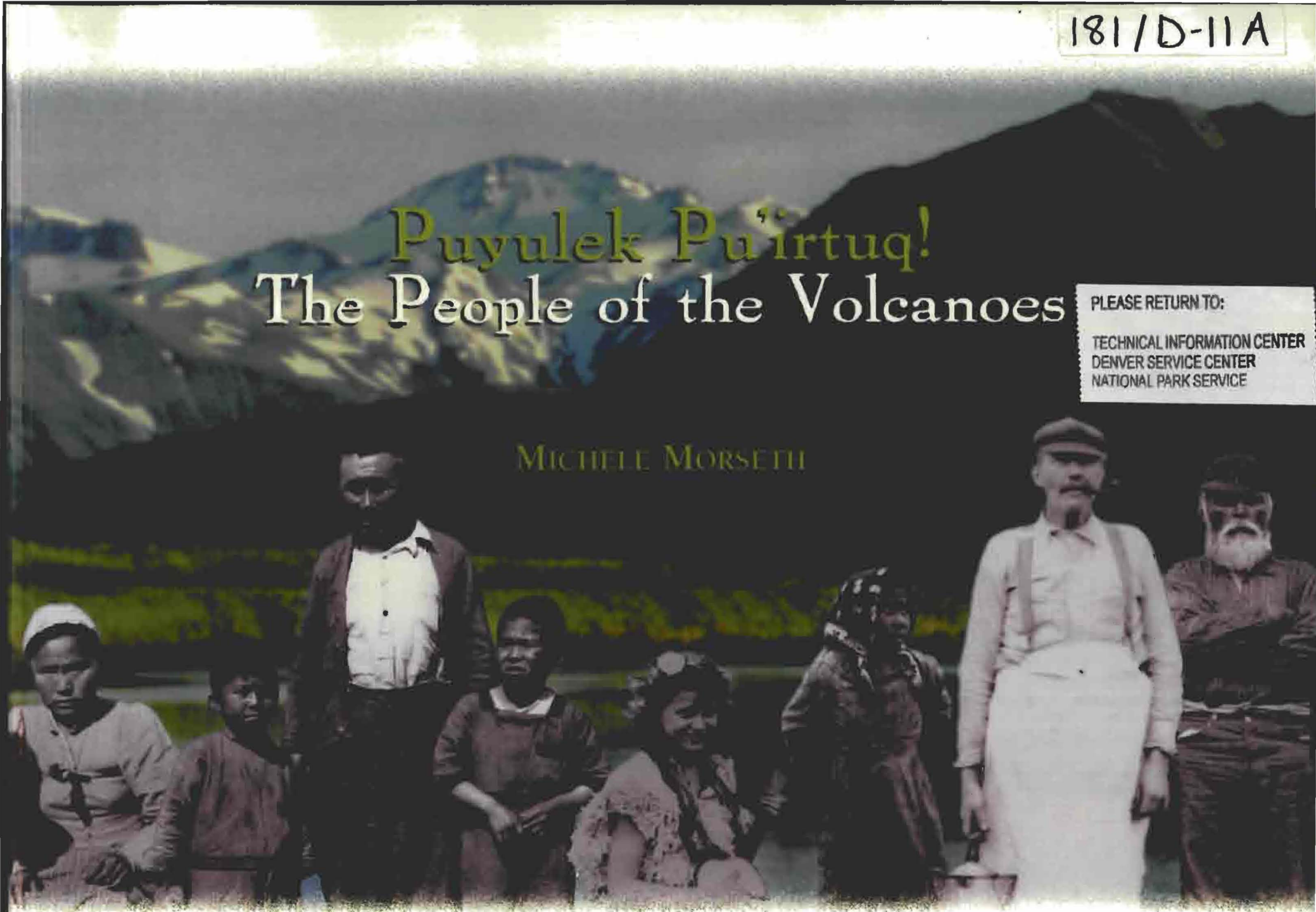
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The People of the Volcanoes

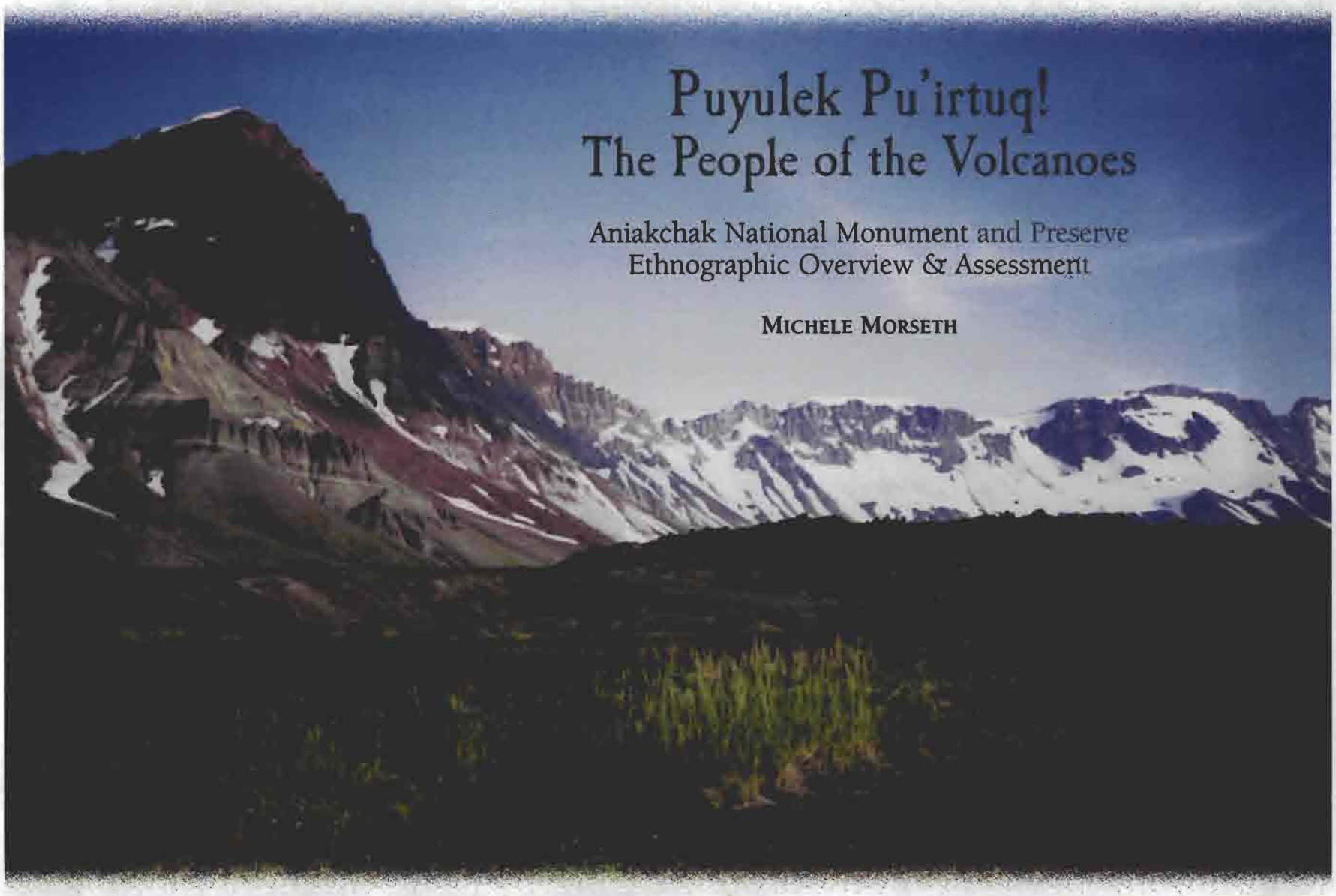
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Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve Ethnographic Overview & Assessment



Puyulek Pu'irtuq!
The People of the Volcanoes

Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve
Ethnographic Overview & Assessment

MICHELE MORSETH

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE • ANIAKCHAK NATIONAL MONUMENT AND PRESERVE • ANCHORAGE, ALASKA • 2003

Color Scans
3/17/2005

Puyulek Pu'irtuq! "The volcano is smoking!" can be approximated by saying Poo-yoo-lik Poo-ukh-tuk, although for the correct pronunciation it is best to ask an Alutiiq speaker.

Cover photos:
Main Creek at Amber Bay.
Mike Hilton photo, courtesy of NPS.
Residents of the Aniakchak area from various archival photos.

Title page:
Inside Aniakchak Caldera.
Mike Hilton photo, courtesy of Mike Hilton.

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Lake Clark-Katmai Studies Center
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The Lake Clark-Katmai Studies Center, established in February 1999, is a research and curatorial facility for the museum collections from Katmai National Park and Preserve, Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, and the Alagnak Wild River. The Center supports the Cultural Resource program for these parks with responsibilities that include stewardship of historic buildings, museum collections, archeological sites, cultural landscapes, oral and written histories, and ethnographic resources.

Our mission is to identify, evaluate and preserve the cultural resources of the park areas and to bring an understanding of these resources to the public. Congress has mandated that we preserve these resources because they are important components of our national and personal identity.

The National Park Service Cultural Resource Preservation Program: Special Ethnography Studies provided the initial funding for this publication to identify the cultural and natural resources of Aniakchak that are of traditional significance to traditionally associated peoples. This knowledge allows for respectful treatment of ethnographic resources through careful consideration of the effects that our management actions may have on them.

Special acknowledgment and sincere appreciation for contributions to this second edition are to Lydia T. Black, Professor Emerita University of Alaska Fairbanks, who edited content and citations with her inimitable energy, devotion to the subject, attention to detail and generous spirit.

Mention of trade names of commercial products does not constitute endorsement or recommendations for use.

Jeanne M. Schaaf
Cultural Resources Manager
September 2003

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—Michele Morseth, 1998



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Mike Hilton photo, courtesy of NPS.

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Foreword

This study sought to identify groups with cultural affiliation and traditional associations to Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, a National Park Service unit lying roughly between 56° and 57° N latitude and 157° and 159° W longitude in a roadless area of the Alaska Peninsula. The monument was created in 1978 to preserve a large volcanic caldera and the surrounding lands which have been a rich source of terrestrial and marine mammals, fish, and plants to human inhabitants for thousands of years. With the passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980, the monument became Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve and the Aniakchak River became a National Wild River.

The most recent aboriginal inhabitants of this section of the Peninsula were the Sugpiat. They and their descendants have had the longest tenure in Aniakchak through over two centuries of seasonal and year-round use and habitation. Archaeological evidence suggests a connection between present day peoples and prehistoric groups that may be further revealed in the archaeological surveys currently underway.

Residents of the study area identify themselves as Aleuts or Alutiiqs though they speak different, yet mutually intelligible dialects. Recently the term Sugpiat [plural, Sugpiaq singular] has been used to designate the people and the terms Sugtestun and Alutiiq to designate the language. Under these latter terms dialects of Alutiiq spoken by the Chugach of Prince William Sound and Outer Cook Inlet and the inhabitants of the Kodiak archipelago and of the Upper Alaska Peninsula are subsumed. In my presentation, for the sake of clarity I use the term Sugpiat to designate the people the Russians came in contact with and the term Alutiiq when referring to contemporary peoples. Following the local dictionary, A Short Dictionary of Alaska Peninsula Sugtestun, compiled by Jeff Leer of the Alaska Native Language Center, I will use Sugtestun for the language.

In the last two centuries the people of the Alaska Peninsula have withstood a tremendous assault on their culture which was transformed in a brief span of time. Since shortly after Russian contact in the 1760s, when Alaska Peninsula Sugpiat fought off Russian fur traders and their Unangan hunters, they have adapted to and intermingled with foreigners in their land. Beginning with establishment of Russian fur trading posts, Sugpiat of Kodiak were called "Aleut" or, in the local language, "Alutiiq." With the establishment of Russian posts on the Peninsula, at the latest by 1785, this designation spread to the people there. Over time "Aleut" became a term that distinguished many of the people under the domination of Russia from neighbors who were not. Sugpiat and Yup'ik descendants continue to use this appellation today to align themselves with their Russian past and the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as to

Opposite: Meshik Lake, looking toward the Aniakchak River. Mike Hilton photo, courtesy of NPS.

identify themselves as Alaska Natives. The term both demarcates them from and connects them to pre-contact Sugpiat who once occupied and defended the lands stretching from Kupreanof Point to Prince William Sound, and included the Kodiak Archipelago and lower Kenai Peninsula, and to pre-contact Ugaassarmiut who occupied the southern shore of Bristol Bay.

To the National Park Service, the term "traditional associations" signifies uses of park resources that have endured at least two generations. Alutiiqs, Euroamericans, and Inupiat who were brought to work in the canneries around 1913 have all used Aniakchak lands, and their occupation and use of the land is a salient part of their history. Examples of multi-generational groups affiliated to Aniakchak lands include Alutiiq sea otter hunters and their families in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, trapping families who established homes along the Pacific coast and inland rivers in the early 1900s, and twentieth-century subsistence hunters, fishers, and berry pickers. Inupiat reindeer herders and trappers also used the Bristol Bay plain adjacent to Aniakchak in the early to mid-1900s. These are the groups of people whose cultural affiliations and historical associations to Aniakchak are described in this document.

This ethnographic overview and assessment examines present knowledge of the cultural history of the mid-portion of the Alaska Peninsula. The description of life in the region from the late 1700s to the present offered here is based on written materials, photographs, and oral accounts of historic and present day life in the area of Aniakchak. The study area includes the region of the Alaska Peninsula south of Becharof Lake to the Chignik area and the Bristol Bay plain to Port Moller. It includes the present day villages of Pilot Point, Port Heiden, Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, and Chignik Lake, all with residents who once used Aniakchak lands. This document is not a comprehensive history of the area—many missing pieces of history are identified and this document will serve to guide further research. I apologize to the descendants of the people from Katmai, Afognak, Karluk, Unga, and Unalaska who were once involved in sea otter, sea lion, and seabird hunting near Aniakchak—they too are part of its history, but time constraints and project scope did not allow a more comprehensive examination. The study area was chosen to reach the core groups of people who occupied the Aniakchak area.

Organization of this Report

This report deals primarily with Alutiiqs connected through cultural and historical ties to Aniakchak, although use by Euroamericans and Inupiat is also described. Chapter one provides a brief description of the area and contemporary villages. Chapter two provides a sketch of at-contact Sugpiat culture and outlines Sugpiat relationships with other indigenous groups. The next chapter describes the impact of the Russian domination of the Peninsula and its influence and ramifications on the indigenous people's culture, traditional economy, and population. Included is a description of activity near Aniakchak. Chapter four examines the resettlement of the Alaska Peninsula after the 1867 U.S. purchase of Alaska and the changes in lifeway the Alutiiq people underwent as a direct result of the influx of Euroamericans and the demise of the

sea otter hunt. With this era began an increased use of the Pacific coast of Aniakchak as Sutkhum was re-opened and Chiginagak Bay was settled. Chapter five, "Village Journey," provides short vignettes and historic photographs of villages and settlements that began springing up in the late 1800s. Chapter six outlines the industrialization of the Peninsula in the decades after the turn of the 19th century. Examined are the growth of the salmon industry, the development of a seasonal economy around fishing and fur trapping, and the impacts of these developments on traditional settlement patterns, language, and identity. The seventh chapter focuses on the recent history of Aniakchak. It describes the trapping period during which families spent over half of each year trapping the shores and creeks of lands Aniakchak now comprises. This period experienced the most extensive use of the coast of the Alaska Peninsula in over a century. Chapter eight provides a general overview of recent subsistence resource use in and near Aniakchak. A chapter follows about the Inupiat migration to Bristol Bay and the Inupiat communities that formed while immigrants pursued reindeer herding, fishing, and trapping. The report concludes with a section on ethnicity issues followed by conclusions about the present state of knowledge and documentation about ethnographic resources in Aniakchak and recommendations for research. Two appendices follow. An overview of the National Park Service responsibility to peoples affiliated with Aniakchak today should assist the Park manager in identifying appropriate laws and regulations that address cultural resources. A second appendix provides the text of "Conduct for Research in the Arctic." An annotated bibliography focuses on written, tape recorded, and photographic documentation of the Alaska Peninsula peoples.

A Note About Sources of Sugpiat and Alutiiq Culture on the Alaska Peninsula

Little was written about the area of the Alaska Peninsula south of Katmai until the late 1800s, although we know the Pacific coast near present day Aniakchak was repeatedly but infrequently occupied throughout the historical period. Early written sources include brief mention of Russian fur traders fighting with Alaska Peninsula peoples and the establishment of the Sutkhum artel which served as a base to sea otter hunts at Sutwik Island and sea lion hunts off the coast of Cape Kumlik. Aniakchak and Amber bays were likely used for hunting and fishing during this time period. Less has been uncovered about the mid-1800s. In the later two decades of the 1800s written documents, including privately translated Russian Orthodox Church records, give a clearer picture of people's lifeways, the areas they used, and resources they sought. These documents provide details about the settlement of Wrangell and mention the Sutkhum outpost of the Alaska Commercial Company, indicating extensive use of the area comprising Sutwik Island and capes Kumliun and Kumlik prior to the turn of the century.

Most of the early information on the Sugpiaq people derives from a few sources with scant mention of the Alaska Peninsula and the Ugaassarmiut and Sugpiat who lived there. After conquering and colonizing

Kodiak in 1784, Shelikhov established a permanent base and initiated rapid expansion to the surrounding area. However, despite Kodiak's proximity to the Alaska Peninsula, little was written about it until the late 1800s. Ugashik is known to have existed long before the Russians arrived but early translated records barely mention it.

The existing, translated nineteenth-century documentation about the Aniakchak area shows cultural use by sea otter and seabird hunters from Kodiak, Ugashik, and Katmai.[1] In 1776 the ship *Sv. Mikhail* reached Kodiak and crew member Bragin briefly described it.[2] The rocky coast of the Alaska Peninsula was an easy place to bypass as ships sailed between Unalaska in the Aleutian Islands to Kenai and Kodiak. Captain James Cook, in 1778-1779, traveled from Cook Inlet to Unalaska, bypassing Shelikof Strait and Kodiak. Although he did not document the people along the coast, Cook was the first to recognize the coast of the Alaska Peninsula as a peninsula rather than an island. Shelikhov reported on the people and conditions of Kodiak but his reports are unreliable and fraught with gross exaggerations.

In 1791, Bocharov explored the north coast of the Peninsula and the portage up the Egegik River, over Lake Becharof, and across the northern Peninsula on his way to Kodiak.[3] Captain Lisianski sailed along the Peninsula coast in 1804, and in 1827, his superior, Kruzenstern, published an atlas with the Native names of geographical features.[4] In 1818 Korsakovski traveled overland from Katmai to Egegik and along Bristol Bay to its northern shores. From his account we glean information about language and early trading activities near Naknek, Egegik, and Ugashik as well.[5]

Finally, in the 1830s two Russian explorations mapped the Alaska Peninsula coast and included the villages of Kaliak, Katmai, and Kukak on the Pacific and the Severnovski villages of Ikak and Alinnak along the upper Naknek river.[6]

None of these documents indicates that there were any permanent settlements between Kupreanof Point and Katmai, or south of the Ugashik River on the Bristol Bay coast. Seasonal use is mentioned on the islands off the Pacific coast of the Peninsula but not on shore. It remains to be seen if evidence of at-contact dwellers of Aniakchak surfaces as more and more Russian documents are translated and archaeological sites are surveyed and excavated.

Research Outline and Method

This study commenced in March of 1997 when known documents about this relatively sparsely studied area were compiled, along with a list of possible archival sources of tapes, photographs, and historical documents. Initially, the recent historical use of Aniakchak was vaguely known; pre-1900 use was hinted at. The objective of the project was not only to provide an overview and assessment of current knowledge on ethnographic resources of Aniakchak but to uncover cultural affiliations. I began the process of discovery by reading known documentation which included works by Nancy Yaw Davis, Merry Tuten, Patricia Partnow, and Lisa Scarborough, all of whom had conducted field work in the area. Many hours of taped interviews conducted by Partnow were obtained through the Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Elmer Rasmuson Library at the University of Alaska

Opposite:
Cinder River.
Mike Hilton photo,
courtesy of NPS.



Fairbanks. She conducted interviews during her research on Alutiiq ethnicity in the early 1990s. Transcripts of previous interviews were also obtained through the Bureau of Indian Affairs–Alaska Native Claim Settlement Act Office and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. These prior interviews often allowed me to focus my interviews on topics specific to Aniakchak. I made a preliminary trip to Pilot Point, Port Heiden, Chignik Lake, Chignik Lagoon, and Chignik Bay, the five villages initially chosen for the study. On this trip I discovered several things—due to weather conditions it is often a very difficult place to move around in, residents were welcoming and interested in their history, and my predecessors had endeared themselves to the villagers, making initial village contact much easier.

I returned to each of the villages in May and in August of 1997 to conduct interviews. Through the help of people in the villages, I was able to contact and interview people in Anchorage, Homer, and Kodiak during 1997 and 1998. Thirty people were interviewed during site visits. After obtaining permission, I tape recorded seven of these. The individuals who agreed to be interviewed welcomed me into their homes and gave valuable insights and information about life on the Peninsula and in Aniakchak. People told about the huge changes families have undergone as they committed themselves to living on the Peninsula, persevering through an array of international influences that have strongly affected their lives. I was able to talk to some of the families that lived along the coast of what is now Aniakchak. Stories about that area, including land use, historic settlement patterns, spiritual beliefs, and environmental knowledge add to the existing historical documents from the region. Some of the more enlightening interviews pertinent to Aniakchak were those about the years of reindeer herding, place names from the historic period, and descriptions of trapping and traveling in Aniakchak. Through interviews some obscure or misleading historical references found in the written record were clarified. Historical and prehistoric archaeological sites within Aniakchak were identified as were sites of cultural significance, including historical gravesites. Written documentation from the early 1900s was augmented and enriched through oral history accounts. Few elders remain, however, who remember the early part of the century when the Peninsula was undergoing tremendous changes in settlement patterns and resource use.

Chapter one

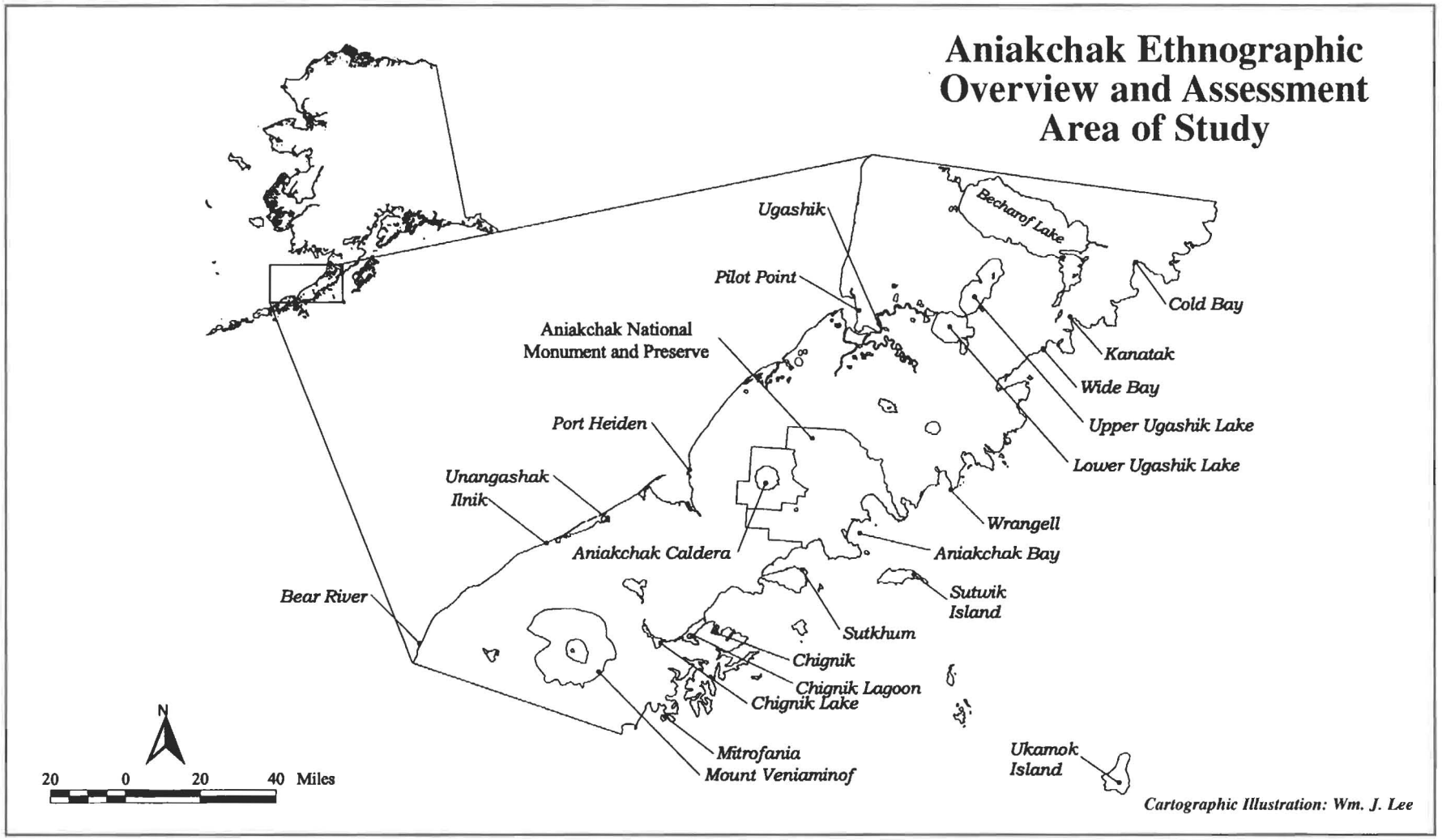
Introduction

If you look at your right hand, palm facing away and hold back the fingers at the second knuckle, and then reach out with your thumb—you get an approximation of Alaska. Now if the end of your thumb is at Unalaska, Aniakchak Caldera is just distal to your second knuckle. This is the area of the subject of this report—the mid-section of the Alaska Peninsula which has been described as one of the most topographically and climatically varied areas in Alaska. The Peninsula, in this section, is at most 50 miles across.

The Alaska Peninsula forms part of the Ring of Fire, an active volcanic zone caused by the subduction of the Pacific tectonic plate beneath the continental plate. The volcanoes formed by tectonic plate subduction are very explosive and produce large quantities of ash. When Aniakchak the 7,000 foot mountain exploded about 3,500 years ago it buried vegetation under many feet of ash. Ash dunes remain from this eruption. Animals and human inhabitants were either buried or left in a wasteland. It was only one of many eruptions from half a dozen immediate volcanoes and many distant volcanoes that have spewed ash over the mountains, tundra, and lakes of the Peninsula. The caldera that formed filled with water creating a large, deep lake. Five hundred years ago a weak spot in the walls gave way and water flooded the Aniakchak River valley, washing huge boulders and sediment down steam. In 1931, a year after Father Bernard Hubbard had explored the caldera, ash from a new explosion filled the skies near Aniakchak.[7] Villages went dark at mid-day, ash fell like snow—three inches deep in some villages. Aniakchak caldera is often described as a world within itself. It comprises its own physiographic zone—six miles across, a world bordered by precipitous cliffs, tilted rock strata, ash flows, vents and craters—it creates its own weather and shelters a unique assemblage of vegetation. However, it is the area of Aniakchak outside of the caldera that has been home to humans, through many hundreds of years.

The one feature that ties the Peninsula together is the ash that has blanketed it over and over again. Ash provides subtle and coalescing underlying layers to the Peninsula, and it creates stark landscapes of dunes, deeply cut creeks, and barren outwash plains. Underneath the ash, the Peninsula is remarkable in its variety of climate, topography, vegetation, and coastal regions. Over a century ago, Baer observed that

> *Nowhere else on earth is there so great a difference in climate within such a short distance as exists on both sides of Aliaska...this peninsula separates the wooded shores from the treeless... [it] fixes a sharp and striking boundary line for the animal world since one can see walrus, dwellers on polar ice, on one side of this tongue of land, while on the other one can see humming-birds, this brilliant herald of the south....*[8]



Map 1.A

The weather is as variable as the ash is stable. Winds hammer the Pacific coastline and swirl through the mountains; to the north they blast over the flat plains. The Peninsula cleaves the oceans—the frigid Bering sea forms a large, relatively shallow bowl to the northwest while the gigantic Pacific ocean stretches southward to the hot sun of the equatorial region. In the winter, the southern extent of the Bering Sea ice pack reaches into Bristol Bay, while the Pacific remains ice free. Stretching down the south side of the Peninsula, the Aleutian

Range reaches up out of the Pacific Ocean; at its foot is the Pacific littoral, characterized by rugged cliffs cut by many deep bays and dotted with offshore islands and reefs. In places, glacial streams pound down the mountains; in other places they gently flow down to shallow bays. High winds and rough waters predominate during winter months. The mountains comprise an upland zone of stark tundra and rocky cliffs. Sweeping down from their northern flanks are the Bristol Bay lowlands of undulating moist tundra, dotted with uncountable lakes and slowly meandering rivers. The coastline is smooth, gently forming the south coast of Bristol Bay whose shallow waters, belying the smooth coastline, are treacherous to deep drafted ships. The Aniakchak, Meshik, and the Cinder rivers comprise a river valley zone within Aniakchak. These, as well as the Chignik and the Ugashik rivers, form travel corridors for humans and animals alike.

These hugely varying physiographic and climatic zones support an array of animals, fish, birds, and plants. The Peninsula is narrow and river valleys cut through the mountains creating easy travel corridors for caribou, and humans, but still its ability to support specific species varies greatly form north to south. Ice-loving marine mammals inhabit Bristol Bay on the north while warm water species like sea otter inhabit the Pacific.

During the summer the cliffs of the Pacific wave with tall grasses, home to hares, ptarmigan, porcupines, and caribou. Within the last 50 years beaver and moose have migrated onto the Peninsula. Foxes, mink and other fur-bearers are relatively abundant. Wolves and wolverines are said to be relatively scarce.

Throughout the 200 year historic period, Aniakchak has consistently been used by people on the Pacific coast, including the sea otter hunting outposts of Wrangell and Sutkhum just outside Aniakchak boundaries. On the Bristol Bay side, residents of Meshik and Unangashak used the Meshik River; some of this use is reflected in Native place names (see map 1.A). Settlement patterns indicate that people and whole villages moved frequently until the canneries were established in the 1880s. From the late 1890s to the 1950s, Aniakchak saw a divergent settlement pattern as immigrant Europeans moved to the area and began families with Alutiiq or Creole women. In this period, a succession of families spent most of the year in isolated cabins, making a living fox farming, trapping, and fishing on the Pacific coast of Aniakchak. This activity peaked during the two decades prior to World War II. The creeks and rivers extending into Aniakchak were also trapped—most notably the Meshik and Aniakchak rivers and Tunangapuk (Birthday) Creek. Today, the coastline is used by people from villages who access it either by boat or airplane.

An Inupiat inmigration at the beginning of this century, while little studied, is an important part of the area's history. A few Inupiat still live in the area and remember the time when Inupiat formed their own communities at Meshik, Eskimo Town, Eskimo Village and a settlement near the old Unangashak village. For a relatively short period of time, Inupiat established a reindeer corral and trap lines to the northwest of Aniakchak caldera.

Despite a long history of inmigration and epidemic die-offs, Alutiiq culture remains strong in the area. Chignik Lake and the village of Perryville, just south of the

study area, represent the core of Alutiiq culture and language for people of the middle Peninsula, primarily because they have the largest Alutiiq population. Subsistence hunting, fishing and plant gathering provide an important cultural link for people who are active in more modern pursuits. They use lands in much of Aniakchak, and Aniakchak, Amber, and Kujulik bays continue to provide good access to caribou, berries, fish, and shellfish.

The five study villages are located within a 60 mile radius of Aniakchak on the Alaska Peninsula. Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, and Chignik Lake are located on the Pacific side of the Peninsula while Pilot Point and Port Heiden are located on the Bristol Bay side. None of these villages are accessible by road, but all are accessible by boat and are serviced by air out of King Salmon. During the summer Chignik Bay is visited once a month by the Alaska Ferry System and Port Heiden, with the largest airstrip, is serviced by jet out of Anchorage. The majority of the study population is Alaska Native.

Pilot Point & Ugashik

Pilot Point is about 55 air miles from Aniakchak and while itself distant from the Monument and Preserve, many of its residents have ties to the upper Ugashik and the abandoned village of Kanatak. Through Kanatak, ties extend to the village of Wrangell in Chiginagak Bay and other settlement areas between the Chigniks and Kanatak. Most people from Ugashik, ten air miles up the Ugashik river from Pilot Point, relocated to Pilot Point a century ago.

Port Heiden/Meshik

This old military installation and DEW line site incorporated the village of Meshik. It is the closest village to Aniakchak, only 15 air miles from the boundary. Access to Aniakchak is often via creeks that have historically been used as trap lines. The Meshik River also takes people into Aniakchak and up to Meshik Lake on the southwest side of the Caldera. Today there is one person who was born in or very near to Aniakchak boundary and others who spent winters on the flanks of the crater. Reindeer Creek, where reindeer used to be corralled, is just northeast of the village.

Chignik Lake, Chignik Lagoon, Chignik Bay

This group of villages is about 40 air miles from Aniakchak boundary and about a five hour fishing boat ride from Aniakchak Bay. People have strong historic ties to Aniakchak because of their recent pattern of living out on the coast during the winter. There are several people who were born along the coast, remains of their cabins can still be found, and they continue to use park areas and offshore areas for hunting, fishing, and berry picking. Traditional Native ties to Aniakchak are more obscure, in part because of the lack of historic documentation from the Russian period. However, residents consider Aniakchak an important subsistence area.

Chapter two

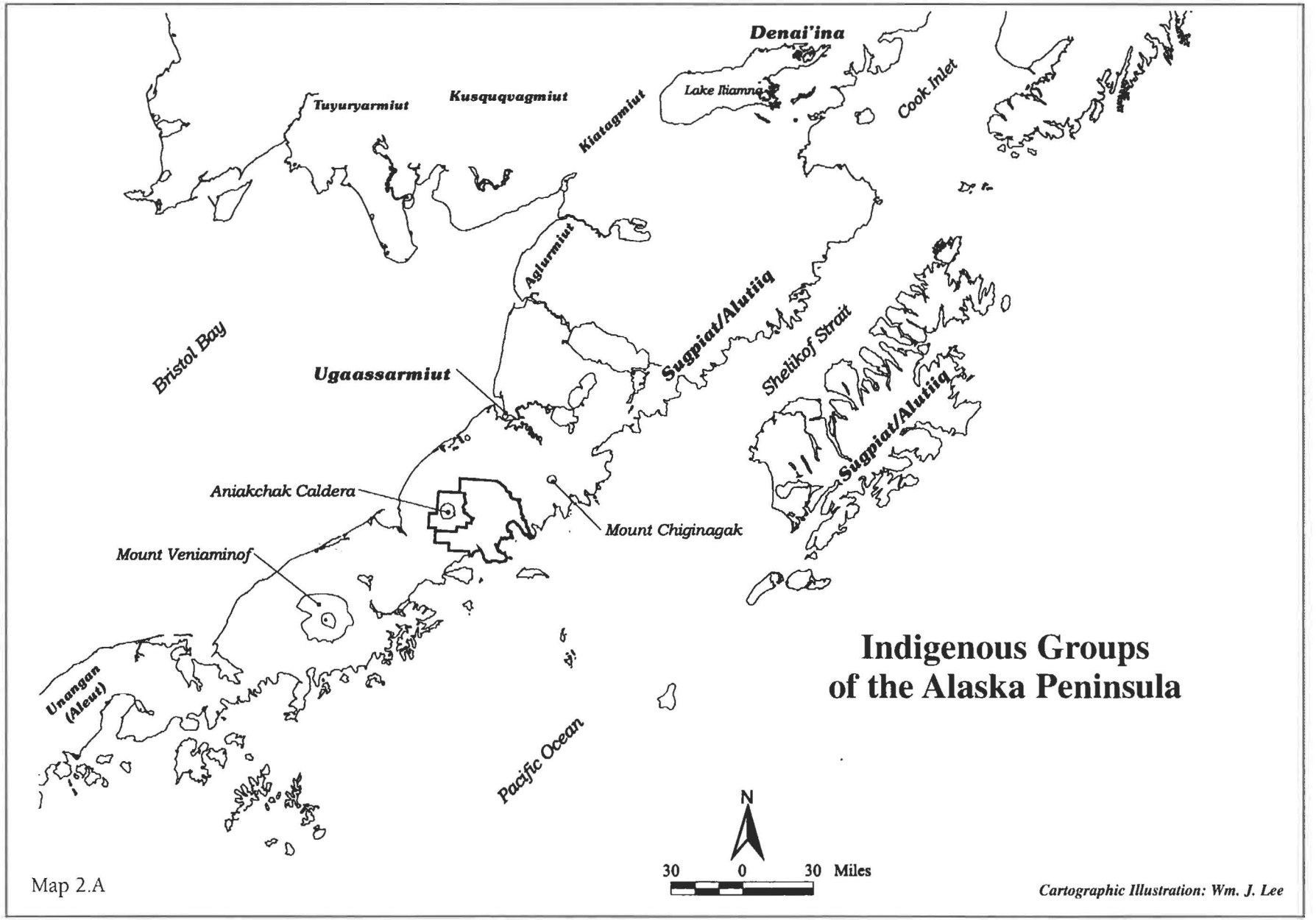
The Sugpiaq

Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve comprises land that archaeological and historical evidence indicates was recently occupied by a branch of the Sugpiaq or Alutiiq[10] cultural/linguistic group, probably related to the Kodiak Islanders, an indigenous people whose tenure on the coastal shores and islands of the Kodiak Archipelago and Shelikof Strait spans a millennium or more. These people have been called Kaniaga (English: Koniag) or Kad'iak Aleut for nearly two centuries, a name that derives from the Unangan designation Kanaĝin.[11] In addition, Russians used the term Aliaskentsy to refer to Sugpiaq inhabitants of the Alaska Peninsula. More recently, the terms Koniag Aleut, Pacific Eskimo, Pacific Yup'ik, Alutiiq, and Sugpiat have been used to signify people residing in the Kodiak Archipelago and the shores of Shelikof Strait. The term Sugpiaq (plural, Sugpiat), which people are familiar with and which has gained in popularity in some areas, will be used as a general term for peoples of the Peninsula and Kodiak who speak Sugtestun. The traditional appellation Qikertarmiut refers to Sugpiat affiliated with Kodiak Island.[12] Ugaassarmiut designates people of the Ugashik River drainage who speak a dialect mutually intelligible to both Yup'ik and Sugtestun speakers. While linguists have classified their language as Central Yup'ik, they have aligned themselves with Sugpiat or, in current usage, Alutiiq. Alutiiq, the self-designation rising to the forefront today, will be used for contemporary peoples.

Aleut was another term that the Russians commonly applied to indigenous people throughout much of Russian America. The Russian fur traders and missionaries often referred to many Alutiiqs as Americans as well, but soon the term Aleut prevailed and became a generic term designating the indigenous peoples of the Aleutian and Kodiak islands and the Kenai Peninsula whom the Russians had brought under their control.[13] As Russian dominion spread, peoples bordering Bristol Bay also began to identify themselves as Aleut. The Russians recognized that these people spoke different languages, had distinct cultural traits, and often were enemies of one another; yet the term stuck and earlier self-designations fell out of use. Because the term Aleut may conceal cultural distinctions, it will be used only when it occurs in the body of quotations.

On the Alaska Peninsula, ethnic boundaries are especially obscure. Details of settlement and subsistence patterns and of intra- and inter-tribal relations are sparse although a few elders remember detailed stories about the old battles and alliances. Besides the resident Sugpiat, the Alaska Peninsula is home to several other groups of indigenous people (map 2.A). Each of these cultural groups spoke a different language and each group had a settlement

> **The inhabitants of Kad'iak, Afognak, Tugidak, Sitkhinak and the other small islands adjacent to Kad'iak speak the same language with some small variations in pronunciation which distinguish those coming from the east, and west of the group....**
>
> **The inhabitants of Kad'iak and of all the islands described above [those around Kodiak] call themselves Kaniagas, but it would seem that the term is often applied to the Aliaskans as well.[9]**
>
> **~Davydov**



Indigenous Groups of the Alaska Peninsula

Map 2.A

Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee

area or territory. The area southwest of Port Moller, Kupreanof Point, and the Shumagin Islands was inhabited by the Unangan (Aleut), of the same language group and culture as those inhabiting the Aleutian Islands. The northeastern end of the Peninsula on Bristol Bay was inhabited by the southern-most Central Yup'ik speakers: the Kiatagmiut and a more recent Yup'ik speaking arrival, the Aglurmiut. Inland, around Lake Iliamna, were the Dena'ina Athabaskans, called Kenaitsy by the Russians. Alutiiqs lived along the mid-section of the Peninsula from southwest of Cape Douglas along the Pacific coast to somewhere north of Kupreanof Point. In early historic times the closest permanent settlement to Aniakchak was near Bristol Bay, along the Ugashik River, where the Ugaassarmiut lived. Cultural affiliation for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ugaassarmiut has yet to be determined, although evidence suggests they were Central Yup'ik, but, because they were on the borderlands and had established relationships with Alutiiq neighbors, many spoke, or at least understood, both Yup'ik and Sugtestun. Today they consider themselves Aleut or Alutiiq.

Sugpiat spoke an Eskimoan language, Sugtestun (also known as Pacific Yup'ik, Suk, Sugpiaq, and Alutiiq), which linguists group as one of five Yup'ik languages spoken along the coastline of Alaska from Prince William Sound to Norton Sound and across the Bering Sea to Siberia.[14] The most closely related language, Central Yup'ik, is spoken from Norton Sound to Bristol Bay in the area that once adjoined Alutiiq territory. Culturally, however, the Sugpiat are distinct. Climate and non-Eskimo neighbors decisively affected their culture. Many aspects of Sugpiaq culture have been described as North Pacific, similar to their Aleutian Archipelago-dwelling neighbors. The political and ranking systems have been described as akin to those of Tlingit neighbors to the southeast. In other ways, Sugpiaq and Yup'ik culture share similar characteristics. Despite their geographic location in close proximity to Yup'ik, Dena'ina, Tlingit, and Unangan peoples, they are heirs to a unique language, culture, and history.[15]

Sugpiat have a long history of contact with other peoples but none as utterly transforming as contact with Russian fur traders and missionaries and, later, Euroamericans. After more than two centuries of domination by outside forces and all the attendant devastating effects on population, health, social order, and culture, it is hard to determine today just who the people were that the Russians encountered, how many people there were, and what a detailed description of their culture would reveal. These foreigners arrived so long ago and were so effective in subjugating and assimilating the indigenous peoples that, upon visiting some Sugpiaq villages, an outsider may not realize that there are any Sugpiat left—and in the traditional, aboriginal sense there are not.

Yet the descendants of aboriginal Sugpiat have a common history and their traditions link them to the Sugpiaq culture. To understand the ways that modern Sugpiat, or Alutiiqs, perceive themselves as participating in a unique, contemporary culture and to understand who they are today requires examination of the cultural values, social conventions, political organization, styles of communication, and beliefs about the natural and spiritual world of their

ancestors, as well as the historical changes since the Russians arrived. The culture of the people that the Russians first encountered is relevant to understanding contemporary Alutiiq. The long process of assimilation was not a wholesale adoption of the Russian and then American culture; it was a long process of adaptation and change—change of the old and incorporation, often modification, of the new—so that much of the thought and actions of Alutiiqs today cannot be explained without a knowledge of both the pre-contact and Russian past.

To varying degrees, individuals with Sugpiaq ancestry know of their ties to the people the Russians first met on Kodiak Island, along the Alaska Peninsula and lower Cook Inlet. For many, this connection to the past provides a sense of continuity and a link to their social and natural environment; others feel that they have missed out on the "Native" part of their past and they yearn to know more. For some, the degree to which they feel themselves to be Sugpiaq and know their culture involves an individual choice about whom to emulate, what values to embrace, what activities to pursue, and how to raise one's children. Today these Sugpiaq/Russian/Euroamerican descendants are scattered widely, engaged in today's world. Whatever the level of engagement with their Sugpiaq past, they are descendants of a people whose lively, viable culture was supremely adapted to their coastal environment.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century both Ugaassarmiut and Qikertarmiut resettled the Alaska Peninsula, including lands near and in Aniakchak. Most of the new settlements were mixed, although descendants of these people refer to themselves as Russian-Aleuts or Alutiiq. Following an explanation of the term Aleut, this chapter provides a sketch of the traditional Alutiiq settlement patterns and pre-contact culture, based on early 1800s descriptions from the Kodiak Island Archipelago. The final section discusses the relationships of Sugpiat with Ugaassarmiut and Aglurmiut of Bristol Bay, and the Unangan of the western Peninsula and Aleutian Islands.

The Aleut

> *The name Kaniag is applied to the inhabitants of Kodiak and the surrounding islands, whom the Russians call Kad'iak Aleuts...originally neither the island nor the people held these labels. The name Kad'iak is obviously a twisting of Kikhtak, which, in Kaniag dialect, means "large island." ...Whatever tempted the Russians to call the Kaniags Aleuts, a name which they earlier gave to the inhabitants of the Fox Islands...although these people differ greatly, ...one can hardly explain.... With the passage of time the name Kad'iak found general acceptance...so almost all the Natives use it; also, the younger generation have started to call themselves Aleuts (in their dialect, Aliutik). Only the aged still report that in their days of freedom and independence they called themselves Kaniags.*[16]
>
> *~ Holmberg, 1855-1863*

Kaniag is a Russian adaptation of the Unangan name for their neighbors—the Kaanagin. While Holmberg, as quoted above, was mistaken about the term Kaniag, he understood the ambiguity and confusion wrought by the term Aleut. Nearly a century and a half later a present-day Alutiiq explained the continued misuse:

Both the Unangan and the Sugpiat [Alutiiqs] have conscious efforts underway to revitalize their cultures.... Both groups hope that these efforts will result in the development and maintenance of strong ethnic and cultural identities that will make it clear to local residents and outsiders alike that the term Aleut cannot describe the region's varied people or their traditions.[17]

~ Gordon Pullar, 1996

Aleut continues to be a term commonly used by the people themselves and outsiders to describe Natives variously from the Aleutian Islands, the Alaska Peninsula, parts of Bristol Bay, Kodiak Island, and the Kenai Peninsula. They represent over a dozen subgroups within three cultures and languages. Many explorers, scholars, and missionaries have recognized over the years that these were participants in different cultures, yet local residents have retained the name Aleut. Like the word Indian for North American indigenous peoples, Aleut obscures important cultural differences and confuses cultural heritage. At the same time, the word aligns people with their Russian past.

Who are these various groups of people who are called and often call themselves Aleut? The people of the Aleutian Islands, the outer Alaska Peninsula north to Kupreanof Point, and the Shumagin Islands are members of several subgroups belonging to the larger group speaking the Aleut language, formerly spread over the entire Aleutian Archipelago. Their language belongs to a distinct linguistic group, separate from other Eskimoan languages. While their culture may at first glimpse seem like that of their historical enemies to the east, it too is quite distinct. Recently, these people came to be considered the "real Aleut" since they came from the Aleutian Islands, although the self-designation of Aleut continues to prevail throughout much of the former Russian America. The Sugpiat call these people Taya'ut or Tayarut.

One local elder had the following to say about the many different "Aleuts:"

Un'garmiut, Aleutian Islands. Tayarut...They are those from down below [un'garmiut] Aleutian Islands. We call them Tayarut. The Aleuts are Tayarut. White people call us Aleut Indian, too. They mix us together, even though we are Yupiat... census, you know. We call ourselves Aleut, too....

When we fill out papers/forms they call us Aleut...we say we are Alutiit, Yupiat, Tarupiat...when the white people came and started filling out forms they made us call ourselves Aleuts.[18]

The second group of people who call themselves Aleut are people who fell under the sphere of the Nushagak trading post and mission in the 1800s—Yup'ik speakers of the lower Nushagak, Kvichak, Naknek, and Ugashik rivers. While anthropologists group these people with the linguistic group of Yup'ik, many of them have retained the self-designation of Aleut which at the time of Russian influence would have distinguished them from those people not yet brought under colonial influence and Russian Orthodoxy. Like others, these Yup'ik speakers and their descendants have called themselves Aleut for nearly two centuries.

The Aleut of Kodiak Island and parts of the Alaska and Kenai peninsulas belong to the pre-contact group of Sugtestun speakers which includes Chugach of Prince

William Sound.[19] Ugashik River people also identify themselves with this group. Members often use the Sugtestun equivalent "Alutiiq" for Aleut. According to anthropologists the major divisions of the Sugpiaq group, based on territory, language differences, and a common history are the Chugach of Prince William Sound and the lower Kenai Peninsula and the Koniag of the Pacific coast of the upper Alaska Peninsula and the Kodiak Archipelago. The Koniag of the Kodiak Island group and Alaska Peninsula Sugpiat speak a mutually intelligible language with dialects and sub-dialects within each major group. Hieromonk Gideon, an inspector sent by the Ruling Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church between 1804 and 1807, observed that the similarity between the language of the Kodiak Islanders and the Alaska Peninsula people supported the story that "their ancestors lived in former times on the northern side of Alaska [Peninsula], near the river Kvignak [unknown location]."[20] The daughter of their anayugak [leader] had disappeared so he and his followers, together with another anayugak, traveled in search of her. They finally ended up on Kodiak Island or Qikertaq where they settled.[21]

Twentieth-century anthropologists labeled these maritime people Pacific Eskimo or Pacific Yup'ik and placed them with Yup'ik and Inupiat into the larger group of Eskimo speakers, defining a language area which stretches across the Arctic from Siberia to Greenland and around the Alaskan coast to Prince William Sound. The Severnovski[22] and Ugashik people were called "Peninsular Eskimo (Yuk)" by Oswalt.[23] These designations fit neither the people's own world view as a people different from their Yup'ik neighbors nor their Russian-Aleut world view as distinct from the "uncivilized" Eskimos outside of the Russian sphere of economic and religious influence. Today one hears Sugpiaq descendants refer to themselves as Aleut, Russian-Aleut, Sugpiaq, and Alutiiq, but never as Eskimo.

The group we are concerned with then are the inhabitants of the Alaska Peninsula, predominately descendants of Sugpiat and speaking a dialect of the Sugtestun language. Because little was written about the Alaska Peninsula by early Russian explorers, missionaries, scholars, and sea captains and because very little is known about pre-contact culture, the description presented here is based mainly on information about the Kodiak Islanders. These descriptions come from many sources.[24]

Settlement Patterns and Resource Use on the Peninsula

The narrow strip of land that makes up the Alaska Peninsula divides the Pacific Ocean from the Bering Sea; it is frequently hit by earthquakes and volcanoes, its lands are covered in layers of ash, and for thousands of years it has been home to indigenous peoples. The two coasts of the Alaska Peninsula vary dramatically in topography, climate, and resource availability. For humans, in historic and prehistoric time, these differences have greatly influenced the strategies used to exploit resources, travel, and settle on the land.

Bristol Bay

The Bristol Bay coast gently slopes out of the shallow bay, creating miles of beaches where skin boats could

land, but few places that would accommodate the draft of a sailing ship. Undulating tundra plains, pocked by large and small lakes, are cut by meandering streams and braided rivers. These are the travel corridors for indigenous people traveling in lightweight skin-covered kayaks. The larger rivers cut channels of deeper water into the bay and provide corridors to spawning grounds for salmon—they also provided access to the coast for larger sailing ships. In the winter, however, the Bering Sea freezes and ice fills the bay, inhibiting boat traffic. But this is the time the marshy ground freezes hard, allowing travel over its smooth surface. The resources available to humans vary from those available on the Pacific side, importantly to subsistence strategies; Bering Sea marine mammals include beluga whales, walrus, bearded seals and spotted seals—all ice-tolerant species. Habitat for caribou is ideal on the Bristol Bay plain and caribou dot the tundra in small herds. Huge runs of salmon once glutted many of the rivers, and varieties of smelt seasonally amass on the shores or in the lakes; herring, too, come in large numbers. Importantly, sea otter do not inhabit Bristol Bay so that area received scant attention by Russian promyshlenniki pursuing sea otters although trade in terrestrial fur-bearers occurred. The pre-contact Ugaassarmiut seasonal round and subsistence area has gone undocumented. It is probable that, in contrast to Pacific coast dwellers, they were more reliant on land mammals because of their access to herds of caribou.

Early records indicate that settlement was sparse on the Bristol Bay coast southwest of the Ugashik River. In 1818 when the Russian-American Company began its concerted effort to expand its area of control on the Peninsula, in Bristol Bay and the interior, it was already aware of settlements on the Ugashik, Egegik, and Naknek rivers.[25] Explorations revealed more settlements along the north side of Bristol Bay, but southeast of the Ugashik River on the Bering Sea coast there are no records of permanent settlements in late prehistory or early historical times.[26]

The Pacific Coast

The Pacific coast is as rugged as the Bristol Bay coast is gentle. Glaciated volcanoes periodically smoke, never allowing residents to forget that the volcanoes can and will eventually explode, adding another layer of thick ash to the land. Waves crash the walls of capes that jut out into the ocean; rocks, islets, and islands disrupt the currents that flow swiftly along the convoluted coast. Many of the sheltered bays are shallow. Few places allow safe landing for either a kayak or a sailboat or, once on shore, passage beyond the mountains. However, the Pacific Ocean is ice free and sea otter thrive in the relatively warm waters. Weather permitting, the open ocean allows for year-round exploitation of sea-mammals, fish, and shellfish.

When the first Russian promyshlenniki sailed along the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula, they found few inhabitants north of the Shumagin Islands and the adjacent mainland. North of Kupreanof Point, the Russians found few places to safely land a ship and the coast seemed only sparsely or seasonally populated. To the northeast lay Katmai, a Sugpiaq settlement on the mainland of Shelikof Strait, and the heavily populated Kodiak Island. Once established on

Several early Russians explored the Alaska Peninsula in the late 1700s. Shelikov's men, under the direction of Delarov, investigated the Pacific shore of the Peninsula, eventually establishing an outpost there in 1786. Independent merchants, such as Panov and later the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company, first penetrated the Peninsula. By the 1790s, the Illiamna and Lake Clark areas and portages to the Bristol Bay side were under Lebedev-Lastochkin control. Based out of an outpost at Illiamna, Ivanov explored the Nushagak, Kuskokwim and lower Yukon River areas.[27]

Kodiak, the Russians focused on gaining control over the Sugpiat inhabitants and the large numbers of men skilled at hunting sea otter. Explorers found evidence and heard reports of prior villages and the islands off the coast of the Peninsula showed visible signs of seasonal hunting camps.[28] In the 1870s, Pinart's Aleut guides were aware that the territory north of Kupreanof Point was Sugpiaq and they indicated that there had been an "Eskimo" (Sugtestun) speaking settlement near Mitrofania Bay; they also knew and used the portage from Kuiukta Bay to Chignik Bay.[29] Despite this activity, little conclusive evidence exists of at-contact settlements southwest of Katmai.

Both Unangan- and Sugtestun-speaking peoples traveled along the Pacific coast to trade, hunt, and raid other villages. Food resources over much of the Pacific coast seem abundant. Chignik watershed is a rich source of salmon; Aniakchak and Yantarni bays have large shellfish beds; sea lions and sea otters were once numerous in the outer islands all along the coast; and the interior caribou herds are accessible from Wide Bay, Aniakchak Bay, the Chignik River system, and many other places along the coast. Travel across the Peninsula to Bristol Bay was also relatively easy via the Kejulik River/Becharof Lake, Wide Bay/Ugashik River, Aniakchak/Meshik river, and Chignik/Unangashak river portages.

The question of why the Peninsula was so sparsely populated is presently unanswered, although theories about warfare and about lack of food resources have been postulated. The indigenous peoples were engaged in intra- and inter-tribal wars, which the Russians quickly tried to suppress. Wars between Yup'ik groups had been particularly disruptive on the northern shore of the Peninsula and north of Bristol Bay and invaders had displaced whole communities. Along the south side of the Peninsula, wars waged between the Sugpiat and Unangan had destroyed whole villages, allegedly in the recent past.

An alternate explanation is that seasonal resource shortages caused the area to be virtually uninhabited. Even though much of the coastline seems to have had abundant natural resources, less diversity, productivity, and accessibility of resources at any one location may have rendered the Peninsula coast less desirable than the Shelikof Strait shore of Kodiak to form larger settlements.[30] Natural geologic or climatic events may have reduced productivity on either land or in the ocean. Volcanic activity represents an infrequent but continuing threat to people and wildlife and may have altered resource availability or settlement. Past fish and wildlife populations are unknown, although in the early 1800s caribou were either displaced or populations were suffering from habitat destruction due to volcanic activity.[31] Bristol Bay inhabitants could rely much more heavily on caribou than coastal Pacific dwellers could, and a caribou shortage may have caused people to concentrate on the Ugashik River and north where large numbers of fish come every year. The effects of resource shortage and shifts in this area are yet to be examined. One account in the late 1800s tells of bad weather spoiling fish supplies, causing people to move in search of food; another account documents large numbers of people moving to find caribou.[32] By all accounts, the mid-portion of the Alaska Peninsula was sparsely populated or uninhabited during early Russian expansion into the area.

The Sugpiat

Settlement

At the time of Russian arrival, the vast majority of Sugpiat lived in permanently or semi-permanently settled villages along the coast of Kodiak, Afognak, and other islands of the Kodiak Archipelago. They moved frequently throughout the year in order to exploit the numerous resources of the Pacific coast. Their strategy was described by Ioasaf:

> *...almost every family has its own dwelling, and many have more than one dwelling in various places. They settle on the bays and inlets, on the sea shore, and near streams, but change their location and dwellings with the seasons. In the spring they usually stay in places where the run of fish from the sea (is early), and in winter near the shallows where they can find subsistence for themselves.*[33]

Individuals and whole families quickly traveled long distances in baidarkas (kayaks). The Sugpiat most likely seasonally used the Pacific coast and the outlying islands of the Alaska Peninsula to just northeast of Kupreanof Point.[34] These people relied on the abundant salmon runs that came each year and a variety of other ocean and terrestrial resources. It is hard to determine the extent of Sugpiaq reliance on the salmon, sea otters and sea lions, shellfish, and the inland caribou herds—all resources of the Peninsula and of the area near Aniakchak.

Seasonal round

Extant descriptions of the seasonal round of food gathering, equipment production and repair, festivities, and travel may be from a time when subsistence patterns were already altered by Russian demands for quantities of sea otters, fish, and bird skins. Later observations about seasonal resource use may be relevant to traditional patterns but the control exerted by Russian fur traders must be considered. By living far south of the winter ice pack the Sugpiat had resources available and easily accessible year round, prompting Davydov to write that the Sugpiat "glean what they can where they can, in a random fashion, whenever the weather permits them to put to sea."[35]

Kodiak Island had a population density greater than any other area the Russians encountered. Fish formed the basis of the Sugpiaq diet but marine and terrestrial mammals were also important for food, clothing, and raw materials. Sea birds were numerous and were used for clothing, food, and decorations. Bears were respected and valued for the ample supply of fat and other resources they supplied. Berries and other plants were used as condiments, medicines, and raw materials for hats, baskets, and mats. Shellfish beds were a year-round source of food. Sugpiat could travel easily to Bristol Bay or down the Pacific coast to exploit resources, if they did not encounter local resistance. Additionally, they had access to the Alaska Peninsula caribou herds—again, if they did not meet hostile groups.

Summer and winter weather and migrations of fish and mammals imposed a yearly pattern to pre-contact Sugpiat life. When the weather permitted, the early morning hours witnessed the men watching the sky and the sea from the tops of their dwellings. If the task of the day were to be hunting, sea and sky would

need to be calm. While the temperate weather on Kodiak Archipelago and the Alaska Peninsula might allow people to hunt, fish, and gather year round, many species were not available in every season. Moreover, periods of good summer and falltime weather were crucial to the success of food gathering and storage since long, rainy spells could rot the drying fish. The short summer in the north brought an abundance of migrating fish and birds which, if prepared properly, could last well into winter when resources were limited. Families dispersed from winter villages to live in small encampments near the mouths of streams where men, women, and children worked hard during the long days of summer to put up stocks of fish, berries, and roots that would feed them for the months to follow. In late summer and fall they put up the last of the winter stocks of fish and edible plants.

In autumn families would return to permanent settlements and prepare for winter. They cut grasses to be used for sleeping areas, baskets, and insulation. They repaired houses and the communal kashim, while the village leader, or anayugak, fed the work group. They stored winter food supplies, and in many areas late fall fish runs provided an important supply of winter stocks.

Winter was the time for festivities—visiting, singing, drumming and dancing, gift exchanges, and a cycle of rituals and ceremonies. In January, at the end of the period of feasts, much of the summer food stocks would be gone. People then relied on shellfish and, when conditions permitted, fish. Sea mammals were also available much of the year.

Well-developed technology for open-water hunting made it possible to exploit a wide variety of marine mammals and fish which were the coastal Sugpiat's focus. Seals and sea lions provided food and leather for skin boats, bags, footwear, and rope. Sea otters provided warm furs for parkas. Whales provided large quantities of meat. And fish—the vast stocks of fish in the ocean and in streams—supplied a reliable food source. Sugpiat were adept at deep-water fishing for the Pacific's bountiful supply of halibut, cod, sculpin, and other fish. Salmon were taken in large numbers at spawning streams where they could be easily speared, gaffed, and harpooned. Shell middens provide evidence of the prodigious amounts of blue mussels, clams, sea urchins, chitons, periwinkles and other shellfish they ate. Shellfish beds provided not only a source of delicacies but also a reliable source of foods when other food supplies were low. Sugpiat had many different methods for procuring ocean resources and they were experts at it.

Sea Mammal Hunting

Gideon described the sea otter and seal hunt which took considerable cooperation and skill. One of the most dramatic hunts was for the humpback and fin whales that seasonally inhabit the waters of southeast Alaska-the whale was speared by a single man in a baidarka. Whaling, as described in the early 1800s was exciting and dangerous, and imbued the successful hunter with considerable prestige.[36] These descriptions illuminate the Sugpiats' mastery of the sea.

Because of the methods used by the Sugpiat, the sea otter was hunted by groups of men hunting from two-hatch baidarkas:

> *The first man who sights a sea otter signals the others by lifting his paddle. The others try to encircle the place at a distance within range of their spears. Only those who occupy the forward hatches throw the spears, everyone at will, before each other, while those in the rear hatches maneuver the baidarkas. The sea otter belongs to the hunter who was first to hit it. Sometimes the sea otter is hit by two spears and in such a case the carcass belongs to the hunter whose spear struck the animal closer to the head or above the other spear. If the spears are placed evenly, then that hunter receives the sea otter who, before commencing to shoot, uttered the cry: "Ku-ko-ko!".*[37]

The seal was hunted both from the shore with a spear and taken in nets. Davydov specifically mentions that stuffed seal decoys were used by the Sugpiat.[38] After placing an inflated seal skin as a decoy the hunter:

> *sitting behind the decoy and wearing a wooden hat made in the form of a seal head, shouts, imitating the animal's hoarse call: "uva!" As the seal approaches the decoy, the hunter casts a spear on a line which is about ten sazhen' [70 feet] long. The animal is dragged out on shore and finished with a club, the pikkhudak [piqrutaq]. Seals are also taken by means of nets made of sinew cords, about 50 sazhen' long and five sazhen' wide, with floats tied to the upper edge and small rocks to the bottom one. The hunter, sailing in his baidarka, attempts to spread this net as quietly as possible almost across the entire bight or cove when the animals are sleeping either on the shore itself or on high off shore rocks. Then he yells with all his might, the frightened animals rush into the water and are caught in the net.*[39]

The whale hunter used a single-hatch baidarka and specialized whaling equipment. The whale was struck on a flipper or tail fluke by long, slate blades coated with aconite poison. These broke off in the whale causing death within a few days. The whale was then retrieved when it washed up on a nearby beach.[40]

> *Once the hunter notices [a yearling] whale, he approaches to the distance not more than three sazhen' and tries to aim his spear below the side fin called locally last. If the hunter misses the side fin, he aims at the back fin or tail [fluke]. The wounded whale dives for the sea bottom. If the spear hit accurately, the whale will be dead and come to the surface on the third day.*[41]

Social Organization

The village was the basic political unit among the Sugpiat. Winter settlements tended to be large, permanent villages placed in somewhat sheltered embayments or on the lee side of islands. Existing documentation tells us that on Kodiak, several families of unspecified relationship lived in each house, so that up to 20 people—elders, children, mothers, fathers and single relatives—might be under one roof. The practice of newly joined couples initially living with the woman's parents temporarily brought new hunters

The Kad'iak people live peacefully with their immediate neighbors, aid each other, and in times of scarcity willingly lend food supplies to each other; visitors are supplied with fish, which is left in the foreroom, in the middle, when all the locals go to work....

In their social intercourse, politeness is observed and they censure those who fail to meet arriving or escort departing persons.... Insults were met with admonitions.

