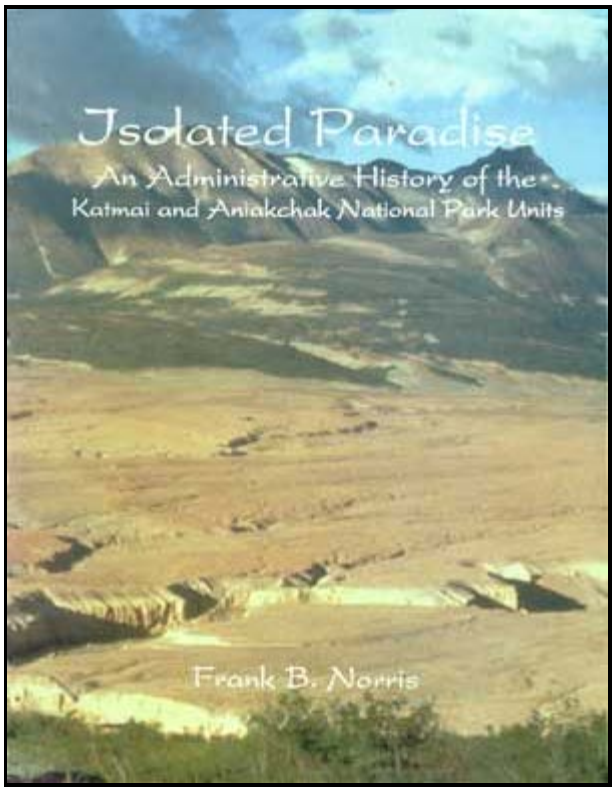
KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units



ISOLATED PARADISE:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak NPS Units, Alaska

By
Frank B. Norris

1996

National Park Service
Alaska System Support Office
Anchorage, Alaska

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

This study has been evolving for a long time. William S. Hanable, a historian in the Alaska Regional Office, began work on it in the spring of 1988. It was originally intended to be a history of Katmai's bear policies; shortly afterwards, the study's scope was broadened into a general administrative history. Because of the nature of ongoing management problems, it was intended that the main themes of that management history would be Brooks Camp, bears, and fishing. An additional chapter or two would to be devoted to remaining aspects of park management.

Mr. Hanable completed three chapters--on Brooks Camp, Bear Management, and Fish and Aquatic Resource Management--during the winter of 1988-89. He was steering them through the in-house peer review process when the oil tanker Exxon Valdez hit Bligh Reef in the early morning hours of March 24, 1989. In response to the accident, regional office management immediately dispatched Mr. Hanable to the field in order to document the agency's role in fighting the ensuing oil spill. Despite the frenzied pace of activity of the next few months, he was able to revise the three chapters he had completed but was unable to complete the remainder of the study. Mr. Hanable left the agency in November 1989.

The author was assigned to complete the task which Mr. Hanable began. It was decided to retain the chapters which pertained to fish and bear management (chapter 8 and 9); although the material in those chapters has been somewhat revised, he should be considered the primary author of both. The material which was originally presented in the Brooks Camp chapter has been disseminated into several chapters of the present work. The present author is indebted to Mr. Hanable for gathering a large amount of research material. His thorough, exacting research made the compilation of this work far easier than it would otherwise have been.

As defined by Release No. 4 of the agency's Cultural Resource Management Guidelines (NPS-28), an administrative history "describes how a park was conceived and established and how it has been managed to the present day." As such, an administrative history normally provides an extensive discussion of the public pressure, and legislative and administrative activity, that take place prior to the designation of a new park unit. Such a history also includes a broad investigation into the successes and failures of park management. That investigation usually includes the relationship between NPS managers and concessioners.

In the case of Katmai, two previous volumes make a full discussion of park administration unnecessary. In August 1971 the NPS published a historic resource study entitled Embattled Katmai: A History of Katmai National Monument. It was written by John A. Hussey, a historian working at the agency's Western Service Center in San Francisco. In his study, Mr. Hussey provided an extensive history of the Katmai country prior to the June 1912 volcanic eruption. He also did an excellent job of describing the eruption and its aftermath, and gave an excellent accounting of the scientific expeditions, pressure-group tactics and legislative maneuvering which resulted in President Wilson's proclamation of September 1918 which

established Katmai National Monument. Because Mr. Hussey provided such a thorough account of the pre-1918 period, the present volume will not try to tread the same ground; instead, it merely summarizes it. The reader who wishes more details on the early history of Katmai would be well advised to read Mr. Hussey's fine work.

In addition, there is little need in the present study to concentrate on relations between the National Park Service and the various commercial entities which have utilized the Katmai area. In 1992, the author completed Tourism in Katmai Country: A History of Concessions Activity in Katmai National Park and Preserve. This study discusses the agency's relations with its primary concessioner, with various park inholders, and with those who have utilized limited commercial permits and commercial use licenses. A brief history of early tourism to the area is also included.

The author is indebted to all of those who assisted him in compiling this volume. This volume, indeed, is a collective effort; he asked for help from scores of people, and virtually everyone he contacted was helpful and generous. As has been described above, this study was begun by William Hanable. He, first and foremost, deserves thanks for gathering much of the primary and secondary material used in this study.

Because this history documents the actions of a government agency, the author based much of his research on files available at federal government archives: National Archives and Records Administration repositories, the NPS office in Anchorage, and the park office in King Salmon. Those particularly helpful in providing access to those files included Tom Wiltsey and Bruce Parham of the NARA branch in Anchorage; Richard Fusick, with NARA in Washington, D.C.; Barry Mackintosh, the NPS bureau historian in Washington; David Nathanson, the NPS Librarian at the agency's Harpers Ferry Center in West Virginia; Janis Meldrum, a former Katmai/Aniakchak employee now employed at the NPS office in Anchorage; Melanie Heacox, at Denali National Park and Preserve.

Much data, however, was gathered outside of federal channels. Particularly helpful in providing that data included Dean Dawson and Larry Hibsphmann of the Alaska State Archives, in Juneau, Bruce Merrell and Dan Fleming at Loussac Library in Anchorage, Dennis Walle at the University of Alaska-Anchorage Archives, Barbara Walton at the Denver Public Library; Barbara Minard at the Columbia River Maritime Museum; Julia O'Keefe, at the Santa Clara University archives; and Jill Schneider, at the U.S. Geological Survey's Branch of Alaskan Geology in Anchorage. Special thanks go to Theodor (Ted) Swem, a retired NPS official living in the Denver area, who shared his meticulous recollections and provided appropriate files on Katmai history. The staff at Katmai National Park and Preserve was very helpful in providing information on specific problem areas.

In order to provide help during the editorial and proofreading process, several individuals in the agency stepped forward to offer their assistance. They included Ross Kavanagh in the Anchorage office; former superintendents Gil Blinn, Alan Eliason, and Ray Bane; former park employees Janis Meldrum, David Manski, and Kathy Jope; and current park employee Mark Wagner. Jack Hession, who has long served as the Sierra Club's Alaska Representative, was similarly helpful in clearing up the intricacies of the legislative fight that led to the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act.

The author briefly interviewed several superintendents and other park employees regarding specific administrative issues related to park management. Unfortunately, time constraints prevented a greater oral history element in this study. It is suggested that park or regional staff organize such a program in the not-too-distant future. The logical subjects for interviews would be permanent and seasonal park staff, Anchorage-based officials with responsibilities over the park, local concessioners, and longtime residents of the various

towns and villages which surround the park.

It will be noted that scores if not hundreds of place-name locations are scattered through the volume, and many may be unfamiliar to readers. The more commonly-used place names can be located in the agency's standard interpretive brochures which are freely available to park visitors. All names used are the official names used by the U.S. Board of Geographic Names; if specific locations for less familiar names are needed, it is suggested that the reader consult either an appropriate USGS quadrangle or a copy of Donald Orth's fine volume, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names.

In closing, it needs to be noted that the draft of this document was completed during the summer of 1993. Money for printing, however, was not available until this year. Because of that delay, and because much of the author's work was based on Mr. Hanable's original research, this document is not up-to-date. Park staff have noted, quite correctly, that several resource issues that emerged in the early 1990s have not been covered, and only scattered notes on park activities since mid-1993 have been included. Therefore, the reader should be forewarned that any issues covered during the 1990s may be less than complete.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAO - Alaska Area Office
ABF - Budget and Finance Division (of NPS)
ACC - Alaska Commercial Company
ACV - Alaska Consolidated Vacations (part of NCA)
ADB - Alaska Development Board
ADF&G - Alaska Department of Fish and Game
AEC - Area of Ecological Concern
AEIDC - Alaska Environmental Information and Data Center
AFO - Alaska Field Office
AGC - Alaska Game Commission
AHL - Alaska Historical Library
AKSO - Alaska System Support Office (of NPS)
ALSC - Alaska Legal Services Corporation
AMRAP - Alaska Mineral Resource Assessment Program
AMHA - Anchorage Museum of History and Art
ANC - Anchorage, Alaska
ANCSA - Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act
ANHA - Alaska Natural History Association
ANIA - Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve
ANILCA - Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act
APA - Alaska Power Administration; Alaska Packers Association
APG - Alaska Planning Group
APHA - Alaska Professional Hunters Association
ARC - Alaska Road Commission
ARD - Associate Regional Director
ARO - Alaska Regional Office (NPS)
ARS - Alaska Recreation Survey
ASA - Alaska State Archives
ATF - Alaska Task Force
AVO - Alaska Volcano Observatory
BBNA - Bristol Bay Native Association
BBNC - Bristol Bay Native Corporation
BCF - Bureau of Commercial Fisheries
BIA - Bureau of Indian Affairs
BLM - Bureau of Land Management
BOR - Bureau of Outdoor Recreation
BP - before present
CCC - Civilian Conservation Corps
CDCC - Cape Douglas Canning Corporation
CEQ - Council on Environmental Quality
CERCLA - Comprehensive Environmental Response Compensation and Liability Act
CPSU - Cooperative Park Studies Unit
CRPA - Columbia River Packers Association

CUL - Commercial Use License
DCP - Development Concept Plan
DEIS - Draft Environmental Impact Statement
DENA - Denali National Park and Preserve
DES - Draft Environmental Statement
DNR - (Alaska) Department of Natural Resources
DOSECC - Deep Observation and Sampling of the Earth's Continental Crust
DSC - Denver Service Center
EC - Concessions Team; prior to 1995, Environmental Compliance
EEI - Education and Interpretation Team (NPS)
EL - Lands Team (NPS)
EPD - Planning, Design, and Maintenance Team (NPS)
EIS - Environmental Impact Statement
F&WS - Fish and Wildlife Service
FAA - Federal Aviation Agency (1962)
FES - Final Environmental Statement
FOSC - Federal On-Scene Coordinator
FRC - Federal Records Center
FWQA - Federal Water Quality Administration
FY - fiscal year
GLBA - Glacier Bay National Monument
GLO - General Land Office
GMP - General Management Plan
GPO - Government Printing Office
HB - House Bill (Alaska Legislature)
HCRS - Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service
HFC - Harpers Ferry Center (NPS)
HJR - House Joint Resolution
H.R. - (U.S.) House of Representatives (bill number)
HSAR - Historic Structure Assessment Report
IBLA - Interior Board of Land Appeals
ICG - Interagency Coordinating Group
ICT - Incident Command Team
ILI - Iliamna (USGS map acronym)
JFSLUPC - Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission
JSC - Johnson Space Center
KATM - Katmai National Monument, or Katmai National Park and Preserve
KNM - Katmai National Monument
M&P - Management and Protection
MOA - Memorandum of Agreement
MOMC - Mount McKinley National Park
MSC - Manned Spacecraft Center
NARA - National Archives and Records Administration
NAS - National Academy of Sciences
NASA - National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NCA - Northern Consolidated Airlines
NGS - National Geographic Society
NHL - National Historic Landmark
NMFS - National Marine Fisheries Service
NNL - National Natural Landmark
NPS - National Park Service
NR - Natural Resources
NRA - National Recreation Area
NRDA - Natural Resource Damage Assessment

NRFR - Natural Resources Final Report
NRHP - National Register of Historic Places
NRPR - Natural Resources Progress Report
NRSIR - Natural Resource Survey and Inventory Report
NRTR - Natural Resources Technical Report
NSF - National Science Foundation
NWRO - Northwest Regional Office
OAS - Office of Aircraft Services (USDI)
ONR - Office of Naval Research
PCP - Project Construction Program
PNRO - Pacific Northwest Regional Office
R4 - Region Four (NPS office in San Francisco)
RCP - Coastal Programs Division (NPS)
RCR - Cultural Resources Division/Team (NPS)
RD - Regional Director
REDW - Redwood National Park
REQ - Environmental Quality Division (NPS)
RG - Record Group
RMM - Minerals Management Division/Team (NPS)
RMP - Resource Management Plan
RMS - Resource Management Specialist
RNR - Natural Resources Division/Team (NPS)
RPO - Resource Protection Officer
RS - Subsistence Division (NPS)
RuralCAP - Rural Alaska Community Action Project
SAR - Superintendent's Annual Report
SB - San Bruno, California
SEKI - Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Parks
S.J. - Society of Jesuits
SMR - Superintendent's Monthly Report
SSC - San Francisco Service Center (NPS)
SUNY - State University of New York
TAG - Technical Advisory Group
TIC - Technical Information Center (NPS, Denver)
UAA - University of Alaska-Anchorage
UAF - University of Alaska-Fairbanks
USAF - U.S. Air Force
USBF - U.S. Bureau of Fisheries
USC&GS - U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
USGS - U.S. Geological Survey
USDI - U.S. Department of the Interior
UWSC - University of Washington Special Collections
VISTA - Volunteers in Service to America
WAA - Wien Air Alaska
WASO - Washington (DC) Service Office (NPS)
WCA - Wien Consolidated Airlines
WIMP - Winter Interagency Monitoring Program
WODC - Western Office of Design and Construction
WRO - Western Regional Office
WSC - Western Service Center

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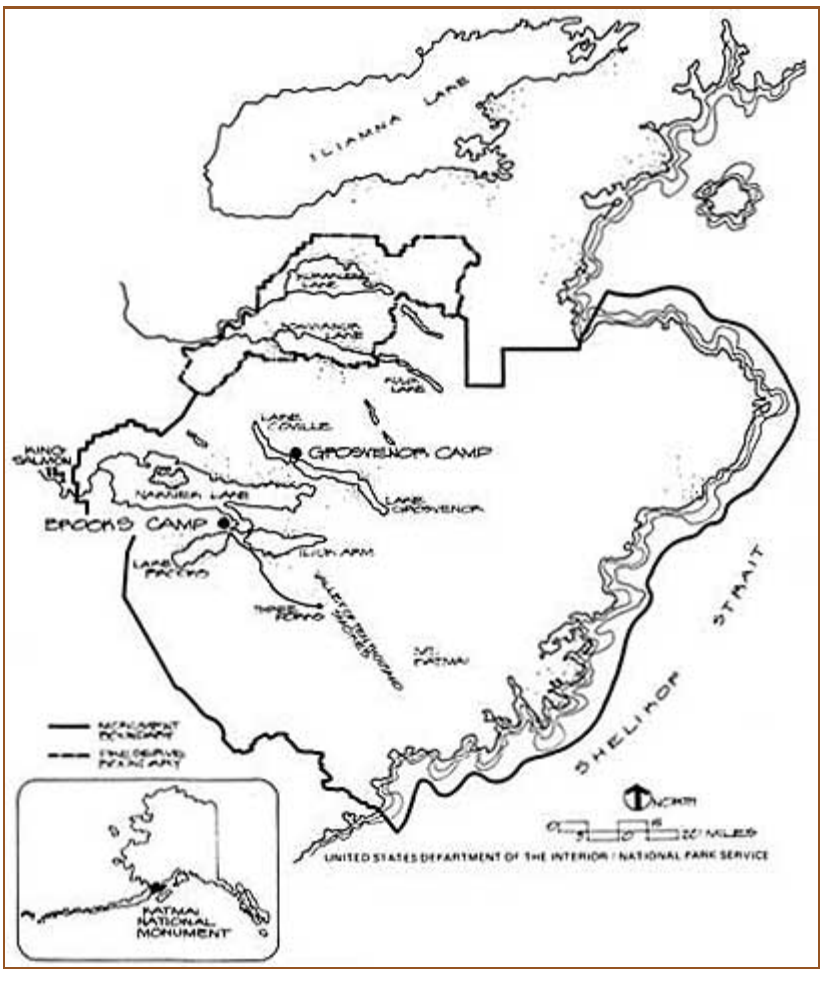
KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
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PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 1:
An Overview of the Katmai Country

Katmai National Park and Preserve is located between Shelikof Strait and Bristol Bay in southwestern Alaska. Within this reservation is found some of the most spectacular scenery in the state. The thrusting peaks of the Aleutian Range dominate the eastern half of the unit. To the west, the land broadens out into countryside dominated by low mountains and rolling hills punctuated by long, narrow lakes.



Map 2. Katmai National Park and Preserve. Source: NPS, Environmental Assessment, Draft Development Concept Plan, Brooks Camp and Grosvenor Camp for Katmai, January 1982, 2. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

As might be expected, such a large area as Katmai sports a wide variety of plant and animal life. Tundra carpets much of the area, while the valleys and lake shores are dominated by various forms of forest and brush. Caribou, moose and brown bear are all found in Katmai, along with a wide variety of birds, insects and other fauna. The lakes, particularly those at the lower elevations, teem with salmon, trout and other fish species.

Both the topography and biotic diversity of the Katmai country are undeniably beautiful. Neither, however, are singlehandedly responsible for creating the present NPS unit. Katmai was thrust into prominence because of one catastrophic event: the eruption of Novarupta, near Mount Katmai, in June 1912. Based on the publicity and scientific curiosity surrounding that event, Katmai National Monument was created to protect the geological wonderland which encircled Mount Katmai. [1] In the years since the monument was established, Katmai has been expanded four times, but the rationale behind all four expansions has borne no resemblance to that which created the original monument. As the Katmai country became better known and the number of visitors began to increase, the area became increasingly valuable as a storehouse of biological diversity. In recent years it has become well known for its wilderness values as well as a world-class destination for fishing and for game observation.

Those who would hope to appreciate Katmai need to recognize that the park has developed into its present form because of a variety of pressures. Katmai has represented different values to different people. Some, among which are included a number of Alaskans, have seen Katmai as a place of little worth; as a result, several people have sought to reduce its boundaries or eliminate the unit entirely. Others, in the name of biological or topographical consistency, have sought to change the existing straight-line boundaries into borders which followed river courses, ridge tops, or other natural demarcations. And still others have sought to expand the park.

This study is an attempt to document how National Park Service officials have managed the area within the boundaries of present-day Katmai National Park and Preserve. In order to manage it effectively, the NPS has had to be sensitive to the changing expectations which people have had for that area, and has attempted to reconcile those expectations with broad mandates, issued from Washington, regarding how all national park units should be maintained. The job, to be sure, has not been easy; and there were certainly times, particularly in the first several decades after the monument was established, in which park resources were entirely ignored. The upcoming chapters will outline what the agency did to protect and manage the resources with which it was entrusted, and some of the reasons why Katmai was managed the way it was.

A Land of Topographic and Biotic Diversity

The combined park and preserve is located at the base of the Alaska Peninsula, a volcano-studded protrusion which stretches over 400 miles to the southwest before it terminates at False Pass. A huge area (see Map 2) is enclosed within the park. [2] The lands and waters within its boundaries--3,674,541 acres in Katmai National Park and another 418,699 acres in Katmai National Preserve--span almost the width of the peninsula, and its boundaries extend along the base of the peninsula for more than 100 miles. The present park and preserve is only the fifth largest National Park Service unit in Alaska. Even so, their combined area is larger than Connecticut and Rhode Island put together, and is almost twice as large as the largest national park in the Lower 48 states. [3] Katmai, large as it is, is only one small part of an enormous federal land block which stretches, in an almost unbroken line, some 400 miles from Kamishak Bay to the tip of the Alaska Peninsula.

Two physiographic provinces lie within the park: the Aleutian Range and the Nushagak-Bristol Bay Lowlands. [4] The broadly-defined Aleutian Range province constitutes over 90 percent of the park, and is composed of three zones. The Shelikof Strait seacoast zone, which is a band roughly 10 miles wide along the eastern coast, is a rugged, diversified area of bays, beaches, cliffs, canyons, and waterfalls. The Aleutian Mountain zone, which ranges in width from ten to 40 miles, is located inland from the coastal zone. It is an area of volcanic peaks and glaciers; summits within the zone range from the 3000 foot level to Mount Denison which, at 7606 feet (2318 meters) is the highest point in the park. The last zone in the Aleutian province is the lake region--the so-called Hudsonian zone--which is dominated by lakes, ponds and other hydrographic features. In the eastern portion of the zone, these features are separated by low mountains and hills, while in the western part the terrain opens up and the hills diminish. [5]

The Nushagak-Bristol Bay Lowlands, which are separated from the Aleutian Range physiographic province by the Bruin Bay earthquake fault, is located in the southwestern corner of the park and constitutes only a small part of it. The terrain in this province is relatively flat, with many poorly drained lakes. A number of low ridges, sand dunes and meandering streams break the uniformity of this area. [6]

Nature is effusive and diverse in much of the Katmai country. Tundra carpets much of the area; a barren and sparse dry tundra is found in many of the higher elevations, while moist tundra dominates the lowland areas in the western third of the park. The boreal forest vegetation complex predominates in more climatically advantageous, lower elevation areas, primarily in river valleys and along lake shores. Dominant species within the complex include white spruce, birch and balsam poplar. In places where trees cannot survive, high brush predominates; primary species include alder and willow. Temperate, spruce-dominated coastal forests cover a few drainages in the northeastern part of the park, while snow fields and bare rock, are found at the highest elevations in the Aleutian Range. The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, along with some adjacent areas, is also largely unvegetated, it being overlain with volcanic ash and rock. [7]

Because of the diversity of habitats found in Katmai, the park supports an abundance of animal life. Biologists have recorded at least six species of marine mammals, 29 species of land mammals, 137 bird species, 24 species of freshwater fishes and four anadromous fish species. Of chief interest to the visitor and park manager are the large mammals and game fishes. Caribou, for instance, inhabit portions of the western end of the park, and moose and brown bear have been found in many sections of the park. Bear roam even onto the mountain slopes. The lakes, particularly those at the lower elevations, teem with sockeye salmon, rainbow and lake trout, Dolly Varden trout, grayling, steelhead, northern pike and other fishes. Chum salmon are found in streams draining into Shelikof Strait. [8]

The weather, not surprisingly, differs dramatically in the various parts of the park. In the western portion, temperatures are relatively mild; at Brooks Camp, for instance, summer high temperatures average 63° F., while lows average 44° F. The weather is predominantly cloudy or partly cloudy. In the wintertime, average high temperatures drop to 18.5° F., while winter lows drop to an average of -2.8° F. Winds are generally moderate; in the Brooks Camp area, however, summer winds are often sufficiently strong as to prevent airplane landings.

No long-term weather stations have been established at other points in the park. Park managers, concessioners, and others familiar with Katmai, however, unanimously agree that the weather on Shelikof Strait is poorer than that on the lee side of the Aleutian Range. Precipitation levels and winds along the coast are consistently higher, and the number of cloudy days are greater than at Brooks Camp. Summer temperatures are probably cooler along the coast than at Brooks Camp, and although winter temperatures are probably warmer,

winds may make wind-chill readings there more severe. Conditions at points in the Aleutian Range zone are even worse than along Shelikof Strait. Cool temperatures, wind, clouds and precipitation are the rule rather than the exception. [9]

A Prehistoric Cultural Crossroads

Because of the harsh conditions that predominate throughout much of the park, there are relatively few locations known to have supported human habitation. As various historians and archeologists have noted, humans have been living in Katmai country for thousands of years. Flaked stone has been found on Takli Island, near the old village of Katmai, which indicates human occupation beginning as early as 6000 years ago. Other artifacts found on the island have indicated that humans also lived on the island from 4200 to 2800 BP and from 1800 to 1300 BP. Archeological finds have also been made at other points along the shoreline of Shelikof Strait, including (from north to south) Cape Chiniak, Kukak Bay, Kaflia Bay, and Dakavak Bay. Evidence at each location points to occupation dates more recently than 1000 BP. Although corroborating evidence has not yet been discovered, it is likely that early humans lived along most or all of the bays and inlets along the park's eastern boundary, and that they used much of the interconnecting coastline for fishing, hunting, or for purposes of temporary shelter. [10]

Excavations along the Brooks River have shown that humans lived on the Bristol Bay side of the peninsula as long ago as 4500 BP. Archeologists have determined that the artifacts uncovered there constituted an extensive village which has been inhabited almost continuously since that time. As such, the Brooks Camp area is considered a world-class archeological site. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977, and in 1993 it was listed as a National Historic Landmark. [11]

Other sites on the western side of the Aleutians point to human activity during the prehistoric period. The remnants of a village near the confluence of the Grosvenor and Savonoski rivers dates from about 1800 BP; this village, like that along the Brooks River, is also listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Other habitation sites have been found near the mouth of the Savonoski River and on the narrow neck of land between lakes Coville and Grosvenor. Both sites date back less than 500 years. [12]

Native and European Interaction, 1741-1867

Vitus Bering, a Dane sailing in the service of the Russian czar, headed east to present-day Alaska in 1741 and claimed the land for Russia. During the decades which followed, the territory attracted sailors from England, Spain, and France. Russians, however, settled and began to harvest the area's enormous sea otter population.

The first Europeans arrived in the Katmai country in the late eighteenth century, when Russian fur traders appeared on the Shelikof Strait. By the time of their arrival, the Koniag Eskimo were probably established in a number of villages along the coast; they were located (from north to south) at Cape Douglas, Swikshak Lagoon, Kaguyak, Hallo Bay, Devil's Cove, Kaflia, Missak Bay, Amalik Bay/Takli Island, Dakavak Bay, Katmai, and Kashvik Bay. On the Bristol Bay side of the Aleutian Range, the Aglegmiut Eskimo were living in scattered sites within the present park. These locations--along the Brooks River, the mouth of the Savonoski River, the confluence of the Savonoski and Grosvenor rivers, and between Lake Coville and Lake Grosvenor--are the same ones which were noted earlier for their prehistoric occupation. [13]

During the period of Russian influence, most of the area within the park was ignored by Europeans. Although Russians, operating out of Kodiak, held economic dominance over the Native sea otter harvest, few ever lived on the Alaska Peninsula side of Shelikof Strait. Katmai village, near the south end of the park's coastal strip, was a trading post of the Russian American Company from 1799 to 1867, and was the only location known where European-based peoples resided. [14]

In order to trade with the coastal settlements, the Eskimo of the Bristol Bay country made annual trips that wound through the Aleutian range. One of the routes used crossed from the Savonoski River drainage to the Ninagiak River, then on to Hallo Bay. Another, the so-called Douglas Pass route, may have followed Hardscrabble Creek to its headwaters, then crossed over into the upper Kamishak River valley. A third followed the Naknek Lake system to the mouth of the Ukak River, then followed the drainage to its headwaters at Katmai Pass; it then descended through the cliffs and canyons of the Katmai River to Katmai village. As late as the 1780s, Natives were still using several routes through the mountains. [15]

Because one of those routes began at the Katmai trading station, nineteenth century travelers through the mountains began to increasingly rely on the Native route over Katmai Pass. Russians knew about the pass by 1818, perhaps earlier; by 1845, traders and hunting parties headed into the interior of the peninsula were using the Katmai trading post as a base camp. They also used, but to a lesser extent, the old portage which wound up the Savonoski River and down to Hallo Bay. [16] In order to supply their depots along the shores of Bristol Bay, Russians occasionally crossed the Alaska Peninsula. But they used neither of the above trails for those purposes; instead, they relied on routes which traversed either Iliamna or Becharof lakes, both of which are outside the boundaries of the park. More often, they supplied them by ship via Unalaska, or from the north via the Yukon River drainage. [17]

During the early and mid-nineteenth century, Russians considered Katmai village to be the most significant post on the upper Alaska Peninsula. By 1863, 457 people were living there. The fur trade carried on through the post had been consistently productive; during the half-century which ended in 1867, informed observers have estimated that 2000 to 3000 sea otter pelts passed through each year. But few Russians ever lived there. In 1819, a census counted four Russian men at the post. Forty-four years later, post operations may have been passed into Native hands. [18]

Many of the Native sites that had been occupied at the time of contact continued to be active during the Russian period. These included a settlement near the entrance to Swikshak Lagoon, at or near Kaguyak, and on the shore of Kukak Bay. There may have also been intermittent sites at Kaflia Bay, Dakavak Bay, and Takli Island during the Russian period. But overall, the number of sites along the coast is considered to be rather sparse. This was caused by the village depopulations which had been instigated at the hands of the Russian American Company. [19] Away from the coastal areas, the Russian influence was less pervasive. Therefore, it is likely that population levels at the four Aglegmiut sites in the parks--at Savonoski, along the Savonoski River, between lakes Grosvenor and Coville, and along the Brooks River--would have been less affected by Russian activities along Shelikof Strait. The economy of both coastal and inland Natives was altered in order to cater to the Russians' demand for furs.

A Perspective on the Early American Period, 1867-1912

Russian America was transferred to the United States in October 1867. In the waning months of that year, Hayward M. Hutchinson purchased the remaining assets of the Russian American Company. Soon afterward, he helped establish Hutchinson, Kohl and Company

which, a year later, was purchased by the newly-founded Alaska Commercial Company (ACC). Although the Russian American Company had been active wherever the Empire had shown a presence, both Hutchinson, Kohl and Company and its successor concentrated their operations in areas outside of southeastern Alaska. Both companies, as noted below, operated within the boundaries of present-day Katmai National Park and Preserve. [20]

On the upper Alaska Peninsula, one major effect of the transfer was a change of ownership in the trading companies. By the summer of 1868 Hutchinson, Kohl representatives were active in the waters off Kodiak Island; that October, the company was operating the Katmai trading post. It was their only post within the boundaries of the present-day park. It was not until 1872 that the Alaska Commercial Company flag began flying over the Katmai post. [21]

During the early period of American rule, trading relationships were similar to those that had been laid out during the Russian period. During the late 1860s and early 1870s, for example, the Katmai post continued to exert much the same degree of influence over the Natives as it had for decades. Post officials traded with various coastal villages to the north and south as well as with Eskimos in the area surrounding Naknek Lake. (The American merchants, by and large, did not venture inland from their posts; Native traders traversed the Katmai Pass trail which connected Katmai with the remote villages in the interior.) The inland villages were under the political control of Fort Alexander, located at the mouth of the Nushagak River. But the fort's trade hinterland was relatively small, and did not reach as far east as the present park boundaries.

During the late 1870s, the ACC brought new trading methods to the area. It laid out a series of incentives designed to increase the sea otter catch. [22] Perhaps as a result of these incentives, the yield on the southern portion of the Katmai coast was in decline by 1880. To increase its yield elsewhere, the company opened a second coastal trading station near Cape Douglas. That trend became accentuated in 1880 when officials at the ACC post in Nushagak organized their first expedition to Kamishak Bay. For the next decade, local Natives were directed to cross the peninsula and hunt furs for the summer season. Their "numerous camps" were scattered from Augustine Island to Cape Douglas. [23]

Sea otter harvesting boomed in the late 1870s through the middle 1880s; the peak harvest year was 1885. Coincident with the increased economic pace taking place in the area was the spread of Russian Orthodoxy to the more lightly populated, remote areas of southwestern Alaska. On the Bristol Bay side of the Aleutian Range, the priest at the Nushagak church established a church at "Severnosky Village," at the east end of the Iliuk Arm portion of Naknek Lake. The chapel remained active from the late 1870s until the 1912 volcanic eruptions forced Savonoski's residents to abandon the village. Along Shelikof Strait, Orthodox officials in Kodiak had established chapels at Katmai and Douglas by 1880. Those chapels also remained active until 1912. At Kukak, a third chapel was probably built between 1890 and 1905. Little information on its operations has surfaced, however, and no trace of a chapel has been encountered during recent archeological surveys. [24]

During the first four and one-half decades of American rule, church authorities felt that Katmai, Douglas and Kukak were the most significant villages along the western side of Shelikof Strait, while Savonoski was relatively prominent among the villages of the Bristol Bay watershed. Other occupation sites along the coast included Old Kukak, Amalik Bay, Hallo Bay, Kaflia Bay, Swikshak Lagoon, Dakavak Bay, and various islands bordering the south shore of Kamishak Bay. Closer to Bristol Bay, other occupation sites were situated along the Savonoski and Ukak rivers, at the west end of Lake Grosvenor, and on the north side of Brooks River. [25]

In the late 1880s, the fortunes of the Alaska Commercial Company began to drop because of

a rapid decline in sea otter yields. The dropoff in the harvest was noted in many coastal areas. By 1890, the census agent visiting Katmai noted that "The number of skins brought home grows smaller and smaller every year." He made similar observations at Kukak and near Cape Douglas. Contributing to the otter's decimation was their killing by whites, who outfitted a "mosquito fleet" of 20-30 schooners and, quite illegally, hunted all summer long and well into the winter season as well. [26] By the turn of the century, the sea otter trade had dwindled to economic insignificance. A more critical blow to the company as a whole came in 1890 when its Pribilof Islands fur seal harvesting contract was not renewed. The twin blows were devastating, but the company survived by diversifying into other areas of economic activity. Prospects brightened during the wild (if brief) Klondike gold rush period, but settled down soon afterwards. [27]

In 1906, the Alaska Commercial Company decided to sell its trading posts on both sides of the Alaska Peninsula to Omar J. Humphrey. The transaction was to include the trading post at Katmai, where a single structure was given an assessment value of $150, and the post at Douglas, with a building valued at $25. But in 1907 the ACC canceled the sale. During 1911 and 1912 it sold selected assets--in Kodiak, Afognak, and elsewhere--to a variety of interested parties. The Katmai and Douglas properties, apparently valueless by this time, were left unsold and were effectively abandoned. [28]

The depletion of the fur resource along the coast might have left the local Natives in economic straits had it not been for the simultaneous establishment of the commercial salmon fishing industry. As early as 1880 two "fishing establishments" had been founded on the Karluk River on nearby Kodiak Island, and during the early 1890s a number of canneries were established at various points on the island, several of which used workers from the Katmai coast. Natives were by no means the chief work force at the canneries--gangs of Chinese or Japanese laborers usually outnumbered them--but many Natives were provided a reliable means of support.

No canneries were ever established along the Katmai coast, but in 1912, a seasonal fishing station was established at Kaflia, just south of Kukak Bay. The coast around Kukak Bay was so plentiful with salmon that the steam tenders operating from the Kodiak Island canneries made an occasional visit, but no facilities resulted. Most of the Natives who lived in Katmai, Kukak, and Douglas (Kaguyak) had, by this time, adopted a lifestyle which included summer work in the fishing industry, either at a fishing station or cannery. Regarding the Eskimos on the Bristol Bay side of the peninsula, there is little documentary evidence to suggest that Katmai Natives were working for the canneries at Naknek, South Naknek or elsewhere in the area. Reminiscences of former residents bring forth widely divergent opinions; some recalled that during the 1910-1912 period the inland villages were almost depopulated during the summertime, while others remember large numbers of Natives living in the villages all year long. [29]

The travel across the Aleutian Range which had characterized the late Russian period continued unabated during the first few decades of American hegemony. The later years of the Russian period witnessed an increasing concentration of use over Katmai Pass. This trend continued during the American period. A few travelers, during the first decade or two of the American period, may have traversed the Aleutians via the well-worn route which crossed the Savonoski and Ninagiak River watersheds. The vast majority, however, used the Katmai Pass route. [30]

Some of those who crossed the peninsula via Katmai Pass did so to trade furs. By 1871, however, trade over the trail was rapidly declining, and when Ivan Petroff visited Katmai in 1880 he noted that "The transit business [across the Aleutians] has long been a thing of the past." The census taker crossed over the pass that year; ironically, his vivid description of the

trail crossing, taken during a rare period of calm, clear weather, helped publicize the recently abandoned route. [31]

Scattered travelers used the route during the coming years. In early 1889, the Earl of Lonsdale visited the area as part of a fourteen-month exploring expedition. The following year, a member of the Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper expedition crossed over, and several miners heading from Saint Michael to Kodiak probably did so as well. Two other members of the newspaper party, accompanied by eleven others, followed early in 1891. [32]

Few travelers were known to use the trail for the next several years, but from 1898 to 1901 the area witnessed a flurry of activity. In March 1898 George Fred Tilton, accompanied by two Siberian Eskimos, trekked over the route in conjunction with the rescue of a whaling fleet marooned in the Arctic sea ice near Barrow. Seven months later, an explorer with the U.S. Geological Survey, Josiah Spurr, mapped the area as he crossed the pass. He gave the world its best description of the area, and he also took the only known photo of the pass taken before the 1912 eruption. [33]

More numerous were prospectors going to and from Nome, where gold had been discovered in September 1898. Rather than sail around the Alaska Peninsula, some miners opted to make a land crossing. Most chose the route during the wintertime, as part of a route that went by land all the way to Nome. But prospectors apparently used Katmai Pass during the summertime, too. The flow of miners over the pass had dwindled to a trickle by 1901. One of the few to cross that year, however, was a young prospector named Rex Beach, who later became a well-known author. In 1909, he published The Silver Horde, a best-selling novel which described the rigors of crossing Katmai Pass. [34]

In addition to the explorers and gold-rush miners who were primarily interested in passing through the Katmai country, others arrived in search of local mineral wealth. Several expeditions during the 1860s and 1870s brought back rumors that oil existed near Katmai Bay, but reports later in the century were less enthusiastic. [35] Oil also attracted outsiders. Oil seepages had been spotted in several locations surrounding Puale Bay, and during the 1902-1904 period the bay played host to an enthusiastic (if brief) oil boom. [36] George Curtis Martin, a government geologist, surveyed along the shore in the Katmai area at that time. But nothing of commercial importance was found anywhere in the area, and by 1906 the boom had fizzled. Martin noted oil seepages along the shores of Kamishak Bay, especially at Douglas River, but he cautioned against further exploration. "The geology of the coast ... between Douglas and Katmai," he wrote, "does not warrant in the slightest degree any petroleum prospecting. Along much of this coast are only volcanic and other crystalline rocks, in which the occurrence of petroleum is an absolute impossibility." [37]

Other resources were sought as well. An 1895 expedition sent to search for gold and coal cruised the coast of Shelikof Strait; it found no gold, but it did find minor coal deposits near Cape Douglas, and three seams of "a pretty good coal" on the shore of Amalik Bay. Josiah Spurr, who crossed Katmai Pass in 1898, was not impressed by the gold potential of that part of the Alaska Peninsula, and R. W. Stone, who visited the Katmai coast in 1904, had no better luck finding coal than had earlier explorers. [38]

By the spring of 1912, therefore, the Katmai area was wallowing in the economic doldrums, primarily because area resources had either been extirpated or were lacking in commercial importance. As has been noted above, the local sea otter population had been largely exterminated by the turn of the century. The salmon fishery, while relatively healthy, was being gathered from ships based well away from the Katmai coastline. Investigators had discovered no gold, and had found only an inferior quality coal and oil resource. The area held little or no potential as an agricultural area, and because of its untimbered state held

little interest to commercial lumbering interests. For a brief time, people had been attracted to the area because it was a viable route to more distant points, but that period had ceased more than a decade before.

None but the most foolhardy during that spring of 1912 could have predicted that the Katmai area was on the verge of becoming an area of world famed interest. But as the next chapter elaborates, that is precisely what was about to take place.

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 2:
Creation of Katmai National Monument, 1912-1918

The Eruption of Mount Katmai

On June 6, 1912, one of the largest volcanic explosions ever recorded took place in the area surrounding Mount Katmai. The mountain was scarcely known to the outside world before that time, but the explosion was of such intensity that it thrust itself into prominence. An eruption of such a magnitude would have decimated entire populations had it occurred in a more populated area. [1] As it was, however, the area was so bereft of human activity that only one person, a tubercular, died from the effects of the eruption. [2]

Mount Katmai is one of a long string of volcanoes which comprise the Aleutian Range. The range is geologically quite active, even in comparison to other volcanic regions; that activity stems from the instability created at the intersection of the Pacific and North American plates. To give an idea of the Aleutians' activity level, 46 of the 79 known volcanoes in the Aleutians are known to have emitted ash, smoke, steam or lava at some time between 1741 and 1957. Of the historically active volcanoes, 26 have emitted ash, 25 smoke, 16 steam, and 13 lava. One has undergone a series of explosions. (Several peaks have emitted more than one type of material.) [3]

Therefore, those in the surrounding area found it of little consequence when the area north of Katmai Pass began to show signs of increased volcanic activity. Mount Katmai had never erupted during historic time, and there were no known Native legends which told of such an eruption. But Augustine Volcano, less than 100 miles to the northeast, had erupted at least twice during the previous century, and Mount Peulik, less than 70 miles in the opposite direction, had also erupted twice during the same period. As early as 1898, a passing observer had noticed that earthquakes and other evidences of volcanic action in the area surrounding Katmai Pass were "very frequent." Local Natives told him that one of the volcanoes near the pass--they did not say which one--emitted smoke occasionally. [4]

As noted in the previous chapter, economic conditions in 1912 were such that most of the residents of the Native communities within the present park were away for the summer. Many of the residents of Katmai, Douglas, and Kukak were working on Kodiak Island in conjunction with the canneries. On the Bristol Bay side of the Aleutians, at least some of the residents who normally lived in Savonoski, Brooks River and the other villages headed to the Naknek area for the summer. Although scattered residents remained at most of the Native villages, the only real center of activity in the area was the Kaflia Bay fishing station. Another fishing center was located at Puale Bay, 20 miles south of the present park boundaries. [5]

The first signs of an impending eruption were felt on June 1, perhaps a day or two earlier, when ominous trembles were felt. The quakes continued to gain in intensity during the next few days. By June 4 or June 5, the shocks were so severe that they were felt as far away as Kanatak, 65 miles to the southwest, and Nushagak, 130 miles to the northwest. The area around Mount Katmai probably emitted its first ejecta on the evening of June 5. [6]

Locals found the rumblings so ominous that they prepared to leave the area. Natives from Douglas to Katmai did not flee to Kodiak Island; instead, they congregated at the Kaflia Bay fishing station, evidently hoping to find a vessel that would afford safe passage out of the area. [7] Other Natives headed toward Puale Bay, but made it no farther than Cape Kubugakli when the eruption took place on June 6, and did not arrive at their destination until June 8. At Savonoski, "American Pete" reacted to the increased shaking by heading to the seasonal camp at Ukak to rescue some equipment. He witnessed the beginning of the June 6 eruption while there. Soon afterward, however, he retreated to Savonoski, gathered the remaining villagers and scurried across Naknek Lake. They covered the 60 miles to Naknek in a single day. According to Palakia Melgenak, there were also some people at a "fishing lodge" on Brooks Lake as late as June 6. Because the site was adjacent to the Iliuk Arm-Naknek Lake route traveled by the Savonoski residents, it is presumed that the fleeing villagers would have contacted their Brooks Lake compatriots if the latter had not already left on their own. [8]

The first big eruption took place at about 1 p.m. on June 6. Outbursts were almost continuous for the next two days; particularly heavy explosions were noted at 3 p.m. and 11 p.m. on June 6, and 10:40 p.m. on June 7. After June 8, strong eruptions continued for several weeks; after that point, activity was further reduced, although earthquakes and explosions were noted during the entire summer. [9]

Residents in many Alaska communities were well aware of the eruption. The first blast was so loud that it was heard in Fairbanks, 500 miles to the northeast, and it even carried as far as Juneau, 750 miles off to the east. Dawson City, in Yukon Territory, also heard the explosion. At Katalla, 410 miles east-northeast of the point of origin, residents reported that for three days the Katmai outbursts sounded "like blastings in quick succession." The earthquakes generated by the eruption were so strong that they were recorded in Washington, D.C. [10]

The ash, dust and grit spewed forth by the volcano spread far and wide. The ash was three to four feet deep at Katmai village, while at Kaflia Bay, the ash was piled three feet high. [11] The cataclysm dropped 6 to 12 inches of ash on Kodiak, and plunged the town into a gray gloom which lasted for most of the next 60 hours. [12] An estimated 3,000 square miles was covered by at least a foot of ash, and ten times that area was covered by an inch or more. "Appreciable" quantities of dust were recorded in Fairbanks, Juneau, and the Puget Sound cities.

To a lesser degree, the explosion's effects were felt even beyond Puget Sound. In Wisconsin and Virginia, the volcano was considered responsible for a "curious haze" noted in the days following the eruption. On a more general level, the dust veil produced a decrease in solar radiation, and for the last six months of 1912 mean temperatures were lowered throughout the northern hemisphere. [13]

Alaskans React to the Eruption

The press, both in Alaska and elsewhere, reacted immediately to the event. Within two days of the eruption, newspapers in San Francisco and New York were reporting on it. But few were certain as to the exact origin of the eruption. Reporters, at first, had no reliable information to use, and some speculated that Iliamna or Redoubt volcanoes had exploded.

[14] But on June 8, C. B. McMullen, who was captain of the Dora, a supply ship to villages in the area, was able to get a wireless message out to Seward and other Alaskan cities. The Dora had been out in Shelikof Strait when the explosion occurred, just 55 miles east of it. He "pronounced" the smoke to have come from Katmai Volcano. Jack Lee, who was residing at Puale Bay, declared that "Katma Mountain" was the culprit, although he could not see the peak from where he lived. And "American Pete," who was probably closer to the explosion than anyone else, told cannery workers in Naknek that Katmai Volcano had been blown "sky high." [15] As a result, the press dutifully reported Mount Katmai as the site of the eruption. Scientists who investigated the area in the decade after the explosion corroborated the conclusions that these eyewitnesses had made. [16]

Not all, however, concluded that Mount Katmai was responsible for the eruption. Jack Lee, the Puale Bay resident who had opined in June that "Katma Mountain" had erupted, told the Seward Weekly Gateway on July 13 that he had just "visited Katmai in order to make a careful study of the cause and effect of the eruption." He returned convinced that the source of the eruption was "Mount Sevenosky." Notwithstanding the fact that "Mount Sevenosky" was not a known name at the time (and it has not been identified or located since), his story is also doubtful because volcanic activity was too intense at that time for anyone to have penetrated sufficiently close to be able to view the eruption site. His partner at Puale Bay, C. L. Boudry, was able to view the volcanic area from afar, and by July 21 he was quite aware of a "new crater" that had developed on Katmai Volcano. He did not publicize his newfound knowledge, however, and when he attempted to hike into the area, the smoke and acid forced him to turn back. And in 1913, Alaskans William A. Hesse and Mel A. Horner climbed partway up the slopes of Mount Katmai. Like Lee and Boudry, Hesse and Horner could see that some other peak was more active than Mount Katmai. The 1913 explorers, however, thought that the so-called "King of the Volcanoes" was an unnamed peak, southwest of Mount Mageik, which was later named Mount Martin for the 1912 explorer. [17] It was not until 1954 that a scientific team determined, based on the relative thickness of the ash layer and other factors, that the primary explosion site was Novarupta, a smaller mountain located seven miles west of Mount Katmai (see Chapter 12.) [18]

A key problem that had to be reckoned with was the welfare of the local residents. The U.S. Revenue Cutter Service ship Manning was in port at the time of the eruption, and its captain, Kirtland W. Perry, took personal responsibility for evacuating Kodiak residents to a safer locale. Five days later, Captain W. E. Reynolds, who was commander of the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service's Bering Sea Fleet (and Perry's supervisor), arrived in the Kodiak area from Unalaska and took command. [19] By June 19, he had visited the Afognak refugee camp, and after conferring with Perry and with various "leading men" of Kodiak, he decided to not reestablish the villages of the Katmai coast. Instead, he thought it better to centralize the former inhabitants at a new location. [20]

To implement his proposed strategy, Reynolds travelled to Seward, where he sent word of his plan to the Treasury Department in Washington, D.C. His suggestions were promptly approved, and on June 27 he headed south to implement them. By July 7, Reynolds was scouting a site on Ivanof Bay, 300 miles southwest of Kodiak, that had been recommended by an official at a nearby packing plant. [21] The Natives who accompanied Reynolds said that they were pleased with the site, which was to be called Perry in honor of the captain of the Manning, and by July 8, 78 former Katmai and Cape Douglas Natives had been brought to that spot. But by August 1, the new residents had grown weary of the new site, and they asked Captain Perry to be relocated. He obliged them by showing them a new coastal site 13 miles to the east, just north of Chiachi Island. By August 15, the Treasury Department had approved of the change in venue, and by August 25 the residents (which by now had grown to 92) had all been moved to the new site. They liked the site and decided to remain there, and it soon became known as Perryville. It is still a viable community; its 1990 population

was 108. [22]

As noted above, some of the Natives who had formerly lived along the Katmai coastal villages fled to the Kaflia fishing station. Others headed south to Cape Kubugakli and Puale Bay. From there, they probably continued south to Perryville. [23] The Natives who had lived in (Old) Savonoski and the other communities in the upper Naknek drainage set up a village known as New Savonoski, which was on the south bank of the Naknek River five miles upriver from South Naknek. The village, now called Savonoski, remains an active community.

Some did not like the new environment, and tried to go back. Two families, in fact, moved from New Savonoski back to Old Savonoski and remained there for a year before the dust and heat drove them back to the new townsite. As "American Pete" noted in a 1918 interview, "Never can go back to Savonoski to libe [sic] again. Everything ash." [24] But if they could not live there again, they could use the area as a hunting ground. As later chapters note in greater detail, the vegetation and wildlife recovered rapidly in much of the region surrounding the east end of the Naknek Lake system, and as early as 1918 former residents of Old Savonoski were making annual bear hunts in the area surrounding the abandoned village. These hunts continued as late as 1939, and Brooks River persisted as a Native salmon harvesting area until the 1950s or 1960s. [25]

The National Geographic Society Shows an Interest

While the eruption depopulated a large area, and made it generally unattractive to those living in other areas of the Alaska Peninsula, it incited a great degree of curiosity and enthusiasm in the exploration and scientific communities. Within a fortnight of the initial eruption, the Research Committee of the National Geographic Society (NGS) had sprung into action. By providing him a research grant, the Society was able to persuade George C. Martin, a U.S. Geological Survey geologist, to travel to the area. His report was to be a first step in a systematic investigation of Alaskan volcanoes. He left Washington at once and arrived in Kodiak in early July. [26]

Martin was unsuccessful in his attempt to travel to the scene of the Katmai eruption. Instead, he spent a month on board the Manning, traveling on its various errands of mercy. His only visit to the Katmai coast during that period was a short visit to Douglas village. Later, aboard the Lina K., he visited Amalik Bay, and from there cruised down the coast to Takli Island, Katmai village, and on down to Puale Bay. Due to heavy cloud cover, he never even saw Katmai Volcano, and he did not venture inland from the coastal villages. [27]

After that trip, the National Geographic Society forgot about Katmai exploration for awhile. Other endeavors were assigned a higher priority. But Frederick Coville, a botanist who served on the NGS board of directors, refused to let the matter drop. Coville had undertaken previous research which had explored the biological potential of volcanic ash. He read an article by an old friend, Ohio State University botany professor Robert F. Griggs, which pertained to revegetation rates on Kodiak Island after the eruption. Coville, sensing an impending opportunity, wrote Griggs and asked if he would be interested in doing similar research in the area. [28]

Griggs accepted, and what ensued was the first of five Katmai expeditions, each of them sponsored by the National Geographic Society. In 1915, Griggs and two others spent from June through August in the Katmai country. His original focus was Kodiak Island, but as he noted, "I had come to study the revegetation, but I found my problem vanished in an accomplished fact." Therefore, he moved west to the more deeply buried country near the

volcano. His party was dropped off at old Katmai village; from there, they wound up the Katmai River valley. The going was slow and treacherous, and they were unable to cross any of the major watercourses. They had to be content with a fine view of mounts Martin, Mageik, Trident, and Katmai. Even that degree of success was gained only after enduring weeks of low cloud cover. [29]

Griggs Discovers the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes

The 1915 expedition provided an enticing glimpse into the country to the west, and it convinced Griggs that a study of the eruption, including a "thorough exploration of the immediate environs of the volcano," was a valid subject for future research. Fortunately, the NGS agreed with Griggs's assertions, and the following spring sent him back to the area. Taking three other men with him, he returned to the mouth of Katmai River and headed up the valley with the intention of climbing Mount Katmai. They reached the summit on the afternoon of July 19, 1916. After an 11-day spell of bad weather, the party climbed the mountain a second time. Having observed steam clouds on the west side of Katmai Pass, they spent the following day climbing Mageik Creek to get a closer look. They got almost up to the pass, and saw little out of the ordinary. Griggs and Lucius G. Folsom, his hiking companion, were getting ready to turn back when he "caught sight of a tiny puff of vapor in the floor of the pass." [30] The fumarole intrigued them, and by the time they reached the pass they found hundreds of steam jets scattered through the area. A large puff of steam off to the west encouraged him to climb a nearby hillock for a better look, and

> there, stretching as far as the eye could reach, till the valley turned behind a blue mountain in the distance, were hundreds--no, thousands--of little volcanoes like those we had just examined. They were not so little, either. ... Many of them were sending up columns of steam which rose a thousand feet before dissolving. After a careful estimate, we judged there must be a thousand whose columns would exceed 500 feet. [31]

Griggs and Folsom, enraptured by what lay before them, wandered down the valley for several miles. Griggs got as far as a view of Novarupta, and described it as "a plug of lava ... which was formerly rather violently explosive," before the party had to return to its camp on the coastal side of Katmai Pass. Griggs hardly slept that night, and was readying a return visit the next day when the weather abruptly changed. Rising water in Katmai River caused him to be cautious; reluctantly, he ordered the party to retreat to Katmai Bay. Ten days later they left the area. [32]

The National Geographic Society was enthusiastic about the new discoveries, and "in view of the extraordinary conditions of the Katmai region, unparalleled anywhere in the world," granted Griggs an additional $12,000 to make an extended examination of the so-called "Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes." [33] Griggs headed a party of ten men which returned to the area the following year; they included a topographer, a zoologist, a chemist, and two botanist, but curiously enough no geologist. The party arrived in late June, and began its investigations at a point several miles south of Katmai Bay; from there it followed the west bank of Katmai River and ascended Martin Creek. On July 4, Griggs and Walter Metrokin, a "famous one-handed bear hunter" who had also accompanied him the previous year, trekked up to the pass together. Four days later, most of the rest of the party did the same, and established a camp near the saddle. All were initially agog at what they saw. They eventually split up into work details. They spent about a month on the west side of Katmai Pass; during that time, the party descended the Ukak River valley at least as far as the end of the ash flow, and beyond it almost to Old Savonoski. Members also climbed Mount Katmai (some for the second time) and explored the upper Katmai Canyon as far as the so-called Katmai Lakes.

After some additional exploration, the party headed back down to the coast and left the area. [34]

Toward the Protection of the Volcanic Area

By the time the 1917 expedition had been completed and the result of its investigation published, the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes had become well-known to many members of the scientific community. But because the National Geographic Magazine was such a popular publication--the Society had some 650,000 members at the time--the area had also become familiar to a broad sector of the general public as a natural wonder and a scenic masterpiece. [35] Those who directed the Society were convinced that the area should be set aside as park land in order to preserve the unique qualities which had so recently been investigated.

The National Geographic Society was not the first organization which recognized Katmai's park potential. The beauty of the country, in fact, had been admired even before the cataclysm which tore it asunder. In 1880 Ivan Petroff, the first Alaska census taker, had led a party from Savonoski to Katmai Bay via Katmai Pass. Speaking about his trip in an 1881 article, he prophetically noted that

> When we made this portage last October, we were struck by the fact that the tourist might land at Katmai, and in one day's foot travel stand with us at the summit of a mountain pass, the divide proper of the peninsula, where he would be compassed on every hand by the grandest visions of Alpine scenery, snows, and glaciers. [36]

Others praised the qualities of the Shelikof Strait coastline. An English adventurer, H. W. Seton-Karr, noted after an 1886 visit that a cruise in a bidarka from Katmai south to Unga would be unequalled, both for scenery and sport hunting. Thirteen years later, several members of the Harriman Alaska Expedition spent a few days camped on Kukak Bay. While there, they walked up the slope behind their camp and found themselves suddenly at the edge of a 2,000-foot precipice, across from which was a glacier that "fairly took their breaths away." The visitors to Kukak Bay told the remaining expedition members that they were "well pleased with their expedition," and were henceforth boosters of the Katmai country. [37]

With the 1912 eruption, much of the topography which had been admired in earlier years was irreparably altered, and for the next two or three years the countryside surrounding Mount Katmai lay inaccessible to the outside world. Neither Martin in 1912 nor Griggs in 1915 spoke in very endearing tones about the beauty of the region, primarily because neither party was able to penetrate beyond the coastal valleys and canyons. When Hesse and Horner made a reconnaissance of the area in 1913, they saw enough of the area to report dramatically of "thousands of small fumaroles issuing columns of steam and smoke, and the ground was a maze of wide jagged cracks like paths of lightning." [38] But they did not make their observations known until after Griggs asked Horner about them.

The movement to create Katmai National Monument began on July 31, 1916, when Robert F. Griggs and Lucius G. Folsom encountered the thousands of fumaroles beyond Katmai Pass. As soon as they viewed them, they were certain that they had discovered one of the great wonders of the world. As Griggs later put it,

> The sight that flashed into view as we surmounted the hillock was one of the most amazing visions ever beheld by mortal eye.... The first glance was enough

> to demonstrate that we had found a miracle of nature which, when known, would be ranked with the Yellowstone, the Grand Canyon, and other marvels, each standing without rival in its own class. [39]

By the time he had returned to camp that night, the elated Griggs was already taking his thoughts of the scenery beyond admiration. Perhaps with the convenience of hindsight, his memories that night were as follows:

> I recognized at once that the Katmai district must be made a great national park accessible to all the people, like the Yellowstone. To make it known, to have it set aside as a National Park, and to secure the means necessary for its development would, I foresaw, require a tremendous amount of effort. [40]

His thoughts the next morning were every bit as occupied as those of the night before. How, he wondered, was the public going to get to this remote region? He had practically proven, after several attempts, that large numbers of people could not be landed through the surf at Katmai Bay. Was a suitable harbor available nearby? From what he knew at the time, the possibilities were not too encouraging. [41]

Griggs' observations on his 1917 trip were colored by the potential value that Katmai might have as a tourist destination. For instance, when he and Walter Metrokin climbed up to Katmai Pass on July 4, he was relieved to find that the fumarole activity was just as active as it had been the previous year. From that, he concluded (incorrectly, as it turned out) that geologic activity in the valley had reached a stable plateau and would continue without much change for years into the future. Generations of tourists, therefore, would be able to enjoy the wondrous display. The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, he opined, was "one of the greatest wonders of the world, if not indeed the very greatest of all the wonders on the face of the earth." [42]

Griggs made further remarks which appear, in retrospect, to have stressed the area's eligibility as a candidate for a national park unit, a tourist area, or both. His 1917 ascent of Mount Katmai, for example, was his third, but he chose to be more hyperbolic in his writeup of this climb than of his previous two trips. He judged Katmai to be "the greatest active crater in the world; furthermore, he called it "a far grander spectacle to look upon" than the inactive and larger craters of Haleakala and Crater Lake, both of which were already within national parks. He noted that Katmai Canyon was "almost as deep as the Grand Canyon;" on a more general level, he felt that the canyon's colored rock walls, the waterfalls, and distant lakes reminded him of the Grand Canyon and the Canadian Rockies "all put together." In describing all he had seen, he declared that "for sublimity of scenery this place has no equal in the whole world." [43]

From the time of his trip until Katmai National Monument became a reality two years later, Griggs became a leading publicist and lobbyist for Katmai; he also became the area's pre-eminent geological authority, even though his training was in biology. When he returned to Washington, for example, he was relieved to find that the National Geographic Society's officers were as interested in publicizing the area as he. Griggs entitled the article on his trip "The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes" even though he included only two photographs and five pages of text on the area beyond Katmai Pass. The Society's directors were old hands in the cause of national park promotion, and when the article was published in the January 1917 National Geographic Magazine, it signaled the opening volley in the Society's crusade to establish a new park area. [44]

The National Park Service Gets Involved

During the same period, the Society made an initial foray into the legislative arena. As Horace Albright noted in an interview more than half a century later, the idea of a government reservation in the Katmai district was first broached in the midst of the negotiations which led to the declaration of Mount McKinley National Park. The McKinley bill passed Congress on February 19, 1917, and was signed by President Woodrow Wilson a week later. But no more governmental action for a park at Katmai took place for another year. [45]

By the time the NGS directorate received the data from the 1917 expedition, the Society was confident that it had gathered enough data to support its claims that the region constituted one of the greatest scientific and scenic wonders of the earth.

The following February the Society laid out its case to the public. It published the results of its 1917 work in an article whose title, "The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes: An Account of the Discovery and Exploration of the Most Wonderful Volcanic Region in the World," announced that the Society had more than just a scientific interest in the area. Neither this article nor that from the previous year specifically mentioned that the volcanic district should be preserved in a national park. But the idea was nevertheless implicit. As Griggs himself later noted, "As a result of this report, the Katmai National Monument ... was created." [46]

As the following paragraphs suggest, Griggs's quote probably overstates the report's role in the creation of the monument; in addition, the statement is an oversimplification because it suggests that little effort was required and no opposition existed to the proposed land reservation. In fact, both local interests and Interior Department officials questioned the necessity for withdrawing such a large, unknown tract. Beyond that, the backers of a monument had to convince many whose priorities lay elsewhere. The United States, at the time, was in the midst of World War I in 1918; matters pertaining to the national parks, as a consequence, were of secondary importance. To most Americans, moreover, the creation of a park in a remote section of Alaska Territory was an issue of little or no concern.

Most of the efforts that led to Katmai's establishment, therefore, were low-key actions partaken far from the legislative arena. The campaign was organized and conducted by several officers from the National Geographic Society, along with Dr. Griggs. Together, they mentioned the idea to various Department of the Interior officials, then to other governmental representatives.

Little documentation exists regarding the methods that were used to obtain Interior Department approval, but evidently little trouble was encountered in obtaining it. An important part of the approval process may have been the fact that Franklin K. Lane, who had been Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of the Interior since 1913, was also on the Society's Board of Managers. Lane, therefore, was doubtless aware of, and probably interested in, the Society's Katmai expeditions. Another point in the monument's favor was a worry, among some geologists, that Yellowstone's geysers were declining; Katmai, therefore, was suggested as a possible replacement. [47]

Soon after the publication of Griggs's article in the February 1918 National Geographic Magazine, its editor, Dr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor, brought up the idea of a park to Secretary Lane. He, in turn, suggested that he mention the idea to the officials at the newly-created National Park Service. Grosvenor therefore requested a meeting with Stephen Mather, NPS director and Horace Albright, the agency's assistant director, in Washington's Cosmos Club. Professor Griggs also attended. The meeting was quite informal; Mather, Albright and Grosvenor were old friends and leaders in the conservation movement. Albright, at the time, was the agency's acting director; Mather had suffered a nervous collapse in the fall of 1916, and was still recovering. [48]

The real work of shaping the idea of a park from an idea into a legislative package took place during the spring of 1918 during a series of discussions at the Cosmos Club which were largely conducted by Grosvenor and Albright. Secretary Lane was kept informed of all developments. [49]

The National Geographic Society, based on Griggs' original suggestions, hoped that the Katmai district would become a national park. Charles Sulzer, Alaska's delegate to Congress at the time, was in enthusiastic agreement on the subject, noting that "we could gain some useful publicity to this great natural phenomenon of the North by creating a national park there." [50] But the National Park Service had just weathered a strong wall of opposition in the struggle to create Mount McKinley National Park. The Service recognized that trying to press for another Alaska national park would sap whatever good will the agency had established with Congress; besides, other areas were of more interest than Katmai as potential national parks. As Albright recalls it, "I simply had to tell the National Geographic people--Dr. Grosvenor, Associate Editor and Vice President John Oliver LaGorce, and Dr. Griggs--that a national park was out of question, and that a national monument was the only kind of reservation that would make possible the protection of Katmai." [51]

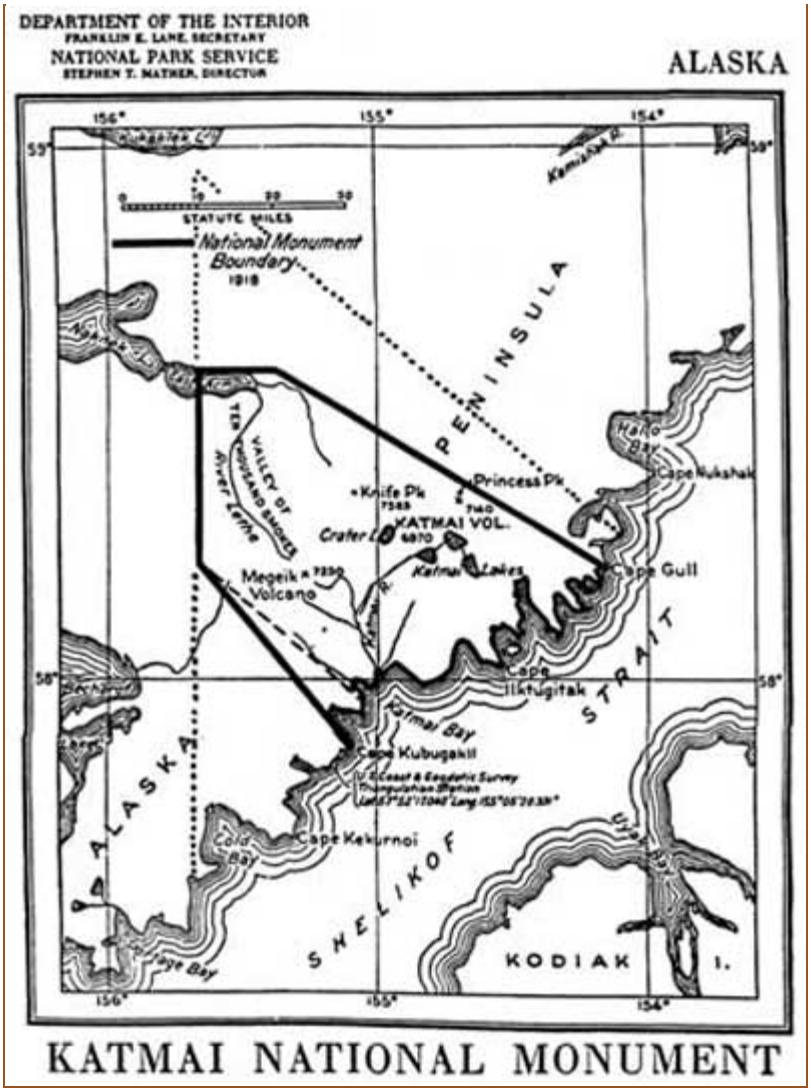
The Society weighed the pros and cons of national monument status for the Katmai district. A national monument, in theory at least, conferred just as much protection as a national park. It could be accomplished via a proclamation under the authority of the Antiquities Act of 1906, which permitted the president to create national monuments in order to protect "objects of historic or scientific interest" on public lands. [52] By issuing a presidential proclamation, the agency could avoid a bruising legislative battle like that which had been waged over Mount McKinley.

Grosvenor and his fellow officers initially objected to the idea because they did not feel that the Antiquities Act could be used to reserve large-scale land areas. Albright, however, noted that both Grand Canyon and Mount Olympus national monuments had been established under the act's provisions. Eventually, the Society agreed to push for a monument. [53]

Albright himself began the next step, the preparation of a presidential proclamation. It was a team effort. The text appears to have been influenced by Dr. Grosvenor and Dr. Griggs. George C. Schweckert, the NPS attorney, "probably" prepared the first draft. [54]

Griggs, who had the field experience, proposed the boundary lines (see Map 3). His original boundary proposal called for a large triangular area which began just west of Puale (Cold) Bay. From there the boundary line went due north to a point along American Creek midway between the western end of Lake Coville and Nonvianuk Lake. The boundary then went east-southeast until it reached Shelikof Strait just north of Kaflia Bay. [55]





Map 3. Evolution of original monument boundaries, 1918. Robert F. Griggs's first proposal (dotted line) was rejected by the USGS, but a more modest second proposal (heavy solid line) was accepted and became the monument bondary. Griggs was also asked to consider--but refused to promote--an alternative proposal (dashed line) with a smaller acreage than that accepted by the Secretary of the Interior. Source: Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 5a. The map accompanied Wilson's proclamation. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

The proposed proclamation was then given to the General Land Office (GLO) and the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) so that the proposed boundaries might be checked. [56] These agencies were given the responsibility of providing data on land ownership or mining activities within the proposed reservation. General Land Office personnel found little of interest. [57] The National Geographic Society, in its role as advocate, also hoped that Geological Society investigators would likewise find little of interest. Explorers who had passed through the area before the eruption, after all, had found few areas of interest, and descriptions of the post-eruption landscape clearly indicated that most of the previous resources in the volcanic area had been buried by lava and ash.

But USGS surveys had pointed out several promising mineral discoveries. Puale Bay, for instance, had been the scene of an oil boom from 1902 to 1905, and operations had been intermittently active since that time. [58] In 1912, George Martin had seen commercial possibilities for the ash deposits he had seen along the coast. At about the same time, Charlie

McNeil and Norman B. Cook found copper-bearing veins about 17 miles inland on a stream running into a "southwest bight" of Kamishak Bay. (The stream was probably McNeil River.) In 1915, Fred and Jack Mason discovered placer gold along a small stream just south of Cape Kubugakli. Two years later, Robert Griggs discovered that "There are some places where one can gather crystals of sulphur, almost free from impurities, by the bushel." In 1918, Alex Grant found placer gold on American Creek; the same year, the Geological Survey reported that work was continuing at the Shelikof Mining Company's prospect near Kukak Bay.

Many of these discoveries, to be sure, were outside of the boundaries of the proposed monument, and most turned out to be of short-term duration and were economically insignificant. [59] But enough was known about the mining activities surrounding Puale Bay and Cape Kubugakli, both of which were within the proposed monument boundaries, that they were brought to the attention of Secretary Lane. [60]

In order to clarify their position on the matter, Albright talked to some of the geologists who had been asked to review the proposal. Some were opposed to the withdrawal, primarily because "regardless of whether or not the Katmai country was valuable commercially, it was so devastated and uninviting that it was absolutely safe in its existing state and there was absolutely no necessity for giving it any governmental protection." [61]

While the monument proposal was being investigated by the GLO and the USGS, an Interior Department official sent the details of the plan to Charles Sheldon, a longtime member of the Boone and Crockett Club. The Club, a prestigious organization of sportsmen and conservationists, had recently played an integral role in the setting aside of Mount McKinley National Park as a game refuge, and Sheldon hoped that the Katmai proposal would also include a large area of high quality wildlife habitat. Sheldon, therefore, "suggested that the limits of the area occupied this national monument should be so drawn as to create a refuge for bears." But Sheldon, who had lived in Alaska for several years, knew that the monument's wildlife resources had to be downplayed. In 1918, a wartime scarcity of beef was causing many Alaskans to lobby territorial officials for a repeal of all legal protection for bears. Boone and Crockett members, therefore, responded by quietly pushing for a proclamation, all the while cautioning that "the word bear should never be mentioned in connection with the establishing of this monument." The Club's president, George Bird Grinnell, told Club members that "The boundaries of this monument recommended by [Sheldon] ... are so drawn as to create a refuge for bears." But neither NPS nor NGS documents reveal that the Boone and Crockett Club had much influence in the matter. [62]

President Wilson Proclaims Katmai National Monument

After the GLO and the USGS had completed their investigation, NPS Director Mather (who by now had actively assumed his post) was ready to present the proclamation to Interior Secretary Lane. Griggs, who had been asked to consider two smaller monument areas, vigorously defended his original boundaries, going so far as to invoke the vision of Jefferson and Seward in their respective quests for the Louisiana Purchase and Alaska. He argued, in particular, for the inclusion of the Puale Bay area because he felt it might be devastated by some future eruption. But Secretary Lane, perhaps on advice provided by the Geological Survey, insisted that Griggs' proposed boundaries be reduced to "exclude all lands except those devastated by the great eruption." Lane thus chose the larger of the two alternative proposals which Griggs had crafted. Excised areas included the large triangle of land surrounding Puale Bay, and a long, narrow band located just north and northeast of the original monument boundaries. [63]

The language of the final proclamation, which Mather and Lane then passed on to President

Wilson, warned "all unauthorized persons not to appropriate or injure any natural feature of this monument or to occupy, exploit, settle, or locate upon any of the lands reserved by this proclamation." The implicit prohibition against mining in the Katmai proclamation was thus distinctly different from language contained in the recently-passed Mount McKinley park bill. (In 1925, Glacier Bay National Monument was created by presidential proclamation, and in 1936 Congress passed a bill allowing mining activities at Glacier Bay; for more than 50 years, therefore, Katmai was the only large Alaskan NPS unit that prohibited such an activity.) [64]

The Society was convinced that the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes and the related volcanic features did indeed "stand preeminent among the wonders of the world," and that nowhere else on earth was there "anything at all similar to this supreme wonder." But one nagging question which had come up during the deliberations concerned the permanency of the volcanic wonders. Were the steaming vents really evidence of a vast underlying body of molten magma, or did they only indicate the vaporization of surface water as gradually cooling products of the eruption? In other words, were the cauldrons and "smokes" long lasting phenomena, or would they fade away in just a few years? Griggs, who had seen the valley in both 1916 and 1917, was convinced on his second trip that "everything was just as it had been the previous year." [65] But others, both in the Society and the NPS, wanted more evidence.

To answer their concerns, the Society organized another expedition to the Katmai district in the summer of 1918, even though a larger expedition had been deferred because of the war. Only two botanists, Jasper Sayre and Paul Hagelbarger, made the trip; both had also participated in the 1917 expedition. Unlike previous adventurers, the two botanists arrived by way of the Naknek River, then crossed Naknek Lake to the lower end of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. During their excursion, the two men also encountered "three good-sized lakes not shown on any map," now known as lakes Brooks, Coville and Grosvenor. [66]

Regarding the primary purpose of their trip, the photographs they took and the temperatures they recorded caused them to conclude that the condition of the fumaroles was "exactly the same" as in 1917. Writing in a National Geographic Magazine article which appeared in the spring of 1919, its editors stated that

> It is clear that the studies made thus far give no indication of any diminution in the Smokes, much less do they suggest a probable date for their extinction. It may be considered established, therefore, that the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes is a relatively permanent phenomenon. [67]

With all parties satisfied that the monument was both worthwhile and of lasting value, Secretary Lane took the completed proclamation over to the White House. There, on September 24, 1918, President Wilson issued Proclamation No. 1487, which reserved "approximately 1700 square miles" to create Katmai National Monument. The signing was witnessed by Secretary of State Robert Lansing. [68]

The new monument was at last a reality. The area included within its boundaries was relatively modest by today's standards; it included less than 30 percent of the present park and preserve. A "modest reservation" of approximately 1,088,000 acres, it embraced little more than the area of active volcanic peaks surrounding Mount Katmai, along with the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes and most of Iliuk Arm. That area, small as it was by Alaska standards, was still half the size of Yellowstone National Park and 50 percent larger than the state of Rhode Island. [69]

The purposes of the new monument were consistent with the amount of land reserved. Four

reasons were given in the proclamation: 1) the recognition of the importance of Mount Katmai and the eruption which issued forth from there, 2) the opportunity to learn and appreciate the field of volcanism because the eruption had taken place so recently, 3) because it provided the opportunity to protect an active volcanic belt (as opposed to the "present dying geyser field of the Yellowstone"), and 4) because the "great magnitude" and "inspiring spectacles" contained within ensured "popular scenic, as well as scientific, interest for generations to come." In a phrase reflective of that wartime period, the proclamation even went so far as to imply that creation of the monument would be an "inspiration to patriotism." [70]

When compared with the political process required to create today's NPS units, it seems remarkable that a monument such as Katmai could have been created so simply. It also seems remarkable that a single organization--in this case the National Geographic Society--was able to play such a dominant role. There appears to have been an element of collusion involved in the monument creation process because of the social relationships shared by the Secretary of the Interior, the NPS hierarchy, and the National Geographic Society leadership. The easy sociability of those men doubtless made monument designation an easier process than it otherwise might have been.

It seems patriarchal to conclude that the National Geographic Society, so quickly and without fanfare, was able to convince Interior Department officials and the President to reserve such a large land mass. But that is precisely what took place. No other groups outside of government appear to have known that such a monument was being proposed. Among Alaskans, Governor Thomas Riggs (who had been working in the territory for years and had been appointed to his position just a few months earlier) may have been the only one who was even aware of the proposal, and he was given only an general outline of the proposed action. (Riggs protested the monument idea; he also requested that a geologist survey the area before designation took place. His pleas fell on deaf ears.) [71] During the early years of the NPS, the only standard process--in Alaska or elsewhere--by which proposed park areas were checked for their resource values were the GLO and USGS investigations. Outside groups, local residents, and other interested individuals were typically given no opportunities to either support or protest proposed parks. In the case of Katmai, the NGS does not appear to have covered up information which may have diminished park values, but their position as advocate made it difficult for them to objectively assess the monument's resources. [72]

As time would prove, a major resource value on which the monument idea had been based--the fumaroles--would decrease in importance. Other aspects of the geologic landscape, however, would continue to remain much as they had been for decades to come. Other priorities, moreover, would eventually shoulder their way to the forefront, and as a result, the public's perceptions of the monument would change. The establishment of Katmai as a national monument, in September of 1918, was the beginning of National Park Service management of the area. The agency still manages the district, but the actions it has taken to effect that management have reflected a continuing evolution in public attitudes toward park resources. That evolution is still in process today.

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 3:
An Era of Neglect: Monument Administration Before 1950

As noted in Chapter 2, the only parties responsible for the impending creation of Katmai National Monument were the National Geographic Society and various agencies within the Department of the Interior. Few others were even aware that the idea was being considered. It was only after President Wilson signed Proclamation No. 1487, in September 1918, that outsiders learned that the area had been protected.

Reactions to the New National Monument

Thanks to the publicity generated by annual articles in National Geographic Magazine, many Americans were aware of the Katmai country at the time of its designation as a monument. Most, however, knew little more than they had read in the Society's articles. National Geographic subscribers probably approved of the proclamation, but the vast majority of citizens cared little if at all about the fate of such a remote, unpopulated area. Surprisingly, the creation of the million-acre reservation elicited few if any news reports or commentary, either in Alaska or the United States. With the World War in its waning stages, the glut of overseas war bulletins was far more important to the average reader than a national monument in a far-off corner of Alaska. [1]

The National Park Service, not surprisingly, was a strong supporter of the new monument. Its 1918 annual report stated that "The American public owes deep gratitude to the National Geographic Society for the discovery and exploration of this unique exhibit." Horace Albright, its acting director, spoke with candor when he told the Alaska governor that

> We feel that the establishment of the Katmai National Monument cannot possibly be anything but a benefit to the people of Alaska. We are in the tourist business and are engaged in attracting the attention of the people of America to its scenic resources. Whether people visit the Katmai region or not, we want them to know that some day it will be an interesting place to go, and besides it gives us an opportunity to promote Alaska as a touring ground. [2]

Most Alaskans, however, did not approve of the new monument. Few, to be sure, knew what lands were contained within the reservation. Instead, they were opposed the idea of government reservations in general because they regarded withdrawals as a "locking up" of resources which should have been available for local residents. Territorial citizens were still seething over the closure of Alaska's coal and oil lands which had been imposed on Alaskans in 1906 and 1910, respectively. The new reservation merely reopened earlier wounds and stirred a new wave of

anger and resentment. [3]

Thomas Riggs, who governed the territory from 1918 to 1921 and a longtime Alaskan, typified local attitudes when he said that "practically all of the reservations should be eliminated and the laws of the United States made to apply." He further noted that "Katmai National Monument serves no purpose and should be abolished." He chided Acting Director Albright for allowing its creation; he noted that volcanic ash made the soil "peculiarly fertile," stated that the monument contained oil, and decried that "there is no possibility of the Katmai National Monument ever becoming a favorite place for tourist travel." Riggs was fed up with a system in which "the Territory has been at the mercy of any faddist who could go to Washington and get the proper endorsements." [4] The governor, obviously frustrated at the tactics of outside conservationists, stated that

> For the sake of the future of Alaska, let there at least be no more reservations without a thorough investigation on the ground by practical men and not simply on the recommendation of men whose interest in the Territory is merely academic or sentimental. [5]

Despite the broad denunciations of the action taken within the territory, the objections were primarily philosophical. No one knew of instances in which individuals were deprived of a living because of the proclamation. The land had no agricultural value, it contained less than ten acres of private (Russian Orthodox Church) land, it was well away from established transportation routes, and access to the monument's main features was almost prohibitively difficult. Instead--and the criticism is valid considering the existing state of regional development--many criticized the action because the creation of the reservation would prevent development interests from ever knowing what resources were contained within.

As noted in the previous chapter, the Katmai area was the scene of scattered mining activity at the time the monument was created. Those who were out prospecting, of course, had no idea that a monument was being contemplated. And as it turned out, their activities caused no friction with governmental authorities. In large part due to the elimination of potential parkland around Puale Bay, no active mining areas were placed within the boundaries of 1918 monument. George Martin had noted the commercial importance of ash deposits and Robert Griggs had mentioned the preponderance of sulphur crystals, but there is no indication that entrepreneurs during this period had ever attempted to extract these materials for commercial gain.

Early Monument Visitors

During the half decade after the creation of the monument, the monument continued to be publicized, though to a lesser extent than it had been during the 1912-1918 period. The most conspicuous group of visitors came from the National Geographic Society. In 1919, Robert Griggs led his fourth Katmai expedition. Griggs and the main party entered the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes by way of Katmai Pass, but four members brought the main supplies into the area by way of Naknek, Naknek River, and Naknek Lake (as the two-man 1918 expedition had done). A tent base camp was established at the east end of Iliuk Arm. The party of nineteen, which included five scientists, two topographers, two photographers, and ten assistants, undertook a diversity of tasks which led them to Brooks Lake, Lake Coville and Lake Grosvenor as well as the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. Perhaps because he had already given a thorough description of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes in previous articles, Griggs's writeup of the 1919 trip concentrated on the countryside adjoining the monument. Griggs spared few adjectives in lauding the Naknek River system's salmon runs--in particular the Brooks River run--and in describing Katmai's value as a bear, moose and waterfowl refuge.

[6]

In 1923, Walter R. Smith and R. K. Lynt led a U.S. Geological Survey expedition which included most of the area within the existing monument; the report also described the area as far west as Brooks Lake and southwest to Becharof Lake. That same summer, Kirtley F. Mather and R. H. Sargent led another USGS expedition which investigated the coastal valleys from Cape Douglas north to Paint River, and also covered Battle Lake and the Savonoski River, Moraine Creek and Funnel Creek drainages. The reports which followed those explorations indicated that few if any rich areas of mineralization were likely to be found in either the monument or the immediate vicinity. Before the reports were published, as noted above, Alaskan interests had been angry at the creation of the monument, in part because of the perception that valuable minerals would be made inaccessible. The reports, therefore, helped create a somewhat friendlier public attitude toward the monument. [7]

Local interests were also mollified when attempts were made to develop the area's tourist potential. During his 1919 expedition, Robert F. Griggs discovered an excellent harbor at the head of Amalik Bay, which he called Geographic Harbor in honor of his longtime sponsor. He noted that it would be easy to bring tourists there, and added that

> Only 50 or 60 miles of automobile road is needed to open up all the wonders of the area to the public. When that is constructed, the traveler may tour the Katmai National Monument as easily as he now visits the Yellowstone. [8]

The Alaska Road Commission (ARC) responded to Griggs's suggestions in 1921 by visiting the area and making an informal survey for a thirty-mile road. The ARC's report that year gave development backers scant hope that a road into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes would ever be built. The reconnaissance report noted that

> It appears that a road from any Pacific entrance would be prohibitive in cost, if not impossible. The deep ashes mentioned drift around like snow with every wind. It lies on the steep slopes like so much ground coffee and is always ready to slide when disturbed. Until vegetation has again penetrated it, and formed a sod or soil as a binding, it will not pack and can not be held in place. [9]

The glum report, however, did not dissuade those who hoped to open up Katmai to tourism. Governor Scott Bone, for one, recommended road construction in his annual reports for 1922 and 1923. [10] The governor's reports for 1924 through 1931 noted that "When [Geographic Harbor] can be developed and an auto road approximately 30 miles in length constructed into the area, it will be readily accessible and draw many visitors." The NPS, which also hoped that the area might be developed, was optimistic enough to declare in 1926 that such a road "may in the future afford a fine entrance to the region." No government agency, however, seriously considered constructing such a road, and no organizations outside of government advocated road construction either. The National Geographic Society, having won monument status for the volcanic area, made no efforts to develop the recently protected area. Alaska's governors were doubtless aware that the construction of such a road would require superhuman skill, result in high maintenance costs, and would, under the best of circumstances, attract few visitors. But that did not stop them from pushing for highway construction. [11]

The 1920s brought large numbers of tourists "to the westward" (as southcentral Alaska was described at that time) for the first time. Before World War I, few tourists who traveled up the Inside Passage ventured far from the various of southeastern Alaska ports. But with the construction of the government-sponsored Alaska Railroad from 1915 through 1922, destinations such as Seward, Anchorage, Mount McKinley National Park and Fairbanks became newly accessible. Katmai, as a result, was located much closer to the regular tourist routes than

it had been previously. Unfortunately, however, Katmai was still over 200 miles from the nearest port commonly used by tourists. Besides, it had no transportation infrastructure. Tourists, therefore, had to make a considerable effort to see the newly created volcanic landscape. Few were willing to be so adventurous. [12]

Despite the difficulties in reaching the monument, a few tourists dribbled in during the 1920s. In 1923, a party of forty spent two weeks exploring the area. As part of their trip, they hiked Mount Katmai. Fifteen others also visited that year, and another seventeen in 1924. A four-person party headed by D. W. Handy of Vermont visited in 1925. [13] Perhaps the best known tourists were Captain Jack Robertson and Arthur Young, a pair of adventurous filmmakers who travelled throughout the territory in search of footage. In 1925 the two produced, directed, and starred in The True North, a seven reel travelogue of their trip to Siberia. Robertson and Young took an indirect route; going by way of Fairbanks, they shot rapids along the Yukon River, watched a spring break-up, and made a canoe from a moose hide. They also visited the Katmai country, and observed Mount Katmai, the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, and spawning salmon. Using much of the same footage, the pair released Alaskan Adventures in 1926. Four years later, Robertson included Katmai scenes along with those from other Alaskan venues to produce a five-reeler called The Break Up. [14]

Although the monument attracted few sightseers, the potential for visitation to the newly-created volcanic wonderland encouraged several to promote the area. Throughout the 1920s, Kodiak advertised itself as the outfitting headquarters for trips to the monument, perhaps because it had been the jumping-off point for some of the National Geographic Society trips to the Valley of the Ten Thousand Smokes. The Alaska Railroad offered to arrange trips to the monument. In the early 1930s a ship captain from Kanatak, Bob Hall, offered to take tourists into the Valley. He had already visited the valley with a pack horse team, and felt that pack horses taken in from Katmai Bay were the best way to access the heart of the monument. And in 1931 an Alaska resident told Horace Albright, the NPS director, that the monument would soon become "a regular port of call for the Alaskan steamers." No one, however, was willing to make a substantial investment in Katmai tourism development. [15]

Initial National Park Service Management

Although both scientists and tourist entrepreneurs expressed an early interest in the area, the National Park Service largely forgot about Katmai for the first twenty years after its establishment. The analogy which Ernest Gruening used to describe Alaska is relevant here; this period comprised Gruening's "era of total neglect." [316] The unit was ostensibly managed as an adjunct to Mount McKinley National Park. (Glacier Bay, which was established in 1925, was managed in a similar fashion.) But the National Park Service was unable to provide the wherewithal to actively manage either unit, and there is no evidence that Harry Karstens, the first superintendent for Mount McKinley, exerted any effort in managing either Katmai or Glacier Bay during his seven-year tenure (1921-1928). Given the meager resources available, Mount McKinley was hard enough to manage itself. Both Karstens and his successor, Harry Liek, were stretched to the limit trying to maintain a minimal presence over the countryside surrounding North America's highest peak. At no time during the 1920s and 1930s were there more than six employees, permanent or seasonal, on the Mount McKinley park staff. [17]

Compounding the lack of staff was a lack of money. Prior to the coming of the New Deal programs of the 1930s, national monuments were perceived to be areas designed to be protected from encroachment, whereas national parks were intended to be "resort[s] for the people to enjoy." Because monuments were designed for protection rather than public use, monuments were given a fraction of the budget provided to national parks. As late as 1921, for instance, the budget for all of America's national monuments was $8,000; in 1925, it was less than $21,000;

and in 1930 it was just $46,000. Funds allotted to monuments, during this period, comprised less than 1% of the NPS budget. [18] What little money was available was divvied out to monuments which received high visitation, or for capital projects intended to preserve and protect prehistoric ruins. Katmai, which one report described as "the least visited of any" of the country's 25 national monuments, and where "no protection is needed," was low on the priority list. [19] Therefore, Katmai received almost no NPS funding during the first 30 years after its founding.

Considering Katmai's visitation and remoteness, it is not surprising that Katmai received no funds or staff. Many national monuments during this period also had to skimp along on little or no funding, and most of the monuments had no full-time staff. (A custodian, either an interested local citizen or a government agent whose duties were allied with those of the monument, was often employed on an ad hoc basis.) The lack of a staff or budget at Katmai, moreover, was probably an appropriate management decision, even if funds had been available, and Katmai's resources probably suffered little for want of a staff presence. NPS officials were, however, anxious to visit the area. Their only source materials on the monument were the reports of the various NGS and USGS expeditions. In order to plan for future management and to respond to occasional queries about the monument, agency officials hoped to add to that information base.

Given the lack of a staff presence, however, the Service chose to close Katmai National Monument to the public. The monument was ostensibly closed to entry on both its lands and waters, and airplane landings were also prohibited. As might be expected from an underfunded bureaucracy, the NPS did little to publicize the prohibition against entry, and had no power to stop those who entered in violation of that ban. In addition, the agency did not announce the need for permits or licenses for those who wished legal entry into the monument. The NPS, in fact, issued no monument regulations for over thirty years after its establishment. The staff at Mount McKinley National Park, who were located some 400 miles northeast of Katmai, appear to have ignored the monument completely; not one of the Mount McKinley Superintendent's Monthly Reports issued between 1921 and 1935 mentioned Katmai National Monument. Glacier Bay National Monument, which was also under the titular jurisdiction of the Mount McKinley superintendent, was similarly ignored during this period. [20]

Because the monument lacked a staff or budget, and because NPS officials knew virtually nothing about the park except for what had been explained in the National Geographic Magazine, the agency was vulnerable to anyone who had a claim, legitimate or otherwise, to Katmai resources. In 1923, for instance, John J. Folstad petitioned the government to obtain a General Land Office permit to mine coal on the western shore of Amalik Bay, opposite Takli Island. (A permit, at that time, was necessary to extract coal from public lands.) Folstad, evidently, had been occupying and developing the site for some time, using the coal for local fuel needs. There is no record regarding how the NPS responded to this intrusion on its lands; it probably felt that it better to eliminate a small portion of the monument than to sanction mineral extraction in the monument. President Calvin Coolidge, accordingly, issued Executive Order No. 3897 on September 5, which excluded 10 acres from the monument. Coolidge's action paved the way for Folstad to gain a coal mining permit. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that such a permit was ever obtained. [21]

Prominent groups of Outside visitors began to explore Katmai in the late 1920s. In 1928 the well-known "Glacier Priest," Father Bernard Hubbard, landed along the coast northeast of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes accompanied by a group of Santa Clara University students. They tried to cross the Aleutian Range that year but were unsuccessful in their quest. The following year, Hubbard and a coterie of students came by way of Katmai Bay and, with a film crew, successfully entered the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes by way of Katmai Pass. [22] In 1932 he made the first wintertime ascent of Mount Katmai, and in 1934 made a final

exploration of the Ten Thousand Smokes area. Hubbard, who visited Alaska every summer from 1927 through the 1940s, was a geology professor, explorer, filmmaker, and lecturer; his movies about the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes were shown to audiences around the world for years afterwards. [23]

The 1931 Boundary Expansion

In 1930, Robert Griggs made his fifth National Geographic-sponsored visit to Katmai. The primary purpose of his trip was to investigate plant succession in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. As a result of his efforts he produced scientific articles which were published in the American Journal of Botany, Ecology, and the Ohio Journal of Science. [24] That fall, Ernest Walker Sawyer, an assistant to the Secretary of the Interior who specialized in Alaska matters, asked Griggs to write him a letter which elaborated on why and how the habitat of the Alaska brown bear should be protected. Griggs, who was trained as a biologist and had been particularly impressed with the bear population during his 1919 expedition, readily complied. Sawyer added a cover sheet, then mailed it to Ray Wilbur, Herbert Hoover's Secretary of the Interior. Central to both letters was a request that the National Park Service significantly enlarge Katmai National Monument. [25] Griggs, of course, had played a central role in the creation of the original monument, and Sawyer may have thought that the popular scientist would be an influential figure in the effort to create a large-scale brown bear preserve.

NPS officials, having read Griggs' accounts, were was not oblivious to the value of the Alaska Peninsula as brown bear habitat. As early as 1926, they had advertised that in addition to its geological values, "the surrounding region has some magnificent lake and mountain scenery. Water fowl and fish are abundant, as are the great Alaskan brown bears, the largest of carniverous [sic] animals." [26] And various wildlife conservation advocates, including popular author Steward Edward White, had begun pressing for an NPS bear preserve in southeastern Alaska. [27] But the Griggs-Sawyer letter was the first indication that outside parties wanted to expand Katmai's boundaries in order to protect brown bear habitat.

In his letter, Griggs admitted that the brown bear's habitat was presently not in danger. But in the future, he feared that the Kodiak bear had a bleak future. Therefore, "the Katmai National Monument is the only place in the world where the great Alaskan brown bear can be preserved for posterity." He felt that a broad spectrum of interests--Kodiak residents, Alaskan guides, and the Alaska Game Commission (AGC)--would support the monument expansion. He noted that there were no year-round residents in the proposed expansion area, that there were "no minerals of value" except for a worked-out gold placer at Cape Kubugakli, and that only one man--the trader at Kanatak, located 50 miles southwest of the existing monument--would be adversely affected by the action. He was well aware of the clam cannery at Kukak Bay, but dismissed its importance because its employees were "casual visitors." [28]

Taking care to avoid the oil-bearing tracts which surrounded Puale Bay, Griggs felt that the "low mountains and open valleys covered with tall grass and tundra" should be added to the west and southwest of the existing monument (see Map 4). A second important area was the lake region--Brooks, Naknek, Coville, and Grosvenor--which was an excellent breeding ground for waterfowl. Of particular note was the waterfall at the outlet of Brooks Lake, "where at the proper season is one of the finest exhibition of leaping salmon to be found anywhere in the world." A final area he wanted to preserve was the Aleutian Range from Kukak to Douglas. Griggs admitted that the primary value of the Aleutian Range was its scenic grandeur, not its bear habitat, and he was also quick to note the scenic advantages of all three areas. [29]



Map 4. Evolution of expanded monument boundaries, 1930-1931. Robert F. Griggs's proposal of 1930 (dotted line) was slightly expanded by the USGS (dashed line). The version that was forwarded to Secretary Wilbur and proclaimed by President Hoover (solid line) was a modification of the USGS's sugested boundary. Source: Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 5a; the base map, drawn in April 1952, was included in Katmai's first interpretive brochure. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Wilderness values also were important in adding the Aleutian Range to the monument. Griggs noted that the range was

> a vast mountain fastness whose very inaccessibility would almost guarantee the preservation of primeval conditions. If visitors should ever invade the other portions of the park, aboriginal conditions must inevitably be modified somewhat. But here is an area so rugged that its primitive condition can be preserved for centuries to come. All that is needed to that end is that the occasional hunters who would otherwise stray that way should be debarred and nature be allowed to take her course. [30]

The following January the NPS, in consultation with Griggs and the Interior Department, laid out the boundaries of the proposed monument expansion. The Geological Survey, when asked its opinion of the area's economic geology, offered a dim view of its suitability as parkland. The agency noted that potential oil fields existed both north and south of the present monument, and that in the vicinity of Cape Kubugakli, both gold and other economically valuable minerals had been unearthed. In the Kamishak Bay region, "a number of metallic mineral deposits" had been found; the underlying geology suggested that similar materials might exist in the area west and southwest of Cape Douglas. [31]

The Service, in response, offered to pare the size of its proposed expansion, but in mid-February, the Acting Director of the Geological Survey hardened its previous position and dissented against any boundary changes. The Survey again expressed its concern about the possibilities of oil and gold extraction, but on a broader level, the agency stated that it "is keenly interested in having as much of the region as possible kept open for free use, in order to stimulate its development." The USGS, continuing in its pessimistic vein, felt that the additional acreage was irrelevant to the original intent of the park. [32]

The NPS, not content with comments from the USGS, also solicited comments from Alaska officials, namely the Territorial Game Warden and the Regional Forester. Neither was enthusiastic about the proposal. Both felt that "the Alaska Game Commission has plenty of authority to handle the situation and that the only thing needed is adequate law enforcement." Neither thought that the NPS was in any position to provide extra staff. Both felt that the brown bear was not in any particular danger. They stated that Alaska's resources needed to be developed, not protected. [33]

The Service responded to the various comments by excluding the various oil claims surrounding Puale Bay; the new boundary lines, however, were far closer to those in Griggs's original proposal than those made in response to USGS's original criticisms. The revised boundaries, which were justified in an April 22 letter from Secretary Wilbur to President Herbert Hoover, thus ignored much of the Geological Survey's concerns about potential oil development, and similarly ignored the criticisms voiced by Alaskan officials.

Apparently emboldened by renewed pressure from bear preservation advocates, who were also pushing for a national monument on Chichagof Island in southeastern Alaska, the Secretary said that "it would appear advisable to extend the boundaries of the Katmai National Monument so that the brown bear within this monument can be protected rather than create a new monument of Chichagoff for the same purpose." Wilbur noted that the expansion, which would enlarge the monument by 1,609,600 acres, was also needed for the protection of moose; in addition, the new area "has many features valuable for educational and scientific purposes." He concluded that the proposed area "is of greater value from a educational and scientific viewpoint and for the protection of wild life than for economic development." [34] The proposed expansion also planned to reincorporate the 10-acre parcel that had been removed from the monument in 1923; John Folstad had long since lost interest in his coal claim.

Wilbur's letter was favorably received by President Hoover, who made no modifications to it. Then, on April 24, 1931, he issued Proclamation No. 1950. This document, just as the 1918 proclamation, was issued under the authority of the Antiquities Act. It gave little explanation for the expansion; it only noted that adjoining the existing monument were "additional lands on which there are located features of historical and scientific interest and for the protection of the brown bear, moose, and other wild animals." [35] (The scientific interest and wildlife values had no doubt been condensed from Secretary Wilbur's letter; the historical interest was probably derived from language in the Antiquities Act.) The affixing of Hoover's signature to the document more than doubled the size of the monument (see Appendix A). Katmai, with an acreage of 2,697,590, thus became the largest unit of the National Park Service system, almost half a million acres larger than Yellowstone National Park. For the next 47 years, Katmai would continue to hold that honor. [36]

The nation's newspapers generally ignored the president's proclamation, just as they had ignored Wilson's proclamation thirteen years earlier. News articles describing the expansion did not surface until almost a month later. What appeared in the press appears to have been a result of an orchestrated program instituted by conservationists, who were ecstatic about Hoover's proclamation. A syndicated article noted that "the creation of a sanctuary for the Alaskan brown bear, the largest and proudest race of carnivorous animals in the world is believed to have been saved from extinction." "President Hoover," it continued, "has given a reprieve to untold hundreds of wilderness aristocrats [brown bears], who had been condemned to death by the guns of sportsmen." Until now, "the bears have been easy prey to sportsmen every summer when they followed the streams down to the coast," but henceforth they "can spend their summers at the various bear seashore resorts without interference from the two-legged creatures who kill them at a great distance." Wildlife preservation advocates openly rued the extinction of grizzlies in California, and hoped to avoid a repetition of that fate. [37]

The New York Times' only response to Hoover's proclamation was a letter to the editor from Robert Sterling Yard, the well known park and wilderness advocate, who noted that:

> The largest and one of our most distinguished geological monuments has become, also, by a flourish of the President's pen, one of the greatest wild life reserves in the world. Matching Belgium's national gorilla park in Africa, there is now the American brown bear park in Alaska. Thus have two of the world's most interesting and powerful wild animals each a national government protecting them from extinction.
>
> The several scientific trips made by Dr. Robert F. Griggs of George Washington University had brought to his attention the large number of big bears in that part of the peninsula. They were not the Ursus Middendorffi of Kodiak Island, but Ursus Gyas, scarcely smaller in size, and larger than the eight or more other sub-species found elsewhere in Alaska.
>
> In view of the warfare urged of late against the brown bear because of widespread stories of its ferocity, Dr. Griggs had been urging the National Park Service for more than a year to enlarge the Katmai National Monument as an extraordinary and sufficient refuge for this beast. ... South of it is additional wild area also abounding in bear which may be added if prospecting fails to discover expected oil wells. Besides the Alaskan brown bear the Katmai National Monument has many grizzlies. [38]

The comments emitted by Alaskans were not nearly so charitable. The Anchorage Daily Times noted that "agitation for the salvation of the brown bear, inspired by the writings of Stewart Edward White, led to the creation of the sanctuary in spite of the opposition to such action in various sections of Alaska." [39] The Seward Daily Gateway editorialized:

> Secretary Wilbur of Alaska Railroad fame, and President Hoover, who said he did not believe in bureaus, both take the word of Stewart Edward White, Robert Frothingham, [Outdoor Life] Editor [John A.] McGuire and other big game hunters, that the great big brown bear of Alaska is doomed unless protected. So by official decree the Katmai National Monument is increased in area. The fumaroles will now have to move over, and make way for the brownies whom some one, or group, must be killing by the thousands.
>
> We have said it before and say it once more that the standing army of the United States could not exterminate the bear. Hoover and Wilbur wouldn't believe that statement of course unless some committee so advised them. We're not kicking about the additional reserves because within a few years every acre will be a reserve for some darn thing. [40]

Territorial officials predictably decried the removal of such a large area from settlement and mining development, and declared that wildlife enforcement in the area was so ineffectual that the extension would do little to protect large animal populations. [41]

Naknek residents grumbled as well. The monument extension severely limited the hinterland in which legal trapping operations could take place. Trapping was a supplementary (and at times primary) source of income for many local residents; it was one of the few ways in which both white and Native residents could earn a living during the wintertime. Those who did not trap, moreover, were often in sympathy with those that did. Naknek residents, like others in Alaska, resented the taking of land because of the agitation of outside interests. Their protests were in vain; they did not, however, last long. Residents soon recognized that the NPS was unable or unwilling to police its newly-acquired territory, and activities in the area were carried on as

before. Trappers did not become aware that they were in violation of monument regulations until 1936, perhaps later. [42]

Users of the Monument, 1931-1936

The expansion of the monument brought forth new plans to develop Katmai for its tourist potential. Some thought that wildlife clubs would develop the monument, because they had expressed themselves so strongly during the monument expansion process. Another potential monument developer surfaced in 1933, when the owner of a travel service wrote that he hoped to become active "promoting, showing, teaching, and selling" vacations to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. NPS Director Albright, however, openly worried that nothing should be developed before the agency established a presence. Therefore, he discouraged both proposals. [43]

A minor flow of visitors came to the monument, however, because of the advent of the air age. In 1929, Anchorage Air Transport debuted tourist flights to the area in the form of a one-day tour. For $265, the company offered to fly visitors into the still-active Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes and provide them eight hours for exploration and sightseeing. In the early 1930s Frank Dorbrandt, a pilot who flew for Anchorage-based Pacific International Airways, took several parties into the volcanic country. Robert Ellis (of Alaska-Washington Airways) and other charter operators also visited the area during the early to mid-1930s. [44] By 1940 John Walatka, a pilot for Bristol Bay Air Service, had also become familiar with the monument; a game agent praised him as one who "knows that park as few do and knows where all the cabins are located." [45]

Local residents, after April 1931, continued to use the Katmai area just as they had before the monument expansion. Trappers accounted for some of that use. Most of these men were commercial fishermen during the summer and spent the remainder of the year in cabins and on trap lines within the monument. Their use of the monument was clearly illegal, but no one from either the territorial or federal government was charged with enforcing monument regulations.

Local Native residents took part in organized traditional use activities. Those who had fled Old Savonoski in June 1912, for instance, made annual hunting pilgrimages from New Savonoski to the Savonoski River valley until the late 1930s. Throughout this period these expeditions were scarcely noticed by the authorities, but when permission was asked to continue the practice, the NPS issued a denial and the hunts came to a halt. Another group grazed reindeer in the park. Shortly after 1930, about 10,000 reindeer were brought from Nome into the Naknek River area, and a portion of that herd had grazed for awhile in the area west of Lake Coville and north of Naknek Lake. [46] The industry, however, soon declined, and by 1940 no reindeer were known to live in or near the monument. [47]

Another management headache which the NPS acquired as a result of the expansion dealt with the clam and salmon canning operations. The agency was aware of these activities; Robert Griggs, in fact, had noted in his correspondence of November 1930 that "no people live within the proposed reservation except casual visitors such as the hands of the clam cannery at Kukak Bay." What the agency did not know was that canning interests had been investing in facilities along the shore of Swikshak and Kukak bays since 1923. The canneries, however, escaped General Land Office scrutiny because their operations had not been patented. The cannery owners were probably never informed of the impending monument expansion. [48]

In February 1936, Surf Canneries called attention to its operations when it wrote Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. A company representative noted that it owned a clam and salmon cannery at Kukak Bay, and fishing cabins, docks, and other improvements in and near

Swikshak Bay; the appraised valuation of its facilities was over $90,000. The company requested a patent for four tracts of land in the two bays, and implored the secretary to remove those lands from the monument. [49]

Ickes, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and the NPS Director Arno Cammerer all recognized the validity of the claim. Cammerer was in no mood to delete lands within the monument, so he instead proposed an executive order "so that all valid existing rights at the time of the issuance of the proclamations shall be restored." [50] Higher-ups agreed with his suggestion, and on June 15 President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Proclamation No. 2177 on their behalf. The new law stated that "it appears that it would be in the public interest" to modify the proclamations of 1918 and 1931 to make "subject to valid claims under the public-land laws affecting any lands within the aforesaid Katmai National Monument existing when the proclamations were issued and since maintained." The proclamation was intended to apply to any operation which could prove its legitimacy. As shall be seen, both cannery companies and trappers tried to take advantage of the 1936 proclamation by applying for patents. No patents, however, were ever issued to either interest. [51]

NPS officials may not have been aware of it at the time, but the land they acquired in the 1931 proclamation gave them control over an area in which another Federal agency had previously been active. Personnel from the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, an agency within the Department of Commerce, had visited the mouth of Kidawik Creek (Brooks River) each year from 1920 through 1925 as part of their predatory fish destruction program. In 1921, they blasted the north end of Brooks Falls in order to ease the way for migrating salmon. [52] They did so in hopes of decreasing salmon mortality. But subsequent studies were not performed, so the agency had no way of knowing whether its action improved salmon reproduction.

The NPS Expresses an Interest

Although the 1931 proclamation made Katmai the largest of the National Park Service units, the monument continued to be as woefully managed as it had ever been. The superintendent at McKinley Park, Harry J. Liek, still ignored its existence, and the NPS directorate in Washington saw no need to spend money or effort for an area that few people visited and where the resources were perceived not to be in danger. When Franklin D. Roosevelt became president, he unleashed a bevy of agencies intended to help the nation's unemployed. Several of those agencies, including the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Civil Works Administration, the Public Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration, brought workers out to America's parks to work on trail building, improvements, reconstruction work, and similar activities. [53] But the only New Deal program that sent workers to an Alaska NPS unit was the CCC, which operated in Mount McKinley National Park from 1937 to 1939. [54] Katmai, which was remote and had no staff, was not a site for New Deal projects.

During the mid-1930s, the NPS was finally able to direct some of its energies toward Katmai. The agency had had its budget substantially increased with depression-era relief funds (its operations budget rose from $2.5 million in FY 1934 to $11.2 million in FY 1937), and its administrators were able to attend to conditions that it had long been forced to ignore. In June 1936, Arthur Demaray, who was second in command to NPS Director Arno Cammerer, came to Mount McKinley National Park on an inspection tour. Demaray was not the first high official to visit the park; Stephen Mather in 1926 and Horace Albright in 1931 had preceded him. [55] What was special about the trip was his desire to see Alaska's national monuments. By the time he had arrived at McKinley Park he had already visited Sitka and Glacier Bay. He had also planned an aerial inspection of Katmai, but inclement weather forced him to cancel his flight. [56]

Demaray's trip took place shortly after outside pressure began to be applied regarding the monument. The Alaska Game Commission warden in Dillingham, Hosee R. Sarber, visited Naknek in early 1936 and was surprised to find that "quite a number of trappers" were operating in the Naknek-Lake Grosvenor country, most of whom were unaware that they were within the monument. The most aggressive was reported to be a man named Weatherspoon [Harry Featherstone?], who had "several trapping cabins at or near the head of the Naknek Lakes." [57] Shortly afterwards, the Game Commission made five patrols along Shelikof Strait and found "several violators operating in and adjacent to the Park." Both of these reports were sent on to the NPS Director Cammerer in Washington. Frank Dufresne, the Juneau-based Executive Officer of the Alaska Game Commission, delivered much the same message when he visited the director in late March. Mount McKinley Superintendent Harry Liek, who had apparently been apprised of the situation by Dufresne, also passed on his concerns to Cammerer. Cammerer, when confronted with the problem, was caught flat-footed because he knew little about the area. All he could do, for the moment, was reiterate a sense of concern. [58]

Over the next few months, responsibility for the Katmai patrol was kicked about from one official to another. Dufresne hoped that someone on the McKinley staff might carry it out; Liek claimed lack of funds and hoped that Washington might fund the patrol. NPS officials hoped that the Alaska Game Commission could continue its patrols, but the severely understaffed agency was unwilling to do so without financial assistance from the park service. [59]

Demaray, shortly after his McKinley visit, broke the stalemate by assigning the patrol to one of Liek's rangers, the expenses to be paid for from the general national monument appropriation. Katmai was provided a $600 budget for the 1937 fiscal year. [60] The money was intended to allow a Mount McKinley ranger to "make a reconnaissance survey in Mount Katmai National Monument for the purpose of establishing a winter patrol in that area." Louis M. Corbley, who was Superintendent Liek's chief ranger, was given the Katmai assignment in October 1936. He was to arrive at Katmai by November 10 and remain for a minimum of five months, enough for an entire trapping season. A maritime strike, however, quashed his immediate plans. He was not able to visit Katmai until the following spring. [61]

Corbley spent most of June 1937 away from Mount McKinley. He sailed around the peninsula to Naknek, then chartered a boat to go up the Naknek River. But the boat was unable to overcome the rapids, so he returned to Naknek and chartered a flight to Lake Coville, Lake Grosvenor, and the upper end of Naknek Lake. Corbley later flew over the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. He landed just twice, at "Old Village" (probably Savonoski) and at Brooks Lake, where he spent a few hours. His time being limited, he then returned to McKinley Park. He gave no account of his one-day excursion save a brief trip report, which included no information about either the structures or the people he encountered. [62]

The visit was the first that any National Park Service official had made to Katmai since it had been established 19 years earlier. Information, even if brief and sketchy, had been compiled. So, to use Gruening's analogy, the agency's management rose from that of "total neglect" to "flagrant neglect." But Corbley, unfortunately, left the Mount McKinley staff within the next few years. The agency made no attempt to make its patrol an annual event, and its previous inclusion in the Mount McKinley budget was eliminated.

In the meantime, the Bureau of Fisheries, which had performed some rudimentary "improvement" work by blasting out the north end of Brooks Falls back in 1921, applied to make its presence more permanent. In response to concern about Japanese offshore fishing in the Bristol Bay area, Congress directed the bureau to investigate the bay's salmon resources. The plan, conceived in 1938, called for a data collection effort by both offshore and land-based teams. Naknek River, one of five major study targets, received a three man team in 1939, which made a survey of the river system's major spawning grounds. The following year the Bureau

established a weir and cabin near the outlet to Brooks Lake. As noted in Chapter 8, they were to maintain their presence at the site for decades to come. [63]

Trappers and the Kinsley Investigation

Reports of Katmai trapping violations, first voiced in early 1936, reached a sufficient crescendo by late 1937 that NPS officials were forced, once again, to pay attention to the monument. [64] The NPS had no staff to deal with the problem, but they hoped to gain some assistance from cooperating agencies.

The NPS soon found that few in the local area had much sympathy with them. Residents had not been consulted about the 1931 expansion, but most had tacitly accepted the enlarged monument as long as the regulations had not been enforced. [65] The first hint of enforcement activity, however, brought resistance. Two of the trappers, Stephen M. Scott and John Monsen, protested that they had a legal right to use the monument's lands. [66] In addition, several other trappers headed a petition of 53 residents from the Naknek vicinity that implored Alaska Delegate Anthony J. Dimond to "help us in any way possible" to relax the enforcement of monument regulations. [67]

The NPS responded to the protests in two ways. First, it squelched any ideas that the agency would willingly give up on Katmai. Also, it asked the General Land Office to find out which trappers had valid land claims, based on the 1936 presidential proclamation. The GLO undertook the task in January 1938, and assigned A. C. Kinsley, a special agent from the Department of the Interior, to investigate.

Throughout this period, both the GLO and the NPS told the trappers that their claims were being investigated; they did not try to evict any trappers from their cabins. But Stephen M. Scott, speaking for four other trappers beside himself, complained to Anthony Dimond that "The Game Warden and another gentleman of the Forestry Department have issued [an] order to get out without so much as by your leave" sometime during 1937. [68] The NPS, when told of Scott's charge, had no knowledge of such an eviction, and representatives from the Alaska Game Commission, the U.S. Forest Service, and the Alaska Road Commission all told the NPS that no one in their agencies had tried to evict anyone. [69]

Kinsley spent the next year investigating the validity of the trappers' claims. He visited the Naknek area in July 1938, tried to contact each of the claimants, and submitted his recommendations in the GLO Commissioner in January 1939. The GLO, in turn, forwarded them to Cammerer in May. The GLO concluded that four trappers--Stephen M. Scott, John Hartzell, Verner Eckman, and John Monsen--were already established in the area before the 1931 monument expansion. Therefore, as a result of the 1936 proclamation which validated existing rights, the four had "a possibility of their claims being valid" even though they were now located on monument land. [70] Roy Fure, another trapper, could not be contacted during the initial investigation. During the summer of 1939, however, his claim of residency in the area prior to 1931 was also substantiated. [71] The GLO found that four other trappers--Richard Mitchell, Paul Chukan, Gunnar Berggren, and Sigurd Lundgren--had begun trapping after 1931 and thus had no valid claims to their property. [72] The GLO report did not investigate the claim of other monument trappers, including John "Frenchy" Fournier, Martin Monsen, Alfred Cooper, and a man named Karvonen. These people, presumably, began trapping after 1931; their claims, at any rate, were never investigated. [73]

The GLO concluded the investigation by notifying Mitchell, Chukan, Berggren and Lundgren that they were trespassers and should leave the monument if they had not already done so. (Chukan and Berggren protested the decision, but were ultimately overruled.) [74] Scott,

Hartzell, Eckman, Monsen, and Fure were free to continue residing in the monument. Monument regulations, however, forbade them to trap. Those spotted in the monument with trapping gear or hides were subject to arrest--if authorities were willing to expend the effort to track them down. As time would prove, the legal process prodded some to abandon their trap lines, but others continued to evade monument regulations for years afterward.

During the investigation, several trappers had contended that they were unaware that they had been operating in the monument. The boundaries as set forth in the 1931 proclamation, moreover, did not easily correspond with identifiable physical features. The NPS, therefore, tried to get the GLO to survey the monument. At a minimum, they hoped to survey the northern and western boundaries, where trapping activity was highest. The first such request was made in early 1937, and was repeated in the spring of 1939, 1940, and 1941. [75] NPS officials recognized that the man to conduct such a survey would be George A. Parks, GLO's District Cadastral Engineer in Juneau. The engineer repeatedly promised to survey the monument's western boundary. But Parks, for whatever reason, was unable to get a surveying crew out to Katmai. [76]

Carson and Been Visit the Monument

During the adjudication process of 1938-39, officials at Mount McKinley National Park were acutely aware that all of Alaska's NPS units were woefully understaffed. Officials at the Alaska Game Commission, asked to enforce the game laws throughout the territory, felt likewise. Both agencies soon realized that the best way to deal with poaching and similar problems was to share enforcement responsibilities. To help the NPS in southwest Alaska, the Alaska Game Commission asked its Dillingham wildlife agent, Carlos M. Carson, to keep tabs on Katmai National Monument. In December 1939, the NPS reciprocated by naming the various Mount McKinley rangers to be Deputy Game Wardens of the Alaska Game Commission. The cooperative effort may well have been spearheaded by Mount McKinley superintendent Frank T. Been, who replaced Liek in June 1939. [77]

In January 1940, Superintendent Been represented the NPS in Anchorage at a meeting of the Alaska Game Commission. Shortly thereafter, he was told that "although it was not determined from inspections, it was learned through reliable sources that trapping is being done at Katmai National Monument, just as though there was no national park area there." Carlos M. Carson, the AGC warden in Dillingham, decided to see for himself on March 20. He and pilot Grenold Collins flew into the monument, and at the eastern end of Naknek Lake, Carson found three trappers--Alfred Cooper, Martin Monsen, and John Monsen--and apprehended them for taking fur in the monument. Been soon heard about it, and he gratefully approved the game commission's request to prosecute the violators. [78]

Carson, in an April 7 letter, told Been that the area was "an animal paradise" in which "trapping is done openly and widely." The superintendent, clearly alarmed at the news, wired the NPS director with the news and requested funds "to patrol the monument during times of the year when violations are most likely to occur." [79]

Carson apparently returned to the monument in May, apprehended several more trappers, and confiscated fur from illegal operations in the monument. Been, meanwhile, told his Washington superiors that the level of resource management at Katmai was clearly inadequate. Having been granted funds to visit, he promised a full report on trapping activities. [80]

Superintendent Been spent most of the summer of 1940 in the field; during September, he traveled around Katmai National Monument accompanied by Victor Cahalane, a biologist with the U.S. Biological Survey. [81] The two flew from Anchorage to Naknek; they then took a

short flight that led to the lower end of Brooks Lake, to the Savonoski River and on to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. They returned to Naknek by way of lakes Grosvenor and Coville. On September 4, they headed out on a boat trip which took them up the Naknek River and on to Brooks River, and on to a trapper's cabin near the mouth of the Savonoski River. They also boated around Brooks Lake in search of trapping activity, and hiked from the mouth of the Ukak River into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. On their way out of the monument, Cahalane and Been flew east over the Ukak River valley one last time, then went over Katmai Crater and down to Kukak Bay before continuing on to Kodiak. The two then separated, Been heading to Anchorage on his way back to McKinley Park. [82]

Been's report on the trip showed that the monument was far more scenic than he had been led to believe. Before he left, he had received "rather definitely unfavorable comments about the monument from men occupying important positions." [83] But his narrative was replete with descriptions of the area's beauty and bounteous wildlife, and he emerged from the trip "strongly inclined toward its retention in the national park system," noting that "the monument abounds in natural wonders and grandeur." He recognized the tourist potential of the area, although he felt that its remoteness precluded it from becoming a tourist center for many years. [84]

In addition, Been was pleased to discover that he found no signs of active trapping. On the contrary, he saw several stripped cabins and abandoned caches. The trappers, hounded by Carson, had apparently moved out of the park. [85] For the time being at least, Been was satisfied that monument-based trapping had been squelched on the Bristol Bay side of the Aleutian Range.

The 1942 Boundary Expansion

At the end of their trip to Katmai, Been and Cahalane spoke to the local Alaska Game Commission agent in Kodiak, Jack Benson. The agent was aware that trapping was taking place on the coast of the monument; he even knew the locations of several cabins. But he had no boat assigned to him worthy of the Shelikof Strait crossing, and he had not yet been asked to include the Katmai coast in his patrols. Been gave him permission to patrol that area and to act on behalf of the NPS when so doing. [86]

Cahalane remained on Kodiak Island for the next several days. He accompanied Benson on his patrols, and traveled with him over to the Katmai coast. He did not like what he saw. Two months later, he sent his concerns on to Ben H. Thompson, head of the NPS Land Planning Division. He noted that

> it is perfectly feasible for poachers to base their operations on any one of the numerous islands in the bays of the Shelikof Strait section while they may trap on the mainland of the monument with greatly enhanced chances of escaping detection.

