sufficient inducements. So Saginaw Jake was allowed a police salary, provided with an admiral's uniform, and placed in comfortable quarters. Since he has posed as a "heap big chief" and "white man's friend." When a steamer arrives he struts down to the dock, generally in full naval uniform, although on the last occasion, having been suddenly awakened from his nap, he had hurriedly put on his coat, forgetting his trousers. He takes great pride in escorting people to his palace and points with pride to these verses that are painted on his door:

By the governor's commission  
And the company's permission,  
I'm made the Grand Tye  
Of this entire illahee.

Prominent in song and story,  
I've attained the top of glory;  
Saginaw Jake I'm known to fame,  
That is but my common name.

--Alaska Mining Record,  
25 March 1895, Juneau.

The new era of the Klondike Gold Rush came in with a disproportionate string of events that the Juneau papers labeled "the Darkest Page in Alaska's History" and which reads like a Zane Grey novel set on Admiralty Island. In October of 1896 a brawl exploded in Douglas and the loser lost the tip of his nose and a piece of ear. The court indicted the three Birch brothers, convicting "Slim" and sentencing him to three years in San Quentin in January of 1897 -- along with a \$500 fine -- for "mayhem." Friends broke "Slim" out of jail and he escaped in a sloop to Admiralty Island just after his conviction. A Marshall's posse pursued and in a "bloody battle" by Bear Creek on Mansfield Peninsula a deputy was killed, with the Marshall and another deputy wounded. Another posse sailed for Admiralty after the first had returned.

#### VIEWING THE SURROUNDINGS BY MOONLIGHT

A watch was stationed outside the cabin and the volunteers crowded into little 12x14 foot room that had lately been occupied by the murderers, to await the coming of daylight. A fire was quickly kindled in the stove and then a search was made among the piles of stuff in the room for articles that might be used for purposes of identification.

The fugitives had left behind them enough provisions to have lasted them for many days. On the table eight or ten pounds of butter was piled upon a tin pan and alongside was a two pound roll of the same article; a half dozen cans of condensed milk remained unopened close by; a dozen pieces of bacon hung from the ceiling; sacks of beans, flour, ground coffee, tea, oatmeal and a little dry bread were found upon shelves in one corner. Two wide bunks extended along one end of the room and they were liberally supplied with good blankets. All this we burned or destroyed before quitting the cabin.

Piled under one corner of the lower bunk was a stack of dirty clothing. This was pulled out and a fifty-pound box of giant powder was found secreted behind it. This was a suspicious article to be found in the possession of fugitives who could have had no intention of engaging in mining, and it at once gave rise to the suspicion that the owners had contemplated robbery at no distant date, or, possibly as some thought, the wrecking of the Treadwell mill.

The floor of the cabin was liberally scattered with empty rifle shells; there were two sizes, 38-90 and 45-70. A cloth belt was picked up from the floor and on it was printed the name "W.H. Phillips."

On one side of the house was a door and on the opposite side was a window; at the front end a loophole three feet in length had been made by cutting away a chink from between two logs that were close under the low roof. About ten feet from the front end of the house and directly in front of the loophole stands a large tree fully nine feet in circumference. It was behind this tree that Hale, Watt and Linnquist first sought shelter from the fusillade that was suddenly poured upon them. Bays, who had been wounded at the first fire, from the doorway of the cabin ran to a smaller tree a few yards away and a little to the left of the cabin. To the right of the cabin, about eighty yards, on a low hill are the three trees from behind which Slim Birch poured his deadly fire. Birch succeeded in slipping from the house unseen, and running along the edge of the first ridge managed, by a circuitous route to get to his point of deadly action without the knowledge of the officers. The first intimation the latter had of their new danger was when the shots commenced to come from that direction, and when Birch cried, "You will try to catch Slim Birch, will you?"

Bays, bleeding profusely, had already left the tree behind which he had sought shelter and ran for assistance towards the boat. Watt ran from the big tree to a small fallen tree that was lying with its roots in the air. The tree was rotten and crumbly and afforded no protection whatever from the penetration of bullets. Hale fled from the tree behind which he first hid and stopped to exchange shots with Birch from behind the tree where Bays had lately knelt, but as he was then subjected to severe cross fire from the loopholes in the cabin and from Birch, he next ran to the fallen tree where Watt had endeavored to find some protection. Hale found

Watt to be badly wounded and it was while he was stooping over to examine the wound in Watt's leg that he too, received a bullet which struck him in the left side above the back of the hip. The bullet was evidently fired from the window of the cabin. Lindquist remained behind the big tree for some minutes after the other two officers had left, and the numerous bullet marks bear evidence of the miraculous escape the jailer must have had.

Almost a half dozen feet back from the upturned roots behind which Watt and Hale had both been wounded was a miniature fall in the creek bed. Hale staggered back after receiving his wound and fell over this drop into the water. Watt dragged himself around the stream, leaving a trail of blood behind him to the spot where his lifeless remains were found.

Lindquist and Hale and the native who accompanied the posse had now fled and the shooting must have ceased, but the tracks that the rescuing party followed up with the coming of daylight told a little story of their own.

--The Alaska Mining Record,  
27 January 1897, Juneau.

The second posse returned due to a lack of coal for the vessel. A third posse set out and captured "Slim" and an accomplice -- asleep and suffering from exposure near Greens Bay. A second trial came on and the jury found "Slim" and his partner not guilty of murder because the first posse had not announced themselves. "Slim" left in December of 1897 to serve out his sentence of mayhem in San Quentin, one brother went north to the Klondike and the other brother remained in Southeast. It symbolized a new century for Alaska.

## X - TWENTIETH CENTURY FISHERIES

### Salted Salmon

Sixty-seven streams on Admiralty Island produce salmon, with ten considered of "major" importance. So many salteries dotted the coast of Southeast Alaska that the Bureau of Fisheries reports could not cite a majority of them, let alone their output. Desultory packs of salted salmon came from the Alaska Oil and Guano factory at Killisnoo, starting in 1888 as a sideline of their herring catch. Salmon canneries began to increase that year in Alaska, peaked in 1891, and stabilized under federal laws and joint marketing agreements of processors in the 1890's. The Killisnoo herring plant could not employ more than one hundred workers, even in its few best years, and many of the Angoon laborers went to work in neighboring salmon canneries on adjacent islands and the mainland. A glut of salmon on a limited market combined with the 1890's Depression and remote Alaskan resources to inhibit salmon cannery development throughout the 1890's. However, the salteries did provide for a low income entry to a cash economy.

The demand for salt salmon is yearly increasing. A few years ago there was but little call for it, probably owing to the fact that little effort was made on the part of those engaged in the business to introduce it in the East. Seeing the absolute necessity of taking steps to place their products on the eastern market in order to increase the demand and establish a trade for salt-cured salmon, efforts have been pushed in that direction, and the encouragement met with has induced many who had not the means or desire to enter into the expensive business of canning salmon to establish salmon salteries in various parts of Alaska.

The amount of capital required to start on a small scale in this business is not large. One or two boats fitted with drag seines, a cabin on shore for living quarters, a rough shed or fish house in which to dress and salt the fish and for performing such

general work as may be required in a limited business of this kind, will suffice for all purposes. Many of the well-established salteries were first started in this manner and have since grown to be of considerable importance. Two or three men with only a small amount of capital, if they are fortunate in selecting a good locality where the run of salmon can be relied upon -- for the success of the entire business depends upon the location -- can, if they display the required amount of energy, build up a paying business. They of course must appreciate the fact that at least for seven months out of the year they must content themselves with being cut off and isolated from civilization, but the class of men who seek a livelihood in this remote part of the world care little for social life, or, if so, the prospect which looms up before them for making money is fully equivalent to any hardships of this nature they may undergo ...

Employees at the salteries have, heretofore, been paid by the month, but a few salters during the past season gave their men a lay. Sixty dollars a month for white fishermen and \$1 a day for native help have been the established wages. It is fast becoming the custom to pay so much per barrel to white fishermen for all salmon caught. At all places where this system has been tried it has given satisfaction to both fishermen and owners. Ten cents a barrel is the lay received. In all fishing communities where fishing is performed on a lay much better results follow than where stipulated wages are given. The constant expectation of good catches stimulates the men with energy which wages have not the power to bring out. The fishermen know that what benefits the proprietors likewise helps them.

All barrels used for putting up salmon in southeastern Alaska are manufactured at the salteries. Suitable wood being abundant, they can be made at a reasonable price. During the winter months enough barrels are made to meet the demand for the coming season. A cooper is an indispensable person about a salmon saltery, for, besides performing his regular duties as a cooper, he is often called upon to assist in various mechanical jobs, and is paid by the piece, or so much per barrel -- 85 cents for making a whole barrel and 65 cents for a half barrel. At this price he can earn good wages, for he is under no expense for board.

It being the object of every man owning a saltery to enlarge on the plant and increase his business as rapidly as possible, several weeks of each year, before and after the fishing season, are spent in building wharves if needed, erecting buildings, and making such improvements as are required to keep a place of this kind in good order.

Many salmon salters have gained a firmer foothold in Alaska than the mere business of salting salmon would give them. They have branched out into general trade, and have stores well stocked with goods of all kinds. In this way they have drawn around them the neighboring tribes of Indians who are ever ready to buy and trade

for such commodities as they require. The result of barter and trade with the Indians has been to annually fill the stores with large collections of furs. Bear, fox, and deer skins are chiefly dealt in, the most of which are shipped direct to San Francisco.

--A.B. Alexander,  
1893.

Desperation from the 1890's Depression drove thousands of workers north towards the Klondike Gold Rush in 1897. In a Depression wise investments of capital can realize fabulous profits. This took place. While the weary and hopeful workers flocked north in search of gold, Stateside capitalists invested in Southeast Alaskan canneries and took advantage of the large work force that never made it successfully over the Coastal Mountains in search of gold. Scandinavian and Chinese workers concentrated themselves in this employ -- along with the resident Alaskan Natives.

Often, totally extraneous events determine the success and failure of industry. For example, developers began the production of dried salted dog salmon in Seymour Canal as early as 1899 but had gone out of business by 1900. Then the Russo-Japanese War brought a demand for this product; since the war ranged in seas where Japanese fishers caught their salmon, it had closed their fishery. In response to the Japanese need, salmon salteries in Alaska received a second lease on life, with packs of 560 pounds of dry salmon in 95 pound boxes with fifteen pounds of salt.

The putting up of dry-salted salmon for the Japanese trade is a growing branch of the Alaska fish industry, and is important in that it utilizes the dog or "chum" variety, of which the supply is practically unlimited, but which is undesirable for either canning or salting in the usual manner. The Japanese demand for this product already exceeds the present supply, and it is not doubted

that the market would steadily keep pace with an enlarged production. A packer who has been giving his attention to this line of the business says: "We and all who have tried dry-salting dogs or 'chums' regard them, without exception, the very best kind of salmon we have ever seen. If the American public could only know how good a fish they are, I feel sure a large home market would be opened for a fish with which Alaska waters are teeming, and for which there has been heretofore little use."

--Howard Kutchin,  
1904.