If a visitor engaged in unseemly behavior, he was driven out, not by force but mostly by shaming him.[42]

~Hieromonk Gideon, 1804

into the household. However, after the birth of the first child, the couple moved to the husband's village.

Winter villages and communities of closely grouped settlements could have up to 200 residents.[43] Summer encampments, often no larger than family or kin units, were located where the desired resource was concentrated, for example, at the mouth of a salmon stream, or at a narrow outlet of a lake.

Communities had several mechanisms for maintaining social order. Societies were stratified; composed of a leader and an associated elite, commoners, and slaves. Each settlement had a chief or anayugak who had proven himself as a strong, intelligent leader.[44] Councils of elders, skillful and experienced hunters, shamans, and the anayugak all had influence in community affairs. Elders and wisemen provided guidance, organized ceremonies, and kept knowledge through stories that were passed down. Village leaders organized and led communal hunts and war parties.

While the leader held a prestigious and powerful position in the village and was shown deference, his ability to force compliance with his wishes was limited to his family. No one had the power to command or punish an individual in his personal affairs; only a slave would submit to another's authority. Instead, "they lead by maintaining good order, a show of concern and care for their fellows' well being, by favors, and various political means."[45] The anayugak had to be a master of persuasion but he had several other means at his disposal. He ruled through maintaining respect, evoked by his skill in hunting and war; his ability to give sound advice; and his ability to amass and then redistribute wealth through gifts and rewards.

The position of anayugak was inherited by sons or close kin. While the anayugak might designate his heir, the new leader assumed the position gradually and had to show leadership qualities in order to fulfill the role. Maintaining the position was not guaranteed, as an anayugak had to earn and keep the high regard of the men in the community. A strong anayugak apparently could become powerful enough to command several settlements in times of war when large numbers of warriors were needed.[46]

The anayugak had a kashim in which village assemblies, festivities, and ceremonies took place.[47] The kashim, although often attached to the anayugak's residence, was communal.[48] It was a place to gather the community, not only to organize community affairs but to honor ancestors, tell stories, sing songs, dance, joke, and work. Other men could use the kashim to honor another person by giving a feast or qasqiluteng.[49] This was a formalized occasion, held to give thanks to someone one was indebted to, celebrate a marriage, or establish friendship. A person feasted was expected to reciprocate at some future time.[50]

The role of women in community affairs is not well-documented but it is known that through several avenues they had access to considerable power. Women were excluded when the men assembled to discuss war and other community affairs but for other events they were invited to the kashim.[51] However, Davydov observed that Sugpiat women sometimes wielded great power. A girl might be raised as a boy which entitled her to participate in councils of men and discussions of community affairs. A girl's father could pay for her entry into the warrier society.[52] These children were often trained as shamans.



Women trained as healers and shamans were powerful people in a community.

Winter dwellings were large multi-room semi-subterranean sod-houses. A central room with a main hearth served as a kitchen and common room. Several smaller rooms, which served as sleeping quarters, branched off the main room. One side room was heated with hot rocks from the central hearth for steam baths or maqiwik. In general, steam was used for cleansing and relaxing but also for healing and ritual cleansing. The composition of households is not well documented, however, each household had a leader. Both polyandry and polygyny were practiced by women and men with sufficient wealth and rank. A second husband was often treated much like a servant.[33]

Slaves, taken in war from Unangan, Dena'ina, Chugach, and other Koniag groups, could be bought and sold, given as gifts, or bartered back to their original villages.

Castle Cape, to the south of Chignik Bay, is a prominent feature of the Pacific coastline. The Alutiiq name, Agayuwiguat, means "something like churches." Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Elkington Collection, 74-175-610.

They had no wealth and, although they occasionally married, their life of servitude would change little. As part of a chief's wealth they could be left to heirs or killed and buried when their owner died.[54]

In the early 1800s, Davydov observed that adults were "well-built, probably as a result of their very healthy upbringing as children."[55] To an outsider, young Sugpiat children may have seemed excessively spoiled. Children were prevented from crying, often by giving in to their every want. They were never physically punished; control was exerted through lecturing and shaming. Elders played an important role in keeping children in line and could form a united front toward the incorrigible. This seemingly permissive start in life coincided with teachings in stoicism which included water deprivation and cold water immersion. It also ended at initiation into adulthood.

Children started learning adult tasks at an early age. Girls began sewing, processing fish and animals, and gathering firewood at age six. By age seven boys were practicing with darts and throwing spears, and by age 14 they were becoming adept at kayak travel, accompanying their uncles on hunts. Both boys and girls could be raised as a child of the opposite gender. If a boy seemed like a girl he might be raised as one, or if a baby was predicted to be a girl but born a boy the baby might be raised as a daughter.[56]

Girls often married at a young age. Marriage was frequently initiated by the couple. A young girl might establish the bond by bringing a young man into her father's house. The new man would contribute his catch to the household economy. For this reason, according to Davydov, marriageable girls were valued.[57] If the marriage lasted, the couple would eventually move out and establish their own household. Young girls were also married to older men, sometimes as a second wife.

The Spirit World

Before their conversion to Russian Orthodoxy, the Sugpiat lived in a spirit world about which comparatively little is known today. This world was inhabited by humans, animals, spirits, and a variety of other creatures. The spirits also had a world unseen by most humans. The spirit world was inseparable from daily thoughts and actions; customs and traditions kept a balance between the physical and the spirit world. The Sugpiat practiced shamanism and the shaman, or kahahulik, helped mediate between the human and spirit world. A spirit of the sky has been described as the supreme being but many spirits and beings inhabited the Sugpiat world. These included giants and dwarfs that roamed the physical world, supernatural animals, and shaman helpers, both good and evil. A few stories about the Sugpiat spirit world have survived. The Sugpiat also believed that animal and human spirits would return to earth and live again as expressed in a mourning song that ends "the man died but will live again."[58]

The shaman, as noted earlier, could be either male or female. Often a boy, who was chosen to be a shaman, was raised as a girl and then apprenticed to a shaman. As an adult he dressed and played the role of a woman while performing the duties of a shaman.

As a mediator between worlds, the shaman, accompanied by physical manifestations of spirits, entered the spirit world through a trance-like state and sought solutions to problems the community faced. He or she told fantastic stories about interactions with spirit beings. As intermediaries with the spirit world, the shaman could augur the success of upcoming hunts or raids, or tell when they should be conducted, forecast the weather, and cure or even induce illness. Hunters would seek advice before undertaking important hunting trips and the shaman's prophecies had great weight in determining where and when hunting and warfare took place. The winter festivals had many songs and performances centered around hunting and proper treatment of animals. Magical rites and rituals secured hunting success for the coming year. The shaman could control an individual's activities by predicting dire consequence for certain actions. Shamans warned people of evil spirits and during certain festivals "they imitate how the evil spirits tempt people or harm them."[59]

An array of people helped keep the community, physical health, and the spirit world in balance. Shamans were a powerful force, and they and others helped keep people healthy and the world in balance. Healers used medicinal roots and herbs, animal parts, massage, bloodletting, and other methods to assist in healing various ills. Everyone had the responsibility to respect the spirit world by showing deference to the spirits that inhabited all beings and influenced natural events, like animal population cycles, weather, and volcanic activity. Animals had to be treated with respect, even after death, so that the spirits would return in a physical form and once again provide sustenance for the people.

Clothing

Sugpiat clothing was highly specialized to function in a coastal environment. Just as Inupiat had clothing that functioned well in extreme cold, Sugpiat clothing functioned well in extreme rain, wind, and drizzle common to the coast. It was also expertly sewn and constructed. Bird skin parkas, typically constructed of cormorant, murres, and puffins, were warm and highly water resistant. For special garments they sewed parkas and other items out of neck skins, which had small, tightly-spaced, soft feathers, resulting in a garment that was soft and pliable but still water resistant and warm.[60] Fur parkas were made from ground squirrels, sea otter, marmot, beaver, and caribou. The warm and comfortable ground squirrel parkas were most prestigous and most highly valued even in Russian times. Caribou skins, ready-made parkas, and probably other clothing were valued trade items since the Kodiak Archipelago did not have caribou herds. Spun sinew for sewing parkas and other clothing was often from caribou but could also be garnered from whales and other sea mammals.

Waterproof clothing was made with specially prepared sea lion or bear intestine and sewn with a waterproof stitch. Kamleika were lightweight garments that allowed kayakers to travel long distances in the typically damp coastal weather without suffering from the wet and cold. In contrast to the hoodless fur parkas, kamleika had hoods. They also formed a spray skirt to keep water out of the kayak.

Those who lived on the northwest side of Kad'iak were bolder and more daring than their fellows. This results from the fact that, before the arrival of the Russians, the islanders were constantly at war amongst themselves, but more often with neighboring peoples such as the Aliaksintsy and the Kinai. So these people, because of their geographic proximity to the enemy, they had more often recourse to caution and bravery.[65]

~Davydov, 1805

Hunting hats and visors were of several different styles and some were highly decorated, made of thin, bent wood or of spruce roots. They had different meanings and functions; they could display information about a hunter's status and success, disguise a hunter from his prey, and shield the hunter from the sun's reflectance.[61]

Watercraft

Sugpiat kayaks were small, one- and two-hatched, skin-covered craft in which the hunter kneeled to paddle with a short paddle. Beautifully designed to carry hunters swiftly across the waters of their island environment, they were light enough to be dragged or carried across portages and they were sturdy enough to transport loads under the deck.[62] Women and children fitted under the deck when necessary to paddle to a new location. Alaska Peninsula kayaks were of a slightly different design.

Larger boats, called baidaras by the Russians, carried up to 20 people. These were the boats used to move families or large numbers of hunters or warriors to seasonal camps, hunting areas, or enemy villages. Baidaras were lightweight and could be taken over long distances. Sugpiat hunters typically traveled down the coast of the Alaska Peninsula or over to Prince William Sound to hunt or trade.

Trade

The Sugpiat groups, separated by expanses of water, difficult terrain, and mountain passes, relied on each other for trade. Trade goods traveled long distances from one group to the next. People traded foodstuffs, raw materials, and finished products of clothing, hunting implements, ceremonial clothing, and personal adornment. Often trade items were highly valued symbols of prestige. The Peninsula Sugpiat provided caribou sinew, antlers for arrows, caribou parkas, and long hairs used for decorative stitching and to adorn dance hats. Ugashik River people traded walrus ivory with people from Katmai which probably was then traded to Kodiak. From Kodiak came amber and carved bone ornaments. Trade was not limited to items available amongst Sugpiat communities. Trade networks extended from the coast to the interior through Yup'ik and Dena'ina "middlemen."[63] Highly valued dentalium and pearls moved north along the Pacific coast of North America through Tlingit hands to Eyak and Copper River Ahtna neighbors.[64]

Warfare

Apparently people living on the Alaska Peninsula coast had most interaction, both fighting and trading, with the Sugpiat of the northwest side of Kodiak, while people from the south and east part of Kodiak were oriented toward the Sugpiat of lower Kenai Peninsula and Prince William Sound.[66] Alaska Peninsula Sugpiat were also known to fight with the Unangan to the east and Dena'ina of interior regions. Wrangell remarked that "the Chugach and Kadiaks have intermingled with the American [mainland] tribes, whose women they steal,"[67] although he does not clarify which mainland group, the Dena'ina were

known to intermarry with female captives from neighboring Yup'ik-speaking (Sugtestun) groups.[68] It is unclear what role, if any, the Ugaassarmiut had in such conflicts but it is likely they fought with Dena'ina. Stories about warfare with Unangan are told to this day.[69]

Davydov explained that attacks on other communities may have been driven by desire for clothing, kayaks, or other material items. They also may have been driven by hunger. Grave insults were enough to start an attack if the injured person could convince his fellows to join in. The rewards could be great in terms of material goods, food, and slaves. But, Davydov explained, "more often than not the cause of their taking up arms was the deep-seated hatred between tribe and tribe".[70] These intertribal wars may have affected settlement patterns, discouraging establishment of semi-permanent settlements or any concentration of people on much of the Alaska Peninsula.

Some raids on the mainland were conducted through the cooperation of entire settlements, including women and children, who negotiated the Strait in baidaras. Occasionally conflicts were so brutal that no one returned.[71]

Warfare was highly organized as evidenced by the ability of the Sugpiat to fight off the Russian invaders for several decades. Warriors were well-outfitted with bows, arrows, and spears, and protected by shields and body armor of wood and sinew. Ideally, villages were taken by surprise and the Sugpiat would:

> *need all the great patience with which they are gifted, and they are capable of waiting several days and nights in long grass or behind rocks until a favorable opportunity occurs. When the attack occurs they kill all the males and take only the women and children as prisoners. The inhabitants of Kad'iak have sometimes taken male prisoners as slaves and sometimes, like other tribes, they torture their prisoners on the way back to their village.*[72]

Most accounts of warfare emphasize the brutality of these attacks and focus on the large numbers of people killed and tortured, but Gideon wrote that impending battles could be resolved through negotiations, in which case another village would mediate a solution.[73]

People in the Chigniks still tell of battles "to the south, near Mitrofan." One version was told by Mike Sam in 1990:

> *Mitrofan Island, a little bit west of it, is a small little island. There's only one place you can go up it, that's on the west side of it where there's kind of a little valley with grass growing all the way up.... People were hunting around [Spitz] island and they saw those Aleuts from the islands coming...so they hid their kayaks and they landed there, went to the top, hollered down to the Aleuts, 'We're up here! Come get us!' There was a big log up there with big spikes, like nails. They rolled it down the grassy slope. There was no way the Aleuts could jump aside because it was rocky on both sides of the grassy valley. The log was about 12 feet long and they'd roll it down and get every one of them.*[74]

Little is known about the long term effects of the battles between the Sugpiat and the Unangan although there is speculation that the absence of people on the Peninsula was a result of warfare.

Alaska Peninsula People—East and West

Ugaassarmiut and the Aglurmiut

From about 1000AD into the 19th century, the Ugashik River drainage was occupied extensively by a group of people exhibiting traits of the Western Thule tradition. The river was a rich source of salmon, and archaeological evidence indicates habitation of the area near the mouth of the river was increasing in recent prehistory.[75] In early historical times these people had interactions with both Pacific coastal Sugpiat and Bristol Bay Yup'ik. It has been proposed that Ugashik and affiliated Severnovskie people were more closely aligned with their Yup'ik neighbors than with the Sugpiat of Kodiak Island.[76] However, in historical times the Ugashik River settlements, along with the Severnovskoe settlements, had strong cultural and social ties with Katmai residents, as well as their Yup'ik neighbors.[77] If these ties affirm an ethnic affinity and Wrangell was correct when he explained: "the Agolegmiuts [Aglurmiuts] expelled the natives living at the mouth of the Nushagak, and these wandered as far as the eastern half of the Aliaska Peninsula and are now known as the Severnovtsy and Ugashentsy,"[78] then it would seem that the Severnovskie and Ugaassarmiut were not Sugpiat but rather Yup'ik, speaking a dialect similar to Kiatagmiut. Nineteenth-century journals and marriage records reveal language and social affiliations with Yup'ik residing along Bristol Bay.[79]

The Aglurmiut, a small group of people originally driven out from the Lower Kuskokwim River, moved into the Bristol Bay area and fought with several Yup'ik groups until finding a place to reside.[80] Many people fled their advance. According to oral accounts and earlier Russian sources, displaced people moved from a more northerly part of Bristol Bay to the area of Naknek and Ugashik rivers and even fled inland up to Naknek, Becharof, and Ugashik lakes when the attackers came.[81] Stories told today in the Ugashik area may well refer to halting the advancing Aglurmiuts who were being pressed from the north by the Kusquqvagmiut.[82] These stories relate how people fled to the Egegik and Ugashik river areas—they tell of whole villages running inland from enemies and relocating during the warring time:

> *when the enemy comes they would flee to [the area]. And those that fled would stay and probably established settlements. And at that time in the spring and summer when a cuicuicuaq (bird) sounds out they would move on even in the middle of the night. They were afraid of the warriors.... [Perhaps they reached] right along [Lake Becharof]...they probably populated that area there. Perhaps they never returned because of fear. Or, maybe when they told that it was safe they returned. They also say that the fighting began [above or in the Kuskokwim area]. They say there were those who started fighting from a dart game. They say the fighting began out there and the fighting moved towards this way [Egegik]. They were killing people. When they reached a settlement they would kill the people or take all their food supplies and perhaps they do something to their fish. They reached down the coast somewhere... I don't know where.*[83]

It was reported that the Aglurmiuts on the Nushagak River were 520 strong and had relocated from their homelands to the Nushagak, where the Russian traders afforded them some protection from their enemies, the Kuskokwim Yup'ik.[84] Their move from the north had been accomplished by the time the Russian Orthodox Church was an established presence with an active church community in the 1820s, yet they continued to fight with their neighboring Kuskokwim Yup'ik. According to Kolmakov the "tribes of Severnovskie and Ugashentsy, who presently live on Aliaska [Peninsula] (the first settlement from the Morzhovskoe settlement on Aliaska)...being crowded by the Aglekhmut [Aglurmiut], moved [from the Nushagak estuary] toward the places which they now occupy. It was after this that the terrible pursuit of the Aglekhmut began from all sides."[85] The Aglurmiut suffered from increased attacks until they sought protection from the Russian and Creole men at the newly established Novo-Aleksandrovskii Redoubt in 1818. Apparently, some time later, the Aglurmiut were able to establish themselves on the Naknek and Egegik rivers. Thus the Naknek drainage apparently became home to two different groups, the Severnovskie (inland) and the Aglurmiut (at the coast).[86]

An early account from an Ikogmut (Russian Mission) elder, collected by E.W. Nelson around 1878, takes the story of movement and resettlement further back in time. This story relates that a sizable settlement on the Yukon River fractured when groups started warring over an eye-poking incident—neighboring groups joined in and finally three separate groups left the area. One group reached the Bristol Bay shore and settled near Nushagak where they continued to battle indigenous tribes. In the story, the Sugpiat got directly involved in fighting off the newcomers:

> *The people on the great island of Kodiak, having heard of the strangers near Nushagak, sent a war party across from the island to attack them, but the newcomers on Bristol bay succeeded in almost exterminating them. After this the Aleut, on the island of Uminak[sic], heard of the strangers, and of their having defeated the Kodiak men, so they sent out a war party against these people. This time the Yukon men were defeated and lost half their number. Those who were left then joined with their friends from Nunivak Island and attacked the people living at Goodnews Bay...killing them and burning their village.*[87]

The roving bands of Aglurmiut men who had terrorized western Alaska and the Bristol Bay area for many years were defeated. Russian sources mention a pitiful remnant of survivors in the early 1800s. During the 1800s, Russian trading presence on the Peninsula increased; this was followed by establishment of a parish and conversion of Bristol Bay peoples. During this time, interactions between Ugaassarmiut and Sugpiat were frequent and cultural borrowing grew. The earliest records from the Russian Orthodox Church indicate a strong connection between Ugashik and Katmai as well as between Ugashik and Nushagak. In 1866 the traveling priest from Nushagak Parish, Father Feofil, wrote about the differences between the Ugaassarmiut and the Aglurmiut and Kusquqvagmiut.[88] In 1888 traveling priest Shishkin again distinguished

between 18 households of Aleut and the one household of Aglurmiut residing in Ugashik, and in 1894 Modestov clearly indicated when a family of "Kuskokvimsky" moved to Ugashik.[89]

Despite the fairly consistent account of war, displacement, and drawn boundaries on the Naknek and Ugashik rivers, and a seemingly Sugpiaq origin for at least part of the nineteenth-century inhabitants of Ugashik, there are references to Aglurmiut and Kuskokwim speakers from Ugashik moving down the Peninsula and across it to Chignik Bay on the Pacific. In 1897 the Orthodox population of Chignik consisted of Creoles, "Aleuts" [Alutiiqs], and "Aglomiuts."[90]

In 1919, the historic population of Ugashik and Pilot Point was almost extinguished by the flu epidemic. A few Ugaassarmiut survived, however, and were living in Bear River, Ilnik, and Port Heiden/Meshik, and the Chigniks in 1920.[91] Later many more of these people moved to the Chignik area.

Language as Evidence for Cultural Affiliations

An examination of language indicates that Yup'ik languages from the Bering Sea to Kodiak via the northern Alaska Peninsula formed an unbroken dialect chain of Yup'ik.[92] Early explorers often wrote that the languages were the same. For example, Spurr wrote that "from Komakof...to Katmai the language...was the same, although...different dialects exist."[93] At the southwestern extent of this continuum the people in Katmai spoke the Kodiak Island dialect of Sugtestun.

In the southern portion of Bristol Bay, Central Yup'ik was very similar to the Peninsular Sugtestun. The Aglurmiut, fighting their way into the area, broke the dialect continuum and displaced people on the northeast coast of Bristol Bay to the Naknek area.

The Alaska Peninsula Alutiiqs today speak two different dialects of Sugtestun—one was spoken at Katmai and is similar to the Kodiak dialect. A second, not so extensively studied, is a sub-dialect and was probably spoken at Ugashik among the Ugaassarmiut.[94] These two dialects persist in communities of the Peninsula today: people of Chignik Lake who moved there during the 1890s distinguish their language from those of Perryville who originated in Katmai. It is clear that Katmai people had definite linguistic and cultural affinities with Kodiak islanders, just across Shelikof Strait. The Russian trading post at Katmai was large and probably well-stocked, and Severnovski people came there to visit and trade. Some people stayed and married into the community.[95] Those who moved back to their native Severnovski with their Alutiiq speaking families may have been agents of linguistic shifts.

Ugaassarmiut had a natural travel route up the river and through the lakes, where caribou and fish were plentiful, to the Pacific Ocean. Their trips were frequent to Katmai and later Kanatak, a mixed settlement originating in the American period—even part of a seasonal cycle. It has been suggested, however, that the Ugaassarmiut spoke a unique dialect of Sugtestun. They also distinguish themselves from people to the north. The Chignik Bay area, settled at the close of the eighteenth century, drew many people: Peninsula and Kodiak (Afognak) Alutiiq, Russian Aleuts from Mitrofania, many people from "outside" and foreigners. Despite this language and cultural mix, today there is a clear dialectical difference between

people who speak Chignik Lake Sugtestun and Katmai/Perryville Sugtestun.

Since before 1920, Yup'ik and Sugtestun-speaking people have lived in Naknek, Egegik, and Ugashik, and many residents continue to be at least passively, if not fluently, bilingual.[96] While it is difficult to place a distinct boundary between the two language/culture groups, people who are alive today say that their parents and grandparents from the Ugashik or Port Heiden area spoke both Sugtestun and Yup'ik or they understood Yup'ik and could converse with Yup'ik speakers. An interview with two Alutiiq from Ugashik illustrates local perceptions and abilities. In this interview Nick and Virginia Ablama are speaking to a Central Yup'ik speaker. Nick refers to Sugpiat as Yupiat but he makes clear the language differences between Central Yup'ik and Sugtestun languages:

The people in Kodiak...the Yupiat call it Qikertaq (island). It's an island. When you see someone from Kodiak and you ask, 'where do you come from?' They'd respond by saying 'Qikertamak' [from Qikertaq]. And those in Kanatak are referred to as those from over there [amkumiut].[97]

the people in Egegik were Tarupiat or Yupiat. And those people that came from Kanatak we called amkumiut [people from over there]. They were Yupiaq people, yes yupiat.

There's a slight difference in the way we speak...they call fish iqalluk [Sugtestun] and we call it sayak.... We call [eggs] kayangut.... These people [in Pilot Point] call them maniit [Sugtestun]...the people in Kanatak call [foxes] uuquciit [Sugtestun-Perryville] and the people in Pilot Point call them kangilngat [Sugtestun] and down there [in Egegik] they call them kaviat.... My father called bears unguvalriit. And these guys [in Ugashik] called them taqukat [Sugtestun]....

Virginia: I understand what they say here, and over there, also over there, down there, and over yonder [chuckle].[98]

Like many people of their generation who lived on the south coast of Bristol Bay, both Nick and Virginia are able to converse with both Yup'ik and Sugtestun speakers and several different dialects within those languages.

Unangan

The Tayarut, as the Alutiiqs call the Unangan, were also feared as they came north and fought along Bristol Bay. It is thought that the Unangan ventured north of Port Moller and Kupreanof Point only to fight and trade with eastern neighbors.

Some stories attribute the Unangan with destroying an Aglurmiut village from the Nushagak and they were fierce enemies of the Sugpiat. In the Pacific Ocean, the Aleuts ventured not far east of Kupreanof Peninsula to establish villages or in their subsistence activities but they penetrated deeply into Sugpiat territory to raid villages.[100] Stories of battles on this southern border survive today. The Unangan, a group of able warriors, were effectively crushed by the Russians and many were forcibly moved east into Russian settlements in Sugpiat territory. A century later, Unangan and Sugpiat descendants met in cannery towns at Chignik and Sand Point. Some of them eventually intermarried and many Chignik Alutiiqs are part Unangan.

In the Aleutian Islands, yes. The people down there which we call Tayarut fought moving towards this way, too...long time ago. Nefoti, himself used to talk about the warriors. Perhaps those before him used to talk about them... They say they couldn't go further in one of the mountains. They stopped in one of the mountains there. They say there were those who couldn't go any further and were all killed by the enemy warriors. The fighting down there ended there.[99]

~Nick Ablama, 1990

The period of Russian domination, the subject of Chapter 3, would last nearly 100 years for the Sugpiat. Shortly after the first Russians were seen by the aboriginal inhabitants of Alaska, the Unangan and Sugpiat world was forever changed. The old cultures could not withstand the onslaught of people, forced labor, and disease and while people would continue to be Sugpiat, confronted with the modern world and large numbers of in-migrants, they would become contemporary people, and part of the industrial world. Their culture would change and much would be forgotten. Skills, beliefs, values, the knowledge gained in centuries of living on the Alaska Peninsula and Kodiak would be replaced by new skills, a Christian church would replace shamanism, and knowledge of their environment would shrink. Only after two centuries of domination and change would the Sugpiat descendants begin to regain their cultural pride as a revitalization movement, drawing on the power of their ancestors, gathered strength.

Chapter three

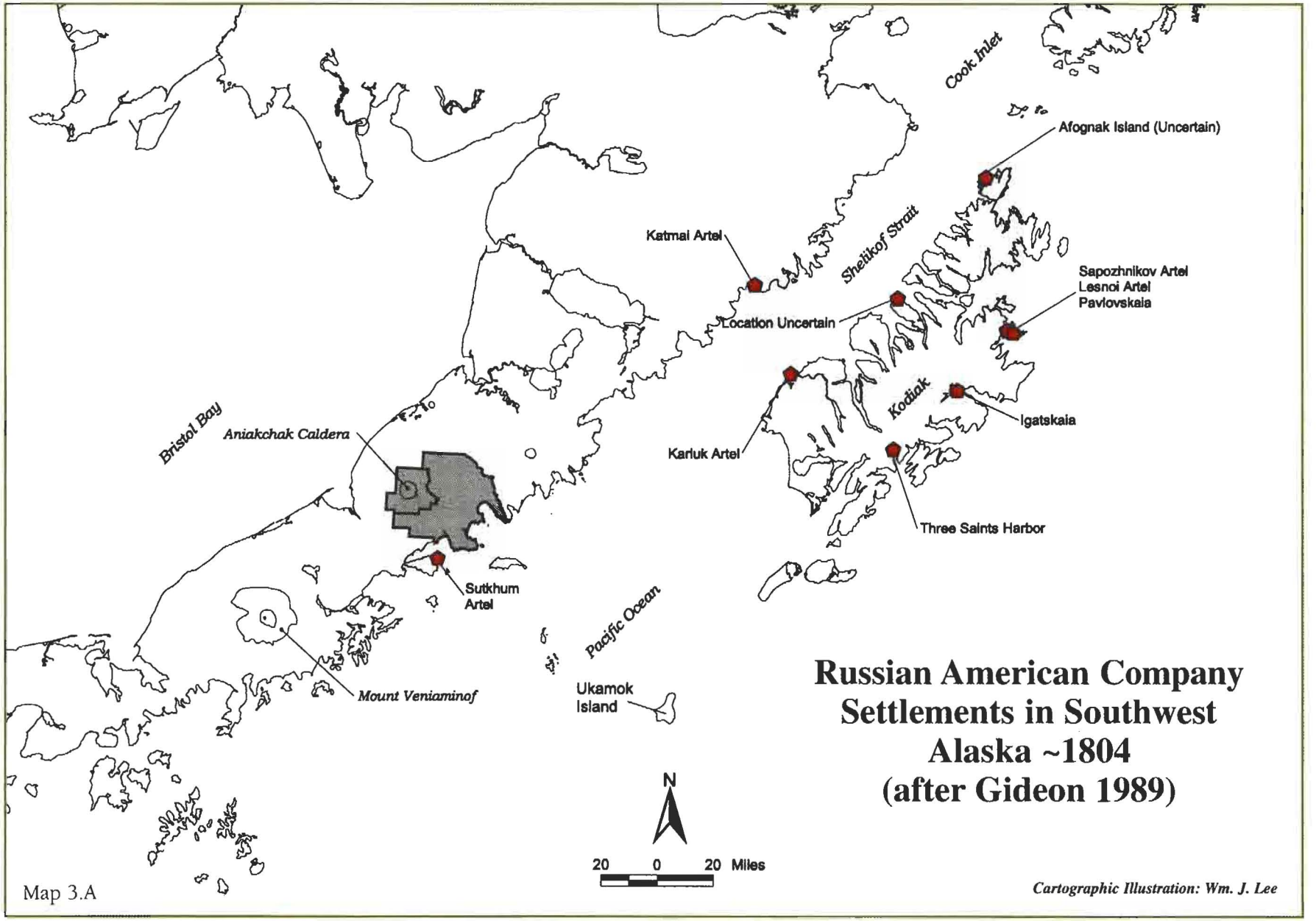
Commercial Exploration

Introduction

The Russian presence in the North Pacific began after Czar Peter the Great dispatched the first geographical expedition to chart the "Eastern Sea". Vitus Bering first explored Bering Strait in 1728 in the *Sv. Gavriil*. In 1732 Fedorov and Gvozdev reached Cape Prince of Wales.[101] The second expedition under the command of Vitus Bering, in 1741, sailed the extent of the Aleutian Islands and made landfall on the northwestern coast of America, in Prince William Sound, and the Shumagin Islands. These were the first Europeans to reach the North Pacific and find land; on the basis of these discoveries the Russian empire claimed sovereignty over Alaska. Private entrepreneurs from Russia and Siberia quickly followed the explorers and a long period of exploration driven by economic conquest ensued. This commercial activity established the Russian claim of possession. These activities also began an intense period of change for the aboriginal inhabitants induced by their interactions with Europeans.

In 1774 Spain was anxious to forestall Russian advance in North America, and between 1774 and 1792 it sent a number of naval expeditions to Alaska waters to determine the extent of English and Russian exploration.[102] The English and French were soon to follow Russia and Spain in exploring the North. In quest of the Northwest Passage, the British Crown sent Captain James Cook on his third voyage up the west coast of America in 1778. He sailed into what is now known as Cook Inlet and Turnagain Arm and south of Kodiak. Voyages of discovery—notably the Billings/Sarychev Expedition, supported by the Russian Navy between 1785-1793 was led by Billings (of Cook's voyage) and Sarychev in 1790 and Sarychev and Hall in 1790/1791—continued to add to the knowledge of geography and natural resources of the north. Their written accounts of Native peoples encountered and objects collected provide much of the knowledge we have today of the indigenous peoples the explorers first met.

However, both Bering's and Cook's expeditions alerted merchants across Europe and Russia to the riches of the new lands. Russian fur merchants were the first to economically exploit coastal Alaska. In general, the early years of Russian exploration and exploitation were years of greed-driven hardship and aggression, environmental degradation, and, for the indigenous inhabitants, social and cultural disruption. The indigenous Aleutian Islanders, the Unangan, lost much during the early years. Men were forcibly removed from their villages to hunt sea otter. Thus, families were separated, control over territory lost, and spirit crushed as communities suffered wholesale loss of their men,


Cook Inlet
Afognak Island (Uncertain)
Katmai Artel
Shelikof Strait
Sapozhnikov Artel
Lesnoi Artel
Pavlovskaia
Location Uncertain
Bristol Bay
Aniakchak Caldera
Kodiak
Igatskaia
Karluk Artel
Three Saints Harbor
Sutkhum Artel
Pacific Ocean
Mount Veniaminof
Ukamok Island
N
20 0 20 Miles
Russian American Company Settlements in Southwest Alaska ~1804 (after Gideon 1989)
Map 3.A
Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee

and the women, children, and elders left at home were forced to fend for themselves. Their economic base was shattered, their time was no longer their own, and famine became part of life, not because they lacked resources or hunting success, but because men were sent off on long hunting trips to work for the Russians. As the Russians moved eastward off the coast of the Alaska Peninsula to the Kodiak Archipelago, they encountered a formidable force, the indigenous Sugpiat.

The Sugpiat were subdued in 1784 when the Russians established the first permanent settlement on Kodiak Island, which served as the center for sea otter hunting and a base for expansion to the mainland. One of the most destructive consequences of this period was the decline of the indigenous population of Kodiak Island. At the same time, the number of Creoles or Russian Aleuts increased. Beginning in 1818, by orders of the Russian government, conditions improved, but the ancient Unangan and Sugpiaq way of life and economic system were forever transformed. The native Sugpiat, called Aleuts by the Russians, began calling themselves Russian Aleuts or Alutiiq, a name that came both to connect them to and distinguish them from their Suqpiaq ancestors.

First Contact: The Promyshlenniki Reach the Alaska Peninsula

When Bering's crew returned to Kamchatka with sea otter skins—highly valued by the Chinese merchants in Kiakhta—they alerted the independent Russian fur traders, or promyshlenniki,[104] to a new source of profit. The promyshlenniki headed out along the Aleutian Islands in increasing numbers in search of sea otter, fur seal, and Arctic foxes.

The first ships were built by small joint companies to search for and hunt the sea otter in an uncharted and largely unexplored ocean. They were manned by the sons and grandsons of Northern Russian sea mammal hunters and whalers as well as tradesmen and a few merchants. Many promyshlenniki left their bodies to the ocean waters or on the desolate islands of the Aleutian chain. They met, and sometimes fought with Unangan. But enough returned home, laden with beautiful, luxurious furs to draw more to the unfathomed new area—seeking not only furs but any new resources that would bring rich rewards.

As the promyshlenniki navigated the waters of the Aleutian chain, along the Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak, and beyond, they gave little thought to their impact on the numbers of sea otters—the resource seemed to be inexhaustible, the territory new and vast. The length of the Aleutian chain and the Alaska coastline gave them the sense that a new raft of otters must lie beyond the one just decimated. A Russian-American Company employee later wrote in 1865, "It is very clear, that if there really had been a rush to those places [in Alaska] it was certainly not to settle there, but what happens everywhere in such places even now...only to get rich as quickly as possible."[105]

From 1743 to 1784, the small ships of hunters and traders continued to move eastward in search of new sea otter grounds. The promyshlenniki explored the Aleutian Islands, reaching the Alaskan Peninsula and Kodiak by the 1760s. They cruelly exploited the Unangan, irreparably disrupting their lifeway and

Tsar Peter the Great commissioned Captain-Commander Bering and Captain of Ist Rank Chirikov to carry on geographical explorations in the Northeastern Sea. They did so in 1741. When the merchants learned that many of the Aleutian Islands abounded with fine furs, they turned avidly to the new trade. From then on, merchants in Kamchatka and ones coming from Russia began to build and dispatch vessels to hunt animals in the Aleutian Islands and to form companies by pooling the capital of two or three owners. On these vessels from 50 to 60 promyshlenniki were dispatched to operate the vessels and to hunt animals... for three to seven years. ...Some met various misfortune while on voyages and were wrecked.[103]

~Anonymous, 1817

> Russian discoveries [along the Aleutian Islands to Kodiak]... were not the result of the passion of conquest. They were, instead, the result of the greed of some merchants. They sent no glance to the future. Their only goal was to acquire wealth for the moment. The crown had no part in these endeavors, and as a result, these entrepreneurs needed to give no account of their actions and procedures. Therefore, they cared little about the means toward their enrichment and did not mind the loss of a few human lives.[106]
>
> ~Holmberg

decimating their populations. On Kodiak Island, which were the farthest reaches of sea otter explorations, promyshlenniki had less success—they were driven off numerous times.

In 1761, the largest ship yet to sail the Aleutians, Merchant Bechevin's 62-foot ship *Sv. Gavriil*, overwintered on the Alaska Peninsula at Bechevin Bay. Quartermaster Pushkarev and his promyshlenniki built winter quarters and explored both coasts of the Peninsula and the islands of the Pacific side. The extent of their explorations are unknown but they were able to establish a presence on the Alaska Peninsula. In about 1763 Pan'kov, in search of Bechevin, sailed into Bristol Bay, reaching the mainland coast near Nushagak.[107] Although the records have not survived, it is known that by the 1780s private entrepreneurs were trading in Bristol Bay on the northern shores of the Peninsula. The Lebedev-Lastochkin Company was making inroads into the interior of the upper Peninsula as well.[108]

The year Pan'kov sailed north of the Peninsula, Glotov sailed south of it, and in 1763 he sailed to Kodiak where he was able to communicate with the islanders through an Unangan boy who had been taken hostage in a battle on Sanak Island. The Sugpiat, like their Aleutian enemies, did not welcome the promyshlenniki. They attacked Glotov's men repeatedly. The hostile environment finally drove off the Russians in May 1764. For the next two decades the Sugpiat were able to hold off foreigners trying to gain a foothold.

In the nineteenth century, a sparse report indicates that Pan'kov and Polutov's ship, along with 200 Unangan baidarkas, sailing northeast of Unga, met Sugpiat from Katmai at an island off the coast of the Peninsula. The local Sugpiat fought with Unangan hunters, killing many and capturing and killing a leader of the Akun Unangan. The intruders were driven off.[109] An early attempt to establish an artel on the Peninsula met with failure as well, although by the early 1780s promyshlenniki were operating from the Peninsula.

By 1766, Russian domination in the Aleutians was sealed. The Russian government recognized that episodes of extreme violence had occurred and some perpetrators were put on trial. In 1780 Empress Catherine the Great sent a number of Russian crests to inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands and the Alaska mainland so that the inhabitants could display that they and their lands were under the protection of the Russian Court.[110] Complaints of cruelty and abuse brought response from the Imperial government and, although control over the actions of the traders was not effective for another few decades, the Siberian authorities, attempting to exert some control, encouraged government sanction of companies from this time on. As the center of the fur trade shifted eastward to Kodiak Island, the Kenai Peninsula, and Prince William Sound, two companies emerged to dominate the trade.[111] From one of these, the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company, few records survive. The other, a particularly enterprising group, would successfully establish itself on Kodiak Island, exaggerate reports of abuses in the Aleutians, and gain a monopoly on the Russian America fur trade. This was the Shelikhov Company, under the direction of Grigorii Shelikhov.

The Russian-American Company

Subjugation of Kodiak and Establishment of the Russian-American Company

Russian attempts to settle on Kodiak were thwarted by the numerous and well-organized Sugpiat. In 1784 Grigorii Shelikhov arrived on Kodiak Island, determined to establish a base for fur-trade operations and expansion to the mainland. The Sugpiat responded to the intrusion much as they had in the past, with open hostility and, probably because of past successes, a confident mien. Shelikhov, anticipating armed resistance, came prepared with 181 men and substantial firepower, including five cannons. After a fierce battle in which they killed and took hostage many of the Sugpiat, they were able to establish a permanent hold. They built a settlement on Three Saints Bay on the southwestern end of Kodiak Island and began the subjugation of the Sugpiat throughout the Kodiak Archipelago. Shelikhov and his men exploited the abundant natural resources and, in many ways, destroyed the aboriginal way of life by near enslavement of the men and women, control over their children, and disruption and control of their subsistence. The Russians moved quickly to establish a presence in nearby islands and on the mainland, and in only two years a second settlement was begun on Afognak Island and another in outer Cook Inlet, on the mainland.

By 1784 Shelikhov had taken numerous hostages and, in order to reign over settlements, he modeled a system of authority similar to the aboriginal system of village leadership. The established leader, or "toion," in each village was to act as an intermediary between the Company and villagers and assist in acquiring furs from the hunters.[112] Shelikhov left the settlement under temporary management in 1786 to return to Russia.

In 1790 Shelikhov appointed a new manager with extensive powers; Alexander Baranov arrived by skin baidarka in 1791 after his ship ran aground and he over-wintered on Unalaska. Baranov soon moved the settlement to Pavlovskaia Harbor (Paul's Harbor, Kodiak City today) where, amid tall trees, the promyshlenniki built homes, barracks, storehouses, and a smithy for their population of about 150 Russian and Siberian men and about 300 Sugpiat hostages. In Russia, Shelikhov worked until his death in 1795 for the right of his company to reign over the new territory. In 1799, under the direction of Shelikhov's wife, an association of companies was consolidated into the Russian-American Company. The Imperial government granted a monopoly over trade in the newly opened territory and, although it never held judicial powers, the Russian-American Company effectively became the governing body of the American Territories.[113] From that point on, Alaska Natives had to deal with only one set of intruders.

Treatment of Natives during the Shelikhov-Baranov Administration

Shelikhov used the alleged deplorable treatment of the Unangan by the promyshlenniki to make his case for single-company control. In response to the case for a monopoly, the report of the Committee on the Organization of the Russian America Colonies addressed only in general terms the exploitation of fur-bearing animals and the treatment of Natives:

> The honorary citizen of Ryl'sk, Shelikhov, being a partner in several companies and having more foresight than his companions, found that all the [other] companies did not bring as much benefit as they might have if they had established a settled way of life throughout the islands, so he himself dared first to start further exploration of the northeastern part of America... pooling his capital with Captain Mikhail Golikov and the Kursk merchant, Ivan Golikov, he built three vessels in Okhotsk, and in 1783, accompanied by his wife, went out to sea, and put in at Kad'iak... [and] established a permanent settlement and a fur trading company, which to this day goes by the name of the Russian-American Company. ...On 8 July 1799, His Imperial Highness not only found the company's act worthy of his monarchical favor, but also ordered a special confirmation of its rights and... bestowing on it for 20 years privileges and a charter and took it under its immediate protection.[114]

Instructions to the chief manager Konstantine Alekseevich Samoilov, to be in full charge of the three company ships and all the Russians during my [Shelikhov's] journey to Okhotsk on company business. May 4, 1786, Kyktak[sic] [Kodiak] Island, Harbor of the Three Saints, St. Simeon the God-receiver, and the Prophetess Anna.[115]

1) ...there are 113 Russians on the Island of Kytkak. I hope to get...a total of 163. These men should be kept in artels [crews], 40 men in the harbor, or in Herring Bay in the Strait, 11 men in Ugashet Bay, 30 men on Afognak and Shuiak Islands, 10 men at Uganat Bay or...wherever there is greater need, 11 at Olitak, 30 at Karluk, 20 at Katmakand 11 between Katmak and Kamyshak....

...

When the Tri Sviatitelia [Three Saints] arrives from Okhotsk, the crews should be sent to Kinai and to Shugach. Add as many of the local pacified natives as possible to strengthen the Russians. In this manner we can move faster along the shore of the American mainland to the south toward California...the independent Kinai and Shugach people must be subjugated.

3) With the strengthening of the Russian companies in this land, try by giving them all possible favors to bring into subjection to the Russian Imperial Throne the Kykhtat, Aliaksa, Kinai and Shugach people. Always take an accurate count of the population, both men and women, according to clans. Appoint khaskaks and set by their own free will the amount of iasak to be paid into the treasury so that it will not be a burden to them. They should be made to understand that if they are good subjects and pay this tax, they will have the protection of Her Imperial Majesty. The best of the natives should be given presents from the company's stock, according to their influence.

4) When the above mentioned natives are subjugated, every one of them must be told that people who are loyal and reliable will prosper under the rule of our Empress, but that all rebels will be totally exterminated by Her strong hand. The purpose of our institutions, whose aim is to bring good to all people, should be made known to them. They must be told to stop wars and robbery among themselves, murderous plotting against the Russians.

5) ...You must see that the inhabitants who become subjugated do not lack food and clothing, as is apt to happen due to their laziness and negligence. Before we came they were living in poor conditions due to their profligacy and laziness. After they know what good housekeeping and order are they will acquire a taste for a better life and will become ambitious and quit their licentious and willful ways. When they know a better way of living, they will understand and will take part in the work that enlightened people are doing.

...

11) Nobody but the company has the right to trade with the Aleuts.

Having received information from all sides, of disorders, outrages, and oppressions of the natives, caused in the colonies by parties of Russian hunters... [the new territory] in the hands of one strong company... would prevent many disorders and preserve the fur trade, the principal wealth of the country, affording protection to the natives against violence and abuse, and tending toward a general improvement of their condition.[116]

The maltreatment of the Unangan and Sugpiat people concerned the Russian court under Catherine the Great, yet the first charter of the Russian-American Company, granted by her son Paul, failed to address conditions for Natives working for or enslaved by the company. The early phase of Russian influence was focused on exploiting the fur-bearing mammals in an ever-widening area, something that could not be accomplished without gaining control over the population and stopping internecine and intertribal wars. As one early missionary wrote: "the most pleasurable exercise for the local inhabitants is war, to the exercise of which nowadays there exists a formidable obstacle; the presence of the Russians."[117]

Once Shelikhov had subdued Kodiak, he was quick to begin the process of gaining control over neighboring areas. He instructed chief manager Samoilov in 1786 to employ those people already pacified to complete the subjugation of the Sugpiat on Kodiak Island, the Alaska and Kenai peninsulas, and Prince William Sound. About those not willing to comply he wrote: "all rebels will be totally exterminated by Her [the Empress'] strong hand" but those who submitted to Russian rule and taxation, however, would be protected and, through work they would benefit. Shelikhov encouraged his manager to supply workers with food and clothing if they were lacking.[118] The prudent Shelikhov requested of his managers:

a thorough description of all the villages, the places where they are located, the number of inhabitants, male and female, and their age, even if this last can be done only approximately. Designate on the maps each river or creek, lake or village, every item in the survey by a letter which will indicate the exact location. Use the native place names instead of inventing new ones, so they can be located easily.[119]

Through a system of impressment and coercion, virtually every able person was set to work for the Company. Company control of the Sugpiat was greater and more intrusive on the aboriginal way of life than in other areas because in the early years Kodiak was the headquarters of the Company and had the greatest number of employees.[120] Hunters and workers were organized into artels, each headed by a baidarshchik who was responsible for the crew and location from which they operated. Kaiurs and kaiurkas were male and female enslaved workers, formerly slaves held by the Sugpiat, who were sent out in parties to work at the Company outposts. Russian hunters also used them as personal servants.

Shelikhov set about building permanent settlements and, in the spirit of colonialism and civilization, demanded that settlements have order with straight streets and wooden houses and outbuildings. He began the process of setting up a system of artels and odinochkas which were trading outposts. Outposts housed the baidarshchik and the Native hunters, stored furs and food that would be taken back to

Kodiak, and distributed supplies to hunting parties. Artels were large establishments; odinochkas were small posts, operated by one or two men. Samoilov was instructed to place 31 Russians in two locations on the Alaska Peninsula, near Katmai. At least one early attempt to establish a Company outpost on the Peninsula was repelled by the mainland Sugpiat. By 1787 it was reported that baidarshchik Maksimov and the men stationed at the artel near the Native settlement of Katmai had been killed.[121] A few years later, Baranov continued efforts to establish outposts, forcing kaiurs and hunters to live at and defend them. On the Alaska Peninsula he established two artels in 1793. Katmai artel would become the center of trade on the northeastern end of the Alaska Peninsula and was a well-established village until the 1912 eruption of Novarupta buried it in ash. The other, Sutkhum, was a supply post established on or near Sutwik Island, a rich source of sea otters and sea lions.

A representative of the Russian Orthodox Church, Hieromonk Gideon, wrote scathing reports of Baranov's treatment of people and of his conduct in general. He reported that every able person under Company control in the Aleutians, the Alaska Peninsula, and Kodiak was forced to work for the Company in some capacity—hunting, putting up fish and other foods, preparing and sewing skins—in exchange for which they got little more than the same food and clothing. Artels of bird hunters were sent out and the women were forced to sew bird-skin parkas and kamleikas[122] for almost nothing. The men were forced to hunt sea otter away from their homes, wives, children, and elders for months, and in some cases years, at a time. Baranov sent Kodiak hunters, kaiurs, and kaiurkas to populate artels as remote as California and Sitka, thus depopulating Kodiak.

The promyshlenniki, Shelikhov, and then Baranov can justifiably be said to have been cruel, inhumane, oppressive, and irrevocably destructive to the Native lifeway. But to say that "The Russians" (i.e., the Imperial government) was cruel and oppressive is unfair. Beginning in the late 1700s the government encouraged promyshlenniki and the Company to treat the new subjects well. In the times of Imperial domination and competition to gain control over the world's resources, Russia, like America and other European countries, believed it had a right to take any land occupied by non-Europeans—it was at the level of individual to individual and government representative (the Russian-American Company) to Native that goodwill toward Natives was encouraged or even demanded. It was not until after Baranov's reign, however, that conditions would improve.

Treatment of Natives after 1818

In 1818 Baranov left the Company and a new management, with policies dictated by the government, instituted changes in the treatment of Natives.[123] A new charter was granted the Company just a few years later that explicitly addressed the Company's relationship with Natives. The class of kaiurs and kaiurkas was eliminated and, although they were required to sell their furs to the Company, many hunters were employed rather than forced to work. Those who chose to work as "free Aleuts" were required to sell their furs to the Company.[124] The Creole class (mainly descendants of Russian-Native

unions) was becoming more of a force as they entered into skilled labor and even managerial positions. A number of Creoles had been educated in Russia and had returned to make important contributions to the colony. Marriage had become more common, largely due to encouragement by the Russian Orthodox priests. In general, at least for the Unangan and Sugpiat, people were treated less like savages and had more freedom. In the 1840s however, after the smallpox epidemic the Russian-American Company proposed restricting free movement of people on Kodiak and probably in the Katmai area too. This was never implemented except when the Company provided employee transport to and from its outposts.[125] Because of the changes in settlement, trade, and warfare and because of the control the Russian-American Company had over their subjects' lives, contact with Tlingit and Eskimo neighbors declined.

A half century after Shelikhov's small army overcame the Sugpiat, Wrangell—chief manager Russian America from 1830 to 1835—wrote: "because of their long standing ties with the Russians, the Chugach, Kadiak and inhabitants of the Aleutians have neglected their customs and have lost their traditions."[127] Wrangell assessed the state of the Kodiak District Alutiiq under the Company's influence, determining that, because they were underpaid for the pelts they delivered and prices for even basic necessities were exorbitant, hunters were far too indebted to the Company. The question Wrangell asks is why, given the government's instructions and the church mission, have the lives of the inhabitants worsened? He calculated that, on average, each "Kad'iak Aleut" adult received 14 rubles, 25 kopek a year from the Company and had to purchase clothing that cost four rubles for a birdskin parka, five rubles for a kamleika (waterproof gut parka), and 10 to 15 rubles for a ground squirrel parka, so "it quickly becomes apparent how small is the amount of money expended on the Aleuts and the amazing disproportion of this sum in comparison to the benefits derived from them."[128] The mission had struggled and, in part due to lack of clergy, fell short in the Kodiak District as had attempts to run schools. In addition, the population had never recovered from the excesses of Baranov's administration.

Internecine warfare, which was always accompanied by cruelty, ceased with the coming of the Russians, but with it has died the originality of the people. ...Speaking of the people as a whole, one must confess that the conditions of the Kad'iaks has not improved in the least. They are considered baptized, but have absolutely no understanding of faith and do not even observe the outward rituals of religion and do not even know them. Wives have several husbands, husbands change wives exactly as was their custom in former times, and the sanctity of marriage is not observed. Their former games and shaman rituals and their old beliefs have not been replaced by other ones. ...The same semi-subterranean dwellings occupied by several families each, the same slovenliness and lack of foresight in storage and consumption of food, while there are fewer means to satisfy the essential needs of life. From spring to autumn all the men able to work are sent off by the company to hunt sea otters and birds. From the autumn until spring they are occupied in land hunting fox and otter, and although this measure is essential for the survival of the company, the islanders gain little through this.

By excessively low prices paid them for their produce and fairly high prices for the goods in which they are paid, they are unable to clothe themselves and their families with what is absolutely necessary. ...Formerly, they did not lack their native clothing. [126]

~Wrangell, N.D.

Sea Otter Hunting

Sea otter hunting in the Kodiak district was managed through Pavlovskaia Harbor. Several groups of hunters, under the leadership of a baidarshchik, traveled to different areas each year. The orchestration of the commercial sea otter hunt was much like it had been in pre-contact times. Groups of hunters in two-hatch baidarkas, using darts for weapons, worked together to take their prey. Before Kodiak's population fell, the company sent out as many as 1,600 men in two-hatch baidarkas. In 1799, 500 baidarkas were sent out and by 1804, only 300 baidarkas were assembled.

Gideon described the organization of hunting parties around 1805 when the largest contingent of the best hunters went to Fort Aleksandrovsk at the mouth of Cook Inlet where they met up with a contingent from the north side of Kodiak and the Alaska Peninsula (Katmai) and local hunters. This party then paddled to Nuchek, where it was joined by Chugach hunters.[129] At Nuchek the entire party underwent inspection, and hunting areas were assigned. The hunt lasted from April to September. In March a smaller party of up to "150 Kad'iak-manned" baidarkas headed west toward the Shumagin Islands via Tugidak, Chirikof, Semidi, and Sutwik islands and then along the Alaska Peninsula coast. A small hunting party of inhabitants of the Alaska Peninsula and the north side of Kodiak hunted from Cook Inlet south along the Alaska Peninsula to Cape Kumlik, where Sutkhum odinochka was located. Parties were outfitted with some basic necessities, but had to hunt for their own food. At the end of the hunt they were released to hunt seals and birds for baidarka covers and parkas. The Company also drafted 100 men who were either too young or too old and infirm to hunt sea otter; these men were taken by baidara (large, skin-covered rowing boats) to hunt birds off the coast of the Alaska Peninsula.[130] The system of forcing hunters to hunt was eased after 1818.

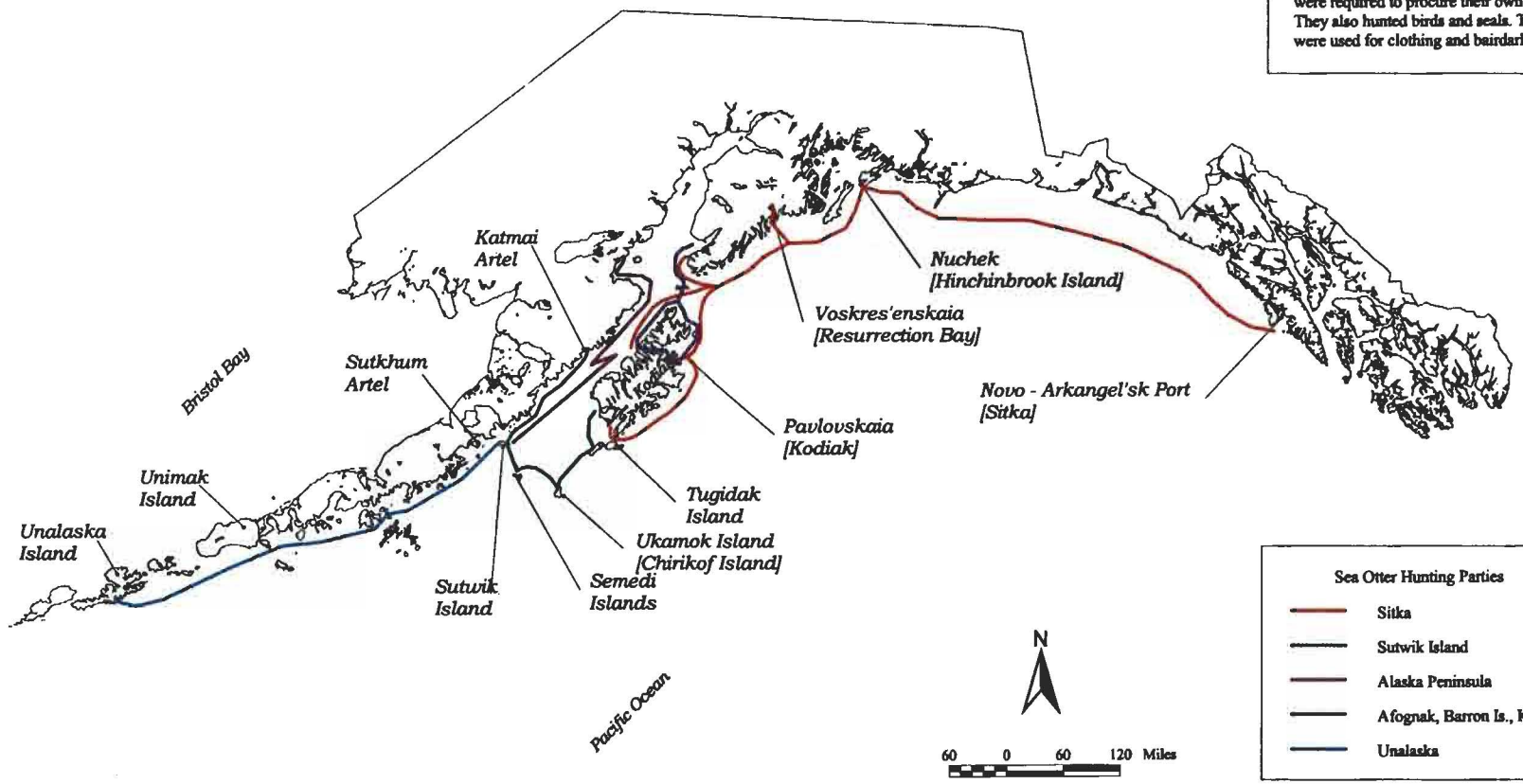
Furs exported by the Russian-American Company Colonies[131]

Table 3.1

Period of time:	Fur Seal	Sea Otter	River Beaver	River Otter	Arctic Fox	Sable
1797-1821 *(24 years)*	72,894	1,232,374	34,546	14,969	40,596	17,298
1821-1842 *(21 years)*	458,502	25,416	162,034	29,442	69,352	15,666
1842-1862 *(20 years)*	25,899	372,894	157,484	70,473	54,134	12,782

Russian American Company
Sea Otter Hunting Parties
circa 1804 (Gideon 1989)

Sea-otter hunting parties sent out by the Kodiak district of the Russian-American Company as described by Gideon in 1804. Parties went out in March or April and did not return until September. While out they were required to procure their own food. They also hunted birds and seals. The pelts were used for clothing and bairdarka covers.



Map 3.B

Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee

A good situation, dependable weather, succulent grass and plenty of fish and land and marine animals persuaded Mr. Baranov to establish settlements in two places on Aliaska.

Cattle raising was established successfully in the Katmai artel, but it has been reduced due to a shortage of men. There are very many red foxes of very good quality on Aliaska. As to marine animals, there are sea lions, walrus and hair seal everywhere. Whales are washed ashore every year in various places. The peninsula has bountiful forests, and there are many berries, sarana, and different edible roots. Deer [caribou] are hunted for food at a certain time of the year when they migrate from one place to another. There are natives only near Katmai artel.[133]

~Khlebnikov

Baranov's abuses were directed not only to human inhabitants; sea otter numbers had declined in the early decades of the hunt. In the 1820s the fragility of sea otter populations was recognized and conservation measures instituted. These measures included a system of quotas and rotating sea otter grounds for each district. After a year of hunting an area would be left fallow. Additionally, only adult males were taken.[132] No longer were hundreds of baidarkas employed. In 1834, in Kodiak district, only 126 baidarkas departed from Kodiak and Katmai for the sea otter hunt. Responding to the demands of the fur market, the Russian-American Company increased efforts to secure other furs. In addition to Pribilof Island fur seal and sea otter, hunters scoured the land for fur-bearers. They exported beaver, land otter, arctic fox and sable as shown in Table 3.1. Red, silver and cross fox, bear, lynx, wolverine, mink, muskrat, and wolves were also exported. Fox was particularly popular on the Russian market.

The Russian-American Company on the Alaska Peninsula

Early in Baranov's administration, the Alaska Peninsula looked auspicious for expanding operations because the Pacific coast supported numerous marine mammals and the land was teeming with high quality red fox and caribou. A mainland post would also provide a base for making inroads into the interior. Of the two artels of the Russian-American Company, Katmai was the largest, having been located in a relatively densely populated area. Upon establishing the artel, Baranov relocated Sugpiat and Creole hunters, supplying the enlarged settlement with sea lion and seal skins. Sutkhum was said to be in an uninhabited location either on Cape Kumliun, just south of Aniakchak Bay, or on Sutwik Island, just off the coast. Its exact location is unknown, but the artel may have been active at both places. The artel at Sutkhum was originally, and remained, a supply post during the seasonal sea otter and seabird hunts at nearby islands. The quantity and quality of red fox was reported to be excellent and large numbers of sea lion and seals were taken from nearby haulout areas. Caribou and bears were hunted on the mainland as well. Initially, only hunters and kaiurs were taken there from Kodiak. Later, families moved to Sutkhum where a chapel may have stood at one time. By the mid-1800s, the artel at Sutkum was abandoned, probably because of a lack of both resident hunters and sea otters, however, a small settlement remained.[134]

By 1800, the sea otter population had declined in the Sutwik Island area and in that same year Baranov wrote "only a few men are sent to Sutkhum way to hunt birds as there are not as many of them there as formerly."[135] Sutkhum was, however, a meeting place for hunting parties from Unalaska and Kodiak who scoured the Alaska Peninsula coast and islands. Despite the said scarcity of furs and birds, the artel grew. By the time Khlebnikov was company manager in the 1820s, the company buildings at these artels were dilapidated. Nevertheless, in 1825, 30 adults and eleven children resided at Sutkhum. At the same time 98 people resided at Ukamok (Chirikof) Island to exploit the ground squirrels there, and 131 people were tallied at the Katmai settlement, although the total population was probably larger.[136] In the early period, strong winds and rough seas limited communication

from Kodiak to the Alaska Peninsula by baidara and baidarka to spring and summer crossings of Shelikhov Strait. Later, small sailing ships were used which could safely make the crossing year round.

The Alaska Peninsula hunt of the 1820s began at Kodiak:

> *The number of baidarkas for the Kad'iak hunt varies from 50 to 70. Having received their supplies, the group sets off along the Island of Kad'iak, crossing thence to Tugidok toward Semidi and along the Aliaska [Peninsula] to the west side, where they sometimes meet with hunters of the Unalaska district. If they are unsuccessful on this coast, they turn eastward up to Voskresenskaia Harbor [Resurrection Bay] in Kenai Bay. In August and September the groups return to Kad'iak, and as soon as they hand over the skins, the Aleuts receive payment from the office and return to their settlements.*[137]

Only the best hunters with well-built baidarkas made the long and dangerous crossing from Tugidak to Chirikof Island and across to Sutkhum.

Bird-hunting parties were also sent toward Sutkhum in May, not to return until the fall. Under Baranov, bird hunters were forced to hunt, but in the 1820s bird-hunting parties were selected from "free Aleuts" of Karluk and Three Saints artels. They were well-supplied by the Company with tobacco, guns, gunpowder, lead, axes, and kettles. Khlebnikov noted that a contingent of 20 to 24 hunters was sent from Karluk artel to hunt birds along the Alaska Peninsula in the 1820s. A skilled hunter would get from 300 to 500 birds, which the women of the artel would sew into parkas. A reward of two parkas was given to each hunter who delivered a dozen parkas to the company, in addition to payment for the skins.[139]

In 1834, during a low period for sea otter hunting, the Katmai artel sent a sea otter party of 15 baidarkas of Aliaskans and two baidarkas south along the coast of the Alaska Peninsula from Sutkhum odinochka. They hunted from Kamishak Bay to Cape Kumliun and got eight adult sea otters, five immature, and two pups.[140] Ukamok hunters obtained only 13 adults, five young, and two pups that same year.

The impact of sea otter hunting artels on the local environment is not well-documented. At Sutkhum, besides the commercial hunt for sea birds, sea otters, seals, and sea lions, the hunters must have been hunting and fishing for food on the capes and in Kujulik, Aniakchak, and Amber bays. Trapping for red fox and other terrestrial fur-bearers and hunting caribou would likely have taken them all along the coast and up the small streams running into the bays. Information about the Alaska Peninsula has not been located for the period after 1842 when the Alaska sea otter take increased nearly fifteen-fold.