He told Thompson that the best solution to the trapping problem was to extend the existing boundaries to include the various islands in the coastal area. He noted that an added benefit of including the islands was to prevent the possibility of any fox-farming operations being started. But Kiukpalik Island, he noted, had had a fox farm for a number of years; therefore, he urged that the island be excluded from any proposed additions to the park. [87]

Superintendent Been wrote a concurring note to the NPS Director in mid-December. He suggested that the boundary be extended two miles from the shore line, and that "Any islands touching this line should be included." Based on the maps he had available, he felt that the monument would include just three new islands: Shaw Island, north of Cape Douglas; Ninagiak

Island in Hallo Bay; and Takli Island, at the entrance to Geographic Harbor. [88] He chose those islands because they were the only coastal islands which, in his opinion, were not already claimed as a fox farm and were sufficiently distant from the coast that a fox farm might logically be located there. [89]

Been, meanwhile, asked authorities in Alaska to comment on the proposed monument addition. Neither the District Land Office or the District Cadastral Engineer saw any difficulties in such an action. Frank Dufresne, who worked for the Alaska Game Commission in Juneau, thought that a boundary extension was the best way to ward off the illegal taking of game and fur in the monument, but Jack Benson, the AGC agent in Kodiak, thought that the problem could be managed under existing arrangements. Alaska Game Commissioner Andy Simons likewise opposed the addition of the islands, citing possible impact on the fishing industry and negative reaction from local residents. [90]

On January 30, 1941, Been sent copies of those comments to the NPS director. He noted that "Examination of the opinions and comments contained in these letters shows no substantial reason for opposing the Monument extension; the doubts raised are from exaggerated impressions of Park Service protection restrictions." He did acknowledge possible negative impacts to the clam fishery. [91]

To evaluate the legal ramifications of the boundary extension, the GLO Commissioner called in A. C. Kinsley one more time, in order to investigate the validity of trapping operations along the Shelikof Strait coastline. [92] His report on the area, completed in August 1941, revealed that only two men had an existing fur farm lease: Earl L. Butler of Kodiak, who had initiated a 10-year lease on Kiukpalik Island in 1937, and John A. Smith, also of Kodiak, who began a 5-year lease of Takli Island in 1939. Kinsley noted that "Mr. Butler's success with this island has been small." Smith, he noted, had likewise encountered difficulty with his Takli Island lease. He had failed to stock the island as demanded by the lease, and had been guilty of game violations as well. No other people would be affected by the inclusion of any of the offshore islands in the monument. [93]

Based on Kinsley's report, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in November 1941 recommended a five mile boundary extension and noted that "it would in no way be harmful to potential business enterprises in that general part of Alaska." The following January, Ickes sent a draft proclamation to President Roosevelt, who circulated it to various executive departments. [94] On August 4, Roosevelt signed Proclamation No. 2564, which formally moved the boundary east to include "all islands in Cook Inlet and Shelikof Strait in front of and within five miles of the Katmai National Monument." [95] The proclamation included about twenty offshore islands, including Takli and Kiukpalik. Takli alone had an area of about 450 acres; there were slightly more than 3,000 acres on all of the newly added islands. [96]

The new proclamation, combined with those given in 1918 and 1931, gave Katmai an area of almost 2.7 million acres. But without a staff or budget, the National Park Service remained powerless to manage the unit. Throughout the 1940s, as noted below, there would be repeated attempts to establish active management authority over the expanse. The same period would witness an increasing number of problems at the park, most of which were either caused or exacerbated by the lack of a management presence.

Attempts to Establish a Management Presence

The recognition that trapping was taking place throughout the monument convinced Been that Katmai needed on-site management even before his September 1940 inspection trip. He sympathized with the anger that many Alaskans had no doubt vented to him when he wrote, "It

is hoped that funds will be provided so that the NPS will be able to administer the areas rather than have them continue as illustrations of apparent mismanagement or service indifference." He felt that in order to patrol the monument, "a custodian should be assigned at once--preferably two who can travel together as there are many hazards." [97]

To implement his suggestion, he requested a $14,300 budget for Katmai in May 1940--enough for two staff, a power boat and travel expenses. But in November the NPS Director informed him that his request had been slashed to $3000, sufficient only for one Naknek-based permanent ranger, supplies, and travel expenses. And in early 1941 he was told that "we shall be fortunate if we get an appropriation for administration and maintenance." His request for a patrol boat was denied. [98] Been responded by submitting a fiscal year 1943 budget for $20,293. It called for both chief ranger and ranger naturalist positions. Also included was a provision for purchase of a patrol boat and a 16-member dog team, along with needed travel, supplies, and ancillary items. [99]

Joseph S. Dixon, a biologist for the Fish and Wildlife Service (F&WS), concurred with the need for Been's request. Herbert Maier, the Acting Regional Director in San Francisco, was also supportive that a presence be established at Katmai, noting that "it is difficult for us to see how any area, particularly one of such an enormous size, can function without any resident personnel." [100] But the national office slashed Been's budget to just $4,000: $2,000 to employ a permanent ranger, $1000 for the purchase of a dog team and radio, $400 for a superintendent's trip to the park, and $600 for miscellaneous expenses. [101] Congress ignored the Service's Katmai funding request.

In January 1942, Been submitted 21 Project Construction Program (PCP) proposal forms for projects at Katmai. The proposals were requested by the regional director, and afforded a means of recording information and suggestions of one of the very few Service employees who had any first-hand knowledge of the monument. The request for project proposals, therefore, did not indicate a renewed interest in Alaska's monuments, and a actual establishment of a construction program was considered "most unlikely." [102] Ten of the PCP proposals called for the construction of remote shelter cabins. He also called for the construction of a monument headquarters and visitor center in Geographic Harbor, unspecified developments at Brooks River and Brooks Lake, and a series of roads and trails. Finally, he recommended a $25,000 project to restore Old Savonoski by reconstructing its buildings.

Been gave considerable thought to the location of the monument headquarters. He chose Geographic Harbor, in part, "because of its proximity to travel from the states," and he also liked the local scenery, the ample fresh water, its protection from winds and its location vis-à-vis the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. He noted, however, that

> there is still some justification for having Naknek as the monument base until funds are provided for its development. Naknek provides a place of residence for the first personnel and is accessible to the part of the monument in which most of the violations are occurring from hunting and trapping. Out from Naknek, the development at Brooks Lake and Brooks River can be prepared and many of the proposed shelter cabins constructed. [103]

Been had visited Naknek but not Geographic Harbor; his choice of the latter site, therefore, was probably based on a 1940 visit by NPS biologist Victor Cahalane (with whom he had traveled that summer), combined with descriptions provided by the 1919 National Geographic Society expedition. [104]

Regional office staff had mixed feelings toward the proposals. The cabins, for instance, were criticized because they would "provide shelter, indiscriminately, to 'friend or foe' of the park."

Regarding the Savonoski project, they thought it more appropriate that the village should first be measured and have drawings made before a restoration was attempted. Another noted that the Savonoski work would "require questionable methods and after the work is done considerable annual maintaining will have to be done to prevent loss of work done." Agency officials generally supported the other PCPs. The regional office recommended all but the Savonoski project to the directorate in Washington, but none of the other 20 projects were funded. The U.S. government, now fully involved in World War II, was not about to expend funds for recreational or interpretive facilities in an Alaskan national monument. [105]

The Region Four office apparently used Been's personal knowledge of the monument, combined with the information contained in his project construction proposals, to write Katmai's first master plan. The plan, part of an agency-wide effort to get ready for the expected tourist boom that was sure to follow the war, was written in the summer of 1942, and Been approved it on September 10. Almost two years later, on June 29, 1944, it received Washington's approval when it was signed by Assistant Director Hillory A. Tolson. What the plan said is a matter of conjecture. Only two copies of the plan were produced, neither of which are known to exist today. No evidence suggests that the plan was ever used as a context for future monument decision-making. [106]

Been, who had a personal interest in the monument as a result of his month-long stay and his role in the 1942 monument expansion, left the NPS to join the army in May 1943. His successor, acting superintendent Grant Pearson, had been a McKinley ranger since the 1920s and had little initial interest in Katmai. Because the war brought restrictions on both travel and materials usage, few plans appeared for monument development.

Wartime Usage of the Monument

The onset of the war, however, resulted in a sharp increase in use in and around the monument. In 1941, the U.S. Army Air Service established Naknek Air Base, [107] and commercial salmon fishing stayed active throughout the territory. The growing popularity of travel by small planes, combined with the presence of the nearby air base and Bristol Bay salmon canneries, made the drainages of the upper Naknek basin increasingly attractive to recreational fishermen. Military and construction personnel at the air base flew to Brooks River, the Bay of Islands and other fishing spots and reportedly pulled "thousands upon thousands of trout" from the water. Pilots for the Ray Petersen Flying Service, Bristol Bay Flying Service and Woodley Airways flew an increasing number of cannery personnel into the lakes and rivers of the upper Naknek drainage. [108] They were soon joined by Bud Branham and other pilots familiar with southwestern Alaska. The NPS, whose nearest personnel were stationed 300 miles away, was powerless to stop the onslaught. [109]

To cater to military personnel who wanted to fish closer to the base, the Army Air Service established two nearby rest and recreation camps. Rapids Camp (also called Annex No. 1) was located at the foot of the Naknek River Rapids, five miles southeast of the base, while Lake Camp (Annex No. 2) was located at the west end of Naknek Lake, seven miles to the east. Naknek River and the western end of the lake, therefore, were also subject to heavy fishing pressure for the duration of the war. Neither camp was within the monument, but boundary changes in 1969 and 1978 would bring them within the sphere of NPS influence. [110] (See Chapter 5.)

Pearson and Kuehl Visit the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes

Pearson probably knew little about the extent of illegal fishing that took place at Katmai during

the war. But in August 1945, he received a request that promised legal use of the monument's fishery. The U.S. Naval Operating Base in Kodiak sought permission to establish a fishing camp in the monument near Brooks Lake. The camp, consisting of two 16' x 30' Yakutat huts, was to be located "one-half mile east of Brooks Falls and one mile east of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Biological Station," at or near the site of present-day Brooks Camp. [111]

Perhaps in response to the Navy's request, Pearson visited Katmai to take a closer look. On August 17 he left McKinley Park; shortly afterwards, he and Alfred C. Kuehl flew from Elmendorf Field to Naknek Air Base on an Air Force plane, passing over the Mt. Mageik and the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes en route. [112] Flying back over Naknek Lake the next day, Pearson "was astonished to see that two-thirds of Katmai Monument didn't seem to have been affected at all by the eruption." The two completed their explorations by hiking up into the Valley, returning to wait for their plane, and heading out of the monument.

Pearson was obviously impressed by what he saw. He exclaimed that "This should make a hit with tourists if we could ever get 'em in here." He reported that an airfield could be built in the valley, and even suggested that a road could be built there from Naknek. Kuehl, by comparison, was nonplussed by it all. Though he was convinced that Katmai was worthy of NPS management, he felt that "the scenic values of the monument are not particularly outstanding when compared with other scenic regions of Alaska," and that the "lakes within the area are large but lacking in a magnificent adjacent setting." [113]

The two also differed on how realistic it would be to attract tourists to the remote location. The ebullient, can-do Pearson noted that the two began to "scheme out ways and means to bring in visitors and take care of them." [114] They may even have made tentative plans for a tourist lodge, boat docks, trails, patrol cabins and administrative sites. But Kuehl, in his trip report, felt that Katmai was so inaccessible that "visitor use, if any, will be extremely limited" and that "Only the curious wealthy sportsman and the scientifically inclined able to stand the expeditionary expense will be likely to view the area." [115]

Three weeks after Pearson returned to the park, he received a visit from Commander Jack Benson about the proposed Brooks Lake camp. [116] Benson said that it was the Navy's plan to allow its personnel to spend short furloughs there. Pearson liked the Navy's idea, and sent his approval to his Washington superiors. But in mid-October, the Navy notified Pearson that its plans had changed. It now proposed to build its main camp "near the head of the Naknek River, just northwest of Naknek Lake" and thus near the Lake Camp facility. The superintendent was told that the Navy would later build an auxiliary camp at the Brooks Lake site, but he heard no more from them about it. [117]

Katmai Management Issues, 1945-1948

During the latter half of the 1940s, the NPS had a host of resource management issues with which it had to grapple. A clam cannery on Kukak Bay demanded the right to operate. Similarly, local interests sought the right to mine pumice and volcanic ash within the monument, and additional prospecting was taking place for hard rock minerals. Each of these operations were technically illegal, but had the support of Alaska's delegate to Congress and Alaskan development interests. (Clamming and mining are covered in greater detail in chapters 8 and 11, respectively.) Trapping became an issue once again, and portions of the monument became so heavily fished that officials began to worry that overfishing might deplete the fish stocks.

But the government seemed no more inclined to provide basic funding than it had in previous years. Much of its lack of interest was based on its low priority to NPS officials. Ever since the

days of Stephen Mather, the NPS had gained popularity and legitimacy through publicity and by encouraging appropriate tourist development. This policy worked well for most areas, but it put Alaskan parklands at a great disadvantage. During the postwar period the agency was particularly sensitive to the parks as recreational destinations. Katmai, which had recorded only 32 official visits in the 30 years after its establishment, was perceived to have little potential for visitation because of its remoteness and inaccessibility. [118] By September 1945, the agency had formulated development plans for Mount McKinley and Glacier Bay, and a plan for Sitka was in the works. But regarding Katmai and Old Kasaan, NPS Director Newton Drury admitted that "we are almost totally lacking in information upon which to base even tentative plans for the[ir] future development." [119]

Little facilities development took place in any of Alaska's national park units during the 1940s. Year after year the Mount McKinley superintendent proposed a budget which included development plans for most Alaskan park units; just as predictably, the proposals went unfunded. Sometimes it was the NPS directorate in Washington that wielded the budget ax; more often the culprit was a Congressional committee. As funds subsumed in the war effort were freed up for alternative uses and as Alaskan interests became more persistent in their demands, increasing headway was made in the budgetary process. But no action was forthcoming before the end of the decade. [120]

In January 1947, Frank Been returned from the army and resumed his duties as superintendent at Mount McKinley. Not long afterward, Katmai issues crossed his desk when the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service informed him that trapping had resumed in the monument. [121] Carlos Carson, the Fish and Wildlife Service agent in Dillingham, had discovered four men living and trapping inside its boundaries. The four, one of whom was Stephen M. Scott, were quickly arrested and hauled out for a commissioner's hearing. [122]

Been, through Carson, learned that the local trappers were pleading innocent to trapping charges because they claimed ignorance of the boundary location. To mitigate the problem, he contacted George Parks, the Regional Cadastral Engineer for the Bureau of Land Management (formerly the GLO), regarding a possible survey of the northern and western boundary. Parks considered the idea, but he was no more able to undertake such a survey than he had been during the years preceding World War II. [123] Lacking a survey, Been relied on the Fish and Wildlife Service agents to contact each trapper and explain the various boundary locations. [124]

The following year, Carson found much the same activity going on. He told Been that he had discovered a trapper's cabin at the mouth of Headwaters Creek, at the southwest end of Brooks Lake. Kirk Adkinson, who lived there, was tried but released; Henry Nelson, who claimed a residence just outside the monument, was declared innocent of any wrongdoing. Both had been active in the monument the year before. Carson also found "fresh evidence of others using the cabins within the park and on the bank of the upper Naknek Lake," and was told that "the army [Air Force] boys go into this park and kill moose all winter." Finally, he heard that one local trapper, Jim Marlette, was using a small plane and had "a sizable illegal beaver cache in there." Recognizing that he was fighting a losing battle, he declared that "Something should be done and quickly." He called for the installation of on-site staff, noting that "if there is not a Ranger in there to protect things it might as well be turned out to the public." [125]

Been and Carson also knew that fishing pressure was steadily increasing in the monument. There was a temporary lull in sport fishing after World War II, but Northern Consolidated Airlines (NCA), along with independent pilot Bud Branham, took groups of fishermen into the area as early as 1947. The three most popular areas were the waters surrounding present-day Brooks Camp, Grosvenor Camp, and Lake Camp; Brooks River became so popular that the Standard Oil Company of California sponsored a color film, in the spring of 1948, on the

stream's rainbow trout fishing. [126]

During this period, fishing in Katmai was illegal--aircraft landings were against the law except on official government business--but officials winked at the activity because it had an insignificant impact, in most places, on area fish stocks. Fishing regulations specified that no more than ten fish could be caught per day and that the total catch be limited to twenty fish, and in most cases (so far as is known) fishermen followed those regulations. [127] Along Brooks River, however, the fishery began to be abused. As Ray Petersen remembered the situation, "poaching was rampant and the trout were caught with gobs of salmon eggs on giant Colorado spinners and hooks." [128] By the summer of 1948, Fish and Wildlife Service representatives stationed at Brooks Lake noted "quite definitely that the rainbow trout have decreased as the result of the popularity to air borne sportsmen." [129]

Carlos Carson, the local fish and wildlife agent, was well aware of the growing abuses being perpetrated in the monument. Fortunately, his March 1948 plea for a ranger did not fall on deaf ears. Been reacted by offering him the position of Deputy Park Ranger, which gave him "complete authority to act for the National Park Service." [130] He then sent a copy of the letter to the Washington office. Hillory Tolson, an NPS Assistant Director, responded by suggesting a presence by both NPS and F&WS personnel. He requested the Regional Director, Owen A. Tomlinson, to send him a budget estimate for NPS patrols in the monument in cooperation with Fish and Wildlife agents. He also suggested that Grant Pearson, then at Sitka National Monument, should be sent on one or more trips to Katmai to check on fishing activities and the possible careless use of firearms. The naming of George Kelez, a Fish and Wildlife agent stationed at Brooks Lake, as a Deputy Park Ranger, was an additional action intended to establish an enforcement presence. Kelez, however, was soon elevated to a supervisory position and spent little time in the monument. [131] That August, regional office staff also considered the appointment of F&WS agents at Kodiak as deputy park rangers. [132]

Plans, and a budget, were made to allow for Pearson to visit the monument, but no trips took place that year. Been realized that it would be advantageous to have a resident ranger (not necessarily Pearson) rather than a custodian who made brief visits. The ranger, to be stationed "in a tent near the Brooks Lake salmon weir," would mingle with fishermen, advise them on regulations, keep the area clean, post necessary signs, and maintain a register. The regional director liked Been's suggestion when it was first promulgated in May; a month later, however, he recanted, citing a lack of transportation for patrols. [133] Been, in response, held out for a short-term ranger presence beginning in early September, and suggested that a suitable candidate would be William J. (Willie) Nancarrow, who had just transferred to the park from Lake Texoma, an NPS recreation area (now delisted) on the Texas-Oklahoma border. [134] The regional office concurred, but in late July the Katmai assignment had to be withdrawn. The Mount McKinley staff was limping along with only two of its regular four rangers; it therefore could spare no one for duties outside the park. Kuehl went instead, but only for a short, fact-finding visit. Some of the Katmai funds were later directed to Glacier Bay management efforts. [135]

Alaskan Attempts to Dismantle the Monument

The trapping which was taking place in the monument caused NPS officials to redouble their efforts to protect the resource. The operation of a clam cannery at Kukak Bay, pressure to mine volcanic ash along Shelikof Strait, and reports of the discovery of valuable minerals within the monument all caused additional worries among government bureaucrats. These activities, however, had just the opposite effect among many Alaska residents. Those who felt that the Federal government was intent to preserve Alaska at the expense of its citizens occasionally pointed to Katmai as an example of "useless conservation." [136]

It should have been no surprise, therefore, that territorial interests appealed to loosen the Federal grip on the monument. This sentiment was expressed throughout the decade, but particularly during the postwar years. As early as 1941, a Territorial Department of Mines report, noting an "apparently rich mineral area" in the Aleutian Range and the favorable opportunities for prospecting, concluded that the justifications for the monument were no longer valid. [137] Six years later, commercial interests showed an interest in extracting pumice (volcanic ash) from Takli Island and the shores of Kukak Bay, and as noted in Chapter 11, Alaska Delegate E. L. Bartlett made a repeated series of attempts to open the area to the mining interests. [138]

Others wanted to entirely rid themselves of the park service's presence. In the spring of 1946 the Alaska Legislature, incensed at the state of monument affairs, cited a long list of grievances and passed House Joint Memorial 7, which demanded "that steps be taken to have the Katmai National Monument abolished in the interest of the Territory of Alaska so that fishing and mining may be carried on legally in that area." Governor Gruening signed the memorial on April 2. [139] Six months later, Governor Gruening became annoyed at the way Washington-based Park Service officials were treating the cannery owners who utilized the Shelikof Strait coastline, and at one point he grew so annoyed that he suggested to those officials that the monument be abolished. The following February Delegate E. L. Bartlett, another champion of local concerns, submitted H.R. 206, an Alaska statehood bill. The legislature and governor quickly passed a memorial bolstering the delegate's bill. Bartlett was by no means the first delegate to draft a statehood bill--James Wickersham had done that back in 1916--and he would not be the last to do so. His bill differed from others, however, in that it called for the state to gain control over practically all of Alaska's public lands, including those within Katmai National Monument. [140] In October 1948, Jessen's Weekly, a well-respected Fairbanks newspaper, joined the chorus when it editorialized that the monument should be returned to the public domain because "absolutely nothing has been done to make its 'beautiful lakes and mountain scenery' available to the public," and because the thousands of fumaroles which had once been active in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes had been reduced to a mere handful. [141]

In January 1950 a strong challenge came when the Naknek Civic Club campaigned to open the monument to trapping. Naknek had long had an economy based on fishing and trapping, and because the 1949 fishing season had been so poor, local citizens pleaded to Alaska Delegate E. L. Bartlett several times during the next few months. Bartlett, a longtime development advocate and NPS foe, was sympathetic to their plight. He urged both the NPS Director and the Secretary of the Interior to consider a substantial reduction in Katmai's area. [142]

Interior Department officials rebuffed each attempt. The 1946 legislative action did not result in a Congressional bill, and the provisions in Bartlett's 1947 bill were resisted by NPS Director Newton Drury, who called Katmai "among the most outstanding scenic and scientific areas in the North American continent." Stateside conservation groups, such as the National Park Association, also dug in their heels against any change in Katmai's status. Three years later, Bartlett gained little more headway than he had earlier. [143] The park service tried to calm development advocates by noting, somewhat apologetically, that Katmai was not the only Alaska park being ignored; because of the relatively small numbers of visitors to Alaska, none of the other NPS units were being developed either. They declared that even though the fumaroles in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes were "dead," they were still an outstanding geological area. They also declared that they needed to assess the validity of the current boundaries. [144]

Beyond that, the NPS was willing to make some significant compromises. They clarified to the canning interests, for example, that nothing in the monument regulations prevented companies from operating below the high tide line; furthermore, they were glad to issue them permits for the structures and facilities they used. Regarding pumice extraction, NPS officials refrained

from opposing legislation which would grant permits for pumice removal. [145]

Management Activities, 1948-1950

The NPS, recognizing the increasing level of interest in the monument, slowly adopted a conciliatory attitude to prospectors and fishermen who wanted to fly into the monument. The agency was aware that local interests bridled against the longstanding regulation, and as early as 1946 an NPS official had urged that amphibious landings be approved. In the spring of 1949 Superintendent Grant Pearson was informed that prospectors had flown supplies into the monument the previous fall. [146] Rather than prosecute the prospectors and further alienate local interests, however, Pearson urged that the NPS adopt a regulation which allowed aircraft landings between May 15 and September 15. The new regulation was implemented in July. [147] NPS officials were less than enthusiastic that they had to make these concessions, because they had no staff on hand to enforce monument rules and regulations. But they also wanted to avoid a storm of protest that might occur if they tried to enforce the status quo.

Although these actions blunted some of the criticism, the NPS was clearly under increasing pressure to develop the monument in some way. The agency therefore stepped up its efforts to allot funds for the monument. But in the interim, it was forced to rely on Fish and Wildlife Service officials to patrol the monument. Regional NPS officials recognized their dependence on the F&WS when, in the fall of 1948, they laid out $500 to them for patrol work. [148]

Carlos Carson, who patrolled the monument the following March, found trapping as active as ever. He found one cabin had been extensively used for trapping, and understood that "not a few hunters fly into the Monument and hunt moose and bear." He also believed that a beaver ring was working in the park. The following month, he reported an increased number of violations. To combat these abuses, he again urged the establishment of a full-time park ranger. [149]

NPS officials were thankful that Fish and Wildlife officials could assist them, and made tentative plans to repeat the arrangement the following year. Both agencies, however, hoped that the arrangement would be limited in its duration. The NPS took Carson's warning of increased violations and pressed for a separate Katmai budget.

In the spring of 1949, regional officials took part in a department-wide six year program for the development of Alaska's park areas. Remote Katmai was considered a less likely development candidate than either Mount McKinley or Glacier Bay, but it was not ignored. The NPS proposed that $39,635 be expended at the monument during FY 1950 for "a small residence, utility services, essential equipment and a minimum amount of access trail construction." [150] In FY 1951, the NPS proposed that Katmai receive a $10,000 Administration, Protection, and Maintenance budget; this figure would be sufficient to support an eight month ranger detail at Katmai. (The ranger was to spend the remaining four months at Mount McKinley.) The administrative budget was proposed to double by FY 1954. Visitor facilities were not contemplated until FY 1954 and 1955; the six-year plan called for a $150,000 construction budget during the two fiscal years. [151]

Most of the suggestions made in the department's six-year plan were quietly shelved. The most pressing priority in the plan, the realization of a FY 1951 administrative budget, barely survived. By the time the proposal had emerged from the NPS directorate and the Secretary's office, the $10,000 originally proposed had been slashed to $2,000. Small though the budget was, it was an important step that the Interior Department was finally recommending funding for Katmai. The $2,000 allotted to Katmai was minuscule--it was the smallest line item in the $508,000 budget which had been designated to the Alaska program--but it was a start. [152]

The 1951 budget, unfortunately, got no farther than those for previous years. [153] Perhaps in reaction to its inability to increase budgets to Alaska parks, the NPS broadened its scope and launched the Alaska Recreation Survey. The ARS, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, promised to stimulate and direct recreation-based economic development. The survey, however held little enthusiasm for Katmai as a tourist destination. An initial overview mentioned that

> No major development can be considered [for Katmai] until Alaska is further developed and transportation will put the area within easy reach. It will be 10 years or more before major developments will be needed.... Objectives for the time being are protection of the wildlife and scenic values.

Citing the increase in military visitation and the increase in game and prospecting violations, the report reiterated the need for a $2,000 Katmai budget, which would pay for a four-month ranger patrol, supplies, and equipment. [154]

Ray Petersen Establishes the Katmai Concession

The $2,000 budget may well have been rebuffed, as others had been, had it not been for the actions of Ray Petersen. A man who had been flying in southwestern Alaska since 1935, Petersen was familiar with the exceptional quality of the Katmai fishing resource; since 1945, he had headed Northern Consolidated Airlines, a small regional carrier which hoped to develop tourist travel over its routes. To that end, he met in Washington in December 1949 with various Interior Department officials. At the meeting, he laid out plans to create a series of fishing camps along the shores of the larger lakes on the Bristol Bay side of the Alaska Peninsula. By January 1950, his plans had become more specific: he hoped to operate camps at two sites within Katmai monument--at the mouth of Brooks River and the western end of Lake Grosvenor--and stake out three camps on BLM land north of the monument. [155]

Government officials were delighted at Petersen's plans. Those in the NPS had been searching for years for an opportunity to develop the monument and thus legitimize its existence in the eyes of the public. Petersen's plan offered to do just that. It gave the NPS the opportunity to develop the monument without paying for it, and because his airline was a common carrier, his plan offered the general public (not just guests at the fishing camps) a better opportunity to gain access to the monument. The fact that Petersen was promising to abide by a strict, self-imposed set of fishing regulations was in his favor, and he readily agreed to a number of other clauses which NPS officials routinely required of businesses operating in the parks. By February 15, the NPS had issued a draft Special Use Permit for the two camps, and on March 10, regional officials and Petersen signed Concession Permit No. I-34np-299. Petersen had originally sought a two-year permit; therefore, he was pleased to discover that it was valid through 1954. [156]

Whether by accident or design, the National Park Service reacted to the concession permit by assigning a seasonal ranger to the monument for the 1950 summer season. On March 21, just eleven days after the concession permit was signed, Mount McKinley Superintendent Grant Pearson noted that "after June 1, 1950 a Park Ranger will be stationed within the boundaries of Katmai." A month later he chose Willie Nancarrow, the same ranger who had been tentatively chosen to go there in 1948, "as he has proven to be a very good all around man." [157]

The NPS's presence at Katmai that summer was modest indeed, and was easily overshadowed by that of the concessioner. At long last, however, the park service was attempting to manage its far-flung acreage in southwestern Alaska; as Ernest Gruening might have phrased it, management concerns were elevated from "flagrant neglect" to "mild but unenlightened interest." It had taken 32 years for the NPS to establish itself at Katmai--32 years of

management in the breach, and 32 years of repeated frustration at not being provided the financial wherewithal to carry out any semblance of a development program. The agency still had another 20 years to wait before it gained an independent management presence. In the future, however, it would insist upon retaining at least a modicum of authority over the Katmai country.





(left) John "Frenchy" Fournier was a Katmai-area trapper during the 1930s; he was one of several wholeft the monument as a result of the Kinsley investigation. (right) Both Harry Featherstone (left) and Roy Fure trapped in the monument

during the 1930s. Both photos taken in 19223 by Alyce C. Anderson, a Naknek teacher. *(Alyce Anderson Collection, LACL, courtesy of Theodore W. Anderson)*





(top) Carlos M. Carson, a game enforcement officer based in Dilingham, was Katmai's de facto ranger from 1936 to 1950. He is shown in this 1953 photo with his wife, Ona, at Tanalian Point on Lake Clark. (bottom) This poacher's cabin, photographed by Victor Cahalane in 1953, is located at the mouth of Headwaters Creek, southwest of Brooks Camp. This cabin, of which nothing remains today, was probably built about 1930 by Rongald Osberg. Later residents included Sigurd Lundgren, Axil Erling, and Kirk Adkinson. *(Allen Woodward Collection (top); NPS Photo Collection, neg. 66-107 (bottom))*





In 1942, the NPS incorporated a number of offshore islands in Shelikof Strait into the monument, primarily to stifle the islands' fox farmers. The top photo shows a "fox ranch" on Kiukpalik Island, near Swikshak Lagoon, while the bottom photo shows several "poacher's cabins" on the north side of Takli Island, near Amalik Bay. Both photos were taken in late July 1953 by NPS biologist Victor Cahalane. *(NPS Photo Collection (at HFC), negs. 11,830 and 11,832)*

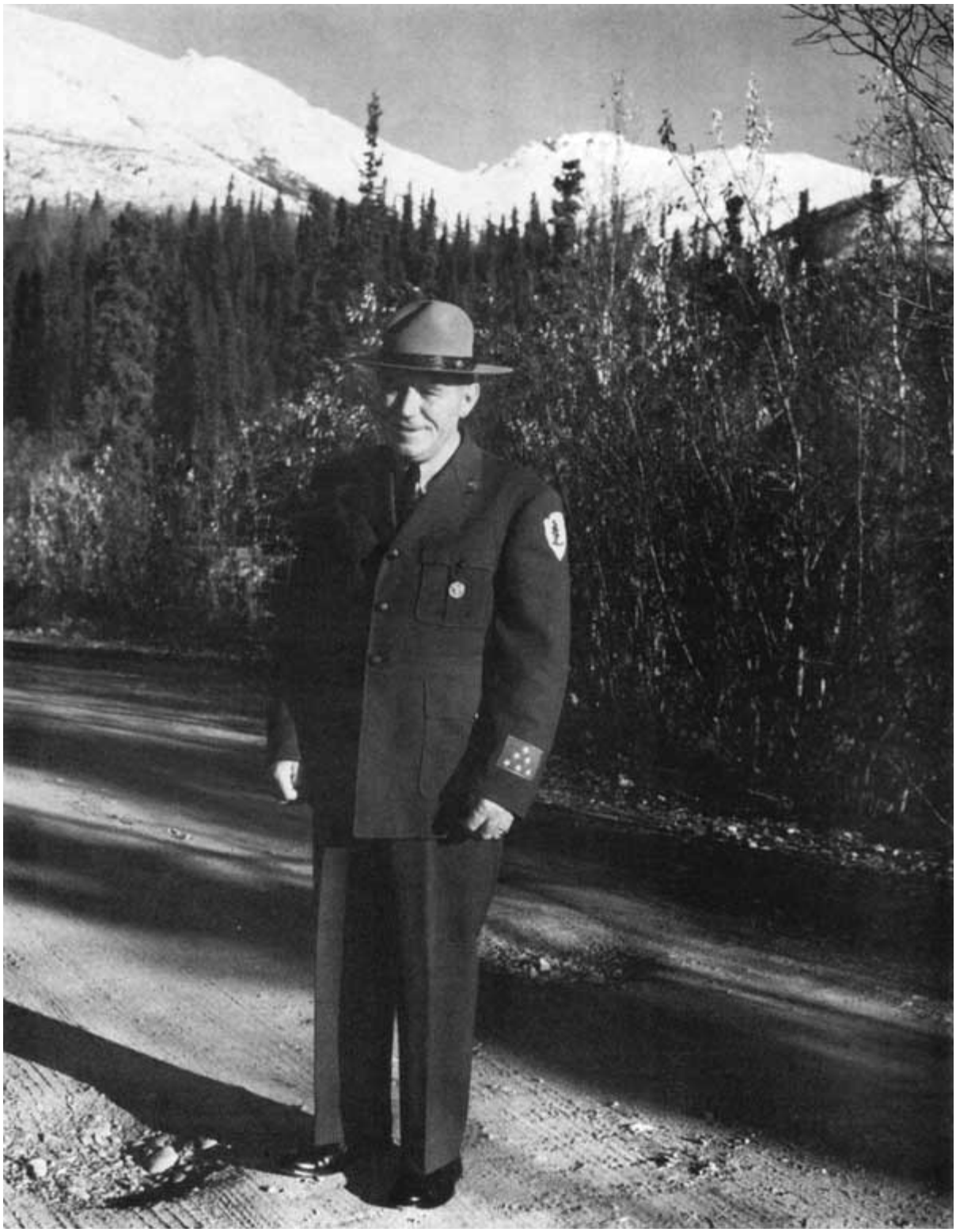


Louis Corbley, a Mount McKinley National Park ranger, was the first NPS employee to visit Katmai National Monument, in 1937. The photo appears to have been taken in 1964. *(File 27-8, in DENA Collection)*





Mount McKinley Superintendent Frank Been (top, with a wolf named Wags) took part in the first detailed NPS investigation of the monument in 1940. The photo was taken that November. Five years later, NPS official Alfred C. Kuehl and Grant Pearson flew to Katmai on an inspection trip and hiked into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. In this photo, Pearson is seen at the edge of the sandflow; Knife Peak is in the background. *(File 27-4, in DENA Collection (top); File 204, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB (right))*



Mount McKinley National Park Superintendent Grant Pearson, taken near the park headquarters in October 1956. *(File 27-36, DENA Collection)*

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Chapter 4:
Katmai Management, 1950-1969

NPS On-Site Operations Begin

When William Nancarrow travelled from his posting at Mount McKinley National Park to Katmai National Monument in June of 1950, he knew that he was breaking new ground in his agency's commitment to the long-neglected monument. He also knew that the agency could spend little money at Katmai; a few thousand dollars was the best that an already stretched budget would allow. He fully recognized that the primary purpose for his new assignment was to correct the impression that the NPS had no interest in the area. The agency had to impose at least a token presence in order to quash an increasing chorus, voiced particularly by local residents, that the monument be abolished.

The Service's commitment to the monument that summer, as it turned out, was even more tentative than had originally been planned. Mount McKinley Superintendent Grant Pearson had hoped that Ranger Nancarrow would leave for Katmai in mid-June and return to the park on September 15. Budget considerations, however, forced him to delay his trip until late June and return to the park in late August. A total of $2042 was authorized that summer for management and protection activities in the Katmai area. [1]

Nancarrow, who was joined by his wife in mid-July, spent the summer constructing a camp and establishing the authority of the NPS with Northern Consolidated Airlines personnel. The concessioner were cordial with him, and rented him a 9' x 9' tent to help him get established. He considered staying there all summer, but both Pearson and regional office officials thought it more appropriate that he establish his own facilities. [2]

Nancarrow established his camp about half a mile north of the new NCA tent complex, just inland from Naknek Lake and in the same location as the present Brooks River campground. He built a two-room tent frame that year, a cache and a well. [3]

His other major duty was to inform NCA guests and other visitors--principally Air Force personnel--about NPS regulations, particularly as they pertained to fishing along the Brooks River. Because his only transportation was a 14-foot metal boat, his travel was limited to short excursions to the Bay of Islands and the Savonoski River mouth. In addition, the concessioner flew him on an inspection trip to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, then on to Battle Camp (outside of the monument) and Coville Camp. [4]

Early Staffing

The pattern which Nancarrow established proved to be a harbinger of Katmai management patterns. From 1950 to 1954, the only NPS presence in the monument was a single Mount McKinley-based ranger during the summer season. For a short time during the spring of 1951, there was some question as to whether NCA (which had lost money on its 1950 camp operations) would reopen its camps that summer. The NPS, however, was willing to send a ranger even if the camps did not open. [5]

On June 1, 1951, Nancarrow returned to Katmai, but he was replaced on July 11 by Morton S. "Woody" Wood. A relatively new ranger on the Mount McKinley staff, Wood was soon joined by his wife Ginny. His first task was to enforce fishing regulations; in addition, he was asked to explore as much of the park as possible and to take photographs of the flora, fauna and scenery. [6]

During the next few years, the Katmai assignment was filled by a broad spectrum of rangers (see Appendix B). Most had previously served at Mount McKinley, but a few were hired specifically for the Katmai assignment. [7] During the six year period beginning in 1952, five different rangers worked at Katmai. They included George B. Chaffee (1952), George L. Peters (1953), Richard Ward (1954-55), Richard Riegelhuth (1956), and Warren Steenburgh (1957).

Most spent the summer enforcing fishing regulations or assisted NPS officials from McKinley Park or San Francisco regarding proposed construction projects or planning efforts. Wood, for instance, laid out an informal trail up the west side of Ukak River; Chaffee was asked to protect the monument's fishery and make a series of wildlife observations, while Ward spent some of the summer of 1955 evaluating various sites for a potential airstrip. [8]

In retrospect, the early rangers had to be an enterprising lot, because the budget allotted to them remained meager. In 1950, for instance, the Katmai budget and staff time had been originally designated for Mount McKinley. Soon afterwards it gained a separate line item. As late as the 1954, however, the Katmai budget remained below $3,000, and by 1958 it still remained under $6,500 (see Appendix C). The NPS pushed for larger budgets, but the requests fell victim to the budgetary process. [9]

Any attempts to provide more than a token budget faced a daunting set of hurdles. The problem was a twofold one; NPS appropriations had always been small at all but the system's "crown jewels," and it was difficult for Alaska park units, where visitation was light, to compete against parks located along the major tourist corridors. In 1945, to make up for the accumulated neglect, the NPS had lobbied Congress for an Alaskan park program, and by 1949 momentum for such a bill had been sufficiently strong that the bill had passed the House of Representatives. But the Senate killed it, and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 wiped out any progress which had been made. [10]

In the early 1950s the NPS continued to make proposals for construction projects in Alaskan parks. Few of those proposals, however, were accepted. The agency, by now gun-shy, refrained from making specific recommendations for Katmai projects; this was probably because Governor Gruening and Delegate Bartlett felt that Mount McKinley and Glacier Bay had a higher near-term tourist development potential. [11]

The Alaska Recreation Survey

As noted in Chapter 3, park and regional NPS officials had grumbled for many years at the lack of attention paid to the Alaskan national park units. The primary reason for their neglect was their lack of visitation. The argument was a circular one; without facilities and access, prospects for increased visitation would continue to be dim, and few were willing to visit an unimproved

park. Try as it may, the NPS was unsuccessful in gaining funds for new park facilities through the normal budgetary process. In order to spotlight the needs in the system, therefore, the NPS decided to undertake a program--the Alaska Recreation Survey (ARS)--which would spotlight the agency's economic role in the territory.

This was by no means a departure from its previous policies. Since its earliest days, Service programs had been successful because they had encouraged travel. As if to underscore that connection, the U.S. Travel Bureau (an agency whose goal it was to publicize travel opportunities) had been part of the NPS both in the late 1930s and the late 1940s. In further pursuit of those goals, the agency undertook a series of studies, both before and after World War II, which assessed the recreational resources of many of the states and territories. [12] These studies were based on provisions in the Park, Parkway and Recreation Act of 1936. The Alaska Recreation Survey, announced by the Director in January 1950 (and funded out of the Washington office) was therefore consistent with previous projects. The Survey was to continue for the next four years. The recreation survey, as it pertained to Katmai, was completed by the summer of 1952. The recreation survey was followed by the so-called Katmai Project, which took place in 1953 and 1954. The Katmai Project, which consisted of a series of scientific studies, was an adjunct of the ARS and was designed to determine the value of the monument's resources. [13]

The Alaska Recreation Survey was aimed not at just the parks, but at the whole territory. Its purpose was to develop long range plans with three specific goals:

1) The protection of Alaska's scenic, scientific, historic, and other recreational resources,

2) The development of park and recreational facilities for the people of Alaska, and

3) The development of tourist facilities in Alaska.

The pursuit of those goals would result in the publication of a two-part, four-volume study on the economic impacts of Alaska tourism development. Several other studies specific to existing or proposed park areas would also be produced. [14]

Chosen to head the effort was George L. Collins, who was head of the State and Territorial Division at the regional office in San Francisco. [15] Collins headed one of two teams which headed up to Alaska during the summer of 1950; remote Katmai was a focus of his work. He first visited the monument in late June, when he accompanied Willie Nancarrow to newly-established Brooks Camp. He returned in mid-July, flying with the ranger out to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. [16] Sometimes alone, sometimes with colleagues Adolph Murie and Lowell Sumner, he returned to Katmai each of the two following summers. [17]

Collins did not wait long to suggest ways in which the National Park Service might develop the newly-staffed monument. In memos sent to the regional director after his 1950 trips, he urged that a central base of operations be established at the mouth of what he called "O Creek," one of several creeks that drained into the south shore of Iliuk Arm. He chose the creek because of "its possibility for reaching the Valley of Smokes [sic] via a short section of road." He also hoped to have outlying ranger stations, along with museums and an interpretive program. In addition, he argued that full-time personnel should be stationed at the monument, that a winter base of operations be established at Naknek Air Base (because the base was "ideally located for all servicing purposes"), and that the road from Naknek to the present-day Lake Camp area be upgraded to all-weather use. [18]

In July 1952, Collins submitted his final recommendations on Katmai development. Some of his suggestions had changed during the past two years. He still envisioned that O Creek would be

the main tourist center and that Lake Camp would play a prominent role, but regarding a permanent headquarters, he abandoned Naknek in favor of a location "somewhere in the vicinity of King Salmon"--either at King Salmon itself, or better yet at the western end of Naknek Lake. He eventually hoped to establish 12 ranger stations, seven to be located west of the Aleutian Range and five along the Shelikof Strait coastline. Most of these stations were to be "of the outpost type" and inexpensively built; the only exceptions would be at O Creek and "perhaps at one of the places on the coast."

Collins was no idle dreamer. He recognized that "our first job is protection and exploration, with planning and development coming right along on our heels." He advocated modest developments at first: rustic cabins and a few trails. Eventually, however, he envisioned that Katmai would become a place where "a typical couple" would

> arrive at King Salmon, be transferred to a car or bus and transported to the docks on Naknek Lake where they will be made welcome to Katmai by a ranger, put on a boat or plane, and sent up to O Creek.
>
> From the O Creek camp a trip by one-way road (with turn-outs) could be made up the creek valley, climbing the side of Mount Katolinat, to the divide overlooking the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, where a dramatic view of the vast volcanic center of the monument is possible.
>
> On clear days flights from O Creek could be made over the volcanic center, and over the coastal portion of the monument, with landings at Geographic Harbor and Kukak Bay. Whether or not any public service facilities will be warranted on the coast side of the area is a question which can be answered with time and experience.
>
> Another activity for the visitor basing at O Creek will be a boat trip on the principal lakes and rivers of the area. Starting at Coville Camp, say, by river boat..., the trip would be made down Grosvenor Lake, the Savonoski River, Iliuk Arm, and back to O Creek. With a good portage across the two mile neck between the Bay of Islands and Grosvenor Lake..., a party could come in from O Creek, or the headquarters docks [at the west end of Naknek Lake], portage across, and take off by boat on the lake and river trip clear around for over 100 miles. [19]

In order to implement his development plan, Collins felt that eight permanent employees would be needed. Most critical was a chief ranger, who would serve as an acting superintendent. Next in importance was an airplane pilot, followed by a co-pilot/district ranger, a chief clerk, a naturalist, a construction and maintenance foreman, and a ranger. A superintendent was considered the least important of the permanent positions. [20]

Lawrence Merriam, the regional director, then recommended a "Katmai National Monument Program" to Conrad Wirth, NPS Director. Merriam was cautious in his proposals, and suggested (as had Collins) that a trail to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes "would be the most desirable means of access, at least until such time as visitation increases to a point where motor transportation is necessary to handle the larger crowds." He favored the "basic outline" of Collins's program, but recommended that it be implemented and budgeted one stage at a time. [21]

Despite the agency's planning effort, Congress appeared no more disposed to adopt a development plan for Katmai than they had before the Alaska Recreation Survey commenced. Perhaps they balked at the high public expenditures entailed, or perhaps they saw that Katmai, still well away from the usual tourist routes, had little immediate potential for general visitor development. For the time being, the plans were shelved. But the concepts contained within the

plans proved sound. Perhaps coincidentally, many of the plans suggested by Collins were eventually adopted by either the concessioner or the NPS. And some of the plans that were not adopted, such as a visitor center located on Naknek Lake but away from Brooks Camp, reappeared in future efforts to manage Katmai development.

Proposed Boundary Changes, 1951-1955

As noted in Chapter 3, the NPS had been under near-constant pressure in the late 1940s to justify its retention of Katmai National Monument. This pressure continued after Northern Consolidated Airlines opened its concessions camps in 1950. Based upon pressure applied by local residents, as well as a general desire to show some evidence of economic return from the monument, Governor Ernest Gruening and Delegate E. L. Bartlett implored the agency to either develop Katmai or return at least part of the monument to the public domain. Gruening, though frustrated at the situation, seemed willing to recognize the agency's lack of leverage; Bartlett, however, paid little heed to the explanations proffered by NPS officials and seemed primarily concerned with results. [22]

The agency, in its communications to outside parties, was able to discourage those who sought to unravel NPS hegemony over Katmai. Within the organization, however, pragmatists recognized that the monument might have to be reduced in size to mollify those who advocated resource development. In 1947, for example, Alfred C. Kuehl and Leo Diederich flew over the monument, and noted that "a large area along the west boundary drained by Takayofo and Contact creeks might be unnecessary for monument purposes and that its elimination would result in an easily defined boundary based on ridges." Kuehl estimated that on that basis, the monument's size could be reduced by one-quarter. And in 1950, George Collins noted that "I can find no excuse for including any more than Dr. Griggs [in 1917-18] wanted to identify and protect under national monument status." [23] Others in the NPS, however, hoped to use that process to gain jurisdiction over new lands. What resulted from the process was a series of proposed boundary changes, none of which got beyond the proposal stage.

An NPS-sponsored study of changes in the Katmai boundary began in 1951, when the topic became included in the Alaska Recreation Survey. Outside interests--commercial pumice developers and Delegate E. L. Bartlett--pushed for the study. Even within the NPS, however, opinion makers recognized that the existing boundaries were arbitrary and difficult to administer. Lowell Sumner, an NPS biologist, was placed in charge of the boundary revision study. [24]

In late June 1952 a phalanx of NPS officials, including both NPS Director Conrad Wirth and Regional Director Lawrence Merriam, made an aerial reconnaissance of Katmai in hopes of resolving the boundary situation. Above all, they were looking for "clearly defined boundaries based on prominent natural features." Within those boundaries, they hoped to include lands "essential for proper public use and enjoyment of the area, for protection of the significant scientific, scenic, and historic features, and for the protection of the Alaskan brown bear, moose, and other resident wildlife." Lands not needed for those purposes were to be excluded. [25]

Based on those criteria, Wirth wasted little time in his boundary recommendations (see Map 5). Along the southwestern border, just inland from Cape Kubugakli, he suggested that the entire river system draining into Kashvik Bay should be within the monument; the adjacent Kejulik River system, however, should be entirely excluded. He left the western boundary largely intact, but he felt that the western end of Naknek Lake should be included within the monument. Along the northern boundary he extended Katmai to include all of the American Creek and Douglas River drainages, but he excluded almost all of the Kamishak River drainage, a portion of which was included within the existing monument. Significantly, Wirth did not attempt to

exclude sites of clam or pumice extraction from the monument. [26]



Map 5. Proposals for modification of 1931 boundaries by the Alaska Recreation Survey, 1952-1953. In June 1952, NPS Director Conrad Wirth made an aerial tour of the monument and suggested new boundaries (dotted line) that would conform more closely to aquatic and topographic features. Planner Lowell Sumner slightly modified Wirth's suggestions (dashed lines), and in September 1952, the Region Four office approved Sumner's line. In December 1953, NPS biologist Victor Cahalane suggested expanding Sumner's line with acreage along the proposed northern boundary (alternating dots and dashes). None of the proposals were implemented. Source: Kauffman, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 29a; base map from Alaska Recreation Survey, November 1951. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

During the next month ground and air surveys continued over the monument, and by fall the regional office had made minor modifications to Wirth's original proposal. The revised boundary changed Wirth's recommendations by excluding the area surrounding Idavain Lake and Sugarloaf Mountain and by including slightly more of the Kamishak drainage. The regional office, in sum, recommended that three areas, totalling 105,600 acres, be eliminated from the monument, and that seven areas, totalling 472,960 acres, be added to it. All in all, the NPS proposed that 367,360 acres be added, a 13.6 per cent increase to the existing 2,697,590-acre monument. [27]

The agency may have felt defensive that it was responding to perceived development pressures with a document that increased the monument's boundaries. In a section entitled "Too Big?" Sumner answered potential critics by noting:

> It is a stated objection of the National Park Service to provide a year-round habitat sufficient for the perpetuation of adequate samples of all wildlife species native to the respective areas. Yet less than half a dozen areas in the entire system appear to fulfill this requirement. And of these, only Katmai appears to contain all its native species in approximately their original numbers. [Sumner's emphasis.]
>
> The boundaries proposed here would provide a reasonable guarantee that ... Katmai's outstanding wildlife resources and magnificent wilderness could be efficiently administered and adequately protected while being made available for public use.

> If the objectives of the 1931 proclamation are a guiding consideration, the answer must from a biological standpoint be: "No. The area is the minimum necessary to maintain itself indefinitely as a self-sustaining sanctuary for the larger and rarer wildlife forms...." If the purpose of the monument is to preserve an adequate sample of the strikingly beautiful Alaska Peninsula wilderness, the answer must again be: "No. It is not too big. It is one of the very few areas dedicated to wilderness preservation that is big enough to withstand the impact of drastic changes outside its boundaries." [28]

Wirth took the revised boundary proposal before the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments on October 17, 1952; the Board responded by passing a motion approving the principle of establishing topographically-based monument boundaries. Sumner's report was soon approved by the regional and national directors. Wirth had hoped to enact the boundary changes into law by drafting a proclamation for the president to sign. But no such proclamation was known to be drafted, and the suggested boundary changes were later modified by others in the agency. Notably, however, the NPS hierarchy firmly defended the monument, and in a new twist, the agency went on record as embracing Katmai not just for its biological and geological resources, but for its wilderness resource as well. [29]

In the summer of 1953 Victor Cahalane, Chief of the agency's Biology Branch, made a helicopter investigation of Katmai's northern boundary as part of a general biological survey. That December, he penned a memo to the Chief of Recreation planning; in it, he suggested modifications to Sumner's proposed boundaries, "mostly because I was able to cover the region more extensively." His suggestions were primarily based on wildlife considerations.

Cahalane had mixed feelings about the need for adding the western end of Naknek Lake into the monument. He noted that "some other areas are more vital to properly rounding out the Monument." He was far more enthusiastic about Kulik Lake, "one of the most beautiful bodies of water I have seen." Openly worried that the lake would become "a popular site for week end or cottage resort development," he urged that the lake and adjacent mountain slopes be included in the monument. Regarding the Kamishak River valley, he hoped to include some or all of it, having found it "distinctly productive in terms of animal life." Collins, however, listened to local Department of Agriculture officials who told him of the valley's farming possibilities. He therefore carefully avoided including prime agricultural areas within the revised boundaries. [30]

Cahalane's recommendations, worthy as they may have been, ran headlong into a December 1953 petition from 66 Naknek citizens who hoped to reduce the monument's boundaries "by opening the areas surrounding the Naknek Lake Group to about eight miles back from the lake shores of this group in all directions." A Fish and Wildlife Service official, at an August 1953 hearing, was receptive to local complaints that beavers were obstructing many of the salmon-spawning creeks at the west end of the monument. Local residents, who had just endured another poor salmon-fishing season, hoped to push back the boundaries so that they might trap, hunt, and go ice fishing. [31]

In a letter to Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, Delegate E. L. Bartlett expressed his support for the petition signers, and again chided the Interior Department because it "has resisted uniformly and successfully any attempt to restore to the public domain any of the area within the boundary, [but] it has never done anything at all--that statement is almost literally true--to open the monument to public use." [32]

Bartlett also insisted that a Congressional hearing be held on the subject. Bartlett's hearing took place in Washington D.C., and an NPS representative was the only witness to testify. No hearing was held in Alaska. As a result of that hearing, Bartlett chose not to submit legislation

that year aimed at reducing the monument's boundaries. [33]

McKay's response to the problem was to arrange for two parties of opposite philosophical stripes, NPS Director Wirth and Governor Frank Heintzleman, to try and reconcile the situation. That meeting took place on February 15, 1954. Heintzleman, a former Forest Service official, was no great friend of the NPS; as recently as October 1953, he had announced that "I do not believe it is desirable to withdraw any more areas at this time as national park or wilderness tracts." At the meeting the NPS agreed that it would not insist on adding the entire west end of Naknek Lake to the monument, and that it "would give further consideration to other possible boundary adjustments." But the agency insisted on keeping the areas surrounding Brooks Camp, because "they are important wildlife areas, especially for beaver, moose, and waterfowl." The governor, having never visited the monument, was noncommittal, and in early March Wirth wrote that no boundary recommendations would be forthcoming until after the agency had completed its studies at the monument that summer. [34]

By the end of April the NPS had assembled the results of the previous summer's work. A 140-page study, called the Katmai Project: Interim Report, summarized the existing base of knowledge about the monument's geology, topography, biology, archeology, and volcanology. The assembled data, of course, provided ammunition for defending the park from those who would return it to the public domain. The report showed that certain areas in the monument were indeed valuable from a scientific viewpoint. Some areas, inevitably, were shown to be more valuable than others. [35]

Governor Heintzleman was impressed with the first-year study results. As he admitted in a letter to NPS Director Conrad Wirth, the report convinced him that parks were not "merely places where people can be assured of getting an outstanding but relatively inexpensive vacation." They could also be valuable as undisturbed natural laboratories. [36] Bartlett or Heintzleman, however, still hoped to open up portions of the monument. And Orme Lewis, an Assistant Secretary of the Interior, agreed that "some [boundary] revision in the vicinity of Naknek Lake and the northwest corner of the Monument would be reasonable and justifiable." [37]

In order to fully evaluate the situation, however, the NPS had to await the completion of the scientific studies begun the previous year. In the summer of 1954, the scientists from a number of federal agencies--Geological Survey, Fish and Wildlife Service, and Public Health Service--along with personnel from the University of California Berkeley and the University of Alaska took part. The various military branches played a major supporting role. [38] Heintzleman, as governor, helped arrange transportation for the various scientists involved. Bob Bartlett, the territorial delegate, finally visited the monument that summer and was able to see Katmai's scenery and resources for himself. [39]

In January 1955, Bartlett again inquired about the progress of the NPS studies. In response, Orme Lewis told him that the NPS had completed its studies and was "now considering the advisability of recommending boundary modifications to the Department." Lewis was vague in his response and left room open for negotiation. Regarding the Brooks River, however, the NPS would not budge. "Wirth will recommend that this area be retained in the monument," Lewis wrote. "Brooks Lake and the Brooks River region have the best potential public use areas in the monument and also has great scenery, excellent fishing and wildlife habitat." [40]

That communication apparently ended the matter for the next few years. Good fishing in Bristol Bay may have reduced the need for Naknek residents to trap near the monument. Others who had militated for opening up the monument, such as the clam digging and pumice extraction industries, had found a way to carry on their operations via NPS permits. And in June 1956, the monument received widespread publicity when both the fishing camps and the volcanic area were featured in The National Geographic Magazine. [41] Bartlett, evidently satisfied that NPS

officials were amenable to some degree of economic development, let the matter rest during the remainder of his tenure as territorial delegate.

Soon after Alaska became a state, however, Bartlett--now a senator--again raised the question of whether Katmai's boundaries should not be reduced. On February 16, 1959, he told Fred Seaton, the Secretary of Interior, that "the time has come for a reexamination of Katmai National Monument." Bartlett was frustrated that the NPS had taken no recent actions to reduce the size of the monument. He argued that the monument had "areas less spectacular scenically, perhaps, but worthy of continued inclusion for recreational uses," and that there was "acreage that has no proper place within the Monument." [42]

Many Alaskans reacted to Bartlett's announcement. Both the Daily Alaska Empire (in Juneau) and the Anchorage Daily Times gave the idea a prominent mention; the Times, calling the monument a "huge empty area," hailed the proposal as a good idea. [43] One person who was in fervent agreement was John H. Lee, the same man who had been living in Cold Bay (Puale Bay) when Mt. Katmai erupted in 1912. The 91-year-old Lee, who was living at the Pioneers Home in Sitka, urged Senator Bartlett that the size of the monument be reduced, and also said that roads should be built on the rights-of-way of several former trails. [44] But the NPS gave no indication that it was willing to consider a boundary reduction, and as Bartlett admitted to a friend in the mining industry, "In all candor, I must say there isn't a chance whatsoever for this." For that reason, he did not submit a bill with that purpose. [45]

In 1961, Alaska's legislators briefly considered sponsoring a bill which would have allowed hunting in the monument. That September, Sen. Wallace Bennett of Utah introduced S. 2545, which would have authorized regulated hunting in certain NPS areas. The chairman of the Alaska Board of Fish and Game urged Rep. Ralph Rivers to add the Katmai and Glacier Bay areas to the bill in order to overturn the agency's "conservative, out-dated and wasteful philosophy" on hunting. Rivers did not comply with the board's request, however, and the bill died quietly. [46]

Questions About Access: Brooks Camp Airstrip Issues, 1954-1956

Access has been a longstanding problem at Katmai. That the monument has traditionally been located far from the major travel routes has been a sufficient problem by itself; compounding the situation, however, has been the problem of how visitors could most efficiently move within the monument. The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, the original raison d'être for the monument, was remote from both population centers and transportation facilities, and the only practical way in which visitors could visit the monument's lake country was on Naknek- or King Salmon-based float planes. There was, quite simply, no central resource which all Katmai visitors demanded to see, and planners could identify no optimal way in which to organize a transportation system. Northern Consolidated, which had opened up its fishing camps in 1950, established a transportation system based on land-based aircraft travelling from Anchorage to King Salmon, after which float planes flew to Brooks Camp, Coville Camp (Grosvenor Camp), and other sites within the lake system. Both the NPS and the concessioner, however, recognized that the access system was imperfect. Both made repeated attempts, over the years, to improve the monument's transportation system.

The first person who tried to design a Katmai transportation system was George Collins, the NPS planner. Collins, as noted above, envisioned that an optimal system would include road transportation from King Salmon to proposed docks on Naknek Lake. From that point he suggested that either boats or planes would take visitors to O Creek, the site of the proposed visitor center. He suggested a road into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, scenic flights over the remote eastern portions of the monument, and a boat trip which might connect O Creek

with other points on Naknek and Grosvenor lakes. The notion that a boat trip would be able to travel the Savonoski Loop, and that such a trip would ever be considered a commercial success, seems fanciful today. Collins, however, was asked to look at Katmai's long-term development prospects.

Northern Consolidated Airlines, by contrast, was more concerned with practical ways in which to develop tourism possibilities. Based as they were at Brooks Camp, the monument concessioner felt that the most practical way to attract visitors was to build an airstrip near the camp. NCA officials wanted an airstrip built so that Anchorage-based planes would have access to the camp as well as King Salmon-based float planes. An airstrip would also allow landings on days when winds made it difficult if not impossible to land float planes on Naknek and Brooks lakes.

Ray Petersen, head of the Katmai concession, first approached the NPS on the subject in the spring of 1954. He was, at that time, in the last year of his five-year concession permit. In return for a seven-year contract, he offered to construct permanent improvements--a lodge and cabins--at its Brooks River facility. After the contract had been prepared, however, Petersen backtracked and conditioned the acceptance of his building plans on the construction of an airstrip in the vicinity. He hinted, moreover, that he might abandon the concession if no airstrip was built. [47]

Regional personnel were in favor of an airstrip, and an NPS party had already visited the site and had determined that its physical characteristics were appropriate for an airstrip. But when Director Wirth was contacted about the idea, his response was that "if airstrip is to be built in Katmai, I am not sure Brooks Lake is proper location. Further study needed before answer can be given." [48] The Director, in fact, questioned the advisability of developing Brooks Camp into a major concessions area because fishing (the only major camp activity) was incidental to the values of the monument. He felt that the Savonoski area, at the east end of Iliuk Arm, should be studied as an alternative concession area. [49]

Controversy over the airstrip continued for another year. In response to the Director's call for a study, the superintendent and regional director visited Brooks Camp in June 1955. They agreed that planes were better suited to Katmai than boats, and that wheel planes were more acceptable for moving large numbers of visitors. They henceforth identified two sites south of the Brooks River that would be acceptable for an airstrip. [50] Cost estimates were obtained for each of the two airstrips, a connecting road, and a bridge across Brooks River. [51] In January 1956, the results were sent on to Director Wirth. Meanwhile, the concessioner refused to promise a building program. As a result, the three-year contract which was signed in February 1956 promised neither an NPS-sponsored airstrip nor a concession-sponsored building program. [52]

NCA officials were frustrated, of course, that the NPS had not approved the airstrip. But Brooks Camp was not the only location where they had hoped to construct an airstrip. In 1954, the same year it had moved to establish a Brooks Camp airstrip, it also planned to create an airstrip near its Kulik Camp facility. Here, outside the monument, the company encountered few if any bureaucratic stumbling blocks. That summer, employees began to blade off a 1500-foot runway on Bureau of Land Management land just south of Kulik Lodge, and by the following year, the strip had been extended to 2000 feet. By August 1956, workers had completed "a usable road satisfactory for the operation of a Willys Jeep" between the landing strip and Kulik Camp. To legalize its improvements, company officials in May 1955 applied to patent an 80-acre parcel which included and surrounded the airfield. NCA obtained a patent for the parcel on November 2, 1960. [53]

The Mission 66 Program

Just a year after the boundary controversy abated, the NPS launched a program which promised the construction of long-awaited facilities. The program, Mission 66, was a long-range effort aimed at NPS units throughout the country. It was intended to be complete in time for the agency's 50th anniversary in 1966. Director Conrad Wirth conceived the program in 1955. The following January, he garnered the enthusiastic approval of both President Eisenhower and Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay. He announced the program to the public on February 8. [54] The program was the agency's response to the huge increase in postwar tourism: visitation to the parks had more than tripled between 1940 and 1954. Most of the money spent on the Mission 66 program, which eventually totalled over $1 billion, went to park construction projects, but staffing, maintenance and protection work was also included. Projects were to be funded through the usual Interior Department appropriations process. [55]

Soon after the program commenced on a national level, an Interior Department official travelled to Ketchikan and announced how the program was to be implemented in Alaska. The initial budget, which had been recommended by Alaska's two park superintendents, allotted $9.25 million for Alaskan projects. The majority of the funding--$6.9 million--was intended for Mount McKinley, the only national park in the territory. Glacier Bay, Sitka, and Katmai national monuments divvied up the remainder. [56]

At Katmai, the NPS initially contemplated expenditures of "about $680,000 for new buildings and utilities and about $80,000 for improved park roads and trails." Within that budget, the agency hoped to construct the following:

* a visitor center at Valley Junction (in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes) to contain interpretive facilities, a ranger station, and a small (5 unit) lodge,

* additional ranger stations to be located at Savonoski, Kukak Bay and the Bay of Islands,

* small campgrounds to be located at Brooks River, Savonoski, Valley Junction, and on Knife Creek in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes,

* nature trails to be located at Valley Junction and Old Savonoski,

* limited road projects--"these will be principally jeep routes"--from Ukak to Valley Junction (flights would take passengers to the mouth of the Ukak River) and from King Salmon to Lake Camp,

* docks, to be constructed along with some boathouse units,

* a headquarters area at King Salmon, where the necessary administrative, utility, and residential buildings would be located, and

* utilities, including a radio communication system, necessary to serve the new facilities.

A high priority in the program was the hiring of a permanent staff to protect, interpret, and maintain the area. In order to pay for the new personnel, the plan called for the monument's management and protection (M&P) budget to double from $5,000 in FY 1956 to $10,000 a year later; by FY 1959, it proposed an M&P budget of $53,000. In order to pay for the numerous new improvements, the plan called for a gradual increase in the maintenance and rehabilitation budget from zero (in FY 1957) to $32,000 in FY 1966. Grosvenor Camp, the small concessioner camp located between Coville and Grosvenor lakes, was scheduled to be abolished. [57]

The following May, the NPS laid out a modified, more capital-intensive program for the monument, which had been approved by the agency's directorate in Washington. A report, entitled Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument, described not only proposed facilities but the underlying philosophy behind visitor development. [58] The NPS identified wilderness as a major element of Katmai's attraction; therefore, it proposed a "restrained program" of Katmai development. According to the report, the agency felt there was

> no need for a large construction program to make this wildland area available to the people. A few trails, much mileage of which would be simply in the form of markers, several campgrounds with some shelters, a few boat landings, and a few miles of "jeep" type road, some added concessioner facilities, and Katmai should be able to prove itself hospitable to visitors of the next decade. [59]

NPS planners recognized that because the monument was remote and seldom visited (see Appendix D), its biggest problem was one of neglect. Resources were not being protected, and little visitor development was taking place. The solution, therefore, lay in new visitor facilities, and in a better circulatory system: boats, boat landings, trails, and "jeep" roads. [60]

The Mission 66 program called for an expenditure of $1,151,200 over the nine-year life of the program. The funds were to be used for the following purposes:

1) $404,700 was to be allotted for an airstrip, roads and trails. Central to this category was the construction of an airstrip for wheel planes, to be provided near Brooks Camp. Twenty-five miles of trails were also planned, most of which would be located in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. And two jeep roads were planned: a ten-mile jeep road from Naknek Lake to the Valley, following the Ukak River valley, and a two-mile road which would connect Brooks Camp to the proposed airstrip.

2) $40,000 was to be allotted for the development of campgrounds, shelters, docks and utilities. Four campgrounds were contemplated: one at Brooks Camp, a second at the Naknek Lake end of the jeep trail, a third near Valley Junction (at the end of the jeep road), and a fourth along Knife Creek, at the upper end of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. Docks were planned at Lake Grosvenor, Kukak Bay, and King Salmon.

3) $252,000 was to be allotted for NPS facilities in the monument. Katmai's visitor center was to be constructed at Valley Junction, at the end of the proposed 10-mile jeep road, and would include interpretive displays on volcanism and area ecology. An information and summer headquarters was planned for Brooks Camp, along with five units of summer housing for monument employees. Ranger stations were planned for the Bay of Islands, Old Savonoski, and Kukak Bay, and five relief cabins for patrol rangers were also contemplated.

4) $454,500 was to be allotted for NPS facilities in King Salmon. Proposed facilities included an administration building, for office and storage space; five housing units; a utility building with a shop and garage space; a boathouse; and several fuel storage tanks. [61]

Wirth felt that the momentum generated by the Mission 66 program was the best way to ensure the construction of facilities as laid out in the Katmai and other park plans. However, he had no illusions that all of the projected facilities would be built. He felt that the plans should be "accepted as a measure of development requirements and a guide for programming and planning." Inclusion of facilities in the plan, however, did not signify their final budgetary approval. [62]

Master Planning Efforts, 1957-1960

Shortly after the issuance of the Mission 66 prospectus, the ideas it contained served as a foundation of the monument's master planning process. By this time, Katmai's master plan was 15 years old; it had been obsolete since 1950, when development had commenced.

The initial portion of the process was the Master Plan Development Outline, most of which was completed in November 1957. The outline was intended to be brief; it consisted of introductory material, several operations sections and several development sections.

The outline was a logical and more specific extension of the Mission 66 plan. It promised many alterations of the status quo. Regarding Grosvenor Camp, the revised plan no longer called for its abolition; officials, however, cautioned that "the present narrow spit on which the camp is located is crowded with temporary structures which should be removed when expansion transpires in the future." It also planned the establishment of a Ukak Ranger Station and docks, to be located "not far from the delta of the Ukak and Savonoski Rivers;" a jeep road up the river valley, and a Valley Junction Visitor Center "somewhere in the vicinity of the Junction of the Lethe and Ukak Rivers." Additional ranger stations and floating docks were planned at the Bay of Islands and on Kukak Bay. [63]

Two years later, most of those recommendations were incorporated into the monument's master plan. The four-chapter narrative was approved a chapter at a time. Most of the plan was forwarded from McKinley Park to the regional office in early 1960. The plan was not subject to public comment; citizens of Naknek, however, heard about it and were vociferous in their opposition to it. [64] In order to gain final approval, however, the plan had to pass a withering gauntlet within the bureaucracy; at the regional level the various plan sections had to pass both the Western Office of Design and Construction (WODC) and the regional director before they could be forwarded to the Washington office. The process, balkanized at best, allowed bureaucrats at various levels the opportunity to question individual sections of the plan. As a result, the master plan was more of a reflection of current management thinking than a blueprint for future development, and as such was altered when conditions demanded. Some sections of the master plan were approved only by the park superintendent, while other sections were approved by the NPS director. [65]

Access Issues Related to Mission 66, 1956-1958

As has been suggested above, the early years of the Mission 66 program brought rising, then falling, hopes for those who hoped to construct a Brooks Camp airstrip. When the program was launched in April 1956, the Mount McKinley superintendent made no provisions for an airstrip. [66] But when the NPS director released the detailed plan a year later, one of several proposed monument improvements was "an airstrip for wheel planes [to] be provided at a suitable location compatible with air currents, topography and landscape considerations near Brooks River Camp." The Master Plan Development Outline which followed made provisions for both an airfield and a jeep road connecting the site to Brooks Camp. [67] Duane Jacobs, the Superintendent at Mount McKinley, was an ardent backer of the airstrip, and he sent Neil Reid, his park naturalist, to make another site survey in the spring of 1958. [68] Momentum for an airstrip was halted, however, when Assistant Regional Director Herbert Maier requested that the airfield should be delayed for further study and eliminated from park planning. [69] As a result, the Control Schedule for the Mission 66 program rated the construction of the $180,000 airfield as the Service's fourth (and last) priority. [70] For the remainder of the decade, officials made no moves to implement an airstrip.

Other access issues were also addressed during the late 1950s. Mission 66, by and large, called for a reliance on either boats or float planes for travel within the monument's lake system; plans were thus made to build docks at Brooks Camp, Bay of Islands, Lake Grosvenor, Kukak Bay,

and "near the Savonoski or Ukak Rivers on Naknek Lake." Regarding access from King Salmon into the monument, the Master Plan Development Outline of 1957 made the same suggestions as had George Collins five years earlier; namely, that the eight-mile road to Naknek Lake should be improved. Both plans, however, were woefully short on how access would be implemented. NPS planners were frank in admitting that future means of access was "one problem difficult to analyze at the moment," and they similarly hedged on whether the agency would sponsor improvements for the King Salmon-Naknek Lake road. [71]

An idea that was briefly toyed with during the period was relocating Brooks Camp boat docking facilities from the mouth of Brooks River to Mortuary Cove, a protected embayment located a mile northeast of the fishing camp. The idea was first broached in June 1957, when Superintendent Jacobs mentioned it to regional officials. Jacobs felt that large boats could be moored safely there regardless of the weather. All that was needed was the construction of a jeep road connecting the two points. The idea was mulled over for a year, and was included in the Master Plan Development Outline prepared in the fall of 1957. [72] The following year, the superintendent sent out his naturalist, Neil Reid, to survey the site. Reid found the cove was indeed "suitable as a shelter for boats; there are a few rocks and submerged trees, but in general the water is deep and safe. A floating dock could probably be built here for temporary shelter of boats." Unfortunately, however, the area's liabilities exceeded its advantages. He found that the land behind the cove was "exceedingly swampy, and boggy for a considerable distance up the ridge. Needless to say, mosquitoes are as thick as flies. The extreme end of the cove is unstable, and gives the impression of being very nearly quicksand." As a result of his trip, the idea of a boat landing in the cove was dropped--for the time being, at least. [73]

The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes Road

The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes was the centerpiece of Katmai National Monument when it was established in 1918. Its inaccessibility, however, made it off-limits to visitors. In order to render the site more accessible, Dr. Griggs had recommended that a road be built up the Katmai River valley into the heart of the volcanic region. [74] And in the 1920s (see Chapter 3), the Alaska Road Commission had investigated the possibilities of a road from Geographic Harbor into the volcanic area.

Isolation and the lack of funds caused the project to be dropped for the next quarter century. But in 1950, NPS planner George Collins suggested a road when he began making plans for recreational development in the monument. In memos sent to the regional director, he urged that a road be built from the south shore of Iliuk Arm up the Ukak River and into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. [75] In July 1952, he reaffirmed those plans when he suggested to the regional director that a "one-way road with turn-outs" should be built up the creek valley to the divide overlooking the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. [76] But the regional director, in his comments to the NPS director, warned that "The proposal to construct a road ... should be given very careful study before this project is undertaken," and that "A trail would be the most desirable means of access, at least until such time as visitation increases to a point where motor transportation is necessary to handle the larger crowds." [77]

Given the regional director's dictum, there was little talk of a road for the next few years. But when the Mission 66 program was unveiled in 1956, it included a ten-mile jeep road up the Ukak River valley. (The plan called for either planes or boats to connect Brooks Camp with the mouth of the Ukak River.) The road, however, was not a top priority; NPS employee quarters, a visitor center, and an airstrip were all considered to be more important. [78] By 1958, as noted above, Mount McKinley superintendent Duane Jacobs had concluded that a trail--not a road--into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes should comprise part of a "minimum first stage" of Katmai's development program. The trail, unlike the earlier roads that had been proposed, was

intended to go all the way from Brooks Camp into the valley; the new route was decided upon because weather on Iliuk Arm made it unsafe for boat travel. When NPS Associate Director Eivind T. Scoyen and Regional Director Lawrence Merriam visited the monument that summer, they seconded the idea that a trail into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes was sufficient. [79]

Ray Petersen, the head of the monument concession, was frustrated by the NPS's attitude toward Katmai development. He was well aware that the NPS, through the Mission 66 program, had a plan that called for many new developments, but he was also aware that nothing had become of those plans. The only NPS improvement in the entire monument, in fact, was the small ranger-station complex (ranger station, generator house, storage cache, fuel tank, and weather instrument shelter) which had been built from 1955 to 1957. [80] Ray Petersen, having larger projects in mind, had advocated the construction of a road "from some point on Naknek Lake" to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes as early as September 1950, and was particularly upset that the agency had shown little interest in building such a road. [81] Under the existing state of affairs, few Katmai visitors saw the valley because chartering a plane was expensive, and poor weather limited the opportunities for overflights. Petersen was certain that a road connecting Brooks Camp to the valley was the most viable solution.

When Petersen met with the NPS in early 1960 to lay out his development plans, Director Conrad Wirth and other officials promised verbal support for a road if Petersen would enhance the facilities at Brooks Camp. [82] Petersen, true to his word, fulfilled his part of the agreement during the summer of 1960. But when Petersen returned to Washington the following February, Assistant Director Jackson Price noted that the best he could hope for would be "a pioneer road of about twelve miles in length around the base of Mt. Katolinat which could be reached by boat from Brooks River," the terminus of which would be the base for four-wheel vehicle trips into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. [83] And according to George Sundborg, an administrative aide to U.S. Senator Ernest Gruening, even a twelve-mile road was not possible because of opposition from the Sierra Club or other preservationists. [84]

After Sundborg informed Petersen of the status of the project, Gruening arranged for a meeting the following day with both Petersen and Director Wirth. At that meeting, Gruening convinced Wirth to commence road construction despite objections; as Petersen remembers the conversation, "the old Senator grabbed this guy [Wirth] by the scruff, and says 'you don't treat a constituent like this.'" [85] Wirth capitulated.

Two months later, Katmai Ranger-in-Chief Robert Peterson was asked to determine the road's right-of-way. He briefly considered a route which began at Research Bay (at the mouth of O Creek), but decided instead to adopt the present route. [86] That August he led a party which surveyed the route. The route was approved by regional officials, and a Project Construction Program Proposal for a $153,120 road building job was drawn up. Construction equipment was driven to Brooks Camp in March 1962 over the Naknek Lake ice. Road building began as soon as the ground began to thaw. By July 4, eight miles had been roughed out, and the jeep road was completed by the end of the season. [87] The first tours up the road began in 1963, using either a 16-passenger bus (a converted, surplus military ammunition carrier built on a cab-over 1961 GMC frame) or an 8-passenger Chevrolet carryall. Visitors, by and large, enjoyed the trip. The road surface, however, was considered too dusty when dry, and too unstable when wet. Therefore, the road was graveled after the first season. [88]

The Congressional pressure which led to road construction threw the Mission 66 program for the monument into disarray. The cost of the road project eventually totalled $205,000; the sum was more than had been spent at the monument for all purposes since 1950. [89] It relegated all other park functions to a lower priority; as time would tell, the practical result of the road construction was that few other Mission 66 projects were constructed during the life of the program. Road construction also had the practical effect of centralizing more of the park's

resources on concessioner-oriented activities, and it ensured that future activities revolved around Brooks Camp rather than the more dispersed program called for in the Mission 66 prospectus.

The road spawned several ancillary developments. Spur trails to Margot Falls and the summit of Overlook Mountain were completed in 1962. [90] The agency also built a 24' x 28' reception center at Windy Creek Overlook, and by early 1963 had created the one and one-half mile trail that connected the overlook with the Ukak River. [91] The Mount McKinley superintendent hoped that the momentum of road construction would also result in the creation of an improved Windy Creek Trail Camp near the overlook, but the plan did not survive the budgetary process. [92]

The effects of the road project were also felt in Brooks Camp. Materials for three Panabode cabins, which were used by construction personnel, were flown in during the spring of 1962. A boathouse was also built that year, and the following spring a DC-3 on skis brought in the materials needed to construct a warehouse. [93]

The Proposed Trans-Peninsula Highway

The construction of the Valley Road, in conjunction with the opening of the Alaska Marine Highway system, caused many to seriously consider the idea of a road connecting the Naknek-King Salmon area with a ferry terminal on the east side of the peninsula.

During the 1916-1923 period, plans had surfaced for roads from Shelikof Strait into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. In 1942, Frank Been, the superintendent of Mount McKinley National Park, was the first to propose a road that would connect Shelikof Strait with Bristol Bay. He declared that such a project was feasible, and noted that

> Except for the stretch between the Valley of 10,000 Smokes and Geographic Harbor the construction will be easy because the terrain is almost level. The highway will have military value and will tap the greatest salmon fishing region in the world. It will therefore be commercially beneficial. Although the latter is inconsistent with National Park Service functions, it will contribute to placing Katmai on the map. The combined values should heighten the chances for getting a road that will otherwise be based only on its recreational merits. [94]

But regional officials took exception to Been's idea. Most thought that proposing a road was too bold a move for a park lacking even minimal facilities. Joseph Dixon, the regional naturalist, was more specific in his criticisms. Citing the example of the Nizina mining road (in present-day Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve), where a road was abandoned because traffic moved by plane, Dixon wrote that "road plans such as proposed for Katmai National Monument might be entirely out-moded before they could be completed." He also worried that if the road was considered valuable for military purposes, "such a road might be utilized by the enemy as well as by us." [95] Dixon's persuasiveness, combined with the almost total lack of an NPS budget, meant that Been's ideas were put on hold for years to come.

For almost twenty years, few people raised their voice about a trans-peninsula road. Grant Pearson, who succeeded Been as superintendent, did not share his sentiments on the topic, and after Collins's Alaska Recreation Survey work of 1950, plans were focused on either a trail or road to provide access only from Naknek Lake to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes.

The advent of statehood, however, reactivated the idea of building a road from the Naknek-King Salmon area to the opposite side of the peninsula. In the first session of the state

legislature, Naknek Representative Jay Hammond introduced a successful House resolution. It requested that the Department of Public Works initiate an engineering survey for a road connecting King Salmon with Bruin Bay, the latter a proposed ferry-terminal site located west of Augustine Island. The Senate passed no such resolution. [96] Legislative highway boosters steered clear of the Katmai area for the time being.

As soon as the NPS decided to build the Valley road, agitation began to build a road connecting it to the outside road system. Senator Gruening, it may be remembered, convinced NPS Director Conrad Wirth to construct the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes road in mid-February 1961. Less than a month later, on March 6, the House passed a resolution asking "that a road be planned and constructed by the state and the federal government from the Bristol Bay area through the Mount Katmai National Monument to the southern coast of the Alaska Peninsula" and "that the Kodiak-Homer ferry system be extended by the state to include a terminal at the end of this road..." On March 30, the Alaska Senate passed the same resolution. [97]

Just a year after the NPS decided to build the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes road, the Alaska House of Representatives passed two resolutions--HJR 38 and HJR 49--which advocated the construction of additional highway mileage in Katmai National Monument. One urged that a road be built from the outlet of Naknek Lake (which was the terminus of the existing road) to the Brooks Lake terminus of the Valley Road. In its other resolution, the state house urged construction from the terminus of the Valley Road east to Kukak Bay, where a state-sponsored ferry terminal was to be built. The cumulative effect of the two resolutions was to support a road that stretched all the way from Bristol Bay to Shelikof Strait. Senator Gruening supported both resolutions. He noted that Katmai's biggest problem was its inaccessibility and felt that the resolutions "would do much to remove this curse and open the park to vehicular traffic." But NPS Director Conrad Wirth, upon hearing of the resolutions, quashed the idea. He told Gruening that the construction of a lodge at Glacier Bay and a second hotel at Mount McKinley--both of which Gruening favored--were more important than a trans-peninsula road. [98]

In 1963 the state began operating its marine highway system, and the opening of a terminal in Kodiak heightened interest in a trans-peninsula road. Hammond spearheaded a successful House resolution that year urging the Department of Highways and the Department of Public Works to study the most feasible route for such a road. [99] By fall, Hammond was convinced that the optimal route was one which would connect Naknek with Kukak Bay. He passed those ideas on to Senator Bartlett, who in turn talked up the idea with NPS Director Conrad Wirth. NPS officials told Bartlett that there were no present plans to improve access to the monument, and that they did "not consider a route through Katmai as a part of a State Highway system either necessary or desirable." They felt sure that a feasible alternate route around the monument could be found. Once built, the NPS might then consider building a spur road from the new road into the monument. [100]

Bartlett, who admitted to a keen interest in the project, responded to NPS skepticism by asking to comment on the monument Master Plan, which was scheduled to be completed in the spring of 1964. [101] Hammond's initial response to the NPS's reluctance was a search for an alternate route. By April 1964, however, his enthusiasm for the Naknek-Kukak Bay road had revived; his supporters included Ray Petersen of the NCA and Grant Pearson, the former superintendent of Mount McKinley National Park. Bartlett was sympathetic to Hammond's views, but far higher on his priority list was the reconstruction of roads destroyed by the recent Good Friday earthquake. Any plans regarding new roads would have to be delayed. [102]

The Park Service, while holding firm regarding a road through the monument, did not want to appear opposed to all development. The agency, in fact, welcomed the opportunity to encourage visitation along the Shelikof Strait coastline. In 1963, a starry-eyed planning team had

suggested that "A chalet possibly at Geographic Harbor could be a port of call and a stopping place for those making the trip up the coast... This could be one of the outstanding experiences the Monument has to offer." [103] Two years later, the master plan brief which guided monument affairs chose Kukak Bay as the NPS's designated Shelikof Strait development site. It noted that "The Alaska marine highway could be extended to include the Shelikof Strait and its coastal areas," and promised to provide facilities and accommodations at Kukak Bay "when the need becomes apparent." [104]

During the three years which followed the Good Friday earthquake, few efforts were made in regards to a transcontinental road. In 1965, the state legislature pushed for a road north of the monument when it passed a joint resolution requesting that the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads provide technical and financial assistance in planning such a route. Little momentum, however, resulted from its passage. [105]

Despite the Service's recalcitrant attitude toward any new road construction in the monument, hopes remained high that a road might be built west through Katmai to Bristol Bay. Local residents were solidly behind the project, as were officials at the Bureau of Public Roads, the Alaska Department of Highways, the Federal Highway Administration, and the entire Alaska Congressional delegation. Northern Consolidated Airlines, the monument concessioner, also favored the road. Based on that support, Senator Gruening's assistant, George Sundborg, asked NPS Director George Hartzog for his comments on the project. [106] The NPS, however, responded the same way as they did in November 1963; that is, it urged the road planners to locate a road outside the monument. Only then would it consider the possibility of a spur road into the monument. [107]

Meanwhile, Alaska's road planners were weighing the pros and cons of two Katmai routes with other rights-of-way across the Alaska Peninsula. Two routes which connected King Salmon to Cook Inlet via Iliamna Lake were also considered. But in late November, Alaska's Commissioner of Highways notified Hartzog that the Iliamna Lake routes were being discarded from further consideration. The commissioner, Warren Gonnason, wrote that

> Several routes in this corridor are practical from a highway construction standpoint. However, the almost complete lack of a suitable harbor along Cook Inlet poses nearly insurmountable problems from the standpoint of a coordinated and reliable transportation network.

He further explained that the only two suitable harbors along the east coast of the peninsula were Devils Cove and Geographic Harbor, both of which were located inside the monument. He recognized that such a highway "would not be completely compatible with the aims of the National Park Service," but justified his conclusions by noting that

> a refusal to allow the Department of Highways to construct a highway in the Monument could effectively bar us from extending our transportation network into the vast area of southwestern Alaska. It should be needless to point out that the ultimate economic development of this area is dependent upon low cost transportation being provided.... It is our belief that the necessity for expansion of Alaska's transportation network is a need which must be met. [108]

Director Hartzog was not about to be prodded, or intimidated, into acquiescing to a highway that was not in the Service's best interest. When he wrote Gonnason on January 15, he recognized Alaska's need to improve its road system. He reiterated, however, that the construction of a highway bearing commercial traffic through the monument would be contrary to the purposes for which the area was established. "We could not agree to such a road," he stated, and further explained that "The two routes indicated ... would be particularly destructive

to park values." In conclusion, he noted that the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1966, and the 1966 law which created the U.S. Department of Transportation, were specifically intended to give added protection to park lands against intrusion and the harmful effects of highway construction. [109]

In response, the Alaska Legislature passed a joint resolution requesting the NPS to reconsider its objections to the Katmai highway. [110] Local governments also did what they could. On May 31, 1968, the Bristol Bay Borough Assembly passed a resolution supporting road construction. Other resolutions were passed by the City of Anchorage (July 9), Kenai Peninsula Borough (July 15), Kodiak Island Borough (July 22), and the City of Homer (August 26). [111] But in April and again in August, the NPS reaffirmed its opposition to the project. That opposition effectively squelched any thoughts of a monument road for the time being. [112]

King Salmon Facility Establishment

During the years in which Katmai was managed from McKinley Park, various locations were considered for a headquarters site. The first to ponder the idea was Mount McKinley Superintendent Frank Been, who had visited Katmai for several weeks in 1940. When Katmai's first master plan was written in 1942, Been called for the construction of a permanent headquarters and visitor center in Geographic Harbor, a well-protected cove along the Shelikof Strait coastline. Been favored the site "because of its proximity to travel from the states." But the superintendent was pragmatic enough to realize that "there is still some justification for having Naknek as the monument base until funds are provided for its development. Naknek provides a place of residence for the first personnel and is accessible to the part of the monument in which most of the violations are occurring from hunting and trapping. Out from Naknek, the development at Brooks Lake and Brooks River can be prepared and many of the proposed shelter cabins constructed." [113]

By 1950, NPS personnel recognized that development along the Shelikof Strait was still a long way off, and that the park headquarters, when established, should be located near where visitor facilities were likely to be built. NPS planner George Collins, that year, argued that a winter base of operations should be established at Naknek, because the community was "ideally located for all servicing purposes." [114] But two years later, when he submitted his final recommendations on Katmai development, he recognized the emerging importance of the King Salmon area by recommending a headquarters location "somewhere in the vicinity of King Salmon"--either at King Salmon itself, or better yet at the western end of Naknek Lake. He found the location desirable because it provided quick access to the King Salmon Airport, and would serve as the base of access for boat transportation to lakeside developments. Collins felt that boat transportation would be an essential phase of the operation during foggy weather, when plane transportation was impossible. [115]

Other NPS officials agreed with Collins's choice. Grant Pearson, the McKinley superintendent, agreed that the Naknek Lake-Naknek River area was the best choice for a monument headquarters; his second choice was King Salmon. The regional director concurred, and during a 1952 visit to the monument, NPS Director Conrad Wirth also approved a King Salmon headquarters site. The Civil Aeronautics Administration, which had owned property in the King Salmon area since 1950, offered the agency sufficient land to establish its facilities. [116]

When the Mission 66 program was unveiled in 1956, it called for "a headquarters area at King Salmon, where the necessary administrative, utility, and residential buildings would be located." [117] A management survey team sent to the site that summer reconfirmed the desirability of the site. A year later, a more detailed plan for Mission 66 activities noted that "There are definite advantages for this decision, not the least important being that it eliminates an unsightly

development within the monument itself." [118] The Master Plan Development Outline, later that year, noted that

> In addition to the administration building it is planned to construct a single family residence for the Superintendent and a 4-unit apartment house for staff members and others in the local organization. In addition, there is proposed a heat plant building, garages and marine docks. [119]

The agency had, by this time, found land on which to erect its headquarters complex. Duane Jacobs, the Mount McKinley superintendent, began the process in February 1957. [120] At year's end, he wrote that plans had been crystallized to locate monument headquarters at King Salmon. Negotiations had been underway that year to secure two small tracts from other agencies: a 4.68-acre parcel (later increased to 6.78 acres) from the Fish and Wildlife Service, and a 4.65-acre parcel from the Civil Aeronautics Administration. The two parcels would extend from the road which lined the edge of the airport down to the Naknek River. He programmed funds for initial King Salmon construction, which was to include riverside docking facilities, for FY 1959. [121]

When the NPS Associate Director and the Region Four Director visited the area in 1958, they recommended that the initial development at the monument include King Salmon facilities, including a three-bedroom residence for the superintendent and a combination garage, storage space, and office space. A sufficient budget for a superintendent, however, was not passed; therefore, the King Salmon facility package was put off until the 1962 fiscal year. But the NPS was so certain that King Salmon was its headquarters site that it notified the Secretary of the Interior, Fred Seaton, of its interest in obtaining the 11.43-acre site which had originally been discussed in February 1957. On May 26, 1959, Seaton signed Public Land Order 1861, which conveyed the tract to the NPS. [122]

Despite the general approval given the King Salmon site, its advisability came into question once again in early 1959. In February, in a routine memorandum, Supt. Jacobs notified regional officials that water access into the monument would necessitate docking facilities at the west end of Naknek Lake; he therefore urged improvement of the existing truck trail which connected King Salmon with Naknek Lake. In response, Jacobs was requested to make a routine approval of a drawing regarding the King Salmon administrative site; in addition, he was asked to provide information on Naknek River navigation. On April 21, Jacobs responded and explained that river navigability was poor; it could be run only by shallow-draft boats, and then only during a relatively brief high-water season. [123]

Jacobs, who had assumed all along that the monument would be served by either a King Salmon-Lake Camp road or by air, felt that the rapids along the Naknek River had little relevance to the applicability of King Salmon as a headquarters site. But when Merel Sager, the Chief Landscape Architect in the Washington office, showed Jacobs' memo to Director Wirth, the two requested that all further work on the King Salmon site be held in abeyance. Wirth and Sager apparently felt that the Naknek River had been counted on to be a key route for freight into the monument. The recognition that the river could not be relied upon forced Wirth, who had tabbed King Salmon as the administrative site seven years earlier, to look at the matter of monument access all over again. They recommended that a Regional Management Survey Team investigate. [124] The survey team visited the King Salmon area in early July. Given the recommendations from that visit, the director announced that he had no further objections to the originally designated site. [125]

By March 1961, plans for a duplex residence and a heating/shop building were on line for the 1963 fiscal year. But the money required to build the Valley road was so overwhelming that the project was again delayed. [126]

Before development could begin, however, officials at another federal agency suggested that the NPS consider another site in the King Salmon area. A Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) official contacted the regional director in March 1962 and mentioned that the FAA's master plan called for the construction of an access road and concession area at the north end of the NPS parcel. [127] In response, the NPS noted its willingness to reconsider its development plans, and within a few days it had found a new headquarters location. [128]

The new site, which was administered by the Bureau of Land Management, was initially thought to be unsuitable for development, and for the next six months the agency weighed, yet again, the advantages of King Salmon vis-à-vis other locations (such as Anchorage or Brooks Camp) as a headquarters site. Soil tests conducted at the new site, and a reappraisal of the King Salmon vicinity, found that the site was "not ideal in many respects for a headquarters, [but] it was the most suitable site under the circumstances." The NPS, happy again at King Salmon, waited for word from the FAA before it proceeded to a new location. The FAA, however, recanted its development plans and withdrew its request for the NPS parcel. Instead, it merely asked to utilize the northern portion of its air space. The NPS, in November 1962, acceded to the request. Since that time, the agency has had no further threats to its property; its headquarters location is the same size allotted to it in 1959. [129]

Plans for the facilities construction were finally approved during the 1964 fiscal year. On March 17, 1964, Steward and Company of Anchorage was awarded a $222,448 contract to erect "residential and operational facilities" at King Salmon. [130] The administrative headquarters was completed and accepted by the agency on November 14; facilities included a duplex residence, of which half was used as an office and maintenance building. Soon afterwards, the Supervisory Park Ranger began using the facilities for both winter and summer use. [131]

Master Plan Activity, 1963-1967

During the early 1960s, NPS personnel had been active on a master plan for Katmai National Monument. Some portions of the plan, however, were approved more quickly than others, and the chapter-by-chapter approval process made it difficult to envision that a single, unified master plan would ever emerge from the process. The construction of the Valley Road, moreover, meant that several aspects of the master plan had become obsolete. NPS officials dutifully pressed ahead with the patchwork revision process.

But by early 1963 the outgoing regional director, Lawrence C. Merriam, had become convinced that the master plan process needed to begin anew. To that end, he arranged with Oscar Dick, the new superintendent at Mount McKinley, to have a master plan study team meet at the monument that summer, and promised that one result of the meeting would be the revision of the existing master plan chapters. [132]

The study team picked by Merriam was not a random assortment of bureaucrats. Four of the six, to be sure, were NPS employees. But the group was singular in that several of its members were outspoken wilderness advocates. Lowell Sumner, the NPS research biologist, had written about the monument a decade earlier for the Sierra Club Bulletin; Robert F. Cooney, from Montana, was an officer in the Wilderness Society; and Sigurd Olson was "a legend among canoeists for his reflective essays on nature and the outdoor experience." Wally McCall (a regional planner), Alfred Kuehl (the regional landscape architect), and Oscar Dick rounded out the group. [133]

Merriam gave Dick, the field leader, a broad range of responsibility. A week before the group convened, Dick reported that he hoped "to cover and discuss the entire area and come up with a complete master plan." [134] The group, as it turned out, spent nine days in the monument, and

travelled the Shelikof Strait coastline as well as in the lake country. Sumner emerged from the experience and penned a 50-page report which the new regional director, Edward A. Hummel, deemed "of inestimable value help in formulating the Katmai master plan." But the report, which was predictably rich in prose which embellished the monument's wilderness resource, did not replace the existing master plan. NPS personnel continued to revise key elements of the 1960 master plan as late as November 1964. [135]

In August 1965, at the suggestion of the agency's recently-organized Alaska Task Force, the Advisory Board on National Parks, Buildings, Historic Sites and Monuments returned to Katmai for the first time in 13 years. The Board spent three days in the monument. The group reached many of the same conclusions as had the Master Plan Field Study team of 1963, though its report was presented with far less of a rhetorical flourish. The Board concluded that it was comfortable with the present level of development. It noted that "Foot trails in the Valley, or at least lines of cairns to mark routes, are needed, and over-night shelters for the hardy hikers, but development in the ordinary sense is no present need." [136]

The Master Plan Brief issued the following month, however, offered ideas fundamentally different from those suggested by the Advisory Board. The Brief, much as the Mission 66 program had done eight years earlier, called for new developments throughout the monument. It envisioned four development nodes: Brooks Camp, Bay of Islands, Kukak Bay, and a Lower Naknek Lake site. Brooks Camp and the Bay of Islands would be the sites of the largest developments. The plan called for many new facilities at Brooks Camp: an auditorium, food and supplies, an NPS district office, and a maintenance area. The proposed Bay of Islands development was initially planned to be small, but it would eventually offer most of the same services as Brooks Camp. Park planners envisioned that the "pillow count" (lodging capacity) at Brooks Camp, currently 60, would be increased to 100 within 10 years and would eventually expand to 300 or 350. Long-range plans called for lodging on a similar scale at the Bay of Islands. Campgrounds with 50-100 sites were planned at both sites. The Lower Naknek Lake area, which was outside of the monument, was proposed to have a dock and boathouse, boat rental facilities, storage building, information and waiting room, and float plane landing area. The exact site of the development, however, was dependent upon a survey to find adequate water depths for the size of boats that were being planned. Kukak Bay, the final development site, was more long-term in scope. A future multi-use development, on the same scale as Brooks Camp, was planned there. Plans were put on hold, however, until travel to the coast could be developed. [137]

The plan, however, was by no means a one-sided development document. The plan, for example, called for the addition of some 541,900 acres to the monument; major additions were called for in the Douglas and Kamishak river drainages and in the American and Hardscrabble creek drainages. The plan also called for a Lower Naknek Lake addition, which would bring the proposed Lower Naknek Lake development site within the monument's boundaries.

The Master Plan Brief also proposed that the Northern Consolidated camp at Lake Grosvenor be abolished. Two reasons were given. First, planners felt that there had been "practically no use of the camp in recent years by Park visitors;" second, the lake was planning to be included in a wilderness area. The Wilderness Act had become law in 1964, and as a result, planners for the first time were attempting to determine which of Katmai's lands belonged in the National Wilderness Preservation System. They determined that most of the monument--slightly over two million acres--should be so categorized. The only areas not proposed for wilderness were Naknek and Brooks Lake, the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes road, and a buffer zone which extended a few miles around each. [138]

In January 1967, the Master Plan Brief was updated, and several significant modifications were implemented. The locations and degree of facility development remained as they had in the

1965 plan. Those portions dealing with the need to expand the monument, however, were excised; planners still recommended that the Lower Naknek Lake site be developed, but they decided that it was no longer necessary to extend the boundary west to include it. In addition, the revised plan treated wilderness differently; wilderness as a general resource was still included, but specific suggestions regarding the designation of land within the National Wilderness Preservation System were removed. [139]

Access Issues During the 1960s

During the 1950s, both NCA and the NPS had become increasingly aware that access within the monument needed to be improved. Each, however, hoped that the other would sponsor the needed transportation improvements. The bottom line was that given the numbers being attracted to the monument, no one was willing to risk investing in transportation infrastructure.

As noted above, NCA had pinned its main hopes for monument access on the construction of an airstrip near Brooks Camp. They had first presented the idea in 1954, and it was considered off and on until 1958, when Herbert Maier, the Acting Regional Director, decided that the matter should be tabled. The NPS made vague plans for an internal circulation system based on boats and float planes, but the idea was never seriously considered during the budgetary process.

In early 1960, the idea of an airstrip rose again when the concessioner announced that it was embarking on a building program. It planned to build a lodge, seven cabins, a rest room facility and related improvements. NCA, having stuck out its financial neck, required no quid pro quo from the park service. One of its officers, however, implored the agency to "do something concrete" to develop the park; an airstrip was one of several suggested improvements. But the NPS was cool to the idea of spending development dollars in a park that had received one of the lowest visitation levels in the system. Asked to explain the agency's lack of interest, the regional director searched for an excuse before noting that "since the concessioner has developed and is using an airstrip at its Kulik camp outside the monument, we do not consider another strip inside the monument to be of vital importance at this time." In a similar vein, the 1960 master plan downplayed the need for an airstrip, suggesting that "Katmai transportation should be limited in general to boats and float planes unless future study determines the necessity for a landing strip." [140]

Although the agency's 1965 Master Plan Brief noted that no airstrips for land-based planes would be developed, [141] NCA made another attempt to construct an airstrip near Brooks Camp. In 1966, airline officials began to recognize the need to purchase jet airplanes in order to adequately serve its far-flung system; in order to afford them, they began speaking to Wien Air Alaska officials about a possible merger. The two airlines announced the merger on March 15, 1967. The effect of the announcement, as it related to the Katmai camps, was a desire to extract higher profits from them. The increasing number of visitors during the 1960s gave some hope of enhanced revenues. Airline officials perceived that if access restrictions at Brooks Camp could be eased, greater site development would ensue.

The NPS, at the time, was interested in issuing long-term contracts to concessioners throughout the system. [142] But NCA officials felt so strongly about the necessity of the airstrip that they tied its construction to the creation of a new contract, just as they had done in 1955. The runway for such a strip was ideally to be 5000 to 6000 feet in length, which was enough to land the Boeing 737-200s the airline was intending to purchase. But they were willing to settle for a 3000-3500 foot strip so that a Twin Otter or Skyvan SC7 would be able to use it. [143] The concessioner argued that an airstrip was needed for reasons of safety and reasoned that inasmuch as Alaska's other NPS units contained airstrips, Katmai should offer one as well. [144] But in May 1967 NPS officials rejected the airstrip idea yet again, reasoning that such a

facility would change the "wilderness atmosphere and the feeling of isolation and remoteness that it now has." The concessioner responded to the rejection by indicating it would "invest substantially in the area if it warranted such action," but unless the airstrip question could be resolved he promised no new improvements. [145]

The idea of a Brooks Camp airstrip was, by now, effectively dead. In January 1968, an NPS official dutifully offered to incorporate the airport issue into the monument's master planning process. That master plan, however, took five years to complete, and gave no encouragement toward those who hoped to have an airstrip built. The 1974 final wilderness plan noted that "no aircraft landing strips are planned within the monument," and proposed that the planned airstrip site be included in the National Wilderness Preservation System. [146] When the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act was signed, however, the area surrounding the airstrip was one of the few areas in the pre-1978 monument that was not designated as wilderness.

Meanwhile, other access questions continued to fester during the 1960s. In order to promote transportation within the park, and to obviate the need for an airstrip, the 1965 Master Plan Brief noted that "A program must be devised to permit access to the Monument for greater numbers of people by means other than float plane. The development of harbor facilities on lower Naknek Lake will make possible access to the area." It bluntly stated that "Naknek Lake will be the principal traffic artery for the transportation of visitors and supplies to developed areas on the lake shore," and it reiterated the need for a large boat which would shuttle visitors back and forth between King Salmon, Brooks Camp, and the proposed visitor complex at Bay of Islands. Alaska's Congressman, Ralph Rivers, also recognized the need. The NPS, however, continued to urge that the boat be owned and operated by the concessioner, while others hoped that the NPS would take on the job. [147]

In order to spur development in the monument, both the NPS director and the regional director briefly expressed their willingness to sponsor a road connecting King Salmon and Brooks Camp. The agency was then under considerable pressure because of its opposition to a trans-peninsula highway, and had gone on record as considering such a spur road if the trans-peninsula highway had been constructed outside of the monument. Recognizing the importance of preserving the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes at all costs, officials may have felt that constructing a spur road could be done without undue harm to Katmai's resources. The cost of such a road, however, and the opposition of other NPS officials prevented such a concept from gaining much headway. [148]

For the rest of the decade, the stalemate over transportation continued, although the responsibility for its development shifted. By 1967, the NPS recognized that the concessioner had neither the willingness nor the financial incentive to sponsor a tour-boat operation. Therefore, the agency took control over its development, although it took no action to create such a system. [149]

NPS officials, ever wary of protecting the monument's resource values, began to become concerned during the mid-1960s about the proliferation of aircraft using the monument. Until 1949, the monument had ostensibly been closed to all aircraft except those on official agency business. Thereafter, the monument had been open from May 15 until September 15. But by 1965, officials felt that the "Regulation permitting indiscriminate land of aircraft anywhere within the Monument should be revised to designate specific sites adjacent to developed areas." They were particularly worried that, with the growing popularity of helicopters, monument values were in danger of being lost. [150] But no new regulations came forth.

For awhile, NPS officials resurrected the idea, first promulgated in the 1950s, of a boat docking and float plane base at Mortuary Cove, just north of Brooks Camp. The cove was appealing because the site was more protected than the area surrounding the mouth of Brooks River, and

because a remote site for takeoffs and landings would interfere less with guest activities at the camp. The idea of developing the cove resurfaced in the 1965 Master Plan Brief; the plan also proposed new camping, visitor contact and staff facilities along the road that was to be constructed between the camp and the cove. [151]

A year later, the superintendent formally proposed construction at the site, suggesting that a utility area and fuel storage facility be built in addition to a dock. An engineering company surveyed the site that summer. Development at the cove continued to be considered as late as October 1967. The construction proposal was considered over the next several years, but it was never funded, and by 1972 the idea of improvements at the cove had been officially abandoned. At various times during the 1970s, the agency proposed other uses there: as a temporary boat storage, as the site for a relocated Brooks Camp campground, or as an overflow campground. None of these were immediately implemented. Not until the 1990s did Mortuary Cove assume its present role as a mooring area for park boats. [152]

Another access issue that the Park Service had to wrestle with was the problem of how to cross Brooks River. During the 1950s, there was little relatively demand to cross the river; fishermen did not need to cross it in order to fish its mouth or the Brooks Falls area. Those who fished the south bank of the Brooks River, and the staff at the Brooks Lake fisheries station, used boats provided by the concessioner. Several plans during the 1950s proposed the construction of a footbridge; in 1956 a bridge was partially constructed, but it was damaged the same year by high water. Nothing more came of the plans. [153]

When, in 1960, NCA proposed to improve its facilities, it began to pressure the Service for support facilities. Among the items that it hoped the NPS would supply were docks, both for float planes and skiffs. [154] The agency ignored NCA's request, at least for the time being.

The construction of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes road exacerbated the river-crossing problem. To make the crossing more convenient, the NPS included, in the road building contract, a provision for the construction of two small docks. On the south bank a small, L-shaped dock was built near the present bus loading area, while on the north side a linear dock was laid out at the head of a small embayment. This embayment, which no longer exists, was located just upriver from the mouth of the Brooks River and downstream from the Valley Road terminus. The concessioner used several small powerboats to ferry guests back and forth across the river. In the mid-1960s the superintendent attempted to obtain funds for a narrow suspension bridge, but the request was denied. [155] Lacking other choices, powerboats remained the primary method of stream-crossing for the remainder of the decade.

Staff and the Enforcement Problem

During the 1950s, Katmai had subsisted on a minimal budget, and its staff had henceforth been able to do little but oversee activities at the Brooks River fishing camp. The agency was able to hire an additional ranger as early as 1955, but as late as 1959, the monument was still staffed by two seasonal rangers and its budget was still less than $10,000. [156] The monument had not, by that date, received a budgetary allowance for either roads and trails or for buildings and utilities. Consequently, only two rustic buildings had been constructed: the original ranger cabin, at the site of today's Brooks Camp campground, and the present visitor contact station. Whatever trails had been cleared had likewise been the result of volunteer efforts of NPS rangers. After the 1960 season, the Katmai staff still consisted of just two personnel: a ranger-in-charge and a seasonal park ranger. [157]

From 1960 through 1964, the monument's budget roughly doubled, and further improvements were witnessed. Several buildings were established at Brooks Camp in 1962 and 1963, when

the Valley Road was being constructed; in addition, a shelter was built at Three Forks Overlook, at the road terminus. The completion of the road meant that additional staff were needed to accompany the vehicles heading up to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. More important, the Valley Road tour attracted visitors who were attracted to a broad range of monument resources.

By 1965, basic facilities had been completed in King Salmon, and the Supervisory Park Ranger, which heretofore had wintered at Mount McKinley, took up winter residency at the King Salmon headquarters. [158] For the remainder of the decade, budgets and staff enjoyed a healthy growth. The monument budget, which had been slightly over $20,000 in fiscal year 1964, grew sixfold in just five years. (From 1966 to 1967 it more than doubled.) New staff residences--two cabins and three framed tents--appeared at Brooks Camp. By 1970, the monument was able to boast two permanent employees--a management assistant and a park ranger--along with five seasonal employees. [159]

The growth in staff gave the monument some help in the management of its resources. In the 1950s, monument officials had had scant ability to quickly visit the more remote portions of their domain. The agency was never certain that its borders were secure against threats from poachers. Based on their relationship with Fish and Wildlife Service agents, the first NPS rangers knew that "serious poaching by hunters, trappers, and fishermen occurs regularly" and that the need for "organized protection of wildlife and other resources ... is obvious." The agency tried, without success, to bolster its appropriation to support its law enforcement functions. [160] But rangers lacked that ability because they were seldom able to leave Brooks Camp. They considered themselves fortunate when the concessioner offered them flights into the more remote areas of the monument. [161] To aid in enforcement efforts, the Fish and Wildlife Service continued to assist the NPS, and its officers continued to be deputized as park rangers. Even so, enforcement personnel sallied away from Brooks Camp only two or three times each summer, and an NPS visit to the coastal side of the monument was a rare event. [162]

During the 1960s, additional staff helped control the increasing level of activity at Brooks Camp. Outside of the camp and the Valley Road corridor, however, the agency remained almost powerless to recognize, let alone gain control over, possibly illegal activities in the remote sections of the park. Poaching, the worst of those problems, became an increasing problem during this period. [163] By 1965, when the Advisory Board on National Parks, Buildings, Historic Sites and Monuments visited the monument, they noted that "Katmai ... without planes and with too few boats, is completely incapable of managing and protecting these grand places. Poaching is a universal problem." [164] Regional office staff warned that three new rangers were immediately needed "to provide even token protection and minimal observation to the vast area."

The NPS tried as best as it could to control the poaching problem. In October 1966, Management Assistant Darrell Coe made the first arrest for violating the monument's hunting regulations when he cited Andy Runyan for guiding a client on a brown bear hunt. As part of the same case, Coe also cited a pilot, Robert King, for landing in the monument out of season. Both violators were convicted and fined. The NPS was pleased to gain the two convictions; even so, the agency considered both fines woefully inadequate, because they did little to deter poaching in the monument. [165]

The Runyan case, while nominally successful, was particularly frustrating because it underscored the difficulty in enforcing the regulations against hunting. In so doing, it exposed the laissez faire attitude which the local judicial system held toward hunting violations, and it also showed that Park Service officials sometimes had to make decisions based on political expediency rather than the protection of park values.

The case, at first, was a clear violation of monument regulations. Runyan had taken a wealthy Austrian hunter named Kurt Smolka into the monument to shoot a trophy brown bear on October 26, 1966. The kill was made 19 miles inside monument boundaries, about 40 miles southeast of King Salmon in the King Salmon River drainage. By dint of some excellent detective work, Coe apprehended Runyan, confiscated the bear hide, and took the guide before the U.S. Commissioner in Anchorage on October 31. Runyan was fined $300. Robert King of Naknek, the pilot who flew Runyan and Smolka on the poaching expedition, was later fined $200 ($175 suspended) for landing an airplane in the monument between September 15 and May 15. [166]

Soon after making the case, Coe began getting telephone calls from Washington offices of the NPS asking for a "full report" and inquiring about the procedures that had been followed. He interpreted this as subtle pressure to drop the case; he believed that Oscar Dick, Superintendent at Mount McKinley and his supervisor, had received the same kinds of pressure. In Coe's opinion, Dick was transferred from McKinley to Bryce Canyon, Utah, because of his support for Coe. (Dick left Mount McKinley in February 1967.)

Despite the surmised pressure, Coe pressed the case. Smolka paid the guide's $300 fine. The hunter insisted on getting his bear hide back, and began to work through the Austrian government to recover it. He claimed to have a museum on his estate and indicated his desire to display the hide there. [167] The U.S. State Department, apparently anxious to please the Austrians, asked the NPS to retrieve the bear hide. NPS Director George Hartzog, unwilling to provoke an international incident, backed down. He ordered George Hall, who was en route to McKinley to replace Oscar Dick, to recover the bear hide. Hall found it in an Anchorage taxidermy shop, and the NPS paid to have it treated and shipped to the Austrian museum. Appalled at the NPS's resolution of the Smolka case, Coe submitted his resignation at the end of the 1967 visitor season. [168]

Perhaps because of the Smolka case, the lack of protection given the monument resulted in nationwide press. In 1969, the Christian Science Monitor featured an article, "Millions of Acres Get One Ranger," detailing the enforcement difficulties. It noted that "poachers are believed to be robbing the monument of some of its rare wildlife [although] No one really knows..." Bears, wolves, moose, and sea lions were all thought to be poached in large numbers. [169]

NPS officials were acutely aware of the problem. One regional official noted that

> The existing staff ... is not adequate to survey and protect the Monument resources considering the fact that the area is nearly twice the size of Yellowstone. The lack of personnel has become a point of negative discussion among the bush pilots and others familiar with the resources of the Monument... [170]

As the 1960s wore on, the budget allowed occasional overflights of the Katmai backcountry. In early 1967, the enforcement effort was enhanced when two local pilots with the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife (part of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service) agreed to fly patrols for them. In 1969, the number of reconnaissance flights over the monument had risen to thirteen. [171] Contributing to the lack of enforcement, however, was the inability to independently travel into remote areas. Superintendent Gil Blinn, who arrived at the park in 1969, wryly remembered the situation this way:

> We would charter airplanes the first few years there, the Peninsula Airways. I always had the disquieting feeling though that as soon as we got in the air the word was out to the guide community that, hey, lay low for a couple of hours [because] the Park Service is out in the park. And their activities were pretty well known. We could never really confront it. We were [also] at a disadvantage because we had to

> depend on others to provide the transportation to us and so we would go at their convenience rather than when our need was. [172]

Such problems would ameliorate somewhat when the NPS gained the ability to use Office of Aircraft Services equipment, but they would not be overcome until the agency obtained its own airplane.

Creation of McNeil River State Game Sanctuary

Meanwhile, the state of Alaska was taking actions on its own to protect the brown bear. It set its sights on the McNeil River, a bear-laden stream near the northeastern boundary of the monument. McNeil River had jumped out of obscurity in 1954, when the National Geographic Magazine published an article showing photographs of the site. (Cecil Rhode, on contract for the Fish and Wildlife Service, was the writer and photographer. He was careful to avoid naming or locating the site, but even so, word eventually leaked out.) Soon afterward the Alaska Game Commission closed the area to bear hunting. [173] In order to guarantee its management over the area, the state made land selections up and down the river valley between October 1966 and January 1967. A total of 118,429 acres in six townships was chosen. During the ensuing session, the Alaska legislature passed HB 156, to create a 83,600-acre McNeil River State Game Sanctuary. Governor Walter Hickel signed the bill on April 19. McNeil River was the state's second designated sanctuary, the first being Round Island, near Togiak. The refuge was declared a National Natural Landmark in June 1968. [174] Designation of the refuge had little immediate effect on area visitation; in 1969, for instance, officials recorded fewer than ten site visits. [175]

Should Katmai Be Designated a National Park?

During the 1950s and 1960s, officials from both the private and public sector made frequent observations that Katmai should become a national park. Ray Petersen, the new concessioner, may have been first when he declared in the summer of 1950 that "the more I think of it the more I am inclined to agree that this area should be changed to a national park." George Collins, the NPS planner, also thought that Katmai should become a national park. [176] The NPS, as part of its boundary-adjustment program in the mid-1950s, suggested "that national park status ... will be recommended at the appropriate time." [177]

After a decade of operating the Katmai concessions operation, Petersen again suggested the idea of a national park in a conversation with Senator Ernest Gruening, noting that a national park had greater advertising value than a national monument. Gruening wrote to Alaska's Commissioner of Natural Resources about the idea; he, in turn, passed the word on to Governor William A. Egan and the Commissioner of Fish and Game. All rejected any notion of a national park. Some were concerned about the loss of state authority, while others feared the increase of regulations that was bound to accompany a full-fledged national park. [178]

During the 1960s the calls continued to be made for a national park, but most were internally generated. NPS officials lost few opportunities to explain to others, both inside and outside the agency, that Katmai was fully deserving of park status. In March 1961 Mount McKinley's superintendent urged the regional director to consider the idea, [179] and The Advisory Board on National Parks, Buildings, Historic Sites and Monuments, during their 1965 visit, felt that the monument was "worthy of National Park status," and both the 1965 and the 1967 version of the Master Plan Brief hoped "to redesignate the Monument to National Park status at the earliest propitious time." [180] In December 1967, NPS Director George Hartzog declared to Governor Walter Hickel,

> We are hopeful that Katmai National Monument will also become a national park some day, as it too warrants such recognition. It is truly one of the great wilderness areas of the world and contains outstanding scientific values also. [181]

Despite the growing recognition that the monument should be considered as a park, no senator or representative brought that idea into the legislative arena. Not on an individual level, at least. During the 1970s, as shall be seen in the following chapter, Katmai became a repeated object of legislative deliberation as part of the larger Alaska lands issue.