However, the peace treaty between Japan and Russia killed the market and the Alaskan reincarnation died. The rise and fall of one of these salteries, in Seymour Canal, illustrates this process well -- reported wage discrepancies notwithstanding.

A saltery began in 1903 at Mole Harbor. Its plant valued at \$3,000 and had capital stock of \$5,000, based in Oakland, California. They operated one steam launch (five tons) and four lighter/boats -- using two seines and, perhaps, a few gillnets. Two Whites worked with twelve Natives -- to whom \$1,700 in wages went -- and their operation paid \$8,000 in taxes the first year.

In 1904, the operation moved to Pleasant Bay and were listed for the first time as the Alaska Fish and Development Company, based in Seattle. They packed 23,035 pink salmon, putting up 225 barrels of salted salmon and forty-six half-barrels for a net market value of \$1,493. The employment ratio changed to thirteen Whites and two Natives, with \$7,497 wages paid. This second year they worked with

one steamer (two tons) and sixteen lighter/boats, using one seine and one trap.

1904.

Juneau, Alaska, May 2,

Hon. George M. Bowers,  
United States Fish Commissioner, Washington, D.C.

Sir: I arrived at Juneau to-day, coming here at the request of my people to see the fishing inspectors or agents, in order to have them visit our place at Pleasant Bay, near Mole Harbor, Grass Peninsula, Alaska.

Last season a company represented by one Fred Galvas fished in our locality, and with dragnets, seines, and other gear practically barricaded the stream up which the dog and humpbacks run, and upon which our people here principally depend for their food supply. Last season through their agency thousands of such fish were uselessly destroyed. There are several small lakes back of this stream, but there are not many red fish or sockeyes visiting it. But our people have long resided thereabout and depended upon the fish of the small Pleasant Bay, such as the king salmon that follows the herring and the dog or chum and humpback salmon for their supply.

Now this man Galvas is preparing to put in a trap in these waters, and has already begun putting up a warehouse, and will build a wharf in close proximity to my house and my old father's premises. I wish that you would cause your agents to look into this matter, and as I will be in Pleasant Bay from now until about July 4, I shall be pleased to show him personally, what our people claim in these

respects and what protection we need. Please write to Frank Mason (native), care of p.o. box 194, Juneau, Alaska.

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Department of Commerce and Labor,  
Division of Alaskan Fisheries,  
Office of Assistant Agent,  
Port of Ketchikan, Alaska, September 4, 1904.

Mr. H.M. Kutchin,  
Agent at Alaska Salmon Fisheries.

Dear Sir: Your communication of August 25, also copy of complaint from Frank Mason, of Juneau, in regard to the fishery at Pleasant Bay, was received.

Mr. F.A.J. Galvas, of Douglas, is manager of the Alaska Fish and Development Company, which formerly operated at Mole Harbor, but removed this year to Pleasant Bay. As the company had suspended salmon fishing before the complaint reached me, I did not visit the bay, which is quite difficult of access. I understand they have a trap in operation and are slowly erecting buildings, wharf, etc. They have done little with salmon this season, most of their attention haveing been devoted to halibut fishing, while they expect to engage in herring salting this fall.

Very respectfully,

John N. Cobb,  
Assistant Agent at Alaska Salmon  
Fisheries.

--Howard Kutchin,  
1904.

In 1905 they packed 50,800 salmon into 350 barrels, as well as 160,000 pounds of dry salted salmon and salted herring, for a value of \$6,300. They employed twenty Whites and five Natives for \$2,900 of wages, who worked five seines out of nine lighters/boats. They didn't set the trap that year. However, they did build a small fertilizer plant aboard a large hulk, named the "Enoch Talbot," anchored in Pleasant Bay, to process herring and fish remains.

However, the plant never operated, was removed from the hulk, and placed ashore. This operation seemed to fade totally out of existence by 1908.

### Canned Salmon

The first cannery appeared on Admiralty Island in 1902 -- at Funter Bay -- and a U.S. Post Office opened there. Organized by Portland capitalists, the Thlinket Trading and Packing Company met with little competition in its area. It fished Hawk Inlet, Freshwater Bay, Tenakee Inlet, Sullivan Island, Eagle River, and the Chilkat River, as well as Funter Bay proper. According to U.S. Law, canneries could deduct the costs of operating hatcheries from their taxes, which many did at a marginally worthwhile profit. The T.T.& P. Company chose James Bay as the site of their hatchery, but never constructed it.

In 1902, the operation began with diverse methods. Their workers consisted of sixty-five Whites, thirty Natives and thirty-eight Chinese, whom they paid \$29,500 in wages. The fishers worked from thirty boats and lighters, which were serviced by two steamers (106 tons), using twelve seines and six gillnets, as well as two traps placed at Eagle River and Sullivan Island. the fish trap at Eagle River led to litigation over the legality of fishing at the mouth of a river -- whether the river's mouth is legally defined at high or low tide. The market rendered the decision moot when the Company declared the traps a failure and reportedly

dismantled them. This first season proved successful with a pack of 31,888 cases of mostly pink salmon for a value of \$87,200.

In 1903 their season's pack value decreased to \$75,000 due to a glut of pink salmon, which were worth less; they packed more than a million pinks and still had to release many, losing time by sorting them out of their fish traps for the more valuable silver salmon. A Bureau of Fisheries agent reported that on August 26, a scow brought in 7,000 "silversides" in one load. The Company began to shift to a pattern that became the status quo in large Alaskan canneries -- discarding seines and gillnets and depending solely on three fish traps that didn't strike or require pay. They reduced their vessels to the two steamers (104 tons) and only fifteen lighters/ boats. Their work force dropped to only twenty-two Whites and ten Natives, but increased to forty-nine Chinese, who all received \$22,000 in wages. This reduction of wages, capital investments and expenses probably made them a larger overall profit than the previous year, even through the pack value proved smaller.

The 1904 pack value nearly doubled with an increase of silvers and the addition of two more fish traps. They worked twenty-seven Whites, twenty-three Natives, thirty Chinese, and twenty Japanese for wages of \$27,000 in sixteen hour days. The Bureau of Fisheries reported this as the first year for Japanese, Filipino and Puerto Rican laborers in the Alaska cannery work force -- due to a shortage of Chinese workers.

The increasing difficulty of securing sufficient numbers of Chinamen for the operation of the canneries, mentioned in former reports, was the occasion of a good deal of trouble to the packers this season, and various experiments for relief were resorted to. Many more Japs than usual were employed. While the latter were not quite satisfactory if employed in gangs of mixed nationalities, by themselves they proved excellent workers. In addition to the Japs at different places there were found Mexicans, Porto Ricans, Filipinos, and South Americans. It has come to be almost impossible to supply the very large plants with Chinese gangs only, and the problems of filling their places with an equally good class of workers is bound to be perplexing for some time to come.

--Howard Kutchin,  
1904.

The 1905 season looked very similar to the previous year's report. However, in 1906 the Bureau of Fisheries reports converted to a new system -- the breakdown of data, cannery by cannery, changed to lumped information for each Alaskan region.

Killisnoo Letter  
(Cor. Douglas News)

Yesterday and today, showery. We need rain very much, as we had only two rainy days in April and three in May previous to this rain. The gardens look fine since showers. At Killisnoo they have had to get water from across the bay for four weeks.

On the last Cottage City Mr. Carl Spuhn, president of the oil and guano company, returned from Portland with several more workmen. They now have about one hundred and fifteen men employed, I am told.

The steamers Angeles and Dolphin started out last night for their first load of fish. There is considerable strife between Captain Blain of the Angeles and Captain Brightman of the Dolphin as to which will bring in the most fish during the season. Last season the Angeles caught sixty-six thousand barrels while the Dolphin brought in but fifty eight thousand barrels.

The fisheries employ very few Indians, so most of them have gone out to Sitco Bay to fish for the cannery. They have ninety Chinamen there now, making cans, and expect more on the next steamer.

Several days ago Father Sobaleff was going to the store in the evening. He had to go down several steps, and the third one from the top was out. Not knowing it, he went through and fell a distance of ten feet, striking his side on a step, breaking two ribs and injuring himself internally quite badly. He lay quite a long time before anyone knew that he was hurt. Not returning as soon as his wife thought he should, one of the boys went to look for him and found him in great agony. He was helped to the house, and his wife bathed him and done all she could, but no doctor living there, he was not properly attended to. He had to go to Sitka as soon as he was able to get to the steamer. The doctor there bandaged him up and he returned on the same steamer. He is getting along nicely now.

There are more than one hundred white people here during six months of each year -- the fishing season -- and some Indians. The other six months of the year there are about four hundred Indians here and at Angoon, only three miles across the bay. And three white families live at Killisnoo all the year around.

--Mrs. C.E. VanHuebner,  
Killisnoo, May 29th, 1902.  
--Daily Record-Miner,  
6 June 1902, Juneau.

At the start of the second decade of the 20th Century, additional salmon canneries sprang up on several Admiralty Island inlets. A similarity existed in all their operations, their fortunes rose and fell together, and there is a lack of individual cannery information. Therefore, I will only list them with their years and method of operation, name changes, and average number of traps operated.

Hawk Inlet	Hawk Fish Company	salmon cannery-average 10 traps 1911 to post-1942 in 1915 P.E. Harris and Company purchased the cannery.
	Alaska Fish Company	floating salmon cannery aboard the "Glory of the Seas" (1939 tons -- 240' x 44', 20' depth). 1911 for first half season, then towed to Ketchikan to work when the season dropped off.
Gambier Bay	Admiralty Trading Company	salmon cannery average 8 traps 1912 to 1926 In 1913 the Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries bought the operation and it changed hands a number of times until the Hoonah Bay Packing Company purchased it in 1915.

Tyee	Vendsyssal Packing Co.	salmon saltery and mild cure 1913 to 1918/20
	Pacific Mild Cure Company	salmon saltery and mild cure 1916 to 1918/20

Labor problems arose from inconsideration of traditional worker values.

The Indians of Alaska are an important factor in labor conditions, the cannery men drawing upon them for a very considerable portion of their force and frequently employing a whole village during the salmon season. The jealousies between the tribes, however, and various racial traits on all sides among the laborers are the occasion of a variety of complications. An occurrence this summer gave evidence of the possibility of trouble that lies in failure to observe the customs governing the Indians in their fishing operations. A crew from the Sitka tribe fished for the Sitkoh Bay cannery in Redoubt Bay, a short distance south of Sitka, until early in September, when they stopped, giving the scarcity of fish as a cause. Upon this the superintendent of the cannery sent over a crew of Killisnoo Indians to fish the bay. The Sitka Indians, however, claim the exclusive right to fish there and resented the coming of the Killisnoo crew, who, fully cognizant of their situation, refused to remain in camp on the bay, insisting on being carried back to the cannery with each trip of the launch. But for this and the lateness of the season, disorder and possibly bloodshed could not have been averted.

--John Cobb and Millard Marsh  
1907.