Travel and Surveys

Bocharov surveyed the north side of the Peninsula, and traversed it via Becharof Lake in 1791. During Baranov's administration several explorations took place. In 1818, with the hopes of establishing trading relationships, thus extending commercial interests into the interior, the new general manager, Hagemeiester, of the Russian-American Company

Other Russian travelers that are known include the Lebedev-Lastochkin Company, and Ivanov who traveled out of the Peninsula possibly ending up in the lower Yukon. Explorations that occurred after Baranov took over as Chief Manager of Kodiak in 1792 include Vasilii Medvednikov who traveled extensively through the Alaskan Peninsula in the 1790s, and Filip Kashevarov who traveled via several routes from Kamyshak Bay to Iliamna and Lake Clark and back to Cook Inlet. In 1818 and 1819 Korsakovskii visited Kuskokwim Bay.[138]



ordered an expedition to explore the country north of Bristol Bay (map 3.C). Petr Korsakovskii, a Company employee, kept a journal of this expedition which traveled across the Alaska Peninsula from Katmai to Bristol Bay, to the Kuskokwim Bay, Nushagak and then the Togiak River, and then into the Lake Iliamna region and beyond to the Kuskokwim River upstream.[141] The crew consisted of over two dozen people including an interpreter and marksman from Ugashik, named Yakov, who met up with the party at Egegik. Upon reaching the Togiak River, the Ugaassarmiut accompanied the Aglurmiut toion, Alinak, in negotiations with the wary Yup'iks. The abundance of resources available to the travelers is striking. A year later, Kolmakov who led much of the expedition, returned to the Nushagak where he established Aleksandrovskiy Redoubt.

In 1829 the Company dispatched another overland expedition, this one led by I. Ya. Vasilev, to investigate the Nushagak, Yukon, and Kuskokwim rivers.[142] Among Vasilev's crew was a Ugaassarmiut marksman, Yuniyak Tytkuk. This expedition took a more northerly route across the Peninsula—traveling from Katmai across the mountains, down the Savonoski River to Naknek Lake, and on to the Aglurmiut settlement of Paugvik [Naknek].

The journals from these expeditions reveal both lack of Company control of the region and the independence of Bristol Bay and Bering Sea Natives. In 1818, trade from Siberia through Chukchi middlemen had reached southwest Alaska.[143] The establishment of the Redoubt on the Nushagak increased contact with Bristol Bay and northern areas and brought some local inhabitants into the Company's sphere, although most inhabitants retained their independence. Trade, controlled by middlemen, was already an important part of the lives of Natives north of Bristol Bay.

Several expeditions were sent out to gather information about the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula. In command of the *Moller*, Captain Mikhail Staniukiovich used baidaras to explore the northern shore of the Alaska Peninsula in June and July of 1828. In 1831, under orders from Wrangell, Ivan. Ia. Vasiliev traveled by baidarka surveying the coast from Cape Douglas to Cape Kumlik, 80 miles southwest.[144] And in 1836, Voronkovskii and his crew traveled by baidarka from Katmai to Sutkhum village where Vasiliev had stopped. From here they surveyed to Khitkuk, 300 miles west, including Unga and the Shumagin Islands and joining yet another expedition of Captain Staniukiovich which surveyed the Aleutian Islands (See map 3.C).[145]

Communication between Katmai and other mainland artels and Kodiak was often sporadic because crossing Shelikof Strait was dangerous. Sutkhum was a relay point between Unalaska and Kodiak but frequent wind and storms made the strait and the coastline impassable during much of the year. On the mainland, travel routes across the Peninsula connected Kodiak and Katmai with Novoaleksandrovskii Redoubt on the Nushagak River. These routes also were affected by the Peninsula's quickly changing weather. A winter route went to Paugvik, up the Naknek River to the Severnovskie villages of Ikak and Alinnak and over the mountains to Katmai artel. This was purported to take from eight to ten days of travel in the winter and three to four days in summertime. An alternate route following the coast and utilizing the large Becharof Lake, went from Katmai south along the Pacific coast over a neck of land at Puale Bay, across the lake, down the Egegik River and across Bristol Bay to Nushagak. Yup'ik and Sugpiat probably established these routes and others long before the Russians arrived and continued to use them in their trade at Russian posts.[146]

The Creole Estate

As the number of persons of mixed ancestry, often bicultural and bilingual, with some education provided through the efforts of their fathers and grandfathers grew, the company established guidelines for a social experiment—creation of a social stratum with loyalties both to Alaska and to Russian culture and state. Thus, the Creole estate was officially established.[147]

Opposite:
Aleut kayakers in an unidentified location, in the early 1900s. Unangan sea otter hunters traveled east, scouring the Pacific coast of the Peninsula for otter, and met with Alutiiq hunters at the Sutkhum artel at Cape Kumliun. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, 74-175-510.

The colonization of Russian America was almost exclusively by males—both bachelors and men who had left their families at home in Russia and Kamchatka. Few women or families made the long journey to Alaska. The Company recognized that children of Russian males and aboriginal females would create unbreakable bonds between the new colony and the old country. In 1816 the Main Office explained:

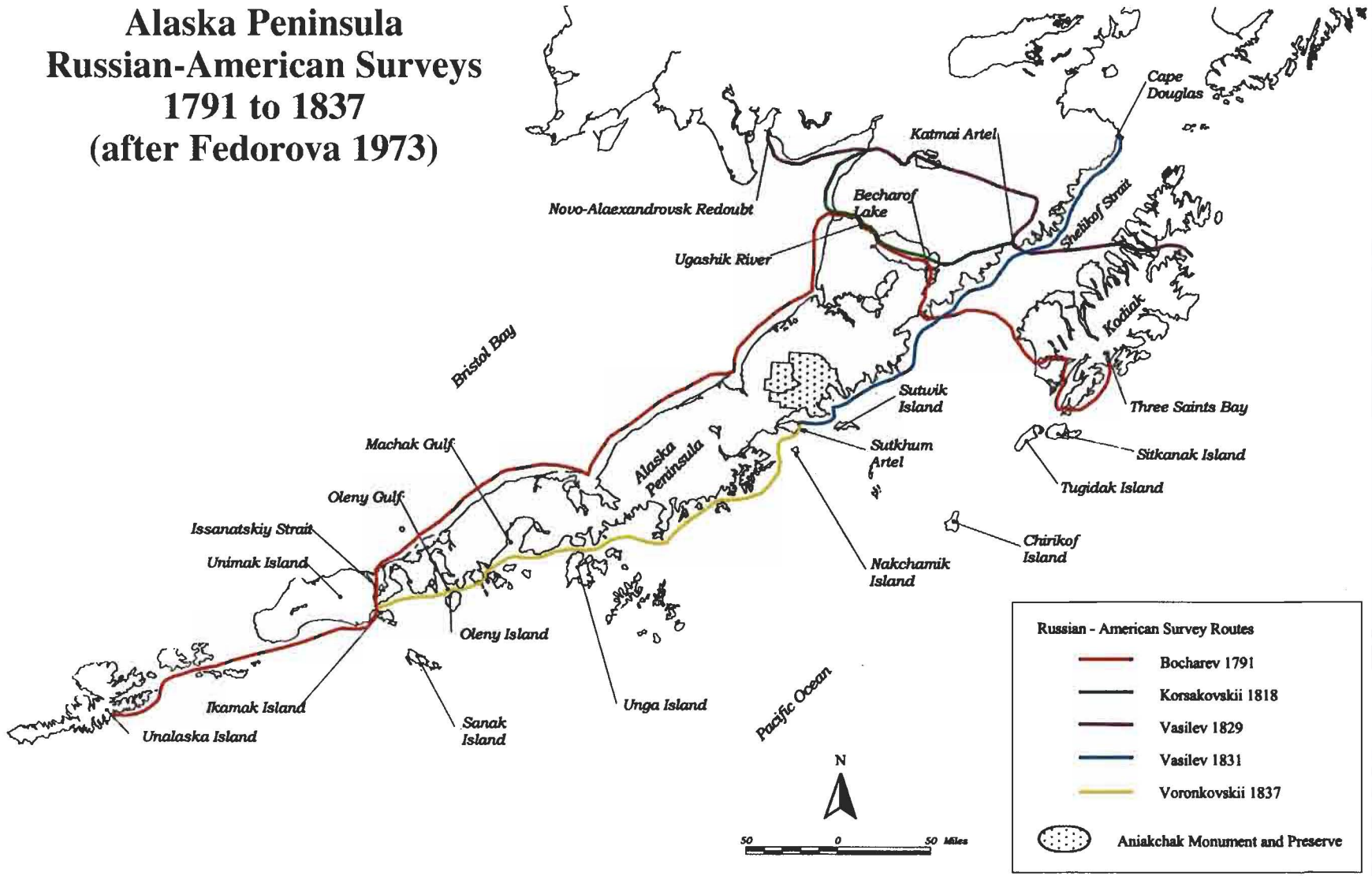
> *From a political point of view, the ties of the Russians with the Aleuts are nearly essential, both for exposing hostile schemes, and for permanent ties, for the resultant offspring willy-nilly join those Aleuts who are related to the Russians and the children, being christened, will be Russians, and not Aleuts, and so the new generation is permanently Russian.... The lack of Russian people in the colonies can be compensated for.... Creoles, brought up and educated at the Company's cost and effort, thereafter employed in various capacities, or carrying on its business, can obtain food and livelihood.*[148]

The Company thought that the children of these Russian men might become so numerous as to replace the Native population on Kodiak.[149] The number of Russian and Siberian born men in the colony averaged only about 500-600. But foreign-born men were not encouraged to stay and settle in the new lands and Native women were often left to raise their half-Russian children within the Native community. In Russian America, an individual's status was hereditary—passed through one's father. In addition, by personal achievements one could attain a different status through civil or military service, or the clergy. The status of the Creole was defined in the charters of the Company. In the third charter, five separate estates or social groupings were outlined: contract employees, colonial citizens, Creoles, settled foreigners, and foreigners of other religious faiths.[150] Colonial citizens were those "persons of Russian citizenship and other free persons, who have a right to leave America but out of their own free will wish to remain there"; Creoles could be eligible to enter this class when they left the Company service and lived as residents of a town.[151]

> *The Creoles comprise a particular class and enjoy all the privileges of the lower middle class accorded by Russian law. There is this difference—they do not pay taxes and are not attached to the government by any formal tie; when they have been educated by the company, they must serve it for a period of ten years. The company has undertaken the education of this class with praiseworthy energy; many Creoles have studied at higher institutions of learning in St. Petersberg or have been instructed in various branches of the arts and sciences. Many have received their education in the colonies and are considered to be almost the equal of the Russians. Most of the Creoles hold responsible positions; among them, for example, are the post of bookkeeper, warehouse overseer, captain's assistant and the position of captain itself, church officials, etc. All Creoles are conversant with Russian, but not with the Aleut nor the Kadiak languages. Their way of life is the same as that of the Russians.*[152]

Creoles were considered Russian subjects and were granted full protection as other members of the burgher estate. In the colony, colonial citizens were registered in Kad'iak and Unalaska and had to ask for permission to move from home villages to other settlements. As pensioners they were permitted

Alaska Peninsula
Russian-American Surveys
1791 to 1837
(after Fedorova 1973)



Map 3.C

Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee

to settle on Elovoi [Spruce], Afognak, Bering, and Morzhovyi islands and on Kenai Peninsula in Ninilchik.[153] In their role as a bridge between cultures, Creoles were recognized as a valued asset in the colony.[154] However, educated and identifying at least to some extent with their Russian fathers and grandfathers, and well aware of their privileged status, many rejected association with the Natives and refused to join fur-hunting parties. At the same time, it was observed that "the Russians and the Aleuts remember the descent of the Creoles from illegal unions with the natives, and at every step show them disrespect and even contempt."[155]

As a social estate, Creoles were in a somewhat ambiguous position near the end of the Russian period. They constituted a privileged class and many had not earned such privilege through any special contribution to the Company; worse, while some individuals held high positions, others were indistinguishable from "Aleuts," a condition that was often used to criticize the whole group.[156] The rapid increase in the Creole estate led Councilor Kostlivtsev, in Russian America with Captain Golovin to inspect the colony, to encourage most Creoles to live a traditional Native lifestyle, in effect reverting to the estateless aboriginal class. Most Russian-born men who had come to work in America returned home. Membership in the Russian Creole estate grew from 553 in 1822 to 1,989 in 1863.[157] Others of mixed ancestry had never been entered, for example, those who were born out of wedlock or the many who resided in the ancestral communities of their mothers. A few of purely aboriginal descent entered the Creole class through their own accomplishments.[158]

In 1870, under United States rule, 1,421 people who had been recognized by Russia as Creole (of mixed Russian and Aleut descent) remained in Alaska; they were Creoles who chose not to return to Russia in 1867. This did not account for all of those of mixed Russian and Native descent, but only those recognized as part Russian. In the Kodiak district (Kodiak, the Alaska Peninsula, and Lower Kenai Peninsula) in 1860, there were only 67 Russians and 3,019 Creoles and Aleuts.[159] Soon after the transfer, Dall would refer to the Creoles as "half breeds," saying that "In their present condition the Creoles are unfit to exercise franchise as American citizens."[160] Dall failed to realize that many Creoles had, in fact, constituted an important educated stratum and work force in the colony—operating a tannery, lumber yard, blacksmith, school, and farms on Kodiak. Many outposts of the Russian-American Company and Russian Orthodox Church positions were filled by bilingual and biliterate Creoles. Creoles who helped to repopulate the Alaska Peninsula after the 1867 purchase filled important roles in the new settlements.

The 1838 Smallpox Epidemic

Smallpox ravaged Alaska from 1835 to 1840. It erupted on Kodiak in July of 1837 and soon began spreading, reaching the Alaska Peninsula by 1838. The aboriginal population of Alaska, from Prince William Sound to Norton Sound, was reduced by as much as one-third. Many who survived were physically scarred, disabled, or blind; few could escape the emotional scarring from the deaths.[161] The impact for many was insurmountable as family groups and communities were destroyed. The Russian-American Company took precautions,

attempting to educate people about how to slow or stop the spread of the disease. Chief manager Kupreianov issued orders that ships were to vaccinate all crew members and prohibit contact with people on shore. Vaccine and medical staff were sent to Kodiak and the Alaska Peninsula, but many people were afraid of the vaccine and refused it. The small houses, lack of sanitation, close living quarters, and frequent inter-village visiting and travel hastened spread of the disease. On the Alaska Peninsula (probably Katmai), Kostylev, the baidarchshik (crew chief), vaccinated 243 Natives. Only 27 died in the area; all had refused the vaccine and ignored precautions.[162]

On Kodiak, communities had lost their hunters, children and elders. A company history explained:

> *The sixty-five places in which the Aleuts had been living, or, rather, from which they had been leading a nomadic life over all of Kad'iak and the surrounding islands, were consolidated into seven settlements located at Three Saints Bay, Orlov, Karluk, and Afognak odinochkas, and on Woody Island. The total population of the settlements was 1,375 Aleuts. In addition one hundred Aleuts lived at the permanent artel' [trading post] on Ukamok [Chirikof] Island .*[163]

The Sugpiat world had shrunk drastically within very few years. Due to vaccinations, the Russians had been little affected by the disease and the survival rates were high among Creoles as well. Where populations were decimated, the epidemic left a demoralized people who had witnessed the failure of traditional healers' shamanic powers to heal and maintain the natural balance of life. They were forced to question and confront their beliefs in traditional powers held by shamans, healers, elders, and the lifeway that was quickly disappearing. Many children were left orphaned, many aged were left with no one to care for them, and starvation threatened survivors because many families lacked providers. They were forced to depend on the Russians who once again instituted vegetable gardening, brought cattle from Sitka, distributed clothing, consolidated people, and rebuilt houses. Despite the loss of so many people, the Company now found it

> *easier for the local administration to ascertain at all times whether the natives had received from the baidarshchiks and toions full payment for the furs they sold to the company.... Moreover, the consolidation of the Aleuts made possible more frequent visits to the settlements by priests, both to administer sacraments and to teach the law of God, which was particularly necessary for the Kad'iak Section because of the character of its inhabitants.*[164]

Despite the great loss of people and the concentration of those left in a few settlements, the population soon began to increase and by the end of the next decade, people began returning to their old subsistence camps and settlements or forming new settlements.

Population

The population of the Aleutian Islands and Kodiak suffered during the first years of fur trading—not only from disease but from harsh treatment by the promyshlenniki as they attempted to gain a hold on the islands. Under Baranov's administration, Unangan and Sugpiat were forced to resettle in far away or

Although Kodiak area specialists do not consider the 65 places valid, Etolin counted every fish camp and summer place. "Village consolidation," implemented by Etolin, did not last, especially among the Alutiiq on Kodiak Island. By 1848, people were returning to their traditional places, or were establishing new communities in order to find sufficient resources to survive as their population increased.[165]

remote areas to hunt; many were separated from their families for three to four years; others never returned. Women and children were left without their hunters and without the resources to gather, hunt, or fish effectively; starvation was a major destructive force. Hunters were treated inhumanely and forced to go out hunting in stormy weather—up to 300 hunters at a time were lost from baidarkas capsizing during long crossings between islands. Many more men were lost when forced to go into the territories of their traditional enemies who were still independent tribes determined to drive the Russians from their lands and waters.

In 1792 Baranov completed the first census, counting 5,696 people on Kodiak, likely a count that included only adults, and 884 on the Alaska Peninsula—probably most near Katmai.[166] The population on Kodiak, as in the Aleutians, had already been greatly diminished, in part from direct attacks, but also from disease and sea accidents. The decline of the indigenous population was to continue for many years. Khlebnikov's list of "unfortunate events" during Baranov's administration included men lost during the battles with the Tlingit over Sitka, hunting parties dying from paralytic shellfish poisoning, and 350 "Aleut" hunters lost in storms during ocean crossings. He also mentions sickness and a large epidemic in 1799 that killed many people. Rezanov estimated that the Native population had decreased by half between 1795 and 1805.[167]

The at-contact Sugpiat population of the Alaska Peninsula, especially in areas other than Katmai, is unknown. 119 men and 90 women were recorded on the Peninsula in 1800. Between 1817 and 1822, the population fluctuated between 837 and 887 Alutiiqs. The figures probably describe the area of Katmai and possibly Sutkhum. Population figures omit details about migrations and the people who were probably moved into the area prior to 1817. In 1818 Katmai was a large settlement with a shop, barns, and over 20 cattle. Colonial accounts in early January of 1819 report that three male Russians and one male Creole were under Company control at Sutkhum Artel, and 869 Alaska Peninsula Natives were at Katmai.[168] In 1825, the population had decreased to 190 on the Peninsula, the same year Alutiiq populations increased on Kodiak and at Sitka. The population at Sutkhum, under the Kad'iak office, shows 41 people: 17 men, 13 women, and 11 minors. Also recorded are 18 "free Aleuts" "of Aliaska coast." At Katmai, 89 adults and 42 minors resided, and at Ukamok 70 adults and 28 minors resided.[169]

The first population count considered accurate by the Committee on Organization of the Russian American Colonies was not taken until 1822, when it was estimated that there were 8,286 people in the Company's territory; of these, 488 were Russians.[170] Wrangell reported that the 1833 census identified 1,711 adults and 899 children on Kodiak and surrounding islands. Numbers of Sugpiat were also at Sitka, Katmai, Kenai Bay, Prince William Sound, and Fort Ross in California.[171] Population figures for the Peninsula were not given although the Sutkhum artel was operating.

Mission Activity: The Russian Orthodox Church in 1800s

The religious conversion of peoples of Russian America began a decade after Shelikhov's victory when, in 1794, Archimandrite Ioasaf, Russian Orthodox brothers from

Valaam Monastery, and monks from Konev Monastery, both located in northern Russia, arrived in Kodiak to start the "Ka'diak Spiritual Mission". [172] Shelikhov, exaggerating reports of his hold on the Natives and his facilities, argued that conversion of the indigenous peoples was vital to the new territory; Catherine the Great assigned what seemed like a large religious mission, instructing the missionaries not to proselytize but to attract converts by example. The mission consisted of ten men, three of whom were novices and three who were priests including the Head of Mission, Archimadrite Ioasaf. One of the priests, Iuvenalii, was killed by Yup'ik near Quinhagak. In 1799, a mere five years after they arrived, all but four missionaries drowned when the frigate *Feniks* sank.[173]

Missionaries were well-prepared for life on Kodiak but constant tension between Father Ioasaf and Baranov complicated their work. Attempts to build schools, establish gardens, and teach orthodoxy were met with Baranov's criticism.[174] Ioasaf, as head of the mission, contributed greatly to knowledge of the Sugpiat during early contact. Father Gideon, who traveled to the colony to inspect conditions there, left one of the most complete collections of papers on the Sugpiat in the early 1800s. Under his direction, Paramon Chumovitskii compiled a Sugtestun dictionary (now lost), translated Russian texts into Sugtestun, and wrote ethnological descriptions of the Kodiak people.[175] He traveled to the villages baptizing souls and performing marriage rites. He revitalized the school on Kodiak, and soon 80 Russians, Natives, and Creoles were attending classes in geography, history, foreign languages, art, and religion, in addition to the "three R's." And he reported on the deplorable conditions of the mission, the depravity of the Russians, and the mistreatment of the Sugpiat by Baranov and his men.

Conversion of the Sugpiat and Alaska Peninsula peoples was slow. In 1839, Father Veniaminov reported that, partly due to Kodiak Parish's large size and lack of clergy, it was

> *spiritually the least advanced.... All those who have been to Kodiak unanimously agree that the Aleuts there almost never go to church. They cling to their shamans openly or in secret, and few fulfill their [sacramental] duties to the Church.... Probably the Kodiak Aleuts lack faith because they know little of Christianity, not because they are stubborn or hostile. ...The Kodiak parish needs better organization.*[176]

At the time, Kodiak parish included the Alaska Peninsula settlements of Katmai, Ugashik, Unangashak, and Severnovskie. However, in 1841 the villages near Bristol Bay—Ugashik and the Severnovskie villages—were moved to the Nushagak Parish.[177] The newly assigned Nushagak parish priest recorded 17 Christians living in Ugashik that year. A decade later Hieromonk Feofil recorded 110 "Aleut" converts and, by 1867, Ugashik had 161 churchgoers, probably the entire population. The missionaries, though their visits were infrequent, established a toion, a churchwarden (starosta), and a church reader (psalomshchik) at every settlement, and encouraged their converts to put icons in their houses and, if possible, build small chapels. In the larger villages, they established schools to teach reading and writing. In spite of the rapid conversion rate, parishioners did not necessarily understand the church's message and missionaries did not always gain the cooperation of the local toions and interpreters.

In several villages, there were outright dissenters.[178] The Nushagak parish priest Feofil indicates the difficulty and frustration in the logistics of reaching his parishioners:

> *Knowing from experience that the appearance of the fish that periodically come here is a whole month later than in previous years, namely now in mid-June...in order for us not to stay home waiting for them I asked the toyon of Paugvik settlement, Vasilii Kolmakov, by letter as early as March, before Easter, to send paddlers for the clergy for a trip to Ugashek as early as possible, namely, either at the beginning or at least in mid May. My proposal to go to Ugashek without fail now was based not only on the fact that I had not been there in a long time and that there were more than 25 infants unbaptized there, but on the fact that...the free-lance interpreter had agreed to go only at that time, i.e., before the time to put up fish.*[179]

Decades later the priests were still expressing their frustrations at getting to the settlements and parishioners' lack of understanding about Orthodox teachings and the meaning of the rituals.[180] On Kodiak, however, among the Creole population great strides had been made as one observer wrote: "Creoles all belong to the Greek or Orthodox Church, dissent and skepticism alike unknown. The Creoles of Alaska are the most devout people at church I have ever seen."[181] At least a few of these Kodiak Creoles brought their knowledge and faith to the Peninsula where they were to further the church's efforts in the late 1800s.

Throughout the 1800s the Alutiiq and Creole population played an important role in the administration of the Russian colony and as the period ended, Creoles took an increasingly active role in the administration of the colony. The Alutiiq population of Kodiak was halved during the early administration of the Russian-American Company. The impressment of Natives into service, tragic accidents, epidemics, forced emigration, and Alutiiqs marrying into the Creole class all accounted for the loss. During the last 40 years of the Company's presence, conditions improved for Natives and Creoles alike. At the same time, the population on the Alaska Peninsula grew at Ugashik, Katmai, and possibly Sutkhum. Presently few documents with information about settlements between circa 1840 and 1880 on the Alaska Peninsula have been translated. Sea otter conservation measures had been put into place, and while sea otter hunting was still supporting the colonies, other fur-bearers had risen in their importance in the mid-1800s—this may have meant increased hunting and trapping around Sutkhum which would have included the area along the Aniakchak coast.

By the 1860s, four generations of Alutiiqs had grown up under Russian domination, and had experienced nearly a century of contact with a new culture, new religion, and new language. The Russian influence, however, was about to end, for several reasons. The Russian military was spread thin, and without sea power in the Pacific they could not protect their Alaskan interests. Russia was unable to meet the high cost of maintaining an infrastructure and a military presence. Russia offered the colony to a friendly nation—the United States. This transfer would have deleterious effects on both the Native and Creole populations as hoards of newcomers came to Alaska and the indigenous peoples would be forced to confront yet another suite of beliefs, attitudes, and policies.

Chapter four

1867-1900 Resettlement of the Alaska Peninsula

Introduction

The U.S. government's purchase of Russian holdings in America opened the entire area of Alaska for exploration, exploitation, and settlement by a new brand of entrepreneurs, adventurers, and missionaries; this act had wide ranging effects for all of Alaska's indigenous peoples. Adventuresome men came in ever-increasing numbers as new riches were discovered and the word spread to entrepreneurs and workers. Unlike the Russian government, which limited numbers of people coming to Russian America and discouraged settlement, the U.S. government encouraged exploration and settlement of the territory. On the Alaska Peninsula single men came to trap fur-bearers and explore for minerals and fish stocks. By the turn of the century, the Alutiiq population of the Alaska Peninsula was overwhelmed by this influx of people coming to exploit the rich salmon runs.

The Alutiiq culture, already so changed by the Russian domination, once again suffered an assault of new customs, new technologies, and new values—and was confronted with a demand to modernize and assimilate. The population suffered from an onslaught of new diseases and epidemics and an increase in available alcohol. The local people readjusted and as the distinction between Creole and Alutiiq blurred, the Native people found ways to assert their emerging ethnicity. The Alutiiq culture remained unique and identifiable just as the Euroamericans who moved in adjusted to the new land and created their own sub-culture and gained a sense of a distinct Alaskan identity.

As American citizens gained the freedoms to explore and settle the new territory, the indigenous men and women regained freedoms long hindered by the Russian-American Company. By 1880 the Alaska Peninsula experienced a resurgence of settlements as people tried to make a living and create their own communities under the new order.[183] No longer Russian subjects, native-born Alaskans, whether Creole or Native, were also not considered American citizens for many years.

Alutiiqs Confront "Amerikanskies"

The attitudes and beliefs of the Native people about the change in government and policy are difficult to discern from available documents.[184]

In the absence of the Russian-American Company monopoly the economic and personal freedom may have been a relief, but that did not put the newcomers in high esteem. As one visitor explained:

> On Friday, the 18th of October, 1867, the Russian and United States commissioners, Captain Alexei Pestchourof and General L.H. Rousseau, ...landed at Novo-Arkhangelsk, or Sitka... "Captain Pestchourof ordered the Russian flag hauled down, and thereby, with brief declaration, transferred and delivered the territory of Alaska to the United States....' Thus, without further ceremony, without even banqueting or speech-making, this vast area of land, belonging by right to neither, was transferred from one European race to the offshoot of another....
>
> Within a few weeks after the American flag was raised over the fort at Sitka, stores, drinking-saloons, and restaurants were opened, vacant lots were staked out... To this new domain flocked men in all conditions of life... speculators, politicians, office-hunters, tradesmen, even laborers. Nor were there wanting loafers, harlots, gamblers, and divers [sic] other classes of free white Europeans never seen in these parts before; for of such is our superior civilization.[182]

From [the transfer of the colony in 1867] the dying out of Russians and the influx of all sorts of nationalities, chiefly Swedes and Finns, began.

Displaced from their places of birth, cheated in the States, unemployed, hungry, they, these knights of sad mien, found and up to now find a warm and hospitable corner in cold Alaska; having set aside all sorts of dreams about family life, they unexpectedly find a warm family hearth, by marrying local Creoles or Aleuts...and start with their progeny a new generation of Orthodox Creoles while they themselves remain heterodox: Lutheran, Episcopal, Catholic and other erring Christians. However, they are for the most part indifferent in the matters of belief and therefore don't have their own temples.[185]

The fact that the territory is now owned by the United States cuts no figure and many of the native members of the church are not even aware of that fact. The natives of the north [Alaska] peninsula villages divide mankind into two classes, Russians and non-Russians, and to all of the latter class they apply the generic term Amerikanskie, no matter whether the individual specimen be a German, a Scandinavian, a Finlander, or a Kanaka [Hawaiian]. One unable to speak any Russian whatever is looked upon as pitifully ignorant and is treated with contempt.[186]

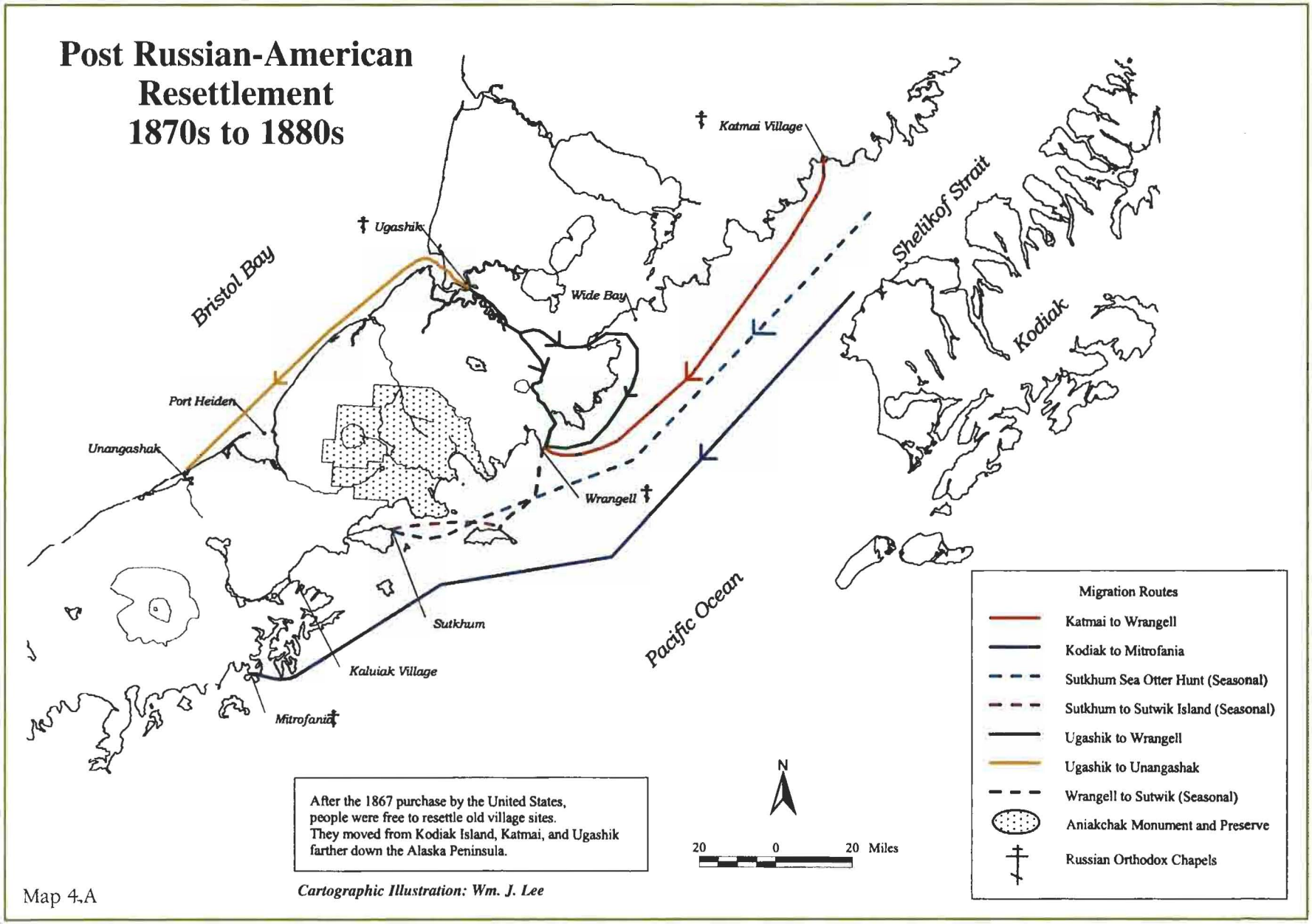
While people may not have been aware of the shift in government, they were certainly quickly aware of the shift in policy and business practices, behavior, attitudes, and language. For a few years, on the Alaska Peninsula, the Alutiiq and Creole population experienced the continued primacy of what had become traditional languages, Sugtestun and Russian, and the traditional economy of the fur trade and fishing, hunting, and gathering. Groups of people moved away from the old fur-trading centers and newly burgeoning fishing centers to old village sites where they lived off their own resourcefulness. The new sites were rich in wild sources of food from the land and sea, and suitable for building homes and a chapel and pursuing a traditional lifestyle. This is not to say that people discontinued bartering and buying "modern" goods—they were not immune to the new technology and luxury items that the Russians and "Amerikanskie" had brought—and they were a generation that had grown up with these new tools, personal adornments, and cotton and wool clothing. But by either choice or necessity they apparently increased their dependence on the traditional subsistence economy after the Russian-American Company left. Many families moved away from the tyranny of the traders and were able to choose when to hunt for trade and when to hunt for themselves.[187]

Late 1800s Sources of Information

The priests' journals and reports and the surviving Alaska Commercial Company records provide some insight into the late 1800s. The small, Native settlements had infrequent contact with the Russian Orthodox Church, but much of what we know today comes from the journals and reports priests wrote at the time. A few records, including lists of people who owed money to the company, survive from the Alaska Commercial Company, which ultimately bought out the Russian-American Company. These scanty records convey little about the perspective of the local inhabitants—there is little indication of the economic reasons for their movements, their thoughts about the fishing industry, and their feelings about what must have seemed like an overwhelming influx of men and infrastructure, sickness, and famine. Their responses to change are only hinted at in the historical records.

The New Settlements

During Pinart's voyage along the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula in 1871, he described a desolate coastline with little sign of current human habitation. Sutkhum, long abandoned by the Russian-American Company as an outpost, had a few residents, and there was evidence of a village near Chignik or Kuiukta Bay although it is not clear if the village was occupied. The



Map 4.A

Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee

northern coast of the Peninsula, west of Ugashik, was devoid of villages.[188] The few extant written materials about the Peninsula in the 1860s and 1870s offer no evidence for new settlements. However, by the 1880s people were inhabiting a much larger area than they had in the previous 100 years and resettlement was growing.[189] During the 1880 U.S. Census, Petroff recorded the villages of Oogashik [Ugashik] where 177 residents were counted, Oonangashik [Unangashak], and Mashikh on Bristol Bay and Kuiukak [Wrangell], Sutkhoon [on Cape Kumliun], Kaluiak [near Chignik Bay], and Mitrofania on the Pacific coast. Katmai, at the time the largest Peninsular Sugpiat village, just to the north of the study area, had 218 residents: 37 "Creole" and 181 "Pacific Eskimo."[190]

Whether economic necessity, want of freedom, cannery development, or scarce resources drove them to it, people seemed eager to leave Kodiak, Afognak, Katmai, and Ugashik and start new settlements. At the beginning of this period, the economic ties instituted under the Russian-American Company were severed, and Native and Creole relations to the fur-trading companies, government, and the market changed. The treaty of 1867 granted full and undisturbed use of Russian Orthodox church lands to the Orthodox faithful.[191] Eventually people settled at Mitrofania, Portage, Wide, and Chiginagak bays in the villages of Mitrofania, Kanatak, Wide Bay, and Wrangell (see Map 4.A), where fish, shellfish, caribou, birds, and marine mammals were available to support families that no longer relied on the Russian-American Company to supply them with basic necessities while the men were at the hunting grounds.

The Alaska Commercial Company and its competitors influenced settlement patterns by starting new trading posts and helping to build chapels which attracted hunters and whole families. Much like their Russian predecessors, the traders provisioned and organized hunting parties and supplied schooners to take hunters with their kayaks to the hunting grounds. The trader or company agent wielded tremendous power over the sea otter hunters and their families by setting prices for furs. Over the next few decades Alutiiqs continued to move extensively as they pursued subsistence resources, trapping, and wage labor opportunities, as well as cultural and class alliances. Year-round settlements were recorded, temporary or seasonal settlements were not. However, following traditional patterns, families lived at least seasonally in virtually every small bay and inlet along the coast—some of these had barabaras and prayer houses to which people returned every year. Right Reverend Tikhon Bellavin reported:

> *"as in all the bays of the Alaska Peninsula, there are burial mounds and crosses, under which lie the poor and much suffering bones of the Aleuts; there are lecterns and little tables, where they hold prayer service and church service with the Aleuts while on hunting expeditions."*[192]

From the time of the purchase and throughout the 1880s, fur hunting was the leading industry on Kodiak, the Alaska Peninsula, and the Aleutian Islands, although development of mines and fisheries had begun.[193] The resettlement was an indication of the Alutiiqs' resilience and their proclivity to move as either the resource or market economy demanded. Both freedom of movement and the shifting economic base brought people into contact with the influx of outsiders who were searching for ways to exploit the new territory.

As new industries gained in importance and the sea otter industry finally failed, the hunters with their families were pulled toward these economic centers which focused on the pursuit and packing of salmon. In the 1890s, new villages began to develop, first as summer settlements connected to canneries and then as the year-round villages, some of which have persevered to this day. By the close of the century, the industry and villages that would sustain through the twentieth century had been established.

In the late 1800s the Orthodox Church became an increasingly important part of people's lives, and in each settlement devout parishioners built a chapel and bought or bartered for bells, icons, candles, and other church articles. Many seasonal camps had prayer houses or outside lecterns, and those who died while in camp were given Orthodox burials. The Russian Orthodox priests, funded by a meager sale of candles and icons, did their best to make yearly visits to the small prayer houses and chapels that parishioners built in each settlement. When the priests were on their yearly or twice-yearly travels, parishioners traveled to distant churches and chapels to attend church services, get married, or meet with a priest.

Signs of these old settlements and seasonal camps are well-remembered by people today who have seen old crosses, chapels, and barabaras on both shores of the Peninsula. Oral history and archaeological investigations will likely uncover more turn-of-the-century encampments. In Aniakchak and Amber bays Russian Orthodox crosses stood as late as the 1930s.

In 1911, when the sea otters were nearly gone, many Alaska Commercial Company stores were closed, and the salmon industry was drawing Alutiiq and Euroamericans alike to the cannery towns. Canneries were slow to bring in local workers but when they started to employ them, they came from not only the local area but from the entire Peninsula, Kodiak Island, and other parts of Alaska. These joined the cannery hands, fishermen, and trap men from other areas of the world—Europe, America, China, Japan, and the Philippines. It was during this time, too, that a few Americans and European immigrants decided that the Peninsula was a place to stay and create a life.



Married Russian Orthodox woman and two children in front of a barabara at the old village of Kanatak circa 1909. Their ground-squirrel parkas are made in the Alutiiq style. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, PCA 24-109.

Turn-of-the-century settlements included Ugashik, Agishik, Meshik, Unangashak, Kanatak, Wide Bay, Wrangell Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Chignik, and Mitrofania. Commercial fishing activity seemed to both repel and attract the local inhabitants as some people migrated to the cannery settlements. Others, at least in the beginning of the cannery era, left the areas of new industry where, during the fishing season, the locals were easily outnumbered by the foreign men brought in to work.

Euroamerican men were working the fish-traps and fishing, living in cannery villages, and seasonally inhabiting small bays and inlets along the coastline for winter trapping.[194] These new-comers had access to cash and could amass a large number of steel traps. Families and individuals moved around trying to make a living trapping, hunting, fishing, and working at canneries to earn money or trading credits at the stores.

Table 4.1 shows the villages enumerated in the U.S. censuses and counted by Russian Orthodox priests on their yearly visits. The priests counted only the Orthodox and those married to members of the church.

The Russian Orthodox Church

Orthodoxy remained a strong force among Peninsula peoples in spite of the infrequent visits by the priests. The system of establishing toions and lay readers helped to keep people's faith between many-year absences by priests. Under the governance of Bishop Nikolai (Ziorov) the church grew in Alaska and over the whole of the U.S. New schools were opened, including one in Ugashik. With increased support, the Church became more of a presence on the Peninsula; concurrently, travel for priests became easier. Travel journals suggest that the priests were more motivated to reach the furthest corners of their parishes in the late 1800s—in part because of increased schooner traffic. The renewed effort to teach Christian beliefs to Orthodox Alutiiq was helped by Native clergy educated at Unalaska and at the seminary in San Francisco. At least one child from Chignik and one from Mitrofania was sent to the Unalaska school in the 1890s.[195] They came back to be lay readers in the Chignik area.

Even with the renewed efforts by the Church, Chignik, Unangashak, and Wrangell were at the furthest corners of their respective parishes. The Bristol Bay settlements west to Unangashak had been placed in the Nushagak Parish at its formation in 1841. Unangashak was rarely visited because of the difficulty getting there. The northern Alaska Peninsula settlements on the Pacific side were placed in the Afognak Parish when it was formed in 1896. The Chignik villages and Mitrofania, however, were in the Belkofski Parish. When the priest began regular visits to Chignik in 1898 people began coming from the Nushagak and Afognak parishes to go to services. Wrangell and Unangashak residents asked the priest to visit their villages, but, unable to step outside the boundaries of his parish, he instead sent runners out to notify people in distant villages of his arrival. Several days later, whole villages returned for services. In 1906, the Belkofski Parish priest requested that the parish church be moved to Chignik where half of the members lived and increasing numbers of people were moving.[196]

In the 1890s and early 1900s the Church appealed to the U.S. government to protect the rights of Orthodox people of Alaska to practice their religion and speak their languages.[197] They felt they were persecuted by government agents and their efforts to provide education for Natives were ignored—and in one case stopped.[198] The assimilationist policies of the U.S. government, championed by Sheldon Jackson and his mission, was seen as a direct threat to Orthodoxy and to the rights of Natives. It proved to be a threat when established Orthodox schools were not funded and Jackson's schools were. His policy of assimilation and prohibition of Native languages dominated the schools

Mid-Peninsula Native and Creole Populations 1880-1920

Table 4.1

Traditional Name	Present Name	1880[c]	1890[c]	1895[a]	1900[c]	1905[a]	1910[c]	1913-14[b]	1920[c]
Ugashek	Ugashik	177	154	263	63	75	47	70	1
Agiisik/Agishik	Pilot Point			60	130	101	170	98	34
Meshik/Mashkhik	Port Heiden	40	74	10		42	53	45	11
Inangashek	Unangashak	37	190	36	63	81	30	35	17
Ilnik	Ilnik								11
Bear River	Bear River								22
Cold Bay	Puale Bay						11		
Kanataq/Wide Bay	Kanatak		26	43	27		23	40	24
Kuiukak	Port Wrangell	18	62	63	57	43		30	
Sutkhum/Sutwik	Cape Kumliun	25							
Kaluiak	Chignik Bay ?	30							
Nikolaevski	Chignik Lagoon			53	61	129	25		36
Vvedenski/Anchor Bay	Chignik Bay		5			23		23	17
Chignik Cannery	Chignik Bay		187				186		
Mitrofania	Mitrofania	22	49	48		28	27	34	44

[a]Russian Orthodox Church Records (ROCR), Confessional Lists, records Orthodox members only. Sometimes residents who have moved away remain on the Church register for their village of birth. Non-Orthodox residents are not counted.

[b]BIA Port Heiden, Unangashak, Herendeen Bay, Kanatak, Wrangell, Chignik Bay and Chignik Lagoon - BIA Reindeer Records, RG 75. Letter from Schlaben to Lopp 1913. Others ROCR.

[c]US Census figures

throughout the twentieth century.[199] The Russian government contributed to the American churches until the Communist revolution, in 1917, ended funding for Orthodoxy and Orthodox schools in Alaska.

The End of the Sea Otter Hunt

A typical sea otter hunt was described in 1880:

> *The mode of hunting the animal has not changed since the earliest times. A few privileged white men located in the district of Ounga employ firearms, but the great body of Aleutian [Alutiiq] hunters still retain the spear and in a few instances the bow and arrow. The sea otter is always hunted by parties of from four to twenty bidarkas, each manned by two hunters. From their village the hunters proceed to some lonely coast near the hunting ground, either in their canoes [kayaks] or by schooners and sloops belonging to the trading firms, a few women generally accompanying the party to do the housework in the camp. In former times, of course, this was not the case. The tents are pitched in some spot not visible from the sea, and the hunters patiently settle down to await the first favorable day, only a smooth sea permitting the hunting of sea otter with any prospect of success.*[200]

In the 1880s and 1890s, hunters searched the reefs and islands of the coast of the Peninsula from the Shumagin Islands to Puale Bay for the few remaining sea otter. The attitude that wildlife resources were inexhaustible was pervasive at the time: "the coast of the Aliaska Peninsula is lined with hundreds of islands and reefs, affording ample facilities for shelter and refuge to the persecuted animal, and though it is hunted here recklessly by white men and Native hunters alike, using firearms in violation of existing regulations, no alarming decrease can be ascertained from statistics at hand."[201]

The hunt did decline, however, and the Alaska Commercial Company and other traders had an increasingly difficult time profiting from the business. Still, the frontier attitude that nature was inexhaustible did not seem to diminish. Alaska's salmon were soon to be pursued with the same recklessness and disregard for their reproductive limits. For a time, however, the coastline provided for the pursuit of a large variety of other resources, including an array of fur-bearing mammals, fish, and caribou. People found new ways to make a living off the land and off the companies that were exploiting the new found riches.

Independence from the Russian-American Company and the diminished sea otter hunt forced Alutiiqs to make independent choices and resume their seasonal patterns. Many hunters quit going out on trader-organized hunts in winter and late spring/summer, preferring to pursue subsistence activities, like putting up fish. People trapped fur-bearing animals, hunted, and worked in the canneries to obtain cash. These changes resulted in new seasonal settlements.

The high prices brought by sea otter pelts could not be matched by other furs but hard work could yield an income in trapping a variety of furbearers.[202] Trapping and hunting for fur-bearing animals to sell and trade to the Alaska Commercial Company and other individual traders was a well-established part of life by the late 1800s. For many, trapping was increasingly incorporated into the traditional seasonal round.

Trappers would travel on foot and by dogteam in the winter months. Natives were also allowed to take game for their own use at any season.

Father Aleksin's words indicate that money was often hard to come by: "The Mitrofania people hunt bears and foxes—at present there are no sea otters in their locality and therefore there is no money. The chapel had $21.65 in cash, and there were also few candles and crosses. Therefore I sold them all my church materials at the Consistory price."[203] The priest wrote elsewhere, "the residents cannot acquire those things [church trappings] because there are almost no furs, but they can collect a small payment by selling the skins of bears and foxes."[204]

The 50 residents of Unangashak lived in about seven barabaras and had built a small chapel, yet money was scarce there too. Their priest noted, "They live not badly, but they do not have cash in hand. From Ugashek a merchant will send them provisions and other goods, and receives furs from them."[205] At that time, Natives did not have access to the large numbers of steel traps that helped make the pursuit of a variety of fur-bearers lucrative.

The Alaska Commercial Company and its Effect on Natives

The sale of the Russian-American Company changed the relationship between the Native hunters and the fur-trading industry. The Russian-American Company holdings were sold to Hutchinson, Kohl and Company and, in 1872, taken over by the Alaska Commercial Company which had been granted a 20 year lease on the Pribilof Island fur-seal hunt.[206] The Alaska Commercial Company established trading posts at the old Russian-American Company outposts and continued to send out hunting parties financed and outfitted from the stations at Wrangell, Sutkhum, and Wide Bay. They used Native leaders to organize the hunting parties, but the company no longer supplied families with fish and other essentials that were necessary in order for the men to be away for months at a time. Competition was the new order:

> *Apart from the seal islands [Pribilofs], the industries of the territory are open to the public, and for the stations which the company has established on the Aleutian Islands and on the [Alaska] peninsula north and west of Kadiak, no special privileges are claimed.*[207]

Hunters were no longer hostage to the exclusive rights the Russian-American Company enjoyed. With no monopoly operating, hunters could chose who to sell to and, according to the season when fur was prime, when. If during the hunt they were unwilling to leave their families or decided it was more important to subsistence hunt, they could refuse to join a hunting party.[208]

Some of the problems came not so much from the Company policy but from conflicts between the agent and the hunters. Igor Panshin, who ran the Alaska Commercial Company's Sutkhum station in the 1880s, wrote to the Kodiak office in May of 1882:

> *Excuse me that I bought furs at rather high prices. I did not want to put the hunters into too much debt. Hunger was severe [over the winter]. Now there is nothing in reserve. V. Panfilov said that they will*

The Alutiiq were allowed to buy whatever they chose to at the Russian American Company stores. However, the choices were limited by a scant inventory, and by the Russian policy that encouraged Native peoples to preserve their traditional lifestyle and survival skills by not accustoming them to too many European goods.[209]

remove the Sutkhum store. Also from Wrangell all the Aleuts left for Katmai, they may come back now.[210]

The Russian-America Company had hired bilingual Creoles to run the trading posts. In contrast, many agents hired by the Alaska Commercial Company were English-speaking Euroamericans, although many Russian-Aleuts and Natives worked at the trading posts as well. Attitudes of the agents and traders toward the Native hunters varied and were better among those who, like Frank Lowell of Wrangell and Frank Kruger of Ugashik, had married local Alutiiq women and had invested in the local area.

Agent Fisher who ran the Wrangell post seemed to have had little respect for the hunters. He thought, correctly, that the fur hunt would never amount to anything and that the indebtedness of the Natives was going to continue to increase. In a letter to the Kodiak office, he gave his perception of the people and the situation:

The Katmai Baidarka leaves here today for home and I embrace the opportunity to inform you...short two boxes of soap...very likely have been purloined by some of my pagans here if not overlooked on board.... I find that instead of reducing the indebtedness of the natives here, the inverse is the case; (up $244.70 for recent trip) & am convinced that this Station will never amount to anything. I am disgusted with the pagans & should like to be relieved as soon as possible.... The natives here are without [a doubt?] the laziest, drunken, worthless set on this coast being the hoodlum outcasts from Katmai and Bristol Bay Settlements.[211]

These are the same people who, according to the traveling priest, were doing well for themselves since they had moved to escape the oppressive practices of the Company store in the Ugashik area.[212]

The Alaska Commercial Company was not without competitors, and independent dealers could and did offer the hunters another way to profit from the sea otter trade. One of these was Nikolai Olgin, a church elder, who built the Mitrofania chapel in 1881 and owned a schooner which he used to transport the priest from Belkofski to Mitrofania and Chignik.[213] He was also able to use his schooner as a trading post. Petroff saw this as a detriment to the hunters:

Rivalry in the business of purchasing sea otter skins has induced the various firms to send agents with small assortments of goods to all the hunting grounds, as an inducement to the members of parties to squander some of their earnings in advance.[214]

What from Petroff's point of view was a mishandling of finances was, for the hopelessly indebted hunters, a way to get something for their catch. Olgin was able to undermine the Company's control—and the Sutkhum hunters were not adverse to selling to the outfit that brought the greatest personal benefit despite their indebtedness to the Company. Agent Fisher explained his problems with the situation in a letter to Kodiak:

July 5, 1888: May 13. I fitted out seven bidarkas for the summer sea otter hunt on Suthwik Isld, which disposed of every man and boy in the settlement. The native rec'd 2 mos provisions and [illegible] to hunt for that period. June 25th five Bidarka returned bringing four sea otters. The other bidarkas returned yesterday unsuccessful but reporting of otter all around the isle. Reed & Olgin were also on the Isld. My party reported Olgin bought from Ugashik party

one sea otter paying $75.00 therefore. Olgin has an assortment of Mdse thru his trades with other parties. Although my party had no money when they left for Suthwik, several of them brought Mdse and money from there, the natural inference, that Olgin has succeeded in buying also sea otters from my party. Of course while you were here they all talked very fair and made all kinds of promises but talk is cheap and their promises can not be depended upon. Both Olgin and Reed have told the natives the prices rec'd by them for their sea otters, and are also selling their Mdse at lower prices to them. The Ugashik Store at Suthkom has been Paying $60.00 for sea otters right along.... Olgin & Reed are trying to get the natives from this settlement to hunt for them in the future. I don't think it will pay to fit out parties from here, so that Olgin & Reed may reap the benefit without any risk whatever.[215]

The Company did, however, have various ways to coerce or encourage payment of obligations incurred through indebtedness to the station stores. The debt lists from the 1880s Alaska Commercial Company records show that it continued to outfit hunting expeditions—and hunters continued to amass debt. The Company also tried to garnish wages and intercept hunters who were selling at other stations. A letter from agent Fisher at the Wrangell Station reveals the state of the hunt and the relationship between the agent and the hunters:

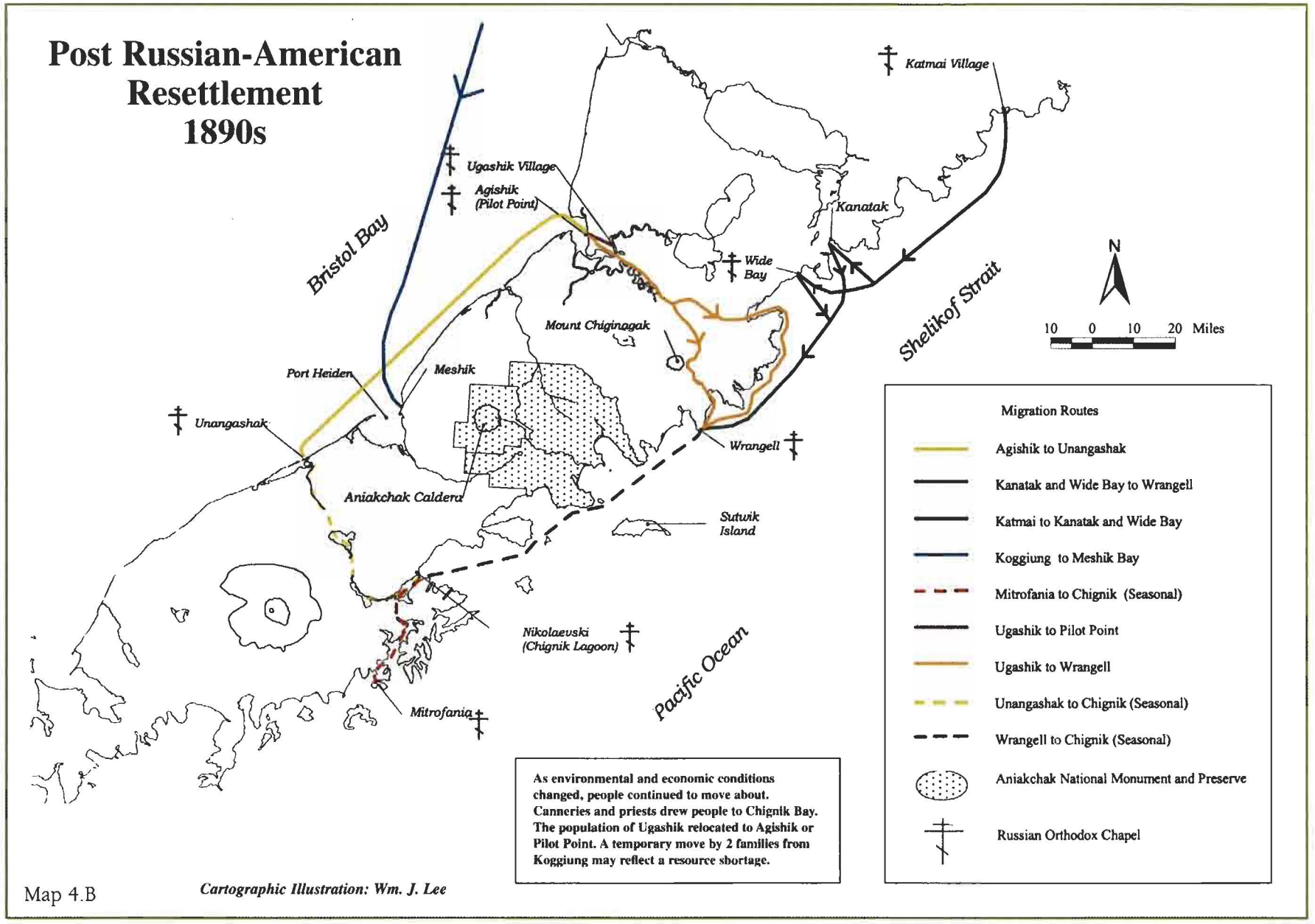
...a vessel from Karluk called there in quest of working men for Cannery. I understand that several Katmai fellows indebted to this Station are now working in Karluk Cannery [and] suggest that their debts due here be deducted from their wages there.

...Sea otters are reported plenty around Sutwik Isld since latter part of June, but with the extremely [derogatory?] material [i.e., hunters] I don't anticipate a rich harvest. In regard to fishing in Chignik Bay I have been informed by Sutkhom [sic] natives that a large three masted vessel has been engaged in salting fish there during this season and probably is there yet. ...Still thinking...you will discontinue this station.[216]

Fisher tried other tactics to extract money from hunters such as bribing the hunters with things needed for the church. He wrote to Kodiak: "In regard to the Bell. I promised to refund the price of $20.00 and to present the Bell gratis to the settlement provided the sea otter catch for April 1st 1889 shall amount to twenty full-grown skins. All small skins are not to count, and the usual practice of cutting pieces from each skin to be discontinued. In case of failure to comply with request the Bell to be paid for."[217] This was a hard bargain as cash was not readily available and sea otter were hard to find but the skins would have been worth over $2,000.00 to the Company.

Fisher left Wrangell in 1889, but the outpost continued under a new agent despite the years of encouragement to close it. Frank Lowell seems to have had a better relationship with the locals, albeit no better luck with the declining hunt.

Neither Company nor Church records give an adequate picture of the hardship many families must have suffered because of the declining sea otter population. It was a hazardous occupation even for experienced kayakers and under U.S. business practices, hunting in wintertime and inclement weather began again—practices that had been stopped in 1818 under the



Map 4.B

Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee

Russian-American Company. While the Alaska Commercial Company could not force hunters out to sea, they also did not appear to feel responsibility for a lost hunter's family:

> *The uncollectable Debts are Young Hunters who were frozen to Death this last Winter, we have a very severe Winter here, Nicoli Olgin who wintered at Sutwic [Kujulik] Bay lost some of his Hunters the same way.*[218]

Near the turn of the century, the Alaska Commercial Company was dealing with an increasing number of Euroamericans who were trapping terrestrial mammals and hunting in the area. These hunters had a different relationship to the Company agents and may have had a different pay scale for furs, as this letter from agent Frank Lowell to the general manager in Kodiak indicates:

> *Please let me know what I shall pay White Hunters for good large sea otter, large Spring Bear, first class Fox Red, & Land Otter, there are quite a number of Hunters coming here from Cape John [Kupreanof Point] this Summer, or at least they told me so.*
>
> *Mr. Jackson, who you landed on Sutwik Island last Summer, got two Large fine Otter during the Winter. I bid $580.00 for the two, he may bring them here to sell as he wishes to get his Outfit from us, & Hunt on Sutwik Island this coming Winter.*[219]

Despite Lowell's attempts to make the Peninsula stations a success in the mid-1890s, he too was discouraged by the lack of furs which he in part blamed on Kodiak hunters wintering on Sutwik Island rather than on the mainland.[220]

The Ugashik store was bought out by Frank Kruger, who was married to a Ugashik woman and considered a permanent resident.[221] In 1898, after getting no otter the previous year, Lowell suggested that the store sell their Wrangell stock and accounts to Kruger for cash.[222] Even though the Wrangell hunting party returned with only one otter by August, Lowell continued to be optimistic that the otter population would increase and Kruger would be able to collect the debts from the Natives he was "well acquainted with" and apparently got along well with. The outcome of this transaction is not known. Stores supplying the Alaska Peninsula began to be operated out of the cannery towns, either by the canneries or by independent traders like Kruger.

In the 1890s the Alaska Commercial Company sought new endeavors as the pelagic (sea otter and fur-seal) hunts were failing. The priests criticized Company policy and provided a bleak picture of relationships between the trading company and Natives:

> *This company, owning all of Alaska without any competition, during the last two years in many places removed their stores, and in other places, where stores still exist, stopped distributing to Natives not just goods, but even food on credit or on account against future animal catches. Moreover, for furs on hand, which Natives bring to the store for sale, they are paid, not in money but by company checks, which can be cashed only at the company agents', in order that not a single company cent escapes to the side. It's not an infrequent occurrence, where even for furs in hand such checks are not issued, but simply the catch added to a half-century old debt. The poor hunter, being rewarded by a pound of tea or a twist of tobacco, returns to his barabara to his starving*

family with nothing. How the inhabitants of different settlements suffered great starvation last winter, it's not possible to describe.[223]

Priests could less easily get rides across Shelikov Strait on Company schooners although they still managed to find transport on privately owned schooners.[224] The initial criticism of the Alaska Commercial Company policy to stop all credit and then the closure of stores was followed by a general criticism of the way it had negatively influenced Natives' lives and a feeling that people were better off without the Company. Residents of small settlements had little chance for income or access to goods in their settlements, but neither did they have access to biwok or beer-making ingredients such as sugar and molasses. An improvement of health was attributed to the villager's sobriety and the necessary return to traditional foods.[225]

Homes and Habitations

Houses

Housing forms varied considerably simply because people were building permanent and temporary shelters out of whatever materials they had available. The priests and medical officers encouraged everyone to build frame houses, citing poor ventilation, unsanitary conditions, and spread of disease as reasons to abandon their traditional barabaras. Half-frame and half-barabara houses came into use as a practical synthesis of Alutiiq and Euroamerican building materials. The sod provided warmth to the frame structures. Houses were roofed with a variety of roofing materials, including sod and thick layers of grass covered with old pieces of cotton trap webbing thrown over the top and weighted down. Frame houses were built more and more frequently and, on the Pacific coast, large logs and salvageable timbers that drifted up on the beach, were available for building. Local materials for windows included dried and stretched sea mammal gut, and as one aspiring miner wrote, "at one of the native dwellings pieces of mica used in lieu of window. As near as I can recollect the piece was about 6" x 8"."[226] Mica was used for windows in early Russian built structures as well.[227] Barabaras continued to be used well beyond this period, however, and evidence suggests that the number of individuals housed under one roof diminished.

Seasonal Camps

Besides the settlements where people built permanent homes and chapels and spent much of the time, families also had camps where they pursued economic activities, both for food and for cash or trade. Seasonally used barabaras and cabins were often small, temporary structures. One elder remembers that houses:

Used to be some logs. They split the logs in half for walls...then stick something between, you know so the air wouldn't come in, cotton I think. Some of them just covered with mud. Like around Chiginagak and some places you could see that, there the houses were, all this grass growing. Where there used to be a cabin. Any kinda cabin make out of alder, some way. They get old and fall down. Nobody living [there] you know.[228]

Fish Village or Marraatuq was an important fishing site near Kanatak—it was perhaps the largest of several sites that Kanatak and Ugashik people used for seasonal fishing. Bear Creek was also one of many

places used for summer fishing. As mentioned above, Sutkhum was primarily a sea otter hunting camp. The Stepanoff family of Mitrofania spent much of each summer at their fish camp where they had built a prayer house. Other seasonal camps had lecterns or tiny chapels. The shelters and barabaras where whole families lived seasonally at some of these locations also served as winter trap-line cabins.

While it is likely that residents of Sutkhum and Wrangell had summer camps at the various bays and inlets nearby, the exact location of camps in the late 1800s is not known. People would have had access to and probably utilized the fish, shellfish, caribou, and bear of Kujulik, Aniakchak, Amber, Yantarni, and other bays. They also would have had access to sea mammals from many of these spots.

Subsistence

Seasonal patterns of the nineteenth century were probably similar to contemporary ones, although people would have used a much larger variety of resources and they certainly traveled more frequently and for longer periods to procure food and trade items. Subsistence resource use differed between people living on the Bristol Bay side of the Peninsula and those living on the Pacific. Ugashik River residents were likely oriented toward land animals and freshwater fish, although probably not to the extent they are today with land resources making up about 70% and sea resources about 30% of their food resources. Pacific coast residents who had less access to caribou herds were primarily oriented toward fish, shellfish, and sea mammals, and they continue that reliance today.

Bristol Bay Seasonal Round

The following is based on Nushagak Parish and Alaska Commercial Company records which give some idea of the nineteenth-century seasonal round in Ugashik. These are augmented by contemporary sources on resource availability.

Men hunted seal, bearded seal, and beluga (belukha)[229] in May while women trapped ground squirrels and dug roots. Later in May and June, when the ice went out, the first fish would arrive. The priests tried to time their visits either before or after these subsistence activities when men and women were not absent from villages. One year the priest was concerned about getting to Ugashik when people were in the village because the fish, probably hooligans or a type of smelt, were a month late coming into the bay.[230] Men traveled out along the beaches where they dip-netted the hooligan, usually in May. In June king salmon would arrive just before the large runs of red salmon.