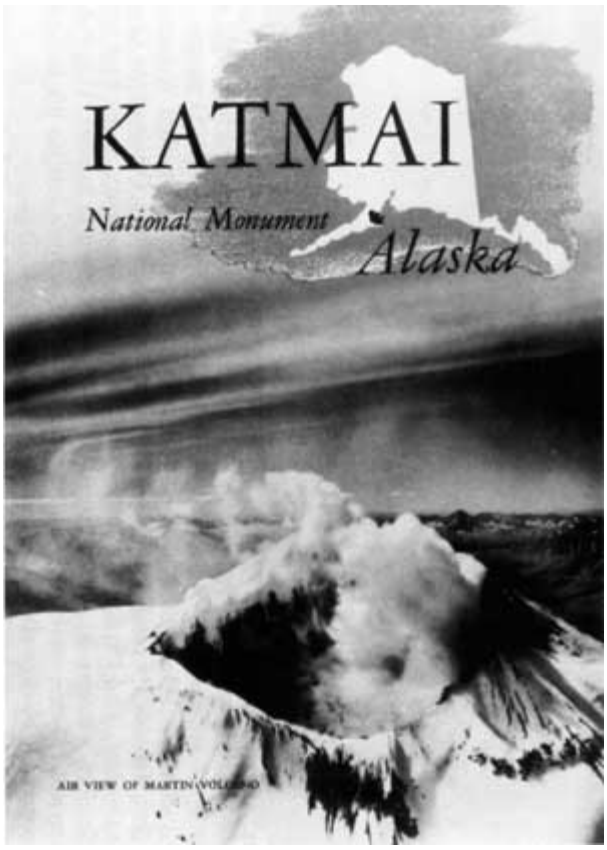


In June 1950, Willie Nancarrow (second from left), a full-time employee at Mount McKinley, began serving as

Katmai's first ranger. He remained until mid-August and returned for a short stint in 1951. The photo, by Steve Buskirk (second from right), was taken at Mount McKinley in October 1975. The other men are Jim Rogers (left), Gary Brown (center), and Tom Adams (right). *(File 27-112, DENA Collection)*



Shown in this photo is Katmai's first ranger station, located at the site of today's Brooks River Campground. The two-room, tent-frame residence remaind until 1956, when a log ranger station (today's visitor contact station) was built. *(Victor Cahalane photo, September 1953; NPS Photo Collection, neg. 66-110)*





In 1952, the first Katmai interpretive brochure (left) featured Mount Martin, an intermittently-steaming volcano. On the right is the log cache near the original Brooks Camp ranger station. *(File 404 (left) and File 207 (right), both in KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB)*



In 1953 and 1954, several agencies collaborated on the Katmai Project, which brought a diverse group of scientists to the monument. Shown here, in this August 1953 photo taken by Victor Cahalane at the Kukak Bay cannery, are (front row) Dr. Rolf Werner Juhle (Johns Hopkins University), William F. Thompson (U.S. Army, Office of the Quartermaster General), and Dr. John B. Lucke (University of Connecticut); in the back row are Mr. Sanders, a mechanic,; Mr. Williams, the pilot; and Everett L. Schiller (U.S. Public Health Service). Within weeks after the

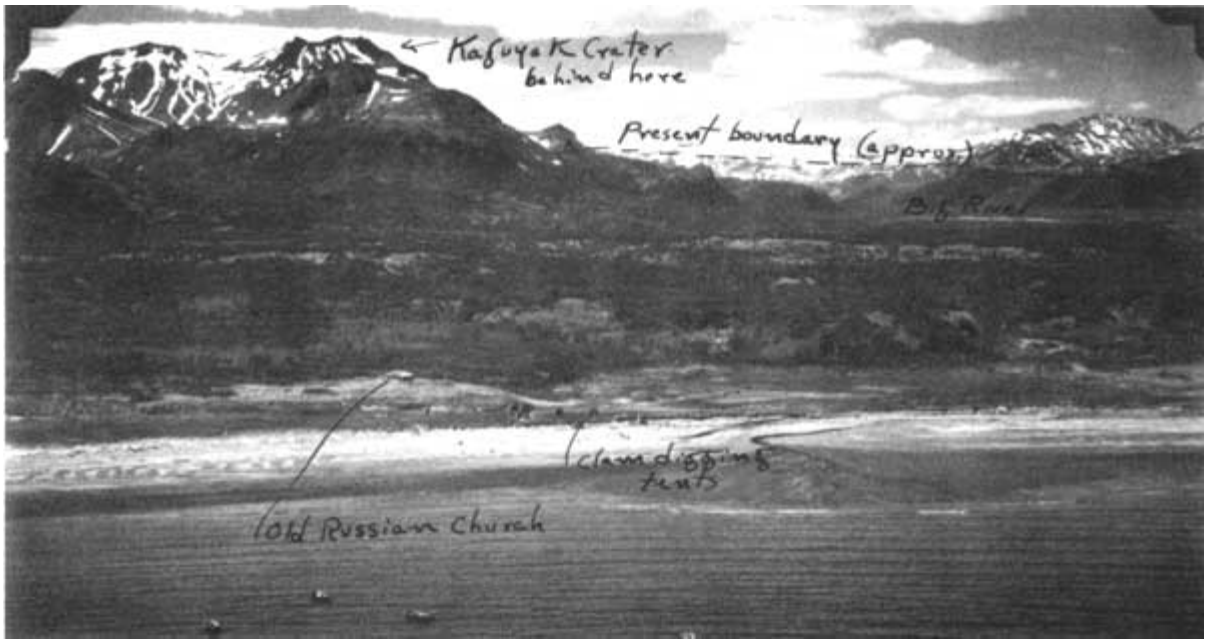
photo was taken, Dr. Juhle lost his life in Knife Creek, presumably by drowning. *(NPS Photo Collection, neg. 66-182)*





(top) The Katmai Project continued during the summer of 1954. Shown here, at Knife Creek Camp in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, are George B. Schaller, a University of Alaska biology graduate student; W. S. Woods, the pilot; and NPS biologist Victor Cahalane. In the background is a Piper Pacer on tandem wheels. Cahalane took the photo. (bottom) Robert Luntey, a recreation planner in the NPS's Region Four (San Francisco) office, was the agency's coordinator of the Katmai Project. Cahalane took this photo in September 1953 (with moose antlers) at the west end of Lake Grosvenor, near NCA's Grosvenor Camp concessions operation. *(NPS Photo Collection, neg. 12033 (top); NPS Photo Collection, neg. 66-171 (bottom))*





(top) Northern Consolidated Airlines built Brooks Camp in 1950, and for years afterward it was the primary access route to the monument as well as Katmai's concessioner. This photo, taken in June 1959 shortly after NCA's Cessna T-50 Bushmaster arrived, looks north along the Naknek Lake shore from Brooks Camp. (bottom) In 1952, prodded by Alaska Delegate Bob Bartlett, the NPS commenced a boundary review study. Shown in an aerial photograph taken that year is the village of Kaguyak, along Shelikof Strait. It was probably Lowell Sumner, an NPS biologist, who marked the boundary and other features on the photo. Little evidence of Kaguyak remains today. *(Ward Wells Collection #2074-10, AMHA (top); File 602, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARASB (bottom))*





In August 1965, the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, visited Katmai as part of its Alaskan tour. The top photo, taken at Brooks Camp, shows (left to right) Frank Melvin (NPS); NPS Director George Hartzog, with a cigar; Ed Hummel (NPS), partially hidden by Hartzog; Ray Peterson (NCA), second from right; and Dick Wittmer, a House Interior commitee staffer, at far right. (The other men are unidentified.) The bottom photo, which was taken at Glacier Bay National Monument a few days earlier, shows

Director Hartzog (left) conversing with Advisory Board member Mel Grosvenor (NGS). *(Ted Swem Collection (both photos))*





(top) George Hall served as the Mount McKinley Superintendent (and de facto Katmai chief) from 1967 to 1969; he then served, in Anchorage, as the first General Superintendent of the Alaska Group Office. P. G. Sanchez took this photo in June 1967. (bottom) NPS officials who worked on Katmai issues from the 1940s through the 1970s included Alfred Kuehl (landscape architect), Robert Luntey (planner), Merrill Mattes (historian, in front), and Bailey O. Breedlove (landscape architect). The photo was taken by Robert Howe in August 1967. *(File 27-99, DENA Collection (top); Robert Howe Collection, photo GB 828 (bottom))*

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 5:
Katmai and The Alaska Lands Controversy, 1969-1980

Early Attempts to Resolve Statewide Lands Issues

During the 1960s, a rising number of voices began to demand that some solution be found to the problem of undesignated Alaskan land. For decades, there had been few pressures to develop the great majority of Alaska's land resources; more than 95 percent of Alaska was nominally administered by the U.S. Bureau of Land Management. There were, to be sure, 1.3 million acres of privately-held lands, which were chiefly located in and around the state's towns and villages. In addition, the federal government administered some 92 million acres of military reservations, power and petroleum reserves, national parks and monuments, national forests, and wildlife refuges, and it was also a trustee over two Indian reservations. Most of the state, however, was a de facto wilderness that was open to travel, fishing, trapping, hunting, mineral exploration, settlement, and appropriation under the federal land laws. Many Alaskans thought that the vast majority of the state, particularly those portions remote from the contiguous highway network, had little value. Most of those who lived Outside, moreover, knew little about those lands and cared even less about them.

The initial step toward unraveling the prevailing laissez faire attitude took place on June 30, 1958, when the Alaska Statehood Bill passed Congress. The act was exceedingly generous to the state. Instead of granting the state less than ten percent of its acreage, as had been true when most of the western territories had been granted statehood, Alaska was allowed to choose 104,500,000 acres--almost 28 percent of its land area--to use or sell as the state saw fit. [1]

State planners, looking for future sources of revenue, selected lands which had the best opportunities for oil, gas and hard-rock mineral extraction. During the 1960s, they selected some 28,000,000 acres. Early selections, however, began to impinge on lands traditionally used by Alaska's Natives. Alaska's aboriginal peoples had not been organized on a statewide (or territory-wide) level before the early 1960s. By 1966, however, the Alaska Federation of Natives was a reality, and the new organization soon began to lobby for a bill that would guarantee control over their traditional use lands. [2]

Meanwhile, the National Park Service began its own efforts to resolve the growing lands issue. The agency, over the years, had made no comprehensive studies regarding which areas belonged in the NPS system; instead, the system had grown, one unit at a time, as a result of a wide variety of pressures from transportation carriers, commercial interests, politicians, and scientists. George B. Hartzog, who became Director in January 1964, hoped to engage the agency in a systemwide inventory and evaluation effort. To that end, he appointed a series of task forces to analyze park possibilities in various regional areas. Hartzog soon recognized that if significant growth in the park system were to occur, that growth would have to be in Alaska.

The Alaska Task Force, formed in November 1964, was composed of outsiders familiar with the state--George Collins, Robert Luntey, Sigurd Olson, and Doris Leonard. (John Kauffmann, an NPS employee, was chosen as an editorial assistant.)

The group issued a report the following January called Operation Great Land. The study identified a total of 39 vaguely-defined "zones and sites containing examples of recreation, natural, and historic resources," and urged that the agency make a "massive investment" in the state. The study, the first which attempted to assess future parklands on a statewide level, was the first volley in what would prove to be long battle, and even though the report was not published, it provided the basis for future efforts. Regarding Katmai, the report called for a small expansion at the west end of the monument, "about 20 miles long and 10 miles wide," and a larger expansion to the north, "about 100 miles long and 40 miles wide." Both of the proposed additions had previously been considered, by Conrad Wirth and Lowell Sumner (1952) and by Victor Cahalane (1953). [3]

Once Operation Great Land had broken the ice, other elements within the service began to suggest expanding the monument. The 1965 Master Plan Brief, for example, suggested boundary expansions in the same areas as those envisioned by Hartzog's task force. [4] Soon, however, two events complicated the situation regarding land acquisition in the Katmai area. In the fall of 1966, the state began to select land from various townships along the wildlife-rich McNeil River. Within the next few months almost the entire drainage had been claimed. The state's action was in slight conflict with NPS plans for the area; the NPS had identified McNeil River, "with its superb brown bear habitat," as an area of significance in its proposed northern expansion. But there was no conflict between the state selected lands and the proposed NPS expansion which appeared in the 1965 Master Plan Brief. [5]

The second event took place when the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, slapped a land freeze on lands north of the monument. Such an action had been anticipated for some time. The Classification and Multiple Use Act, which had passed Congress in September 1964, had called for the eventual classification and delineation of BLM lands for specific purposes. The act, however, could not be applied until the Interior Department drew up supporting regulations. The process might have taken years, but pressure by Native groups, who were angry at the proliferating number of state selections, helped speed up the process. By August 1966, Interior Department officials had told the NPS that a land freeze in the Katmai area was in the offing; as a result, the agency's Master Plan Brief which was released in January 1967 proposed no new lands to the monument. [6]

In March 1967 the proposed land freeze was published in the Federal Register. It took the form of a proposed classification for over 6.6 million acres of BLM land in the Iliamna-Cook Inlet areas, in which "subject to existing rights, publication of this notice segregates [i.e., prevents] the described lands from all forms of appropriation [homesteading, oil leasing, transportation corridors, etc.] under the public land laws..." [7] A hearing on the proposed action was held in King Salmon on May 2; those in attendance generally supported BLM's proposal. After minor modifications were made, the BLM announced in October the issuance of the classification order, and by mid-December it was enforcing its provisions. [8] As a result, NPS hopes for adding lands to Katmai (or other NPS units) were put on hold for the time being.

The 1969 Boundary Expansion

Udall's land freeze prevented NPS officials from considering the addition of any new monument acreage along the northern border. It did not, however, prevent a western boundary expansion. Before the freeze, the Service's New Area Studies Division had considered both extensions as active proposals; Udall's action eliminated one of the two proposals. [9]

In the fall of 1967, NPS Director Hartzog brought up the expansion proposal to both Governor Walter Hickel and Senator E. L. Bartlett. In his letter to Hickel, Hartzog suggested future tourism development when he explained that

> Improved visitor access and facilities are directly related to the proposed boundary extension to the [west] to include the rest of Naknek Lake. This extension will add not only a very fine water resource but also a base for access into the monument to be served by road from King Salmon. We are presently exploring this boundary change possibility with the Bureau of Land Management. [10]

In July 1968, Secretary Udall met with White House officials to discuss the idea of setting aside additional lands as monuments during the waning days of the Johnson administration. (President Johnson, by this time, had already announced that he would not run for re-election.) Udall was given the go-ahead to proceed with the project, which soon became known as "Project P." A month later he met with NPS Assistant Director Theodor Swem, and requested him to prepare a list of possible areas. Swem produced a wide-ranging list: in Alaska, candidate areas included Mount McKinley, Katmai, Gates of the Arctic, St. Lawrence Island, Wrangell Mountains, Saint Elias Range, Lake Clark Pass, and Wood-Tikchik. By October 18, Swem's list had been narrowed considerably; included from a nationwide inventory were just six areas in which Udall had shown an interest. Two of the six were in Alaska: an extension to Mount McKinley and an extension to Katmai. [11]

Over the next two months, various officials critiqued the list, the result being that one new unit--Gates of the Arctic National Monument, in Alaska--was added to the list. The seven proposed monuments were then announced in the Federal Register, and presented to President Johnson for his signature. Johnson waited until the last moments of his term in office to resolve the matter; he was, in fact, already dressed for Nixon's inauguration when he made his decision. Johnson had the opportunity to create monuments transferring over 7.6 million acres to the protection of the National Park Service. Of that total, 6.4 million acres would have been in Alaska. He decided, however, to sign the proclamations for only the four smallest monuments, which together preserved just 385,000 acres. Of the three national monument proclamations proposed for Alaska, the only one he signed was Proclamation 3890, which expanded Katmai National Monument 94,547 acres to the westward. [12]

Alaskan officials at both the state and federal levels were furious upon hearing that the Katmai acreage had been removed from the public domain. They were slightly mollified to hear that the Mount McKinley and Gates of the Arctic withdrawals had not taken place, but they were angry at the Katmai withdrawal and even more angry that they had not been briefed on the proposed withdrawals until they lay on Johnson's desk waiting to be signed. Howard W. Pollock, the state's lone U.S. House member, called the process a "dictatorial step." [13] He vented his anger by preparing amendments to the Antiquities Act which would prevent the Executive Branch from creating monuments without a public review process. [14] Ted Stevens, who had just been appointed as a U.S. Senator one month earlier, vowed to withdraw the monument designation and asked the Senate Interior Committee to hold hearings in Alaska on the issue. (No such hearings were held, however.) Mike Gravel, Alaska's Democratic senator, approved of the Johnson proclamation. He added, "I would hope that the withdrawal will hasten the day when more Americans can wander through the scenic lagoons, glaciers, lakes and craters which make Katmai one of the natural wonders of the world." [15]

Other Alaskans were just as virulent in their opposition to the move as Pollock and Stevens. State officials wrote the Congressional delegation and demanded that the Katmai withdrawal be rescinded. Local residents protested the action as well; one fumed, "This latest addition has absolutely no scenic value." [16]

So far as is known, bureaucrats took no further action on the boundary expansion. But locals, who had just had some excellent, accessible hunting and trapping grounds taken away from them, did not forget. During the 1970s, as an increasing number of voices were raised to expand the monument yet again, the citizens of Naknek, King Salmon and nearby communities remained bitter about the 1969 proclamation, and stood implacably opposed to any further expansion. NPS officials listened to their complaints and tried to sympathize with their plight. Many, however, felt that the national interest outweighed local concerns. [17]

Katmai Gets a Superintendent

By the time President Johnson made his proclamation, Katmai had been a national monument for more than 50 years. During the majority of that time, the monument had lacked on-site administrators of any kind. Since 1950 the level of administration had slowly increased; late 1964 witnessed the creation of the monument's first full-time staff position, and in the spring of 1966 Katmai's ranger-in-charge, Darrell Coe, was elevated to the management assistant level. That promotion, combined with the establishment of the Alaska Group Office, gave the park greater independence and management authority than it had previously enjoyed. Thanks to the efforts of Director George Hartzog, Katmai and the other Alaska NPS units were becoming increasingly well funded. Personnel levels, which had been meager just a few years before, had expanded to the point that by 1969 the total staff numbered thirteen. But the 2,697,000-acre monument was still woefully understaffed; the management assistant remained the only full-time, permanent appointment. And because Katmai lacked its own superintendent, it was still a "satellite monument" which was still largely dependent upon officials in McKinley Park and San Francisco. [18]

During the summer of 1969, Katmai's long period of dependence, at long last, entered its final hour. Tom Atwood, the monument's management assistant, left the position in May. [19] John Rutter, the head of the newly-designated Northwest District Office, reacted by contacting Gilbert Blinn, a district ranger at Death Valley National Monument. Blinn, who had just completed an ascent of Mount McKinley with fellow NPS employees Paul Haertel and John Dalle-Molle, was interested in moving to Alaska. He was offered the management assistant's position in August and assumed the position on September 7, 1969. Eighteen months later, in March 1971, his position was upgraded to superintendent. His pay and the scope of his responsibilities, however, were the same as they had been before. [20]

Problems Administering the Monument, 1969-1974

Blinn had no lack of issues with which to deal once he arrived at the monument. Brooks Camp's garbage was one major concern, because of its effect on bear populations. (This problem is discussed in detail in Chapter 9.) Another problem he faced was the lack of continuity in local management. The problem was a long-standing one, because the local NPS representative had usually served relatively short, two- to three-year stints at the monument. Blinn solved that problem, in part, by his own longevity; he served as superintendent for almost ten years.

Dealing with poachers was yet another management headache. Poaching was particularly frustrating because there was little that Blinn could do about it. Two fellow bureaucrats, Dan France from the Alaska Department of Fish and Game and Bill Pinette from the U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries (later the National Marine Fisheries Service), were able to identify the extent of the problem, and even knew the identities of the poachers. But as noted in Chapter 4, however, the NPS was hamstrung because it had no plane. Making the problem worse was the local U.S. District Court, which was too overloaded to give adequate emphasis to poaching

cases. And the Smolka case of 1966 demonstrated that when convictions could be obtained, the penalties were often woefully inadequate. [21]

Superintendent Blinn recalled a particularly emotional encounter that underscored his lack of enforcement ability. In 1971, he held a hearing in Naknek on the master plan which was then under consideration. At the hearing, a man stood up and said, "You guys have had that [Shelikof Strait] coastline out there for 50 years and you haven't done a thing with it. It's obvious you are not managing the park." Blinn could only agree with the prevailing strong feelings. He was well aware that guides were coming in freely and openly throughout the park, yet he was denying the locals the chance to go up and get a moose or caribou. [22]

A partial solution to the problem was found in 1972 or 1973 when the NPS obtained the services of an Anchorage-based Office of Aircraft Services (OAS) plane. Most of the OAS flying was done in conjunction with the planning effort carried on by the agency's Alaska Task Force. To assist monument operations, however, the OAS agreed to send one of its pilots, Bud Small, out on weekly patrols across the monument during hunting season. Stationing observers in the backcountry, and publicizing their presence, also helped cut down on poaching. But the problem was not really solved. The wheel-based plane was unable to land anywhere in the monument, and the radios which the observers used often failed to function properly.

Poaching was finally brought under control in the late 1970s. By 1976, Superintendent Blinn had become certified as a pilot and owned an OAS-certified Piper Pacer, so he was free to visit the hinterlands at a moment's notice. The following May, OAS provided the park its own plane--a Citabria on floats--and that fall, the OAS replaced it with a Cessna 185 Skywagon floatplane. A fusillade of hunting-violations cases soon followed. Monument personnel, at long last, were finally able to enforce the regulations with which they had been entrusted. By the time Superintendent Blinn left the park in 1979, the monument's anti-poaching program was largely if not totally successful. [23]

Most of the enforcement activity noted above took place in the lake country west of the Aleutian Range. But poaching, to an unknown extent, was also taking place along the Shelikof Strait coastline. Staff reacted by flying out on the coast from time to time; they also camped out and acted as on-site observers. But no evidence of poaching activities was found. [24]

An oil spill in early 1970 caused additional headaches. In January an unknown source, believed to be a tanker, discharged between 3,000 and 6,000 gallons of dirty ballast or slop oils somewhere in the waters of southcentral Alaska. State and federal officials were powerless to deal with the spillage, and by March the oil had spread from Montague Island, at the entrance to Prince William Sound, southwest to Shelikof Strait. Some of that oil had come ashore at Swikshak Bay, on Katmai's eastern shore.

Although oil had probably reached Swikshak Bay in February, National Park Service officials had no inkling that contamination had occurred there until March 8, when the Federal Water Quality Administration (FWQA) investigated. Six days later, a second visit revealed that "balls" of oil had been found on bay beaches. But despite the obvious damage, officials had no baseline information that could be used to determine if wildlife populations had been effected. It does not appear, in fact, that NPS officials visited the site during this period. Lacking obvious signs, such as dead mammals or birds, FWQA concluded that no damage had occurred. [25]

The matter was forgotten for the time being. But recognition that a spill had occurred, and that even a small spill could be environmentally destructive, awakened NPS concerns about future oil development in the area. In 1976 Thomas Kleppe, President Ford's Interior Secretary, proposed an oil and gas lease sale in Lower Cook Inlet. The NPS expressed strong opposition to such a sale, in large part because of its awareness that oil spilled in the area of the lease sale

would likely wash onto the shoreline near Cape Douglas and Kamishak Bay. Before the sale could take place, however, Ford had been succeeded by Jimmy Carter. Cecil Andrus, President Carter's choice for Interior Secretary, demanded that the sale be postponed. A sale finally took place in October 1977; by that time, however, environmental stipulations tempered its deleterious effects. [26]

Another problem area which had to be dealt with was the lack of up-to-date utilities at Brooks Camp. During the 1950s, Northern Consolidated Airlines had maintained a rustic atmosphere at the camp, and amenities relating to water, sewerage, and electricity had been kept to a minimum. But in July 1954, NCA President Ray Petersen told NPS officials that he was contemplating the construction of a lodge. He tried to convince the agency to install a utility system. Regional Director Lawrence Merriam, however, bluntly replied that "it is not feasible for the Service to provide such facilities for the concessioner, unless and until we have a development in the immediate vicinity requiring utilities." In 1960, NCA again wrote the agency, requesting water, power, sewer, and power facilities in conjunction with the lodge it was planning. A lodge was, in fact, built that year, but the agency remained unwilling to invest in facilities in support of a concessioner-dominated camp that had only one NPS building and attracted few independent visitors. [27] As a result, the only NPS utility system was a generator installed in 1956, and a 500 gallon metal septic tank installed in 1961. The concessioner's utility system, which dated from the early 1960s, consisted of three cesspools, each five feet square and six feet deep, together with water and electrical facilities. [28]

With the completion, in 1962, of the road from Brooks Camp to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, the number of visitors increased. The visitors, many of whom did not fish, required better facilities than those expected of a fishing camp. It soon became apparent that the existing infrastructure was obsolete and should be replaced. Shortly after the road was completed, the Chief Engineer in the San Francisco office wrote a study that indicated major changes were needed. Recognizing that planners were calling for a 300-350 person lodge, he recommended that the concessioner needed a $40,000 sewerage system, to consist of a 10,000-gallon septic tank, a disposal field, and sewer lines. He also recommended a $46,000 well and water system and a $50,000 electrical generator system. [29]

Soon afterward, NPS officials recognized--as they had a decade earlier--that any utility improvements intended for the concessioner should include themselves as well. Since 1960 the agency had constructed several new buildings: a boathouse, a warehouse and various employee cabins. Recognizing that the future would bring on more buildings, Mt. McKinley National Park Superintendent Oscar Dick decided to combine the two systems. In 1966, he submitted a Project Construction Proposal for systems to obtain, treat, store and distribute domestic water, to collect and treat sewage, and to generate and distribute power. He proposed a leach field for the treatment of sewage, and two 40-75 kilowatt units for power generation. [30] The PCP conformed in all aspects to the existing master plan.

The concessioner was glad to hear that the two systems were going to be merged. In anticipation of that event, NCA's John Walatka approached the NPS in November 1967 and offered to sell the company's utility system to the agency. NPS officials recognized that the NCA utility system was rapidly deteriorating; in order to spare further environmental harm, therefore, the agency purchased the system in March 1969. [31] Thereafter, in return for a fee, the NPS maintained all sewers for the concessioner except within five feet of the concessioner-owned buildings. [32]

In 1967 a new master planning effort was announced. Thereafter, utility system development was held in abeyance until a new master plan could be completed. [33] The initial draft of the master plan was finally issued to the public in August 1971. During the ensuing years, sentiment grew that Brooks Camp should be de-emphasized as a development site. The draft plan,

therefore, allowed Brooks Camp to grow only to a 100-guest maximum, which was "large enough to afford a profitable business operation, as well as to update the utility system and support facilities to comply with current standards and visitor needs." [34] Planners, therefore, gave a green light for the installation of an improved utility system. Construction, however, had to await the final version of the master plan.

Meanwhile, engineers firmed up construction plans for the proposed system. In October 1970, the NPS's Western Service Center, in San Francisco, issued a draft Design Directive for Brooks Camp. The directive called for a new water supply, new sewer and electrical systems, and other ancillary developments. The final directive, approved the following February, urged that the utilities outlined in the 1966 PCP be constructed. The projected cost for the new systems was $360,000. It was hoped that construction could begin in FY 1972. [35]

Following the preparation of an environmental statement, the NPS, in January 1973, issued a notice for bids for the project. Specifications included the construction of new water, sewerage, fuel storage and electrical systems; in addition, the project called for the erection of new boat docks, landfill fencing and a fish cleaning station. The R. D. Peterson Company won the $590,000 project. The master plan, by good fortune, was completed that December, and work was able to commence in May 1974. [36]

The contract was completed in October 1975. During 1974 and 1975, therefore, disrupted conditions prevailed at Brooks Camp. As Superintendent Blinn recalled the situation, noise from the construction effort started about six in the morning and went on until ten at night. The air was often dusty, and a number of trees had to be removed, some to make way for utility line trenches, others because they grew at the site of the proposed leach field. [37]

Access problems for both planes and boats became an increasing problem during the early 1970s. The use of small powerboats, as noted in Chapter 4, had proven to be a less-than-ideal method for crossing Brooks River. In addition, airplanes found it difficult to remain at Brooks Camp because of windy conditions. Construction of a dock at Mortuary Cove was, by now, deemed unfeasible.

To overcome the difficulties associated with crossing the river, two different planning studies in the late 1960s called for the construction of a footbridge. [38] By 1971, a Brooks Camp design directive noted that "a solution to the crossing of this river is necessary if the present concession bus operation continues." Specifically, it noted that "a trail bridge has been suggested to cross the Brooks River ... to transport fishermen, sightseers, supplies and solid waste across the river. The bridge width shall be limited to six feet in order to exclude conventional vehicles." Due to ecological factors, planners urged that the bridge be located one-quarter to one-half mile upstream from the river mouth, not at the mouth itself. The report proposed that $176,000 be spent for bridge construction in the 1972 fiscal year. [39]

When the Brooks Camp utility system was improved in 1974-75, access issues for both boats and airplanes were not ignored. The construction of an improved dock, to be built near the mouth of Brooks River, was included in the contract. The dock would provide a safe anchorage for planes at Brooks Camp and would better service the boat traffic crossing Brooks River. On the north side of the river the short, linear dock which had existed since the early 1960s was lengthened from approximately 40 feet to 60 feet. In addition, a 68-foot extension was built on the west side of the embayment, and a 173-foot extension added to the east side. [40] But the bridge which had been requested in the 1971 design directive was not included in the utility system contract.

The early to mid-1970s witnessed a healthy growth in the monument's budget. Between 1969 and 1975, the budget grew from $121,000 to $202,400. The increased budget allowed the

monument to hire a few new staff. In 1969, just before the arrival of Superintendent Blinn, the staff was limited to a single management assistant, a maintenance worker, four seasonal rangers, and a seasonal clerk-typist. By 1975, permanent staff consisted of Blinn, a full-time park ranger, and a maintenance mechanic. A half-dozen rangers and a clerk-typist worked during the summer season. [41]

The increased budget also allowed for new improvements. Early on, Blinn hoped to deal with the indiscriminate parking of vehicles on the south side of Brooks River by levelling out a parking area away from public view. By the spring of 1971, he announced the impeding construction of the lot, and urged both Wien Consolidated Airlines (WCA) and National Marine Fisheries Service personnel to avoid parking near the boat dock except during loading and unloading operations. The lot was completed in 1972. [42]

New buildings were also added during the period. Included in the Brooks Camp utility contract was a generator and water treatment building and a fish cleaning building. In addition, the bunk house used by the construction workers became the monument's visitor center in 1977, and is presently called the auditorium. At King Salmon, a double-wide mobile home was delivered in 1974; it was used as the residence of the Maintenance Leader. [43]

Preparing a Master Plan and Wilderness Study

As noted in Chapter 4, the NPS issued its Master Plan Brief for Katmai in 1967. The plan was revised only slightly from the 1965 plan. It was more conservative than before; for instance, it did not call for an expansion of the monument, either to the north or west.

The conservatism of the 1967 document did not, by any means, indicate that agency personnel had given up interest in increasing Katmai's acreage. Instead, it meant that NPS planners were becoming more interested in looking at parklands across the state than merely on a park-by-park basis. In April 1966, the agency opened the Anchorage-based Alaska Field Office. It was staffed by Harry Smith, a park planner. The office was nominally considered an organizational arm of Mount McKinley National Park, and was headed by its superintendent. But its purpose was planning, not operations; in addition, it served to coordinate the NPS's planning activities with those of the State and other Federal agencies. After 1967, the office increasingly served as a liaison to the Office of Cooperative Activities in Washington. Planning teams organized in the Western Service Center in San Francisco spent the next several years preparing master plans for Alaska's existing park areas. They also studied potential new park units. [44]

In December 1966, park planner Bailey O. Breedlove replaced Smith at the Alaska Field Office. A year later, he was appointed as the team captain for a new Katmai master plan. Assisted by team members from the Western Service Center and Mount McKinley National Park, Breedlove plunged into the creation of a new master plan. He was told to have a draft plan ready by the fall of 1968. [45]

The creation of the master plan team put new developments, such as a Brooks Camp airstrip or a new utility system, on hold. It also had the practical effect of extending the concessioner's contract for only one year at a time; a multi-year contract would probably have included provisions for capital expenditures by the NPS and/or the concessioner. [46]

Regional officials originally hoped to complete the master plan draft by the end of 1968. Due to a lack of funding, however, little or no work was accomplished that year. [47]

While planners waited for funding, a major new issue--wilderness--was thrust upon them. Most of the monument was a de facto wilderness; the only developed areas were Brooks and

Grosvenor camps, the Valley road, the area surrounding Lake Camp, and a few scattered cabins and shelters. During the 1950s and early 1960s, few Alaskans perceived that wilderness--either in Katmai or elsewhere in Alaska, for that matter--was a valued resource. But the master plan field study of 1963 clearly stated that wilderness was high on the list of Katmai's virtues. Other NPS plans, since the early 1950s, had implicitly guarded the monument's wilderness resource as well. [48]

In 1964, the Congressional passage of the Wilderness Act made wilderness a national issue. It specifically identified what lands could qualify as wilderness, and set a ten-year timetable by which Federal agencies had to determine which lands should be considered eligible as wilderness. In response, the NPS made a crude wilderness determination in its 1965 Master Plan Brief. Planners concluded that 2,023,890 acres in Katmai--75 percent of its total area--were eligible for wilderness designation. [49]

Katmai planners ignored wilderness for the next three years. In the spring of 1968, however, the Washington-based Assistant Director for Cooperative Activities began to worry about completing the wilderness program on time. Because Katmai was then in the midst of its master plan effort, he urged the master planning team to incorporate wilderness into its planning effort. [50]

Breedlove, who now headed a wilderness identification effort as well as a master plan team, spent the next year assembling a data base on monument resources. In June, he sent his superiors the fruits of his labors, a massive compendium which was used by planners for years afterwards. [51]

The master planning effort coalesced slowly, postponing the concessioner's plans for another year. In the summer of 1969, however, momentum increased. The planning team visited the monument and began to formulate new concepts on how Katmai should be managed. [52]

The team soon came to recognize that development at Brooks Camp was incompatible with the wilderness values of the surrounding area and the wildlife values in the camp's vicinity. Specifically, officials were nervous about the increasing number of bear-human confrontations taking place in the vicinity. [53] In the short term, however, they condoned development. They approved of pending utility and docking improvements and agreed that the concessioner needed a few additional units.

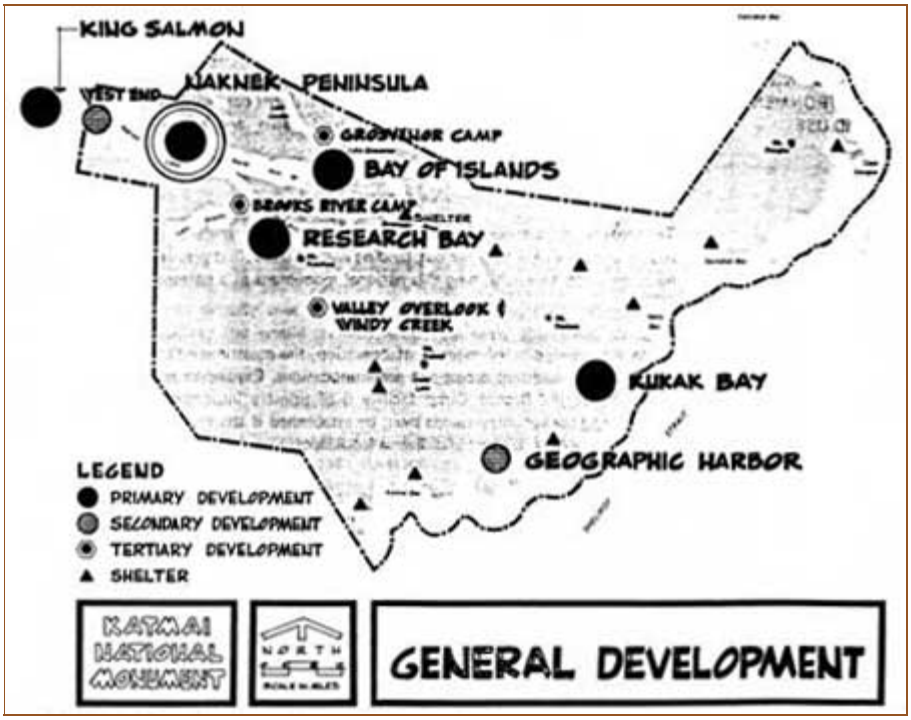
Because of the ecological difficulties, however, the planners sought an alternate development location and developed a long-range policy of eliminating Brooks Camp as primary visitor facility. The team recommended that new lodges be established on the northwest shore of Naknek Lake (to be reached by road from King Salmon) and at Kukak Bay. There were to be no other overnight accommodations in the monument. [54]

Breedlove was responsible for the selection of an alternate site along the northwest shore of Naknek Lake. The 1965 and 1967 master plans had called for access into the monument in the Lake Camp area. Two years of NPS management at Lake Camp, however, had taught the agency that the site was accessible by boat only from July through freeze up. Prior to that, the water was too shallow. Breedlove, therefore, looked for a deep water dock along the north side of the lake. He went so far as to make soundings along the shoreline in order to identify a specific site where that port might be located. [55]

The events of 1970 seemed as deliberate as those which had taken place the previous two years. The planning team took another trip to the monument that summer, but did not complete the plan that year. Wien Consolidated got so miffed at the slow bureaucratic pace that Ray Petersen, its head, unloaded a well-deserved vitriolic blast at Ernest Borgman, NPS's General Superintendent for Alaska. The agency, normally cautious, was so apologetic that it acceded to

a five-year concession contract, the first it had awarded since 1961. [56] The master plan and wilderness recommendations were presented to state officials that summer. Toward the end of the year, the plan was given a final peer review; it preceded the March 1971 circulation of a preliminary version of the plan. [57]

The public finally saw the draft master plan in August 1971. The plan followed in the same path expressed by the planning team in 1969; in so doing, it attempted to change the direction of Katmai development. Just as the 1953 Alaska Recreation Survey, the 1958 Mission 66 Program proposals, and the 1965 Master Plan brief had done, the plan proposed a geographical diversification of monument facilities (see Map 6). It proposed that the monument's major "use-node" and transportation hub would be located on or near the boot-shaped Naknek Peninsula, and that a new all-weather road would be constructed from King Salmon to the site. Most visitors would arrive at the site via a shuttle bus. Other proposed use nodes would be the Bay of Islands, Kukak Bay, and Research Bay, the latter site being located on the south side of Iliuk Arm. The plan envisioned that Geographic Harbor would become a secondary development, while Brooks Camp would be a tertiary development. Lodging was proposed for all six sites. The existing Grosvenor Camp facility, however, was scheduled to be replaced by a seasonal ranger station and a campground. All six lodging sites were to be accessed by tour boats as well as floatplanes. The new plan had some similarities to the 1965 and 1967 plans, but it differed in that it called for lodging on the Naknek Peninsula, at Research Bay, and at Geographic Harbor. [58]



Map 6. In August 1971, the NPS released a preliminary working draft of the monument's master plan. It called for the largest development site to be located on the Naknek Peninsula, with other large developments at King Salomon, Research Bay, Bay of Islands, and Kukak Bay. The existing development sites, Brooks Camp and Grosvenor Camp, were to be de-emphasized. Source: NPS, Katmai National Monument, A Master Plan, August 1971, 17. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Another new element was its attempt to de-emphasize the future role of Brooks Camp. Because of ecological considerations, the principal long-range objective for the area was a reduction in

the number of visitors to that area. While conceding that Brooks would "remain a popular fisherman's camp," planners vowed that it would remain the gateway to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes only until an alternate site was developed at Research Bay. Over the short term, planners continued to tacitly recommend that the camps grow in a virtually unhindered manner. They intended to allow Brooks Camp to grow to a 100-guest maximum, which was "large enough to afford a profitable business operation, as well as to update the utility system and support facilities to comply with current standards and visitor needs." [59]

Though there was broad agreement in the general thrust of the proposed master plan, agency personnel questioned many specific aspects of it. Specific sites for the Naknek Peninsula and Research Bay developments had not been established; even so, criticism quickly surfaced that most of the Naknek Peninsula was too windy and exposed for development, and that the water depth at both sites was too shallow to allow boat or plane access. Regarding the Bay of Islands site, some felt that its resource value was too great to allow commercial development. Also, some felt that the Service's plan to eliminate Grosvenor Camp was fine in theory, but that "the prospects of removing this camp ... are remote." [60]

The preliminary Katmai wilderness study was issued at the same time as the draft master plan. The plan called for two areas to be designated as wilderness: one tract covering 2,551,000 acres, and a smaller one which encompassed just 2,100 acres. The first tract covered most of the Katmai's land area, and additionally included Lake Coville, Idavain Lake, various smaller lakes in the eastern monument, and the islands in Shelikof Strait. The 2,100 acre tract was a narrow corridor which extended between the Valley Road and Naknek Lake. The two proposed wilderness areas comprised over 91 percent of the monument.

Planners were careful to exclude from wilderness any areas that might interfere with proposed developments contemplated in the master plan. Naknek Lake, Brooks Lake, and Lake Grosvenor were excluded because the concessioner used them; indeed, Naknek Lake was being proposed for motorized boat use. The Valley road was also excluded, as was Naknek Peninsula and the shoreline connecting the peninsula to King Salmon. [61]

Alaskans were given a broad opportunity to comment on both the master plan and the wilderness study. On November 17 and 18, the NPS held public hearings in Anchorage; on November 19 and 20, the meetings shifted to Juneau. Master plan hearings for both Katmai and Glacier Bay were held on the 17th and 19th; wilderness hearings for the two monuments took place on the 18th and 20th. Participants submitted most of the Katmai testimony at the Anchorage meetings or in written statements submitted in the weeks which followed. [62] The agency also held a hearing in Naknek for Bristol Bay Borough residents. [63]

The NPS received a wide spectrum of comments to its proposals, mostly in response to the wilderness study. The bureau received over 200 letters in addition to the 30-odd statements presented at the hearings. Most favored placing broad restrictions on development activity at the monument. More than 85 percent of the letters supported either the NPS wilderness proposal, conservation-organization proposals (which suggested that the Bay of Islands and most of Lake Grosvenor be added to the NPS wilderness proposal), or various independent proposals which suggested more wilderness than the NPS had proposed. Almost three-fifths of the speakers at the hearings expressed similar viewpoints. [64]

Lovers of wilderness, therefore, finally got their opportunity to show support for Katmai's wilderness. The monument was singular in that it still had the largest land area of any unit in the National Park System. The public, moreover, had the opportunity to reserve over 90 percent of the monument as wilderness. Katmai, however, did not have the tourist accessibility or the awe-inspiring lure that brought forth large numbers of advocates in support of wilderness for Mount McKinley or Glacier Bay. [65] While NPS officials had been well aware of Katmai's

wilderness resource for a decade or more, few advocates of conservation or outdoor recreation spoke out for it. A notable exception to the norm was Dave Bohn, who extensively explored the monument in the mid-1970s. As a result of his travels, and in celebration of the raw wilderness he had encountered, he published Rambles in an Alaskan Wild in 1979. In eloquent, glowing terms, Bohn described Katmai as one of the great American wilderness areas. [66] But most conservationists, who by this time were immersed in a legislative battle over the fate of Alaska's wild lands, seemed far more concerned about the Brooks Range, the area surrounding Mount McKinley, the Wrangell-St. Elias area, and other wilderness tracts.

While conservationists, many of whom lived outside the state, gave strong support to wilderness, most Alaskans opposed making the vast majority of the monument off-limits to potential park service development actions. Governor William A. Egan, for instance, was one of several that demanded that the NPS reserve a corridor for a future highway route across the monument, and also called for a reservation for a future ferry terminal at Geographic Harbor. [67] Egan and others also demanded the right to hunt wolves and otherwise manipulate wildlife populations. Finally, Egan joined many Alaskans who opposed wilderness philosophically. The Alaska Miners' Association, for instance, bridled against any proposed actions that would limit access to the mining fraternity, and the Pioneers of Alaska detested "the creation of Federal lands that under law would provide enjoyment for only a select few." [68]

Wien Consolidated Airlines, the monument concessioner, had mixed feelings about the draft plans. It protested the proposed closure of Idavain Lake and the majority of Lake Coville and, like Governor Egan, it urged the construction of a trans-peninsula road. But it supported the idea of the Naknek Peninsula development site, supported the closure of the western end of Lake Coville, and urged the NPS to add the Bay of Islands area to the proposed wilderness acreage. [69]

The hearings held in Anchorage and Juneau were tame in comparison with that held in Naknek. Locals were still angry over the 1969 monument expansion, and were in no mood to reasonably respond to calls for greater land-use controls over the monument. Gil Blinn, who conducted the meeting, remembered that "People didn't want to talk about the master plan. They wanted to talk about how to abolish the whole park. The locals talked about how their ancestors, their fathers had hunted and trapped up there and that was a right that was being denied them." [70]

One of the meeting participants was Jay Hammond, the state senator from Naknek. Hammond, as noted in Chapter 4, had fought the park service all through the 1960s because he had advocated the construction of a road through the monument. By 1971, he was still a stalwart backer of the road and wrote an eloquent, impassioned letter to Governor Egan in defense of a trans-monument route. At the hearings themselves, however, he did an abrupt about-face. Superintendent Blinn, remembering that day, recalled that "When [the hearing] was all done he came up and he shook my hand and he says, 'I think the Park Service is just doing exactly what needs to be done.' He couldn't say that publicly, I'm sure. But it was really nice to feel that there was some support there from him." [71]

The hearings brought to the surface what locals had been thinking all along. Residents of Naknek and King Salmon, Native and non-Native alike, saw the monument as a place where they were not welcome, where they couldn't hunt, trap, or fish. They saw all the visitors coming into the park but they felt that the money was all going to the Anchorage-based concessioner, with little impact on the local economy. [72]

ANCSA and the d-2 Process

Once the hearings concluded, Park Service officials got ready to consider the wealth of data

provided to them. To a large extent, the future of much of the monument was about to be decided over the next few months. Before the comment period closed, however, Congress passed a bill which would shed a significant amount of new light on the master plan and wilderness study, and promised major changes on how the monument and the surrounding areas were to be managed.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) passed Congress, and on December 18, 1971, President Richard Nixon signed it into law. The bill had been a long time coming. As early as 1966, Congress had begun to recognize that a bill "dealing with Alaska Natives' land problems" was needed. At about the same time, the Secretary of the Interior, as if in agreement, ordered the large-scale land freeze. Bills intending to deal with Native concerns had little chance for passage at first, but the remarkable discovery of oil on Alaska's north slope, announced in March 1968, made legislators realize that the Native land question had to be settled. The major oil companies soon concluded that a north-south pipeline was the most expeditious way to get the product to market. Without a land settlement, they knew that no pipeline would ever be laid across the Yukon River valley. [73]

Over the next three years, the bill which became ANCSA was debated with growing intensity. Its original purpose was to determine which lands should be allotted to Alaska's Natives, and how state land selections would be determined based on Native claims. It soon became apparent, however, that a third element--a national interest lands component--should be included as a provision within whatever bill emerged from the Congress.

This study is not the place to determine how ANCSA evolved from a bill into Public Law 92-203. What emerged from the process was a document which recognized the rights of Alaska's Natives to 40,000,000 acres of land, and also paid them $925,500,000 for extinguishment of all previous aboriginal titles or claims to those titles. Most germane to Alaska's national park units, section 17(d)(2) of the act gave the Secretary of the Interior authority to withdraw up to 80,000,000 acres as so-called "national interest" lands. These lands were to be managed as national parks, national forests, national wildlife refuges, or as wild and scenic rivers. In addition, section 17(d)(1) called for the withdrawal of other public interest lands in the state, asking the Secretary to "review the public lands in Alaska and determine whether any portion of these lands should be withdrawn ... to insure that the public interest ... is properly protected." [74]

The act provided a series of timetables under which the various withdrawals were to be made. The Secretary of the Interior was given just 90 days to withdraw lands under the so-called "d-1" provision, and nine months to withdraw lands under the "d-2" provision. Lands not withdrawn would become available for selection by the State of Alaska or for appropriation under the public land laws. Two years after the act, any lands withdrawn under the "d-2" provision that were not recommended as future national parks, refuges, forests, or wild and scenic rivers would be released for other uses. The areas that were so recommended as parks or other reservations had to be created within seven years after the act's passage; otherwise, the land would be released for other uses. [75]

With the passage of ANCSA, therefore, Department officials realized that they had a major planning effort on their hands. Three days after the act was signed, the Assistant Secretary assigned NPS Director Hartzog and the head of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife to begin the process of identifying and prioritizing lands for preservation. Hartzog, in turn, asked Ted Swem, the Assistant Director for Cooperative Activities, to coordinate NPS efforts. He asked Richard Stenmark, from the agency's Alaska Field Office, to help in those efforts. [76]

Regarding Katmai, Swem and Stenmark had several models upon which they could base recommendations for acreage expansion. The 1952-53 boundary studies, the Operation Great

Land study of 1964-65, and the 1965 Master Plan Brief had all suggested that the monument be expanded to both the north and west. The western expansion had been enacted in 1969. During the final stages in the legislative battle that led to ANCSA, Director Hartzog delineated 27 proposed NPS areas in the state. Most were proposals for new units, but additions to Mount McKinley and to the north side of Katmai were also included. [77]

Stenmark traveled to Washington in early January 1972, and just two days later he laid out a preliminary list of twelve new or expanded natural areas and ten cultural areas. The list called for a 900,000-acre expansion of Katmai National Monument. That list wended its way through the Interior Department, and on March 9, just before the 90-day deadline imposed by ANCSA, Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton made a preliminary withdrawal of 47.1 million acres for d-1 purposes and another 80 million acres of d-2 lands. A slightly modified list, announced on March 15, included over 33 million acres of new NPS acreage; among them was 1,218,490 acres of additions to Katmai National Monument. [78] The withdrawal, more than 300,000 acres larger than the amount roughed out in January, was significant because it was the first proposal that called for additions to land south and southwest of the monument.

Predictably, the announced withdrawals brought forth wide disparities of opinion. Conservationists reacted fairly favorably to them. NPS Director Hartzog, however, thought that they were "a complete disaster" because many potential park areas were allotted to the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. Alaskan leaders, for entirely different reasons, were also strongly opposed; one called it a "massive land grab," while another said the withdrawal "staggers the imagination." [79]

The NPS and other Interior agencies spent the next six months fine-tuning the preliminary selections they had made in March. Recognizing that a long-term land planning effort lay ahead, the NPS appointed Albert G. Henson, a planner, to head a 38-member Alaska Task Force (ATF) which worked in the Washington office. The regional office (in Seattle) and the Alaska Field Office (in Anchorage) provided support services to the ATF, while the Denver Service Center provided specialized technical support. The roles of the ATF and the existing staff hierarchy, predictably, often overlapped; five members of the ATF, for instance, were permanently stationed at the Alaska Field Office. [80]

The ATF was given the task of ensuring that the September 1972 withdrawals included the best lands available. Time, however, was preciously short. It assembled in Anchorage in early June, and after a month of intense field work made its first tentative recommendation. The task force suggested that Katmai should be increased by 1,584,740 acres--more than 350,000 acres larger than that recommended in March. [81]

Field work continued for another two months, and on September 13, just before the nine-month deadline imposed by ANCSA, the Secretary announced the recommended withdrawals. Among them were additions to Katmai National Monument totalling 1,411,900 acres. The potential new parklands by this time formed a long, C-shaped band which girdled all but the eastern side of the monument. [82]

Interest in Katmai's resources, at least within the agency, seemed to grow as task force members learned more about the area. Because few organized groups or agencies showed much interest in the lands surrounding Katmai, and because there were few competing uses for land outside the monument, the momentum created by task force personnel soon manifested itself in proposals to expand the monument. Gil Blinn, the first Katmai superintendent, remembers that the monument had little outside interest or support when he arrived there in 1969; it was "still unknown except in the National Geographic Magazines." Annual visitation beyond Lake Camp was less than 2000 per year. "Frankly," he noted, "there wasn't much support for it. Just because nobody knew of it." [83] In November 1971, the NPS had made a first-cut recommendation of

900,000 acres. During the ensuing ten months, however, that recommendation had grown to over 1,400,000 acres. More study of the area, as shall be seen, would increase the recommended acreage even further.

Katmai Issues a Master Plan

The stipulations in ANCSA demanded that by December 18, 1973, the Secretary of the Interior make legislative recommendations to Congress on the 80,000,000 acres it had withdrawn in September 1972. Conceptual master plans that would delineate management proposals for the proposed areas, environmental statements, and detailed legislative support data for each area, would also have to be completed by December 1973. [84]

The requirements of the act created confusion for those who were responsible for the completion of a Katmai master plan. As noted above, a master plan and wilderness study for the national monument had been in the preparation phase since the late 1960s, and hearings on the drafts of both documents had been completed just a month before ANCSA was signed into law. Park Service officials recognized that ANCSA required that master plans be completed only for proposed areas. But in Katmai's case, it seemed quite illogical to create a master plan for only the narrow, C-shaped "ring" which surrounded the existing monument. The agency, therefore, decided shortly after the September 1972 withdrawals to use the information contained in the draft monument master plan as the basis for creating a master plan for an expanded monument.

The ongoing wilderness study was thus handled differently from the master plan work. Until this time, the master plan and wilderness study efforts had gone hand in hand; the two draft reports were prepared at the same time, and hearings on them were held on consecutive days. But ANCSA did not require that the Department of the Interior make any wilderness studies. The two efforts, therefore, were separated. The master plan, produced by Washington-based planners, covered the existing monument plus new areas proposed by the Department of the Interior. The final wilderness study was produced through the Pacific Northwest Regional Office, and covered only the area in the existing monument. The process which created the master plan is discussed below; the creation of the final wilderness study is discussed in the next section.

In the weeks following the November 1971 hearings, Katmai National Monument's master planning team busied itself in responding to the broad range of oral and written testimony. The revised plan was sent up the bureaucratic ladder, and in March 1972 NPS Director Hartzog approved it. [85] Several months later, however, the regional office completed its final wilderness recommendations for the monument, necessitating a few minor changes in the plan. Personnel at NPS's Alaska State Office were told that the plan still needed an environmental statement in order to be considered final. That statement was scheduled to be submitted to the Washington office on October 1, 1972. Not for another month, however, was John Rutter, the regional director, able to sign off on a completed master plan and wilderness study. [86]

On September 12, just before Secretary Morton made his 1.4 million acre Katmai withdrawal, Al Henson of the Alaska Task Force announced that the NPS was commencing a planning effort for an area well beyond the existing monument boundaries. Secretary Morton, in his September 18 withdrawals, called for additions to Katmai National Monument. Henson, however, declared that "The status of Katmai National Monument should be enhanced by changing its name to Katmai National Park." Henson gave three reasons for supporting an enlarged monument: 1) to include important brown bear habitat, 2) to realign boundaries to include headwaters of all rivers presently contained in the monument, and 3) to make Katmai a more representative example of the several landforms and biological systems found on the upper Alaska Peninsula by including a major section of lowland tundra. He justified national

park status for Katmai because it would 1) increase assurance that the area will remain as inviolate as legislative mandates allow, 2) increase public awareness of Katmai's values through the increases in publicity for the area that will be generated by park establishment, and 3) meet requests of conservation groups and recommendations of Secretary of the Interior's Advisory Board on National Parks and Monuments. [87] The proposal to expand Katmai was to go through many hurdles during the next eight years, but the NPS consistently called the expanded unit Katmai National Park after Henson announced the name change, and other groups did as well. [88]

Alaska Task Force members continued their efforts for the remainder of the year. Then, in January 1973, Assistant Secretary Nathaniel Reed announced that all Department planning efforts would henceforth be conducted by the Alaska Planning Group (APG), an ad hoc group which consisted of planners from the various Interior agencies. The NPS Alaska Task Force, which had been created the previous year, retained a nominal identity but was subsumed into the APG. NPS planners in the new group took the reins in developing the master plan for Katmai National Park. [89]

Because the master plan for the existing monument had already been finalized, and because there were few land-use conflicts in areas being considered for park expansion, one of the few major tasks facing the Katmai planners was the amount of acreage to add. By mid-March 1973, a preliminary master plan and draft environmental statement had been completed. The bold new plan called for an addition of 2,301,000 acres to the existing monument. As he had the previous September, Henson justified the rationale for expanding the monument and reclassifying it as a national park. He hoped that "Katmai would be a pure park and [have] no provision for mining, hunting or other resource extraction." [90]

John Rutter, the Regional Director in Seattle, received a copy of the mid-March report. He did not like what he saw. He had no quibble with the size of the proposed new park. His criticism was with the lack of consistency it bore to the planning efforts which had been taking place in the regional office for the past several years. He found numerous instances in which the APG's plan ran contrary to decisions made in the formulation of both the master plan and wilderness study. The APG, for instance, abandoned the idea that Naknek Peninsula should become Katmai's major transportation hub, and it also concluded that Brooks Camp should be eliminated. Rutter, who had overseen the creation of both the master plan and the wilderness study, was angry at having both decisions overridden. He was particularly angry when the APG suggested that a whole new wilderness study--one that included proposed as well as existing NPS lands--ought to be conducted. [91] Stung by the regional director, the APG modified its plans to fit in with those which already existed.

The Katmai plan was one of the first which the APG produced. By mid-June 1973, the Interior Department planning group had made tentative recommendations for each of Alaska's new and expanded NPS units. Not surprisingly, groups outside the Department saw things differently. The Forest Service, for instance, hoped that it might be awarded a whopping 42,000,000 of the 80,000,000 acres included in the d-2 provision. Another group, the Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission (JFSLUPC), proposed a complex patchwork of uses on d-2 lands; it recommended, for instance, that only 3,000,000 acres be closed to hunters. The JFSLUPC, which had been created by ANCSA, held over thirty hearings in Alaskan communities on the various proposals. [92]

The pressure of outside interests succeeded in watering down the Alaska Planning Group's earlier proposals. In June, the APG had recommended that 49.1 million out of 85.3 million acres be placed in National Park Service areas. When Secretary Morton forwarded the proposed legislation to Congress on December 18, however, only 32.6 million of 83.5 million acres were recommended as new or expanded NPS areas. Katmai National Park, which in June was

proposed to be expanded by 2,301,000 acres, had its expanded area reduced to 1,867,863 acres. In addition, however, the NPS recommended that so-called areas of ecological concern be established west, north, and northeast of the existing monument. [93]

On December 18, 1973 (the deadline set by ANCSA), the Alaska Planning Group issued a master plan and a draft Environmental Impact Statement for Katmai National Park. The master plan, which had been in the incubation stages since the 1960s, had originally been intended to be a final master plan for the monument. But because of the proposed new parkland that was also considered since the passage of ANCSA, the 1973 master plan was a strange hybrid, a combination of a draft and final plan. To a large extent, the master plan served as a final master plan for the existing monument and provided only a rough, general idea on how the agency planned its management strategy. The draft Environmental Impact Statement, however, concentrated on areas outside the existing monument, and discussed such issues as how large the new park should be and what land uses should be allowed within the newly-expanded acreage. [94]

The master plan, which reflected the concerns that Regional Director Rutter had expressed in March 1973, offered several modifications from those originally presented in the August 1971 draft volumes. It noted, for instance, that the park's major visitor facility was to include lodge-type accommodations at the west end of the park. The Naknek Peninsula, though admittedly a preferred site, was only one of three possible locations for that development; the other two sites were in King Salmon and on "the morainal ridge at the West End of Naknek Lake." Research Bay and Kukak Bay were both designated as primary development sites, as they had been in 1971. The role of Research Bay, however, was de-emphasized, having been "tentatively selected as a possible visitor use-node" which "could become the gateway to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes." Grosvenor Camp, which had been slated for replacement by a ranger station in the 1971 plan, was allowed to remain. But the Bay of Islands development was renamed North Arm and moved west several miles. Regarding Brooks Camp, the anti-development rhetoric of the draft plan was replaced with more conciliatory language; it noted that "Further study is needed to determine the role of Brooks Camp and to stress the need of maintaining the camp's impact on the environment." The 100-guest ceiling suggested in the draft plan remained. Although the plan continued to suggest that Research Bay would eventually replace Brooks Camp as the base for bus trips to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, the growing recognition that "conventional lodge or hotel-type units" were not appropriate to the vast majority of the park militated against the growth of facilities which might have supplanted those at Brooks Camp. This plan, like the 1971 draft, proposed shuttle bus service to the west-end development site, and tour boats or charter float planes to the other lakeside developments. [95]

The 1974 Final Wilderness Statement

As noted above, the NPS issued a draft wilderness study for Katmai National Monument in August 1971, the same month it issued a draft master plan. Public hearings for both were held that November. Soon after the mid-December passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, it became evident that the monument was going to be enlarged. The act, in fact, mandated that a master plan be issued which encompassed proposed new monument boundaries. Wilderness, however, was not specifically addressed in ANCSA. Planners operating out of the Washington office prepared the master plan, while staffers at the Pacific Northwest Regional Office in Seattle prepared the final wilderness statement.

The NPS did what it could to respond favorably to the written and oral comments it received. Because most of the comments supported the protection of all of the NPS-recommended wilderness acreage (if not more), the revised draft plan continued to have a large percentage of

the monument recommended as wilderness. In response to comments from Alaskan officials who demanded the right to manipulate wildlife populations, the NPS responded that such management was not incompatible with wilderness. And to those who demanded a site for a future ferry dock in Geographic Harbor, planners responded that such a site had been excluded from consideration as wilderness. [96]

The Park Service also tried to be accommodating to the monument concessioner. Wien, as well as national conservation groups, had testified that the Bay of Islands area should be added to the proposed wilderness; the NPS, which had had its own misgivings about development at the site, concurred and moved the potential use node west to an area it called North Arm. Wien also testified that much of the motorboat and float plane traffic emanating from Grosvenor Camp headed down Lake Coville, and the NPS responded by removing the lake from wilderness. But the NPS also moved to protect the wilderness qualities of the Savonoski canoe loop by placing all but the western end of Lake Grosvenor in the proposed wilderness. Wien was unsuccessful in removing the proposed closure for Idavain Lake. [97]

The most vociferous protests came from those who demanded that the agency create a corridor for a future trans-peninsula highway. Governor William A. Egan, Wien Consolidated, State Senator Jay Hammond, and boroughs on both sides of Cook Inlet all fought to keep a road corridor open. [98]

The battle was joined much as it had been during the mid-1960s. On one side stood the National Park Service, who held that a road would violate the values for which the monument was created. It also argued that there were other trans-peninsula routes that did not impact on the monument, and that the nature of the volcanic substrate was such that any road built through Katmai Pass would be extremely expensive to build and maintain. On the other side stood state and local interests who saw the road as a key to regional economic development. They felt that a road through the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes would have little effect on monument values, and that a road connecting the end of the Valley road with Geographic Harbor was the least expensive route across the peninsula. The nature of the controversy allowed no common ground between them.

In response to the many protests directed its way, the NPS had two effective replies. First, the Director of the agency had consistently gone on record as opposing the road because it did not serve any of the primary purposes of the monument. Second, the Alaska Department of Highways had, sometime between 1968 and 1971, removed the conceptual proposal for the road from its road construction program. The reason for the deletion is unclear; it may have been related to a possible copper mining development near Lake Clark, or it may have been a simple response to the Park Service's "outright refusal" to consider the route. Regardless of the reason, the primary state road study route connecting King Salmon with Cook Inlet swept north of Iliamna Lake. (Alternate state road study routes followed along the south shore of Iliamna Lake, and southeast from King Salmon to Alinchak Bay via the north shore of Becharof Lake.) NPS officials were able to deflect the brunt of public criticism by transferring it back to the state highway department. [99]

State officials, stung by the Park Service's rebuke on the road issue, apparently tried to revive the idea by showing federal officials the breadth of interest in the issue. The intended route would not be an extension of the existing Valley road, but instead would go across the north side of Naknek Lake from King Salmon, cross over the Aleutian Range, and come out at a proposed Kukak Bay ferry terminal. Gil Blinn recalled that

> when they had a hearing in Naknek on the idea, only ten people testified. The Bristol Bay Borough, the Kenai Peninsula Borough and the State Highways Division all testified in favor. Ernie Borgman came out representing the Park

> Service, from Anchorage, and testified against it. A number of the local people and people from Iliamna came out and testified against any road, although most of them said if you're gonna have to put in a road we'd prefer it be through the park. They also felt that the Park Service could control the use and development along that road better than if the road ran through some other lands.

Blinn himself appears to have been a catalyst in subduing the pro-road forces. Before the hearings, he called the Bristol Bay Borough manager and asked if he would accept written comment. The manager replied in the affirmative because many could not get to the meeting. Blinn therefore "put the word out to the environmental community and they got a number of letters all opposing the road. And after that hearing the matter was just dropped. It never surfaced again." [100]

Potential power development was another activity which, like road proposals, had ramifications on wilderness eligibility. During the early 1960s, the Bureau of Reclamation had identified one potential power site in the monument (and two others just beyond its borders) among 15 potential sites in southwestern Alaska. Lake Grosvenor was considered a potential hydroelectric project site of 8,700 kilowatt prime capacity. A dam at American Creek, just north of the monument, was thought to have a prime capacity of 14,300 kilowatts, and a Nonvianuk Lake site might generate 27,300 kilowatts. None of the three sites, however, were in the top echelon of those surveyed in southwestern Alaska. [101]

In 1969 the Federal Power Survey, sponsored by the Federal Power Commission, identified many new sites for hydroelectric power production throughout the state. An inventory grade preliminary study of the area by the Alaska Power Administration (APA), completed in 1972, agreed that the best potential dam site in the area was on the Naknek River, approximately six miles below Naknek Lake. Such a dam, if built, "could provide significant power supplies for the King Salmon and Naknek areas," and offered an installed capacity of 108,000 kilowatts. It would also, however, raise the level of Naknek Lake 116 feet, it would block the passage of salmon into the Naknek Lake watershed, and would impact on a significant amount of NPS land. The NPS was not considering Naknek Lake for wilderness designation, and the potential dam site was outside of monument boundaries. But raising the lake level would raise the level of the monument's four largest lakes--making one large reservoir in the western monument--and would inundate both of the existing visitor facilities.

Recognizing the adverse effects it would create, the APA made no detailed studies of the project. In May 1973 it effectively opted out of the project when it told the NPS that "any future consideration of this development would depend upon a finding that the project is compatible with Monument objectives and other values." [102] Potential power developments were no longer a threat to wilderness eligibility.

It took NPS planners six months to issue their first response to the various public comments. In May 1972, the NPS issued a preliminary, in-house response to the public testimony. The revised wilderness plan called for two tracts, one of 2,541,890 acres, the other of 2,000 acres. During the past six months, planners had added 3,540 acres, including the Bay of Islands and a small island in Lake Grosvenor. Perhaps at the suggestion of WCA president Ray Petersen, the agency had eliminated wilderness on Lake Coville; they had also deleted small amounts of acreage surrounding various proposed development sites. The result was a net loss of 9,210 acres from the draft study. [103]

Two months later, the NPS released the results of the wilderness study to the public. Between May and July, more changes were made, and the July 1972 plan recommended a total of 2,603,547 acres for wilderness: 2,601,547 in one tract, and 2,000 in the other. Added to the proposed wilderness was all but the west end of Lake Grosvenor. In addition, the NPS added a

narrow "management zone" bordering the park, which had been excluded from wilderness in the earlier drafts, and agreed to include a series of existing and proposed shelter sites in the wilderness, conceding that such improvements were compatible with wilderness management. The July plan, in comparison with the one submitted in November 1971, added 63,187 acres to wilderness while deleting 12,740, for a net gain of 50,447 acres. [104]

Once the plan was issued, Park Service officials felt that the plan was final, and needed only to await an appropriate time in which the President could send its recommendations to Congress. A reviewer in the Secretary of the Interior's office, however, found several technical difficulties in the Final Environmental Statement (FES) on the wilderness plan. [105] The procedural errors were sufficiently egregious that he urged the FES to be renamed a revised draft. The NPS, therefore, spent the next several months revising the earlier report. The regional office issued a revised draft environmental statement on February 12, 1973. That document continued to propose 2,603,547 acres in the monument as wilderness. [106]

Reviewers were given another three months in which to respond, and many of the same organizations which had commented before submitted another round of comments. The result of the organizational input may have had some bearing on the verbiage that was to appear in the Final Environmental Statement, but the NPS continued to recommend the same wilderness acreage that it had in July 1972. [107] The revised DES was then sent on to the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), to be submitted to the President.

The CEQ worked on the Final Environmental Statement early in 1974. The Council had originally hoped that it would be able to include Katmai in a mid-April presidential wilderness announcement. Katmai's FES was slow in coming, however, and as a result, the president's wilderness message was delayed for two months. [108]

On June 13, 1974, President Richard Nixon proposed wilderness for fifteen public land areas to Congress. Among them was a recommendation that 2,603,547 acres be so designated in Katmai National Monument. Also forwarded to Congress that day were wilderness proposals for two Alaska national wildlife refuges, Semidi and Aleutian Islands; within the two refuges, 1,229,000 acres were proposed for wilderness. [109]

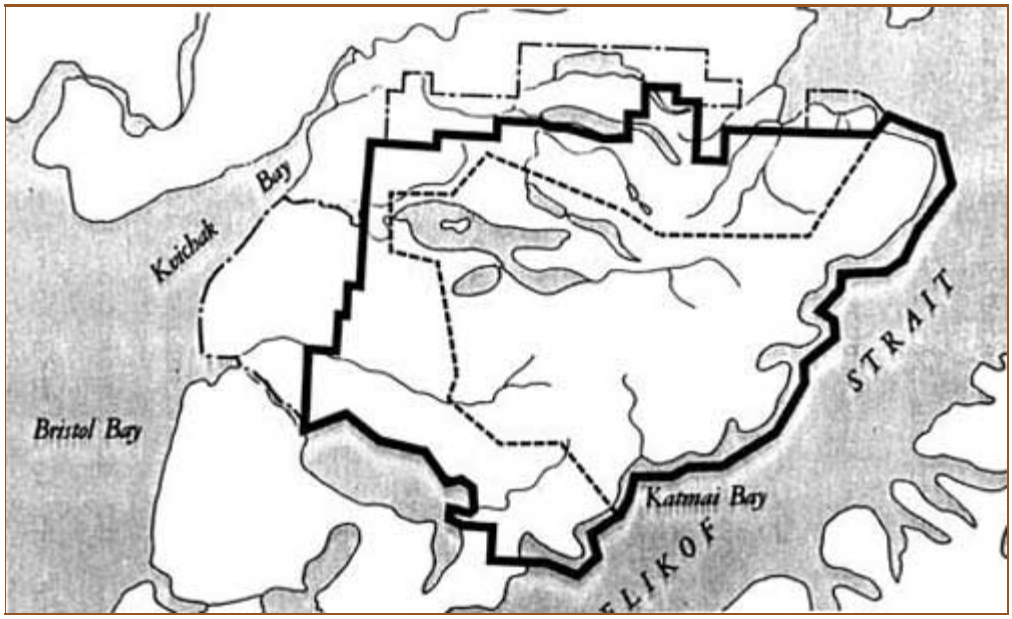
The Department of the Interior Considers an Expanded Park

As noted above, Congress (as part of ANCSA) gave the National Park Service and other land management agencies the task of studying Alaska lands for their potential value as parklands, refuges, national forests, and similar reservations. As part of that effort, officials in NPS's Washington office began to rough out the boundaries for an expanded Katmai National Monument in early 1972. By September of that year, in response to a series of Congressional deadlines, they had sketched out a proposed 1.4 million acre expansion to the monument. Beginning that month, NPS officials decided that Katmai would be recommended as a national park. In 1972 and 1973, the Alaska Task Force--at first an ad hoc group directed by the Washington office, later as one part of an Interior-wide Alaska Planning Group--investigated the applicability of various lands surrounding the monument as potential NPS additions.

The public had several opportunities to comment on the advisability of establishing an expanded Katmai National Park. Its first was in May and June 1973. The Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission, which had been created by ANCSA, held over thirty hearings in Alaskan communities (and four others in Lower 48 cities) on proposals being considered for a broad array of national parks, wildlife refuges, national forests and similar reservations. Hearing locations where testimony was presented that related directly to Katmai included Naknek, Kodiak, Dillingham, Iliamna, and Anchorage, as well as Seattle, San Francisco,

Denver, and Washington, D.C. [110]

The testimony from the hearings was combined with the information gathered by Alaska Task Force and Alaska Planning Group members to create a Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) for the proposed park. This document, issued in December 1973 in conformance with the guidelines set by ANCSA, called for the establishment of a 4,600,000-acre Katmai National Park, one that was to be 1,870,000 acres larger than the existing monument (see Map 7). The proposed park boundaries included all but the mouth of the Strike Creek and Kamishak River drainages, all of the American Creek drainage, all but the mouth of the King Salmon Creek drainage, and most of the King Salmon River and Kejulik River drainages. The boundary extended the southern boundary along Shelikof Strait south to Puale Bay, and followed the entire northern shore of Becharof Lake. Kulik Lake was to be included in the proposal, but not Nonvianuk Lake or Battle Lake. [111]

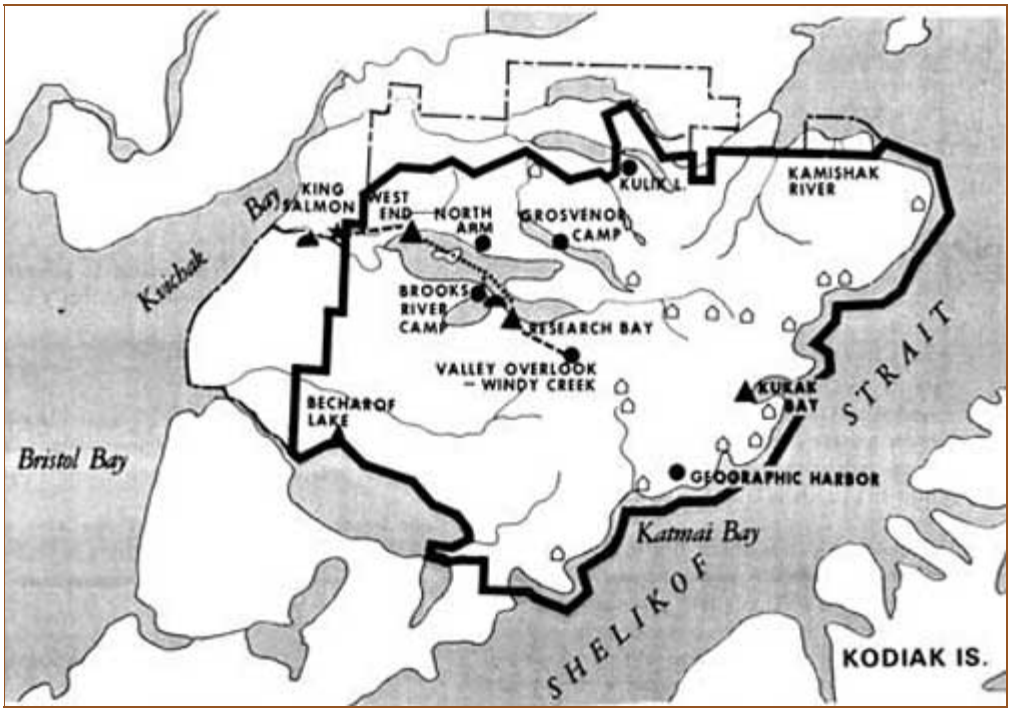


Map 7. When the NPS released its draft Environmental Impact Statement for the proposed Katmai National Park in December 1973, the proposed park boundaries (heavy black line) encompassed 4,600,000 acres-far larger area than the size of the existing national monument (heavy dashed line). The agency also proposed three areas of environmental concern (light dashed line): tow north of the proposed park boundaries and another west of the park. Source: Alaska Planning Group, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, Draft Environmental Impact Statement, 3. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

In addition, the NPS recommended that three so-called areas of ecological concern (AECs) be established: a 560,000-acre tract west of the proposed park, a 740,000-acre tract to the north, and a 40,000-acre tract southeast of the McNeil River State Game Sanctuary. These areas would serve as buffers to the park, and would be "managed so as to complement the purposes of the park." [112]

The public was originally given until March 20, 1974 (later extended to July 22) to comment on the DEIS. The Alaska Planning Group received 218 letters, 162 of them from individuals, the remainder from governmental agencies and private organizations. [113] Because the JFSLUPC had held such a wide range of hearings just a year before, no additional hearings were held on the DEIS. A Senate subcommittee, however, had a hearing in Anchorage, as part of a series of mark up hearings, in which the Katmai extension was discussed. [114]

The Final Environmental Statement for the proposed Katmai National Park was issued in January 1975. [115] It called for a slightly smaller park than that proposed in the December 1973 draft (see Map 8). The FES proposal recommended that Congress establish a 4,453,000-acre park: the 2,399,000 acres in the lands and waters of the existing park, and an additional 2,054,000 acres of lands and waters adjacent to it. Three-fourths of the new acreage was to come from d-2 lands, and another 22 percent was selected from d-1 lands. The remaining acreage came from Native and state lands.



Map 8. By the time the NPS released its Final Environmental Impact Statement for the proposed park in January 1975, the proposed boundaries had been slightly modified from those recommended in December 1973 (see Map 7). The proposed acreage (4,453,000 acres) was slightly smaller than had previously been proposed. The suggested primary development sites, however, had changed little since the monument's draft master p lan had been released in August 1971 (see Map 6). *Source: Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Impact Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, 5. (click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

The proposed park announced in the FES was 207,000 acres smaller than that outlined in the draft EIS. In reality, the acreage difference between the two documents was much less, because the acreage given in the draft EIS had not accounted for the last-minute reduction of acreage surrounding Battle Lake. The northern boundary west of Kulik Lake was several miles farther south in January 1975 than it had been in December 1973; it attempted, to a greater degree, to follow natural drainage divides rather than township boundaries. Otherwise, the two boundaries were virtually identical. The FES, like the draft EIS, had three areas of ecological concern. Because the proposed park was smaller than before, the three AECs included the acreage that had been in the draft EIS; otherwise, the AECs were unchanged. [116]

Once the Final Environmental Statement had been completed, it was forwarded to President Ford's Council on Environmental Quality, then on to Congress. The Interior Department, after three years of concentrated effort, had made its final recommendations as to how the Katmai area should be managed. It was up to Congress to see what kind of park unit would be created. Congress, bound by the dictates of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, was obligated to act by December 1978. Although the park service and other Interior bureaus would continue to

provide assistance and consultation, it was Congress's responsibility to accept or modify the advice and recommendations which the NPS had provided.

Planners Weigh the Future of Katmai

The issuance of the Katmai FES, along with ten similar documents for other proposed Alaska park areas, was the last official act which the NPS was required to do as a result of ANCSA provisions. NPS planners, however, continued to be active. For the next several years, the agency carried on an intensive effort that would provide a more solid data base for Congressional leaders to use. These same activities would create an expertise that would be important for management of the areas when they were established, and assist the Interior Department in implementation of interrelated aspects on ANCSA. [117]

The NPS was ready to play an advisory role as soon as Congress began submitting Alaska lands bills. Several relevant bills were, in fact, submitted in 1974 and 1975. But neither the Nixon nor the Ford administrations showed any inclination to work for passage of a consensus bill. Legislative action, therefore, was delayed until 1977, when Jimmy Carter was president. [118]

Between 1975 and 1977, the NPS had no lack of issues to confront as they geared up for the Congressional activity that was sure to come. The ad hoc task forces which had helped create the various master plans and environmental statements had been disbanded upon publication of the various FESs in late 1974 and 1975. In order to provide a continuing degree of expertise, therefore, Director Gary Everhardt appointed ten planning professionals from the Denver Service Center (DSC) to act as so-called "keymen." Ralph Root, a DSC biologist, was chosen as the keyman for Katmai and Aniakchak in May 1975; by the end of June, he was on the way to Anchorage, where he would serve for most of the next two years.

One of the problems which Root and other agency personnel had to confront was hunting in the areas proposed for additions to Katmai. One and all knew that the upper Alaska peninsula was a world famous brown bear habitat, and as Alaska had become better known and more accessible, the areas surrounding Katmai attracted a steadily increasing number of hunters. A 1974 study noted that 42 bears--15.3% of the 1972 brown bear harvest taken via Alaska Peninsula commercial guides--came from the area proposed for inclusion into the park. The proposed park, to a lesser degree, would also impact on the commercial-guide harvest of caribou and moose. [119]

Professional guides, and others in the hunting industry, knew that the creation of an expanded national park, with no provisions for hunting, would be disastrous. It would set a poor precedent for the industry at large; more specifically, it would endanger the livelihood of several area guides. Ben White, for example, had been operating out of Battle Lake camp since 1971 if not before. M. Edward King, an area guide since the mid-1960s, hunted in the wide area extending from the monument boundary north to Nonvianuk and Kulik lakes. Ray Loesche, a guide who had been active since the mid-1950s, operated in areas both south and north of the existing monument. Many other guides used the proposed park areas less frequently; an informal compilation showed that a total of twelve had been operating in the proposed Katmai additions in recent years, mostly for either trophy moose or brown bear. [120]

In order to fight the anti-hunting tide suggested in the NPS and Interior Department proposals, the Alaska Professional Hunters Association (APHA) prepared its own proposals on how to deal with the Alaska lands issue. In the Katmai area, it suggested that a 750,000-acre area southwest of the existing monument, proposed as a part of Katmai National Park in the NPS and Interior Department proposals, should be designated as the Katmai National Wildlife Refuge. North of the existing monument, APHA recommended that the boundary be adjusted to

exclude all drainages flowing into Battle Lake, noting that "these drainages serve no useful purpose for the Katmai Monument." The organization also suggested that "If Battle Lake is included, APHA recommends that recreational hunting be allowed in the whole addition." [121]

NPS planners listened to much of what the APHA proposed. As noted above, they excluded the Battle Lake area in the draft and final environmental statements, and also excluded the lowland country north of Nonvianuk Lake. They refused, however, to include the lowland tundra area between the monument boundary and Becharof Lake. All of the land proposed for inclusion in Katmai National Park, moreover, was to be closed to sport hunters. The NPS policy, as enunciated by Area Director Bryan Harry in a speech to the APHA, was that "Proposed new parks where hunting closure is recommended include those where sport hunting is now of minor importance or would interfere severely with subsistence activities." The NPS had apparently concluded that, through judicious boundary selection, it had eliminated the most important hunting areas in the proposed park. [122]

Despite the agency's rigid anti-hunting recommendation, some NPS personnel recognized the legitimacy of having some hunting areas within the proposed park units. As far back as September 1972, the agency had been forced to acknowledge, as part of the settlement of a suit with the State of Alaska, that certain proposed park areas would have to be open to sport hunting, and by December 1973, Secretary Morton's recommendations included provisions for hunting in six of the proposed new park units. [123] Dealing with hunting created a rift within the agency. Some insisted on having "pure" park areas, even if it meant lopping off areas which allowed sport hunting; others felt that national parks, given special regulations, should allow sport hunting; and still others thought that a new name was needed for NPS units that allowed hunting. [124]

Ted Swem, who headed the agency's Alaska planning effort, wrote a colleague as early as December 1974 that many of the proposed parks could support hunting and non-hunting zones because 1) parks were large enough to allow zones and still have no conflict, 2) the proposed parks contained some of the state's prime hunting country, and 3) hunting, he recognized was one of Alaska's major livelihoods. [125] In 1976, a wide range of Washington officials became convinced that the "preserve" category (an area where hunting was permitted) might be needed as a fallback measure during legislative negotiations. [126] The agency, however, remained outwardly steadfast in its opposition to hunting, specifically as it related to Katmai.

Another problem area concerned the necessity of establishing power generation sites in the areas proposed as the expanded Katmai National Park. During the early 1960s, as noted above, the Bureau of Reclamation had identified two potential hydroelectric sites in its survey of southwestern Alaska: American Creek, thought to have a prime capacity of 14,300 kilowatts, and a Nonvianuk Lake site, which might generate 27,300 kilowatts. In January 1968, the Alaska Power Administration identified a potential dam site on the Alagnak River near the confluence of the Nonvianuk River. None of these sites, at least initially, was considered as particularly significant for hydroelectric development. [127]

After ANCSA was passed, the search for d-1 and d-2 lands brought about a renewed interest in potential dam construction. A study made of d-2 areas 24 and 25 (that is, the areas immediately north and immediately south of the existing monument) revealed that neither area contained particularly favorable hydroelectric sites. North of area 24, however, the Federal Power Commission, in its 1975 survey, had identified Kukaklek Lake as a hydropower site. The Kukaklek project, which at that time was being considered as part of the proposed Iliamna National Resources Range, was considered one of eleven "active potential sites" in the state that would be eliminated if the various park proposals were enacted. [128] In addition, the Alaska Power Administration considered a Kulik Lake hydroelectric site and noted that "it presently is considered unfavorable for development." [129] Congress would have many Alaska lands

issues with which to wrestle in the upcoming months, but conflicts over power development in the Katmai area would not be one of them.

Closely tied to questions of power development were those of the eligibility of certain streams to nomination in the federal Wild and Scenic Rivers System. In 1968, Congress had passed the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act and had designated the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR), in the Interior Department, to conduct the inventory and evaluation process for rivers throughout the country.

When the BOR made its initial Alaska survey, it tabbed two streams in the Katmai area--American Creek and the Alagnak River--as having Wild and Scenic River potential. All or a portion of both streams were situated in the area being considered as expansions to the existing monument. The entire length of the American Creek was considered; for the Alagnak River, the whole 64-mile length of the main stem was considered, along with the 11-mile Nonvianuk River which originated in Nonvianuk Lake. [130]

To gain additional data on the rivers, and to investigate their eligibility as laid out in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, the BOR made an aerial reconnaissance of the area on October 31, 1972. [131] The following spring, an interagency field team conducted on-site inspections of both water courses. Based on the data it had gathered, the BOR concluded that American Creek and the Alagnak River met the criteria for inclusion in the Wild and Scenic River System. Both flowed through sufficiently primitive environments that they qualified as "wild" rivers within that system. [132]

During the period after the issuance of the Final Environmental Statement, the keyman for Katmai recognized that many area water courses other than Alagnak River and American Creek also had the potential for nomination to the Wild and Scenic Rivers system. Ralph Root recognized that wild river designation for American Creek (or any other streams included within a national park unit) was largely superfluous. In January 1976, however, he recognized that several area streams--Kamishak River, King Salmon Creek, and Kejulik River--were not included in some of the proposals being put forward. Worried about the rivers' protection, Root proposed wild rivers studies for each of the three rivers. No action, however, was taken on his proposal. [133]

The period following the issuance of the park's Final Environmental Statement also gave NPS officials sufficient time to consider the legitimacy of various development sites which had been espoused during the master plan process. Although the plan had called for the establishment of the major use-node at the west end of the park, the site had remained amorphous, in one of three general locations. NPS officials, who were still convinced that boat transportation would be the best means of transporting visitors from the King Salmon area into the park, were most interested in the North Arm and Naknek Peninsula areas as potential lodge sites. In August 1976, NPS officials inspected the Naknek Lake shore and discovered that the water on either side of the North Arm was quite shallow and unprotected from strong winds which blew from the southeast. But at the base of Naknek Peninsula, the water on both sides was deep and calm. The officials gave little thought toward a development at a proposed North Arm site. Even though the site had been moved west from the Bay of Islands area, the monument superintendent expressed "concern and doubt" that a lodge should be built there. [134]

Park officials also made further investigations of the proposed development site at Research Bay. The site, according to the December 1973 master plan, had been "tentatively selected as a possible use-node" which "could become the new gateway to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes." [135] Further study, however, found Research Bay to be a poor location for future development. Rollie Ostermick, who served on the Alaska Task Force, told Root that both red salmon and brown bears were plentiful in the area in August. He wrote that "There is a much

greater density of bears in the Research Bay-Margot Creek area than at Brooks during the summer visitor season." He further warned that the bay was a poor location for both boats and amphibious aircraft because of the shallow waters. Ostermick, after investigating the surrounding area, suggested that a better development site lay on the moraine between Iliuk Arm and the rest of Naknek Lake. [136] A year later, other officials who visited Research Bay also concluded that the site was unacceptable. Their alternative, however, was a location along the valley road about five miles east of Brooks Camp. A lodge at the new site, they reasoned, would provide visitor accommodations, a shorter trip to the Valley, and a staging area for backcountry users while avoiding the bear-human conflicts of the Research Bay site. [137]

NPS officials based Katmai's development plans, to a large degree, on the implementation of tour boats on Naknek Lake. The superintendent, for instance, predicted that tour boats would replace aircraft within a few years, and a planning team concluded that "boat transportation would be the best future means of transporting visitors from the King Salmon area into the park." [138] Neither the draft nor final master plans, however, addressed who was to supply the necessary craft. The level of visitation, at least in the short term, made the resolution of such a dilemma moot. Even if market forces had been more favorable, however, the logistics and expense of setting up a marine operation militated against its implementation. The creation of a deep-water dock on the north edge of Naknek Lake would be of some benefit, but other physical factors stood in the way of such a service. [139] As one observer noted of the trip between Lake Camp and Brooks Camp,

> During times of low water only boats with a very shallow draft can complete this trip. Transporting people in this manner would require large boats and this does not appear to be feasible without dredging and consequently disrupting very important fisheries resources. It is considered that the cost of purchasing, operating and maintaining such boats would also be prohibitive. [140]

Rough water during windy weather was also an obstacle. But despite the many barriers, Wien Air Alaska investigated the economic practicality of such a service during the summer of 1976. The concessioner had been relying on a Grumman Mallard to access Brooks Camp for the past several years, but had recently found the plane so uneconomical, and so unequal to the task of transporting an ever-increasing number of tourists, that it cast about for an alternative. [141] Its consideration of marine craft, however, was brief. The airline substituted other aircraft for the Mallard, and the idea of instituting boat service on Naknek Lake was dropped for the time being. [142] The idea was not revived until the 1990s, when the NPS began lake operations in order to improve park management capabilities.

Planners estimated that the addition of the areas suggested in the 1975 Final Environmental Statement would add significantly to Katmai's budget. They proposed that the monument's budget, which was in the $200,000 to $300,000 range during the 1975-1980 period, be more than doubled for each of the first five years after passage of a park bill. Funding for the five-year program was slated to run anywhere from $300,000 to over $700,000 per year. The additional funds would pay for the equivalent of three to five new full-time staff, and would also allow for the erection of six new units for permanent employees, four seasonal panabode units, and a new King Salmon office. In addition, ranger quarters and adjacent campground facilities would be needed at Kulik Lake, Murray Lake, Blue Mountain, Alinchak Bay, Kamishak River, and Kejulik River. [143]

Issues in Monument Administration, 1975-1980

While planners in Anchorage and Washington were busy planning the future of a proposed Katmai National Park, the administrators of the existing national monument were busy with a

host of problems of their own. Most of those issues dealt with the continuing problem of access: ways to improve transportation within the monument, and questions of legal access to areas nominated for wilderness consideration.

One of the most contentious issues which Katmai officials faced during this period related to Lake Grosvenor access, and the battle over access erupted into a major confrontation between the NPS and the concessioner during the fall of 1976. Lake Grosvenor was one of many that were considered for closure during the wilderness nomination process. The draft plan, issued in August 1971, had left it open, but a revised draft issued the following July concluded that all but the lake's western end would be recommended for wilderness consideration. The NPS did so for two reasons: it wanted to protect the wilderness qualities of the Savonoski Loop canoe route, and wanted to keep open the flight path used by the concessioner using Grosvenor Camp. That path headed west down Lake Coville to American Creek. As a result, the plan kept Lake Coville, as well as the western end of Lake Grosvenor, out of the proposed wilderness. [144]

Once the revised wilderness plan was approved in 1972, administrative provisions in the 1964 Wilderness Act allowed Superintendent Blinn to apply de facto wilderness management to the area, even though Congress had not acted on the agency's recommendation. Blinn explained the new policy to representatives of Wien Consolidated Airlines (WCA), the Grosvenor Camp concessioner, and for the next several years WCA and Wien Air Alaska (WCA's name after May 1973) complied with the limitations on motorboat use demanded by the wilderness regulations. [145]

The situation heated up in July 1976 when Wien's Grosvenor Camp manager, Van Hartley, brought a jetboat into the monument. At first, he complied with the regulations, and he obtained Blinn's permission before piloting the boat up Savonoski and Grosvenor rivers on his way to Grosvenor Camp. But on August 21, Hartley illegally took a party of fishermen on the jetboat to the east end of Grosvenor Lake. Hartley failed to slow down sufficiently in the shallows and went aground. Blinn, along with his son and freelance writer-photographer Dave Bohn, were canoeing nearby. They witnessed the accident, which resulted in minor injuries to two of Hartley's fishing clients, and they helped extricate the grounded craft. Blinn, in a private conversation with Hartley, reminded him that operating the jetboat at the east end of the lake was in violation of NPS policy; he did not, however, make his feelings public, and did he not cite him or otherwise penalize him.

Several days after the incident, Blinn (who by now had returned to Brooks Camp) heard rumors that he had treated Hartley unfairly. He responded by visiting Grosvenor Camp and talking to Hartley about the recent incident. Hartley felt that the NPS's policies were unfair, but he understood them. But Chuck Petersen, the head of Wien's concessions operation, claimed he was unaware of the wilderness management policy until he met with Blinn (to cover a broad range of concessions issues) on September 1. He immediately protested the action, both at the meeting and in a September 3 letter to the superintendent. In his defense, he claimed that concessioners had been operating motorboats on Lake Grosvenor since the 1950s. He also claimed that Blinn was being arbitrary and evasive and that he was enforcing the rules as part of "personal vendetta" against him. Blinn, as a park superintendent, was in no position to lift the motorboat restriction (even if he had wished to do so), so on October 7, he replied with a letter which merely reiterated and explained the regulation. [146]

Petersen, however, would not give up. He sought, and obtained, a meeting with Pacific Northwest Region Director Russell Dickenson on November 30. Dickenson, like Blinn, told the Wien representative that he could not change Servicewide wilderness management rules; he could only suggest that Petersen write NPS Director Gary Everhardt and ask for a waiver of the 1972 regulation which closed Lake Grosvenor to motorboat traffic. Petersen did as suggested and wrote a vociferous, lengthy protest letter to the NPS Director. He also appealed his case to

Alaska's Congressional delegation. He then notified several of Grosvenor Camp's longtime guests of the decision, and asked them to lobby the NPS Director in order to overrule the 1972 administrative regulation. [147] The lobbying effort worked. On January 7, 1977, Director Everhardt notified Petersen that the agency would allow the use of motorized boat service on Lake Grosvenor, pending action by Congress on wilderness recommendations. [148] The concessioner, emboldened by its victory, considered the orchestration of a campaign that would delete Lake Grosvenor and Grosvenor River from the wilderness proposal. But Petersen soon realized that such an action would be largely unnecessary; with the exception Wien had been granted, the company was able to use Lake Grosvenor essentially as it wished. [149]

The imposition of wilderness management on Katmai's land and waters brought complaints from other disgruntled users. One of those was Edwin W. Seiler, who was the owner of a nearby fishing lodge, a pilot, and a pioneer businessman in nearby King Salmon. In May 1977, Seiler wrote Governor Jay Hammond and NPS Director Gary Everhardt about the newly-imposed float plane landing restrictions, opining that "This is something I believe Gil Blinn cooked up with prodding from some overzealous environmentalists." Seiler hoped that the NPS might relax the regulation "by issuing revocable licenses to responsible guides and Air-Taxi operators." [150] NPS Director William Whalen, who responded to Seiler in August, didn't directly answer his complaint; he took some pains, however, to put the problem in perspective. He defended Blinn and the wilderness process, noting that "the closure of all waters other than Naknek Lake and the Naknek River to aircraft and motorboats was based upon a concept of using the Naknek Lake system for primary access, with the principal developments being located in this zone and within the coastal zone. A wild lands type of management was to be applied to the remaining portions of the national monument." But he also recognized that "most wilderness areas in Alaska should have some degree of access by float plane.... It appears that the temporary impact of aircraft landings on some wilderness waters should be acceptable." He admitted that the issuance of permits had merit, but that the agency had not yet reached a decision on how to proceed. [151]

Still another access issue that the NPS had to contend with was the problem of crossing Brooks River in the vicinity of Brooks Camp. During the mid-1970s, an NPS contractor had built an improved dock in an embayment on the north bank near the river's mouth. The company had done so as part of the utility system installation. A bridge had been considered during one phase of utility contract planning, but it was eliminated from the final contract.

No sooner had the new dock been installed than nature began to unravel the improvements. In 1975 and 1976, erosion from the river's current began to narrow the small spit between the boat dock and Naknek Lake. The following summer, high runoff caused the area surrounding the concession buildings to flood; water levels reached almost eighteen inches above the level of the new dock. The area's beach was lost, and on the south side of Brooks River the bank protecting the boat dock was eroded away. On the north side of the river, continuing erosion threatened to undercut and destroy the new dock. To ward off further damage, sandbags were placed underneath the dock, but officials recognized that they served only as a holding action. [152]

The damage the river caused forced the Park Service to take a new look at its docks. In 1978, maintenance personnel attempted to repair the dock on the south bank, but finding it unfeasible to do so, they decided to dismantle it instead. On the north bank, they dredged out the boat moorage area and tried to restore the dock to a pre-1977 appearance. [153] In 1980, another year of heavy rains brought trouble. Early runoff once again gouged under the north end of the 1975 dock. It soon broke through, effectively turning the area surrounding the eastern side of the dock into an island. All attempts to return Brooks River to its former course proved futile, and in late May the east side of the dock was manually removed. As the summer wore on, currents reshaped the shoreline to the point that the west side of the old dock parallelled the

Naknek Lake shoreline and the north side protruded out into the lake. The northern portion of the dock was buttressed with scrap lumber from sections of former dock material, and began to serve as a fish viewing platform. [154]

The elimination of the two docks, of course, complicated access across Brooks River. Until 1977, crossing the river had been fairly easy because of a reliance on motorized skiffs. The deterioration of the docks, however, made dockings more tenuous as new landing sites were sought. In addition, the noise and fumes of the motorboats--noted by at least one Brooks Camp visitor--and a national policy of greater energy conservation encouraged NPS personnel to pursue alternate methods by which visitors could cross the river. [155] Improved access, however, did not become a reality until the early 1980s.

Superintendent Blinn had dealt with these and many other issues during his tenure at the monument. In June 1979, however, he left the park to become the superintendent of Badlands National Park in South Dakota. Blinn, the monument's first superintendent, had served in his position for almost ten years. His immediate replacement was Roy Sanborn, formerly a Management Assistant in the Alaska Area Office, who served in an interim capacity for the next two months. Blinn's permanent replacement was David Morris, who stepped into the job from the Washington-based departmental manager program. Morris had worked in Alaska prior to beginning his NPS career, and served as the Katmai superintendent for the next eight years. [156]

The Proclamation of an Expanded Monument

The election of Jimmy Carter as president, along with the recognition that ANCSA required an Alaska lands bill to pass Congress by December 1978, spurred Congress into activity. Carter was widely considered as an environmentalist, and Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, an avowed environmentalist, headed the House Interior Committee, which was to be a prime mover of the bill in Congress.

Although the primary existing package of parklands proposals was the one which Interior Secretary Morton had signed in December 1973, one of the first bills of the 95th Congress was submitted by Udall and other environmentally-leaning Congressmen. On January 4, 1977, Rep. Udall submitted H.R. 39; similar bills were entered somewhat later by senators Lee Metcalf (D-MT), Henry Jackson (D-WA), and Clifford Hansen (R-WY). H.R. 39, the initial legislative vehicle by which Alaska lands would be considered, called for the setting aside of up to 115,000,000 acres in the four national systems, 64,100,000 acres of which would go to the national park system. Virtually all of the NPS acreage was proposed as "instant wilderness;" lands included in that category would be designated as wilderness without the usual review process. [157]

Among its provisions, Udall's bill proposed the creation of a 5.1 million-acre Katmai National Park--a full 2.6 million acres larger than the existing monument. It included all of the area in the present park and preserve. It also included a large triangle of land northwest of the present boundaries, which included the Alagnak River and surrounding lowlands; a large area to the southwest, which included territory north and south of the King Salmon River; and an area south of the monument which extended all the way south to Portage Bay. [158]

Some Alaskans were outraged by Udall's bill, and interests in the Naknek and King Salmon areas reacted angrily to the proposed Katmai expansion. John Wood, a King Salmon fishing guide, circulated a petition protesting the bill because of its "disastrous effects on existing recreational and subsistence uses of the local fish and wildlife resources." He collected 329 signatures in just four days. He complained to Governor Hammond that "the proposed extension

has no significant value to warrant inclusion into the Monument as specified by National Park Service policy." Perhaps as a result of Wood's activism, both the South Naknek Village Council and Bristol Bay Borough quickly passed resolutions not to increase the size of the monument. [159]

Congress did little for the next several months that promised a resolution to the Alaska lands question. Meanwhile, scattered attempts were made to legislate a Katmai wilderness bill. On January 11, Rep. Keith Sebelius (R-KS) submitted 27 wilderness bills, each of which was compatible with the recommendations which the NPS had made to Congress in 1974. The only bill which dealt with an Alaskan NPS unit was H.R. 1720, which pertained to Katmai. [160] In the Senate, Henry Jackson and Clifford P. Hansen submitted S. 315, which was a broad-based wilderness bill for various areas in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest. [161] Neither the House nor Senate bills got past the committee stage, perhaps because the committee chairmen involved wanted to deal with Alaska's land uses in one large bill rather than a series of smaller ones.

By the spring of 1977, others were making their voices known. In April, Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus testified to Congress on H.R. 39; having not had time to analyze the bill, he could only reaffirm the Carter administration's support for a strong Alaska lands bill. Two months later, Sen. Ted Stevens introduced S. 1787, an Alaska-based "consensus bill" which proposed to set aside 75,000,000 acres in the various management systems. The bill, far less restrictive than the Udall bill, proposed to add just 400,000 acres to Katmai National Monument--just enough to provide watershed protection to existing monument lands. It proposed another 1,590,000 acres as "federal cooperative lands" which would be located within the monument but would be open to all uses, save disposal, authorized by the public land laws. [162]

Meanwhile, in preparation for the time in which Andrus would make formal testimony, Director Whalen began a review of its proposals in light of what had been presented in H.R. 39. [163] Selected keymen were brought to Washington. They met with Roger Contor, the bureau's Alaska lands specialist, to produce boundaries that accurately reflected up-to-date knowledge.

The results of the recent NPS investigations had significant ramifications for the Katmai park proposal. In both the January 1975 Final Environmental Statement and in H.R. 39, a major area suggested for new acreage was the lowland tundra addition located southwest of the existing monument. Most of this area was not in the same watershed as existing monument waters, and the flat, featureless character of the proposed addition seemed, to some at least, as separate from the mountain, lake or coastal country which typified most of the monument.

By December 1975, residents of Naknek and King Salmon were calling the legitimacy of the southwestern addition into question. [164] In response, Dr. John Dennis--biologist, member of the 1972-73 Alaska Task Force, and chief proponent of the addition--recognized that the proposal was controversial. He further recognized that the huge parcel offered substantial subsistence moose and caribou hunting for local residents, and that some gravel extraction was taking place there.

Dennis argued, however, that the lowland tundra was more valuable as parkland. He noted that

> It is unique because it is situated on a glacial outwash. Sand dunes, which are somewhat unexpectedly found north of the west end of Becharof Lake provide a xeric environment where plant species uncommon to the Alaska Peninsula are found. Another significant feature of the lowland tundra is that together with the existing monument it provides a nearly complete cross-section of botanical life zones across the northern Alaska Peninsula. The lowland tundra area also provides winter habitat for a moose population ... an important waterfowl nesting and molting area, especially for whistling swans [and] habitat for a wide-ranging herd

> of caribou. Management of this region as a natural area would assure the protection of the values discussed above, and may provide some sanctuary for the caribou, should their wide-ranging habitat on this part of the peninsula be changed by new and intensive land uses. [165]

Local residents, however, did not share the need for protecting that area. When John Wood circulated the local petition against the extensions in January 1977, he did so on behalf of the residents of Game Management Unit 9. His primary complaint with H.R. 39 was that "The proposed ... extension would encompass two of the three dependable areas available for [local recreational and subsistence] uses, i.e., all of Big Creek and the upper portion of King Salmon Creek. The NPS's arguments ... are unjustifiable when weighed against the detrimental effects ... on the lifestyle of the local residents." [166]

Gil Blinn, a recipient of the petition, had also been a recipient of numerous resolutions which Bristol Bay Borough had passed against the monument expansion. Despite its negative tone, he was pleased that Wood had identified specific areas of concern to local residents. He passed Wood's petition on up through the hierarchy. In mid-February no less than the Acting NPS Director, William Briggle, wrote Wood and asked for "Any additional information ... concerning the specific types of uses that take place on the lands in question and where and when these uses take place." Hoping to gain more specific input from the local authorities, Blinn and Alaska's Area Director, Bryan Harry, visited the borough offices and asked for specific comments rather than monolithically opposing NPS's expansion plans. [167] The borough responded in mid-May with a resolution which proposed that King Salmon Creek, Big Creek, and all other areas to the south and west be dropped from the proposals because they were traditional hunting, fishing, and trapping lands for the communities of South Naknek, Naknek, and King Salmon. They promised that if the park service would do that, they would not oppose the other additions. [168]

By the time NPS Director Whalen gave his proposed park recommendations to Secretary Andrus in mid-August 1977, the Katmai proposal had overcome local opposition. It was also, however, substantially smaller than H.R. 39 had proposed because the lowland tundra addition had been eliminated. Whalen urged Andrus to propose a Katmai National Park with 1,800,000 acres added to the existing monument. Because of the compromise made with local officials, Whalen proposed that subsistence as well as commercial hunting of brown bear be prohibited in the proposed park additions. The Fish and Wildlife Service, stepping into the void, recommended in its own report to Secretary Andrus that the southern additions to Katmai be added to the wildlife refuge system. On August 18, Assistant Secretary Robert L. Herbst accepted that recommendation. [169]

On September 15, Secretary Andrus released the long-awaited Interior Department proposal. Andrus called for the creation of ten new NPS areas and the extension of three existing areas. He proposed that a total of 41,770,000 acres be set aside. In regards to Katmai, he recommended that only 1,110,000 acres be added to a newly-designated Katmai National Park; the acreage was largely a reiteration of Secretary Morton's 1973 recommendations except for the elimination of the lowland tundra areas. The proposal also called for wilderness in those areas of Katmai previously recommended by the NPS, plus an additional 89,000 acres in the Headwaters Creek drainage west of Brooks Lake. It proposed the Alagnak River, but not American Creek, for Wild and Scenic River status. Unlike the proposal offered by the NPS, the Interior Department proposed that subsistence uses be allowed within the area outside the existing monument. Hunting, however, was prohibited. Andrus's bill was a compromise between Rep. Udall's far-reaching conservation bill and Sen. Stevens's lukewarm effort. [170]

In response to Andrus's recommendation, and also in response to a series of hearings the Interior Committee held during the spring and summer, H.R. 39 was revised in October 1977.

Still a solidly conservation-backed bill, it remained the primary mark-up vehicle for the next several months. In March 1978, however, committee leaders had to defeat a rival proposal which would have advocated less restrictive uses for Alaska's d-2 lands. Perhaps in response, the committee again revised H.R. 39 to include a 210,000-acre national preserve adjacent to the proposed Katmai National Park. [171]

Preserves differed from parks in that they allowed sport hunting. Most also allowed motorized vehicle usage and mineral entry. [172] For the last several years, NPS officials had been debating how to handle hunting in the Alaska park proposals. As noted above, some resisted sport hunting within park borders, while others realized that if properly regulated, certain of the proposed park areas should permit the activity.

Through 1976, NPS officials had, to outsiders at least, remained steadfast in their opposition to hunting in the proposed Alaska park units. The internal dialogue continued, however, and by January 1977 the Service's designated Alaska specialist, Roger Contor, recommended that the agency "adopt the park-preserve combination, where needed, as the Service's position in Alaska." Allowing preserves gave the NPS control over more land than would have otherwise been possible; had park requirements remained rigid, areas which allowed hunting might be administered by the Bureau of Land Management. Adopting the preserve concept also prevented sport hunting advocates from opening up existing parks to hunting. [173] John Kauffmann, a longtime Alaska hand, agreed with Contor and suggested that preserves could permit such broad uses as hunting, mining, or motorized recreation if they did not interfere with or damage a park's basic scientific values.

Based on that philosophy, the NPS legitimized the preserve category in areas deemed necessary or appropriate. Preserve status was first employed on the Aniakchak and Lake Clark proposals. [174] By August 1977, Director Whalen recommended preserve status for six proposed units: three independent units, and three others in conjunction with proposed national parks. Thus, by the time the House Interior Committee recommended a national preserve for Katmai, the concept was already well established. The idea of a preserve had been used in the legislature, too; in January, Udall's H.R. 39 had proposed them for Noatak and Yukon Charley, and had also proposed a Chisana National Preserve adjacent to the proposed Wrangell-Kluane International Park. [175]

The modified H.R. 39, which proposed a 1,300,000-acre Katmai National Park and a 210,000-acre Katmai National Preserve, was brought before the full House on May 19, 1978 along with two rival Alaska lands bills. The rival bills were defeated by substantial margins, and H.R. 39 passed by a resounding vote of 279 to 31. [176]

With just seven months to go before the seven-year timetable set by ANCSA elapsed, momentum shifted to the Senate. The upper chamber, however, seemed in little hurry to deal with the issue. Not until October 5, just eight days before adjournment, did the Energy and Natural Resources Committee report its version of an Alaska Lands Bill to the full Senate. That bill, generally unfavorable to conservation interests, would have created a national park and expanded its acreage by 900,000 acres; it would also have created a 400,000-acre Katmai National Preserve. Due to a combination of delaying tactics and parliamentary confusion, however, the Senate--and the 95th Congress--adjourned in October without having passed an Alaska lands bill. [177]

Secretary Andrus reacted to the lack of Congressional activity by acting on his own. He had known for several months that Congress might leave the issue unresolved, and he was therefore prepared to provide President Carter with a series of options on how to resolve the issue. In mid-November, in order to protect the "integrity of Alaska lands" from state selection, he had withdrawn over 110,000,000 acres of land. On December 1, Carter used that land as a basis for

declaring 56,000,000 acres of national monuments under the terms of the Antiquities Act. Included in that designation was a 1,370,000 acre extension to Katmai National Monument. The measure which created the enlarged park area was a stopgap, and those that promulgated the proclamation hoped that it would remain in force only until a more formal legislative vehicle could be approved. Nevertheless, after a seven year struggle, an enlarged NPS unit at Katmai was at last a reality. [178]

The land added to Katmai was approximately 140,000 acres smaller than the park-preserve combination which had been proposed in H.R. 39. Katmai's new boundaries differed from that proposed by secretaries Morton or Andrus in that they extended north beyond Kukaklek Lake; they included Nonvianuk Lake and most of the Nonvianuk River. In the Lake Camp area, the boundary was extended west for three or four miles. Few changes were made at the south end of the monument, but in the Brooks Lake area, the boundary was extended west to include the Headwaters Creek drainage.

Establishment of Katmai National Park and Preserve

When Congress reconvened in January 1979, high on its agenda was the passage of the Alaska lands bill it had failed to act on during the previous legislative term. To some extent, the activities of the new Congress were a repeat of the old. The House Interior Committee, once again, took the lead in guiding the legislation; once again, the conservation-minded committee leaders succeeded in fashioning a bill strong enough to be brought to a vote. The bill, introduced by Rep. Udall and again dubbed H.R. 39, moved swiftly through the committee. On May 16, the full house defeated a weaker substitute bill, 268 to 157, then passed H.R. 39 by a vote of 360 to 65.

Action then shifted over to the Senate. The Energy Committee, by that time, had passed a less restrictive bill than that passed by the House, but pressure was growing to accept a more conservation-oriented substitute on the Senate floor. Alaska's U.S. Senate delegation recognized, as they had in 1978, that delaying tactics might succeed in forging a more pro-development bill. They were able to delay consideration of the bill on the Senate floor until July 1980. Senator Henry Jackson, who had crafted the Energy Committee bill, watched helplessly as pro-development forces lost several lopsided votes on strengthening amendments. Jackson recognized that he was almost certain to lose if he brought an Alaska lands bill to the floor, so he was able to prevail on Majority Leader Robert Byrd to take the bill off the floor. Jackson, with the support of Senator Stevens, then set in motion a series of meetings between key senators; from those meetings came Amendment No. 1961, a substitute for the Senate Energy Committee bill. The amendment, probably the best Jackson felt he could craft considering the circumstances, was brought back to the Senate floor on August 18. The full Senate first voted, 72 to 16, to adopt the amendment as a substitute to the bill which had emerged from the Energy Committee. Shortly thereafter, it voted 78 to 14 to pass the bill itself. [179]

The Senate bill, in general, was less restrictive in its land use proposals than that passed by the House. Its proposals for the Katmai area followed the differences displayed in the bill at large. H.R. 39, as passed in May 1979, had called for a 1,160,000-acre park expansion and a 210,000-acre preserve, while the Senate's Amendment No. 1961 proposed a 1,037,000-acre park expansion and a 308,000-acre preserve. [180] Both bills called for NPS jurisdiction of a similar amount of land; the House bill proposed just 25,000 more acres of land in the combined park and preserve than that proposed in the Senate substitute. Both bills called for the designation of the Alagnak River (but not American Creek) as wild rivers. The House bill called for 3,630,000 acres of instant wilderness, while the Senate bill proposed 3,473,000 acres. The total amount of land reserved in the Senate bill was about 25,000 acres less than Secretary Andrus had designated in December 1978. [181]

The Senate's passage of the Alaska lands act was not intended to be the last word. Two months remained in the Congressional calendar to forge a compromise between the two competing bills. Senate leaders, however, displayed a "take it or leave it" attitude. With little room on which to compromise, Rep. Udall pinned hopes for an improved bill on a Senate-House conference that was scheduled to take place after the 1980 elections. That election, however, swept conservative Ronald Reagan into the White House; more important, it brought forth a Senate Republican majority. Given those developments, Udall had no choice but to capitulate. On November 12, he asked the House to approve the Senate-passed bill. It did so by voice vote, and on December 2, President Carter signed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) into law.

The administrative and legislative path which resulted in the Alaska lands act was long and tortuous, one enlivened by bombast on both sides and heated debate on both the general provisions of the bill and the land-use future of specific areas. It appears, however, that Katmai, for all its size, was one of the less rancorous areas in the debate. Gates of the Arctic, the Wrangell-St. Elias area, and the Mount McKinley expansion were high-profile battles between development and conservation interests. Katmai, for the most part, was not. Sport hunting created some debate in Katmai, as it did in other parks, and the threats of the removal of subsistence hunting rights frustrated local residents. Compromises, however, were found to both problems. Land use proposals, here as elsewhere, became more sophisticated as knowledge grew about the areas in question. The efforts that resulted in the draft and final environmental statements succeeded in their intended purpose, and by the time Congress began its debates, most differences of opinion had been smoothed out.

Katmai was now more than half again as large as it had been prior to 1978. Congress had added some 1,037,000 acres to the pre-1978 monument acreage and renamed it Katmai National Park; in addition, it created a 308,000-acre Katmai National Preserve north of the park. [182] (See Appendix A.) The Park Service hierarchy, now provided with a new mandate, readied itself for a new series of challenges. They would be not long in coming.





(left) Gilbert E. Blinn served as Katmai's first superintendent. He remained at the monument for almost ten years, from September 1969 through June 1979. In this photo, taken in August 1978, he is shown in Brooks Lake near the tail wing of a Cessna 185 Skywagon on floats. (right) Rogers C. B. Morton, who served as Interior Secretary under presidents Nixon and Ford, played a major role in the planning process that created or expanded Katmai, Aniakchak, and other Alaska NPS units. *(Gil Blinn Collection (left); Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (right))*





(top) Key players in the formation of the Alaska Lands Act included (l-r) Rep. Don Young, R-AK, Sen. Mike Gravel (D-AK), and Alaska Governor Jay Hammond. The trio is shown with President Ford when the president visited Alaska on November 17, 1975. (bottom) This photo of Research Bay, with Mt. Katolinat in the background, was taken by Victor Cahalane in August 1954, during the Katmai Project. During the mid-1970s, the bay was the recommended site for Katmai's primary visitor node. Park staff, however, rejected the site when they learned that the area harbored a high concentration of brown bears. *(courtesy Gerald R. Ford library, photo A7590-18 (top); NPS Photo Collection, neg. 12089 (bottom))*

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 6:
Management of Katmai National Park and Preserve

The half-decade which followed the passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act was a relatively strong growth period at Katmai. The park's acreage, of course, was significantly larger than it had previously been. In recognition of a larger park and its elevation to national park status, Katmai's budget enjoyed a healthy growth. Like all of the new or expanded Alaskan park units, Katmai underwent an extended management planning effort. Plans were also developed for the Alagnak Wild River--administratively a part of the new park--and for the two largest development nuclei, King Salmon and Brooks Camp. The problems of Brooks Camp, by far the largest development within the park, were addressed first.

Issues Relating to Brooks Camp Growth

During the late 1970s, while Congress decided how large Katmai and the other Alaska NPS units ought to be, Katmai staff had their hands full trying to manage the acreage they had. The most contentious issue during the period dealt with the growth of Brooks Camp.

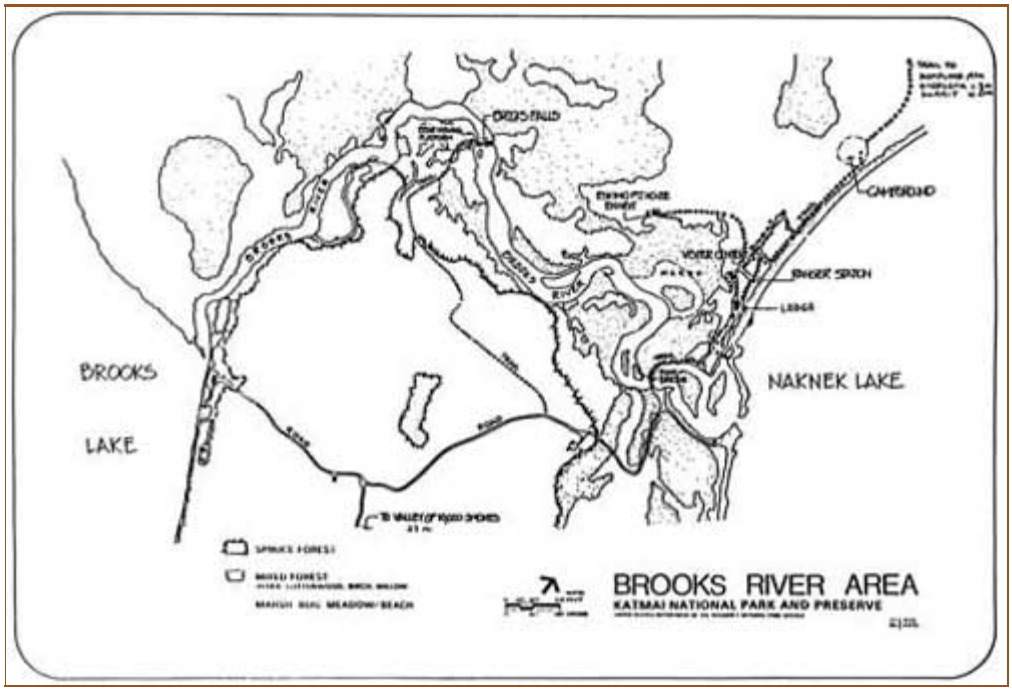
As noted in the previous chapter, NPS officials had had misgivings about the appropriateness of Brooks Camp development for years. They had never been enthusiastic about its position as the primary visitor node; suggested primary development sites had included O Creek (1950), the Lake Camp area (1952), Savonoski (1955), Valley Junction (1956), Bay of Islands (1965), Naknek Peninsula (1971), and West End/Research Bay (1973). By the early 1970s, those involved in the master planning effort were openly suggesting that Brooks Camp be eventually phased out. Even so, the agency went ahead with plans to establish a utility system and other infrastructure improvements.

Once utilities had been installed, little more was heard about moving the camp. Instead, NPS officials concentrated their efforts on razing the concessioner's original tent camp. They hoped to see the tent frames replaced by more substantial structures, and hoped to see the camp move from the mouth of the Brooks River to an area less sensitive ecologically. The tent frame camp had not been occupied by camp guests since the mid-1960s. Since that time, the primary occupants had been concessions employees.

The Service had raised concerns about the adequacy of these tent cabins as early as 1974, when the construction of a new employee camp had been urged in exchange for the adoption of a ten-year contract extension. Wien Air Alaska, the monument's concessioner, was not so eager to obtain a long term lease that it was willing to commit itself to a major construction program; therefore, that option was not exercised. [1] Four years later, Wien showed no more willingness than before to allocate funds for the project, and the project was tabled again. In the meantime, however, the floods of 1977 had shown the vulnerability of the site, and the increasing number

of encounters between humans and bears in the area raised the concerns of park officials. [2]

By September 1980, the situation had grown so serious that Alaska Area Office began preparing a plan designed to tie the renewal of the concessions contract to the construction of new concessions facilities (see Map 9). In October, it issued a development concept plan (DCP), one purpose of which was "to insure that the concessioner provide for the adequate expansion of concessioner facilities and replacement of inadequate concession employee housing at Brooks Camp." The DCP specifically noted that there were pressing needs for an addition to the Brooks Lodge dining room, the replacement of the concessions housing and maintenance complex, and the replacement of the Brooks Camp store. It suggested that the concessions facilities might be relocated to an unspecified "interior woods site," a "Naknek Lake site," or a "Brooks River view site." The interior woods site, where archeological concerns were relatively low and bear traffic relatively infrequent, was the preferred alternative. [3]



Map 9. Brooks River area in March 1983. The path to Brooks Falls had just been cleared, but the concessions camp was still located at the river's mouth. Brooks River, the park's main visitor locus, flows from Brooks Lake to Naknek Lake. Source: National Park Service. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Wien, however, had little if any interest in making a major capital expenditure at its Katmai facilities. The airline had not erected any new buildings within the monument since it became the primary concessioner in 1968. Wien officials recognized that the construction of new facilities would cost more than $600,000. They therefore responded to the Service's housing demands with only vague replies. [4]

During the winter of 1980-81, the NPS and the concessioner fought over the need for concessioner facilities. The NPS demanded that Wien invest in them as a prerequisite for contract renewal, but the concessioner refused to consider the investment, and proclaimed more than once its intention of abandoning the concession if the NPS persisted in its demands. By June of 1981, however, Wien had capitulated. It signed a new fifteen-year contract which, among its other provisions, called for the construction of new Brooks Camp facilities. [5]

Shortly after NPS officials signed the concessions contract, the agency prepared a more detailed

draft DCP, which was released to the public in January 1982. It laid out the same three alternatives that had been noted in late 1980. In addition, it offered an alternative in which the three guest cabins which faced Naknek Lake would be converted into employee housing and the Skytel would be enlarged. Again, the interior woods site (west of the NPS housing complex) was selected as the preferred alternative. [6]

The January 1982 DCP served as the primary document guiding growth at Brooks Camp over the next several years. Wien sold its interest in the Katmai concessions camps to KatmaiLand, Inc. in October 1982. The new company, renamed Katmailand in 1983, constructed the new concessions complex in 1984-85. In 1984 it expanded the Brooks Lodge dining room, and in 1985-86 it demolished the original Brooks Camp tent frames. [7]

The Park Service, during this period, was an active contributor to Brooks Camp's physical growth. In one major development, the agency was finally able to circumvent the seemingly age-old problem of crossing Brooks River. It will be recalled that boats had been the only method used to cross the river since the camp opened in 1950. Few needed to cross before the Valley Road was completed in 1962; since that time, the continuing growth of visitors to Brooks Camp had made the crossing problem worse. The floods of the 1970s further complicated the situation because it washed away the boat docks along both banks.

In the summer of 1978, NPS personnel tried to lessen the difficulties of the river crossing by installing a boat pulley system. Rollie Ostermick, a seasonal ranger, designed and installed it. The idea was sound, but the system was neither well designed nor well constructed, and did not survive the summer. Edward Stondall, the Alaska Area Office maintenance chief, had another idea. Taking Puget Sound's Hood Canal Bridge as a model, he thought that a floating, removable bridge offered a realistic solution. Stondall designed the bridge during the 1979 summer season. He had to wait in order to gain the necessary funding and approvals, but in 1981-82, he was able to construct the footbridge with funds obtained from the Park Restoration and Improvement Program. [8]

Other improvements followed. In order to allow visitors to Brooks Falls to watch the bears in relative safety, the agency built a bear viewing platform southeast of the falls in August 1982. Prior to its construction, people had watched bears from the right riverbank, and several cases had arisen of bears brushing up against the legs of the visitors. The following year crews rerouted the trail to the platform away from its former route along the riverbank. The new roundabout route followed the road from the floating bridge to a point just east of the Valley Road-Brooks Lake junction; from there a new trail headed northwest to the falls. The former (riverbank) trail remains open but its use has primarily been limited to those who fish. [9] No trails have been cut in the Brooks Camp area since 1983.

Finally, in order to accommodate new seasonal personnel, the NPS built several new Brooks Camp support buildings. In the summer of 1980, it erected three Panabode-style seasonal ranger cabins, which replaced four tent-frame residences which had been laid out in 1967. Three years later, it constructed two new tent frames. [10]

Katmai's budget during this period enjoyed healthy growth. The monument had only three permanent staff--the superintendent, chief ranger, and maintenance foreman--in addition to fourteen seasonal workers. Its 1979 budget was slightly less than $300,000. Two years later, however, the budget had risen to over $350,000, and the 1983 budget had exploded to over $680,000. By that time three new permanent staff (a district ranger, administrative technician, and resource management specialist) had been added (see Appendix B). The park also had almost 20 seasonal workers, a healthy increase over the 1979 staff level. [11] Although Katmai's area, of course, was far larger in 1983 than it had been in prior to December 1978, much of the park budget continued to be spent in and around Brooks Camp. Therefore, it

should not have been surprising that the larger budgets resulted in new Brooks Camp improvements. Because Brooks Camp was where most park visitors spent time while in Katmai, Brooks Camp was also the place where the agency spent most of its construction and maintenance funds.