The introduction of automated cannery equipment began at the turn of this century and began to help solve the problem of labor disputes by getting rid of labor -- machines like the "Iron Chink" could replace up to 50% of the work force at a cannery. By 1911 machines routinely packed 1-16 tall cans, except for some flats of the choicest grade salmon handpacked by Native women and children.

In 1911, the salmon packer "Ramona" of the Pacific Steamship Company went down near the Spanish Islands while carrying 11,177 cases of salmon from the canneries at Funter Bay and Hawk Inlet. The majority of the packs floated ashore and locals fetched them to nearby canneries for 50¢ to \$2.50 per case. The benefitted canneries cleaned, relacquered and relabeled the cans, selling them as their own. The insurance company paid the original canneries and Alaska industry came out a winner.

An increasing component in the Bureau of Fisheries reports and the newspapers of the time was the violations of fisheries laws. These probably show less the increasing lawlessness and more the proliferation of regulations. The violations were, for the most part, for fishing in time and location closures. However, the occasional odd case did arise. A Taku ixt' lived in Gambier Bay by the name of Too-Tsoo or "Gambier Bay Jim". He fished for the Admiralty Trading Company and was respected as a success in the cash economy which the canneries brought to Admiralty Island, in many cases, for the first time. His goal was to begin a steamship operation with his savings, but he died before this could be accomplished. He combined his duties as ixt' with those of a cannery worker.

GAMBIER JIM IS NOT GUILTY OF BLACKMAIL

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HOODOO DIAGNOSED AS MERELY LABOR TROUBLE

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When Indian Statesman's Fish is Declined by Cannery  
He Calls a Strike

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Gambier Bay Jim was found not guilty of blackmail by Commissioner Marshall last Saturday afternoon, and the alleged crime was found to be merely a strike.

Jim was arrested three or four days ago on the theory that he had placed a spell on the cannery as Gambier Bay, and silenced the hum of the machinery. The trouble started over the character of the fish the Indian potentate brought to the cannery -- the fish was finally so bad that the cannery was unable to use it and Jim was so informed.

Following this refusal to accept his wares, Gambier Bay Jim presented his ultimatum to Superintendent Teal. He placed over the cannery what was supposed to be a spell, and all the natives refused to work.

Attorney Burton, who represented the defendant, convinced the court that the fish vender, although he is a big medicine man with the tribe, had exercised no criminally occult practices, but had merely inaugurated a modern strike, and in this view of the case the defendant was discharged. The cannery is still closed.

--The Daily Alaska Dispatch  
11 August 1913, Juneau

After World War I, the Bureau of Fisheries acquired decommissioned minesweepers and subchasers to enforce their regulations and placed guards on the important streams.

## Species Conflict

The three basic fisheries in Alaska in the 19th Century were herring, cod and salmon. American markets would buy these fish and the finicky American public used them as acceptable fare. In the first two decades of the 20th Century, the fishery producing-processing-marketing industries exploded with innovations. Fishers began to take new species incidental to their basic catch, processors developed new preparations of these species, and the marketers began to convince the American Public that these fish actually tasted good and were worth buying. Failing that, the fish were marketed Overseas. The halibut fleets began moving north with increasing numbers into Southeast Alaska. The processors developed commercial packing for uniquely shaped animals like crab and shrimp. Popular Overseas packs like pickled and mild cured salmon in the Germanic nations and dry salted dog salmon in Japan picked up popularity among the waves of immigrants to America and passed onto their Yankee neighbors. Southeast processors began experimenting with products like fish pudding, smoked salmon loaf and deviled halibut. These fisheries did not establish operations "on" Admiralty Island, but they fished Admiralty waters, employed Admiralty residents and had an impact on the Admiralty operations -- primarily the herring plant at Killisnoo.

## Herring Products

In 1900, from a catch of 60,300 barrels of fish, the Alaska Oil and Guano Company put up 172,000 gallons of oil (worth \$34,000), as well as 1200 tons of guano (worth \$26,400), 192 barrels of salt herring (worth \$960), 210 barrels of salt salmon (worth \$1,680) and 520½ barrels of salmon bellies (worth

\$2,080). They employed forty-seven whites (reported as Scandinavians for the most part), nine Japanese, five Chinese and forty Indians.

Manufacturers worked changes at the Killisnoo plant. Farmers had begun a demand for fish meal to feed their livestock and this higher paying product began to replace the low priced fertilizer production. Tanners also began a larger demand for oil. The Alaska Oil and Guano Company seemed about to break out of their "marginal" profits and into the big time. But just then, the salmon industry attributed their decline in huge salmon packs, in part, to pollution and a lack of feed. Also, the halibut and trolling industry wanted a larger supply of bait, and noted a decline in herring in Southeast Alaska. The feed and the bait were herring, which the Alaska Oil and Guano Company at Killisnoo used. In 1906, the "citizens of Southeast Alaska" submitted a petition to Congress to prohibit the use of food fishes for fertilizer. The complaints finally involved the federal Bureau of Fisheries.

For the last 25 years the manufacture of fertilizer and oil has been conducted by one factory located at Killisnoo, on the west coast of Admiralty Island. This industry has created much adverse criticism because of the general claim in Alaska that an edible and valuable fish like the herring should not be used except for food and bait purposes. It has been stated by the management of this plant that the business has not been a financial success, but it is safe to assume that any factory that has operated for a quarter of a century must be a paying proposition, otherwise it would not remain active. The manager of this plant emphasized the fact that they use almost nothing but herring, the only exception being an occasional straggler of other species. This, however, must have been a mistake, for I not only heard that all fish irrespective of species caught in the seines were used, but one evening last summer when a boatload of fish of about 125 tons, representing 875,000 herring, or approximately 1,250 barrels of 700 fish each, were being discharged into a large storage bin at the plant I observed that while most of them were herring there were also numbers of cod, a few halibut, and some flounders scattered all through the cargo. I called the attention of the manager to this condition, and was assured that these other varieties of fish had not been with the herring before,

and therefore had not been utilized. A number of the employees, however, assured me that in every boatload there were fish other than herring.

While this factory is now the single and isolated case, it seems to me that it should not be allowed to continue operations, but should be permanently closed by the Government. The further operation of this plant not only sets a bad example, but it destroys many thousands of good salable fish and opens the way for the establishment of other such reduction plants. In fact, just now there is a large company anticipating the same use of herring, and they are only waiting to see if the Government disapproves the continuation of the Killisnoo plant. Up to this year the Killisnoo factory has manufactured fertilizer and oil only. It has now partially discontinued the manufacture of fertilizer and is making instead a form of meal which is utilized chiefly for poultry food.

--Lester Jones,  
1915.

Pollution had also been considered a factor to the decline in the salmon catch -- tailings from the mines, sawdust from lumbering, and offal from fish processors. The salmon industry decided to put their own house in order when the processing of salmon oil and gurry for agriculture began to pay. Around 1912 portable and relatively inexpensive processing plants began to compete with the Alaska Oil and Guano Company. This competition came at an inauspicious time. Just as the Killisnoo plant found a demand for new products, competition came from other processors -- not only with the new markets for animal food and tanning oil, but with their old markets for oil and fertilizer -- and the new processors and fishers threatened to close their access to their root resource of herring. Things couldn't look much worse.

As a justification for the pressure put on the Alaska Oil and Guano Company, the salmon industry competition claimed that the use of herring for oil and guano was a waste of good food. At this time the canning of herring and kippers were emerging as a growing U.S. product due to World War I's

interference with the European herring industry. They also claimed salmon wastes could just as effectively supply the demand for oil and fertilizer. The Atlantic menhaden fishery, at this time, also began to compete with herring as oil-feed-fertilizer -- being closer to the east coast transportation routes for industrial and agricultural use. And finally, the rise of troll fishing for mild cure salmon, which used herring for bait, combined with the halibut fishery bait needs to demand a stop to the rendering of herring. In addition to pressure applied to this industry, White commerce also objected to the Native harvest of herring eggs as food.

The Alaska Oil and Guano Company tried to meet these restrictions and convert to new markets. By 1915 they had built freezers at Killisnoo and supplied bait herring to the halibut and salmon vessels, refined their fertilizer product into animal food, and expanded their pickling of herring for human consumption. The next year they reorganized as the Alaska Fish Salting and By-Products Company. Nevertheless, their production declined in all products, they operated their factory sporadically, and the Native workers began leaving the village that had grown up around the Killisnoo plant to return to Angoon. The company changed names and made joint operation agreements as if they might statistically win with one of them: in 1924 they became the Killisnoo Packing Company and in 1925 Killisnoo Fisheries, in 1927 they contracted with Davis and Weer (Inc.) and in 1928 with Henry Klapisch for the Scotch cure of herring. In 1928 a fire damaged the facilities and the operations ended in 1931 -- after 53 years of desultory operation.

## XI. AFTER THE RUSH

### More Shipwrecks

The increasing fisheries also increased ship disasters, construction of lighthouses notwithstanding. In 1907, the Japanese schooner, "Satsuma Maru" (185 tons), owned by the S. Satsuma Company of Tokyo, sank off Yakutat. She had arrived at Killisnoo late in the season with a crew of twenty-seven men and 140 tons of salt in her hold, intending to purchase dog salmon -- a trade having grown up since the Russo-Japanese War. Lacking the proper government papers, the bureaucrats in Sitka disallowed her purchase of salmon. An article in Alaska Life, at the height of World War II and anti-Japanese jingoism, imputed espionage to the vessel's hydrography of the waters around Chatham Straits and collaboration on the part of Japanese workers at Killisnoo.

Visitors were always welcomed (at Killisnoo, at Rev. Soboleff's house). A Japanese named Matsumoto cooked at the factory messhouse. He and some Jap messboys came almost every night to visit the Soboleffs. The Priest owned the only phonograph in town, so the oriental visitors purchased two Japanese records and played them several times each visit. The high-pitched voices were a great bore to Vera and her younger sister, Nina, so finally they asked the men to buy some new records. They gleefully complied and purchased more Japanese recordings.

--Bess Winn,  
1943.

The Japanese workers, who, along with other nationalities after 1904, began to replace the Chinese workers, reportedly formed a settlement across from Killisnoo -- on Baranof Island -- known locally as "Little Tokyo."

The previous year, in 1906, the schooner "Sehome" was wrecked at Point Gardner with three lives lost and in 1913 the S.S. "State of California" went down in Gambier Bay. Thirty-one people died in the latter wreck, considered, at the time, the third worst maritime disaster in Alaska's history.

#### THE PURSER TELLS STORY OF THE WRECK

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#### THE LINER STRUCK AND SUNK IN FEW MINUTES

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#### Purser Coughlin Has Clear Remembrance of Thrilling Experiences In Wreck

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All the officers of the ill-fated steamship State of California agree she struck and sunk within three minutes. Purser L.J. Coughlin, a survivor of the Curacao wreck, tells the following story of the wreck, which, like the stories of the other officers, shows the officers of the ship kept their presence of mind and had little time before they were in the water.

"I was up four hours before the disaster, looking after two passengers at Petersburg whom we discharged on a launch, so when we arrived at Gambier Bay the freight clerk took charge of the situation and I was asleep in my room, which was also my office.