The end of July marked the beginning of the most important time to gather and store food for winter. The men would disperse again for fishing, and many of the women would be out gathering sorrel and other plants.[231] Chum salmon were taken to dry for people and dogs. Pike, and to a lesser extent land-locked salmon and smelt, were important winter fish because they could be taken out of many of the lakes around Ugashik.

> *In the winter [Ugaassarmiut] would subsist on pike fish. Lots of smelts, too. There were lots of pikes in this area, too.... There were some hooligans. There's a name for them...it's qimaruat. We call hooligans*

qimaruat. They came here in the spring. When we were here in the spring they'd dip the fish with a net right off the beach.... They are not very big...when we were here, we'd dry some of them. They didn't swim up the river.[232]

People in the Kanatak and Wide Bay area harvested fish up at the Ugashik river "narrows" in the fall. This included chum salmon for themselves and the dogs and "redfish" which are sockeye that have either just spawned or are about to spawn. These fish were easy to dry because of their low fat content.

Waterfowl eggs

Waterfowl eggs provided a rich source of protein and a welcome diet change for Alutiiqs. People with access to the Bristol Bay flats could collect duck and geese eggs in the grasses around the shallow lakes that dot the terrain. On the Pacific numerous rock cliffs and islands jut out of the ocean, providing havens for sea bird colonies. These could be exploited by local residents. It is not known how heavily people relied on this food source, but it probably played an important role, especially where eggs were easily obtained. Eggs keep well if stored properly and Ugaassarmiut had viable storage methods:

People [from Kanatak] would save and cover the water fowl eggs along the river. They say they would put them underground and when they returned in the fall they would open them. They would be fresh. They would still be fresh after two months. They say they would cover them with earth. They would keep cool.... They would call them maniit [plural].[233]

Marine Mammal Hunting

In May, both at Ugashek and everywhere in our settlements, we will not find anyone at home; the men go to sea to hunt seals and bearded seals and in part belugas and the women leave to hunt ground squirrels in their burrows and to get roots, etc.[234]

Depending on ice conditions, May and June was the time to hunt seals and belugas in Bristol Bay villages. Preparations were extensive as equipment and kayaks had to be readied. Nick Ablama remembers hearing about the clay that camouflaged the kayaks:

White Fish creek is Urasqam Kuiga.... They say [the clay] is down at the bottom of the lake. They say people would undress and use their feet to dig up the clay. Then in the spring they would mix the clay with seal oil and paint the kayaks. When the clay dries up it turns white. In the spring when they hunt seal their kayaks would be camouflaged...you add seal oil to the powder and paint your kayaks. They had no paint brush, but would use their hands. When the paint dries it would turn white. The kayaks would turn white. They used to hunt seal down there in the ocean. They would hunt...the bearded seal, the skin used for kayaks. The bearded seal were used for making kayaks.[235]

People also hunted walrus in Bristol Bay. They traded the tusks to the priests for candles and icons and to people living on the Pacific coast.[236]

Caribou

Caribou remain today an important and cherished food resource for people throughout the Aniakchak area. The animals are numerous and hunting is



A typical village of the early 1900s on Uganak, Kodiak Island. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, 74-175-72.

possible on both sides of the Peninsula, although the Bristol Bay side, with its open tundra, rolling hills, and shallow lake valleys is ideal caribou terrain. The caribou herds have not always been large, and while they represent a stable resource in the short term, they can quickly decline and leave people without a reliable food source. Veniaminov reported that the caribou numbers were down in the 1800s because volcanic eruptions had destroyed the vegetation.

Ugashik people were reported to have traveled north and inland to get to caribou herds in August of 1866.[237] In 1889 a large group of people from Ugashik moved south to Unangashak where they could hunt caribou herds on the open tundra between the foot of Mt. Veniaminov and Bristol Bay and sell the pelts to the fur buyers.[238] The Alaska Game Act would have put an end to this trade in 1902. The status of the herds around the turn of the 19th century is unclear, but by

1905 the first reindeer herds were brought to Egegik, and shortly after that Alutiiq and Inupiat people of Pilot Point had reindeer herds. This introduction of reindeer may have been possible because of a lack of caribou on the Peninsula. Chapter 9 deals more with the reindeer period on the Peninsula.

Famine and Sickness

Historically, for Alaska Natives, hunger and famine may have resulted from periods of exceptionally poor weather during crucial food gathering times, inability to procure food resources due to illness, or natural fluctuations of important resources like caribou, fish, and sea mammals. Epidemic illness devastated populations, not only in Alaska.[239] but worldwide, as medical knowledge and natural immunity were not able to keep apace with the viral diseases transported aboard ships in an increasingly mobile world. As people from all over North America, Europe, and Asia came to Alaska, they brought new diseases which often proved fatal.

In Russian-America, famine found a new inroad when forced labor interrupted food procurement. For the first decades of the Russian-American Company, men of the Kodiak Archipelago and Eastern Aleutians were forced to hunt for furs during key times of the year; although the Company often supplied families with at least a minimum subsistence, there were times when women and children were left desperately without food or the resources to obtain it. This condition improved over the course of the Company's tenure. After the purchase by the United States, people were no longer obliged to hunt for the Company; they continued to juggle subsistence with participation in the market economy. The Alaska Commercial Company was not as willing to finance sea otter expeditions nor did it feel obligated to care for sea otter hunters' families while the men were away at the hunt.

In some areas, the fishing industry affected the Native people's ability to get fish, but in other areas, they continued to fish their traditional streams and they also took fish out of cannery nets to put up for subsistence. A few references to difficulties in subsistence procurement survive in the record. In 1889 over 100 residents of Ugashik moved south, supposedly to hunt caribou on the lower Peninsula. The reasons for this move are not known.

One description of the combined effects of food shortage and sickness on Bristol Bay comes from the journal of Father Modestov:

> *I believe it is important to mention an extraordinary event in the lives of my Native parishioners—famine all across Nushagak mission which reached its peak in the spring of 1897 due to shortage of dried fish. In winter of 1896-7 there was such shortage of dried fish (local bread) that 1/3 of a fish cost 5-7 cents in comparison to better times when a whole fish is worth less then that. Famine happened not due to shortage of fish in rivers and seas but because during preparation of dried fish (in the spring of 1896) 2/3 of all Natives fell prey to an epidemic of cold which was complicated by an illness called flu. This made them unable to do any work for a while. The situation was worsened by the fact that the spring and almost all summer of 1896 were rainy. It rained for two weeks straight at a time and there were short dry periods between rains*

lasting from half a day to a day. Such weather did not allow for fish to dry out and it fell to the ground rotten and unusable even for dog food. In the spring of 1897 famine made people eat rotten [fermented] fish mixed with dirt. I have to say here that local Natives do not live without rotten fish. To prepare fish this way they dig out a pit in the ground—like Russian pits for potatoes—and put unwashed and ungutted fish there; then they cover everything up with earth. There isn't a family that would eat fresh food without fish prepared in such way. By the spring of 1897 famine reached such height that the Natives had to beat off frozen dirt from the sides of those pits and eat it with pieces of fish mixed in it.

Many villages turned to me for help at that time and received everything that I could spare for them: money, flour or salted fish. For example, through their toyon people from the village of Ekuk received several dollars to buy fish from a store.... All in all I did everything I could to ease the grasps of famine and if anybody came from the remote villages, I would be happy to help them as well. There were no deaths due to famine. The very next summer Natives stored up a lot of dried fish since there was a large catch.[240]

Just two years later, in 1900, an influenza epidemic[241] and other diseases struck the Nushagak parish, and Father Kedrovskii reported that so many people had died in the parish that the confessional lists were no longer relevant and would need to be recompiled.[242] This was "The Great Death" of the Yup'ik people that devastated the population and culture.[243] The 1900 epidemic left whole villages dead in a large part of western Alaska.[244] According to the U.S. Census, population figures for the area from Ugashik to Unangashak dropped from 418 in 1890 to 256 in 1900.

The next epidemic that struck the Alaska Peninsula affected much of the world; the 1918-1919 pandemic nearly exterminated entire adult populations on the Peninsula, including those of Pilot Point, Ugashik, Meshik, and possibly Wrangell. Many of the Bristol Bay orphans were sent to Kanakanak (Dillingham) and while some made it home again, many were never returned to their home villages. A few orphans were raised either by relatives, or by brothers and sisters who survived and were barely old enough to maintain a household.

When the U.S. government assumed the management and regulation of hunting and trapping in Alaska, the sea otter hunt was opened up to the demands of the competitive commercial market. Between 1870 and 1890, well over 4,000 sea otters were killed each year. The prices rose as the otter became scarce, and by 1890 hunters received goods valued at about $100 per raw skin. In the next decade sea otters were increasingly difficult to find and, although the price of a prime fur had more than doubled, hunters were increasingly in debt to the fur traders, mainly the Alaska Commercial Company. The company closed many of its outposts and left small villages with no economic base. In 1910, the United States government placed a ten-year moratorium on the sea otter hunt within U.S. waters. The next year a joint convention with the U.S., Great Britain, Japan, and Russia prohibited sea otter hunting outside of the three mile limit as well.[245]

General Manager Erskine of the Alaska Commercial Company wrote to the Alaska Game Commission suggesting that hunting by foreign schooners had lead to the final demise of sea otter populations in the area south of Kodiak and off the shore of the Alaska Peninsula. Citing the hardships Natives might undergo if not allowed to hunt, he also advocated for the rights of Natives to sell scavenged sea otter pelts and sea otters hunted from shore.[246] The government took a firm stance and prohibited trade in sea otter pelts for the next 20 years. Natives, long participants in an economy based on sea otter hunting, had to find a new means to engage with the global market.

The period of increased independence in the early years of the U.S. takeover, compared to the Russian period, went together with not only a change in government and an increasingly capitalistic economic system, but also an increased number of outsiders coming to the area with a new set of ideas about Native peoples. Few Russians settled in Russian America, but by 1890 the number of newcomers seemed unfathomable as the canneries and salteries became more of a presence on the land and in people's lives. A new form of group distinction developed. Creole and Alutiiq descendants who had been under Russian dominance for a century, and who had become Christians and members of the Russian Orthodox Church, and many of whom were literate and bi- or multi-lingual, became "half-breeds" and "Indians." Many Creoles were successful at aligning themselves with the Euroamericans. Others were lumped into a racial class of "injun" by people who viewed the locals, dressed in a mix of traditional and modern clothing and living in unfamiliar ways, as savages. Many of the descriptors had been used by the Russians before—dirty, impoverished, lazy, unable to care for themselves—but with the new era they were outnumbered. The U.S. government, unlike the Russian government, believed that only through assimilation would the indigenous people of the northern frontier be able to participate in their new nation.

Chapter five

A Village Journey 1880-1920

Bristol Bay Villages

Ugashik/ Ugaassaq

The Ugashik River system cuts through a vast area of swampy tundra, connecting a large area of salmon rivers, streams, and lakes. It is rich in fish, large mammals, birds, and a variety of edible plants.

Little detailed documentation about the Ugashik River has been found in early Russian sources, but records from the mid-1800s reveal a large, mobile population. Archaeological evidence indicates the river was densely populated long before the Russians arrived.[247] Stories tell of recent battles in which, after fleeing the Nushagak area, the people who became the Ugaassarmiut finally fought off Yup'ik-speaking Aglurmiut invaders from the north. In 1844 the village was assigned to the Nushagak parish. In 1855 the priest recorded 79 "Aleuts" and indicated that they had strong connections to the fur trade and the Russian Orthodox Church. By 1867, 161 Orthodox residents were recorded at Ugashik, and ten years later the Orthodox population had increased to 266 (131 male, 135 female) in 35 households. By then the village was substantial and boasted an Alaska Commercial Company store and the only prayer house, built with the help of the Company, in the Nushagak parish.[248] In 1888 an Aglurmiut woman with three children moved to Ugashik. Creoles were not recorded until 1894 when Modestov was the parish priest. The first Euroamericans, two Lutherans, married into the village in 1894, and the next year a household of "Kuskokvimtsy" moved in. Efvim Orlov (Orloff), church reader, teacher, and translator, started a school with 15 male students.[249]

Evidence suggests that Ugaassarmiut, like Severnovskie people, were Yup'ik speakers, or that they spoke a dialect on the language continuum between Central Yup'ik and Sugtestun.[250] They were people on the borderland and many people along the north coast of the Peninsula remember their parents' ability to converse with both Yup'ik speakers and Alutiiq speakers. Since the early 1800s, the Ugaassarmiut were known to travel to the Pacific to hunt sea otter and to trade caribou and walrus for amber and other Pacific Rim items.[251] By the late 1800s the village had long-established ties to both Katmai and Nushagak as Ugaassarmiut traded furs and walrus tusks at both Nushagak and Katmai trading posts which had been started by the Russian-American Company.[252] At Nushagak they attended church services, even bringing their children to be baptized and their fiancées to wed. They apparently acted as middlemen in the trade between the Nushagak and Kodiak, and they served as translators in early Russian explorations of Bristol Bay.[253] Ugashik and Katmai people traveled both winter and



Women cleaning fish on the Ugashik River in 1900. They are rinsing the fish in a hole dug in the sand and filled with water. Branches protect the clean fish from the ground. Courtesy of Dee Hunt and National Archives, RG 22-FFA-2552

summer through the Ugashik River system, across Lake Becharof, along the Kejulik River, and over the divide between Bristol Bay and the Pacific—indicating long-established ties. This trans-peninsula travel gave Ugaassarmiut access to an array of land and sea mammals unlike that pursued by Kodiak-dwelling Qikertarmiut. In Bristol Bay they hunted spotted seal, bearded seal, walrus, and beluga, all species unavailable in the Pacific. And they hunted the caribou herds that migrated past the inland settlements.

Ugashik was visited relatively frequently by the traveling priest. Father Modestov described his visit there in 1895. He was accompanied by 57 residents of Agishik:

> *There are up to 25 barabaras here. The residents are all Aleuts [Alutiiq]. There are up to 200 residents here in all. The chapel here was built as early as 1879, in the name of the Holy Trinity... everything is clean, there are enough icons, there*

Clerical-historical Description of Nushagak Mission, Aleut Diocese

~Father Modestov. 1898

In every village my main goal was to provide religious-moral lessons to the parishioners for their enlightenment in the faith and Christian way of life. This goal was pursued in addition to the administration of the treby[254] and regular church services such as morning and evening prayers, liturgies, public prayers, blessings with holy water, confession, holy communion, funeral services, services for the dead, baptisms and weddings.

To fulfill the main goal during and after church services and the treby, I talked about various concepts of Christian teachings trying to convey the essence of the faith in a form most accessible to the parishioners. Similar teachings were given after services in the church in the fall. During these sessions parishioners were taught prayers in Slavonic and in their own Aglemiut-Kuskokwim dialect. The meaning of Russian Orthodox rituals and church services was also explained to the parishioners.

After-service teaching sessions served as a means to fight the sin of drinking and debauchery. More than once I had to talk, beg and condemn my parishioners for not observing the sacredness of Sunday. Such vice is present in those villages where there are fishermen in the summer... White people and Chinese. ... Of course, there are only a few of such individuals indifferent to religion but even these few can be a temptation to the majority. In such cases in every village toyons and their sukashiqs [second chief] go to every barabara on Sundays and remind everybody to go to church.

I established a special kind of brotherhood in almost every village. Such fraternities usually consist of toyons of the village, their sukashiqs, a churchwarden or a chapelwarden, a reader and 2-3 elders. Their responsibility is mainly to persuade those who are subject to drinking or other sins to lead a sober and moral life, to remind them at every occasion about their Christian duties, and to condemn publicly in a chapel or in a communal kazhim those who do not listen to the fraternity in private. Young people who are subject to drinking, card playing, and debauchery are to be admonished first and then if they do not obey, they are to be punished by public condemnation: they are made to kneel in the chapel during some services. ... Due to such and similar measures, these fraternities have been able to save many people from vices and to return them to a moral and religious life.[255]

are church service books... The residents gave me a cordial welcome. They...were spruced up in holiday attire rather becomingly, cleanly, and in the Russian style: women in red sarafans and dresses, men in waistcoats and some in jackets; neither at this reception nor at church was anyone dressed in a parka seen. ... After donning a chasuble, I began to hold a prayer service of the Holy Trinity; all the worshippers sang, and rather well. Evfim Orlov, the nephew of deacon Orlov, is a permanent resident in Ugashek [sic]. He is a rather literate man who knows church regulations and church reading and singing very well. Through his efforts, the children [and] teenagers know the prayers and are acquainted with the alphabet, and only his own work hinders him from engaging in teaching.[256]

Ugashik became a source village for settlements that sprang up during the late 1800s and early 1900s. When Ugaassarmiut began to relocate, some residents left permanently and others returned after a short stay



Cape Kumlik, Aniakchak Bay. Michele Morseth photo, NPS.

away. Their reasons for leaving the Ugashik River and its rich supply of fish, caribou, and ready access to Bristol Bay are not entirely determined but apparently stem from displacement by cannery activities, food shortages, and practices of the local traders.

Ugashik became a source village for settlements that sprang up during the late 1800s and early 1900s. When Ugaassarmiut began to relocate, some residents left permanently and others returned after a short stay away. Their reasons for leaving the Ugashik River and its rich supply of fish, caribou, and ready access to Bristol Bay are not entirely determined but apparently stem from displacement by cannery activities, food shortages, and practices of the local traders.

In the 1880s a group of people moved south near the Seal Islands where Unangashak had been established sometime prior to 1880. Then, in 1889, at least 100 Ugaassarmiut moved to join those already settled. Their stay south was short, and by 1895 the population of Ugashik was higher than it had been in 20 years. Many of these people, however, did not return to the original Ugashik site. After the turn of the century, people moved to Bear River, Nelson Lagoon, the Chignik area, and Meshik.

On the Pacific Ocean side, Ugaassarmiut and Katmai Alutiiqs settled at Wrangell in Chiginagak Bay in the early 1880s. Other Ugaassarmiut regularly traveled to the Pacific to trade and participate in the sea otter hunting through Wrangell and the summer settlement at Sutwik Island.[257]

The salteries and canneries began operating at the Ugashik river in the 1880s but for the first decade Natives did not work in the industry. However, by 1895 Father Modestov found that 60 people had moved to the mouth of the river where salmon packing houses had started. Initially the Native village at Pilot Point was known as "New Ugashik" or Agishik.

After the 1919 flu epidemic struck the Ugashik River only orphans and a few adults remained. Ugashik was included in a list of chapels still in existence in 1919 but the 1920 census lists only one Native woman.[258] Many children were taken to distant orphanages. Ugashik River people appear in the 1920 U.S. Census at Bear River, Meshik, and Unangashak.

Agishik (Pilot Point)/Agissaq

The first Ugaassarmiut families to move to Agishik built four barabaras up on the hill at the mouth of the Ugashik River in 1895. The same year, Ugashik Fishing Station at the mouth of the river hired 22 Natives to work in the cannery.[259] The next year Father Modestov recorded 57 Aleuts in nine households at Agishik.[260] He arrived at the mouth of the Ugashik aboard the steamer President and "With the incoming tide all the settlement's residents and I set out from here to Ugashek settlement; on arrival a prayer service to the Holy Trinity was held."[261] Summer travel to Ugashik was easy but in winter it was often difficult to take elders and children upriver, and since the population was growing Agishik was soon in need of its own chapel. In 1896 providence conveyed the materials. Modestov explained:

> *Last fall high water from the sea washed many boards from shore at the cannery. The residents at Agishek recaptured part of them and used them to build a small house on the site where last year I celebrated the liturgy in a church tent and where*

the cross stood. The residents of Agishek asked me to petition for permission to open a chapel here. At 5 o'clock I celebrated the all night vigil and a prayer service to Church Teacher Nikolai with a blessing of the water and administered confession to 30 people.[262]

By the summer of 1897, 24 Natives and 102 Chinese worked in the Alaska Packers Association (APA) cannery at "Pilot Station" as it was then called.

The 59 fishermen working for APA were all Euroamerican.[263] As word spread about the volume of fish in the Ugashik drainage more packing houses started. The village was taking on its own character when the prayerhouse was finished and consecrated in 1899—Agishik was well on its way to becoming the primary residence for Ugaassarmiut who wished to engage in the fishing industry.[264] By 1900, 130 Ugaassarmiut had moved to Agishik, which became the main Ugashik River settlement.

The Agishik prayerhouse became the main chapel in the area and people still living in Ugashik traveled downriver to participate in church activities.[265] After the turn of the century, Euroamerican men began marrying into the village and settling there. Living at Agishik meant that locals could participate in the booming fishing industry and continue to trap, hunt, and fish up the Ugashik River and at Ugashik Lakes, at Fish Village and other small settlements. The influx of cannery workers also meant that alcohol became a problem in spite of the priest's efforts to curb its use. Agishek, like Ugashik, was hard hit by the 1919 influenza pandemic. The APA records and correspondence portray a bleak picture of events during the epidemic. The first cases were reported at Naknek on May 26 after the arrival of the APA steamer *Kvichak*.[266]

On May 30, I made a trip [from Naknek] to the Alaska Packers Association's Ugashik cannery, arriving there the same evening. It was found that the influenza had attacked the Ugashik natives, that practically the entire native population was stricken, also six of the white wintermen, and that one native had died the previous evening. Orders were issued to treat the natives at Ugashik with the same care and attention as those at Naknek; also to forbid anyone to leave or enter the Ugashik village.

...

On June 1, the chief nurse was sent to Ugashik with an additional supply of medicines, etc. While there, the chief nurse performed most excellent work in assisting the natives and the whites affected.

On June 4, report of twelve native deaths at Ugashik was received.[267]

The APA reports from Naknek and other Bristol Bay stations tell of calls to U.S. Navy ships in the area that went unanswered, U.S. Navy doctors refusing to help, and officers misrepresenting the situation to their superiors. Meanwhile, the APA superintendents took the initiative to supply food, clothing, and medical supplies to those who had contracted the disease. They set up hospitals for cannery employees and helped Natives in their homes. Superintendent Heinbockel sent the following aerogram to the U.S. Commissioner at Dillingham:

About eighty known died at Naknek. Adult population practically wiped out. Ugashik twenty-

one dead. Epidemic has not reached Upper Ugashik or Egegak villages yet. Assistance advisable should they be affected. Am giving all possible assistance at my command here and Ugashik. Nurses required to handle orphans. Will advise later what funds are required.[268]

The U.S. Navy ship the *S.S. Vicksburg* arrived at the Ugashik River on June 20, while the epidemic was at its height at the old Ugashik village. By the middle of July, mass graves held the canvas wrapped corpses of most of the Native population of the Ugashik River. Superintendent Heinbockel had agreed to transport orphans to Dillingham, and

on July 24 the [APA] Steamer Kodiak *took sixteen native orphans from the Upper and twelve from the Lower Ugashik village to Naknek where they were cared for at the company's orphanage. These, with sixteen orphans from Naknek were sent on the Steamer Kodiak to the Government hospital at Dillingham.*[269]

A list of chapels still in existence after 1919 reports that the population of Agishik died out during the epidemic.[270] By 1920 the population consisted of newly arrived people, there to work in the fishing industry.

Meshik/Port Heiden

The trip [from Ugashek to Inangashek] is very difficult: open sea, almost constant wind. Between Ugashek and Inangashek is Mashkhik Bay, located at the foot of an extinct volcano [Aniakchak]. This bay is the most dangerous on the whole route. It is rarely calm here and it is constantly choppy. One needs 4 to 6 hours to cross it. No small number of baidarkas and people have been lost here. This place sometimes detains travelers for a week or two, but we waited out the wind for only five hours [and arrived in Inangashek nine hours later].[271]



Children at Meshik around 1910. The boy second from the left is wearing caribou mukluks, traditional footwear for Bristol Bay. They are standing in front of a barabara, a new, frame house towers over it in the background. Courtesy of University of Washington Library, Elkinton Collection NA-3177.

Port Heiden and the adjacent Native village of Meshik lie on the eastern shore of Port Heiden or, as it was once called, Mashkhik Bay. They are the closest villages to Aniakchak caldera. When the clouds lift,

volcanic peaks dominate the skyline in what is otherwise a flat horizon of Bristol Bay and tundra lowlands. While local people place the old village of Meshik on a small, eroding spit near Port Heiden, locating it in historic documents can be confusing. Maps, Russian Orthodox priest's journals, and U.S. census records from the late 1800s place it south of its present location. These sources indicate a village south of Unangashak (see below and map 1.A) called variously Mashikh, Mashkhik, Mishik, and Meshik. Maps drawn in the 1800s and Porter's 1890 census map show Unangashak on the west of Port Heiden Bay, near the coast, and Meshik at the Seal Islands at the mouth of the Ilnik River where, by 1920, the village of Ilnik was built.[272] Petroff writes in the 1880 U.S. census report that Mashikh was at Port Moller on Entrance Point. In Russian Orthodox Church records from the Nushagak parish the village of "Mashkhik" is reported variously to be between Ugashik and Unangashak and to be 350 nautical miles from the Nushagak church, further away than Unangashak which is reported at 280 nautical miles.

Nushagak Parish documents rarely mention Mashkhik Bay. In 1891 when Father Shishkin was the traveling priest apparently no one lived there, although he was said to have traveled south of Ugashik only twice in his 15 years of service in the parish.[273] Father Modestov became the parish priest in 1896 and made efforts to visit the farthest reaches of the parish. In his yearly reports the only villages listed south of Cape Chichagof are "Ig'iashk [Egegik], "Ugashek," and "Inangashek" [Unangashak]. Modestov does not clarify the location of "Mashkhik Bay" in his travel report of a visit to a settlement in the area. In June 1896, on his way to Unangashak, Father Modestov was brought down the coast by steamer.

> *25 June, 1896. At 4 am we weighed anchor [at Ugashik River] and by 2 pm we arrived in Mashkhik Bay, where I and the American with the mail [he was carrying to San Francisco] were put ashore and the steamer went back to Nushagak. There was formerly a large settlement at Mashkhik Bay; now there are only two barabaras, ten residents, and those resettled here just last winter from Kog'ian [Koggiung]"*
>
> *27 June. At 4 o'clock we left Mashkhik settlement and traveled all day along the coast.*
>
> *28 June. At 10 am with the tide we entered the Inangashek River, where there is a settlement.*[274]

This Mashkhik Bay was probably the present day Port Heiden, which at that time was deep enough for ships to navigate. In 1898 Father Modestov again traveled through "Mashkhik Bay" without mentioning people living there. People in the Nushagak parish had experienced famine that winter and spring after fish stores had been spoiled and then people were ill with colds and flu. While there were no reported deaths from the lack of food, people may have moved to villages where food was available.[275] The 1900 census, after a lethal flu epidemic had struck the Nushagak parish and much of western Alaska, listed no village of Meshik or Mashikh. In 1905 the Orthodox church recorded residents of "Mashkik" and by 1907 they had built a chapel.

> *[There is a chapel] in Mashkhik settlement, which is on Bristol Bay, built in 1907 of American boards*

through the zeal of the residents. It is 350 [sic] nautical miles from the local [Nushagak] church. It is consecrated in honor of Church Teacher Nikolai the Miracleworker.[276]

Father Kashevarov provides the only detail on Mashkhik available after a visit in February 1908 when 32 adults and 10 infants took communion.

1 February. At 8 am I left [Agishek] for Inangashak settlement, where I arrived safely on Sunday the 3rd at noon [and conducted church services]. At 10 am [on 4 February] I left for Mashkhik settlement, where I arrived the same day at 2 pm.[277]

In the same report Kashevarov mentions George Albert's activities at the settlement at Port Heiden:

The chapel [at Mashkhik] was built on private [financial] means and donated to the residents of this settlement by the American George Albert, who lives in the settlement.[278]

George Albert lived in the Port Heiden area for many years. Around 1906 he brought several immigrants, Olaf Matson and George "Scotty" Irons among them, to the Port Heiden area on his two-masted schooner. They worked for Albert in the Port Heiden Packing Company. When he opened a trading post at Unangashak, Albert hired locals to work there, including at different times, Olaf Matson and Willie Zunganuk.

After the 1919 epidemic, Meshik was reported by the parish priest to have few residents.[279] The 1920 census included 13 "Eskimos" (Inupiat from the Nome area) and a family of six orphans, headed by a 17 year old boy and his sister. In 1925 a USGS survey crew visited and recorded four remaining families.[280]

Unangashak

Inangashek settlement is small, with six to seven barabaras and 50 residents in all. In Inangashek settlement there is a chapel in the name of the Apostles Peter and Paul. ... The residents of Inangashek are all Aleuts and are good Christians. Their chapel is not large, rather neatly decorated, and from everything it was noted that the residents love it very much. The residents welcomed me in the usual manner with the firing of guns, rather heartily. ... [I] learned from them that Fr. Vasilii Shishkin had consecrated the chapel in the name of Apostles Peter and Paul.[281]

By 1890, in Bristol Bay, the Nushagak Parish's southwestern boundary was the Unangashak River which the traveling priests rarely reached. Unangashak had been settled prior to 1880; 37 people were listed in the U.S. census that year. In 1889, after a visit to Ugashik where he found only 125 Russian Orthodox members, Shishkin reported that "close to 100 souls, have moved farther [from Ugashik] toward the sea to Inangashak[282] settlement, where they are planning to build a prayer house, whither it was not possible for me to go at present due to the difficulty of the trip."[283] His parishioners did, indeed, build a thatch-roofed chapel. In 1890 the census reported 190 people in Unangashak. However, by 1896 the village population during the priest's visit was only 52 and Ugashik's population had again risen.

Priests' visits were infrequent owing to the difficulty of making the trip:

I had not yet been in this settlement and priest Shishkin in his 15 years of service was here twice,

due to its distance from Nushagak and the difficulty of the trip. In the wintertime it is four to five days' travel from Ugashek to Inangashak, but there is no forest on the way and without firewood it is impossible on the winter trail. In the summertime constant south and southeast winds delay you and sometimes force you to sit by the sea and wait out the weather for seven or eight days. Only in the spring, and early spring at that, is it convenient to go from Ugashek to Inangashak, since then the ice in the sea holds back the waves, but at that time the ice does not allow you to go from Nushagak to Ugashek, since there is a mass of ice at the mouth of the Nushagak River until 20 or 25 May.[284]

Modestov visited in June of 1898, reporting that:

The residents are all Aleuts who have moved here from Ugashek due to an abundance of caribou. Their religious/moral life is the same as that of the Ugashek residents, they are good Christians. They live not badly, but they do not have cash in hand. From Ugashek a merchant will send them provisions and other goods, and receives furs from them. Therefore their chapel is very poor, but is kept clean.[285]

By 1902 a trading post had been established for the purpose of dealing in caribou skins. Natives were paid one dollar per skin which the trader sold for between two and five dollars. During the winter of 1902-1903 five hundred skins were sold at Unangashak. This did not prove to be a long lasting industry—the Alaska Game Act, which restricted sale of game animal pelts, was passed in 1902.[286]

The 1900 U.S. census mistakenly reported that the population was "Aglegmiut" even though it is clear that residents had moved down from Ugashik.

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Canneries were being built on the Ugashik River, and while some families moved to the cannery areas to work, others avoided the activity that canneries precipitated and the low wages they offered. By 1910 a number of Europeans and Americans had moved to Unangashak. Charles Johnson, his wife Katarina, and a family from California are recorded in the census. George Albert opened a store there also. Unangashak is included in a list of chapels still in existence in 1919.[287] The post-epidemic population of 20 is mainly from Ugashik but includes people born in Chignik, Katmai, Unangashak, and Port Heiden as well.

Ilnik

Ilnik was established prior to 1920 southeast of the Seal Islands at the mouth of the Ilnik River and was part of the Bel'kofski parish. The river supported a red salmon run and at one time Port Heiden Packing Company drove a pile trap near the mouth of the river. The fish were taken to Port Heiden for processing. Two families, Aleck and Mary Artemie and "Nickoli and Mary" were enumerated in the 1920 census. The Artemie's roots were in Kodiak and Ugashik, and their two oldest children were born in Katmai. The Artemie family had ties to Perryville and Chignik through Aleck's brother Willie and sister Dora. At some point, two Orloff brothers moved down from Pilot Point; Matt stayed in Ilnik while his

brother, Charlie, moved to Bear River. The O'Dimon family from Katmai, Maxie Willie, and Constantine families lived in Ilnik as well. Pauline "Pauluki" Willie delivered many babies at Ilnik.[288]

Ilnik was never a large village—only four houses and a chapel were built there. The lake system and open country between Ilnik and Chignik provided summer and winter travel routes between the two settlements. Aleck Artemie's niece, Christine Martin, can remember riding to Ilnik on a dog sled with her father when she was a little girl. A cabin at Black Lake provided a place to rest halfway across the portage. People also took baidarkas and even small skiffs across the portage; the marshy ground made it easy to either pole or drag lightweight boats across. In the 1950s the remaining population of Ilnik moved to Nelson Lagoon,[289] the Chignik area, and Port Heiden.[290]

Bear River

Oral accounts relate that Bear River was occupied as early as the turn-of-the-century, although census reports for 1900 and 1910 do not mention the village. By 1903 Rodionoff Artemie, born in Old Harbor, and his wife, Natalia Abrom Artemie, born in Ugashik, had moved from Chignik Lagoon area to Bear River.[291] Their daughter Dora was born that year. The family would return to the Chignik area by 1907. The Peninsular Packing Company had opened a saltery, although it did not operate in 1906. The coho salmon fishery in Bristol Bay had begun and there was reported to be a good coho run in Bear River in July and August. Trout were also abundant. Apparently at this time, residents had come from Ugashik and other villages up the Peninsula. When the Peninsular Packing Company closed, the superintendent of the Nelson Lagoon saltery lured some Bear River residents to move there by opening a store.[292] By 1920, the village was occupied by 22 people, almost exclusively Ugaassarmiut. "Chief Charlie Bear" Orloff, the church reader, was half Ugaassarmiut and married to a Ugaassarmiut. His family eventually moved to Nelson Lagoon. Other families, such as that of Rodionoff Artemie, moved to Chignik. In 1923 Bear River had 35 Orthodox residents.[293] Influenza apparently struck the village in 1934 when 29 people may have died.[294] The Russian Orthodox Church was still standing in the 1970s.

Pacific Villages

Kanatak/Kanataq and Wide Bay

> *28 August. In the morning there was still wind, but it was weak. At 2 o'clock we arrived at the village in Wide Bay. Here the Aleuts had resettled not long ago, in the last two years, the majority being arrivals from the Nushagak parish, the village of Ugashik, fleeing from stewards of the trading company nearer to the sea where valuable sea otters can be found. They told me that the agents of the company so underrated sales that without any scales they give for a fox a cup of tea. ...Of all the inhabitants in Wide Bay and the others of Kanatnoi [Kanatak], which is also near to Wide Bay, there are at the present time 43 people. There still being no chapel, we asked permission to build one. Meetings took place under the open sky; in the place of the meetings stands two lecterns and a cross.... For services the Aleuts put together from new clean*

Afognak Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos (historical and statistical description.) External Sketch [Parish]

~Nikolai P. Kashevarov, 1898

The Afognak parish [includes] ... also several settlements on the Alaska Peninsula. The furthest of them, Wrangell, has a distance from the parish church of 180 miles. It was founded in 1882, and two years later the inhabitants built a chapel there named for the Transfiguration of the Lord. Next, resettled people from the interior of Alaska [Peninsula], namely from Nushagak parish, foreigners, brought into being in 1890 two settlements...at Shirokaia [Wide] Bay and at Kanatnyi [Kanatak] Bay; the distance from the parish church is 160 miles. Even nearer to the parish church, at a distance of 127 miles, is located the settlement of Katmai. Here the first chapel was built by the manager Ioann [Ivan] Kostylev. It was he who disposed the first Aleuts to adopt the Orthodox faith. ...

Communication with all of these settlements located on the Alaska Peninsula is extremely difficult, inasmuch as one must cross by baidarkas extremely large bays along the very rough Shelikhov Strait. The climate in this part of the Afognak parish is harsher than on the actual island, and the soil is completely useless for vegetation. On the island last named is possible. It is all covered with spruce woods. ...[295]

boards two tables, which we sprinkled with holy water, and on the holy cross we supplied the form of the Savior. At 5 o'clock we anointed the children, and at 6 o'clock we conducted a vespers vigil. The place of the service was on a peninsula; on two sides the sea and all around snow-covered mountains. During the blessing all kneeled. The sun set in the mountains, the sunset turning crimson. It was completely quiet.[296]

Kanatak was first reported in the U.S. census in 1890 when 26 residents were counted; five years later, Shalamov counted 43 residents of Wide Bay and Kanatak combined. In contrast, confessional records for Wide Bay in 1895 indicate 31 males and 20 females, while Kanatnaia (Kanatak) had 20 males and 24 females.[297] The Russian Orthodox Church was granted land at both sites in 1867.[298] Kanatak and Wide Bay were both affiliated with Ugashik and the late summer/autumn fish camp at Marraatuq. From Wide Bay the walk and kayak over to the Ugashik area is relatively easy, as Nick Ablama explained a century later:

They would carry [their qayaqs] over land. They say they would begin bringing their qayaqs up at break of dawn. They would come to this river [Quqtarvik/King Salmon] and travel down the river. They would go down the river and by the time they reach the mouth of the river the cannery's noon bell would sound off. They would begin [near the headwaters] perhaps 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning and arrive here at noon. They were hunting and looking for food. The reindeer and bear meat was the food source for these [Ugaassarmiut] people.[299]

By 1895, a chapel had been built and the Alaska Commercial Company was operating a station in Wide Bay—its schooner *Lettie* was taking the hunters out to an unnamed destination.[300] Few records for the trading store have survived, but for 1897, 24 hunters are listed with outstanding debts. A few are identified as Katmai residents; one is from Kodiak. Further research might reveal where others were from. The hunt that year was poor and only two hunters caught each a single sea otter. In May of 1900, the Wide Bay chief, Constantine Ugvak (Yougvak), wrote a letter in Russian to the local agent. A translated version was forwarded to the Kodiak office as:

He is sorry to say that he was unable to make his people to go hunting on the 'Lettie' should they have known before hand that they were to go on the schooner they might [have] got ready but at the present are not in position to leave their families alone, he also has been at the Ugashek to get the people from there but couldn't get them to come.[301]

In 1900, 27 people in six households were recorded at Kanatak. The families were: Chief Ugvak's, three Kalmakoffs, one Agiak, and one Choaban. In 1902, Father Martysh found only four barabaras at Kanatak:

The inhabitants number 23, of whom 13 are men and 10 are women. All are related to each other. Kananaja Bukhta [Kanatak Bay] was formerly famous for the otters and even this year they succeeded in catching three. Its inhabitants sell their catch to the Americans [exploring for oil] at Kholodnaia Bukhta [Puale Bay?]. The chapel was built of driftwood, is small and quite poor. There was $50.00 in the chapel treasury. With this entire sum they bought from us candles, crosses, icons, and incense, such that they had not a cent left of their cash. The psalmist position here is occupied by the



Barabaras and a baidarka (kayak) on a rack at the old village of Kanatak, pre-1912. The village was settled by Katmai and Ugashik people and by 1901 they had a small chapel. Seal skin covered baidarkas were used into the 1930s. Kanatak underwent two periods of growth which changed its character. The first, when frame houses were built for people who left Katmai and Douglas after the 1912 eruption, and the second, when hundreds of people moved in to search for oil. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Capps Collection 83-148-2240.



Sod and frame house in the Native village of Kanatak, circa 1920. After the Katmai eruption, people from Katmai, Puale Bay, and other small settlements moved to Kanatak and new frame houses were built next to the old barabaras. The two men are unidentified. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Mather Collection 82-149-2240.

Opposite:
The main street of New Kanatak. An oil boom brought hundreds of people to Kanatak, including Charles Madsen whose store can be seen in the photo. A new town grew up across the creek from the old village. Boarding houses, bars, general stores, a post office served both communities. A road to Becharof Lake, and horse drawn wagons, provided easy access to the lake and thus the fishery at Egegik. The boom lasted only from 1920 to 1926 when most of the oil exploration was over. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Mather Collection 82-178-69.

literate Aleut Ruf, who speaks a little Russian. ... The general impression of [Kanatak Bay] I had was quite good, but still on the return trip I found out, that here is a nest of drunkenness and every disgrace....

On the third day from my arrival...Toward evening we got to Shirokaia [Wide] Bay. Here several years ago there was a small settlement. But when otter hunting ceased, the inhabitants, abandoning their barabaras and the chapel, headed north. The icons and books from this chapel I gave to Wrangell and Kanatnaia Bukhta [Kanatak Bay], but the money in the treasury, $5.00, I used for the building of the Afognak church.[302]

The first wave of oil exploration kept the Wide Bay store and post office operating during the summers, but Kanatak became the main Alutiiq village. People from Wrangell moved there. Chief Reuff was born in Ugashik; Peraskevia (in Russian Paraskeva or Praskoviia), his wife, was from Wrangell. As fish processing plants were built in Bristol Bay and at Chignik Bay, Kanatak residents added a new element to their seasonal round. From Kanatak, the lake systems of Ugashik and Becharof provided access to Naknek, Egegik, and Ugashik canneries. A few people traveled down the Pacific coast to Chignik Bay.[303] Katmai residents moved in around 1912 and new frame houses

were built next to the traditional site. The oil boom hit in 1920 and a new town arose. The oil exploration lasted a mere six years. Still, for almost 20 years Kanatak had a school, post office, and store. Eventually, without oil or fish the town could not sustain itself. As Kanatak lost its school, post office, and employment opportunities people began going back and forth between Egegik, Ugashik, and the Chigniks in order to commercially fish and work in the canneries. In 1952, the Russian Orthodox Church listed ten people remaining who "counted themselves as the last."[304] At least two families, that of Nick Shanigan and that of Pete Boskovski, stayed until 1954 or 1955. When Nick and Mary Shanigan's children became of school age it became necessary for them to spend winters in Egegik, where they had fished each summer. This was about 1955. They did not, however, move all of their household goods or prized possessions to Egegik as they considered Kanatak as their home.

Wrangell

> *Wrangel Village is still young [in 1895]—having endured only 13 summers, since barabaras had been provided here first. The inhabitants are settlers from*



the Nushagak parish. They are attracted to the sea by sea otters, and they remain in the place where they were born through poverty and because of the oppressive steward of the company in the Nushagak District. Resettlement up to now has not ceased, but grows and grows. The Aleuts here are healthy, strong, handsome, vigorous, no drunkenness or sickness, births over two years are double the deaths. Few speak Russian, though there is literacy. Prayers are known only poorly, quarrels and fights are almost unknown. I asked them about this and they naively answered that fights are between the Russians. At 5 o'clock we anointed the children, buried the dead and solemnly consecrated new icons; prayers were offered for the whole chapel.[305]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Wrangell was the closest village to Aniakchak Bay. It was an active community and a center for the Sutwik Island sea otter hunt.

The village began as Kuiukuk or Kuyuyukuk and was identified by Petroff as a settlement of 18 people at "Kuiukuk" on Cape Providence west of Port Wrangell.[306] The bay was mentioned by Chief Manager M.D. Teben'kov (1845-1850) in his Atlas and shown on Chart XXIV. Port Wrangell Bay was named for Chief Manager of the Russian-American Company (1830-1835), later admiral of the Russian Navy, F.P. Wrangell. It was identified as the only safe harbor along the coast but Teben'kov gave no indication that people lived there.[307] In 1895 Shalamov indicated that the village of Wrangell was on Cape Kuyuyukuk, known locally as Wrangell Point.[308] The association with the village of Wrangell and the bay by the same name to the north has caused some confusion. It seems likely that the village of Kuiukuk was located at Wrangell Bay at one time, but by 1882 all evidence places the village of Wrangell on the west side of Chiginagak Bay.[309] Residents may have moved to be near the Alaska Commercial Company station. The bay was considered by Russian Orthodox traveling priests to be a difficult place to land:

The region was mountainous...the vegetation is stunted, no forests, desolately bare stone and snow in the mountains. A dreary, harsh, cheerless region! ...The village is located near the open ocean. When there is wind it is dangerous for ships to stop here: rocks, island-cliffs, reefs and shoals all around.[310]

By about 1885, people from the Kodiak and Nushagak parishes (most likely Ugashik and Katmai) were reported to live at Wrangell where they had a chapel and an Alaska Commercial Company station.[311] Resident hunters traveled to Sutwik Island to hunt sea otters. Hunters from Ugashik who traveled seasonally to join the hunt, rather than going through Wide Bay and down the coast, traveled up the Dog Salmon River and portaged over the mountains, across the northern flanks of Mt. Chiginagak, and down to the sea at Chiginagak Bay.[312] Porter described that 59 "Kodiak Eskimo" and three "Creole" residents "have their sod huts on the mainland [at Wrangell] as well as on the island of Sutkhum, or Sutwik, for sea otter hunting."[313] The Russian Orthodox Church listed 29 males and 20 females in the settlement's first confessional list in 1893.[314]

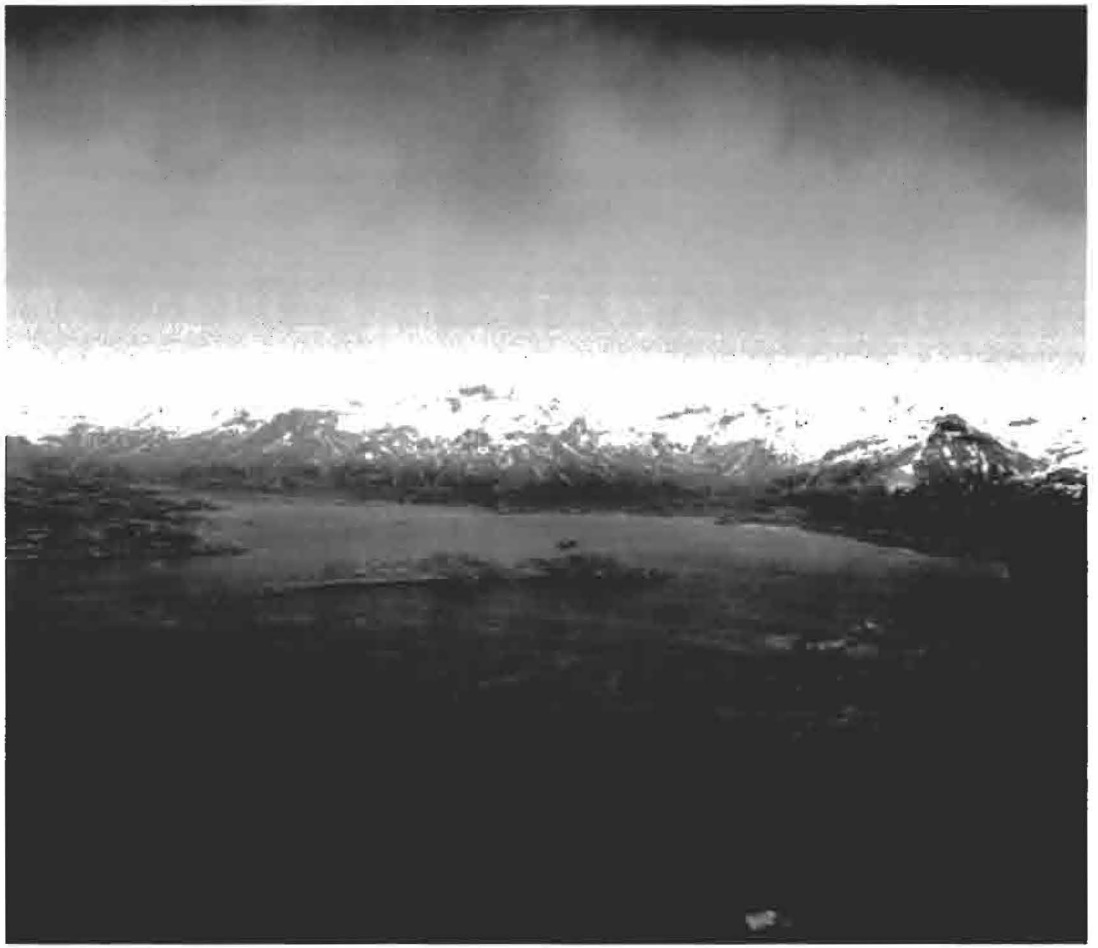
By the 1890s, the trading post was drawing Americans who were trapping along the coast. Both the resident population of over 80 Orthodox residents and other people hunting in the area used the store to trade and



Men wearing ground squirrel parkas at Wrangell village in Chigninagak Bay on the Alaska Peninsula. This photo may be of the Wrangell Station of the Alaska Commercial Company, circa 1900. Wrangell was settled in 1882 and was used as a base for sea otter hunting operation at Sutwik Island. Courtesy of the National Archives, RG22-B5350; Dee Hunt researcher.

buy supplies, yet the sea otter hunting was poor. Wrangell residents began traveling to Chignik Lagoon to salt fish.[315] Increasing numbers of white hunters were bringing in and presumably getting prime prices for what the agent describes as: "Sea Otter, large Spring Bear, first class Fox Red, & Land Otter." The Wrangell hunters were being sent to winter on "Chenniklook [?] Islands" and to hunt at Sutwik and Cold Harbor (Puale Bay).[316] Sea otter hunters from the Alaska Commercial Company and Nikolai Olgin's party drowned "from severe storms" near Sutwik that winter.[317] In the summer of 1897, the hunters had no furs with which to repay the Alaska Commercial Company and that winter they had few furs from winter trapping to offer in payment of more than $3000.00 they owed collectively.[318] Wrangell parishioners did, however, have some cash, and the Company agent observed that the heavily indebted "Wrangell People bought & paid to the Priests last year $30.00 for a Holy Picture."[319] Their chief was Simeon Hochikungack [Chigunykh].[320]

The Alaska Commercial Company finally closed the store in 1900 when agent Frank Lowell went to Semidi Islands to try his hand at fox farming. Nearly half of the population left, and in 1902 only 32 people



remained. The population remained stable for the next decade. In 1907, despite the small population, a new chapel was built in Wrangell, "on the villagers' donations and with their zeal."[321]

Later, people from Wrangell moved to Kanatak, Chignik, and Ugashik. One family that moved to Chignik was Vasilii and Stephanita Muguviknak [Ashvignak]and their children, Ioann and Nikolai. Nikolai, after being educated at Unalaska, became church reader at Chignik. The village buildings were collapsed and burned after remaining residents died during the 1919 flu pandemic. Chignik residents remember seeing the alter table standing at the old village site into the 1970s.

Sutkhum

Sutwik Island, just off the coast of Cape Kumlik and Aniakchak Bay, was the center of a century-long sea otter hunting activity which ended in 1900. Sutkhum was a Russian artel set up under Baranov's administration in the 1790s. Voronkovskii reported that the artel was on the mainland in 1831 but it also may have been on the island at times; it is likely that the main artel and village were on the mainland and the hunters were supplied at the islands during the sea otter hunt.[322] The outpost oversaw and supplied the hunt near Sutwik Island. Baranov reported that there were no Native people in the area when the Russian-American Company set up its outpost; after it was abandoned by the Company, apparently around 1840, people continued to live in the area. Pinart found a few remaining people on Cape Kumliun in 1871, and Petroff reported that there were 25 "Eskimo" in 1880.[323] These were certainly Alutiiq.

The Alaska Commercial Company ran a station called "Sutkhum" in records from 1878-1884 and "Sutwik Bay" (the western part of what present day maps show as Kujulik Bay) in records remaining from 1894-1897. By the time the Company set up its trading post, Sutkhum appears to have been more of a place where hunters seasonally went for the hunt

rather than a village where families resided. The Company had a large investment in Sutkhum where it ran the seasonal store, outfitted hunters, and bought or traded sea otter and other furs. In 1882, the trading post was clearly on Cape Kumliun. The agent Grigorii Panshin, a Russian or Creole, bought only a few furs in 1882 and wrote to Kodiak that there are "no [resident] hunters," he requested that at least three families be sent to stay there. Hunters from Wrangell, Afognak, Katmai, Kodiak, and Ugashik traded at Sutkhum.

Kodiak hunters who were apparently not working for the Company, were reported to be wintering on the Island even though Company agents thought that if people spent the winter on Sutwik Island the sea otters would not come near the shore. In a letter from Lowell to Washburn, the Alaska Commercial Company manager in Kodiak, Kodiak hunters are directly implicated in the failure of the company posts:

> *the Station this Year does not pay Expenses...the small Stations not making anything, (all Accts) & no catch to be got from Sutwik Island since the Kodiak Parties have commenced to Winter there, leaves this Station without any way to pay Exps.*[324]

The Company encouraged hunters to winter on the mainland at Sutkhum or Wrangell settlements. An independent trader, Nikolai Olgin, was bringing his schooner to Sutwik Bay and over-wintering with his own group of hunters, probably from Unga where he was then residing. They had built barabaras and also used tents. Olgin offered much better trading deals to the hunters—paying more for furs and selling goods at lower prices.[325]

Katmai hunters and Olgin's activities suggest establishment of other encampments in the vicinity of Sutkhum as well. The sites would have been occupied around 1900. Trappers who lived in Amber Bay in the 1930s remember seeing old house remains and Russian Orthodox crosses at the mouth of one of the rivers flowing into Amber Bay. Cape Kumlik and Kujulik Bay are also likely places for historic sea otter hunting camps.

Chignik Lagoon area—Nikolaevskoe

> *Next year [1897], if God grants, [Nikolai] Ol'gin promises to take me on his schooner to Mitrofania settlement and also to Chernik [Chignik]. Chernik is 150 miles from Unga Island and 50 miles from Mitrofania. The objective of acquiring a prayerhouse in Chernik is that in the summertime residents from various places—Mitrofania settlement, Little Ugachek of the Nushagak parish, Wrangell of the Kodiak parish, and other places—gather here to salt fish (there are fish-salting factories here—canneries).*[326]

Aleksin, who was the parish priest for Belkofski Parish between 1894-1905[327], had heard that the hunters of Chignik and "Little Ugashik" had collected 20 bearskins to acquire a prayer house, and when he visited in 1897 he found a group of "Koniag Aleut" speakers who had not been visited by a priest since 1882. They lived in what he describes as driftwood houses roofed with thatch in four or five settlements on Chignik Lagoon and along the Chignik River. Aleksin relied on Olgin, a Creole from Kodiak, to translate into Sugtestun. By the time he arrived they had built a chapel which he consecrated Sv. Nikolai

Opposite:
Chiginagak Bay. Wrangell village was situated at the west end of the bay. A portage went up the valley, over the eastern flanks of the volcano, to Ugashik. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Capps Album 83-149-3086.



Two women and two children in front of a tent at Chignik, circa 1909. These Russian Orthodox women's caps indicate they are married. It is late summer when salmon are hung to dry on racks. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Flamen Ball Collection, PCA 24-103.

Opposite:
Chief Alexie Angukung with two boys, Luka and Andrew "Antlie" (last name unknown). The barabara is covered with cotton trap webbing. Luka, the boy on the left, died of tuberculosis at a young age. Chief Alexie was attacked by a bear circa 1941. With his chest and arm ripped open he was cared for in the village for a few days until a ship could take him to the hospital where he recovered. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Chisholm Collection, PCA 105-3.

Mirlikiiskii [St. Nicholas of Myra and Lycia] the Miracleworker.[328] They lacked the money to purchase church supplies so Aleksin requested permission to sell them items at cost. He reported that Chignik people lived solely off trading bear and fox skins. Other Alutiiq, however, had begun to travel to Chignik from Wrangell, Unangashak, and Mitrofania to work at the salteries in Chignik Lagoon and at Anchorage Bay. The church register recorded a population of eight Creoles in one house, and 45 Aleuts and Aglurmiuts in nine houses.[329] Church services were led by Mikhail Nikolaev Tulutak, and chapel trustees were Vasilii Ashvignak [Muguviknak], Artemii Rodionov Ushagkak, and Simeon Martinov Ilalishknakh.[330] Aleksin asked to send a boy, Nikolai Ashvignak, to the school in Unalaska.[331]

The toion of Nikolaevskoe, as the new village was named, was Konstantin Vasil'ev Kaechnev. Once Aleksin started his yearly visits, Chignik parishioners began sending runners to nearby villages to get parishioners to come for church services. Residents of the Peninsula villages, were highly mobile:

> *Nineteen people came from Mitrofania settlement in baidarkas via the portage to fulfill their Christian duty, and from Inagashek settlement of Nushagak parish 32 people came, also in baidarkas via a portage, who on the way suffered from a shortage of food—bad weather detained them a whole six days. Inagashek settlement is located 200 miles [sic] from Chignik [Chignik Lagoon], so that via the portage with a favorable wind they reach Chignik in three days.*[332]

By 1897, the steamship was making regular trips to Anchorage Bay and Chignik Lagoon. Aleksin traveled to Nikolaevskoe via the cannery. By then the number of residents had grown from 49 to 92 people. Aleksin wrote to Dean of Clergy Kedrovskii in Unalaska:

> *[I]n a general meeting they all declared that if the batiushka [priest] will come to them every year and teach them the word of God, they will give up their itinerant life and remain until death in Chignik.*

Therefore, I most humbly ask you to petition the diocese authorities to issue at least a little monetary aid for this purpose and then I could, given convenient opportunities, visit the settlement once per year.[333]

Chignik Bay was a growing area and canneries continued to draw people, Natives and Euroamericans alike. In 1901 the priest offered confession to 150 people, including 16 from Mitrofania and 25 from Unangashak.[334] Mikhail Ivanov Iakunak, servitor, worked diligently to teach the children prayers.

In 1903, a summer school opened on the south side of the lagoon where families headed by Euroamerican men had begun a new settlement. Kedrovskii reported that:

There are 20 students—children of both sexes. All of them are Russian Orthodox and are children of Creole women who are married to Americans. The school is small but clean. Children are taught by a teacher [female] who is Methodist. On Sundays there are praying gatherings. According to parents (mothers), these gatherings do not harm Orthodoxy. I asked the teacher to accept native children as well. She replies: "I would be glad but there is not enough room." By the way, all students confessed and accepted communion. Only two Americans, heads of the household, did not let their families go to church.[335]

In 1906, 43 Creoles in 14 houses were listed on the south side of the lagoon. All household heads were Euroamericans: Harris, Morris, Lindholm, Oliver, Johnson, Gaaf, Beilin, Brown, Moore, Erikson, Edward, Erikson, Anderson, and Brandal. Seventy-seven "Aleut/Aglomiuts" lived on the north side of the lagoon at the old village where St. Nicholas chapel stood.[336] To attend services parishioners paddled and rowed from the settlement across Chignik Lagoon and from four Orthodox settlements along the Chignik River. Many also traveled from the villages of Wrangell, Unangashak, and Mitrofania. Nikolai Ashvignak and Vasilli Stepanov, both back from school at Unalaska, were readers at the church. Throughout these years the Belkovski parish priests were using a Koniag interpreter.



The lagoon itself became an early geographical boundary between the new community of immigrant men married to local women, and the local Native community. The distinction between the two communities was soon evident since, for many families, establishment of a separate community meant a rejection of Native culture and, for some, Russian Orthodoxy.

Over the next 13 years, Chignik Lagoon continued to support two villages. The south side became a permanent year-round village with school, health clinic, and airstrip. Few of the original residents of

Research in the Russian Orthodox Church records indicates that "Chignik Bay" referred to Chignik, and "Chignik" referred to Chignik Lagoon.[337]

the north side survived the 1919 epidemic.[338] The old village was abandoned, but southwest of it, near the cannery, summer settlements were established by families that wintered at trapline and hunting camps. Later, sites along the northern side of Chignik Lagoon became summer fish-camps for Chignik Lake residents.

Chignik Bay—Vvedenskoe—Andersonville

> *[June 1909. We arrived in Chignik at 10am and were met by the people on the shore. They took us in a boat to Vvedenski village which is half an hour away on the other side of the bay.] The village consisting of 2-3 barabaras was founded about ten years ago. In 1907/8 upon the priest's requests, the inhabitants built a church in the name of the Entry [vvedeniye] of Virgin Mary into the Temple. Since then the village has grown. Orthodox from Nushagak mission and Afognak parish moved here. People from other villages are also settling down here since there is a number of local conveniences. There is a lot of fuel in the area and it is close at hand; there is an ample supply of salmon; there are stores and a post office, and two fish canneries where people can get jobs. There is a doctor and the priest visits this settlement every year. Eskimos, Aglemiuts and creoles do not have such conveniences in their old places and, therefore, are settling down in Chignik abandoning their old residences.*[339]

In the 1890s, two canneries, Hume Brothers and Hume Company and Pacific Steam Whaling Co., began operating in Anchorage Bay. Ten Native employees worked at these two canneries in 1900. By 1906, the new settlement in Anchorage Bay had four barabaras "laid out on the shore of the bay opposite the cannery" near the steamship dock.[340] Because the priest was now traveling on the steamship Dora which docked at the cannery, he advised the residents to build a chapel. The priest had hopes that this area would become the central village of the mid-Pacific coast of the Peninsula:

> *The idea [for the new chapel] was received with delight. The people express the hope that with construction of a chapel the local Orthodox, who are scattered everywhere, will group to live here permanently.*[341]

By 1907, Vasilii Nikiferof had built the new chapel; in June it was consecrated in the name of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin [Vvedenie Bozhiei Materi vo Khram], and the settlement came to be called Vvedenskoe. Martin Knagan, was elected both toion and church elder [starosta]. S. Mugavignak was the new servitor and Creole Artemii Rodionov (age 41), and his family agreed to move from the St. Nicholas chapel in Chignik Lagoon to be church reader. From the beginning, the settlement comprised Native and Creole households. Later, when George and Ocelena Anderson moved there with their children, it became known as Andersonville.

Mitrofania

> *[9 August 1895 left Unga aboard Ol'gin's schooner for Mitrofania, arrived 11 August due to lack of wind.] The Mitrofania residents are all Kodiak Creoles, they live not badly. Their little houses are covered with straw (like Russian yurts), they are clean and warm. Almost all speak Russian well. At the wish of the residents of Mitrofania settlement, I took a 10-year-old boy [Vasilii Ivanov Stepanov] to raise, whom the Unalaska Dean of Clergy*

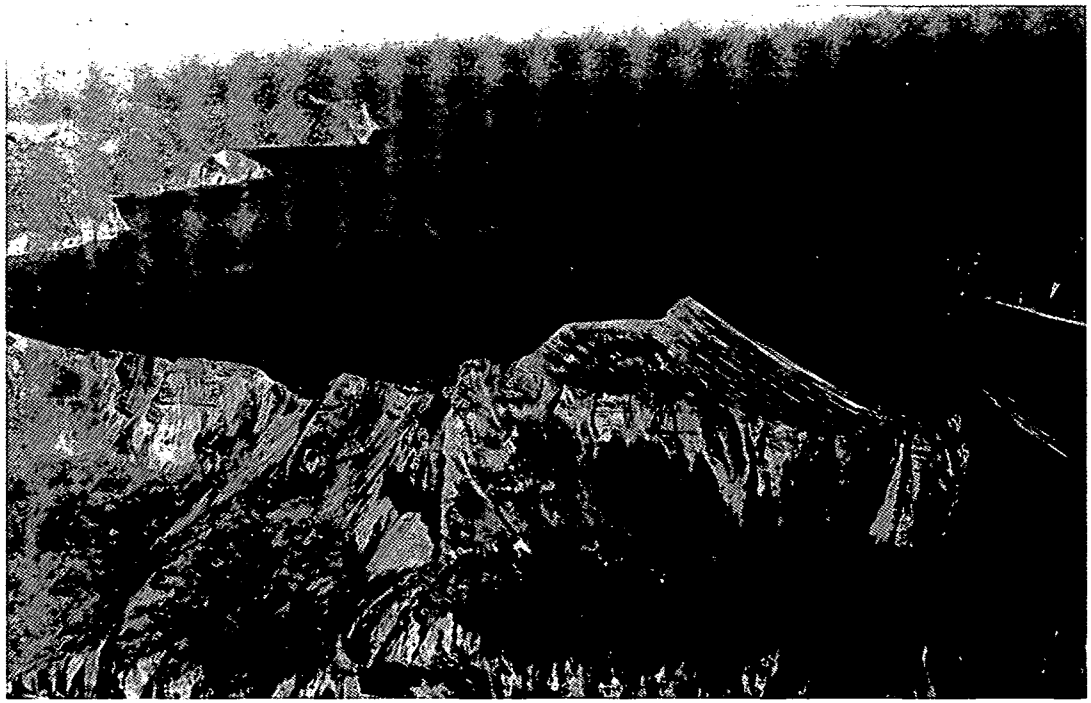


Beach in front of Vvedenski or "Andersonville" in Anchorage Bay, circa 1909. This three hole kayak or baidarka has paddles on deck and a bundle of gear next to it. Baidarkas were used until the 1930s by Natives although wooden boats like the one in the background became increasingly into use. This photo was taken near the Andre family home. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Ball Flamen, PCA-24-99.