Park Enforcement Activities

Most of the visitation, and most of the attention of park managers, was directed to Brooks Camp and the Valley Road corridor. Beyond that small area, one of the biggest management headaches was poaching. Poaching, of course, was an old problem, and as the 1970s wore on the NPS was able to control the problem better than it had ever done before. The boundary expansion of 1978, however, included many areas which hunters and trappers had been using for years. Most of the licensed guides had areas outside the boundaries that they could use; therefore, they did not challenge the agency's authority on the issue. Others, however, needed more than mere gentle persuasion in order to prevent hunting and trapping within Katmai National Park.

David Morris, who became superintendent in the summer of 1979, knew that his ability to fly about the park was key to the enforcement effort. Prior to beginning his employment, he had learned to fly. He soon recognized that a few people still flew into Katmai each year and poached the wildlife; he also knew that two trappers had long been active along American Creek, and despite the new monument had little desire to leave. One of the trappers, John Neilsen, was persuaded to move his trap lines north to an area within Katmai National Preserve. But John T. ("Trapper Jack") Graham hung on, and the laissez faire attitude which prevailed in the area prevented Morris from quickly enforcing the poaching regulations. As a result, the problem was not resolved until 1984, when Graham finally moved to Naknek. [12]

Pressures related to hunting and poaching resulted in two unsuccessful efforts to change the existing regulations. Both efforts took place in 1983. In March, regional NPS officials moved to modify the interim (1981) regulations relating to access by proposing that selected areas within three Alaska NPS units be closed to various forms of vehicular access. Superintendent Morris, spearheading the Katmai effort, recognized that brown bears were the species most likely to be poached, and that poachers used floatplanes and motorboats to access areas with the heaviest bear concentrations. He proposed, therefore, that aircraft landings be prohibited in the summer and fall in lakes within the Margot Creek and Ukak River drainages, and that wintertime landings be stopped in Idavain, Dakavak, Hammersly and Murray lakes as well as those in the Contact and Angle Creek drainages. In addition, he proposed that the Savonoski River be closed to motorboats and that the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes be closed to all motorized access. [13]

When Morris announced the impending change in regulations, via an announcement in the April 6 Federal Register, he probably felt that such a proposal would arouse little controversy. The four public hearings, all to be held in communities west of the park, were scheduled only two weeks later. The NPS, however, encountered a burst of opposition to its plans. One and all, it seemed, began to attack the bureau for holding the hearings with such little public notice, and many urged that the hearings be delayed. Beyond that, both Native groups and sportsmen attacked the proposed closures. [14] Agency officials reacted by allowing an extended comment period; then, having weighed public comment, decided not to implement the proposed regulations, at least as they pertained to Katmai National Park. [15]

The other effort to change the hunting regulations was legislative. On January 26, 1983, U.S. Senator Ted Stevens introduced S. 49, a bill that would have eliminated the prohibition on sport hunting in eight Alaska national parks and monuments. (The bill, in effect, would have made

national preserves out of the eight units.) On February 15, Rep. Don Young introduced a similar bill in the House, H.R. 1493. The bills, which would have allowed hunting throughout Katmai and Aniakchak, were hailed by sportsmen's groups and the guiding community. They were opposed by Native groups, who feared the loss of wildlife and its consequent impact on subsistence lifestyles, and by environmentalists. [16] Stevens and Young were able to obtain scores of co-sponsors for the bill, but the heads of several key Senate Committees opposed it. [17] The bill was debated for three months in the Senate Energy and Natural Resources committee; it finally emerged from the committee, on a bare-majority vote, in October. But it was never considered by the full Senate due to pressure from conservationists. In the House, H.R. 1493 never made it past the House Interior Committee. [18]

The King Salmon Headquarters Plan

The burgeoning budget growth that characterized Katmai during the late 1970s and early 1980s resulted in more of everything at the park: more permanent personnel, more seasonal staff, more equipment purchases, more office equipment, and the generation of more paperwork. At Brooks Camp, the construction of Panabodes and tent frames, along with the acquisition of several residences from the Fish and Wildlife Service, allowed the agency's housing stock to keep pace (though barely) with the ever-increasing Katmai staff. But at King Salmon, where the permanent staff resided the other two-thirds of the year, little construction had taken place since the original buildings had been laid out in 1964.

In late 1982, the King Salmon headquarters complex consisted of just four main buildings, all located on the western side of the road which divided the NPS parcel. The chief improvements were the administration and maintenance building, where all administrative work took place in a two-room office, and an attached duplex, which was occupied by the superintendent and chief ranger. Both of these buildings dated from 1964. The only other residences were two trailers; one, a double-wide dating from 1974, was used by the maintenance foreman; the other, a single-wide brought in during the early 1980s, housed the administrative technician. [19]

Four other structures were found on the eastern side of the property. They included a small, poorly heated administrative annex and a Butler-style storage building, both of which were obtained in 1982 after being surplussed by the Federal Aviation Administration. That same year, two tent frames were constructed for the use of seasonal employees. [20]

The existing physical plant was clearly inadequate for a park which had six permanent staff, a growing seasonal staff (who worked in King Salmon as well as within the park), and a need for work and storage space which was clearly more than the existing facilities could provide. In response, the agency wrote a Development Concept Plan for the headquarters area. The plan was approved in the fall of 1982 and issued to the public in January 1983. Its proposed alternative called for seven new two- or three-bedroom housing units for the permanent staff, four seasonal housing units, a new administration building, and a new maintenance building. The plan called for the conversion of the existing administration and maintenance building into one used exclusively for maintenance. Slated for removal were the two existing residence trailers, the Butler building, the administrative annex, and the two tent frames. The plan was clearly an ambitious undertaking; cost estimates for implementing the plan totalled $2,780,000. [21]

Despite the severe overcrowding, almost nothing was done to implement the plan. Perhaps the cost of the project, combined with the leveling off of Katmai's budget in the mid-1980s, forced officials to improvise in their search for new housing. The only action taken in the next two years was the removal, in 1983, of an increasingly unsafe single-wide trailer occupied by the administrative technician. In its place a modular duplex was constructed. [22]

Katmai Begins the Management Planning Process

In December 1978, Katmai National Monument was expanded by over 1.3 million acres. The great majority of that land had previously been managed by the Bureau of Land Management. The BLM had had a fairly laissez faire management style over its lands; that style had been constrained since the imposition of the land freeze in the late 1960s and the ANILCA process during the 1970s.

President Carter's proclamation of December 1, 1978, which expanded three existing NPS units and created 10 new NPS-managed national monuments, brought threats of civil disobedience from Alaskans who lived near several of the new and expanded park units. Little if any anti-NPS publicity was directed toward the newly-expanded areas of Katmai National Monument, but NPS officials were quick to recognize that the new parklands were not welcomed by many Alaskans. They also knew that the agency had few enforcement personnel and that more permanent legislation was being deliberated in Congress. For all those reasons, they took a deliberately cautious approach in managing their new lands. In June 1979, the Interior Department issued proposed regulations for the new and expanded national monuments; these regulations permitted traditional subsistence activities (but not sport hunting), the use of aircraft, and the carrying of firearms. [23]

The Alaska Lands Act, signed by President Carter in December 1980, provided specific management direction for each of the new and expanded NPS units. In regards to Katmai, ANILCA noted that "The monument addition and preserve shall be managed for the following purposes, among others: To protect habitats for, and populations of, fish and wildlife including, but not limited to, high concentrations of brown/grizzly bears and their denning areas; to maintain unimpaired the water habitat for significant salmon populations; and to protect scenic, geological, cultural, and recreational features." [24]

Accompanying the Act was a lengthy Implementation Directive from Secretary Andrus. This report, which attempted to translate the goals of the act into specific steps required for its implementation, called for the creation of a broad range of regulations, the preparation of a series of general management plans, and a wide array of other documents. The Act, however, had little enforcement power until interim management regulations could be issued. Proposed regulations for the public use of the new park areas, based largely on those originally promulgated in 1979, were issued on January 19, 1981 (the day before Jimmy Carter was replaced by Ronald Reagan). After the public was given its opportunity to comment, final interim regulations were issued in mid-June. Those regulations, once implemented, became a new section of the government's Code of Federal Regulations. Although several new rules dealt specifically with individual Alaska park units, none dealt specifically with Katmai. [25]

Meanwhile, work began on the creation of general management plans for the various Alaska park units. Several of Alaska's NPS units were provided funding for the commencement of their management plans in Fiscal Year 1982; funding for Katmai that year, however, was limited to that which had been provided for the Brooks Camp and King Salmon development concept plans. [26]

Alagnak River Planning Efforts

Brooks Camp and the King Salmon headquarters complex were the first two areas which received attention by planners after the passage of the Alaska Lands Act. Soon afterwards planners decided to focus their efforts on Alagnak River system. Work on the Alagnak began as part of the general management plan process. In July 1983 an alternatives workbook, which

listed management options for the river, was distributed to the public. The public was given time to comment on those options. Planners, however, were required to complete a management plan by the end of 1983. Therefore, they selected the public comments which pertained to the river, and prepared a management plan. The Alagnak River management plan was issued in November 1983.

The Alagnak River, and its tributaries the Nonvianuk and Kukaklek rivers, had been popular with fishermen since the 1960s. During the following decade, float trip enthusiasts discovered the area. Because of its popularity, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation nominated both the main river and its tributaries as so-called wild rivers in the Wild and Scenic Rivers system. [27]

Several of the Katmai expansion proposals--the administrative proposals of the early 1970s as well as legislative proposals during the late 1970s--called for the addition of large blocks of land both north and south of the middle and upper stretches of the Alagnak River system. The bill which was finally signed by President Carter, however, protected relatively little of the drainage system within Katmai National Preserve. Included in the newly-created preserve was the upper seven miles of the Kukaklek River and all 11 miles of the Nonvianuk River. For the remainder of the Kukaklek River and for the uppermost ten miles of the Alagnak River, only the southern bank was protected within the preserve.

In order to provide greater protection to the Alagnak, Congress, as part of ANILCA, designated all but the lower 18 miles as a wild river. [28] Theoretically, the newly designated wild river was 67 miles long, because it included both tributaries as well as the Alagnak's main stem. In practical terms, however, the creation of the wild river protected only 47.9 miles of the Alagnak: 19.5 miles of river that had already been protected along its south bank, and an additional 28.4 river miles that had been left unprotected on both banks. [29]

Although the Alaska Lands Act incorporated the Alagnak system into the Wild and Scenic River system, the only boundaries Congress provided were upper and lower river boundaries. In order to provide lateral boundaries for the river corridor and to establish management goals, Congress required that the agency produce a river management plan within three years after ANILCA's passage. This deadline meshed well with another ANILCA mandate, that the agency prepare a Katmai general management plan. When planners began preparing the GMP in the summer of 1982, they included the Alagnak River corridor as part of their efforts. That August, the planning team spent a day out on the river and got a first-hand look at its management problems. [30]

By the summer of 1983, planners had decided (again, as part of the Katmai GMP process) upon proposed boundaries for the Alagnak Wild River. In July and August, planners held a series of public hearings on the Katmai GMP and the proposed Alagnak river corridor. By early fall, general management planning had advanced so far that little extra effort was required to complete a management plan for the wild river corridor. The NPS, therefore, separated the public's comments which pertained to the river from those which dealt with the park and preserve. Based on the public comments and agency mandates, the NPS issued the Alagnak Wild River Management Plan that November. [31]

The management plan called for the creation of an NPS strip that was to parallel the river. Provisions in ANILCA had mandated that the agency could acquire an average of one square mile of land for each linear mile along the river. The need to protect natural and visual values, however, gave planners considerable leeway in where lateral boundaries were placed, the result being that those boundaries extended anywhere from one-quarter mile up to two miles away from the river. A total of slightly over 24,000 acres was reserved. [32]

The NPS noted that the river's primary values were fishing, boating, wildlife, and wilderness,

and the agency's management plan reflected the importance of those priorities. It proposed no new administrative or visitor facilities, and anticipated making "no actions ... that would change the regenerative capability of natural systems." It hoped to enter into a cooperative agreement with the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) "to more precisely define the status of resident fishes within the Alagnak River drainage," and also proposed an archeological survey along the river. No urgency, however, was suggested for either study. [33]

Creation of a General Management Plan

As noted in the previous section, work on a Katmai General Management Plan began in the summer of 1982. That July a planning team from the Denver Service Center, together with staff from the regional office and the park, conducted a field study. An Assessment of Alternatives was prepared and presented to Regional Director John Cook on October 14. Three students from the University of California at Santa Cruz spent several weeks working with the planning team to analyze planning and management problems. [34]

Work continued on the General Management Plan in the summer of 1983. An Alternative Workbook containing four alternatives was prepared and distributed, and a series of public meetings was held in order to solicit comment on the alternatives presented. These meetings were held in King Salmon on July 27, Naknek on July 28, and Anchorage on August 11.

The alternatives presented to the public as a result of the planning efforts that had taken place in 1982 and early 1983 offered strongly divergent directions on how Katmai might be managed in the future. One alternative suggested that existing management should be continued. A second alternative envisioned keeping Brooks Camp's concessioner and camping facilities at their current levels. The NPS Brooks Camp facilities, however, would move to Brooks Lake. Additional campgrounds would be established at Brooks Lake, along the Valley Road, at the Bay of Islands, and in conjunction with the concessioner facilities at Grosvenor Camp, Kulik Camp and Battle Camp. The concessioner would be encouraged to establish a boat service from Brooks Camp to the Bay of Islands area and from Kodiak to development sites along Shelikof Strait.

The workbook's last two alternatives called for more substantial modifications to the existing development pattern. One alternative, which hoped to eliminate the Brooks Camp bear problem, called for the relocation of the camp to "the spruce forest between Naknek Lake and Brooks Lake." It also called for the eventual elimination of sportfishing on the Brooks River. In order to make Katmai more appealing to the budget traveler, the alternative proposed the construction of lower cost hostel-type accommodation and campground shelters. To provide greater park access to local residents, the alternative urged the reopening of fishing areas closed by the 1969 monument expansion, the reopening of hunting and trapping areas closed by the Alaska Lands Act, and the movement, five miles to the east, of the park's westernmost boundary.

The final alternative offered an even more Draconian scenario. It called for the elimination of Brooks Camp, and urged its replacement by a concession-owned and -operated cruise boat operation. Such a service would originate at Lake Camp, and its primary route would be east across Naknek Lake to Research Bay. Visitors, thirty to forty at a time, would stop along the way at Brooks River in order to observe wildlife; they would then go on to Research Bay, where they would remain overnight before continuing by road to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. Lake Camp would be connected to King Salmon by shuttle bus service. The Grosvenor Camp concession operation would be eliminated, and aircraft would be prohibited from both Coville and Grosvenor lakes. Access to both lakes would be limited to canoes who had reached the area via the Bay of Islands portage. [35]

A draft plan, which would include General Management Plan, Wilderness Suitability Review, and Land Protection Plan, was expected to be released to the public in the late spring of 1984. Work, however, was delayed. The NPS did not choose its preferred alternative until sometime in 1984, and by the close of that year the GMP was still in the publication preparation phase. [36] The draft plan was finally distributed in March 1985.

The draft General Management Plan provided three scenarios for future park development. Alternative A, similar to the workbook's first alternative, called for a continuation of existing conditions. Alternative B, which combined elements from the second and third alternatives as described in the workbook, called for diversified opportunities in the park and preserve. Alternative C, similar to the workbook's fourth alternative, described a wilderness adventure cruise. NPS planners called for the adoption of Alternative B as the proposed plan.

Under Alternative B, Brooks Camp development was to be kept at the present level for the time being. Eventually, however, all NPS and concessioner facilities would be relocated on a phased schedule to an unspecified area of spruce forest south of Brooks Falls. Boat service on Naknek Lake, provided by private enterprise, would be encouraged. Grosvenor Camp would be enlarged, and an NPS camping area would be established nearby. The camp would be used as a staging area for scenic boat trips and fishing excursions up Lake Coville. Primitive camping areas would also be established at Bay of Islands, the western end of Nonvianuk Lake, and along the Valley Road at the Yori Pass access point. Activities compatible with wilderness designation--canoeing, float trips, hiking, wildlife observation, and sportfishing--would be encouraged throughout the park. Few changes were anticipated in the management of the Alagnak River corridor. [37]

The draft Land Protection Plan, which was issued as an attachment to the draft GMP, identified the various nonfederal lands within the park and preserve, and assigned priorities for acquiring interests in each of these tracts. Based on its value to the park, agency officials designated each nonfederal parcel into one of nine priority levels. The most valuable parcels--those assigned to Priority 1--belonged to four owners or applicants. The State of Alaska owned approximately 75,300 acres of state lands near McNeil River State Game Sanctuary and along the southern shore of Kamishak Bay. A 120-acre Native allotment, originally submitted by Palakia Melgenak (see next section), included much of the Brooks Camp area. Three mining claims, staked out by Ernest Pfaff (and later transferred to Hawley Resource Properties), were located northeast of Battle Lake. And the Russian Orthodox Church owned three small parcels along the Shelikof Strait coastline. The five parcels in Priority 2 belonged to concessioners, the two parcels in Priority 3 belonged to Native corporations, and the forty parcels in Priority 4 were Native allotments. [38]

Public meetings, intended to solicit comments on the draft plan, were held in King Salmon, South Naknek, Naknek, Levelock, Igiugig, and Kakhonak on April 29, April 30, and May 1, 1985. A meeting was also held in Anchorage. The public comment period, which was extended twice, remained open for a total of 135 days. [39] Planners incorporated those comments and issued a revised draft plan, which was released for public review in December 1985. After another 60-day comment period, the final GMP was prepared. David Morris, Katmai's superintendent, recommended the document for approval in June 1986. NPS Director William Penn Mott, however, did not approve it until October. Mott's superior, Assistant Interior Secretary William P. Horn, finalized the document when he signed it on November 7, 1986. [40]

The final GMP differed in several ways from the March 1985 draft. Perhaps the most substantial change was in regards to a development plan for Brooks Camp, which was slightly more tentative than the draft had been. The final plan did not call for the eventual relocation of Brooks Camp; instead, it noted that "long-range plans may require either its relocation or

additional restrictions on sportfishing along Brooks River, or both actions may be necessary. Ongoing studies documenting bear/human interactions in the Brooks Camp area will help guide future decisions." It called for the preparation of a second Brooks Camp Development Concept Plan to address such matters as an overflow camping area, a new visitor center, and an elevated boardwalk which would both parallel and cross over Brooks River. [41]

Native Land Claims Become a Major Issue

Natives had lived on the upper Alaska Peninsula for thousands of years, and both before and after the establishment of Katmai National Monument, Natives had used many areas in and around the park. Prior to the 1970s, however, there had been few instances of land-use conflict between Natives and the NPS.

As previous chapters have shown, Natives living in Naknek and the surrounding areas were keenly aware that each of Katmai's acreage expansions had diminished the territory they had formerly used for hunting, trapping, fishing, and berry picking. Several Natives claimed land in the expanded park and preserve. That land, however, was subject to a lengthy granting process, and as late as 1977, only about 130 acres of private land existed within Katmai National Monument--less than 0.01% of Katmai's total land area. Of the seven private parcels, five were owned by institutions (the Russian Orthodox Church, the State of Alaska, and the U.S. Air Force) while the other two parcels were owned by non-Native individuals. Natives, either individually or collectively, owned no land within Katmai National monument.

Events related to the December 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act had a major effect on Native land ownership throughout the state, and Natives in the area surrounding Katmai National Monument took advantage of the revised regulations which made it easier for them to obtain land. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was aware of the impending appeal of the Native Allotment Act of 1906; it therefore undertook a drive to obtain applications. In 1970 and 1971, organizations such as VISTA and Rural Alaska Community Action Program (RuralCAP) fanned out into rural communities to explain the new regulations, and as a result some 9,000 Native Allotment applications were received. [42] As part of that movement, upwards of 25 Natives applied for Native allotments within the boundaries of present-day Katmai National Park and Preserve. In addition, both village corporations and regional corporations applied for land. By the time President Carter expanded Katmai National Monument in December 1978, Natives had claimed almost 50,000 acres within the newly-declared unit; more than 90% of that acreage had been claimed by Native corporations. Most of the acreage claimed was located at the northern or western end of the newly-expanded monument. [43]

The process by which Natives (both individuals and corporations) acquired their lands was largely in the hands of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Land Management. Before 1978, planners were the only NPS personnel familiar with the acreage that was being considered for Native allotments adjacent to the existing monument boundaries. After 1978, NPS managers treated most of the territory allotted to Natives as private lands; that included lands going through the application process as well as those for which a Certificate of Allotment had been issued.

Most of the lands included within the various Native allotments posed few problems for NPS managers. Few applicants and certificate holders lived on their parcels, and many parcels had no improvements on them. Furthermore, few allotments were located in areas where the NPS had existing or planned developments. Only two potential allotments had potential conflicts for agency officials: the Palakia Melgenak claim, which encompassed Brooks Camp, and the Pomela Peters claim, in the Lake Camp area.

The Melgenak Claim at Brooks Camp

Palakia Melgenak was a full-blooded Aleut who was born in Old Savonoski on July 21, 1877. As noted in Chapter 2, she had fled the Katmai explosion in June 1912, and she had been married to American Pete, another witness to the eruption. On March 31, 1971, the 93-year-old woman applied for a parcel under the terms of the Native Allotment Act of May 17, 1906. The parcel, which covered approximately 120 acres, included the Brooks Camp area, land on both sides of Brooks River, the river itself, and almost one-half mile of Naknek Lake shoreline. Less than a year later, on February 19, 1972, Ms. Melgenak died; Trefon Angasan, Sr. and Ralph Angasan have served as applicants since then. [44]

It took the BLM more than a decade to fully process Ms. Melgenak's claim. During most of that period, the prospects of her heirs obtaining a claim did not appear favorable. In March 1973, the NPS provided the BLM with a brief history of its Brooks Camp operations during the 1950s and 1960s; it also provided them with transcripts of tape recordings (made in 1961) of survivors of the Mount Katmai eruption. Based on that information, the BLM told the NPS that the allotment was in the process of being rejected. The Alaska Legal Services Corporation (ALSC), who represented the applicant, then obtained sworn statements from several local citizens who supported Ms. Melgenak's residence at Brooks River. [45]

The BLM surveyed the 120-acre allotment in July 1975. That November, field examiner Don Whyde reported that, in his opinion, Ms. Melgenak had not satisfied the use and occupancy requirements of the Native Allotment Act. Based on that report and the other collected evidence, the BLM State Office sent much the same message to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in January 1977. In April the Director of the BLM, Frank Gregg, echoed the same message. Ms. Melgenak's claim appeared to be on the verge of rejection. ALSC, however, filed an extensive letter making both legal and factual arguments on behalf of the claimant. [46]

All parties anticipated that a hearing might follow the BLM decision. But no hearing took place, and the BLM largely ignored the parcel for the next five years. Finally, on March 7, 1983, the BLM unexpectedly reversed its 1977 position. It announced that Ms. Melgenak's application had been adjudicated, and that her claim had met the use and occupancy requirements of the 1906 act. [47]

National Park Service officials were stunned by the decision. Based on the 1977 decision, they had been led to believe that the Melgenak claim would not be an impediment to their hegemony over Brooks Camp. Little evidence had been presented to the BLM since the 1977 decision; the NPS, therefore, found it highly illogical that the BLM would have changed its mind. [48]

The NPS, not surprisingly, appealed the BLM's decision to the Interior Board of Land Appeals (IBLA). Trefon Angasan and the BLM opposed the appeal. [49] In the meantime, the Bureau of Indian Affairs tried to assert its management authority over Brooks Camp. It told David Morris, Katmai's superintendent, that "these lands have been occupied without consent or approval" of the BIA, and requested that "all monies received by NPS for the use of the land after March 7, 1983 be placed in an escrow account pending final determination of ownership." Confusion over Brooks Camp's legal status prevented the NPS or the concessioner from undertaking any improvements for the time being, and Katmailand as a result had to delay the construction of its employee housing complex for the time being. The decision did not, however, affect the agency's ability to carry on normal managerial activities. [50]

The Interior Department submitted a Statement of Reasons shortly after they filed their appeal, and gave six arguments as to why the allotment should not be granted. Most of those arguments contained information not included in the case file. In December 1983, the IBLA recognized the

overall worth of the appeal and concluded that the March decision should be "set aside and remanded for further action consistent with this opinion." Hearings were needed to answer three questions: 1) whether Ms. Melgenak's allotment application was submitted to BIA before December 18, 1971, 2) whether there was sufficient evidence of her use and occupancy of the parcel to justify approval of the application, and 3) whether her entry extended more than 160 rods along the shore of Brooks River. The NPS and the concessioner were given the go-ahead to undertake camp construction projects. [51]

Three months after the IBLA rendered its decision, on February 10, 1984, the BLM issued a contest complaint. It advised ALSC that Ms. Melgenak had not shown sufficient use and occupancy of the lands she claimed. Her heirs, who by now were Trefon and Ralph Angasan, were invited to request a hearing date in order to tell a judge how and when Ms. Melgenak used the parcel for which she had applied. [52] Both sides prepared for the upcoming hearings.

The last of the three questions posed in December 1983 demanded technical evidence and legal precedents that were unlike those needed to answer the other two. In August 1984, therefore, the navigability issue was postponed until the validity of the allotment application could be adjudicated. A month later, ten days of contest hearings were held in order to gather evidence on the first two questions. Hearings were held in Anchorage, at Naknek, and at Brooks Camp. The Angasans organized witnesses to speak on behalf of the applicant; Bill Tanner, who was employed in NPS's Alaska Regional Office, organized the opposing testimony. [53]

The IBLA Hearings Division ingested the voluminous results of those hearings, and on September 12, 1985 issued a decision. Regarding the timeliness with which the application was submitted, Administrative Law Judge E. Kendall Clarke noted that "The record contains sufficient evidence to permit the court to conclude that Melgenak's application was filed with an agency of the Department [of the Interior] prior to December 18, 1971." The application was therefore valid on that point. Regarding the applicant's use and occupancy, testimony by Don Dumond (an archeologist who had conducted extensive work at Brooks Camp) and local long-time residents indicated that the applicant and her husband were living in a cabin south of Brooks River in the 1920s, probably before 1924.

Based on that evidence, Clarke reported that "the court finds contestee to have met the requirement of use and occupancy prior to 1931." The 1931 inclusion of the Brooks Camp area into Katmai National Monument, therefore, had no effect on the validity of Ms. Melgenak's application. But the court did not grant Angasan the entire allotment. It was "thoroughly convinced that contestee made extensive use of the south side [of Brooks River], there is very little evidence of substantially continuous use and occupancy on the north shore." The court, therefore, rejected the applicant's claims to land north of Brooks River. It also rejected claims for the river itself. [54]

Splitting the allotment in two was not what either party had in mind. In a way, the division made sense, because most of the NPS and concessioner improvements were on the north side of the river and the applicant's improvements were on the south side. Neither side, however, was willing to settle for half a loaf. Accordingly, both the NPS and ALSC appealed the IBLA's decision. [55]

After the appeals had been submitted, both sides realized that jurisdiction of the case was far from over. In order to resolve the dispute, the Interior Solicitor's Office and the Alaska Legal Services Corporation tried to arrange an out-of-court settlement. [56] The Interior Department was willing to certificate a 10-acre allotment, south of the Brooks River, in the area surrounding the two existing cabin ruins; it included a 100-foot frontage along the south bank of Brooks River. Several restrictions, however, would be placed on the allotment. The certificate holder, for instance, was not allowed to sell his property to anyone other than his heirs without NPS's

permission; he could not erect more than four structures on the property; he could not operate a commercial business; no motor vehicles were allowed; and he could not otherwise deviate from the regulations established for lands elsewhere in the monument. ASLC, in its response, thought that the offer was "totally unacceptable," because Angasan was "unwilling to accept most of the restrictions that the NPS seeks to impose on his title and lifestyle." The ASLC did not reject the offer out of hand, but offered a counter proposal which modified most of the stipulations proposed by the Interior Department. (It insisted, for instance, on the entire allotment south of Brooks River, and the construction of up to eighteen structures on the property.) NPS made no response to the counterproposal, and by June the attempt to short-circuit the legal process died. [57]

Both sides, therefore, geared up for another battle. On June 19, the Interior Department Solicitor's Office gave the IBLA its Statement of Reasons for Appeal, regarding why it should be awarded lands south of Brooks River; one day later, Alaska Legal Services provided arguments on why the applicant deserved title to the lands north of the river. Once those arguments had been presented, both sides awaited a second IBLA decision, which was expected to come sometime in mid-1988. [58]

The NPS felt that the best way to argue against the applicant's claims of early use and occupancy was to show that the cabin which Ms. Melgenak had lived in was built after Brooks Camp had been absorbed into Katmai National Monument. Testimony in the 1984 hearings had suggested that the cabin (which by now was in ruins) had been built sometime after 1912, or perhaps during the 1920s. If the NPS could prove that the cabin had been constructed after April 1931 (the date when Katmai's boundaries were expanded), the applicant could prove no physically-verifiable evidence of her use and occupancy of that parcel. In order to investigate the cabin's age, the NPS brought Gary Ahlstrand, a research ecologist in the agency's regional office and a tree-ring expert, out to the site in October 1984 and had him take core samples of various cabin logs. The following September, Ahlstrand issued a report which concluded that the cabin was constructed "sometime after mid-August 1931." Ms. Melgenak could, of course, have been a seasonal resident for years beforehand; the cabin, however, was apparently built on land which had already been designated as part of a national monument. Ahlstrand's report had been completed by the time the NPS appealed the September 1985 IBLA decision. It was therefore included with the agency's Statement of Reasons which it submitted in October 1986 with a request that a new hearing be held to verify its validity. [59]

ALSC, the attorneys for the applicant, objected to a reopening of the hearing. In a May 1988 decision, however, the IBLA felt it was "apparent that [Ahlstrand's report] and testimony concerning its contents would be important to proper consideration of the issues raised in this appeal." It therefore approved a supplemental hearing, to which ALSC reluctantly consented. [60]

The NPS recognized that the proof offered of the cabin's date had little effect on the overall outcome of the case. For that reason, agency lawyers initially hoped that more extensive testing would not be required. [61] Later, however, they recognized that "additional tree-dating analysis may be necessary to supplement [Ahlstrand's] original report." The recognition that another ruined cabin had been located near the first brought Ahlstrand out to take more core samples. By mid-August, Ahlstrand had written up a revised report on the Brooks Camp cabin ruins; his research showed that the second cabin was built "no earlier than the summer of 1936," which was five years after Brooks Camp had fallen under NPS jurisdiction. [62]

Both sides in the dispute spent the next twelve months finding tree-ring experts and evaluating Ahlstrand's research. By late November, the applicant had chosen Dave Horton, an Area Forester for the BIA, to analyze the collected data. Horton viewed that data at the NPS regional office on January 25, 1989. [63] Horton was later replaced by Dr. Donald L. Marx, a University

of Alaska Anchorage professor of business administration and a statistical expert. The NPS initially chose Dr. Charles Stockton, a dendrochronologist and Director of the University of Arizona Tree Ring Laboratory; he was later replaced by Dr. David M. Meko, Stockton's assistant. [64]

Little took place in the case for the next few months. In early July, an administrative law judge set the supplemental hearing for August 30 in Anchorage. [65] Three NPS witnesses--William Tanner, Gary Ahlstrand, and David Meko--gave evidence and testimony about the two ruined cabins. The applicant put forth no witnesses and entered one exhibit into evidence. The NPS concluded, as a result, that the construction date of the two cabins were August 1931 and the summer of 1936. ALSC did not dispute that testimony, but felt "this conclusion in no way refutes the conclusion of Administrative Judge Clarke [in the September 1985 decision] that Palakia was making use of her land long before the 1931 withdrawal." In January 1990, Judge Harvey C. Sweitzer affirmed the construction dates of the two cabins. [66]

Key to the hearing testimony was whether evidence on the second cabin should be weighed by the court. As early as October 1988, Melgenak's heirs objected to "any consideration regarding the construction date of this second cabin," and argued that it was beyond the scope of the proceedings to determine that date. But it was not until the eve of the hearing--August 22, 1989--that ALSC filed a motion to limit the scope of the proceedings to Ahlstrand's first (1985) report. [67] The Hearings Division staff could not rule on the motion before the August 30 hearing. Three months later, NPS attorneys issued its opposition to ALSC's motion. Perhaps in response, ALSC withdrew its original (August 22) motion. The cabin's construction date was not only irrefutable but irrelevant; ALSC therefore dismissed this portion of the case. [68]

Once the administrative law judge had issued his findings of fact in January 1990, all steps necessary for a final IBLA allotment decision had been completed. Administrative Judge Will A. Irwin then considered the case, and on September 24, 1993, he issued his decision. In a clear victory for the National Park Service, Irwin noted that "We reverse Judge Clarke's decision to the extent he approved Melgenak's Native allotment application for the lands south of Brooks River." However, "we affirm Judge Clarke's decision to the extent he rejected Melgenak's application for lands north of Brooks River." Irwin, in sum, rejected all claims that the heirs of Palakia Melgenak had made; C. Randall Grant, Jr., another administrative judge, concurred in Irwin's decision. The NPS, as of this writing, is therefore the uncontested owner of all land in the Brooks Camp area. [69]

It is unknown, at this point, if the claimants will try to appeal the IBLA decision. They are legally entitled to wait as long as six years before appealing the decision to the U.S. District Court. No appeals, however, have yet been filed. A lawsuit, if filed, could well delay final resolution of land status for several years. The NPS, as a result, will be wary of initiating building projects until the litigation is settled.

The Peters Claim at Lake Camp

The Pomela Peters claim proved to be just as troublesome as the Melgenak claim. On November 13, 1970, the mixed-blood Eskimo from Naknek applied for a 160-acre parcel under the Native Allotment Act of May 17, 1906. The parcel was located on the right bank of the Naknek River and less than a mile south of Naknek Recreation Site #2 (the Air Force's former Lake Camp facility). The eastern end of the parcel was located within the boundaries of Katmai National Monument; the remainder was located on BLM land. On her application, Peters claimed to have begun using the land in September 1937. Since that time, she declared that she had spent all but the winter months there engaged in fishing, hunting, and berry picking. [70]

It took the Bureau of Management more than a decade to process Ms. Peters' application. Because of the large number of applications submitted, the process of adjudication and field examination would have taken several years had no complications arisen. Ms. Peters, however, had no previous legal ties and few physical ties to her parcel, and others, with some justification, claimed a portion of the allotment. A 1975 field examination complicated matters. Because the information on Ms. Peters' application was at variance with what the BLM field examiner saw at the parcel, the examiner recommended that her application be rejected. No rejection took place, although processing the application was repeatedly delayed. [71] On March 1, 1984, however, the BLM determined that the applicant had satisfied the use and occupancy requirements of the 1906 act, and the allotment--now reduced in size to 155 acres--was held for approval by the BLM. All signs pointed toward Ms. Peters' parcel being granted. By then, however, the entire parcel had become absorbed within Katmai National Park, and it had also been determined that the parcel contained an unimproved dirt road and a boat launch, the two of which formed the easiest public access point to Naknek Lake. For each of these reasons, it was necessary that the application be adjudicated rather than legislatively approved. [72]

The NPS showed little if any interest in the parcel during the 1970s and early 1980s. One reason for its lack of interest may have been because park staff did not feel that the parcel conflicted with any agency developments. When Ms. Peters first claimed her parcel, she thought that it was located south of the Lake Camp parking lot and dock. It was not until the late 1970s that the BLM realized that her allotment included those improvements. When the BLM issued its decision in March 1984, it provided for a 60-day protest period, and it sent a copy of its decision to the NPS's Alaska Regional Office. Significantly, however, the Service did not protest the BLM's action. [73]

One of the few remaining requirements Ms. Peters needed before gaining title to her land was the execution of a survey. The elderly lady hoped to live long enough to receive her allotment, but she recognized that a government survey might be years in the future. In December 1986, therefore, she speeded up the process by hiring a private engineering firm to survey the eastern end of the parcel. (The remainder had been surveyed in 1964.) [74]

Although park officials had investigated the legal status of the King Salmon-Lake Camp road and the Air Force recreation camp back in 1981, [75] they showed no particular interest in the Peters parcel until November 1988. The maintenance staff hoped to construct day use facilities at Lake Camp and improve the parking lot, but could not proceed until land title was cleared up. [76]

The agency then initiated a series of letters which had as its goal the continued public use of the Lake Camp area. The NPS had no desire to contest Ms. Peters' allotment, but it did hope to continue its jurisdiction over its access route to Lake Camp. On April 6, 1990, therefore, it requested that "the public dock, associated facilities, and access road" be excluded from the allotment. The NPS felt justified in doing so because it contended that the Peters parcel contained 340 rods of navigable shore space along Naknek River, but the 1906 act limited shore space to 160 rods. It also argued that the access road and dock predated the 1937 use and occupancy date claimed by Ms. Peters; as a result, it felt that even if the parcel did not violate the shore space limitation, the agency had the right to include a reservation for Lake Camp's public facilities. [77]

The BLM tried to be accommodating to the Service's request. It admitted that the allotment's shore space might have exceeded that allowed in the 1906 act, and agreed to review the shore space issue. Regarding the road and dock, the BLM invited the Service to submit historical information on "public use prior to and during the allottee's claimed use and occupancy." The BLM decided to cooperate even though the Service had lost its opportunity to protest. The Service had lost its protest rights because it had failed to respond within thirty days of the

March 1984 approval decision. [78]

On May 23, Garey Coatney of the NPS responded to BLM's request for historical data by noting (inaccurately, as it turned out) that "the roads in question were built during and immediately following World War II and have been used continuously ever since." [79] He also noted that "Prior to the construction of the roads the area was occupied and used by many persons other than the applicant and access to the river bank for landing purposes was essential to this use." He provided supporting documentation--most of which was already in the allotment file--to back up his contentions and to suggest that the applicant both recognized the public use of the dock area and had attempted to exclude the dock area when she had applied for the parcel. [80]

After the NPS provided its documentation, the BLM took more than a year to complete the adjudication of Peters' allotment application. On September 25, 1991, the BLM decided that the parcel's shore space was only about 119 rods, which was well within the 160-rod limitation. [81]

The BLM, satisfied that Ms. Peters had fulfilled the requirements of the 1906 act, granted Certificate of Allotment No. 50-92-0420, for a 134.34-acre parcel, on July 9, 1992. The certificate was issued to "the heirs, devisees, and/or assigns of Pomela D. Peters;" Ms. Peters had died on February 19, 1991. [82]

Recognizing that the Lake Camp parcel was going to be transferred into private hands, the NPS began, in December 1991, to negotiate with Ms. Peters' heirs for the right to purchase the Lake Camp property. [83] Ms. Peters' heirs, at one point, expressed a willingness to allow public access to Lake Camp. By the spring of 1993, however, they had erected "No Trespassing" signs along the road, and for a few weeks the road was barricaded. NPS officials were advised that the new property owners were strongly divided over the issue of selling either an easement or a portion of the property to the federal government. They responded, therefore, by giving serious consideration to the use of Naknek Recreation Site #2 as a alternate access point to Naknek Lake.

Backcountry Ranger Activities

Between 1980 and 1984, Katmai's budget more than doubled, from about $325,000 to almost $700,000. One result of the increased budget was that the park, for the first time, was able to station seasonal staff in locations away from Brooks Camp. Staff were usually placed at sites where visitor concentrations demanded the enforcement of park regulations. Their numbers, however, were highly sensitive to the budgetary process, and when park budgets levelled off in the mid-1980s fewer backcountry rangers were able to be deployed. [84]

The first Katmai backcountry rangers were used to protect the monument's wildlife during the spring and fall hunting seasons. Rangers were assigned beginning in 1972, perhaps earlier. These "stakeout teams" were dropped off in various remote sites for several weeks each year. The teams continued to be assigned until 1983 and were used again in 1985. [85] Other early "backcountry" rangers were those assigned to Lake Camp. Until 1984, Lake Camp rangers were given other duties, either at Brooks Camp or King Salmon. They were assigned beginning in the late 1970s and continued through 1985.

The first summertime backcountry rangers were deployed in 1978, the last summer before the monument was expanded. Rather than assigning two individuals to backcountry duty for the entire season, the superintendent arranged for each of the interpreters, Brooks Camp rangers, and the Lake Camp ranger to take week-long sojourns into the backcountry. The most

commonly patrolled area was the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. [86]

The revolving system of backcountry ranger deployment continued until 1982, when two new ranger positions were established to operate a new camp at the outlet to Nonvianuk Lake. Dennis and Penny Knuckles, who filled those positions, were kept busy advising those intending to float the Nonvianuk River. [87] Rangers continued to staff the Nonvianuk Lake camp until 1988. In 1983, the first rangers were deployed to Big River during its short but furious silver salmon run. They remained there each year until 1988, but never stayed for more than a few weeks. A similar ranger presence was established along the Kamishak River. In 1984, additional rangers were assigned to patrol the far-flung coastal areas of the park. A two-person team was assigned to the Aniakchak coastline in June; in July and August, they conducted week long patrols of all the rivers and bays between Kashvik and Swikshak, utilizing base camps at Amalik, Kukak, and Swikshak Lagoon. Coastal patrols continued through the 1988 season. [88]

In 1985, the Nonvianuk Lake, Big River, and coastal rangers were complemented by the assignment of a ranger to the Grosvenor Camp area. The ranger, Lyndi Denlinger, was asked to evaluate the nature and severity of conflicts developing along American Creek. The abandoned National Marine Fisheries Service cabin was used as a base camp that summer. The following year rangers continued to monitor American Creek activities, but the campsite was moved west to a site two miles up American Creek from Lake Coville. [89]

The late 1980s and early 1990s witnessed the continued placement of personnel in strategic backcountry locations. Nonvianuk Camp has been staffed each year since 1988, rangers were stationed at American Creek from 1988 through 1990, and park personnel were stationed at Fure's Cabin in 1989. A ranger crew resided along Big River and Kamishak River in 1988, and a team was dispatched to the Takli Island-Geographic Harbor area for a short time during the summer of 1989. The March 1989 grounding of the T/V Exxon Valdez resulted in the deployment of additional rangers to accompany the various oil-spill cleanup crews. Personnel were stationed at Fure's Cabin in 1990 and 1991; during the summer of 1991, rangers were also sited near Swikshak Bay and Amalik Bay. [90]

The Katmai Wilderness Plan

The Alaska Lands Act, passed in December 1980, established a 3,473,000-acre wilderness area within the renamed and newly-expanded Katmai National Park. Of the land which had been in the former monument, the bill adopted almost everything that had been recommended by President Nixon in his June 1974 wilderness message. (Of the administrative recommendations of 2,603,547 acres, everything had been accepted with the exception of the 2,000-acre plot which lay between the Valley Road and Naknek Lake.) In addition, Congress added to the wilderness system another 650,000 acres of land which had not been managed by the National Park Service prior to 1978. Altogether, more than 90 percent of Katmai National Park was designated as wilderness. Also, over 60,000 acres of Katmai National Preserve--about one-seventh of the total preserve acreage--became part of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

In addition to the lands designated by ANILCA as so-called "instant wilderness," Congress mandated that

> Within five years from the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary [of the Interior] ... shall review, as to their suitability or nonsuitability for preservation as wilderness, all lands within units of the National Park System ... not designated as wilderness by this Act and report his findings to the president. [91]

In response to that mandate, the NPS began a renewed study of Katmai's wilderness resources in 1984, and it included a wilderness suitability review in the same process which brought about the Draft Katmai General Management Plan and Land Protection Plan. (Such reviews took place for NPS units throughout the state.) All of the Katmai land which had not already been designated wilderness, a total of approximately 667,500 acres, was subject to the wilderness suitability review. [92]

Given that mandate, the NPS broadly defined those lands which would be considered for wilderness designation. All federal lands which met all of the other suitability criteria were considered suitable. Those lands being selected were suitable if retained in federal ownership but unsuitable if conveyed out of federal hands; their suitability, therefore, was pending. Lands that had been developed according to the criteria set forth in the Wilderness Act were, of course, unsuitable for wilderness. Given those parameters, planners determined that 528,000 acres of the lands being considered--79 percent of the total--were suitable for wilderness. Another 31,000 acres (5 percent of the total) had pending suitability. The remaining 109,500 acres (16 percent) were deemed unsuitable for wilderness designation. [93]

During the 16-month period that elapsed between the issuance of the draft and final Wilderness Suitability Review, the legal status of various parcels changed as did planners' interpretations of their suitability as wilderness. As a result, the wilderness plan that was signed by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior in November 1986 and passed on to the President declared that 491,807 acres in the park and preserve (71 percent of the available acreage) was suitable for designation. Another 29,865 acres (4 percent of the total) had pending suitability, and the final 175,622 acres (25 percent) were unsuitable for wilderness.

In March 1986, during the preparation phase of the final Wilderness Suitability Review, the NPS began a wilderness scoping process, which was intended to help agency officials decide which lands declared to be suitable for wilderness should be recommended for wilderness. This process, which took place for parks throughout Alaska, was intended to identify public and agency concerns and to define the major issues which would influence wilderness decision making. Public meetings were held in over 40 communities across the state; two of those hearings were held in King Salmon on October 16, 1986. [94]

Based on the scoping process, the agency, in June 1988, released a draft Environmental Impact Statement on its Katmai wilderness recommendations. The document noted that the combined park and preserve had 643,448 acres that were suitable for wilderness designation. (The November 1986 wilderness suitability review had declared that only 491,807 acres were suitable, but subsequent changes in the criteria for suitability increased the suitable acreage by over 150,000 acres.) [95]

Four alternatives were identified on how to deal with the remaining wilderness resource. Alternative 1, the no-action alternative, called for no new wilderness. Alternative 2, which was recommended by the NPS, urged the creation of 245,284 more acres in wilderness (38 percent of the study area) and another 49,617 acres for future wilderness consideration. Alternative 3, considered designating 497,539 acres (77 percent of the study area) as wilderness and another 57,000 acres as a potential wilderness addition. Alternative 4, the maximum wilderness alternative, would consider 586,448 acres (91 percent of the study area) as wilderness; the other 57,000 acres (9 percent of the study area) was considered as potential wilderness. [96]

Alternative 2, the agency's preferred alternative, recommended four significant new tracts of wilderness. Those areas included Lake Coville, Iliuk Arm, the northern portion of Naknek Lake (including the Bay of Islands area), and a large block of land located in and around Kulik and Battle lakes. Several small areas along the eastern coast were also recommended for wilderness. The large State-owned tract along the shore of Kamishak Bay and the various Russian Orthodox

Church parcels were recommended as potential wilderness additions. No new areas in Katmai National Preserve were recommended for wilderness. [97]

Although the NPS recommended the addition of almost 300,000 acres to the National Wilderness Preservation System, it expected few changes in the prevailing activity pattern. Most of the areas proposed for addition were already de facto wilderness. Several areas had a historical pattern of activities (such as motorboat usage or float-plane landings) that would have been contrary to wilderness use patterns outside of Alaska. The Alaska Lands Act and park-specific regulations, however, decreed that those activities were compatible with wilderness designation. [98]

Once the draft EIS had been issued and distributed, the NPS solicited public comments on it. Public hearings were held in Anchorage on July 18, in Arlington, Virginia on July 19, and in King Salmon on July 20. [99] In response to the draft, 68 people attended the various public hearings and 110 letters were received commenting on the draft document. The public was given until August 29 to comment. Congress, however, mandated that the final EIS be issued by September 30. Given just one month to translate the many comments and opinions into a final recommendation, NPS officials were unable to make a thorough evaluation of the received comments. The final EIS, as a consequence, contained the same acreage recommendations as the draft: 245,284 acres of wilderness and 49,617 acres of potential wilderness. [100]

The final wilderness EIS, as promised, was finalized by the Assistant Secretary of the Interior at the end of September 1988. After that point, it was made available for action by Congress. The legislature has not yet acted upon the recommendations contained in that document.

Katmai Land Exchange Proposals

Local interests seized upon the public comment period created during the wilderness review process to try to gain greater access to lands on the park's western boundary. As noted above, ANILCA had decreed that the newly-expanded portions of Katmai National Park would be one of only three newly-created NPS units which did not allow subsistence activities. (The other two areas were Kenai Fjords National Park and the areas added to Glacier Bay National Park. The only other Alaska NPS area closed to subsistence was the pre-1978 portion of Denali National Park and Preserve.) Some local residents demanded subsistence access to the newly-designated areas of the park; they, after all, wanted the same access that was allowed for those living adjacent to most of the other ANILCA park lands.

Bristol Bay Borough officials felt that the best way to redress a historic grievance would be the creation of a new wilderness-plan alternative, the central tenet of which would be a land trade. Taking their cue from the recently-completed Land Protection Plan, borough officials proposed that two plots of land in the northeastern corner of the park be conveyed from the State of Alaska to the National Park Service. In exchange, they proposed that 22,500 acres of NPS land on Pike Ridge (just north of the western end of Naknek Lake) be conveyed to the State of Alaska; in addition, they proposed that the NPS move the park's western boundary in the King Salmon area back to what it was before President Carter issued his proclamation in December 1978. Officials proposed the land trade in order to increase the acreage available for subsistence hunting and trapping activities. [101]

Borough officials felt that they were making a fair, equitable trade that would be advantageous to both parties. The NPS stood to gain more acreage than it lost; the two parcels of State land totalled almost 75,000 acres, all of it eligible for the national wilderness preservation system. The area it stood to give up, however, totalled less than 35,000 acres. It had little if any potential as wilderness. Almost one-third of that total, moreover, was not owned by the NPS, and the

agency could exert few management controls over it. The agency, for its part, recognized that a traditional use trail wound along Pike Ridge; because of that trail, it was difficult to manage the ridge in the face of agency regulations which discouraged motorized travel.

The idea of a land trade was not new. It had first been proposed in 1982 by Dick Sellers, a local Alaska Department of Fish and Game employee. He knew that the state had little interest in its land at Kamishak Bay; its Department of Natural Resources (DNR), in fact, had already proposed that the acreage be sold to private interests--and that hunting on that parcel was inconsistent with the management of other Katmai National Park lands. In order to protect the parcel's habitat value, he suggested that the state transfer it to the NPS for "land of equal value elsewhere in the State, most ideally ... from the western side of Katmai National Park." [102] Sellers presented his ideas to David Morris, Katmai's Superintendent. Morris recognized that several areas within the park could be effectively managed as a preserve, and after a brief survey found seven areas which "we would be most comfortable with in preserve status." The area considered most eligible for conversion from park to preserve was a 59,520-acre parcel which surrounded the western end of Naknek Lake. [103] Sellers and Morris were thus in full agreement that a land exchange would be in the best interests of both parties. But the process of effecting such an exchange promised to be long and tortuous.

The state, in response to Morris's study, fashioned a modified land trade proposal. The state still planned to swap federal for state land. It offered, however, to divest itself of both its Kamishak Bay parcel and one located south of McNeil River State Game Sanctuary. In exchange, it hoped to gain title to all of NPS's land south of Naknek Lake in Range 42 and Range 43 of the Seward Meridian; in addition, it hoped to gain all of the land south of that point which had been added to Katmai by Carter's 1978 proclamation and the subsequent passage of the Alaska Lands Act. Adelheid Herrmann, the local Alaska House member, presented Morris with the idea in January 1984. Morris responded by agreeing to present the idea as one of the several alternatives in the park's general management plan, which was then being prepared. [104] Morris cautioned, however, that removing lands from National Park designation would require an act of Congress. [105]

On one key point, the state and NPS had been operating at cross purposes in both the 1982 and 1984 discussions. The state, in each case, had proposed that NPS land be traded for state land, while NPS proposals had called for the acquisition of state land in return for the conversion of NPS land from park to preserve status. Sellers recognized the inconsistency, and in a March 1984 memo offered several possible land trades. He urged that a meeting be held between staff of each of the several agencies involved. [106] That meeting took place on May 2. At that time the NPS made it plain that it did not want to give up its ownership of any Katmai lands. It reiterated its willingness, however, to consider preserve status for the area south of Naknek Lake, and identified parcels in several other Alaska NPS units which it was willing to trade to the state. It therefore appeared that a three-way trade was in the works. [107]

Given the probability of a land trade, ADF&G went out of its way to protect the Kamishak Bay parcel from activities which would have complicated the exchange process. It asked DNR to close the area to mineral entry, it closed the area to brown bear hunting, and it rejected various applications for cabin or tent-frame construction. [108]

The Park Service, however, ran into complications in its attempts to expedite the land trade. It assessed the value of the various properties it was willing to divest to the state, and in September 1984, NPS Regional Director Roger Contor admitted that "It appears ... that at best the National Park Service would have only about 80 percent of the dollar value necessary for the exchange." He anticipated that he would need additional lands with an appraised value of approximately $2 million. He therefore wrote to the Bureau of Land Management, requesting them to "assess the availability of public lands or other interests under [your] jurisdiction that

might be included in the exchange and would be of interest to the state." [109] The BLM, however, was less than enthusiastic about the idea, and by early 1985 it appeared that neither NPS nor DNR were actively pursuing the land-trade idea. [110] Although Superintendent Morris had promised that the park's draft General Management Plan would discuss a land-trade alternative, no such alternative was included when the plan was released in March 1985.

The land exchange idea was ignored for the next few years. In 1988, it sprang back to life when Ray Bane, the park's new superintendent, became concerned about the growing pressure to develop fishing camps along the Kamishak River. Several trespass camps, by this time, had already developed near the river mouth, and both Bane and state officials sought a way to deal with the increasing development pressure. Bane met with regional officials and considered various ideas, including a federal-state cooperative agreement, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), the extension of McNeil River sanctuary, and transfer of state lands to the NPS. When appraised of Bane's interest in the matter, officials at the NPS and the state Department of Natural Resources recognized the obvious difficulties of the last alternative. Instead, they proposed an MOU for interim management of the Kamishak Bay lands. [111] State DNR officials prepared a draft cooperative land management agreement, but NPS officials were unwilling to accept any agreement in which regulations conflicting with NPS's management philosophy had to be followed. The goals of the two agencies proved to be too disparate, and by October 1989 state and federal officials agreed to postpone further discussion of a cooperative agreement. [112] Neither a land trade nor a cooperative agreement has been seriously pursued since that time.

As has been seen, officials at the local, state, and federal level had been aware throughout the 1980s of the potential advantages of a land trade, and efforts to consummate a mutually advantageous agreement had taken place, off and on, over a seven year period. All had failed. Seen in the light of those events, it appears that the Borough's attempt, in August 1988, to add a land-exchange alternative to the Katmai wilderness plan was not a logical reflection of the historical process which various governmental officials had already undertaken. The Borough's plan was a renewed attempt to suggest a modified version of that which had first been propounded by ADF&G officials in 1982 and 1984. Unfortunately, there was little in the plan which had not already been discussed; it was not surprising, therefore, that NPS officials did not incorporate its ideas into the final wilderness plan.

Park Activities, 1983-1992

Katmai operations, in recent years, have grown by fits and starts. In 1983, its budget was about $680,000, and had more than doubled in just the past three years. For the next six years, however, the budget remained at close to its 1983 figure; from 1983 through 1989, the annual budget remained between $640,000 and $700,000. Given the prevailing inflation rate, Katmai's budget actually declined during the mid-to-late 1980s. Although the budget remained stagnant, the number of permanent staff between 1983 and 1989 jumped from six to nine. (The seasonal staff level remained between 20 and 25.) The deployment of seasonal staff into the backcountry, noted above, reduced their numbers at Brooks Camp to the point that the NPS was no longer able to provide interpretive services on the Valley Road bus tour. Since 1989, however, the park budget has once again enjoyed renewed growth; in 1992, for example, the budget was more than $1,150,000, and the number of permanent positions had increased to thirteen. [113] (See Appendix C.)

As noted earlier in the chapter, the early to mid-1980s witnessed the issuance of two Development Concept Plans. Both plans called for the construction of new buildings. At Brooks Camp, the concessioner responded to the DCP by constructing an employee residential complex and a lodge extension. But at King Salmon, the issuance of the headquarters area DCP resulted

in little construction activity. Overcrowding there remained an overwhelming problem.

In the mid-1980s, park officials finally agreed to install new structures at King Salmon, but in doing so they ignored the DCP recommendations. In order to provide more office space, they scouted out areas outside the NPS parcel and applied to lease space in the King Salmon Mall, a two-story business building which was erected beginning in 1985. The mall was completed the following June, and the superintendent, chief ranger, and administrative technician moved into offices on the second floor. Their action freed up office space for the maintenance staff. [114]

A patchwork of other improvements have come to the administrative complex in recent years, but not as the DCP would have envisioned. The Butler Building was removed as planned, but the annex office remained and, in 1986, began serving as a carpenter shop and a storage area for the park library and museum. The tent frames were also not removed; instead, they were converted into cabins in 1985 and 1986. In 1988, two trailers which once belonged to the Fish and Wildlife Service were added just south of the duplex which had been built in 1983, and in 1990 a new tent frame was constructed just east of the administrative annex. Most of the improvements were financed by Park Restoration and Improvement Program funds. [115]

Outside of the King Salmon complex, the NPS has erected relatively few structures in the last few years. Since 1983, the only new Brooks Camp facilities have been a storage shed erected in 1988, an incinerator building erected in 1990-91, and two wall tents built in 1991. In 1992, park staff erected a large bear viewing platform on the south side of Brooks River near the floating bridge. [116] The only NPS facilities built elsewhere in the park in recent years have been seasonal tent camps.

The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill

As has been suggested, many activities kept the small Katmai staff busy, both winter and summer, during the 1980s. In the early spring of 1989, however, an environmental disaster caused all other management activities to be relegated to the back burner for months to come. Shortly after midnight on March 24, 1989, the Tanker Vessel Exxon Valdez ran aground on Bligh Reef, southwest of Valdez. On board was more than 53 million gallons of oil. Within five hours, more than 10 million gallons had spilled into the waters of Prince William Sound. [117]

Much has been written about the spill, and this report is not the place to discuss either the general chronology of the spill nor the ways in which the NPS and other agencies organized themselves in order to contain the spilled oil. Other publications, both by the agency and outside parties, have addressed these points. [118] This section will be limited to a description of how the NPS dealt with the oil which spilled along the Katmai shoreline. Sections in later chapters will describe how oil spill activities shed light on the agency's knowledge of the park's natural and cultural resources.

In the earliest days of spill activities, Interior Department officials, including the NPS, thought that the oil could be contained within Price William Sound. At the request of the Exxon Corporation, an Incident Command Team (ICT) was organized on March 27 and March 28. ICT chief Dave Liebersbach, however, soon found that no one in the Valdez area wanted to utilize the team's services. The U.S. Forest Service, the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Coast Guard, the State of Alaska, and Exxon all chose to use their own resources in fighting the spill. The ICT was therefore relieved from its duties in Valdez; soon afterwards, the NPS called on the team to protect Kenai Fjords National Park. [119]

Most ICT activity for the next several weeks took place in the Kenai Fjords area. Before long, NPS officials began to recognize that the oil would soon move farther afield; some, however,

thought that the prevailing currents would impact the shoreline of Lake Clark National Park rather than Katmai. Only a few NPS employees, one of whom was Katmai superintendent Ray Bane, felt that Katmai would be threatened. On April 6, less than two weeks after the Exxon Valdez ran aground, Bane requested ICT assistance in combatting the spill along the eastern shoreline of the park. A list was quickly drawn up which identified the primary areas--harbors, bays, rivers, and lagoons--that needed protection. [120]

During the week which followed, NPS staff wrote a Katmai oil spill contingency plan; the three authors of the plan were Daniel Hamson and Cordell Roy, both Environmental Specialists in the agency's Alaska Regional Office, and Janis Meldrum, Katmai's Resource Management Specialist. In addition, they began to organize a series of teams that would assess the park's coastline prior to the oil's arrival. [121] (See chapters 10 and 12.)

Bane, Hamson, and Roy also sought out a place from which they could organize their park protection efforts. Seward, the existing base of operations for Kenai Fjords work, was one obvious choice; in addition, the three considered Homer and Kodiak. The trio chose Kodiak (over the objection of many in the Anchorage office) because it had good air access, because a wide range of vessels was available, and because it was closest to the Katmai shoreline. The park soon established a Superintendent's Representative at its Kodiak office. [122] The ICT, in recognition of the spread of the spill, also looked for a branch office west of Seward. Bane hoped that the ICT would establish its office in Kodiak. On April 7, the ICT commander announced that branches would be located in Kenai and Homer, and that ICT operations along the Katmai shoreline would be directed from Homer. Three days later, however, an ICT team was dispatched to Kodiak. Spill operations were soon transferred to Kodiak, and by the end of April both the Kenai and Homer branches had closed. [123]

Once an administrative apparatus had been set up, NPS officials readied a series of teams which would assess the coastline's natural and cultural resources before oiling took place. Early organizers, operating out of the Homer ICT office, hoped to send teams out immediately, but so many specialists were at work at Kenai Fjords that few were left over for other NPS areas. Eventually, enough were freed for the task that officials at the Homer ICT were able to organize and train three assessment teams. Between April 15 and 18, the teams sailed off to survey the Katmai coastline. The teams, supported by Kodiak-based helicopters, returned to Homer by April 29. [124]

Small quantities of oil were seen on Katmai's beaches (at Cape Douglas) even before assessment teams arrived for their surveys, but most teams were able to inventory Katmai's coastline while it was still in a pristine condition. On April 18, the first oil was spotted at Kukak Bay, 50 miles south of Cape Douglas; by the end of the month, the first evidences of oil had reached the southern end of the park. Large quantities of oil first reached Cape Douglas on April 26, and reached areas to the south during the following week. [125]

In order to deal with the onslaught of oil, the Kodiak ICT issued an Incident Action Plan on April 16. The plan focused on identifying areas for feasibility and priority of booming. Bane himself, along with an Exxon-contracted booming expert, flew the coastline in order to identify areas suitable for booming. Bane recognized that Katmai's wide bays were largely unsuitable for the technique. He felt, however, that deflection booming, which promised the prevention of some oil from bays, might work. [126]

Because most NPS officials felt that the Lake Clark shoreline was more likely to suffer impact than Katmai, they were unable to place either booms or skimmers in position at Katmai before huge quantities of oil arrived. The Soviet skimmer Vaydagursky, the first oil spill response vessel, was hard at work in Shelikof Strait on April 30. Two days later, the ship was joined by fourteen others, including nine skimmers and two dredges from the U.S. Army Corps of

Engineers. The ships' combined effort could do little to stop the onslaught. The vessels collected relatively little oil, and storms which whistled through the strait on May 1 drove oil into areas that had previously been pristine. Some boom was finally laid at Hallo Bay, but it was too late to prevent a heavy infusion of oil. By May 2, the damage was complete. More than 90 percent of the Katmai coastline experienced at least some degree of oil spill impacts. [127]

Little could be done except to begin the cleanup process. On May 10 the first Exxon crew, 40 workers strong, went to Cape Chiniak, just north of Hallo Bay. It spent the better part of a month there, shoveling oil-contaminated materials into bags for removal from the beach. The weather and organizational snafus prevented the deployment of additional crews until mid-May, and it was not until mid-July that cleanup was in full swing along the Katmai coast. [128]

The crews were hired by Exxon, and their duties were limited to the mopping-up of oil. Resource considerations, however, could not be ignored. Because the Shelikof Strait coastline was prime bear habitat, and because the coastal area contained a number of first-rate archeological sites, Superintendent Bane required that a so-called Resource Protection Officer (RPO) accompany each cleanup crew. The RPOs did not prevent negative consequences to area bears; one was shot and killed by a VECO-employed "bear guard," and numerous others were harassed by the mere presence of humans. The establishment of RPOs, however, doubtless prevented greater damage to the area's natural and cultural resources. [129]

By July 27, four of the hardest hit areas of the Katmai coastline had been "treated" or subjected to cleanup work. These were 1) Cape Chiniak and Chiniak Lagoon, 2) Hallo Bay beach and lagoon, 3) the south shore of Cape Gull and Kaflia Bay, and 4) Cape Douglas. Most of these areas, despite those efforts, were not clean; additional work was needed. [130]

Work continued for another month and a half. By early August, crews had removed some 56,000 bags of spoil from 65,000 yards (37 miles) of Katmai beaches. By mid-August, another 18,000 bags of spoil had been filled and 23,000 yards of coastline covered. On September 15, after cleanup efforts stopped, the total count was 95,151 bags of spoil collected from 111,585 yards (approximately 63.4 miles) of Katmai's shoreline. Overall, it appeared that about 320 of the 398 miles of park shoreline had received oil, although only a few beaches had been heavily impacted. Within that area, the spill had killed at least 8,400 birds. [131]

Following the summer cleanup crews was a two-man NPS post-oiling assessment team, which assessed the relative cleanliness of park beaches and guided cleanup priorities. This work, directed from the NPS office in Kodiak, began in May and lasted throughout the summer. The team spot-checked many segments of Katmai's coastline; it remained active until its September 30 demobilization. [132]

Beginning in mid-June, the NPS also brought in a crew of bio-technicians to carry on more comprehensive resource surveys. These studies, funded primarily by Exxon and headed by NPS biologist Will Troyer, gathered information to support the damage assessment process as outlined by the Comprehensive Environmental Response Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA). Specific work involved the creation of long term transects for determining the fate and persistence of oil extruded by the Exxon Valdez. [133]

By the end of the 1989 cleanup season, one and all knew that Katmai's beaches were far from clean, and that more work crews would be required the following summer. In order to identify sites where future cleanup efforts could be best employed, the Department of the Interior organized the Winter Interagency Monitoring Program (WIMP). As part of the program, the NPS set up nine permanent reference stations along Katmai's coast. William R. Miller, an NPS ranger stationed in Kodiak, was assigned to periodically visit those stations and report on the location and quantity of oil. None of the nine stations, however, were visited that winter. [134]

In late March 1990, spring assessment efforts began. Those assessments, funneled through a Technical Advisory Group (TAG) process, laid out what the location and scope of the summer's cleanup work. At the insistence of Regional Director Boyd Evison, the NPS modified many of the TAG recommendations due to the agency's stricter levels of environmental sensitivity. He also insisted that Resource Protection Officers be used again. [135]

In 1990, cleanup took place without much of the fanfare that had characterized the previous season's operations. Crews hired by Exxon were again brought to Katmai's shores. Those crews were seen along the coast throughout the summer; they had arrived by late June and remained until late August. Many beaches which had been cleaned in 1989 did not need further work, and several of those that were visited needed only a cursory cleanup. [136]

The RPOs hired to oversee the cleanup efforts did their best to prevent encounters between bears and humans. Their duties included the prevention of cleanup crews from making indiscriminate flyovers and beach landings that could disturb wildlife, and the monitoring of archeological and historical sites in order to prevent looting. [137]

The RPOs had a mixed record of success in keeping intact Katmai's beach resources from the cleanup crews. Most RPOs established a good working relationship with the Exxon field supervisors. Some of those supervisors, however, were poor managers, and some among the cleanup crews were uncooperative. But as the summer wore on, the overall situation improved, and each of the assigned site cleanups were completed to NPS specifications. [138]

By July 1990, it was becoming increasingly clear to the Coast Guard (which was serving as the Federal On-Scene Coordinator of the oil spill effort) that some areas affected by the spill would be minimally improved by further cleanup efforts. Most beaches still had evidence of oiling, but it was felt that the cleanup was becoming excessively costly in view of the contribution it was making to minimize threats to public health or the environment. By the end of the summer, the NPS largely concurred in that assessment. A September 6, 1990 report by its Katmai Shoreline Assessment Team noted that little additional oil could be removed from park beaches without the use of chemicals, the application of which would compromise water quality. The beaches were sufficiently clean, in fact, that a comprehensive assessment would no longer be needed. A report issued later that month by the regional office's Office of Oil Spill Coordination reinforced those conclusions. It noted that oil still remained in scattered patches along Katmai's coast, but that the cleanup crews had removed the maximum oil possible given shoreline conditions, weather, and environmental constraints. [139]

With the cessation of cleanup operations in September 1990, plans began to be formulated for a cleanup operation the following year. The 1991 cleanup process promised to be a downsized version of what had taken place in 1989 and 1990; the 1990-1991 winter monitoring process, therefore, was also smaller than the previous year's efforts had been. The Kodiak office, which had been active the previous winter, was shut down, and the NPS made no plans to monitor Katmai's beaches. Both Exxon and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration conducted selected monitoring of oiled beaches that winter, but few if any of those beaches were located within the park. The only real activities, therefore, were planning efforts.

NPS officials emerged from the winter with the decision that no further cleanup would take place on Katmai's shorelines. As they had concluded the previous September, they knew of a few sites, such as a segment of open beach just south of Cape Douglas, where further cleanup would be of some benefit. But they also knew that the local environment would be more harmed by the cleanup process than if the area were left alone. The state, however, felt that treatment was needed at those few sites, and in order to maintain interagency rapport the NPS agreed to having them cleaned. [140] But the NPS insisted that Inipol, a popular bioremediation technique used elsewhere in the spill zone, not be applied onto Katmai's beaches.

The 1991 Katmai cleanup took place under that compromise. Oil was removed manually at first; later, bioremediation took place with Customblen, a chemical found to be less harmful than Inipol. The whole process began in June and was over in just two weeks. [141] The completion of the season's work brought to an end the three-year process of cleaning up the park's beaches. Scientists and park personnel would spend many more years studying the spill's effects on the coastal wildlife and marine resources. The work of cleaning the beaches, however, would be left to nature.

The Brooks River Area Development Concept Plan

In recent years, the NPS has witnessed an accelerating rate of visitor use throughout the park. Most of the park has been largely unaffected by the rising visitor levels. But Brooks Camp, the park's major development site, has proven so popular that problems related to its management, in recent years, have commanded the great majority of the park budget. [142] The two most critical Brooks Camp management issues since the mid-1980s have included bear-human interactions and the sheer volume of Brooks Camp use. The Brooks River Area Development Concept Plan, initiated in 1988, is the method by which the NPS has attempted to confront those issues.

The interaction between bears and humans at Brooks Camp is a problem which has existed since the 1960s. The steady increase in visitor levels since that time has exacerbated the situation. By the late 1970s, the NPS had considered bear-human interaction at the mouth of Brooks River to be such a problem that they prevailed on the concessioner to move its employee complex to an area away from the most common bear travel routes.

In 1982, as has been noted, the NPS undertook the preparation of a Katmai general management plan. [143] The Katmai GMP emphasized resource protection and called for few new developments. The draft plan, which was particularly sensitive to Brooks Camp's clash of resources, called for the camp's eventual relocation; a major reason for moving the camp was to avoid future bear-human conflicts. The final plan, however, was more tentative. It recommended a stabilization of activities at the camp, and recognized that more data had to be gathered about the nature of bear-human interactions before a move could proceed. The final plan also demanded that a Development Concept Plan be prepared that will "address the need for, size, and location of visitor facilities" in the camp. [144]

Dave Morris, Katmai's superintendent, knew that the completion of the DCP would provide a blueprint for Brooks Camp's future. He also knew, however, that the document would take several years to complete. In the meantime, he tried to gather data pertinent to the problem of bear-human interactions at the camp. In 1985, he agreed to sponsor a study directed by Dr. Barrie Gilbert, a biologist at Utah State University. [145] The study, which was completed in 1988, showed (among other things) that the bears which visited the camp in mid-September were less habituated to humans than those who frequented the camp earlier in the season. Safety problems, therefore, were bound to increase if the lodge remained open after the first week in September. [146] Given the results of that study, Superintendent Bane ordered the concessioner to close Brooks Lodge on September 10. [147]

The other trend, the increase in day use visitors to Brooks Camp, has been caused by two factors: the increase of fly-in anglers and other day-trippers during the decade, and the decision to open up the camp as a major package tour destination. By the late 1980s, the increase in visitor levels in such a limited area had become so great that park officials concluded that stringent controls had to be instituted in order to provide visitors with a quality park experience. Creating a development concept plan was the agency's way to confront the rising activity levels.

Statistics reaffirm the exploding popularity of fly-in trips during the 1980s. In 1981, three commercial use licensees brought only about sixty day-trippers to the Brooks Camp area, while eight years later some sixteen licensees flew more than 1,850 visitors to the camp. [148] The package tour, also popular today, did not begin until 1988. The two largest tour operators in the state, Westours and Princess Tours, approached Katmailand in hopes of working out a deal using the company's planes as well as its ground transportation. Katmailand knew that the tour operators could contract with another carrier if agreeable terms were not worked out. The company, therefore, cooperated in providing a new, day-long tour which included both a fly-in trip to Brooks Camp and the Valley of the Ten Thousand Smokes bus tour. [149]

With growth at Brooks Camp came the demand for more regulations. The concentration of people there had long concerned planners; efforts had been made during the Mission 66 planning process, as well as the Master Plan process of the early 1970s, to shift new development to another area. By the mid-1970s, park officials had begun to worry that the summertime visitor-use levels were impinging on the health of the local bear and fish populations. This concern was confirmed by Dr. Gilbert's research findings. [150]

By the early 1980s, a broader concern was being registered among park officials because they encountered a wide variety of Brooks Camp-area public use problems, ranging from the scarcity of firewood to complaints of noise pollution. [151] These problems began to worsen when guests staying at lodges outside the park began to arrive in increasing numbers. As early as 1985, park officials recognized that the camp was becoming too crowded, [152] and in the late 1980s the advent of tours from the major tour operators exacerbated the worsening situation. One of the worst of those problems related to Brooks Camp air traffic.

Ray Bane, who assumed the superintendency in the summer of 1987, vowed to meet those problems head-on. Noting that "existing facilities in the Brooks River/Camp area are being stressed by visitor uses and demands," he initiated a series of management actions designed to ease the strain of overcrowding. Bane required that all pilots fly at least 1000 feet over the Brooks Camp area; he prohibited step-taxiing and takeoffs within 200 feet of the beach; and he imposed, and enforced, a limit of one fish per day on Brooks River. [153] He also saw to it that the Development Concept Plan which had been called for in the recently-completed General Management Plan should be initiated.

The effort to create a Brooks River Area DCP began with an all-day meeting in February 1988. To provide data for the plan, the agency contracted with the University of Washington to assess visitor use and attitudes at the camp. In addition, park resource management personnel evaluated various potential development sites. [154] By 1990, continued work by park staff, regional staff, and the DCP planning team had resulted in the creation of a revised set of alternatives. [155]

The agency issued an alternative workbook in the summer of 1991. The plan's Alternative 1, which called for continued development in the existing area, would allow new NPS housing and a visitor center at the camp. Alternative 2, slightly more restrictive, would add new concessioner cabins and the NPS visitor center while reducing the number of NPS residences. The two remaining alternatives would raze all camp improvements, by both the concessioner and the NPS, north of Brooks River. Alternative 3 called for the removal of both NPS and concessioner facilities to Iliuk Moraine, while Alternative 4 called for the conversion of Brooks River into a day use area, a reduction in NPS facilities, and the elimination of all concessioner facilities. [156]

Public meetings pertaining to the DCP were held in June and July 1991, and the public was given until September 15 to comment. The planning team spent the next several months digesting the public's opinions. Those comments showed a wide diversity of opinion; some

advocated the two alternatives which would have removed all Brooks Camp facilities, but just as many were happy to have few if any modifications to the existing camp. The team then began to prepare a draft Environmental Impact Statement which would include a preferred development alternative. [157]

It appeared obvious to some, particularly to researchers and NPS field staff, that the number of visitors to Brooks Camp needed to be reduced. But many entrenched elements--the concessioner, outdoor sports groups, influential clients, and some members of the NPS hierarchy--were strongly opposed to any change in the status quo.

Based on the power possessed by those who like Brooks Camp the way it is, many felt that the NPS would recommend in its draft EIS that the camp not be moved. During the winter of 1992-93, however, a series of events took place which further jeopardized the camp's viability as a visitor node.

The problem was fuel leakage. As noted in chapters 4 and 5, a generator and 300 gallon underground fuel tank had been installed at the camp in 1956; then, in 1974-75, the R. D. Peterson Company, on an NPS contract, had constructed a complete utility system. Among its other provisions, the contractor installed two 8000 gallon underground diesel storage tanks near the NPS warehouse, a 2000 gallon underground diesel tank near the new generator building, a three-inch fiberglass underground fuel line connecting the 8000 gallon tanks to a fill box along the shore of Naknek Lake, and several two-inch fuel lines which connected the diesel tanks to most of the camp buildings. The contract also resulted in the installation of a 16-foot-deep water well, which was located near the lake shore east of the generator building. [158]

The fuel system worked properly for the next several years. By 1981, however, park staff recognized that the water they drank had a diesel taste. Maintenance personnel surmised that fuel leaking from the 2000-gallon tank or the adjacent two-inch line had entered the water table. To circumvent the problem, they abandoned the old water well and installed a new one 100 yards into Naknek Lake and due east of the warehouse. They made no attempt, at that time, to investigate the leak near the generator house. [159] In 1991, new problems erupted. Park staff decided to remove the 300 gallon tank which had been installed back in 1956; during the removal process, they found oil contamination underneath the old tank. That same summer, a fuel line ruptured near the Skytel. Over on the south side of Brooks River, personnel noted spilled fuel near the diesel and gasoline tanks in the agency's parking lot. They also suspected that leakage was taking place along the line which connected the parking lot to the boat dock. [160]

The NPS, alarmed by the accumulating leakage, tried to determine its extent. In early 1992, it hired a testing firm which found, much to the agency's chagrin, that the soil in the area east of the generator building was heavily contaminated. The soil near the ranger cache and Skytel was also sullied, though to a lesser extent. To gain more information on the problem, NPS staff then conducted a tank tightness testing project, which attempted to isolated the weak links in the fuel delivery system. To their dismay, they found leaks throughout most of the system, both tanks and lines. None of the six large tanks were found to be devoid of leaks, and leaks were also detected in the fuel lines. Based on that knowledge, NPS officials laid out a two-year plan that called for the removal of the entire fuel distribution system. They also proposed a long-term remediation program in order to cleanse the soil of oil-borne pollutants. [161]

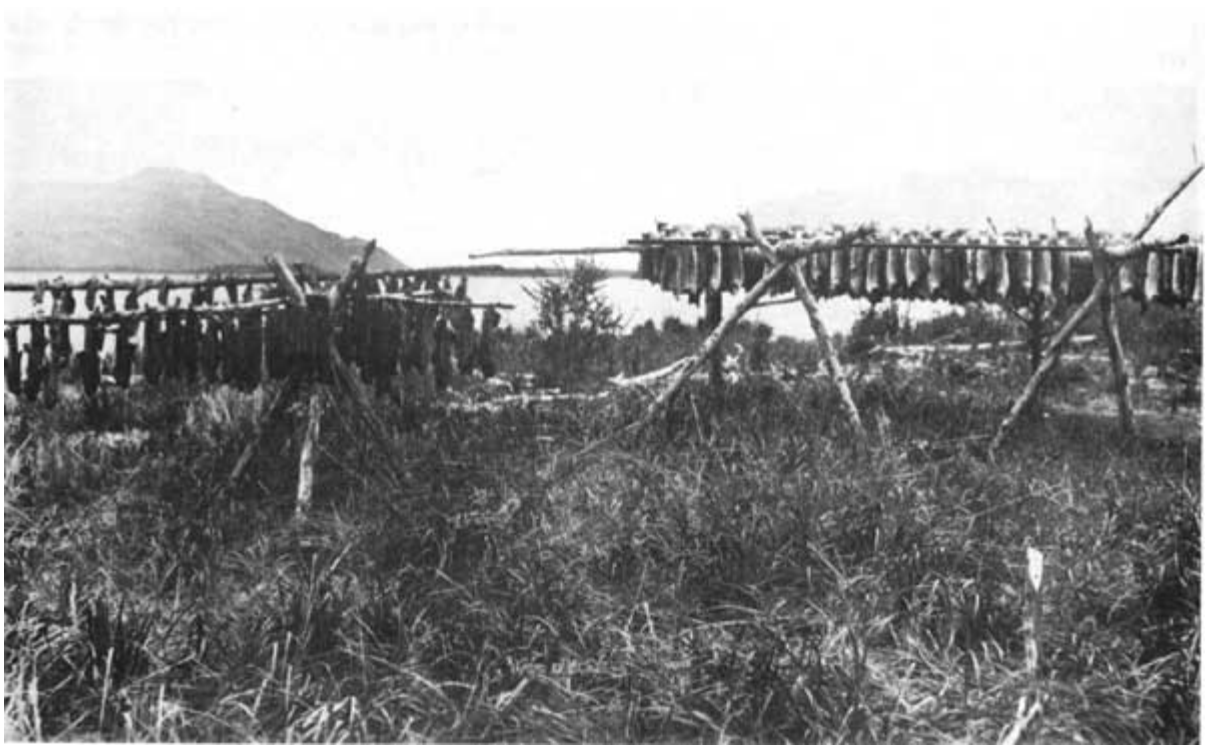
In January 1993, the existence of the Brooks Camp fuel leakage, along with similar problems in Glacier Bay National Park, were broadcast to the statewide media. Agency officials had made no attempt to hide the extent of the damage, but the problem was publicized at the same time officials were weighing the various alternatives in the Brooks River Area DCP. That problem, combined with others at the camp--migrating bears, a world-class archeological site, the sheer

number of people in such a limited area--suggested to park officials that the camp should be moved. [162]

When this manuscript was completed, in the spring of 1993, the NPS had made no final decision as to whether Brooks Camp would be moved. But regardless of what decisions are made when the development concept plan is completed, it is unlikely that existing conflicts will diminish any time soon. If the DCP recommends the removal of Brooks Camp, the political process that will likely ensue may escalate into a major confrontation, either within the agency or between the agency and outside pressure groups. If it recommends the status quo, however, the existing resource conflicts will only worsen in the future. When viewed in retrospect, the present DCP may likely be seen as an opening volley in a long-term engagement.



David Morris, seen standing by a Stationair 6 at King Salmon airport in this August 1985 photo, was the superintendent of the Katmai and Aniakchak NPS units from August 1979 until April 1987. *(David Morris Collection)*



In notes that accompanied this September 5, 1940 photo, biologist (and photographer) Victor Cahalane remarked, "Drying salmon on racks at the mouth of Brooks River. Aleut Indians come here every August to sieze red salmon and dry a winter's supply for themselves." During the 1980s and 1990s, the Natives' historical use of the area would loom as a major NPS management issue. *(NPS Photo Collection, Cahalane neg. 357)*

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 7:
The Katmai Interpretive Program

Today, Katmai has a multifaceted interpretive program. Several educational activities are offered to park tourists. An excellent park brochure is available, a visitor contact station and auditorium await the inquiring visitor, and various books, maps and other information pertinent to Katmai can be purchased. A permanent employee and several seasonal staff are assigned to interpretive functions. Interpreters greet visitors upon arrival at Brooks Camp, rove through the area providing advice and information, and counsel anglers, bear-watchers and campers about the area's brown bear population.

The interpretive program, however, did not develop overnight. By necessity, each facet of the program had to await the development of a sufficient budget, visitor facilities and visitor volume. As shall be seen, the NPS made many plans, as part of its recurrent master planning process, on how the interpretive program ought to be developed. As previous chapters have shown, however, many of the facilities envisioned in Katmai's various master plans have never been constructed. In other cases, interpretive facilities planned for existing developments were never installed. It appears, when seen retrospectively, that most of the present interpretive program has developed because of a series of ad hoc actions taken in response to real or perceived problems, or because of the extra effort of individual employees. Relatively few interpretive facilities or activities, by contrast, were manifested as a direct result of long range planning efforts.

Early Interpretation

Before 1950, when the Katmai fishing camps were constructed, the monument had no interpretive program. That summer, as part of the Alaska Recreation Survey, NPS personnel included interpretation as a marginal aspect of the unfolding plans. George Collins suggested that "museums and the interpretive program should be implemented in the near future." To that end, Regional Chief of Interpretation Dorr Yeager spent several days in mid-July in and around Brooks Camp. [1]

The NPS established its first seasonal ranger at Brooks Camp that summer. For the next five years, Katmai was served by a single ranger, and the duties of that position were such that there was little time for interpretation. Even so, the demands for interpretation were light. The annual visitor total during the first five years of camp operation probably did not exceed five hundred, and the overwhelming majority were lodge guests who loved to fish and had little knowledge or interest in the other monument resources. Campers and other independent tourists were rare; the 1951 ranger was moved to note that "There are several parties that camped here this summer, one of which remained for a week." [2]

Evidence that the NPS was concerned about interpreting Katmai's resources came in 1952 when it published the monument's first brochure. Herbert Evison, chief of the agency's Information Division, began planning for the three-fold brochure that February; by June, 5000 copies had been printed and were ready for distribution. [3] The brochure turned out to be the first of several which have been produced for the monument. The 1952 version was revised slightly and reprinted in 1955, 1958, and 1959. In 1963 and 1968 the agency produced new brochures; the latter version was reprinted in 1972. The following year the NPS produced its fourth edition of a Katmai brochure; it was reprinted in 1975 and 1983. The present, black-bordered brochure was produced in 1984. This fifth edition was reprinted in 1988 and 1990; in 1992, it was reproduced again with a slightly modified text and map. [4]

In 1955, the agency began to show an slightly increased interest in developing interpretation at the monument. That summer Dorr G. Yeager, the Regional Chief of Interpretation, made a second visit. [5] The following April, the first semblance of an interpretive plan was released as part of the monument's Mission 66 prospectus. Recognizing the lack of a program, the plan hoped to begin one in 1959. That program, based on visitor nodes planned for Valley Junction (ten miles up the Ukak River from Naknek Lake), called for evening programs to be given at Brooks Camp, nature walks to the Brooks Lake Fish and Wildlife Service facility, an interpretive display to be located either in the concessioner's dining hall or in the NPS ranger station, and a visitor center at Valley Junction containing displays on ecology and volcanism. In order to further interpret the local resources, a "pumice flow" trail was to be built at Valley Junction and a nature trail at Savonoski. [6]

Almost none of what was called for in Katmai's Mission 66 program was actually built, and the budget during the mid-to-late 1950s remained low. Therefore, few of the interpretive developments called for in the prospectus came to pass. The prospectus did, however, identify some of the major interpretive themes, and the general ideas laid out served as the basis for later developments.

The first on-site interpretation began in the summer of 1956. The completion of the Brooks Camp ranger station provided a site where information about the monument could be dispensed. Richard Riegelhuth, the camp's only ranger, had numerous other duties, so the station could not be continuously staffed; during its open hours, however, visitors often dropped by. In addition, Riegelhuth installed 29 temporary signs and markers, most of which pertained to fishing regulations. In September, he gave two ranger talks in the concessioner's dining hall. They were the first interpretive programs to be presented at Katmai. In 1957, evening programs were given "when the number of visitors warranted it." [7]

Although the interpretive program, by this time, appeared to be growing, the rangers were often frustrated because most visitors showed little interest in learning about monument resources. As a result, Mount McKinley's park naturalist, Neil Reid, visited Katmai in June 1958 to attempt a diversification of existing activities. [8]

Reid soon recognized that developing a widely accepted interpretive program would be a challenging task. In speaking about the predominant monument visitor, he wrote that

> Fishermen are a recognized special interest group, and require specialized contact techniques. They are not interested in interpretation, per se, but are to a limited extent desirous of information, i.e., They are not concerned with the glacial origin of the Monument lakes, but in the good fishing areas of the lakes; they care little about the ecology and natural history of the rainbow trout, but demand to know what the fish are biting on.

He therefore challenged rangers to conduct their interpretation in ways that would prove

interesting to their audience. Along those lines, he recommended that "a good interpretive display on native fishing and drying techniques would probably be of interest to even the most ardent fisherman." [9]

Perhaps as a result of that trip, the interpretive program grew even more that summer. The evening programs continued, with 62 visitors in attendance; in addition, rangers conducted a number of short guided hikes to points of interest near Brooks Camp. Fifty-two people took advantage of the hikes; another 174 visited the ranger station. [10]

Thereafter, however, efforts at interpretation declined. In 1959, Brooks Camp guests were offered a slide program, nothing more; the following year, not even that was offered until July. Agency officials knew that a successful interpretive program demanded the preparation of a standard slide talk, the appointment of a ranger naturalist, the completion of a broader range of research projects, and some form of interpretation for the ongoing camp archeological investigations. The lack of funding, however, prevented the realization of those goals. [11]

In September 1960, as part of the ongoing master plan process, NPS staff prepared the first document which specifically addressed the Katmai interpretive program. Neil Reid, who prepared the overview, bemoaned that

> No interpretive facilities exist, nor are interpretive personnel stationed within the monument. It is essential, therefore, that interpretive services be presented by the ranger-in-charge on an informal basis. Evening talks are given about once a week under the most adverse conditions. Talks are presented in the concession mess hall, adjacent to a diesel generator, to an audience whose sole interest is fishing. This will be alleviated to some extent by the completion of a new concessioner lodge next summer [1961], but the inability to schedule diversified interpretive services in the monument will still be the most obvious shortcoming of the program.

Reid bewailed the fact that Katmai's rangers had little research information upon which they could base an interpretation program, and he was similarly perturbed by the difficulties he had in trying to organize an interpretive program while residing over 400 miles away from Brooks Camp. In order to strengthen the program, he urged that a ranger-naturalist be added to the staff, and also urged the completion of new popular publications and audio-visual materials relating to the monument. Despite all the difficulties, however, Reid felt that "the present interpretive program in the monument is probably sufficient to meet the needs of the fisherman-visitor." [12]

During the early 1960s the sole interpretive activity continued to be the evening program. Because of low visitor levels and other demands on the ranger's time, the talks were still given intermittently. Their location, however, changed. The new Panabode-style Brooks Lodge was completed in 1961, and talks--whose subject matter was the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes and other remote sites in the monument--were given there all that summer. But the lodge, which served a variety of functions, was sometimes a poor site for programs. By 1963 the agency was giving slide shows again, a format particularly ill-suited to the lodge. Officials therefore decided to hold programs in the boathouse that year. By the following summer, however, programs were once again being held in the lodge, and continued to be shown there until the mid-1970s. [13]

Effects of Valley Road Construction

The largest construction project during that period, the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes road, had a strong influence on the monument's interpretive program. The agency decided to build the 22 mile road in February 1961; before long, Katmai officials began planning for the interpretive opportunities that the road would bring. In April 1961 Robert L. Peterson, the monument's Ranger-in-Charge, urged Superintendent Samuel King to "construct a modest visitor center adequate for the interpretation of the monument's geological history." King evidently accepted Peterson's suggestion, and by the time the road was opened to tourist traffic in 1963, the agency had erected a small visitors' reception center. At first, interpretive displays in the overlook cabin were limited to a plastic relief map of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes and a world map on which the location of the great volcanic eruptions had been superimposed. Four years later a new exhibit, consisting of historical photographs from the early National Geographic Society expeditions, was added. [14]

The NPS and the monument concessioner, Northern Consolidated Airlines, collaborated in creating a new visitor activity related to the new road. NCA brought in two tour vehicles, a 16-passenger GMC bus and an 8-passenger Chevrolet Carryall, and began providing tours in the summer of 1963. The NPS, for its part, agreed to provide interpretive services. The agency was able to assign new seasonal naturalists to Brooks Camp, and one was assigned to each Valley tour. While riding along on the tour vehicle, the NPS naturalists, most of whom were women, gave a running commentary about the local plant life, wildlife and geology. [15] After arriving at the road terminus, they then conducted visitors on a three-mile hike across the volcanic landscape to the Ukak River crossing. A total of 56 bus tours were given that first summer for 262 people. [16]

The remainder of the decade witnessed modest growth in the number of Katmai visitors (see Appendix D). From 1963 to 1969, the number of Brooks Camp visitors more than doubled, from 693 to 1,407. Most of those visitors were guests at Brooks Lodge, who were part of an NCA three- or seven-day package tour; an increasing number of them, however, stayed at the campground or were day visitors. Visitors' reasons for going to Katmai also changed during the decade. Prior to 1963, most visitors were still fishermen. By 1965, however, an observer remarked that "already enough tourists get to Brooks that the diehard fishermen are going to Grosvenor," and by 1971, the head of the concessions operation stated that "The bulk of the tourists are middle age or elderly people, many of them retired, or school teachers who are making the trip of a lifetime. The sports-fishermen among them are a distinct minority." [17]

Tourists were far more interested than anglers in learning about Katmai, and the NPS knew that they needed to accommodate the needs of the non-fishing visitors. As the number of tourists grew, the number of bus tours and evening programs similarly increased. By the end of the decade, both the tours and programs were being held more than 75 times each summer. In 1966, in order to further develop the interpretive program, rangers revived the afternoon walk to Brooks Falls, an activity which had been offered since 1958. The NPS added a new seasonal naturalist in the late 1960s, and by 1969 naturalists were able to conduct 52 such trips. Approximately one-third of all Brooks Camp visitors attended them. [18]

Other key elements of the interpretive program were also begun in the late 1960s. One was the opening of the so-called "Eskimo pit house" (more accurately known as an ena or semi-subterranean house). Archeologists who had been working in the Brooks Camp area since the early 1950s had excavated several well-preserved houses, popularly known as barabaras, as part of their investigations. In late 1966 a proposal was advanced, "the direct and practical aim" of which was "the excavation of aboriginal dwellings ... that would be suitable for consolidation of tourist displays." The proposal was accepted, and during the next two summers dwelling number BR20-3-A was excavated and preserved. Dr. Don Dumond, the archeologist in charge of the Brooks Camp investigations, built the roof himself in July and August 1968. The display was open for public inspection by the end of that summer; by 1970,

metal photo signs to interpret the exhibit were being prepared. [19]

At the same time the ena was being completed, NPS staff began the practice of giving orientation talks to new Brooks Camp visitors. NPS staff had been aware of the dangers of having bears in camp for years, and a 1966 bear attack in the campground heightened their concern. Soon afterwards, therefore, Brooks Camp naturalists began giving informal presentations to new visitors. They met them on the beach when they got off the airplane, oriented them to the area, and told them about area activities, fishing regulations, and how to avoid encounters with bears. [20]

Evolution of Interpretive Themes

During the 1960s, the first efforts were made to fashion a set of interpretive themes that would guide the information received by Katmai's visitors. In 1963, for instance, NPS biologist Lowell Sumner penned a master planning field study which emphasized the protection of Katmai's resources. Sumner, not surprisingly, noted that the monument's interpretive themes should be geared to its sense of wilderness. [21] Two years later, the monument's Master Plan Brief noted that its major "communications objectives" were "to interpret the Monument's resources, with the main interpretive theme focused on the volcanology and geology of the area. ... Only slightly less important is the interpretation of the primitive wilderness." The plan called for developments at Brooks River, Windy Creek Overlook, and the Bay of Islands. Based on that plan, the broad park story would be interpreted at Brooks Camp, the volcanology and geology was to be presented at Three Forks, and the wilderness theme--more specifically defined as biological interpretation--would be presented at Bay of Islands. [22]

As noted in Chapter 5, a major planning effort was launched on behalf of Katmai (and other existing and proposed Alaskan parklands) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The primary Katmai planning documents were the December 1973 master plan and the 1974 Final Environmental Statement for a proposed, expanded Katmai National Park. The work most relevant to interpretation, however, was the interpretive prospectus. This document, which was written in conjunction with the master plan effort, was proposed by the agency's Alaska Group Office in January 1971. The final interpretive prospectus was completed in May 1973, just before the final master plan. [23]

The master plan, on which interpretive efforts were based, provided a specific interpretive theme. "The park interpretive program," it noted, "aims to cultivate in the visitor an awareness that Katmai is a large, diverse natural area essentially unaffected by modern man and that this pristine area can serve as a guide and reference point in man's exploration and use of his environment." It recommended five subthemes which would be used as springboards to an understanding of the major theme. They included 1) volcanology, with an emphasis on the creation of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, 2) wildlife, using the brown bear as a major example of a naturally regulated animal population, 3) vegetational dynamics, relating ecological factors to present-day plant cover, 4) human use of the area, and 5) wilderness use as a form of recreation. [24]

The interpretive prospectus provided specific direction on how to carry out the theme expostulated in the master plan. It praised many aspects of the existing interpretive program, particularly the bus tours. It showed, however, that further improvements were needed. Regarding Brooks Camp, it noted that the agency needed to "come out of the woods [where the existing ranger station was located] and build a place that will be identified with the Park Service--a small building that can serve as a ranger station-information center, and locate it near the lodge for high visibility and easy access." It also recommended that the Windy Creek

overlook cabin be replaced with "more suitable facilities" and an improved series of exhibits. At the King Salmon Airport, it recommended that "an attractive portable exhibit" be located in the baggage unloading area. The prospectus assumed that the primary visitor facility would be relocated from Brooks Camp to the west end of Naknek Lake; it therefore called for introductory exhibits at the new site, as well as one which would pertain to Native use of the monument. [25]

Growth in Backcountry Use

In January 1969, President Lyndon Johnson added more than 94,000 acres to the western end of the monument. The Lake Camp area, a popular boat launching area for local residents, became part of the monument; as a result, monument visitation multiplied to a figure five times what it had been before Johnson's proclamation. During the 1970s, total visitation to Katmai remained fairly stable. Visitation to Brooks Camp, however, enjoyed a fairly healthy growth, and significant number of visitors began to enjoy Katmai's backcountry.

Before 1965, few had ventured into Katmai's backcountry for recreational purposes. World War II had brought the first few adventurous souls, most via floatplane, to the monument's lakes and rivers in search of fishing opportunities. The handful who used Katmai's backcountry increased slightly in 1950, when Northern Consolidated Airlines opened its five fishing camps. Some Katmai visitors left camp for the day by renting fishing boats, and others chartered planes to take them to more distant fishing holes or to view scenic areas such as the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes or the Shelikof Strait coastline. But only a smattering of Katmai's early visitors, be they lodge guests or independent travelers, overnighted outside any of the established camp areas.

The construction of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes road in 1962 gave visitors easier access to that area. It did little, however, to lure people into the wilderness which extended beyond the road corridor. Park Service brochures from the 1950s and 1960s, and a smattering of travel publications, encouraged the traveler to seek out Katmai's backcountry. [26] The two most advertised ways to enjoy the backcountry were a canoe trip over the so-called Savonoski Loop and a hike from the road terminus into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. Before 1965, however, a mere handful of outdoor enthusiasts had travelled over either route. [27]

Backcountry use grew during the late 1960s, although the lack of reliable statistics makes it difficult to ascertain its popularity. In 1968, monument staff estimated that 240 visitors had penetrated Katmai's backcountry that summer, most of whom had taken hiking trips into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. [28] A year later, however, an NPS planner noted that "less than a couple of hundred persons each year penetrate beyond Brooks Camp," [29] and in the early 1970s monument staff recorded less than 100 backcountry visits per year. [30] It is unlikely that backcountry use witnessed a dramatic decline between 1968 and 1973; more likely, the number of users probably fluctuated between 100 and 150 during that period.

The number of backcountry users in recent years is difficult to discern because park staff have inconsistently defined the term "backcountry." [31] Despite the variation in the available statistics, it appears that the number of people who have overnighted in the backcountry rose slowly between the early 1970s and the mid-1980s. In both 1984 and 1985, for instance, park staff tallied between 350 and 400 people who overnighted in Katmai's backcountry. Since that time the number of campers has probably continued to rise. [32]

Many types of visitors have overnighted in Katmai's backcountry over the years. Backpackers have been the primary users. A sizable number of those attracted to the sport

fishing resource also use the park, and Katmai has also attracted scattered numbers of canoeists, ocean touring enthusiasts and mountain climbers. Among backpackers, the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes has remained the area of choice, and Novarupta, the most popular destination, attracts over a hundred campers per year. The Savonoski Loop has remained a well-advertised attraction for canoeists, but fewer than a score per season attempt to traverse it. [33]

Many recreational users, primarily sport fishing and float trip enthusiasts, visit Katmai's backcountry but do not overnight there. Although, as noted above, some day-trippers had visited the backcountry in the 1940s and 1950s, the number of day users remained low until the monument was expanded in 1978. The expansion of acreage coincided with a boom in fly-in fishing, and ever since, both fishing and float-trip activity have become increasingly popular. In 1981, the 18 licensed guiding companies took fewer than 1,300 fishers out into the Katmai backcountry. Four years later, however, the numbers had risen to 32 guide outfits and almost 3,800 fishermen, and in 1989, 42 licensed guiding companies took over 5,600 fishers into the remote areas of the park. [34]

A Cooperating Association is Established

Most of those who had stayed at Brooks Lodge over the years paid for their trip on the American Plan. That pricing arrangement combined the cost of lodging and meals, and freed guests from paying for anything except for liquor and incidental supplies. In order to provide for those incidental needs--film, curios, cigarettes, fishing flies, and similar items--the concessioner had operated a small store ever since the camp opened in 1950.

During the 1960s, NPS personnel became increasingly aware that the growing population of tourists demanded books, maps, and other educational materials related to park resources. NPS staff, as noted above, had long decried the lack of suitable materials related to the monument. In order to meet the demand, therefore, NPS staff began selling materials under the auspices of the Mount McKinley National Park Association. By the early 1970s, sufficient materials were available to consider the opening of a more independent NPS sales outlet. In 1971, therefore, the Alaska National Parks and Monuments Association, a quasi-governmental educational organization, opened a Katmai branch at the Brooks Camp ranger station. Seasonal staff sold $285 worth of books and maps that summer.

The history of Katmai's cooperating association has been one of almost continuous growth. From its modest beginnings in 1971, its revenues grew quickly; by 1974 its sales topped $1,000, by 1979 it exceeded $3,000, and three years later it topped the $6,000 mark. Its sales have continued to grow since then; in 1990 it earned almost $9,000, and in 1994, sales topped $27,000. The Katmai branch of the Alaska Natural History Association (the name by which it has been known since 1978) has also grown geographically. The Brooks Camp operation remains, and continues to be its primary revenue producer, but in 1980 a new King Salmon branch sold $447 of goods and in 1984 an outlet for map sales was begun at the Nonvianuk Lake ranger station. (The Nonvianuk outlet lasted only briefly.) ANHA's primary Katmai sales items continue to be books and maps, but it recent years it has begun selling note cards and videos. [35]

ANHA's Katmai branch has been able to sponsor the publication of two books and a newspaper. In 1985, Carolyn Elder and the Katmai staff collaborated on a pamphlet entitled The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. By the early 1990s, both visitors and staff had become aware that the park needed a thorough, up-to-date guidebook, and in response the association sponsored the Jean Bodeau book, Katmai National Park and Preserve, Alaska, which was published in 1992. Both publications have sold well; Bodeau's book was been largely

responsible for the high 1992 sales figure for ANHA's Katmai branch. [36]

The early 1990s also witnessed the publication of an ANHA-sponsored newspaper, called The Bear Facts. The eight-page black-and-white newspaper, packed with tips on park resources, what to see and do, and how to enjoy the park in safety, was first published in 1990. The following year it was published in color. In recent years, it has become increasingly detailed; in 1992 the newspaper grew to twelve pages in length, and the 1995 edition was 40 pages long. A new paper, called The Alagnak and pertaining to activities in that wild and scenic river corridor, was printed for the first time in 1995. [37]

Interpretive Activities Since 1970

The major Katmai interpretive activities have remained fairly stable since 1970. Three primary activities have been the evening program, the afternoon nature walk to Brooks Falls, and the day-long bus ride.

These activities, all operated out of Brooks Camp, have changed in several ways during the last twenty years. The evening program, for example, has primarily been a slide show, but various movies have also been shown. Two alternatives have also been tried. In the late 1970s programs were held out on the beach as well as in the visitor center, and in 1985 an afternoon movie was shown in addition to the evening program. [38]

The primary destination for Brooks Camp nature walks has always been Brooks Falls. In the 1960s and 1970s visitors accessed the falls by following a trail which wound along the south bank of Brooks River. Confrontations with bears, however, became increasingly frequent. To eliminate the hazard, a bear viewing platform was erected in 1982, and the following year visitors to Brooks Falls followed a new route which avoided the riverbank. [39] By 1989, the bear platform had become a victim of its own popularity; it was cancelled because crowds grew too large for the viewing platform. The agency began stationing a naturalist there, both to provide information and to allow everyone an opportunity to spend time on the platform; it posted additional staff at the trailhead to prevent overcrowding near the falls.

During the 1970s and 1980s, seasonal staff tried to diversify the interpretive program by offering walks to the Beaver Pond, Dumpling Mountain, or the so-called "Eskimo pit house." Visitors, however, expressed little interest for any of these walks, and each activity was discontinued after a season or two. In the 1990s, however, the increasing popularity of Brooks Camp revived interest in the hiking program. Since 1991, hikes on the Dumpling Mountain trail have become increasingly popular, and since 1992 the interpretive staff has offered a daily walk to the "Eskimo pit house." [40]

The bus tour has been a constant fixture of the Brooks Camp scene since 1963, but the type of vehicle used and the party responsible for interpretation have both changed. Nine different vehicles have been used over the years: a 16-passenger bus (a converted military ammunition carrier built on a cab-over 1961 GMC frame), an 8-passenger Chevrolet carryall, a 1960-vintage 40-passenger bus, two 1974 Dodge vans, three 1982 Chevrolet Suburban vans, and a 29-passenger school bus. [41] NPS naturalists provided interpretation on the buses for over twenty years, but in the spring of 1986, due to budget cutbacks, they had to abandon the service. The concessioner, informed of the move just a month before the season began, was understandably upset and railed, without success, to have the service restored. But the Service had no alternatives. To smooth the transition, NPS personnel agreed to train the concessioner's drivers as tour guides. [42] The concessioner provided tour guiding services until 1994, when an NPS interpreter, on a five-day-per-week basis, again began riding out to Three Forks Overlook.

The agency has also tried to institute interpretive programs outside of Brooks Camp. In 1977, rangers moved into the old National Marine Fisheries Service cabins near Grosvenor Camp, and presented interpretive programs to camp guests for each of the next three years. [43] In 1981, a ranger was stationed at Kulik Camp to present interpretive programs, and from 1983 through 1985 park rangers from Nonvianuk Ranger Station gave informal programs to guests at nearby Cry of the Loon Lodge. [44]

At Brooks Camp, the increasing number of visitors caused rangers to become more wary than ever of bear-human confrontations. The orientation speeches on the beach, which had been begun in the late 1960s, continued, and in 1977 park personnel began giving the talks to passengers arriving in private as well as commercial planes. [45] By 1979 staff were distributing a booklet on bear safety to all visitors, and three years later they instituted a roving interpretive patrol, intended to keep bears and people apart and to instruct fishermen on the catch and release regulations. [46] The roving patrol continues; the beach speeches were moved to the Visitor Contact Station in 1992, and in 1995 they were replaced by a ten-minute video.

Many activities and presentations have also been provided to inform local residents about Katmai's resources. Beginning in the early 1970s park staff presented programs, some to adult groups and others to school children, in Naknek, King Salmon, Egegik, Dillingham, and other local communities. Similar park outreach activities have taken place ever since. In 1973, the park augmented its environmental education program by inviting the Bristol Bay School sixth-grade class (from Naknek) to Brooks Camp for a three-day stay. That school was involved in the program until 1983, and again in the early 1990s. Students from Igiugig, Dillingham, and Barter Island also visited Brooks Camp during the 1970s and early 1980s, and an Elderhostel program began in 1993. [47]

As a result of the increasing level of visitation, the park hired its first permanent Interpretive Specialist, Mark Wagner, in 1991. He remains the park's only full-time interpreter.

Interpretive Improvements

For the first twenty-five years in which the NPS had a presence at Brooks Camp, no facilities had been constructed to accommodate the monument's interpretive program. Katmai, unlike many NPS units, had no visitor center. So long as visitor levels remained low and the concessioner was the primary party responsible for attracting visitors to the monument, there was little need for one. During the 1960s and early 1970s an increasing number of independent tourists brought on new demands for a visitor center. As noted above, the need for an NPS "ranger station-information center" had first been voiced in the 1973 Interpretive Prospectus. The low Brooks Camp visitation, however--less than 1,500 visitors per year in those days--made construction of such a structure a low priority.

As luck would have it, construction activities at Brooks Camp gave park service officials the golden opportunity to gain a visitor center without the expense of constructing one. In 1974 and 1975, the R. D. Peterson Company installed the Brooks Camp utility system, and in order to house their workers they built a 20' x 40' bunkhouse for the work crews. NPS officials, who retained custody of the building after the completion of the utility project, decided to convert the bunkhouse into a visitor center and activity hall. The renovated facility was opened to visitors in June 1977, and slide shows and movies have been shown there ever since. [48] The new visitor center, open only for specific programs, projected a functional, bare-bones appearance at first. But in 1979 two exhibit shelves and a wood stove were installed, and in 1987 a new display on bear behavior was added. [49]

Interpretive needs also played a role in the replacement of the cabin at Three Forks Overlook. The cabin, built in 1963, was remodelled and enlarged in May 1979 much as had been suggested in the 1973 Interpretive Prospectus. NPS staff from its Harpers Ferry facility installed several color photo panels as well as a geological display case and scrap book. (Conditions in the shelter mandated the removal of the photographs the following year.) The photo panels were replaced in 1981 and were removed in 1993. The display case was also removed; only the scrap book remains today. [50]

In 1987, officials from the National Park Service, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game pooled their resources and installed an interpretive kiosk in King Salmon's MarkAir Terminal. The kiosk featured interpretive displays on Katmai, Aniakchak, and the various local wildlife refuges. Superintendent David Morris, in a recent interview, noted that the kiosk filled a critical need; with its construction, visitors finally "had some idea of what was going on, instead of just being tossed out in thirty knot winds not knowing where to go." The kiosk is still there, but in 1989 airport terminal expansion demanded that it be moved to the south side of the Alaska Peninsula Highway, the official name of King Salmon's main street. The kiosk is little used today, and the information contained on it is not always accurate. [51]

More interpretive signs are on the way. In 1986, Harpers Ferry Center (NPS) officials began preparing a wayside exhibit plan, and in 1991 they issued their report. They recognized that Brooks Camp and other visitor nodes had few signs, and with mushrooming visitor levels there was a corresponding increase in the need to inform visitors about park resources and regulations. The plan, which gained final approval in 1992, called for the removal of all existing signage throughout the park and their replacement by 21 wayside exhibits. Over two-thirds will be installed in the Brooks Camp area; the remainder will be at Three Forks Overlook, Lake Camp, and the outlet of Kukaklek Lake. Installation had been scheduled for the summer of 1994, but it has been delayed pending the outcome of the Brooks Camp Development Concept Plan. [52]

Some success has been achieved in recent years in the acquisition of new visitor interpretation facilities. In King Salmon, as a result of continued cooperation between the NPS and the F&WS, a new visitor center was opened in the airport terminal in May 1992. The center, which features displays, brochures, and an Alaska Natural History Association outlet, is staffed all summer and is opened for more limited operations throughout the winter months. In 1995 it was rededicated with all new exhibits. It is now supported by the Bristol Bay Borough and the Lake and Peninsula Borough as well as by the NPS and the F&WS. [53]

Intermittent pressure has been applied in recent years to replace the Brooks Camp visitor center. The center, built in 1974, was adequate for the presentation of most evening programs. It was too small, however, to double as a visitor information center. The decade of the 1980s, however, exacerbated the need for an adequate visitor facility. The decade witnessed strong visitor growth; Brooks Camp visitation mushroomed from 2,200 in 1980 to 5,800 a decade later. The increasing number of visitors, furthermore, overtaxed the limited confines of the visitor center and the small ranger station, the only two NPS structures available for public use.

Some within the agency felt that the best way to meet deal with the space crunch was to construct a new visitor center. By 1987, considerable work had already been done on the siting, design, and conceptual planning for such a structure, but the budget limitations which Katmai had to endure during the mid-1980s made construction of such a facility impossible. [54] The late 1980s brought more favorable budgets, but by that time the park's new emphasis on a Brooks Camp Development Concept Plan, with the possibility that the camp

would be de-emphasized as a visitor node, put the construction of a new visitor center on indefinite hold.

Recognizing that an increasing number of visitors would require more facility space, the NPS decided, in 1989, to convert the old (1956) ranger station into a visitor contact station. The following year it converted the old boathouse, which had been serving as a VIP guest cabin, into the new ranger station. The former visitor center was renamed the auditorium that year. It continues to serve much the same function as when it opened in 1977.

Conclusions

In retrospect, it appears that the success (or lack of success) of Katmai's interpretive program has been a function of visitor levels, budgets, and staff availability. During the earliest years of NPS's presence at Brooks Camp, rangers were fully occupied at other tasks. In 1956, however, the addition of new staff allowed time for the presentation of the first evening programs. In 1963, construction of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes road brought a bus tour to Katmai; the visibility of the tour brought new staff who interpreted the monument's biological diversity and volcanic landscape. In the late 1960s, the addition of new staff brought forth a third Brooks Camp interpretive activity, the Brooks Falls nature walk.

Since that time, the increasing complexity of bear-human interactions have been the driving force behind most new aspects of Katmai's interpretive program. The beach speeches and roving patrols have been instituted to ensure that visitors have a safe experience at Brooks Camp; the bear platform talks, and many of the evening programs, have provided information about the habits and habitat of Ursus arctos. Many other activities besides the evening program, bus tour, and nature walk have been tried, but none have enjoyed more than short-term success.

For many years, Katmai was one of the least visited units in the National Park Service system. The lack of visitation, combined with planners' long-held notions that Brooks Camp's role as a visitor node should be de-emphasized, prevented the development of visitor facilities. Until 1977, the small Brooks Camp ranger station served as the only NPS visitor facility, although evening programs were presented, courtesy of the concessioner, in Brooks Lodge. The completion of the Brooks Camp utilities project gave the agency the opportunity to convert a bunkhouse into a makeshift visitor center. Evening programs have been presented there ever since. In recent years, pressure has intermittently surfaced to construct a new Brooks Camp visitor center, but pressure to move the camp has prevented the realization of those plans. The NPS nevertheless recognizes that Brooks Camp is the primary visitor node; therefore, it has installed few interpretive facilities elsewhere in the park.

Chapter 8:
Fish and Aquatic Resource Management

The phrase "fish and aquatic resource management" encompasses several topics. These include National Park Service efforts to manage sport fishing activities, to conduct fishery research, to manage the use of on-shore facilities supporting commercial fishing adjacent to the park (including clamming), and to deal with sister resource management agencies determined to enhance aquatic habitats and park fish populations for commercial exploitation outside the park.

Although 24 species of fish are reported in Katmai National Park and Preserve, only two species have been the subject of most management and research efforts. These are sockeye salmon and rainbow trout, both of which are found in Brooks and Naknek lakes, the Naknek River, Brooks River and many other lakes and streams in Katmai. Five species of Pacific salmon--chum (dog), coho (silver), sockeye (red), pink (humpback), and chinook (king)--are found in Katmai. Of these, the sockeye are the most numerous and widely distributed in park and preserve waters. Bristol Bay is the largest producer of sockeye salmon in the world. Based on the period 1980 to 1989, about 4.4 percent of Bristol Bay salmon spawn in the waters of Katmai National Park and Preserve. [1]

The combined park and preserve includes more than 70 percent of the 3,640-square-mile Naknek River drainage. The adjacent Kvichak River drainage also includes territory within Katmai. Together, the two drainages attract over 19.3 million sockeye salmon each year. Averages for the period 1980 to 1989 indicate that slightly over half of those sockeyes are commercially harvested as they approach the mouths of the Naknek and Kvichak rivers. An additional 844,000 are harvested in the False Pass interception fishery and 123,000 are taken in foreign high seas fisheries. About 1.5 million enter the Naknek River drainage, while an additional 6.6 million enter the Kvichak River drainage. Approximately 182,000 of those heading up the Kvichak enter the drainage of the Alagnak River. [2] Streams in the Naknek and Alagnak drainages are in Katmai National Park and Preserve, or have tributaries in it. [3]

Humans have exploited Katmai's aquatic resources for centuries. Archeological evidence documents that the streams and lakes in the park have been rich fisheries for more than 2,000 years. [4] Over the millennia, the Katmai fisheries have provided subsistence for Native Alaskans living in the region and, more recently, offshore commercial and sport fishing for non-Native visitors to the Naknek drainage area. By the mid-1980s, subsistence users were harvesting over 180,000 salmon annually and sport anglers were taking over 25,000 salmon in the Bristol Bay region. [5]

In addition to large numbers of salmon that return to Katmai lakes and streams each year, there is a large population of rainbow trout in those lakes and streams. Some of the trout grow to over 30 inches in length. People also fish Katmai waters for Arctic grayling, Dolly Varden, Arctic char, lake trout, and northern pike. [6]

Curiously, Robert F. Griggs, the scientist who did so much to cause the expansion of Katmai National Monument beyond the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, did not mention the area's outstanding fishing in correspondence urging the 1931 expansion, although he noted the spectacle of fish leaping at the Brooks River falls as a visual attraction. [7] But when the National Park Service began active management of Katmai, the fishery resource quickly became a focus of management concern.

Subsistence use, commercial use outside the park, potential commercial use inside the park, and sport fishing pressure have combined to stimulate investigation and require controls on the taking of Katmai's fish. Commercial use of clams found in the tidal zone on the Shelikof Strait side of Katmai also required management activity, in the form of permits for use of on-shore clam processing facilities and worker housing. Efforts to manage Katmai's salmon and trout populations follow, while attempts to manage the clam resource are included at the end of the chapter.

Early Users and Investigations

Commercial rather than sport fishing first affected Katmai's fish populations. The first salmon cannery was opened on Kodiak Island, on Karluk Spit, in 1882; one year later, the first Bristol Bay cannery opened at Nushagak. Every year since then, commercial fishermen have influenced the Katmai-bound salmon population. [8]

Shortly after World War I, the first of two salmon canneries opened on the eastern margins of the present park. In 1922, the Kamishak Canning Company built a cannery at Kamishak Bay. It put up only one pack, however, and was not used again. A year later, the Hemrich Packing Company opened a clam-canning operation at Kukak Bay. The year after it opened, it also went into business as a salmon cannery. In 1925, the company leased its facility to the Seashore Packing Company, who put up a pack for the next three years. The Hemrich Packing Company operated the salmon and clam cannery on its own in 1928, but leased it again to the Seashore Packing Company for the 1929 through 1931 seasons. In 1932, the cannery was leased by the Pioneer Packing Company. The plant was closed for the next two years, but Surf Canneries purchased it and operated it in 1935 and 1936. The site was abandoned after the 1936 season. The Kukak Bay facility differed from most of the other canneries in that it did not employ fish traps as part of its operations. [9]

The post-World War I period was also the time when fisheries interests began to enter the Katmai area from the west. The U.S. Bureau of Fisheries [10] decided to undertake a predatory fish destruction program in the various major Bristol Bay tributaries. (At that time, salmon was the only fish desired by local canneries. Therefore, any species which preyed on salmon was considered undesirable.) The Bureau included a broad survey of fish populations as part of that survey, and studied the Naknek Lake system as well as the other major drainages. In early June of 1920, a four man party headed by A. T. Looff of the College of Fisheries, University of Washington, began its Naknek Lake investigations.

Looff and his crew quickly surveyed the margins of the lake and found that

> Practically all the fish entering Naknek Lake either pass up Kidawik Creek [Brooks River] or Simenoffsky [Savonoski] River. The lake shore ... offers no inducement for spawning fish owing to the amount of ashes accumulated from the eruption of 1912. All other tributaries are thickly impregnated with ashes. [11]

The crew found Kidawik Creek to be "an ideal salmon stream with fine spawning bottom ... where good numbers of lake trout and some Dolly Vardens were taken." They camped at its

mouth and then ascended to "a waterfall from 5 to 8 feet high, over which it would be impossible for fish to ascend during low-water stage." In an attempt to improve its spawning possibilities, the crew proceeded to modify the falls. They had no powder, but

> felt that a cut could be made with steel bars, etc. We therefore secured several stone-cutting gads, a steel bar, top maul, hammer and pick, and, after diverting the flow of water near [the left or north] side of the stream, a cut was made 10 feet in width, sloping back about 15 feet, through which the fish could easily pass.

A crew returned the following year and used dynamite to widen the slot. [12]

Fisheries crews returned to Naknek Lake and the Brooks River each year from 1920 through 1925; in 1924 and 1925, they also included Lake Coville and Lake Grosvenor in their investigation. During that time, they killed more than 13,000 sportfish, primarily rainbow trout, lake trout, and Dolly Varden. The Bureau of Fisheries ignored Naknek Lake for the next decade. Below the lake, however, it remained active. In 1928, it established a fisheries station five miles upriver from Naknek, and maintained a salmon-counting weir at the site until 1932. [13]

In 1936, biologists showed renewed interest in the Brooks Lake area. They noticed that Brooks Falls was not a block to red salmon under normal conditions. During seasons of low water, however, they observed that many died unspawned below the falls, presumably because of injury caused in attempting to negotiate them. Based on that overview, they made plans for "blasting steps in the falls" in the spring of 1937. Those plans, however, were put on hold for the time being. [14]

In 1938, concern about Japanese offshore fishing in the Bristol Bay area brought about a renewal of interest in Katmai's fisheries resource. Congress directed an investigation of the salmon fisheries of Bristol Bay. The plan, conceived in 1938, was to have one team tag and mark fish in the bay, while land-based teams were to set up operations along the five major bay drainages. Naknek River received a three man team in 1939, which made a survey of the river system's major spawning grounds. [15] The following year, the Bureau of Fisheries decided to concentrate their Naknek basin research efforts along the mile-long Brooks River. Fisheries personnel were well aware of the stream's abundant fish runs and felt that the stream was representative of others draining into Bristol Bay. [16]

The Bureau of Fisheries, which became part of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in 1940, asked the National Park Service for, and received, permission that year to build a research station and fish weir on Brooks Lake. The "station" was to consist of nothing more pretentious than a small frame building or tent frame to shelter personnel temporarily stationed at the lake. [17] Park Service reviewers criticized design of the structure, which turned out to be a large log building. Despite the quibbling, the Park Service approved plans for a field laboratory on Brooks Lake. Early the following year, they granted the F&WS a permit for use of Katmai's lands and waters. [18]

In the spring of 1940, fisheries personnel made a 21-day trip from Seattle to Naknek on the F&WS vessel Scoter. Initially, building materials were taken up the Naknek River to a landing area below the rapids. The materials were then moved overland by tractor-drawn sled to the west end of Naknek Lake. From there, the materials were rafted and towed by small power dory to the mouth of Brooks River.