"When I felt the shock of the boat striking the rock it awoke me, and of course with the experience I had with the Curacao I knew immediately what it was. I jumped out of bed, put on my trousers, uniform coat, and slipped on my shoes. At the time I heard the four whistles and when I opened the door, my room being on the lower deck, the water was flowing over the bulwarks. In water up to my waist I made my way around to the companion way, on deck to my station, which was in a forward position, where the crew was already in the act of launching the boat. I assisted in pushing it over the side and turned around. There were no passengers there except Mr. Floyd and his wife. I heard the captain's orders to put the women in the boat first and I ran aft to get them. I got about as far as the after hatch, where, to the best of my remembrance, there was only one lady in sight, that being Mr. Riordan, and she was being assisted by some man. By that time the boat began to list heavilv

"I swam probably 10 or 12 feet, then turned over on my back just in time to see the wireless cabin (I think it was) coming towards me, sinking as it came. I tried to swim away from it as fast as I could and I was taken down once by the suction. Upon coming to the surface I was amidst the pile of wreckage and debris and I climbed upon the side of a house that had a lot of doors and windows of staterooms in it. As I stood upright the first person I saw was Pilot McGillivray about 25 or 30 feet from me in the middle of a lot of wreckage, and I heard him say he was hurt. I jumped overboard, trying to swim to him, but was unable to work my way to him on account of the wreckage surrounding him. By that time I saw he had been able to find something substantial to get on, and sighting a life boat I swam towards it. Climbing over a pile of wreckage I worked my way toward it, finding it was full of water. About this time a quarter master, a deck boy and two other passengers had climbed upon this wreckage and we started to bail the boat out, at the same time putting aboard passengers and members of the crew who came swimming towards us. In attempting to move the boat we found it was anchored on top of what I think was a part of the house.

"I remember seeing a heroic act on the part of a member of our crew -- a deck boy, H. Postron by name. I saw him jump into the water from a boat and swim toward and rescue, whom I afterward learned was the four year old son, Albert, of W.H. Daniel of Douglas. I expect there were many just such rescues.

"As there were no more around we could assist, we started to work our way toward the beach. The launches from the cannery by that time had arrived on the scene and they assisted in the rescue work, later on taking the passengers who were lucky enough to reach the beach, to the cannery, where all that possibly could be was done for their comfort."

--The Daily Alaska Dispatch  
22 August 1913, Juneau.

Divers described the jagged pinnacles she struck, lying only 16 feet below the surface at zero tide, as "resembling a huge saw ... the rock looked like the very jaws of hell." Some people, however, did benefit from the wreck.

and George furniture store. Most of this shipment floated clear of the wreck and the Indians have the furniture cached in the woods.

--The Daily Alaska Dispatch  
20 August 1913, Juneau.

Public outrage was enormous, blaming the deficient charts prepared by the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey that showed "deep water" where the rocks lay.

It is indeed a sure way to find a rock by marking it with a wreck, but science has long since improved on that system. The mariners of the Alaska coast have good right to demand the very best geodetic service, and the merchant marine has had to contribute entirely too much to the charting of rocks in these waters.

--The Daily Alaska Dispatch,  
21 August 1913, Juneau.

Using public opinion for political ends and in self-defense against accusations of negligence, the U.S. Secretary of Commerce delivered a fiery speech to Congress, rebuking them for planning an Alaskan railroad but neglecting navigational needs. The combined public and executive pressure on Congress led to unrivaled funding for navigation aids on the Alaska coast. Nevertheless, five years later the S.S. "Admiral Evans" hit a rock going into the cannery at Hawk Inlet, but had time to beach before going down and no lives were lost. By 1925 the light stations at Five Fingers and Sentinel Island had taken on radio beacons and Point Retreat had been considerably upgraded.

## Steam Whaling

In 1907 the Tyee Company began whaling in Chatham Straits and Frederick Sound -- rich in fin back, sulphur bottom, and humpback whales -- operating from a station built the previous year at Tyee. Ninety to one hundred workers killed and processed eight whales in the fall of 1907. The U.S. Post Office opened at Tyee that year and ran until 1953. They took from each seventy-five barrels of oil, canning or otherwise processing the flesh for overseas markets, with the baleen and bones sent south for industry. The occasional sperm whale was worth \$3,000. They used steam whalers, bow-mounted with a Svend-Foyn harpoon gun (3" bore and exploding head). The Tyee Company operated several vessels over its six years of operation.

"Tyee, Jr." -- 97.9' x 17.7' (71 tons) with "the lines of a yacht."

"Lizzie S. Sorrenson" -- gas schooner (49 tons).

"Fearless" -- steamer (85 tons).

"Fresno" -- unriggered vessel (1149 tons).

"Diamond Head" -- supply bark (952 tons).

"Allen A" -- schooner (266 tons).

"Sperm" -- barge.

In 1910 the Tyee Company was the only shore whaling station in the United States where all parts of the whale were used, but they had to resort to the outside water to catch enough whales to maintain their operations.

The "Lizzie S. Sorrenson" early in the season met a most unusual fate. As she was cruising around in the ocean about 8 miles southwest of Cape Addington the evening of May 10 a whale was

sighted. She was cautiously worked to within gunshot and a harpoon driven into the animal. The weapon failed to reach a vital spot, and the whale made off at a terrific rate, but finding its progress checked it suddenly made off at a terrific rate, but finding its progress checked it suddenly turned and charged directly at the vessel. Unavailing efforts were made by the crew to work the ship out of the way of the infuriated creature, and the whale, striking her a terrific blow in the stern, knocked out a portion of the bottom. Efforts made to plug the hole were without success, and as the pumps did not suffice, the crew took to their boats and the vessel soon sank. Two days later the shipwrecked crew was picked up by the whaler "Fearless."

--U.S. Bureau of Fisheries,  
1910.

The next year the Company put the oilery aboard a barge and ranged as far afield as Kodiak hunting whales. They moved their base to Baranof Island. All to no avail. They disbanded in 1913. Capital had climaxed and gone down with their ship in 1910.

#### Fur Farms

Alaska's fur farming had begun Out West around 1885 and had centered on the blue fox, with the federal government leasing appropriate lands through the Treasury Department. Just after the Klondike Gold Rush an interest in fox farming began to trickle down into Southeast Alaska.

TO START FOX FARM

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Jim York Brings 60 Foxes From the Westward.

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PACIFIC COAST EXPOSITION

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Alaska Should Join With Other States and  
Exploit Her Resources.

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Among the passengers who arrived from the westward on the steamer Newport yesterday was Mr. Jim York, a brother of Capt. Steve York of this city. Mr. York brought down 60 young blue foxes, which he intends to take down to Sum Dum island and start a fox farm. Chas. Stewart, formerly of Juneau, is interested with Mr. York in this enterprise, and as the fur of this fox is worth from \$15 to \$30 there is no doubt but what this enterprise will be a paying one. These animals breed very rapidly and are easy to raise when properly handled. We wish the gentlemen success and hope that others may follow their example.

Alaska is a country of great resources if only taken advantage of.

--The Alaska Record-Miner,  
4 October 1901, Juneau.

Other entrepreneurs schemed on raising marten, skunk and sundrie other fur bearers. Like the evolution of prospecting into mining and fishing into canning -- fur farming was industrialization of trapping. In 1904 administrative responsibility for fur island rentals transferred to the Department of Commerce, which in 1913 announced the leasing of 12 islands on the Alaskan coast. By that time the U.S. Forest Service had assumed jurisdiction of several islands in Alaska and a price war ranged between the two agencies -- Commerce charged \$100 per year and the Forest Service leased

its islands for only \$25. Farmers on Commerce's land petitioned the federal government to transfer their islands to Forest Service jurisdiction ... truly a memorable event -- the fabled sheep asking the eagle for a night's lodging in the wolf's den to escape from the cold. In 1910, phenomenal success of eastern Canadian fox farms re-invigorated fur interests in Alaska and fashion trends by 1916 further boosted efforts. Over the next thirty years about twenty fur farms rose and fell on islands in the vicinity of Admiralty. However, peak activity did not develop for another decade.

### Southeast Sports

As Southeast Alaskan economy and services developed after the Klondike Gold Rush, hunting and fishing for subsistence developed into a sport. The 1904 Bureau of Fisheries report celebrated Killisnoo as a sport fishing center for king and coho salmon -- as well as dolly varden, rainbow and cutthroat trout.

### Home from the Hunt

Jim Russell, W.H. Hile, M. Lonsberry, Tom Dull, Robt Hile, L.M. Coal, Billy Layton and two other gentlemen returned at 3 o'clock this morning in the gasoline launch, Union, from a hunt on Admiralty Island. The members of the party report having a splendid time and having bagged plenty of game, and they have plenty of trophies of the hunt to show for it. Their friends are glad to see them back in town as there was some apprehension as to their safety on account of the recent stormy weather.

--Daily Record-Miner,  
11 December 1902, Juneau.

One of the legendary people of Admiralty Island found work from this

sport hunting and fishing. Allen Hasselborg had gone North during the Klondike Stampede. He afterwards returned to Southeast Alaska and prospected its country, finally settling on Mole Harbor near the site of an old Taku Tlingit village which had been abandoned in 1895. He carried over White occupation on that site from another White man, who bears killed in 1890. His knowledgeable presence over the next forty-odd years attracted leisure class sports from all over the world who wanted to hunt, fish and research. For example, at high tide it was possible to pass by canoe from Kootznoowoo Inlet through a chain of lakes and streams, with short portages, to Mole Harbor. The Kootznoowoo Tlingit traditionally used this route. In 1907, a well-to-do patron sponsored the Alexander Expedition, which explored the flora and fauna of this passage with Hasselborg and confirmed anglo names upon the chain of lakes. They reported that the bears had been recently exterminated in the meadows four miles south of Mole Harbor. Hasselborg's favored bear gun was a Winchester .45-70 and a boat he built in 1907 was the first in Alaska to be powered by a Palmer motor.

### Death Throes Mining

As another after-shock of the Klondike Gold Rush, development of the Admiralty Island mining property blossomed quickly and then faded for a decade. Federal coal land laws complicated claims and jumped claims at Kootznahoo Inlet, which quickly withered into inaction ... again. The U.S. Geological Survey, which had initiated systematic surveys of increasing detail of Southeast Alaska in 1898, began to encourage the development of marble deposits on Admiralty Island. Indeed, their reports read more like corporate stock prospectus' than government surveys. Prospectors actually staked claims

for building stone (a/k/a marble) at Marble Cove, Marble Bluff, Gambier and Pybus Bays, Square Cove vicinity, and Woody-Rocky Points vicinity. However, unlike the operations at Shakan on northwest Prince of Wales Island, these sites produced nothing. They did generate unprofessional, eager claims: Marble Bluffs has no marble, being composed of quartz monzonite. A 1906 USGS report compared the geologic formations of Admiralty Island with others and concluded a similarity to the rich Porcupine Mining District near Klukwan and the Juneau Gold Belt. The same report cited the similarity of three separate mining properties on north Admiralty Island and speculated as to their connection -- those at Funter Bay (the Tellurium Claims), Young Bay (the Mammouth Group), and at Windfall Harbor. It mentioned two other locations -- Gambier Bay and one twenty miles north of Killisnoo.