> *accepted into the Unalaska parish two-class school on 25 September for education and preparation to serve the Mitrofania chapel.*[342]

In 1880, Petroff reported that 22 "Creoles" from Kodiak had established the village of Mitrofania. They may have been pensioned Russian-American Company employees and their families.[343] The village site had a sheltered harbor and offered many benefits to the newcomers. Herring Lagoon was used as an anchorage for schooners during the years of hunting when sea otter swam amongst the small islands and reefs near the village. Sea lion rookeries dotted the islands nearby and the shore provided ample places to fish and trap fur-bearers. Mitrofania was rarely visited by the Belkovski priest although Father Aleksin, who traveled quite extensively, reported that:

> *The chapel is in the name of St. Mitrofan the Miracleworker; it was built of old lumber by Nikolai*



Mitrofania Bay provided a safe harbor for schooners and a rich source of sea mammals. The village of Mitrofania was established around 1880 by "Kodiak Creoles." Photo courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Capps Album 83-149-3060.

> *Ol'gin in 1881...The Mitrofania Creoles all speak Russian fairly well, live according to the Church.... They are not given to drunkenness and therefore they are all healthy and tall. They raise their children to be god-fearing and nearly all the adults know the primary prayers, the Creed and Our Father.... I administered confession and communion to 12 men, 9 women, and 12 children and infants; but according to the confessional list I compiled, there are 50 residents in all.*[344]

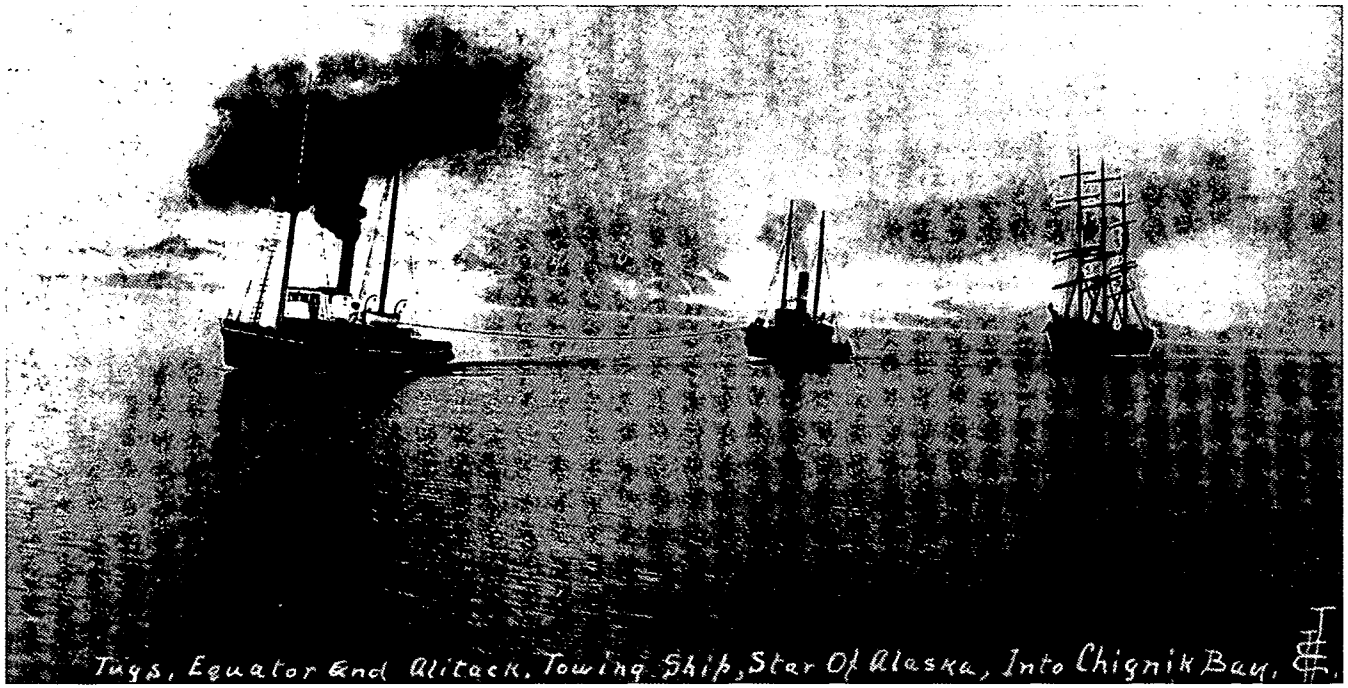
In a report to Bishop Nikolai of Alaska in 1895, Aleksin described his arrival in Mitrofania: "The people, catching sight of the flag from afar and having recognized the schooner...[with] the promised and long expected batiushka [priest], began to fire guns and revolvers and to ring the little chapel bell. On shore all the residents, large and small, approached for a blessing."[345] By the late 1890s, many Mitrofania residents were spending summers in Chignik Bay where they attended church, and Aleksin was traveling on the coastal steamers which did not stop at Mitrofania. At least one family, the Stepanoffs, continued to use their summer camp "seven miles from Mitrofania" where they had a prayer house.[346]

The Alaska Commercial Company had a small post in Mitrofania from 1894 to 1898.[347] The goods came through Wrangell Station, but the store was shut down when the accounts were transferred to Wrangell.[348] Among the people of Mitrofania, as in many communities, music was an important part of life. The account books in Wrangell include an entry from 1892 when Gregoria Ivanich Millivak ordered and paid for an Imperial accordion to be delivered to Mitrofania.[349]

In 1890, 49 people lived at Mitrofania. But over the next decade the population halved when some of the Stepanoffs, and Morris, the Company agent, and Harris moved to Chignik permanently. Oscar Lind[holm] and his wife, Annie, lived in Mitrofania but they too moved to Chignik in 1904. When the first group of Kodiak Creoles moved to Mitrofania, they spoke Russian and Sugtestun. By 1906 Aleksin lamented that the young people did not understand the church Slavonic as their parents did.[350] The Stepanoffs started working and attending church in Chignik and eventually moved there. The other main family, the Phillips', relocated to Perryville. Both families have many descendants still living on the Peninsula.

Chapter six

Industrialization—Fisheries, Mining, & Oil Exploration



Alaska Packers Association square-rigger, Star of Alaska *arrives laden with groceries and goods for Chignik, as well as crew and equipment for the fishing season. Each year from 1905 to 1929, the steel hulled, fast-sailing ship anchored in Chignik Bay in early April. The crew spent the spring and summer working for the cannery. Not until September, when all the salmon was packed, did the ship return to San Francisco with salmon and crew. The ship, bearing her original name,* Balclutha, *has been restored and is a National Historic Landmark, administered by the National Park Service. She is docked in San Francisco at the Hyde Street Pier. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, 74-175-386.*

Sea otter parties are fitted out in nearly every village, and are frequently taken to distant hunting grounds in sloops and schooners. The old men and youths remain at home and employ their time profitably in hunting bears and trapping foxes, principally of the black and the cross variety. The salmon fishery is increasing in volume with astonishing rapidity.

~Petroff, 1900

After Alaska became a U.S. territory it was opened up for exploration and commercial ventures. The fur industry was among the first to expand but once the salmon industry began it increased quickly, probably even more quickly than census enumerator Petroff imagined. Entrepreneurs and adventurers also came looking for gold and other metals, oil, coal and whatever else they could lay claim to and profit from. Perhaps unimagined was the impact the fishing and



Chignik Bay and the Nor'Western Fisheries cannery, circa 1910. To the right of the ship's masts, the old village, where the Russian Orthodox Church stood, and which became known as Andersonville, is visible. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, 74-175-443.

other industries were to have on the indigenous population of the Peninsula.

The Salmon Industry

From 1884 to 1900 the pack of Alaska salmon more than doubled each year, and the entry of Native people into the industry proceeded slowly but with certainty. Early on, government agents expressed concern that, between the salmon industry take and Alaska Native's use of fresh and dried salmon, salmon stocks would be threatened.[351] Special Agent Kutchin wrote in 1900 that "many of the best informed fishermen give the fishery but a brief lease of life, some putting the limit as low as ten years."

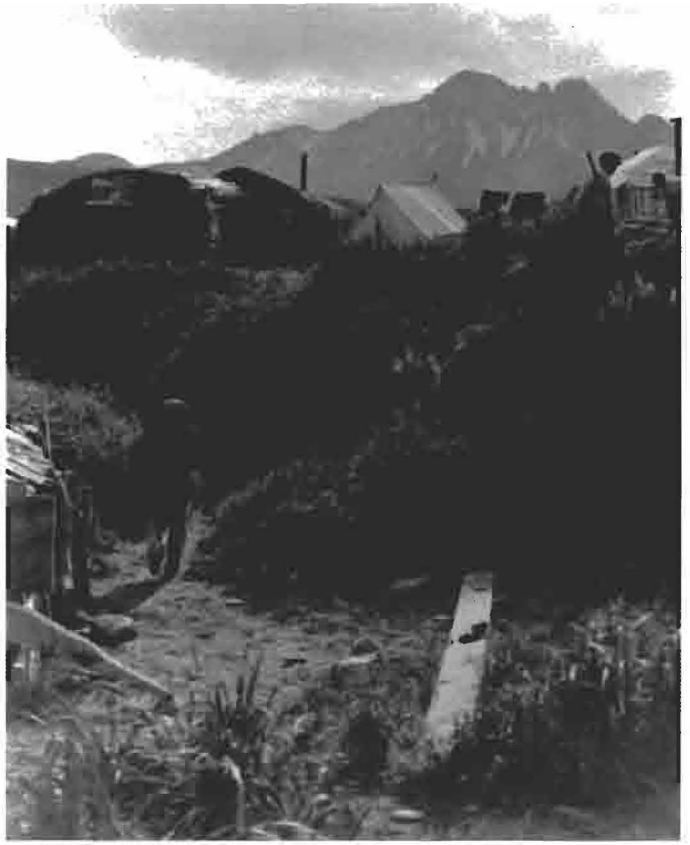
The two largest fish runs near Aniakchak are the Chignik and the Ugashik rivers, both of which had had high concentrations of indigenous peoples at one time. By 1883 salteries were operating in both places and the word about salmon soon spread. The Alaska Packers Association built one of the first large canneries in Chignik Lagoon in 1889. Two additional canneries, Pacific Steam Whaling Company and Hume Brothers and Hume Company, were operating out of Chignik by 1896. Once the Ugashik fishery was discovered, ship-based and shore-based packing companies flocked to the area. The Bering Sea Packing Company began a saltery in 1891, and then Alaska Packers Association began salting fish and buying up the other companies in 1895 when it built a Ugashik River cannery at Pilot Station (now Pilot Point). By the mid-1890s, five salteries and two canneries were operating on the Ugashik River.[352] The Ugashik, or Salima River as it was also called, which had supported hundreds of Ugaassarmiut for many centuries, now supported a rapidly growing fish industry. In 1897, 40% of the Alaska canned salmon came from the Kodiak and Chignik district, and slightly less than 20% from Bristol Bay.

Different methods of fishing were used at Ugashik and Chignik. At Chignik and along the Pacific coast canneries drove wooden piles and constructed traps in the path of the schools of fish entering rivers and creeks. Pile traps so choked Chignik Lagoon that the Chignik fishery became a major concern to the government. Pile fish traps and attendant buildings were also placed in Aniakchak Bay. In 1932 the moving seine was introduced to the Chignik fishery. This method allowed fishermen in small dories to

harvest the middle stream of Chignik Lagoon.[353] Fishermen with purse seines slowly began to dominate the fishery, but traps were not outlawed until 1959.

At Ugashik, Ilnik, and a few places along the Bristol Bay coast fish traps were driven, but drift gill nets predominated.[354] Fishermen fished in teams of two from shallow-draft Columbia River sailboats and skiffs.[355] The sailboats were brought north on the cannery ships. Each cannery painted their fleet with a different color, and each boat had a number on it so boats and crew were easily identified. Beach seines were used by independent local fishermen, many of whom were Native. Federal regulations prohibited drift gill netters on Bristol Bay from using power until the law was repealed in 1951. The sailboat era effectively ended by 1955 when many of the old sailboats had been converted into motorboats and larger boats were introduced.

Unlike southcentral and southeastern districts where over one-third of the fishermen were Alaska Natives, there were no Native fishermen in Bristol Bay or at Chignik in the early years. Instead, the packing houses brought outside workers, mainly Euroamericans—Scandinavians, Germans, and Italians—to work the traps, fish, and run the tenders and crews of Chinese laborers to work in the canneries.[356] The canneries sent ships to nearby villages to hire local workers, but many sea otter hunters were not interested in cannery work, and they were not offered the higher paying work as fishermen.[357] The lack of Alutiiq workers early on in Chignik may in part be explained by the ongoing sea otter hunting and trapping near Wrangell, Sutkhum, Wide Bay, and Mitrofania. Also, the Karluk fishery had actively looked for recruits from the Peninsula coast



"Andersonville" in Chignik Bay, circa 1909. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, PCA 24-104.

as far south as Wrangell and sea otter hunters from Katmai had gone there to work as early as 1888.[358] Kutchin noted that the industry's attitude toward the work habits of the Natives was negative:

> *The companies [on the Nushagak] and all over Alaska would be very glad to employ enough of them [Natives] to man their canneries, but have found them utterly unreliable. They can not be brought to steady work, and the companies are forced to import their help at a very considerable*

Henry Sanguinetti leads the Alaska Packers Association Fourth of July Parade down the boardwalk of Chignik, 1937. Filipino workers follow behind holding an APA banner. The Fourth of July was a big event the whole village participated in. After the day's festivities, the cannery hosted a big dinner for everyone. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, Childs Collection, PCA 37-4.



addition to the cost of conducting business. I confess to a pretty complete want of sympathy in these touching tales of the unmerited hardships visited upon the 'poor' natives by the aggressions and hard-heartedness of the white man.[359]

The Ugashik Fishing Station in 1889 hired 20 Euroamerican workers and no Natives.[360] But by the 1890s, Alaska Peninsula locals were hired. Even then only a few were employed to work in packing, they were not hired as fishermen or trap tenders. They could fish independently and sell fish to the packing houses but in 1898 it was explained that, "fresh fish are bought from the natives; though there are few natives, and fewer still who care to exert themselves beyond taking fish for their own wants, so that the number of fish thus furnished is extremely small, and the canneries cannot depend upon this source of supply."[361] Compared to sea otter pelts, salmon were not lucrative, especially for people without tenders or even skiffs to bring the fish to the canneries. As long as the sea otter hunt remained viable it remained the mainstay of the Native participation in the money economy. However, "set-nets" or gill nets set from the beach were used extensively in Bristol Bay and were a way for locals to enter the fishery.

By 1897, many Ugashik residents had moved down to the mouth of the river and 24 Natives were employed by the Ugashik Fishing Station at Pilot Station.[362] In 1899, at Chignik no Natives were reported working at the canneries but at Ugashik 10% of the workforce was Native. By 1900, 54 Ugaassarmiut worked in three packing houses on the Ugashik River and at Chignik twelve Alutiiq or Aleut worked in Chignik area packing houses, out of 119 Native residents.[363]

The canneries eventually drew people in from both sides of the Peninsula to Ugashik and Chignik.[364] Nick Ablama remembered that, "Some of them [residents of Kanatak] would go down below to Chignik to fish in the summer. And some went to Kodiak. Some of them came from Karluk to here [Ugashik] and some went elsewhere. They would work in the canneries in the summer."[365]

But after the turn of the century, the salmon industry became increasingly important to local people as it replaced the fur trade as the primary economic activity. People were drawn for the summer fishing season to the towns of Egegik, Pilot Point, Ugashik, and Port Moller on Bristol Bay and to Chignik, Sand Point, and Unga on the Pacific. In these villages the Alutiiq and Creole population were in the minority during fishing season as canneries continued to bring men up from San Francisco and Seattle. Crews of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino cannery workers were brought north at each season's beginning and sent back down south with the loads of salmon. Scandinavians, Germans, Italians, and other Euroamericans also traveled north on the cannery ships. They were paid to work on the ships as they traveled north to the fisheries. Once at their destination the men spent two months preparing for the short, intense fishing season. They too were supposed to go south at the end of each season although not all did.

Early methods of fishing were often efficient but wasteful, and attempts by the government to regulate the placement of traps and nets often went unheeded. The fish traps, carefully placed to intercept the salmon trying to go upstream to spawn, could efficiently decimate entire runs. Packing companies fished as if the supply was endless. Sometimes they caught more fish than they could process and attempts to move excess fish to other canneries often failed; shiploads were dumped into the ocean. Accusations of purposeful waste circulated but were largely unsubstantiated, although elders today remember fishing even during cannery breakdowns. Some of the runs, most notably Karluk, had already experienced serious declines by the turn of the nineteenth century, yet the canneries disclaimed any fault for the low fish runs.[366]



Clara and Annie Anderson, young suitor and horse, circa 1910, Chignik Bay. The boy was from Sand Point, courting Clara and working in the cannery. Courtesy of Lorraine and Rubin Hillborn.



Three men in front of the Alaska Packers Association Superintendent's house in Pilot Point. The house was originally owned by Tim Murphy. APA added on to it and it housed the watchman, Gus Greichen, and his family. The Russian Orthodox Church stands to the left of the two tanks. To the right of the tanks is the old APA schoolhouse and the small houses below comprise "Chinatown" where the cannery workers were housed during the season. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, McAlister Collection, 89-084-239A.

At Chignik the pile traps, in violation of the law, appear to have so completely blocked off the stream that Agent Kutchin, who was in Alaska to determine the condition of the fishery, was moved to write:

> *I most emphatically pronounce the use of these traps an odious exhibition of lawlessness, and do not hesitate to declare that if the Government is powerless to suppress the practice it is equally powerless to enforce any part of the salmon law, and would consult its own dignity by foregoing any further effort in that direction.*[367]

The Alaska agent for the salmon fisheries mentioned that the canneries' traps sometimes crowded out local Natives from the streams they traditionally fished so that they could not get enough fish for the winter. However, the commercial fishing season was only about four to five weeks long in the late 1890s and early 1900s, and in some areas local people who chose to work for the canneries, as increasing numbers did, could get fish for household use from the traps during the fishing season. Locals dispersed after the season and put up fish at their fish camps during the rest of the fish run which on the Pacific coast lasted into November. In the fall, well after the commercial fishing season, Natives also netted "redfish" or salmon which was near spawning and thus had a low fat content and was good for drying and storing.

The canneries in Chignik Bay had an uneasy relationship with the Russian Orthodox Church. The manager of one cannery demanded that the Belkofski parish priest, Father Kedrovskii, visit only in August, after the fishing season was over because Orthodox believers would stop working in order to come to services. The priest refused to change his schedule, arguing that he preached for the parishioners to work hard. In one report Kedrovskii also mentioned that the factory manager teased people about being devout believers.



Bristol Bay fishermen picking nets in Pilot Point, circa 1950. Most Columbia River sailboats were converted to gasoline engines by 1955. John Carlson photo, courtesy of Carol Carlson.

Cannery work was hard. Conditions inside the canneries were poor and often young girls would begin working at age 12 or 13 and work 12 to 16 hours a day. In June of 1908 Kedrovskii reported on the canneries at Chignik Lagoon and Anchorage Bay:

> *There are more and more people in Chignik with each year. Many move from Nushagak mission and*



Inupiat men and women on the cannery dock in Pilot Point, circa 1950. John Orock is on the far left and Jane Orock, his sister, is seated in the middle. John Carlson photo, courtesy of Carol Carlson.

from Kodiak and Afognak parishes in hopes to find jobs in the fish canneries (there are two canneries here). The canneries are doing very well so that even in the distant future there will be nothing to stop jobs and income for the residents.

I visited the cannery and the shop [at Anchorage Bay]. My parishioners and the Chinese often have to work on the second floor of this factory where the air is made deadly by the acid vapors coming from below (this acid is used to seal cans). There were cases of death from air poisoning among the Chinese. Natives who work on the upper floor often get sick (poisoned) as well.[368]

Conditions in canneries slowly improved as workers filed complaints about low wages, dangerous and unhealthy conditions, and unfair practices. A federal child labor law took effect in 1917 prohibiting children under the age of 14 to work in canneries and limiting working hours for those between 14 and 16 to eight hours a day, six days a week. For most cannery workers though, the long hours that came at the peak of each fishing season could not be avoided. Women today remember lying about their age and working from early in the morning until late at night.

Fishing, while providing some income and a seasonal rhythm, was not particularly lucrative in the early years. Employees hired out of San Francisco worked long seasons from the time their boats left port in San Francisco in April until September when they reached home. Most local workers, however, had summertime employment only. They relied instead on the luxuriously coated wild and semi-domesticated fur-bearing animals whose pelts could be sold on the world market.

The 1950s brought big changes to the fisheries at Chignik and Ugashik. The Chignik fishery changed as more and more people acquired their own purse-seiners, and fish-traps were outlawed. In Bristol Bay, sail boats were converted to motor boats which allowed less skilled people into the fisheries, opening up Bristol Bay to more outsiders. People were more concentrated in the fishery villages when Kanatak and Ilnik were finally abandoned. By the mid-1950s Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Pilot Point, Ugashik, and Port Heiden were the remaining year-round villages. Trapping was still an important part of life but fishing was the mainstay of the economy—whether the season was good or bad.

Oil Exploration

The U.S. Geological Survey first reported oil near the old village of Kanatak in the 1870s. Oil leaked out of the ground forming thick pools, clogging creek beds, and running into ocean waters. Local people used the surface oil to clean their guns and also reported seeing bears coated in it. The oil seeps attracted exploratory drillers to the area of Dry and Cold (Puale) bays, and the first claims were staked in 1901. Drilling commenced in 1903 in the Cold Bay district but none of these wells produced commercial oil, and by 1906 activity had stopped.[369] The facilities at Puale Bay continued to be used as a trading post and postal stop. Mail was freighted by dog sled to Bristol Bay where ice kept ships out much of the year.[370] Then, in 1920, the Mineral Leasing Act opened up the oil fields of Alaska and the oil rush to the Alaska Peninsula began anew. Many of the valleys along the coast were explored and claims were staked. Many claims were filed in the Aniakchak River valley but nothing was drilled there.[371] At the time, the Native village of Kanatak consisted of a few barabaras, but when Earl Grammar concentrated drilling on Bear and Salmon creeks, the boom town of Kanatak sprouted up across a small creek from the traditional village. The Alaska Commercial Company store and the post office were moved from Wide Bay to the new center of activity. Spatially separated and linked by a small plank bridge, the towns reflected the culture of the inhabitants. The old village had been built of grass-covered, rounded barabaras randomly placed like giant hummocks on the tundra valley. When people from Katmai moved there, new frame houses had been placed amongst the old barabaras. The new town with big new frame buildings was laid out with straight streets—ordered and neat with board sidewalks. Natives from Ugashik, Wrangell, and Egegik were attracted to the area by the store, bars, and post office, and the activity. The town became the shipping port for goods and mail going overland to Bristol Bay in the winter. Trappers at Ugashik Lakes could sell their furs, spend some time in the new town and pick up supplies. Both sides of the town grew and, by 1923 when the town-site was dedicated, there were 73 buildings in the old town and 59 buildings in the new section.



Kanatak panorama from the east showing the old village on the left, in back, and the new oil-town on the right. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Seiffert Collection, 85-122-828.



Kanatak circa 1922 from the west showing the storage area, tent camp and the old village. The portage to Becharof Lake goes over the pass in the upper left. Horse drawn wagons took people to the lake where they kept their Columbia River sailboats for the trip to Bristol Bay. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Seiffert Collection, 85-122-830.

The same year, a storm hurled waves and wind up against the newly erected buildings and many were lifted off their foundations. Grammar noted in his diary a comment by Chief Nikolai Reuff of the Native village that the hard-drinking, non-church-going White-men's houses were the only ones damaged by the storm.[372]

In 1924 a school was opened and the town seemed to be thriving.[373] Grammar's diary, however, records the deaths by accident, suicide, and illness of 50 people in the years he lived in Kanatak from 1920 to 1926. Chief Nikolai Reuff and Second Chief Fred Reuff are among those listed in the deaths of Natives who died from tuberculosis. Others, like Fred Reuff's wife and infant daughter, were recorded as dying from "pneumonia-like" symptoms.[374] Then in 1926 the Cold Bay oil strike ended and the oilmen left. Still, the new town that had been a traditional settlement for unknown numbers of years and a modern town for only half a decade persisted. The school closed in 1943 but it was not until the mid-1950s that the last two families, the Mike Boskovsky's and Nick Shanigan's, moved away.[375] One more attempt to extract oil from the area was abandoned in 1958 by Exxon after drilling to 14,000 feet. Costing seven million dollars, it was, at the time, the costliest well drilled in Alaska.[376]

Oil exploration, albeit lasting only a short time, had a significant impact on the people living on the Peninsula. The small village of Alutiiqs that had been spread out from Portage Bay to Wide Bay became concentrated in Kanatak, a multi-cultural boom town. Transportation became much easier as large dog teams and horses helped transport goods to nearby drilling sites and across the Peninsula. As a port town, a variety of ships and planes landed there, including a U.S. Air Service plane on the first circumnavigation of the globe in 1924.[377] For the first time, many children had access to formal education. The influx of outsiders and ships likely also brought an increase in disease to the area. The saloons of Kanatak might have been opened for the oil drillers, but they brought a steady supply of alcohol to the Native population as well. In general, the boom years were an exciting time for both long- and short-term residents, and people fondly remember their years in Kanatak.



Pack train at Wide Bay, circa 1920s. Pack trains took gear out to oil camps throughout the region. The area horse wrangler, Jack Lea, had a cabin on Wide Bay. Courtesy of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Capps Albums 83-149-2246.



Mining

When Alaska opened up to commercial exploration, miners quickly came north. The Alaska Peninsula did not prove to be a particularly rich area for mineral resources. Around 1888, however, Alaska Commercial Company agent Fischer, having seen mica windows in Alutiiq barabaras, tried to convince his employer that mining for mica on the Peninsula might be lucrative.[378] The company apparently rejected his idea.

In 1893, the Alaska Packers Association opened a mine on the Chignik River to procure coal for the cannery at Chignik Lagoon and for the steamers that transported fish. The mine was operated by cannery workers; it is not known if any were local residents. Whalers Creek in Chignik Lagoon, Thompson Valley in Chignik Bay, and inland from the head of Hook Bay also had coal outcrops. The coal at Whalers Creek, although of better quality than that at Chignik River, was never mined. Thompson Valley was mined briefly but no coal was sold from this site.[379] No coal was taken from the region after 1912.[380] The Native population was not directly involved in the coal-mining endeavors. Any local impact was part of the larger impact from the canneries and the many men who spread out across the country in the hopes of exploiting the riches of the land and sea.

Reindeer

The reindeer industry is described in Chapter 9. Most of the reindeer brought to the Peninsula were owned and herded by Inupiat who had migrated to the Alaska Peninsula, although an Ugashik River herd was owned by local Alutiiqs. A few people in Port Heiden also bought into the herds. By the time most people entered the business, a method called "open herding," which pooled the herds but did not require herders to watch over them, had been instituted. This method of reindeer herding was doomed to fail from its inception as, without herders to watch over the herd, the animals were prey to wolves, bears, and human hunters. They were also likely to mix in with caribou herds. By the late 1940s, the reindeer industry collapsed for several reasons, in part because markets in the lower-48 did not open up for reindeer meat and because the numbers of caribou increased and absorbed the reindeer herds.

Fur Farming and Trapping

After the demise of the sea otter and the subsequent moratorium on the hunt, the fur traders and hunters quickly diversified their prey. Furs were an internationally valued commodity and Alutiiqs and Creoles, while still chiefly self-sufficient for basic needs, had come to rely on trade goods. Euroamerican businessmen committed to the fur trade saw an opportunity in the Alaska Peninsula and the many small islands off its coast. They thought the solution to the lack of sea otter and increasingly stringent government regulations on trapping might lie in using the isolated islands for raising semi-domesticated foxes with valuable pelts. For many hunters the solution to the loss of sea otter was to work in the rapidly expanding salmon packing houses and trap a variety of fur-bearers in the winters.

Restrictions on Alaska Native hunting methods eased in 1900 when the U.S. government rescinded

Opposite: Stella Brun, Alva Skonberg, Minnie Wallin, Julia Stepanoff, Christina Wallin, and others go Hawaiian for the Fourth of July Celebration. Their teacher Margaret Culler took the photo in 1937. Courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Childs Collection, PCA 37-14.

Opposite:
Chignik School, circa 1935. Standing on porch: Minnie Wallin, Stella Brun, Julia Stepanoff, Helen Ozewan (in back), Alva Skonberg, Mary Ann Sanguinetti, Miss Doburns, Henry Sanguinetti (leaning over rail), Charlie Wallin (hiding in back) Walter Erickson, Robert Anderson, Mervin Brun, Bill "Rowdy" Skonberg, unknown, James "Buster" Skonberg, unknown. Seated back: Arthur "Tuney" Skonberg, Johnny Wallin, Annie Osbekoff, Tina Wallin, Betty Harris, Karlene Brun, Ozewan girl, Pauline Brun, Polly Shangin, Caroline Anderson, Sena Larson, May Brun. Front: Robert Erickson, Billy Anderson, George Wallin, Andrew "Dutchy"Skonberg. Courtesy of Alaska State Library, PCA 37-10.

the prohibition against selling breach-loading rifles and ammunition to them. Agents of the Alaska Commercial Company were authorized to sell rifles that were good for killing big game. Restrictions were tightened again, albeit in a different way, in 1902 with the passage of the Alaska Game Act. The Game Act prohibited the sale of "hides, skins, or heads" from animals that had been killed for their meat and established hunting seasons and limits, although it did exempt Native subsistence hunting from regulation. This put an end to the selling of caribou or bear hides.

In general, while still impoverished in the view of Euroamericans and government agents,[381] Natives had access to more money than ever before through the cannery work, fishing, and trapping. Even with the expanded cash economy, reliance on traditional foods and traditional lifeways remained strong, and money was often used for small luxuries. At the same time, many sailors and Euroamerican fishermen brought north to work the fish-traps were settling in the area, marrying local women, and learning how to live and survive in the new country. They, too, began entering the fur industry as fox farmers and trappers. These frontiersmen, with access to cash and embodying a Euroamerican work ethic, were able to amass numbers of traps and run large, sometimes lucrative, traplines.

Although, by this time, the Alaska Commercial Company had closed many remote stations, traders continued to play an important role.[382] Most settlements had independent traders and some enterprising entrepreneurs set up salteries and trading posts in the same location. Traders in remote areas could set their own prices, and trappers were often forced to travel long distances to get what they thought was a fair price.

Fox Farming

> *The natives of Alaska also are beginning to realize the possibilities of preserving at least a few fur bearing animals and now four of the islands devoted to blue foxes are owned wholly or in part by natives who have become interested in industry through the reports of their friends and relatives employed in caring for the animals on their islands. The native by nature and experience make first-class keepers and through these positions can obtain a good living for them selves, while rendering excellent service to their employers.*
>
> *~Washburn, Manager of the Alaska Commercial Company, Kodiak*

When the manager of the Alaska Commercial Company, M.L. Washburn wrote to Special Agent Kutchin advocating that fox farming might help alleviate the "conditions" of the Natives and prevent them from becoming dependent on the government, Kutchin responded positively because in his view "the semi-domestication of fur-bearing animals affords the only possible escape from the early extermination of all those species which now provide the most costly and luxurious of wearing apparel."[383] Special Agent Kutchin, sent to Alaska to investigate the salmon fisheries, was a conservationist first and a benevolent visionary second. Like many other Euroamericans of his time, he often viewed the Native inhabitants as destitute, lazy, and ignorant people who needed help. Kutchin seemed to have mixed feelings about the potential for Native success in the industry. He supported Native entry and advocated easing the yearly fee to lease an island; noting, "A very small proportion of the Natives can accumulate cash enough to even buy the necessary foxes



Two methods were used to "farm" foxes. In one, the foxes were placed on small islands and allowed to roam free. Occasionally seal carcasses were provided as food. The foxes were then trapped in the winter when their pelts were the most luxurious. In Russian times people were supplied with steel traps during hunting season. The other method involved raising foxes in pens.[389]

to start the business with, it is true, much less to pay $100 per year for a term of years to secure the right of occupancy of an island."[384] But he seems to have had little faith in Native ability since fox farms often amounted to "places where a few pairs of foxes have been turned loose, and a solitary native or half-breed more or less perfunctorily catches and scatters fish for their food. The chances are he doesn't know much about the results of his venture, though he may have been engaged in it for several years ... I found more than one case where neglect and slovenly, shiftless ways had resulted in the decimation of the original number."[385]

One of the first large concerns to enter the fox business, the Alaska Commercial Company, started the Semidi Propagating Company which released arctic, or blue, foxes in the Semidi Islands in 1885.[386] The company stocked numerous islands off the Alaska Peninsula coast, including Chirikof and several islands of the Kodiak Archipelago. As the numbers of sea otters fell, fox farming gained in economic importance in the area. The Alaska Commercial Company encouraged the change and hired Euroamericans to manage and supervise the operations. Natives were hired as hands on the islands. Between 1890 and 1914, the Alaska Commercial Company harvested over 5,000 foxes.[387] The foxes were fed corn meal mush mixed with fish, dried fish, fresh or half-rotten fish, and canned salmon.

Many of the small islands around Kodiak, along the Alaska Peninsula, and in the Aleutians were leased to corporations and individuals, and many other islands were stocked illegally. Fox farming could be lucrative but not all of the islands were ideal; some had a food source for the foxes but others needed to be stocked frequently with food—primarily fish, but also seals and sea lions. Mainland streams with fish runs provided a good source of fish and it was advantageous for the islands to be close enough to on-shore salmon streams to row back and forth. The mainland fishing stream often became the site of a second dwelling place. It was a risky business, though, because unattended islands were vulnerable to theft. More than one fox owner came to harvest their furs only to find skinned-out carcasses and empty stretching boards littering their island. But before the fox-farming enterprises declined, many families enjoyed their lives on the many small islands which dot the coast of the Peninsula. Pete Pedersen married Charles Brandal's daughter, Anne. He and his family started a fox farm on Nakchamik Island in the 1920s. Their daughter, Helen Neilsen, remembers the years her family farmed foxes:

> *Our fox farm was located on Nakchamik, or Fox Island as we called it. We lived on the island for many years; I'd say we were out there about ten years and we fox-farmed all that time. There wasn't anything else to do [at] that time in Chignik. People didn't fish for a living, you know, so we had to trap or fox-farm, either wild animals or fox.*
>
> *Papa started building the fox farm around 1925,*[388] *but as the years passed, the prices dropped so low that we couldn't keep the fox farm going. Everybody had foxes, raised them on their own islands, but we had Nakchamik. Living on the island was nice, I liked it. We had some fun on the island, not just caring for foxes. Wintertime we would go skating, sliding. That was fun.*
>
> *When we started, we bought a pair of foxes from another island, and they increased. There was a lot*

of foxes after they grew—they increased fast. ... We didn't keep the foxes in pens or anything, they would run wild on the island. It wasn't very hard caring for foxes. We did a lot of walking, but it was okay.

The foxes weren't real tame, but they were planted and fed by us; you couldn't go out and pet them or anything though. Some of the foxes were tame on other islands, but ours never got that tame. ... We never kept any as pets. ... We had other pets, like chickens, pigs, and cats—no dogs, but lots of cats and chickens. ...

While my brothers and I went to summer school in Chignik, my mama and papa stayed on the island and cared for the foxes. In the winter, they would come and get us and bring us back to the island. ...

We had no one helping us raise and care for the foxes, just my brothers, me, and my papa, that's all. While [we] cared for the foxes, my mama cared for the family, like cooking and caring for the younger children. ... Every day we'd go around the island to every feeding place and feed them. I'd say there were about a dozen different places ... We'd feed the foxes bran mixed with fish or sometimes meat, like seal meat, sea lion, and fish; mix it with bran and cook it. We'd go seal and sea lion hunting also. The foxes ate anything wild. ... Once a year, in the fall, we had to go into Chignik and load up with bran and stuff, and take it back to the island.

When it came time to kill them, we'd set the box traps where we regularly fed them before...I think my papa killed about 50 foxes each time, once a year. We sent the furs in and would get a check back from the company who bought 'em. We got [$40 to $50] a fur. We got a good price, I know! ...Before we sent the furs out, we had to clean them, stretch them, and dry them perfectly dry. Then we turned them fur side out, folded them up nice, put them in burlap bags, and sent them out.[390]

By 1920, many of the islands near Chignik were stocked with fox by Euroamerican men married to local Native or Creole women. Frank Lowell stocked Ugaiushak Island with blue fox in 1915, and in the 1920s Ben Benson took it over and it became known as Benny Benson's Island.[391] George Anderson, with his wife, Ocelena, started raising foxes on Chankliut Island near Castle Cape as early as 1910. His son-in-law, Lars Hanson, had the lease in 1920 when Anderson, five children and two grandchildren and Hanson were living on the Island. Charles W. "Charlie" Olsen, a Norwegian, and two Germans, Adolf Von Himmel and Charles Weideman, were living on Unavikshak in 1920, where Charlie Olsen had begun farming foxes.[392] This Island is locally known as "Fat Charlie Olsen's Island." Olsen had good access to salmon streams on Cape Kumliun where his barabara stood. Axel Carlson, Sr. stocked Kumlik Island in the 1920s. He lived in a large frame house on the island every fall and spring and had a barabara on shore from which he and his sons trapped in the winter.

The expense of keeping the animals fed, combined with the risk of leaving them for months at a time, was difficult enough. Reliance on one type of fur when ultimately the distant market fluctuated at the whim of European fashion, however, proved to be unprofitable. Fur prices fell 75% at the outbreak of World War I but afterwards rose to new heights. Over the next decades, prices fluctuated, sometimes wildly. Then in 1929 the price fell rapidly and the period of fox farming was

effectively over.[393] Still, there were those who raised their families on the fox-farming business, and a few who got rich. Many, like the Pedersen family, exhibiting the resourcefulness and tenacity demanded by the country and the times, were able to use the skills learned in fur-farming to pursue new markets. In the 1930s and 1940s, Pete Pedersen and his sons and Helen and Harold Neilsen spent the winters trapping from their homes in Aniakchak Bay. The use of Aniakchak is covered more fully in Chapter 7.

Trapping

Trapping a variety of wild fur-bearers proved to be a more viable strategy for cashing in on the lucrative but capricious fur market. Some families involved in fox farming also trapped. When the first frontiersmen came into the country, Alutiiq occupied much of the Peninsula coastline and hunted over much of its interior. Some Alutiiq were displaced by Euroamericans; other newcomers married Native women and trapped their inlaws' traditional areas. East of Chignik along Ocean Beach, on the shores of Kujulik, Aniakchak, and Amber bays, at Surf Beach, and in Chiginagak Bay, families and individuals trapped and lived for much of the year. Bays and inlets southwest of Chignik were also home to trappers. The fox was the main fur-bearer but people also trapped mink, ermine, land otter, wolverine and occasionally wolves. Trappers utilized the creeks, rivers, open areas, and bear trails along the coast. While most did not have long traplines, many areas yielded 80 or even 100 or more foxes in a winter.

Trapping was a necessary occupation for most of the people living on the Peninsula into the 1940s. Fishing did not often provide much more than the income to buy the winter's supplies. If one was willing to work hard, winter trapping could be lucrative, especially when fur prices were up. World War II is often mentioned as the one factor that drew an end to the trapping and changed peoples lives. Trapping on the Alaska Peninsula sustained many families up until the outbreak of World War II. After the war, a few returned to trapping but it was never again to reach its former importance, economically or socially. For many families, 1943 was the last winter spent on traplines. The pattern of living out in remote cabins was followed by fewer and fewer families in the decade after the war until nearly everyone lived in towns and villages year round.

Individuals who continued to trap did so near the villages where their children went to school. The war, for many, effectively put an end to the lifestyle that dominated the first four decades of the twentieth-century. People also began getting their own boats for commercial fishing, thus making more money so trapping was no longer the necessity it had been before the war.

During the first four decades of the twentieth century adventurers and inmigrants worked hard to find riches on the Alaska Peninsula. Of the commercial endeavors, only the salmon industry proved successful in the long run. Despite the building of a frontier town at Kanatak, hopes for riches in oil and mining were dashed by the late 1920s. Blue fox farming was lucrative for a few decades but failed when prices dropped in the 1930s. Trapping continued until the 1940s when, during World War II, fur prices dwindled and young men went off to work for the war effort or join the forces.

The post-war life style included neither the hardship nor rewards of moving families to remote cabins to run trap lines. With the advent of wintertime schools, the impact of the influenza epidemics, and more centralized economic opportunities, the many small villages and settlements on the Peninsula became consolidated into a few towns where schools, churches, fish processing plants, airstrips, docks, and roads were built. People moved to the fishery villages when Kanatak and Ilnik were finally abandoned. By the mid-1950s, Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Pilot Point, Ugashik, and Port Heiden were the remaining year-round villages near Aniakchak. People thus became more sedentary, living year round in one village, or spending only a few weeks or months pursuing commercial and subsistence fishing in a nearby village.

The period of commercial exploration proved once again the resiliency of the Alaska Peninsula Alutiiqs. As entrepreneurs and as employees, men and women engaged in the new society and participated in the new activities brought as a result of the transfer of Alaska from Russia to the United States. Those who were able to align themselves with the Euroamericans could get the better jobs in the fishing and trapping industries, gaining access to the new social and political order. Trapping was still an important part of life but fishing was the mainstay of the economy—whether the season was good or bad. Subsistence hunting, fishing and gathering plant foods and shellfish continued to sustain families through years of uncertainty.

Many changes were brought to the Alutiiq community as well. For many of the Native and Creole women who married first- and second-generation Euroamericans, marrying non-Native men meant giving up the teachings of their mothers and grandmothers. This conversion was reinforced by the isolation of women from the Native community for much of the year. As wives of Euroamericans, many women were no longer required or allowed to practice many of the rituals that served to distinguish men and women in Native households. They were not, for example, allowed to put their daughters in menstrual seclusion or use traditional Native health practices or were not allowed to go to the Russian Orthodox services. Some women, as daughters of bilingual Creoles, identified relatively easily with the Euroamerican culture. Separation from the Alutiiq community further separated women from their families and meant a loss of cultural knowledge. Their children knew even less of their Alutiiq past. Others, while married to men of European heritage, managed to retain much of their Alutiiq cultural traditions and beliefs. Some men welcomed Alutiiq knowledge and beliefs and some families even learned Sugtestun. To varying degrees, families of the Peninsula showed aspects of Alutiiq, Russian, and European heritage.



Peter Lind driving his brother Bill Lind's dog team on Chignik Lake, circa 1950. The open country north of Chignik Lake and along the north side of the Peninsula was ideal for dog sleds which were used for traveling between villages, trapping, and hunting. Courtesy of Peter Lind.



George and Ocelena Anderson with their daughter and son-in-law, Victor and Natalia Erickson, children and grandchildren, circa 1915. Back row: Alice, John, Nancy "Nin", and Clara Anderson. Middle row: George Anderson holding Minnie and Jim, Ocelena Anderson holding baby Rosa, Victor Erickson holding Lena and Henry, and Natalia Erickson (holding unidentified baby.) Henry Erickson grew up to marry and trap in Aniakchak and Kujulik bays. Courtesy of Debbie Daugherty, Chignik Bay.

Chapter seven

Aniakchak

This chapter describes the early years of the twentieth century during the period of fox farming and trapping on the Peninsula. It focuses on the use of the lands that became Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve. From the 1890s up to 1943 the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula was used extensively for fox farms, trapping, hunting, and fishing. When trapping was a viable economic pursuit, winter-time homes were established all along the Pacific and Bristol Bay coasts and trapline cabins were built along the major rivers of the Peninsula. The information in this chapter is drawn primarily from tape-recorded and written interviews done in 1997 and 1998 and Bureau of Indian Affairs reports. This chapter does not begin to describe the many settlements, individual homes, and trap line cabins that dotted the coastline and interior rivers of the Peninsula but rather looks at use during the first four decades of the century of lands that became part of the National Park Service system.

Independent trappers in the study area are first mentioned in records from the Wrangell Station of the Alaska Commercial Company in the 1880s. During this time, Alutiiq people, including sea otter hunters, were living in the small settlements and camps described in Chapter 5. The Pacific coast had long been an area used for hunting land and marine mammals and birds, fishing, and gathering shellfish and other resources. Adventurous frontiersmen began moving to the area to pursue land otter, red fox, mink, bear, sea otter, and seals in the 1870s. They came to the Alaska Peninsula to seek their fortune in fishing and furs, to find wives, and to form, or join, communities. Sailors, too, recognized opportunities for independence, land, and women, and some of them, while docked at a northern port, jumped ship.



Cape Kumlik from the southwest point looking east. Mike Hilton photo, courtesy of Mike Hilton.

To the uninitiated eyes of the newcomers, the country between Kanatak and Chignik looked uninhabited as did the area south of Ugashik and most of the inland Peninsula. Frontiersmen seeking land to stake their claim looked for areas without signs of permanent habitation: roads, towns, and log or frame houses. Large areas of the country they came to were devoid of permanent settlement, but not of human use—seasonal fishing and hunting camps and trapping areas were scattered about the landscape. Newcomers began

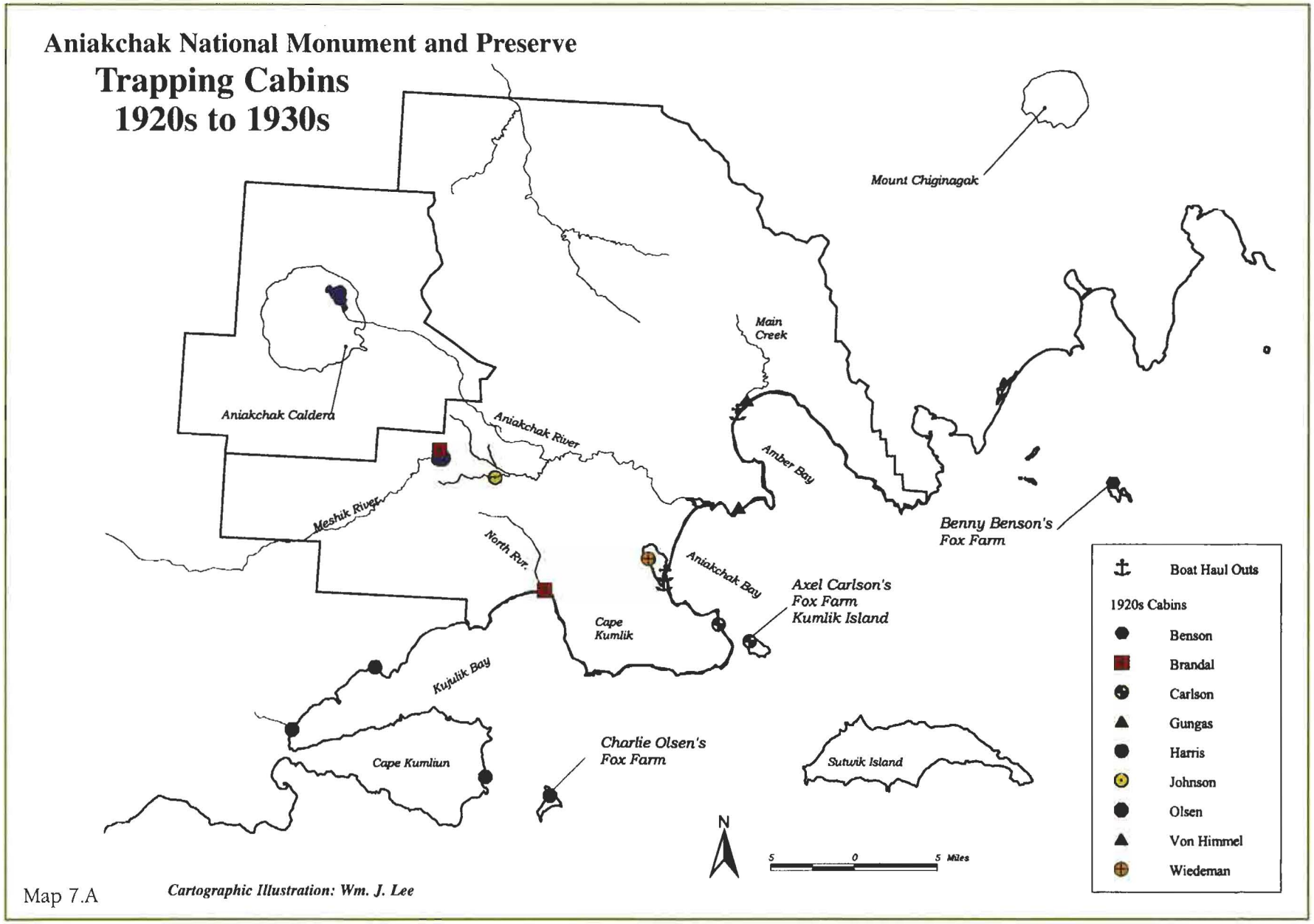
Soon after the arrival of the Russians, the Native peoples became acquainted with firearms. They were not used, however, in the sea otter hunting as the loss of struck animals was too high. Increased use of firearms occurred with the arrival of the Euroamerican sea otter hunters who flooded the area of Kodiak, the Alaska Peninsula and the eastern Aleutians after 1867. The breach loading rifle arrived in Alaska through Natives from around Fort Yukon.[396]

settling in bays and inlets along the coast, where they could trap and hunt. The extent of displacement of Alutiiq peoples from traditional use areas during this period is unknown. However, local families had long-established seasonal trapping and fishing areas along the coast. At least two instances of outsiders impacting local use are remembered. One interview revealed that Euroamerican men got trapping areas by marrying local women. Also, it is well known that when the Katmai people, seeking a new townsite, came to the shores of Ivanof Bay, the Euroamerican trappers who occupied the valley discouraged them from settling there.[394]

The early frontiersmen were the first in a wave of newcomers who worked for the fisheries and stayed the winters to trap. Charles Brandal, George Anderson, and George Morris had private accounts at the Wrangell store by the mid-1890s when Frank Lowell was the store's agent. John Erickson, Oscar Lindholm, Peter Anderson, and Victor Erickson also came to the Peninsula prior to 1900.[397] Some of these newcomers were hired to hunt sea otters with rifles, a weapon Alaska Natives were not yet legally allowed to use, others were hired to care for semi-domesticated foxes on remote islands. Many of them married local women and established families whose descendants presently live in the Chignik area. Some of them, like Charles Brandal, have sons and daughters who moved to Chignik, others, like George Anderson, eventually built a home at Chignik and began families whose descendants remain in the area to this day. It is these men and their descendants who spent years making their homes along the Alaska Peninsula coast—a number of them were at Kujulik, Aniakchak, and Amber bays.

For nearly fifty years, these families and individuals who raised blue fox and those who trapped the along the beachfront coastline and along inland creeks and rivers lived most of the year in isolated sites along the coast or on the islands. The beaches of the treeless peninsula provided ample logs for building homes where they could be comfortable for eight or nine months of the year. Those who could afford it brought lumber in and built frame houses. Many homes were modified barabaras with elements of frame houses. Some had an arched grass and sod roof, timber floor, small windows and a wooden door. Others were frame structures, half built into a hillside to utilize the insulating properties of the earth. Discarded cotton webbing off the fish traps served well to hold the grass roofs down. Sod piled along the sides in the winter and wood stoves kept the cold out. Temporary structures were made of driftwood, standing on end, and caulked with whatever suitable material was available, or willow and alder branches woven through upright poles and covered with grass and trap webbing. Families built caches to protect food stores and sheds to protect boats hauled up on the ways.

Today people look back on those times fondly. They looked forward at the end of every summer to leaving the Chignik villages where mountains blocked the winter sun and spending the winter along the south coast where the sun reached their homes. Without radios or telephones news was scarce and people often did not know how friends and relatives were faring during the long winter. Life was hard, but in many ways simple—no one owned many material possessions but people got by. There was little medical aid for the sick or injured. Tuberculosis was a constant



Map 7.A *Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee*

threat and a constant, if slow, killer. Still, their time was their own and trapping could be lucrative. They worked hard, bore and raised children, established life-long friendships, met future spouses, and lost and buried loved ones.

Fox Farms

The only known fox farming operation that used Aniakchak lands was that of the Axel Carlson family which farmed Kumlik Island from about 1928 to 1934. It is also possible, because if its proximity, that the Lowell and the Benson families used Cape Kunmik or Amber Bay while keeping foxes at Ugaiushak Island.

Members of the Carlson family lived at Cape Kumlik and around Kujulik Bay for over twenty years. Axel Carlson Sr. was a trap boss working for Chignik area canneries in the early part of the century. The family was broken apart in 1926 when Carlson's wife, Evelyn, died of tuberculosis. With none to help raise the children, his, like many others left without mothers, were sent to an orphanage. Three of his children went to the Jesse Lee Home in Seward, Alaska where they remained until Axel remarried a year and a half later. Carlson started farming foxes on Kumlik Island which he stocked with three or four pairs of foxes in about 1928. He put a large frame house on the Island which was close enough to the beach of Cape Kumlik to row back and forth. In 1929 he sent for his two boys, Edwin and Axel Jr. His youngest, Wilma, a girl of two or three, was left at the orphanage and then was moved along with all the other orphans to the Wrangell Institute during World War II.

When the boys came back to Chignik they had to adjust to a step-mother and a new lifestyle. Each summer Carlson ran a fish-trap tender, ferrying fish from Aniakchak to Chignik. Starting about 1928, in the last tender run of the season, he picked up his family in Chignik and dropped them off at the island with supplies. Axel Jr. still remembers the "20 sacks of flour, 20 sacks of sugar, 20 sacks of potatoes, and 30 cases of milk" they brought out and carried up the beach to the house every autumn. Carlson caught a ride back to Aniakchak with Hillborn or Benson and joined the family when his summer work was done, rowing his pulling dory to the island. They also had barabaras on shore where they fished for fox food and ran traplines. When Axel Sr. passed away the winter of 1933-1934, his wife returned to Perryville with her two boys, Carl and Erik.

By this time, Axel's oldest son, Rudolf, was old enough to take care of his brothers—and a trapline. The boys were not interested in fox farming and the fox island was robbed one winter and they were left with skinned-out carcasses. Undaunted, the boys made living quarters in one end of the abandoned clam cannery and continued to trap the creeks and uplands of Cape Kumlik each winter. In the summer they fished out of Chignik.

Settlement of Aniakchak and Amber Bay

The Pacific coast of Aniakchak—Kujulik, Aniakchak, and Amber bays—were used extensively by the sea otter hunters. The amount of Alutiiq activity on this

area of the coast around the turn of the century is only known through a few documents from the Alaska Commercial Company records. The early Euroamerican names associated with the area are Charles Weideman, Adolph Von Himmel, "Bald-headed" Charlie Olson, Fred Gungas, and Albert Johnson who presumably trapped Albert Johnson Creek. Little is known about Johnson or the other early trappers of the Aniakchak area except their approximate cabin sites and trapping areas (see map 7.A). In the 1920s, and possibly before, "Bald-headed" Charlie Olson and Charles Weideman lived and trapped in Aniakchak Bay on the shores of the lagoon. Weideman's traplines extended up the Aniakchak River where he had at least one cabin. Fred Gungas had a barabara on the south coast of Cape Ayutka where he trapped. Von Himmel trapped the east side of Aniakchak River and Main Creek in Amber Bay. Lars Hanson also trapped in Aniakchak Bay in 1928.

Many of the people who grew up along the coast are still alive today. Their family traplines and homesites are initially documented here (see map 7.B). In the 1920s and 1930s more families began trapping out of remote homes along the coast. The Carlson brothers built several barabaras along the northeast shore of Cape Kumlik. Their neighbors,
the Pedersens were living at Aniakchak Lagoon and trapping the Aniakchak River. To the west, a short days hike over the mountains, the Brandals, Grunerts, and Andersons lived at North River on the east end of Kujulik Bay. To the east of the Pedersens, Erickson and Hillborn had their traplines.

In Kujulik Bay, the Alec Brandal family had begun to trap by 1925. As far as is known, Brandal's trapping area was along the small creeks around North Fork River and a trapline went along the North Fork as well. Frank Grunert, who had married Brandal's sister, Mary, and his family lived next to the Brandal home and trapped the area although the extent of his trapline is not known. George "Bobbin" Anderson, who had married Florence Grunert, built a home near his father-in-law's and began trapping the Meshik River area and using a cabin on Meshik Lake. He trapped to the north of the Meshik River from 1937 and until 1943. To the west, Harry Harris was the first to live at and trap the area around Taps Point and Rudy Creek; subsequent trappers include Pete Pedersen, Rudy Carlson, and Julius Anderson.

Pete Pedersen, and his wife, Annie, another sister of Alec Brandal, moved his family several times before settling in Aniakchak Bay. They had moved from their 1920s home on Nakchamik Island where several children were born, to Chiginagak Bay and then to the Lake Bay herring salting station. They spent one season at Kujulik Bay and finally moved to Aniakchak where Pete took over Charles Weideman's trap lines. The family lived at Aniakchak Lagoon from 1934 to 1943. Their oldest daughter, Helen, and her husband, Harold Neilsen, lived on the lagoon, behind Pete's house a few hundred feet. Three of the young Pedersen men were energetic hikers. They expanded Weideman's line up the Aniakchak River drainage and to Meshik Lake. They, like everyone else in that area, walked their traplines. Several trapline barabaras and cabins near the Aniakchak River and Albert Johnson Creek enabled them to stay out for days at a time.

John Hillborn had an extensive trapline on the lower Aniakchak River where he trapped for a few years with



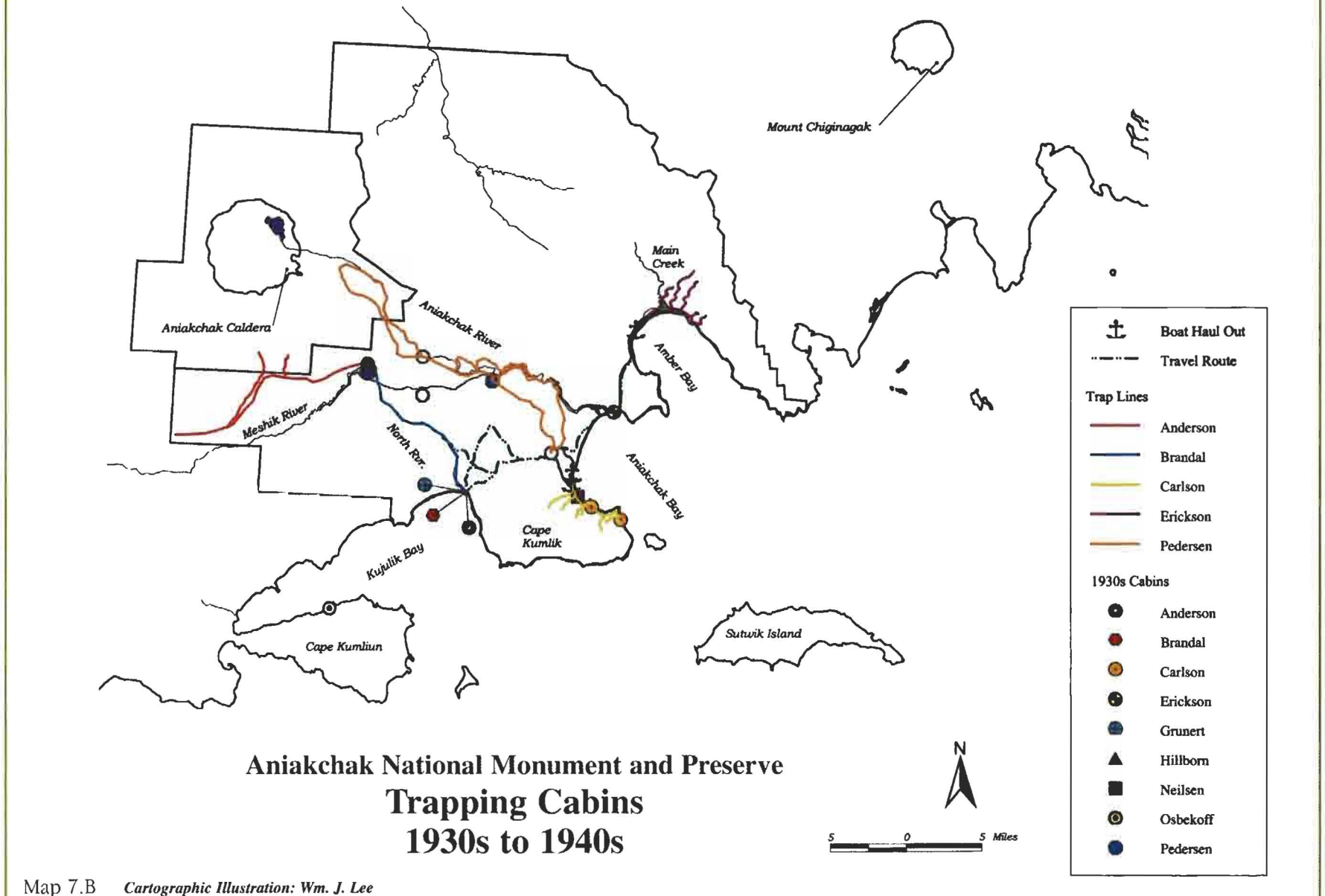
Annie Hillborn and her family. From left to right in the back row are Annie's husband John Hillborn and her children from her first husband, Louie Sanguinetti and Mary Ann Nikiferoff with her baby, Donna. In the middle, on Annie's right and left are Sena Larson and Berg Larson, Jr., her children from her second husband. Rubin Hillborn, age three, stands in front. Annie's father was George Anderson, one of the first Euroamericans to settle in Chignik.

Spiridon Stepanoff. He also trapped the creeks of Amber Bay in the 1920s and 30s. Hillborn moved to Amber Bay when he bought out Adolph Von Himmel's cabin, boat, and traps for $500 in the 1930s when Von Himmel returned to Germany.

In 1936, Hillborn's nephew, Henry Erickson, began trapping with him. Henry was the son of one of the early Swedish immigrants, Victor Erickson and George Anderson's daughter, Natalia. The Hillborn and Erickson families lived in barabaras near the Columbia River Packers Association bunkhouse on the lower Aniakchak River. The area had been inhabited for much of the past 300 years and probably was used by sea otter hunters in the 1800s.[397] Fish and furbearers were abundant and the capes offered some protection from the wind. Hillborn had a second barabara in Amber Bay where he and his family moved in 1937. Erickson ran Hillborn's Aniakchak operation up the Aniakchak river and along the coast near the cabin until 1943. He and his wife, Lillian, and four children lived in a two room barabara. Their son, Clarence, was born in Aniakchak. He was delivered by Lillian's mother, Fedosha, who was originally from Mitrofania and had married Olaf "Sourdough" Anderson.

In many families, relatives often came to the winter homesites to trap and help out. Erickson's brother-in-law, Julius Anderson, stayed with them sometimes. Around 1945-1946, the Erickson family lived at North River along with the Brandal and Grunert families. Henry's daughter, Louise Anderson, remembers that winter well because of the many children at North River that winter.

The years spent at Amber Bay by John and Annie Hillborn and their children were years of excitement and hard work. Annie, one of George Anderson's daughters, had grown up at trapping camps and in Chignik. Hillborn had spent his years in Alaska well, learning to trap, hunt, and fish. They had a warm,



Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve

Trapping Cabins
1930s to 1940s

Map 7.B *Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee*



John Hillborn making repairs on his boat, Wayne, in 1937. The back of the photo reads, "Best regards, from Gerald A. Estup, Radio Operator, Chignik." Hillborn used this boat to take him and his family to Amber Bay every fall for the trapping season. In 1938 John and the sturdy boat survived being hit by a tidal wave that struck while they were at the ways in Main Creek. Courtesy of Rubin and Lorraine Hillborn.

Opposite: The remains of Pete and Annie Pedersen's house on Aniakchak Lagoon, 1997. Richard VanderHoek photo, NPS 97:1:23:3.

two-room house up Main Creek from which Hillborn ran his traps. In 1937, Hillborn wrote an article for the Alaska Sportsman which describes the trapping methods used in the Aniakchak area.

> *I have a young partner, Henry Erickson, who helps me with my packing and such, although we have our own lines and each of us string a couple of hundred traps each winter. Last winter was a good season for the fox trapper around here. Although fox prices were not high, there were lots of reds and a good many crosses, with a scattering of mink, ermine and wolverine....*
>
> *We have no use for sleds here, and our country isn't suited to them, besides. The only dogs we need is Chesapeakes and Spaniels—to retrieve the ptarmigan, ducks and other birds we shoot in the fall. I've not found it necessary to maintain a long trapline, requiring more than one day to cover. I get as many furs by laying several short lines in the form of a fan, with my cabin as the apex, as I did on my long line. This is probably because I can give my traps closer attention, covering an entire wing each day.*
>
> *Besides using two hundred Number Two and Number Three double-spring traps on my trap line*



each winter, I use a couple of dozen fox snares, as well. I use them in the alder brush country, and have had very good results. For fox, I set my snare in the trail just high enough so his head will be caught, without getting his feet. In that way I'm sure of my fox. I have had better luck with store snares than with home made ones, but have found my own baits superior to the artificial ones....