To get from there to the outlet of Brooks Lake, personnel first dragged materials in small one-man rafts up Brooks River to the mouth of Brooks Lake. But it soon became clear that this system would not deliver materials to Brooks Lake and allow construction of a weir before the arrival of the year's salmon run. The Fish and Wildlife Service therefore arranged for Woodley

Airways to fly the unrafted materials to Brooks Lake, although this meant cutting lumber to sizes that would fit into a floatplane or strapping longer pieces to the floats. A trail connecting Naknek and Brooks Lakes was also roughed out that year. The herculean efforts to speed delivery and construction worked. Fisheries personnel completed the weir in 1940 in time for the arrival of the first salmon. [19]

The following year, George Eicher and George Hill drove a tractor and sled overland from the west end of Naknek Lake to the southwest end of Brooks Lake, then on to Brooks Lake's outflow, all in a harrowing three-day trip. The tractor then headed east and hacked out a rough road as it went; it reached Naknek Lake near the mouth of Brooks River. The mile-long road was used repeatedly and was gradually improved over the years. The road is still used and is maintained by the National Park Service. The 30-mile tractor route which Eicher and Hill used from the outlet of Naknek Lake to Brooks Lake, however, was never used again. [20]

Fisheries research in the Naknek drainage continued during World War II. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service personnel at the Brooks River weir counted escapements into Brooks Lake of 97,496 sockeye salmon in 1940, 125,948 in 1941, 360,899 in 1942, 272,929 in 1944, and 184,319 in 1945. [21] Construction on the Brooks Lake research station, which had begun in 1941, was completed by the close of the 1943 field season. In 1941, F&WS personnel also built and operated a second station just below the Naknek River rapids. They proposed that year that they would construct a fish ladder over Brooks Falls in 1942 or 1943, just as they had in 1937, but the reduction in personnel caused by the war forced them to postpone their plans. [22]

At war's end, F&WS biologists began tagging studies on Brooks River and aerial spawning ground surveys on the entire Bristol Bay watershed. "Index areas" were identified on each of the main river systems and photographed each year. Researchers then counted fish in the photographs and developed annual statistics. [23]

Throughout this period, the National Park Service had only the vaguest idea of what the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries and its successor, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, were doing along the Brooks River and elsewhere in the monument. The NPS had no jurisdiction over most of Naknek Lake before President Hoover expanded the monument in April 1931, and for years afterward the Service had no inkling of the activities and improvements which had been undertaken by Bureau of Fisheries personnel during the 1920s. What compounded the problem was NPS's own ignorance of the area. The first NPS presence in the monument was a brief 1937 visit, and the first detailed reconnaissance did not take place until September 1940. [24] As noted above, fisheries personnel in the spring of 1940 asked permission to construct the Brooks Lake fisheries laboratory, and agency representatives met several times during Been's field visit. Thereafter, little communication took place for the rest of the decade.

The eastern side of the monument witnessed both fisheries research and commercial activities during the 1940s. The U.S. Bureau of Fisheries had established a Kodiak office in 1924, and ever since, the agency had made intermittent studies of the salmon spawning areas along the monument's eastern shore. In 1941, the Alaska Game Commission agent at Kodiak noted that the Bureau of Fisheries (which had become part of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service the year before) had two watchman's cabins on the south side of Kaflia Bay. Why they were located there is uncertain; because there were no fish traps in the area, the cabins were probably associated with a salmon research study. [25] As noted above, a salmon cannery (in conjunction with a clam cannery) had been located at Kukak Bay from 1924 to 1932 and from 1935 to 1936. Salmon canners ignored the monument's eastern shore for the next decade, but in 1947 the Cape Douglas Canning Corporation packed salmon at Swikshak Bay. Mainland Fisheries then purchased the corporation's equipment and moved it to Kukak Bay, from whence it operated a salmon and clam cannery from 1948 through 1951. The cannery lay idle for the next three years, but after the 1954 season Mainland abandoned the site. [26]

Construction of the Brooks River Fish Ladder

As noted above, Bureau of Fisheries personnel first considered and planned the installation of a fish ladder at Brooks Falls in 1936. For the next ten years, they sought the funds to construct the facility, apparently unaware that the NPS would have any objections to it. In 1947, engineers and biologists at the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's Montlake Laboratory at Seattle designed the fishway.

In 1948, a four-man crew went to Brooks River to start construction. Materials went to Brooks Lake by air and to the falls by tractor and sled. Gravel and sand for concrete came from the beach at Brooks Lake. [27] Four U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service employees--John Hurst, Mike Michel, Mike Wold, and Jerry O'Neil--blasted and hewed the ladder from solid rock to make it as natural-appearing as possible. Ten feet in width and at the south side of the falls, the ladder had seven pools, each one foot above the other. A headgate metered water into the topmost pool. The fisheries employees completed the ladder, except for the bottommost pool, in 1949. [28] The remaining portions were completed early the next summer, and the ladder opened on August 7, 1950. Willie Nancarrow, who was serving as the NPS ranger that summer, reported that "in the next week a marked increase in the number of fish going through the weir could be seen." [29]

Alfred C. Kuehl, Landscape Architect for the Region Four office of the NPS, first became aware of the fish ladder construction in August 1948. He visited Brooks River as F&WS engineers were finalizing plans for the ladder. [30] He came again in September 1949 during the midst of construction work. This time Herbert Maier, Assistant Director of Region Four, accompanied him. Neither protested the construction, either while visiting the site or after they returned to San Francisco. [31]

In late June 1950, Kuehl and George L. Collins, Chief of the Park Service's Alaska Recreation Survey, arrived at Katmai to find the fish ladder nearing completion. They made no protest at the time, but Collins was clearly perturbed at what he saw. After they returned to the regional headquarters, Collins let the regional director know his feelings:

> I doubt that anyone in the Service paid much attention to the fact that the Fish and Wildlife Service has started a fish ladder at the falls on Brooks River. If there is a permit or understanding regarding that abortion whoever in the Service authorized it ought to be made to go to Katmai and tear it out singlehandedly. [32]

Regional Director Owen Tomlinson, in turn, protested to the agency's Washington office. Forwarding photographs taken by Kuehl and Collins at Brooks River a month earlier, Tomlinson wrote that "this structure hardly complies with Park Service principles relating to the preservation of natural structures." Tomlinson noted that the regional office had no formal agreement in its files authorizing U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service operations in Katmai. He asked for information on the authority for F&WS operations in the monument "so we can prevent further occurrences of this nature." [33]

After receiving Tomlinson's memorandum, the NPS directorate in Washington wrote to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. The NPS asked the F&WS why it built the ladder without authorization. The F&WS, in response, admitted its error in constructing the ladder without written permission, but pled that Kuehl and Collins had expressed no objection when at the construction site. Eicher, who was at Brooks River in 1948, 1949, and 1950, recalled that Kuehl made several suggestions for making the fishway compatible with the surroundings. He suggested placing spoil from the blasting in the depression at the north end of the falls and keying the ladder weirs into the excavated trough as much as possible. This would hide the

weirs when filled with water. [34]

After receiving the F&WS letter, Acting NPS Director Ronald Lee expressed surprise that Park Service officials had witnessed fish ladder construction for two years without protesting. He asked Alfred Kuehl to explain his actions. Reviewing the situation in 1951, Kuehl noted he had reported the fish ladder's construction to the regional director after both his 1948 and 1949 visits. He admitted, however that he "considered the installation no more objectionable than the fish weir across the mouth of Brooks Lake." He also erred, he admitted, in assuming that the F&WS and the NPS had signed an Inter-Bureau agreement relating to permissible activities at the site. Not until after his 1949 visit did he find that no such agreement had ever been signed. In sum, however, Kuehl felt that he had acted properly. On the one hand, he felt that the ladder had "not resulted in a glaring distractive feature." Beyond that, he felt that the area surrounding the Brooks River was of marginal value to the agency. He noted that an inspection of the boundary had been made in 1947, and "at that time it appeared that it might ultimately be advisable to eliminate approximately 25% of the Monument area which would include the entire Brooks Lake region." Those reasons, plus "a desire to maintain amiable relations in view of the splendid protective services rendered by the Fish and Wildlife Service in the Monument for many years" prompted him to refrain from protesting against the fish ladder's construction. [35]

Collins, who was an ardent defender of Katmai's resources, saw things in a wholly different light. He was angry that the NPS had acquiesced to the F&WS along the Brooks River, and was angry at Kuehl who, by not protesting a year or two earlier, might have prevented the fish ladder from being constructed. He also hinted darkly that personal relationships may have gotten in the way of Kuehl's professional responsibilities. Kuehl, he knew, was a good friend of George Kelez, the head of the F&WS Bristol Bay program, and his friendship may have muted any opposition he may have had to it. [36] It is more likely, however, that Kuehl stood by during the fish ladder's construction because he was simply not aware that the NPS would want to object to such an activity without first obtaining a permit.

Sport Fishing Before 1950

Commercial fishermen had been using the products of the Naknek drainage since the 1880s, and fisheries personnel had been investigating Naknek Lake and its tributaries since the early 1920s. The first record of sport fishing in the area, however, does not appear until the early 1940s. By this time, pilots such as Ray Petersen, Bert Ruoff and John Walatka had become familiar with the monument; they may also have tarried awhile and tossed a line into its lakes and streams. By 1942, pilots were carrying Naknek cannery workers into the monument on charter flights. Work at the canneries was intense but periodic. During breaks between the salmon runs, Ray Petersen and his fledgling Ray Petersen Flying Service began flying them to Brooks Lake and other local fishing holes. [37]

About the same time, off-duty military personnel from Kodiak Naval Operating Base, Naknek Army Air Base (later called King Salmon), and Fort Richardson in Anchorage began to visit Katmai for the sport fishing. To accommodate the increasing number of anglers, the U.S. Army Air Corps established two rest and recreation camps nearby. Naknek Recreation Annex No. 1, informally called Rapids Camp, was the enlisted men's camp and was located at the foot of the Naknek River rapids, five miles southeast of Naknek Air Base. Annex No. 2, called Lake Camp, was the officers' camp. It was located at the west end of Naknek Lake, eight miles east of the base and seven miles upstream from Rapids Camp. The initial public land withdrawal at the two camps took place on January 22, 1943. [38]

By 1945, the Navy at Kodiak was considering the establishment of its own fishing camps in the

area. The agency hoped to create two such camps, each of which would be composed of so-called "Yakutat huts," prefabricated wood structures with low-pitched roofs. Kodiak's camp commander wanted to first establish a camp "near the head of the Naknek River, just northwest of Naknek Lake." He later hoped to build a second camp "one-half mile east of Brooks Falls." [39] The General Land Office soon gave the Navy permission to build a Naknek River camp, and Grant Pearson, the Superintendent of Mount McKinley National Park, thought that the idea of a Navy camp near Brooks Falls was "reasonable." Soon afterwards, the Navy backed off and decided not to build either facility. Personnel from Kodiak, however, continued to fly into the area. In 1948, Mark Meyers, an F&WS enforcement agent at Kodiak, reported that the military took several parties a week into Brooks River for fishing vacations. The military personnel, presumably from the naval base at Kodiak, took more large trout than they could consume. [40]

The Air Force, which had been created in 1947 as a separate agency within the Department of Defense, moved two years later to formally establish the two recreation annexes near King Salmon which had been informally created in the early days of World War II. In May 1949, the Air Force applied to have the two sites withdrawn as recreation areas "Inasmuch as military facilities are presently constructed on the unsurveyed site of the public domain...." The agency initially withdrew more than 300 acres at each site; in September of 1949, the Air Force reduced its request to 10 acres at each site. [41] In 1956, the Bureau of Land Management approved the Air Force request. Public Land Order 1350 of October 23, 1956, withdrew the camp sites from the public domain for Air Force recreational use. [42]

Military use at the west end of Naknek Lake and on the Naknek River continued until Lake and Rapids camps were permanently closed by the Air Force in 1976. Its use of Brooks River, however, dropped off shortly after the establishment of the Northern Consolidated camps in 1950. [43]

During the mid- to late 1940s, an increasing number of both civilian and military personnel visited Katmai's lakes and streams. Cannery workers visited the monument less often and were soon replaced by fishermen who began to arrive from locations across the territory and from the United States as well. Many of those anglers were brought into the monument on Northern Consolidated Airlines, a newly-created carrier headed by Ray Petersen. The three principal fishing destinations in the Katmai area were "The lagoon at the outlet to Naknek Lake, the connection between the Coville and Grosvenor Lakes and to the Brooks River." (Those locations are the site of present-day Lake Camp, Grosvenor Camp, and Brooks Camp, respectively.) [44]

As the number of fishermen to the Brooks River increased, so did the pressure on the fishing resource. By 1948, as many as 20 anglers per week were rainbow fishing on Brooks River. A Standard Oil film produced that year included scenes in which "anglers had accumulated so many of the huge fish they were scarcely able to carry the weight to their plane." [45] The fish resource was being abused to the point where "trout were caught with gobs of salmon eggs on giant Colorado spinners and hooks." Fish and Wildlife representatives stationed at Brooks Lake that summer noted "quite definitely that the rainbow trout have decreased as the result of the popularity to air borne sportsmen." [46]

Ray Petersen, who was an ardent fisherman as well as an airline executive, was an early advocate for the imposition of fishing regulations. He could see that two distinct fishing groups flew into the Brooks River area: Alaskans, who were "hardware and bait" fishermen, and "stateside" anglers, who were fly fishing enthusiasts. Petersen knew that any regulations that might be established would have to favor one group over the other. Petersen observed that fly fishermen outnumbered the "hardware and bait" fishermen; he therefore advocated that Brooks River be limited to fly fishing only. George B. Kelez, who headed the Fish and Wildlife Service's efforts at the Brooks Lake laboratory, agreed. [47]

Senior Park Service officials also expressed concern about overfishing at the monument. They believed the Park Service needed to find some way to protect Katmai National Monument and regulate the public's use of it. But they had been unable to establish a presence at the monument. [48] (As noted in Chapter 3, they had hoped to send a ranger to Katmai during that summer. Funding for the position, however, had fallen through.) NPS officials were aware that agency regulations prohibited airplane landings in the monument by all but official personnel; as a corollary to that regulation, they had the power to arrest anyone who landed a float plane on Naknek or Brooks Lake. Superintendent Grant Pearson of Mount McKinley National Park, however, recognized that it was far more prudent to change the regulation than to prevent visitation. In 1949, therefore, the monument was opened to summertime air traffic.

Sport Fishery Management, 1950-1976

In June 1950, shortly after Northern Consolidated opened its first fishing camps in Katmai National Monument, the F&WS established its first monument-wide fishing regulations. (As noted below, the agency assumed that it had the right to do so, even in an NPS unit.) The regulations stated that "The limit of catch per person per day shall not exceed two red salmon, and ten fish or 10 pounds and one fish of any other species. Possession of more than one day's limit of fish by any one person at any one time is prohibited." On Brooks River, tackle was restricted to two flies; elsewhere in the monument, tackle could "consist of not more than two flies or not more than one plug, spoon, or spinner, to which may be attached not more than one treble hook." [49]

Once they had established a presence, the NPS recognized that the goals of NPS and F&WS management were often disparate, and NPS officials felt that they too ought to have a say in determining monument fishing regulations. Clarence J. Rhode, Regional Director of the F&WS in Alaska, visited Brooks Camp on July 12 in hopes of clarifying the agencies' fishery management responsibilities.

After his return to Juneau, he told the F&WS director that, in his opinion, the F&WS exercised authority over the management of commercial fish such as salmon. The NPS, however, exercised authority over game fish such as grayling and trout. What complicated the matter was that of Brooks River's two main species, one (rainbow trout) was a game fish and was sought by anglers, while the other (red salmon) was a commercial fish and was prized primarily by the Bristol Bay canneries (although it was a popular sports fish, too). Rhode was concerned that the NPS ranger was paying little attention to the salmon-fishing regulation. On a more general level, he was

> highly disturbed over the general impression being voiced in that area that the Park Service is highly critical of the Fish and Wildlife Service. This seems unwarranted to me, inasmuch as we have many times gone a long way to assist and cooperate with the National Park Service. [50]

Local interpretations and incomplete definition of authorities created further complications. Fifteen days before Rhode had visited Katmai, one of his agency's wildlife biologists had stated, in a meeting with Park Service officials in Anchorage, that sports fishing for salmon (a commercial fish) was not covered by commercial fisheries regulations. Therefore, according to the biologist, there would be no F&WS objection if Katmai visitors fished for salmon close to the Brooks River fish ladder. F&WS regulations, however, did prohibit the taking of game fish (such as rainbows) within 500 feet of fish ladders. [51]

Another problem faced by both NPS and F&WS officials was the overfishing of salmon. During the late 1940s the trout population had suffered from overfishing, but the problem was

eliminated when new fly-fishing regulations had been imposed. The regulations imposed for salmon were not particularly strict, and by 1951 officials agreed that the current salmon catch rate--up to 100 per hour at times--was harmful to the fishery. [52]

After the close of the 1951 fishing season, Rhode wrote NPS Director Demaray and made some suggestions that, he hoped, would clear up the jurisdictional tug-of-war and restore a healthy salmon run back to the Brooks River. He urged the NPS to prohibit angling--for any species--within 300 feet below Brooks River Falls and within 300 feet of the weir at the exit of Brooks Lake. By this time, the NPS had also suggested that the daily salmon catch be limited to two, including those caught and released. [53]

Northern Consolidated, which operated the various fishing camps, met with Regional Director Lawrence Merriam and fought against the agencies' proposals. Don Horter, who served as NCA's publicist, noted that national magazines and newspapers such as Argosy, Colliers, Esquire, The New York Times, and The Saturday Evening Post were about to publish stories on Katmai's superlative fishing. Horter protested against any regulations that would restrict angling at the base of Brooks Falls because "most of the fishermen come to the monument in order to hook salmon at the base of Brooks Falls." [54] The concessioner was also disturbed about the proposal to limit catch and release. Horter said he had fished Brooks River for seven years and believed unlimited catch and release would not harm the fishery, and vowed that the two regulations would force NCA to abandon its Brooks Camp operation. Merriam sent the details of his meeting to NPS Director Arthur Demaray. [55]

On October 3, Director Demaray responded to Rhode and readily accepted his suggestion regarding fishing at the weir. Because of NCA pressure, Demaray rejected any regulations concerning Brooks Falls. The director, however, held fast with the agency's suggestion that anglers be limited to a daily catch of no more than two red salmon, including fish hooked and released. Fisheries personnel believed that even "catch and release" weakened salmon and would diminish the fishery. [56]

More discussions took place between the two agency heads during the winter of 1951-52. Many compromises were suggested; at one point, the Chief Counsel of the NPS suggested that bait be limited to flies within 100 yards above and below the Brooks River weir. That suggestion was rejected. [57]

By late spring, the compromise regulations were finally agreed upon and were submitted to the Federal Register. The new catch limits were the same as those issued in 1950 except that they included the NPS-suggested limitation on catch and release fishing. Allowable types of lures were also modified; instead of allowing a treble hook to be attached to each artificial lure, not more than two single hooks were allowed. In addition, fishing was prohibited within 100 yards of the weir. Finally, a compromise was reached in regards to fishing at Brooks River falls. The two agency heads decided to prohibit fishing within 100 yards above the fish ladder and on the ladder itself. Fishing below the ladder, however, was not prohibited. [58]

During the 1950s, most of Katmai's visitors were attracted by the sport fishing. Most approved of the various fishing regulations. Others, however, felt them to be overly restrictive. A 1953 visitor, for example, complained that the Katmai ranger "did not approve of the fly I was using." He went on to suggest that any sort of fly be permitted and grumbled, "Another thing, no one cares to catch many fish as they must clean their own if they wish to have them cooked. There are no icing facilities so there is no incentive to catch fish to bring home." [59]

The first scientific look at the sport fishing potential of and assessment of sport fishing pressures in the area came in 1954. At the request of the NPS, John Greenbank of the F&WS did a sport fish survey of Katmai National Monument. Greenbank and assistant Ronald Lopp

worked through the summer of 1954 and described monument waters, examined fish distribution and abundance, sampled fish populations, and conducted creel censuses in various locations. Overall, the survey found fish populations high and fishing pressure light. Most fishing within the monument occurred in Brooks River. Practically no fishing took place in Brooks Lake. Naknek Lake was fished only at the mouth of Brooks River. A limited amount of fishing, probably not over 200 hours in the summer of 1954, took place at Lake Grosvenor and in front of Coville (Grosvenor) Camp. Pike Lake, north of Brooks Lake, experienced about 50 hours of fly-in fishing. There was also fishing in the vicinity of the Air Force camps on Naknek River. Overall, the censuses recorded that during the summer there had been 843 fishing hours on Brooks River with a total of 906 fish, primarily rainbow trout, caught; 1794 fishing hours on Naknek River with a total of 1279 fish, primarily rainbow trout, caught; and 128 fishing hours on Naknek Lake with a total of 98 fish, mostly red salmon and lake trout, caught. [60]

When the field survey was completed and the collected data was analyzed, Greenbank made several recommendations. He suggested that: 1) the restriction of fishing in Brooks River to artificial flies be retained, 2) the prohibition against use of two or more hooks or flies per line be rescinded, 3) the prohibition against fishing within 300 feet above Brooks Falls be abandoned, 4) the daily catch limit for sockeye salmon be two fish killed, with no limit on the number caught and released, 5) all size limits on fish be dropped, and 6) no fish of any species be artificially stocked in waters of the monument, and no new species introduced. Greenbank further recommended that consideration be given to development of a lake trout and northern pike sport fishery, establishment of a perpetual catch reporting system for Brooks River, and continuation of field studies. He believed that it was particularly important to conduct a survey of the rainbow trout population of the Naknek River system. [61]

Efforts to perfect fishing regulations for Katmai continued. In the summer of 1955, Dorr G. Yeager, Regional Chief of Interpretation of the NPS, visited Katmai and discussed angling regulations with F&WS personnel, including Regional Director Clarence Rhode. As a result, Yeager believed that it would "not be objectionable to permit the use of hardware with barbless hooks in a definite area." He thought the "lower pool on Brooks River beside the fish rack on the east side of the river" might be a suitable spot to test this relaxation of fly-fishing only restrictions. [62]

In 1956, the NPS responded to earlier suggestions by adopting new fishing regulations. Following John Greenbank's advice, it removed limits on the number of red salmon which were hooked and released. (Greenbank's other suggestions were ignored.) The agency also agreed with Dorr Yeager and opened the lower 880 feet of Brooks River near its mouth to fishing with "plugs, spoons, and spinners with not more than one barbless treble hook and not more than one attractor blade" as well as to artificial flies. [63]

Katmai fishermen, who still comprised the vast majority of monument visitors, welcomed the new, relaxed regulations. A few, however, felt that Katmai's regulations could be safely ignored. An NPS naturalist who visited Brooks Camp in 1958 noted

> that fishermen not only were confused about the administration of the Monument, but resented the Park Service's attempts to regulate fishing along the Brooks River. After expending an estimated $1,000 for a fishing trip to Alaska, fishermen are not willing to accept a barbless hook regulation. This regulation does not inhibit the "expert fisherman," and is largely ignored by the run-of-the-mill fishermen. The ranger that attempts enforcement of the fishing regulations will have his hands full. [64]

To ward off their feeling of possessiveness, Park Service officials warned NCA and anyone else who would listen that sport fishing was only incidental to Katmai's scenic and scientific values.

Other monument values were more important. [65] This policy was not specific to Katmai; but, as later formalized, it was applied to all Park Service areas. Fishing was to be permitted throughout the National Park System but under management programs directed toward "perpetuation, restoration, and protection of native species and wild populations of fishes [and] directed so as not to decrease the wildlife, scenic, scientific, or historic values of the Park." Promotional types of publicity related to fishing in America's national park areas were to be discouraged. [66]

In 1959, Alaska became a state. The Statehood Act, among its other provisions, specified that Mount McKinley National Park was the only park unit where state fish and game regulations would not apply. As a result, control of sport fishing largely passed from the federal government (Department of the Interior) to state government (Alaska Department of Fish and Game). By early 1961, state fishing regulations were in effect at Katmai. Federal regulations also remained in effect. [67] The two sets of regulations would seem, at first glance, to be confusing. They do not appear to have conflicted, however, and Katmai park rangers appear to have had little difficulty in enforcing both sets of regulations.

In 1960, the new state government created a series of local advisory committees to provide information and advice to the Department of Fish and Game on fishing areas throughout the state. The Naknek Advisory Committee was appointed to oversee fishing conditions and policies throughout the Naknek drainage. The committee, later renamed the Naknek/Kvichak Game and Fishery Advisory Committee, is still active. [68]

In 1966, the Ranger-in-Charge pointed out the need for creel checks to promote barbless hook provisions on Brooks River. [69] Nothing seems to have come of this. Inspecting sport fish might not have given much information on fish mortality due to barbed hooks and, in any case, creel censuses are usually conducted to measure harvests, describe fish populations, and enforce regulations including the regulation on barbless lures in the lower river. Only indirectly are they used to promote a point of view or the need for a change in policy.

In 1969, the heavily-fished western end of Naknek Lake was added to the monument. Augie Reetz, Alaska's Commissioner of Fish and Game, loudly decried the move, noting that "From the standpoint of fish and game management or, more specifically, fish and game utilization, National Monument regulations are too restrictive." The Naknek River wound back and forth across the western boundary line, and state and federal officials recognized that actions had to be taken to create consistent fishing regulations. A year later, the state moved to regulate the fishing in the newly-added acreage when the Naknek River above Big Creek was designated a single-hook area. This restriction remained until 1976. [70]

Since 1963, the number of Brooks Camp fishermen had been progressively outnumbered by those who did not fish, and by 1970 anglers constituted only about 10 to 20 percent of Brooks Camp visitors. Many of those anglers, however, were dedicated to their craft. An NPS official, who visited in late July, noted that

> Skilled fly fishermen take many trout and grayling in the Brooks River, releasing most. One particularly expert sportsman, remaining at Brooks Camp for an extended trip, personally told me of catching and releasing 17 grayling in one hour. (The limit is one grayling per day.) During the salmon runs, visitors "snag" numerous salmon along the shore of Naknek Lake, at the mouth of the river and at the base and above Brooks Falls. This does not appear to be a serious impairment in the breeding activity of the salmon (a limit of two salmon per day and two in possession is imposed at Brooks River area versus ten in possession in most of Alaska). [71]

Depending on the situation, state fishery management officials could be either more liberal or more conservative than the Park Service in their attitudes toward Katmai sport fishing. In 1971, the state prohibited fishing within 50 feet of the fish ladder. Two years later, however, the prohibited distance was increased to 300 feet, except when the ladder was closed. [72] In 1972, the Alaska Board of Fisheries increased the limit of the Katmai area salmon catch from two to five; at the same time, however, it reduced the bag limit of other fish species (including rainbows) from ten to five. Two years later, however, a poor salmon run forced the state to temporarily lower the bag limit to two. [73]

Partly in response to the reduction in the bag limit for rainbow trout, the National Park Service, in 1973, simplified its regulations pertaining to fishing in Katmai. The NPS eliminated the regulations which it had adopted in 1950 regarding catch limits; the agency apparently felt that the state regulations, which had been adopted in 1972, were sufficient. The NPS also revised its regulations on bait and lures; it eliminated the cumbersome language which it had adopted in 1950 and 1956, and replaced it with two simple regulations. First, fishing throughout the monument was permitted only with artificial lures, and second, only fly fishing was permitted on the Brooks River between Brooks Lake and the posted signs near Brooks Camp. Because the National Marine Fisheries Service was no longer operating a weir along the Brooks River or using the fish ladder, the restriction which dated from the 1950s regarding fishing from the weir was eliminated. Another restriction which had prohibited fishing from the fish ladder was also eliminated; that restriction, however, was superfluous, inasmuch as a state regulation already prohibited fishing within 300 feet of the ladder. [74]

State officials instituted other measures during the period to protect Katmai's rainbow fishery. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the state created the so-called "Bristol Bay Trophy Fish Area," and new regulations were instituted in an attempt to preserve the fish stocks. Beginning in 1970, the Bay of Islands was included in the trophy fish area. Fishermen visiting the Bay of Islands were slapped with a bag limit of just one rainbow, 20 inches or longer, per day. They were also required to use single hooks rather than treble hooks, and an unintended consequence of the new regulation was an increasing number of dead trophy fish. [75] Officials worried that another result of the trophy fish area's creation would be that Brooks River would be subjected to additional fishing pressure. In May 1974, therefore, the State Fisheries Board closed Brooks River to fishing from May 20 to June 10 to protect spawning rainbow trout. By 1976, Brooks River's closure dates had changed; the new dates were from April 10 to June 7 instead of from May 20 to June 10. [76]

Fisheries Research and Management Activities, 1950-1976

Before 1950, the Fish and Wildlife Service--specifically, the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries (BCF) within the Service--had been the only government agency with an active management presence in Katmai National Monument. The establishment of the NPS facility and concessions camps in the summer of 1950 brought about a temporary jurisdictional conflict, as has been noted above. By 1951, however, the agency heads had smoothed over their disagreements. Through it all, the Fish and Wildlife Service continued its job of counting and studying the Brooks River salmon run.

For the remainder of the 1950s, the agency vacillated from year to year in the interest it showed toward Bristol Bay research efforts. Funding during some years allowed tagging programs, foot and photograph surveys, and similar research efforts. But during other years, the F&WS decided to focus its Alaskan research efforts away from Bristol Bay. The Brooks River weir counts continued, but most other Western Alaskan investigations were placed on hold. Regardless of funding levels, the agency continued to staff the Brooks Lake laboratory and maintain the adjacent weir. [77]

In April 1941, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service had obtained a permit from the NPS in order to gain legal use of monument lands. In 1959, however, the NPS suggested that a more formal procedure, in the form of a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA), be prepared to govern relations between the two agencies. On February 15, 1960, a ten-year MOA was signed by the directors of the F&WS and the NPS; it remained in force until March 7, 1970. Two days after the MOA expired, the regional directors of the two agencies signed a ten-year extension to the agreement. [78]

In 1961, commercial fisheries research in the monument underwent a major change when the BCF decided to expand its fisheries research from the Brooks Lake-Brooks River area to the entire Naknek drainage system. The Brooks Lake building became a coordinating center, and to provide for its expansion, new housing was needed. The BCF constructed two four-room log cottages just south of the Brooks Lake laboratory. [79]

By 1962, studies were being conducted at remote sites within the monument, and to support those studies, the agency built several remote cabins in the monument. By 1965, the agency had built one at the east end of Lake Coville, just west of Grosvenor Camp, and it has occupied another cabin located two miles above the mouth of American Creek. [80] A third BCF cabin, located at the southeastern end of Lake Grosvenor, was built in the late 1960s. In 1969, it was described as a plywood one-room tent frame type cabin with two adjacent storage sheds which was being used for anadromous fish research. All three temporary camps were still active in 1971. The BCF, during the 1960s and early 70s, also had fish weirs and counting fences on Hardscrabble Creek, Hidden Creek, West Creek, and at the outlet of lower Kaflia Bay. Therefore, the agency probably erected shelters of some sort at those locations as well. Each of these had probably been abandoned by 1971. [81] Meanwhile, the salmon counting activities along the Brooks River, which had been the mainstay of the BCF's work for more than 25 years, were discontinued after the 1967 season. [82]

During the same period in which the BCF decided to expand its operations, the philosophy of its research also changed. In addition to counts, the agency's studies became on-the-ground projects that began to affect Katmai's resources. From 1960 to 1965, fisheries scientists completely blocked a Brooks Lake tributary, West Creek, just to see if salmon heading for it would spawn elsewhere. Other experiments involved chemical trickery to influence Hidden Creek salmon to spawn in West Creek rather than their natural spawning grounds. These experiments resulted in the loss of at least one genetic stock of salmon in Brooks Lake tributaries. [83]

In 1970, the Fish and Wildlife Service split into two parts: the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife and the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS). The work at Katmai, which had been administered by the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, was transferred to the NMFS. The new agency continued the work of the old. In 1973, the NMFS conducted the second year of a Naknek Lake salmon incubator project and also conducted limnological and biological sampling of the lake system. The following winter, however, the incubators froze and the project was abandoned. The NMFS did not staff the Brooks Lake fisheries station in 1974 or thereafter. [84]

In 1976, the issue of manipulative fishery research, which had first surfaced during BCF studies conducted from 1960 through 1965, came to a head when the NMFS proposed large scale artificial salmon reproduction in Katmai National Monument. Specific sites for the salmon enhancement program were to be Idavain Creek and the streams which emptied into Brooks Lake. Alerted to the proposal by Katmai Superintendent Blinn, Acting Area Director Robert Peterson advised the National Marine Fisheries Service to abandon plans for manipulative fishery research in national parks in Alaska. [85]

With the exception of that proposal, NMFS ignored the monument during the mid-1970s. In

1976, the agency began allowing NPS personnel to use the Brooks Lake cabins. The following spring, it decided to transfer its facilities to the Park Service. In 1979 the NPS, under the direction of interim superintendent Roy Sanborn, rehabilitated the two Brooks Lake cottages and the Brooks Lake fisheries laboratory which was converted into a residence. That summer, and each summer since, the buildings have been used by NPS personnel. [86]

The various remote NMFS structures have not fared as well. The primitive cabin at the east end of Lake Coville remained active as part of a salmon fisheries research project until 1972. By the following year, however, it was "not fit for habitation without minimal repairs" and was abandoned. In 1985, NPS rangers lived in the cabin, which by now was dilapidated. The cabin was torn down the following year. Along American Creek, the former BCF cabin remained active from 1963 through 1970 but was afterward abandoned. The cabin at the southeast end of Lake Grosvenor was also used for only a short time. It was abandoned in the early to mid-1970s. [87]

A continuing sore point that marred relations between the National Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service throughout the 1950s and 1960s was the Brooks Falls fish ladder. As noted above, the F&WS had built the ladder from 1948 through 1950 with the silent acquiescence of the NPS, though without its permission. The NPS protested its construction in 1950, but by that time, the ladder was already complete.

The fish ladder remained controversial throughout the 1950s; the NPS wanted to get rid of it, while the F&WS defended it. As part of the NPS-sponsored Katmai Project, an official with the U.S. Public Health Service recommended that the ladder be removed. Perhaps in response to that recommendation, F&WS fishery engineer George Eicher wrote an analysis on how the ladder had affected the river's fish runs. The analysis showed the red salmon population before the ladder's construction was larger than it had been afterwards. It was quick to point out, however, that external factors, not the ladder, caused the reduction. [88] In the mid-1960s, the NPS formalized its principles of aquatic management for natural and historical areas. This led to an immediate push to do something about the Brooks River fish ladder. The F&WS fought the prospect. In the end, attuned to a sensitive political climate engendered by low Bristol Bay fish runs in the early 1960s, on-scene Park Service officials recommended coming back to the fish ladder issue later. [89]

Park Service field personnel continued to raise the issue, noting in 1970 that when the ladder was open it greatly reduced the number of salmon that could be seen trying to leap the falls. [90] In the early 1970s, they blocked the ladder's upstream exit with wood planks (ineffectively, as noted below). It has remained blocked ever since.

Although most of the Fish and Wildlife's facilities in Katmai were established on the Bristol Bay side of the monument, the bureau was also concerned with the Shelikof Strait fishery. Prior to statehood, it claimed jurisdiction of all areas below the mean high tide line. (It also, as noted above, claimed jurisdiction over commercial fish throughout the monument.) It carried out occasional patrols in the strait during the 1950s. In addition, the F&WS made scattered attempts to monitor the fisheries resources on the monument's eastern shore. The bureau, operating from its Kodiak office, had been making occasional studies of salmon spawning areas in the monument since the 1920s. Before 1950, as has been noted, the agency had established watchman's cabins on Kaflia Bay. Then, in the summer of 1953, the agency stationed a salmon-stream guard in a tent about one mile south of the Kaguyak Village site. Both improvements were probably erected in conjunction with a nearby fish trap. [91] The agency, during the 1950s, may also have been active on other portions of the coastline.

After statehood, much of the fisheries management along the Shelikof Strait was transferred to the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. The ADF&G sought out a site from which it could

manage, survey, and patrol the salmon fisheries along the monument's eastern coastline, and in March 1962 it obtained a ten year Special Use Permit from the NPS for a site on Kashvik Bay, up to three acres in extent, in which to erect one or more field structures. By June, the ADF&G had decided to erect a weir, cabin, and storage shed at the site. In support of its activities, the state also received permission to erect a small fueling station, which was constructed at Amalik Bay. [92]

Fisheries Research and Management Activities Since 1976

The federal government, through its long-term efforts at the Brooks Lake laboratory, had amassed a wealth of data on the Brooks River and Naknek Lake salmon resource. Beyond that, however, there had been little attention paid to Katmai's sport fish populations in the two decades which followed John Greenbank's 1954 survey work. During the mid-1970s, both state and NPS officials decided that more research into Katmai's sport fishing populations was sorely needed. What followed was a 15- to 20-year-long research effort which included five rainbow trout studies, two sockeye salmon studies, two studies which analyzed the effectiveness of the fish ladder, and a bibliographic study which compiled the many research efforts which had been made to date.

Since statehood in 1959, state fishery managers in the Naknek drainage had emphasized the large king salmon and rainbow trout sport fisheries of the Naknek River and Bay of Islands area of Naknek Lake. Only periodic, short, fishery assessment trips were made by state biologists to Brooks Camp and the Brooks River. Little or no information was available on the health of rainbow trout populations in Brooks Lake, its tributaries including Headwaters Creek, and other areas used by sport anglers such as American Creek and Idavain Creek. To provide that information, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game commenced a spawning survey of the Brooks River rainbow trout population. That survey began about 1975 and continued until 1978. [93]

The NPS, during the same period, also attempted to gain information on the Brooks River rainbow trout population. NPS officials, of course, were vitally concerned with gaining data on Brooks River trout populations, and wanted to augment the ADF&G data. Rangers, therefore, conducted summer creel censuses along the river during the 1975, 1976, and 1977 seasons. The data they collected, however, were not systematic nor of sufficiently long duration to be fully definitive. [94]

In 1977-78, the NPS funded preparation of an information synthesis of all fishery and aquatic research information available for the Naknek River drainage. The Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center, part of the University of Alaska, compiled a 244-page report with an extensive bibliography. This report later proved valuable as an information source for resource managers and research personnel for all that was known about Katmai's fish populations and aquatic habitat. [95]

In the early 1980s, NPS management began to worry about the decreasing size and number of trophy rainbows, both at American Creek and in Naknek Lake. In order to provide a more complete database than NPS rangers and state biologists had been able to collect during 1975-77, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, in 1983 and 1984, conducted a study (with funding from the NPS) on the possible overharvest of Katmai's rainbow trout. [96] To document rainbow trout harvests and categorize sport fishermen types, ADF&G personnel conducted intensive, long-term creel censuses and solicited mailed questionnaires from fishermen on the Brooks River, Naknek River, and the Bay of Islands portion of Naknek Lake. Detailed information was developed on the number of rainbows kept versus those caught in each significant fishery. Fish population statistics such as length, weight, sex, and age were

developed for the Naknek and Brooks rivers, American Creek, and Idavain Creek; in addition, spawning ground surveys were conducted on the Naknek and Brooks rivers, Idavain Creek, and Headwaters Creek.

From 1981 to 1985, the ADF&G also conducted a somewhat smaller but related rainbow trout study in the Naknek River drainage. So-called "Floy" tagging was conducted on eight of the drainage's streams and lakes. (Floy tags are visible plastic tags, manufactured by the Floy company, which show where and when the tags have been attached to the fish; they also provide other information.)

The two studies concluded that current sport fishing levels had no significant adverse affect on the size, age composition, or numbers of available rainbow trout in the Naknek River drainage. Spawning ground surveys indicated sufficient numbers of spawners to perpetuate populations and to provide quality sport fishing to anglers using the drainage. Five specific regulatory proposals or options were identified in the event sport fishing effort increased or management philosophies changed. None of the proposals, however, were implemented over the short term. Lou Gwartney, the state fishery biologist leading both studies, believed that with the large and growing philosophy of catch and release throughout Katmai, there seemed little cause for worry about the health of the park's rainbow trout fishery. [97]

The fifth significant rainbow trout study at Katmai was a radio-tracking effort funded by the NPS and jointly conducted by the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. In 1984, 46 spawning and post-spawning rainbow trout were tagged with radio transmitters; 25 were in the Naknek River, and the remaining 21 were in the Brooks River drainage. Some of the latter were tagged above and some below Brooks Falls. The study revealed fascinating details about the summer and winter range of Naknek and Brooks River rainbows, the timing and speed of their migrations, and the degree to which overlap occurs in the life history and habitat use requirements of both populations. The Bay of Islands area of Naknek Lake was highlighted as the principal summer range of adult Naknek River rainbows. The summer range of adult Brooks River rainbows was found to include Brooks River, Brooks Lake, and, to a limited degree, Naknek Lake. In the latter instance, some intermingling occurred during summer between a few Naknek and Brooks River fish. The study suggested, however, that Brooks River and Naknek River rainbows were really two separate populations of locally-adapted fish that do not share habitat to any significant degree. Naknek rainbows appeared to conduct far more extensive migrations than did Brooks River rainbows. [98]

Another scientific study focused on the genetics of sockeye salmon within the Naknek River drainage in Katmai. The NPS funded the study, and Fish and Wildlife Service personnel conducted the research. They performed genetic analyses on fish tissue samples taken from sockeye salmon spawning in five tributaries to Brooks Lake; four tributaries to Naknek Lake; and in Brooks River, both above and below the falls. The analyses showed that the five stocks spawning in Brooks Lake tributaries are genetically distinct from one another. They are also, as a whole, genetically different from the somewhat homogenous group that comprises the Brooks River and Naknek Lake tributary fish. The results also suggested that, despite the fish ladder at Brooks Falls, there was little or no interbreeding between sockeye salmon stocks originating from below the falls and sockeye salmon stocks from Brooks Lake tributaries. Sockeye salmon that spawn in the upper and lower Brooks River were not found to be genetically different. Investigators felt that this could be either because the fish ladder allowed interbreeding between formerly distinct stocks or because Brooks Falls was never enough of a barrier to preclude free exchange of sockeye salmon destined to spawn within Brooks River. [99]

In 1985, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, with NPS funding, studied the effectiveness of the fish ladder. (A related, very preliminary analysis had been written by George Eicher almost thirty years earlier.) The 1985 study concluded that although sockeye salmon would use the

ladder, they did not need it to ascend the falls. Fish and Wildlife Service investigators felt that coho and pink salmon might benefit slightly from the ladder; numerically, however, they were an insignificant portion of the Brooks River fish runs. Their principal conclusion was that the ladder was not necessary for salmonid fish passage. [100]

A year later, National Marine Fisheries Service biologists who had worked for years at the Brooks Lake research station were also asked to characterize the effectiveness of the fish ladder. They concluded that 1) there is no compelling evidence that the ladder has had a significant impact on any fish populations upstream or downstream of the falls since it was installed in 1949-50, [101] 2) removal or renovation of the fish ladder would be unlikely to have any significant impact one way or another on fish passage or production of sockeye salmon from the Brooks system, [102] and 3) the argument suggesting the ladder may have increased adult coho salmon access to the area upstream from the falls is even weaker than any evidence that the ladder has increased sockeye salmon escapements above the falls. [103] The fish ladder, in other words, had little or no effect on the spawning success of Brooks River salmon.

The 1985 Fish and Wildlife Service study did more than just analyze salmon spawning runs with and without the fish ladder. It also suggested five management options, ranging from doing nothing to totally removing the ladder. The recommended option called for drying up the ladder for an interim period during which further studies could be accomplished prior to possible restoration of the site. [104] The NPS adopted this recommendation, but in so doing it ran into a furor of opposition. Commercial fishermen, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, the Bristol Bay Borough, and the Alaska Congressional Delegation all protested, and both the Alaska House of Representatives and the Alaska Senate passed non-binding resolutions against the Park Service's position. In response to the outcry, U.S. Senator Ted Stevens included language in the NPS's 1987 supplemental appropriations bill which directed that no effort be made to remove, obstruct, dewater, fill or otherwise damage the Brooks River fish ladder. This thwarted implementation of the NPS's policy of restoring park features and ecosystems to their natural state. Ironically, the protestors prevailed despite scientific conclusions by professional biologists from the NMFS, the NPS and the F&WS that the fish ladder did little or nothing to enhance fish populations.

No major administrative actions have taken place regarding the fish ladder since 1987. The upper end of the ladder is still blocked by wood bracing, as it has been since 1973. Even so, some water passes through the ladder, and intermittent fish passage occurs. An increasing amount of erosion has been taking place on the south bank, just south of the fish ladder. The placement of sand bags has thus far kept erosion to a minimum. That solution, however, will ultimately prove to be only temporary. [105]

In 1991, the NPS funded a study of the effects of jet-driven boat turbulence on sockeye and other salmonid reproduction in Alaska streams. Much of the field work planned for the study occurred on American Creek in Katmai. The study was conducted by the Alaska Cooperative Fish and Wildlife Research Unit at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. The study, completed in 1994, found that jet driven boats can indeed kill salmonid embryos in redds. Water pressure was not found to be the culprit; instead, mortality occurs when river substrate (gravel) is moved by the direct discharge from a jet unit. The authors found that limiting jet boat activity may be warranted in small streams where the potential for substrate disturbance is high. Any such restrictions, however, should be made on a case-by-case basis. [106]

Changes in Sport Fishing Regulations Since 1980

In 1985, restrictions on sport fishing methods tightened further within the Bristol Bay region. The State Board of Fisheries, upon recommendation of the Alaska Department of Fish and

Game, closed all Katmai streams to fishing from April 10 to June 7. (As noted above, this prohibition had been effect on the Brooks River since 1976.) From November 1 through April 9, the ADF&G allowed bait on all streams; the NPS, however, overrode this regulation and demanded that only artificial lures be allowed. From June 8 through October 31, tackle was limited to unbaited, single-hook lures in all streams and within a one-half mile radius of stream mouths. Fish eggs were banned as bait year-round above the old (1969) Katmai National Monument boundary along the Naknek River. This ruling negated the prior, state-imposed regulation, instituted in 1977, regarding the subsistence taking of whitefish, via bait in the Naknek River, between mid-November and the end of March.

Along the Brooks River, the state and NPS imposed further restrictions. From June 8 to October 31, the state ruled that only single-hook, artificial flies could be used. Bag limits were also lowered. From June 8 to October 1, the daily bag limit on rainbow trout was lowered from five to two; only one of the bagged fish was allowed to be 20 inches or more in length. From November 1 through June 7, the limit remained five rainbows, but only one of them could be 20 inches or more in length. A further regulation, instituted by the NPS, demanded that anglers take their catch immediately to the fish-cleaning station and not leave it in the grass as had previously been done. [107]

By the early 1980s, it was clear to NPS staff that the July salmon run created many conflicts between bears and fishermen. Barrie K. Gilbert, a scientist studying Katmai's bears (see Chapter 9), also recognized the obvious conflict. In 1985, therefore, he recommended that the fishing regulations be tightened to lower bag limits. He also proposed that fishermen be required to keep the first two salmon caught. [108]

In 1987, the Alaska Board of Fisheries approved a regulation stating that only unbaited artificial lures could be used in the entire Naknek River drainage between March 1 and November 14. The NPS, that year, also submitted a proposal to reduce the bag limit to two salmon and one trout throughout the park and preserve. The Fisheries Board rejected that proposal, which was consistent with what Gilbert had recommended. It based its decision, in part, on an Alaska Department of Fish and Game determination that the fishery was healthy. The board also concluded that other management considerations, namely the safety of large numbers of people sport fishing in close proximity to feeding bears at several stream sites in Katmai, were not within its purview. The board also expressed concern about the large area covered by the proposal and some confusion about the proposal's objectives. The Department of Fish and Game, however, recognized at the board meeting that the NPS had authority to promulgate its own regulations to address the problem. [109]

Given that dictum, Katmai Superintendent Bane instituted a temporary regulation, beginning in June 1988, which established a daily limit of one fish, of any species, along the Brooks River. Bane did so in order to reduce the incidence of bears acquiring fish from visitors. He found that public response to the restriction was "overwhelmingly supportive," and felt that the regulation was successful in reducing bear-human conflicts. The NPS regulation became permanent in May 1989. In 1990, the Alaska Board of Fisheries further restricted harvests in the area by designating catch and release for rainbow trout, both on the Brooks River and within a one-quarter mile radius into Naknek Lake, from June 8 through October 31. [110]

Use of Katmai's Fishery By Local Residents

Few local residents were known to have fished in the monument, either for sports or subsistence purposes, before 1960. Edwin W. Seiler, however, was an exception. Seiler, who arrived in the area in the late 1940s, was the proprietor of Air Martel, King Salmon's first business establishment. A pilot, Seiler enjoyed fishing the various lakes in and around the

monument, and in early 1952 he asked NPS officials for a permit to land aircraft within Katmai National Monument for ice fishing. Seiler justified his request for such a permit by saying that the military had "cleaned out" fish stocks in the immediate area. The NPS, however, denied Seiler's request. Regulations forbade the wintertime landing of aircraft within Katmai, except for the Service's administrative activities and necessary activities of the concessioner. [111]

During the early 1950s, the NPS was asked to address the issue of subsistence fishing by Natives of the Katmai area. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, in early 1952, requested that Natives be exempted from fishing regulations. After an exchange of telegrams and letters between the Superintendent of Mount McKinley National Park and officials at the Service's regional and national offices, the agency decided to exempt Natives from the Katmai fishing regulations after August 20 of each year. (This date was probably suggested because of the annual activities, noted in Chapter 6, that took place at the mouth of the Brooks River during this period.) Rainbow trout were excluded from the exemption. [112] These and other provisions for Katmai fishing were published in the May 28, 1952 Federal Register.

Another subsistence fishing issue arose in 1953 when the NPS received a request for experimental use of a "King Salmon" net in Naknek Lake. Citing practice in Norway as a precedent, Naknek resident Gunnar Berggren asked for a permit to place the net at 30 fathoms in Naknek Lake to see if there were fish at that depth. Katmai ranger George Peters denied Berggren's request, noting that such activity could be authorized only for scientific purposes. [113]

During the spring of 1965, the possibility of opening Naknek Lake to commercial fishing arose as an issue. Local residents, anxious to develop a new fishery, contacted the Alaska Department of Fish and Game and Alaska Congressman Ralph J. Rivers; these two parties, in turn, wrote the NPS about the legality of such a practice. Park Service replies, however, were prompt and discouraging. NPS management authorities prohibited fishing for profit in park and monument waters. The NPS noted that an additional reason for denying the commercial fishery was the protection of the sport fishery. Superintendent Oscar Dick noted that

> Sports fishing was not the primary justification for its existence as a National Monument. We believe, however, that the existence of this great natural wild fishery is one of several unique resources that makes it one of the outstanding wilderness regions in the world. We also believe that its fishery has contributed a great deal to the economy of the surrounding area, and will contribute much more, as now managed for recreational purposes. [114]

In 1976, proposals relating to both subsistence and commercial fishing on Naknek Lake surfaced at a meeting of NPS and Bristol Bay Native Corporation (BBNC) officials. The BBNC delegations first asked about the legality of harvesting the lake's whitefish by net. Katmai Superintendent Gil Blinn said that such a practice would be permitted. The Native delegation then asked what the chances were of having a fish hatchery on the lake. Ralph Root, the "keyman" assigned to Katmai, indicated that "it would be a more difficult problem there because the entire lake is already under National Park Service jurisdiction." [115]

The Native subsistence regulations, implemented in 1952, remained unchanged for the next twenty years, and it was under these regulations that Natives carried on their late-season fishery near the mouth of Brooks River. In 1972, however, the state softened its regulations and allowed Native subsistence fishing throughout the monument on a year-round basis. [116]

In June 1975 local citizens, acting through the Bristol Bay Borough, moved to further broaden access to the fishery when a resolution was passed which requested the National Park Service to allow the use of salmon eggs in Naknek Lake and River. Locals wanted to increase their

subsistence fish take in the monument, specifically of whitefish, and passed the resolution because they had been constrained by the NPS regulation which had limited monument fishing to those using artificial lures.

The NPS tried to accommodate local concerns, and prepared a draft environmental assessment which laid out several alternatives. The favored alternative was one which allowed wintertime bait fishing, using salmon eggs as bait, along Naknek River from November 15 through April 9. The NPS held three public meetings on the subject in local communities in November 1975. As a result of those meetings, the favored alternative was revised to allow bait fishing along the river from November 15 through March 31. (Both local residents and the NPS did not want to endanger the Naknek River's rainbow fishery, and local residents were willing to shorten the open fishing period in order to minimize the size of the rainbow trout catch.) The Environmental Assessment was approved on January 13, 1976. [117]

After receiving the NPS report, the State Board of Fisheries slightly modified its recommendations. When the regulation was implemented in 1977, it allowed wintertime bait fishing on the Naknek River from November 15 through March 31 of each year. The extent of that fishing, however, was only "from markers located just above Trefon's Cabin downstream to the Monument boundary." [118] That regulation remained until 1983. By that time, the regulation had little meaning. During the winter of 1981-82, the Alaska Board of Fisheries had passed a subsistence regulation which allowed sockeye salmon fishing "along a 100 yard length of the west shore of Naknek Lake near the outlet to the Naknek River as marked by ADF&G markers" from October 1 through December 31 (see Chapter 12).

Clamming Operations

Along Katmai's Shelikof Strait coastline lie a number of productive clam beds. High quality clam habitat stretches from Hallo Bay to Cape Douglas and in Kashvik Bay, at the south end of the present-day park. Clamming production began, predictably, in southeastern Alaska; then, in 1916, the Cordova area witnessed the territory's first large-scale clam cannery. The more remote Katmai clam beds became known soon afterwards, less than five years after Katmai was designated as a national monument. [119]

Clamming commenced on the Shelikof Strait coast in 1923 when Hemrich Packing Company, Inc. began operations. The company's cannery was located at Kukak Bay, but the clamming beds, as noted in a company brochure, were at "Swickshak Beach." [120] In 1924, as noted earlier in the chapter, the cannery began processing salmon as well, and either Hemrich or one of its lessees operated the combination clam and salmon cannery until 1932. No commercial clamming took place along the coastline during 1933 and 1934. Surf Canneries then purchased Hemrich's facilities and operated them through the 1936 season. By 1936, Kukak Bay had a clam and salmon cannery appraised at $89,000, while Swikshak Bay had "fishing cabins, docks, and other improvements" valued at $2,000. [121]

During the mid-1920s, most or all of the clam digging took place at Swikshak Bay. As time wore on, however, workers discovered that high quality clam habitat stretched from Kukak Bay to Cape Douglas. By 1931, Kashvik Bay was being harvested as well. Hemrich and its lessees were the sole users of the mainland beaches during the 1923-1932 period. When the facilities at Kukak and Swikshak bays closed down, however, a Kodiak Island packer moved in. [122]

The clamming facilities, and most of the clam beds, were located outside the original (1918) boundaries of the monument. When Katmai's boundaries were expanded in April 1931, both the canneries and the clamming beaches were absorbed into the monument. Because of an oversight, the language of the 1931 proclamation did not specifically address the rights of

existing users. It was not until the mid-1930s that clamming interests discovered the error; a June 1936 presidential proclamation was issued that recognized the rights of all those who had used the land prior to the boundary expansion. (See Chapter 3.) Surf's management intended to follow up on the proclamation by obtaining a patent to its lands. The company's operations, however, were shut down in September 1936 when a fire swept through and destroyed the Swikshak Bay cannery. The company made no further attempts to patent its properties, and appears to have abandoned its interests at both Kukak and Swikshak soon afterwards. By 1941, fire had destroyed the Kukak Bay cannery as well, and both the wharf and pilings were found to be "in a bad state of repair." [123]

In 1944, the firm of Kester and Kline of Kodiak operated a clam cannery in Swikshak Bay. The cannery was allowed to operate to supply the U.S. Army. The NPS permitted the operation as a part of its wartime program. The company reapplied for a permit in late 1945. The agency, in response, temporarily held the view that with the war ended, there was no reason to continue using federal lands for military supply purposes. [124] The agency later gave the company a one-year permit to operate its Swikshak Bay cannery; no permit was offered, however, for clam harvesting. [125]

By March 1946, Kester and Kline had changed its name to the Cape Douglas Canning Corporation (CDCC). The company was assured that they could operate without a permit so long as they stayed below the high tide line; given that assurance, they harvested clams that summer. [126] Late in 1946, CDCC applied for a clam harvesting permit. The company got bogged down in a bureaucratic runaround between the BLM, the NPS, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and the Division of Territories and Island Possessions. The Assistant Secretary, trying to steer a middle course, urged the NPS to issue the permit. Recognizing that the territorial delegate and territorial officials were becoming increasingly restive at the absence of a Katmai development program, he advised NPS officials that the issuance of the permit might placate those officials:

> I am hopeful that some solution of this problem may be arrived at which will permit this use of the land, as well as any other use, so long as it would not be destructive of a significant portion of the historical, scientific and scenic values of the withdrawn area. This flexibility might go far to minimize the case for abolition of the so far unused monument.

Soon afterwards, the service issued Cape Douglas Canning Corporation a permit to operate a cannery in Katmai National Monument from February 1, 1947 to February 1, 1952. The corporation operated a clam and salmon cannery that summer. [127]

The issuance of Cape Douglas's permit brought up a murky legal point. The legislation which had established Katmai in 1918, and expanded it in 1931 and 1942, specifically noted that the monument's boundary was the high tide line. Cape Douglas, however, had proposed in its permit to erect a temporary building at the end of a sand spit, the pilings of which would extend below the high tide line. The legal difficulty was presented to the Interior Department's Solicitor, Mastin G. White, for his judgment. On January 10, 1947, White ruled that "the National Park Service may grant a revocable permit for this clam canning operation ... with the right of access to navigable water over intermediate tidelands..." [128]

After the first season's operation under the permit (1947), the corporation asked for permission to relocate its clam cannery from Swikshak Bay to Kukak Bay. Permission was granted. The company, which became Mainland Fisheries in April 1948, added a salmon canning facility and operated at Kukak Bay for the next four years. [129] Later that year, Mainland requested a permit to operate for ten years at Swikshak Bay. [130] The Department of the Interior responded to Mainland's request, in January 1949, by providing the company a five year permit

good until January 1954. Later, Mainland received an extension to its permit, and the company was allowed to use 2.7 acres on the east bank of Swikshak Lagoon from October 6, 1950 to January 1, 1961. [131]

At Swikshak Bay, Mainland Fisheries built a 40-foot by 40-foot Quonset hut for a cannery building, placing it on piles on the site of the old Surf Cannery which had been destroyed in the 1936 fire. Mainland also built a 40-foot by 110-foot dock adjacent to the cannery and a 30-foot by 100-foot platform to the rear. A mess hall, store-supply building, and bunkhouses not destroyed in the fire were rehabilitated. [132]

In January 1950 the Whiz Cannery Corporation asked if it could put clammers' cabins on the shore of Swikshak Bay. Mainland Fisheries, which already had a permit to use the bay, objected. The NPS held up the Whiz permit due to the Mainland Fisheries' objection. Thus, in early 1951, Whiz sought Congressional help by writing to Alaska's Delegate to Congress, E. L. Bartlett. The agency replied that despite Mainland Fisheries' objection, the existing permit did not provide for exclusive use. In March 1951, Whiz Halferty Canneries was given a five-year permit to put up clam diggers' cabins on a five acre parcel at Swikshak Bay. The permit was valid until February 28, 1956. [133]

During the early 1950s, clam digging took place at Kaguyak Bay, probably in conjunction with Mainland Fisheries' Kukak Bay operation. Lowell Sumner, a biologist from NPS's Region Four office, noted that "the clam diggers sail their fleet of skiffs in here" each summer. The six shacks they occupied comprised the "village" of Kaguyak. Kaguyak, at that time, still boasted a Russian Orthodox church which dated from the pre-1912 era. By 1952, however, little was left of the 20 remaining barabaras. By 1965, the church had apparently been burned by clam diggers who were living in it. [134]

Mainland Fisheries, in 1951, went into receivership and ceased operations. Whiz Halferty remained inactive as well. In June 1954, however, an official of the latter company, now known as Halferty Canneries, wrote the NPS and requested that Mainland's twenty acres of Kukak Bay cannery buildings be added to Halferty's permit. Assured by company officials that the plant was planning to operate again, the BLM gave it a permit to use the facilities improvements at Swikshak Lagoon, Swikshak Bay, and Kukak Bay. The permit was valid from February 1956 until February 1961. [135] Little is known about the extent of clam harvesting operations during this period.

On October 15, 1959, Halferty Canneries transferred its clam-harvesting interests to the Alaska Packers Association (APA). In December 1960, the new company requested a new five year special use permit. Neither the BLM nor the NPS had any objection to the arrangement, so the BLM, in May 1961, gave the APA a permit which ran until December 1965. APA cited four frame buildings in Swikshak Lagoon as its headquarters. [136]

The APA was an active clam harvester. During the summer of 1961, the company deployed 76 men to Katmai's beaches and yielded 410,117 pounds of razor clams. The company was probably also active in the monument in 1962, but not afterwards. Where production took place during those two summers is not known. One place it probably occurred was Kashvik Bay, because a contemporary map identifies an Alaska Department of Fish and Game cabin in the area. That cabin was probably used to monitor an ongoing clam harvesting operation. [137]

A 1963 planning report provided this overview of the Katmai coast's clam resources:

> Kukak Bay has long been the site of a commercial cannery which sometimes lapses into disuse only to again be reactivated, for such commercial activities are marginal on the Katmai coast, owing primarily to distance and secondly to weather. This particular site is abandoned at present, but a larger cannery at Swikshak Bay is still

in operation. This one is only about 5 miles from a major clam digging stretch of bay at Kaguyak. [138]

That same year, the Alaska Packers Association constructed and tested a hydraulic clam harvester at Swikshak. The test was successful, and further use of hydraulic harvesters was recommended because it promised to increase productivity and open up new areas to harvest. The hydraulic harvesters could be mounted on vessels, or they could be built on vehicles which were suitable for operation in shallow water or on land. [139] They would doubtless have gone into commercial production. That same year, however, concerns about poisonous shellfish led the Alaska Department of Health and Welfare to declare all beaches in Alaska suspect. The department prohibited commercial use of clams, mussels, and similar shellfish taken from Alaskan beaches. For the next seven years, commercial clamming remained technically closed in Alaska; as a result, the APA's permit was not renewed. It was not until April 27, 1970 that health officials approved Swikshak and some other Alaskan beaches for commercial clamming. [140]

Little remains of the facilities which were associated with the various commercial clamming operations. At Kukak Bay, portions of the old cannery on the southeast shore had burned down by 1941. In 1947, however, Alfred Kuehl's photographs show that the mess hall, bunk houses, manager's house, store, oil tank and wharf were clearly intact. [141] By 1953, however, an NPS report recommended that the "old cannery" be destroyed. By the time Superintendent Blinn arrived, the structures were "pretty well collapsed." [142] He advocated their destruction in 1973, but could not raze them until ownership could be determined. They still stood in 1985; the site that year was recommended as a tidewater ranger station. [143] At Swikshak Bay, 1947 photographs show that Cape Douglas's cannery complex contained one or two bunkhouses, a mess hall, and a wharf. As indicated by the APA's application to the BLM, four buildings were still intact in early 1961. By April 1972, however, Katmai personnel deemed them hazardous and unsightly, and they destroyed them all. [144]

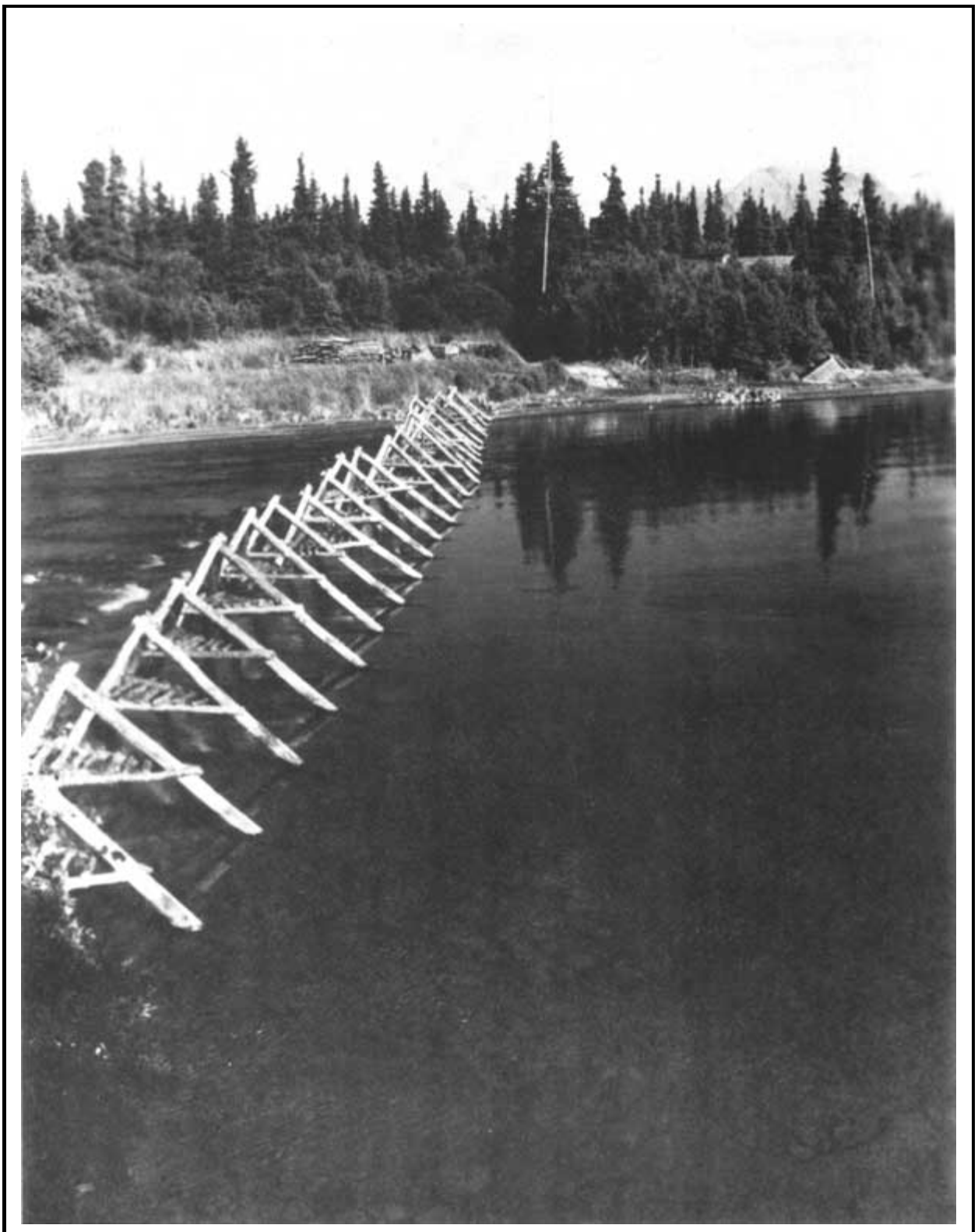
Katmai's clam industry roared back to life soon after health officials deemed the beaches as healthy again. A major factor contributing to the activity level was that the Swikshak area was one of only three beaches in the state that had been cleared for clam harvesting. [145] By 1971, approximately 200,000 pounds of razor clams were being harvested per year in the monument. The beaches, by this time, had become littered with shacks, wood stoves, debris, and discarded car bodies.

Over the next two years, Superintendent Blinn moved to clean up the area. In 1972, six special use permits were issued for commercial clam operations at Swikshak Bay. Special conditions in the permits required permittees to erect only temporary shelters at these camps. At the end of the season the permittees were required to remove all structures. [146] In 1973, harvesters visited both Swikshak Bay and Kamishak Bay. At the end of the 1973 season two structures remained standing at Kamishak. The first was a cabin used by Alaska Department of Fish and Game personnel who monitored the clamming operations and the second was that of a tardy clammer. [147] In order to clean up the accumulated refuse, Blinn paid one of the clam diggers $10,000 to barge the materials back to Kodiak Island. [148]

Clamming permits issued in the following years contained a proviso prohibiting the construction of beach cabins; harvesters were required to live on a houseboat or barge. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game, meanwhile, requested permission to build a permanent structure for its research and monitoring operations at Swikshak. [149] Clamming operations during that period were restricted to Swikshak Bay. [150]

By 1977, the monument issued only one permit for clamming operations, to Daniel Konigsberg. The state remained active that year; it held a permit, valid until 1979, which allowed it to

maintain a cabin at Swikshak for purposes of razor clam research. [151] From 1978 to 1981, the only clamming permit was issued to Jesus Briones, of Kodiak, who harvested at Swikshak Bay. Briones and Bruce Swanson, who applied for a joint permit in 1982, were the last permittees. [152] In 1985, an illegal clam operation took place at Hallo Bay. The operators were cited, and they left soon afterwards. [153]



Fish and Wildlife personnel first installed a weir at the head of Brooks River in 1940 and counted fish there almost every year until 1967. The weir was dismantled each fall and stored for the winter; in this photo, only the horses (support timbers) are still in place; the remainder is stacked in the grass on the far shore. The roof of the

Brooks Lake research station can be seen in the right rear of this 1951 photo, taken by NPS ranger Morton Woods. *(Photo A4, File 207, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB)*





(top) Since the 1940s, Brooks Falls has been a famed destination for sport fishermen. This photo was taken in July 1964. (bottom) The fish ladder at the south end of Brooks Falls was constructed by Fish and Wildlife Service personnel in 1948-1949; it has proven to be a management headache for the NPS ever since. This photo was taken by Victor Cahalane in August 1954. In the early 1970s, the NPS placed planks over the upper end of the ladder. The agency has moved to eliminate the ladder several times but has not yet done so. *(Ward Wells Collection #4218-30, AMHA (top); NPS Photo Collection, neg. 12,049 (bottom))*



Kukak Bay, over the years, has served as the site of both a salmon and clam cannery. Operations began here in 1923 and continued off and on until 1936. The site was abandoned and fell into disrepair, but canning began again in 1948 and remained until 1951. Victor Cahalane took this photo, looking west, in August 1953. The site was abandoned in 1954. Tattered remnants of the cannery still remain at the site. *(NPS Photo Collection, neg. 11,891)*



Swikshak Bay, like Kukak Bay, has been the site of both salmon and clam canning. Beginning in the 1920s, clams were harvested there, and during the 1930s a salmon cannery was in operation. A salmon and clam cannery operated during the mid-1940s; 20 years later, a clam cannery was headquartered there. Victor Cahalane photographed the site in July 1953; the cannery is to the left, while the other building is the living quarters. In 1972, the NPS ordered the buildings demolished. *(NPS Photo Collection, neg. 11,856)*

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 9:
Bear Management

What may be the world's largest protected population of Alaskan brown bears occupies Katmai National Park and Preserve. Classified as Ursus arctos, the bears number between 2,000 and 3,000 on the Alaska Peninsula. Approximately ten percent of this population lives in the national park and preserve. [1] Their seasonal life cycle sometimes brings them into contact with humans attempting to use the same natural resources. Large, strong, and fast, the bears are curious and often hungry. Because of these traits, they can be a safety hazard whenever humans invade their habitat.

Each year the bears emerge from hibernation in April or May. They move from their denning sites down to the coastal plain where they feed on caribou, moose, clams, the previous year's berries, and the carcasses of sea mammals that have washed ashore. In late June or early July the bears leave the areas to which they have dispersed and begin to concentrate along salmon-spawning streams. They remain there until August when they move to areas where berries can be obtained. A few streams support a salmon run in late September or October, and some bears will congregate along their banks at that time. Then, in a period between mid-November and mid-December, the bears re-enter their dens where they will remain until the following spring. [2]

The bears' rounds lead them into areas where humans are active. From prehistoric times humans in the Katmai area, like the bears, depended upon the annual salmon runs for food. More recently, those subsistence fishers have been largely replaced by recreational and commercial fishers, but the problem caused by bears and people sharing the same territory has continued.

Humans have also hunted the Katmai bears, both in the past and in the present, for their meat and skins, to protect subsistence campsites, and as trophies. While this did not seriously affect the bear population in the time of primitive weapons, firearms and aircraft have become increasingly serious threats to the bears.

Bears Become a Significant Management Element

"Bear management" is a relatively recent phenomenon at Katmai. Archeological evidence indicates that bears and people were present in the Katmai area for thousands of years prior to the 1912 volcanic disturbance that led to scientific interest in the area. That interest led to designation of a portion of the Katmai area, the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, as a national monument. [3] The proclamation which created the monument did not mention bears or any other biotic elements.

It was not until 1930, when Robert Griggs reported on yet another National Geographic Society-sponsored expedition, that bears and other wildlife species were recognized as important area resources. Griggs's discoveries were thrust into the middle of a long-running national debate on how Alaska's brown bears might be preserved. As Chapter 3 points out, the National Park Service found that the bureaucratic cost of expanding an existing national monument would be less than that of creating a new one. Wildlife advocates, during this period, had urged the NPS to establish a new monument, either on Admiralty Island or Chichagof Island, whose primary purpose would be bear preservation. Instead, the bureau found it more expedient to expand Katmai and Glacier Bay national monuments, even though their bear populations were less known than in southeastern Alaska. In April 1931, Katmai National Monument was more than doubled in size "for the purpose of including within said monument additional lands ... for the protection of the brown bear, moose, and other wild animals." [4]

Gradually increasing awareness followed on the part of the National Park Service. The agency knew that it was responsible for stopping the illegal hunting of bears and other animals within the expanded monument boundaries. Without funding, however, it was powerless. As noted in Chapter 3, several trappers spent the winter months in the expanded park; the activities of a few of them predated the 1931 expansion. The trappers sought small game as a way to generate income. For their subsistence needs, however, they hunted large animals and fished as well.

The need to protect Katmai's wildlife populations was one of the principal reasons the first NPS staff person (a ranger from Mount McKinley National Park) visited the monu- ment in 1937. Protection efforts prior to that visit were limited to occasional actions on the part of Alaska Game Commission officers, whose principal responsibilities lay elsewhere. Most concern expressed at this time was about illegal trapping, rather than about bear hunting or fishing. [5] However, some commercial fishermen shot bears, as a Park Service biologist put it, "in vindictive retaliation for their feeding on salmon." [6]

After World War II, the NPS renewed its interest in Katmai National Monument. Anx-ious to know more about the resources of the monument, in 1947 the NPS appointed Clarence J. Albrecht as a collaborator without compensation. He was authorized to collect natural history materials, including not more than two "Kodiak" bears. Albrecht was sponsored by the Chicago Museum of Natural History. [7] During his hunt he killed a sow and two cubs, and his permit was amended after the fact to accommodate this. [8]

Eager to protect the monument's wildlife, in 1948 the NPS deputized as a park ranger Carlos M. Carson, the Alaska Game Commission officer at Dillingham. The appoint-ment was made to encourage enforcement activities within monument boundaries. [9] The NPS also sent copies of its rules and regulations and maps of Katmai National Monument to the F&WS to encourage that agency to help with wildlife protection. [10]

It was only after administrative facilities and fishing camps were established within monument boundaries that bear management was seriously addressed.

Early Bear Management Policies

While statistical data are not available, anecdotal records indicate that the Brooks Camp bear population was at an ebb in the early 1950s. [11] The first ranger stationed at Brooks Camp, Willie Nancarrow, noted that bears were plentiful along Savonoski River but not at Brooks Camp; to be safe, however, he constructed a cache adjacent to the residence he built that summer. [12] In July 1951, the Katmai ranger took a reporter to Savonoski River to see bears

fishing, perhaps because they were not in evidence at Brooks Camp. [13]

In 1952, after weighing the matter, NPS officials decided that photographers seeking to take pictures of bears would not need to be accompanied by licensed guides. [14] This is the first recorded decision on bear-people management policy at Katmai National Monument.

By 1953, the concessioner was noting bear problems. Bears severely damaged Coville (later Grosvenor) Camp that spring. They destroyed stored food, several mattresses, sleeping bags, a heating stove, a radio transmitter, and a radio receiver. The Coville cabin suffered smashed windows, a torn off door, and ripped tent walls. [15]

When the concessioner asked what it should do about the raiding bears, Lawrence C. Merriam, the director of Region Four, replied that "a key factor in preventing bear depredations lies in making sure that food, garbage, and odors related thereto do not reach the animals." The Service recommended prompt disposal of garbage by burning, not burying, and by using elevated food caches. The concessioner was also advised that caches would be necessary where supplies were left during the winter. In the view of the NPS, the Katmai bear situation was

> fundamentally no different from the one [which] existed at Mt. McKinley National Park for several years, except that the Katmai problem is in an earlier and less complicated stage. For this reason it should be less difficult at Katmai to avoid the spoiling of additional bears through contact with human food supplies. [16]

This early decision, that Katmai bears should not be habituated to garbage, reflected a gradual shift in Park Service policies. At other park units, bears fed at garbage dumps and were considered tourist attractions. Yosemite National Park was relatively progressive in its approach; the dumps were closed in 1940 and "problem bears" were removed to remote portions of the park. At Yellowstone, however, a park garbage dump was a designated tourist attraction until the early 1940s, and bears fed on park garbage until the summer of 1969. Not until the late 1960s--shortly after bears, lured by garbage, killed two Glacier National Park campers in one night during the summer of 1967--did the NPS decide, on a servicewide basis, that garbage-habituation of bears was unnatural and dangerous to people. [17] In policy, if not in practice, NPS staff in the San Francisco office led the way in adopting the far-sighted philosophy of separating people from bears.

Work on the Katmai Project, the two-year scientific investigation begun in 1953, resulted in additional recommendations for bear-people management in Katmai National Monument. The project's interim report recommended protection of Katmai's bears, as well as its wolves and wolverines. The report also noted that

> the bears are generally not dangerous when unmolested. It is therefore recommended that guns should be prohibited in the Monument except for use by a ranger in eliminating certain individual bears which at times may become a threat in the vicinity of populated camps. [18]

Victor H. Cahalane, NPS's chief biologist, elaborated on desirable bear management policy at Katmai in his 1959 book, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument. Recognizing that most Katmai visitors were fishermen, Cahalane noted that

> In a sanctuary such as Katmai National Monument, the brown bear comes into direct contact with man chiefly in three types of localities: 1) on salmon streams, 2) on trails, and 3) at camps. (As hunting is not permitted in the Monument, relatively few contacts are made outside these three types of places.)

Cahalane went on to write that the NPS was obligated to allow the bears of Katmai

> to pursue their normal mode of existence, as far as possible, despite use of the area by visitors. Means for insuring the latter's safety must avoid disruption of the bear population, for these animals constitute a major asset and attraction. [19]

In his study of Katmai's wildlife, Cahalane had uncovered only two instances up to 1954 of bear raids on camps with humans present. One was at Fure's cabin, in the Bay of Islands area of Naknek Lake, and the other was at a Fish and Wildlife Service camp near Kaguyak, on Shelikof Strait. [20] Then, in the fall of 1961, another incident took place when Northern Consolidated Airlines' Grosvenor Camp was raided a second time. Ranger-in-Charge Robert Peterson had to return from McKinley to Katmai in order to investigate the break-in and the bear's subsequent shooting by the concessions staff. Peterson reported that the damage report was accurate and that the bear, although shot, was "recovering satisfactorily." [21]

During the late 1950s, the new State of Alaska attempted to drastically alter bear management. The Alaska Fish and Game Commission, shortly after statehood, announced in its hunting regulations that both Katmai and Glacier Bay national monuments would be open to public hunting. It took that action based on the fact that the NPS had proprietary (not exclusive) legal jurisdiction. The NPS, not surprisingly, objected to the state's position, noting that the U.S. constitution's supremacy clause overruled any states' rights in the matter, and within a year the Commission had withdrawn its legal challenge. Hunting was henceforth prohibited in both monuments. During the interim period, the state had informed the guiding community of the change, and independent hunters knew about it upon reading the hunting regulations. The extent of hunting in the two monuments during the short-lived "open season" is not known. [22]

Problems with Brooks Camp Garbage

During the 1950s, relatively few bears were seen at Brooks Camp, and they were not considered to be a problem. The camp diary, which was kept each year from 1953 to 1957, notes that bears were a relatively rare sight. Bears or bear tracks were usually seen once or twice a year; in 1954, however, they may have been entirely absent. A bear who wandered into the area in early October 1955 was shot along the Naknek Lake shoreline. NCA personnel did not know who was responsible for the shooting, and it was not connected with any damage to the camp. [23]

One reason that the Brooks Camp bear population stayed low was that the camp had a relatively effective way to get rid of its garbage. (This system may have been instituted by NCA personnel, or it may have been suggested, as noted above, by Regional Director Lawrence Merriam, who issued guidelines for garbage disposal after the 1953 Coville Camp break-in.) Cans and bottles were routinely sunk in Naknek Lake or were buried at the edge of camp (at or near the site of the auditorium, which was built in 1974), and most other materials were burned. [24]

In the early 1960s, however, the camp changed its methods of garbage disposal. Material waste and garbage were sent by barge to one of several open dumps on the shore of Naknek Lake. These dumps were southeast of the camp, between the Beaver Pond and Iliuk Moraine. Bears eventually discovered their whereabouts, and because bears at that time were relatively uncommon at Brooks Camp, the NCA camp manager often took guests to the dump to watch bears. By 1965, however, the NCA employees who were assigned to haul the garbage

complained because bears were waiting for them when they arrived at the dump. Their safety, as a result, was being threatened. The situation became so serious that an NPS planner, who visited in 1964, concluded that "the brown bear problem is all but insoluble." [25]

Darrell Coe, the Katmai Ranger-in-Charge at the time, spoke to the camp manager about the situation and tried to encourage the concessioner not to exploit the bears. Coe also tried to discourage the bears from feeding at the dump by surrounding it with an electric fence. Neither remedy was entirely successful. The bears did not find the electric fence to be a serious obstacle, and Coe noted that one of the bears in question might have to be shot. [26]

Paul J. F. Schumacher, the Region Four Archeologist who visited Brooks Camp in 1965, partially solved the problem encountered on the garbage runs. He suggested to the concessioner employees that they vary the times of their garbage runs. The employees reported to Schumacher that his solution had worked--that is, the bears did not wait for the boat--for the two days Schumacher remained at Katmai. [27] But the major problem, on how to keep the bears away from the garbage, remained unsolved.

By June 1966, Coe had become sufficiently worried about the increasing presence of bears that he advised his boss, the Superintendent at Mount McKinley National Park, that it was time for a consistent policy on bear-human relations. [28]

In the meantime, Coe attempted to solve the problem as best he could. That summer he closed and covered the dump adjacent to Naknek Lake and opened a new dump two miles south of Brooks Camp, on the jeep trail to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. [29] The new dump was relatively inaccessible; using it required NCA and NPS personnel to ferry the garbage across Brooks River, then truck it out to the dump. In an effort to keep the bears away, an NPS bulldozer covered the garbage with earth once each week, then leveled the landfill. An electrified cyclone fence was later installed to surround the landfill. But to lighten the load taken out to the Valley Road dump, the NPS installed several burn barrels at Brooks Camp. The bears, not surprisingly, were attracted to the burn barrels, and the camp began to attract its first significant bear populations. [30]

That same summer, a brown bear injured a sleeping camper at the Brooks River campground. On July 21, 1966, John W. Huckabee of Temple, Texas, was the victim. Huckabee had caught, cooked, and eaten a fish, then failed to clean up his camp site. He went to bed with his unwashed frying pan lying nearby. A bear attracted by the odors ransacked the site and bit Huckabee, who was in his sleeping bag, in the buttocks and thigh. The bear dragged a yelling and thrashing Huckabee about ten feet before another camper arrived to scare the bear off. An Air Force helicopter called in from King Salmon evacuated Huckabee to the Dillingham hospital. [31]

Later that summer, Coe reported that a bear had been making repeated raids on the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries camp. (The bear may have been the same one who had injured Huckabee in July.) By the end of October, Coe had found it necessary to "remove" the offending bear by shooting it. [32]

Katmai's program of trapping and transplanting bears was the result of a sophisticated bear trap on skids that Coe and Maintenance Foreman Bill Ross Jefford built at King Salmon in early 1967. The trap's door was raised by a small motor after a bear entered the trap. Once the bear was safely within, the trap and bear could be barged across Naknek Lake where the bear could be released at a point several days overland travel from Brooks Camp. Later, the Air Force at King Salmon occasionally volunteered its helicopters to transport problem bears. [33]

Katmai Bear Research, 1967-1969

Coe also used the early months of 1967 to make initial contact with Professor Frederick C. Dean, head of the University of Alaska Wildlife Management Department, about studying Katmai's bears. Coe, Alaska Field Office research biologist Richard G. Prasil, and Dean conducted preliminary discussions in February at Fairbanks. Then the NPS issued a purchase order for $1,400 for a survey of brown bear distribution and human-bear problems at Katmai. [34]

Dean began his work at Katmai in June. [35] A month later, the nature of the problem became more personal when a bear shredded his tent and sleeping bag in the Brooks Camp campground. A report at the time noted, "Luckily, Dr. Dean was not in either at the time of the depredation." [36] Dean and his wife spent the rest of their visit in Coe's cabin. [37]

During his time at Katmai in 1967 (he made trips in June, July, and September), Dean participated in trapping and transplanting a bear from Brooks Camp, flew over much of the monument, and closely examined bear-human interaction in the Brooks Camp area. Dean did many of the things typical visitors to the monument did. While canoeing, fishing, and hiking, he was better able to understand how the visitors' activities might bring them into contact with the bears. [38]

Pleased with Dean's preliminary work, which was submitted at the end of the 1967 season, the Alaska Field Office of the NPS sought $10,000 for further study. This was to "determine bear toleration of human infringement of their territory;" that is, to find out what caused bears to attack humans who were not interfering with the bears' normal activities. [39] The study proposal was funded, and Dean spent the next two years researching the topic.

In the meantime, bear problems worsened. Tom Atwood, who replaced Coe after the 1967 season, found a continuation of bear problems at Katmai the following spring, and telephoned his concerns to the Western Regional Office on July 16, 1968. According to Atwood, seven bears regularly wandered through Brooks Camp and 20 were in the general vicinity of the fishing camp. The regional director replied to Atwood,

> As you state, it is difficult to imagine that we could not expect bear troubles there since the National Park Service and concessionaire buildings as well as the campground have been placed within the bears' natural fishing grounds at Brooks River.

The regional office went on to advise he that he should attempt to relocate troublesome bears. He specifically suggested that he contact the Alaska Department of Fish and Game about transplanting the bears to another part of the state. Atwood was further advised that a clean camp was important to bear safety. The regional office sent bear-proof garbage cans to assist with this. Atwood was to shoot bears only under specific emergency conditions where human safety was immediately involved. In addition to providing this guidance, the regional office noted that the monument needed a long range bear management plan. Such a plan, which Darrell Coe had discussed in 1966, would spell out specific management needs and control measures proposed for bear management. [40]

Following the region's advice, Atwood anesthetized four young bears that frequently wandered through Brooks Camp. Three were relocated, probably by barge. The fourth drugged bear wandered off before it could be captured, and it drowned in Brooks River. [41] Because electric fences around temporary dumps within Brooks Camp did not deter bears, arrangements were made for Brooks Camp residents to keep their garbage indoors until it could be removed to the dumps on the road to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. The fish

cleaning station, a screened shed, was treated with Pine-Sol or a similar solution. [42]

During the 1966 through 1968 seasons, the Park Service and the concessioner grew increasingly antagonistic on how to manage Brooks Camp's bear population. The Service told the concessioner that the way to avoid bear problems was to keep all food indoors until it could be hauled to the dump along the valley road. The concessioner, however, paid scant attention to the plan and took the attitude that it was the Park Service's responsibility to keep the bears away from the buildings, if necessary by relocating them. [43]

When Gil Blinn arrived at Katmai in September of 1969 to succeed Tom Atwood, he found that the bear safety measures implemented in 1968 had not lasted. The concessioner was throwing garbage out the back door of the kitchen into a garbage can and leaving it there overnight. The fish cleaning shed, a frame structure with window screening around it, was cleaned about twice a week. Between cleanings, fish entrails sat in a wooden bucket on the floor of the building. Although the shed was surrounded by an electric fence, the bears quickly learned to break down the fence by felling a tree across it. [44]

Blinn had been hired, in large part, to solve the Brooks Camp bear problem. Fortu-nately, he was soon given the wherewithal to do so. Professor Dean, the University of Alaska biologist, delivered the final report on his two-year study in the fall of 1969. In it he analyzed the nature of the Katmai bears and the humans who visited them. He also noted several policy questions that the NPS had to face. Among these was the goal of preserving the monument's wilderness characteristics. One problem to be addressed was how to permit human visitation and provide concession services without destroying the qualities that attracted visitation. A second policy issue was: who would control development at Brooks Camp, the NPS or the concessioner? In Dean's view, expressed in 1967, "the concessionaire appeared to have the upper hand and was doing a great deal of whatever he desired." [45]

Dean suggested bringing visitors into Katmai by boat to better express the philosophy of the monument as a natural museum rather than a recreation area. In particular, he believed that visitors needed to be made to understand the concept of bear country versus human country. He assessed the 1967 NPS approach to bear safety as "drifting from incident to incident" and stressed the need for an evaluation of what sort of experience the agency desired visitors to have in Katmai and particularly with bears. [46]

Specific management actions proposed in Dean's study included the following:

* Erection of physical devices to establish boundaries between "bear country" and "human country." Fences or catwalks for human use were possibilities.

* Prohibition of the use of garbage cans by concessioner employees and visitors as bait to provide opportunities to observe and photograph bears. Further, existing procedures--for burning garbage and protecting garbage awaiting burning with electric fencing--needed to be enforced. Also, the incineration process needed to be improved.

* More extensive transportation of problem bears. Dean cited examples of two bears transported by barge which returned to Katmai shortly after their transportation. Bears needed to be removed several drainages away, thus making removal three or more drainages distant mandatory. This required air transport, not barges.

* Better control of human behavior. Dean suggested that alcohol consumption at Katmai needed to be better controlled. He also proposed making visitors noisier, perhaps by encouraging them to carry whistles. Beyond this, Dean urged that

> people understand the types of situations which could lead to trouble. [47]

In discussing employee safety, Dean noted that employees were more at risk relative to bears than visitors, but pointed out that differences of opinion existed as to the severity of this risk. Fish and Wildlife Service and NPS conclusions on such risk differed, and needed to be reconciled. Campground users were another subject of concern as, unprotected by walls, they were more vulnerable to bears. Dean stated that

> ...serious injury and death is a matter of time until, rather than a question of will there be. Bears and humans in the campground must be separated by a fence, cabin walls, a raised platform or some other system. [48]

In ending his report, Dean recommended further study of bear and human behavior.

Blinn found Dean's analysis and recommendations valid. He suggested carrying out those of Dean's recommendations which were in line with current NPS management policy. But there were some problems with a few of the recommendations. Fences, Blinn thought, would create an artificial situation that would diminish the visitor experience. Visitor education seemed to be working, and more education might stave off the inevitable bear-imposed injury. The garbage could and should be handled better. Procedures for handling Brooks Camp garbage should be extended to the F&WS research station the next time the permit for that station was reissued. [49]

The following spring, therefore, Blinn began working to educate Park Service employees, concessioner employees and visitors about the necessity of not placing food or trash outside buildings. Garbage was to be kept inside overnight and then burned in outside barrels before being hauled to the Valley Road dump, where it would be thoroughly incinerated. Blinn also recommended that in the future, garbage disposal units should be installed in NPS and lodge areas. [50]

The new procedures were not easily accepted. The concessioner, which by now was Wien Consolidated Airlines, was begrudging in its response to Dean's recommendations, and the NPS had to prod the company into compliance. Wien continued to take the attitude that it was the NPS's responsibility to keep the bears away from the buildings. When bears, in 1970, destroyed the screened fish cleaning shed, the concessioner asserted that it was the fault of the NPS and did not rebuilt the shed. [51] By the end of the 1970 season, however, the garbage problem had been largely overcome. What difficulties remained were ironed out during the next several years. [52]

Bear Management Activities, 1970-1974

Even as Blinn was attempting to deal with bears in Katmai National Monument, the NPS was attempting to deal with bears in parks and monuments on a nationwide basis. An advisory committee dealing with Yellowstone National Park developed three management objectives. The NPS headquarters office, apparently impressed by the committee's findings, forwarded its recommendations in January 1970 to the various park units. Parks were advised to:

> * Maintain populations of grizzly and black bears at levels that were sustainable under natural conditions as part of the native fauna of the park.
>
> * Plan the development and use of the park so as to minimize conflicts and unpleasant or dangerous incidents with bears, and
>
> * Encourage bears to lead their natural lives with minimum interference by

humans.

Each park with bear problems was directed to review its management plan and revise it to "fully achieve" the systemwide bear management objectives. [53] In response, Ernest J. Borgman, who replaced George Hall as General Superintendent for Alaska at the end of 1969, outlined some of the measures recommended by Dean and Blinn. He endorsed Blinn's opposition to the use of fences and pointed out the folly of bear relocation. (Five bears, as it turned out, had been relocated since 1968; four had returned by the following spring, and the fifth had been killed by hunters outside the monument. One bear, he noted, had returned to Brooks Camp after swimming 12 miles of open water. Another bear had returned after being airlifted 100 miles from Brooks Camp.) Borgman concluded:

> Once a totally clean camp and campground are established, should a bear continually enter it [Brooks Camp] and become a nuisance, it is suggested that no attempt at transport to another area be made unless it is a transport of a bear carcass. [54]

Borgman dismissed the possibility of closing Brooks Camp and establishing a lodge facility in some other spot. He wrote, "...there are virtually no areas that are bear-free except the Valley of 10,000 Smokes and the glaciated areas. We must face the fact that if we are to occupy Katmai, we are occupying bear country." [55]

Over the next several years, the problem of managing bear-human interaction proceeded along the lines proposed by Dean, Blinn, and Borgman. Blinn, in 1972 or 1973, wrote a memorandum entitled "Katmai National Monument - Bear Policy for Developed Areas" that established a policy which accepted bears as a necessary and desirable part of the Katmai environment. Visitors were to be instructed in bear safety. Garbage was to be kept away from bears. Bears were to be kept out of "people territory" through harassment, yelling, throwing rocks and similar means. Bears showing no fear or respect for people were to be transplanted. Bears showing unprovoked aggression toward people were to be destroyed. [56]

As the decade wore on, the monument's bear policy became further refined. Some policy alterations resulted from scientific studies of bears, while others resulted from incidents initiated by bears.

One of the first policies to be questioned was bear transplantation. Borgman, who reviewed the situation in 1971, recognized that relocating "offending bears" was still necessary. He recognized, however, that transplanting bears was hardly an undiluted success. Based on the experience of the last four years, Borgman estimated a 50-50 chance of success in transplanting bears in Katmai. [57]

Additional steps were taken to increase the safety of Brooks Camp visitors. In order to publicize bear habits and bear behavior, as Dean's study had recommended, NPS rangers began in the late 1960s to give on-the-beach briefings to each new arrival (see Chapter 7). Then, in 1971, rangers distributed to visitors a newly-designed bear safety brochure. [58] Both the brochure and the talks provided specific guidelines for personal safety. Anglers were not to yield fish to bears. Campers were to keep their camp clean and to store food properly. They were shown the elevated cache in which their food could be kept and given plastic bags in which to place their trash and carry it to the ranger station. All visitors were told that the safety of future guests and the well-being of the bears depended on following these guidelines. [59]

A major event in bear-human relationships at Katmai occurred in 1972 when Brooks Camp was invaded by 15 to 20 bears. The bears caused over $21,000 in property damage that year. The problem was attributed, in part, to a very poor fish run, which left the bears hungry.

They even dug up the sewer pipes in their search for food. [60]

The most serious bear incident recorded in the Katmai area occurred several miles west of the monument boundaries in July 1973. A brown bear attacked a Naknek couple, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Jensen, on the Naknek-King Salmon road; it was one of many such incidents that has occurred in or near the two communities over the years. Mr. Jensen, severely lacerated, required 200 stitches and remained in critical condition for some time. [61]

July 1973 was also the month in which a new technique in bear behavior modification was attempted at Katmai. Supervisory Park Ranger Steve Buskirk borrowed a shotgun and 12-gauge No. 6 shells from Jim Faro, an Alaska Department of Fish and Game officer. Buskirk replaced the shot in the shells with rock salt. On July 31 he used the shotgun and rock salt-loaded shells to "pepper" a sow and its 1-1/2-year-old cub which had been visiting Brooks Camp trash cans on a regular basis. The peppering took place near a trash can. On August 2, Buskirk peppered the sow again as she walked down the Naknek Lake beach. In Buskirk's opinion, the first peppering was successful (the sow never returned to the trash cans). The second peppering was not successful, he concluded, because it was not for a distinct act. [62] When peppering began, bears familiar with Brooks Camp were little affected; but by July of 1976, a ranger reported that most bears would bolt at the sound of a round being chambered. [63]

Problem bears continued to be tranquilized. With the assistance of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, two "rogue bear cubs" in 1972 were removed to an area outside the monument. The following July, a chartered float plane flew a bear to Geographic Harbor. The plane crash landed and sank, and the bear drowned. No bears were removed in 1974; one was transplanted in 1975. [64]

Planning and Policy Development, 1975-1985

In January 1975, as part of a nationwide survey, Katmai staff were quizzed on how well they were managing their bear population. In response, Chief Ranger Mike Tollefson noted that bears had damaged monument facilities on nine occasions the previous year; there were three incidents in the campground and six incidents in the concessioner's area. All reported incidents had occurred at Brooks Camp; most had taken place at night.

Tollefson gave a mixed response to questions which asked the degree to which monument facilities were bear proofed. The monument had three burn barrels in use, none of which were bear proofed, and an unprotected sanitary landfill. Overall, however, it was estimated that bears' opportunities for obtaining food from human sources were "low" or "none."

In order to minimize bear problems, it was noted that rangers had spent 27 person-days the previous summer providing information about bears to visitors, 40 days handling garbage, 8 days handling injury and property damage situations, 10 days on research, and 2 days in training. Future efforts called for a continuation of scientific research, preparation of additional visitor information materials and warning signs, refinement of bear relocation techniques and improvement of garbage control. [65]

In order to avoid unfortunate bear encounters, monument personnel in 1975 were more concerned than ever about prevention. NPS rangers continued to give visitors a bear safety brochure, and supplementary materials were available at several camp locations. Warning signs were posted. Numerous NPS patrols were deployed when bears were in camp or along the beach, high risk areas were restricted, and bear advisory messages were included in every interpretive program offered. Caches were available to those who camped out at the Brooks

Camp campground. But no bearproof storage facilities (except for the interior of Fure's, Baked Mountain, and other cabins) were available to backcountry users.

By 1975, Katmai had developed an ad hoc four-step bear policy, of which prevention of bear-human encounters was its primary goal. If avoidance didn't work, and bears became habituated to camp areas, peppering took place. NPS policy stated that if a bear

> does not become bold, but rather remains skittish around people, it will be allowed around camp. A nonaggressive bear is tolerated. As long as the bear does not show an interest in burn barrels it may wander at will.

If peppering was unsuccessful, relocation was attempted. Two darting guns, used with the drug Sernylin, and two culvert traps were used to trap and confine bears slated for relocation. The final step was destruction. This step was undertaken, however, only if a bear returned after relocation and all other measures had failed, or if it threatened human life. [66]

After a five year lull, bear research began again in the spring of 1974. Biologist Will Troyer, with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, did an aerial survey of bear denning sites; that summer, he conducted another aerial survey which monitored bear activities along salmon streams. [67] From 1975 to 1979, Troyer, who was now employed by the NPS, studied the distribution of the Katmai bear population. Central to that effort was the capturing and radio-collaring of several Brooks Camp bears. He had mixed success with collaring--some bears managed to slip their collars--but Troyer was able to track the movements of those who retained them, some back to their denning sites. Meanwhile, aerial surveys of the monument's bear population continued each year during the mid- to late 1970s. [68]

In 1979, methods of handling garbage were modified in order to further bear proof the Brooks Camp area. The camp's burn barrels, which had been used since 1966, were abandoned because the burning had begun to affect the camp's air quality. The barrels were replaced by a trash compactor which was installed in the double-walled annex to the NPS ranger cache. The method of hauling garbage away from Brooks Camp also changed. Since 1966, refuse had been hauled to the dump along the Valley Road. Beginning in 1979, however, the compacted trash was barged to Lake Camp, then trucked to the Naknek dump. [69]

Park personnel were sufficiently successful with bear-avoidance techniques and peppering that no bears needed to be transplanted between 1976 and 1979. In July 1980, however, a bear was spending so much time around the campground that it was removed to Idavain Creek. The transplant was a mixed success. It did not stay away--in fact, it was back at Brooks in four days--but it stayed out of trouble for the rest of the summer. [70]

In 1982, the NPS signalled its continuing interest in resource management in general, and more specifically in bear management, when it hired Kathy Jope as the park's first resource management specialist. Jope had recently emerged from a graduate program in which she had studied bear behavior and bear-human interactions; she was also familiar with bear management problems at other NPS units, having served previous stints at Glacier and Denali national parks. [71]

An early project in which she became involved, and an area of long standing safety concern regarding bear-human encounters, dealt with Brooks River Falls. The trail that led to the falls paralleled the river's south bank, and visitors often encountered bears along the way. Once they got to the trail terminus, photographers and other visitors often got uncomfortably close to bears as they fished at the base of the falls. In order to separate visitors from the bears, the NPS built an elevated bear viewing platform just southeast of the falls in 1982. The following summer, based on Jope's recommenda-tions, the agency blazed a new trail to the

falls which stayed well away from the riverbank and avoided high potential bear habitat. [72]

In the late 1960s, Frederick Dean's report had recommended that physical barriers be erected in certain areas to establish boundaries, such as fences or catwalks, between "bear country" and "human country." That recommendation was adopted in 1983 when snow fencing was placed at strategic locations in and around Brooks Camp. Additional fencing was erected in 1984. Soon, however, sections of it no longer remained standing, and before long the fencing was removed. [73]

Peppering techniques were also modified during this period. As noted above, peppering had begun in 1973, and for the remainder of the decade, NPS staff experimented with different sizes of shot. Finally, rubber shot was used. [74] Beginning in 1983 or 1984, peppering was restricted to the side rump of bears aimed from a minimum distance of 30 yards. The policy was intended to discourage bears from coming into the campground and housing areas, but permitting them free use of the river and beaches to pursue fish and other usual foods. [75]

NPS planning was revised to reflect the latest bear avoidance techniques. The park's first draft Resource Management Plan, approved in 1982, noted that the creation of a bear management plan was its top-rated natural resource management project. In 1983, as a result, the park developed and implemented a bear plan. That plan emphasized the prevention of conflict between bears and humans and requested more research on bear-human interaction. Three years later, the plan was revised. [76]

Bear Research in the 1980s and 1990s

In July and August 1982, Joan Beattie, a student at the University of California Santa Cruz, studied the bear-human interaction patterns at Brooks Camp. She concluded that most interactions occurred in areas of human use and that as visitor use increased, bear-human interactions did, too. She recommended that the NPS print a multilingual bear brochure, move the bear platform farther away from Brooks Falls, widen the trails, and redesign the floating bridge to allow bears to move underneath it. [77]

In 1983, Katmai attempted its first bear survey in eight years when, in July, August, and September, it counted 110 bears which congregated along seven of its salmon streams. [78] A year later, the NPS let a two-year contract for studying bear-fisherman conflicts along Brooks River. The contract was awarded to Dr. Barrie Gilbert of Utah State University, who first visited the park in October 1984. [79] He and a graduate student, Anne Braaten, spent much of the 1985 and 1986 seasons observing bear behavior. Gilbert turned in an interim report in the spring of 1987. [80]

Gilbert, in his report, noted that the park was doing an excellent job separating bears and humans; after all, no contacts or injuries had been recorded during the time frame of his study. Nevertheless, he discovered that three situations increased the proximity to unacceptable levels. First, increasing numbers of fishermen, either in the river or on the trail, often competed with bears. Second, some fishermen did not adhere to the fishing regulations, some of which had been designed to deter competition between bears and humans. Finally, some fishermen took a dim view of having to share the river with bears. Having isolated those reasons, NPS personnel were given a clear blueprint on how to proceed. [81]

Susan Warner, a Katmai wildlife biologist, conducted further bear management studies in the summer of 1987. Warner recognized that the park was undergoing, at that time, an environmental assessment on the park's fishing regulations. Given the alternatives outlined in the environmental assessment, Warner concluded that there were two alternatives which

would best reduce the level of conflict between bears and people. First, she recommended that there be sections of Brooks River where fishing would be restricted. Second, she felt that the length of the Brooks River fishing season should be reduced. [82]

In June 1990, Dr. Gilbert turned in a final report related to his mid-1980s bear observations, the recommendations of which had far-reaching implications. He noted, for instance, that sows with cubs avoided the Brooks River during peak visitor periods, and he reiterated that the risk of aggressive confrontations between bears and humans increased substantially during the fall. As a final recommendation, he noted, "From the perspective of reducing the multiple sources of disturbances to bears, a change in camp location is one option that could resolve a host of management problems." This was a poignant suggestion in light of the Brooks River DCP, which was distributed the following year for public comment. [83]

NPS personnel, in the past several years, have come to recognize that the maintenance of the Brooks River bear population is one of Katmai's most critical management issues. Agency officials have long realized the difficulty in managing the resources along Brooks River, and they realize it requires constant public education and an ever-broadening knowledge of bear behavior in order to provide a safe experience to the growing number of visitors. But they also recognize that the opportunity to view brown bears in the wild is one of the major reasons why visitors come to the park.

The NPS has been actively managing the Brooks Camp bear population for over thirty years, and to a large extent they have been successful in preventing injuries to both bears and people. Even so, problems continue. Many bears still need to be peppered from time to time; more rarely, bears need to be destroyed. And human visitors are by no means immune; the July 1991 injury of an NPS employee along the Brooks Falls trail--the first bear-caused injury in 25 years--took place even though all necessary precautions were taken. [84]

As has been noted in Chapter 6, many visitors and agency officials are convinced that a large and increasing number of visitors is incompatible with the health of the local bear population. As a result, they feel that Brooks Camp will need to be moved some day. Others, however, feel that the camp is optimally situated where it is. Park managers, caught in the middle, recognize that the best way to avoid management difficulties, in the short term at least, is to pursue an active bear management program. To that end, the Park Service sponsored a bear behavior study during the 1990 summer season. Less specific bear management studies took place in 1991 and 1992. The year 1992 also saw the construction of a second bear viewing platform, located just upstream from the floating bridge. The platform, which had been funded by the Alaska Congressional delegation over the objections of agency staff, allowed an ever-larger number of visitors to safely view the Brooks River bears. [85]

The Exxon Valdez oil spill of March 1989, disastrous as it was, brought forth some of the first studies which dealt with Katmai resources east of the Aleutian Range. The various VECO-sponsored oil cleanup crews quickly became aware that the mouth of various coastal streams was excellent brown bear habitat. NPS rangers, as a result, were dispatched to the area to provide the crews a modicum of safety. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game responded to that concern by sponsoring a study of the spill's effect on the Alaska Peninsula brown bear population. Both the National Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service cooperated in the study, which began in 1989 and was renewed in 1990 and 1991. On the heels of that study, the NPS carried out its first population index surveys along the Shelikof Strait coastline when it surveyed Big River and Kukak Bay during the summer of 1992. [86]

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 10:
Cultural Resource Management

Today, the Katmai area is of tremendous interest to cultural resource professionals. Located at the northern end of the Alaska Peninsula, it is a zone of cultural transition and complexity, a place where humans have lived and intermingled for thousands of years. Both the history and archeology of the area are remarkable. As a reflection of its importance, nine Katmai properties are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. But when the monument was proclaimed in 1918, few cared about investigating or protecting the region's historical resources, and few were aware of its archeological resources. Most of what is known has been gathered only since the 1950s. Early investigations were usually funded through universities; more recently, agency personnel have performed most of the work.

Early Cultural Resource Concerns

Before 1950, as has been noted, the National Park Service had no on-site personnel stationed in Katmai. The agency's major concerns during the early years of the monument were the protection of wildlife populations and the removal of illegal residents. It therefore had only a tangential interest in the area's cultural resources.

The agency's first interest in the area's cultural complexity was a legal one. NPS personnel were concerned, at an early date, whether area Natives had justifiable claims to land within the monument. During the 1930s, Interior department officials had become aware that Natives from New Savonoski had been visiting the Savonoski River valley every summer since 1918, both to hunt and to tend the graves of their ancestors at Old Savonoski. The Natives, having been told that hunting was prohibited, probably ceased their hunts in the area after 1939, but they continued to visit Old Savonoski for years afterwards. [1] (They never tried to resettle the old village because the layers of pumice, and the resulting soil acidity, made residence impossible.) In early 1941, Cadastral Engineer George Parks told Mount McKinley's superintendent, Frank Been, that no Natives had filed for allotments in the monument, nor would such allotments likely be filed in the future. [2]

Been should have known better. By that time, he had already learned firsthand that local Natives not only visited the monument from time to time but that they also occupied several cabins on a seasonal basis. The previous summer, he had visited the mouth of "Brooks Creek," where he found a "fishing village" which consisted of two cabins--both on the south side of the river--and a series of tents. At the time of his first visit the site was populated by a woman and two boys. He returned a week later and found the chief of New Savonoski with his wife and three younger men, one of whom mentioned that about forty people would soon be gathered there to harvest the fall salmon run. [3]

Natives continued to use Brooks Camp for their fall fish harvest for decades to come. In 1950, the opening of the concessions camp exposed them to an increasing degree of scrutiny and competition from sport fishermen. The Native population, as a result, began to feel out of place. They reacted by postponing their fish-harvesting activities until after the camp had closed. After 1960 their use of the area declined, but it did not cease altogether. It should hardly have been surprising, therefore, that an elderly Native woman, in the spring of 1971, filed a claim for land at the mouth of Brooks River. [4] (See Chapter 6.) About 1950, the Bureau of Land Management gave notice that all land claimants, Natives, settlers, or squatters had up to two years to file claims for land not previously recorded. No applicants came forward at this time to claim land in the monument. This notice, however, was evidently overturned at some later date in order to allow the Brooks River and other Native claims to be filed. [5]

NPS also expressed an interest in Katmai's cultural resources by gathering information on culturally significant sites. Archeologists began searching for sites on the northern part of the Alaska Peninsula in the 1920s. Before 1950, however, the only known site recorded in the monument was one which Robert Heizer located on Takli Island in 1935. Heizer, at the time, was working in conjunction with Ales Hrdlicka, an archeologist affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution, whose primary work was at Uyak Bay on Kodiak Island. [6]

Although little of significance had been recorded in the monument before 1950, NPS officials knew of several archeological sites that had not yet been investigated. They were aware, for example, of Katmai village and Old Savonoski, both of which had been abandoned in the 1912 eruption. During his 1940 visit, Superintendent Frank Been learned of another abandoned village at the junction of the Grosvenor and Savonoski rivers. Been visited one of the three old villages, Old Savonoski, that summer and became so intrigued by the place that he proposed that it be reconstructed and displayed for interpretive purposes. That proposal, however, was rejected by his superiors in the regional office. [7]

Been also learned, from personnel at the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries facility at Brooks Lake, that the area along Brooks River was rich in cultural resources. On the south side of the river, he saw "the site of Indian houses which were now only depressions in the ground," a grave with a Russian cross, and other sites indicating that Natives had been occupying the area for generations. Early NPS personnel who served in the area made similar observations. [8]

The Katmai Project

In 1950, the NPS established its toehold at Brooks Camp and Northern Consolidated opened its various fishing camps. The deployment of personnel to the monument showed that the National Park Service was unwilling to ignore the area. Little interest was shown in Katmai's cultural history, however, until 1952, when the National Park Service organized the Katmai Project, a multidisciplinary research project largely funded by the Office of Naval Research (ONR). Three major investigations took place as a result of that project. [9]

In 1953, the NPS arranged for two University of Oregon graduate students, Wilbur A. Davis and James W. Leach, to survey three Native villages--Old Savonoski, Kukak Bay, and Katmai--which had been abandoned since the 1912 volcanic eruption. Davis and Leach visited all three sites, but were unable to locate anything at Katmai village because of the depth of the ash flow. They therefore investigated Kaguyak (Douglas village) as an alternate site. At the close of the season, the crew visited the Brooks River fishing camp. Upon their arrival, they were told that NCA personnel had recently discovered several artifacts while digging a root cellar. [10] Perhaps based on that news, the students recorded four extensive sites--two north of Brooks River, the other two south--and excavated a trench in the site closest to the fishing camp. The Brooks River sites were destined to be the first of many found in the area. Before long, in fact,

archeologists recognized that the various terraces which wound through the area between Brooks Lake and Naknek Lake comprised a huge, world-class archeological complex. [11]

Though initial plans had called for the Katmai Project to expire after the first year, ONR was able to fund a second year of projects. Heeding the call to assign work to local academic institutions, the NPS invited University of Alaska anthropologist Wendell Oswalt to carry on survey work in Katmai that summer. As a result, Oswalt conducted a survey along the Shelikof coastline, where he located sites near Cape Douglas and at Devils Cove. He then excavated a small site at Kaflia Bay. [12]

The third activity that took place as a result of the Katmai Project was the preparation of a historic resource study. In the spring of 1953 Herbert Kahler, the agency's chief historian, told regional officials of the need to compile a Katmai bibliography. [13] But George Collins, the Alaska Recreation Survey chief, encouraged John A. Hussey to prepare a full historical narrative. That summer Hussey amassed a huge amount of data, chiefly from files available in the San Francisco area. Hussey had originally hoped to write a detailed account of conditions at Katmai from prehistoric times to the present day, but the press of other work necessitated that the detailed portion of his history be truncated in 1918, the year Katmai was designated a national monument. [14]

During the next few years, NPS officials got wind of other cultural resources that had never been scrutinized by professionals. Grosvenor Camp, for example, was found to be a culturally important site, just as Brooks Camp had been. Roy Fure, the trapper who had lived in the Bay of Islands area for years, noted that an "old Indian" had once lived at the site for about five years and had built a sod hut and sweat house. [15] Near Kulik Camp, an NCA employee had discovered a site in the early 1950s, and in the early 1960s another concessions employee had found a site near the outlet to Kukaklek Lake. These sites, both of which were outside the existing monument boundaries, were finally visited by archeologists in 1963 and 1965, respectively. [16]

In 1959, interest was kindled in conducting a comprehensive archeological survey of the monument. Ivar Skarland, the head of the University of Alaska's Anthropology Department, suggested the idea to officials in the Western Regional Office. The project would require a crew of six for the next three to five summers. The university would supply the requisite labor, while the NPS would provide funding. The project, however, never got beyond the planning stages; the NPS submitted a budget for the project, but funding was not approved. [17]

University of Oregon Investigations

In 1960, archeological efforts were resurrected at the park through the efforts of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, an agency which at that time was part of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. The BCF hoped to gain some long-term indication of the aboriginal salmon catch somewhere in Alaska. The agency chose Brooks Camp as its research site for two reasons: a BCF research station was located in the area, and previous research had shown that a longitudinally extensive deposit was located in the area. [18] George Harry, the BCF agent who organized the project, had recently moved to Alaska from Oregon; because he knew of the expertise of anthropologists at the University of Oregon, he contacted department head Luther S. Cressman, who agreed to serve as principal investigator for a Brooks Camp-based project. Cressman, in turn, applied to the National Science Foundation (NSF) for additional support funds. The BCF and NSF shared funding obligations that year; the latter organization, however, promised funds for an additional year. The NSF, as it turned out, provided a total of five years' support for Brooks Camp research; it funded the University of Oregon in 1960 and 1961, and again in 1963 through 1965. [19]

Dr. Cressman enlisted Don Dumond, then a graduate student, to be the field supervisor for the 1960-61 Brooks Camp excavations. Dumond, working with one assistant, located three additional sites in 1960, all on the south side of Brooks River, and excavated one of them. The following year, Dumond and two assistants located two new sites on the river's north bank and excavated one of the sites which had been located in 1960. Altogether, archeologists had located nine sites in the Brooks Camp area and had excavated three of them. [20]

The University actually had two crews in the area in the summer of 1961. The second crew, led by Wilbur A. Davis, worked along the lower Naknek River and located four sites. All were located outside of the monument, although the data that the sites contained helped explain the cultural evolution that took place at Brooks Camp, Savonoski, and other sites inside of Katmai's boundaries. Davis's greatest contribution to the monument's cultural history, however, may have been the series of interviews he conducted with elderly local residents. Several people who had witnessed the 1912 eruption were still alive, and Davis was able to obtain reminiscences from three of them: Mike McCarlo, Pelagia Melgenak, and Harry Kaiakokonok. [21]

Excited by the extensive deposits and the cultural complexity found within them, the University of Oregon applied to the NSF for two more years of field work. The grant, which was approved, designated Cressman (by now an emeritus professor) and Dumond (by now a Ph.D.) as joint Principal Investigators. Dumond, as before, continued to serve as field director. The University of Oregon archeologists anticipated that field work would be limited to Brooks Camp, but the NPS took advantage of their expertise and contributed additional financing which allowed two more years of archeological surveys in the monument.

Dumond, overseeing a crew of five, spent the summer of 1963 at Brooks Camp surveying and testing the area's archeological resources. His crew identified thirteen new sites, most of which were south of Brooks River; in addition, he located over 1000 large depressions and estimated that over half of them would reveal evidence of aboriginal occupation. Two other archeologists, Harvey Rice and Michael Nowak, were assigned to surveys elsewhere in the park. The two recorded the sites at Grosvenor and Kulik camps, located a new site at Cape Chiniak, visited previously-known sites at Grosvenor Camp and along the Savonoski River, and surveyed Kukak Bay as the site for a future excavation. [22]

In 1964, Dumond and an assistant continued their Brooks Camp work. A crew of five was stationed at Kukak Bay for an excavation. An additional two archeologists made a reconnaissance of the Katmai coastline, locating sites near Dakavak Bay, on Missak Bay and Swikshak Lagoon, and excavated a major new site on Takli Island. The summer's work was so productive that the results brought forth more questions than answers, and Dumond requested an additional season of research support. In 1965, crews made further investigations at Takli Island and found new sites at Amalik Bay. The work that year provided data that "seemed as complete as it was reasonable to expect," and the University of Oregon, for the time being at least, concluded its NSF-sponsored archeological work in the monument. [23]

University personnel, however, were destined to make many more visits to Katmai in the pursuit of archeological data. In 1966 Paul Schumacher, Regional Archeologist at the NPS's Western Regional Office, learned that the National Geographic Society might be interested in funding a research project in the area. [24] Schumacher, therefore, asked Dumond to suggest several avenues of research. The NGS, as a result, funded the excavation and consolidation of one or more aboriginal houses at Brooks River. Several barabaras had been excavated in previous years; the NGS, however, hoped to unearth one of the largest or best-preserved examples, re-create its traditional appearance, and display it to tourists. Dumond worked with a crew of three during the summer of 1967, and excavated three houses in his search for an adequate display site. He had initially felt that he might need to recreate a composite of houses, but one of the three, upon further investigation, proved optimal for interpretive purposes.