FUNTER BAY CO.

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Secures Flattering Mention in Denver Mining Record.

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THE DAILY MINING PAPER

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Only One in the World and Has a World Wide Circulation.

The Denver Mining Record, the only daily mining paper in the world, has a descriptive letter of the Funter Bay mines. It says in part:

The Funter Bay Mining company was incorporated February 28, 1902, with a capital stock of 1,500,000 shares par value \$1.00 per share. There are in the treasury between 400,000 and 500,000 shares of stock and \$2,000 in cash. The company's property comprises the Tellurium group of 21 claims, the Patterson group of sixteen claims, the Heckler group of four claims, and the Center group of 17 claims. The property is situated on

Admiralty island, Alaska, reaching back over a level space three-quarters of a mile, and then up the side of the mountain some 2,000 or 2,500 feet, containing 600 or 700 acres. The property is all held by location, but no contests or disputes have arisen to affect the title. The improvements comprise a ten-stamp mill, complete with four Frue vanners; fine building, cuts, shafts, tunnels, boarding house, five or six large, well built log cabins on Patterson group; on the front group, boarding house, cabins, office buildings, assay office, blacksmith shop, powder house, air compressor complete with two Rand drills. The company also has a pump.

Officers are: President, John W. Linck; vice president, Guy M. Waskins; secretary and treasurer, A.B. Ernst; other directors, S. M. Jones and Fergus G. Malone: no salaries are paid officers. The stock first sold at 10¢ a share and is now 35¢.

Property was bonded before the panic. Company failed and property reverted to original owners, from whom the Funter Bay Mining company bonded same and started to mine in July, 1901, having had a few men at work in the spring, clearing, etc.

The annual report, recently issued, is complete particularly in the matter of the financial affairs of the company.

--Daily Record-Miner,  
23 February 1903, Juneau.

However, all the workings ceased in each area about 1907/08 and lay dormant for ten years, when more prospecting and capital again began development in earnest. To encourage development, the United States Forest Service and the United States Geologic Survey collaborated on a search for feasible water power sites in Southeast Alaska in 1915. The gold rushes in Alaska had gotten federal attention just as United States private enterprise and imperialism needed new resources. Bureaucratic science helped this need with resource surveys that included Admiralty Island, starting at the turn of

the Twentieth Century and concentrating in the first and third decades -- minerals, wildlife, timber.

Forest Service -- Trees and Land

The United States Forest Service assumed the administration of Admiralty Island in 1909, adding it to the Tongass National Forest. Prior to its inclusion in the national forest system, an agricultural survey had been done, between 1905 and 1911, to determine potential homestead and homesite land. Attempts had actually been made to ranch and farm commercially around Killisnoo, but none payed off beyond subsistence. However, in succeeding years, it became apparent that many aspects of the Forest Service policy designed for the United States were difficult to adapt to Alaska, e.g., grazing:

Foxes are the only livestock on the reserve, and they graze on salmon at the rate of 4 cents an acre.

There is a trespassing mule somewhere in the Klawak region but he cannot be located.

Attempts at grazing cattle have absolutely failed on account of the ruggedness of the country and the prohibitive cost of winter feeding. The same holds true for sheep.

--F.E. Olmsted,  
1906.

Fish processors and miners used the majority of timber from Admiralty Island before the First World War -- for fish traps, buildings, shoring, pilings and docks.

Operations were primarily hand logging; as late as 1905 there was only one cable operation on the reserve. The loggers, Indians and whites alike, cut trees under contract with the mill, mining company, or cannery concerned. Trees were cut close to the coast -- in almost every case so close that the tops reached the water. Hemlocks eighteen inches to two feet in diameter were felled to use as skids to ease the logs into the water. Logs were rafted and towed in rafts of up to 200,000 board feet to the mill. In the raft they were priced at \$4.50 per thousand; stumpage was fifty cents, and towage from fifty cents to \$1.00 per thousand. The cutting was wasteful; there was a great deal of breakage and poor utilization of the tops. The hemlocks cut for skids were left in the woods. There was no attempt to clear up the debris from logging, but there was also no fire danger. Logs were scaled in the raft, usually at the site of cutting.

--Larry Rakestraw,  
1981.

Up until World War II only about 100 million board feet were cut from Admiralty Island, and that during the height of the fisheries -- the second and third decades of the 20th Century -- mostly from Favorite, Mitchell, Chaik, Hood, and Whitewater Bays as well as Seymour Canal, Eliza Harbor and Marble Cove. The United States Forest Service cruised the area in a number of capacities.

The men did a great deal to break down the isolation of the scattered villages and settlements and cabins around Alaska. A ranger, going into one of the larger settlements would carry with him a shopping list as "as long as a peace treaty," one ranger wrote, "and involving about six month pay." Usually the individuals didn't know what the items cost, promising to pay the ranger when he got back. Tobacco, whiskey, 45-70 shells, materials for making a dress, toys and books, nursing bottles and nipples, stovepipe, nails, hip boots, net floats -- all were typical of the items ordered. They carried on rescue work, towing in boats whose engines had broken down and organizing search missions for men missing or lost. When a flu epidemic hit Hoonah, George Peterson ran nonstop from Hoonah to Juneau and back to get serum, going seventy-two hours without sleep. Sometimes they found tragedy. Ranger J.M. Wyckoff

once found a lonely handlogger who had got his foot pinned by a log and had starved to death while waiting rescue.

--Larry Rakestraw,  
1981.

Once Admiralty Island came under the United States Forest Service, the questions of "who can use what land how" arose. Contradictions existed between United States Forest Service regulations and United States Law, e.g.; the United States Forest Service permitted the sale of timber overseas from their land, but United States Law prohibited the export of Alaskan timber. Over the years, numerous acts and regulations began to iron out a compatible land use system, which itself, tried to remedy the confused status of the Alaska Natives under United States Law.

The "uncivilized tribes" specified in the Russian treaty were in an anomalous position. They were omitted from the General Allotment Act, which was a method of attaining citizenship for American aboriginies. They were omitted from the Homestead Act as being neither citizen nor alien capable of attaining citizenship. They were forbidden by Congress to enter into treaties with the United States for the cession of some lands and the retention of others. Physically they comprised the major part of Alaska's population. Officially they were invisible.

--U.S. Federal Field Committee,  
1968.

The 1906 Allotment Act allowed Natives to acquire up to 160 acres of non-mineral, agricultural, vacant, unappropriated and unreserved lands for each family. Over the years of three generations many people filed under this act, but no land was transferred to them on Admiralty Island; the system is in

the courts still in 1982. But in 1915, the village of Angoon organized itself under Alaska Territorial Law and in 1917 built a community center.

## XII. DEVELOPED DEPRESSION

In 1921, a district forester wrote that he considered Alaska plagued with a "thieving class of whites and natives who seem to make their living by robbing fish traps, slaughtering game for sale, bootlegging, robbing launches, poaching on fox farms and similar acts of depredation." He seemed not to recognize that, at times, justice and the law are dialectic like beauty and the beast -- a general theory of relativity for the development of Alaska. Groups of Alaskans were groping with their identities as competitors for resources and land.

### Back to Angoon

Natives in Southeast Alaska had objected to the usurption of their land in, what they felt to be, direct violation of the 1867 Russian-U.S. Treaty of Purchase, which guaranteed respect for their prior claims of ownership. At first, everyone ignored the entire issue -- there weren't enough Whites to force it and conflicts were few, if dramatic. Then the Klondike Gold Rush flooded the country with Whites wearing blinders to any rights -- all at once. By 1912, the Southeast Alaska Natives had organized the Alaska Native Brotherhood to begin the restoration of their rights as an organized assembly, followed by the Alaska Native Sisterhood in 1915. Various regulations, laws, court actions and direct action slowly gained pieces of the Natives' civil rights over the next sixty years. Nearly ten years after the founding of the ANB in Sitka in 1912, Angoon founded their Camp #7 and built their hall, in 1921/22 -- even though two founders of the ANB (William Hobson and Eli Katanook) came from Angoon. A major goal of the ANB/ANS was assimilation of

their members into the White system; interpreted as suppression of traditional ways. In this fashion, when the Grand Camp of the ANB held their convention for the first time in Angoon, paintings (screens?) of the two Killer Whale Houses disappeared. An Alaska Native Service school opened in Angoon in 1920, the first public power plant turned on the juice in 1924, the Angoon townsite was surveyed in 1927 for 37.35 acres. A new school was constructed in 1929 with a basketball field layed out nine years later, and the U.S. Post Office opened in 1928. A Presbyterian Church went up in 1918, followed by a Greek Orthodox Church and the Salvation Army ten years later. All this development in Angoon paralleled the decline of the Killisnoo fish by-products plant, which worked only sporadically after 1920. The coup de grace for Killisnoo came in 1928 when the village burned to the ground (some said by sabotage from a Japanese worker). The U.S. Post Office closed in 1930 and the plant permanently closed in 1931.

	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>
Killisnoo	351	256	3	--
Angoon	--	114	319	342

Angoon operated with a council system focused about the ANB/ANS. But then the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934/36 (IRA) and the Tlingit Haida Jurisdictional Act of 1935 began to transform everything. The IRA provided for the establishment of "community associations" to initiate and run community organizations as well as to assume federal business loans for approved projects. The Angoon Community Association incorporated in 1939 and

began to replace the loose village council system that had organized around the ANB/ANS. The Tlingit and Haida Jurisdictional Act allowed these two Indian groups to sue the United States for lands taken from them since the Purchase of 1867 and would grow over the next 36 years into the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. The ANB/ANS was disallowed (on a Labor technicality) from representing the Tlingit and Haida in their lands claim and in 1941 a new organization, Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida, took over this suit. Thus, in less than thirty years the ANB/ANS had worked itself out of two major Native projects -- local government and the land claims.

#### Fish and Furs

The Thlinket Packing Company continued its operation of a cannery in Funter Bay, selling out to the Sunny Point Packing Company in 1926 and renaming itself the Alaska Pacific Salmon Corporation in 1929. That year it fished its maximum of twenty-one traps, but a fire destroyed several bunkhouses. In 1931 it closed and finally sold its remaining facilities to P.E. Harris and Co.

Fox farming depended a good deal on the fishing industry -- fish waste or trap robbings provided food for the fox, which ran wild on the island until skinning time. Fashions demanded furs in the Twenties, Thirties and Forties. Fox farmers took their business seriously; a "posse" of them shot and killed a suspected fox rustler in the San Juan Islands off Pybus Bay in 1924.

## FOX POACHER IS SHOT AND KILLED

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Ole Haynes, Watchman at San Juan  
Fox Ranch "Discontinues"  
Indian Billy Gray

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Ole Haynes, a watchman employed on the San Juan fox ranch on an island in the vicinity of Pybus Bay, shot and killed an Indian by the name of Billy Gray a week ago yesterday. According to the evidence of Haynes and three others, neighbors who witnessed the killing, the Indian had a dead fox and a gun in his hands when killed.