Most of my country is open, and I use trail sets with good results. In making trail sets I use but one trap, and stake it solidly. If there is snow on the ground I cover my trap with a piece of soft tissue paper.... On barren knolls, and wherever the ground is clear of snow I use a little moss or grass to cover the trap. One has to be careful that his set doesn't look like a set to the fox. Even so, I have occasionally been outsmarted by a crafty old red.... In baiting for fox I have found that dried silver salmon works best.... My sets for mink and ermine are usually along creek banks, and I bait with canned salmon. I bury about one-fourth of a can of salmon in the bank of a stream, the opening in the can forming a miniature tunnel. In front of this, I conceal my trap.

Every winter I have a dozen or more furs ruined by wolverines, or trap robbers, as we call them.... In this district, the trapping season on most fur is open for the months of December and January. The season on otter, beaver, and fur seal is permanently closed. This has led to some poaching of these valuable furs....

Every year there are bears around my trapping quarters—big Brownies who steal my dried fish and break the roof of my provisions shed. I've never had a bear actually attack me. I have had them run at me to scare me away from the fish I was cleaning though.... Usually, when I see a bear coming, I shout, wave my arms, and sometimes run at him. He'll usually scamper off in a big hurry.[398]

Despite the large brown bears on the Peninsula, Hillborn was in the habit of hiking around with only a short club that he used to kill trapped foxes, but no gun. He taught his children to be observant, always scan the country for bear, and never surprise one. He felt that since bears were usually wary of humans they were easily scared off if a person made noise.

The families in Aniakchak and Kujulik bays established working traplines and social paths and trails between their houses so that at least the young, vigorous men could go visiting. Many of these trails had first been made by bears. Local routes between the many homes and trapping cabins were well trampled by bears and men in the early decades of the century. Some of these had names such as "The Boulevard" which went along Aniakchak Bay from the river mouth to the lagoon. From Amber Bay to Aniakchak to Kujulik Bay and all the way to Chignik Lagoon were trails interconnecting the many houses, cabins, and barabaras that dotted the coastline. Axel Carlson Jr. remembers that while it usually only took three days from Aniakchak Bay to Chignik, one time he and several other young men spent eight days getting to Chignik. They visited friends and relatives all along the way and spent only one night out. Trails from Aniakchak and Kujulik Bay into the interior met at Albert Johnson Creek and went all the way down the Meshik River to Port Heiden. That trail is said to have taken 17 hours to walk.

Trapping on Bristol Bay Side

The north and west sides of Aniakchak caldera flow smoothly down tundra-covered slopes to Bristol Bay. The wet tundra is cut by many small and large streams. Ash dunes are visible from the air. Two large rivers originate near Aniakchak Crater. Cinder River courses out of the mountains due west of the crater. A major tributary, Lava Creek, gives access to the Aniakchak River over a shallow pass. The many tributaries flow together in a flat marshy plain before reaching Bristol Bay. Meshik River curves around the south side of Aniakchak crater in its slow descent from Meshik Lake on the southeast side and into Port Heiden Bay on the west. The entire river runs through marshy tundra and tall willows, providing a corridor across the Peninsula for an assortment of wildlife, and the men who hunt and trap them. For these people who inhabited the open tundra, dog teams provided swift winter travel between villages and settlements and along traplines. Dogs enabled trappers to go to distant fur traders to sell their furs. Scant information has been collected about trapping on this side of Aniakchak.

In 1906, two of the men who would later trap the Meshik River arrived in Port Heiden aboard George Albert's schooner—one was George "Scotty" Irons and the other was Olaf Matson. Olaf, born Olaf Mathieson in Larvik Norway, married Annie Abyo. She was from Chignik.[399]

During his years of trapping, Olaf Matson had several trapping cabins. One was on the Meshik River at a place called Ameguduk. This cabin was above river from Scotty and Mable Irons' large cabin



Olaf Matson holding his granddaughter, Virginia. The little boy is not identified. They are at their house at Tangonok, on the south side of Port Heiden Bay. John Carlson photo, courtesy of Carol Carlson.



Scotty Iron's house on Scotty's Island in the Meshik River, taken in the 1970s. Irons lived here with his wife, Mable, and their children during the 1920s. Iron's nickname was "One-hundred Fox Scotty" because during the 1920s he caught at least 100 red foxes each winter. John Branson photo, courtesy of John Branson.

at Scotty's Island.[400] The year before his son Henry's birth in 1917, Olaf took his family up Tunangapuk (Birthday) Creek where he built a cabin near the mountains and where Henry, delivered solely by his mother, was born. The location of the cabin or the trapline is not presently documented.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Sam Supsook, one of the many Inupiat who had moved his family to the Peninsula from the Seward Peninsula, had a cabin on North River, which flows from the northwest side of Aniakchak Crater. Supsook trapped North River. Other Port Heiden residents may well have trapped the slopes of Aniakchak. Several trails go up toward the crater rim but trapping use has yet to be explored.

Families often moved around before settling in one place. The Matson family lived at Unangashak where Olaf ran the store for one year, and at Tunangapuk, but they finally made their home at Tangonok on the west shore of Port Heiden Bay. The family lived in a "duplex barabara" for many years before building a frame house. Over the years several families lived next door to the Matsons. Olaf's brother-in-law stayed there as did Nick Christensen. In the 1930's, the Zunganuk family, originally from Teller, lived there. Olaf and William Zunganuk trapped the creeks around Tangonok and on the eastern edge of Port Heiden. One summer, Olaf found a horse wandering the flats near Tanganok. He brought it home, adding it to the family's small menagerie of sled dogs and cats. That was probably in 1925 when a large geological party brought 18 horses to the Chignik area.[401] Olaf built a small shed for "Brownie" and each year cut grass and bought bags of oats. When they went fishing, Brownie roamed loose, grazing on the succulent grasses the Peninsula is known for. For nearly fifteen years Brownie returned each fall when they came back from fishing. One year he failed to show up and Olaf went searching for him. His big carcass was found, bogged down in a marshy tundra and half eaten by a bear.

Relatively few stories have been collected about activities in Aniakchak during the early part of the century when it was extensively used. Many families relied on trapping to provide a source of income.



Frank Grunert homesite on North Fork River, Kujulik Bay. His son-in-law George "Bobbin" Anderson built a winter home to the left of the Grunerts and the Brandals had their home further up river. The Grunert and Brandal families lived at Kujulik Bay for many years. Trails connected this area to their neighbors at Aniakchak Lagoon. In good traveling conditions it was a three hour walk away. Ross Smith photo, NPS 1998.



The site near Amber Bay of the Hillborn's house. The two room frame house was partially built into the bank to take advantage of the earth's insulation. A small wood stove was enough to heat it. Richard Vanderhoek, NPS 1997.

Fox and mink were the mainstay of trapping on the Peninsula but other fur-bearers added to the yearly income. A good winter's catch for the Pedersen family was about 100 foxes, 100 mink, three to four wolves, six wolverine, and 200 ermine. Hillborn and Iron's were also known to have taken around 100 foxes, plus other fur-bearers, each year. The fox population never seemed to decline, but trappers had to be careful not to over-trap mink and other fur-bearers. Not until after World War II did fishing provide enough income to support a family.

The part of the peninsula where Aniakchak now is was an ideal place to raise a family and trap in the first half of the twentieth century. Food was plentiful on the grassy capes and valleys. Caribou, arctic hare, and ptarmigan were abundant. Salmon and other fish could be taken in many streams along the beach and trapping was good along the top of the bluffs and along the small creeks.

Chapter eight

Subsistence and Resource Use

Subsistence activities are profoundly important to local residents of the Alaska Peninsula. In every village, the land, sea, and fresh waters supply foods to most households. Residents tend to use a wide variety of fish, shellfish, land and sea mammals, birds, and plant foods. According to Alaska Department of Fish and Game technical reports, resources harvested by the communities near Aniakchak include five salmon species, 13 species of other fresh and salt water fish, 11 species of marine invertebrates, three species of marine mammals, eight species of terrestrial mammals, more than a dozen species of grouse and waterfowl, bird eggs, and several types of plants and berries. Of course, not every community nor every household has access to or harvests every subsistence resource, but the high preference items tend to be sent to villages where they are not locally available. Thus, the range of wild foods and plants used per household are among the highest in Alaska. In the Chignik villages, the mean number of subsistence resources used per household ranges from approximately 16 in Chignik Bay to 21 in Chignik Lake.[402] Levels of harvest also vary. Chignik Lake tends to have the highest per capita subsistence harvest in "mean pounds of food"—in 1990 it was 453 pounds per person.

The main subsistence foods harvested in the area are fish, caribou, moose, and berries. Moose slowly migrated down the Peninsula, in the 1940s reaching Aniakchak Bay where one of the first moose was shot. On the Pacific coast villages, the main resources harvested are salmon and other fish species, while caribou amounts to over 50% of total resources harvested on the Bristol Bay side.[403] Chignik Lake residents have ready access to winter caribou in the Chignik/Black Lake drainage and can also get an array of Pacific resources. Their resource focus lies somewhere between, with a relatively high harvest of caribou but a heavy reliance on salmon and other marine resources.[404]

Alaska Department of Fish and Game studies show that patterns and amounts of subsistence vary between communities and between households. However, in the study area little analysis has been published on ethnic or cultural differences in patterns of subsistence harvest, seasonal round, or use areas.[405] Patterns of subsistence, social organization of the hunt and food production, and beliefs about human/animal relationships likely vary with ethnic identity, among other things. Nevertheless, for generations having fresh meat, fish, and berries has been an important part of every household's economy, nutrition, and well-being. This remains true today as well. Engagement in subsistence activities requires knowledge about various animal species' natural distribution across the landscape and seasonal patterns of movement. In addition, the hunter must contend

with hunting regulations, the expense of hunting, demands of commercial fishing and other income generating pursuits, and a variety of other demands.



Dungeness Crabs harvested from Chignik Bay, 1997. Courtesy National Park Service.

Subsistence research has been conducted in the area of Aniakchak for more than 20 years. At Aniakchak's conception, the National Park Service sponsored a comprehensive study of the Pacific coast.[406] Alaska Department of Fish and Game research on subsistence use and its cultural dimensions encompasses fish and wildlife, with particular attention to waterfowl, caribou, and bear. The published reports contain little ethnographic information, but through community profiles they offer details on harvest amounts, harvest areas, and local economies. Oral history interviews conducted by various agencies, including Alaska Department of Fish and Game, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and National Park Service, also contain information on subsistence.[407] Minerals Management Service has funded comprehensive studies on subsistence patterns, values, and attitudes in Chignik. The National Park Service and U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service are presently conducting subsistence research that should augment the Alaska Department of Fish and Game studies. The following analysis uses taped and written interviews and published reports to discover, however superficially, meanings and importance of the land and waters and the animals and fish and plants to residents of the Peninsula.

Subsistence in a Social Context

Hunting, fishing, and collecting plants for household sustenance locate a person spatially and temporally in both the natural and social milieu. As these activities maintain and strengthen lifelong connections to the land, family, and the community, engagement in subsistence activities also garners respect and grants prestige. Subsistence activities can serve to place an individual in the social hierarchy of the village. A successful hunter is seen as competent and responsible and he is likely to be seen that way in other endeavors. A woman knowledgeable about locating, identifying, and using an array of subsistence plants and who puts up various subsistence resources is seen as a hard worker, a provider—traits that lead others to her for advice and care.

Traditional subsistence values and beliefs, knowledge, and skills have been examined to some extent among the Native community, but much less among resident less traditional or non-Native households. The following section, based on Fish and Game reports and interviews, and National Park Service interviews, describes some socio-cultural aspects of subsistence among the Native community. The non-Native or less traditional households have equally genuine, historically based, cultural meanings of subsistence; many of the same features might well apply to both communities, although one might expect to find frontier-based hunting ethics and behaviors, for example, in families who identify mainly with their Euroamerican past. One of the engaging characteristics of the study area is the variations in degree each household exhibits "Native" or "Euroamerican" cultural heritage. How that spectrum plays out in the arena of subsistence would be a compelling topic for research.

For families that have maintained strong attachments to the teachings of their Sugpiaq ancestors, subsistence activities and accompanying beliefs shape much of what being Alutiiq is today. Holistic knowledge of the environment and intimate knowledge of specific plants, animals, and fish validate a commitment to place, family, and community, and to their enduring health. The fruits of subsistence activities support an individual's or a family's obligations to extended family, church, community, and other social institutions—and even support and maintain culture and identity. Through gifts and trade networks, subsistence foods and materials preserve inter-community relations and connect village members to the larger Alutiiq world.



Peter Lind, an Alutiiq artist originally from Chignik Lake, wearing a bentwood hunting visor decorated with carved ivory figures and sea lion whiskers. Homer, 1997. Courtesy National Park Service.

Alutiiqs entwine the past and the present through the whole array of subsistence activities—gathering, fishing, and hunting, sharing food with families and friends, processing plants and game, cooking traditional foods, and celebrating events with feasts. Subsistence activities are not, however, routines in which outmoded technologies are used or activities reenacted. They are part of a lifestyle that provides context and meaning to the quickly changing present.

Like all human groups, the Alutiiq have adopted new technologies and incorporated fresh ideas into their pursuits so that their means of getting food from the land around them are contemporary; but the past provides culturally and historically generated beliefs about the environment and the food sources in it, ideas about strategies of the hunt, instructions about behaviors and speech, and conduits to ancestors and the spiritual world. Subsistence activities, when carried out in the context of Alutiiq tradition, contribute to the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the Native community. Subsistence, then, is about connection and relationship, about respect and care, and also about position and prestige.

Among traditional Alutiiq families, hunting skills and customs are passed from one generation to the next through fathers, uncles, or grandfathers. For those who continue to subscribe to their elders' teachings, the young hunter has the responsibility to learn the necessary skills and to respect and carry on the traditions. Hunting in disrespectful ways by members of the Alutiiq community are seen as damaging to life, spirit, and history. For no hunt is this more important than the bear hunt. Because of the similarity between bears and humans, the special relationship of women to bears, and the palpable tension inherent in the bear hunt, social ideals are reflected in the bear hunt. One's behavior toward self, family, or community can influence the relationship between man and bear, and the hunt. The hunt can be said to mirror social relationships in the village. Social precepts to work hard and never brag about accomplishments, respect others' strengths and know their weaknesses, treat family with care, and attend to the spiritual world are all intrinsic to the hunt. Neglect of the behaviors that accompany these values can lead to serious consequences for the bear hunter. Men who bragged about their abilities are known to have been crippled by bears, others who talk too much about bears are unsuccessful in the hunt, while men who do not have a clear conscience about their home life may be uneasy about entering the bear's realm and seeking a fresh bear trail. On the other hand, a hunter who is successful in all aspects of the hunt may well be looked up to.

At present, many Alutiiq subsistence beliefs and methods are not being passed down and young people who hunt in non-traditional, resource-threatening ways are a concern to the elders and their peers. Elders recognize that many young hunters are not listening to the stories or learning the lessons of their parents, aunts and uncles, and grandparents and this is often blamed on school, easy access to economic resources, television, and the allure of pop culture.[408] Some traditional pursuits like trapping fur-bearers, are infrequently passed on because, although a few men continue to trap, fur-bearers are no longer used for subsistence or essential to the cash economy. Still, in most households people find the time to engage in some subsistence activities and this engagement is seen as a vital part of life, community, and connection.

Feeding the Ties that Bind: Networks of Sharing and Trading

Almost every time a visitor to the Peninsula takes an inter-village flight, some local resident is sending a relative or friend berries, fish, or, meat. When people

go visiting, either inter- or intra-village, they bring their hosts, who are often relatives, a fish, a big bowl of chitons, a bucket of berries, or a bundle of roots for scrubbing while in the steambath. These foods may be used at the next meal, or put aside for an upcoming event. Through the telephone and CB-radio, people keep track of where the caribou are and which berries are ripe and where—salmon berries from the Chigniks are sent or brought to Pilot Point, and crow berries and lowbush cranberries arrive at the Chigniks to be used in *akutaq* (made from berries, sugar, and fat of some kind whipped to form a creamy delicacy). During summer, smokehouses are full of split red salmon and in fall, the first silver salmon of the season are admired and exclaimed over by those who receive them. At name day (Orthodox celebration of the feast day for the Saint after whom the person is named) and birthday celebrations, it may be mentioned that someone from a distant village sent the fish or meat that goes into a stew or pie.

The exchange of subsistence foods between the households of the Peninsula is obvious to even the casual observer. Most sharing goes on within each village, but on closer examination the subsistence net casts wide as resources are exchanged with Alaskan villages as far away as Barrow, Sitka, and Akutan, and larger cities of Anchorage and Seattle.[409] Virtually every household is involved in the exchange of wild foods and plant materials. Because many people who grew up on the Peninsula spend portions of their life in Anchorage and other cities, they rely on relatives to supply them with subsistence foods. The trade networks also allow people to keep up on family events, local news, traveling conditions, and hunting and fishing activity. Significant differences in available land and ocean resources sustain active travel and trade across the Peninsula as well.

Elders hold a special place in Alutiiq communities and this is particularly apparent by their place in the subsistence food networks. The first catch of a young hunter is given to his grandmother or "auntie" to honor her. This also establishes a life-long pattern of providing for the elders. Elders are the most frequent recipients of subsistence foods and their freezers and caches are often full.

Economy and Subsistence

The economy of the Peninsula villages is complicated, and long-term fluctuations in sources and levels of income are not well-studied.[410] Today a mixture of cash income, government transfer payments, and subsistence resources supports nearly every household. These various economic sources, as a whole, constitute the economy of each village. All five villages are fishing communities in which commercial fishing or fishing-related jobs provide the main source of income. Government jobs also provide a substantial percentage of cash income for most villages. Despite the large salmon runs, average per capita income is well below the state average, and people rely to some extent on subsistence foods and the flow of them through the communities.

Although lists of subsistence resources used, calendars of the seasonal round, and maps of use areas do not begin to explain what subsistence is, these documents chart its course in time and space, and perhaps ascribe an economic niche. The spatial and temporal analyses of subsistence, based on available natural resources,



Pilot Point, 1997.
Michele Morseth, courtesy
National Park Service.

demonstrate the extent of land use to twentieth-century managers and politicians; such analyses do not divulge the patterns of movement across the land over the course of one year or a lifetime, the depth of knowledge necessary to harvest and process a rich variety of resources throughout the year, or the economic choices people must constantly make—within the subsistence economy or between it and the mainstream, wage labor economy or other aspects of life. That any part of the subsistence economy has survived a century of increasing government transfer payments and grocery store access attests to its

importance to the economy and well being of Peninsula households.

Over two centuries ago, Russian fur traders in the Aleutians and the Kodiak archipelagos forced Alutiiqs to disrupt their traditional economy, thus putting their families in danger of starvation. From an economy based on the fur trade and subsistence, adjustments were made for cannery work and fishing a century ago. Since then wage labor and salaried jobs have come to the Peninsula, along with seasonal demands of movements to cities, school, and the various meetings, conferences, and church events people are involved in.

Fishing, long a principal activity of Alutiiq people, became a wage labor job for many Natives in the early part of the century. The industry evolved until the limited entry system combined with high prices and large fish runs provided large amounts of cash income in the 1970s and 1980s. Today, fish runs are smaller, prices are lower, and many permits have gone to outsiders. Many residents feel that limited entry system severely disrupted the village socio-economic structure. For those who hold permits, incomes can fluctuate widely from year to year, and tend to vary greatly between villages. Subsistence fishing and hunting are not a supplement or a bonus to the other, mainstream, "legitimate" economy, nor is it a relic of the past—it is a part of contemporary life that is separate from the capitalist economy engaged in through fishing, wage labor, and collecting government transfer payments. Households do not rely on a single source of income, nor does any one household tend to be self-reliant, rather they are linked to family and connected to a system of resource exchange. To an outsider, that system of exchange might seem to give people less as they give away their hard won resources to family members in need. The same family that to an outsider looks impoverished, can easily invite elders to eat with them, give large amounts of fish and meat to others, or host a village-wide birthday party where everyone is invited to come and feast on lavish dishes of caribou, local fish and shellfish, fresh bread, berry pies, and birthday cakes.

Harvest and Harvest Areas—Aniakchak

Aniakchak contains one of the main Bristol Bay to Pacific Ocean corridors on the Peninsula—the Meshik River lowlands to the Aniakchak River drainage. It is ideal terrain for caribou, moose, waterfowl, and fur-bearing animals. The Meshik River forms a large lowland with many tributaries, small lakes, and marshes. This, along with the Black Lake/Unangashak River to the south and the Cinder/King Salmon River lowlands to the north, forms a large area suitable for caribou. It is the main harvest area for villages of Port Heiden and Chignik Lake. The Pacific coast of Aniakchak Preserve is a primary subsistence use area for Chignik Bay and Chignik Lagoon, although Port Heiden residents have been known to use Aniakchak Bay as well.

As Peninsula residents tend to harvest resources close to their villages or easily accessibly by boat, use areas are generalized for each village. However, a move from one village to another may effectively widen an individual's or family's subsistence use area to include



Chignik Lake, 1997. Michele Morseth, courtesy National Park Service.

Opposite:
Tarnaq, Angelica lucida, *is used in the steambath or banya. Its long leafy branches are used as a switch to stimulate circulation, while the roots can be broken open and put on top of the rocks as an aromatic. 1997. Michele Morseth, courtesy National Park Service.*

both villages. For example, residents of Pilot Point who grew up in the Chigniks will travel to the Chigniks to get berries and ocean resources not available to them near Pilot Point. Chignik residents may travel to the Ilnik and Port Heiden area to hunt caribou. These patterns are not a result of easy air transport but can be found in the historic period, and probably much earlier. Ugashik River men walked and kayaked to Portage, Wide, and Chiginagak bays to have access to Pacific resources; later they took their families in skiffs and sailboats to Lake Becharov and overland to Kanatak. Travel between the settlements of Ilnik, Unangashak, and Meshik and the Chigniks was commonly done through the Unangashak/Chignik River portage where people portaged baidarkas and later small skiffs across the Peninsula.

Port Heiden is the closest village to Aniakchak and subsistence use of Aniakchak areas is quite extensive. Alaska Department of Fish and Game studies from 1963 to 1983 show that the Port Heiden use area covered the Bristol Bay watershed north and south of the village, from Cinder River to south of Ilnik. Aniakchak lands included in the subsistence use areas

were the Meshik River, its tributaries, and Aniakchak Bay, where people dug clams.[411] Pilot Point inhabitants are not shown to use Aniakchak areas nor the Pacific beaches, but more recent data show that they use Yantarni and other bays along the coast to dig clams and hunt.

The Chignik villages harvest areas from 1962 to 1982 were concentrated in the Chignik River corridor and along the Pacific coast to the east and south. Harvest areas differed from village to village, but these distinctions are not included here. Subsistence harvest areas within the Preserve include Kujulik, Aniakchak, and Amber bays, and the adjacent lowlands and capes and, near Port Heiden, the flanks of the caldera. Inland areas include the Aniakchak and Meshik river corridors. The main subsistence resources were moose and caribou. The Pacific coastline is accessed by fishing boats and occasionally small airplanes. Moose and caribou hunters travel from the beaches inland by three- and four-wheelers or on foot, carrying the meat back to their skiffs. In previous decades traplines covered much of the coastal terrain, but most of this use was discontinued by the 1950s. Waterfowl and invertebrates are also taken along the coast. The open coastal tundra, such as that on Cape Kumlik, contains many traditional berry-picking areas as well. On the Bristol Bay side, moose and caribou harvest areas include the flanks of the caldera, upper Birthday Creek, and upper Meshik River. Today these areas are accessed by four-wheelers.

Because of the large salmon runs on Alaska Peninsula rivers, fish has been the mainstay of Alaska Peninsula Alutiiq economy, both as a subsistence resource and, for much of the last century, as a commercial endeavor. In addition to salmon, locals fish for halibut, cod, smelt, herring, trout, and a variety of other fish and shellfish. Aniakchak Bay was previously known for its clam beds and the marine mammals that use the reefs and islands off shore.

A user group that has not been investigated are the fishermen who travel between Kodiak and Chignik for commercial fishing. Chignik residents are concerned about Kodiak-based fishermen hunting caribou along the Pacific coast, including the coast of Aniakchak. They contend that these are not traditional users.

Plant Use

A high percentage of households use wild berries. Favorite and most commonly used berries are salmon berries, lowbush cranberries, blueberries, and black or crowberries.[412] Wine berries, cloudberries, and strawberries are also used, but in smaller quantities. The high, grassy bluffs of Cape Kumlik in Aniakchak Bay have long been used for berry picking.

Leafy plants are taken in the spring when leaves are tender and sweet. "Petrushkies" (lovage or wild celery, *Ligusticum scoticum*) are stored either dried or frozen and used as a flavoring for fish. Cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*), locally called "putshki," is eaten raw or cooked or preserved when taken in the spring. Besides the commonly known berries and leafy greens, about ten locally gathered or regionally available (through subsistence trade networks) plants are used for tea, food, steam baths, or internal and external maladies.

A line of inquiry grazed the surface of the traditional use of plants for food and medicine. Often, common





Qanganaŋuaq or yarrow, 1997. Michele Morseth, courtesy National Park Service.

Food and Medicinal Uses for Plants and Other Resources[113]

Aatunaq (wild spinach, sourdock)
Large *Rumex* sp.
- Has both food and medicinal uses.
- Only young leaves should be consumed.
- Use tart, lemony tasting leaves for akutaq, soups, and pudding.
- Use leaves for fruit pudding with sugar, cornstarch, and flour.
- To store, cook leaves, put in jars in layers with fresh leaves on top.
- Make poultice of large, whole leaves to chill a fever—wrap feet in several layers of whole leaves and wrap a cloth over to seal.

Alagnat (salmonberry) *Rubus spectabilis*
- Use berries for jams and jellies and akutaq.

Alam'a'askaaq (wild chamomile or pineapple weed)
Matricaria matricarioides
- "Used to clean out the system."
- Given to mothers and infants to clean the system and get the mother's milk flowing and the baby's system working. Helps clean out the placenta.
- Can cause diarrhea.
- Barbara Shangin (b. 1896), used it to help sweat off colds.

Amarsaq (high bush cranberry) *Viburnum edule*
- Has food and medicinal uses.
- Use for jelly and syrup.
- Make tea out of the fresh inner-bark and berries and give to people suffering from congested lungs and pneumonia.

Asirllia'aruaq (candle flower)
- Make tea and drink when having chills—it makes you sweat.
- Boil roots or chew raw and swallow the juice for relief of sore throat.
- Roots can be used as antiseptic on cuts.

Atsat blackberry (blackberry, crowberry)
Empetrum nigrum
- Use for akutaq, pies, and jelly.

Caa'in (alder) *Alnus* sp.
- Stool softener.
- Boil "berries", strain and drink tea (berries are green immature female fruit).
- Ashes crushed with mortar and pestle with strong tea and tobacco used to make snuff.

Curat (bog blueberry) *Vaccinium uliginosum*
- Use in akutaq and for jam.

Curarpiit (oval leaf or early blueberry)
accinium ovalifolium
- Use in akutaq and for jam.

Kenegtat (lowbush cranberry, lingonberry)
accinium vitis-idaea
- Use in akutaq and for cranberry relish.

Nuniguataq (Mountain Ash) *Sorbus sp.*
- Make juice out of berries and drink to cure pneumonia.

Petrushki (beach lovage, wild celery)
Ligusticum scoticum
- Harvest leaves before flowering, they taste like sweet parsley.
- Use leaves to flavor boiled fish.
- Dry and use leaves in soup as a vegetable.

Puyurniit (wineberry, nagoonberry) *Rubus arcticus*
- Use in akutaq and for jelly.

Qamngialnguq (bracket fungus)
- Dry and make into a powder for snuff.

Qamngialnguq (bracket fungus)
- Dry for snuff

Qangananguaq (yarrow) *Achillea borealis*
- Use long, leafy stems in the banya (steam bath) as a switch.
- Dip in hot water and make a poultice to treat aches in joints and muscles.

Taariq (unidentified dried grass roots)
- Form into a bundle, use to scrub in the banya.

Tarnaq (wild celery) *Angelica lucida*
- Use leafy branches as a switch in the banya.
- Break open and rub roots on joints or aching muscles.
- Break open roots and put on top of hot rocks for an aromatic in the banya.

Ugsuun (Puchki, cow parsnip) *Heracleum lanatum*
- Eat leaves in early summer when young.
- Peel and pickle stems can be pickled.
- Caution: in late summer plant can cause skin sensitivity to sun and rashes.

Uruq (moss)
- Dried for filling mattress or filling cracks between house logs.

Other

Peluq (wood ash)
- Wrap hot ashes or rocks from wood fire in cloth and use as hot pad.

Qikarlluk (caribou sinew)
- For treatment of boils, put sugar paste on overnight to draw pus out of boil. Roll caribou sinew or a piece of gut into a thread and put into the boil cavity. Cover it with gut that's been wetted and cover with a thin piece of cloth to hold it in place. In the morning, pull out the sinew coated with pus and repeat, thickening the thread as necessary, until the cavity is clean or pink. Do not use soap and water on the boil as that will infect it.

Porcupine feet
- Boil and peel off the skin from the bottom, dry them and light them. The smell will drive away the flu.
- The dried pads are also good to chew on while out on the trail.

Maggots
- Put feet in a big pile of maggots for a few minutes to warm feet and increase circulation in winter.

plants are taken for use from specific areas because they contain certain qualities. Remedies for various maladies were found in introduced plant products such as Black Bull Tobacco which was used as an antiseptic. Plants were also used for mats, scrubbers, and other household items, but little detailed information on these uses has been collected. Local, Sugtestun, and Latin names and uses of various plants also remain to be documented.

Mammals

Large mammals, both terrestrial and sea, form a large part of the diet in the Chigniks and along Bristol Bay. Large mammal species hunted in Aniakchak include moose and caribou. Residents of the Peninsula hunt mainly caribou and, for those who have developed a taste for it since its relatively recent arrival, moose. When they first arrived, some people were afraid of the large, unfamiliar animal and others who were offered the new meat refused to accept the gift.

Bears are dispersed across the landscape for part of the year, but concentrate at salmon streams during salmon runs. Bear hunting for food continues to be part of the subsistence take, although it is of less importance than in previous generations. Peninsula bears are hunted more as trophy animals than for food.

Seals and sea lions were once taken off the shores of Aniakchak. They were used for food and also for feeding semi-domesticated foxes. Fewer sea mammals are taken today but some people continue to enjoy seal oil, braided seal intestines, and dried seal meat. The seal stomach has long been used as a container for seal oil. Residents of Chignik Lake hunt harbor seals in the lake near the village.

Environmental Influences on Subsistence

The environmental factors influencing subsistence effort and subsistence catch include proximity of resources to villages, weather and storm cycles, and amount and duration of freezing on both land and water.[414] In general, the temperate climate of the Peninsula allows a large variety of subsistence foods year-round. Proximity of subsistence resources to villages and fish camps influences the frequency and duration of attempted harvest and harvest levels. Traditionally villages were placed where resources were abundant and most present day villages have followed that same pattern. Peninsula residents can often take fish and caribou throughout the year, thereby foregoing frozen storage which can be an expensive alternative. As one resident of Chignik Lake emphasized, "we are not freezer people, we eat fresh foods. When we run out, we go out and get meat or fish or whatever we need."[415]Storage is often limited to supplies of smoked salmon and small amounts of recently caught fish or meat.

Weather directly influences subsistence potentiality and success. While the Peninsula is known for rainy, foggy weather, storms are not usually of long duration; hunters and fishers are not usually stopped by inclement weather for more than a few days to a week. Longer term weather patterns that affect the caribou and fish populations or the fruiting of berry plants have greater impact. While decreases in population of caribou or fish may no longer be life threatening to residents, they can bring economic hardship. Fish,

because they are a subsistence resource and the economic mainstay of the Peninsula, are especially important to the economic health of residents.

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Patterns of sea ice freezing influence the difference in amount and number of resources harvested between Pacific and Bristol Bay communities.[416] The year-round open water of the Pacific provides on-going access to fish and invertebrates like cod, halibut, crab[417], and octopus for Chignik residents. In contrast, Bristol Bay, at the southern extent of the winter ice pack, freezes over in winter, blocking off access to salt water resources. On land, a lack of freezing and snowfall, in comparison, can make it difficult for caribou hunters to travel in wintertime, making access to herds difficult.

Sport Hunting

Sport hunting, especially trophy hunting for bear, caribou, and moose, exerts a particular influence on subsistence. Local residents established a tradition of guiding sport hunters nearly a century ago. Both Non-native and Alutiiq locals have guided, although today the majority of big game guides do not live in the local area. For some Alutiiq, subsistence beliefs cannot be reconciled with sport hunters' beliefs and goals, but others accept the differences and earn income guiding big game hunters.

The strong indigenous belief in using all of the animal, and not bringing parts back to the village that are not going to be used is antithetical to the trophy hunter's aim to bring back the head and hide, merely for show. Sport hunting is a way to display power and wealth; to the extent the big game hunter embraces his identity as a big game hunter, success reinforces his position of prestige back home. For the traditional Alutiiq hunter, hunting carries prestige, but in a different way. A life-long commitment to hunting is built on a relationship with animals that involves humility and respect; the animal is hunted for food (and previously was hunted for raw material for implements, clothing, bedding, etc.), with all of the responsibility inherent in subsistence, and the "trophy" parts—the head, teeth, and sometimes the hide and claws—are left in or returned to the animal's environment.[418]

Attempts have been made to supply villages with meat from trophy moose and caribou kills, thereby fulfilling the legal requirement that sport hunters not waste edible parts of animals. This meat is often rejected, to the puzzlement of the non-Natives who are trying to give it away. Too often, trophy hunters are careless about placing shots—they may shoot an animal several times, unnecessarily hitting it in the abdomen or hindquarter, thus destroying the edible parts. Villagers explain that the meat is often spoiled,

either by poor shooting or lack of proper treatment before bringing it to the villages. Two other factors may enter into this refusal to accept wild game that sport hunters do not use. Native subsistence hunters not only have a lifetime's experience hunting animals in their environment, they also carry the experience of their ancestors to the field. Signs that give information about the spirit world are read, and animals are assessed for health and normalcy before they are shot. A lack of knowledge about the circumstances of a hunt may cause people to be reluctant to accept meat. Furthermore, accepting food implies a relationship to another person—a Native person, often already in an uneasy relationship to sport hunters and their guides, may be unwilling to accept the obligation along with the meat.

Many questions relating to use and value of resources beg answering. Transmission of culturally sustaining and environmentally healthy aspects of the traditional ways of hunting, fishing, and gathering is a concern to young and old hunters. It is too easy to judge traditional knowledge as forgotten, although for much specific knowledge that is the case, and hunters today lament their own ignorance about what their ancestors knew. Still, others try to uphold traditional ways and encourage their hunting peers to do the same. It might be important to document traditional ecological knowledge of Aniakchak, and explore how much ecological knowledge about hunting, trapping, and gathering is being transmitted.

Chapter nine

Inupiat Inmigration

The Inupiat migration to the Peninsula and how Inupiat families carved out a life in the new country is a sparsely documented, even neglected aspect of the area's history. According to local residents, the Inupiat initially moved to the Peninsula with the reindeer herds that were introduced to the Pilot Point area in 1910. The majority came, however, in 1913, when a large group from the Nome area (Sledge Island, Little Diomede, Mary's Igloo, Teller, and Nome) arrived by Revenue Cutter in Nelson Lagoon (map 9.A). They were joined the next year by family members arriving on Charlie Madsen's schooner.[419] Inupiaq families came primarily to find work in the canneries. When speaking of the past, local Peninsula residents often refer to "Natives" (local people of mixed Alutiiq or Yup'ik, Russian, and Euroamerican descent) and "Eskimos" (Inupiat who came from the Nome area). Today, few Inupiat remember the time families moved south from Northwest Alaska—few can say exactly what drove some people to stay and others to return north after the move. But for those who stayed, maintenance of the Inupiat language and culture as well as engagement in the local socioeconomic system became a reality. Despite being hundreds of miles from home and dispersed over a large area, they maintained a strong community feeling.

Cultural preservation for Inupiat living among the mixed Alutiiq/Euroamerican population in part came from their physical separation and ostracism by the Alutiiq and other long term residents. They lived much of the year in isolated settlements, spoke Inupiat, and worked and socialized within their community. Still, many of them learned the local Sugtestun and English. Their children went to school with the Alutiiq and Euroamerican children. As one local Alutiiq elder remarked, "they kept their language and culture better than we did."[420] And indeed, they did: the few remaining Inupiaq households continue to speak Inupiaq in the home.

In Nome, many Inupiat who had moved to town to participate in the market economy could no longer find ways to earn cash. One man explained: "my father didn't carve ivory and we didn't know how to dig gold them days."[421] Trappers and fur-traders, faced with declining fur prices, were compelled to find new ways to make a living. The gold rush was over; the miners, the entrepreneurs, and the cash were gone. Nome languished and the many Inupiat initially drawn to the city at the height of its prosperity were without work. Meanwhile, enterprising entrepreneurs were figuring out how best to exploit the schools of salmon that swam into Bristol Bay every summer. As the fishing industry expanded, canneries needed workers.

Although Inupiaq trappers on the Seward Peninsula relied only partially on winter trapping, it had been

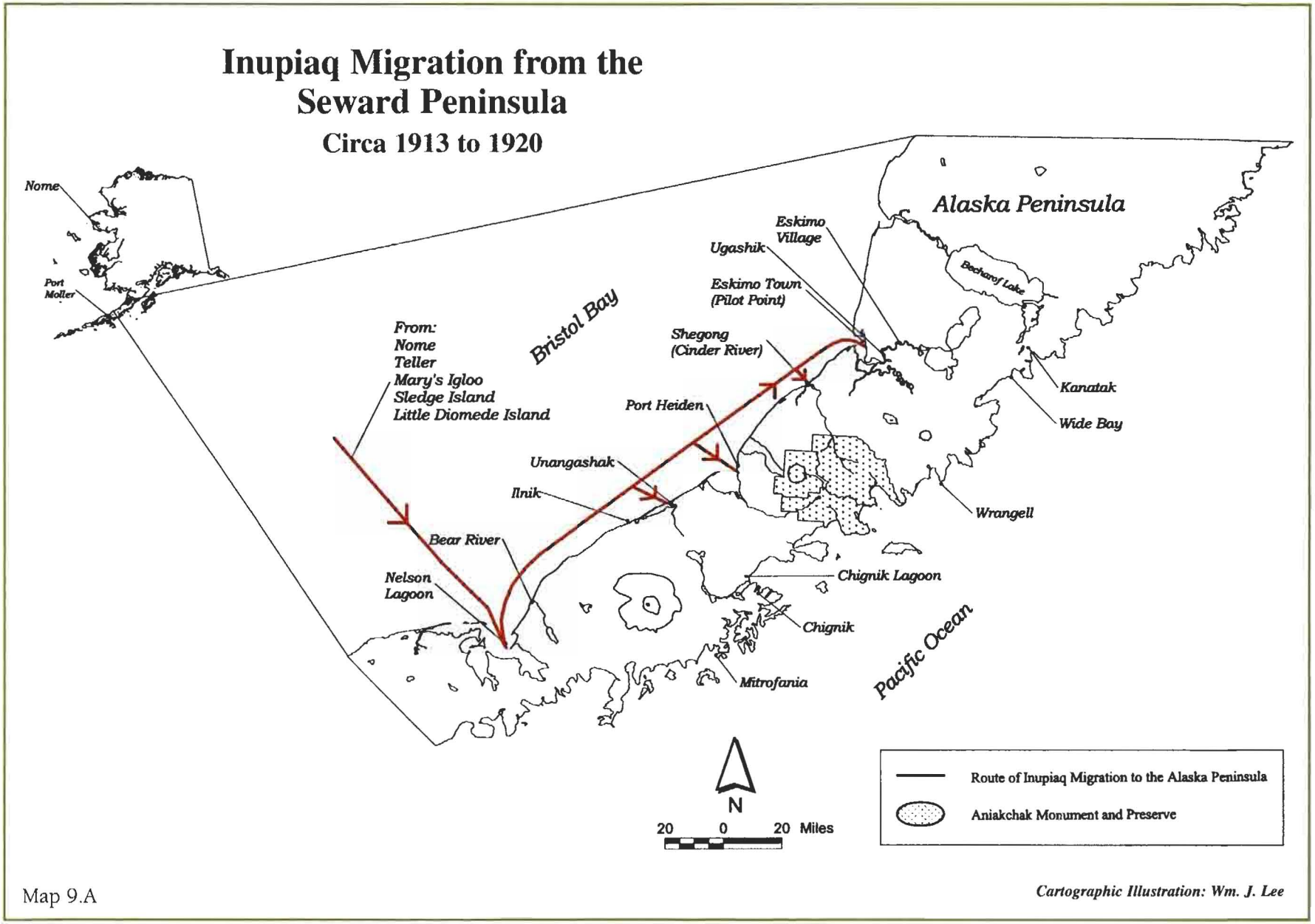
a lucrative occupation, well-suited to seasonal movements and activities. In search of work, families and individuals traveled south from the Nome area, not only by Revenue Cutter and schooner but also by wooden whale boats and skin-covered umiaks. In the winter, they traveled by dog sled. In 1913 the population from Nelson Lagoon to Port Moller swelled from 18 "Aleuts"[422] counted in 1910 to 186, "most of them Eskimos [Inupiat] from the Nelson Lagoon colony" at Port Moller.[423] Port Moller, Herendeen Bay, and probably Nelson Lagoon had supported cannery operations by 1913.[424] The population of Port Moller comprised 131 men, 23 women, and 32 children under the age of 12; of these, 33 men, 22 women, and 32 children were working in the cannery.[425] The many Inupiat who moved down to the canneries at Herendeen Bay formed their own community near the established settlements. In the years that followed, family members joined them.

Three generations of the Supsook family made the journey to the Alaska Peninsula with two other families aboard Charlie Madsen's schooner *Challenger* in 1914.[426] The Zunganuk and Riley families came by skin boat, a journey which took two summers. As they made the long trip down the coast, the skin boats periodically needed to be dried out, water-proofed and repaired. They traveled during the summers and stopped for the winter along the way.

Pacific American Fisheries, in Port Moller, packed over 80,000 cases of fish in 1914, presumably assisted by the new labor force of Inupiat.[427] The Bering Sea Packing Company built a new cannery in 1916 in Herendeen Bay and it seemed the area was becoming a well established cannery town. The increased activity and population prompted the opening of a school at "the old Eskimo village," near Herendeen Bay, where both Inupiat and "Aleut" (probably Alutiiq or Alutiiq and Unangan) students attended from 1915 to the late 1920s.[428] However, there were not enough jobs for the numbers of Inupiat who had migrated. By 1917, families were moving northeast up the Peninsula from the Port Moller area to Port Heiden and the Ugashik River. At first, the newly migrated Inupiat worked in the canneries, but those who could soon became fishermen. They also established traplines in the winters. Port Heiden became a village of both Alutiiq and Inupiat. In Pilot Point, the Inupiat established "Eskimo Town" outside of the old village. The number of families who moved up the Peninsula is unknown. The Inupiat community, like the Aleut and Alutiiq community, suffered from the 1919 influenza pandemic. It is not known, however, the extent of Inupiat die-off from influenza. Influenza had left many villages, including Pilot Point, desolate. Inupiat joined others to form new communities in the depopulated villages.

The Inupiat formed small communities at Unangashak, Shegong (at the mouth of the Cinder River), Eskimo Town, at above Ugashik at Eskimo Village. They established camps at Ugashik Lakes where they could trap, hunt, and fish in winter. Nick Ablama, a longtime resident of Egegik and Pilot Point, remembers:

> *I used to go there [to Ugaassaq] when the Eskimos were there. When the original people were all gone [after the 1919 epidemic]. Some of them were over here [Pilot Point]. There is Eskimo Village someplace here, too.*



Map 9.A

Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee

Very few Inupiat are listed in the census taken in the winter of 1920, a year after the flu pandemic. Unangashak, Ilnik, and Bear River were all populated solely by Alutiiq from Katmai, Kodiak, Ugashik and the other Peninsula villages. Only Port Heiden was a mixed village, with ten Alutiiq, seven Euroamericans and 13 Inupiat belonging to two families—Newport and Aleatuck (Aletuk). The latter had taken in three orphan children in addition to two of their own. The men in these families were listed as trappers. All Native people in Pilot Point are identified only as "Indian" for that year, so ethnic identity is more difficult to ascertain. The old Alutiiq names are gone however, and there are many new Euroamerican names. By 1950 Pilot Point had more Inupiat residents than Alutiiq. Other Inupiat family names associated with the Peninsula include Achayok, Awanuk, Kiglonok, Metigoruk, Nikavik, Riley, Spoon, Supsook, and Zunganuk.

Like other Peninsula families in the 1920s and 1930s, Inupiat concentrated on trapping for their winter occupation. They spent their winters on traplines far away from the cannery villages. Some families owned reindeer as well. Many families lived in Eskimo Town during the summer when they fished Bristol Bay, and in Autumn they packed up their gear and supplies and moved to trap lines along Ugashik and Salmon rivers in the Ugashik area and, near Port Heiden, the Unangashak, Shegong, and North (Reindeer Creek) rivers.[429] The extent of the traplines is not known, nor is how they negotiated with the local trappers for trapline and cabin locations. John Kegluneq and others trapped around Blue Mountain.[430] William Zunganuk trapped the Unangashak area. When prices were high, furs provided a good income. Sam Supsook brought his father and mother, wife, and children down to the Port Moller area in 1913. They stayed in the Port Moller area for four years until they moved north to Port Heiden where they had their son, Valentine, in 1917. When Valentine was a child, the Supsooks lived on North River, on the northwest side of Aniakchak caldera, where Sam ran a trapline up North River for several years. The family went to the Zunganuk's reindeer roundup on Reindeer Creek, where the older boys helped with the corralling. In the summer the family moved to Ugashik and those who were old enough fished Bristol Bay on drift-gillnet sailboats. When the children were still small Sam's wife passed away and Valentine, the youngest child, was sent to the orphanage at Dillingham. In the orphanage he was surrounded by children who spoke Yup'ik and Sugtestun, although there were a few orphans who spoke Inupiat. When he was 16 he was released from the orphanage and the next year he returned to his family. At that time they and some other Inupiat families were living at Shegong and trapping the Cinder River area. Valentine had lived at Shegong as a child, and later in life he returned with his common-law wife. Valentine also spent winters trapping near Pike Lake, and near the upper Ugashik.

The Zunganuk family settled at the site of Unangashak for many years where Willie ran the store owned by George Albert.[431] The families of Willie Zunganuk and Olaf Matson also spent several winters in a "duplex barabara" north of Unangashak where the men trapped together. The site is called Tanganok in Alutiiq, which means "lots of water."

These families, who lived together for several years, represented three very distinct cultures and four or

five languages: Inupiat, Norwegian, Sugtestun, English, and probably Russian. The Zunganuks had come from Nome. Olaf Matson, from Larvik, Norway, had married a "Russian-Aleut" woman from Chignik. Olaf learned Sugtestun well enough to understand and speak a little; his wife Annie, whose first language was Sugtestun, also learned some Inupiat from the Zunganuks. Willie spoke Inupiat at home with his wife, Nellie, but they both learned enough Sugtestun to get by. Nearly everyone spoke at least some English.

Many residents of the Bristol Bay coast were multilingual. While most did not understand Inupiat, there were those who did. Aleck Constantine, an Alutiiq whose family was from the Ilnik area, remembers hearing his father speaking Inupiat as well as English and Sugtestun.[432]

The Inupiat retained not only their language, but also their culture. Orthodox looked upon them with suspicion—they did not attend the Russian Orthodox Church, they danced their traditional dances, and some of them were believed to be shamans or have shamanic powers. They were ostracized by both the Euroamerican and Native communities and, although there were some marriages between Inupiat and Alutiiq, the Inupiat tended to marry other Inupiat. Not everyone however was suspicious. An elder originally from Pilot Point remembers that

> *the Eskimos, because they came from out there, I used to see some of them dance. They used to dance [their own style]. Yes, in Pilot Point. The Eskimos danced very well. Perhaps they learned their dances out there.... It was great to watch them dance.*[433]

By the late 1800s, the Russian Orthodox Church dominated Alutiiq communities. By the time they had moved south, the Inupiat migrants had been exposed to Protestantism up north and they did not join the Russian Orthodox Church. The extent to which the Inupiat community participated in established churches is unknown. However, the Seventh-Day Adventists had a church on Swimming Lake in Pilot Point as well as a mission across Bristol Bay at Lake Alegnagik. Pauline Supsook remembers that many of the peninsular Inupiat were Seventh-Day Adventists, and they attended church during summers in Pilot Point. She recalls being baptized at age ten or eleven—"I was too young, I didn't want to be baptized—I was too young."[434] After marrying her first husband, Charles Acheyok, in 1939, she sent her daughter to the Seventh-Day Adventist mission school in Alegnagik.

Reindeer

The history of the early days of the reindeer herds on the Alaska Peninsula is sketchy. The old herders are long gone and those who remember the early herding were born in the second decade of the reindeer period. Few written documents remain and the original records may have burned in a school fire in the 1930s.[435] The first Ugashik reindeer herd was established about 1910. The animals were brought by a U.S. Revenue Cutter to Naknek or Pilot Point, then moved down the Peninsula. In 1910, 131 of the 380 deer in the Ugashik herd were government deer and 249 were owned by Natives.[436] Four herders had the majority of the deer; 67 herders each had one deer. Every owner had an ear mark to identify his deer.

The history of reindeer on the Peninsula and near Aniakchak remains, to some extent, in the minds of people who remember seeing the herds as children and as young men and women. Oral accounts give some indication of historic use of lands for reindeer herding near Aniakchak. In the early years, herds were small and controlled by chief herders who had individual areas and corrals. One herd was corralled at Reindeer Creek, west-northwest of Aniakchak caldera, where there were corrals at least in the early 1920s. This herd apparently grazed lands south of Cinder River and down to Port Heiden. This may have been the furthest southern extent of the Ugashik area herds (map 9.B).

William Zunganuk, from Mary's Igloo, became chief herder of the Port Heiden herd in the early 1920s. The reindeer were corralled at Reindeer Creek, just north of North River. Zunganuk's daughter, Pauline, who was born in Port Heiden, remembers the tickle on her hand when she fed the tame reindeer sugar. She also remembers that her father had sled deer and deer tame enough to milk, although she was never fond of reindeer milk. During corrallings, other Inupiat families would come and help out. Valentine Supsook, who is married to Pauline, remembers seeing her as an infant at a corralling shortly after her birth. The Zunganuks kept herding dogs as well as a team of huskies. Most of the year, Zunganuk herded, trapped, and hunted but, like nearly everyone else, he fished during the commercial salmon season. The reindeer were not watched during summertime, when the family sailed to Pilot Point for fishing. When Zunganuk's wife, Nellie, passed away, Pauline, still a young girl, had to quit school to take care of her sisters, one of whom was still nursing.

Another reindeer herd was corralled near the Cinder River where the chief herder, Nikavak, had a house near the Supsook's. Nikavak had married Sam Supsook's daughter. During the winter corralling, the young men—five or six of them—would camp "back of Cinder River" and move the herd toward the corral. As the reindeer crossed it, "the whole lagoon would be filled up with deer."[437]

The reindeer business did not always fit the seasonal lifestyle of either Inupiat or Alutiiqs. In 1930 John Kiglonok, the chief herder at Ugashik at the time, could find no reliable apprentices. Kiglonok, who had herded since he was a young man, apparently gave up and quit herding that year; the herd, with 500 fawns, scattered. Another chief herder reported that when he went out to visit the herd he found a note from the herders: "Good bye, we are gone. Good Luck!" In the 1930s, an effort was made to revitalize the industry, but, by that time few dedicated herders could be found. By 1931 and 1932. new apprentices were hired by the Reindeer Service, but it was difficult to find apprentices who were willing to put in the time necessary and make the lifestyle changes that herding required. Young men who had grown up trapping in the winter received good prices for their furs. Fishing took precedence over herding because it provided cash for the winter supplies. Unlike trapping and fishing, the reindeer industry promised slow returns on a large investment of time.

In 1937, the Zunganuk family went to Unangashak for the last time. The previous year, the Eskimo reindeer herds had been consolidated into the Peninsular Eskimo Reindeer Company of which Zunganuk was the chief herder. The idea was to join the herd and

consolidate the work through the company. Zunganuk moved his family permanently to Pilot Point.

Valentine Supsook remembers when the reindeer herds on the Peninsula had grown to more than 3,500 animals and all of the herds had joined into one large herd. At a big roundup "they tried to divide up the large herd and Eskimos take half and half, take to big lake, chase 'em down there and take 'em across the Ugashik, in winter, hear the ice crackling, March maybe sometime. [We were] hunting and trapping to make a living those days. They mixed back together, after they split the herd—they can't stay apart."[438]

Poaching by non-owners from Egegik, Kanatak, and people living around Lake Becharoff, the Ugashik Lakes, and Dago Creek, was also a problem. Poachers killed deer for food and for bait to use for trapping. People were known to camp out near the herds with their dog teams, fattening the dogs on reindeer meat. One trapper was rumored to have killed 20 deer for such uses. Nick Ablama remembers:

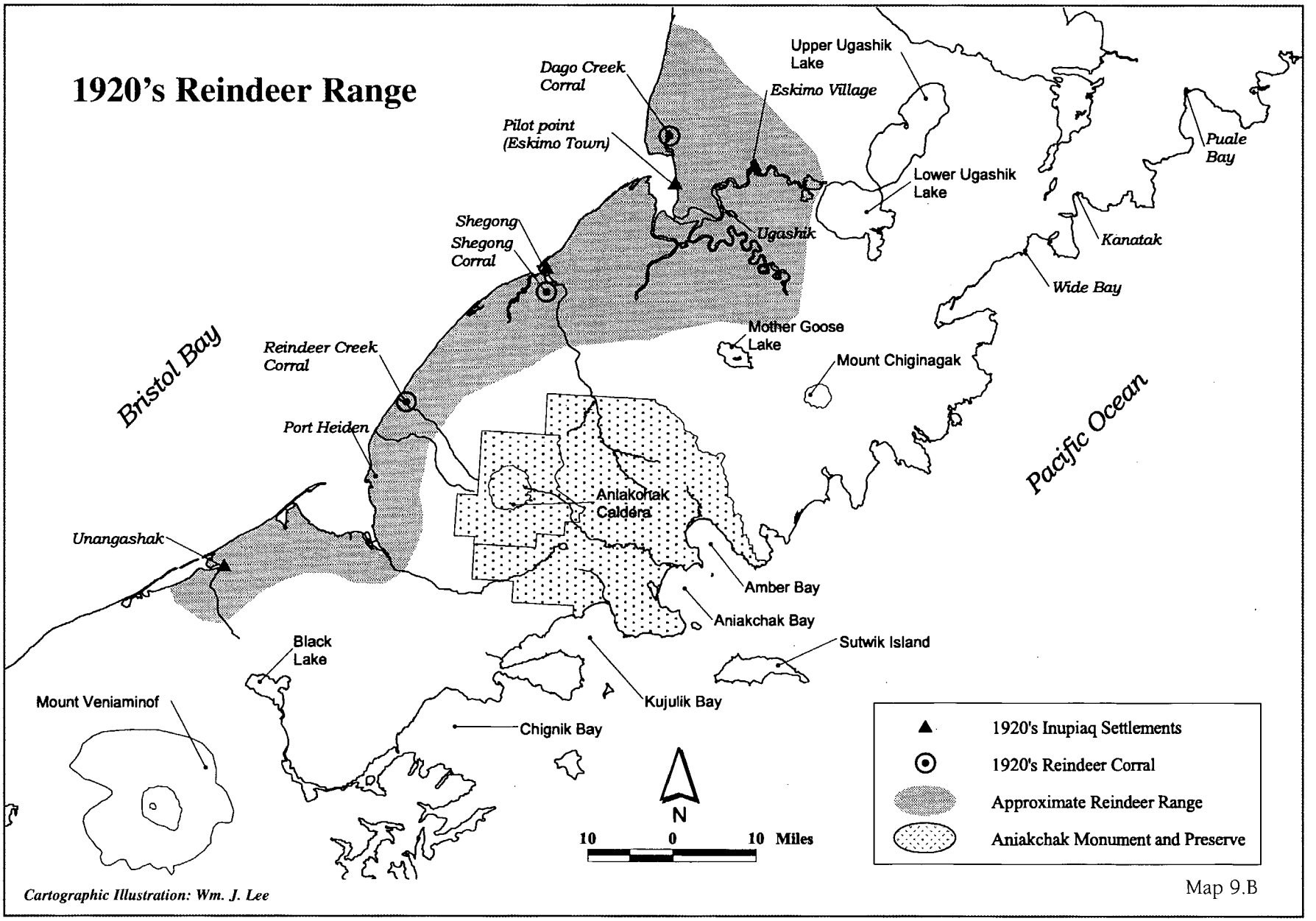
> *We used to travel by dogteam. We would look for reindeer. We would hunt reindeer. It was the source of food for the people.... The [domesticated] reindeer used to be plenty back in those days in the area of Kuigaaq creek.*[439]

A letter from Samuel C. Hanson, the local reindeer superintendent in 1937, gives some insight into the state of the industry and relations between the "Native" (Alutiiq) and Inupiat herders. By that time, the herd had expanded to over 4,000 animals and recruiting dedicated herders was a continuous challenge. The Alutiiq herders had organized into the Ugashik Cooperative Reindeer Company as a parallel to the Peninsular Eskimo Reindeer Company.

The herds harvested through the cooperatives could be sold or butchered only through the permit system; permits were issued to local people to butcher 250 reindeer that year. However, Superintendent Hanson complained that illegal private sales were taking place, and often the seller owned few or no deer. The herd was also heavily preyed upon by wolves and coyotes that year. Since 1932, the last year Hanson had gotten a herd population estimate, the population had decreased by about 20%.[440]

Hanson described that "the corral I built in 1934 was rotten before the next season. As I have told the Nome office many times before, we are up against something different here, with the deer proposition, than you are up there in the Seward Peninsula. Here this winter, we had open weather [sic] all winter, water, water everywhere. There was so much water this winter that the Natives and Eskimos couldn't trap, nor visit their traps for weeks."

The lifestyle of the reindeer owners was also seen as a problem; the trapping season overlapped with corralling which, according to the Range Rules, must have transpired by the end of February. In the summer, people were occupied with fishing and putting up fish and plant foods for the winter. Hanson reported that liquor was licensed to be sold even though two thirds of the population had petitioned against it, and "the boot-legger even going [sic] around to the Native's houses soliciting." He viewed the increased availability of alcohol, combined with an unmotivated generation of herders who had


1920's Reindeer Range
Dago Creek Corral
Upper Ugashik Lake
Eskimo Village
Pilot point (Eskimo Town)
Puale Bay
Lower Ugashik Lake
Shegong
Shegong Corral
Ugashak
Kanatak
Wide Bay
Bristol Bay
Reindeer Creek Corral
Mother Goose Lake
Mount Chiginagak
Port Heiden
Pacific Ocean
Aniakchak Caldera
Unangashak
Amber Bay
Aniakchak Bay
Black Lake
Sutwik Island
Mount Veniaminof
Kujulik Bay
Chignik Bay
N
10 0 10 Miles
1920's Inupiaq Settlements
1920's Reindeer Corral
Approximate Reindeer Range
Aniakchak Monument and Preserve
Cartographic Illustration: Wm. J. Lee
Map 9.B

inherited their herds from their fathers, as a death knell for reindeer herding in the area. It also appears that consolidation of the reindeer into herds of 2,000 animals, made a herd impossible for the few dedicated herders to control.

Hanson described the 1937 roundup:

> *Two weeks the Native Aleuts and Eskimos were out hunting for the deer. There had been three weeks of fine weather to go by, since the trapping season had close [sic] Feb. 15. After the first day or so out, the Natives sent back the Russian Priest after rubber boots. But he had bad luck with his dogs, and pretty nearly broke his leg on a "Nigger-head" [tussock]. He had to take the plane to the hospital at Kanakanak. This delayed the round-up. But luckily the weather turned again and held. So we had fine weather until all the deer except about 400 that would not be rounded up, including some bucks away north-east near Gas Rocks, south shore of Lake Becharoff.*
>
> *When all the rest of the deer were together, Willie Zunganok came in after me with his dog team. The day was ideal. Fine weather favored us. A skift of snow had lately fallen which grew deeper the further we went east, until the dogs, already weary with two weeks of almost constant going from morning til night, could scarcely pull the sled. Finally, after traveling about fifteen miles to the north-east of Pilot Point Village, we saw the deer on the knolls to [the] left. Across "Pike Lake" was the camp, about two miles further.*
>
> *Willie's leader, which he had turned loose, broke and ran after the deer, and "Snowflake", a reindeer dog that used to belong to Pete Olimpie, followed her. Sometime after the five Eskimo dog teams that had come with us had arrived, Eskimo teams from Ugashik arrived. (The way these Eskimos can smell when the others are coming is uncanny).*
>
> *The Natives kept by themselves and the Eskimos by themselves, but the Eskimos predominated. Lunch time was declared. Lunch over, we started out back tracking to surround the deer and drive them down on Pike Lake to divide the herd between Eskimo and Aleut. Willie complained that the Eskimos wouldn't "mind" him. Charley [Johnson] complained of the same about the Natives. I told Willie to take charge, as he is an old experienced herder. I told the rest to mind him. But soon I could see that they were not accomplishing their purpose. The deer were getting away. I ran over and started directing the natives where to go, etc., but they minded me about the same as they do their mothers when they are babies. (Their mothers always give them their own way).*
>
> *Finally, however, we had the deer down on Pike Lake, in spite of the contrary wind. We let them spread out in a crescent, over the surface of the lake—a crescent about a mile long. From a knoll I took pictures in sections of the whole herd—the only one like it in eight years.*
>
> *The plan was to see from the "hill" where to divide the herd. It had been agreed by all that the Eskimos were to have about 400 deer—over half the herd, to compensate for the 400 that weren't rounded up. I then told the two presidents where to divide the herd, and Willie Zunganok, the president of P.E.R.Co., and Charley Johnson, the president of*

the UVRCo. [sic] approached the herd from opposite directions, and the herd was easily divided, the Aleuts to the north to the range—what I will hereafter call the "Dago Creek Range", and the Eskimos to the south, to cross the Ugashik River to what I will designate as the Ugashik Range.

Some of the younger Eskimo boys drove the deer on to cross the river. Their partners brought the dog teams. By the time we had reached the teams on foot and "mushed" for several hours we nearly caught up to the herd. They can travel some, for just a walk, those reindeer.

When we first arrived at the camp earlier in the day, I took several pictures of the camp and assemblage, one of John Kiglonok, our faithful, old herder from Nome, who retired the year after I came here. He was strutting around in his Golivan [sic] squirrel skin Eskimo Parka—the only one in the bunch of 23 who had a parka on. He had his plump, old faithful collie reindeer dog posing against his chest with her front feet—"A'chie"....

Thirteen dog teams make quite a showing together, all lined up on the lake shore while we were eating supper. I often wondered what the Eskimos eat. But I saw on round-ups they "live like kings!"—canned cheese and other canned goods, cocoa, steaming hot, doughnuts, bread, butter, and in camp, always reindeer stew, fried or roast. Some have coffee, of course, with no cream nor sugar. Why, I looked like a pauper with my lunch of bread and butter with raisins and nuts, along side of the Eskimos.

Lunch over on the lake near the corral, by "Riley Hill", the sleds were laced up again and ten dog teams were on their way to Pilot Point, ten or twelve miles westward. That evening we were home before dark of the same day we started, and the Eskimos' herd of deer were [sic] across the Ugashik River.

But they didn't stay there. The Ugashik Eskimos who were to watch the deer laid down on the job. The deer came back over. Although attempts were made by all combined again, yet they were unsuccessful in driving them over back to the south side of the Ugashik River. The ice was too rotten. The deer broke through the ice and nearly drowned some of them.

Now we will have it all to do over next year. Willie came in telling his troubles just a day or two ago.... The deer were fawning but he couldn't get any one to help. They wouldn't mind him. Some want to withdraw from the company. They are not used to being bossed—their parents never bossed them from the time they were babies, so why should anyone do so now. (The Ugashik Eskimos drink too much Bevock, that's no doubt why the deer got away.) ...

What can be done about poaching and illegal killing of the deer?