Dumond, working alone, returned the following year and finished the reconstruction of the display house. [25]

The work which the archeologists completed during the 1960s was not accomplished in a vacuum. Although the archeologists took pains not to interfere with regular monument activities and operations, some effects were bound to take place. Many of the excavations, for instance, took place in relatively close proximity to Brooks Lodge and the other camp buildings. As a result, so many visitors took note of the crew's activities over the next several years--in part because of several open trenches in the camp area--that Brooks Camp's seasonal rangers were asked to provide informal interpretive services. [26] The "digs" taking place on both sides of the river were sufficiently interesting that they were advertised as one of Brooks Camp's major attractions during the mid-to-late 1960s. [27] Archeologists also discovered, much to their chagrin, that Brooks Lodge (constructed in 1960-61) was located on a site rich in artifacts. They were in no position, however, to interfere with the construction work. [28]

Archeological Work During the 1970s

Dumond and his associates at the University of Oregon felt, as a result of their investigations during the 1960s, that they had sufficient data to provide a broad model of cultural development on the northern Alaska Peninsula. He had, during that time, investigated sites at Brooks Camp, along Shelikof Strait, and on Bristol Bay. He had hoped that data found at sites at Bristol Bay would be able to help explain Brooks Camp's cultural development. But as he completed his monograph on the subject, he came to the realization that the Brooks River cultural sequence could not adequately be explained by data gathered at existing Bristol Bay sites. [29]

He responded to the paucity of data by applying to the National Science Foundation for a two-year grant (later extended for a third year) to investigate sites along Naknek River and the upper Ugashik River drainage. Most of that data, while helpful in explaining the Brooks River cultural sequence, did not take place within the present boundaries of the park. Seven sites were located along Naknek River in 1973, none of which were located in the park. Of the Naknek area sites discovered in 1974, only one--located just below the outlet of Naknek Lake--was situated inside of the present park. In 1975, most of the archeological exploration took place in the Ugashik River drainage, but based upon information provided by a local hunter, a new site was recorded along the western park boundary. The site location, more specifically, was in upper Big Creek, west of Brooks Lake. [30]

In 1973, another archeological survey took place along Shelikof Strait. In conjunction with a shorebird survey, Allen McCartney examined the coastline from the railing of a U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service ship. McCartney's search was largely unsuccessful. He found only one previously unrecorded site in the monument, at Missak Bay. [31]

Archeological work was also conducted at Brooks Camp during the same period. The NPS, via contract, had a utility system installed in the summers of 1974 and 1975. The contract called for the underground installation of fuel tanks, water lines and sewer lines across much of Brooks Camp. In order to mitigate some of the impacts of the construction activity, the agency dispatched Harvey Shields, a University of Oregon graduate student, to Brooks Camp during the late summer of 1974. His major project was the excavation of an ena (semi-subterranean house), but he also unearthed a number of artifacts and three burial sites which lay in the path of construction. [32]

Try as he may, Shields found it impossible to keep up with the pace of construction. He found the construction workers uncooperative--their schedule apparently did not provide for on-the-spot archeological mitigation--and as a result "at least eight aboriginal houses and at least two

burials were seriously disrupted." Dr. Dumond, who served as project supervisor, lambasted regional NPS officials for ignoring the monument's cultural heritage. He urged that only archeologists be allowed to excavate; at the very least, he demanded that all excavations be done in the presence of an archeologist. But the damage had already been done. The acting regional director responded, somewhat sheepishly, that the agency was still in the process of creating a construction proposal monitoring system; he hoped that the newly-established system would prevent a recurrence of the Brooks Camp difficulties. [33]

Inventory and Nomination Activities

In 1975, the NPS launched an effort to place some of the monument's most significant sites on the National Register of Historic Places, the government's list of valuable cultural properties. That October, the Regional Archeologist in the Pacific Northwest Regional Office, Fred Bohannan, wrote an Archeological Resources Assessment for the monument. The assessment was a tardy response to Executive Order 11593, proclaimed by President Richard Nixon in May 1971, which required all federal agencies to "locate, inventory, and nominate to the Secretary of the Interior all sites, buildings, districts, and objects under their jurisdiction or control that appear to qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places" by July 1, 1973. [34]

Bohannan's assessment consisted of an inventory and evaluation of the monument's sites. Of the 29 sites which had thus far been inventoried, he considered 19 of them, alone or in tandem with others, to be eligible to the National Register. The sites comprised eight nominations: Brooks River, Kaguyak, Kukak, Old Savonoski, Savonoski River, Takli Island, and sites located near Cape Chiniak and Dakavak Bay. (The Savonoski River nomination was composed of two archeological sites, while the Takli Island nomination was composed of twelve sites.) The remaining sites in the monument were not nominated. [35] Bohannan's recommendations were accepted by the National Register officials, and all eight nominations were entered onto the register between February and July 1978. [36]

The same year in which Pacific Northwest Regional officials began inventorying known archeological sites, Denver Service Center personnel commenced an inventory of structures in the monument. Robert Carper, from DSC's Historic Preservation Division, visited Katmai in August 1975. The following spring, he completed a report showing the results of that inventory and nominating eligible structures to the List of Classified Structures, which was the agency's catalog of structures having archeological, historical, architectural, or engineering significance. Carper's inventory noted that the monument included a total of 102 structures; 32 were owned by the NPS, 33 by other governmental agencies, 35 by the concessioner, and one by a company working on an NPS contract. Few of those structures, however, were particularly noteworthy. Only 78 of those structures were enclosed buildings, and only three were recommended for the List of Classified Structures. Those three were the reconstructed ena ("Eskimo Pit House") near Brooks Camp; "Important Packer Scotty's" (Stephen M. Scott's) Cabin, also near Brooks Camp; and Fure's Cabin, in the Bay of Islands area of Naknek Lake. Carper was most enthusiastic about Fure's Cabin, which he noted as "The most significant and extant post-eruption structure." [37] In conjunction with that report, Superintendent Gil Blinn nominated the cabin to the National Register of Historic Places in January 1976. The state's Historic Sites Advisory Committee judged that it fulfilled the criteria for inclusion to the register. The NPS, however, did not forward the nomination to the National Register office in Washington, D.C. [38]

Soon after the release of Carper's report, more information was gathered on the park's historic structures. Ranger Mike Tollefson compiled a history of the old trappers' cabins, and park personnel during the next several years found opportunities to visit most of them. All available information confirmed that Roy Fure's original cabin, in the Bay of Islands, was the most structurally sound historical structure in the park. It was relatively accessible to visitors, and

was of considerable historic significance as well. [39]

Park staff did what they could to preserve the old cabin. Broken windows and rotting floorboards were replaced, and the interior was placed off-limits to visitors. By 1982, however, rising budgets gave Katmai officials the opportunity to consider a more extensive rehabilitation. Officials visited the site that summer and decided to rehabilitate it. [40] The following summer they returned and made further structural examinations. They also collected some nine nautical charts and 90 other historic objects from the site. The two collections were removed to King Salmon and became the basis for the park museum. [41] Based on those visits, they prepared a historic structure report for the cabin and the various outbuildings which surrounded it. [42]

The rehabilitation project, however, was delayed until 1987. In a process that was akin to the recently-completed Moore Cabin project in Skagway, two NPS cabin builders dismantled Fure's Cabin and separated salvageable logs from those which were no longer useful. Many of the sill logs, floor boards, roof planks and roofing needed to be replaced; other portions of the cabin were still in good condition. Reassembly began late that summer; the following year rehabilitation was completed, the salvageable logs being interwoven with fresh-cut replacements brought in from King Salmon. Additional historical materials were collected from the cabin area and transferred to the park museum. The builders that year had hoped to reconstruct the adjacent windmill and several minor outbuildings. That work, however, did not begin until 1993. Most of the necessary work was done that year; the remainder was completed in 1994. [43]

Actions toward recognizing the historical importance of the cabin went hand in hand with its physical rehabilitation. Based on the 1982 site visit, together with additional data which had been gathered by Gil Blinn in the mid-1970s, NPS historian Joaqlin Estus prepared a new National Register of Historic Places nomination form on the site. Shortly afterwards, Estus used much of the same information for the historical data section of the 1984 historic structure report. [44] The acquisition of new evidence caused the National Register nomination form to be revised in December 1983 and again the following August. Finally, on February 7, 1985, Fure's Cabin was entered onto the National Register. [45] During the reconstruction process, historian Bonnie Houston gathered a substantial amount of additional data on Roy Fure, his cabin, and his career as a trapper. Supplemental documentation was submitted in November 1988 and was accepted by the Keeper of the National Register on May 19, 1989. [46]

Recent Archeological Investigations

Since the mid-1970s, most of the park's archeological activity in areas west of the Aleutian Range has taken place in the Brooks Camp area. Unlike earlier efforts, most has been conducted by NPS archeologists. Large excavations have been a relative rarity; more common have been small-scale compliance activities. No broad survey efforts have been undertaken in recent years.

The largest single project in recent years was brought on by the floods which washed through Brooks Camp in the late 1970s. As Chapter 5 noted, high waters in 1977, 1978, and 1980 played havoc on the camp's docks. They also endangered several of the area's cultural sites, located as they were on both banks of Brooks River. Two sites, located on the south bank below Brooks Falls, were of particular concern.

To monitor the flood's impact on the site, Superintendent Gil Blinn ask Don Dumond to return to Brooks Camp in 1977 and assess the threat posed by river erosion. His recommendations, together with similar conclusions offered by NPS Area Office archeologist Dick Hsu, resulted in two years of site testing. [47] In 1979 Harvey Shields, now an Area Office archeologist, tested the site; in 1981, Shields returned and performed similar work at the site immediately

downstream from the location of his earlier testing. [48]

In 1982 and 1983, archeologists carried on a full-scale excavation at the two sites which had been tested in 1979 and 1981. Harvey Shields, who had been participating at Katmai off and on since 1974, designed the project and served as Principal Investigator, while Roger Harritt, a University of Oregon graduate student, served as crew foreman. Others who served as crew members included Cindy Amdur Clark, Fred Clark, Dale Vinson, and Anne Worthington. Don Dumond, who served as technical advisor, visited for short periods during each of the two summers of the project. In 1984, Dumond himself headed a crew of three who, in a two-week period, completed the excavation of a burned semi-subterranean house. [49]

Three other recent projects have been completed, all by government archeologists. In 1983, as part of a larger Bureau of Indian Affairs survey, Neil Crozier located a historic burial complex on the park's western boundary. In 1989, archeologists with the NPS Mining Compliance Program surveyed an area north of Battle Lake. They recorded three sites: two lithic scatters and a probable hunting blind. Finally, Patricia McClenahan made an resurvey of the sites which comprised the Brooks River area National Register site. Her 1988 efforts resulted in the submittal, on March 24, 1989, of a National Historic Landmark (NHL) nomination for the area. On February 3, 1993, the NHL nomination was approved by the National Park System Advisory Board, and on April 19, Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt officially designated the district as an NHL. [50]

Most of the remaining park archeological effort has been compliance work completed in conjunction with development projects. Section 106 of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act requires that federal agencies weigh the broadly-defined historic importance of any site under their jurisdiction against any development actions that may be undertaken on those sites. Section 106, therefore, applies not only to Brooks Camp and other National Register sites, but it also applied to any park site with potential National Register eligibility. Given those requirements, NPS archeologists have been engaged in compliance activities in Katmai since 1974.

Relatively few compliance activities took place in the 1970s and early 1980s. The number of compliance actions, however, grew to four in 1982 and was at least ten for each year between 1987 and 1989. In 1991, an archeologist was added to Katmai's staff, and perhaps as a consequence, an increasing number of compliance actions took place. Eleven were recorded in 1991 and another 31 in 1992. Altogether, 97 Katmai compliance reports were prepared through 1992, 66 of which dealt with development activities in the Brooks Camp area. Of the remaining 31 compliance actions, 9 occurred along the Valley Road corridor, 5 in the King Salmon headquarters complex, 4 at various places along the Shelikof Strait coast, 2 at Lake Camp, 2 at Fure's Cabin, 2 in the Nonvianuk Camp area, 2 at Grosvenor Camp, and 5 at scattered sites along Katmai's lake shores. [51]

Most compliance projects have been relatively minor, consisting of one or two archeologists spending just a few hours at a site. But several have been more extensive, and in a few instances major finds have been located. In 1988, for instance, archeologists on a project related to Brooks Camp leach field development uncovered a heretofore unknown ena (pit house), the only known intact example of a clay seal-oil lamp, and indications of previously unsuspected cultural sites. That same year, two Takli Island visitors encountered a prehistoric skeleton, and compliance personnel investigated the surrounding area. In 1991, an archeologist investigating a fuel-line spill unearthed evidence of another ena; a year later, compliance actions related to a new well resulted in the discovery of a caribou tooth and other material from what may be the Beach Ridge cultural period (3800-4100 years ago), of which little is presently known. [52]

Once the NSF-sponsored surveys and excavations of the 1960s were completed, little

archeological work was completed along Katmai's eastern littoral for the next 25 years. In March 1989, however, the Exxon Valdez oil spill brought renewed attention to the area. At first, NPS officials were confident that the oil could be contained within Prince William Sound, but by April 6 they felt otherwise. They hurriedly organized three field teams which assessed the coast's natural and cultural resources. Included in those teams were archeologists Pat McClenahan, Richard Jordan, and Rick Knecht; McClenahan worked for the NPS, while the others were on contract. Much of their survey work was restricted to the area below the high tide line. As part of that survey, they found a number of previously-unrecorded sites. [53]

Cleanup crews, sponsored by Exxon Company U.S.A., were deployed to Katmai's beaches in 1989, 1990, and 1991. Damage assessments were also conducted in conjunction with the cleanup. In 1989 and 1990 Exxon archeologists conducted aerial, pedestrian, and ship-based surveys, tested selected sites, and monitored cleanup operations. Only rarely did artifact collection take place. In 1989, company archeologists investigated 37 sites; a year later, they investigated another 14. In 1991, student archeologists from SUNY Binghamton conducted oil spill impact research on Katmai's shores. As part of their work, they located several previously-undiscovered archeological sites. [54]

Development of Museum Collection

As detailed in chapters 2, 11 and 12 as well as in the present chapter, scientific expeditions have been venturing into the Katmai country for more than 75 years. Some of those research efforts have been conducted by NPS investigators, others by those who had little or no connection with the agency. Many resulted in the collection of archeological, biological, or geological specimens. Prior to the 1980s, however, none of those collections were retained in the local area.

In 1983, Kathy Jope, Katmai's resource management specialist, moved to establish a park museum. As a result of the investigations which had taken place at Fure's Cabin, nine historic maps and 90 other objects had been removed. They, together with 165 copies of photographs from the early National Geographic Society investigations, formed the core of the new collection. Some of the items were stored, for the time being, at the Brooks Camp visitor center, while others were removed to King Salmon's ranger annex. [55]

In 1984, most of the park collection was consolidated in King Salmon. But the cramped, two-room ranger annex had little room for artifact storage; besides, it was poorly heated and ventilated, and thus inadequate for proper museum curation. To upgrade the facility, maintenance workers installed new insulation, a new ceiling, and shelving. Two years later, a reorganization at the park took place, and half of the building was given over to the park's library and museum. [56]

New artifacts were continuously added to the park's museum collection. By 1985, the park received its first archeological, archival, biological, paleontological, and geological specimens, and the collection numbered more than 400 total artifacts. That number swelled to 2600 the following year and to almost 5000 in 1987. Large archeological accessions swelled the museum's collection even further; by 1988, the collection numbered more than 82,000 items. [57]

By the end of 1992, Katmai's museum inventory included 128,807 items. Over 95 percent of them--125,468 items--were archeological in nature. The herbarium contained 1446 biological specimens. In addition, the park collection had 789 historical artifacts, 512 archival items, 420 geological specimens, 153 paleontological specimens, and 19 ethnological artifacts. [58]

Other NPS offices contain additional Katmai materials. Biological and archeological items are located in the Alaska System Support Office, and the agency's Harpers Ferry Center keeps additional archeological items.

Most of the items collected during earlier expeditions remain outside of NPS control. Archeological collections pertaining to Katmai are located at the University of Oregon, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Peabody Museum, and SUNY Binghamton, while the Bristol Bay Historical Society keeps a historical item. Geological collections with Katmai specimens are located at the University of Alaska Fairbanks and the U.S. Geological Survey, while biological collections are located at Ohio State University and the University of Alaska Anchorage. Other institutional and private collections, as yet unknown, are likely to also contain Katmai artifacts. NPS staff are carrying on a continuing effort to locate those artifacts and provide for their preservation. [59]





(top) In September 1953, Victor Cahalane visited American Creek and photographed traper Roy Fure's storehouse (left), cabin (center), and cache. Fure used the buildings during the 1930s and, perhaps surreptitiously, thereafter. (bottom) Another of Fure's cabins was located in the Bay of Islands portion of Naknek Lake. Architect Robert Carper took this photo in April 1976. Agency personnel restored the cabin in 1987-1988; the adjacent windmill and outbuildings were restored in 1993-1994. *(NPS Photo Collection, neg. 66-188 (top); Carper, Classified Structure, Field Inventory Report, Katmai National Monument, 10 (bottom))*



Savonoski Village, along the south bank of the Savonoski River, was a viable Native village the June 1912 volcanic explosion forced its residents to flee. This photo, taken from the air by Victor Cahalane in July 1953,

shows that "Old Savonoski" was still clearly visible. The Russion Orthodox Church is the large building in the rear of the photo. *(NPS Photo Collection, File 66-82)*

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 11:
Minerals Management

By most accounts, the area contained within the boundaries of present-day Katmai National Park and Preserve is relatively low in mineralization. The NPS unit extends out over four million acres of Alaskan topography. Considering the acreage involved, relatively few sites of economically-viable mineralization have been located. Those sites, however, contain verifiable quantities of gold, copper, silica, pumice, and other minerals, and those who would hope to develop Katmai's mineral potential have been quick to point out the potential for additional ore bodies. They, and those who have been philosophically opposed to the idea of closing lands to mineral exploration, have often clashed with NPS managers, whose mandate has usually been to discourage mineral exploitation. This chapter chronicles the history of mineral development in the Katmai area.

Early Mineral Exploration

Prior to 1918, the Katmai country was open to mineral exploration and location. The first miners to visit the area crossed over Katmai Pass in 1890. They did not actively prospect, but used the pass on their way from Saint Michael to Kodiak. Josiah Spurr, an explorer with the U.S. Geological Survey, used the same route in December 1898. Following in his wake were a ragtag army of prospectors who crossed over Katmai Pass on their way on their way to the Nome gold fields. So far as is known, none found "pay dirt" along the way. [1]

In addition to the explorers and gold-rush miners who passed through the Katmai country, others arrived on prospecting expeditions. Of particular interest was the area's petroleum potential. Several expeditions during the 1860s and 1870s brought back rumors that oil existed near Katmai Bay. [2] The drilling of an oil well near Puale Bay in 1902 brought forth a crescendo of interest in the area's petroleum resources. During the next two years three more wells were drilled, but nothing of commercial importance was found. By 1906 all but a few diehards had left the area. Operations, however, continued intermittently for years afterward. [3]

In response to the Puale Bay activity George Curtis Martin, a government geologist, surveyed Katmai's shoreline for evidences of coal and oil potential. Martin was told of oil seepages along the shores of Kamishak Bay, especially at Douglas River, and was also told of gas seeps on Gas Creek, at the head of Kejulik River. But he did not visit either one, and cautioned against further exploration. "The geology of the coast ... between Douglas River and Katmai," he wrote, "does not warrant in the slightest degree any petroleum prospecting. Along much of this coast are only volcanic and other crystalline rocks, in which the occurrence of petroleum is an absolute impossibility." [4]

Other resources were sought as well. An 1895 USGS expedition, under the direction of William Healey Dall and George F. Becker, was sent to search for gold and coal along the coast of Shelikof Strait. It found no gold, but did find minor coal deposits near Cape Douglas. On the shore of Amalik Bay, he found three seams of "a pretty good coal." He noted that "The small dimensions of the seam, however, forbid anticipating any commercial future for it." [5] Josiah Spurr, who crossed Katmai Pass in 1898, was not impressed by the gold potential of that part of the Alaska Peninsula. Ralph W. Stone, who looked for coal along the Katmai coast in 1904 as part of Martin's survey, found it in the same general vicinity as his 1895 predecessors. He examined the Cape Douglas coal seams and found that "because of their small extent and bony character" they had no commercial value. He was unable to resurvey the Amalik Bay coal seam. [6]

The 1912 eruption in the Mount Katmai area created a thick ash layer over hundreds of square miles of the surrounding landscape. Some mineral resources, therefore, were doubtless lost, but others were created, and mineral exploration continued unabated. George Martin, who returned to the Katmai coast during the summer of 1912, was effusive about the commercial possibilities for the coastal ash deposits. And an industrial chemical manufacturing company, upon reading one of the National Geographic articles on the subject, was so intrigued that it wrote the magazine and asked where samples could be secured. [7]

Others moved inland in search of hard rock deposits. Around 1912, Charlie McNeil and Norman B. Cook found copper-bearing veins about 17 miles inland on a stream running into a "southwest bight" of Kamishak Bay. (The stream was probably McNeil River.) Z. T. and C. D. Halferty located seven claims in the Kuliak Bay area in 1913 and 1917. [8] In 1915, Fred and Jack Mason discovered placer gold along a small stream, locally called Lonesome Pine Creek, just south of Cape Kubugakli. Two years later, Robert Griggs discovered that "There are some places where one can gather crystals of sulphur, almost free from impurities, by the bushel." In 1918, Alex Grant found placer gold on American Creek; he made several attempts to work the gravels but failed. [9] The same year, the Geological Survey encountered the Shelikof Mining Company working at its copper prospect near Kukak Bay. Of those discoveries, only the Mason claim, which produced a small amount of gold, tin, and molybdenum over an eight-year period, ever witnessed ore production. [10]

In 1916, the National Geographic Society began to lobby various governmental officials to create a national monument in the ash-laden area surrounding Mount Katmai. In order to placate territorial authorities, the officials who roughed out the initial boundaries were careful to exclude known areas with commercial development potential; the southern boundary, in particular, was drawn so as to exclude the Cold Bay (Puale Bay), Cape Kubugakli, and Gas Creek mining properties. The relative lack of activity within the proposed boundaries encouraged park advocates to push for the creation of a monument which prohibited mining. In so doing, they ran counter to territorial tradition. Prospecting and mining were prohibited in most NPS units in the United States. In Alaska, however, both of the units which had been established thus far, Sitka and Mount McKinley, allowed the practice. [11]

After the NPS had decided on a tentative boundary, it asked the U.S. Geological Survey if it had any objections to the proposed monument. The few reports on the area's geology which had been completed thus far indicated the presence of a few deposits, but the vast majority of land under consideration had never been explored. Based on such scant information, the USGS indicated that it would not intercede against the withdrawal, but neither could it muster much enthusiasm for it. Some of its members, including Dr. Martin, were opposed to it, at least until such time as geological studies could be conducted.

NPS Director Stephen Mather was sensitive to the USGS's viewpoints, and repeated them to Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane. The secretary, who was the single most important

decision maker, conditionally agreed to the reservation despite the USGS's objections. USGS officials knew that the creation of the monument would not affect their ability to conduct their geological studies. Acting NPS Director Horace M. Albright, who also recognized the Geological Survey's concern, assured Alaska Governor Thomas Riggs that the withdrawal "can be modified later if this is necessary in the interests of the commercial development of Alaska." Albright, reflecting Lane's opinion, felt that it was "just as well to have it [as a monument] pending a thorough investigation by the Geological Survey." [12]

Alaska Governor Thomas Riggs, not surprisingly, decried the existence of the new monument. He was philosophically opposed to the creation of any reservation that limited development possibilities; regarding Katmai, he opposed its creation because he was certain that it contained commercial possibilities. In a letter to Mather in November 1918, he said that

> I beg to advise that there are no devastated lands owing to the great eruption, unless they are overrun by lava, the volcanic ash making the soil peculiarly fertile. I am also advised that there are oil indications within the withdrawal, and a short way outside of the lines drawn, there is at present an oil well, driven and capped, awaiting the time when it shall be possible to take up oil lands. [13]

Mining in the Katmai Area, 1918-1945

Soon after Wilson established the monument, the area surrounding the monument became a focus of interest for petroleum developers. On February 25, 1920, Congress enacted a law which allowed Alaska land to be leased for oil exploration purposes. During the next few years, known or suspected petroleum areas were blanketed with oil claims. The Cold Bay (Puale Bay) field, where a well was drilled beginning in May 1922, was the territory's most popular leasing area. By June 30 of that year, 222 entrants had applied for 564,170 acres of Cold Bay oil-lease lands. Leases probably covered the Cold Bay region and stretched northward to Katmai's southwestern boundary. North of the monument, the knowledge that oil seeps had been discovered on the shoreline of Kamishak Bay brought forth a flurry of leases. These leases were scattered along the bay's southwestern shore and also went ten miles up the Kamishak River. The flurry of excitement, however, was all for naught. The few marginally-successful wells drilled in the Cold Bay field were more than twenty miles southwest of the monument. No drilling took place on the margins of Kamishak Bay, and the oil leases were eventually cancelled. [14]

A small mineral development on the west shore of Shelikof Strait was responsible for the first alteration of Katmai's boundaries. In the early 1920s, John J. Folstad began working a coal seam on the western shore of Amalik Bay, opposite Takli Island. (This was probably the location which had been discovered by Dall and Becker in 1895.) In response, Folstad petitioned the government for a permit to develop the site. The NPS, recognizing the value of coal, knew that the petition might well result in pressure to open the entire monument to mining. The agency, therefore, felt it better to remove the area from the monument. On September 5, 1923, President Calvin Coolidge issued Executive Order No. 3897, which excluded 10 acres from the monument. [15]

In 1923, the long-expected Geological Survey expedition finally took place. As noted in Chapter 3, both Walter R. Smith and Kirtley F. Mather led survey parties into the Katmai country. Smith's party described and mapped much of the existing monument, and also fanned out to areas as far west as Dumpling Mountain and as far southwest as Becharof Lake. Mather's party surveyed the area to the north. It covered each of the coastal drainages from Paint River south to Cape Douglas, and also headed inland to survey the Savonoski River,

Kulik Lake, Battle Lake, and Moraine-Funnel Creek drainages. The geologists found several mineralized areas in their surveys, most notably in the Paint River drainage and the Cold Bay area. The area within the monument, however, was "very little mineralized." Regarding the reputed petroleum deposits near Kamishak Bay, Mather could muster only a tepid enthusiasm. He felt that a search for petroleum was justified "throughout such of the southeastern portion of the Kamishak Bay region," but urged prospective drillers to first exploit the Cold Bay field first, where the geological structures appeared to be more favorable. [16] For the remainder of the decade, no other mining activities took place either inside the monument or in the immediately surrounding area.

In November 1930, Robert F. Griggs spearheaded an effort to extend Katmai National Monument's boundaries to the north and west. In a letter to an Interior Department official, Griggs gave a broad rationale for expanding the park and noted that there were "no minerals of value" except for a worked-out gold placer at Cape Kubugakli. As part of his expansion recommendations, he took care to avoid the oil-bearing tracts which surrounded Puale Bay, and recognized that the trader at Kanatak, 50 miles southwest of the existing monument and dependent on any oil development that might take place, would be adversely affected by his proposed expansion. [17]

The following January the NPS, in consultation with Griggs and the Interior Depart-ment, laid out the boundaries of the proposed monument expansion. The Geological Survey, when asked its opinion of the area's economic geology, offered a dim view of the area's suitability as a parkland. The agency noted that

> the general conditions are such as to indicate the possible occurrence of prospective oil fields both to the north and south of the present Katmai National Monument. Many oil claims have been located in both of these areas, and doubtless the status of permits that have been granted can be obtained from the General Land Office.
>
> In addition to the oil possibilities, gold has been produced from claims in the vicinity of Cape Kubugakli and indications of gold have been found at a number of other points, stibnite, molybdenite, galena, and tetrahedrite--all minerals of economic value, if they occur in quantity--have been reported from veins near Cape Kubugakli. Regarding the area north of the present monument in the Kamishak Bay region, Mather reports a number of metallic mineral deposits in those places where igneous activity not related to recent volcanism has been intense. Conditions analogous to those described by him probably also occur in parts of the unsurveyed regions west and southwest of Cape Douglas, which is included within the boundaries of the enlarged monument. [18]

The Service, in response, offered to pare the size of its proposed expansion by suggesting that the northern boundary become "a line from Hallo Bay westerly to the forks of Gorge and Hardscrabble Creeks." The line west of that point followed that which Griggs had originally proposed. In mid-February, however, the Acting Director of the Geological Survey rejected that compromise. He hardened his previous position and dissented against any changes to the 1918 boundary. The Survey again expressed its concern about the possibilities of oil and gold extraction. On a broader level, the agency stated that it "is keenly interested in having as much of the region as possible kept open for free use, in order to stimulate its development." The USGS felt that the additional acreage was irrelevant to the original intent of the park. [19]

The Service responded to the comments provided by the USGS and other government agencies by excluding the various oil claims surrounding Puale Bay; the new boundary lines,

however, were far closer to those in Griggs's original proposal than those drawn in response to the USGS's original criticisms. The revised boundaries, which were justified in an April 22 letter from Secretary of the Interior Ray Wilbur to President Herbert Hoover, thus ignored much of the Geological Survey's concerns about potential oil development. Wilbur concluded that the proposed area "is of greater value from a edu-cational and scientific viewpoint and for the protection of wild life than for economic development." [20] On April 24, 1931, President Hoover signed the proclamation which expanded the monument. A tacit effect of the expansion was its reincorporation of the 10-acre parcel that had been removed from the monument in 1923. (Folstad had long since lost interest in his coal claim.)

During the 1930s, as noted in Chapter 3, a small but stubborn group of trappers resided along the lakes in various parts of the monument. Some prospectors doubtless also entered the monument, and a few of the trappers also prospected from time to time. As a result, three mining sites were located on the margins of the monument. Roy Fure and Martin Mickelson, both of Naknek, found a cinnabar vein in 1934 while traveling up Gorge Creek. Mickelson retorted about 200 pounds of the Gorge Creek vein but found that the mercury it contained was not of sufficient value to develop further. Fure, who continued to prospect in the area, found several more deposits just north of the original find. [21] In 1938, along American Creek, Bill Hammersly found additional placer gold deposits in the same general area where Alex Grant had prospected twenty years earlier. Hammersly continued to work the stream gravels each summer until 1941, by which time he had located 18 placer claims which stretched one to two miles upstream from the monument boundary. He found extensive bench gold deposits; its quantity, however, was insufficient to sustain extended operations under existing conditions. The only other reported gold deposits were located along the shores of Brooks Lake. These deposits, located inside the boundaries of the monument--and thus extracted illegally--were apparently discovered in the late 1930s or early 1940s. Only small amounts were ever found. [22]

The situation was much the same along the Shelikof Strait. As noted in Chapter 3, most of those who were attracted to the area were fox farmers. Once there, however, they sought whatever means they could to scratch out a living. On the north shore of Takli Island, W. E. Baumann located several placer claims beginning in 1931. There is no evidence, however, that either he or others in the area found anything of economic significance. [23]

In 1941, J. C. Roehm, an investigator from the Territorial Bureau of Mines, visited the Naknek Lake region and investigated the mining possibilities for various area properties. Roehm visited the American Creek claims and attempted but failed to visit those along Gorge Creek. He also hiked up into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. Roehm emerged from his survey convinced that Katmai had been needlessly expanded and that mineral development would surely follow a reduction in its boundaries. Based on what he had seen and heard, however, he could generate little enthusiasm for hard rock mining. The NPS, which had little other information on the area, concluded that the monument had a general paucity of economically retrievable minerals. [24]

Attempts to Extract Volcanic Ash

The Katmai area, in all likelihood, would have had little mineral activity had demand been limited to hard rock minerals. Little of interest had been located either in or near the monument. But what Katmai had in abundance was siliceous volcanic ash, otherwise known as pumicite. The 1912 eruption had extruded over five cubic miles of the material, enough to cover a 3,000-square-mile area a foot deep. [25] Because the ash had no commercial value, development interests ignored it, and almost no one felt slighted when the 1918 and 1931 proclamations placed most of the ash deposits within the monument's boundaries.

The value of pumicite, however, began to increase during World War II. Both the army and navy needed base materials in the construction of roads and airfields, and military personnel found pumicite superior to the locally-available sand and gravel. After the war, Alaska faced an unprecedented demand for materials in the building construction industry, and various private sector interests recognized that pumicite might fulfill those needs. In 1946, Gus Sutherland founded the Anchorage-based Alaska Katmalite Corporation and gathered materials from Augustine Island; the same year, Don Goodman and Harold Swank visited the island and took a number of pumicite samples. [26]

Goodman and Swank soon found that the pumicite located on Augustine Island was an inferior material for making so-called "pumi-blocks." Casting about for an alternative, they visited Takli Island, took samples, and found them to be well suited to their needs. They then formed the Pumice Block Company, which was based in Anchorage, and sent a small crew which "was active in developing deposits" on the island. [27]

Goodman and Swank knew that both Geographic Harbor and Takli Island were located in Katmai National Monument and were thus off-limits to mining, but they also hoped that the region's need for building materials might allow pumice removal to take place. To address the problem, Goodman and Swank's attorney, J. L. McCarrey, wrote territorial delegate E. L. Bartlett in April 1947 and explained the company's dilemma. Bartlett forwarded his letter to the NPS, who replied that it had no authority to grant the company a permit. [28] The only option lay in the issuance of an executive order which would withdraw Takli Island from the monument and restore the property to the public domain. He wrote Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug on the matter, hoping that he might be able to prepare an executive order for President Truman's signature. [29] Krug, after consulting with the NPS, the USGS, and the Division of Territories and Island Possessions on the matter, decided that it was best to first study the matter, in order "to assure ourselves that any enterprise along this line ... has a reasonable chance to succeed, as well as to determine the effect of the elimination of this Island from the national monument." He promised that a USGS geologist would be assigned to the task. [30]

A study of the area's ash deposits was completed that summer by the Alaska Territorial Department of Mines, who agreed to assist the USGS in their work. J. C. Roehm, by now an Associate Mining Engineer with the department, visited six sites along the Shelikof Strait coastline: at Takli Island, Kukak Bay, and two sites each in Geographic Harbor and Kinak Bay. After testing samples from each site, he found that Kukak Bay was "best in quality of any noted during the investigation." He further noted that "This [Kukak Bay] deposit could easily be mined with mechanical shovel and is readily accessible to barge loading. There appears to be abundant material in this deposit for a small pumice block operation for several years." [31]

The developers soon constructed a pumi-block plant and were ready to go even before the Territorial Bureau of Mines had completed its report. Their only wish was to supply a critically-needed element to the Anchorage building industry. Environmental degradation, moreover, was not a problem as they saw it. The nature of pumice and the windy conditions prevalent along Shelikof Strait, in their opinion, were such that "no type of excavation, loading or hauling can in any way disfigure any part of this area." Both the developers, and Territorial Delegate Bartlett, were amazed that federal officials would wish to block the operation. [32]

Bureaucratic conflict and legal wrangling, however, prevented them from receiving permission to mine or even receiving answers as to its legality for the remainder of 1947. The USGS, the primary agency which Krug had assigned to the task, needed only to approve the completed report and issue a covering statement; no such statement, however, was

forthcoming from the agency. Over at the NPS, meanwhile, renewed debate developed regarding the proper legal course to adopt. One official, repeating the stand originally taken in April, stated that the NPS could not legally issue a mining permit, but another felt that even the excision of the area from the monument would not provide the legal right to mine. [33]

In January 1948, development interests renewed their efforts to have the Katmai coastline opened to pumicite extraction. By this time Don Goodman had sold his interests in the company, and Swank and Ken Hinchey had founded the Ken Hinchey Company, based in Anchorage. Citing an increased demand for pumicite-based materials at Fort Richardson, Hinchey demanded to know the status of the USGS's investigations. The letter eventually reached the desk of Newton Drury, NPS Director, who responded that the USGS was still dragging its heels because of an extended leave taken by the field representative assigned to the project. [34]

Perhaps because of Bartlett's incessant harping, the report which Secretary Krug had requested in May 1947 was finally submitted by the USGS in March 1948. [35] Its results caused the developers to change their strategy. During 1947 they had consistently stated their intention to operate on Takli Island, but when the report's conclusions became known they prevailed upon Bartlett to allow exploitation at one or more sites on the mainland. Delegate Bartlett passed those concerns on to the NPS. [36]

During the spring of 1948, the legal cloud which had formerly hung over pumice extraction began to lift. Officials concluded that if one or more areas were removed from the monument, pumice mining could legally take place. They could not, however, allow mining in the park without specific Congressional legislation which permitted the activity.

Given the continuing economic and political pressures toward development, Director Drury and other NPS officials had to choose one of three courses to follow. Should it stand pat and try to resist development pressures? Should it reduce its boundaries? Or should it allow regulated use? Having little knowledge of the area, they wrote biologist Robert F. Griggs, leader of the National Geographic expeditions, for his opinion. Griggs replied that the latter choice was best. He had little difficulty with the extraction of pumice from Kukak Bay; of greater concern was the safety of those who had to navigate Shelikof Strait. The NPS, in response, tentatively adopted Griggs's position on pumice extraction, and noted that "Kukak Bay appears to offer the best opportunity for initial operations and the least conflict with preservation of primary monument values." Kukak Bay was a good choice for two reasons; not only did the area contain an excellent source of pumicite, but a cannery was also active in the bay. Given a choice, the NPS favored combining two adverse land uses into a single small area. [37]

Bartlett agreed with NPS officials that legislation allowing pumice mining activities should be pursued. Bartlett offered to introduce the legislation, and the NPS initially offered some assistance in drafting it. [38] Little activity, however, took place that year. Agency officials seemed less than enthusiastic in working with Bartlett, and it slowly became apparent that no legislation would be forthcoming any time soon. By mid-December the situation was no closer to a conclusion than it had been a year earlier. The year again ended with Bartlett promising to introduce appropriate legislation legalizing pumice mining. [39] The slow pace of events that year may have been due, in part, to a slackening demand for pumicite as a building material. (Ken Hinchey, who had hoped to develop the Katmai deposits, appears have abandoned his quest in the fall of 1948.) Whatever the reason, Bartlett had little cause to pressure the Park Service on the subject during most of 1949. That November, however, interest in pumice extraction was renewed when Arthur Waldron, the general manager of Anchorage Sand and Gravel, asked to gain access to the area. [40]

During January 1950, the reason for the NPS's dilatory tactics became clear. The agency decided that it would be better to eliminate a small area from the monument, via presidential proclamation, than to have Congressional authorization allowing pumicite removal. [41] Agency officials feared that legislation allowing pumicite mining would set a poor precedent and open the door to widespread mining activities in the monument. In search of an alternative, they discovered that the Materials Disposal Act, which passed Congress on July 31, 1947, allowed pumicite to be disposed by lease or permit if the appropriate area could be eliminated from the monument. An additional reason officials liked the bill was that it gave them the means to restore the lands to the monument at a later date. [42]

Agency officials quickly carved out a 6,000-acre area around Kukak Bay that was proposed for elimination from the monument, and an official in the Department of the Interior's Alaska Field Office was able to tell Waldron that

> positive action is in the offing by the Department.... This action is not official, of course, until it comes out under the Secretary's or President's signature, but it does let you know that the Department has not forgotten you and that everything is being done that can be to bring you this about quickly for your use this summer." [43]

Director Drury forwarded the agency's position on to the Secretary of the Interior, who by now was Oscar L. Chapman. [44] The Secretary's staff prepared a suggested executive order, and on May 19 submitted it, along with an explanatory cover letter, to President Harry S. Truman. Chapman recommended that Truman sign the proclamation. [45]

What happened to the proposed proclamation after that point is unclear. Before it reached the President's desk it had to clear the Attorney General, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Federal Register; perhaps because of those delays, the proclamation still had not reached the President by June 9. By mid-July, NPS officials were still convinced that the proclamation would become law. [46] But Truman never signed it.

Two reasons have been advanced as to why the proclamation was never implemented. John Kauffmann, in his study of Katmai's boundaries, has suggested that the Attorney General blocked it because of its shaky legal foundations. [47] Another reason may have been last-minute Interior Department misgivings regarding the necessity of pumicite removal from the monument. As early as November 1949, Department officials had begun to complain that all of the areas which had been surveyed in Roehm's 1947 study were located in Katmai National Monument, and several urged that a renewed search of the coast be made for pumicite deposits outside of the monument. In January 1950, therefore, the U.S. Geological Survey was formally asked to find out whether pumice deposits could be located between Anchorage and the monument. [48] The USGS, in searching their admittedly incomplete records, was unable to find any such pumice deposits. Interior department officials, however, were confident that additional pumice-extraction sites could be located. Chapman's May 1950 letter to Truman, in fact, noted that

> since the deposit in Katmai National Monument [at Kukak Bay] is located at a considerable distance from Anchorage through treacherous waters, it is probable that this source can serve only as a temporary expedient, at best. In the circumstances, this Department is hopeful that a suitable site for pumicite removal can be found nearer Anchorage and outside the monument. [49]

Truman himself may have noted that it was inconsistent to lop off 6,000 acres of a national monument while simultaneously suggesting the preparation of studies that might eliminate the necessity to mine Katmai's pumicite deposits. Regardless of who (if anyone) recognized

the inconsistency, the practical effect of Truman's not signing the proclamation was a renewed search for accessible pumice deposits.

Robert M. Moxham, a geologist with the U.S. Geological Survey, was commissioned to search a wide area which had been subject to recent volcanism and to find an optimal site for pumice extraction. He undertook field work on the subject in the summer of 1950. His report, which was completed in late 1951 and distributed in January 1952, compared the pumice deposits of Katmai National Monument with those of Augustine Island and the Aniakchak-Veniaminof region. After weighing the attributes of six sites in the monument, two sites on Augustine Island, and four sites in the Aniakchak-Veniaminof area, Moxham concluded that "it appears that the pumice deposits in the Amalik Bay-Kukak Bay offer geological and geographic advantages" over any other sites, either those outside or within Katmai National Monument. [50]

Moxham's report noted, among other things, that an Anchorage company had recently been active removing pumice in the monument. In the summer of 1950 John Grove, who headed the Stock and Grove Company, brought a crew of six into Geographic Harbor; the following year, the company repeated the process in the same location. [51] The company appears to have operated legally because it worked below the high tide line and was thus outside the monument boundaries; it was illegal, however, in that it kept its equipment and a shed above the high tide line without having a special use permit. The NPS apparently had no inkling of its presence during the summer of 1950 (although territorial officials were well aware of it). They caught wind of it, however, that winter. In 1951, George Collins of the Alaska Recreation Survey visited the site and informed other NPS officials on the details of Stock and Grove's operation. Because he lacked a permit, Grove was issued a cease and desist order in early September, and the company permanently shut down its Katmai pumice operations. [52]

By the end of 1950, Bartlett had become aware that pumice mining would not be opened by way of a presidential proclamation. Having lost faith with the Department of the Interior, he returned to the idea which had been dropped a year earlier. On July 13, 1951, he introduced a bill into the House of Representatives--H.R. 4794--which would have allowed a 15-year period for pumicite removal "from such areas as [the Secretary of the Interior] may designate along the shores of Shelikof Strait in Katmai National Monument, Alaska." [53] The bill was quickly approved by Robert F. Griggs and was presented favorably to the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments. On October 4, the Interior Department wrote the committee that it too had no objection to the bill, provided that such a bill not set a precedent for further mining activities in the national park system. [54]

Conservation-oriented Congressmen soon tried to block Bartlett's bill. Their opposition provoked this outburst from an obviously frustrated Alaska Governor Ernest Gruening:

> The whole question of the extreme and fanatical conservatism that is represented by some of our conservationists is going to haunt us repeatedly in Alaska. Katmai National Monument is the result of a volcanic explosion which moved millions, if not billions, of tons of material and scattered it to the four winds of Heaven, some of the dust travelling as far east as Wisconsin. It is pretty fantastic to prevent a worthy commercial undertaking from removing a few tons of pumice from some corner of this vast Monument, which is larger in area I believe than the states of Rhode Island and Delaware, and whose original attractiveness, with its 10,000 smokes reduced to a few or none, has largely vanished. [55]

Despite opposition, the bill remained under consideration for the remainder of the 82nd

Congress. Territorial development interests such as Gruening, Bartlett, and the Alaska Development Board all backed the bill. In late 1951 a new company, Pacific Pumice, from Washington state, added momentum to it by requesting a pumice removal permit. [56] Bartlett's influence resulted in committee passage of H.R. 4794 on February 20, 1952, and the full House passed it on March 3. The following day the bill was referred to the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and as Bartlett ruefully described it, members "seemed altogether unwilling to approve the bill, at least in its present form." The Senate bill never got out of committee, and was forgotten for the remainder of the 82nd Congress. [57]

Bartlett, however, was unwilling to give up. At the beginning of the 83rd Congress, on January 13, 1953, Congressman Wesley A. D'Ewart of Montana introduced H.R. 1529, which was identical to the bill (H.R. 4794) which Bartlett had submitted during the 1951-52 Congressional term. [58] Three days later Bartlett submitted a similar bill, H.R. 1801. The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee ignored Bartlett's bill, but on February 18 it amended and passed H.R. 1529. On March 2, the full House passed the amended bill; two days later it was presented to the Senate. For over a year it seemed destined to the same fate which had befallen it during the previous Congress. But on March 30, 1954 the bill, sponsored by Sen. Hugh Butler of Nebraska, finally emerged from the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, and on April 5, 1954, it was passed by the full Senate. [59] The House and Senate bills being identical, it was forwarded to President Eisenhower on April 7. On April 15, 1954, the president signed the bill, and it became Public Law 332 of the 83rd Congress. [60]

The signing of H.R. 1529 marked the end of a seven year struggle to obtain a site for pumicite inside Katmai National Monument. In conformance with the act's provisions, Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay designated Takli Island (not Kukak Bay, as the studies seemed to suggest) as the area to be set aside for pumice extraction. [61] The long-sought victory, however, was pyrrhic. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, it may be remembered, several companies had indicated an interest in pumice extraction. But by the time the bill became law, that interest had diminished, and one of them went so far as to inform Bartlett that an expanded shale product, called Baselite, had replaced pumice as a building construction material. [62] True to the law's provisions, Takli Island remained open for pumice extraction for the next fifteen years, but no company with an interest in commercial pumice extraction stepped forward. The permit quietly expired on April 15, 1969, and no interest in pumicite development has appeared since then.

Despite the herculean efforts made by both developers and legislators to tap into Katmai's pumicite deposits, few on-the-ground impacts ever resulted. Takli Island was the site of a small operation during 1947, and Geographic Harbor witnessed some activity in 1950 and 1951. The latter operation, which took place along the west shore of the upper harbor, was never very sophisticated; major on-site equipment consisted of a barge, a Caterpillar, a duck (a large, amphibious truck) and a shack on skids. The shack remained for years afterward, but by 1985 all that remained was a large pumice berm, two four-foot pilings, and a few scraps of metal. [63]

Mining Policies and Surveying Activities, 1945-1970

Pumicite was not the only mining-related pressure that NPS officials had to deal with regarding Katmai during the postwar years. As noted in Chapter 3, Bartlett spearheaded a 1947 effort to eliminate the monument as part of an ill-fated statehood bill. [64] By November 1948, pressures to develop the monument had become so great that NPS Regional Director Owen A. Tomlinson told Director Drury that "we believe the Service should seriously be considering the possibility that it will have to submit to legislation authorizing

mining in Katmai National Monument in the event substantial evidence is produced indicating that it is a mineralized area." Tomlinson was well aware that both Mount McKinley National Park and Glacier Bay National Monument were open to mining, and he was prepared to allow mining in Katmai as well, perhaps believing that it would ward off calls to abandon the unit entirely. [65]

Several factors had brought pressure on the Park Service to open Katmai to mining. One factor was the obvious frustration that Alaskans felt at having a huge expanse that was off-limits to them, not only for mining and trapping but for recreation and tourism purposes as well. What added additional momentum to the cause was the discovery that a several local residents had located a "rock mineral of high value content" the previous fall. On November 14, 1948, pilot Bill Smith flew Charlie "Red" Robinson, trapper Jim Marlette, and a planeload of supplies to the eastern end of Lake Grosvenor. The location of the ore body is not known; it may have been the cinnabar deposits along Gorge Creek. Their entry into the area, however, was not discovered until the following April. Carlos Carson, the Dillingham-based fish and game agent and deputy NPS park ranger, suspected that their entry was illegal and deduced that their mining activities were as well. Carson dutifully informed his superiors at the Region Four office in San Francisco, which set off a wave of concern. Armed with a stack of regulations, Carson may have asked the miners to cease their operations, or perhaps the miners gave up after investigating the ore body more closely. At any rate, nothing more was heard of their operations. Because of that reason, and because only scattered pressure surfaced during that period to develop the pumice deposits along the Shelikof Strait shoreline, no bill emerged during this period to allow mining at Katmai. [66]

Scattered amounts of other mining activity surfaced during the postwar years. In 1947, George Hadden occupied a cabin on the north shore of Takli Island; he was probably prospecting the same claims which W. E. Baumann had located back in 1931. (Takli Island had been absorbed into the monument in 1942. Mining claims made before that date, however, could still be developed.) [67] Marlette continued to prospect as well as trap, and had another camp along the Kulik River, north of the existing monument. His cabin was later eliminated by Northern Consolidated Airlines personnel, who had established a fishing camp on the river's north side, just west of Kulik Lake, in 1950. [68] (The camp was later moved southwest to its present location.)

The Katmai Project, the interdisciplinary effort spearheaded by the Office of Naval Research in 1953 and 1954, provided an opportunity to investigate the monument's geological and mining resources. As originally outlined, one of the project's six objectives was "the volcanic activity and general geology of the area, including ... the nature and extent of mineral resources in the monument." Activities accomplished in 1953 under this objective were limited to geological and volcanological examinations. [69] The following year, however, the U.S. Geological Survey (one of the project's cooperating agencies) assigned A. Samuel Keller and Hillard N. Reiser to investigate the monument's geology and mineralogical potential. Their study also included a broad surrounding area, including Becharof Lake, Kulik and Nonvianuk lakes, the Kamishak River drainage, and the upper King Salmon River drainage.

Keller and Reiser, who were primarily interested in the area's oil and gas deposits, gained the data for their study primarily by examining aerial photography and perusing existing reports, not by extensive field investigation. [70] To those who wanted to mine or drill, their conclusions were not encouraging. They were able to locate three broad bodies of coal-bearing rocks--west of Cape Nukshak, south of Geographic Harbor, and north of Dakavak Lake--but downplayed the monument's coal mining potential. In a similar vein, they described the location of several known or purported oil and gas seeps, but concluded that "it is unlikely that favorable petroleum strata can be reached at practical drilling depths on most of the structures that could be drilled." Keller and Reiser roughed out their report in 1954. It

was not completed, however, until 1956, and it was not published until 1959. [71]

Another report completed in 1954 dealt more specifically with the monument's hard rock mineral potential. G. Donald Eberlein, a mineral deposits geologist with the USGS, prepared a "Statement of Mineral Resource Potential in Katmai National Monument" as part of the Survey's Katmai Project work. The study was based on existing documents and included no field work. It noted that the most promising mineral find was the gold deposit near Cape Kubugakli. Beyond that, however, Eberlein was pessimistic. He concluded that "we cannot rule out the possibility of ultimately finding additional deposits in the Monument ... although the likelihood that such deposits occur is not very great." [72]

The advent of the various Northern Consolidated fishing camps, in 1950, and the recognition that the NPS taking a more active role in managing Katmai's resources dampened the enthusiasm of those who hoped to open the monument to hard rock mining. During the early 1950s few if any petitioned Bartlett on the subject, and the delegate was also worried that Congress would be confused if a bill permitting all forms of mining throughout the monument was being considered at the same time as a bill allowing pumice extraction along the Shelikof Strait coastline. [73]

In mid-April 1954, however, the pumice extraction bill became law, and by the end of the month Bartlett had introduced H.R. 8893, a bill which would have permitted mining in the monument. Nick Zimin, a would-be prospector from South Naknek, requested its submission before Congress. The bill was referred to the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and was not considered further. [74]

Bartlett, undaunted, submitted an identical bill for Zimin, H.R. 250, at the beginning of the next Congressional session in January 1955. An Assistant Secretary of the Interior, however, recommended that the House committee not enact the bill, and the matter was quietly dropped thereafter. [75] The following year Zimin tried one more time; the never-say-die prospector told Governor B. F. Heintzleman that if he could get a prospecting permit "I'll prove that the Katmai area is rich in minerals." Neither Heintzleman nor Bartlett, however, were in a position to help, and no bill was submitted that year. The only gesture of hope that Heintzleman could give Zimin was that "some mining companies" had expressed an interest in investigating known mineral prospects in the monument. Heintzleman, recognizing the power of Alaska's resource industries, knew that if significant mineral bodies could be located, mining companies would request an elimination of that particular area from the monument. But no mining investigations took place. [76] Three years later, a representative of the Alaska Miners Association brought up the subject once again to Bob Bartlett, who by now was a U.S. Senator. Bartlett, by now battle-weary, replied that

> In all candor, I must say there isn't a chance whatsoever for this. Over the years I have made a valiant effort in this regard but have been opposed by the NPS and the conservation groups which have been effective in their opposition. [77]

In 1961, mining played an indirect role in a proposed legislative package pertaining to the monument. In February of that year, Ray Petersen of Northern Consolidated Airlines visited Ernest Gruening, one of Alaska's U.S. senators, and convinced him that Katmai needed a road constructed between Brooks Camp and the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. Gruening, in turn, convinced the National Park Service to fund the project. The senator awoke to the scenic beauties and tourist potential of the Katmai country, and advanced a proposal to Governor William Egan that Katmai become a national park. Egan, however, rebuffed the idea because he knew that the creation of a national park would further restrict "industrial efforts" to promote Katmai's mineral and oil resources. Egan's Commissioner of Natural Resources, Phil Holdsworth, was trying to convince Egan that the state should advocate

looser restrictions over Katmai mining. Holdsworth, a longtime mining man, agreed with the position of the Alaska Miners Association, which was proposing that the boundaries of Katmai be changed so that the heavily mineralized northeast portion could be opened to exploration. Gruening, in such an atmosphere, could see that his park proposal would gain little headway, and it was quietly dropped. [78]

In 1965, Alaska's Congressman, Ralph Rivers, made a similar suggestion. As part of an Alaska parks "wish list," he proposed to NPS Director George Hartzog that a mineral survey be made of the monument. Rivers, like Gruening four years before, hoped to convert Katmai into a national park. Neither the idea nor the mineral survey, however, were considered further. [79]

Those two brief flurries of bureaucratic activity were an exception during a decade of relative calm. No mining activities nor mineral surveying activities took place in or near the monument during the remainder of the 1960s, nor were there any legislative attempts during the period to open the monument to mineral prospecting. [80]

Proposed Offshore Oil Activities, 1960-1980

In 1957, the economy of southcentral Alaska was bolstered by the discovery of oil along the Swanson River, north of Sterling on the Kenai Peninsula. By 1959 there were high production wells on the peninsula, and exploration and development also extended to offshore Cook Inlet, where additional oil and gas fields were brought into production. [81] The enthusiasm generated by these wells caused industry and state officials to look to the oil and gas resources in the Katmai area. As early as 1961, Department of Natural Resources Commissioner Phil Holdsworth noted in a letter to Governor Egan that the monument was "nearly surrounded now by oil and gas leases and at least parts of the Monument are of interest to the oil and gas industry." He was plainly frustrated that the monument was off-limits to oil and gas exploration. [82]

Over the next few years oil became an increasingly prominent part of Alaska's economy. By 1965, five oil and eleven gas fields had been developed. Kenai Peninsula, however, remained the most successful production area. Upper Cook Inlet, west of Anchorage, began oil production in late 1965 and was considered to have high future growth potential. The lower Cook Inlet, adjacent to Katmai and also considered a potential petroleum-drilling area, was virtually untouched. The enthusiasm generated from the Kenai Peninsula discoveries had also created interest in Bristol Bay and the Gulf of Alaska. By 1966, seismic crews had already been sent in to check both of these areas. [83]

During the late 1960s, oil production in upper Cook Inlet grew quickly, and for the next few years about 80 percent of the region's oil came from offshore wells. Some small scale oil exploration work was also taking place in the lower Bristol Bay area. [84] NPS officials looked warily at the pace of events going on in the waters east and west of the monument. They recognized that development along Katmai's shores was not imminent. If commercially successful wells were found closer to the monument boundaries, however, petroleum exploration companies were bound to impact on Katmai and its resources. [85]

Oil companies began to send their first field parties into the monument during this period. During the summer of 1966, crews from Standard Oil and Sinclair Oil took part in a geological research program; the location of their field work is unknown. A special use permit, issued by the National Park Service, legitimized their activities. The crews limited their investigations to field surveys and the taking of samples. In 1972, three oil companies were given special use permits to conduct geological exploration along the coast of Shelikof

Strait. Oil companies were probably active in the area throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s. [86]

With the Prudhoe Bay oil discoveries and the massive efforts made to build the Trans-Alaska pipeline, attention during the first half of the 1970s shifted away from the Cook Inlet and Bristol Bay oil provinces. By 1976, however, lease sales were being proposed for both areas. The proposed Outer Continental Shelf lease sale for Bristol Bay did not directly impact Katmai, either the existing monument or the national park which was then under consideration. It did, however, impact park planning. NPS officials had heard predictions that King Salmon would grow to a town of 25,000 people if oil development in Bristol Bay was successful. They recognized that any such developments would have a significant impact on Katmai's resources. [87]

The proposed oil and gas lease sale in lower Cook Inlet promised more direct impacts to Katmai (see Chapter 5). The Bureau of Land Management had jurisdiction for land beyond the three-mile limit, and in July 1976 proposed a lease sale in which the closest drilling leases would be located just six miles from the monument coastline. As part of the same project, drilling was also proposed near the south shore of Kamishak Bay, which was an "area of ecological concern" as outlined in the Final Environmental Statement for the proposed Katmai National Park. [88] (Two years later, the proposed AEC was added to the monument; in 1980, it became part of Katmai National Park.)

NPS officials, who responded to the draft EIS on the project in August 1976, had two major concerns related the lease sale. First, they worried about the effects of development related to oil extraction, transport, and treatment; specifically, the lease proposal called for the construction of a refinery facility at Cape Douglas. Second, officials were concerned about the effects of an oil spill on the shoreline environments of Kamishak Bay and Cape Douglas. [89]

The BLM responded to comments and issued a final EIS in December 1976. The project EIS was approved, and Secretary of the Interior Thomas Kleppe scheduled a lease sale for February 23, 1977. In the meantime, however, Kleppe was replaced by President Carter's choice for Interior Secretary, Cecil Andrus. Just a few days before the proposed lease sale date, Andrus postponed the sale until October. [90] The postponement gave both developers and protection advocates time to work. In August 1977, Secretary of Commerce Juanita Kreps asked the various federal land managers to identify potential marine sanctuaries "in areas where leasing appears imminent." Russ Dickenson, who was then directing the NPS's Pacific Northwest Regional Office, recommended a marine sanctuary for the waters adjacent to Katmai National Monument. Dickenson's suggestion was directed to officials at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, who managed marine sanctuaries under the 1972 Marine Protection, Research and Sanctuaries Act. On October 27, 1977, the postponed lease sale finally took place. Because of Dickenson's action, however, the tracts located closest to Katmai were removed from the sale. [91]

The mid-1970s also brought a revival of interest in the monument as a site for geological explorations. The NPS issued special use permits to Exxon Corporation and Amoco Corporation in 1977 "to conduct bedrock outcropping investigations along the Shelikof Strait coastline." The following year Chevron Corporation and Mobil Corporation were issued special use permits for the same purpose. In 1980 Amoco, Marathon Oil and Chevron were issued special use permits. [92]

Despite all the bureaucratic activity created by, and in response to, the proposed lease sales, no significant onshore or offshore developments have taken place as a result. In Bristol Bay, governmental agencies and oil companies have continued to show an interest in drilling. But

opposition to drilling, primarily by fishermen, has prevented large-scale development, and the population of either Naknek and King Salmon has never risen to more than one thousand persons. In Lower Cook Inlet, the lease sale proposed in 1976 did not take place. The marine sanctuary proposed in 1977 was never implemented, either. [93] Drilling has taken place, at times with great commercial success, in upper Cook Inlet. In lower Cook Inlet, however, no serious attempts have been made to implement an oil lease sale since the late 1970s.

Mining and the Alaska Lands Act

The passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, in December 1971, set in motion a series of events which, in December 1980, resulted in the passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act. As noted in Chapter 5, a major activity which took place during that nine year period was the preparation of a large number of plans and studies. These documents helped determine which Alaskan areas would be added to the National Park System and which regulations would govern the uses of those newly-added lands.

From the beginning, Katmai was part of the planning process. One portion of that process, as it applied to Katmai, was the identification of mineralized areas within the existing monument, a similar identification process in areas being considered for additions to the monument, and the identification of areas where high potential mineralization was likely to occur.

The minerals identification process had actually begun back in 1969, when Bailey Breedlove, a park planner working in the Alaska Field Office, assembled an inventory of mineralized areas in and around the monument. [94] Breedlove's compilation revealed that there had been no active mining in the monument since the pumice operations of the 1950s, and that there had been never been a commercial placer or lode mine within the monument's boundaries. He knew that there was no standard system by which Katmai (or other Alaska) mining claims had been recorded, so there was no way to ensure that all active claims had not been accounted for. Another NPS planner, however, found out that the last proofs of labor for a Katmai claim in one of the three nearby recording districts had been recorded in 1919. Based upon the long period in which Katmai's minerals had lain fallow, the planner felt confident in concluding that no valid mining claims existed within the monument. [95]

The draft master plan was released in November 1971. Before the master plan became final, officials commenced a monument wilderness study. The designation of wilderness for Katmai promised to have no real impact on mining, because prospecting and mineral entry had always been prohibited. Designation would, however, legislatively augment the existing preclusions under Presidential proclamations. The NPS was also quick to point out that "Should it be in the national interest, Congress could disestablish any part or all of the wilderness and the Monument and open the lands to mineral investigation and development." [96] Congress, however, had seldom if ever taken such an action before, and those who coveted Katmai's mineral resources knew that wilderness designation would effectively prevent their commercial development.

As noted in Chapter 5, the draft wilderness proposal, released in July 1972, called for over 90 percent of the monument to be included in the National Wilderness Preservation System. In response to the draft, the NPS received a barrage of criticism from development-oriented agencies and individuals. Both the USGS and the U.S. Bureau of Mines, for example, noted that no detailed geological studies had been done since the mid-1950s, that the most recent study had not been based on field exploration, and that no detailed mineral exploration had taken place during the last half century. The two agency heads were horrified with the NPS's conclusion that no mineral deposits occurred in the monument, because little was known of

their extent. To make up for the lack of data, the two agency heads urged the completion of a full-scale, monument-wide mineral survey, which would use methods far more sophisticated than had been employed by the early prospectors and geologists. Only after such a survey, which would also include a determination of the value of geothermal resources, could the monument's wilderness resource be safely decided. [97]

In reply to those and similar criticism, NPS officials stubbornly noted that the 1964 Wilderness Act, under whose provisions the Katmai wilderness study was being written, did not require the agency to conduct a mineral survey. As to geothermal resources, the agency conceded that they might well be excellent, but the mandate set forth in the original (1918) proclamation which established the monument did not permit the development of such resources. The Park Service held firm. Six years later, when ANILCA was signed into law by President Carter, almost all of the acreage included in the 1974 document became designated as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. [98]

Less than a year after given an opportunity to comment on the Katmai National Monument wilderness plan, agencies and individuals were asked to give their opinions regarding a proposed 4,660,000-acre Katmai National Park. The boundaries of the park were drawn, in part, to avoid highly mineralized areas. Those who were familiar with Katmai's known mineral resources, however, were quick to recognize that the proposed park included several sites near the existing monument boundary, including the Kubugakli gold placers and the gas seeps in the Kejulik River drainage. North of the monument, the expanded park would include the various cinnabar deposits along Gorge Creek and Hammersly's gold claims along American Creek.

In addition, the proposed Katmai National Park was to include several new groups of mineral claims, all of which were north of the existing monument boundary. Mineral claims in the area could legally be established prior to August 1971, and prior to that deadline, four copper and gold claims had been located along the south shore of Kulik Lake and six others were clustered in the upper Strike Creek drainage. A site containing an unknown mineral was also located in the upper Douglas River drainage, but no claim had been made there. In one of the NPS's three proposed "areas of environmental concern," there was also a series of unpatented lode claims, known collectively as the Pfaff claim, which were located on 1800 acres of land northeast of Battle Lake. None of the four mineral areas within the proposed park were patented. [99]

In addition to the mineral claims, the proposed park addition contained 224 current oil and gas leases and one current oil and gas lease application, all located north of the existing monument. (Many other oil and gas leases had been applied for in the 1920s, 1950s, and 1960s. All had been terminated or cancelled.) The agency noted that geologists had mapped structures favorable to the production of oil within the proposal area. Based on the information in Keller and Reiser's study, however, the NPS felt that it was "unlikely that practical drilling operations in many areas will be able to reach structural and stratigraphic traps that have the potential for containing oil." [100]

When asked for their comments, in April 1974, the U.S. Geological Survey and the U.S. Bureau of Mines did not like the idea of an expanded Katmai National Park any more than they liked most of the existing monument being converted to wilderness. They again noted the "high grade" deposits near Kulik Lake and Battle Lake, they noted the high geothermal properties of the area, and continued to stress the high (though unproven) mineral potential of various geological structures in the area. The Alaska Oil and Gas Association, as expected, noted that the proposed park "appears to us to be a premature course of action and would not be in the best interest of the nation's citizens." The State of Alaska, Exxon, the American Society of Civil Engineers, and other organizations and individuals made similar comments.

But NPS officials were unmoved by such arguments, and the Final Environmental Statement continued to nominate for park status each of the known mineral potential areas that had been proposed in the draft document. [101]

In addition to those who responded with written comments, Ernest Pfaff spoke directly to NPS officials of the need to keep a portion of the proposed northern addition open to mining. Pfaff, the Naknek prospector who also held claims northeast of Battle Lake, told NPS staff that he had been prospecting in the area, particularly in the Kulik Lake drainage, ever since 1950. He had found five or six mineral deposits in the drainage during that time, but had recorded none of them. In the fall of 1972, he located what appeared to be a paying prospect north of the upper end of Kulik Lake, but because of the land freeze, he was unable to stake a claim. [102]

Mining at Katmai Since 1978

By the time President Carter had signed the proclamation enlarging Katmai National Monument, in December 1978, the boundaries which had been proposed in 1973-74 had been enlarged in some areas and reduced in others. Each of the mineralized areas noted above were included in the newly-created portions of the monument. The practical effect of the park's creation was to prevent any new prospecting or oil exploration to take place, although the various unpatented mineral claims could legally operate in accordance with the various state, BLM, and NPS regulations.

Soon after the Katmai enlargement, NPS personnel tried to ascertain the number of mining claims in the newly-expanded area. Their search revealed a total of eight claims--four lode and four placer--in three claim groups. They included four placer claims in the Sugarloaf Association group, the Dog #5 lode claim, and three lode claims which comprised the Pfaff claim group. None of the unpatented claims had records of previous mineral production.

Two of the claim groups were declared null and void within a few years of the NPS's acquisition of the area. The Sugarloaf Association gold claims were located a few miles north of Sugarloaf Mountain, on a unnamed tributary to the Alagnak River. Richard Jensen, the claimant, filed for the claim on December 29, 1978, shortly after Carter's proclamation expanded the monument boundaries. The property, however, had been closed to mineral entry on March 15, 1972. Jensen had no legal ground upon which to stand upon, and on May 18, 1983 the BLM ruled that his claim was null and void. [103]

The second claim was equally spurious. On October 1, 1979, Scott Douglas filed for the Dog #5 lode claim, which was located near the Knife Creek Glaciers on the slopes of Mount Katmai. That area had been included within Katmai National Monument in 1918, and had been closed to mineral entry since that time. The BLM had no choice but to declare his claim null and void, which it did on May 9, 1982. [104]

After May 1983, the Pfaff claim was Katmai's only active mining claim group. Ernest Pfaff discovered the lode, located four miles east of Battle Lake camp, in 1964. The mineralized vein, which straddles the border of the park and preserve, consisted primarily of gold- and chalcopyrite-bearing quartz, and also contained malachite, pyrite, and an unidentified silver-sulphosalt mineral. An undetermined about of ore was shipped during the next several years. [105]

No production took place at the claim during the 1970s. In 1978 the claim's ownership was transferred to the National Park Service. Each year thereafter Pfaff, in accordance with regulations, submitted an Affidavit of Annual Labor to the NPS and either an Evidence of

Assessment or a Notice of Intent to Hold to the BLM. These regulations did not require him to carry on an active mining operation, and during the early 1980s the mine continued to lay idle. In July 1984, Pfaff transferred his interest in the claims to Hawley Resource Properties, owned by Charles Hawley. In 1985, the new claimants announced that they "may soon propose to reopen" operations at the site. As a result, the NPS sponsored a survey of the fish species, aquatic insect populations, and water resources of the area surrounding the mine. But the new claimant made no further moves to develop its claim. In 1988, the claimant let its interest in the claim lapse, and on May 5, 1989, the Bureau of Land Management declared the claim null and void. [106]

Sporadic oil exploration activity has also taken place in recent years. As noted above, various oil exploration companies had obtained special use permits to conduct geophysical exploration during the 1960s and 1970s in order to test for economically recoverable petroleum in Cook Inlet and Shelikof Strait. That activity has continued, on an intermittent basis, to the present. In 1982, Amoco and Chevron received special use permits; the following year, Arco Alaska obtained a permit. Arco has remained an active exploration company in recent years. In 1991, they established ship-based camps in Kukak Bay and Geographic Harbor and proceeded from there to various parts of the Shelikof Strait coastline; the following year, they returned to the same two spots for further explorations. [107]

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART I: KATMAI NATIONAL PARK AND PRESERVE

Chapter 12:
Other Resource Management Issues

Scientists in a broad variety of disciplines have been carrying on research at Katmai for decades. In a broad sense, the first researchers were the various nineteenth century travelers who made casual notes on the geological and biological composition of the surrounding countryside. In recent years, those who have used Katmai for their studies have included university students and faculty, state and federal agency personnel, geological and oil industry representatives, and scientists under the sponsorship of private nonprofit organizations. All who have used Katmai for their research have made important contributions; equally important, the NPS has incorporated (or attempted to incorporate) the results of that research to better manage the unit. This chapter will describe only the most extensive Katmai projects, or those which have required significant involvement by NPS staff. The management ramifications which followed those projects have also been described.

Early Research Efforts

Although a number of travelers who passed through the Katmai country in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries described the area in general terms, the first scientists to study areas within the present-day park did so as part of governmental expeditions intent on describing the economic potential of area minerals (see Chapter 11). Both the Coast Survey and the Smithsonian Institution investigated reports of petroleum in the area as early as the 1860s, and in 1895 George F. Becker and William Healey Dall, representing the U.S. Geological Survey, searched for gold and coal. In 1904, George C. Martin, T. W. Stanton, and R. W. Stone searched the Katmai coastline for its coal and petroleum possibilities. [1]

The 1912 eruption increased scientific interest in the area. Geologist George Martin, who rushed to the area that summer, did not write a scientific article about his trip; neither did botanist Robert Griggs, who ventured into the area in 1915. The two expeditions were sponsored by the National Geographic Society. Both leaders limited their travel to the Shelikof Strait coastline; both tried but failed to reach the center of the recent volcanic activity. [2]

In 1916, however, Griggs's discovery of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes brought forth the first purely scientific writings to emanate from observations made at Katmai. No academic colleagues accompanied Griggs on his 1916 trip. The following year, however, he organized an expedition which included a topographer, a zoologist, a chemist, and two assistant botanists. The topographer, Charles F. Maynard, created an excellent contour map of the newly-discovered area; the remaining expedition members contributed articles and monographs to the scientific literature. Additional parties, each sponsored by the National Geographic Society, returned to Katmai in 1918 and 1919, and the scientists among them made additional contributions to geology, volcanology, biology, and other subjects. [3]

Once the flurry of interest generated by the various National Geographic Society expeditions had died down, the new monument was largely ignored by both agency managers and scientists for the next twenty years. As noted in Chapter 3, the NPS became increasingly interested in Katmai during the late 1930s, but only dispatched a single employee to the area for a brief trip. NPS officials were particularly interested in the level of volcanic activity in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. [4] Their interest, in large part, was politically based; if the dramatic fumarolic activity seen during the NGS expeditions had died away, the monument would have lost one of the major reasons for its existence. (Development advocates felt that Katmai, created to be a second Yellowstone, was worthless if it had no fumaroles; NPS officials countered that the devastated volcanic landscape and the area's spectacular wildlife demanded the area's continued management as a national monument.)

In 1939, in answer to an inquiry about the monument's wildlife, NPS officials could muster up only a one-paragraph summary. Recognizing its collective ignorance, the agency dispatched two men, biologist Victor Cahalane and Mount McKinley Superintendent Frank Been, to Katmai the following summer. [5] Their purpose was to make a general reconnaissance and to make a rough inventory the area's biological diversity. Cahalane gained enough information that summer that he wrote an article on the monument's bird species; in July 1944 it was published in the Auk, the quarterly journal of the American Ornithological Union. [6]

The Katmai Project

In 1950, Northern Consolidated Airlines established its various Katmai fishing camps, the NPS detailed its first summer ranger, and the agency's Region Four office initiated the Alaska Recreation Survey. The ARS, which brought George Collins and other NPS staff to the monument, was designed to stimulate and plan Katmai visitation.

Both Collins and the resident rangers quickly learned that monument land-use planning required a level of biological knowledge far greater than what had been ascertained thus far. In 1951, a report noted that

> the principal current problem [at Katmai] is to make a reasonably accurate inventory of the biological resources.... Wolves appear to be more numerous in this area than in all other parks combined, which makes a wolf-moose-caribou study imperative.... A biologist should spend at least 3 or 4 months annually in Katmai National Monument for the next 3 or 4 years to determine the wildlife protection and management needs. [7]

The summer rangers were urged to accumulate as much wildlife observational data as possible consistent with their other duties. Their lack of access to areas outside of Brooks Camp, however, severely limited their scope of work.

In order to grapple with these and other research gaps, and to show monument detractors that the monument's resources were of national significance, the agency's Washington office designed the Katmai Project, a broad-scale scientific study effort. Planning for the project took place in late 1952. The NPS knew the subject areas in which research was needed. Lacking funds, however, they contacted a number of agencies and universities in hopes that a cooperative arrangement could be worked out. [8] In early 1953, the NPS formally proposed the project to the Office of Naval Research. (The agency noted that the information was needed "both in the interest of science and to obtain information of military importance.") The ONR approved the proposal shortly thereafter, and by June a team of seventeen scientists was on its way to Katmai. [9]

Many agencies and universities contributed to the project. Scientists involved hailed from Johns Hopkins University, the University of California Berkeley, University of Connecticut, University of Oregon, University of Wisconsin, U.S. Geological Survey, U.S. Public Health Service, the National Park Service, and the Army's Office of the Quartermaster General. In addition, the Army, Navy, and Air Force supplied equipment and logistical support. [10]

Geology was the largest single subject area scrutinized by the scientific team during the Katmai Project. Ten of the seventeen team members were geologists, volcanologists, or geomorphologists. Remaining members consisted of a geographer, a biologist, a mammalogist and parasitologist, an entomologist, and three archeologists. Robert S. Luntey, a recreation planner from NPS's Region Four office, served as project leader; he set up an office in the Naknek Air Force auxiliary base at King Salmon and oversaw operations from there. [11]

The team members arrived in the monument on June 19, and by July 4 they had set up four field camps: near the head of Knife Creek, near the mouth of the Savonoski River, in the abandoned clam cannery on Kukak Bay, and two miles west of Brooks Camp. Additional small spike camps were made as the season progressed. Most members were gone from Katmai by mid-September. Luntey, however, stayed on until October 7. [12]

The project, as originally outlined, called for an investigations to take place in six subject areas. The U.S. Geological Society participated so avidly, however, that ten papers--four of them dealing with geology, geomorphology, and volcanism--emerged from the season's work. [13]

All were capable efforts. One of the most surprising conclusions that emerged from the season's research was that C. N. Fenner's thirty-year-old theory on how the eruption had taken place was in error. Fenner had postulated that during the eruption the active rhyolite magma had dissolved the old andesite core of Mount Katmai. Fenner's theory was considered controversial even during the 1920s, but not until the 1950s were research funds available to test it. [14] Dr. Garniss H. Curtis of the University of California, the geologist chosen to examine Fenner's ideas in the field, emerged from the 1953 field season with sufficient evidence to cast doubt on Fenner's conclusions. He was anxious to return to the field and elaborate on an alternative hypothesis. [15]

Two other papers which incited popular interest dealt with current volcanic activity in the monument. During 1953 both Mount Spurr and Mount Trident had erupted. Mount Spurr, located north of Katmai, blanketed Anchorage with a quarter inch of ash and alarmed citizens throughout the territory. Mount Trident, located in the monument, erupted a half mile of lava; it then steamed for the next six months. Six other volcanoes in the monument also steamed with varying degrees of intensity during the summer of 1953. The scientific papers were valuable to both the general public and NPS officials in that they described and analyzed each volcanic event and placed the recent volcanic activity within a historical context. [16]

Once the 1953 field season was complete, the NPS began preparing for another year of field work. The Office of Naval Research grant had lapsed, but the NPS hoped that the momentum gained from the first year's work would induce additional sponsorship funds. As late as March 1954, NPS Director Conrad Wirth was still unsure as to how a second year of work would be funded. ONR and other governmental agencies, however, finally released the funds which allowed the summer's research to take place. [17]

The summer of 1954 witnessed a continuation of the previous summer's studies of volcanic and seismic forces, plant and animal ecology, archeology, and ethnology. Two additional studies began that summer; one dealt with an investigation of the monument's sedimentary rocks, the other a survey of Katmai's fresh water fishing resources. Each of the governmental agencies which had been active the previous year continued their involvement; in addition, the

Department of Agriculture and the Fish and Wildlife Service joined in. Participating universities included the University of California and the University of Alaska. [18]

Two particularly notable studies emerged from the 1954 investigations. Dr. Curtis of the University of California, who had emerged from the 1953 season convinced that C. N. Fenner's theory relating to the 1912 eruption was in error, returned to the field with graduate student Jack Sheehan. The two measured the thickness of the ashfall around Mount Katmai and discovered it to be thickest around Novarupta, a volcanic plug six miles to the west. Additional evidence convinced Curtis that a column of molten andesite lying in the conduit beneath Katmai suddenly found access through a newly created fissure at Novarupta. His startling conclusion was that Novarupta, not Mount Katmai, was the location of the primary 1912 eruption. [19]

A less spectacular study was performed by Victor Cahalane, who finished up his third year of Katmai field work in September 1954. Cahalane, who was assisted in his final season by George B. Schaller, a University of Alaska graduate student, inventoried and described a wide variety of the monument's birds, mammals, and vegetation. He made additional notes on the monument's ecological zones, the rate of vegetation regrowth in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, and similar topics. Cahalane's study, which was not published until 1959, was the only NPS-sponsored study to emerge from the Katmai Project. [20]

With the exception of Bureau of Commercial Fisheries studies, little research took place at the monument for almost a decade following the Katmai Project. [21] In 1962, however, research began anew when the University of Alaska's Geophysical and Marine Institute began investigating earthquake activity in the monument. That work, which also included students from Dartmouth University, Syracuse University, and Columbia University, continued for the next four years. [22]

Astronauts in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes

In 1965, the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes became the site of an entirely different research effort. Ten astronauts from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Manned Spacecraft Center (MSC), in Houston, flew into King Salmon Air Force Base on June 27 and spent the next week in the monument. The astronauts--Edwin E. ("Buzz") Aldrin, William Anders, Charles Bassett, Alan Bean, Eugene Cernan, Roger Chaffee, Walter Cunningham, Russell Schweickart, David Scott, and Clifton Williams--were accompanied by geologists from the U.S. Geological Survey's Division of Astrogeology, located in Flagstaff, Arizona. [23]

The astronauts had all been chosen as candidates for future moon missions. As such, they were involved in a long-term training regimen which included trips to the Hawaii's geological landscape, Iceland's lava flows, the jungles of Panama, and the deserts of Nevada. They had come to Katmai because NASA scientists had concluded that the fine-ground red pumice stone that covered the floor of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes was similar in texture to that which might be found on the moon. In addition, the relatively recent date in which the volcanic landscape had been created made it similar to that of the lunar surface. [24]

The party, which numbered 28 in all, spent their evenings at Brooks Camp, but by day they flew by helicopter into the volcanic area, where the geologists led the astronauts on hikes and explained the surrounding landscape features to them. [25]

The following year MSC sent an additional party of astronauts to train in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. A total of 24 spent the week of August 22 to August 26 in the monument; the party included astronauts John Bull, Edward Gibson, Edward Givens, Bruce McCandless, Edgar Mitchell, Stewart Roosa, Harrison Schmitt, and Paul Weitz. They were again

accompanied by USGS geologists. Their activities were much the same as those of the 1965 group. [26]

The Geophysical Institute's Work at Baked Mountain

The same year in which NASA first ventured out to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, scientists from the University of Alaska prepared to do the same. The university, it will be recalled, had begun earthquake research at the monument in 1962, and during the winter of 1964-65 its Geophysical Institute prepared to increase its level of research at the monument. Dr. Robert Forbes, a member of the Institute staff, received a National Science Foundation grant for research on the petrology and geochemistry of Alaskan volcanic rocks. As part of that grant, Forbes hoped to study the lavas of Mount Trident, which had erupted just twelve years before. His colleague, Dr. Eduard Berg, had received an NSF grant on seismic and volcanic investigations in the monument. The two planned to continue the Institute's ongoing earthquake investigations.

The Institute contacted the NPS about the project, and in February 1965 Director Hartzog approved its plans. The stepped-up program would require the attention of up to four scientists at a time. To house them, the Institute planned to build a "small temporary ... research station near [Mount] Trident." It also planned to install seismographs near Brooks Lake and elsewhere in the monument. [27] By April, however, the Institute's plans had changed. It requested permission from the NPS to build a field base camp just south of Baked Mountain, several miles west of its originally selected site. That camp was to include an 8' x 20' prefabricated plywood residence and workroom, and a 7' x 10' generator hut. The Institute also planned to install three seismometers, one each in the Lethe, Angle, and Ikagluik creek drainages. [28] That summer, it installed its base camp in the area it had indicated. It installed only two seismometers, however. One was located just north of Baked Mountain, the other just south of the confluence of the Savonoski and Grosvenor rivers. [29]

The Geophysical Institute obtained a five-year permit from the NPS in April 1965, and research began at soon as the buildings and equipment could be installed. For the next few years a one- or two-person crew flew by helicopter out to the Baked Mountain station in June. The station, at least in its first years of operation, remained active throughout the summer. [30] During the mid-1970s, the site was used as the base camp for a University of Alaska researcher who was charting the historical changes in the level of the lake in the Katmai caldera and recent changes in the Knife Creek glacier. After 1977, however, the site was abandoned and the institute let its special use permit lapse. The site may also have been used as a base camp by the University of California Berkeley and the USGS, who teamed up on a petrology and geochemical study of the 1912 ash flow. They did not, however, occupy the cabin to the exclusion of recreational visitors. The project ran from 1976 to 1982. [31]

The NPS exerted little management authority over the Institute's operations in the monument. The agency commenced a wilderness study in the late 1960s, and as part of that study created a nine-acre enclave surrounding the Baked Mountain cabin. Later, however, it eliminated the enclave, because it worried that a designated non-wilderness zone would invite further developments that would be incompatible with the overall wilderness setting. [32] The only problem the agency had with the facility dealt with its unkempt appearance. A 1969 NPS planning study noted that the site needed policing, and recommended that the Service persuade the University to "remove debris and camouflage the site and structures to blend more harmoniously into the landscape." [33]

Few if any visitors hiked in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes prior to the completion of the Valley Road. Since then, however, the number of hikers has slowly increased. One of the most

popular Valley hikes is an unmarked (though easily visible) route from Three Forks Overlook to Novarupta, and one reason for its popularity has been the shelter afforded at the Baked Mountain cabin. [34]

When the University abandoned the cabin it left much of its equipment at the site. In 1984, the NPS inventoried the accumulated refuse. It made plans to haul it out, but did not do so. During the summer of 1990, personnel from the Novarupta drilling project (see below) rehabilitated the site. They installed new roofs on three buildings and tore down a partially collapsed metal building; dug a new outhouse pit, then moved and re-anchored the existing outhouse; did some interior work in the main cabin; and removed fourteen helicopter loads of accumulated debris. [35]

Alaska Lands Act Biological Studies

Once Victor Cahalane completed his work in connection with the 1953-54 Katmai Project, little NPS-sponsored research pertaining to the monument's biological resources was done for the almost twenty years. Some work, however, was accomplished. Fred Dean, of the University of Alaska, conducted bear research from 1967 through 1969. Then, from 1969 to 1971, NPS biologist Richard Prasil conducted several sea mammal surveys along the Katmai coast. [36] And throughout the period, the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries continued to gather data on the monument fishery.

The passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, in December 1971, was indirectly responsible for a boost in research at the monument. As noted in Chapter 5, it set into motion a series of planning studies. One of the most detailed of those studies was a Department of the Interior report which recommended that Katmai National Monument become a 4,453,000-acre national park.

In order to justify the expansion of the monument's boundaries, the agency undertook a massive series of studies evaluating the resources of proposed park areas. In the fifty-odd years in Alaska prior to ANCSA, the NPS had produced fewer than 50 reports on Alaska. Between 1972 and 1978, however, the agency or its contractors completed more than 175 reports. [37] The large majority of the newly-created reports dealt with proposed areas that were not adjacent to existing NPS units. The Katmai area, however, was better known than many other areas, and offered fewer resource conflicts. In comparison with other proposed park areas, therefore, relatively little research was performed in the Katmai area during the period leading up to the Alaska Lands Act.

What was done, however, was significant. The first such study was undertaken by Dr. John Dennis, an NPS biologist from the Alaska State Office in Anchorage. Dennis began with a photographic survey of vegetation zones, then spent the next two years identifying plants and laying out study plots. Those plots were in the tundra area west of the monument as well as in the western portion of the monument itself. [38] Dennis was transferred away from Alaska midway through his study and was thus unable to complete it. Some of the work he began, however, was completed by a biological study team; during the 1976 field season, it analyzed the ecosystems of the lowland tundra vegetation zone located in the Big Creek and King Salmon River drainages. [39] Dennis felt strongly that the expanded park should include a significant portion of the western tundra, and largely because of his efforts a large portion of it was included in the Department of the Interior recommendations in 1973 and 1974. As noted in Chapter 5, however, most of the area he recommended was eliminated in 1977 due to opposition from local residents. [40]

Park planners knew that the question of subsistence would have to be addressed in any Alaska

lands legislation that would be written. Because planners knew little about the subsistence patterns of Katmai-area residents, they contracted with Steven Behnke, who visited six local communities in early 1977 and inquired into the residents' use of local plants and animals. His report, issued in October 1978, showed that residents of seven local communities--Levelock, Igiugig, Kakhonak, Naknek, South Naknek, King Salmon, and Egegik--utilized the area surrounding the existing monument for their subsistence needs. Subsistence uses by one or more of the seven communities took place adjacent to the monument's western and southwestern boundaries; north of the existing boundaries was a significant area not utilized by residents of any of the local villages. Residents used the area for collecting firewood, picking berries, fishing, trapping, and for hunting small and large game. [41]

Some excellent research also took place on the area's eagle population. Will Troyer, another Anchorage-based NPS biologist, commenced his studies in 1974. Using a low-flying float plane, Troyer flew over the monument and the area included within the proposed park in search of active eagle nests. He repeated his survey almost every year until 1981. [42]

Other governmental entities stepped up their research efforts during the period, even though the resulting research had little bearing on upcoming legislation. The University of Alaska Geophysical Institute, for instance, sponsored three projects. In 1977, it sponsored the construction of two transponder sites in the Cape Douglas area in order to support outer continental shelf studies. (The Lower Cook Inlet Oil Lease Sale, as noted in Chapter 11, had been proposed just a year earlier.) In addition, the Institute and the USGS's National Center for Earthquake Research operated a short period seismic station in order to identify earthquake clusters and volcanic centers within the monument. The OCS work continued until 1978; the earthquake and volcano studies lasted two years longer. [43]

Several other government agencies undertook Katmai-based research projects during the 1970s. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game, as well as the National Park Service, made several surveys of the monument's moose population. [44] The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration was also active during the decade. It performed hydrographic and mapping surveys along the Shelikof Strait coastline during the early 1970s, and studied the Lower Cook Inlet's surface currents late in the decade. In conjunction with the latter project, the agency planned to establish a field camp in the monument, probably in the Cape Douglas area. [45]

Resource Management Since 1980

Before the 1970s, little thought had gone into planning the type of research that should take place at Katmai. Because it was a national monument, its research values were not as highly recognized as those at the national parks. As a result, the NPS had sponsored relatively few projects. After the passage of the Alaska Lands Act and the creation of Katmai National Park and Preserve, however, its research values were more highly emphasized.

Those values had begun during the 1970s. In 1975, a biologist named Ralph Root had been assigned as the keyman for the Katmai and Aniakchak proposal areas, and in June 1976 he created a prioritized list of resource study needs. [46] Soon after the passage of ANILCA, park staff continued Root's idea when they assembled the first Katmai Resources Management Plan. (The idea of an RMP had been broached as early as 1970, but had been ignored during the hectic period leading up to the Alaska Lands Act.) The draft RMP was completed in April 1982. Among its other attributes, it described sixteen proposed natural resource projects and the recommended priority for each. [47]

In September 1982, Katherine Jope began work as Katmai's first Resource Management Specialist. One of her first accomplishments was the preparation of a wildlife monitoring plan.

Based on that plan, which was an outgrowth of Will Troyer's research, she devoted time during each of the next five years toward monitoring the park's bear and eagle populations. Jope also created species checklists for the park's plants, birds, and fish, and added significantly to the park herbarium. [48]

Jope also updated the park's resource management plan. The RMP was first revised in April 1983. Later revisions were submitted to the regional director in January 1985 and April 1987. (The regional director, however, did not sign either document.) The RMPs, which grew larger and more complex with each passing revision, reflected the park's changing management needs and research accomplishments. [49]

Research in recent years has covered a broad array of subject areas. Several projects, for instance, have investigated the park's air and water resources. The Arctic Environmental Information and Data Center, for instance, had completed a study of Naknek Lake's aquatic system back in 1978, and in 1985 and 1986 the University of California staff sponsored an acid rain monitoring project. In 1990, the NPS and the University of Alaska initiated a two-year water quality baseline study, and an air quality particulate sampling study soon followed. [50]

Most recent biological research has involved the monitoring of wildlife populations. Most research has involved the monitoring of the most visible animal species: moose, caribou, seals and sea lions, and eagles, swans, and other bird life. [51] Other research efforts, however, have taken place. In 1986 both a lichen and spruce beetle survey were completed. In the early 1990s four vegetation studies were undertaken, and in 1992 a count was made of the park's snowshoe hare population. Large animal monitoring was undertaken by the state Department of Fish and Game. A majority of the other biological work, however, was completed or sponsored by the NPS. [52]

Geological research has also taken place in recent years. The most well-publicized research effort has been the Novarupta drilling project, discussed below. In addition, the University's Geophysical Institute established a new short-period seismic station at Cape Douglas in August 1981. That station was taken over by the newly-formed Alaska Volcano Observatory (AVO) in 1988. Still operating, it is the only AVO-operated seismic station in the park. [53] In addition, the USGS conducted field work in the park--specifically in lands within the Mount Katmai and Iliamna topographic quadrangles--from 1984 through 1986 as part of the Alaska Mineral Resource Assessment Program (AMRAP). Finally, the USGS has recently established its own seismic network. It was established in 1987 with twelve seismic stations. The number of stations has changed each year since then. In 1993, sixteen stations were being used to collect project data. [54]

A newly revised resource management plan was due to be issued in 1989. But because of the Exxon Valdez oil spill, the resource management planning process was delayed. In the spring of 1991, however, work finally began on planning a revision to the 1987 plan, and by May 1992 a draft RMP had been submitted to the regional director. It was then made available for public comment. The final RMP was signed by Superintendent Bill Pierce and Regional Director John M. Morehead in August 1994.

Novarupta Drilling Project

In recent years, scientists and NPS officials have carried on many discussions over a proposed Katmai research project. That project involves the drilling of three deep holes into the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, two of them located near Novarupta Volcano. [55] The goal of the volcanological project was to test a number of theories concerning magma cooling and mineralization in a volcanic area. Scientists chose Novarupta because their research objectives

required a volcanic site of recent eruptive activity with a relatively simple geologic structure, and Novarupta is probably the only known location where a vent of a large explosive eruption is preserved without the collapse of its structure. Scientists, by and large, were enthusiastic about the project. NPS officials, however, were more guarded, and they openly worried about the effect that drilling would have on Katmai's expansive wilderness acreage. The project, they knew, would demand helicopter-supported base camps in the fragile Ukak River valley ecosystem; the withdrawal of three million gallons of water from a nearby lake; and the construction of a pipeline, several miles long and maintained by off-road vehicles, to transport the withdrawn water. [56]

The NPS first heard about the project in September 1985, when Dr. John C. Eichelber-ger, a geochemist at Sandia National Laboratories in Albuquerque, briefed agency officials in Anchorage. Their initial conference was followed by a series of meetings in mid-October. For the next two years the NPS was aware of little project activity; the scientific consortium, during that period, busied themselves with the development of a study plan. [57]

By 1987, those who advocated deep drilling as a geological research method had formed an organization called Deep Observation and Sampling of the Earth's Continental Crust (DOSECC), which was supported in part by the National Science Foundation. Several meetings were held that year between DOSECC, USGS, and NPS representatives. At a December 15 meeting, NPS Regional Director Boyd Evison noted that he was, in general, supportive of legitimate research. He indicated that Katmai's enabling legislation allowed some research opportunities. He further stated that the NPS might support the project if certain safeguards could be assured. He cautioned, however, that because most of Katmai was in the National Wilderness Preservation System, Congressional action would probably be necessary before the project could proceed. [58]

The following year, the group sponsoring Katmai drilling became known as the Interagency Coordinating Group (ICG) of the U.S. Continental Scientific Drilling Program. The ICG, an ad hoc governmental group, included the National Science Foundation, the Department of Energy (the main funding agency), and USGS. Non-governmental participants included Sandia National Laboratories, Livermore National Laboratory, Stanford University, and the Universities of Alaska and New Mexico. The NPS, during this period, remained willing to consider the project. It wondered, however, whether there were locations outside the National Park System where drilling might be conducted without the detrimental environmental impact. The agency, therefore, requested the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) to seek alternative sites for the ICG research project. [59]

Without waiting for word from NAS personnel, project scientists began field investigations. A multi-agency team of geologists and geophysicists, using helicopters for access, prowled around the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes during the summer of 1989. They made precise gravity and magnetic measurements at 150 points in the vicinity of Novarupta in an attempt to pinpoint the size, shape, and location of the eruptive vent. They used helicopters for access and stayed in a temporary camp. They were sufficiently intrigued with what they found that they prepared for a second summer of geological exploration. Recognizing that they might be making a long-term commitment to research in the area, they collaborated with the NPS on a long-overdue refurbishment of the 25-year-old Baked Mountain cabin complex. Both the cabin reconstruction and a second year of research activity took place during the summer of 1990. As a result of the two years' research, a project workshop was held in December 1990, and the papers presented there were published the following summer. [60]

Meanwhile, plans for the drilling operation moved forward. During the fall of 1989, Sandia personnel began preparing an draft outline of an Operations Plan for the proposed drill holes. [61] Project personnel announced that the plan would be completed in early 1990. They knew,

however, that after the plan was approved, several bureaucratic obstacles had to be overcome before drilling could proceed. First, the NAS had to submit a positive report on Novarupta's "uniqueness" as a research site. Second, the NPS had to initiate National Environmental Policy Act compliance requirements by preparing a Notice of Intent to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement. Finally, the EIS had to be prepared and approved. By January, NPS personnel had been informed that the NAS was about to issue its report. Sandia officials were hopeful that the EIS could be begun by July 1990, that the NPS could issue its final decision in late 1991 or early 1992, and that drilling could begin during the 1992 field season. [62]

The National Academy of Sciences, in a 1990 report, verified that the site was uniquely suited to scientific drilling, but Sandia's Plan of Operations was not completed until the following year. The NPS, in 1991, agreed to coordinate the issuance of the environmental impact statement. That December, it selected Dames and Moore to write the EIS. Meanwhile, personnel from the USGS and Sandia Lab took part in a third consecutive year of Katmai field studies. [63]

By April 1992, interest in the project had grown in the scientific community, and the consortium which backed the project now numbered 18 universities and government agencies. (Opposition to the project was sporadic and muted.) Three of the sponsoring agencies--The USGS, Department of Energy, and the National Science Foundation--agreed to provide the majority of the funding for the two-year drilling project. Public meetings were held that month in both Anchorage and King Salmon. The NPS was getting ready to prepare its EIS, and sought public scoping comments before proceeding further. Agency officials estimated that document preparation would take about a year; given NPS approval, researchers hoped to begin drilling three holes, from 700 up to 4,000 feet deep, in 1994. [64]

During the summer of 1992, work finally got underway on the writing of the environmental impact statement. In December, NPS officials were confident that it would be available for public review the following spring. [65] A preliminary draft of the EIS was completed that month. Reaction in Washington, however, was so strong that Sandia National Laboratories was asked to write a revised plan of operations. In mid-1993, plans called for the issuance of the draft EIS later that year, a final EIS in 1994, and for drilling to begin in 1995. But in late 1993, just before the draft EIS was released to the public, personnel in the Interior Secretary's office--including Alaska representative Deborah Williams; George Frampton, the Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks; and Tom Collier, Secretary Bruce Babbitt's Chief of Staff--helped convince the ICG to withdraw the entire proposal. The group officially abandoned the project in the spring of 1994. [66]

Exxon Valdez Resource Assessment Work

Soon after the Exxon Valdez began spilling its oily contents into the waters of Prince William Sound, NPS officials became aware that the spill would probably escape the sound and impact lands under their jurisdiction. They were cognizant that the marine environment included in the various park units was teeming with life, and that much of that life was becoming endangered by the advancing oil. They also knew that only the barest amount of data had been collected on the biological diversity of the parks' coastal areas; as a result, they had little way of knowing what might be lost. [67]

As noted in chapters 6 and 10, the agency's response to overcoming the lack of shoreline data was the creation of a series of intelligence gathering teams. These teams were used at Kenai Fjords, Lake Clark and Aniakchak as well as Katmai, and were composed of both natural and cultural resource specialists along with supporting personnel.

At first, few NPS officials felt that the Katmai shoreline was in danger from the spilled Exxon Valdez oil. It was not until mid-April that most in the agency recognized that oil would be lapping up against Katmai's shores by the end of the month; only then did they dispatch assessment personnel to the area. Three teams, each operating from a fishing vessel but with helicopter support, were used along the Katmai coast. Team 1 investigated the stretch of coastline from McNeil River to Cape Douglas, Team 2 from Kiukpalik Island to Kukak Bay, and Team 3 from Kinak Bay to Kashvik Bay. The three teams left Homer between April 15 and April 18, and they had all returned by April 29. And it was just in time, too; the first major oil slick reached the Katmai coast on April 26. [68]

Katmai was hit badly by the oncoming oil slick. On May 2, Katmai Superintendent Ray Bane flew down the coastline and, at Hallo Bay, he counted six dead birds per 100 feet of beach. The park's bear population was also injured because they fed on the washed-up bird carcasses. [69]

As noted in Chapter 6, the NPS and VECO did what they could, during the 1989 cleanup operations, to minimize their impact on park bears and other coastal wildlife. They were largely successful, although one aggressive bear was killed at Kukak Bay by a VECO-employed Resource Protection Officer. [70]

After oil cleanup took place, another resource crew visited the various Katmai beaches in order to reassess the condition of the resources. These three- to four-person NPS crews, most of whom hailed from the Lower 48, were on the job in May and worked all summer long. In addition, the park brought in bio-technicians, funded primarily by Exxon and headed by retired NPS biologist Will Troyer. These crews, who reported for duty on June 19, gathered information to support the damage assessment process under the terms of the Comprehensive Environmental Response Compensation and Liability Act. Later, they did resource monitoring and beach assessment work. [71]

The pre- and post-oiling assessment crews gathered a large amount of data about the biological diversity of the Katmai coast. Some crew members made notes about the vegetation and wildlife encountered during their beach visits, and a large percentage of the coastline was photographed for the first time. But the data, beneficial though it may have been, was not scientifically valid. Some crew members did not have the training to make accurate observations; others did not have the time. Many felt that their primary duty was to describe the degree of oiling which had taken place; biological descriptions were secondary. NPS legal advisors, who mulled over the evidence for a tort investigation against Exxon, determined that the data were not sufficiently rigorous to be able to prove how much ecological destruction had taken place. [72]

Troyer noted, in his season-ending report, that more than 300 miles of the Katmai coastline had received some oil impact and that many miles, despite the cleanup efforts, were still heavily oiled. In accordance with the Winter Interagency Monitoring Program, several sites along the coast were scheduled to be monitored that winter. No monitoring, however, took place. [73]

The events of 1990, in some ways, paralleled those of the previous year. In late March an interdisciplinary group, consisting of U.S. Coast Guard, Exxon, and NPS representatives, assessed the condition of the Katmai coast. These assessments, funneled through a Technical Advisory Group process, laid out what the location and scope of the summer's cleanup work. At the insistence of Regional Director Boyd Evison, the NPS modified many of the TAG recommendations due to the agency's stricter levels of environmental sensitivity. Evison also insisted that Resource Protection Officers be used again. [74]

After the summer cleanup crews had left, NPS representatives returned to the Katmai beaches and made additional notes on the persistence of oil. The following May, the interdisciplinary

crew repeated its assessment work. Because relatively few areas were thought to be in need of additional cleanup, however, little spring assessment work was done. Some of the assessment teams deployed in 1990 and 1991 made biological notes at the sites they visited. Their observations, however, were just as informal as those of 1989 had been. [75]

Although the cleanup process, and the assessment work which preceded and followed the various cleanups, provided park officials with some biological data, the damage assessment program promised greater scientific rewards.

The Natural Resource Damage Assessment (NRDA) program was authorized by the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill Trustees Council in the summer of 1989. Under the auspices of this program, numerous projects were authorized that had, as their primary purpose, the determination of the degree of damage which various sites had suffered and their ability to recover in subsequent years. The NRDA was an interdisciplinary effort, and ostensibly a cooperative venture between the various state and federal agencies. Recognizing the economic rewards that the damage assessment process might yield, however, other agencies refused to allow the NPS full participation. As a result, none of the 83 natural resource studies authorized during the 1989-1991 period were led or co-led by the National Park Service. [76]

So far as is known, fewer than a score of those studies utilized sample sites under NPS jurisdiction, and only seven of them studied Katmai's shoreline environment. The Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration served as co-leaders of two air and water studies which took samples at the park. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game, in two different studies, used Katmai in order to test the effect of the oil spill on pink and chum salmon populations. The ADF&G also sponsored three other studies: one which focused on bivalves (clams), another a terrestrial mammal study involving carnivores (including brown bears) and small mammals, and a third which specifically focused on brown bear populations. Five of the studies were active in 1989, four in 1990, and one in 1991. All seven tested numerous areas, only a few of which were located within Katmai National Park and Preserve. [77]

On October 8, 1991, Judge H. Russel Holland approved a settlement proposal for claims by the United States and the State of Alaska against Exxon Corporation and Exxon Shipping Company for criminal violations and civil damages resulting from the oil spill. Holland's decision meant that the damage assessment phase of the oil spill investigations was nearing an end. (The following summer turned out to be the last in which damage assessment projects took place. None of those studies used Katmai as a field site.) The next phase was restoration project work. Restoration planning had begun back in the summer of 1989, and late that year a Restoration Planning Work Group had been formed. [78] The first restoration projects, however, did not take place until 1992.

A total of 17 natural resource-based restoration projects took place in 1992. The NPS was the lead agency for only one of those studies, however. That study--which concerned the recovery of intertidal mussel beds--utilized Katmai as a field location. Tom Sucanek, from the University of California at Davis, did the field work that year. In 1993, the only NPS project of 43 "preferred projects" was a continuation of Sucanek's study. [79]

Two other oil spill related studies that took place in 1992: a bald eagle nesting productivity survey, and an aerial survey of harbor seals and sea lions, the latter done by Gail Ervine and Carl Shock for the NMFS National Marine Mammal Laboratory. Both projects were funded with oil spill monies; project participants were NPS employees. [80]

Subsistence Issues

As noted in Chapter 5, Katmai National Monument did not allow subsistence activities prior to the passage of the 1980 Alaska Lands Act. According to Title II of the act, subsistence activities were allowed within the area that was added to the pre-1978 acreage of Denali (Mount McKinley) National Park. No provision was made, however, for subsistence within the newly-created portions of either Katmai National Park or Glacier Bay National Park. For that reason, ANILCA decreed that a Subsistence Resource Commission be established for Denali. No such commission was established for Katmai or Glacier Bay.

Subsistence was, however, authorized in the 374,000-acre Katmai National Preserve, which was located just north of Katmai National Park. Denali, Glacier Bay, and Katmai all had preserve units attached to the national parks, and ANILCA also created seven other preserves scattered around the state. Preserves differed from parks or monuments in that they permitted sport hunting, but each preserve also allowed a full range of subsistence activities. It is not known why Congress created a Katmai National Preserve at the northern end of the park and did not make such an area west or south of the existing monument. The data presented in Steve Behnke's 1978 study (noted earlier in this chapter) may have helped; it showed that most of the expanded park area was not used for subsistence purposes by local residents. Most of the area included in present-day Katmai National Preserve, however, was used by the residents of Levelock, Igiugig, or Kakhonak. [81]

The preserve, once created, was largely ignored by the National Park Service for the next decade. The state, through the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, managed subsistence activities. NPS officials, lacking active management authority, may have felt that they had no business in regulating subsistence activities, or they may have ignored the preserve because it presented few management conflicts. Besides, more pressing problems were found in Brooks Camp and other, less remote locations. The extent of their management, therefore, was the issuance of cabin permits and occasional law enforcement activities. [82]

The park's relative lack of concern about its subsistence problems is reflected in the priority given subsistence studies in the various resource management plans. In the 1982 RMP, the preparation of subsistence management plan was considered both a natural resource and cultural resource priority. It was ranked fourth among 16 potential natural resource projects, but last among six cultural projects. [83] By 1985, the preparation of a subsistence plan was considered relatively unimportant; of 22 nominated natural resource projects, the plan was ranked 16th. In 1987, two subsistence projects were considered: 1) preparation of a subsistence management plan, and 2) a monitoring study which would show the effect of subsistence use on Preserve wildlife populations. Of 51 natural resource projects, the monitoring study was ranked 15th, while the management study was ranked 38th. Because of their relatively low ranking, neither of these studies were immediately enacted. [84]

Park staff continued to give subsistence issues a relatively low priority for the rest of the decade. In December 1989, however, the Alaska Supreme Court ruled that the state's subsistence program violated the Alaska Constitution. It requested that the Alaska legislature prepare a new subsistence program that would be in conformance with both ANILCA and the constitution. The 1990 legislature, however, was unable to act. The issue dominated the regular legislative session that year, and was considered so important that Governor Steve Cowper called the legislature into special session to deal with the issue. The legislature was still in session on July 1; on that date, the federal government began managing the subsistence resources on federal land in Alaska. Nine days later, the special session adjourned, still without a subsistence bill. Since that time various federal agencies, not the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, have been responsible for managing subsistence. [85] The NPS responded to its new responsibilities by hiring several subsistence specialists for Alaska park units. Susan Savage, one of those specialists, was hired as Katmai's first Subsistence Manager in the fall of 1991. [86]

The creation of a subsistence staff position allowed more attention to be given to subsistence issues. By May 1992 a draft subsistence management plan had been prepared and included as one of three elements in the park's Resource Management Plan. That plan, as noted earlier in the chapter, was signed by the superintendent and regional director in August 1994. The park has also attempted, with mixed success, to monitor Katmai National Preserve wildlife populations. It has coordinated moose and caribou monitoring with Alaska Fish and Game personnel, but it has had relatively little success in monitoring the Preserve's furbearer populations. It has also begun to study the current and historical subsistence patterns of residents of Levelock, Igiugig, and Kakhonak, the three villages which lie closest to the preserve. [87]

A subsistence issue that has emerged since 1990 deals with Native subsistence fishing on Naknek River near Lake Camp. For decades, perhaps longer, local Natives had been harvesting late-spawning red salmon ("redfish") along the Naknek River, and beginning in the late 1950s they used set nets which they placed near the outflow of Naknek Lake. In 1967, however, the Alaska Fish and Game Department closed the river to set net activity above New Savonoski. When Katmai National Monument was expanded in 1969 to include the western end of Naknek Lake, federal authorities (who now had concurrent jurisdiction over the area) also determined that the practice was illegal because no provisions for subsistence were included in President Johnson's proclamation. Despite both federal and state prohibitions, local Natives continued to carry on the late season fishery. NPS officials were either unaware of the activity, or they tacitly allowed it to continue.

When the Alaska Lands Act was passed in 1980, subsistence regulations at the western end of Naknek Lake did not change because the area, designated as part of Katmai National Park, continued to prohibit subsistence activities. During the winter of 1981-82, however, the Alaska Board of Fisheries passed a regulation which allowed sockeye salmon fishing "along a 100 yard length of the west shore of Naknek Lake near the outlet to the Naknek River as marked by ADF&G markers," but only from October 1 through December 31. Another regulation allowed occasional subsistence fishing on Naknek River from June 23 through July 17. This subsistence redfish fishery was contrary to NPS regulations; even so, it continued for the remainder of the decade. [88]

The National Park Service had the power to close down the redfish fishery. The fishery continued, however. Dave Morris, who was superintendent when the regulations were implemented, undoubtedly knew about the late season fishery but tacitly allowed it. His successor, Ray Bane, was unaware of its existence. [89] NPS personnel did not become reawakened to the regulations until May 1990, when Acting Superintendent Jim Ryan attended a meeting of the Subsistence Work Group Panel, an informal assemblage of officials appointed from the various federal agencies. Ryan was perplexed that such regulations were on the books because ANILCA specifically stated that "Existing levels of subsistence use will continue in the preserve but will not be allowed in the park." He himself had been advising prospective subsistence fishermen that such activities were prohibited. But the NPS had no opportunity to remove the offending regulations when the Federal government took over subsistence management that summer, and the subsistence redfish fishery continued to operate in the Lake Camp area until the fall of 1991. The temporary regulations which guided subsistence activities between July 1991 and June 1992 continued to include the two regulations noted above. [90]

Katmai officials soon recognized that the subsistence fishery was incompatible with the 1969 Presidential proclamation which had extended Katmai's boundaries to the western end of Naknek Lake. Katmai's superintendent, therefore, proposed in early 1992 that the ADF&G regulation allowing subsistence fishing near its marker be eliminated. The Bristol Bay Native Association and several local citizens opposed the move, and Senator Stevens intervened on

their behalf. The new regulations were nevertheless implemented, and the subsistence fishery was closed beginning in the summer of 1992. [91]

Perhaps in reaction to having their subsistence rights revoked, Native groups began pressuring NPS officials to have the entire park unit opened to subsistence uses. The Bristol Bay Native Association, in October 1992, passed a resolution stating that "if the Federal Subsistence Board and National Park Service do not do so, the United States Congress is urged to take appropriate legislative action to open Katmai National Park to subsistence fishing..." The NPS, citing existing legislation, had no choice but to oppose such a move. Natives, still seething over the issue, presented their concerns in early March 1993 at a Dillingham meeting of the Joint Federal-State Commission on Policies and Programs Affecting Alaska Natives. Congress did not take formal action on the matter. But the NPS, given time, has softened its stance, and by the fall of 1994 park officials were tacitly allowing the practice. [92]



One of the major findings of the Katmai Project of 1953-1954 was the discovery that Novarupta Volcano, not Mount Katmai, was the primary site of the June 1912 voclanic eruption which devastated the area and created the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. This photo, taken by Victor Cahalane in July 1953, shows a portion of the still-steaming Novarupta Volcano. *(NPS Photo Collection, neg. 11,922)*





(left) In June and July 1965, and again in August 1966, Katmai hosted groups of astronauts, who travelled to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes because its ash deposits wre "believed to be similar to the surface of the moon." They flew into the valley on helicopters based at nearby King Salmon Air Base. (right) An astronaut in training peers into the eroded ash deposits of the Ukak River valey. *(Bartlett Collection, NPS Box 2 (both photos))*



During their 1966 trip to Katmai, Robert L. Smith of the USGS discussed the valey's geological formations to a group of astronauts in training. *(NASA photo S-66-50451)*





(top) A USGS geologist (left), based in Flagstaff , discusses geological formations with (left to right) Charles A. Bassett II, R. Walter Cunningham, and Alan L. Bean. (bottom) Astronauts Eugene A. Cernan (left) and Roger B. Chaffee gathering geology specimens during their 1965 field trip. *(NASA photos 65-H-1223 (top) and 65-H-1212 (bottom))*

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART II: ANIAKCHAK NATIONAL MONUMENT AND PRESERVE

Chapter 13:
Aniakchak's Natural and Cultural History

Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve is located about a third of the way down the Alaska Peninsula. The park unit is due west of the southern end of Kodiak Island, 150 miles southwest of Katmai National Park and Preserve, and 400 miles southwest of Anchorage. The park encompasses the peninsula's mountainous spine and various capes and bays fronting against the Pacific Ocean. A total of 602,779 acres are enclosed within Aniakchak's boundaries: 137,176 acres in the national monument, and 465,603 acres in the national preserve.

The unit became part of the national park system on December 1, 1978, when President Jimmy Carter proclaimed Aniakchak National Monument as part of the 56,000,000-acre withdrawal which created ten new park units and expanded three others. Two years later, on December 2, 1980, Carter ushered Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve into being when he signed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act.

Aniakchak was created in order to protect Aniakchak Caldera and the wilderness which surrounded it. Section 201 of ANILCA designated that the monument and preserve should be managed for the following purposes, among others:

> To maintain the caldera and its associated features and landscape, including the Aniakchak River and other lakes and streams, in their natural state; to study, interpret, and assure continuation of the natural process of biological succession; to protect habitat for, and populations of, fish and wildlife, including, but not limited to, brown/grizzly bears, moose, caribou, sea lions, seals, and other marine mammals, geese, swans, and other waterfowl and in a manner consistent with the foregoing, to interpret geological and biological processes for visitors. Subsistence uses by local residents shall be permitted in the monument where such uses are traditional in accordance with the provisions of Title VIII. [1]

Natural History

The park unit is comprised of four physiographic zones. The volcanic zone is located in Aniakchak Caldera, and is comprised of precipitous cliffs, tilted rock strata, ash flows, and other volcanic features. The upland zone is comprised of the other Aleutian Range peaks within the unit, most of them covered with ash and few of them exceeding 3,000 feet in elevation. On either side of the Aleutian peaks lie the river valley zone; major drainages in the unit include the Aniakchak, Meshik, and Cinder rivers. Finally, the ocean-coastal zone, along the Pacific littoral, is characterized by a rugged assemblage of cliffs, offshore rocks, and islands.

Aniakchak's climate is cool, windy, and wet. Storms, brought by Pacific Ocean winds,

frequently visit the area. Although no rain gauges or other weather measurements are located in the monument, annual precipitation along the coast probably averages 100 inches or more. Precipitation on the Aleutian peaks and in the caldera is doubtless higher yet. Sunny days in the summertime are rare, and cloudy skies predominate in other seasons as well. High winds and rough waters often make navigation in small boats hazardous; low cloud ceilings make aviation takeoffs and landings difficult and sometimes impossible. [2]

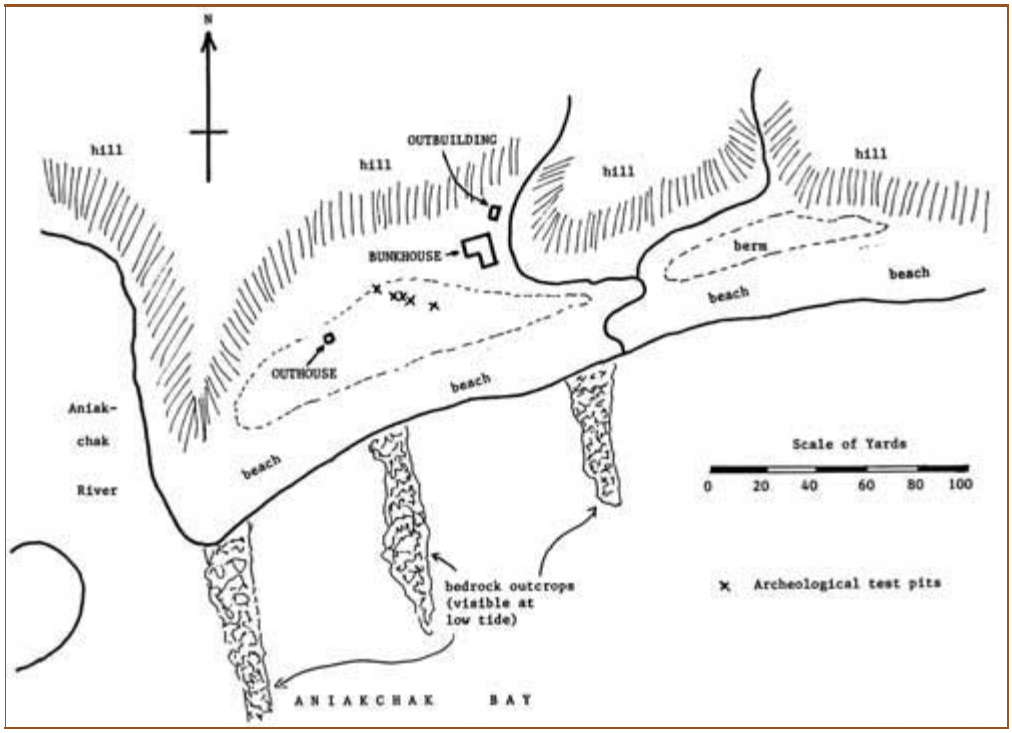
With the exception of a few isolated cottonwood and willow trees, which grow in the Cinder River drainage, the most prominent vegetation stands are the willow and alder shrubs which grow in thickets near Meshik Lake. To the north and west of the Aleutian Range, moist or wet tundra predominates, while alpine tundra is found east and south of the mountains. On the peaks and in the caldera, the vegetation is more sparse than that found in the lowlands; volcanic ash predominates in many areas. [3]

Native Use

Little is known of the Aniakchak country before European explorers arrived in the area. Although local (Chignik area) residents often consider themselves to be of Aleut origin, linguistic research suggests Koniag (Eskimo) origins. Limited investigations into the prehistory of the Alaska Peninsula suggest that an unknown group of Eskimos--perhaps Pacific Yupik, Central Alaskan Yupik, or some intermediate form--were replaced by the 1850s by Aglurmiut (Aglegmiut) Eskimos, who moved southward from the Kuskokwim delta. The new group, however, did not migrate all the way south to the Aniakchak area. [4] Archeologist Don Dumond and linguist Michael Krauss have each located the Eskimo-Aleut linguistic boundary in the Port Moller area, approximately 100 miles southwest of Aniakchak Bay. [5] Dumond identifies historic Natives of the area between Chignik and the Katmai country as being Peninsula Eskimo, while Krauss refers to them as either Alutiiq or Sugpiaq, both forms of self-identification for Pacific Eskimo. Jeff Leer, a linguist, has divided the Alutiiq into the Koniiag, who inhabit the Alaska Peninsula from Chignik northward, and the Chugach, who live on Prince William Sound and the Kenai Peninsula. [6]

While a clear boundary between Eskimo and Aleut languages appears to have been established during the late prehistoric period, there may be no such boundary between the material cultures of the two groups. Archeological investigations have produced three schools of thought. Proponents of one school suggest that an apparent boundary between technological traditions may have existed quite close to the linguistic boundary noted above. [7] Others have concluded that sometime after AD 1000, a broad cultural zone was established on the central peninsula in which the technological elements of Eskimo and Aleut cultures were combined by the inhabitants to form their own unique assemblage. [8] Still others feel that because of ecological stress, many parts of the peninsula were devoid of inhabitants during portions of the late prehistoric period; at other times the boundary may have shifted up and down the peninsula. [9] Archeologist Donald Clark agrees with the disparity between language and other culture traits, noting that "Koniag speech is Eskimoan but physical anthropologists have identified physical traits which suggest racial strains other than Eskimo in ancestral Koniag remains." [10]

The lack of substantial archeological surveys carried out within the Monument and Preserve has prevented more than general conclusions being drawn about the area's prehistory. [11] The only known survey, taken just east of the mouth of the Aniakchak River (see Map 10), revealed that a small settlement had existed there in the late 16th century or early 17th century. Considering the site's advantages--its location at the mouth of a salmon stream, the year-round availability of fresh water, and the modicum of protection from winds--the site may have been used for hundreds if not thousands of years. Other Native hunting, fishing, or settlement sites probably exist elsewhere in the park unit, but they have not yet been located. [12]



Map 10. Aniakchak Bay Cultural Complex, located at the mouth of the Aniakchak River. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Russian Exploration and Settlement

When Europeans began exploring the margins of Alaska in the mid-eighteenth century, the Native inhabitants of the central Alaska Peninsula became witnesses to their meanderings. But the Aniakchak coastline--hidden, isolated, fog-shrouded, and storm-tossed--was largely ignored. The only early explorers to come close were Alexei Chirikof and Captain James Cook. Chirikof, who commanded one of the two vessels in Vitus Bering's expedition, landed on the island that bears his name, 80 miles to the southeast, in early August 1741. In June 1778, on Captain Cook's third voyage, the two ships under his command passed within 50 miles of the coastline. [13]

The fur-trading promyshlenniki followed the first Russian incursions. Starting at the western end of the Aleutian Islands, they initially captured the sea otter on their own, but soon began to enlist the aid of Natives, either through simple trading relationships or by slavery and the use of brute force. [14] Between 1767 and 1783, the fur trade depleted the sea otter population along much of the south side of the Alaska Peninsula. Native hunters doubtless camped along the coast during this period, but the locations of specific camps are unknown. [15] No known settlements which dated from this period are located in the present park area. The closest known Native village was Kaluiak, a Kaniagmiut village on the shores of Anchorage Bay, which was apparently decimated during this period. [16] In addition, the Russians establish a permanent if short-lived artel, or fur trading camp on Sutwik Island. This camp, called "Sutkhvin", operated at some point between 1770 and 1800. [17]

Once the Natives had been subdued, the various Russian fur trading companies formed cooperative trading relationships with them. Along the Alaska Peninsula, hunting pressure was decreased to the point that the otter harvest remained at or near a sustained level for decades to come. Whether hunting took place along the Aniakchak coast is not known. No villages are

known to have existed near the bay during the early nineteenth century, with the possible exception of either Kaluiak or Kujulik (the latter being located along the shores of nearby Kujulik Bay). [18] However, one or more Russian explorers must have visited the bay and spoken to local residents because von Krusenstern's atlas, published in 1827, noted both "Baie Amah-chack" (Aniakchak Bay) and "C[ap] Koumlick" (Cape Kumlik). [19]

Shortly after von Krusenstern's atlas was published, Russian surveyors entered the bay. In 1831-32, Ensign Vasiliev of the Imperial Russian Navy mapped the Pacific Coast from Cook Inlet to Cape Kumliun, the latter point being located between Aniakchak and Chignik bays. The results of his work were published in 1836. [20] His survey work was corroborated in the 1840s by the expeditions of Lindenberg and Kashevarov. By 1850 most of the prominent coastal place names, including Kujulik Bay and Amber Bay, had already been established. Both the place names and the navigational data served as the standard for the area until well into the twentieth century. [21]

Despite these incursions, the area was largely neglected once the initial sea otter population had been harvested. Russians, who held a titular claim on the coast, had few if any reasons to stop there, and navigators from other countries showed even less interest in the area. The area's distance from Russian settlements, and the financial difficulties of the Russian American Company, suggest that few non-Natives visited the Aniakchak area during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century.