It seems that Gray, accompanied by another Indian, arrived on the island two days before the shooting and made a camp. Both of them carried guns. Haynes watched them for one day and then called on three neighbors to accompany him to the camp as he did not care to accost the Indians alone. When they reached the camp only one Indian, Gray, was in sight. He was carrying a rifle and a dead fox. He refused to halt when ordered to do so and made as though to turn his gun on the party when Haynes fired, killing him instantly.

The entire party with the dead Indian, Haynes and the fox, were brought to Juneau, arriving here early Monday morning, the affair having happened in the Juneau district. With United States Commissioner V.A. Paine as coroner an inquest was conducted here Monday with the result that Haynes was exonerated by the jury which was composed of the following well-known residents: John Reck, Guy McNaughton, W.W. Casey, W.G. Johnson, J. Connors and W.S. Pullen.

Gray was said to be a Ketchikan Indian and as evidence that he and his companion came to the fox ranch with the view of poaching, Haynes and his neighbors found a number of traps after the shooting, and two of the traps had live foxes in them.

Ole Haynes is a married man and his wife and three children reside with him at the fox ranch where he is employed as watchman.

The outlook of the investigation was closely watched by members of the Southeastern Alaska Fox Farmers Association who feel that the law against poaching must be rigidly enforced.

--The Stroller's Weekly  
15 March 1924, Douglas.

Returns were low due to transportation costs, fluctuating markets and fur quality. From 1932 to 1938 the Forest Service reduced fur island rental by

50% in deference to the Great Depression. In 1941 a fox farmer starved to death on his farm in Gambier Bay. A few of the fox farms associated with Admiralty Island consisted of the following:

1. Killisnoo - This was a muskrat farm operated by Harry Smallwood between 1930 and 1932. Unlike fox farms it was located around a lake, the muskrats ran in a semi-wild state within a fenced-in area surrounding the lake.

#### PYBUS BAY

2. Midway Island - On the four islands in this group Midway Fox Company operated a fox farm between 1921 and 1924. Later, between 1933 and 1945, the fox farm was owned by William Abbes. As it turned out, Abbes was a non-resident owner and had a tenant responsible for the actual work of fox farming. Such absentee ownership was in conflict with Forest Service policy and Abbes was encouraged to negotiate with his tenant a means by which he could become the farm's owner. The nearby Pybus Bay Cannery provided fish heads which were smoked by the permittee for fox feed.
3. Elliot Island - Pybus Bay Fox Company first operated this fox farm in 1920. One of the partners, Leo Christianson, took over as sole owner in 1928 and continued until 1942. During that time he experimented raising mink in addition to blue foxes. In 1942, John B. Stephens ran the operation until 1948. Like Midway Island Fox Farm, the proximity to Pybus Bay Cannery was advantageous.
4. San Juan Islands - This farm was operated by the San Juan Fox Company from 1921 until 1941, when it was taken over by one of the three original owners, George M. Lyon. He raised foxes by himself for only two years when he sold his interest to Paul L. Smith who continued until 1949. The Pybus Bay Cannery was convenient to this farm also.
5. Spruce Island - Earl N. Ohmer operated a fox farm here between 1932 and 1938. Fish for the foxes were obtained from the canneries at Tyee and Kake.
6. Brothers Island - Zimmerman Blue Fox and Fur Farm first began in 1918. C.E. Zimmerman ran the operation more recently in 1941-1942.

GAMBIER BAY

7. Big Gain Island - Fred Patten had the original farm here in 1924. in 1942, Walter Feed Inc. took over the farm.
8. Prince Island - This farm was located only 2 miles from the cannery at the head of Gambier Bay. Hjalmar Matson was the first owner in 1922. In 1925 he took on a partner, Oscar Larson, and during this time, they experimented with raising mink in addition to foxes. By 1930 Matson transferred his interest to Magoon, Larson's new partner. H.S. Kimmel paired up with Larson in 1938, only to be replaced by Starkenburg the next year.

--M. Moss,  
1982.

Some fur farmers took a lot of fish with seines and traps for animal feed. After a study of the situation in 1922, the Bureau of Fisheries determined that commercial fisheries law should apply to fur farmers feeding their stock, too. The study estimated that fox farms used about 500,000 salmon (caught by the farmers or purchased from the fishers) as well as 500,000 pounds of fish heads (from the canneries) yearly.

A new lease on life also sprang up for the fisheries industry after the First World War. Several new operations began and died in this same era.

Pybus Bay	Pybus Bay Fish and Packing Company	cannery -- 6 traps. 1918 to 1929 1921 - operated by Admiralty Packing Company 1923 - acquired by Alaska Consolidated Cannery. 1929 - sold to Sunny Point Packing Company and kept closed.
	Fred Patten	1921 - individual pack of "a few cases."
Hood Bay	Hidden Inlet Canning Company	cannery -- 5 traps. 1918 to 1961 1927 - acquired by Hood Bay Canning Company.
	Hood Bay Packing Company	cannery/saltery/by-products. 1919 to 1926 1923 - acquired by Hamilton Packing Company and converted to a saltery and fish oil/meal production; herring. 1925 - converted to a reduction plant.

	National Fish Company	saltery. 1925 to 1929 1926 - converted to a reduction plant. 1927 - renamed Ocean Products Company 1928 - renamed Pacific Herring Company and converted to a saltery and reduction plant.
	Alaska Fisheries, Inc.	crab processor. 1933 to (perhaps) 1935.
Tyee -	Alaska Salmon and Herring Packers	6 traps. 1919 to post-1942 1923 - sold to Sebastian- Stuart Fish Company -- Carlson Bros. (Inc.) and the plant leased to the Pavlof Harbor Packing Company.
Hawk Inlet -	Alaska Reduction Company	fish by-products. 1920 to 1924
Killisnoo -	National Fish Company	herring saltery. 1925

All these booming cannery operations overfished the resource and those that survived into the late Twenties were, for the most part, killed by the Great Depression. In attempts to save salmon the Territory established bounties on almost all "predators" except the human ones -- eagle, seal, dolly vardens, etc.

#### NATURAL ENEMIES OF SALMON.

It is necessary to study carefully all agencies, both natural and otherwise, tending to deplete the supply of salmon and other food fishes in the waters of Alaska, and to apply as far as possible proper remedial measures. Those engaged in the great fishing industry say the blame for the diminished numbers of salmon is due largely to natural enemies, which include bears, wolves, eagles, gulls, terns, mergansers, hair seals, trout, and sculpins. These enemies undoubtedly destroy enormous numbers of salmon and their eggs. But this condition has gone on for years, and would continue without serious detriment to the supply if it were not for the added drain resulting from heavy fishing now carried on in Alaska waters. It is evident from close observation that man has had much to do with the waning supply of salmon now apparent in some sections. Of course, this great natural resource was made for man's use, and we must recognize, in every way possible, the fact that he has first claim and that the fish are there to be taken, but properly and with discretion, so that the future supply will not be jeopardized.

--Lester Jones,  
1914.

The mild cure and pickling operations fell off after the Great War. However, experiments with the propagation of oysters in 1931 led to the first leases in Alaska in 1939 -- one for 100 acres of the bottom of Admiralty Cove for six years.

Other major industrial uses of timber on Admiralty Island came from the needs for fish trap pilings. Logging camps for piling harvest grew up in

special areas of tall, uniform stands -- Hood and Whitewater Bays, Eliza Harbor, Seymour Canal, Kootznoowoo Inlet and along Chatham Straits. It was also felt by the Forest Service that timber development would parallel mining development.

### Minerals

Immediately after World War I, the mining industry started back onto its feet on Admiralty Island. Prospectors, as usual, staked more claims than were developed. A number of gold mining companies formed around the Funter Bay-Hawk Inlet gold claims, e.g., the Alaska Dano Mining Company, the Alaska Rand Group and the Alaska Empire Mining Company. These operations, however, only produced marginal gold. The primary development came by accident.

The Admiralty Alaska Gold Mining Company took over the Tellurium gold operations around Funter Bay in 1918 and began development which peaked in the 1930's. Their persistence paid off, but not in gold. In 1919 they discovered a rich deposit of nickel and copper that took over where the gold left off between Funter Bay and Hawk Inlet, which they named the Mertie Load. The AAGM Company developed this property through the early Thirties, with the facilities left by the gold operation. A federal report, based on a 1937 investigation, described the facilities in disrepair but salvagable for wartime needs with a minimum deposit of 560,000 tons.

It was estimated that the entire gold production from this north Admiralty area produced a total of 10,000 to 15,000 fine ounces of gold. More gold than all this cut from Admiralty quartz was rumored to lie on the bottom

of Stephens Passage. The S.S. "Islander" had sunk in 1901 with a reported \$3 million of gold aboard. A salvage operation finally hauled the wreck, in 1934, onto an Admiralty Island beach. The salvagers spent \$250 thousand and they recovered \$40 thousand in gold. Prospecting for zinc, gold, copper and lead resulted in the discovery of asbestos and talc near Bear Creek and formation of the Alaska Asbestos Company around 1930. Minor developments of copper and sulphur took place between Swan Cove and Windfall Harbor on Seymour Canal that same year. The Great Depression squelched much development beyond the minimum assessment. But no one forgot about the coal. George Harkrader had acquired the McClusky coal mines in 1913 after claim difficulties in the coal controversies of the first decade of the 20th Century. The Admiralty Coal Company leased the Harkrader Mine in 1928 and 1929, extracting 500 tons of coal and performing favorable assessment work. But the mine again closed and a court action awarded the mine property, in lieu of wages, to the miners.

#### Timber and Land

One of the owners of what later became the Alaska Empire Mine had planned a pulp mill for Funter Bay in 1918, but it never got off the ground. Then the Alaska Pulp and Paper Company began its operation at Port Snettisham in 1921. It was the first pulp mill to operate in Alaska and its timber came from Admiralty Island. The Company made one shipment of 100 tons to Seattle and promptly went out of business because of high transportation costs, cancelling the 100 million board feet of hemlock sold to it from the Glass Peninsula in 1925. Likewise, an attempt by the Alaska Gastineau Company to recoup their fortunes with a mill, using timber from northern Admiralty Island and a power project on Hasselborg Lake, was also cancelled. Nonetheless, the United

States Forest Service designated the watersheds of Hasselborg, Kathleen, and Eliza lakes as potential power producers in 1929. Contracts seemed imminent through the 1920's, but the Great Crash and Depression put an end to those plans. Although, throughout the 1930's plans and designations would indicate the kind of future the Forest Service envisioned for Admiralty.

Other people had ideas for Admiralty Island, though, which would develop into an all-encompassing controversy that raged between conservationists and developers for ten years: preserve or resource. An increasing number of migrants began to come to Admiralty Island to hunt, fish and photograph after the First World War. Modern technology -- from aeroplanes to sneakers, from Kodak cameras to Johnson outboards -- made the Island more accessible. Sports from Juneau, people complained, had fished all the big fish from the Admiralty Lakes. Even the pronunciation began to change from the old Admirality to the present Admiralty. John Holzworth studied bears on Admiralty Island starting in 1927 and lived with Allen Hasselborg. He wrote a pro-conservation book, Wild Grizzlies of Alaska (which depicted them as a very endangered species threatened by developers, the government and hunters). This started a "Save the Bears" movement. In 1929, a bear killed Jack Thayer, a Forest Service field officer, near Eliza Harbor.