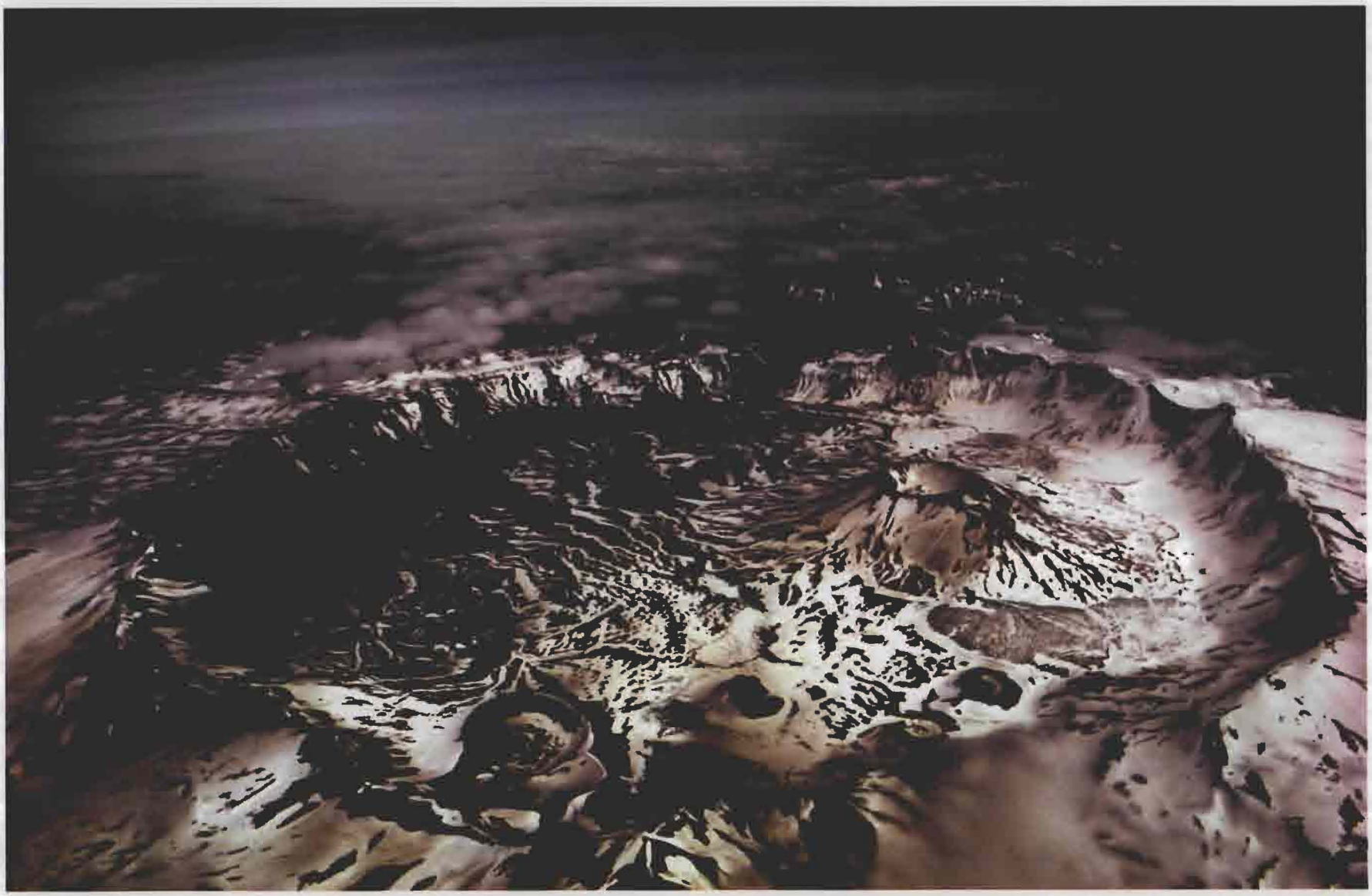
And is anything being done about the Eskimos request for permit to graze south of the Ugashik River?

Can you give me any advice [about] how to stop poaching by whites, etc.?[141]

The problems with herders and poaching did not ease. Caribou returned to the Ugashik area for the first time in many decades in 1945 when 100 caribou were

reported near Eskimo Village. The same year there was a disputed sighting of 4,000 caribou. In any event, it did not take long for the caribou to mix in and "steal" the free-ranging reindeer, because by then the reindeer were not even corralled every year. A letter in 1950 explained that the reindeer had gone feral and a herd of 4,000-5,000 mixed caribou and reindeer then occupied the Peninsula, migrating south in the winter and north to the Ugashik River in the summer. This marked the end of reindeer herding on the Peninsula, although for years after the last corralling people would continue to see ear-marked reindeer.

In 1950, 30 Inupiat resided at Pilot Point out of a population of 78, which included "Eskimos, Aleuts and Euroamericans." Despite their large proportion of the population, Hanson, who continued to work for the reindeer program, wrote to his superiors complaining about the exploitation of the Inupiat which he attributed to having three different races in the village.[442] Pauline Supsook remembers that tuberculosis was particularly devastating to the Inupiat population. The Inupiat continued to live in Eskimo Village, and, although their children went to school with the rest of the children, they continued to be ostracized. Distrust of their lack of Orthodoxy, fear of shamanic powers, and Inupiaq customs, which seemed peculiar, continued to create a barrier. Alutiiqs, many of whom identified with their Russian past, preferred to associate with Euroamericans for the social and economic benefits it afforded. While marriages between Inupiat and Alutiiqs occurred, it was unacceptable to marry "Eskimos" with their different language, culture, and religion. Few Inupiat descendants still live in the study area. Fewer still remember the early days of their stay.



Chapter ten

Conclusion and Recommendations

This project set out to identify, collect, and evaluate written, oral, and photographic historical and ethnographic information about groups historically and culturally affiliated with Aniakchak. A specific goal was to identify the Alaska Native groups that have cultural affiliation or direct lineal descent relevant to potential archaeological discoveries. Although this overview and assessment only scratches the surface of the area's history, it is evident that the indigenous Alutiiq people have been intimately tied to the land in and around Aniakchak for centuries, their tenure reaches far back into prehistoric times, and their rich and vivid—as well as difficult—history is deeply interwoven with the natural patterns of the seasons, the animals, fish, birds of the land and sea, and the volcanos that grace the horizon of every village. Recent immigrants to the Peninsula quickly developed a relationship to the land and relationships to the people through marriage, partnerships, and friendships. They too have a viable history with Aniakchak.

As a resource-oriented organization, the National Park Service is interested in cultural issues pertaining to land, and I accordingly attempted to identify cultural uses of natural resources, traditional use areas, and sacred sites. This study necessarily fell far short of a comprehensive identification of culturally significant sites, especially sacred sites. Because of the sensitivity of this and other issues, it became apparent through the research and interview process that investing in long term Aniakchak employees, who can establish a relationship with local people, is crucial to understanding, documenting, and preserving cultural resources.

Like most original research, this effort has raised as many—indeed more—questions than it has answered. For example, prior to this project, Aniakchak lands were thought to have been rarely used by indigenous peoples or immigrants—this project found them to have been extensively used and the full extent of that use is still not known. At the outset of the research, I had heard comments from the general population that the people who live in the Chigniks, Port Heiden, and Pilot Point are not Natives, or are Natives only since the passage of Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Instead, I found a group of people living a rich, unique culture that weaves together their past and the contemporary world. Theirs is a common history and ancestry lived out on a landscape rich in beauty and natural resources. Their tapestry is highly textured and complex—remarkable and intriguing to examine. Threads of many cultures—Russian, Scandinavian, German, Italian, and Japanese—have been intricately interwoven with threads of Sugpiat ancestors.

The information gathered for this report from people met and interviewed and the various other sources has profound implications for the future of the area as well

Opposite:
Formed during a catastrophic ashflow-producing eruption about 3400 years ago, Aniakchak caldera is about 6 miles (10 kilometers) across and averages 1,640 feet (500 meters) in depth. Voluminous postcaldera eruptive activity has produced a wide variety of volcanic landforms and deposits within the caldera. Photo by M. Wiliams, 1977. Courtesy National Park Service.

In contrast to the American period the sale or distribution of alcohol to Native peoples was forbidden during the Russian period. Indeed, because supplies that could be harvested from the land were imported from Russian, they were a valuable commodity, and generally scarce. What alcohol was available was primarily found in Sitka, the center of Russian activity. Home brewing, considered illegal by the Russians, was no doubt attempted, but again prime ingredients, such as sugar or molasses, were difficult to obtain.[443]

as for the cultural revitalization movement underway today. Many themes emerged during the research which have only been touched upon, for example, deaths and village depopulation from the influenza pandemic and tuberculosis, the repercussions of which are neither discussed or analyzed in the text. It is not too late to gather oral history about these relatively recent events. Alcohol continues to cause hardship and pain to many elders, adults, and children. Both amusing and tragic tales are told about the effects of and responses to alcohol—few of these were added to this report. The role of the U.S. government in both the treatment and lack of treatment of illness and disease might be explored as well.

Perhaps of greatest relevance to people working in the area is the central question of the project: who are the peoples who occupied these lands and what has been their fate? Given the influences of Russian and U.S. occupations of the land, as well as those of the trapping, hunting, and fishing economies, it remains a difficult question to answer. Perhaps one of the most salient findings of this study is—and this is important for the National Park Service and other government entities to be aware of in the dealings with area's inhabitants—that ethnic boundaries are not clear-cut, nor are neat reifying categories of "Native Culture," "Native," "Euroamerican". Culture is a process and is constantly changing as a group's physical and social environments change. For the outsider looking for distinct groups of people, it is a confusing place to work; for the local resident the outsider's attempts to define and categorize are amusing, but met with twinkling eyes and friendly attempts to clarify and explain.

The issue of who is Native is complex in areas having experienced extensive acculturation and admixture such as the Alaska Peninsula. After over two centuries of cultural change, the old pre-contact Sugpiaq culture is gone—eliminated by contact with the Russian fur traders, conversion by Russian Orthodox missionaries, marriage of young women to Russian then Euroamerican men, forced assimilation by U.S. institutions, and two centuries of debilitating and often fatal illnesses, deprivation, and epidemics. While in parts of Alaska Native people have physical features similar to their ancestors who met the first explorers, Alutiiq people today are as likely to "look" Russian, Scandinavian, or Italian. Their present way of life is contemporary, and for the last decade they have experienced a cultural revitalization. Their present condition is aptly described with the words of a noted anthropologist: "Each people knows their own kind of happiness: the culture that is the legacy of the ancestral tradition, transmitted in the distinctive concepts of their language, and adapted to their specific life conditions."[444]

This project identified those people who are culturally and traditionally affiliated with Aniakchak. Historically, three cultural groups have been associated with the Aniakchak lands. One group's connections originate in the nineteenth century when men hunted sea otter near Sutwik Island and lived on the nearby shore; this group comprises descendants of the old Sugpiat and Yup'ik populations on and near Kodiak Island (Sugpiat) and the Ugashik River (Ugaassarmiut). The second group comprises Euroamerican trappers, their Native or part-Native wives, and their families who lived along the Aniakchak coast in the twentieth century. The third group comprises Seward Peninsula

Inupiat who migrated to the north side of the Alaska Peninsula around 1913 and engaged in various occupations, including reindeer herding. Descendants of all three groups live in the study villages and most are Alaska Natives. Of those, many did not think of themselves as Natives until the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act passed; they were raised as the sons and daughters of Euroamericans. A comment not infrequently heard in communities on the Peninsula is "we weren't Native until land claims."

During the present study, questions of culture, ethnicity, and identity constantly arose. The issue of self-ascription and identity became one of the more intriguing problems. Who is Native, or for what reasons people identified themselves as Aleut, Russian Aleut, Alutiiq, Native or non-Native was not always apparent. The 1990 U.S. Census reported the percentage of Alaska Natives in each study village as: Chignik Bay-45%, Chignik Lagoon-57%, Chignik Lake-92%, Port Heiden-72% and Pilot Point-85%, but these figures are not illuminating.[446] People living in the study area who identify a particular village as their home, identify to different degrees with their Alutiiq or Euroamerican ancestors. This phenomenon poses significant issues of identity for study of the area and its historical and cultural antecedents.

Enrollment as an Alaska Native is determined in the legal system by blood quantum or social acceptance, but alleged percentage of Native "blood" and Alutiiq identity do not necessarily correlate. Some people of Native ancestry are neither comfortable with a Native designation nor knowledgeable about Native culture. There are historical reasons for this. As a group of people well aware of their own relatives, people often point to their Russian heritage by referring to their ancestors as Russian Aleuts, and they are equally versed in their more recent connections to European ancestors—most often Scandinavian or German. People remain acutely aware of the racism that accompanied the influx of new people; in the late 1800s and early 1900s, it was advantageous to align one's self and family with Euroamerican culture. Many outsiders who came to Alaska considered the indigenous people ignorant, dirty, lazy savages. Some of the men who married Native women would not allow their wives to attend the Russian Orthodox Church or continue Native traditions they viewed as uncivilized. The women learned to deny their past and raised their children as Euroamericans. Denial of Native heritage became another part of the history of Alutiiq people.

So a pivotal question arises: What makes these fisherfolk Natives? Is it that one is Russian-Aleut (Alutiiq) by blood, or by participation in the Native political processes in place since the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, or "by virtue of believing and calling himself (Alutiiq) and in acting in ways that validate his (Alutiiqness)."[447]

Partnow suggests that ethnic identity, once developed, is "internalized in the individual but held in common among all of a given ethnicity," and that a group with a sense of identity have "strategies involved in the maintenance of this ethnic identification."[448] These strategies, as identified by Partnow, include maintaining ties to a common history, religion, and language. People today explain that Alutiiqness is an

Understanding American and Russian "occupation" of Alaska can be confusing at times. The Russians did not so much "occupy" the land as they participated in and controlled events and people. They did not "own" property, and Native peoples continued their time-honored tenure of the land. Russian relationships with the people of the Alaska Peninsula involved trade and other related activities. Trading posts themselves, such as the one at Lake Illiamna, were run by Native peoples. The Americans, on the other hand, acquired land through a variety of means and were granted title to that land. Residents who had lived and used the land for generations did not have a valid claim to the land. The Russians recognizeda "customary occupation" in which those who lived and used the land had valid rights to continue to do so, whereas the Americans recognized "land ownership" through title. The other difference between Russian and American land use involves a differing view of how things ought to be: the Russian concept of land tenure and use was by community, whereas the American concept involved the individual.[445]

individual matter, a choice; with the current cultural revitalization it may also be a commitment.

Only within the last 30 years has asserting Nativeness, for many, been perceived as politically and economically beneficial. The passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971, and the U.S. government's definition of minority status, it can be argued, created "Alaska Natives"—along with the rights and privileges that accompany that status in the U.S. Native in this sense is a pan-Alaska Native designation, having nothing to do with culture but with blood quantum, political power and economic benefits.

For those who had grown up as members of the Alutiiq community, the new designation in itself was not a big change, although the fact that their enemies to the north and west were suddenly also grouped with them as "Alaska Native" was disconcerting.
One elder explained that when the different cultural groups began meeting to discuss their future, the biggest obstacle was to figure out how to think of themselves as a group because they had all been enemies before. Those who had not grown up in the Alutiiq community, but had grown up identifying with their Euroamerican ancestry and culture became "Native" because they had Native blood. Everyone with one-fourth "White" or Euroamerican ancestry could as well be classified as "Caucasian." The land claims settlement, along with the organization of Native corporations and tribal governments, created a group of people who, under federal statutes, are politically Alaska Native with all of its inherent rights and economic benefits. This common Nativeness implies a common culture and history. This is unfortunate because it obscures the different histories and many different rich cultural heritages of the indigenous people in Alaska. Euroamericans constantly construct the composite or a pan-Alaskan Native—an amalgam of Inuit, Yup'ik, Aleut, Alutiiq, Athabaskan, and Tlingit cultures—rather than the many individual cultural groups with differing cosmological beliefs, social structures, ecological ethics, child-rearing practices, etc.

Culture has nothing to do with this legal designation of "Native"—one can be an "Alaska Native" with little self-identification with or knowledge of Native culture. Throughout this century being Native assigned membership to a minority, underclass group and many who were able to escaped that designation and raised their children as "White."

It has been proposed that the term *ethnic anomalies* be used for people who are "betwixt and between," or "both-and" as are many individuals on the Peninsula.[449] Created by society "they become anomalies by virtue of pre-existing classificatory categories which they can do little to change."[450] These pre-existing categories force people to choose either one or the other—denying half or part of their heritage.
This creates new psychological and social pressures—and, for some, over-acting.[451] Perhaps relevant to the self-ascribed identity of Alaska Peninsula peoples, anomalous groups "may consider themselves, and may be considered by others, as members of the same ethnic group as their [minority] parent; yet they may also consider themselves as having 'adapted' to the majority culture."[452] People considered racially mixed can be placed with either the highest or lowest-ranking group. On the Peninsula many who identify with the majority culture as offspring of second generation immigrant parents became "Native" under the Alaska Native

Claims Settlement Act. Although adapted to the majority culture, they are now faced with legitimizing their Nativeness so as to participate in the Native political process. This is not to say that people do not have a legitimate claim to this part of their heritage or that they might not take pride in it, because today at the turn of the twenty-first century, culture provides community and has "standing"—it identifies and differentiates people. Cultural revitalization movements are gaining force for political motives and reasons of self-worth and belonging. "ANCSA Natives" do, however, cause some discomfort among those who identify themselves as members of the Alutiiq community, who question how people who only recently began to be Native can further Alutiiq goals. They often feel that the elders—those most knowledgeable about the culture—do not have access to the political processes and are not heard.

On the other hand, those who have always been "Native" (i.e., grown up in households affirming Alutiiq values and identity) recognize that their cousins who may have grown up "White" are also Alutiiq descendants—they do not, however, recognize them as experts on culture or as culture bearers, and they do not necessarily believe that they should be deciding the fate and future of Alutiiq people. To the extent that culture lives in the knowledge of group history, language, values, and beliefs and within individuals, families and family groups, the culture will continue to be strongest in families that retain the language and traditions. To the extent that culture is played out through political or academic processes, Alutiiq future may be determined by those who know little about the Alutiiq culture but a lot about being Native.

Formation of new political organizations around some cause or another have again prompted people to rethink their self-identification, provoking some discomfort with the powerful culture brokers who are in a position to decide the fate of the cultural objects. These organizations often have a dual role: negotiating with mainstream culture and politics and contributing to their own cultural revitalization. They may or may not include those who are knowledgeable about Alutiiq history, language, or culture.

It is in the context of the cultural revitalization movement that the reintegration of Alutiiq people, the coming together of the "Real" and the "ANCSA" Alutiiq can be seen. Recent workshops for the "Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People" exhibit and the "We Are One" gathering exemplify another side of Alutiiq identity: its expansiveness. The narrow view of who is and who is not Alutiiq can be attributed to much of what Partnow described as the "identity configuration" of the Pacific coast Alutiiq. On a larger scale, however, Alutiiq membership is inclusive and the culture dynamic. Descendants of Native people who are enrolled as Alaska Natives whose ancestors spoke a dialect of the Alutiiq language and who share a common culture and history are included and welcomed. While one person may regard another as either more or less Alutiiq, he or she will acknowledge that same individual as a close relation—unconnected to their degree of Alutiiqness—and recognize that they share a certain sense of continuity with their Alutiiq past and common ancestry. Common ancestry cannot be denied; knowledge, language, and even values can be taught; and aspects of culture and history can be remembered and passed on.

One can think of ethnicity as "a social and cultural product which anthropologists contribute to creating."[453] Government agencies also contribute to its construction—for better or worse. The relationship between processes of ethnicity and identity and governmental structures and political processes are important to peoples affiliated with Aniakchak. Participation in the State and Federal governments, through regulatory agencies, grants one considerable power. Participating on boards and councils that set regulations, using one's persuasive and organizational skills before the legislative bodies, or using one's skills to form new legitimate councils provides the potential for changing the rules that people live by. Ultimately, one who participates in these processes has a source of power. People who consider themselves "Real Alutiiq" may resent "since-ANCSA-Natives" who serve on boards which are or are perceived to be an avenue for advancing the Native agenda, or maintaining the cultural traditions. It should be recognized that there may not be just one Native voice in a diverse community. Those who consider themselves closely aligned with their Alutiiq past, brought up as Natives and as culture bearers, may feel that Native organizations do not include their voice, a voice rooted in a past that maintained itself through oral history, story and song, but was not written until the 1800s.

The cultural revitalization movement reveals that participants in the Alutiiq culture, in the closing of the twentieth century have a strengthening sense of what their culture means to them and how they are connected to their past. Alutiiq continue their traditional spiritual beliefs through the Christian church, hunting practices, and daily activities. The strength of the family continues to be a binding force in each community, and among the larger Alutiiq community. These relationships to the extended family and to the whole Alutiiq community are strengthening. Commitment to language, oral history and stories, and artistic expression through dance, poetic verse, song, and carving and woodworking continually finds new outlets. Respecting elders, procuring and sharing wild foods, and celebrations like the community wide birthday parties, starring at Russian Christmas, and now the yearly Alutiiq gathering are constant reminders of the continued integrity of the Alutiiq people.

Recommendations for Research

The findings presented in this report point to several areas where additional research is imperative if the knowledge and history of the indigenous peoples, other inhabitants with early connections to the area, and the lands themselves are to be preserved and passed on, in accordance with the NPS's responsibility to cultural resources as set forth in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (see Appendix). The following recommendations are logical extensions of the natural, cultural, and historic aspects described briefly in this report. Further research will likely reveal other traditional uses and resources of the Aniakchak lands that are not always accessible or apparent to outsiders or casual observers but might be inferred from evidence, such as ceremonial offerings left at specific places on the landscape. From the period of historic use pre-dating World War II, few Sugpiat, Alutiiq, and Euroamerican elders who lived and hunted in Aniakchak lands are

still alive. For this reason, the recommendations outlined below focus primarily on the urgent need to collect oral testimonies.

Involve Native and Local People in Research

A limitation of this study is its failure to involve Natives and local people more intensively in designing and conducting the research. In part this failure stemmed from the project's short duration, timing, and the researcher's lack of familiarity with National Park Service organization and funding. It takes time to establish relationships with other groups, especially with several different groups whose members are spread out over five villages, Kodiak, the Mat-Su Borough, and the Kenai Peninsula. A necessary and laudable goal of the National Park Service for an overview and assessment could be met with more involvement of the persons who are "subjects" of the study.

Document oral history of the families who trapped Aniakchak

Assessment

From about 1900 until World War II, Aniakchak was home to many Euroamerican/Alutiiq families. For most of the year, these families trapped, hunted, and fished along the coast of Aniakchak and along the Meshik River. A few men continued to trap after the war but by then the heyday of coastal trapping was over. At one time, during the 1930s and 1940s, as many as ten families occupied the Pacific coast of Aniakchak for six to eight months of the year. Little is known about this period and few people are left who lived it. During this study I was able to interview Alec Pedersen who extensively trapped the Aniakchak River as a young man. I also spoke to several men and women who were children when their fathers and brothers trapped the Aniakchak coast. These interviews were brief and many questions remain. Few women have had a chance to tell their stories of raising their children in such remote places.

Recommendation:

Interview those men and women who lived out on the coast, targeting those who used the Aniakchak coast. Locate missing trapline areas and trapline cabins. Refine maps of known cabin sites.

Document oral history of the Inupiat migration to the Peninsula

Assessment

Little is known about the Inupiat migration or reindeer herding on the Peninsula. Several natural, historical and cultural themes should be explored. The couple remaining in the area, Valentine and Pauline Supsook, were born in 1917 and 1925. In 1998, they continue to have excellent recollections of stories their parents told of this time, and they have good memories of their own lives on the Peninsula.

Recommendations

1. At one time the Native Alaskan population of Pilot Point included more Inupiat than Sugpiat. Today only one family remains. For over 50 years Inupiat captained fishing boats in the lucrative Bristol Bay fisheries, herded large reindeer herds, and trapped

and hunted the Ugashik drainage. Their children attended local schools. Despite their engagement in the local economy and educational institutions, they formed their own communities. Why did this population not persist in an area rich in natural and economic resources? How did the Inupiat population manage to retain language and culture, "better than we [Alutiiqs] did"? What was their engagement in the institutions that were formed in the twentieth century? In an ethnically mixed community what were the alliances between groups? How was power brokered between ethnic groups? Was their population too small to be self sustaining? Tuberculosis is mentioned as being particularly devastating to the Inupiat population in that area. What effect did tuberculosis have on the community? Was it a major factor in the inability of the community to grow or did people move out of the area to larger population centers?

2. Reindeer herds inhabited the Alaska Peninsula from about 1910 through the 1940s. In the beginning of the "reindeer era," small herds were closely tracked by their Inupiat owners. Oral history tells that corrallings took place on Reindeer Creek just north of Aniakchak. Neither documentary nor archaeological evidence has been found to substantiate this. Location of the corral is unknown, but stories place it on the north side of the creek. Archival records in Anchorage were searched in 1998; further search of reindeer herding records housed in the National Archives, Washington D.C., and other places might uncover additional information such as grazing range and corrals in and near Aniakchak. Oral history interviews with Inupiaq descendants might also disclose important details about this time period. Archaeological investigations of Reindeer Creek might unveil sites of corrals and cabins used by reindeer herders.

3. Cinder or Shegong River was home to many Inupiat families. They trapped the rivers and creeks south of Cinder River but few details of trapping areas have been documented. North River or Reindeer Creek was occupied by at least one Inupiat family, but the extent of their trapline up the river on the flanks of Aniakchak is not known. Interviews with Supsook and others might provide that information.

Document traditional place names

Assessment

Traditional place names and accompanying narratives offer information about history and traditional beliefs and practices on park lands. Place names provide a context for understanding resources and their contributions to people's cultural identity. The relationship of people to the land and to their environmental ethics and values are often revealed through place name and accompanying stories. Cultural change and cultural differences may be highlighted by the juxtaposition of names on a landscape. Short-term occupancy may yield large numbers of names over a small area that quickly disappear after residents leave but tell of the vivid relationship those people had with the land. Place names may also provide clues to prehistoric occupation as names often survive beyond a specific group's residency.

In Aniakchak few place names have been documented. The lands historically have been occupied by Alutiiq, Russian, Euroamerican, and Inupiat descendants. Dr. Jeff Leer of the Alaska Native Language Center has collected some names along the Pacific coast, and many of these appear to be Unangan in origin, indicating Unangan occupation at one time.[454] Some presumably traditional Native names survive in Anglicized spellings and pronunciation; these appear to have Unangan, not Sugtestun, roots. Cursory interviews were conducted in 1997 to discover names on recently occupied land. Many of these names were locally produced and used by families or individuals while they resided there. Some of them have prevailed, others will soon be forgotten.[455]

Recommendations:

1. Conduct oral history and mapping projects to document place names on park lands, especially along the Pacific coast, Meshik River, and the Reindeer Creek. Names that all three historic user groups—Alutiiq, Inupiat, Yupik and Euroamerican—have used and currently use should be documented.
2. Assist in the production of a current map of Aniakchak with local names.

Identify plants used by Alaska Peninsula peoples

Assessment

Alutiiq people had a rich body of medicinal knowledge. Between 1804 and 1807, Heiromonk Gideon[456] documented methods of healing which included blood-letting and plant medicinals. People on the Peninsula continue to collect and use local plants for a variety of uses including tea, food, and internal and external medicines. In the steambath they also use plant roots to scrub with, branches to stimulate blood flow, and fresh roots to scent the steam. Medical techniques form an important part of intellectual culture that may not only benefit local people but could potentially benefit the larger field of medicine. Plants used for medicine, food, and the household are an important part of resource use. Traditional medicinal knowledge has not been documented among the healers in the study villages.

Recommendations:

Document Alutiiq name for plants and plant parts, specific instructions for use and preparation, storage methods, and quantity typically needed for a family. Document special locations and time of year each plant is taken. Photograph plants in situ, collect plant samples and record areas where desirable samples are collected. Process plants for traditional use and record stages of process. Press whole plants and submit sample for museum or herbarium collection. Diagram or photograph plants or useful plant parts.

Identify sacred sites

Assessment

Few sacred sites were identified but this is hardly proof that such sites do not exist. For example, that someone died may be remembered but grave sites are undocumented, crosses have fallen down, and exact location unknown to people alive today. Other sites that

are culturally significant or sacred may be known but not explicitly recognized as "sacred" by local people. This could be considered a problem in definition and communication. Sites may go unidentified as well because it may be inappropriate or embarrassing for people to talk about certain beliefs and associated sites.

Recommendation

Interviews with knowledgeable elders may reveal sacred sites. Sites that are known to exist although the location is unknown, and forgotten sites, may be identified through archaeological surveys.

Document traditional butchering, transport, and processing of subsistence resources

Assessment

The details of traditional methods of butchering and processing birds, mammals, and fish has scarcely been documented among Alutiiq people of the Aniakchak area. Studies that have been conducted in this and other areas yield data that are applicable to many aspects of the management and research of both natural and cultural resources. For example, Alaska Department of Fish and Game has gathered information on beliefs about and practices of use of brown bears that provides 1) a written record of traditional cultural practices, 2) information to help develop culturally appropriate subsistence regulations, and 3) data that can aid in the analysis of archaeological sites.

However, we have yet to document detailed descriptions of butchering and processing key subsistence resources by Aniakchak affiliated people. Many traditional practices continued to be followed by Alutiiq peoples. Other traditional practices are no longer followed by Aniakchak area residents, but many elders know the details about traditional processing methods.

Recommendation

Conduct detailed studies of methods of transporting, processing, and sharing subsistence resources. Document the details of field butchering, use and preparation of the many different parts of animals, food storage techniques, and sharing patterns. Collect traditional stories and recent and historical accounts about hunting activities, practices, and beliefs.

Identify dual residency patterns

Assessment

Many people on the Alaska Peninsula are summer residents only. They live in Kodiak, Anchorage, or other cities for much of the year. This dual residency pattern remains unexplored. Some summer residents have long term, multi-generation connections to the villages, others have connections through marriage, or commercial fishing. The levels of integration into the villages vary. Many dual residents hunt and fish coastal areas of the Peninsula, including Aniakchak, but only anecdotal information has been collected on this.

Recommendation

Examination of the dual residency phenomenon, in particular its impacts on village dynamics, culture change, and subsistence activities, might illuminate long term processes in use of Aniakchak area lands.

Long term patterns of residency may offer insights into future use of Aniakchak lands.

Document the impact of World War II on area villages and the involvement of the residents in the war effort

Assessment

World War II had a sizeable impact on residents and communities of the Alaska Peninsula. The impact on the study area is not well known or documented. Few men are left who served. World War II is often mentioned as the one factor that drew an end to the trapping and changed the lives of residents on the Alaska Peninsula. The war, for many, effectively put an end to the lifestyle that dominated the first four decades of the twentieth-century—that of spending winters in isolated homes where families ran traplines and spending summers in cannery towns. The war took many young men away from their families and villages as young men served at Unalaska, in the Aleutians, and more distant places; those who were left at home lived through blackouts, difficulties in traveling, army boats docking at Chignik, and air craft flying overhead at frightening speeds. After the war, people were scattered, and, as one man remembers, the communities were never the same. By the end of the war many people had seen the outside world, expanded their network of friends and associates, and received training in a variety of skills. The war also had an effect on fish runs. In Ugashik and Chignik the fish runs were depleted after years of unlimited catches during World War II. During the war an army base was built north of the old site of Meshik and several thousand men were stationed there. After the war people from nearby settlements moved there and reoccupied the village of Meshik.

Recommendation:

Interview those men and women who served in World War II, either as enlisted personnel or as civilians, and also interview those men and women who did not serve and those who were children but remember war-time activities and impacts. Research records and interview army personnel who served at Port Heiden to put interviews in the context of the Aleutian campaigns. Interviews might focus on war-time events and impacts but also should cover the aftermath of the war and how communities were affected. The connection between stories of army deserters and "hairy men" could be explored as well as people's perceptions of their place in the larger world.



Appendix one

National Park Service Responsibility to Cultural Resources—Ethnographic

The acts and proclamations establishing individual parks contain primary guidelines for cultural resource management by stating the congressional or presidential intent for including a park in the National Park system. A presidential proclamation in December 1978 established Aniakchak National Monument as a unit of the national park system. Two years later the Monument and Preserve were established by Congress by section 201(1) of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA; P.L. 96-487); section 601 designated the Aniakchak River as a wild river. Previous acts and regulations which govern each park's management goals include the 1916 "Organic Act" establishing the National Park Service, the 1964 Wilderness Act, the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act, and the 1968 Wild and Scenic rivers Act. In addition, ANILCA provided the opportunity for rural residents engaged in a subsistence way of life to continue hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering on federal lands.

ANILCA established Aniakchak in order to preserve the land's natural and cultural resources. Explicit provisions were made to allow traditional subsistence hunting, fishing, and trapping in both the monument and preserve so that the opportunity for traditional uses can be maintained while at the same time natural and cultural resources are preserved.

The 1988 Management Policies of the National Park Service recognize that "Certain contemporary Native American and other communities are permitted by law, regulation, or policy to pursue customary religious, subsistence, and other cultural uses of park resources with which they are traditionally associated." Some of these laws and regulations are mentioned below. The Management Policy states that the National Park Service "will plan and execute programs in ways that safeguard cultural and natural resources while reflecting informed concern for the contemporary peoples and cultures traditionally associated with them."

Subsistence

The legislative history of ANILCA states:

> *The National Park Service recognizes, and the Committee [on Energy and Natural Resources] agrees, that subsistence uses by local rural residents have been, and are now, a natural part of the ecosystem serving as a primary consumer in the natural food chain. The Committee expects the National Park Service to take appropriate steps when necessary to insure that consumptive uses of fish and wildlife populations within National Park Service units not be allowed to adversely disrupt the natural balance which has been maintained for*

Opposite:
Tamamta Katurlluta, A Gathering of Native Tradition, 1997. Traditional song and dance preserve cultural identity in Homer, Alaska. Presented by the villages of Nanwalek, Port Graham and Seldovia and co-sponsored by the Pratt museum, Homer. Photograph by Michele Morseth. Courtesy National Park Service.

thousands of years...the National Park Service concept [on resource management] requires the natural abundance, behavior, diversity, and ecological integrity of native animals as part of their ecosystem, and the Committee intends that that concept be maintained (Senate Report 96-413:171).

Title VIII of ANILCA addresses subsistence management and uses. Major topics that affect cultural resources include access, trapping, resident zones, traditional use areas, shelters and cabins, collection and use of resource and user data, and resolution of conflicts. Section 802 states the subsistence policy of ANILCA. Section 804 provides for the priority of non-wasteful taking of fish and wildlife for subsistence uses over sport hunting and fishing.

Subsistence Regional Advisory Councils and Subsistence Resource Commissions are authorized under sections 805 and 808. However, authority for establishing resource management policy clearly resides with the Secretary and there is no provision for incorporating traditional resource management beliefs or traditional ecological knowledge in "principles of wildlife conservation." Native peoples using resources on Aniakchak lands for generations may recognize traditional Sugpiat conservation ethics and standards. Section 808(b) states that:

"The Secretary shall promptly implement the program and recommendations submitted to him by each commission unless he finds in writing that such program or recommendations violates recognized principles of wildlife conservation, threatens the conservation of healthy populations of wildlife in the park or park monument, is contrary to the purposes for which the park or park monument is established, or would be detrimental to the satisfaction of subsistence needs of local residents."

Access to subsistence resources is provided for in section 811 of ANILCA:

a) The Secretary shall ensure that rural residents engaged in subsistence uses shall have reasonable access to subsistence resources on the public lands.

b) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act or other law, the Secretary shall permit on the public lands appropriate use for subsistence purposes of snowmobiles, motorboats, and other means of surface transportation traditionally employed for such purposes by local residents, subject to reasonable regulations.

In Aniakchak motorboats, foot, snowmobiles, and dog teams are authorized for subsistence use under ANILCA. However, if other means of surface access can be demonstrated to have been traditionally employed in Aniakchak for subsistence purposes, it will be permitted (General Management Plan, 1986).

Within the preserve units, the National Park Service may also restrict use or close traditionally used areas under sections 1313 and 816(b) of ANILCA in order to protect people or the resources. Section 1313 may affect cultural uses as it establishes that the National Park Service "may designate zones where and periods when no hunting, fishing, trapping or entry may be permitted for reasons of public safety, administration, flora or fauna protection or public use or enjoyment."

Section 816(b) specifically addresses subsistence uses as it established that the National Park Service "may temporarily close any public lands...or any portion thereof, to subsistence uses of a particular fish or wildlife population only if necessary for reasons of public safety, administration, or to assure the continued viability of such population."

Water Issues

ANILCA

Sections 101 and 201 and 16 USC 1a-2(h) and 1c directs the National Park Service to manage all waters within the boundaries of Aniakchak. The State of Alaska also has authority to manage water, based on the Submerged Lands Act of 1953, the Alaska Statehood Act of 1958, and the Alaska State Constitution which provide for state ownership of the water, shore lands (beds of navigable waters), tidelands (lands below mean high tide), and submerged lands (lands seaward from tidelands). Lands within Aniakchak that fall under these categories are subject to both state and federal laws governing cultural and subsistence resources.

The General Management Plan for Aniakchak (1986:19) states that "The National Park Service will oppose any uses of waterways that will adversely affect water quality or the natural abundance and diversity of fish and wildlife species in the unit."

Aniakchak Wild River Corridor

Presently the Wild River corridor for the Aniakchak Wild River has not been defined and management policy is indistinguishable from Monument and Preserve areas. The General Management Plan addresses the Wild River in stating that: "because the proposed management of Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve meets and is compatible with management standards established by the Wild and Scenic rivers Act, there is no purpose in designating river corridor boundaries. Similarly, since river management proposals have been fully integrated with other aspects of this plan, there is no purpose in preparing a separate management plan at this time" (1986:41).

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 (P.L. 101-601; 104 Stat. 3049) addresses the rights of Native American tribes, including Alaska Native groups, to certain human remains and cultural objects with which they are affiliated. NAGPRA mandates federal agencies to identify, consult with, and offer custody to Indian tribes, including Alaska Native groups, that have cultural affiliation or direct lineal descent from human remains and certain cultural objects in ethnographic collections or archaeological sites. The final rule for carrying out the Act (43 CFR Part 10) took effect in January 1996. The final rule established the following definitions and procedures for affected groups and agencies to carry out the Act:

Cultural affiliation "means that there is a relationship of shared group identity which can

reasonably be traced historically between members of a present-day [Alaska Native village or corporation as defined in ANCSA]" (section 10.2).

Objects covered under this act include: 1) human remains, 2) associated and un-associated funerary objects, 3) sacred objects, and 4) objects of cultural patrimony. Objects of cultural patrimony are items having ongoing historical, traditional or cultural importance central to the indigenous group (rather than an individual) (section 10.2).

Section 10.5 stipulates that the Federal agency which intentionally or inadvertently discovered or excavates objects covered under the Act must consult with known lineal descendants and the culturally affiliated Alaska Native corporation, village or other established group. The Federal agency must also provide a written plan of action to affiliated groups and according to section 10.5(f) "Whenever possible, Federal agencies should enter into comprehensive agreements with [Native Alaskan groups] that are affiliated with specific human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony and have claimed or are likely to claim, those human remains or [objects]."

Historic Structures and Objects

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) requires that Federal agencies survey, document, and evaluate all cultural resources for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. In 1992 NHPA was amended to recognize the importance of traditional religious and cultural areas and provide for the inclusion of such areas on the National Register of Historic Places. The 1992 amendments also serve to protect cultural sites by withholding information about location or character of sites from the public if disclosure may "impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners" (section 304).

National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA)

The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (P.L. 91-190; 83 Stat. 852) establishes the federal goal to "preserve important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage." Subsequent acts more clearly define the meaning of cultural aspects and the role contemporary indigenous and traditionally affiliated groups have in preservation.

Sites with Cultural, Religious, or Sacred Significance

The Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979 (P.L. 96-95; 93 Stat. 712) defines archaeological resources and provides for their protection, preservation and confidentiality. It also mandates agencies to notify tribal groups when archaeological projects may affect a site of religious or cultural significance.

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1978 (P.L. 95-341; 92 Stat. 469) protects and preserves the right to believe, express, and exercise traditional religions of Native Americans, "including,

but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonial and traditional rites." This act does not provide access to federal lands and resources when conflicts exist between exercise of religious freedom and site preservation and protection. To address this problem, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13007 on May 24, 1996.

Executive Order 13007 addresses sacred sites "identified by an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion." Presently there are no such identified sacred sites within the Monument or Preserve. The Order is intended to accommodate access to sites and avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of sites. It calls for the development of policies and procedures to protect sacred sites. First in this process should be identification of such sites.

Section 1 (ii) defines "Indian tribe" to mean "an Indian or Alaska Native tribe, band, nation, pueblo, village, or community that the Secretary of Interior acknowledges to exist as an Indian tribe pursuant to Public Law No. 103-454, 108 Stat. 4791, and "Indian" refers to a member of such an Indian tribe."

Section 1 (iii) defines "sacred site" to mean "any specific, discrete, narrowly delineated location on Federal land...as sacred by virtue of its established religious significance to, or ceremonial use by, an Indian religion; provided that the tribe or appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such a site."

Public Comment and the Planning Process

Involving interested groups in cultural resources planning, decision-making and research, from the beginning, is crucial to successful National Park Service planning. National Park Service Management Policy requires that the National Park Service consult with affected communities before reaching decisions about the treatment of traditionally associated resources. Section 1110(a) of ANILCA {36 CFR 13.30 and 13.46, 43 CFR 36.11(h)}, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA), National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) call for adequate public notice and opportunity to comment when management decisions may affect cultural resources. NEPA often requires federal agencies to consult with Indian tribes during the environmental compliance process. NHPA requires consultation when federal agencies seek to identify historic properties and religious or sacred sites and NAGPRA requires consultation when objects covered by the act occur on federal lands.

Ways to deal with cultural differences in communication styles must be accounted for when consulting with or trying to elicit comments by interested parties. Native people may be reticent or reluctant to talk about sacred sites or the cultural landscape. Their comments may go unheard because of what Euroamerican culture considers a lack of clear statement or lack of assertiveness. Additionally, the

"Native" community (those who began to identify with their Native ancestry after ANCSA) and the traditional Sugpiat community might not be one and the same. Involving the traditional voice when for example, trying to identify sacred sites, may be difficult when there is more than one Native voice. While management policy may not require this, political expediency may demand it.

Appendix two
Social Science Research Considerations

Chapter 5 of the NPS Management Policies of 1988 states that:

> *To ensure that NPS plans and actions reflect contemporary knowledge about the cultural context of sites, structures, certain natural areas, and other ethnographic resources, the National Park Service will conduct appropriate cultural anthropological research in cooperation with park-associated groups.*

Among other things such research will meet management needs for information, define traditional and contemporary relationships to the park resources, and assess the affects of NPS activities on affiliated groups. As part of the responsibility in fulfilling its mandate Aniakchak Monument and Preserve recognizes that:

> *A comprehensive program of natural and cultural resource research is necessary in order to manage the permitted consumptive uses as well as to recognize and analyze impacts associated with non-consumptive uses and regional influences (Aniakchak GMP 21).*

Guidance for accomplishing the research comes from NPS Management Policy. Local organizations such as the Alaska Native Science Commission can also provide research.

Indigenous people often consider cultural resources private, or at least not for public exhibition. The Management Policy states that "identities of community consultants and information about sacred and other culturally sensitive places and practices will be kept confidential" additionally, "Information regarding the location, nature, and cultural context of archaeological, historic, and ethnographic resources may be exempted from public disclosure."

The responsibility to conduct cultural resource research implies an ethical responsibility toward the affiliated people, their culture and their environment. Biological, physical, economic, historical, archaeological, and anthropological researchers conducting research in Aniakchak should observe standard ethical principles. The National Park Service and the Federal government has addressed the need to strive toward mutual communication, cooperation and respect between scientists and northern peoples. Additionally:

> *"All scientific investigations in the Arctic should be assessed in terms of potential human impact and interest. Social Science research, particularly studies of human subjects, requires special consideration, as do studies of resources of economic, cultural, and social value to Native people" (Principles for the Conduct of Research in the Arctic 1990, IARPC).*

The Interagency Arctic Research Policy Committee (IARPC), internet address www.nsf.gov/iarpc, includes representatives of over a dozen Federal agencies or offices, including the Department of the Interior. At the direction of IARPC a set of "Principles for the Conduct of Research in the Arctic" were prepared by the Interagency Social Science Task Force. The introduction and text follows:

Principles for the Conduct of Research in the Arctic

Introduction

All researchers working in the North have an ethical responsibility toward the people of the North, their cultures, and the environment. The following principles have been formulated to provide guidance for researchers in the physical, biological, behavioral, health, economic, political, and social sciences and in the humanities. These principles are to be observed when carrying out or sponsoring research in Arctic and northern regions or when applying the results of this research.

This statement addresses the need to promote mutual respect and communication between scientists and northern residents. Cooperation is needed at all stages of research planning and implementation in projects that directly affect northern people. Cooperation will contribute to a better understanding of the potential benefits of Arctic research for northern residents and will contribute to the development of northern science through traditional knowledge and experience.

These "Principles for the Conduct of Research in the Arctic" were prepared by the Interagency Social Science Task Force in response to a recommendation by the Polar Research Board of the National Academy of Sciences and at the direction of the Interagency Arctic Research Policy Committee. This statement is not intended to replace other existing Federal, State, or professional guidelines, but rather to emphasize their relevance for the whole scientific community. Examples of similar guidelines used by professional organizations and agencies in the United States and in other countries are listed in the above publications.

All scientific investigations in the Arctic should be assessed in terms of potential human impact and interest. Social science research, particularly studies of human subjects, requires special consideration, as do studies of resources of economic, and social value to Native people. In all instances. it is the responsibility of the principal investigator on each project to implement the following recommendations.

1. The researcher should inform appropriate community authorities of planned research on lands, waters, or territories used by or occupied by them. Research directly involving northern people should not proceed without their clear and informed consent. When informing the community and/or obtaining informed consent, the researchers should identify:
   a. all sponsors and sources of financial support;
   b. the person in charge and all investigators involved in the research, as well as any anticipated need for consultants, guides, or interpreters;

c. the purposes, goals, and time-frame of the research;

d. data-gathering techniques (tape and video recordings, photographs, physiological measurements etc.) and the uses to which they will be put;

e. foreseeable positive and negative implications and impacts of the research.

2. The duty of researchers to inform communities continues after informed consent has been obtained. Ongoing projects should be explained in terms understandable to the local community.

3. Researchers should consult with and, where applicable, include communities in project planning and implementation. Reasonable opportunities should be provided for the communities to express interests and to participate in the research.

4. Research results should be explained in non-technical terms and, where feasible, should be communicated by means of study materials that can be used by local teachers or in displays that can be shown at local community centers or museums.

5. Copies of research reports, data descriptions, and other relevant materials should be provided to the local community. Special efforts must be made to communicate results that are responsive to local concerns.

6. Subject to the requirements for anonymity, publications should always refer to the informed consent of participants and give credit to those contributing to the research project.

7. The researcher must respect local cultural traditions, languages, and values. The researcher should, where practicable, incorporate the following elements into the research design:

   a. use of local and traditional knowledge and experience;

   b. use of the languages of the local people;

   c. translation of research results, particularly those of local concern, into the languages of the people affected by the research;

8. When possible, research projects should anticipate and provide meaningful experience and training for young people.

9. In cases where individuals or groups provide information of a confidential nature, their anonymity must be guaranteed in both the original use of data and in its deposition for future use.

10. Research on humans should only be undertaken in a manner that respects their privacy and dignity:

    a. Research subjects must remain anonymous unless they have agreed to be identified. If anonymity cannot be guaranteed, the subjects must be informed of the possible consequences of becoming involved in the research.

    b. In cases where individuals or groups provide information of a confidential or personal nature, this confidentiality must be guaranteed in both the original use of data and its deposition for future use.

c. The rights of children must be respected. All research involving children must be fully justified in terms of goals and objectives and never undertaken without the consent of the children and their parents or legal guardians.

d. Participation of subjects, including the use of photography in research, should always be based on informed consent.

e. The use and deposition of human tissue samples should always be based on the informed consent of the subjects or next of kin.

11. The researcher is accountable for all project decisions that affect the community, including decisions made by subordinates.

12. All relevant federal, state and local regulations and policies pertaining to cultural, environmental, and health protection must be strictly observed.

13. Sacred sites, cultural materials, and cultural property cannot be disturbed or removed without community and/or individual consent and in accordance with federal and state laws and regulations.

In implementing these principles, researchers may find additional guidance in the publications listed below.

Arctic Social Science: An Agenda for— Action. National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1989.

Draft Principles for an Arctic Policy. Inuit Circumpolar Conference, Kotzebue, 1986.

Ethics. Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Ottawa, 1977.

Nordic Statement of Principles and Priorities in Arctic Research. Center for Arctic Cultural Research, Umea, Sweden, 1989.

Policy on Research Ethics. Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Juneau, 1984.

Principles of Professional Responsibility. Council of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., 1971, rev. 1989.

The Ethical Principles for the Conduct of Research in the North. The Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, Ottawa, 1982.

The National Arctic Health Science Policy. American Public Health Association, Washington, D.C., 1984.

Protocol for Centers for Disease Control/Indian Health Service Serum Bank. Prepared by Arctic Investigations Program (CDC) and Alaska Area Native Health Service, 1990. Indian Health Manual. Indian Health Service, US Public Health Service, Rockville, Maryland, 1987.

Human Experimentation. Code of Ethics of the World Medical Association (Declaration of Helsinki). Published in British Medical Journal, 2:177, 1964.

Protection of Human Subjects. Code of Federal Regulations 45 CFR 46, 1974, rev. 1983.

Endnotes

Abbreviations for document collections

ROCR Russian Orthodox Church Records. Documents for this project translated primarily by Katherine L. Arndt. Some translations by Irina Dubinina. MF #132.

ROAM Russian Orthodox American Messenger. Articles translated for this project by Irina Dubinina. Other translated articles obtained from Patricia Partnow and Richard Bland.

AC Co. Alaska Commercial Company Records.

Foreword

1 Russian-American Company (RAC) and Russian Orthodox Church (ROCR) records are voluminous. It is likely that many that were either unavailable or untranslated contain information about the study area. Records from both sources are on microfilm at the Alaskan Russian Church Archives, Records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America, Diocese of Alaska, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C. Katherine L. Arndt and Irina Dubinina translated microfilm church records pertaining to the area. Russian-American Company, Correspondence of Governors-General, Records of the State Department, are available in Microfilm Group 11, U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. In addition, Records of the Orthodox Church of Alaska, Diocesan Archive at St. Herman's Theological Seminary, Kodiak, Alaska housed at the seminary in Kodiak are being organized by Lydia Black. Other Company records are housed in Russian archives.

2 Bragin in Pallas (1781, p. 73), 1993. Pallas, P. S., ed. 1781 "Bericht von einer im Jahr 1772 angetretenen vierjahrigen Seereise zu den zwischen Kamtschatka and Amerika gelegenen Inseln, unter Anfiihrung des Peredovshchiks Dmitrei Bragin." Neue Nordische Beitrage 2(ch, 13):308 324. P. S. Pallas, ed & trans. St. Petersburg: Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. Reprinted in Mesiatseslov for 1783 and in Sobranie sochinenii vybrannykh iz mesiatseslovov na raznye qody, 1790, part 5: 304-318. Based on the journals of Dmitrii Bragin and navigator.

3 A.V. Efimov, *Atlas geograficheskikh otkrytii v Sibiri i v Severo-Zapadnoi Amerilke,* XVII-XVIII vv (1964), p. 180.

4 A.J. von Krusenstern, *Atlas de l'ocean Pacifique* (St. Petersburg, 1827).

5 James W. VanStone, *Russian Exploration in Southwest Alaska: The Travel Journals of Petr Korsakovsky (1818) and Ivan Ya. Vasilev (1829)* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1988).

6 Fedor P. Litke 1835 included Vasiliev's report from 1831-2 (in Partnow, 1993:103). Partnow suggests that there may well have been more villages prior to production of Russian charts (p. 103, ff 19).

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7 Bernard R. Hubbard, *Mush, You Malemutes!* (New York: The America Press, 1932), and *Cradle of the Storms* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1935).

8 Baer in Ferdinand P. Wrangell, *Russian America: Statistical and Ethnographic Information*, (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1980 [1839]), p. 178-179.

Chapter two

9 Davydov, *Two Voyages to Russian America, 1802-1807*, translated by Colin Bearne, edited by Richard A. Pierce (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1977), p. 147-148.

10 Sugpiaq (S'xpiaq) is singular, meaning "a real person." "Sugpiat is plural, meaning the real people." Aleut was pronounced Alutiiq by the Koniag. Alutiiqs is an Anglicized plural. Sugpiaq and Alutiiq are the adjective forms. The language is Sugtestun (S'x"stun). See Donald Clark, "Pacific Eskimo: Historical Ethnography," in *Handbook of North American Indians: Arctic, vol. 5* by D. Damas, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), p.185-197.

11 Variants of the name Koniag included Kanagist (Glotov), Kaniag (Sachyrev), Kaniaga (Davydov), and Kad'iak Aleuts. See Clark 1984:185-197.

12 Gordon Pullar, *The Qikertamiut and the Scientist: Fifty Years of Clashing World Views*, in The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution; T. L. Bray and

K.W. Killian, eds. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), p. 23.

13 While Aleut was a generic term the Russians used for indigenous peoples, they also used variations of indigenous terms, like Kad'iak Aleut for the indigenous people of Kodiak Island and Aliaskans (in Russian Aliaskintsy) for those of the Alaska Peninsula.

14 Michael Krauss, *Alaska Native Languages*. (Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, 1980.)

15 Clark, 1984:185; Krauss, 1980.

16 Heinrich J. Holmberg, *Holmberg's Ethnographic* Sketches, 1855-1863, translated by Fritz Jaensch, edited by Marvin W. Falk (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1985 [1856]).

17 Gordon Pullar, "Aleut," *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, edited by Frederick Hoxie (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), pp. 19-21.

18 Nick Ablama interview, part 3, BIA Reports of Investigation for BLM AA11774-A-R, (Anchorage AK: ANCSA Office, 1990), p. 9.

19 See Clark, 1984:195-196 for an explanation of the synonymy of Sugpiat/Alutiiq.

20 Lydia Black, "The Konyag (The Inhabitants of the Island of Kodiak) by Ioasaf [Bolotov] (1794-1799) and by Gideon (1804-1807)," in *Arctic Anthropology* 14(2):79-108, 1977: 98.

21 Black, 1977:98. The island is called both Qikertaq and Qirtaq.

22 The Russians called the people north of the Katmai artel, on the Naknek River drainage, *Severnovskoe* ("Northerners"). Through time the term became *Savonoski* and was applied to the village of Ikak on Lake Naknek. After the Katmai eruption, these people moved downstream and established New Savonoski. See Don Dumond and James VanStone, "Paugvik: a Nineteenth-Century Native Village on Bristol Bay, Alaska," Fieldiana, Anthropology new series #24 (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1995).pp. 2-3.

23 Wendall H. Oswalt, *Alaskan Eskimos* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1967).

24 Hieromonk Gideon, *Round the World Voyage of Hieromonk Gideon 1803-1809* (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1989); Ioasaf in Black, 1977.; Davydov, 1977; Holmberg, 1985; Georg H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 & 1807*. 2 vols., (New York: De Capo Press, 1968 [1813-14]); Urii F. Lisianskii, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, & 1806; Performed by Order of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the Ship Neva*, (London: Printed for J. Booth, 1968 [1814]); Fedor P. Litke, *Puteshestvie vokrug sveta, sovershennoe po poveleniiu imperatora Nikolaia I, na voennom shliupe "Seniavine," v 1826, 1827, 1828 i 1829 godakh. Otdelenie morekhodnoe, s atlasom [Voyage around the world...aboard the sloop "Seniavin" in 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829. Navigational section, with atlas]* (St. Petersburg: Kh. Gintse, 1835). See also Black op. cit.; Svetlana G. Fedorova, *The Russian Population in Alaska and California: Late 18th Century-1867*, (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1973).

25 VanStone, 1988.

26 For prehistoric settlements see Don E. Dumond, et. al., "Archaeology and Prehistory on the Alaska Peninsula," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, 18(1): 17-29.1976; Don E. Dumond, "Prehistoric Ethnic Boundaries on the Alaska Peninsula" in Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, 16(1): 1-7, 1974; Don E. Dumond, "Prehistoric Human Occupation in Southwestern Alaska: A Study of Resource Distribution and Site Location," University of Oregon Anthropological Papers 36, 1987; Richard VanderHoek, Aniakchak Archaeological Surveys, National Park Service, 1998; Winfield Henn, Archaeology on the Alaska Peninsula: The Ugashik Drainage, 1973-1975, University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 14, Eugene, 1978. For historical information about settlements many records have not survived. Korsakovskii and Vasiliev both had Ugashik men on their crew (in VanStone 1988). See also Kiril T. Khlebnikov, *Notes on Russian America Parts II-V: Kad'iak, Unalaska, Atkha, The Pribylovs*, (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1994), and Davydov, 1977.

27 Lydia Black, personal communication; for further information see Pierce, 1990, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 204 for a brief synopsis of Ivanov's exploits.

28 Langsdorff, 1968. Aniakchak archaeologists have found evidence of sizable settlements along the Pacific coast and surveys indicate that it holds many areas suitable for settlement.

29 Pinart, Alphonse L. *Voyage a à la côte nord-ouest d'Amérique d'Ounalashka a Kâdiak (îles Aléoutiennees et péninsula d'Aliaska)*. Paris: Bulletin de la "Société de Geographie, series 6:561-580. Translated title "A Voyage on the North-West Coast of America from Unalaska to Kodiak".

30 Jon Erlandson et al., "Spatial and Temporal Patterns in Alutiiq Paleodemography," *Arctic Anthropology* vol. 29(2):42-62, 1992.

31 Ivan Veniaminov, *Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District*, translated by L.T. Black and R.H. Geoghegan, edited by R.A. Pierce. (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1984).

32 Vladimir Modestov, ROCR, R145/f241. See Veniaminov, 1984 on earlier caribou decline.

33 Ioasaf in Black, 1977.

34 Pinart, 1873.

35 Davydov, 1977:173.

36 Considerable debate has surrounded the question of whether Sugpiat hunted whales prior to Russian occupation or not. What is clear is that they were proficient at it early on in the Russian period and, at the insistence of the Russian America Company

they taught Aleutian Islanders their skills. See Black's remarks in Gideon, 1989:155; J. L. Rousselot et al., "Maritime Economies of the North Pacific Rim," *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska* by William Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell, (Washington: Smithsonian, 1988); see: Dominque Desson, 1995, *Masked Rituals of the Kodiak Archipelago*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alaska Fairbanks for a description of Kodiak whaling and associated beliefs; and Clark, 1984.

37 Gideon, 1989:56.

38 Davydov in Rosa G. Liapunova, 1994:179.

39 Gideon, 1989:56-57.

40 Rousselot, et. al., 1988.

41 Gideon 1989:68.

42 Black 1977:97.

43 Holmberg 1985:376-377.

44 Gideon (1989) describes the anayugak as a village chief. Holmberg (1985) describes him as the strongest and most intelligent man in the village. There were other names recorded as wisemen or chiefs, this included Kashpak. Davydov recorded wisemen as Kasiats (in Liapunova 1994:181).

45 Ioasaf in Black, 1977:84.

46 See Davydov, 1977; Holmberg, 1985; and Gideon, 1989.

47 Gideon, 1989.

48 Davydov, 1977.

49 Gideon, 1989; Richard Jordan, "Qasqiluteng: Feasting and Ceremonialism among the Traditional Koniag of Kodiak Island, Alaska," *Crossroads of Continents* by William Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell (Washington: Smithsonian, 1988).

50 Gideon, 1989.

51 Gideon, 1989.

52 Gideon, 1989.

53 Davydov, 1977.; Ioasaf in Black,1977.

54 Lisianski, 1968; Black, 1977; Davydov, 1977; and Carl Heinrich Merck 1980.

55 Davydov, 1977:148.

56 Davydov, 1977.

57 Davydov, 1977.

58 Gideon, 1989:97; Merck, 1980.

59 Davydov, 1977:181.

60 Davydov, 1977:151.

61 See Lydia Black, 1991, *Glory Remembered: Wooden Headgear of Alaska Sea Hunters*, Alaska State Museum, Juneau for the fundamental work on hunting hats.

62 For additional information on Kodiak kayaks see Dyson, 1986 and 1991.

63 Linda Ellanna and Andrew Balluta, *Nuvendaltin Quht'ana: The People of Nondalton* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1992), p.58.

64 Davydov, 1977; Gideon, 1989; Holmberg, 1985.

65 Davydov, 1977:159.

66 Gideon, 1989.

67 Wrangell, 1980:59.

68 Joan Townsend 1979 and 1981:623 in Ellanna and Balluta, 1992:58.

69 Partnow compares old and new versions of battles between Sugpiat and Unangan (see Partnow, 1993:263-269. For Dena'ina warfare see Joan Townsend (1979 cited in Ellanna and Balluta, 1992.).

70 Davydov, 1977:162.

71 Ioasaf in Black, 1977.

72 Davydov, 1977:188.

73 Gideon, 1989.

77 Mike Sam, BIA-ANCSA interview 91 AKP001, 1991.

75 Henn, 1978:85.

76 Oswalt, 1967:8; see also Lydia Black's testimony in United States of America vs. Palakia Melgenak, 1985.

77 See Partnow, 1993, for a discussion of Severnovskie affiliations with Katmai.

The evidence is inconclusive and even less evidence exists for the ethnic affiliation of Ugashik people. Russian Orthodox priest's accounts distinguish Severnovskie and Ugaassarmiut from Aglurmiut. The problem is that there is a break in the occupancy of the Ugashik River. In 1919 the original population was nearly exterminated by the influenza pandemic.

78 Wrangell, 1980:64

79 See Ivan Petroff, *Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska, 10th Census, 1880, US Department of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 84, and see Partnow's argument in Partnow (1993). Apparent Yup'ik affiliation is found in Korsakovski's journal in VanStone (1988), however, the use of Ugashik men as translators near Togiak River may be evidence of linguistic capabilities rather than cultural affiliation.

80 Over the course of many battles the Aglurmiut fought the Qaluyaarmiut, Caninermiut, Kusquqvagmiut, and Kiatagmiut. Nick Ablama (1990) tells the story about the Ugaassarmiut fighting the Aglurmiut north of the Ugashik River, ending their advance. See Matt O'Leary, *Geography and Chronology of Central Yupiit Warrior Traditions*, paper presented at Alaska Anthropological Society Meetings (1995), for an explanation of battles during the time-of-warring.

81 Kolmakov in Khlebnikov, 1994:90-93; Wrangell, 1980.

82 Ahlama, 1990; see also Kilbuck in Fienup-Riordan 1988:32-33 and pp. 43-47; O'Leary, 1995.

83 Ablama, 1990.

84 Khlebnikov, 1994: 54-56.

85 Khlebnikov, 1994:90-91; Clark, 1984.; James VanStone, *Mainland Southwest Alaska Eskimo*, in *Handbook of North American Indians*: Arctic, vol. 5 by D. Damas, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1984), pp. 224-242.

86 see Don Dumond, *Demographic Effects of European Expansion: A Nineteenth-Century Native Population on the Alaska Peninsula*, University of Oregon Paper #21 (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1986) p. 5.

87 Edward W. Nelson, *The Eskimo About Bering Strait*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1983), pp. 516-517.

88 Feofil, ROCR R149/f760, 1866.

89 Vasilii Shishkin, ROCR R147/f327, 1888; Modestov, ROCR R147/f612-615, 1895. See also Petroff, 1884:84, and for a discussion of this see Partnow, 1993.

90 Evfimii Aleksin, ROCR R 136/f 522-529, 1895-1897.

91 1920 US Census Report for Alaska, 3rd District, National Archives.

92 Jeff Leer, "Prosody in Alutiiq," *Yup'ik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies*, Michael Krauss, ed., Research Paper No. 7 (Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, 1985), p. 77-133.

93 Josiah E. Spurr, *A Reconnaissance in Southwestern Alaska in 1898* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 93.

94 Jeff Leer, *A Short Dictionary of Alaska Peninsula Sugtestun* (Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, 1996).

95 See Russian Orthodox Church Vital Statistics for the Kodiak and Afognak parishes and the Belkofsky and Nushagak parishes.

96 Leer, 1996; Michael Krauss, *Alaska Native Languages* (Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, 1980).

97 Ablama, 1990:9.

98 Nick Ablama interview, parts a-c, BIA Reports of Investigation for BLM AA11774-A-R, (Anchorage AK: ANCSA Office, 1990), part b, pp. 7-9.

99 Ablama, 1990, part c, p.3.

100 Pinart, 1873; Veniaminov, 1984.

Chapter three

101 1817 Calendar, Anonymous. In: *Documents on the History of the Russian-American Company*, R.A. Pierce. Ottowa: The Limestone Press, 1976.

102 See Stephen Haycox, et. al., eds., *Enlightenment and Exploration in the North Pacific, 1741-1805* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997) for an overview of explorations and references.