The changeover in control to the United States, in 1867, initially brought few changes to the central Alaska Peninsula. The only activity that appeared to show promise was the fur trade. The Alaska Commercial Company, beginning in 1880, established stores near Mitrofania, just south of Chignik, and Sutkum Village, on Sutwik Island. These two stores served as collection points for trappers in the area. Few furs, however, were gathered from the Aniakchak coastline, and by 1897 pelts were so scarce that both stores had closed. [22]

Fisheries Interests Invade the Area

The first large-scale migration of non-Natives to the area arrived in pursuit of the salmon resource. In 1882, just four years after the first Alaska cannery opened, a cannery was established in Cook Inlet, at Kasilof. [23] Seven years later, the first canneries were established in Chignik Lagoon, 50 miles southwest of the park unit. Three salmon packing plants were built that year because the run of red salmon, or "redfish," was consistently one of the strongest on the peninsula. [24]

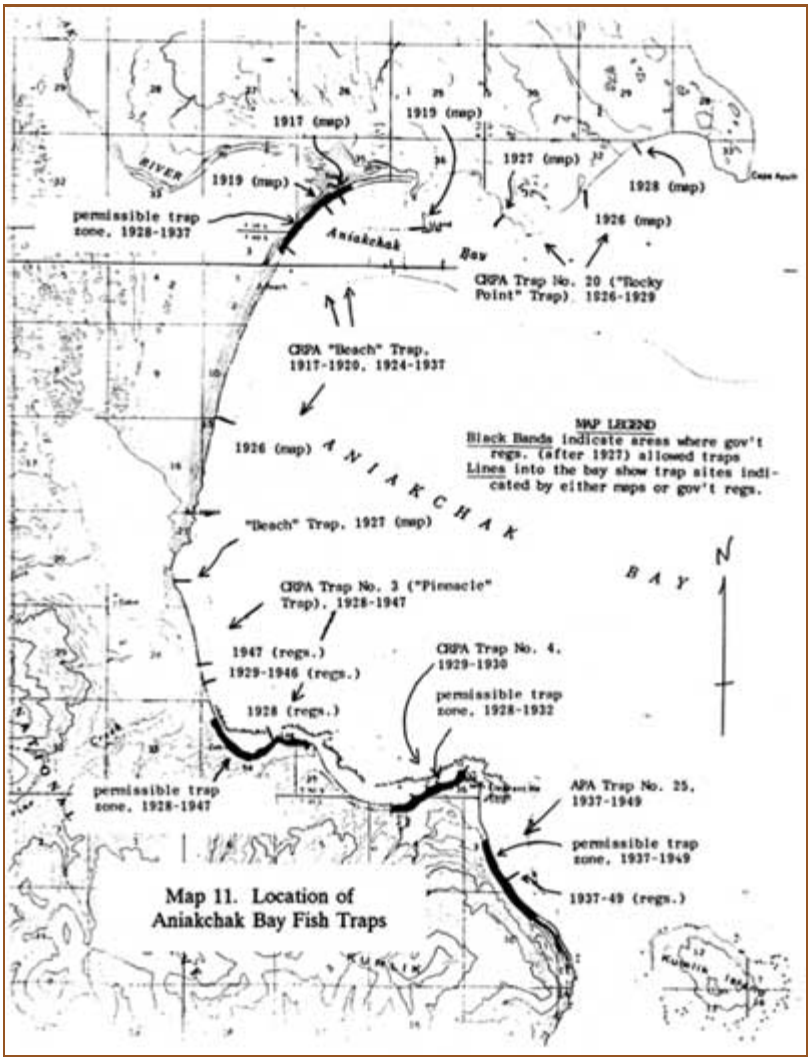
The early Chignik canneries apparently employed a fleet of gill netters and purse seiners to harvest the catch. [25] During the 1890s, however, the canneries increasingly came to rely on pile traps. [26] Fish traps were useful because they were efficient and relatively inexpensive, and because the labor costs for their operation were relatively low.

In 1910 a new cannery, operated by the Columbia River Packers Association (CRPA), was built at the head of Anchorage Bay. The association came out on the short end of a communal fishing contract, which rationed the number of Chignik Lagoon traps. As a result, it sought out new trap sites. In 1913 it had established a trap in Hook Bay, the first trap outside of Chignik Bay, and in 1917 it constructed its first trap in the present-day park. [27]

The coastline northeast of Chignik offered a large number of bays and coves with potential as fish trap sites. Some of the most promising sites were located in Aniakchak Bay. While not as rich as Chignik Lagoon, this area was advantageous because the Aniakchak River, more than 25 miles long, offered the most extensive drainage system on the Pacific Coast between Chignik

Lagoon and the Katmai country. [28] The correspondingly low stream gradient, moreover, offered high quality salmon habitat. While Chignik Bay and Chignik Lagoon runs featured red salmon, the streams in the Aniakchak area attracted primarily pink salmon, with smaller runs of red, coho and chum salmon. [29] Species other than red salmon were not considered of commercial value before 1910, but concerted marketing efforts during the next several years made their harvest worthwhile. [30]

Between 1914 and 1918, the number of Alaskan traps more than doubled, from 240 to 552. [31] As part of that trend, the Columbia River Packers Association drove the first trap in Aniakchak Bay in 1917 (see Map 11). The trap was located just southwest of the mouth of the Aniakchak River. [32] In 1919 the CRPA installed a second trap from the island near the river's mouth. No traps existed for the next few years. By 1924, however, the 1917 trap had been re-established, and during the next five years four new traps had been built along the Aniakchak coastline. In 1925, a trap was installed in Kujulik Bay, near the mouth of North Fork; a second followed in 1926, on the north shore of Aniakchak Bay; a third trap, erected in 1928, was erected near the mouth of Aniakchak Lagoon; and a fourth, was built in 1929 at the southwestern end of Aniakchak Bay. The final trap in the area was not erected until 1937; it was located south of Elephant Head Point on Cape Kumlik. [33]



Map 11. Location of Aniakchak Bay Fish Traps. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Several of the traps driven along the Aniakchak coastline did not last long. Three of the four traps erected between 1925 and 1929, in fact, had been permanently removed by the end of the 1930 season. The other traps noted above, however, operated for a longer period. The trap located southwest of the Aniakchak River mouth, for instance, operated from 1924 to 1937. The trap near Aniakchak Lagoon operated from 1928 to 1947, and the Cape Kumlik trap operated from 1937 to 1949. Until 1932, the CRPA controlled each of these traps. That year, however, they came under the de facto management of the Alaska Packers Association. The APA purchased the sites outright in 1940, and continued to operate them until they closed. [34]

The operation and maintenance of the various fish traps brought seasonal residents to the area. The first watchmen to live there, during the 1917-1919 period, lived on a small bunk scow which had been hauled onto the island located near the Aniakchak River mouth. [35] That site, due to its exposed setting and lack of fresh water, proved unsatisfactory. When the CRPA began erecting new fish traps in the mid-1920s, therefore, they found a more suitable site and endeavored to erect a sound structure. Company workers erected a bunkhouse at the north end of Aniakchak Bay (see Map 10). For years afterwards, this building served as the headquarters for the various fish trap crews. [36] The crews, which numbered between twelve and twenty men, arrived in June to erect the various traps. They spent the summer maintaining them, guarding them from fish pirates, and unloading the collected fish into the cannery tenders. At season's end, in late August, they disassembled and removed each trap before leaving the area. [37]

The establishment of fish traps in Aniakchak Bay created the first regular ship traffic along the Aniakchak coastline. This traffic may have prodded the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey into an investigation of the area. As late as 1922, government explorers had noted that "Aniakchak and Kujulik Bays are uncharted and are avoided by seagoing boats." [38] Interest in the area's fish resources, however, resulted in new mapping efforts. The Coast and Geodetic Survey dispatched two ships into the area, and during the 1924 through 1926 seasons they charted both bays. [39] By 1926, the Coast Pilot reported that "the channel between Kumlik Island [east of the south end of Aniakchak Bay] and the mainland is apparently clear and is constantly used by the cannery tenders when running between Aniakchak Bay and Chignik." [40] Tenders arrived "every few days" in 1930; in the late 1930s, tenders such as the Unga or the Semidi came every day or every second day. [41]

Trapping and Oil Prospecting

Trappers began to infiltrate the Aniakchak area during the same period that Columbia River Packers Association personnel began exploring Aniakchak's coastline. It is not known when they first entered the area, but by the early 1920s it was reported that "several trappers operate inland from the heads of some of the bays along the Pacific coast." Most were Chignik residents who trapped during the wintertime (principally December and January) for fox, mink, ermine and wolverine. [42] By 1925, trappers had explored and identified the Meshik River flats, the Amber Bay lowlands, and most of the Aniakchak River drainage. [43] Their comings and goings, however, were not so numerous as to have created any known trails, and apparently none of the trappers knew of the existence of Aniakchak Crater.

Adolf Van Hammel, C. W. Olsen, Charles Weidemann, and Albert Johnson were the four white trappers active in the 1920s. A Native named Shurka also trapped at that time. Olsen lived at the head of Amber Bay, but the others had cabins scattered about the Aniakchak River drainage. [44] By the 1930s, most of these men had been replaced by John Hillborn, Henry Erikson, Alec Pedersen, and Clemens Grunert, Sr. They continued to trap until the 1940s, when falling fur prices and an increased standard of living among local residents discontinued the practice. [45] Erikson and Hillborn had ceased trapping by 1943, but Grunert and Pedersen stayed on until the

late 1940s. [46]

In the early 1920s a short-term boom in oil speculation, along with a series of geological investigations, combined to provide the first thorough descriptions of the area's topography, biota and economic potential. The peninsula's petroleum resources, which had been known since the 1860s, began to be developed in 1903 when a series of wells were drilled near the southeast end of Becharof Lake. The boom town of Kanatak sprang forth at the head of Puale Bay, and hopes ran high for a year before the excitement ended (see chapters 3 and 11). [47] In 1910, the Federal withdrawal of Alaska lands from new oil leasing brought what little business remained to a standstill, and for a decade the Kanatak area was virtually deserted. In 1920, however, interest was revived with the passage of an oil leasing act, which allowed prospectors to once again stake claims in Alaska. [48] The Chignik and Aniakchak areas were thought to offer high potential for oil because a popular opinion prevailed that many areas on the Alaska Peninsula offered recoverable oil reserves. More specifically, it was felt that the oil-bearing strata of the Kanatak and Cook Inlet fields also underlay the Chignik district. Therefore, a small-scale flurry of oil exploration took place over the next several years as oil claims were staked over much of the central Alaska Peninsula. [49]

The Aniakchak area, where oil seepages had been reported "from the country west of Aniakchak Bay and east of the high mountain in the central part of the peninsula" as well as "on the cape between Amber and Aniakchak bays" was the recipient of much of that enthusiasm. [50] The General Land Office began offering 2560-acre oil permits as early as December 1920, and activity continued for most of the decade. During the 1922 fiscal year 35 entries, totalling 115,200 acres, were made in the so-called Aniakshak field. For the next two years the speculative fever quickened and "Aniakshak" became the most popular field in the territory; 88 new entries were made covering 225,280 acres in fiscal year 1923, while 43 entries, covering 112,808 acres, were made the year afterwards. [51] Most of the entries were made by speculators who hailed from the Seattle and Tacoma areas. The "Aniakshak" field covered a broad area along the Alaska Peninsula, only a portion of which was located in the present Monument and Preserve. Even so, more than 70 such permits were staked within the present NPS boundaries. The permits were scattered throughout the unit; the only area which was not staked was the caldera itself and the countryside south of it. [52]

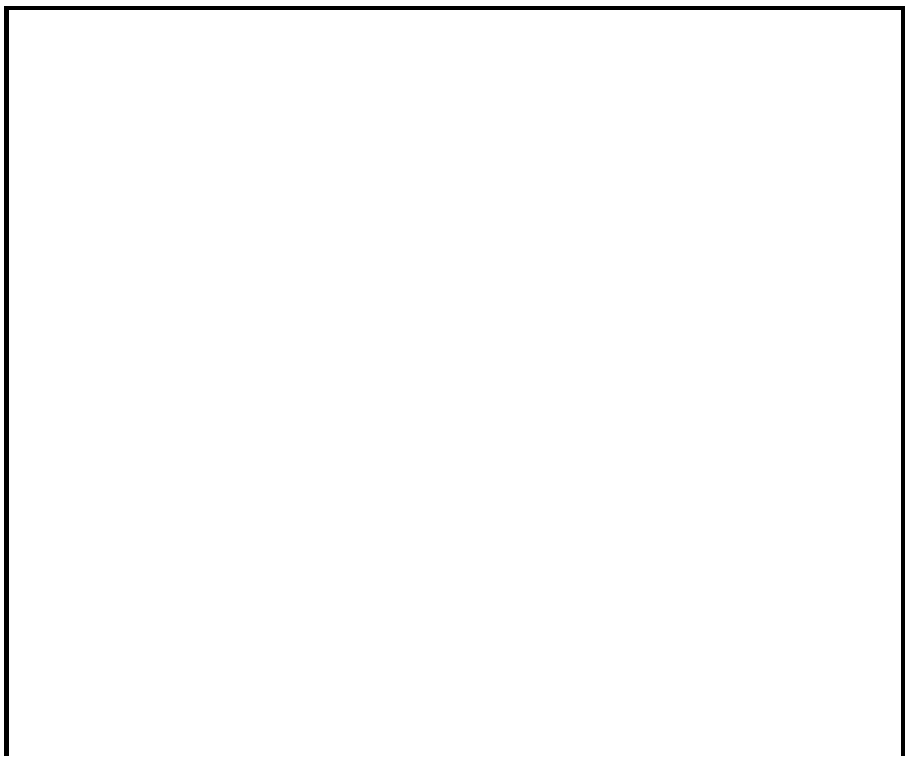
The flurry of lease activity stimulated some exploration into the Aniakchak area. Perhaps the first surveyor was W. W. French, an engineer who had taken out at least two oil and gas leases. French led a party through the area in July 1921; as part of the trip they entered Aniakchak Caldera, the first party known to have done so. The following year E. D. Calvin, a government engineer, also entered the area to lay out public land survey lines. [53] In 1922, geologist Walter Smith noted that "since 1920 there have been several oil prospectors and land-survey parties staking claims or running lines ... west of Aniakchak Bay." [54]

It appears, however, that few of the permittees ever visited the area. Most claimants were "pencil prospectors" who hoped to cash in on the work of others. On that basis, interest in the area's oil potential remained high until the summer of 1922, when the first government-sponsored geological survey party investigated the area. The group found that most of the reigning enthusiasm was groundless. They failed to find several instances of oil seepages, one of which had been reported on the cape between Amber and Aniakchak bays. Their report further noted that "the country southwest of Wide Bay, especially the Aniakchak district, is covered by large areas of igneous rocks, in which oil does not occur." [55] A second survey party, dispatched to the Chignik area the following summer, gave a similar conclusion. It found that "no oil seepages, residues, or gas springs have been authentically reported from the Chignik District," and that "the outlook for oil in the Chignik district is not hopeful." [56] These reports effectively stifled further oil exploration, and within a decade the government had cancelled most if not all of the existing oil permits. [57]

USGS Surveyors Investigate Aniakchak Caldera

While the wave of interest in oil possibilities did not succeed in stimulating new economic growth on the central peninsula, the various governmental surveys succeeded in revealing the topography and resources of the area for the first time. As late as 1923, maps of the country inland from Aniakchak Bay were either blank or contained erroneous information. [58] The oil excitement, however, provoked the U.S. Geological Survey, which was responsible for exploring and evaluating the mineral potential of Alaska lands, into sending two major expeditions into the Aniakchak area. In the summer of 1922, a party of six men, headed by R. H. Sargent, topographer and Walter R. Smith, geologist, surveyed the area from Kanatak southwest to Chignik. Their explorations were primarily limited to the eastern drainages of the peninsula. Three years later, another six-man party, headed by Sargent and geologist Russell Knappen, surveyed both sides of the peninsula from Mt. Chiginagak southwest to Mt. Veniaminof. In the Aniakchak drainage, both parties found an essentially primeval landscape, devoid of trails or permanent residents. [59]

The investigations produced mixed results. As noted above, results gained from the 1922 expedition served to dampen the enthusiasm over oil exploration, and the 1925 expedition, whose stated purpose was to investigate oil and gas possibilities, found few encouraging possibilities. [60] Sargent and Smith's expedition, however, was the first to report the discovery of a large "extinct volcano," Aniakchak Caldera, midway between the Bristol Bay and Pacific coasts. The caldera had been identified twice before; in 1919, famed Katmai explorer Robert F. Griggs had spotted it and called it "Old Crater," and in 1921, oil prospector W. W. French had entered the caldera. Griggs, however, was in no position to elaborate on what he had seen, and French had made no report of his discovery. [61] In 1922, USGS expedition members entered the caldera on two separate occasions (see Map 12), and the following year M. W. Taylor, of Seattle, visited the caldera as well. [62] It is a testimony to the area's weather, as well as its isolation, that generations of explorers, fishermen, local residents and governmental officials had passed along the Pacific and Bristol Bay coasts and had failed to identify it. Trappers or prospectors may have seen the caldera before 1922, but no one reported its existence before Sargent and Smith explored the area. [63]





Map 12. This "Sketch Map Showing Location of Aniakchak" was drawn by the U.S. Geological Survey during the 1920s. It was reprinted in Father Bernard Hubbard's 1932 publication, Mush, You Malemutes! (page 179). *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Father Hubbard Visits the Area

Two events in the early 1930s, a volcanic eruption and the visit of a well-known lecturer, brought a modicum of fame to the Aniakchak area. In May 1931 Half Cone, a cinder cone located within Aniakchak Caldera, belched forth a series of explosions which darkened the surrounding skies for weeks. [64] Major eruptions took place on May 1, May 11 and May 20, with intermittent activity during the interim. The eruption, which was considered moderate in comparison to those that had taken place at nearby volcanoes, [65] covered the Chignik area with half an inch of ash. Light ash fell up to 300 miles away. Due to its isolation, however, the eruption received scant attention in the state and national press. [66]

The eruption would doubtless have slipped into ignominy had it not been for the efforts of Father Bernard R. Hubbard, a Jesuit professor from Santa Clara University. Hubbard was a geologist who specialized in glaciers and volcanoes. Since 1927 he had spent each summer field season in Alaska gathering data. As his career unfolded, however, he found that his talents were best applied in describing his adventures to the non-scientific community. As "the Glacier Priest," he launched into an increasingly public arena. By 1932 he had become a lecturer, author and film producer, and maintained each of those roles through the remainder of the decade. His best-selling books, and the articles he contributed to National Geographic, Saturday Evening Post, and other magazines, contributed little to the scientific literature. His writings, however,

played an important role in bringing Alaska into the consciousness of the American public.

Hubbard's earliest field explorations pursued strictly scientific objectives. His initial studies concerned the Juneau Icefield, but a visit the following year to the devastated landscape of the Katmai country intrigued him to such a degree that the volcanoes of the Alaska Peninsula directed his research activities for the next several years. [67] Perusing the geological literature, he encountered USGS reports on the Aniakchak and Veniaminof calderas, and as he noted, "with these sources of information and Mr. Sargent's map, [I] determined upon a thorough exploration of the craters." [68]

To implement his plan, Hubbard left San Francisco for Alaska in mid-May of 1930, and reached Chignik the following month. The party, composed of Hubbard and four student assistants, took a cannery tender to the mouth of the Aniakchak River. It then ascended the river in a 15-foot open motorboat as far as it could. The party spent several days exploring the caldera on foot, and found its floor to be lush with vegetation and wildlife. Although the USGS had classified the volcano as inactive, his group found steaming vents which led them to believe that Aniakchak was capable of additional activity. [69]

Spurred on by the excitement of the spring 1931 eruption, Hubbard returned to Aniakchak the following two summers. In 1931, his party traveled by boat from Chignik to Kujulik Bay and proceeded northbound into the Aniakchak River drainage. The following summer Hubbard, accompanied by pilot Frank Dorbrandt, flew into the caldera, landed on Surprise Lake and explored the immediate area. Their visit was relatively brief. [70]

Hubbard's books and articles dramatically portrayed that Aniakchak Caldera was strange and unworldly. He portrayals were effective because he knew his subject matter; furthermore, his audiences were largely unfamiliar with either Alaska or volcanic landscapes. The vast majority of his verbiage, redolent in impassioned prose, stands up to scientific scrutiny. But in his glib pursuit of dramatic detail he erred in certain key facts, including the size of the eruption, the probable date of caldera formation, and the number of previous explorers to have visited the crater. [71] He also mistakenly implied that the eruption had had a devastating impact on the area's ecosystem. [72] His assertion that much of the wildlife and plant life in the caldera was killed by the blast is correct. Anadromous fish populations, however, were scarcely affected. Records from the bay's fish traps show that the annual catch for the 1931 through 1934 seasons was significantly larger than that for the 1929 and 1930 seasons. [73]

The 1931 National Monument Proposal

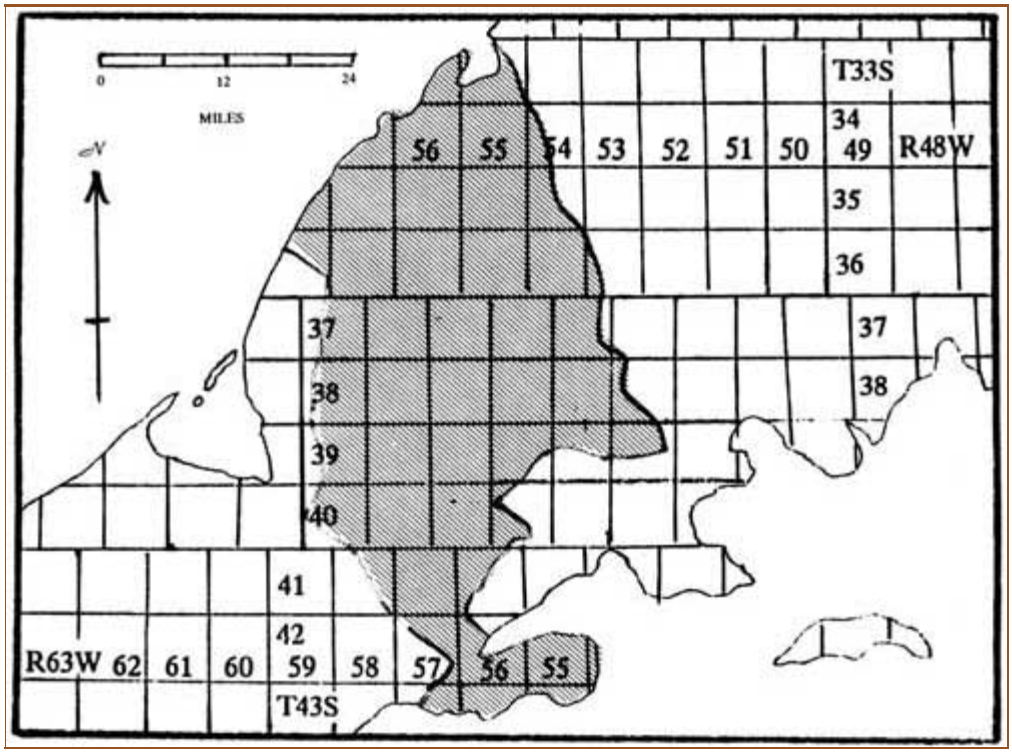
Shortly after returning from his 1930 trip to Aniakchak Caldera, Father Hubbard wrote up his experiences for the popular press. In October a full-page story on the Alaskan "moon craters" appeared in the New York Times; two months later, Barrett Willoughby penned a longer article on Hubbard's adventures for the Saturday Evening Post. The two articles dealt with both Aniakchak Caldera and nearby Mount Veniaminof. [74]

NPS Director Horace M. Albright read Willoughby's Saturday Evening Post article and on December 23 told several assistants, including Arno B. Cammerer, that "we ought to keep these areas in mind as possible additions to the national parks or monuments some time in the future." Cammerer, in his reply, saw no reason to wait; he noted, "Isn't now the time to get them reserved as a national monument, to prevent hunting and thus to preserve the wonderful wild life as best we can?"

NPS staff then contacted R. H. Sargent of the USGS, who had visited the area both in 1922 and 1925. Sargent felt that the area contained "many advantages as well as scenic and scientific

features that are not found anywhere else including Katmai." He noted that Hook Bay was a "natural harbor" and would be the best development location. He also noted the presence of "three men who have been trapping around Aniakchak for several years and they would undoubtedly be opposed to any restrictions." On January 10, Cammerer let it be known that he wanted to "get this crater area reserved as soon as possible as a monument under the Service." Wallace R. Atwood, a geography professor affiliated with the New York-based American Geographical Society, responded with a long memo to the Director which elaborated on the area's values, evaluated the problems which might encumber monument designation, and suggested several possible boundary configurations. [75]

The NPS offered a bold proposal for the two new monuments. The Aniakchak proposal called for the withdrawal of an area larger than the present-day monument and preserve (see Map 13). The irregular boundary included most of the western and central side of the peninsula; it went as far south as Landlocked and Bluff creeks, and stretched north to the Cinder River-Meloy Creek drainage. On the Bristol Bay side, the proposed monument included everything from the shoreline to the peaks except for a small area surrounding Meshik and Port Heiden. On the Pacific Coast side, the proposed monument included Cape Kumliun, Weasel Mountain, and Hook Bay. North of Cape Kumliun, however, the boundaries remained several miles distant from the shoreline. Atwood, who drew the preliminary boundaries, had followed Sargent's advice and avoided most of the area close to the Pacific Coast; this was in deference to the seasonal fish traps and the smattering of area trappers. [76]



Map 13. Proposed Aniakchak National Monument, 1931. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

NPS staff hoped that they would soon be able to prepare a monument proclamation that the Secretary of the Interior and President Hoover could approve. Before the NPS could do so, however, it sent out routine letters of approval to the heads of the U.S. Geological Survey, the Bureau of Fisheries, and the General Land Office. [77] The Bureau of Fisheries noted only the presence of a fish trap in Hook Bay; the GLO was concerned only with the oil permits which were scattered about the area, none of which had been developed. [78]

The USGS, however, took a dim view of the proposed monument. As was noted in Chapter 3, the USGS had been asked just a month earlier for its opinions regarding the expansion of Katmai National Monument. It was unenthusiastic to both proposals. The agency head noted that the Survey "feels a keen interest in having as much of a region as possible kept open for free development;" he also felt that national monuments, as a rule, "should be the smallest that will properly include the particular natural object." He was particularly concerned that a potential oil area, located along Bluff and Violet creeks, was being considered for inclusion in the monument. The USGS recommended that the proposed monument be limited to a roughly circular area, 20 to 25 miles in diameter, which centered on Aniakchak Caldera. [79]

The NPS was unwilling to see such a drastic reduction in the initially-proposed boundaries. It knew, from the USGS reports, that geologists had found little cause for optimism in the area's oil potential. It may also have known that none of the land which had been opened to oil permit activities in the early to mid-1920s had ever been drilled upon, much less enjoyed commercial success. (The GLO cancelled the various oil permits in 1931 and 1932.) The NPS, therefore, responded to the USGS's boundary by eliminating the portion of the proposed monument which had been located south of the Meshik River. The potential oil-bearing province west of Kujulik Bay was thus excluded from the monument. [80]

The NPS emerged from its consultation with other agencies with a smaller monument than it had originally proposed. Its boundary was far larger than the USGS would have preferred; the NPS, however, felt that its alternative boundary was defensible. [81] The proposed monument was then presented to various Alaskan officials for their consideration.

The Aniakchak proposal, as noted above, was brought forth at the same time that Katmai National Monument was being considered for expansion. In addition, the conservation community was lobbying for a national monument on Chichagof Island in order to protect the brown bear population. The Aniakchak area was significant for its geological values; the nature of its resources was fundamentally different from the other two areas, which were being considered for their wildlife resources. Little was known, at that time, of the Aniakchak area bear population. Walter Smith and Arthur Baker, in their 1922 report for the USGS, noted that "bears seem to be [relatively] numerous in the more remote parts of the peninsula," and three years later, Russell Knappen of the USGS reported that he had seen 54 bears during his summer of field work. [82] The Aniakchak area, however, was so remote that few if any outsiders hunted in the area. Most federal officials, territorial officials, and conservation leaders were similarly ignorant of the area's wildlife resources.

Although the Aniakchak proposal was geological in nature and thus distinct from the Katmai and Chichagof proposals, it was inevitable that the three monuments would be compared and contrasted as a package. On March 13, the NPS presented the three proposals to Hugh W. Terhune, the Alaska Game Warden, and Charles H. Flory, the Regional Forester of Alaska. Both men abhorred the idea of a national monument on Chichagof Island. Perhaps because of its relative lack of resource conflicts, they considered the Aniakchak area to be "of outstanding interest." Creating a national monument there, furthermore, "would probably do more toward bear protection in Alaska than the other two projects." [83]

What happened next is uncertain. Between mid-March and early April 1931, NPS officials apparently met and decided to discard both the Aniakchak and Chichagof proposals in favor of an expansion to Katmai National Monument. The existence of the oil permits may have caused the NPS to be gun-shy about pushing the Aniakchak proposal; the agency was also tacitly aware that no scientific or conservation organizations had expressed support for such a monument. The NPS, in comparing the three proposals, probably recognized that expanding Katmai gave it the opportunity to protect a well-known population of bears which might otherwise have been endangered. By contrast, Aniakchak's resources--despite Father Hubbard's

publicity--were not particularly well known. The site, moreover, was remote, and the area's geological and biological resources were not in danger. That it was easier to manage one monument than two may have also been a factor in the agency's decision to bypass the Aniakchak proposal.

By April 8, NPS staff had decided upon the Katmai proposal to the exclusion of all others. Once they had done so, they quickly prepared a presidential proclamation and forwarded it to Secretary of the Interior Ray Wilbur. He, in turn, sent it on to President Hoover who, on April 24, 1931, signed the proclamation which expanded Katmai National Monument. [84] The agency dropped the matter of an Aniakchak National Monument at that time, and did not consider it again until the 1960s.

Land Use Development, 1931-1970

Soon after the NPS considered the area as a national monument, commercial clamming interests discovered the beaches of Aniakchak Bay. Razor clams were found in Aniakchak Lagoon as well as on beaches to the south. Axel Olsen located a cannery at the southwestern end of the bay in the summer of 1932, and 12,948 pounds of clams were processed there that year. Clams were hauled from the harvesting areas to the cannery by automobile. The cannery operated for only a short time. Local sources have suggested that it failed because the clams were too sandy, because transportation costs were too high, or because intensive harvesting reduced the clam population to noncommercial levels. The clam population eventually rebounded, and in recent years Kodiak fishermen have harvested the Aniakchak Lagoon clam beds. Commercial operations, however, never returned to the area. By 1977, all that remained of the 1930s-era cannery was "a pile of wood and machine parts in the grass along the coastline." Most prominent among the rubble was the cannery's boiler and an automobile skeleton. [85]

During the Second World War, Port Heiden was the site of an air base. General Simon B. Buckner, head of the Army's Alaska war effort, requested in the early summer of 1941 that a staging base be built there in support of activities in the Aleutian Islands. The air base, called Fort Morrow, was one of several landing sites which pilots could use while flying between Elmendorf Field (Anchorage) and Cape Field (on Umnak Island, near Dutch Harbor). Fort Morrow was abandoned by the military shortly after the end of the war; the airfield, however, is still maintained. There are numerous quonset huts and other wartime structures still evident at the site, although most have been partially dismantled for their lumber. [86]

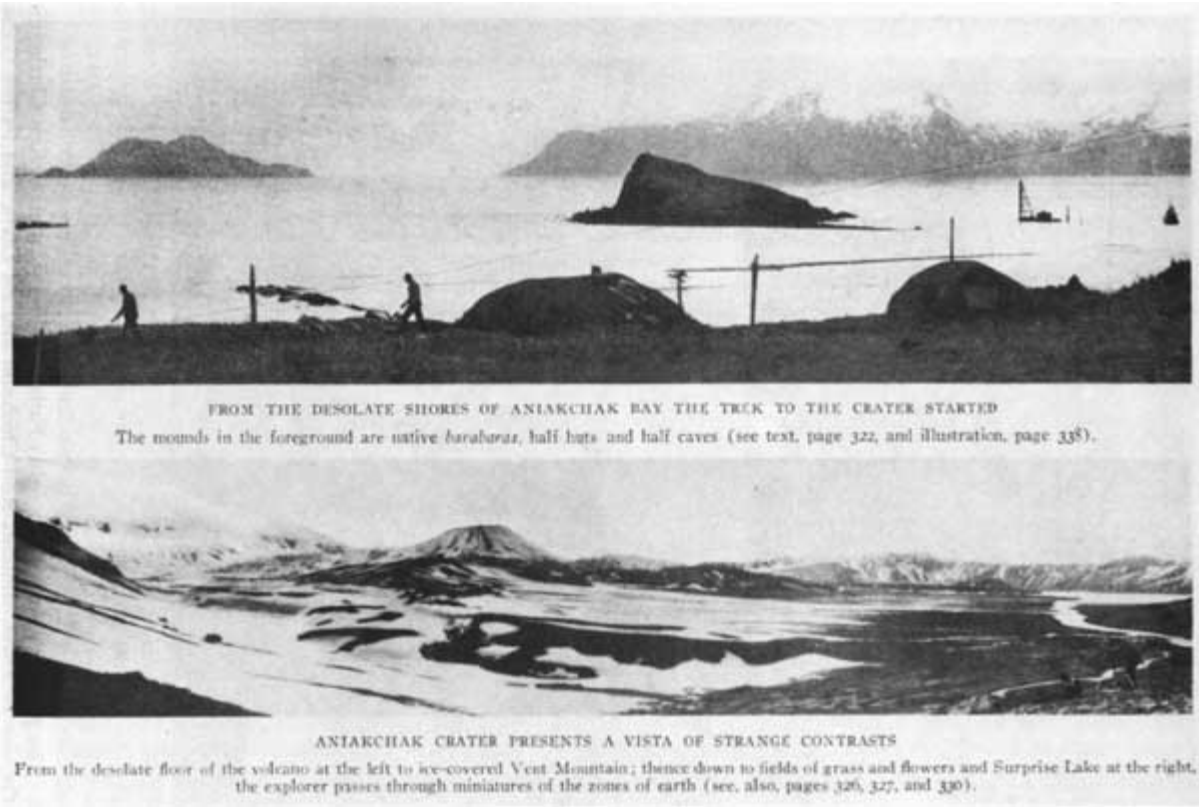
During the late 1940s, the Aniakchak area continued to support some of the same activities which had taken place before the war. A few trappers still roamed over portions of the Aniakchak River drainage, and fish traps continued to operate on Cape Kumlik and near the mouth of Aniakchak Lagoon. By 1950, however, both of those activities had ceased. Afterwards, most of those who visited the area were local residents. Subsistence uses lured Meshik and Chignik residents into the area in order to harvest the area's game animals (chiefly caribou and moose), fish, and berries. In addition, a few Chignik residents, using purse seiners, fished commercially along the Pacific Coast and made occasional stops along the coastline. No permanent residents lived north of Chignik, east of Meshik, or south of Ugashik. [87]

During the early 1950s, development interests considered the area for commercial pumice production. As noted in Chapter 11, the Anchorage area construction industry had been eyeing the pumice deposits of the Katmai coastline since 1947. A study of six sites along the coast showed that Kukak Bay offered excellent possibilities as a pumice extraction site. The NPS, however, was reluctant to open the national monument to commercial mining. The Secretary of the Interior hoped that the issue might be defused if an alternate extraction site could be found outside the monument, so in 1950 he prevailed on the U.S. Geological Society to study two new

areas: the Aniakchak-Veniaminof area and Augustine Island. R. M. Moxham, the geologist assigned to the task, surveyed four sites in the Aniakchak-Veniaminof area. He concluded that the distance from Anchorage and the poor quality of the local pumice deposits made all four sites relatively unfavorable for development. Since the early 1950s, few have shown an interest in the Aniakchak area's pumice deposits. [88]

In the late 1950s, the area was subject to a renewed round of oil speculation activity. Interest in Alaska's petroleum possibilities had been growing since World War II, and Richfield Oil Corporation's major oil strike, on the Kenai Peninsula in July 1957, brought on a heightened degree of interest. In the Aniakchak area, the first 2560-acre oil and gas lease was filed in March 1957. During the next four years, more than 70 others applied for a lease. These leases, however, were just as unsuccessful as the oil permits of the 1920s had been. So far as is known, no drilling or other field development ever resulted from the flurry of lease applications. [89]

Before 1950, the Aniakchak area was generally unknown to sport hunters. That year, however, a local guide named Alec Pedersen began conducting hunts in the area. He used the CRPA bunkhouse, at the mouth of the Aniakchak River, as a base camp. The area became an increasingly popular hunting destination, particularly to bear and caribou hunters, and by the 1960s other guides had also entered the area. By the end of the decade several lodges had been established in the area; they attracted, and continue to attract, a small number of Outside sportsmen. [90]



FROM THE DESOLATE SHORES OF ANIAKCHAK BAY THE TRUCK TO THE CRATER STARTED

The mounds in the foreground are native *barabaras*, half huts and half caves (see text, page 322, and illustration, page 338).

ANIAKCHAK CRATER PRESENTS A VISTA OF STRANGE CONTRASTS

From the desolate floor of the volcano at the left to ice-covered Vent Mountain; thence down to fields of grass and flowers and Surprise Lake at the right, the explorer passes through miniatures of the zones of earth (see, also, pages 326, 327, and 330).

Farther Bernard R. Hubbard, a Jesuit priest, explorer, and geologist, travelled through the Aniakchak area in June 1930 with a small group of Sana Clara University students. The top photo is taken just east of the mouth of the Aniakchak river; it shows two barabaras, a small offshore island, and a cannery tender. The bottom photo shows Aniakchak Caldera as it looked prior to the 1931 eruption of Vent mountain. *(National Geographic Magazine, September 1931, 324)*





(top) In June 1931, Hubbard (right), along with pilot Harry Blunt (left) and Al Monsen, flew over Aniakchak Caldera but were unable to land. Later that summer, Hubbard and a group of students hiked into the caldera from Kujulik Bay. (bottom) A year later, pilot Frank Dorbrandt flew Hubbard and his students into the caldera and landed on Surprise Lake. The photo shows (left to right) Father Hubbard, student Ken Chisholm, Native guide George Peterson, students Rod Chisholm and Ed Levin, and Father Galtes. *(Santa Clara University Collection, photos ACK-00-15 (top) and ACK-35-263 (bottom))*



In July 1973, NPS photographer Keith Trexler took this photo of a local fisherman drying salmon on a grassy knoll just east of the mouth of the Aniakchak River. *(NPS, AKSO Slide # 5463-32)*





The top photo, which looks east, shows the area surrounding the Columbia River Packers Association bunkhouse, at the north end of Aniakchak Bay, as it looked in July 1973. A wood-roofed barabara is in the foreground. the bottom photo, taken in August 1990, shows the same area looking in the opposite direction. *(NPS, AKSO Slide # 5463-22 (top); author's collection (bottom))*

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART II: ANIAKCHAK NATIONAL MONUMENT AND PRESERVE

Chapter 14:
Aniakchak and the Alaska Lands Question

During the 1960s, the National Park Service administered only four units in Alaska: Mount McKinley National Park and Katmai, Glacier Bay, and Sitka national monuments. Although all four units had been incrementally increased in size over the years, no new area had been created since 1925. For decades afterward, the agency had been unable to maintain even a token presence in the various Alaska national monuments, but in the 1950s an increasing NPS budget, the implementation of the Mission 66 program, and pressure from Alaskan development interests had brought about the construction of the first visitor facilities.

In January 1964, George B. Hartzog, Jr. became NPS director. Hartzog wanted to be sure that the "surviving landmarks of our national heritage" would be protected, and recognized that if any significant park system growth was to occur, that growth would have to be in Alaska. That November, therefore, he appointed the so-called Alaska Task Force--composed of Sigurd F. Olson, Robert S. Luntey, George L. Collins, Doris F. Leonard, and John M. Kauffmann--to prepare an analysis of "the best remaining possibilities for the service in Alaska." The report that emerged from that effort, called Operation Great Land, evaluated 39 zones and sites across the state which contained recreational, natural, or historic values. It was the first report to contain a statewide survey of areas which had park potential. Two of those areas were the Aniakchak Crater Zone and the Mt. Veniaminof Zone, both of which had been proposed as national monuments in 1931. The Aniakchak Crater Zone, which was "possibly 20 miles square," was nominated because it was "one of several recently active volcanoes on the Alaska Peninsula and Aleutian Chain which possess symmetrical beauty and possibly other values warranting conservation and/or interpretation." [1]

In 1966 the NPS asked Roger Allin, a longtime Fish and Wildlife Service employee in Alaska, to prepare his own recommendations for future parks. Allin's report, entitled Alaska: A Plan for Action, was relatively brief, and suggested the creation of just four new park areas. Those areas were roughly equivalent to today's Wrangell-St. Elias, Gates of the Arctic, and Lake Clark NPS areas, along with Wood-Tikchik State Park. He mentioned the Aniakchak area in his report, but suggested that it be considered for parkland "at some future date." Allin also suggested that NPS officials pay "early attention" to the Service's two landmark programs. [2]

In 1967, the agency responded to Allin's recommendations when the Aniakchak area was evaluated by the National Natural Landmarks Program. This program, which was created by the Secretary of the Interior in 1962, was intended to identify and encourage the preservation of areas with unique and significant natural values. For its first several years, the program did not apply to Alaska. Then, on May 3, 1967, Assistant NPS Director Theodor Swem made $20,000 available to the University of Alaska to study potential sites in the state. The Aniakchak and Veniaminof areas were among ten sites which were examined that year. [3]

Alaskasearch, the company which evaluated the various sites, felt that Aniakchak Crater was fully eligible as a national natural landmark. Ellis Taylor, the author of the report, noted that

> Aniakchak, the real estate agent would say, has everything. Scientific importance, popular appeal, dramatic, heroic proportions, a mysterious past and an unpredictable, possibly spectacular geologic future, even hot and cold running water.

The consultant found that "From no viewpoint is Aniakchak unimpressive," and it stated that the crater "is recognized by geologists as an outstanding feature, unmatched in many ways, by volcanic phenomena of far greater renown." The report's recommendations were quickly seconded by Interior Department officials. In November 1967 the NPS, which was responsible for carrying out the NNL program, approved the designation of Aniakchak Crater as a National Natural Landmark. The 20,000-acre site, however, could not receive official designation until it received the Interior Secretary's approval. In 1969, former Alaska governor Walter Hickel became the Interior Secretary, and in August 1970 he gave final approval to the NNL designation. The landmark was later renamed Aniakchak Caldera. [4]

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the NPS continued to formulate plans to create new parklands in Alaska. As noted in Chapter 5, the agency proposed several new park units during the waning days of the Johnson administration, and one monument extension--at Katmai--was implemented. Other park proposals, propounded by both the Interior Secretary and by Alaska's Congressional delegation, did not survive. None mentioned Aniakchak. [5]

In November 1971, NPS personnel produced two rough blueprints for future Alaska parklands. Richard Stenmark, an Anchorage-based employee who had served as an advisor to Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel, laid out a "National Park System Alaska Plan" which included a list of potential historical, natural, and recreational areas in the state. That same month, Director Hartzog produced a map of potential national parks and monuments. His map, in many ways, paralleled Stenmark's list. Hartzog, however, envisioned an Aniakchak Crater National Monument, whereas Stenmark failed to include it. [6]

Interior Department Boundary Proposals

A month later, on December 18, 1971, President Nixon signed into law the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. As noted in Chapter 5, the act set into motion nine years of activity regarding the disposition of Alaska's federally-managed lands. The Department of the Interior was the focus of activity for the first several years after ANCSA's passage. Intense debate took place over the number of acres that would be divided between Federal agencies, the State of Alaska, and various Native corporations; within the Federal government, equally intensive debate took place between the NPS, the Fish and Wildlife Service (and its Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife), the Bureau of Land Management, and the U.S. Forest Service. The various agencies made their recommendations by 1975; not until 1977, however, did Congress confront the Alaska lands question. As shall be seen, Congress was unable to come up with a workable plan during the seven-year period which ANCSA had designated for that purpose. President Carter, therefore, allowed for a continuation of Congress's deliberations when he created a series of national monuments in December 1978. The House passed its version of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act in May 1979. In August 1980, the Senate passed a somewhat different bill. Shortly after Reagan's election in November, the House agreed to the Senate's version, and Carter signed the bill into law on December 2.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act stated that any lands proposed for one of the four

conservation systems (the so-called "d-2" lands) had to be withdrawn within nine months, and Interior Department officials recognized that a preliminary land withdrawal needed to be made within ninety days. Based on those deadlines, the NPS had no time to waste in beginning its planning effort.

In late December, Richard Stenmark flew to Washington, and by January 4 he had completed an initial identification of NPS interest areas. The January list was based, to a large extent on his November 1971 compilation. Significantly, however, the November list had omitted Aniakchak; two months later, however, he included a 167,000-acre Aniakchak Crater unit.

The NPS was not the only agency which coveted the area. On January 7, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife released its own list of interest areas; Aniakchak Crater was included on that agency's "wish list" as well. [7] That conflict was eliminated in favor of the NPS on March 9, when Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton withdrew approximately 80 million acres of "d-2" lands. Fourteen areas, comprising 33.4 million acres, were withdrawn to the NPS. One of those areas was Aniakchak Crater, which comprised 279,914 acres--over 100,000 acres larger than Stenmark had originally recommended in January. Areas outside of the March withdrawal area were open to selection by the state or by Native corporations. [8]

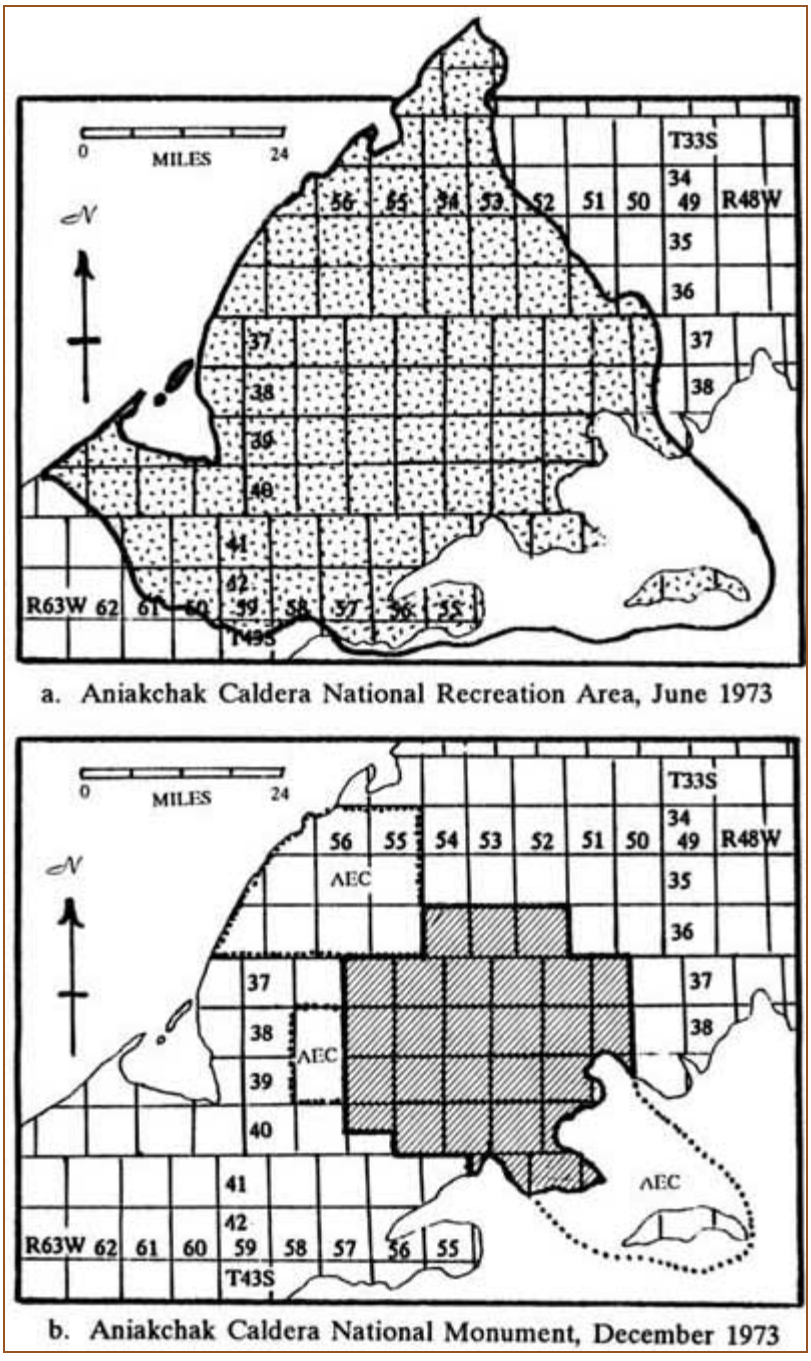
The NPS, hoping to learn as much as they could about the lands in and around the March withdrawals, commenced a review of applicable lands soon afterwards. The agency created the 35-member Alaska Task Force, whose purpose it was to compile available information about the proposed park units. The ATF was subdivided into several teams. Team 4, organized to fashion reports for the Aniakchak, Katmai, and Lake Clark proposals, consisted of Urban E. Rogers, John Dennis, James Isenogle, and Keith Trexler. [9]

In July, in a meeting with Secretary Morton, the ATF recommended that eleven areas, totalling 48.9 million acres, be studied as additions to the NPS system. One of those areas, Aniakchak Crater, was to extend out over 740,240 acres, almost three times the size of what Morton had withdrawn four months earlier. [10] Renewed efforts then began to balance the demands of the various conservation agencies. On September 13, at the end of the nine-month deadline imposed by ANCSA, Morton withdrew 79.3 million acres for the four conservation systems. The share he recommended for inclusion into the NPS, 41.7 million acres, was midway between what the agency had been provided in the March withdrawal and what it had requested in July. But the Aniakchak Crater withdrawal, at 740,200 acres, remained almost as large as NPS leaders had recommended in July. The monument included much of today's monument and preserve; in addition, it included Cape Kumliun, the Weasel Mountain area, and much of the Meshik River valley. [11]

Provisions in ANCSA decreed that by December 18, 1973, the Secretary of the Interior had to issue a final legislative recommendation on which Alaska lands would be considered for the four conservation systems. In order to effectively fulfill that recommendation, intensive study of each area would be needed. A conceptual master plan, a draft environmental statement (DES), and detailed legislative support data would have to be completed by that date for each area. The NPS had already spent time in the field gathering data intended to meet the September 1972 deadline. Additional data would now be needed to establish the resource values within each unit. [12]

In June 1973, the task force issued a preliminary DES and master plan for the Aniakchak area. It was the first Aniakchak document the agency had released to the public. The plan called for a huge, 1.5 million acre Aniakchak Caldera National Recreation Area (see Map 14a). The acreage was twice as large as anything which the agency had proposed before. The plan was also remarkable in that it proposed a national recreation area--not a national monument--and the name of the area's major feature had been changed from a crater to a

caldera. [13] The new boundaries extended along the Pacific Coast from Cape Kunmik to Chignik Bay, and along the Bristol Bay coastline from Cape Menshikof to the south end of Port Heiden. Even Meshik village was included. The task force justified the expanded boundaries because it wanted to include a representative sample of Alaska Peninsula ecosystems and because it hoped to include entire drainage basins whenever possible. The Bristol Bay lands were included in order to preserve significant caribou habitat; the Hook and Kujulik bays were included because they offered relatively high quality landing places. [14]



a. Aniakchak Caldera National Recreation Area, June 1973

b. Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, December 1973

Map 14. Aniakchak Administrative Proposals, 1973. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

The task force distributed the document to various governmental bodies, Native groups, and conservation organizations. Several of the report recipients--most probably the State of Alaska and various Native groups--protested the proposed plans. They pointed out that the

area which was bounded by the caldera, the upper Cinder River drainage, Amber and Aniakchak bays, and the upper Meshik River drainage had been withdrawn as "d-2" land in 1972, and the only encumbrances on that land were the regional and village deficiency lands (noted above) which had been applied for by Native corporations. Outside the "d-2" lands, however, most of the land in the proposed park unit had been selected by the State of Alaska, by Meshik village, or by the Koniag Regional Corporation. Those state and the various Native groups took a dim view of being included in an NPS unit. Another difficulty in the plan was the existence of 115 mining claims on Cape Kumliun, at the south end of the proposed unit. [15]

Those protests were heeded by NPS officials. When the Alaska Planning Group, [16] in July 1973, presented its latest land use recommendations to the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, it called for only a 680,000-acre Aniakchak Caldera National Monument among the 49.1 million acres it suggested for national park units. The area recommended was less than half the size of the park unit which had been recommended a month earlier; it was slightly smaller than what Secretary Morton had decided upon in September 1972. The idea of a national recreation area was discarded, never to be brought up again. [17]

On December 18, 1973, just two years after ANCSA became law, Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton made his final recommendations to Congress. He recommended that 83.5 million acres be added to the national park, wildlife refuge, national forest, and wild and scenic river systems. Only 32.6 million acres, however, were recommended for NPS management, and he proposed a mere 580,000 acres for Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, far less than had been recommended in June. [18] (See Map 14b.) Gone was the middle Meshik River valley, Cape Kumliun, and the Weasel Mountain area. Several of the eliminated lands re-emerged as Areas of Environmental Concern (AECs). [19] The APG identified three such areas: 1) a 206,000-acre area northwest of the proposal, along the Bristol Bay coast, 2) an 82,000-acre area just west of Aniakchak Caldera, and 3) Sutwik Island, 46,000 acres in extent. The boundaries that remained in the monument itself were similar to those in today's monument and preserve. [20]

The 580,000-acre recommendation was a painful compromise, unacceptable to advocates in both the conservation and development communities. The National Parks and Conservation Association called the acreage "less than optimal" because it had been promulgating a 1.7 million acre proposal which would have included the Meshik and Cinder River watersheds, the Bristol Bay coast, and Cape Kumliun. The State of Alaska, on the other hand, recommended that a mere 138,000 acres be protected; it saw little need to protect anything but the caldera and the acreage immediately beyond. [21]

Interior Department Land Use Proposals

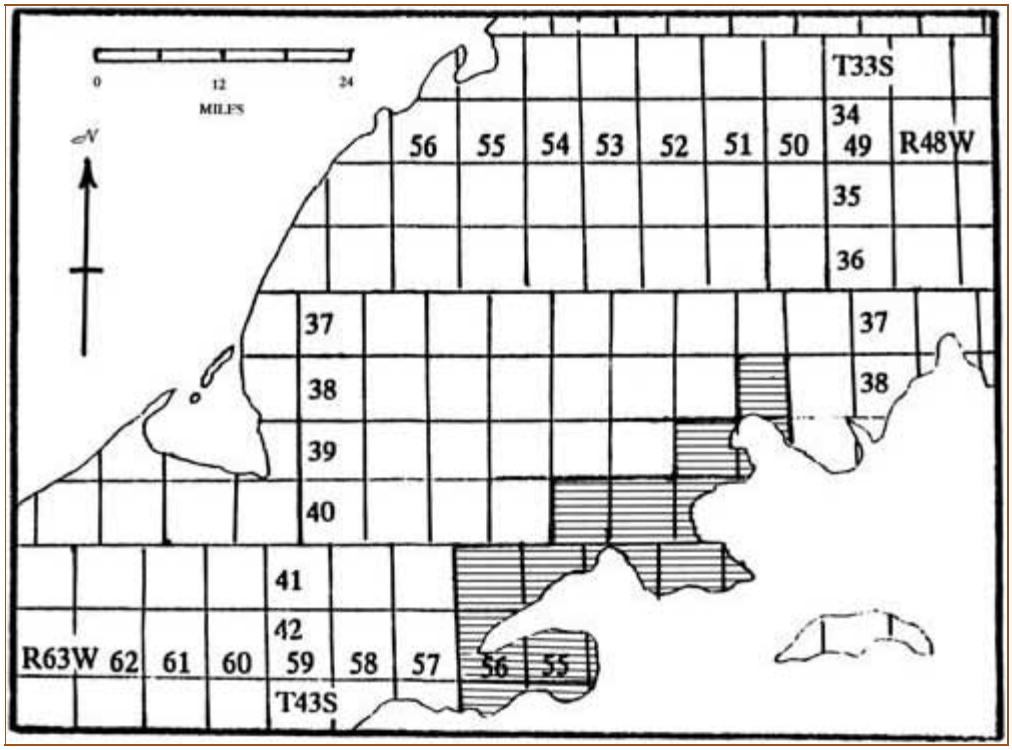
Before 1972, the National Park Service knew virtually nothing about the Aniakchak area. Some NPS staff may have been aware of the data Albright had collected relative to the proposed 1931 monument; beyond that, information was probably limited to that written by Father Hubbard and by U.S. Geological Survey personnel. Between March 1972 and June 1973, Alaska Task Force personnel were asked to supply sufficient resource information for a preliminary draft environmental statement and master plan; by December 1973, a DES and final master plan were due.

Planners, as they commenced their studies, knew that Aniakchak presented special problems. For example, the area was of particular interest to Native groups. ANCSA, the act which had started the "d-2" process, had granted 40 million acres of land (and almost $1 billion) to Alaska's Natives. Soon after ANCSA's passage, Koniag, Incorporated (a newly-established

Native regional corporation) announced its intention to file for thousands of acres of so-called regional deficiency lands in the proposed park unit. In addition, the Afognak village corporation got ready to file for a large amount of village deficiency lands. Natives wanted full title over some of those lands; on other lands, it applied only for subsurface (i.e., mineral) rights. In addition, several individual Natives filed for land parcels in the area. In one category or another, Native corporations claimed most of the area within present-day Aniakchak National Preserve. [22]

Hunting was another concern altogether. The NPS did not normally allow hunting in national parks or monuments, and when the Alaska lands process began (after the passage of ANCSA) it fully anticipated that hunting would be similarly prohibited in the proposed parks of the forty-ninth state. But a roundabout series of events quickly derailed those assumptions.

The problem began in early 1972, shortly after the passage of ANCSA. The December 1971 act placed a 90-day freeze on much of Alaska's federal lands in order to give Federal agencies, as noted above, the opportunity to make preliminary land selections. In March 1972, at the end of the 90-day period designated by ANCSA, Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton withdrew 80 million acres of Federal lands. But two months earlier, on January 21, the state had filed for 77 million acres of federal land; it did so in order to fulfill its obligations under the 1958 Statehood Act, which allowed the state to select 103 million acres of land for its own use. Not surprisingly, much of the land in the two selections overlapped; in fact, 42 million of the 80 million acres which Morton withdrew had been selected two months earlier by the state. Alaska's Attorney General, John Havelock, was so incensed at Secretary Morton's action that on April 10, he sued the Federal government in order to gain title to the state's full allotment. That lawsuit, Egan v. Morton, was settled on September 2 in an out-of-court agreement made without the consultation (and over the objections) of NPS officials. [23] In that agreement, the state agreed to drop its claim on the 42 million acres which had been claimed by both parties. In return, the Interior Department agreed to a series of provisions. One of those provisions opened 124,000 acres of land in the Aniakchak area--around Amber Bay, Cape Kumlik, and Aniakchak Bay--to sport hunting. [24] (See Map 15.)



Map 15. Areas Recommended as Open to Sport Hunting as a Result of September 2, 1972

Memorandum of Understanding Between the Federal and State Governments. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

It is not known why the Aniakchak area became the first Federal area that the state demanded to be opened to hunters. Outside sportsmen had been visiting the area for more than a decade in search of brown bear, moose, and caribou. Use, however, was not heavy, and several other Federal areas--the Lake Clark area or the Wrangell-St. Elias area, for instance--were more popular to the hunting fraternity.

The Alaska Task Force planners recognized that both the hunting areas, and the areas of interest to Native corporations, were located in areas close to the Pacific coastline. They also recognized that the area was being preserved because of two primary features: a dry caldera "where visitors can walk within a mountain," and "a river which can be followed from its origin within a mountain to its mouth at the sea." For each of those reasons, initial (September 1972) plans concentrated park development in the caldera and river area. The primary development and interpretive sites, therefore, were on the southwestern side of the caldera and on Surprise Lake within the caldera. There was also a proposed campground on the Aniakchak River; it was located just outside "The Gates," a gap in the caldera's eastern wall. Other proposed development sites were located on Meshik Lake and Hook Bay; the park headquarters, visitor center, and a campground were all to be located at Meshik village. In order to access the various sites, the agency planned three different transportation modes: floatplanes, tour boats, and all-terrain vehicles. By June 1973, development had been expanded to include campgrounds at the mouth of the Aniakchak River and on Sutwik Island. [25]

The June 1973 report had called for the establishment of a national recreation area surrounding Aniakchak Caldera. The designation at first seemed inappropriate because the area appeared to have such a low potential for recreational development. But a recreation area, not a national monument, was suggested for two reasons. First, sport hunting (because of the September 1972 agreement) had to be allowed in the coastal portion of the proposed unit; second, Koniag Incorporated was interested in mining some of the lands it had selected (and had a legal right to do so). A recreation area, therefore, was an appropriate designation for a park unit (such as this one) where a relatively broad range of land uses was allowed. Consistent with the recreation area designation, the NPS proposed to open all of Aniakchak area to mineral extraction, so long as it was "consistent with other values." It also proposed that hunting be allowed throughout the unit, except within the caldera itself. [26]

The December 1973 Draft Environmental Statement and Master Plan made several significant modifications to the earlier plans. Development plans were changed to eliminate the proposed facilities at Sutwik Island and Hook Bay (which were now located outside the proposed unit) and to add a foot trail which would parallel the entire length of the Aniakchak River. The surface transportation network proposed in June remained. All references to all-terrain vehicles, however, were eliminated; in its place, the report noted that "Surface corridors will be set aside after research determines the type of vehicle and corridor management which will not permanently damage the surface." [27] The land uses proposed in the December 1973 plan were more restrictive than the June plan had been, perhaps because a national monument--not a recreation area--was being proposed. Hunting was still allowed, but only on the coastal area which had been subject to the September 1972 agreement. Mining was also more restricted; the plan called for its prohibition except where Natives had selected subsurface rights. [28]

The December DES also indicated that the Aniakchak River had been nominated to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. As noted in Chapter 5, Congress passed a law in 1968 which created such a system, and by February 1970 the Secretary of Agriculture and

Secretary of the Interior had agreed on a series of supplemental criteria by which wild and scenic rivers would be established. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, which was assigned the task of evaluating Alaska's rivers, sponsored an interagency float trip down the Aniakchak River in July 1973. The state and federal personnel which participated in the river trip took three tumultuous days to float the 27-mile river. The group concluded that its scenic and recreational values were high and the commodity values of adjacent lands were low. They therefore urged the BOR to recommend that the entire river area, including the portion of it located inside the caldera, be classified as a so-called "wild" river. (Wild rivers were the most restrictive of three river categories in the system.) They further noted that if the river did not become part of the proposed monument, it should be protected as a separate entity in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. [29]

The issuance, in December 1973, of the Aniakchak DES and Master Plan documents signalled the beginning of a six-month public comment period. The documents were distributed to a wide variety of interest groups and individuals, many of whom responded with opinions and suggestions. The Alaska Planning Group digested those suggestions and in October 1974 issued its Final Environmental Statement. The report offered few major changes from those proposed the previous December. The development plan remained much as it had been before, and the degree to which mining and hunting would be allowed was similarly unchanged. [30]

NPS Keyman Activities

The October 1974 boundary and land use recommendations remained until 1977, when Congress began using them as a basis for legislation. During the interim, the NPS did what it could to gather new information about the proposed unit. Most of it was gained through the efforts of Ralph Root, the so-called "keyman" for Katmai and Aniakchak, who worked out of the Alaska Area Office from July 1975 through March 1977. (See Chapter 5.)

Root began his tenure by inspecting the two proposal areas. Then, after learning what the FES had planned for the area, he met with other task force personnel to set priorities for proposed studies. The FES had provided a multiplicity of purposes for the proposed monument, so Root and his colleagues simplified the situation. He noted that

> Primary stress will be placed on the caldera, its flanks, and related geology, as well as on the entire Aniakchak River drainage system, and not on wildlife values. Research on volcanic features and mechanisms, as well as the study of plant succession in and around the caldera will be emphasized. [31]

In January 1976, he followed through on the results of that priority list by proposing a geological study of the monument, to include both an overview and a description of areas of special geological interest. By August, the study had been awarded to Dr. Robert Forbes of the University of Alaska Fairbanks' Geophysical Institute. Forbes soon learned, however, that the U.S. Geological Survey had recently completed a study in the area and that the agency was planning to conduct many of the same activities that were specified in his contract. He therefore deferred to the USGS and returned the contract award to the NPS. [32] The USGS, true to its word, completed the first of several agency-sponsored studies of Aniakchak caldera in 1977, and has continued to produce various technical papers on the area's geology. No geological overview of the Aniakchak area, however, was ever produced. [33]

Root also tried to stimulate other avenues of research, particularly into plant succession in the proposal area. In June 1976, he urged the funding of a biological survey of the monument; four months later, he noted that "a study of existing vegetational patterns and successional

trends ... is necessary as baseline data upon which to measure future visitor impact on vegetation, especially in the caldera." [34] He also urged the completion of a cultural resource survey, and a peregrine falcon nesting and population survey. None of these studies, however, were undertaken during the post-ANCSA planning period. The only related study which shed light on the agency's research needs was a ADF&G-sponsored bear migration study which was conducted from 1970 through 1975. This study covered a 2800-square mile area, which included most of the proposed monument; the geographical focus of the study was Black Lake, over forty miles southwest of the caldera. [35]

Root, and the agency, had many other concerns to contend with during this period. Hunting, for example, was a high visibility problem. Some organized groups, such as the Alaska Department of Fish and Game and the Alaska Professional Hunters' Association, saw the September 1972 agreement between the state and federal government as an opening round victory. Based on that agreement, they fought to open the entire proposal area to hunting. Environmental groups, on the other hand, tried to ignore the agreement and demanded that hunting be prohibited throughout the proposal area. [36]

The NPS was caught in a quandary on the issue. The agency knew it had to allow hunting in the proposal area; it could not, however, decide how much hunting area to allow. In December 1975, Area Director G. Bryan Harry told a group of hunters that the area open to hunting might well extend beyond the parcels outlined in the September 1972 agreement; the only area which he insisted be closed was the caldera itself. [37] The agency continued, as it had since 1973, to propose that the entire proposal acreage be included within a national monument. But in March 1976, after much internal discussion, the NPS changed course and decided that the proposal area should be divided into a 340,000-acre national monument, where hunting would be prohibited, and a 240,000-acre national preserve, where hunting would be allowed. Two years before, the agency had created the first two national preserves--at Big Cypress in Florida and Big Thicket in Texas--in order to designate park units which allowed hunting. Aniakchak, it was proposed, would follow that model. That November, however, just three days after Jimmy Carter was elected president, the agency reverted back to its previous position and espoused a 580,000-acre national monument with "specified lands that would be zoned to permit sport hunting." [38]

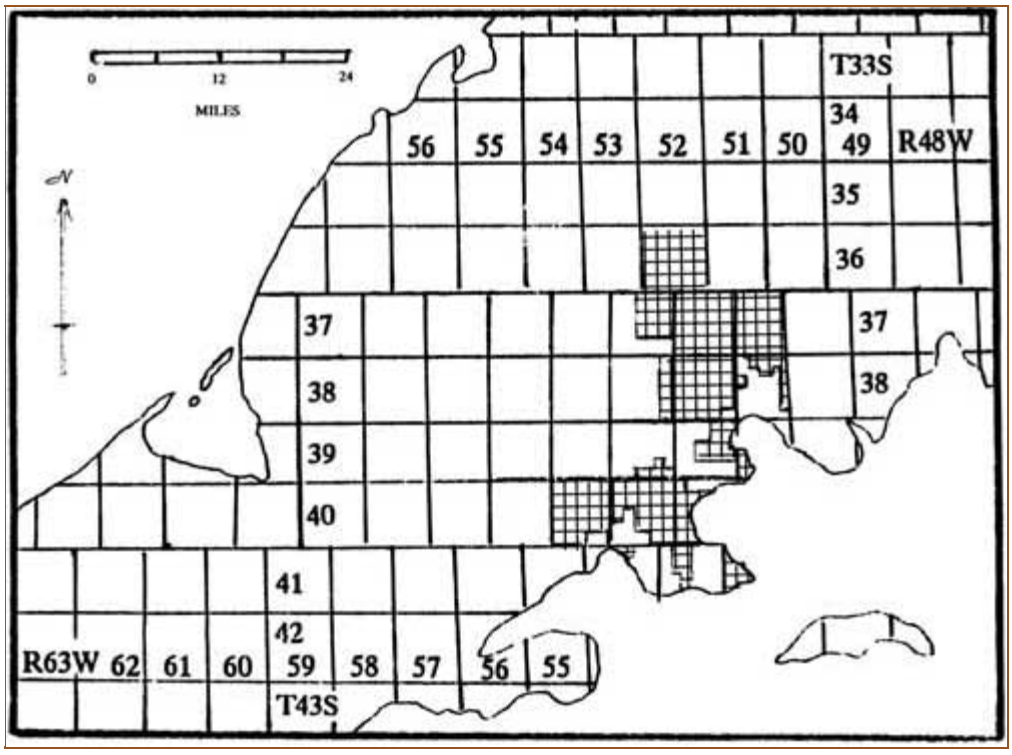
Many of the difficulties regarding hunting in the Aniakchak area were based on a lack of data. The agency's only statistical source for harvest data was the harvest tags turned in by hunters. These data were gathered by game management unit. The various game management units were far larger than the proposed park unit; statistics on harvest data, therefore, were poor indicators of how much hunting took place in the Aniakchak area. [39] To learn more about area hunting patterns, the NPS agreed to sponsor a study of the monument's subsistence and sport hunting activities. That study was performed in 1975-77 by Merry Tuten, who worked under the auspices of the University of Alaska-Fairbanks Cooperative Park Studies Unit. Tuten's research concluded that the subsistence harvest was not sufficiently strong to demand hunting restrictions. She stressed, however, the preliminary nature of her research. She noted that the Alaska Fish and Game Department should be ready to reduce the amount of sport hunting allowed if the population of game animals fell. [40]

Finally, Root gained valuable information on area development plans by the various Native corporations. Bristol Bay Native Corporation, which had interests in the western end of the proposed park unit, and Koniag, Inc., which had interests in the central and eastern portions, had aggressive development plans for the area. A BBNC leader, for instance, urged that the NPS construct a permanent visitor shelter within the caldera (the agency had proposed only an unimproved interpretive site), and a Koniag official hoped that "some form of visitor services," presumably a lodge or other tourist node, would be established in the area. [41] Both corporations hoped to establish a wide variety of economic development projects on

their lands, and the creation of an NPS unit in their midst promised to enhance visitor development possibilities. The regional corporations themselves, however, showed little interest in spurring that development.

Mining was the other activity which Native corporation officials hoped to develop. The U.S. Geological Survey and the state's Division of Geological and Geophysical Survey, in their various reports, had offered few indications of mineralization in the proposal area, and no known mining claims had been established within the proposed boundaries. [42] In 1975, however, a geochemical reconnaissance financed by Koniag Corporation located a porphyry-type copper deposit, with above normal amounts of copper, molybdenum, lead, zinc, and silver, in a two-mile-long band on Cape Kumlik. In 1976 the corporation announced that it was actively "pursuing the exploration of mineral values" in the area. The NPS knew that Koniag would develop the area if it was profitable to do so, and the agency made plans to respond to the development, either by allowing an access road into the area or by excising the eastern end of Cape Kumlik from the proposed monument. Testing, however, revealed that mineral values in the area were too low to support a commercial operation, and the corporation did not implement its development plans. [43]

Koniag also eyed the area's possibilities for oil and gas development. The corporation had no immediate plans to drill in the area and filed no oil and gas leases, but wanted the right to be able to develop the area in the future. To foster that development, an amendment was passed to ANCSA on January 2, 1976 (see Map 16) which gave the corporation subsurface rights to oil and gas in the eastern half of the proposal area. [44]



Map 16. Areas in Which Subsurface Rights Were Provided to Koniag, Inc. by ANCSA Amendments of January 2, 1976 (P.L. 94-204, Section 15 (a)). *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Scattered oil and gas exploration activities, in fact, took place in the proposal area. During the summer of 1975, Root discovered that a geophysical seismic crew had been active along Northeast Creek, north of Amber Bay. A crew was also active at Yantarni Bay, east of the

proposal boundary. A year later, a helicopter-based oil-company crew planned an extensive exploration in the proposal area. [45]

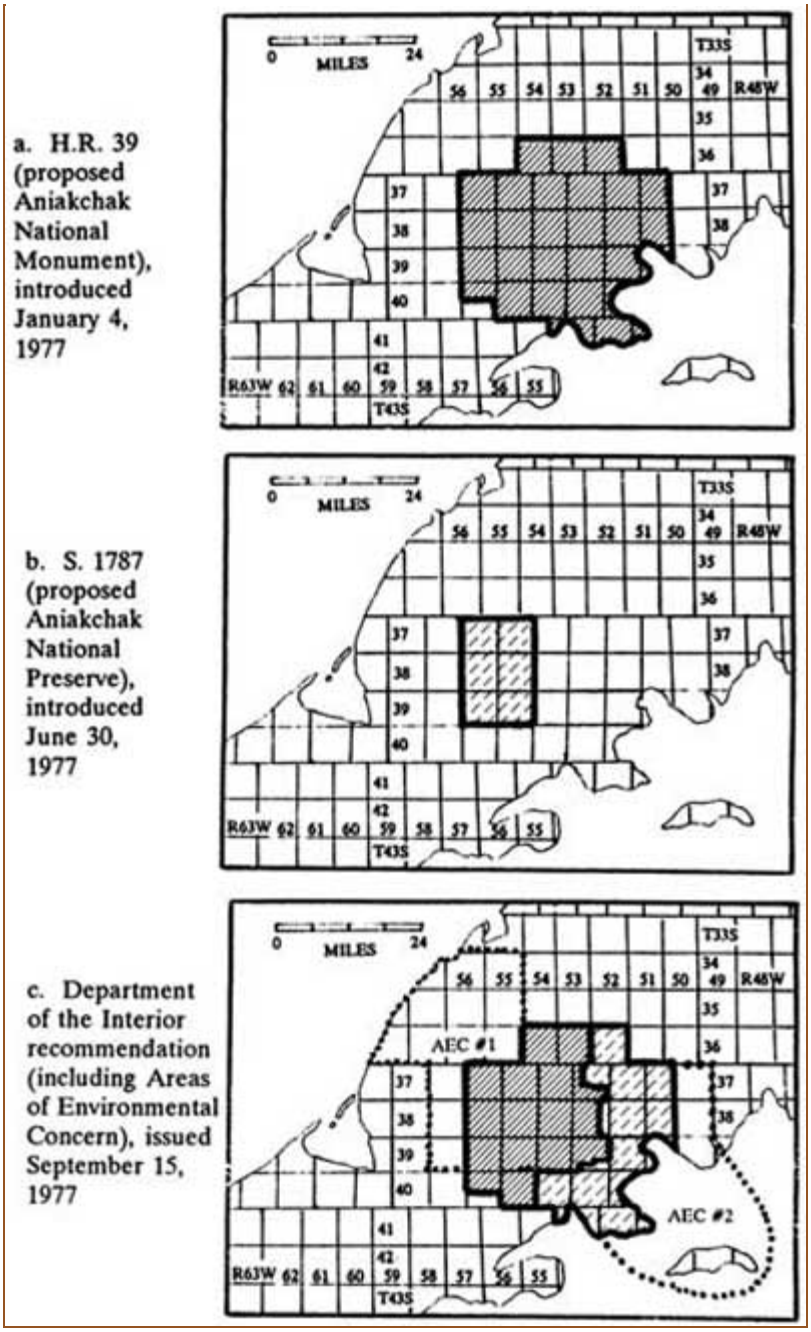
The NPS put substantial effort into planning for visitation into the area. As noted above, it had assembled and refined a series of development plans as part of the October 1974 Final Environmental Statement. During the ensuing years, those plans were modified as staff gained new knowledge about the area. In the FES, development sites had included the headquarters and allied facilities (at Meshik village), a developed campground (at Meshik Lake), two primitive campgrounds (just east of the caldera and at the mouth of Aniakchak River), and two interpretive sites (on the southwestern rim of the caldera and at Surprise Lake). Plans called for Meshik village, the caldera rim, and Meshik Lake to be connected by a multipassenger surface transportation; the nature of the transport system, however, had not been decided upon. This plan remained intact until November 1976. [46] A month later, however, new NPS plans emerged which called for the construction of 16' x 20' Panabode-style backcountry shelters at Meshik Lake, previously a developed campground site; Surprise Lake, previously an interpretive site; and a newly-designated site along Lava Creek, at the north end of the proposed unit. NPS staff also modified the proposed transportation system to eliminate any references to specific routes. [47]

Although NPS officials created relatively sophisticated visitor development plans, they had few illusions that the creation of a new park unit would result in significant new visitation. An agency-sponsored study indicated that "Use of planned facilities is expected to remain well below capacity for many years." The agency predicted that annual visitation in 1980 would remain below 500; by 1985, fewer than 1,000 people would be visiting the park unit each year. Half of those visitors were expected to be local residents; many of the remainder would be sport hunters. [48]

The monument, it appeared, would be of little interest to non-hunting recreationalists. Few were known to have visited the area since Hubbard's expeditions in the 1930s, and only one was known to publicize his visit. That visitor was Ben Guild, an Eagle River resident. Guild, a mycologist and former hunting guide, spent six weeks in the caldera in 1973, living in a tent. He returned there in 1976, constructed a stout 10 x 12 tent cabin and lived in it for a month. Guild loved the caldera; to show others its beauties, he took photographs, shot extensive movie footage, and wrote a book on the area's vegetation. Local residents thought him odd; they called him the "Wild Man of Aniakchak." The NPS, however, was thankful for his contributions. Staff took advantage of his accommodations as well as his knowledge of the area; Guild cooperated with them because the NPS, in his opinion, was the agency best qualified to manage the area. [49]

Congress Establishes the Monument and Preserve

In November 1976, Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter defeated Republican Gerald Ford for the presidency, and the following January, Congress began its consideration of an Alaska lands bill. On January 4, environmentalists weighed in with their version of the bill when Rep. Morris Udall introduced H.R. 39 (see Map 17a). That bill, among its other provisions, called for the creation of a 580,000-acre Aniakchak National Monument, the same size which had been called for in the Secretary of the Interior's proposal in December 1973. [50] Udall's bill, which was intended as an opening gambit and not as a final legislative vehicle, prohibited sport hunting throughout the monument and did not address the oil and gas extraction rights which had been included in the 1976 ANCSA amendment. [51]



Map 17. Aniakchak Proposals, 1977. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Those who hoped to minimize the Park Service's role in the state found the acreage in Udall's bill excessive. Two years before, the State of Alaska and the Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission had made their own recommendations. The state had recommended a 138,000 acre preserve--just a rectangle which included the caldera and its flanks--where sport hunting would be allowed. The JSFLUPC, only slightly more protective, recommended a 183,000 acre monument (sport hunting would be prohibited) plus a broad, east-west corridor for an Aniakchak Wild and Scenic River. [52] Those recommendations were incorporated into S. 1787, a so-called "consensus bill" which was introduced by Senator Ted Stevens on June 30, 1977. This bill (see Map 17b) called for the creation of a 180,000 acre Aniakchak Caldera National Preserve. [53]

While Congress was holding public hearings on H.R. 39, the Interior Department was making

its own study of the various proposals. Cecil Andrus, Carter's Secretary of the Interior, let it be known that he would re-evaluate the previous proposals, noting that the new administration would not be bound by recommendations "the staff had made in years gone by." Instead of following the model set by former Secretary Morton, he based his recommendations on those included within Rep. Udall's H.R. 39. [54] He asked the NPS (and the other Interior Department agencies) to prepare revised acreage recommendations. Given the broad expertise which the various keymen had gained over the past two years, NPS Director William J. Whalen felt comfortable in recommending 50.9 million new acres to the system. Regarding Aniakchak, he proposed a 345,000-acre national monument and a 212,000-acre national preserve. [55]

Andrus compared the NPS recommendations with those of the other Interior agencies, and on September 15 issued the Carter administration's legislative recommendations. They called for the addition of 41.8 million acres to the NPS system. The proposal (see Map 17c) called for a 364,000-acre Aniakchak National Monument and a 249,000-acre Aniakchak National Preserve. In his testimony before a Congressional subcommittee, he stated that his Aniakchak proposal had been endorsed by both the State and the Native corporations. It was slightly larger than Secretary Morton's had been, the boundaries having been changed, where possible, to follow topographic features rather than township and section lines. Andrus also noted that

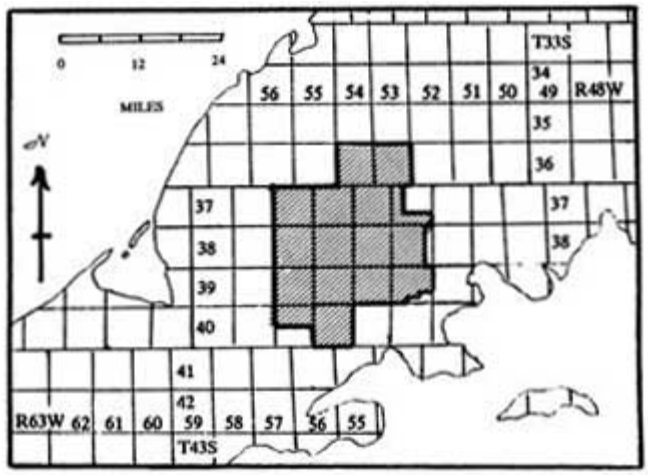
> This is basically the same proposal made in 1973 as it relates to land use, however, the preserve classification is now used for the coastal portions ... in accordance with traditional classification to allow hunting and oil and gas.

Andrus proposed no "instant" wilderness at Aniakchak for either the monument or preserve. He did, however, include a provision that both units would be studied for wilderness designation within seven years after the units were established. [56]

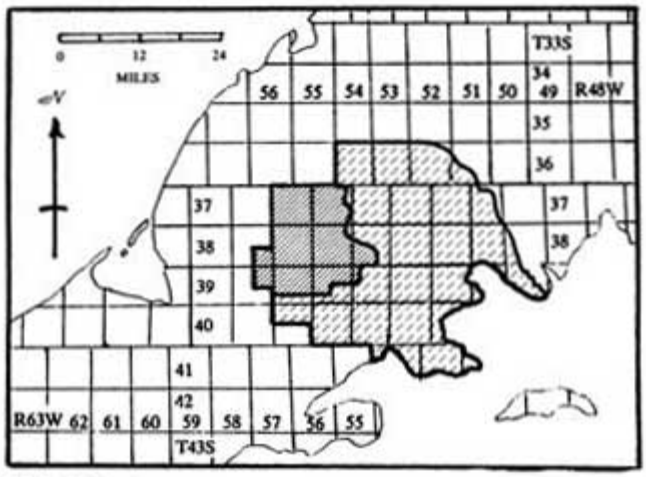
As noted in Chapter 5, the House of Representatives passed an Alaska Lands bill during the 95th Congress. Passage of a modified version of H.R. 39 took place on May 19, 1978; included in the bill was a provision for a 350,000-acre monument and 160,000-acre preserve for Aniakchak. The Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, on October 5, sent the bill to the full Senate. That bill was so unsupportive of other park areas that conservationists referred to it as a "rocks and ice" proposal; at Aniakchak, however, it called for a generous 510,000-acre monument and a 140,000-acre preserve. The Senate adjourned without having passed either the Energy Committee's bill or any other Alaska lands measure. [57]

The administration knew that ANCSA called for the disposition of the Alaska lands issue by December 18, 1978. Because Congress failed to act on the matter, Secretary Andrus recommended that President Carter invoke the Antiquities Act and designate much of the acreage under consideration within national monuments. On December 1, Carter followed up on Andrus's recommendations and, in a series of presidential proclamations, created 15 new and two expanded monuments, covering a total of 56 million acres. Proclamation 4612 created the 350,000-acre Aniakchak National Monument (see Map 18a). At the urging of Secretary Andrus, Carter also withdrew the area between the monument and the coast so that the next Congress could consider its potential as parkland. [58]





a. Aniakchak National Monument, proclaimed by President Carter on December 1, 1978



b. Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, as included in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act and signed by President Carter on December 2, 1980.

Map 18. Aniakchak Boundaries, 1978-80. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Many Alaskans were angry at what they perceived as the high handed tactics Andrus and Carter had used in "locking up" the various national monuments. Many, however, felt that the monuments would be temporary until a Congressional solution to the Alaska lands question could be found. On January 15, 1979, at the beginning of the 96th Congress, Rep. Morris Udall reintroduced H.R. 39, a "refinement" of the bill which had passed the House the previous year. Udall found the passage of a bill rougher than the previous year; even so, he and Rep. John Anderson (R-IL) were able to push a compromise bill, H.R. 3651, through to a House vote. The Udall-Anderson bill, renumbered H.R. 39 at the last minute, passed the House on May 16, 1979. The bill called for the creation, at Aniakchak, of a 350,000-acre monument and a 160,000-acre preserve. [59]

H.R. 39 was referred to the Senate Energy Committee on May 24. The committee, however, was in no hurry to proceed, and did not begin its work until October 9. Using Sen. Henry M. Jackson's S. 9 as a vehicle for markup, the bill moved sporadically until early 1980. The committee then put off consideration of the bill until July. Environmentalists and Interior Department officials began to worry that the Senate would refuse to confront the Alaska lands question again. In February 1980, to prod the Senate into activity, Secretary Andrus withdrew 36.9 million acres as wildlife refuges and an additional 3.2 million acres of "natural resource areas" adjacent to recently-designated national monuments. One of the four "natural

resource area" withdrawals was a 160,000-acre reservation at Aniakchak. [60]

In late July, the Energy Committee resumed its markup of the Alaska lands bill. The bill, which was heavily influenced by senators Jackson and Stevens, finally emerged from the committee in mid-August, and on August 18 the full Senate passed Amendment No. 1961, a substitute for Sen. Jackson's Energy Committee bill. Amendment No. 1961 called for the inclusion of just 137,000 acres in Aniakchak National Monument. In addition, it proposed a 466,000-acre Aniakchak National Preserve. [61]

Senate leaders adamantly proclaimed that they would not budge from the bill they had passed. The House, however, was hopeful that a compromise could be reached between the two bills. Largely because of the dilatory tactics of Sen. Stevens, the two bodies were unable to reach a compromise, and they were forced to delay their efforts until after the 1980 election. The sweeping Republican victory that year, however, forced Rep. Udall to back down and agree to the Senate's version of the bill. On December 2, 1980, President Carter signed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (Public Law 96-487) into law. [62] The act created a 602,779-acre Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve (see Map 18b). Within that preserve, it designated the 32-mile Aniakchak River and its 31 miles of tributaries as wild rivers (according to definitions in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act). None of the acreage in the monument or preserve was designated as wilderness. Congress did, however, mandate that the area be studied for its wilderness potential with five years of the act's passage. [63]

The acreage included in the Aniakchak unit was substantially smaller than the 1.5 million acres that had been proposed, in June 1973, as an Aniakchak Caldera National Recreation Area. It was dramatically larger, however, than the acreage which NPS officials had called for in early 1972. Exploration of the area by agency staff helped identify the most significant areas to protect, and because there were few major land-use conflicts in the area, the area which had been set aside in December 1973 was similar to that which was included in the Alaska Lands Act. The only major point of dispute during the seven-year period that led up to ANILCA was the number of acres in which hunting would be allowed. Viewed in comparison with the acreages included in various Interior Department plans and the two House-passed bills, the existing monument and preserve appears to have been advantageous to sport hunters, miners, and other consumptive user groups.

The Alaska Lands Act gave a far broader purpose for establishing the unit than the Final Environmental Statement of October 1974 had provided. Section 201(1) of the act declared that the unit would be managed

> To maintain the caldera and its associated features and landscape, including the Aniakchak River and other lakes and streams, in their natural state; to study, interpret, and assure continuation of the natural processes of biological succession; to protect habitat for, and populations of, fish and wildlife, including, but not limited to, brown/grizzly bears, moose, caribou, sea lions, seals, and other marine mammals, geese, swans, and other waterfowl and in a manner consistent with the foregoing, to interpret geological and biological processes for visitors.

The act also provided that "Subsistence uses by local residents shall be permitted in the monument [and preserve] where such uses are traditional...." Subsistence uses were permitted in all of the newly-created preserve areas; it was also allowed in most of the new park and monument areas. As Merry Tuten had shown in her 1977 report, subsistence was a major land use in the area, and the new law allowed for its continuation. As was noted in Chapter 5, however, this provision for subsistence use had not been extended to Katmai National Park

lands. [64]

The Aniakchak area, at long last, had been given Congressional protection. It was now time for the National Park Service to manage the area so that its purposes, at outlined above, could be realized. A large amount of work would need to be accomplished in pursuit of those goals.

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

PART II: ANIAKCHAK NATIONAL MONUMENT AND PRESERVE

Chapter 15:
Management of Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve

Initial Planning Efforts

Aniakchak National Monument, covering approximately 350,000 acres, was proclaimed by President Jimmy Carter on December 1, 1978. As noted in Chapter 14, Carter did not intend that his action would be permanent, and many hoped that the 96th Congress, which would meet in 1979 and 1980, would complete what the 95th Congress had failed to do in 1978.

In the meantime, the National Park Service assumed authority over a large expanse of new acreage. The agency had no management plan for Aniakchak or any of the other new NPS units, so on December 26, interim management guidelines were issued for the newly-created parklands. The guidelines recognized that the Bureau of Land Management (which had previously administered the lands) assumed primary responsibility for interim management, and were predicated on the assumption that they would be in effect for only a short time. On June 28, 1979, the NPS issued proposed general management regulations for the new parklands. Those regulations, however, were never adopted. [1]

The period between December 1978 and December 1980, regarding many of the new Alaska monuments, was marked by rancor and conflict. Disputes erupted between the BLM and the NPS over interim management strategy, and communities near several of the new units loudly protested the presence of the new monuments. The NPS tried to protect the new areas by reprogramming existing funds that would have brought new staff into the area. That request, however, was denied. Faced with the prospect of having no protection over the monuments, the agency reacted by creating the so-called Ranger Task Force. The ad hoc group was composed of senior level rangers on temporary duty from various Lower 48 assignments.

Little if any conflict took place at Aniakchak. The Congressional deliberations of the 95th Congress had brought forth few resource conflicts over the area, and as consequence, few complained when the area was proclaimed a national monument. Local residents appear to have been supportive of Carter's proclamation, and so far as is known, no one from the Ranger Task Force had need to visit the area. Use of monument land during 1979 and 1980 continued much as it had in previous years. [2]

The passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, which created Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, had little immediate effect on the area. The area acquired its own budget--$61,400 for the 1981 fiscal year. No moves, however, were made to establish an independent administrative presence. Following an ad hoc, incremental

philosophy, the agency decided, for the time being, to direct the unit from Katmai National Park and Preserve's offices in King Salmon, and Dave Morris became the superintendent of both the Katmai and the Aniakchak NPS units. Despite the plans which had been laid out during the mid-1970s, there was no attempt to establish a headquarters facility at Meshik village (Port Heiden). No construction was attempted within Aniakchak's boundaries, either. The agency recognized that there was little need for an active management presence. No NPS personnel, in fact, visited Aniakchak for more than one and a half years after President Carter signed ANILCA into law.

NPS management began to express an interest in the unit in 1982. Two brief visits were made that summer. The following May, Superintendent Morris helped complete a Statement for Management which provided a list projects that the agency needed to complete in the fields of administration, natural resources, cultural resources, and visitor use and interpretation. The list was unrealistically long--too long to be completed in the short term--but it provided a basis for future park efforts. [3]

General Management, Land Protection, and Wilderness Plans

Section 1301 of the Alaska Lands Act stated that a "conservation and management plan" had to be developed and transmitted "to the appropriate Committees of the Congress" by December 1985. Given such a deadline, the so-called Aniakchak Planning Team--consisting of the Katmai/Aniakchak superintendent, regional office staff, and planners from the Denver Service Center--was organized to compile a general management plan, a land protection plan, and a wilderness suitability review. Concentrated planning efforts began in the summer of 1983. An aerial survey took place. More important, the two-ranger team of George Stroud and Lynn Fuller spent two months living in the old Columbia River Packers Association bunkhouse (locally known as the Alaska Packers Association cabin) at the mouth of the Aniakchak River. Stroud and Fuller made a reconnaissance of the Pacific coastline, conducted an informal biological survey, and made their presence known to passing fishers and other area visitors. As a highlight of their summer, Stroud and Fuller joined a three-man planning team as they explored the caldera and rafted down the Aniakchak River. [4]

In February 1984, the team distributed an "Issues and Management Alternatives" booklet for public review. The report requested public comment on how the unit should be managed and suggested three management scenarios. Alternative A called for a continuation of existing, minimal style of management, where the agency would play a passive, reactionary role. Alternative B called for the continuation of existing land uses but an increasing level of resource management and protection. The alternative called for the construction of a patrol shelter at Meshik Lake, a seasonal ranger station at Port Heiden, and the improvement of the CRPA cabin at the mouth of the Aniakchak River. Alternative C called for an even higher level of both use and resource management. It called for a patrol shelter at Meshik Lake; visitor use shelters in the caldera; a visitor use shelter at the mouth of the Aniakchak River as well as improvements to the CRPA cabin; the construction, in Port Heiden, of both an area manager's office and a visitor information station; and the implementation of a surface transportation system connecting Port Heiden with the caldera rim and other points of interest. [5]

The alternatives were then presented for informal public review. That June, rangers Stroud and Fuller returned to the CRPA cabin and continued their work of the year before. Meanwhile, the planning team began compiling the a draft version of the general management plan, land protection plan, and wilderness suitability review. They had decided on a preferred alternative by the end of 1984; the draft document was issued in February 1985. [6]

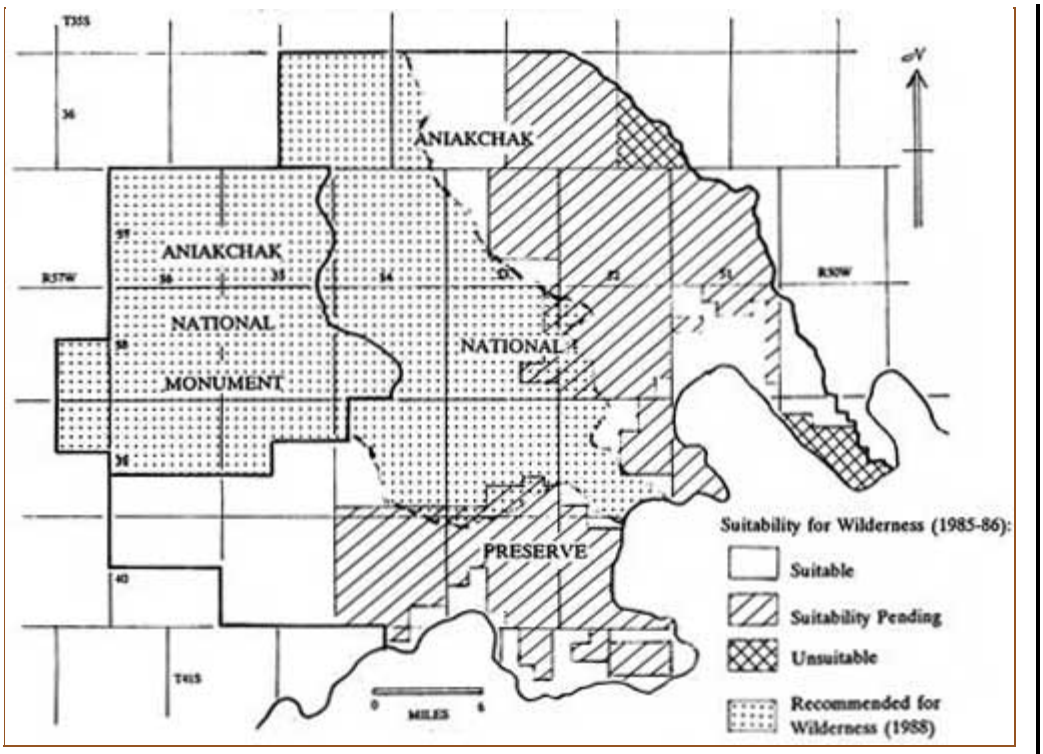
The draft GMP recognized that the underlying management emphasis was to "better understand its natural and cultural resources and to ensure that natural ecological processes and cultural resources are preserved through monitoring and protection activities." In order to fulfill that philosophy, the draft plan offered elements from both Alternative A and Alternative B as well as a few elements that had existed in none of the three alternatives. According to the plan, no new facilities were to be established, either at Port Heiden or inside of the monument and preserve. The only proposed improvements would be the restoration of the so-called public use cabin (CRPA cabin) at the mouth of the Aniakchak River and the laying out of an identified hiking corridor between Meshik village and the caldera rim. The plan called for the placement of a part-time coordinator in Port Heiden and Chignik Bay village (but no NPS facilities), and several parts of the unit would be subject to periodic NPS management activities. Staffing for the unit would consist of a year-round resource management specialist and two seasonal rangers. [7]

The land protection plan, issued at the same time as the GMP, noted that only 12,507 acres--just two percent of the monument and preserve--were owned by nonfederal entities. (The State of Alaska had jurisdiction over three parcels totalling 7,577 acres, and the Port Lions Village Corporation had gained interim conveyance to a 4,930-acre tract.) But another 206,444 acres in the preserve--some 44 percent of the preserve--had been claimed or selected, either by Native corporations or Native individuals. The eight different tracts were primarily located in two large blocks, at the eastern and southern end of the preserve, respectively; together, the various tracts included most of the preserve's coastline. The largest claim, noted in Chapter 14, was the 152,780-acre parcel selected by the Koniag Regional Corporation for in-lieu oil and gas rights.

Neither the eight selected tracts, nor any of the four nonfederal tracts, appeared to be in imminent danger of development. The National Park Service, therefore, assembled a priority list for them in the order of their perceived value to the agency. It was most interested in acquiring Native claims located on the shores of Surprise Lake and Meshik Lake, because construction of improvements on those parcels would be contrary to park goals as expressed in the draft GMP. For the same reasons, the agency was next interested in acquiring title to three tracts which abutted Aniakchak and Amber bays. As called for in the plan, the NPS outlined six purchasing priorities which included all twelve of the parcels which were not owned by the federal government. The agency was quick to point out, however, that no funds had been authorized, appropriated, or obligated for such purchases. [8]

The wilderness suitability review, which was also part of the GMP package, revealed that the entire monument and preserve was a de facto wilderness. The NPS, however, was in no position to recommend wilderness on lands over which it did not have full jurisdiction. The review, therefore, concluded that the 383,887 acres under unencumbered federal jurisdiction (64 percent of the monument and preserve) were considered suitable for wilderness (see Map 19). The 206,444 acres which had been selected by Native corporations or individuals were given a "suitability pending" designation, and the 12,507 acres which were in nonfederal ownership were unsuitable as wilderness. [9]





Map 19. Aniakchak Wilderness Recommendation (1985-88). *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Soon after the draft plan was issued, in late April and early May 1985, public meetings were held in King Salmon, Naknek, Anchorage, and other local communities. [10] The public was given four months to comment on the draft plan, and the plan was modified to accommodate many individual concerns. The general level of development recommended in the draft GMP, however, remained just as it had before. The land protection plan was also the same as before, except that three tracts--two selected properties and an interim conveyance--had recently become unencumbered federal land. The two selected properties had been Priority 2 land parcels in the draft land management plan. Because these two parcels were no longer a problem to NPS land managers, the large in-lieu oil and gas tract became a priority 2 parcel. The wilderness suitability review was also similar to what had been called for in the draft plan. The only changes were that the parcels which had recently become unencumbered federal land were now "suitable" instead of being in the "suitability pending" category. The final plan declared that 404,962 acres (67 percent of the unit) was suitable for wilderness, 185,310 acres had "suitability pending," and 12,507 acres were unsuitable for wilderness designation. The three plans were signed by Superintendent David Morris and Regional Director Boyd Evison in June 1986, by NPS Director William Mott in October 1986, and by Assistant Secretary of the Interior William Horn in November 1986. [11]

Wilderness Recommendations

As thorough as their efforts had been thus far, NPS planners had one more task to complete in order to satisfy the ANILCA mandates. As noted above, Section 1317 of the act had required the completion of a wilderness suitability review for each new park unit by December 1985. The same section, however, required that by December 1987 the President "shall advise the Congress of his recommendations with respect to such areas." In order to provide the information on which such a recommendation could be based, agency planners began preparing a series of draft environmental impact statements. Work began in March 1986. Beginning in September, the first in a series of wilderness meetings was held around

the state; one of those meetings was held in King Salmon on October 16, 1986 to discuss wilderness designation at Aniakchak. Preparation of the Aniakchak EIS followed.

In spite of the Congressional deadline, the draft EIS was not able to be completed until May 1988. The document offered four wilderness alternatives. Alternative 1, a no-action plan, recommended no wilderness. Alternative 2 offered 293,336 acres of wilderness, or 49 percent of the combined park and preserve. Alternative 3 offered 451,916 acres of wilderness, or 75 percent of the NPS unit. Alternative 4 recommended wilderness throughout the area. [12]

The public comment period for the report began in mid-May, and in July two public hearings were held, one in Arlington, Virginia, the other in Anchorage. A public meeting was also held in King Salmon. The public was given until August 29 to comment. Well over one hundred people expressed written or oral comments on the draft plan. Based on those comments, the NPS created a final EIS. They did so quickly, because Congress required that the document be completed by September 30.

After mulling over its options, NPS planners chose Alternative 2. This alternative, which recommended wilderness designation for the entire monument, the Aniakchak River system, and the western side of the Cinder River drainage, was selected because it included the most valuable features in the unit and the federal lands which surrounded them (see Map 19). Alternatives 3 and 4 were avoided because they impinged on existing hunting camp operations and because they conflicted with lands which had been selected by Native corporations or patented by the State of Alaska. [13]

Congress has not yet acted on the EIS, and Aniakchak still contains no designated wilderness. Whether wilderness will be created in the near future depends, in part, on the success of recent legislation which would allow the Koniag Regional Corporation to sell its extensive in-lieu oil and gas acreage to the Federal government. (See section below.) In October 1990, Rep. Don Young (R-AK) introduced the Alaska Peninsula Wilderness Designation Act of 1990 (H.R. 5956) which would have designated as wilderness the entire 602,779-acre unit in addition to providing for the sale of the in-lieu acreage. The bill was submitted in the waning hours of the 101st Congress--too late for it to be considered in committee. A similar bill, H.R. 1219, was introduced in March 1991 and fared better than its predecessor. The bill passed the House on August 3, 1992. The bill was then referred to the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. The upper chamber, however, did not hold hearings on it and no further action was taken in the 102nd Congress. [14] In April 1993, similar bills (H.R. 1688 and S.B. 855) were introduced which would have also allowed the sale of Koniag subsurface rights. The House bill contained language which created wilderness for the entire monument and preserve; the Senate bill, however, contained no such language. Those bills were opposed by the Clinton administration; perhaps because of that opposition, neither bill emerged from its respective committee. [15]

Subsistence Management

As noted above, Section 201(1) of the Alaska Lands Act declared that Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve would be open to subsistence uses. In order to regulate subsistence, the act declared that by December 1981, a series of regional advisory councils and local advisory committees would be established for the state's public lands. It also required the appointment of a series of National Park Service advisory commissions. Section 808 noted that

> the Secretary [of the Interior] and the Governor shall each appoint three members to a subsistence resources commission for each national park or park monument

> within which subsistence uses are permitted by this Act. The regional advisory council ... shall appoint three members to the commission each of whom is a member of either the regional advisory council or a local advisory committee within the region and also engages in subsistence uses within the park or park monument. Within eighteen months from the date of enactment of this Act, each commission shall devise and recommend to the Secretary and the Governor a program for subsistence hunting within the park or park monument.... Each year thereafter, the commission ... shall make recommendations ... for any changes in the program or its implementation which the commission deems necessary. [16]

Events proved that creating the Aniakchak National Monument Subsistence Resource Commission would be far easier than fulfilling its Congressional mandate. The nine member commission was not able to meet until April 18, 1984. That meeting, however, attracted only four members, which did not constitute a quorum. Meeting dates set for later that year were repeatedly delayed. The following March, a five-member quorum met in King Salmon and adopted its first resolution. The resolution, which consisted of four separate recommendations, was intended "to assure that present and future local residents adjacent to the monument retain accessibility to the subsistence resources of the monument."

Interest in the commission waned over the next few years. During the six-year period following the March 1985 meeting, the commission met only thrice: in 1986 and 1987, both of which were held at King Salmon, and once in 1990 at Port Heiden. A quorum could not be mustered for any of the three meetings. The primary business of those meetings was the creation of a subsistence hunting plan. Initial recommendations were formulated at the 1986 meeting, and in 1987, a final recommendation was passed which was forwarded to the Governor and the Secretary of the Interior. A central tenet of that resolution was the Monument's subsistence uses "be limited to those persons who had their primary place of residency within the local region on December 2, 1980, members or their immediate families, and their direct decedents who continue to reside in the local region." [17] Two of the five recommendations which were passed in 1985 and 1987 were accepted by the Secretary of the Interior; the other three were not acted upon.

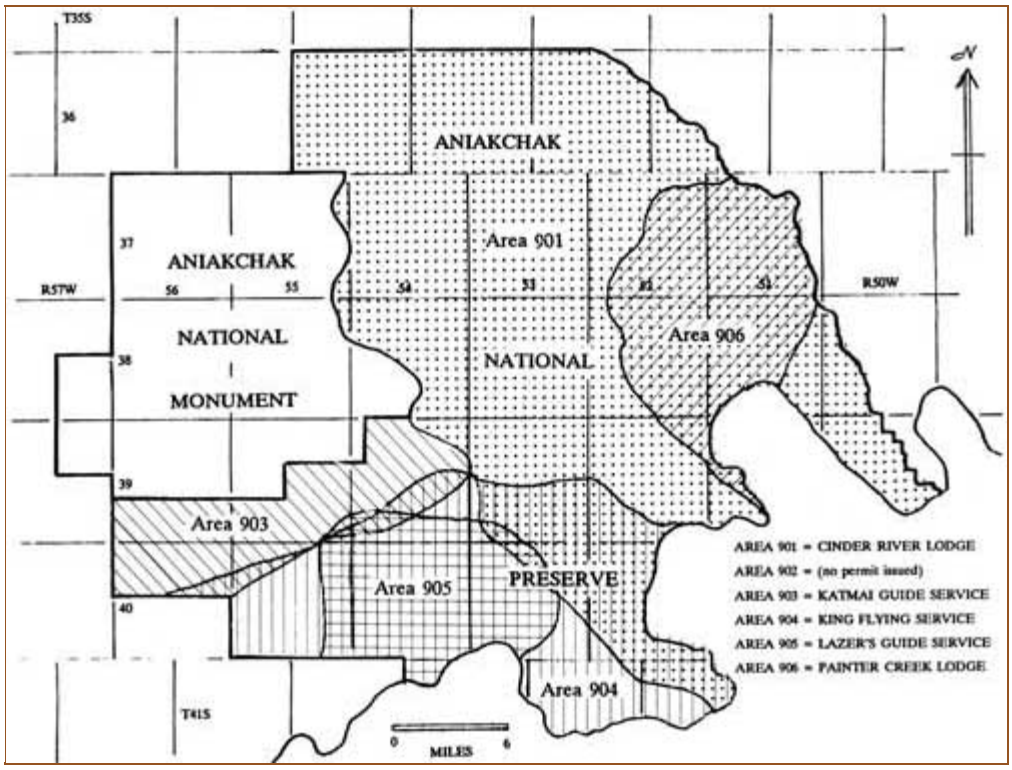
The agency's appointment, in 1991, of a Subsistence Specialist for the Katmai and Aniakchak units signalled a renewed interest in subsistence issues. In order to revise the subsistence recommendations made in 1985 and 1987, the NPS organized two meetings of the Aniakchak National Monument Subsistence Resource Commission in 1992: in March at Port Heiden and in November at King Salmon. As a result of the two meetings, both of which fostered a quorum, the commission passed six draft recommendations. Those recommendations have not yet been finalized. [18]

Visitor Use

Because of its remoteness, Aniakchak has had one of the lowest annual visitor totals of any unit of the National Park Service system. When the agency gained jurisdiction over the unit, few had an inkling of how much visitation existed. NPS planners knew that a smattering of subsistence users and sport hunters used the park. But the area attracted only a handful of non-hunting recreationalists; as a 1983 document admitted, "There is not a tradition of conventional visitor use of the area. Indeed, fewer than ten visitors per year are known to enter the area for the purpose of viewing its major geologic features." [19]

Merry Tuten's 1977 study had provided an overview of subsistence usage in the area. Beyond that, one of the only ways to estimate the number of park visitors, at least in the early years, was to analyze hunting guide areas. Tuten had indicated that between 1973 and 1976, thirteen

hunting guides had maintained at least one camp within the boundaries of the present monument and preserve. Since the passage of ANILCA, however, only eight hunting guides have conducted commercial hunts within six state-designated guide areas (see Map 20). (In one of the guide areas, a son took over from his father; in another area, one partner purchased the interests of another.) Knowing the number of active hunting areas provided a rough estimate of the number of sport hunters to visit the area.



Map 20. Hunting Guide Areas in Aniakchak National Preserve, 1988. *(click image for an enlargement in a new window)*

Commercial use licenses, or CULs, provided another method for estimating the number of visitors. Because the area was so remote, almost all recreational visitors to the monument and preserve came by commercial conveyances. Beginning in 1980, the NPS began issuing commercial licenses as a way to regulate the activities of air taxi operators, fishing and hunting guide services, and other companies who intended to use the various park units on a temporary basis. (In 1981, the licenses were renamed commercial use licenses.) By the mid-1980s, most of the companies who took visitors to and from Aniakchak had obtained CULs from the NPS. CUL holders were required to pay the NPS a nominal annual fee. At first, they were not obligated to tell the agency how many of their patrons visited the various park units. As time went on, however, the agency became increasingly insistent that commercial operators complete a so-called activity summary of trips made to the various parks.

Data obtained from the various commercial use licenses indicates that few non-hunters visited Aniakchak for recreational purposes in the early to mid-1980s, and park staff estimate that fewer than 20 visitors per year came for recreational purposes during this period. Most who did make the trek out to Aniakchak did so in hopes of taking a float trip down the Aniakchak River. From 1981 through 1987, the number of non-hunting CUL holders--that is, the number of companies who hoped to conduct non-hunting trips to Aniakchak--rose from 3 to 9 (see Table 1). During that period, however, no more than two non-hunting companies were known to take visitors to Aniakchak in any given year. In the late 1980s and early 1990s more companies became interested in the budding tourist trade. The number of non-

hunting CULs rose from 13 in 1988 to 20 in 1992; at the same time, the number of companies known to actually carry visitors to Aniakchak varied between 3 and 7. Throughout this period, between four and six hunting-guide operations were active in the NPS unit.

Table 1. Commercial Use License Activity in Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, 1981-1993

	Non-Hunting:		Hunting:	
Year	CUL Holder	Act. Summ.	CUL Holder	Act. Summ.
1981	3	1	0	0
1982	5	1	0	0
1983	7	2	1	1
1984	7	1	2	2
1985	9	2	2	2
1986	8	2	4	4
1987	9	2	5	5
1988	13	6	6	5
1989	13	5	5	5
1990	16	7	5	5
1991	20	7	5	5
1992	20	3	4	4
1993	14	unk.	4	unk.
Source: Commercial Use License files, AKSO-EC files. For equivalent statistics for Katmai, see Norris, Tourism in Katmai Country, 143-45.				

Because visitor numbers were so low, the NPS made no attempt to tabulate them prior to 1989. [20] That year, however, visitation was significantly augmented by personnel brought in to fight the Exxon Valdez oil spill.

The spill, as described in Chapter 6, took place shortly after midnight on March 24. The Aniakchak area, located almost 500 miles southwest of Bligh Reef, seemed an unlikely recipient of Exxon Valdez oil. But by the end of March oil had begun seeping out of Prince William Sound, and NPS personnel recognized that prevailing currents would ultimately bring it to the shores of Katmai and Aniakchak. To command the threat, the agency launched a three-pronged strategy. First, it brought a team of experts north from Olympic National Park in Washington to assess the preserve's 68 miles of beaches prior to oiling. This team, led by Douglas Houston, left the Homer Incident Command Team center for Aniakchak on the M/V Polar Star on April 19 and returned on April 29. [21] The second aspect of the

strategy was the clean-up itself. Oil began washing up on Aniakchak's beaches on July 2, and in mid-July cleanup crews were in full swing mopping up oil and debris. Crews that summer canvassed slightly over half the length of Aniakchak's coastline. (About one-third of the Aniakchak coast was never oiled). The amount of waste collected, however, was small. Cleanup crews at Katmai, for instance, collected over 95,000 bags of spoil. At Aniakchak, however, only 154 bags of spoil were collected. [22] The final way the NPS dealt with the oil spill was by conducting a post-oiling assessment, which was done in August. The team from Olympic National Park undertook this responsibility, along with two biotechnicians who worked out of the CRPA cabin. Forty beach assessments were made along the Aniakchak coastline. [23]

Oil cleanup and assessment operations continued in 1990, though at a reduced scale from that of the year before. Aniakchak, which had been only lightly oiled, was not visited by Exxon-funded oil cleanup crews. Instead, the NPS decided to contract with the City of Chignik, 50 miles to the southwest, for cleanup. The agency issued the city a special use permit, and crews were paid through a funding program implemented by the State of Alaska. The NPS, however, contributed much of the support cost. [24]

The result of all this activity was the arrival of hundreds of people to Aniakchak who had little interest in recreation. As noted in Table 2, a total of 1318 people visited the area in 1989, but only 853 recreational visits took place. Therefore, perhaps 450 or more agency personnel and cleanup crew members came to Aniakchak because of the oil spill. In 1990, perhaps 50 such visits took place.

Available statistics (see Table 2) suggest that recreational visitation to Aniakchak has grown significantly in recent years. Since 1989 (the first year in which figures are available) the number of recreational visits has risen, on the average, 25 percent each year. In 1992, an estimated visitation of 1638 was tallied. [25]

Table 2. Visitation to Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, 1989-1992

Year	Total Visits	Recreational Visits	Overnight Visits
1989	1318	853	917
1990	1018	966	1201
1991	1478	1469	913
1992	1646	1638	1034

Source: NPS, "Summary of Obligations and Program Evaluation, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve," AKSO-EEI files.

Perhaps as the result of that growth, interpretive information has become increasingly available in recent years. In 1986 David Manski, the Resource Management Specialist assigned to Aniakchak issues, wrote the unit's first site bulletin. In the late 1980s, an interagency interpretive kiosk in King Salmon, with a section reserved for Aniakchak, was installed. The Katmai visitor newsletter, which debuted in 1990, likewise contained information on Aniakchak. In 1992, an Aniakchak visitor information folder was produced, and an NPS-sponsored Katmai book, which also discussed Aniakchak, was completed. [26]

NPS Personnel Establish a Presence

Soon after the unit was created, NPS staff in King Salmon recognized that they needed to establish a presence in order to become familiar with local resources and to let local residents know of their presence. In the spring of 1982, Superintendent Morris hired a seasonal ranger who would concentrate on Aniakchak affairs. The summer, however, did not go as planned. As Morris noted in his annual report,

> Marc Matsil was hired to be "the" Aniakchak ranger, working out of the office in King Salmon. The concept of operations was that Marc, together with the Lake Camp ranger would conduct a series of three two-week patrols into the Aniakchak area to begin gathering data from an operational point of view. The logistics were terrible, weather worse, and it was all compounded by a complete lack of radio communication. Two patrols were successfully completed (without injuries or loss!) and the third was cancelled the day before departure due to a search and rescue incident developing at Brooks. [27]

Undeterred, Morris continued to push for a ranger presence. The recognition that a master plan was in the offing exacerbated the need to station a ranger at Aniakchak. For various reasons, therefore, George Stroud and Lynn Fuller, as noted above, stayed at the CRPA cabin for most of the summer of 1983. The following year, the pair returned. They lived there for less than three weeks and spent the remainder of the summer along the Katmai coastline. [28]

Seasonal NPS personnel did not return to Aniakchak for the next several years. In the meantime, however, the agency moved to establish a management presence. In November 1984, David Manski was hired as a resource management trainee. The terms of his contract called for him to serve a 22-month stint in the regional office, where he worked on problems common to many NPS units. Early in that training period, however, he learned that the focus of his work would be Aniakchak. [29] During that period, therefore, he spent some time working out of the King Salmon administrative office, working on both Katmai and Aniakchak issues. [30] In October 1986, Manski finally became the full-time, King Salmon-based Aniakchak resource management specialist. Inasmuch as he was the only staff person assigned to Aniakchak, he also worked on non-resource issues at the monument and preserve. [31]

The general management plan, which was approved in November 1986, called for Aniakchak to be staffed by two seasonal rangers as well as an RMS. As noted in the following section, Manski was successful in organizing various resource management activities at the unit. Rangers, however, have visited the unit only infrequently. In 1988, Frank and Penny Starr spent the summer at the CRPA cabin; they arrived on June 17 and remained until August 30. Manski left his position in September 1988 and the agency has not supported a full-time Aniakchak staff position since that time. It was not until 1991 that the next ranger stayed at the cabin. John Eppling and his wife Shakti, who served as a volunteer, were dropped off at the CRPA cabin on June 20 and stayed until September 12. Both the Starrs and the Epplings carried on the same general responsibilities that Stroud and Fuller had done beforehand; they established an agency presence, documented the area's natural and cultural resources, and apprised park management about human use levels. [32] Except for brief visits, rangers have not returned to Aniakchak since 1991.

Because the NPS has had such a transient presence in the area, personnel who worked there during the 1980s concentrated on informing park users of park regulations. No enforcement effort was in place. Many illegal activities may have taken place at Aniakchak during that period, but the agency had few ways of knowing of their existence. Agency staff knew that

the creation of a resource protection program, when deemed necessary, would require a light aircraft and the budget necessary to support its use. [33] Those requirements were fulfilled in 1991 when the park filled a second pilot position. The following year the first arrest was made inside park boundaries; the citation was given to an individual who shot a caribou without a state hunting license. [34]

Resource Management Activities

Shortly after the passage of the Alaska Lands Act, park staff assembled the first Aniakchak Resource Management Plan. The plan, which was completed in April 1982, assessed the status of available scientific information and proposed a series of studies of park resources. It proposed five natural resource studies: 1) on the impact of sport hunting, 2) on the impact of subsistence use, 3) an evaluation of local weather conditions, 4) a basic inventory of vegetation and wildlife resources, and 5) a geological study of Aniakchak Caldera. It also proposed two cultural resource studies: 1) on the characteristics of subsistence use, and 2) a cultural resource baseline study. Of the seven studies, the highest priority was assigned to the cultural resource survey; second on the priority list was the geological study. [35]

As noted above, the NPS hired David Manski, the Aniakchak resource management specialist, in November 1984. Manski, however, was a trainee and was based in Anchorage until late 1986. Before his arrival in King Salmon, the agency's only resource management activities conducted since ANILCA had been Stroud and Fuller's observations during the 1983-84 seasons. Soon after Manski arrived, however, several studies were commenced which helped fulfill the needs listed in the 1982 RMP.