On the morning of October sixteenth, 1929, Jack Thayer and I left the Launch Weepoose to cruise the timber in a creek valley which is located on the westerly shore of Eliza Harbor about 2 miles from the head of the harbor. Eliza Harbor is on the southeastern part of Admiralty Island, Alaska.

Thayer carried as a means of protection a Newton 30-'06 and was using Government steel jacketed ammunition. I was unarmed and carried a light pack containing a compass, increment borer and our lunch.

Leaving the beach at 8:30 a.m. we ascended the mountain side on the north side of the creek until an elevation of nearly one thousand feet was reached, which is the top of the merchantable timber belt on the mountain side. We continued up the valley at this elevation or approximately, depending on the timber. At noon we ate lunch about four miles from the Eliza Harbor beach. It was a cloudy day with some rain.

After lunch the timber in the valley near the creek was investigated, the creek crossed to the south side and we ascended to the muskegs at an elevation of approximately 100 feet above the creek, and began our homeward journey.

We walked about a mile and a half, stopping at a large boulder of conglomerate rock, which we investigated, as was our custom, for mineralization. We continued walking and soon came to another muskeg upon which we noticed a bear tree, where bears stop to rub and claw as an advertisement of their size. We remarked on the size of the bear and the freshness of the chewing and clawing marks. We had seen many bear trees during the summer and so attached no importance to it.

As we left the muskeg and entered the scrub timber I, who was in the rear about three or four feet, heard a snort and saw something move behind a clump of bushes about fifteen or twenty feet behind me and to the left of our line of travel. I called Thayer's attention saying; "I think there is a bear or a deer behind that clump of brush, Jack." He and I stopped and watched and saw the bear raise up - his head and fore parts being plainly seen. He was a large brown bear very dark in color and apparently fully mature. I said: "There's a bear, Jack" and I started immediately to run for a tree, as that is man's only refuge - the brown bear being too large to climb small trees. As I passed Jack he shot and almost immediately the bear began to bawl. I ran about twenty five yards and climbed a tree which had limbs close to the ground and would afford speedy ascent. From the tree I heard the noise of a struggle and saw movements through the underbrush and then first realized what had happened.

After a few minutes I saw Jack get to his hands and knees but fall again. I descended the tree and crept close with caution not knowing if the bear had gone far away. This was a short time afterwards, probably less than five minutes after I had climbed the tree.

Jack was conscious and said: "Where did he go, Fred?" I answered I did not know. He then said, "Save yourself, Fred" and lapsed into unconsciousness.

Jack was badly scratched and wounded, the worst wound being on the left side of his head. A great chunk from the top of his ear to his shoulder was torn loose. He was bleeding but as far as I could see no artery was severed. There were many other wounds but none of

them as serious as on the head. The clothing around the trunk and legs was badly torn.

I removed my pack and shirt and laid his head on the pack with the large wound on his head up and bound my shirt around his head to hold the wound closed. I did what I could to make him comfortable and left for the beach where I met Capt. Carl Collen who was on the flats at the mouth of the creek waiting for us to come out. I informed him of the accident and we rowed to the launch Weepoose.

Capt. Collen and I gathered together a first aid outfit consisting of flour, compresses, bandage, blankets, iodine and a piece of canvas for a stretcher. We left the boat about 3:30 p.m. and returned to the scene, which was about two and one-half miles from the beach. Thayer was found only with some difficulty due to the natural condition of the country. When we arrived Thayer was conscious and able to talk a little. We arrived just before dark at approximately five o'clock.

We applied first aid to Jack, built a fire and rigged a stretcher. Jack kept saying: "I am cold, boys, hurry up." He called us by name also. We cut his clothes from his body and bandaged more wounds which were thereby disclosed. He was very restless during the evening and thrashed about, not allowing his wounds to close. We found his broken watch in his pocket, which had stopped and read 2:05 and we supposed that to be the time of the encounter. Some time during the evening Jack passed away. We judge the time as 10 o'clock, neither of us having watches.

During the evening we built a lean-to out of poles and brush for protection from the rain. As it is impossible to travel in the dark due to the heavy brush and wind-falls we were forced to remain till morning. We had intended to remove Jack if he were still alive to the beach in the morning.

At daybreak we attempted to pack the remains to the beach and succeeded in only one-half mile of travel due to our weakened condition from lack of food and exposure. We cached the body and walked to the beach for help.

We arrived at the Weepoose at 10:30 a.m. and left immediately for Pybus Bay, the nearest point where help could be obtained. This was October 17.

After a three hour run we entered Pybus Bay and stopped at a fox rancher's island but no men were home, they being fishing. We continued up the bay to the cannery, where the cannery watchman, Leo R. Christenson, told us of two trollers, George Moreno, a Mexican, and Dave Johnson, a Native. We then moved to the head of Pybus Bay where they were found and their aid solicited. Another fox rancher, Henry Lietro, and a troller, W.E. Logan, were found, making a total of five men to aid us. The hour was then late and the men wishing

to place their boats and ranches in order to be left alone, Capt. Colten decided to stay in Pybus Bay till morning.

We left Pybus Bay cannery at 4:30 in the morning October 18, and arrived at the creek mouth in Eliza Harbor at 7 a.m. and started immediately for the body.

No difficulty was experienced in transporting the remains to the beach. Four men carried the remains and the others selected the trail and removed what obstructions possible. The packers were relieved from time to time by the extra men. (The burden weighed over two hundred pounds due to the rain.) We arrived at the beach at 11:30 a.m. after four and one-half hours of continuous travel.

All of us left immediately on the Weepoose for Pybus Bay and returned the men to their homes. At Pybus Bay the body was removed from its crude dressings and placed under better conditions.

We left Pybus Bay at 2:30 p.m. on the Weepoose for Juneau. This was October 18. The weather was very doubtful in Frederick Sound and at about 7:00 p.m. a strong northwest breeze and a large sea forced us to seek harbor in Pleasant Bay, Admiralty Island. We laid in harbor for one hour until the wind died and we then proceeded to Juneau. Weather conditions were very unfavorable, having a strong head wind and running against the tide. We arrived in Juneau at 7:30 a.m. on October 19 and reported immediately to the Forest Service officials.

--Fred Herring,  
1929.

His death sparked a back-lash of a "Kill the Bears" movement. The Alaska Game Commission made a survey of the brown bear population of Admiralty Island in 1932 and determined the bear population was stable at 1,000 animals. The Commission enacted laws to require guides for Outside hunters, as well as laws allowing bears to be shot by Alaskans at any time within one mile of residences or at times of jeopardy. The Game Commission also created two bear refuges in 1935 on Admiralty Island, itself -- 38,400 acres in the vicinity of Thayer Mountain and 13,400 acres around Pack Creek: both with observation posts. National sentiment sought to convert Admiralty Island into a National Monument, about which the Alaska Delegate remarked, "There is no more occasion

to withdraw Admiralty Island into a national park or national monument than there is to build a trap to capture aurora borealis." The Department of the Interior also sought to enlarge their holdings and pushed for Admiralty to be designated a national monument and placed under their jurisdiction.

The handling of the brown bear question lies in a sane, broadminded, middle course. Neither the unreasonable protest of the ultra conservationist nor the shortsighted, materialistic attitude of the commercialist, whose only consideration is from the standpoint of the dollar, can settle it.

--Charles Flory,  
1930.

The federal government considered the matter and in 1941 decided on multiple use practice. A series of compromises and the exigencies of war settled the matter for the time being.

#### The End

The Great Depression that finished off many industrial enterprises on Admiralty Island did bring about some other development. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps began in Alaska in 1934. Its administration, in Alaska, fell under the United States Forest Service, for the most part, in contrast to the inter-departmental form it took elsewhere. Among other projects, construction of trail and recreational facilities on the Mole Harbor -- Kootznoowoo Inlet system began with 130 men who had grown to 245 by 1937 (contrasted to 325 and 1,037 throughout the Territory). They operated in the summertime out of tent camps; based in Juneau in the winter. With the advent of World War II the CCC disbanded. In 1942 Aleuts evacuated from the Aleutian

Islands after the Japanese Invasion were settled in the remaining buildings at Killisnoo. They joined the ANB/ANS.



Historic Data Base - Overview of Cultural Resources on Admiralty Island National Monument.

This requisition is for one chapter in the Cultural Resource Overview for Admiralty Island National Monument entitled Historic Data Base, which falls under the heading of "Cultural Resource Narrative." The historic land and resource patterns from the earliest contact with Caucasian explorers through the CCC era will be described. Main topics to be included are:

I. Period of Discovery - (first contacts, Russian, Spanish, British) influx of new material goods, new foods on Native Culture. Russian Orthodox influences.

II. Fur Trade (Nature of fur trade, effects on earlier trade patterns, increase in relative importance of sea otter hunting and trapping as an activity), trading center at Fort Durham. Protestant missionaries.

III. American Period (first years of new administration, background, description of destruction of Kake villages, white prospectors killed at Murder Cove, influences of missionaries, schools, John Muir's travels, shelling of Angoon.

IV. Commercial Uses

-Whaling - 1878 Northwest Company trading post, whaling stations at Killisnoo and Tyee.

-Fishing - Canneries, salteries and associated logging (for firewood, fuelwood, building and trap construction) floating and piling traps, trap cabins, employment of fishermen and cannery workers (Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Native), size of boats, methods used, effects on fisheries (Hawk Inlet, Killisnoo, Hood Bay, Tyee, Pybus Bay, Gambier Bay), decline of canneries.

-Fur Farms - Methods, techniques, success of fur farmers (Spruce Island, Midway Island, San Juan Island, Elliot Island, South Island, Bay Island, Tiedeman Island, Dorn Island, Brothers Island, Five Fingers Island, Sail Island, Price Island, Gain Island, Muse Island, Turn Point) decline of fur farming.

-Mining - Gold and marble prospecting, mining at Hawk Inlet, Bear Creek, Kanalku (coal) and Tyee.

V. Other 20th Century Developments

- 1906 Alaska Homestead Act
- 1909 Forest Service Administration
- 1907 Alexander Scientific Exploration, Hasselborg
- Indian Allotments. Homesites, cabins
- CCC era project and construction.

The paper will be a descriptive narrative, not an annotated bibliography or guide to source material. The writer should however draw on all available literature sources, including Conner Sorenson's "A Guide to the Historic Records Relating to Admiralty Island National Monument," submitted to the Forest Service April, 1980. The paper should focus on Admiralty specifically - for instance, special attention is to be given those explorers who came to Admiralty Island, made observations on the Island and had contact with its inhabitants as opposed to those explorers who traveled elsewhere in the area. However, this is not to exclude developments which occurred off the island itself or its people. For example, destruction of the Kake villages in 1869 is pertinent since some groups of Kake Natives lived on the Southeast shore of Admiralty. Similarly, trading activity at Ft. Durham involved residents of Admiralty Island.