103 Anonymous in Pierce, 1976.

104 Singular is promyshlennik, plural is promyshlenniki.

105 Fedorova, 1973:185.

106 Holmberg 1985:81.

107 L. Black, 1998 personal communication. See L. Black (in press). Pan'kov's reports remain.

108 L. Black, 1998 personal communication.

109 Polonskii n.d. in Partnow, 1993:108.

110 1776 Orders from the Okhotsk Port office in Khlebnikov, 1994:179.

111 Fedorova, 1973:124-130.

112 James VanStone, ed., *V. S. Khromchenko's Coastal Explorations in Southwestern Alaska, 1822, Fieldiana Anthropology, Vol. 54* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1973).

113 Tikhmenev, Petr Aleksandrovich, *A History of the Russian-American Company*, R.A. Pierce and A. S. Donnelly trans. and eds. (Seattle: U Washington Press 1978), pp.41-61.

114 Tikhmenev, Petr Aleksandrovich, *A History of the Russian American Company, vol.2.* translated by Dmitri Krenov (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1979), p. 7.

115 Richard Pierce, ed., *Documents on the History of the Russian-American Company* (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1976), pp. 18-19.

116 Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska 1730-1885: The works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. Vol. XXXIII* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co, 1886), p. 378.

117 Ioasaf in Black, 1977:86.

118 Tikhmenev, 1979:6-14.

119 Tikhmenev, 1979:14.

120 Black, 1977.

121 Izmailov, Gerasim, Ms., Log of the vessel *Tri Sviatitelia* Vasilii Velikii, Grigorii Bogoslov, I Ioann Zlatoust. RGAVMF (former TsGAVMF) (Navy Archive of Russia), St. Petersburg, Fond 870, opis' 1, delo 1784, F 16 and 20, cited after Partnow 1993: 109, 441.

122 Waterproof anorak type garment made of dried, softened sea lion, whale or bear gut.

123 Richard A. Pierce, ed., and trans., *The Russian-American Company: Correspondence of the Governors Communications Sent: 1818* (Kingston Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1984).

124 Khlebnikov, 1994.

125 Arndt 1998, personal communication; Black, 2002 personal communication.

126 Wrangell, N.D. (in Khlebnikov, 1994:349-350).

127 Wrangell, N.D. (in Khlebnikov, 1994:59.)

128 Wrangell, N.D. (in Khlebnikov, 1994:359.)

129 Gideon 1989.

130 Gideon 1989:63-64.

131 after Fedorova, 1973: 189.

132 Hooper 1897 cited in Black, "The Story of Russian America," *Crossroads of Continents* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1988), p. 79.

133 Khlebnikov, 1994: 40.

134 Davydov 1977: 192. Pinart indicates that the settlement had shrunken and become dilapidated by the time he was there in 1873.

135 Tikhmenev, 1861/63, vol.2, p. 103.

136 Khlebnikov, 1994:9.

137 Khlebnikov, 1994:26. The reference to Kenai Bay is lower Cook Inlet.

138 Lydia T. Black 2002, personal communication, see also James VanStone, *Russian Exploration in Southwest Alaska: The Travel Journals of Petr Korsakovsky (1818) and Ivan Ya. Vasilev (1829),* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1988).

139 Khlebnikov, 1994:27 & 37.

140 Kashevarov 1834 in Khlebnikov, 1994:362.

141 VanStone, 1988:17-75.

142 VanStone, 1988:89-109.

143 VanStone, 1988:46.

144 Litke, 1835.

145 Tikhmenev, Petr Aleksandrovich, *Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company and its Activities to the Present Day,* translated by Richard A. Pierce, Alaska Division of State Libraries microfiche (1974). The Vasiliev survey was in 1832 and the Voronkovskii survey in 1836 according to Baer in Wrangel 1980: 186.

146 Khlebnikov, 1994:63.

147 Black, 1990:151.

148 Fedorova, 1973:206, 210-211.

149 Fedorova, 1973, p. 165; Golovin (1979, p. 17) in Michael Oleksa, *Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1992).

150 Black, 1990:145.

151 Black, 1990:145.

152 Wrangell, 1980:15.

153 Fedorova 1973.

154 Michael Oleksa, "The Creoles and Their Contribution to the Development of Alaska," In *Russian America: the Forgotten Frontier,* edited by B. S. Smith and R. J. Barnett (Tacoma, Washington: Washington State Historical Society).

155 The Committee for Organization of the Russian American Colonies, 1861 in Fedorova, 1973:213.

156 Black, 1990. Golovin was critical of the Creoles yet attributed many accomplishments to individual Creoles. Golovin, 1979.

157 Fedorova, 1973:165.

158 Black, 1990.

159 Oleksa, 1992:157.

160 William H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1870) p. 241.

161 Robert Fortuine, *Chills and Fever: Health and Disease in the Early History of Alaska* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1992).

162 Tikhmenev, Petr Aleksandrovich, *A History of the Russian-American Company,* translated and edited by R.A. Pierce & A. S. Donnelly (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978).

163 Tikhmenev, 1978.

164 Tikhmenev, 1978: 201.

165 Lydia T. Black 2002, personal communication.

166 Wrangell in Khlebnikov, 1994:7 & 358.

167 Tikhmenev, 1974:312.

168 The term "under company control" seems to mean just employed by. For population figures see Fedorova, 1973:200, and Khlebnikov, 1994:8.

169 Khlebnikov, 1994:19.

170 The Committee for Organization of the Russian American Colonies, 1861 in Federova, 1973.

171 Wrangell's remarks in Khlebnikov, 1994:358.

172 Oleksa, 1992:106-108.

173 Black, 1996, monograph on Orthodoxy in Alaska, Distinguished Lecture Series 6, Berkeley.

174 Wrangell's remarks concerning Kad'iak in Khlebnikov, 1994:353.

175 Russian era texts in Alutiiq, as well as many parish documents, are housed at the Russian Orthodox Seminary in Kodiak.

176 Veniaminov in Oleksa, 1992:159.

177 Modestov, ROAM vol. 1, (1898) pp. 287-289, 303-305; vol 3., pp. 224-227, 248-250 (1902).

178 Feofil, ROCR Reel 149/f791-804, 1865.

179 Feofil, ROCR R149/f792, 1866.

180 Apollinarii Kedrovskii ROCR R139/f201, f320, 1908.

181 Oleksa, 1992:161.

Chapter four

182 Bancroft, 1886:599-601.

183 Petroff, 1884. The 1880 census enumerated 95 people for the Pacific Coast between Mitrofania Bay and Wrangell in Chiginagak Bay, and there is no village reported between Wrangell and Katmai village. On the Bristol Bay coast the total population is given as 254 from Unangashak at the Seal Islands north to Ugashik, where 70 percent of these people resided.

184 Bancroft, 1886:603.

185 Anonymous. *American Orthodox Messenger, Vol. 2, no. 8,* (1898), pp. 265-266, translated by Patricia H. Partnow.

186 Robert P. Porter, *Report of Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 96. The "Kanaka" were Hawaiians brought in to work in the canneries.

187 Shalamov, Tikhon, "Travel of the Right Reverend Tikhon, Bishop of Aleut and Alaska: From the journal of 1895 of a priest of the Kodiak Resurrection Church", translated by Richard Bland, ROAM vol. 1, p. 23 (1896).

188 Modestov, ROAM vol. 3, pp. 224-227, 248-250 (1895).

189 Shalamov, 1896.

190 Petroff, Ivan, *Population and Resources of Alaska, US Congress, House Executive Document No. 40, 46th Congress, 3rd session,* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), pp28.

191 Basil Bensin, *Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska: 1794-1967,* (Sitka: Russian Orthodox Greek Church of North America).

192 Shalamov, 1907, described the region and its many small settlements in 1895.

193 Bancroft, 1886: 627.

194 Porter, 1893.

195 Aleksin, ROCR R133/f328, 1895 and ROCR R136/f523, 1897.

196 Kedrovskii, ROCR R139/f199, 1908.

197 Oleksa, 1992:176-183.

198 Richard Dauenhauer, *Glacier Bay Concerto: A Long Poem in Three Movements* (Anchorage: Alaska Pacific University Press, 1980).

199 Oleksa, 1992.

200 Petroff, Ivan, "Population, Industries and Resources of Alaska," *U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Military Affairs* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), p. 116.

201 Petroff, 1900: 121.

202 Shishkin, ROCR R149/f461 (1878)

1878 Fur prices, Nushagak Parish

beaver	10¢ - $1.20
marten	10¢ -$1.20
fox	20¢ - 80¢
land otter	$1.00 - $2.00
mink	10¢ - 50¢
cross fox	$1.00 - $1.50
caribou skin	20¢ - 50¢

203 Aleksin, ROCR R136/f333-336, 1895.

204 Aleksin, ROCR R136/f524, 1897.

205 Modestov, ROCR R145/f239, 1898.

206 Bancroft,1886: 636-7.

207 Bancroft,1886: 636-7.

208 AC Co., Box 119/fldr1097.

209 Lydia T. Black 2002, personal communication.

210 AC Co., Box 118/fldr 1082, 1882.

211 AC Co., Box 155/f1dr 634, Wrangell Station, Agent Fisher 1888.

212 Shalamov, 1907.

213 Aleksin, ROCR R136/f333 1895; Kedrovskii, ROCR R136/f352, 1896; Aleksin, ROCR R136/f375, 1897.

214 Petroff, 1900:117.

215 AC Co., Records, Box 155/flder 1634, Wrangell Station, Agent Fisher, 1888.

216 AC Co., Box 155/fldr1634 1888.

217 AC Co., Box 155/fldr1632, Fisher 1888.

218 AC Co., Box 119/fldr1099, Frank Lowell, 1896.

219 AC Co., Box 119/fldr1099, Frank Lowell, 1896.

220 AC Co., Box 119/fldr1099, Frank Lowell, 1896.

221 ROCR R147/f718 , 1897. Kruger is listed in the Confessional Lists as a Lutheran.

222 AC Co., Box 155/fldr1633, Wrangell Station, 1888.

223 Shalamov, ROAM vol. 3, p. 91, 1899.

224 Vasilii Martysh, *Voyage Taken in 1901,* ROAM vol. 6, pp. 431-3, (1902), translated by Patricia H. Partnow.

225 Vasilii Martysh, *Voyage Taken in 1902 on the Alaska Peninsula,* ROAM vol. 8, pp. 13-15 (1904), translated by Patricia Partnow.

226 ACCo., Box 155/fldr1632, Fisher, 1888.

227 See archeological excavation report: Dave McMahan, Castle Hill excavations, AK Office of History and Archeology.

228 Mike Sam interview, BIA-ANCSA interview 91-akp001, 1991.

229 In the United States *beluga* and *belukha* are interchangeable terms used for the small white whale, *Delphinapterus leucas.* The term *beluga whale* is perhaps more common in Alaska. In Russia *beluga* refers to a fish in the Sturgeon family while *Belukha* refers to the whale. Lydia T. Black, 2002 personal communication

230 Feofil, ROCR R149/f792.

231 Feofil, ROCR R149/f686.

232 Ablama, 1990b:14-15.

233 Ablama, 1990b:7.

234 Feofil, ROCR 1866 R149/f792.

235 Ablama, 1990b:14-15.

236 Feofil, ROCR R149/f760, 1866.

237 Feofil, ROCR R149/f760, 1866.

238 Alaskan Russian Church Archives. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (MF139 accession number in collections of University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department.) Katherine Arndt, Translator. R 149 item: Report, V. Shishkin, Nushagak, to Alaska Consistory, 8/20 August 1890 f 636.

239 Influenza predated contact. Fortuine, 1992.

240 Modestov, ROAM vol. 3, pp. 248-250, 1898. The fish he mentions is prepared and stored in such a way that the fermentation process preserves it for eating.

241 The 1900 flu epidemic was a pandemic that rivaled the 1918-1919 world-wide pandemic. Fortuine, 1992.

242 ROCR R149/f263-265, 1901.

243 Harold Napoleon, *Yuuyaraq: The Way of the Human Being*, (Fairbanks: Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1996).

244 Fortuine, 1992.

245 US Department of Commerce and Labor, Letter to John Sidney Webb, July 16, 1912 (Wickersham Collection, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department.).

246 W. J. Erskine, Letter to Alaska Game Commission 1910 (Wickersham Collection, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department).

Chapter five

247 Henn, 1978.

248 Feofil, ROCR R144/f5, 1876.

249 Modestov, ROCR R147/f 612-615, 1895; ROCR R146/f478-546; ROCR R144/f59, 1898; ROAM vol. 1, 303-305.

250 Korsakovky in VanStone, 1988. Independent Russian trading companies were trading with Ugashik traders or middlemen by the 1780s. The RA Co. used them as translators on their journeys into Yup'ik areas of Bristol Bay in the early 1800s. L.Black, personal communication. But see Partnow 1993: 88-91 for a discussion about ethnic and linguistic boundaries around Severnovskoe and Ugashik.

251 Feofil ROCR R145/f602-603 and R149/f760-761; Holmberg, 1985.

252 Shishkin, ROCR R144/f574-581, 1878; Petroff 1900:83.

253 Korsakovsky in VanStone, 1988.

254 Treby refers to the seven sacraments and any service on demand of a parishioner.

255 Modestov, ROAM, vol. 3, pp.224-227, 1900, Irina Dubinina, translator.

256 Modestov, ROCR, R145/f6, 1895.

257 Porter, 1893:73; AC Co., Box 155/f1634 1888; Shalamov, 1899.

258 ROCR R139/f665; US census, Alaska.

259 Joseph Murray, "Salmon Fisheries of Alaska Reports for 1892, 94, 95," Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska in Four Volumes, 55th Congress House of Representatives. Doc 92, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898).

260 Modestov, ROCR R145/f46-47, 1896.

261 Modestov, ROCR R145/f46-47, 1896.

262 Modestov, ROCR R145/f120 1897.

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330 Aleksin, ROCR R132/f 747-748, 1897. See Wrangell confessional list, ROCR R198/f443-444, 1893. Aleksin says they are Aleut and Aglurmiut. However, the Aglurmiut seem to be originally from Ugashik and, few, if any Aglurmiut lived in Ugashik (e.g., ROCR R147/f327-330, 1888). They probably speak Yup'ik dialects, but not that of Aglurmiut. Later, the confessional lists call all Chignik residents Aglurmiut. The Aglurmiut Aleksin refers to are probably Sugtestun speakers originally from Ugashik.

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Analysis of dominant decorative motifs of Aleut and Koniag hunting hats and whale hunting. Explores the meaning of the hunting hats to the hunters who used them—the visor-as-mask's transformative qualities, the associations to the cosmic and the personal realm, and links to life, death, and procreation. Provides evidence linking people of the Bering Sea littoral.

In Press Russians in Alaska 1732-1867. University of Alaska Press.

Black, Lydia T., editor

1977 The Konyag (The Inhabitants of the Island of Kodiak) by Ioasaf [Bolotov] (1794-1799) and by Gideon (1804-1807), with an introduction by L. Black. Arctic Anthropology 14(2):79-108.

Introduction about Archmandrate Iosaf and Hieromonk Gideon and translated text of their journals. Includes glossary of Russian and Sugtestun words and list of plants and animals referred to. Later, more complete works of Gideon in Gideon 1989.

Black, Lydia, Richard A. Pierce, Katherine L. Arndt, and Sarah McGowen, editors

1999 History and Ethnohistory of the Aleutians East Borough. Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press.

Bolotov, Iosaf

1794-1799 The Konyag (The Inhabitants of the Island of Kodiak). With an introduction by L. Black. Arctic Anthropology 14(2):79-108.

Bower, W. T. and H.D. Aller

1917 Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1915. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries. Pp. 108-140.

Capps, Stephen R.

1923 The Cold Bay District. *In* Mineral Resources of Alaska, Report on Progress in Investigations in 1921, pp77-116. USGS Bulletin 739. Washington.: Government Printing Office.

Cold (Puale) Bay and Kanatak area mining and oil exploration. Photos of Kanatak. See also Capps Photo Collection, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department.

Case, David and David Avraham Voluck

2001 Alaska Natives and American Laws. 2nd ed. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.

Clark, Donald W.

1984a Prehistory of the Pacific Eskimo Region. *In* Handbook of North American Indians: Arctic vol. 5, D. Damas, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. Pp. 136-148.

Introduction to sources on Alutiiq prehistory.

1984b Pacific Eskimo: Historical Ethnography. *In* Handbook of North American Indians: Arctic. vol. 5 D. Damas, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press Pp. 185-197.

Description of Alutiiq culture as observed by early Russian and European visitors. Language, Territory, Environment. External relations-raiding and trade, history of Russian contact. Synonymy (Clark &

Goddard). List of Alutiiq sources at end—original, pre-contact information and secondary sources.

1988a Pacific Eskimo Encoded Precontact History. *In* The Late Prehistoric Development of Alaska's Native People. Robert Shaw, Roger K. Harritt, and Don E. Dumond, eds. Alaska Anthropological Association Monograph Series #4. Anchorage: Alaska Anthropological Association. Pp. 311-323.

Race, Language, and Culture as the triumvirate of ethnography and the potential to bias interpretation. Alutiiq linguistically Eskimoan, physiognomy more Indian (Clark 1988:213, Hrdlicka 1944:354&375, Neumann 1952, Turner 1983a, 1988) or just confusing (see Clark 1988 for discussion 213-214). Culture as encoded messages and circumstantial contexts. Koniag archaeological phase started 900-1200AD.

1988b The Peoples and History of Kodiak Island, Alaska: A Bibliography. Unpublished MS. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Includes prehistory, history, and current ethnography, as well as articles appearing in popular journals. A work in progress, unpublished update by Rachel Mason for Kodiak Area Native Association.

Coxe, William

1787 1780 Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America. London: J. Nichols for T. Cadell.

Crowell, Aron

1988 Prehistory of Alaska's Pacific Coast. *In* Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. Pp. 130-140.

General prehistory of Pacific coastal peoples, development of progressive cultural phases, cultural diffusion, and similarities and differences between Pacific coast groups.

1992 Postcontact Koniag Ceremonialism on Kodiak Island and the Alaska Peninsula: Evidence from the Fisher Collection. Arctic Anthropology 29(1):18-37.

Discusses ceremonial articles collected by naturalist William J. Fisher between 1879 and 1885. The presence of dance masks, headdresses, and shaman's articles shows that traditional religious activities continued well after Russian contact.

Crowell, Aron, Amy F. Steffian and Gordon Pullar, editors

2001 Looking Both Ways, Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.

Dall, William H.

1870 Alaska and its Resources. Boston: Lee and Shepard, p. 241.

Davidson, George

1869 Coast Pilot of Alaska, First Part from Southern Boundary to Cook's Inlet. Washington: U.S. Coast Survey.

Davis, Nancy Y.

1984 Contemporary Pacific Eskimo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians: Arctic vol. 5. D. Damas, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press. Pp. 198-204.

Brief overview of contemporary Pacific Eskimo—three groups: Koniag [Qikertarmiut], Chugach and Unegkurmiut. Includes present villages. Affiliations with each other and Corporation affiliation, new organization/separation. Historical influences of Church, Canneries and influence on settlements, earthquakes, volcanoes, ANCSA.

1986 A Sociocultural Description of Small Communities in the Kodiak/Shumagin Region. OCS Technical Report No. 121, Minerals Management Service. Anchorage: Cultural Dynamics Ltd.

Includes descriptions of the three Chignik villages, Perryville and Ivanof Bay. Village descriptions include history, social organization, kinship, political

organization, economic organization, values, and respondents' views on oil development. Includes descriptions or stories about, for example, family migration patterns and family relationships, religious history.

Davydov, Gavrill I.

1977 Two voyages to Russian America, 1802-1807. [1810 Colin Bearne, translator; Richard A. Pierce, ed. 1812] (Materials for the Study of Alaska History). Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

"Koniaga" customs, ceremonies, material culture and character described by young Russian Navy officer. Pp. 147-191 on Koniag. Some mention of Alaska Peninsula "Aliaksintsy" and ties to Koniag, also "Ugashentsy". Mentions settlements but fairly negative view of Natives. Criticizes Russian American Company policies toward Natives.

Desson, Dominique

1995 Masked Rituals of the Kodiak Archipelago. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

Dumond, Don E.

1974 Prehistoric Ethnic Boundaries on the Alaskan Peninsula. Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska 16(1).

1986 Demographic Effects of European Expansion: A Nineteenth-Century Native Population on the Alaska Peninsula, University of Oregon Anthropological Paper #21. Eugene: University of Oregon.

Examination of Russian Orthodox priest's records and other evidence for effects on population of 1890s influx of Euroamericans to Paugvik.

1987 Prehistoric Human Occupation in Southwestern Alaska: A Study of Resource Distribution and Site Location. Anthropological Papers of the University of Oregon 36.

1988 The Alaskan Peninsula as a Superhighway: A Comment. Robert Shaw, Roger K. Harritt, and Don E. Dumond, eds. Pp. 379-388. Alaska Anthropological Association Monograph Series #4. Anchorage: Alaska Anthropological Association.

Analyzes the existing archaeological evidence—good source for work done and conclusions drawn by different archaeologists. Case for origin of Alaska Peninsula people. Concludes that, based on recent and past evidence, Koniag migrated from Bristol Bay about 1000AD.

1992 Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Chignik-Port Heiden Region of the Alaska Peninsula. Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, vol. 24(1-2):89-108.

Dumond, Don E., Leslie Conton & Harvey M. Shields

1975 Eskimos and Aleuts on the Alaskan Peninsula: A Reappraisal of Port Moller Affinities. Arctic Anthropology 12(1):49-67.

Dumond, Don E. and James W. VanStone

1995 Paugvik: A Nineteenth-Century Native Village on Bristol Bay, Alaska. Fieldiana Anthropology, new series, No. 24. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

Begins with a concise history of the Naknak River drainage, Aglurmiut incursion, Severnovski people, Russian exploration and trade, Russian Orthodox Church, and cannery influences. Discusses relations of Bristol Bay peoples with Pacific coast peoples.

Dumond, Winfield Henn, and R. Stuckenrafn

1976 Archaeology and Prehistory on the Alaska Peninsula. Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, 18(1): 17-29.

Dyson, George

1986 Baidarka. Edmonds, Washington: Alaska Northwest Publishing Co.

1991 Form and Function of the Baidarka: The Framework of Design. Bellingham, Washington: Baidarka Historical Society.

Efimov, A.V.

1964 Atlas geograficheskikh otkrytii v Sibiri i v Severo-Zapadnoi Amerilke, XVII-XVIII vv.

Map #180 is Bocherov's map of Alaska Peninsula from his 1791 survey on the north side of the Peninsula.

Ellana, Linda and Andrew Balluta

1992 Nuvendaltin Quht'ana: The People of Nondalton. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Endter-Wada, Joanna

1993 Social Indicators Study of Alaskan Coastal Villages IV. Anchorage: Minerals Management Service Technical Report # 155.

Erickson, Thomas Hylland

1993 Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives. London: Pluto Press.

Erlandson, Jon, et. al.

1992 Spatial and Temporal Patterns in Alutiiq Paleodermography. Arctic Anthropology vol. 29 (2):42-62.

Erskine, W. J.

1910 Letter to Alaska Game Commission. Wickersham Collection, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department.

Fall, James A.

1993 An Overview of Subsistence Uses of the Northern Alaska Peninsula Caribou Herd by Communities of Game Management Units 9C and 9E. Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence Technical Paper No. 224. Juneau: Alaska Department of Fish and Game.

Chigniks, Perryville, Ivanof Bay. Port Heiden, Pilot Point, Ugashik. Caribou numbers and Harvest levels 1980s and 90s seasons of hunt for many species of fish and mammals. Maps of main hunting area by village. Use of caribou parts.

Fall, James A. and Judith A. Morris

1987 Fish and Wildlife Harvests in Pilot Point, Ugashik, and Port Heiden. Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence Technical Paper No. 158. Juneau: Alaska Department of Fish and Game.

Brief history of area, first published subsistence report from the area, maps of use areas.

Fall, James A. and Lisa B. Hutchinson-Scarbrough

1996 Subsistence Uses of Brown Bears in Communities of Game Management Unit 9E, Alaska Peninsula, Southwest Alaska. Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence Technical Paper No. 235. Juneau: Alaska Department of Fish and Game.

Ethnographic material on bear hunting methods, beliefs, rituals, food preparation, conflict between regulations and indigenous beliefs. See Hallowell, 1926.

Fall, James A., Lisa B. Hutchinson-Scarbrough, and Philla A. Coiley

1995 Fish and Wildlife Harvest and Use in Five Alaska Peninsula Communities, 1989: Subsistence Uses in Chignik Bay, Chignik Lagoon, Chignik Lake, Ivanof Bay, and Perryville. Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence Technical Paper No. 202. Juneau: Alaska Department of Fish and Game.

Subsistence harvest, use and sharing by community. Other demographic and economic data. Effects of Exxon Valdez oil spill on area subsistence uses.

Fall, James A. and Charles Utermohle, editors

1995 An Investigation of the Sociocultural Consequences of Outer Continental Shelf Development in Alaska. Technical Report #160, Minerals Management Service, Anchorage.

Fedorova, Svetlana G.

1973 The Russian Population in Alaska and California: Late 18th Century-1867. Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly, trans. and ed. Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press.

Includes survey of literature on Russian America. Analysis of various population figures of Russian period. General description of people during Russian period.

Feofil, Hiermonk

Alaskan Russian Church Archives, Records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America, Diocese of Alaska, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

Fienup-Riordan, Ann, editor

1988 The Yup'ik Eskimos: As Described in the Travel Journals and Ethnographic Accounts of John and Edith Kilbuck, Who Served with the Moravian Church, 1886-1922. Edited with an introduction by Ann Fienup-Riordan. pp32-33,43-47. Fitzhugh, William W. and Aron Crowell, eds.

1988 Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

An edited volume of papers on Siberia and Alaska Native peoples. Articles provide perspectives on relationships and similarities and differences between Alaska and Siberian peoples.

Freeburn, Laurence, editor

1976 The Silver Years of the Alaska Canned Salmon Industry. Alaska Geographic 3(4):168.

Pictoral History of Salmon industry. Photos from Chigniks and Pilot Point, data on salmon pack, cannery employees by race, start of salmon industry.

Fortuine, Robert, M.D.

1992 Chills and Fever: Health and Disease in the Early History of Alaska. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.

Gibson, James R.

1976a Imperial Russia in Frontier America; The Changing Geography of Supply in Russian America, 1784-1867. New York: Oxford University Press.

Analysis of lines of supply to Russian America, as well as attempts at establishing agriculture in Alaska.

1976b Russian Sources for the Ethnohistory of the Pacific Coast of North America in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology 6(1):91-115.

Gideon, Hieromonk

1989 Round the World Voyage of Hieromonk Gideon 1803-1809. Translation, Introduction and Notes by Lydia T. Black. R.A. Pierce, ed. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Detailed Koniag ethnographic description Russian Orthodox missionary to Alaska. Correspondence between Russian American Company and Church.

Golder, Frank A.

1903 Tales from Kodiak Island. Journal of American Folklore 16(60):16-31.

1907 A Kodiak Island Story: The White Faced Bear. Journal of American Folklore 20(79):269-299.

1909a Eskimo and Aleut Stories from Alaska. Journal of American Folklore 20:296-299.

1909b Primitive Warfare Among the Natives of Western Alaska. Journal of American Folklore 22:336-339.

1914 Russian Expansion on the Pacific 1641-1850. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark.

An account of the earliest and later expeditions made under the Russians along the Pacific Coast of North America. Including some related expeditions to the Arctic Regions.

Golovin, P.N.

1979 The End of Russian America. Captain P.N. Golovin's Last Report 1862. Translated with Introduction and notes by Basil Dmytryshyn and E.A.P. Crownhart-Vaughn. Portland, Oregon: Oregon Historical Society.

Golovin, Vasilii M.

1985 Memorandum of Captain 2nd Rank Golovnin on the Condition of the Aleuts in the Settlements of the Russian American Company and on its Promyshlenniki. Katherine Arndt, trans. and ed. Alaska History 1(2):59-71.

Description of conditions at end of Russian period.

Hanson, Samuel

1937 Letter. General Correspondence: RG22, Reindeer Records. National Archives, Anchorage.

Haycox, Stephen et al, editors

1997 Enlightenment and Exploration in the North Pacific, 1741-1805. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Henn, Winfield

1978 Archaeology on the Alaska Peninsula: The Ugashik Drainage, 1973-1975. University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 14, Eugene.

Heinbockel [J?]

1919 Report of Superintendent Heinbockel, APA Naknek Station.

Hillborn, John

1937 Chignik Trapper, Alaska Sportsman, vol. 3 (12), p. 12-13.

Holmberg, Heinrich J.

1985 (1856) Holmberg's Ethnographic Sketches, 1855-1863. Marvin W. Falk, ed. Fritz Jaensch, trans. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.

Ethnographic description of Koniag and Tlingits. About 50 pages. Blend of original observations and those of others, mostly Davydov. Kodiak trade with Alaska Peninsula. Demise of winter feasts, games, dances. Stories at end: 1) Elder mentions Russians first coming; 2) Aglegmiuts from Nasigak Island; 3) Trade/Fight with Fox-Aleuts from Unalaska; 4) Escaped slave.

Hrdlicka, Ales

1930 Anthropological Survey in Alaska: Extract from the Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Pages 186-189 mentions villages existing around the turn of the century.

1944 The Anthropology of Kodiak Island. Philadelphia: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology. Reprinted by AMS Press, New York.

Useful compendium of Koniag information. Pages 9-92 provide excerpts about Koniag life from Russian period documents.

Hubbard, Bernard R.

1932 Mush, You Malemutes! New York: The America Press.

1935 Cradle of the Storms. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Father Hubbard includes chapters on his exploration of Aniakchak crater.

Huston, J. R.

1956 A Geographical Analysis of the Fur Farming Industry in Alaska. M.S. Thesis, Berkeley: University of California.

Hutchinson-Scarbrough, Lisa, and James A. Fall

1996 An Overview of Subsistence Salmon and Other Subsistence Fisheries of the Chignik Management Area, Alaska Peninsula, Southwest Alaska. Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence Technical Paper No. 230. Juneau:

Alaska Department of Fish and Game.

Subsistence harvest of Salmon, other finfish, and marine invertebrates of the Chigniks in the 1980s and 90s. Includes harvest quantities, areas and timing. Levels of participation, fishing methods and processing techniques.

Innokenti [Pustynskii], Bishop

1907 Annual Report for 1906. Russian Orthodox American Messenger, vol. 11, p.163.

Jordan, Richard, H.

1994 Qasiluteng: Feasting and Ceremonialism among the Traditional Koniag of Kodiak Island, Alaska. *In* Anthropology of the North Pacific Rim, W.W. Fitzhugh and V. Chaussonnet, eds. Pp.147-173. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Combines ethnohistorical observations with archaeological data to describe ceremonial activities and sociopolitical organization of Qikertarmiut. Examines masks and carvings. Provides evidence of transformation in Koniag life, including in feasting cycle and social organization, around 1400 AD.

1988 Qasqiluteng: Feasting and Ceremonialism among the Traditional Koniag of Kodiak Island, Alaska. *In* Crossroads of Continents. William Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Jordan, Richard H. and Elizabeth Righter

1980 Report of a Comprehensive Archeological Reconnaissance and National Register Eligibility Tests at the Terror Lake Hydroelectric Project Site, Kodiak Island. Submitted to Michael Morris (International Engineering Co.)

Kashevarov, Nikolai P.

1896 Confessional records, trans. Ekaterina Ogan, Afognak Village Corporation.

Kashevarov, Vasilii

1908 Alaskan Russian Church Archives, Records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America, Diocese of Alaska, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

Kedrovskii, Apollinarii

1908 Alaskan Russian Church Archives, Records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America, Diocese of Alaska, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

Khlebnikov Kiril T.

1994 Notes on Russian America Parts II-V: Kad'iak, Unalaska, Atkha, The Pribylovs. Introduction by R.G. Liapunova and S.G. Fedorova. M. Ramsay trans., R.A. Pierce ed. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Khlebnikov was RA Co. manager and traveled extensively. Notes include history, ethnography, natural history, and company commercial activity, company policy, etc. Part II is on Kodiak District. Settlements, treatment of Natives under company control, methods of hunting, some ethnographic information. Includes instructions to Vasil'ev for 1829 expedition and appendix of Kolmakov's 1817 report on Aglurmiut.

1973 (St. Petersberg, 1835). Baranov, Chief Manager of the Russian Colonies in America. Colin Bearne, trans. Richard A. Pierce, ed. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Some mention of the Alaska Peninsula and conflicts with Aleuts.

Khotovitski, Dmitrii

1945 Russian Orthodox American Messenger, vol. 41 (7), p.112.

Knappen, Russell S.

1929 Geology and Mineral Resources of the Aniakchak District, Alaska. USGS Bulletin 797-F. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Krauss, Michael E.

1980 Alaska Native Languages. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.

1982 Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, Center for Northern Educational Research, University of Alaska.

Wall map showing geographic distribution of language groups. Alutiiq language is shown variously as Pacific Eskimo, Suqpiaq, or Alutiiq.

Krusenstern, A. J. von

1827 Atlas de l'ocean Pacifique. St. Petersburg.

Kutchin, Howard M.

1906 Report on the Inspection of the Salmon Fisheries. Department of Commerce and Labor. Document #618. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Langsdorff, Georg H. von

1968 Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World (1813 during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 & 1814) 1807. 2 vols. New York: De Capo Press.

Naturalist in Alaska for brief time, skirted the Alaska Peninsula. Mentions immense amount of sea mammals and birds near Semidi Islands and all islands south of Peninsula. Pp. 30-80 on Unalaska and Kodiak in 1805; includes inhabitants, food, clothing, ornaments, religion, gender issues, etc. Discusses population, Russian mistreatment of Aleuts.

Lantis, Margaret

1938 The Alaskan Whale Cult and its Affinities. American Anthropologist 40:438-464.

A study of ceremonialism surrounding whaling and similarities between groups. Based on historical and ethnographic accounts and includes the Alutiiq culture area.

1947 Alaskan Eskimo Ceremonialism. American Ethnological Society Monograph 11. New York.

Based on historical and ethnographic accounts. Discusses location of Koniag and concludes Koniaq were similar to Eskimo intrusive on the Pacific coast.

Leer, Jeff

1985 Prosody in Alutiiq. In Yup'ik Eskimo Prosodic Systems: Descriptive and Comparative Studies. Michael Krauss, ed. Paper No. 7. Pp. 77-133. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center Research.

1996 A Short Dictionary of Alaska Peninsula Sugtestun. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center.

Liapunova, Rosa G.

1990 The Aleuts before Contact with the Russians: some demographic and cultural aspects. Katherine Arndt, translator. Pacifica 2(2):8-23.

Some on relations with Koniag and Aglurmiut-warfare and slavery.

1994 Eskimo Masks from Kodiak Island in the Collections of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg. *In* Anthropology of the North Pacific Rim, Crossroads of Continents—Cultures of Siberia and Alaska Symposium. W.W. Fitzhugh and V. Chaussonnet, eds., Pp.175-203. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Examines artifacts collected in the 1840s by Voznesenskii. Connects masks to festivals and ceremonies described by various observers. Includes descriptions of a wide variety of performances, details and Koniag names of masks.

Lisianskii, Urii F.

1814 A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, & 1806; Performed by Order of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the Ship Neva. London: Printed for J. Booth.

Description of Koniag and Russian settlers. Disagrees with Langsdorff's portrayal of Russian treatment of Natives. Koniag origin story pp. 196-7.

Litke, Fedor P.

1835 Puteshestvie vokrug sveta, sovershennoe po poveleniiu imperatora Nikolaia I, na voennom shliupe "Seniavine," v 1826, 1827, 1828 i 1829 godakh. Otdelenie morekhodnoe, s atlasom [Voyage around the world...aboard the sloop "Seniavin" in 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829. Navigational section, with atlas]. St. Petersburg: Kh. Gintse.

Reports Vasiliev's charts from his 1832 exploration of the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula.

Madsen, Charles

1916 Report on the Game Conditions on the Alaskan Peninsula. Anchorage: Unpublished MS, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Report on terrestrial and marine mammals and discussion of game regulations.

Madsen, Charles and T. S. Douglas

1957 Arctic Trader. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co.

Makarova, Raisa V.

1975 Russians on the Pacific 1743-1799. R.A. Pierce and A. S. Donally, trans. and eds. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Early exploration and mapping of Alaska; Pushkarev (1760-1762) and crew's (Gavriil) first winter on the Alaska Peninsula and their mistreatment of the inhabitants. Soviet anthropological theory. Tables of amounts of furs got on these early expeditions.

Martysh, Vasilii

1902 Voyage Taken in 1901. Russian Orthodox American Messenger, vol. 6, pp. 431-3, (1902), translated by Patricia H. Partnow.

1904 Voyage Taken in 1902 on the Alaska Peninsula. Russian Orthodox American Messenger vol. 8, pp. 13-15, 32-34 (1904), translated by Patricia H. Partnow.

Merck, Carl H.

1980 Siberia and Northwestern America, 1788-1792: The Journal of Carl Heinrich Merck, Naturalist with the Russian Scientific Expedition Led by Captains Joseph Billings and Gavril Sarychev. F. Jaensch, trans.; R. A. Pierce, ed. (Materials for the Study of Alaska History 17) Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Early account of Koniag and mentions Chugach. Source of details on Koniag customs, dress, games, dances. Natural history of Kodiak.

Mishler, Craig

1991 From Quantitative to Qualitative: Subsistence Food Harvests and Alutiiq Cultural Traditions. Paper presented at the 18th Annual Meeting of the Alaskan Anthropological Association, Anchorage.

Villages with the highest subsistence harvest are not necessarily the most "traditional" (based on language, participation in traditional celebrations or the Russian Orthodox Church).

Modestov, Vladimir

Alaskan Russian Church Archives, Records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America, Diocese of Alaska, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

Moerman, Michael

1965 Who Are the Lue: Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization, American Anthropologist 67:1215-1229.

Morris, Judith M.

1987 Fish and Wildlife Uses in Six Alaska Peninsula Communities: Egigik, Chignik, Chignik Lagoon, Chignik Lake, Perryville, and Ivanof Bay. Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence Technical Paper No. 151. Juneau: Alaska Department of Fish and Game.

Subsistence use areas, village profiles including

economy, ethnic makeup of communities, resources used by community.

Moser, Jefferson F.

1899 The Salmon and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska, Report of the Operations of the United States Fish Commission Steamer Albatross for the Year Ending June 30, 1898. U.S. Fish Commission Bulletin for 1898. Pp. 1-178, Plates 1-63, Charts A&B. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Some information on early fisheries in Bristol Bay including Ugashik River.

1902 Alaska Salmon Investigations in 1900 and 1901. *In* The Salmon and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska, Report of the Operations of the United States Fish Commission Steamer Albatross in 1900 and 1901. U.S. Fish Commission Bulletin for 1901. Pp. 173-401, Plates I-XLIV, Charts A&B. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Information on Ugashik River and Chignik Bay fisheries including conservation concerns. Little information on villages.

Moss, Madonna L. and Jon M. Erlandson

1992 Forts, Refuge Rocks, and Defensive Sites: The Antiquity of Warfare Along the North Pacific Coast of North America. Arctic Anthropology 29(2):73-90.

Examines archaeological evidence for warfare among Aleut, Alutiiq, and Northwest Coast Indians.

Murray, Joseph

1898 Salmon Fisheries of Alaska Reports for 1892, 94, 95. Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska in Four Volumes, 55th Congress House of Representatives. Doc 92, Washington: Government Printing Office.

Napoleon, Harold

1996 Yuuyaraq: The Way of the Human Being. Fairbanks: Alaska Native Knowledge Network.

Nelson, Edward W.

1983 The Eskimo About Bering Strait. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Norris, Frank

1996 Isolated Paradise: An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak NPS Units, Alaska. National Park Service, Alaska System Support Office, Anchorage, Alaska. Washington: Government Printing Office.

History of Katmai, including Katmai village, and Aniakchak. Includes history of establishment of Aniakchak Monument and Preserve.

O'Leary, Matthew

1995 Geography and Chronology of Central Yupiit Warrior Traditions. Paper presented at the Alaska Anthropological Association meetings Anchorage, AK 1995. Unpublished manuscript.

Primarily examination of evidence for warring among Southwest Alaska Yup'ik. Includes references to battles with Alutiiq, Aleut, Koniag. Regional battles near Port Moller, Mitrofania, Egigik.

Oleksa, Father Michael

1990 The Creoles and Their Contribution to the Development of Alaska. *In* Russian America: the Forgotten Frontier, edited by B.S. Smith and R.J. Barnett, Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society.

1992 Orthodox Alaska: A Theology of Mission. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

1987 Alaska Missionary Spirituality. New York: Paulist Press.

Introduction history of Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska, Key figures in history. Aleut role and participation in history. Explanation of Aleut world view and parallels to Russian Orthodox and Russian Orthodox interpretation. Also development of Aleut-Orthodox ethnicity. Selection of letters and

translations pp. 68-72 Valaam archives 894—description of Aleut religious beliefs and origin story and interpretation and biblical parallels. pp132-135 let. Fr. Veniaminov 1829—man with miraculous healing, clairvoyance, premonition and spirit guides.

Orth, Donald J.

1971 Dictionary of Alaskan Place Names. Washington: Geological Survey Professional Paper 567.

The book on Alaska Place names.

Osgood, Wilfred, H.

1904 A Biological Reconnaissance of the Base of the Alaska Peninsula. North American Fauna No. 24. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Division of Biological Survey. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Mainly north of the Ugashik River but talks about decline in Caribou herds and bearded seal in early 1900s due to sale of skins to traders and meat to ships. Trading post at Unangashik dealing in caribou meat and skins.

Oswalt, Wendell H.

1967a Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911. University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department.

Index of ACCo records. Wide Bay, Wrangell, Sutkhum posts on Alaska Peninsula. List of hunters in debt to the company gives names of people from Katmai, Ugashik, Wrangell.

1967b Alaskan Eskimos. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing.

Includes discussion of Aglegmiut (Aglumiut).

1980 An Alaskan Eskimo Ethnohistory, 1778-1988. Norman and London: Univ. of Oklahoma Press.

Pacific Fisherman

1918-1966 Yearbook. Seattle.

Partnow, Patricia H.

1993 Alutiiq Ethnicity. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

General history and ethnography of Alaska Peninsula Alutiiq. Examines ethnic identity, primarily in Perryville and Chignik Lake. Looks at ethnicity development, claims, and maintenance through story. Examples of stories that link contemporary people as Alutiiqs to past and present activities.

2001 Making History, Alutiiq/Sugpiaq Life on the Alaska Peninsula. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press.

Pederson, Susie

1983 Helen Neilsen: Life on a Blue Fox Island. The Cama'i Book by Vick, et. al., Garden City, New York: Anchor Press.

Petroff, Ivan

1881 Preliminary Report on the Population, Industry, and Resources of Alaska, U.S. Congress, House Executive Document No. 40, 46th Congress, 3rd session, 86 pages.

1884a Report on the population, industries, and resources of Alaska, 10th Census, 1880. U.S. Department of the Interior.

1884b Population and Resources of Alaska. U.S. Congress, House Executive Document No. 40, 46th Congress, 3rd session.

1900 Population, Resources, Etc., of Alaska: from U.S. Census Report of 1880. *In* Compilation of Narrative Explorations in Alaska. U.S. Senate. 1900. Pp. 55-281.

Section on the Kodiak people including the Pacific coast of the Alaska Peninsula. Population and cultural designation of villages on Alaska Peninsula. Description of sea otter hunt. Furs sold from Russian America and in first 13 years of American period.

Petterson, J.W., L.A. Palinkas and B.M. Harris

1982 Alaska OCS Socio-economic Studies Program. North Aleutian Shelf. Non-OCS Forecast Analysis. Technical Report #75, Vol. I & II. Impact Assessment, Inc.

Overview of Chignik Lake in 1980.

Pierce, Richard A.

1990 Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Pierce, Richard A., editor

1976 Documents on the History of the Russian-American Company. Materials for the Study of Alaska History #7. Translated by Marina Ramsey. Kingston Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Letters and reports from the early days of the Russian American Company including harsh conditions for Russian and Native workers.

1978 The Russian Orthodox Religious Mission in America, 1794-1837. Colin Bearne, trans. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

1984 The Russian-American Company: Correspondence of the Governors Communications Sent: 1818. R.A. Pierce trans. and ed., Kingston Ontario: The Limestone Press.

A variety of documents containing information about the Russian American Company dealings in America. A few documents address Alutiiq people.

Pinart, Louis Alphonse

1873 Voyage a à la côte nord-ouest d'Amérique d'Ounalashka a Kàdiak (îles Aléoutiennees et péninsula d'Aliaska). Paris: Bulletin de la "Sociéte de Geographie, series 6: 561-580. Translated title "A Voyage on the North-West Coast of America from Unalaska to Kodiak".

Porter, Robert P.

1893 Report of Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Census report including text about Peninsula census area and map of village locations.

Pullar, Gordon

1992 Ethnic Identity, Cultural Pride and Generations of Baggage: A Personal Experience. Arctic Anthropology 29(2): 198-209.

Alutiiq ethnic identity and the cultural revitalization movement are put in the context of generations of catastrophes such as epidemics, placement of children in institutions, and alcohol/substance abuse. The Alutiiq author is the former president of the Kodiak Area Native Association.

1994 The Qikertarmiut and the Scientist: Fifty Years of Clashing World Views. *In* Reckoning with the Dead: The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution, ed. by T.L. Bray and K.W. Killian, pp.15-20, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

1996 Aleut. An Encyclopedia of North American Indians, Frederick Hoxie, ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Roderick, Jack

1997 Crude Dreams: A Personal History of Oil & Politics in Alaska. Fairbanks: Epicenter Press.

Kanatak area oil exploration and Earl Grammer. References Grammer's notes from 1920-26 including list of deaths and their causes.

Rollins, Alden M.

1965 Census Alaska: Numbers of Inhabitants, 1792-1970. University of Alaska, Anchorage Library, Anchorage.

Lists census reports by village.

Rousselot, J. L. et al.

1988 Maritime Economies of the North Pacific Rim. *In* Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska, by William Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Russian-American Company

1818- Records of the Russian-American Company,
1867 Correspondence of the Governors General, Communications Sent, Record Group 11, National Archives, Washington. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Microfilmed records of the Russian-American Company. Available at libraries in Alaska.

Russian Orthodox American Messenger (Amerikanskii Pravoslavnyi Vestinik) 1897-1973

Journal put out by the Russian Orthodox Church in America. Articles are in English and Russian. Various information about area and the church—locations, populations, health conditions etc. See entry under Smith and Sudkamp for finding aid. Journals relevant to the Peninsula include those of the Afognak, Nushagak, and Belkovski parishes.

Russian Orthodox Church of Alaska, Diocesan Archive at St. Herman's Theological Seminary, Kodiak, Alaska

Sahlins, Marshall

1995 How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, For Example. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sarychev, G. A.

1806- Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the
1807 Northeast of Siberia, the Frozen Ocean and the Northeast Sea. London: Richard Phillips.

Schlaben, H. O.

1913 Reindeer Records, General Correspondence files, National Archives, Anchorage.

Scholfield, Janice J.

1996 Discovering Wild Plants, Alaska, Western Canada, the Northwest. Seattle: Alaska Northwest Books.

Shalamov, Tikhon

1896 The Alaska Travel of the Right Reverend Tikhon, Bishop of Aleut and Alaska: From the Travel Journal of 1895 of a Priest of the Kodiak Resurrection Church, Richard Bland, translator. Russian Orthodox American Messenger vol.1, p.23.

1899 Russian Orthodox American Messenger vol. 3, p.91.

1907 The Alaska Travel of the Right Reverent Tikhon, Bishop of Aleut and Alaska. From the travel journal of 1895 or a priest of the Kodiak Resurrection Church, Patricia Partnow, translator. Russian Orthodox American Messenger vol. 11:63.

Shishkin, Vasilii

Alaskan Russian Church Archives, Records of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America, Diocese of Alaska, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

Smith, Barbara, and Anne Sudkamp

1985 Alaska Names and Places in the Russian Orthodox Messenger (1897-1973). Alaska Historical Commission, Studies in History No. 136, Anchorage.

Index of Russian Orthodox messenger includes many Alaska Peninsula villages, parish priests, and few personal names.

Smith, W.R. and Arthur A. Baker

1922 The Cold Bay District. *In* Mineral Resources of Alaska, Report on Progress in Investigations in 1922, Pp. 151-218. USGS Survey Bulletin 755.

Washington: Government Printing Office.

Includes information on geography, vegetation, animal life of Peninsula as well as population, routes and trails, and commercial development at and near Kanatak Village. Mentions Fish Village and Chignik and canneries.

Spurr, Josiah E.

1900 A Reconnaissance in Southwestern Alaska in 1898. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Stafeev, Vladimir

In Press Diary. M. Ramsay, translator. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Tanner, Z. L.

1881 Explorations of the Fishing Grounds of Alaska, Washington and Oregon During 1880. Bulletin of the U.S. Fish Commission, Vol. 8 (Washington. Pp. 36.).

Teben'kov, M.D.

1981 (1852) Atlas of the Northwest Coasts of America. Alaska History, No. 21, Maps of Russian America I. Translated and Edited by Richard A. Pierce. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Includes Notes. The Alaska Peninsula [chart XXIV] and Bristol Bay area from Goodnews Bay to Naknek and Ugashik on chart IV. Reports seeing only 500 people on coast from Goodnews Bay to Ugashik.

Tikhmenev, Petr A.

1978 A History of the Russian-American Company. (1861-3) R.A. Pierce & A. S. Donnelly trans. and eds. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

1979 A History of the Russian American Company, (1863) vol.2. Dmitri Krenov, Trans. R.A. Pierce and A.S. Donnelly eds. Materials for the Study of Alaska History, No. 13. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Tikhmenev was the historian of the Russian American Company. Works include details on natural history, ethnography, disease, and mission and company activities. Ethnographic information based on materials from Khlebnikov, Litke, Wrangell, Veniaminov, Vasil'ev, Glazunov, and Tebenkov. Histories of settlements including Sutkoum Artel in 1793.

Townsend, Joan

1980 Ranked Societies of the Alaskan Pacific Rim. *In* Alaska Native Culture and History. Y. Kotani and W. Workman, eds. Senri Ethnological Series No. 4. Senri, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology. Pp. 123-156.

Tuten, Merry A.

1977 A preliminary study of subsistence activities on the Pacific coast of the proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument. Cooperative Park Studies Unit Occasional Paper No.4, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

Preliminary subsistence study of Pacific coast of Aniakchak. Includes trapping activities in early 1900s, subsistence resource used, etc.

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs

1990 Reports of Investigation for BLM AA-11774 - 1996, parcels A-R

Series of reports on Koniag Inc., ANCSA Office, Anchorage AK. Much varied information about settlements, resource use, ethnographic resources, epidemics, etc. Reports from 14(h)1 sites on the Alaska Peninsula includes Wrangell Bay Village, Surf Beach, Kanatak.

1991 Report of Investigation for BLM AA-10620, Mitrofania

Report incorporates comments from several Chignik and Perryville residents.

1926 Historical Record. Historical Album 1925, 1929-31. US DOI, Office of Education,

Alaska Division. Microfilm Edition, one roll. Anchorage: University of Alaska Archives.

Some files for Alaska Peninsula villages. Native household members, income, property.

1934 Village school descriptions, health records, food—1950 survey, and census data. Chignik, Perryville

1966 Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts of Alaska. United States. U.S. Department of the Interior, BIA. Washington: Government Printing Office. p. 16.

1966 Pilot Point, Alaska—Village Study. U.S. BIA. p. 18.

Description of village, history, housing, economic conditions and prospects. Native village and "Eskimo Town" as separate communities.

1966 Ugashik, Alaska - Village Study. U.S. BIA p. 15.

Includes Lado A. Kosely 1963 report. Community Development Survey: Native village of Ugashik, Alaska. P. 8. History, community resources, economics, population, physical description of Ugashik. History of canneries.

U.S. Census

1920 Report for Alaska, 3rd District, National Archives, Anchorage.

U.S. Geological Survey

1921 The Cold Bay District, *In* Mineral Resources of Alaska: report on progress of investigations in 1921. Stephen R. Capps. USGS Bulletin 739. Washington: Government Printing Office.

1929 Geology and Mineral Resources of the Aniakchak District, Alaska. Bulletin 797-F. Russell S. Knappen. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Short description of settlements and travel routes on Peninsula.

1924 The Cold Bay-Chignik District. *In* "Mineral Resources of Alaska: report on progress of investigations in 1922. W. R. Smith & Arthur Baker. USGS Bulletin 755. Washington: Government Printing Office.

1889 The Fur-Seal and other Fisheries of Alaska. Investigation of the Fur-Seal and Other Fisheries of Alaska. Report from the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Map of Alaska Peninsula with Alaska Commercial Co. posts. Including Katmai.

1898 Seal and Salmon Fisheries and General Resources of Alaska in Four Volumes.1898. Washington: Government Printing Office. 55th Congress House of Representatives. Doc 92.

V. 1 Report on Condition of Seal Life on the Pribilof Islands from 1868 to 1895, both inclusive. V. 2 Fur Sealing and decline of Salmon Fisheries of Alaska rept's for 1892, 94, 95 by Joseph Murray. Report for 1893 by Paul Luttrell. Little on Natives.

VanderHoek, Richard

1998 Aniakchak Archeological Surveys. Unpublished MS. Anchorage: National Park Service.

VanStone, James W., editor

1967 Eskimos of the Nushagak River: An Ethnographic History. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

1973 V.S. Khromchenko's Coastal Explorations in Southwestern Alaska, 1822. Fieldiana Anthropology 54. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

1984 Mainland Southwest Alaska Eskimo. *In* Handbook of North American Indians: Arctic, vol. 5 by D. Damas, ed. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

1988 Russian Exploration in Southwest Alaska: The Travel Journals of Petr Korsakovsky (1818) and Ivan Ya. Vasilev (1829). Fairbanks:

University of Alaska Press.

Korsakovsky and Kolmakov led an expedition from Katmai to Egegik and around Bristol Bay to Togiak area. Among the many Natives who accompanied them was a Ugaassarmiut translator/hunter. Vasilev also had Ugashik people with him. Mentions trade items seen in Bristol Bay and interior.

Veniaminov, Ivan

1984 Notes on the Islands of the Unalashka District. 1840] Lydia T. Black and R.H. Geoghgan, translators, Richard A. Pierce, ed. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Vick, A., J. Chaliak, K. Jaehning, D. Kubiak, M. Murray, D. Vanasse, editors

1983 The Cama-i Book. Anchor Press. 411 Pp.

Stories about various aspects of Koniag and Yupik history.

Williams

1913 Reindeer Records, General Correspondence files, National Archives, Anchorage.

Workman, William

1979 The Significance of Volcanism in the Prehistory of Subarctic Northwest North America. *In* Volcanic Activity and Human Ecology. Pp. 339-371.

Wrangell, Ferdinand P.

1980 Russian America: Statistical and Ethnographic (1839) Information. Translated from the German Edition of 1839 by Mary Sadouski, R. A. Pierce, ed. Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press.

Wrangell was Chief Manager of the Russian colonies from 1830-1835. Ethnographic information on Koniag, Creole, among others. Pg. 64 about Aglurmiuts moving to Nushagak and people from Nushagak parish moving to Ugashik area. Baer's extraction of Glazunov's journal from 1834, Veniaminov on Fox Islanders. Little information on Alaska Peninsula peoples.

Interviews

Tape recorded and written interviews relevant to Aniakchak.

Conducted by Michele Morseth, National Park Service:

The Lake Clark Katmai Study Center has copies of these interviews. Those with release forms are available to the public through the National Park Service or holding archives noted below. University of Alaska: Fairbanks holdings can be found at the Elmer E. Rasmussen Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department.

Pilot Point

Valentine Supsook and Pauline (Zunganuk) Supsook (University of Alaska: Fairbanks tape H98-04-03)
Nick Neketa
Sophie (Andre) Abyo
Marlane Shanigan
Nick Shanigan, Anchor Point
Arthur Condrardy, Kenai
Arthur Condrardy, Jr., Kenai

Port Heiden

Henry Matson
Maggie (Matson) Carlson
Andrew Matson and Lena (Orloff) Matson
Carol (Neilsen) Carlson
Johnny Christensen and Annie (Carlson) Christensen

Chignik Lake

Doris (Murphy) Lind
Ron Lind
Virginia Aleck and Ronald Lind (University of Alaska: Fairbanks tape H98-04-01)
Sam Martin and Christine (Artemie) Martin
Andrew Boskovsky and Mary (Lind) Boskovsky
Peter Lind (University of Alaska: Fairbanks tapes H98-04-05 and 06)

Chignik Lagoon

Alec Pedersen
Tony Gregorio and Rhonda Brandal Gregorio
Louise (Erickson) Anderson
Julius Anderson and Nina (Orloff) Anderson

Chignik Bay

Julia Boskovsky (University of Alaska Fairbanks tape H98-04-04)
Roy Skonberg and Minnie (Anderson) Skonberg
Lars Anderson
Art Skonberg and Nancy (Brun) Skonberg
Axel Carlson and Alva (Skonberg) Carlson (University of Alaska: Fairbanks tape H98-04-02)
Andy Stepanoff (NPS tape)
Billy Stepanoff and Clara (Anderson) Stepanoff

Don & Julia Kinsey Tapes

Recorded in 1969, transcribed by Patricia Partnow.

Spiridon Stepanof
Dora & John Andre, Bill Lind, Barbara Shangin

Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks

Tapes recorded by Patricia Partnow.

H95-35-01	6/2/90	Walter Stepanoff
H95-35-02	6/4/90	Walter Stepanoff
H95-35-03	6/5/90	Mike Sam
H95-35-04	1/11/92	Christine Martin
H95-35-05	1/24/97	Emil Artemie
H95-35-06	3/24/92	Ralph Phillips
H95-35-07		
H95-35-08	4/2/92	Olga Kalmakoff
H95-35-09	4/3/92	Joe & Olga Kalmakoff
H95-35-10	10/19/92	Christine Martin
H95-35-11	10/22/92	Bill Lind
H95-35-12	10/20/92	Doris Lind
H95-35-13	11/10/92	Ralph Phillips
H95-35-14	11/11/92	Ignatius Kosbruk
H95-35-15	11/10/92	Ignatius Kosbruk
H95-35-16	11/13/92	Ignatius Kosbruk
H95-35-17	11/13/92	Elia and Mary Phillips
H95-35-18	1/9/93	Aleck Constantine

Bureau of Indian Affairs–Alaska Native Claim Settlement Act Tapes recorded during investigations for ANCSA Site AA-11774 Parcels A-L

75-BBN-05	Dora Andre and Lucy Amok (University of Alaska: Fairbanks tape H83-188)
75-BBN-06	Lucy Amok (University of Alaska: Fairbanks tape H83-189)
75-BBN-07	Andrew Krause (University of Alaska: Fairbanks tape H83-190, 191, 192, & 193)
75-BBN-08, 09, 10	Nick and Virginia Ablama
75-BBN-011	Harry Kaiakonok (University of Alaska: Fairbanks tape H-88-183)
90-KON-03	Nida and Andrew Nelson (Ted Krieg and Ron Kent, interviewers)
90-KON-04	Paul Boskovsky, Frank Tretikoff, Charlie Kelly (Krieg and Kent)
90-KON-05	Paul Boskovsky, Frank Tretikoff, Charlie Kelly (Krieg and Kent)
90-KON-06	Nida and Andrew Nelson (Krieg and Kent)
90-KON-08	Virginia White and Shirley Kelly (Krieg and Kent)
90-KON-10, 11, 12	Nick Ablama, Sr. (Marie Meade, interviewer)
91-AKP001	Mike Sam (Matt O'Leary and Joe Bartolini, interviewers)

91-AKP002 Jenny Kaiakonak (O'Leary and Bartolini)
91-AKP-01 Nick Ablama
91-AKP-03, 04 Pete Knagin (O'Leary and Bartolini)
91-AKP-IN-02 Effy Shanigan (O'Leary and Bartolini)
91-AKP-IN-03 Elia Phillips
91-AKP-IN-04 Walter Stepanoff
91-AKP-IN-05 Clements Grunert (O'Leary and Bartolini)
91-AKP-IN-06 Julius Anderson (O'Leary and Bartolini)

Alaska Department of Fish and Game Interviews

Bear Study

ADFG: Virginia Aleck (Lisa Scarbrough, interviewer)
ADFG:JL1 Johnny Lind (Jim Fall and Lisa Scarbrough, interviewers)
ADFG:BL1 Bill Lind (Fall and Scarbrough, interviewers)
ADFG:LL,EL1 Lola and Elia Lind (Fall and Scarbrough, interviewers)
ADFG:DL1 Don Lind (Fall and Scarbrough, interviewers)
ADFG: Mary and Alvin Boskovsky (Scarbrough, interviewer)
ADFG: Ronnie Lind (Craig Mishler, interviewer)
ADFG:SS1 Sammy Stepanoff (Fall and Scarbrough, interviewer)
ADFG:JC1 John Constantine (Scarbrough, interviewer)
ADFG:AAT1 Afonie and Annie Takak (Susan Savage and Scarbrough, interviewers)
ADFG:IK1 Ignatius Kosbruk (Scarbrough, Savage, and Partnow)
ADFG:EP, MP1 Elia and Mary Phillips (Scarbrough, Savage, and Partnow)

Sea Mammal Study

ADFG:AAT1 Afonie & Annie Takak (Scarbrough & Savage)
ADFG:IK1 Ignatius Kosbruk (Scarbrough, Savage, & Partnow)
ADFG:EP, MP1 Elia & Mary Phillips (Scarbrough, Savage, & Partnow)
ADFG:BL2 Bill Lind (Scarbrough & Savage).

Photographs

San Francisco Maritime Museum

Fred Heick Collection
Alaska Packers Association Collection
Carl Johnson Collection

National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Albatross Collection, Record Group 22

Alaska State Library, Juneau

E. R. Childs: Margaret R. Culler photos
Leslie Melvin Collection
J. E. Thwaites Collection
Flamen Ball Collection
Kenneth Chisholm Collection

University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, Alaska and Polar Regions Department

Various collections (15 or more) have photos of the area:

Lois M. Morey Collection, Box 6 Folder #3
Amelia Elkington Photo Collection 1909-1912
Kirtley F. Mather Collection
Seiffert Family Collection
Stephen Reid Capps Collection. Miscellaneous photos from 1908-1924
Rust Photo collection
Romig Photo collection–Post Cards
Talmadge Photo Collection
McAlister Photo Albums 1&2

University of Washington Allen Library Special Collections

Cobb Collection
J. E. Thwaites Collection, many photos 1906-1922

Anchorage Museum of History and Art

Henton Collection
A. Reyser Collection

National Park Service

Museum and Library Collections

Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, Denmark
H.J. Holmberg, described by Birket-Smith (1941)

University of Alaska Fairbanks, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library

Bureau of Indian Affairs Collection
Alaska Commercial Company-records from the late 1800s from Wrangell, Wide Bay, Sutkhum
Russian Orthodox Church Records, synopses by Katherine L. Arndt
Stephen Reid Capps Collection, AK Survey Expedition, Mineral Resources of AK 1908-1924 Cold Bay (Puale Bay/Kanatak) 1921-see USGS bulletin 857, 1934, p. 141-154

Smithsonian Institution, Washington

Fisher Collection-Alutiiq cultural objects collected circa 1898
Alaska Commercial Company Records

University of California–Berkeley, Bancroft Library

Pinart Collection-journals, manuscripts

University of California–Berkeley, Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology

Heizer (1955)

University of California–Santa Clara

Hubbard Collections

Collections possibly related to Alaska Peninsula at Various Archives

Bureau of Indian Affairs, Alaska Division Correspondence 1908-1935; 54 reels microfilm, inventory
Bureau of Indian Affairs Reindeer Program Records 1909-1968; 8 reels, inventory
Bureau of Indian Affairs Corporate Charters of Alaska Native Organizations, 1938-59, 1971; 3 reels
Bureau of Indian Affairs appointment papers–Alaska; 1871-1907; 6 reels, guide
National Marine Fisheries Service Alaska Map Collection; 1889-1928; 12 microfiche
U.S. Office of Education, Alaska Division, Historical Album, 1925, 1929-1931; 1 reel
U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Alaska matters case file, 1930-1959; folder list
U.S. District Court. Territory of Alaska Court Journals, 1911-26; 2 reels, inventory
U.S. District Court, Territory of Alaska Naturalization Records–Alaska indexes, 1900-1929; 1 reel
U.S. Post Office, Alaska Record of Postmasters and Site Locations, 1891-1971; 3 reels, guide
Bulletins of the Fish Commission
Reports of the Commissioner of Fisheries
U.S. Census Reports
Bulletins of the U.S. Geological Survey—see USGS Bulletins
Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Education
Annual Reports of the Governor of Alaska
Bureau of Indian Affairs–Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act 14(h)(1) Reports
Bureau of Indian Affairs School Reports, teacher's journals, etc.
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Reports





As the nation's principal conservation agency, the department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural and cultural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interests of all. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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