In addition to the writer's own research efforts, bibliographic references and cultural site files housed in the Monument office will be made available to the writer.

SMALL BUSINESS SET-ASIDE

(a) Restriction: Quotes offered under this Request for Quotation cited from small business concerns only and this procurement is to be awarded only to one or more small business concerns. This action is based on a determination by the Purchasing Agent, alone or in conjunction with a representative of the Small Business Administration, that it is in the interest of maintaining or mobilizing the Nation's full productive capacity, in the interest of war or national defense programs, or in the interest of assuring that a fair proportion of Government procurement is placed with small business concerns. Bids or proposals received from firms which are not small business concerns shall be considered non-responsive.

(b) Definition: A small business concern is a concern, including its affiliates, which is independently owned and operated, is not dominant in the field of operation in which it is bidding on Government contracts, and can further qualify under the criteria set forth in regulations of the Small Business Administration (13 CFR 121.3-8). In addition to meeting these criteria, a manufacturer or a regular dealer submitting Quotes in his own name must agree to furnish in the performance of the contract end items manufactured or produced in the United States, its possessions, or Puerto Rico, by small business concerns:

(c) For the purpose of this solicitation, a concern is defined as a small business if it has 500 employees or less.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
Terms and Conditions of Purchase Order

676

The following terms and conditions apply to purchase orders only. When "Purchase Order" is checked on the front of this form, supplies or services shall be furnished in accordance with the terms specified on both sides of this order and on the attached sheets, if any.

1. **INSPECTION AND ACCEPTANCE.** - Inspection and acceptance will be at destination, unless otherwise provided. Until delivery and acceptance, and after any rejections, risk of loss will be on the Contractor unless loss results from negligence of the Government.

2. **VARIATION IN QUANTITY.** - No variation in the quantity of any item called for by this contract will be accepted unless such variation has been caused by conditions of loading, shipping, or packing, or allowances in manufacturing processes, and then only to the extent, if any, specified elsewhere in this contract.

3. **DISCOUNTS.** - Discount time will be computed from date of delivery at place of acceptance or from receipt of correct invoice at the office specified by the Government, whichever is later. Payment is made, for discount purposes, when check is mailed.

4. **DISPUTES.** - (a) This contract is subject to the Contract Disputes Act of 1978 (Pub. L. 95 563).

(b) Except as provided in the Act, all disputes arising under or relating to this contract shall be resolved in accordance with this clause.

(c) (i) As used herein, "claim" means a written demand or assertion by one of the parties seeking, as a legal right, the payment of money, adjustment or interpretation of contract terms, or other relief, arising under or relating to this contract.

(ii) A voucher, invoice, or request for payment that is not in dispute when submitted is not a claim for the purposes of the Act. However, where such submission is subsequently not acted upon in a reasonable time, or disputed either as to liability or amount, it may be converted to a claim pursuant to the Act.

(iii) A claim by the contractor shall be made in writing and submitted to the contracting officer for decision. A claim by the Government against the contractor shall be subject to a decision by the Contracting Officer.

(d) For contractor claims of more than \$50,000, the contractor shall submit with the claim a certification that the claim is made in good faith; the supporting data are accurate and complete to the best of the contractor's knowledge and belief; and the amount requested accurately reflects the contract adjustment for which the contractor believes the Government is liable. The certification shall be executed by the contractor if an individual. When the contractor is not an individual, the certification shall be executed by a senior company official in charge at the contractor's plant or location involved, or by an officer or general partner of the contractor having overall responsibility for the conduct of the contractor's affairs.

(e) For contractor claims of \$50,000 or less, the Contracting Officer must render a decision within 60 days. For contractor claims in excess of \$50,000, the Contracting Officer must decide the claim within 60 days or notify the contractor of the date when the decision will be made.

(f) The Contracting Officer's decision shall be final unless the contractor appeals or files a suit as provided in the Act.

(g) The authority of the Contracting Officer under the Act does not extend to claims or disputes which by statute or regulation other agencies are expressly authorized to decide.

(h) Interest on the amount found due on a contractor claim shall be paid from the date the claim is received by the Contracting Officer until the date of payment.

(i) Except as the parties may otherwise agree, pending final resolution of a claim by the contractor arising under the contract, the contractor shall proceed diligently with the performance of the contract in accordance with the contracting officer's decision.

5. **FOREIGN SUPPLIES.** - This contract is subject to the Buy American Act (41 U.S.C. 10 a-d) as implemented by Executive Order 10582 of December 17, 1954, and any restrictions in appropriation acts on the procurement of foreign supplies.

6. **CONVICT LABOR.** - In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the Contractor agrees not to employ any person undergoing sentence of imprisonment except as provided by Public Law 89-176, September 10, 1965 (18 U.S.C. 4082(c) (2) and Executive Order 11755, December 29, 1973.

7. **OFFICIALS NOT TO BENEFIT.** - No member of or Delegate to Congress or resident commissioner, shall be admitted to any share or part of this contract, or to any benefit that may arise therefrom, but this provision shall not be construed to extend to this contract if made with a corporation for its general benefit.

8. **COVENANT AGAINST CONTINGENT FEES.** - The Contractor warrants that no person or selling agency has been employed or retained to solicit or secure this contract upon any agreement or understanding for a commission, percentage, brokerage, or contingent fees, excepting bonafide employees or bonafide established commercial or selling agencies maintained by the Contractor for the purpose of securing business. For breach or violation of this warranty the Government shall have the right to annul this contract without liability to the

discretion to deduct from the contract price or consideration, or otherwise recover, the full amount of such commission, percentage, brokerage, or contingent fees.

9. **FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL TAXES.** - Except as may be otherwise provided in this contract, the contract price includes all applicable Federal, State and local taxes and duties in effect on the date of this contract but does not include any taxes from which the Government, the Contractor or this transaction is exempt. Upon request of the Contractor, the Government shall furnish a tax exemption certificate or similar evidence of exemption with respect to any such tax not included in the contract price pursuant to this clause. For the purpose of this clause, the term "date of contract" means the date of the contractor's quotation or, if no quotation, the date of this purchase order.

10. **SERVICE CONTRACT ACT OF 1965.** - (applies only to contracts for services unless exempted by the regulations of the Department of Labor) - Except to the extent that an exemption, variation, or tolerance would apply pursuant to 29 CFR 4-6 if this were a contract in excess of \$2500, the contractor and any subcontractor hereunder shall pay all his employees engaged in performing work on the contract not less than the minimum wage specified under section 6(a)(1) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended. All regulations and interpretations of the Service Contract Act of 1965 expressed in 29 CFR Part 4 are hereby incorporated by reference in this contract.

11. **CHANGES.** - The Contracting Officer may at any time by a written order, and without notice to the sureties, make changes within the general scope of this contract, in any one or more of the following: (i) for supplies: (a) drawings, designs, or specifications, where the supplies to be furnished are to be specially manufactured for the Government in accordance therewith; (b) method of shipment or packing; and (c) place of delivery; (ii) for services, including but not limited to the following: (a) specifications (including drawings and designs); (b) method or manner of performance of the work; (c) Government-furnished facilities, equipment, materials, services, or site; or (d) directing acceleration in the performance of the work. If any such change causes an increase or decrease in the cost of, or the time required for, the performance of any part of the work under this contract, whether changed or not changed by any such order, an equitable adjustment shall be made in the contract price or delivery schedule, or both, and the contract shall be modified in writing accordingly. Any claim by the Contractor for adjustment under this clause must be asserted within 30 days from the date of receipt by the Contractor of the notification of change. *Provided, however,* that the Contracting Officer, if he decides that the facts justify such action, may receive and act upon any such claim asserted at any time prior to final payment under this contract, where the cost of property made obsolete or excess as a result of a change is included in the Contractor's claim for adjustment, the Contracting Officer shall have the right to prescribe the manner of disposition of such property. Failure to agree to any adjustment shall be a dispute concerning a question of fact within the meaning of the clause of this contract entitled "Disputes." However, nothing in this clause shall excuse the Contractor from proceeding with the contract as changed.

12. **TERMINATION FOR DEFAULT.** - The Contracting Officer, by written notice, may terminate the contract, in whole or in part, for failure of the Contractor to perform any of the provisions hereof. In such event the Contractor shall be liable for damages, including the excess cost of reprocurring similar supplies or services, provided that if (i) it is determined for any reason that the Contractor was not in default or (ii) the Contractor's failure to perform is without his and his subcontractor's control, fault or negligence the termination shall be a termination for convenience under Paragraph 13.

13. **TERMINATION FOR CONVENIENCE.** - The Contracting Officer, by written notice, may terminate this contract, in whole or in part, when it is in the best interest of the Government. If this contract is for supplies and is so terminated, the Contractor shall be compensated in accordance with Part 1-8 of the Federal Procurement Regulations (41 CFR 1-8), in effect on this contract's date. To the extent that this contract is for services and is so terminated, the Government shall be liable only for payment in accordance with the payment provisions of this contract for services rendered prior to the effective date of termination.

14. **ASSIGNMENT OF CLAIMS.** - Claims for monies due or to become due under this contract shall be assigned only pursuant to the Assignment of Claims Act of 1940, as amended (31 U.S.C. 203-41 U.S.C. 15). This purchase order may not be assigned unless or until the supplier has been requested to and has accepted this order by executing an Acceptance hereon.

15. **CLAUSES INCORPORATED BY REFERENCE.** - If the amount of this purchase order exceeds \$2,500, the following clauses form a part of the purchase order and are hereby incorporated by reference. Citations refer to the Federal Procurement Regulations. Text of the clauses may be obtained from the Contracting Officer:

Employment of the Handicapped (1-12.1304)  
Contract Work Hours and Safety Standards Act (1-12.303)  
Service Contract Act of 1965 (1-12.904-1)(when appli-

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To: K.J. Metcalfe  
From: Barry Roderick  
Re: Completion of Admiralty Island history and final payment.

8 July 1982

This is to notify you of completion of the Admiralty Island history project; the final copy of the manuscript is herewith submitted. Please remit payment of \$3000.00 as soon as possible to:

Barry Roderick  
Box #748,  
Douglas, Alaska.  
99824.  
telephone: (907)-586-1059

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Barry Roderick



United States  
Department of  
Agriculture

Forest  
Service

Admiralty National Monument  
P.O. Box 2097  
Juneau, Alaska 99803

Reply to: 6542

Date: July 12, 1982

Mr. Barry Roderick  
Box 748  
Douglas, AK 99824

Dear Mr. Roderick:

In reference to the purchase order for the Admiralty historic overview we have with you.

The product you have delivered meets the specifications outlined in the purchase order and we have initiated payment to you for the agreed to price of \$3,000.00.

I had requested on June 9, 1982 a partial payment of \$1,500.00. This partial payment was not made due to an administrative problem on our end. Instead we are authorizing full payment at this time.

I am sorry for problems this delay has created.

Sincerely,

  
R.J. METCALF  
Monument Manager