In 1987, a five-person interagency research team from the University of Alaska Fairbanks conducted two scientific studies inside Aniakchak Caldera. Koren Bosworth of the NPS worked on a vegetation inventory; during that time, 138 species of vascular plants and 130 bryophyte and lichen collections were obtained. That same summer, Gordon H. Jarrell of UAF conducted a small mammal study in the caldera. Barbara A. Mahoney and Gary M. Sonnevil, both from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, began a two-year fishery survey of Surprise Lake. And David Manski of the NPS coordinated the effort and conducted some biological sampling. The team operated from a base camp located at the west end of Surprise Lake. [36]

The following year, the NPS sponsored an updated, more detailed biological survey of the caldera. Mahoney and Sonnevil completed their fishery survey, and a research team headed by biologist Kristine Sowl inventoried the local birds, mammals, and vegetation. In addition, the team began a two-year limnology study of Surprise Lake. They collected physical, chemical, and biological information from the lake and from several tributary streams. In 1989, the second year of the limnology project, water samples were taken at two smaller caldera lakes and at four Katmai lakes, and the results were compared with those gathered the previous year. [37]

A limited amount of research during this period took place outside of the caldera. In 1987, as an adjunct to the caldera biological survey, Koren Bosworth, along with Mark Schroeder and Dave Manski, conducted a short-term botanical inventory along the coast. [38] In September 1988, a fisheries investigation was conducted along Albert Johnson Creek and the North Fork of the Aniakchak River as part of Mahoney and Sonnevil's caldera study. That same year, a survey of Aniakchak's coastal bird colonies was also carried out. That study was intended to duplicate a similar effort which the State had conducted ten years earlier. [39]

Biological research in the park was renewed in 1992. The agency sponsored a biological

reconnaissance of the monument and preserve. Field camps, staffed with two NPS biotechnicians, were established inside the caldera and at the mouth of the Aniakchak River; in addition, a reconnaissance survey was made between Aniakchak Bay and Meshik Lake. Crew members collected both quantitative and qualitative data on the area's vascular plants, mammals, and birds. [40]

In order to gain information on the brown bear population in the area, the NPS funded and participated in an interagency study of bear migration. As noted in Chapter 14, the ADF&G had conducted a study of the Black Lake bear population in the early to mid-1970s. In 1988 the NPS, the ADF&G, and the F&WS joined forces in a follow-up to the earlier study. The study used the NPS's (and other agencies') staff but, like the earlier survey, it did not take place on NPS land. [41]

Although the NPS, in the 1982 Resource Management Plan, noted that a cultural resource survey was the number one project priority, such a study has not yet been attempted. Instead, bits and pieces of cultural resource information has been gathered, most of which has dealt with the historical site at the mouth of the Aniakchak River. Stroud and Fuller, during their visits in 1983 and 1984, gathered historical information on the old CRPA cabin; they also repaired it sufficiently to "make it habitable and reasonably bear proof." The GMP, which was completed in 1986, noted that "The existing public use cabin ... at the mouth of the Aniakchak River will continue to be maintained consistent with its historical design, and will be available to both public users and park staff." A short time later, David Manski updated the unit's RMP and specifically requested emergency funds for cabin stabilization. The request was approved, and the park requested the assistance of regional office staff in restoring the old bunkhouse. [42]

In June 1987, archeologist Roger Harritt, historian Sandra Faulkner, and historical architect David Snow visited the site. Harritt found several barabaras in the area and uncovered evidence that humans had been using the area up to 400 years ago, while Faulkner described the area within the historical context of Father Hubbard, the well-known lecturer and author that visited Aniakchak three times in the early 1930s. Snow investigated the building's structure and took photographs; based on that data, he prepared a set of elevation drawings. [43]

It was intended that the cultural resource team's efforts would result in a Historic Structure Assessment Report (an abbreviated form of historic structure report) for the bunkhouse. No HSAR, however, was ever prepared. The information collected in 1987 has since been augmented by information which was included in a National Register of Historic Places nomination form. Photographs and related information pertaining to the bunkhouse have been collected by other NPS cultural resources staff. [44] Park officials, in recent years, have shown a consistent interest in expending funds on restoring the cabin. That restoration, however, has not yet taken place.

The second highest research priority noted in the 1982 Resource Management Plan was for a geological study of the caldera. Since its publication, several caldera studies have been completed, some by the U.S. Geological Society and others by university personnel. Tom Miller and Robert Smith, the USGS geologists who had begun investigating the Aniakchak area in the mid-1970s, completed two studies on the calderas of the so-called Eastern Aleutian Arc, and a team of USGS investigators have discussed the caldera's tephra deposits. In addition, the region has attracted university geologists from as far away as Maine. [45]

No commercial mineral production has taken place in Aniakchak, and no oil and gas wells have been drilled in or near its boundaries. As previous chapters have illustrated, however, a small amount of interest has been shown in the copper porphyry deposits on Cape Kumlik,

and intermittent interest in the area's oil and gas deposits has taken place ever since the 1920s. That interest, primarily in regards to oil and gas, has continued since the establishment of Aniakchak National Preserve in December 1980. (Hard rock mining and oil and gas drilling is prohibited in the monument.) Chevron U.S.A. and Arco Alaska obtained special use permits in 1982 and 1983, respectively, to visit the preserve and obtain geological samples. In 1984, five different oil companies showed an interest in the area's oil potential; the following year just one company, Shell Western, applied to visit the area. Interest in Aniakchak waned for the remainder of the decade. But in 1991, under Alaska Mineral Resource Assessment Program regulations, the Minerals Management Service obtained a permit for further exploration work; the agency's primary area of interest was "The Gates" area at the east end of Aniakchak Caldera. [46]

In 1993, the staff in King Salmon began to compile a new Resource Management Plan for the monument and preserve. The draft of the plan was completed in December of that year. The plan, however, has not yet been subject to public review.

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NOTES

Chapter 1

[1] As Chapter 12 notes, it was not until 1954 that scientists concluded that Novarupta, not Mount Katmai, was the primary site of the 1912 eruption.

[2] Unless otherwise specified, the term "park" will refer to all of the area within both Katmai National Park and Katmai National Preserve.

[3] NPS, The National Parks: Index 1989 (Washington, GPO), 1989. By way of contrast, the combined area of the two largest parks in the Lower 48 states -- Yellowstone and Everglades -- is 2,618,728 acres.

[4] For a brief description of natural resources in the old (pre-1978) Katmai National Monument, see John A. Hussey, Embattled Katmai (San Francisco, NPS, August 1971), 1-13; for a more lengthy description, see Victor Cahalane, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 1959).

[5] Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement (FES), Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, 1974, 37; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 6.

[6] APG, FES, Katmai, 37.

[7] Ibid., 48-49.

[8] Louis R. Huber, "Flight to Katmai," Alaska Sportsman 16 (April 1951), 40; Frank Dufresne, "Katmai Adventure," Field and Stream 56 (February 1952), 42; APG, FES, Katmai, 53, 57, 61.

[9] APG, FES, Katmai, 32.

[10] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 42-45; APG, FES, Katmai, 63-64.

[11] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 45; Federal Register, December 18, 1992, 60248.

[12] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 46-47.

[13] Ibid., 79-82, 86-87.

[14] APG, FES, Katmai, 64.

[15] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 77, 87, 123.

[16] Ibid., 123, 128-29.

[17] Ibid., 87, 104, 123, 129, 131.

[18] Ibid., 150, 157-58.

[19] Ibid., 157-65.

[20] Ibid., 171-74.

[21] Ibid., 173, 176, 178, 227.

[22] Ibid., 190-96, 208-09.

[23] Ibid., 178-80, 190. The ACC held monopolistic control of the Katmai area fur trade through most of the late nineteenth century. For a short time during the early 1880s, however, the Western Fur and Trading Company had a station at Douglas, and probably one at Katmai as well. Other competitors may have come and gone as well.

[24] Ibid., 220-23; NPS, Kukak Valley (49Mk6), National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, NRHP Files, AKSO-RCR Collection.

[25] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 214, 226-258.

[26] Ibid., 202-04, 210-11, 231-32. The schooner fleet appears to have been most active in Kamishak Bay; between sailings, the hunters holed up in "low structures of rocks, canvas, and drift logs" which were located on the low, barren islands near the bay's southern shore.

[27] Ibid., 185-87.

[28] Ibid., 187-89.

[29] Ibid., 213-18.

[30] Ibid., 244, 260.

[31] Ibid., 263, 269, 272-75.

[32] Ibid., 275-89.

[33] Ibid., 290-98.

[34] Ibid., 299-310.

[35] Ibid., 312-15.

[36] W. R. Smith and Arthur A. Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," Mineral Resources of Alaska: Report on Progress of Investigations in 1992, USGS Bulletin 755 (Washington, GPO, 1924), 205. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Puale Bay was called Cold Bay. This

report has used the term Puale Bay, both to be consistent with present usage and to distinguish this bay from the better-known Cold Bay which is located 300 miles to the southwest.

[37] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 323-27.

[38] Ibid., 317-20, 326.

Chapter 2

[1] Robert F. Griggs noted that if the eruption had been on Manhattan Island, the smoke and steam would be seen in Albany; the sound of the explosions would be heard in Chicago, and the sulfuric fumes would eat clothes on lines in Denver. Ashes would be a foot deep in Philadelphia, and there would be no point to rescue workers in New York City ... it would have been opened in yawning chasms, and the lava that boiled up would overflow everything, covering all but the tips of the tallest buildings. Griggs, The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes (Washington, National Geographic Society, 1922), 1.

[2] The lone victim, a woman who lived in the Kodiak area, died three days after the eruption. She had been suffering from tuberculosis and nephritis for some time; the ash-filled atmosphere and the stress surrounding the evacuation of area residents were doubtless the primary contributors to her premature demise. John A. Hussey, Embattled Katmai: A History of Katmai National Monument (San Francisco, NPS, 1971), 355.

[3] Howard A. Powers, "Alaska Peninsula-Aleutian Islands," Howel Williams, ed., Landscapes of Alaska (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1958), 64-67.

[4] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 334-35; Powers, "Alaska Peninsula-Aleutian Islands," 64.

[5] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 329-32.

[6] Ibid., 336.

[7] On June 12, they were finally picked up by the U.S. Revenue Cutter Manning and taken to Afognak. Hussey, Embattled Katmai, pp. 356-59 notes that the Manning brought 114 refugees to Afognak "from a region that is dangerous to human life." It is not known if all came from Kaflia Bay.

[8] Ibid., 331, 336-39.

[9] Ibid., 343-44. Popular accounts are unanimous in calling the Katmai eruption one of the largest in recorded history. Father Bernard Hubbard, for example, called it "the most stupendous cataclysm of Nature that has occurred during man's existence on earth." (Bernard Hubbard as told to Barrett Willoughby, "Volcanoes Packed in Ice: an Explorer's Adventures in Alaska," Saturday Evening Post 203 (August 23, 1930), 18.) Others, however have given the dubious honor of the greatest historic volcanic eruption to the 1815 explosion of Tambora, on the Indonesian island of Sumbawa, which killed 92,000 people. (Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 351; Powers, "Alaska Peninsula-Aleutian Islands," 71.) Still others have declared that the greatest eruption was the 1883 eruption of Krakatau, an island west of Java, which killed 35,000; Santorini (Thera) Volcano in the Aegean Sea, which erupted in 1500 B.C.; a volcano which erupted in New Zealand in 186 A.D.; or the eruption of Mt. Etna, on

Sicily, in 1669. (R. J. Blong, Volcanic Hazards: A Sourcebook on the Effects of Eruptions (Sydney, Australia, Academic Press, 1984), 11; Stuart and Doris Flexner, The Pessimist's Guide to History (New York, Avon Books, 1992), 387.) The "size" of a volcanic eruption can be estimated in any one of several ways, but the recently-developed volcanic explosivity index--which combines the volume of eruptive products, the height of the eruption cloud, and the duration of the main eruptive phase--suggests that Tambora's eruption was the largest in historic times. Katmai, Santorini, and Karakatau all run a close second. (Blong, Volcanic Hazard, 11.)

[10] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 343-44.

[11] Ibid., 356, 359.

[12] NPS, "Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument," c. 1957, Inactive File A98, KATM; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 343-45.

[13] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 344-46.

[14] Ibid., 346-47; New York Times, June 8, 1912, 4.

[15] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 339-40.

[16] Ibid., 347-48, 373, 389, 397, 406.

[17] Ibid., 370-71, 375-78.

[18] Ibid., 349.

[19] Ibid., 360.

[20] Ibid., 353, 362.

[21] Ibid., 362-63; J. S. Osmund to F. Barker, April 14, 1925, in "1925 Correspondence" folder, Columbia River Packers Association collection, Columbia River Maritime Museum.

[22] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 364-68; Alaska Department of Labor, Alaska Population Overview, 1990 Census and Estimates (Juneau?, July 1991), 95.

[23] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 367-68.

[24] Ibid., 368-69.

[25] Ibid., 368-69.

[26] Ibid., 371, 381.

[27] Ibid., 371-75.

[28] Ibid., 381-82.

[29] Ibid., 382-388. As noted below, Griggs's other four NGS Katmai trips took place in 1916,

1917, 1919, and 1930.

[30] Griggs, Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, 63.

[31] Ibid., 64.

[32] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 389-400.

[33]The "Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes" was a dramatic if somewhat hyperbolic appellation provided by Griggs shortly after his visit. Ibid., 399-400.

[34] Ibid., 401-08.

[35] Ibid., 408.

[36] Ibid., 273-74.

[37] Ibid., 321-22.

[38] Ibid., 378.

[39] Griggs as quoted in Dave Bohn, Rambles Through an Alaskan Wild: Katmai and the Valley of the Smokes (Santa Barbara, Capra Press, 1979), 36; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 395.

[40] Griggs as quoted in Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 398.

[41] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 399, 408. To satisfy his curiosity in that regard, the expedition he led the following year included a search for a better harbor. As part of his 1917 trip, he led a scouting party east from the Katmai Lakes area that hoped to find a good harbor on Shelikof Strait, perhaps at Kinak Bay. The party, however, took a wrong turn and was unable to find such a harbor.

[42] Ibid., 403-04.

[43] Ibid., 407.

[44] Ibid., 400-01.

[45] Ibid., 410-11; William E. Brown, A History of the Denali-Mount McKinley Region, Alaska (Santa Fe, NPS, 1991), 92.

[46] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 409-10.

[47] Ibid., 410; Larry Rice, Gathering Paradise: Alaska Wilderness Journeys (Golden, Colo., Fulcrum, 1990), 10.

[48] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 411. On page 75 of his autobiography, The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-33 (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), Horace Albright mentioned that the Cosmos Club meeting took place in the spring of 1917, not 1918, and that only he and Grosvenor attended. Perhaps two such meetings took place.

[49] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 411-12.

[50] John M. Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska: A History of Its Establishment and Revision of Its Boundaries (Washington, NPS, July 1954), 2.

[51] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 412.

[52] United States Code, 1982 edition. Titles 16 and 18 (Washington, GPO, 1983), 334.

[53] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 412.

[54] Ibid., 411-12, 415; Horace Albright to Thomas Riggs, November 9, 1918, in File 42, RG 101, ASA.

[55] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 5a.

[56] Albright, The Birth of the National Park Service, 75.

[57] The only private land in the monument, in fact was a 13.74-acre Russian Orthodox Mission Site at old Katmai village. The site was granted a patent on July 27, 1914, despite the fact that it had been uninhabited and buried by ash for the past two years. U.S. Patent 423847 (Entry J 01276), at BLM State Office, Anchorage.

[58] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 324-25, 327-28.

[59] Large-scale mineral exploitation of the Katmai district was never a threat; therefore, Warren Bielenberg's statement that "The [National Geographic] Society's interest in protecting the Katmai volcanic crater and Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes from mining exploitation led to the establishment of Katmai National Monument" must be considered hyperbolic. William H. Sontag, ed., National Park Service, The First 75 Years: Preserving Our Past For The Future (n.p., Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1990), 16.

[60] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 410, 417-18; Donald J. Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, USGS Professional Paper 567 (Washington, GPO, 1967), 612-13; Albright to Riggs, November 9, 1918, in File 42, RG 101, ASA.

[61] Albright, as quoted in Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 7.

[62] James B. Trefethen, Crusade for Wildlife (Harrisburg, Pa., Stackpole, 1961), 221.

[63] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 4-5; Horace M. Albright to Governor Thomas C. Riggs, November 9, 1918, in File 42, RG 101, ASA. Griggs in a May 1918 letter to Gilbert M. Grosvenor, noted that he had decided, on his own, what the various boundary alternatives would be. If so, Charles Sheldon's claim that he had "suggested ... the limits of the area occupied by this national monument" is false. Sheldon, of course, may have wanted to operate on a sub rosa level in order to avoid any discussion of wildlife values. But he did not know the Katmai area, so he was hardly in a position to provide information to Griggs, an area expert. No evidence, moreover, has surfaced to suggest that Sheldon contacted Griggs or tried to influence the location of Griggs's alternative boundary lines.

[64] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 415.

[65] Ibid., 412-13.

[66] Ibid., 413-14.

[67] Ibid., 414. Sayre and Hagelbarger found no slackening in volcanic activity; they also found two areas of mud pots that had not been noted before.

[68] "By the President of the United States of America, A Proclamation [No. 1487, Sept. 24, 1918, 40 Stat. 1855];" Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 415.

[69] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 416. According to the most current calculation, the area of the original monument was 922,018 acres.

[70] Proclamation No. 1487, Sept. 24, 1918; 40 Stat. 1855.

[71] In a somewhat apologetic note to Governor Thomas Riggs, Acting NPS Director Horace Albright mentioned that "The question of making a monument of the Katmai district was brought to the attention of Secretary Lane about the time you left Washington and he immediately approved of the project." Mather wrote Riggs about the matter on August 9, but Riggs was on an extended trip around the territory. By the time Riggs was able to reply, the monument was a reality. Albright to Riggs, November 9, 1918, and Riggs to Mather, November 19, 1918; both in File 42, RG 101, ASA.

[72] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 456; Riggs to Mather, November 19, 1918, in File 54, RG 101, ASA.

Chapter 3

[1] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 417.

[2] Albright to Riggs, November 9, 1918, in File 42, RG 101, ASA.

[3] Joan Antonson and William S. Hanable, Alaska's Heritage, Alaska Historical Commission Studies in History No. 133 (Anchorage, Alaska Historical Society, 1985), 428, 432; Clarence C. Hulley, Alaska, Past and Present, third edition (Portland, Binfords and Mort, 1970), 303.

[4] Thomas C. Riggs to Stephen Mather, November 19, 1918, in File 54 (1917), RG 101, ASA; U.S. Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1919 (p. 45) and 1920 (p. 33).

[5] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 420; USDI, Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska, 1918, 60-61.

[6] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 421; Robert F. Griggs, "Our Greatest National Monument," National Geographic Magazine 40 (September 1921), 285-90; Griggs, Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, 79-80. Ivan Petroff, in 1880, had noted the existence of Brooks Falls, but the first known generally-available information describing the Brooks River salmon runs appeared in 1920 edition of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries' Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries. The 1921 National Geographic article was the first publication that was directed to a broad, popular audience.

[7] Kirtley F. Mather, "Mineral Resources of the Kamishak Bay Region," pp. 159-182, and Walter R. Smith, "The Cold Bay-Katmai District," pp. 183-208; both in the A. H. Brooks and others, Mineral Resources of Alaska, Report on Progress of Investigations in 1932, USGS Bulletin 773 (Washington, GPO), 1925. See especially Mather, pp. 172, 174, 180, and Smith, p. 204.

[8] Griggs, "Our Greatest National Monument," 289. Also see, Glimpses of Our National Monuments, (Washington, GPO, 1926), 31, and Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 364.

[9] Arno Cammerer to Scott Bone, January 5, 1923, in File 42, RG 101, ASA.

[10] USDI, Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1922 (p. 13) and 1923 (p. 5).

[11] NPS, Glimpses of Our National Monuments, 31; USDI, Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1924 through 1931.

[12] Frank Norris, "Showing Off Alaska: The Northern Tourist Trade, 1878-1941," Alaska History 2 (Fall 1987), 7; Norris, Gawking at the Midnight Sun: The Tourist in Early Alaska (Anchorage, Alaska Historical Commission Studies in History No. 170), June 1985, 89-92.

[13] Thomas H. Colby, "Katmai's First Tourists," Alaska 38 (April, 1972), 26; NPS, Public Use of the National Parks; a Statistical Report, 1904-1940, 6; Anchorage Daily Times, August 28, 1925.

[14] Kenneth W. Munden, The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures Produced in the United States; Feature Films 1921-1930 (New York, R. R. Bowker, 1971), 12, 82, 834. Robertson made a second trip to Alaska between 1926 and 1930; it is not known if he made a second trip to Katmai.

[15] Norris, Gawking at the Midnight Sun, 91; Alaska Travel Publications, Exploring Katmai National Monument and the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes (Anchorage, the author, 1974), 26; Alaska Weekly,Januaryy 9, 1931; E. G. Moore to Director NPS, December 18, 1931, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[16] Ernest Gruening, The State of Alaska (New York, Random House), 1954.

[17] NPS, "Superintendent's Monthly Report," Mount McKinley National Park (hereafter known as SMR, MOMC), June 1921 through October 1928, at DENA.

[18] NPS, Glimpses of Our National Monuments, 1926, 70; Hal Rothman, Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1989), 127-30, 138, 166-70; G. Frank Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time:" The National Park Service and the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980 (Denver, NPS, September 1985), 18.

[19] Arno Cammerer to Governor Scott Bone, January 5, 1923, and Stephen T. Mather to Rep. Frank Murphy, February 13, 1925; both in File 42, RG 101, ASA.

[20] O. A. Tomlinson to Director NPS, April 29, 1949, KATM; SMR, MOMC, passim.

[21] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 421; Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska; A

History of Its Establishment and Revision of Its Boundaries, 7-8.

[22] Hubbard, after his 1929 trip, presciently predicted that "Alaskan aviators will soon be taking tourists by plane, into this remote but interesting region." Barrett Willoughby, Alaskans All (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1933), 20-21, 41.

[23] "Bernard R. Hubbard," Current Biography, 1943, 320-23. Major writings describing his Katmai trips include Mush You Malemutes (New York, American Press, 1932), 71-98, 101, 103, 115; Cradle of the Storms (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1935), 186, 224; "Volcanoes Packed in Ice: An Explorer's Adventures in Alaska," Saturday Evening Post 203 (August 23, 1930), 18-19; and "The Heart of Fire Mountain," Saturday Evening Post 209 (July 1932), 14-15.

[24] Peter Ward, A Bibliography of Katmai National Monument, Alaska (King Salmon, NPS, February 1971), 5. No published record of his 1930 trip chronology is readily available, but Griggs probably entered the valley by way of Naknek Lake.

[25] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 8-9; Griggs to Sawyer, November 22, 1930, in KNM Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB.

[26] NPS, Glimpses of Our National Monuments, 1926, 31.

[27] Stewart Edward White, "An Emergency is Declared to Exist," Saturday Evening Post 202 (April 12, 1930), 5; Stewart Edward White, "Parking the Brown Bear," Saturday Evening Post 205 (March 7, 1931), 38; Anna Rothe, ed., Current Biography, 1946 (N.Y., H. W. Wilson and Co., 1947), 637.

[28] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 9-10, 12.

[29] Ibid., 10-11.

[30] Ibid., 11.

[31] Ibid., 13-14. The proposed monument was all public land except for two Orthodox Church Mission Sites. The 2.07-acre site at Kaguyak village and the 3.20-acre at Kukak village had both been patented in July 1914; neither site, however, had been occupied since June 1912. U.S. Patent 423849 (Entry J 01278), at BLM State Office, Anchorage.

[32] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 15-17.

[33] Ibid., 17-18.

[34] Ibid., 18-19.

[35] Proclamation No. 1950, April 24, 1931; 47 Stat. 2453.

[36] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 19. Ruth Griggs Higbie, in "In the Land of the Fumaroles and Williwaws," New York Times, March 18, 1973, noted that Katmai had the largest land area in the NPS system, if both land and water were included, Glacier Bay was the largest NPS unit.

[37] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 19; Washington Star, May 20, 1931.

[38] New York Times, May 31, 1931, III:2.

[39] Anchorage Daily Times, April 27, 1931, 1.

[40] Seward Daily Gateway, April 29, 1931, 4.

[41] E. G. Moore to Director NPS, December 18, 1931, and H. C. Bryant to Director NPS, December 16, 1932; both in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 20.

[42] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 423; John Monsen to Alaska Game Commission, September 10, 1936, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[43] E. G. Moore to Horace M. Albright (Director NPS), December 18, 1931; HMA to EGM, January 15, 1932; Frank Reedy to Horace M. Albright, May 19, 1933; HMA to FR, June 5, 1933; all in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[44] Norris, Gawking at the Midnight Sun, 91; Robert Stevens, Alaskan Aviation History (Des Moines, Wash., Polynyas Press, 1990), 875, 907; Kay Kennedy, interview with author, June 7, 1991.

[45] C. M. Carson Wildlife Agent, Alaska Game Commission) to Frank T. Been (Supt. MOMC), June 15, 1940, in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB. Soon afterward, Walatka established his own air service; by the late 1940s he was working for Northern Consolidated Airlines.

[46] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 369. Natives gathered their herds in corrals on the Northwest Arm of Naknek Lake; the remains of those corrals, and an adjacent reindeer herders' cabin, can still be spotted along the lake shore. Mike Tollefson to Supt. KATM, March 21, 1977, KATM.

[47] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 34; W. C. James to V. H. Cahalane, "Master Plan Development Outline, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, Forestry," January 4, 1954, at KATM; Frank T. Been, Field Notes of Katmai National Monument Inspection (McKinley Park, Alaska, NPS, November 12, 1940), 8.

[48] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 12; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 423.

[49] James W. McBurney (Surf Canneries) to Harold Ickes, February 4, 1936, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[50] Commissioner GLO to Director NPS, March 17, 1936; Director NPS to Commissioner GLO, March 28, 1936; both in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[51] Proclamation No. 2177, June 15, 1936; 49 Stat. 3523.

[52] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries (Washington, GPO), editions of 1920 through 1925; Ronald F. Lee to Director, Region Four, September 6, 1951, in "Katmai Rules and Regulations" folder, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[53] For specifics on these programs, see Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, Administrative

History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s (Denver, NPS, September 1983), 75-106.

[54] John C. Paige, The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942 (Washington?, NPS, 1985), 125, 207; SMR, MOMC, June 1937 through September 1939, and March 1940.

[55] Joan M. Antonson and William S. Hanable, Administrative History of Sitka National Historical Park (Anchorage, NPS, December 1987), 61; Unrau and Williss, Administrative History: Expansion of the NPS in the 1930s, 235-38; SMR, MOMC, August 1926, July 1931, and June 1936.

[56] SMR, MOMC, June 1936.

[57] Harry J. Liek to Director NPS, March 24, 1936, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA NC; Ernest P. Walker, Report of the Executive Officer to the Alaska Game Commission, December 1, 1935 to October 31, 1936. Liek's report refers to "Weatherspoon." But local historian John Branson (personal conversation, January 30, 1996) notes that there was no one in the area by that name. Harry Featherstone, however, had a cabin at the time near the Savonoski River, and was probably the person in question.

[58] Frank Dufresne to Director NPS, April 1, 1936; Homer Jewell (Alaska Game Warden) to Harry J. Liek, May 8, 1936; both in RG 79, Entry 7, KNM Box 1, NARA DC. Harry J. Liek to Frank Dufresne, April 22, 1936, in "General Correspondence Concerning Katmai 1936 to 1946" file, KATM Annex.

[59] Arno B. Cammerer to Harry J. Liek, February 18, 1936; Harry J. Liek to Director NPS, March 24, 1936; Frank Dufresne to A. E. Demaray, May 6, 1936; all in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[60] A. E. Demaray to Hillory Tolson, July 14, 1936; Jennings to A. E. Demaray, both in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; A. E. Demaray to Harry J. Liek, July 30, 1936, and Hillory Tolson to Harry Liek, October 16, 1936, both in Hanable Research Notes, AKSO-RCR.

[61] SMR MOMC, for October and November 1936 and June 1937; Supt. MOMC to Director NPS, August 20, 1936, in Hanable Research Notes, AKSO-RCR Collection.

[62] SMR, MOMC, June and July 1937; Frank T. Been (Supt. MOMC) to Victor H. Cahalane, March 24, 1941, in RG 79, Box 312, File 201, NARA SB; Harry J. Liek to Director NPS, March 1, 1938, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC. Corbley was gone for 25 days from his home park, and spent $305.85 of the $600 allotted to the monument's budget.

[63] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries in 1921 (Washington, GPO, 1922), 17l; George J. Eicher, "History of the Bristol Bay Investigation," unpublished mss., Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, April 25, 1937, 1-3.

[64] C. M. Carson to Supt. MOMC, March 4, 1948, at KATM.

[65] The first known protest took place in 1993--long before the enforcement effort began--when John J. Coffey, a Kodiak attorney, asked Anthony J. Dimond, the Alaska Delegate, to take "whatever action you deem advisable" that would legalize the continuation of trapping,

hunting, and fishing in the monument. John J. Coffey to A. J. Dimond, June 10, 1933, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[66] John Monson to Alaska Game Commission, September 10, 1936; Stephen M. Scott to Anthony J. Dimond, December 2, 1937; both on KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC. Scott was locally known as "Portland Packer Scotty" because he worked for Portland Packers in Naknek. (Several NPS documents have erroneously called him "Important Packer Scotty.") John Branson, interview by author, January 30, 1996.

[67] Anthony J. Dimond to Arno B. Cammerer, April 16, 1937 and December 16, 1937; Director NPS to Anthony J. Dimond, April 21 and December 25, 1937; Gunnar Berggren, etc. to Anthony J. Dimond, October 1, 1937; Fred M. Johnson (Commissioner GLO) to Director NPS, January 18, 1938; all in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[68] S. M. Scott to Anthony J. Dimond, December 2, 1937, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[69] Frank Dufresne to A. E. Demaray, January 24, 1938, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; Arno B. Cammerer to Anthony J. Dimond, November 8, 1939, in File 610, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[70] A. C. Kinsley to Commissioner GLO, January 19, 1939; Antolnette Funk (Assistant Commissioner GLO) to Director NPS, May 17, 1939; both in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[71] Arno B. Cammerer (NPS Director) to Anthony J. Dimond (House of Representatives), November 8, 1939, in Folder 610, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB. Fure had a cabin in the Bay of Islands area; Scott's cabin was just south of the Brooks River, between Brooks and Naknek lakes; and Monsen lived on the south shore of Iliuk Arm, near the mouth of the Savonoski River. Joaqlin Estus, Harvey M. Shields, and David Snow, Historic Structure Report, Fure's Cabin, Bay of Islands, Naknek Lake, Katmai National Park and Preserve (Anchorage, USDI, 1984), 10; Frank T. Been, Field Notes of Katmai National Monument Inspection (November 12, 1940), 12-13.

[72] Arno B. Cammerer to Anthony J. Dimond, November 8, 1939, in File 610, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB. The GLO consistently spelled Paul Chukan's last name as "Chugan."

[73] C. M. Carson to J. W. Kehoe, June 15, 1940; telegram, C. M. Carson to Ernie Allen, April 17, 1940; both in File 208-06, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, TG 79, NARA SB.

[74] Arno B. Cammerer (NPS Director) to Commissioner GLO, November 8, 1939, in Folder 610, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; Appeal from the General Land Office, July 29, 1940, in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[75] Arno B. Cammerer to Commission GLO, March 12, 1937; Fred R. Lucas to O. A. Tomlinson, January 17, 1938; A. E. Demaray to Commissioner GLO, April 11, 1939; George A. Parks to Harry J. Liek, April 22, 1939; Victor Cahalane to Files, March 29, 1940; all in KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[76] Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection, 4; Frank T. Been to George A. Parks, December 11, 1940 and January 30, 1941; A. E. Demaray to Supt. MOMC, February 24, 1941; all in RG 79, Entry 7, KNM Box 1, NARA DC. From 1925 through 1933, Parks had served as

Alaska's Governor.

[77] SMR, MOMC, December 1939; Frank T. Been to Director NPS, April 15, 1940. Been had been the assistant naturalist at Sequoia National Park; Liek left to become superintendent at Wind Cave National Park, Alaska Weekly, June 23, 1939.

[78] SMR, MOMC, February-March 1940; Frank T. Been to U.S. Deputy Marshal Allen, April 14, 1940, KATM; Anchorage Weekly Times, April 26, 1940, 4.

[79] Frank T. Been to Director, NPS, April 14, 1940; Been to C. M. Carson, April 14, 1940, both at KATM; SMR, MOMC, April 1940.

[80] SMR, MOMC, May 1940; C. M. Carson to J. W. Kehoe, June 15, 1940, in File 208-06, Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[81] Cahalane had entered national park work in 1934 via the Civilian Conservation Corps. Two years later he became the Acting Chief of the NPS's Wildlife Division. In January 1940, the work was transferred to the Biological Survey (soon to become the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service) and he became in charge with its Section on National Park Wildlife. In later years, he became the chief NPS biologist. Victor Cahalane to Ernest Gruening, n.d. (c. 1942), in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA; William E. Brown, A History of the Denali-Mt. McKinley Region, Alaska, 199.

[82] Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection; "Discover 9995 Smokes Missing from Valley," Anchorage Daily Times, October 1, 1940; "Park Chief Visits Valley of Wonders," The Alaskan (weekly), October 11, 1940.

[83] Been to Director, NPS, April 15, 1940.

[84] Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection, 12, 30-31, 47.

[85] Ibid., 39-40, 46; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 424.

[86] Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection, 46-47.

[87] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 21-22.

[88] Ibid., 22.

[89] As Alaska Game Commission agent Jack Benson noted, Cahalane and Been were incorrect in thinking that Talki Island did not have a fox-farming lease. Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 24.

[90] Ibid., 22-25; SMR, MOMC, December 1940, 2.

[91] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 25; SMR, MOMC, January 1941.

[92] Fred W. Johnson to Director, Division of Investigations, April 7, 1941, in RG 79, Entry 7, KNM Box 1, NARA DC. Kinsley was the man who, in 1938, had investigated trapping conditions on the west side of the monument.

[93] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 25-26. Jack Benson, the AGC agent, had

arrested Smith for taking fur within the monument in the fall of 1940. He was convicted on December 21, and given a $150 fine and a 60-day suspended jail sentence. Alaska Game Commission official Frank Dufresne charged that Smith "had used this island merely as a blind to shield illegal trapping on the Monument." Frank Dufresne to Frank T. Been, December 23, 1940, in KNM Box , Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; "Kamishak Bay-Katmai Region" map (with notations by Jack Benson), in KNM Box 2, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; SMR, MOMC, December 1940.

[94] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 27; Harold L. Ickes to Franklin D. Roosevelt, January 24, 1942, KATM.

[95] Proclamation No. 2564, August 4, 1942; 56 Stat. 1972.

[96] Because of Smith's violation, his fur farm lease was canceled on May 9, 1942. Butler, however, was allowed to keep his lease long after the monument's boundaries were expanded. The BLM did not close his lease until October 30, 1950. W. S. Binley to Director NPS, May 29, 1942, in RG 79, Entry 7, KNM Box 1, NARA DC; Chief, Land Planning Division, NPS, to Supt. MOMC, June 11, 1942, in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; Historical Index for T18S, R26W, S.M., BLM State Office, Anchorage.

[97] SMR, MOMC, June 1940; Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection, 31.

[98] Frank T. Been to RD/R4, May 4, 1940, in Hanable Research Notes, AKSO-RCR Collection; A. E. Demaray to Supt. MOMC, November 26, 1940; Frank T. Been to Director NPS, December 19, 1940; Herbert Maier to Supt. Been, February 19, 1941, KATM.

[99] Been RD/R4, March 13, 1941, KATM.

[100] Dixon to Director, Region Four, March 25, 1941, KATM; H. Maier to Director, NPS, March 26, 1941, KATM.

[101] Superintendent to RD/R4, June 5, 1941, KATM.

[102] SMR, MOMC, May 1941 and November 1941; Victor H. Cahalane to Thomas C. Vint, March 30, 1942, in Folder 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[103] Frank T. Been to RD/R4, January 14, 1942; Victor H. Cahalane to Mr. [Thomas C.] Vint, March 30, 1942; both in File 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[104] Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection, 1940, 46; NPS, Glimpses of Our National Parks, 1926, 31.

[105] Frank T. Been to RD/R4, March 16, 1942, in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; E. A. Davidson to Director, Region Four, April 26, 1942; H. Maier to Superintendent MOMC, April 30, 1942, both at KATM; Victor H. Cahalane to Thomas C. Vint, March 30, 1942, in Folder 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[106] Bernard F. Manbey (ARD/R4) to Supt. MOMC, August 5, 1942; Frank T. Been to RD/R4, September 112, 1942, both at KATM; Hillory A. Tolson to RD/R4, June 29, 1944, in Folder 600-03, KNM Box 2, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[107] The base was renamed King Salmon Air Station in the 1950s.

[108] Victor H. Cahalane, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument, 5; Ray Peterson, interview by the author, August 9, 1990; Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection, 1-3, 19, 43; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 425.

[109] Raymond I. Peterson, interview by author, August 9, 1990; Michael Branham to author, March 12, 1992.

[110] Alaska Travel Publications, Exploring Katmai National Monument, 778, 83; Raymond I. Peterson, interview by William Hanable and Janis Meldrum, November 23, 1988.

[111] Grant Pearson, telegram to RD/R4, September 26, 1946, in Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB. The U.S. Fisheries Commission, a Department of the Commerce agency whose workers had blasted out the north end of Brooks Falls in 1921, was replaced in 1940 by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, which was an arm of the Interior Department. As noted below and in Chapter 8, the F&WS had erected facilities at the head of Brooks River in 1940 and 1941.

[112] Kuehl, the regional office's landscape architect, accompanied the superintendent because he was the de facto Alaska expert in Region Four. In that capacity he returned to Katmai in August 1947, August 1948, September 1949, and June 1950. He served as a liaison between the park, the regional director and the Washington office. Kuehl to RD/R4, April 20, 1948, at KATM; O. A. Tomlinson to Director NPS, July 29, 1948, in KNM Box 2, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; SMR, MOMC, for September 1949 and June 1950.

[113] Kuehl was so unimpressed with the monument's resources that he suggested, after a 1947 boundary reconnaissance, that Katmai's area be reduced by 25 percent by lopping off portions at the west end of the monument. Three years later, he noted that "it would be a gross exaggeration to call [the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes[a tourist attraction." Note attached to Oscar Chapman's letter to the Naknek Civic Club, June 9, 1950, in File 201; January 10, 1952 note in File 207; both in Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[114] Grant H. Pearson with Philip Newill, My Life of High Adventure (New York, Ballantine Books, 1962), 200-02.

[115] Charles L. Peterson (Acting Supt. MOMC) to Alfred Andree (Koggiung, Alaska), February 26, 1946, at KATM; Alfred C. Kuehl, "Report on Katmai National Monument, Alaska" [report on trip of August 19-30, 1945), 2, 4.

[116] Benson may have been the same man who, as noted earlier in this chapter, had served as the Kodiak Fish and Game agent in 1941.

[117] R. R. Lyons to Grant H. Pearson, October 16, 1945, in Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB; SMR, MOMC, September 1945; Alaska Weekly, November 2, 1945.

[118] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 15; NPS, "Public Use of the National Parks" for 1904-1940 and 1941-53.

[119] SMR, MOMC, September 1945; Newton Drury to Ernest Gruening, March 23, 1945; Alfred C. Kuehl (Landscape Architect) to Ernest Gruening, February 4, 1946, both in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA. Old Kasaan, an abandoned Native village in southeastern Alaska that had once had a large number of totems, was proclaimed a national monument in October 1916. The park service, however, never funded operations there. A major fire, weathering, and vandalism too their toll. By the late 1940s agency representatives recognized

that the site was no longer up to NPS standards, and the site was delisted in July 1955. Alan Hogenauer, "Gone, But Not Forgotten: America's Delisted National Park Service Sites" (unpub. mss., given at a meeting of The Travel and Tourism Research Association, Banff, Alberta, June 1983), 47-48.

[120] Newton B. Drury (NPS Director) to Ernest Gruening (Governor of Alaska), January 30, 1950; Arthur B. Demaray (Director NPS) to Assistant Secretary Dale E. Doty, June 29, 1951; both in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA; Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 16-17.

[121] Neither the NPS nor any other agency had any idea of how much wartime trapping took place in the monument. When Kuehl and Pearson made a brief visit in August 1945, they encountered no trapping trails and were told that the only poacher in the area, probably Stephen M. Scott, had left the area. Kuehl, "Report on Katmai National Monument, Alaska" [trip report], 2.

[122] Jack O'Connor (F&WS, Juneau) to Frank T. Been, March 26, 1947; Alfred C. Kuehl to RD/R4, April 20, 1948, both at KATM.

[123] Alfred C. Kuehl, "Report on Katmai National Monument, Alaska," September 1945, 3; George A. Parks to Frank T. Been, September 22, 1947, KATM; Frank T. Been to RD/R4, May 20, 1948; George H. Parks to RD/R4, April 19, 1950; both in File 602, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[124] Occasional calls for a boundary survey were made as late as the mid-1960s. No action, however, resulted from those plans. Even today, virtually none of the pre-1978 monument, and little of the present park and preserve, has been professionally surveyed. NPS, Master Plan Brief for Katmai National Monument, September 3, 1965, 16.

[125] C. M. Carson to Supt. MOMC, March 2, 1948; Carson to Supt., March 4, 1948; both at KATM; SMR, MOMC, March 1948.

[126] Frank T. Been to RD, May 19, 1948; Tolson to RD, April 23, 1948, both at KATM; G. B. Kelez (Supervisor of Fisheries, USF&WS, Seattle to Chief, Branch of Alaska Fisheries, USF&WS, Washington, D.C., February 17, 1950, in File 208, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[127] USDI, "Katmai National Monument, Alaska, To Have Visitor Accommodations" (Press Release), April 30, 1950, in "Katmai Concession Contract" binder, AKSO-EC files.

[128] C. M. Carson, Enforcement Agent, USF&WS to Supt. MOMC, March 2, 1948; Carson to Frank T. Been, March 4, 1948; Alfred C. Kuehl to RD/R4, August 23, 1948, all at KATM; Raymond I. Petersen to Dave Morris [Supt. KATM], October 27, 1982.

[129] Frank T. Been to RD, Region 4, December 13, 1948, at KATM.

[130] C M. Carson to Supt. MOMC, March 14, 1948; Carson to Supt. MOMC, July 12, 1948; both at KATM.

[131] Hillory Tolson to RD/R4, April 21, 1948; Tolson to RD/R4, April 23, 1948; both at KATM; Herbert Maier to Director NPS, May 4, 1948, and Hillory A. Tolson to RD/R4, May 17, 1948; both in KNM Box 2, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[132]

Alfred C. Kuehl to RD/R4, August 23, 1948, at KATM.

[133] Frank T. Been to RD/R4, May 20, 1948; O. A. Tomlinson (RD/R4) to Dir. NPS, May 26, 1948; Tomlinson to Supt. MOMC, June 26, 1948; all at KATM.

[134] Been to RD, Region 4, June 28, 1948; SMR, MOMC, June 1948, 5.

[135] O. A. Tomlinson to Director NPS, July 14, 1948; Tomlinson to Supt. MOMC, August 18, 1948, both at KATM; SMR, MOMC, July 1948, 2; Tomlinson to Dir. NPS, July 28, 1948, in Box 312, RG 9, NARA SB; Hillory A. Tolson to RD/R4, July 22, 1948, and O. A. Tomlinson to Director NPS, July 29, 1948, both in Folder 801, KNM Box 2, RG 79, NARA DC; Herbert Maier to Director NPS, November 18, 1948, in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[136] E. L. Bartlett to Oscar L. Chapman (Sec. of Interior), February 1, 1950, at KATM.

[137] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 424; J. C. Roehm, "Summary Report of Mining Investigations in the Kvichak Precinct, Alaska, June 13 to July 6, 1941," Alaska Territorial Department of Mines Report 195-31, 1.

[138] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 27-28; E. L. Bartlett to Julius A. Krug (Sec. of Int.), May 21, 1947, in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA; Hillory A. Tolson (Acting Dir. NPS) to E. L. Bartlett, December 31, 1948, at KATM.

[139] Session Laws of Alaska, 1946, 179-81; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 426.

[140] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 29; Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 22; Newton B. Drury (NPS Director) to Fred M. Packard, February 12, 1947, in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; House Joint Memorial No. 1, in Session Laws of Alaska, 1947, 314-15; C. L. Wirth to Mr. Slaughter, February 25, 1947; Conrad L. Wirth to Files, November 19, 1946; in both RG 79, Entry 7, KNM Box 2, NARA DC; Antonson and Hanable, Alaska's Heritage, 286; Claus-M. Naske and Herman Slotnick, Alaska: A History of the 49th State (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1979), 148-49.

[141] Jessen's Weekly, October 29, 1948; SMR, MOMC, October 1948, 2.

[142] Helen C. Tibbetts (Naknek Civic Club) to E. L. Bartlett, January 3, 1950; Bartlett to Oscar L. Chapman (Sec. of Interior), February 1, 1950; Gunnar Berggren, John Monsen, and Mike Shapsnikoff to E. L. Bartlett, June 4, 1950; Bartlett to Netwon B. Drury (NPS Director), June 14, 1950; all in Bartlett Collection, NPS/Box 1 (1946-52), UAF; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 427-28.

[143] Newton B. Drury (NPS Director) to Fred M. Packard, February 12, 1947, in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; E. L. Bartlett to Helen C. Tibbetts (Naknek Civic Club), February 1, 1950, Oscar L. Chapman (Secretary of the Interior) to E. L. Bartlett, June 9, 1950; both in NPS/Box 1 (1946-52), Bartlett Collection.

[144] Conrad L. Wirth to Files, November 19, 1946, in KNM Box 2, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[145] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 426-27. Also see Chapter 11.

[146] Pearson replaced Frank Been as Mount McKinley's superintendent in February 1949.

[147] O. A. Tomlinson to Director NPS, April 29, 1949; Tomlinson to Director, May 6, 1949; both at KATM; Raymond E. Hoyt (Assistant Regional Director, R4) to Roy Lindsley (Fish and Wildlife Service, Kodiak), May 16, 1951, in File 208, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB. Prior to Pearson's action, aircraft landings in the monument had been prohibited during the wintertime to discourage trapping operations; they were also prohibited during the summer except for official or emergency purposes

[148] Herbert Maier (Acting RD/R4) to Director NPS, November 18, 1948; "Monthly Report of Field Obligations and Expenditures," June 30, 1949, both at KATM; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 426.

[149] C. M. Carson to Grant H. Pearson, September 17, 1949; Tomlinson to Director NPS, April 27, 1949; both at KATM.

[150] The location of these improvements was not specified. Having only the 1942 PCP forms as evidence, the structures would probably have been located in and around Geographic Harbor, while the trails would have been in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes.

[151] O. A. Tomlinson to Director NPS, April 27, 1949; Tomlinson to Director, April 29, 1949; both at KATM; Alaska Field Committee, A Six Year Integrated Program for the Department of the Interior in Alaska, 1950-1955 (unpub. mss., July 1949), 61-62, 79-80, in Alaska Administrative History Collection, Box 1, HFC.

[152] Joseph T. Flakne (Chief, Alaska Branch, Division of Territories and Island Possessions, Department of the Interior) to Gov. Ernest Gruening, October 13, 1949, in File 40-10 (1933-50), RG 101, ASA.

[153] O. A. Tomlinson to Supt. MOMC, January 18, 1950, at KATM; Newton Drury (Director NPS) to Gov. Ernest Gruening, January 30, 1950, in File 40-10, RG 101, ASA.

[154] NPS, "Statement Relating Appropriations Estimate [for Alaska Program] to Current Appropriation" (c. April 1950), 3-6, in File 40-10, RG 101, ASA.

[155] Charles A. Richey (Land Planning Division, WASO) to Conrad Wirth (Assistant Director, NPS), December 19, 1949, in File 900, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB; Raymond I. Peterson to William Warne (Assistant Secretary of the Interior), January 21, 1950, in "Katmai Concession Contract History" binder, AKSO-EC.

[156] Concessions Permit No. I-34np-299 (draft), in "Katmai Concessions Contract History" binder, AKSO-EC; Concession Permit NO I-34np-299, in File 900, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB.

[157] Grant Pearson (Supt. MOMC) to Wyman R. Rice (Operations Manager, NCA), March 21, 1950, in "C38 - Concessions Contract & Permits, KATM 1949-1966" file, AKSO-EC; Pearson to RD/R4, April 27, 1950, at KATM.

Chapter 4

[1] O. A. Tomlinson (RD/R4) to Director NPS, September 26, 1950, at KATM; SMR, MOMC, September 1950.

[2] Anchorage Daily Times, June 22, 1950; Willie (Nancarrow) to Marvin (?), July 6, 1950; Grant H. Pearson (Supt. MOMC) to RD/R4, April 27, 1950; Herbert Maier (Acting RD/R4) to Supt. MOMC, May 11, 1950; all in KATM files.

[3] William J. Nancarrow (Ranger KNM) to Supt. MOMC, "Monthly Narrative Report for Katmai for July 1950", July 27, 1950), in File A2827 (Reports to Chief Ranger, January 1950) to November 1954), DENA; William J. Nancarrow, interview by William S. Hanable, August 1, 1988; Morton S. Wood to Supt. MOMC, December 3, 1951 and Photo C1, both in File 207, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB; Ginny Hill Wood, "Valley of Seven Smokes," Alaska Sportsman 19 (January, 1953), 7.

[4] Nancarrow, July 27, 1950); Nancarrow interview, August 1,1988; O. A. Tomlinson (RD/R4) to Director NPS, September 26, 1950), in KATM files.

[5] NPS, "Mission 66 Prospectus, Katmai National Monument," April 1956, 3, in KATM Box 2, HFC; Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, April 24, 1951, KATM.

[6] Virginia Wood, telephone interview by Bill Tanner, May 10, 1983, in Melgenak Case File, in Bill Hanable, "Brooks Camp" draft chapter, 23, in AKSO-RCR Collection; Wood, "Valley of Seven Smokes," 7; Morton S. Wood to Supt. MOMC, December 3, 1951, in File 207, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[7] SMR, MOMC, June 1948, 5; Wood, "Valley of Seven Smokes," 7; Grant H. Pearson to RD/R4, May 28, 1952, KATM.

[8] Lawrence C. Merriam to Supt. MOMC, February 27, 1952; Frank T. Hirst (Chief Ranger, MOMC) to George B. Chaffee, June 23, 1952 and July 29, 1952; Charles E. Krueger (Park Landscape Architect, WODC) to Chief WODC, July 21, 1955; all at KATM.

[9] In Fiscal Year 1952, it requested $15,000 for a permanent ranger, a seasonal ranger-naturalist, office space, a boat and airplane charter, and in FY 1953, it requested funds sufficient to provide for a superintendent, park ranger, office space rental and airplane charter, O. A. Tomlinson to Director NPS, September 26, 1950, KATM; Wirth to Gruening, December 23, 1952, in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA; Wirth to Gruening, January 10, 1953, in File 15-14-a (1953-58), RG 101, ASA.

[10] Director NPS to Dale E. Doty (Assistant Secretary of the Interior), June 29, 1951, in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA.

[11] Conrad L. Wirth to Gov. Ernest Gruening, June 11 and December 23, 1952, both in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA.

[12] Ann Lage, George L. Collins, The Art and Politics of Park Planning and Preservation, 1920-1979: An Interview Conducted by Ann Lage in 1978 and 1979 (Berkeley, University of California Oral History Project, 1980), 177-78, 184.

[13] Williss, 29; Russ Olsen, Administrative History: Organization Structures of the National Park Service, 1917 to 1985 (Washington?, NPS, September 1985), 61, 69; Newton B. Drury to Gov. Ernest Gruening, January 30, 1950, in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA; Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior (Washington, GPO, 1950), 338; Lage, George L. Collins, 181, 183.

[14] Williss, 29-30; Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1954 (p. 357) and 1955 (p. 358).

[15] Collins, a career NPS employee, had worked in the Director's office from 1937 through 1945 before heading west to the Region Four office. During the late 1950s, he was involved in new area studies; then, in 1962, he served as the Secretary-General of the First World Conference on National Parks, which was held in Seattle that year. Lage, George L. Collins, 163, 169; April 5, 1962 letter in File 882, Series 41, RG 01, ASA.

[16] SMR, MOMC, June 1950; Nancarrow to Supt. MOMC, July 27, 1950.

[17] G. L. Collins to RD/R4, August 19, 1951, in File 609-01, Box 312; RD/R4 to Director NPS, August 20, 1952, in File 600, Box 311; both in RG 79, NARA SB; Lage, George L. Collins, 180-81.

[18] George L. Collins to RD/R4, two memoranda dated July 19, 1950, in File 201, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[19] Chief, Alaska Survey, to RD/R4, July 18, 1952, in Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[20] Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, July 29, 1952, in File 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[21] RD/R4 to Director NPS, August 20, 1952, in File 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[22] E. L. Bartlett to Conrad L. Wirth, February 8, 1951, KATM; Ernest Gruening to Joseph T. Flakne (Chief, Alaska Division, Office of Territories), June 1, 1951; Conrad L. Wirth to E. L. Bartlett, February 16, 1951; Bartlett to Wirth, February 17, 1951; all in NPS/Box 1 (1946-52), Bartlett Collection.

[23] Lowell Sumner, "Recommendation for Boundary Revision, Katmai National Monument, Alaska," October 21, 1952; George L. Collins to RD/R4, July 19, 1950; both in File 602, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[24] Sumner, 1952, 2.

[25] Sumner, 1952, 3.

[26] Sumner, 1952, map.

[27] Sumner, 1952, 23-24.

[28] Sumner, 1952, 21.

[29] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 30-31.

[30] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 33-35; George L. Collins to Robert F. Luntey, August 7, 1953, KATM.

[31] B. Frank Heintzleman to Nils R. H. Gronn, December 17, 1953, in File 15-15 (1953-58), RG 101, ASA; Gunnar Berggren to E. L. Bartlett, January 3, 1954, in NPS/Box 1 (1953-58), Bartlett Collection; Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 35-36. The primary reason that petition gatherers hoped to move the monument boundary eight miles east was the

"The beavers are taking over the spawning grounds of the salmon in the above mentioned area," and "we wish to trap these beavers in the coming spring." One of the most avid petition supporters was Gunnar Berggren; he was one of several local residents whose trapping cabins would be outside the monument if the boundary had been moved.

[32] E. L. Bartlett to Douglas McKay, December 18, 1953, in NPS/Box 1 (1953-58), Bartlett Collection.

[33] Gunnar Berggren to Rep. Howard W. Pollock, January 29, 1969, in File NR/1-2, Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[34] Douglas McKay to E. L. Bartlett, February 1, 1954, in NPS/Box 1 (1953-58), Bartlett Collection; B. Frank Heintzleman to William C. Strand (Director, Office of Territories), October 26, 1953; Chief of Cooperative Activities to Director NPS, February 17, 1954; both in File 15-15 (1953-58), RG 101, ASA; Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 36-37.

[35] Conrad L. Wirth to B. Frank Heintzleman, April 29, 1954, in File 15-14a (1953-58), RG 101, ASA; Robert Luntey, Katmai Project, Interim Report, Katmai National Monument, Alaska (Washington, NPS, March 1954).

[36] B. Frank Heintzleman to Conrad L. Wirth, March 5, 1954, in File 15-14-a (1953-58), RG 101, ASA.

[37] Orme Lewis to E. L. Bartlett, May 12, 1954, in NPS/Box 1 (1953-58), Bartlett Collection.

[38] USDI, "Katmai Scientific Study Continued Another Year" (press release), August 4, 1954.

[39] C. L. Wirth to B. F. Heintzleman, July 28, 1954, in File 15-14-a (1953-58), RG 101, ASA; E. L. Bartlett to Fred A. Seaton, (Secretary of the Interior), February 16, 1959, in NPS/Box 1 (1959-64), Bartlett Collection.

[40] E. L. Bartlett to Orme Lewis, January 3, 1955; Orme Lewis to E. L. Bartlett, January 26, 1955; both in RG 101, File 15-14-a (1953-58), RG 101, ASA; USDI, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1955, 358; Conrad Wirth (NPS Director) to RD/R4, May 9, 1957, in KATM History Division Files, WASO.

[41] Robert F. Griggs hatched the idea for the article in September 1953, in a letter to Lowell Sumner; the story was based on a June 1954 Katmai visit of Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert M. Grosvenor. Griggs to Sumner, February 9 and September 2, 1953, in Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB; Elsie May Bell Grosvenor, "Alaska's Warmer Side," National Geographic Magazine 109 (June 1956), 737-775.

[42] E. L. Bartlett to Fred A. Seaton, February 16, 1959, in NPS/Box 1 (1959-64), Bartlett Collection.

[43] Daily Alaska Empire (Juneau), February 17, 1959; Anchorage Daily Times, February 18, 1959, 8.

[44] Leslie Yaw to E. L. Bartlett, March 21, 1959; John H. Lee to Bartlett, March 27, 1959; both in NPS/Box 1, Bartlett Collection; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 330, 338, 370-71.

[45] E. L. Bartlett to Charles F. Herbert, February 24, 1958, in Bartlett Collection.

[46] Roy Selfridge to Ralph J. Rivers, September 27, 1961, in Folder 64, Box 7, Executive Departments and Independent Agencies, Ralph J. Rivers Collection, UAF.

[47] NPS, "Topography of Brooks Camp, NCA" (map), July 30, 1963, KATM file, AKSO-EPD; Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/R4) to Director, NPS, December 14, 1960, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts and Permits, KATM, 1949-1966" file, AKSO-EC.

[48] RD/R4 to Director NPS, December 6, 1954, in "D18 Master Plan, Katmai, 1953-1959" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC; Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/R4) to Director, NPS, December 14, 1960, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts and Permits, KATM, 1949-1966" file, AKSO-EC.

[49] Thomas C. Vint (Chief, Division of Design and Construction) to Chief, Western Division, Division of Design and Construction, October 11, 1955, in "Serendipity File," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[50] Charles E. Krueger (Park Landscape Architect, Region Four) to Chief, Western Office, Division of Design and Construction, July 21, 1955, at KATM.

[51] Herman Porter (Director, Alaska Department of Aviation) to Supt. MOMC, December 9, 1955; A. F. Ghiglione (Commissioner of Roads, Alaska Road Commission) to Supt. MOMC, December 7, 1955; both in "D18 Master Plan, KATM, 1953-1959" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC.

[52] Merriam to Director, NPS, December 14, 1960; NPS, Contract No. 14-10-434-80, February 20, 1956, in "Katmai Concession Contract History" binder, AKSO-EC. A second three-year contract, Contract No. 14-10-434-212, was signed on March 31, 1958 for the 1958 through 1960 seasons.

[53] NCA patented the airstrip on November 2, 1960. Raymond I. Peterson to Thomas H. Floyd (Land Law Examiner), August 10, 1956, in Case File A-030370, FRC/Washington, DC; BLM, "Application for Patent: Proof of Use," August 6, 1958, in same case file; summary sheet, same case file, BLM Alaska State Office, Anchorage; Petersen interview, November 23, 1988, II/7; Charles E. Krueger (Park Landscape Architect, Region Four) to Chief, Western Office, Division of Design and Construction, July 21, 1955, at KATM; Ernest Gruening, "Lonely Wonders of Katmai," National Geographic Magazine 123 (June 1963), 804.

[54] Annual Report of the Secretary of Interior for 1955, 331, 334-36; Annual Report for 1956, 307; Carleton Knight III, "The Park Service as Client: II," Architecture 73 (December 1984), 48.

[55] Williss, 31; USDI Information Service press release, April 24, 1961, in File 311.2, Series 41, RG 01, ASA; Lage, George L. Collins, 169-70.

[56] USDI Information Service press release, April 21, 1956, in NPS/Box 1, Bartlett Collection.

[57] USDI Information Service press release, April 21, 1956, in NPS/Box 1, Bartlett Collection; NPS, "Mission 66 Prospectus," April 1956, in KATM, Box 2, HFC; Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, August 27, 1957, KATM.

[58] The report in its draft form, was written by the Mount McKinley staff in January 1957. Supt. MOMC to Director NPS, Monthly Narrative Report, February 6, 1957, in DENA Archives.

[59] NPS, Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument (Washington?, the author, May 1957), 4, in NPS/Box 1 (1959-64), Bartlett Collection; Conrad Wirth to RD/R4, May 9, 1957, in KATM History Division Files, Box 1, WASO.

[60] Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument, 5.

[61] Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument, 6-8.

[62] Conrad Wirth to RD/R4, May 9, 1957, in Katmai History Division Files, Box 1, WASO.

[63] Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, August 27, 1957, KATM; NPS, "Master Plan Development Outline, General Development," November 1957, 1, in KATM, Box 1, HFC.

[64] Bob Peterson, interview by William S. Hanable, June 24, 1988.

[65] NPS, "Master Plan for Katmai National Monument, Mission 66 Edition, Volume I, Master Plan Narrative," 1960-61, in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960" file, KATM Box 1, HFC; NPS, "Master Plan Volumes I and III," in KATM Box 2, HFC.

[66] USDI Information Service press release, April 21, 1956, in NPS/Box 1, Bartlett Collection.

[67] NPS, Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument, 6-7; NPS, "Master Plan Development Outline, General Development," November 1957, 3.

[68] Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, February 22, 1958, in "D18 Master Plan, 1953-1959" file; Neil J. Reid to Supt. MOMC, June 3, 1958; both in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[69] Herbert Maier (Acting RD/R4) to Director NPS, April 16, 1958, in "D18 Master Plan, KATM, 1953-1959," in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[70] Lawrence C. Merriam to Director NPS, January 13, 1960, in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960" file, KATM Box 1, HFC; NPS, "Control Schedule, Mission 66 Development Program, Roads, and Trails," December 1958, in Bartlett Collection.

[71] The outline specifically suggested that the road "should be developed ... primarily for administrative use." "Master Plan Development Outline, General Development," November 1957, 3, in KATM Box 2, HFC; NPS, Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument, 4, 7.

[72] Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, June 24, 1957, in "D18 Master Plan, KATM, 1953-1959" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC; NPS, "Master Plan Development Outline, General Development," November 1957, 3.

[73] Neil J. Reid (Park Naturalist, MOMC) to Supt. MOMC, June 3, 1958, in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[74] George L. Collins to RD/R4, July 19, 1950, in File 201, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[75] George L. Collins to RD/R4, two memoranda dated July 19, 1950, in File 201, Box 311,

RG 79, NARA SB.

[76] Chief, Alaska Survey, to RD/R4, July 18, 1952, in Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[77] RD/R4 to Director, NPS, August 20, 1952, in File 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[78] Lawrence C. Merriam to Wirth, December 14, 1960; NPS, "Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument," n.d. (c. March 1959), 4 6-8, in NPS/Box 2, Bartlett Collection.

[79] "Ted" (Roeder, KATM Ranger) to "Jake" (Duane Jacobs), July 17, 1958; Supt. MOMC to T.S. Roeder, July 25, 1958; both in "D18 Master Plan, KATM, 1953-1959," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[80] Robert L. Carper, List of Classified Structures Inventory, Katmai National Monument (Denver, NPS, April 1976), 1; "Description of the Proposal" (for Brooks Camp Utility System), in Box 13, NARA ANC; NCA, Brooks Camp Log Book, September 15, 1956.

[81] Raymond I. Petersen to George L. Collins (Chief, Alaska Recreation Studies, Region Four, NPS), September 26, 1950, in Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB; Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/R4) to Supt. MOMC, February 27, 1952, at KATM; Raymond I. Petersen, interview by William Hanable, November 23, 1988.

[82] Petersen interview, November 23, 1988; Ray Petersen, interview by author, April 17, 1991.

[83] Jackson E. Price (Assistant Director, NPS) to RD/R4, March 8, 1961, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts and Permits, KATM, 1949-1966" file, AKSO-EC.

[84] Ray Petersen interview, by Hanable and Meldrum, November 23, 1988; Evangeline Atwood and Robert N. DeArmond, comp. Who's Who in Alaskan Politics (Portland, Binford & Mort, 1977), 97; Katmailand, "Greetings from Katmailand" (Christmas brochure), 1985, 3.

[85] Petersen was pleasantly surprised by Senator Gruening's reaction to his plight; he had never been an active Gruening supporter. But the Senator had had long experience in territorial affairs including the directorship of Territorial and Island Possessions as well as a fourteen-year stint as the Governor of Alaska, and as a result, he "smelled injustice" when he saw it. Petersen interview, April 17, 1991.

[86] Robert L. Petersen to Supt. MOMC, April 3, 1961, in "D18 Master Plan Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[87] Charles E. Krueger (Supervisory Landscape Architect) to Regional Director, Region Four, September 12, 1961, in KATM Box 1, HFC; Raymond I. Petersen to Rep. Ralph Rivers, December 23, 1965; Edward A. Hummel to E. L. Bartlett, November 22, 1968; both in NPS/Box 2, Bartlett Collection; Petersen interview, November 23, 1988; Gruening, "Lonely Wonders of Katmai," 812, 827-828, 831; NPS, "Project Construction Program Proposal," February 1, 1962, in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[88] Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/WRO) to Supt. MOMC, December 3, 1962; Oscar T. Dick to RD, WRO, March 19, 1963; both in "C38 - Concessions Contracts and Permits, KATM, 1949-1966" file, AKSO-EC; Raymond I. Petersen, Testimony in Palakia Melgenak Transcript, II/136; Conrad Wirth (NPS Director) to Regional Director, Western Region, December 10, 1962, in "D18 Master Plan Correspondence 12960," in KATM Box 2, HFC.

[89] NPS, Project Construction Program, n.d. (late 1962?), KATM; USDI, "U.S. Department of the Interior Budget Justifications" books, passim.

[90] Darrell L. Coe (Management Assistant, KATM), "National System of Trails, Memo L58," August 23, 1965, at KATM.

[91] Gruening, "Lonely Wonders of Katmai," 828.

[92] PCP for Windy Creek Trail Camp, 1962, in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[93] The cabins now serve as employed residences. The boathouse as a winter storage area for agency water craft for the next year or two; by 1964, however, it was being used as a VIP residence. Bob Peterson, interview by Bill Tanner, May 19, 1984, in Palakia Melgenak Transcripts, I/128; Bob Peterson interview by William Hanable, June 24, 1988, 2; W. Laubmann, "Katmai National Monument, Topography of Brooks Camp, NCA" (map), July 30, 1963, AKSO-EPD; Supt. MOMC, "Annual Report for Information and Interpretive Services, KATM," 1962; Petersen (Jr. and Sr.) interview, April 17, 1991; PCP for Brooks River-Windy Creek Trail Buildings, 1962, in KATM Box 1, HFC; Gil Blinn, interview by author, May 24, 1993.

[94] Been to RD/R4, January 14, 1942, in KNM Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[95] Joseph S. Dixon to RD/R4, February 2, 1942, in File 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[96] House Resolution No. 14, in Session Laws of Alaska, 1959, 412-13.

[97] House Concurrent Resolution No. 13, in Session Laws of Alaska, 1961, 232; Robert L. Peterson (Ranger-in-Charge, KATM) to Supt. MOMC, April 3, 1961, in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[98] Ernest Gruening to William A. Egan, February 26, 1962; Ernest Gruening to Conrad L. Wirth, February 26, 1962; both in File 883.1, Series 41, RG 01, ASA; Conrad Wirth to Ernest Gruening, March 19, 1962, in "Geological Survey in Katmai National Monument Area" folder, Box 73, General Subject File, Gruening Senatorial Papers, UAF.

[99] House Resolution No. 6, in Session Laws of Alaska, 1963, 150.

[100] E. L. Bartlett to Conrad L. Wirth, November 6, 1963; Bartlett to Jay Hammond, November 6, 1963; A. Clark Stratton (Assistant Director NPS) to Bartlett, November 27, 1963; all in NPS/Box 1 (1959-64), Bartlett Collection.

[101] No master plan was completed that year, only a patchwork revision of portions of the 1960 master plan. A year later, a Master Plan Brief was prepared. E. L. Bartlett to A. Clark Stratton, December 4, 1963; Stratton to Bartlett, December 11, 1963; both in NPS/Box 1 (1959-64), Bartlett Collection

[102] Jay Hammond to Bob Bartlett, January 17, 1964; Hammond to Bartlett, April 6, 1964; Bartlett to Hammond, April 13, 1964; all in E. L. Bartlett Collection, NPS/Box 1 (1959-64), UAF. Pearson, after a thirty-year career, had retired from the NPS in November 1956. Department of the Interior Information Service, "Grant Pearson to Retire," October 19, 1956, in NPS/Box 1 (1953-58), Bartlett Collection.

[103] Sumner, "Special Report on the Katmai Master Planning Field Study, September 5-13, 1963," KATM.

[104] NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1965, 14, 21.

[105] Senate Joint Resolution No. 41, Session Laws of Alaska, 1965, 126.

[106] A. F. Ghiglione (Bureau of Public Roads) to Ralph Soberg, March 17, 1967; C. S. Matlock (Alaska Department of Highways) to Ralph Soberg, August 4, 1967; George Sundborg to George B. Hartzog, February 28, 1967; all in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection; John Walatka (Camp Manager and Director, NCA) to George Hall, November 27, 1967, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-72" file, AKSO-EC.

[107] Howard W. Baker (Assistant Director, NPS) to Ernest Gruening, March 29, 1967, in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[108] Warren Gonnason to George B. Hartzog, November 30, 1967, in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[109] George B. Hartzog to Warren Gonnason, January 15, 1968, in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[110] Keith H. Miller to E. L. Bartlett, March 25, 1968; Senate Joint Resolution 37, 1968; both in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[111] Bristol Bay Borough Assembly Resolution No. 56; City of Anchorage Resolution No. 46-R-68; Kenai Peninsula Resolution on July 2, 1968; Kodiak Island Borough Resolution No. 68-25-R; City of Homer Resolution No. 68-15; all in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[112] Edward A. Hummel (Assistant Director, NPS) to Keith H. Miller (Secretary of State of Alaska), April 15, 1968, in File 883.1, Series 41, RG 01, ASA; Johannes E. N. Jensen (Associate Director) to E. L. Bartlett, August 28, 1968, in NPS, Box 1, Bartlett Collection.

[113] Frank T. Been to Regional Director, Region Four, January 14, 1942, in File 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[114] George L. Collins to RD/R4, two memoranda dated July 19, 1950, in File 201, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[115] King Salmon was not Collins's first choice, but he was pleased to find that when he expressed interest in a site there to other agency heads, "it appeared that a location could be obtained there if desired." Chief, Alaska Survey, to RD/R4, July 18, 1952, in Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[116] Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, July 29, 1952; Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/R4) to Director NPS, August 20, 1952; both in File 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB; Duane Jacobs (Supt. MOMC) to RD/R4, June 3, 1959, in "Katmai Master Plan-1969" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC; Grant H. Pearson (Supt. MOMC) to RD/R4, August 13, 1956, in "D18 Master Plan, 1953-1959" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC.

[117] USDI Information Service press release, April 21, 1956, in NPS/Box 1, Bartlett Collection.

[118]Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/R4) to Supt. MOMC, May 25, 1959, in "Katmai Master Plan-1969" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC; Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument (1957), 4.

[119] "Master Plan Development Outline," November 1957, 2.

[120] Supt. MOMC to Director NPS, Monthly Narrative Report, March 5, 1957, in DENA Archives; Supt. MOMC to Chief, Western Office, Division of Design and Construction, April 22, 1957, in "D18 Master Plan, KATM, 1953-1959" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC.

[121] NPS, "Superintendent's Annual Report," Mount McKinley National Park (hereafter known as SAR, MOMC), for 1957; "Master Plan Development Outline, Developed Areas, King Salmon Headquarters," November 1957, in KATM Box 1, HFC; Drawing NM-KAT 2100, June 19, 1957; Drawing NM-KAT 2104-A, August 1957.

[122] Supt. MOMC to T.S. Roeder, July 25, 1958; RD/R4 to Supt. MOMC, March 25, 1958, in "D18 Master Plan, KATM, 1953-1959" folder; both in KATM Box 1, HFC; USDI, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1958, 308; Supt. MOMC to Director NPS, Monthly Narrative Report, July 6, 1959, in DENA Archives; KATM, "Management Prospectus," 1963 (Report TIC-127/D21), 2.

[123] Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, February 22, 1958, in "D18 Master Plan, 1953-1959" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC.

[124] Merel S. Sager to Chief, Western Office, Division of Design and Construction, May 14, 1959, in "D18 Master Plan KATM 1953-1959," KATM Box 1, HFC; Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/R4) to Supt. MOMC, May 25, 1959, in Katmai Master Plan-1969" folder, KATM Box 1, HFC.

[125] Thomas C. Vint (Chief of Design and Construction) to Chief, Western Office of Design and Construction), July 2, 1959, in "D18, Master Plan, KATM 1953-1959," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[126] Supt. MOMC to Regional Director, Region Four, March 22, 1961; Regional Director to Supt. MOMC, March 31, 1961; both in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[127] Richard C. Young (Federal Aviation Agency) to Regional Director, Region Four, March 22, 1962, in D18 Master Plan Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[128] Lawrence C. Merriam to Richard C. Young, March 27, 1962; Merriam to Supt. MOMC, March 30, 1962; both in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[129] Samuel A. King (Supt. MOMC) to Regional Director, Region Four, April 2, 1962; Charles Krueger to Regional Director, Region Four, April 13, 1962; Regional Chief of Operations and Maintenance to Assistant Regional Director, October 26, 1962; all in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC; Federal Register, November 7, 1962, p. 10833; Bob Peterson, interview by William Hanable, June 24, 1988.

[130] Sen. Ernest Gruening, Press Release of March 17, 1964, in NPS/Box 1 (1959-64), Bartlett

Collection.

[131] NPS, Master Plan Brief for Katmai National Monument, 1965, 18; Supt. MOMC to RD/WRO, Annual Narrative Report, May 26, 1965, at MOMC, in Hanable Research Notes, AKSO-RCR Collection.

[132] Oscar T. Dick to RD/WRO, April 23, 1963, in "D18 Master Plan Correspondence 1960," in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[133]Oscar Dick to Files, August 16, 1963, in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC; Larry Rice, Gathering Paradise; Alaska Wilderness Journeys (Golden, Colo., Fulcrum, 1990), 1.

[134] Supt. MOMC to Dave Bogart, KATM, August 26, 1963.

[135] Lowell Sumner, "Special Report, Katmai, Master Plan Field Study, September 5-13, 1963" (Washington, NPS), October 1963; E. A. Hummel to Director NPS, October 24, 1963; Joe E. N. Jensen (Assistant Director, Design and Construction) to RD/WRO, November 12, 1964; both in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[136] Stanley A. Cain, Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, "Trip Report ... Accompanying the Advisory Board on National Parks, Buildings, Historic Sites and Monuments on its Annual Field Trip -- July 30 to August 10, 1965, in Alaska," pp. 9-11, in NPS/Box 2 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[137] NPS, Master Plan Brief, September 3, 1965, p. 18, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[138] NPS, Master Plan Brief, September 3, 1965, pp. 10-11.

[139] NPS, Master Plan Brief for Katmai National Monument, May 1967, TIC; "Master Plans for Katmai National Monument," January 1967, in NPS History Collection, Serendipity File, HFC.

[140] John Walatka (President, ACV, Inc.) to Lawrence Merriam, December 6, 1960; Lawrence C. Merriam to Director, NPS, December 14, 1960; both in "C38 - Concessions Contracts and Permits, KATM, 1949-66" file, AKSO-EC; Lawrence C. Merriam to Director NPS, January 13, 1960, in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960" file, KATM Box 1, HFC.

[141]NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1965, 14.

[142] E. B. Martin (Acting ARD, Operations, WRO) to Supt. KATM and MOMC, July 28, 1967, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-72" file, AKSO-EC.

[143] George A. Hall (Supt. MOMC) to RD, WRO, November 16, 1967; John Walatka (Camp Manager and Director, NCA) to George Hall, November 27, 1967; both in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-72" file, AKSO-EC; Lee Svoboda (OAS pilot), interview by author, February 27, 1992.

[144] Wyman Rice (Vice President, Operations) to E. L. Bartlett, March 24, 1967; John Walatka to Sen. Ernest Gruening, March 24, 1967; Sen. Ernest Gruening to George B. Hartzog (Director NPS), April 3, 1967; all in NPS/Box 1 (1966-68), Bartlett Collection.

[145] Harthon Bill (Deputy Director, NPS) to Sen. Ernest Gruening, May 2, 1967, in NPS/Box 1 (1966-68), Bartlett Collection; George A. Hall (Supt. MOMC) to RD/WRO, December 18, 1967, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-72" file, AKSO-EC.

[146] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, June 13, 1974, 3, 65.

[147] Master Plan Brief, 1965, 6, 14, 21; Ralph J. Rivers to George Hartzog, August 27, 1965, in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[148] NPS, "Katmai D18 Master Plan Team Field Study Notes, September 1-9, 1965," in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[149] NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1967, 15.

[150] NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1965, 6.

[151] NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1965, 18.

[152] O. T. Dick, Project Construction Proposal for Mortuary Cove jeep trail, May 16, 1966, KATM Box 1, HFC; Management Assistant to Supt. MOMC, Monthly Narrative Report, October 1, 1966, in DENA Archives; Acting Director, PNRO to Director, DSC, May 24, 1972, in NARA ANC, Box 13; Blinn interview.

[153] NPS, "Mission 66 for Katmai National Monument," n.d. (May 1957), in NPS/Box 2, Bartlett Collection; Supt. MOMC, "1956 Annual Report," in File A2621 (Annual Reports, 1953-1972), DENA.

[154] John Walatka (President, ACV, Inc.) to Lawrence Merriam, December 6, 1960, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts and Permits, KATM, 1949-1966" file, AKSO-EC.

[155] W. Laubmann, "KNM, Topography of Brooks Camp, NCA" (map), July 30, 1963, AKSO-EPD files; Project Construction Proposal for "220-foot steel frame suspension bridge," May 16, 1966," in "Katmai Master Plan Engineering Data" file, KATM Box 1, HFC.

[156] USDI, "USDI Budget Justifications," 1950-59, WASO-AB Collection; Monthly Narrative Report, MOMC, for May 1959 and September 1960, both in DENA Archives. See Appendix A.

[157]NPS, Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Katmai National Monument, Chapter 4, Section B, September 30, 1960.

[158] Darrell L. Coe, interview by William S. Hanable, August 5, 1988.

[159] USDI, "USDI Budget Justifications," FY 1964 through 1970; Chief, Information and Education, PNRO to Asst. Dir., Cooperative Programs, PNRO, August 11, 1970, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[160] O. A. Tomlinson (RD/R4) to Director NPS, September 26, 1950, 2, KATM.

[161] William Nancarrow, interview by William Hanable, August 1, 1988; Frank T. Hirst (Chief Park Ranger, MOMC) to George B. Chaffee (KNM Ranger), June 23, 1952, in KATM

files.

[162] SAR, MOMC, 1957; Grant H. Pearson to RD/R4, May 7, 1952, in File 201, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[163] Becharof National Wildlife Refuge (King Salmon, Alaska), Annual Narrative Report, 1979, 9, in F&WS-Alaska office files.

[164] Bob Peterson, interview by William S. Hanable, June 24, 1988; Stanley A. Cain, "Trip Report ... Accompanying the Advisory Board," 9-11, Bartlett Collection.

[165] KATM Management Assistant, Monthly Narrative Report for October and November 1966, DENA archives.

[166] Ranger-in-Charge, KNM, to Supt. MOMC, November 7, 1966, copy of memo in personal files of Darrell Coe, Harding Lake, Alaska. Management Assistant, KNM, Monthly Report for October 1966 and November 1966, both in File A2615, DENA archives; Christian Science Monitor, August 2, 1969, 3.

[167] Darrell Coe, interview by William S. Hanable, August 5, 1988, in AKSO-RCR Collection.

[168] Coe interview, August 5, 1988; George A. Hall to Bill Hanable, personal communication, November 14, 1989.

[169] Christian Science Monitor, August 2, 1969, 1; Christian Science Monitor, November 18, 1969, 22; Anchorage Daily News, June 4, 1971, 2; George A. Hall to William S. Hanable, November 14, 1989.

[170] Chief, Information and Education, PNRO to Asst. Dir., Cooperative Programs, PNRO, August 11, 1970, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[171] Bailey Breedlove (Park Planner) to RD/WRO, Monthly Narrative Report, April 27, 1967, Hanable Research Notes, AKSO-RCR Collection; Christian Science Monitor, August 2, 1969, 1.

[172] Gilbert Blinn, interview by William Hanable, August 26, 1988, 9.

[173] Cecil E. Rhode, "When Giant Bears Go Fishing," National Geographic 106 (August 1954), 198; Bill Sherwonit, "Battle of the Bears," Anchorage Daily News, September 6, 1992, K6-7; Bill Sherwonit, "McNeil River; Where the Bears Come First," Alaska Geographic 16 (1989), 65; Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, 1974, 32; Alaska Northwest Books, The Alaska Wilderness Milepost (Bothell, Wash., the author, 1990), 222.

[174] BLM, Case File Number A-054574 through A-054580 and A-054629, Alaska State Office, Anchorage; State of Alaska, Session Laws, 1967, Chapter No. 108; Una G. Swain, National Natural Landmarks in Alaska (Anchorage, Nature Conservancy, December 1990), 64-75.

[175] Anchorage Daily News, September 15, 1991, A9; Anchorage Daily News, September 6, 1992, K13.

[176] Raymond I. Petersen to George L. Collins, September 26, 1950, in "Katmai-Concessions" folder, Box 313; George L. Collins to RD/R4, July 19, 1950, in File 201, Box 311; both in RG 79, NARA SB.

[177] Chief of Cooperative Activities to Director NPS, February 17, 1954, in File 15-15 (1953-58), RG 101, ASA.

[178] Ernest Gruening to Phil Holdsworth (Alaska Department of Natural Resources), March 21, 1961; Holdsworth to Egan, March 27, 1961; Clarence L. Anderson (Commissioner of Fish and Game) to Egan, April 17, 1961; Egan to Gruening, April 18, 1961; all in File 883.1, Series 41, RG 01, ASA.

[179] Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, March 22, 1961, in "D18 Master Plan and Correspondence 1960," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[180] Stanley Cain, "Trip Report ... Accompanying the Advisory Board," 9-11, Bartlett Collection; NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1965, 6, 8, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[181] George B. Hartzog to Walter J. Hickel, December 7, 1967, in File 882, Series 41, RG 01, ASA.

Chapter 5

[1] Claus-M. Naske and Herman E. Slotnick, Alaska: A History of the 49th State (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1979), 154-55.

[2] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 61-67.

[3] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 34-41; NPS (Alaska Task Force), Operation Great Land, 1965, 6-8, in Box 1, Alaska Administrative History Collection, HFC; William T. Ingersoll, "Lands of Change: Four Parks in Alaska," Journal of the West 7 (April 1968), 173.

[4] NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1965, 6, 8, 10.

[5] NPS (Alaska Task Force), Operation Great Land, 34; BLM, Case File Numbers A-054574 through A-054580 and A-054629, Alaska State Office, Anchorage.

[6] Congressional Record 113 (1967), 8193; NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1967, 6.

[7] Exceptions to the classification order were given for purposes of mineral appropriation, mineral leasing, and Native land selections in designated areas. Raymond L. Freeman (Chief, Division of New Area Studies and Master Planning) to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC, August 10, 1966, in KATM Box 1, HFC; Federal Register, March 8, 1967.

[8] Federal Register, October 28, 1967 and November 22, 1967; File AA 818, BLM State Office, Anchorage. A statewide land freeze, which formalized this and other BLM regulations, was imposed by Secretary Udall during the waning days of the Johnson administration. The incoming Interior Secretary, Walter Hickel, opposed the freeze, but agreed to it in order to gain Congressional approval for his nomination. Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 67.

[9] Raymond L. Freeman (Chief, Division of New Area Studies and Master Planning) to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, San Francisco Service Center, August 10, 1966, in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[10] George B. Hartzog to Walter J. Hickel, December 7, 1967, in File 882 (1967), Series 41, RG 01, ASA; George B. Hartzog to E. L. Bartlett, December 7, 1967, in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[11] James H. Husted, History of the Johnson Proclamations, 1968-69, September 21, 1970, in ANILCA Box 1, HFC.

[12] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 57-59; New York Times, January 21, 1969, 1.

[13] Anchorage Daily Times, January 24, 1969, 2.

[14] Howard W. Pollock to Gov. Keith Miller, January 23, 1969; Miller to Pollock, February 3, 1969; both in File NR/1-3 (1969), Series 88, RG 01, ASA; Anchorage Daily Times, January 25, 1969, 2.

[15] Alaska Environmental Fund, "Alaska, 1970, An Environmental Crisis" (pamphlet), 10, in Box 2, Alaska Administrative History Collection, HFC; Anchorage Daily Times, January 27, 1969, 10.

[16] Gov. Keith Miller to Pollock, February 3, 1969, in File NR/1-3 (1969), Series 88, RG 01, ASA; Augie Reetz to Gov. Miller, January 23, 1969; Gunnar Berggren to Howard W. Pollock, January 29, 1969; both in File NR/1-2 (1969), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[17] Al Henson (Project Leader, ATF) to Asst. Dir., Cooperative Activities, WASO, March 13, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Ogden Williams, "Katmai and Its Future," National Parks and Conservation Magazine 52 (March 1978), 6.

[18] Williss, 41; "USDI Budget Justifications;" Christian Science Monitor, August 2, 1969, 3.

[19] This office, which had jurisdiction over the Alaska park units, was created in January 1969 as a subsidiary of the Western Regional Office. That December, it became the Northwest Regional Office, with Rutter at its head. The office was renamed the Pacific Northwest Regional Office in August 1970, a name it retained until the mid-1990s.

[20] Gil Blinn, interview by William S. Hanable, August 26, 1988; NPS, Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials (Washington?, NPS, May 1, 1986), 106; Blinn, interview by the author, May 24, 1993.

[21] Gil Blinn, interview by William S. Hanable, August 26, 1988; Ogden Williams, "Katmai and Its Future," 7-8.

[22] Blinn interview, by Hanable.

[23] Blinn interview, by Hanable; Ogden Williams, "Katmai and Its Future," 7-8; Blinn to author, email, April 11, 1996.

[24] Blinn interview, by Hanable.

[25] William S. Hanable and Carol Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill and the National Park Service: A Report on the Initial Response (Anchorage, NPS, 1990), 5, 7; Federal Water Quality Administration (USDI), "Kodiak Oil Pollution Incident February-March 1970, Summary Report," May 1970, at KATM; Richard G. Prasil (Acting Supt. Alaska Group Office) to Oscar E. Dickason (Federal Water Pollution Control Administration), March 17, 1970, in File N3617, KATM.

[26] Ralph Root, "Comments on the Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Proposed Lower Cook Inlet Oil and Gas Lease Sale," August 24, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC; Gilbert E. Blinn to RD/PNRO, "Important Issues Concerning Wilderness Proposal for Katmai National Monument," February 24, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Pat Richardson, "$400 Million in High Bids at OCS Sale," Alaska Construction and Oil 18 (December 1977), 34.

[27] John Walatka (President, ACV, Inc.) to Lawrence Merriam, December 6, 1960; Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/R4) to Director, NPS, December 14, 1960; both in "C38 - Concessions Contracts and Permits, KATM, 1949-1966" file, AKSO-EC.

[28] Chief Engineer, WODC, to RD/WRO, February 20, 1964, "Utilities Study, Brooks Camp Area, Katmai," in NPS History Collection, Serendipity File, KATM, in Hanable Research Notes, AKSO-RCR Collection.

[29] Chief Engineer, WODC, to RD/WRO, February 20, 1964, "Utilities Study, Brooks Camp Area, Katmai," in NPS History Collection, Serendipity File, KATM, in Hanable Research Notes; note from "Glenn" to "Hal" attached to August 1971 Master Plan, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[30] Office of Environmental Planning and Design, Western Service Center, "Design Directive, Brooks Camp, Katmai" (draft), October 29, 1970, in File D18, AKSO; NPS, Drawing No. NM-KAT 3028, October 1967, AKSO-EPD.

[31] George A. Hall (Supt. MOMC) to RD, WRO, November 16, 1967, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-1972" file, AKSO-EC; George Hall to ARD, Operations, WRO, January 30, 1969; George Hall to RD/WRO, March 25, 1969; both in "C58 - Buildings & Other Facilities, KATM, Wien Air Alaska, Inc., 1967-1976" file, AKSO-EC.

[32] John Walatka to George Hall, December 26, 1968; Gilbert E. Blinn (Supt. KATM) to State Director, Alaska Group, June 15, 1972; both in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-1972" file, AKSO-EC.

[33] John Walatka to George Hall, December 26, 1968, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-1972" file, AKSO-EC.

[34] NPS, Katmai National Monument, a Master Plan (preliminary working draft), August 1971, 14-17.

[35] Stanley T. Albright (Acting RD/PNRO) to General Supt. Alaska Group, October 15, 1970, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-1972" file, AKSO-EC; Office of Environmental Planning and Design, Western Service Center, "Design Directive, Brooks Camp, Katmai." Draft was dated October 29, 1970; final was dated February 18, 1971. Both located in File D18, AKSO-RCR.

[36] Bennett T. Gale (Acting Director, PNRO) to Director, DSC, May 24, 1972, in Box 13,

NARA ANC; Commerce Business Daily (Chicago, U.S. Dept. of Commerce), January 15, 1973; NPS, "Superintendent's Annual Report, Katmai National Monument" (hereafter known as SAR, KATM), 1974, 8; NPS Drawing 127-41,001A, sheet 1, AKSO-EPD.

[37] Blinn interview, by Hanable.

[38] NPS, "Katmai National Monument," September 11, 1967; NPS, "Summary-Development Concepts, Katmai National Monument, Alaska," 1969; both in "Katmai Master Planning 1968-70" file, KATM; NPS Drawing NM-KAT 3028, October 1967, AKSO-EPD.

[39] Glenn O. Hendrix (Chief, Office of Environmental Planning and Design, WSC) to General Supt. Alaska Office, November 10, 1970, 2, 13-14; Office of Environmental Planning and Design, WSC, "Design Directive, Brooks Camp, Katmai," February 18, 1971, 2, 11; both in "File D18 Design Directives KATM 1970," AKSO.

[40] NPS, Drawing No. NM-KAT 3028, October 1967; NPS Drawing 127-41, 001A, sheet 26; both in AKSO-EPD files.

[41] SAR, KATM, 1974, 1.

[42] Blinn interview; Ernest J. Borgman (Gen. Supt. Alaska Group Office, NPS) to RD, Alaska Region, NMFS, April 23, 1971, in "Correspondence (General - Brooks Lake)" folder, in BCF Collection, Auke Bay Station, NMFS; SAR, KATM, 1972, 3.

[43] SAR, KATM, 1974, 3.

[44] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 43-44; Howard W. Baker to Ernest Gruening, March 20, 1967, in NPS/Box 1 (1965-68), Bartlett Collection.

[45] Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC to RD/WR, April 29, 1968; Acting RD/WRO to Supt. MOMC, June 28, 1968; both in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[46] Raymond O. Mulvany (Acting RD/WRO) to Director NPS, January 10, 1968, in "C38 - Concessions Contracts and Permits, KATM, 1967-1972" file, AKSO-EC.

[47] Robert S. Luntey to Bailey Breedlove, Alaska Field Office, May 17, 1968, in KATM Box 1, HFC; SAR, KATM, 1972, 4.

[48] Lowell Sumner, Special Report, Katmai, Master Planning Field Study, September 5-13, 1963 (Washington, NPS, October 1963. It may be recalled that Lowell Sumner had brought up the value of wilderness in his boundary revision report of October 1952. He also wrote a Sierra Club Bulletin article ("Magnificent Katmai," December 1952) on the subject. The Mission 66 Prospectus of 1957 had also touted the monument's wilderness.

[49] NPS, Drawing NM-KAT 3018-A, in Master Plan Brief, Katmai National Monument, 1965, 10.

[50] Raymond L. Freeman (Acting Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities) to Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC & WSC, April 10, 1968, in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[51] Bailey O. Breedlove (Park Planner), Preliminary Draft, Basic Data, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research, Katmai National Monument, Shelikof Strait-King Salmon,

Alaska, (Anchorage, NPS, June 1969), in Box 13, NARA-ANC and KATM Box 2, HFC.

[52] William L. Bowen (RD/WRO) to Supt. MOMC, February 6, 1969; John A. Rutter (Director, Northwest District Office) to John Walatka, November 3, 1969; John Walatka to John Rutter, January 13, 1970; all in "C38 - Concessions Contract & Permits, KATM, 1967-72" file, AKSO-EC; Robert S. Luntey (Chief, Office of Resource Planning, SSC) to Director, Northwest District, August 6, 1969, in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[53] Breedlove may have gotten the idea of limiting Brooks Camp development from Robert Hafferman, who wrote in 1967 that the camp was "nearing the saturation point." Robert T. Hafferman to Supt. MOMC, October 18, 1967, in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[54] NPS, Summary-Development Concepts, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, n.d. (1969), in "Katmai Master Planning, 1968-70" file, KATM.

[55] Edward Stondall, interview by William S. Hanable, September 15, 1989.

[56] Supt. KATM to General Superintendent Alaska Office, April 1, 1971, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Ernest J. Borgman to RD/PNRO, July 17, 1970; Thomas F. Flynn, Jr. (Deputy Director, NPS) to RD/PNRO, January 7, 1971; both in "C38 - Concessions Contracts & Permits, KATM, 1967-1972" file, AKSO-EC.

[57] John A. Rutter (RD, PNRO) to Keith Miller, July 24, 1970, in File NR/1-6 (1970), Series 88, RG 01, ASA; Charles J. Gebler (Public Programs Officer, PNRO) to Assistant Director, Cooperative Programs, PNRO, January 6, 1971, Box 13, NARA ANC; NPS, Katmai National Monument, a Master Plan, March 1971, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[58] NPS, Katmai National Monument, A Master Plan, August 1971, 8, 11, 15, 17.

[59] NPS, Katmai National Monument, a Master Plan, August 1971, 14-17.

[60] Gil Blinn (Supt. KATM) to General Superintendent, Alaska Office, April 1, 1971; James S. Rouse (Wilderness Coordinator, PNRO) to Director NPS, September 9, 1971; "Important Issues Concerning Preliminary Wilderness proposal for Katmai National Monument," 1971; all in NARA ANC 13.

[61] NPS, "Wilderness Study, Katmai National Monument," August 1971.

[62] NPS, "Wilderness and Master Plan Drafts Released on Glacier Bay and Katmai National Monuments" (press release), September 17, 1971, AKSO-RCR Collection. The hearings were originally scheduled for September 1970; they were apparently delayed because completion of the two studies took longer than expected. Anchorage Daily Times, April 22, 1970, 2.

[63] Blinn interview, by Hanable.

[64] "Tabulation of responses, KNM wilderness proposal," n.d. (August 1972?), in Box 13, NARA ANC; NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument Alaska, June 13, 1974, 64.

[65] Hearings held at the same time as Katmai's generated 368 responses in support of wilderness for Glacier Bay in comparison to the 256 responses for strong wilderness protection at Katmai. Had similar hearings been held for Mount McKinley, the number of

responses would doubtless have exceeded those for both Glacier Bay and Katmai. NPS, Wilderness Recommendations, GLBA, May 1972, 22; NPS, Final Environmental Statement, MOMC, January 1975, 267.

[66] Dave Bohn, Rambles in an Alaskan Wild: Katmai and the Valley of the Smokes (Santa Barbara, Capra Press, 1979), 21-23, 165.

[67] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument Alaska, June 13, 1974, 64-65; Jay Hammond (Alaska Senate) to Egan, November 22, 1971, in File NR/1-6 (1971), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[68] B. A. Campbell (Commissioner, Department of Highways) to Gov. William A. Egan, July 8, 1971; Wallace H. Noerenberg (Commissioner, Department of Fish and Game) to William A. Egan, November 1, 1971; Lloyd Pike (President, Igloo #4, Pioneers of Alaska, Fairbanks) to Hearings Officer, NPS, November 8, 1971; all in Files NR/1-3 or NR/1-6 (1971), Series 88, RG 01, ASA; also Egan to J. W. Huff, Alaska Miners' Association, March 31, 1972, in File NR/1-6 (1972), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[69] "Statement of Raymond I. Petersen, President of Wien Consolidated Airlines, Inc.," December 17, 1971, in Box 13, NARA ANC; NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska (FES 74-35), June 13, 1974, 76; Petersen interview, April 17, 1991.

[70] Blinn interview, by Hanable.

[71] Blinn interview; Hammond to Egan, November 22, 1971, in File NR/1-6 (1971), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[72] Blinn interview.

[73] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 68-69, 87-89.

[74] Ibid., 87-88, 91-92. The Bureau of Sport Fisheries was asked to plan the national wildlife refuges, while the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation was placed in charge of the wild and scenic rivers studies as well as other recreation planning. In 1977, the BOR was absorbed into the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service in 1977; HCRS, in turn, was terminated in 1981, most of its functions being absorbed into the NPS.

[75] Ibid., 92.

[76] Ibid., 95-97.

[77] Ibid., 76-79.

[78] Ibid., 98-110.

[79] Ibid., 104-09; William A. Egan to J. W. Huff (Alaska Miners' Association), March 31, 1972, in NR/1-6, Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[80] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 111-12.

[81] The task force team members which investigated Katmai were Urban E. Rogers, John

Dennis, James Isenogle, and Keith Trexler. Gil Blinn, who was Katmai's superintendent at the time, remembers that in "late May or early June" the team came out to the park and "we spread out the maps at Brooks Camp and looked at possible additions to the park and, even then, began to look at the proposals that might be developed." The Katmai staff, however, was not involved in the proposal effort. Williss, 115; Al Henson, "Katmai - Briefing Statement" (folder), September 12, 1972, 2, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Blinn interview.

[82] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 120-22, 127.

[83] Blinn interview, by Hanable.

[84] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 124.

[85] SAR, KATM, 1972, 4.

[86] Bennett T. Gale (Acting Director, PNRO) to State Director, Alaska, July 6, 1972, in Box 13, NARA ANC; John A. Rutter (RD/PNRO) to Project Leader, Alaska Task Force, March 27, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[87] Al Henson, "KATM-Briefing Statement" (folder), September 12, 1972, 2, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[88] Fifteen months earlier, before the passage of ANCSA, NPS planner Bailey Breedlove had previewed a "twenty-year development plan" for Katmai to a meeting of the Alaska Conservation Society. At that meeting, he mentioned that the NPS hoped that Katmai would become a national park in order to give the place more prestige. "National park status," Breedlove noted, "would give Katmai the impetus it needs. We wouldn't administer Katmai any differently as a national park. It would just let more people know about the place." The 1971 draft master plan was indeed a long-range development plan, but it gave no mention of interest in a national park. Anchorage Daily News, June 4, 1971, 2.

[89] Williss, 130-31.

[90] Al Henson (Project Leader, Alaska Task Force) to Assistant Director, Cooperative Activities, WASO, March 13, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[91] John A. Rutter (RD/PNRO) to Project Leader, Alaska Task Force, March 27, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[92] Gil Blinn, Katmai Superintendent, represented the NPS at several meetings in southwest Alaska: in the Iliamna area, at Dillingham, Tununak (on Nelson Island), Holy Cross and Cold Bay. In the Naknek-King Salmon area, opposition to the park service continued to run strong; the Bristol Bay Borough passed several resolutions which opposed any additions to the park. Williss, 138-39; Blinn interview, by Hanable.

[93] Williss, 118, 137, 142-43, 149; Alaska Planning Group, Katmai National Park, Alaska, A Master Plan, December 1973, 3, 45-46.

[94] The terminology in the master plan and DEIS was skewed in that both documents treated the expanded park as if it were a fait accompli. The master plan noted, for instance, that "Katmai National Park comprises 2.8 million acres redesignated from Katmai National Monument status on the upper Alaska Peninsula and 1.8 million acres legislatively added

from surrounding public lands. The 4.6 million-acre park is administered as a natural area by the National Park Service." The introduction noted, by way of explanation, that the plan "was prepared necessarily in the form of a completed action in order to provide a more definitive basis for the required environmental statement. Its publication should not be construed as representing either the approval or disapproval of the Congress or the Secretary of the Interior." Alaska Planning Group, Katmai National Park, Alaska, A Master Plan, December 1973, ii, 1.

[95] Alaska Planning Group, Katmai National Park, Alaska, A Master Plan, December 1973, 28-34; Edward J. Kurtz (Acting RD/PNRO) to Project Leader, Alaska Task Force, July 13, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[96] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, June 13, 1974, 3, 65, 72.

[97] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, June 13, 1974, 3; Bennett T. Gale (Acting RD/PNRO) to State Director, Alaska, July 6, 1972, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[98] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, June 13, 1974, 64-65, 77; Jay Hammond (Alaska Senate) to Egan, November 22, 1971; Kenai Peninsula Borough resolution #71-32R, December 7, 1971; Bristol Bay Borough resolution #108, December 8, 1971; all in File NR/1-6 (1971 or 1972), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[99] In December 1971, B. A. Campbell, the Commissioner of the Alaska Department of Highways, told Jay Hammond that in 1968, "we saw no purpose in writing then [Interior] Secretary Udall [about a Katmai road] and have not pursued the matter further since that time." NPS, Katmai National Monument, A Master Plan, August 1971, 3; NPS, Final Environmental Statement, June 13, 1974, 40, 62, 64-65; B. A. Campbell to William A. Egan, July 8, 1971; B. A. Campbell to Jay Hammond, December 2, 1971, in RG 01/88, NR/1-3 or 1-6 (1971), ASA.

[100] Blinn interview, by Hanable.

[101] Item 5 in Breedlove, 1969, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[102] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, June 13, 1974, 151-55; APG, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, 1974, 214-216.

[103] NPS, Revisions to Preliminary Wilderness Plan, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, May 1972, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Blinn interview, May 24, 1993.

[104] NPS, Revisions to Preliminary Wilderness Plan, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, July 1972, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[105] John H. Farrell (Environmental Project Review staff) to Director, Environmental Project Review, August 30, 1972, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[106] John Rutter (RD/PNRO) to State Director, Alaska, October 25, 1972, in Box 13, NARA ANC; NPS, Revised Draft Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, February 12, 1973.

[107] Acting RD/PNRO to State Director, Alaska, May 25, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[108] Richard Curry (Assoc. Dir., Legislation) to PNRO, February 26, 1974; Bea Thompson (PNRO) to Al Henson, Alaska Task Force, March 25, 1974; both in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[109] Ted Stevens to William A. Egan, June 13, 1974, in File NR/1-6, Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[110] Blinn interview, by Hanable; APG, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park, 1974, 185.

[111] The fate of Battle Lake and its surrounding watershed was not decided until the last minute. The NPS and the BLM both wanted it. Assistant Secretary Laurence E. Lynn ruled in favor of the BLM, and placed the lake in the proposed Iliamna National Ecological Range. APG, Proposed Katmai National Park, Draft Environmental Impact Statement, 3; Ted Swem (Chairman, Alaska Planning Group) to Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, October 31, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[112] The AEC concept had first been suggested in July 1972 for boundary proposals of the proposed Gates of the Arctic National Park; by December 1973, AECs had been suggested for all but one of the proposed park areas. Land in each of the three Katmai AECs had been claimed by other federal or state agencies. Williss, 118, 137, 142-43, 149; Alaska Planning Group, Katmai National Park, Alaska, A Master Plan, December 1973, 3, 45-46.

[113] Of the 162 letters from individuals, 116 were apparently generated by an environmental organization and contained identical comments. APG, Proposed Katmai National Park, Draft Environmental Impact Statement, December 1973, 1; APG, Final Environmental Statement, 1974, 186-87; Williss, 160.

[114] Blinn interview.

[115] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 160.

[116] APG, Proposed Katmai National Park, Draft Environment Impact Statement December 1973, 3; APG, Final Environmental Statement, 1974, 1.

[117] Williss, 159-60.

[118] Williss, 155-59.

[119] R. Gerald Wright, "The Issue of Sport Hunting in the Proposed Alaskan Parks, A Review of Data, Philosophies, and Recommendations," April 28, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[120] Frank Norris, Tourism in Katmai Country (NPS, Anchorage, 1992), 156-57; "Registered Bear Hunting Camps, 1973-1976, Proposed Katmai Additions," n.d. (c. 1976) in Box 15, NARA ANC; "Briefing Paper, Existing and Potential Uses, Proposed Katmai Additions," February 8, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[121] Alaska Professional Hunters Association, "Proposals for Disposition of 80 Million Acres Under Terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act," n.d. (1972-73), 21, 23, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[122] "Notes for Bryan Harry for Talk Before the APHA," December 14, 1975, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[123] Williss, 122, 147, 153-54.

[124] Williss, 166-68.

[125] Ted Swem to Toby Cooper (National Parks and Conservation Association), December 31, 1974, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[126] Williss, 166-68.

[127] Breedlove, 1969, Item 5, in NARA ANC, Box 13; APG, Proposed Katmai National Park, Draft Environmental Impact Statement, December 1973, 292.

[128] APG, FES, 116, 214-18.

[129] "Additions, Katmai National Park, Areas of Conflict, Questions and Answers," November 1977, in Box 15, NARA ANC.

[130] APG, Draft Environmental Impact Statement, 287-93.

[131] Jules V. Tileston (Alaska Task Force Leader, BOR) to Al Henson (Project Leader, ATF, NPS), November 6, 1972, in NPS, Katmai National Park, A Master Plan, December 1973, 60-63.

[132] APG, Katmai National Park, A Master Plan, December 1973, 18, 46, 62; APG, Katmai National Park Final Environmental Statement, 1974, 551-56; NPS, Alagnak Wild River Management Plan, November 1983, 1.

[133] As time would tell, he had good reason to worry. Only one of the three streams he mentioned, Kamishak River, was included in what is now Katmai National Park and Preserve. Ralph R. Root to Project Leader, ATF, January 26, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[134] Root to Project Leader, AAO, September 3, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[135] APG, Katmai National Park, A Master Plan, December 1973, 30.

[136] Rollie Ostermick (ATF) to Ralph Root (Park Planner, ATF), November 14, 1975, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[137] Ralph Root to Project Leader, AAO, September 3, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[138] Gilbert E. Blinn (Supt. KATM) to State Director, Alaska, n.d. (mid-August 1972), in "C-2823, Concessions Contracts and Permits, General Correspondence, 1968-1977," AKSO-EC; Ralph R. Root to Project Leader, AAO, September 3, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[139] Edward Stondall, interview by William Hanable, September 15, 1989, 4.

[140] As noted in previous chapters, shallow water was encountered at both the Lake Camp and Brooks Camp ends of the trip. Carl C. Lamb (Concessions Manager, PNRO) to Russell E. Dickenson (RD-PNRO), September 8, 1976, in "Wien Air Alaska, KATM, 1969-1978" file, AKSO-EC.

[141]

Carl C. Lamb (Concessions Manager, PNRO) to Russell E. Dickenson (RD-PNRO), September 8, 1976, in "Wien Air Alaska, KATM, 1969-1978" file, AKSO-EC; NPS, "Evaluation of Concessioner's Performance, Wien Air Alaska," 1976, Schedule 9.

[142] In the summer of 1983, a company called Frontier Hovercraft briefly revived the concept, when it instituted hovercraft operations between the western boundary of Katmai and Brooks Camp. The company's boat, however, was ill-suited for the run. It was able to complete just six of the eleven runs it attempted; even the successful runs were marred by equipment breakdowns. The company pulled out of the market after its first season, and by 1984 regulations had been instituted prohibiting further hovercraft operations in the park. Petersen interview, April 17, 1991; "Frontier Hovercraft" Commercial Use License file, AKSO-EC.

[143] "Budget Estimates, Proposed Katmai National Park," January 1975, in Box 14, NARA ANC; Ed Stondall, "Development Cost Estimate for Proposed Katmai National Park, Three Year Staffing and Development Needs," October 27, 1976, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[144] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, June 13, 1974, 51, 76.

[145] Chuck Petersen to Gary Everhardt (Director, NPS), December 9, 1976, 2 in "Wien Air Alaska, KATM, 1969-1978" file, AKSO-EC.

[146] Edward J. Kurtz (Acting RD, PNRO) to Chief, Office of Legislation, NPS, October 21, 1976, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Chuck Petersen to Gary Everhardt (Director, NPS), December 9, 1976, 2 in "Wien Air Alaska, KATM, 1969-1978" file, AKSO-EC; Blinn to author, email, April 11, 1996.

[147] Russell Dickenson to Chuck Petersen, December 1, 1976; Chuck Petersen to Gary Everhardt (Director, NPS), December 9, 1976, 2; both in "Wien Air Alaska, KATM, 1969-1978" file, AKSO-EC. Also Gunnar Naslund to Gary Everhardt, December 14, 1976; Donald T. Nuttall to Gary Everhardt, December 28, 1976; Sen. Ted Stevens to Gary Everhardt, December 15, 1976; all in "Wien Air Alaska, Inc., 1973-1978" file, AKSO-EC.

[148] Gary Everhardt (Director, NPS) to Chuck Petersen, January 7, 1977, in "Wien Air Alaska, Inc., 1973-1978" file, AKSO-EC.

[149] That usage has continued to the present day. ANILCA, passed in December 1980, gave Congressional approval to the administratively-designated Katmai wilderness. Section 1307 of the act, however, ensured that services that were active on or before January 1, 1979, could continue to operate if they were "consistent with the purposes for which such unit is established or expanded." Katmai staff have interpreted that motorboat usage on the lake has been consistent with the intent of that section.

[150] Edwin W. Seiler to Jay S. Hammond, and Edwin W. Seiler to Gary E. Everhardt; both on May 11, 1977, in File NR/1-3 (1977), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[151] William J. Whalen to Edwin W. Seiler, August 26, 1977, in File NR/1-3 (1977), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[152] SAR, KATM, 1977, 3, 5.

[153] SAR, KATM, 1978, 6, 8-9.

[154] SAR, KATM, 1980, 6, 9.

[155] Rebecca M. Anderson to PNRO, September 25, 1978; Temple A. Reynolds (ARD, Management and Operations, PNRO) to Rebecca M. Anderson, October 5, 1978; Ed Stondall, interview by William Hanable, September 15, 1989, 17-18.

[156] David K. Morris, interview by William S. Hanable, November 2, 1989; SAR, KATM, 1979, 1.

[157] Williss, 172-75.

[158] Williss, 173-74.

[159] John Wood (Wood's Alaska Sport Fishing) to Supt. KATM, January 13, 1977; John Wood to Gov. Jay Hammond, January 14, 1977; both in File NR/1-3 (1977), Series 88, RG 01, ASA; South Naknek Village Council, Resolution No. 77-3, February 1, 1977; Bristol Bay Borough, Resolution No. 77-3, January 17, 1977.

[160] Glenn D. Gallison (Acting RD, PNRO) to Supt. KATM, etc., March 7, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[161] Glenn D. Gallison (Acting RD/PNRO) to Supt. KATM, etc., February 25, 1977; Russell E. Dickenson (RD/PNRO) to Chief, Office of Legislation, NPS, March 30, 1977; both in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[162] Williss, 179-81; Ogden Williams, "Katmai and Its Future," National Parks & Conservation Magazine 52 (March 1978), 8-9.

[163] Williss, 184-85.

[164] Ralph Root to Project Leader, ATFO, December 16, 1975, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[165] "Proposed Katmai National Park Briefing Paper, Lowland Tundra Addition," n.d. (1976?), in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[166] John Wood (Wood's Alaska Sport Fishing) to Supt. KATM, January 13, 1977, in File NR/1-3 (1977), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[167] William J. Briggle to John Wood, February 14, 1977; Acting Director, NPS to Gary D. Bradford (Bristol Bay Borough), February 25, 1977; both in KATM subsistence files.

[168] Blinn interview, by Hanable; G. E. Blinn to Assistant to Director, Alaska, May 18, 1977, in Box 15, NARA ANC; SAR, KATM, 1977, 9-10. The Bristol Bay Borough resolution was numbered 77-12; it passed May 16, 1977.

[169] Williss, 185-86, 188; Director NPS to Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, "Report on H.R. 39," August 12, 1977, pp. 14-15, in Box 15, NARA ANC.

[170] Williss, 190-93; KATM maps 90,002 and 90,003; USDI press release on the Andrus proposal, September 15, 1977, in Box 14, NARA ANC; "Briefing Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park," September 9, 1977, in Box 15, NARA ANC.

[171] Williss, 201.

[172] For a review of how the preserve concept developed, see Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time", 122, 147, 153, and 166.

[173] Roger Contor (Assistant to the Director for Alaska) to Director NPS, January 21, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC; R. Gerald Wright, "The Issue of Sport Hunting in the Proposed Alaskan Parks, A Review of Data, Philosophies and Recommendations," April 28, 1977, p. 10, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[174] John M. Kauffmann to Area Director, January 31, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Williss, 122, 166-68.

[175] Williss, 174, 186.

[176] Williss, 203-04.

[177] Williss, 205-14; "Summary of Energy Committee's Decisions on Alaska Lands Bill," October 5, 1978, in Box 15, NARA ANC.

[178] Williss, 217-21.

[179] Williss, 231-35.

[180] The House had called for the Battle and Kulik watersheds to be in the preserve; the Senate called for the two watersheds to be in the park. Regarding lands south of the Alagnak River, however, the Senate proposed a preserve while the House proposed a park.

[181] Congressional Record, November 12, 1980, H10532, H10540, H10542, and H10550.

[182] The acreages are as given in Congressional testimony. More recently, personnel at the Alaska System Support Office have remeasured the areas involved using more exact instrumentation, and found that slightly over 1,095,000 acres was added to the old monument to create Katmai National Park, and that the size of the preserve is slightly over 423,000 acres.

Chapter 6

[1] [NPS], "Assessment of the Environmental Impact of the Proposed Concession Contract, Katmai National Monument," October 1974, in "Wien Air Alaska, Inc., 1973-1978" file, AKSO-EC.

[2] R. Phillip Parker (Acting ARD, Management and Operations, PNRO) to Associate Director, Management and Operations, NPS, May 10, 1978, in "Wien Air Alaska, Inc., 1973-1978" file, AKSO-EC.

[3] SAR, KATM, 1980, 10; NPS, Combined Environmental Assessment and Development Concept Plans for Concession Facilities, Operations and Services Within the Brooks Camp and Grosvenor Camp Areas, Katmai National Monument, Alaska (October, 1980), 1, 3. It is not known if this document was ever distributed outside of the Alaska Area Office.

[4] Richard J. Stenmark to Director, Alaska Area, November 14, 1980; Raymond I. Petersen, interview by the author, April 17, 1991.

[5] Robert Peterson (Associate Director, Management and Operations, ARO) to Ralph Stemp (Vice President, Industrial Marketing, WAA), May 8, 1981; John E. Cook to Ralph Stemp, May 29, 1981; Ralph Stemp, interview by the author, February 4, 1992.

[6] NPS, Environmental Assessment, Draft Development Concept Plan, Brooks Camp and Grosvenor Camp, Katmai National Park and Preserve, Alaska, January 1982, 29-31.

[7] Frank Norris, Tourism in Katmai Country (Anchorage, NPS, 1992), 103-04.

[8] Stondall interview; SAR, KATM, 1978, 6; "Brooks River Floating Bridge, Brooks Camp, Katmai National Monument" (map), January 24, 1980, in AKSO-EPD; David Morris, interview by William Hanable, November 2, 1989.

[9] Dave Morris interview, by Hanable; SAR, 1983, 9.

[10] SAR, 1980, 8; SAR, 1983, 1, 12; Management Assistant KATM to Supt. MOMC, Monthly Narrative Report, July 4, 1967, in File A2615, "Chief Ranger's Monthly Report," 1957-1968," DENA.

[11] Blinn interview, by the author, May 24, 1993; Morris interview, June 1, 1993; SAR, 1983, 1-2. By 1984, the park staff had grown to 22 or 23 seasonal workers; budgetary cutbacks between 1984 and 1987, however, resulted in a reduced seasonal staff.

[12] John T. Graham to Gov. Jay Hammond, February 2, 1979, File NR/1-3 (1979); John Cook (RD/ARO) to Sen. Ted Stevens, April 2, 1981, File NR/1-2 (1981); both in Series 88, RG 01, ASA; Morris interview, by Hanable; SAR, KATM, 1984, 6-7; (King Salmon-Naknek) Borough Post, November 24, 1989, 13.

[13] Federal Register, April 6, 1983, 14980-81.

[14] "Resolution of the Alaska Land Use Council Land Use Advisory Committee," April 13, 1983; Donald F. Neilsen (Bristol Bay Native Corporation) to John Cook, RD/ARO, April 15, 1983; Ken Owsichek to RD/ARO, April 30, 1983; all in File NR/1-2, Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[15] NPS, Draft General Management Plan, Land Protection Plan, and Wilderness Suitability Review (hereafter known as Draft GMP), December 1985, 21-22.

[16] Bristol Bay Native Association, "Resolution No. 83-27," September 9, 1983, in File NR/1-2 (1983), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[17] Bill Bradley (D-NJ) to Bill Sheffield, June 9, 1983; Dale Bumpers (D-AR) to Bill Sheffield, June 15, 1983; both in File NR/1-2 (1983), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[18] Congressional Record 129 (1983), pp. 3755, 8264, 20515.

[19] NPS, King Salmon Headquarters Development Concept Plan/Environmental Assessment, January 1983, 4; SAR, 1974, 3, and SAR, 1985, 1; Stondall interview, 30, 34; Janis Meldrum (former KATM RMS), interview by the author, December 29, 1992.

[20] NPS, King Salmon Headquarters Development Concept Plan/Environmental Assessment, January 1983, 5; Stondall interview, 28-29; SAR, 1982, 8.

[21] SAR, 1982, 7; NPS, King Salmon Headquarters Development Concept Plan/Environmental Assessment, January 1983, 2, 9, 21.

[22] SAR, 1983, 10; Stondall interview. The duplex was intended for use as seasonal housing, but permanent staff are the only ones who have lived there.

[23] Williss, 218-24, 275-76, 279.

[24] P.L. 96-487, Sec. 202(2).

[25] Federal Register, June 17, 1981, 31836-64; Federal Register, April 6, 1983, 14978. Regulations dealing with other CFR titles were issued in later years, but some regulations were never enacted into the CFR.

[26] Williss, 293.

[27] NPS, "Application for Business License," n.d. (1980?), in CUL file, AKSO-EC; Alaska Travel Publications, Exploring Katmai National Monument and the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes (Anchorage, the author), 41.

[28] The 18 miles nearest to Kvichak Bay had already been conveyed to Levelock Natives Limited; without management authority, the NPS had little reason to consider it in the wild and scenic river system.

[29] NPS, Alagnak Wild River Management Plan, November 1983, 4, 12.

[30] Team Captain, Katmai General Management Plan (Kevin Apgar) to Supt. KATM, "Alagnak River Trip Report," August 19, 1982, in KATM Annex Files.

[31] NPS, Alagnak Wild River Management Plan, November 1983, 2.

[32]NPS, Alagnak Wild River Management Plan, November 1983, 12.

[33] NPS, Alagnak Wild River Management Plan, November 1983, 18-20.

[34] SAR, KATM, 1982, 7. One of the students, Joan Beattie (now Joan Darnell), currently works in the agency's Alaska System Support Office.

[35] NPS, "Alternatives Workbook," July 1983, 3-7.

[36] NPS, "Alternatives Workbook," July 1983; SAR, 1983, 9; SAR, 1984, 2.

[37] NPS, Draft General Management Plan, Environmental Assessment, Land Protection Plan, Wilderness Suitability Review (for) Katmai National Park and Preserve, Alaska (Denver, the author, March 1985), iii, 23-31, 72, 97-100.

[38] NPS, Draft GMP, March 1985, iv, 57-60.

39

SAR, 1985, 2; NPS, Draft GMP, March 1985, inside front cover.

[40] NPS, General Management Plan, Wilderness Suitability Review, Land Protection Plan (for) Katmai National Park and Preserve, Alaska (Denver, the author, October 1986), inside front cover, iv; SAR, 1986, 2.

[41] NPS, GMP, October 1986, iii.

[42] IBLA, "Contest No. AA-7604," September 12, 1985, 4.

[43] NPS, Draft Land Status Maps, KATM, at AKSO-EL.

[44] BLM, "Alaska Native Allotment Application and Evidence of Occupancy," March 31, 1971; USDI, Interior Board of Land Appeals, "Katmailand, Inc. et al." (IBLA 83-508), December 5, 1983, 349; Harlan F. Hobbs (Realty Specialist, PNRO) to Chief, Lands and Mining, ARO; USDI, Office of Hearings and Appeals, Contest No. AA-7604, September 12, 1985, 2; all in File AA-7604, BLM, Alaska State Office, Anchorage. Trefon Angasan Sr., Melgenak's grandnephew, was determined to be her sole heir following a probate hearing on September 28, 1976. But Trefon was 62 years old at the time of Melgenak's death, and by February 1984, his son Ralph had also been included as an heir. Trefon died on May 12, 1988; since that time, Ralph Angasan has served as the primary heir. Ted Stevens to Curtis McVee (Director, ASO, BLM), February 29, 1984; Anchorage Daily News, May 14, 1988.

[45] IBLA 83-508, 349, 351.

[46] IBLA 83-508, 350-51; IBLA, "Contest No. AA-7604," September 12, 1985, 11; Chief, Branch of Lands and Minerals Operations, BLM to Supt. BIA, Anchorage, January 21, 1977; Director BLM to State Director, Alaska, April 7, 1977; Donald Juneau and Bruce Twomley (ALSC) to Robert E. Sorenson (BLM), March 2, 1977; all in AA-7604.

[47] Terry R. Hassett (Acting Chief, Branch of Lands, BLM) to Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Realty, Anchorage Agency, March 7, 1983; IBLA 83-508, 350.

[48] Michael V. Finley (Acting RD/ARO) to Raymond F. Petersen, June 3, 1986, in AKSO-EC files.

[49] Robert L. Peterson (Acting RD/ARO to Division of ANCSA and State Conveyance, BLM, March 30, 1983; IBLA, Contest No. AA-7604, September 12, 1985, 2; both in AA-7604.

[50] Albert D. Kahklen (Supt. BIA, Anchorage Agency) to Dave Morris, April 15, 1983; Kahklen to RD/ARO, May 9, 1983; Craig Davis (Acting Chief, Division of Cultural Resources) to RD/ARO, April 11, 1983; Alan D. Eliason (Supt. KATM) to Ralph Angasan, August 6, 1990, all in AA-7604; also Raymond F. Petersen to Roger Contor, May 2, 1986, in AKSO-EC files.

[51] IBLA 83-508, 352, 360; IBLA, "Contest AA-7604," September 12, 1985, 3; Morris interview, by the author, June 1, 1993. The first question was a point of contention because the application was dated March 31, 1971, but BLM did not acknowledge its receipt until April 13, 1972.

[52] Robert W. Arndorfer (Acting State Director BLM) to Senator Ted Stevens, March 26, 1984; Mary Jane Clawson (Chief, Branch of Lands, BLM) to Heirs of Palakia Melgenak,

February 10, 1984; both in AA-7604.

[53] IBLA, "Contest AA-7604," September 12, 1985, 3; "Declaration of William Tanner," June 10, 1986; both in AA-7604.

[54] IBLA, "Contest AA-7604," September 12, 1985, 5, 8, 15.

[55] M. V. Finley (Acting RD/ARO), "Notice of Appeal," October 10, 1985; Garey Coatney (Chief, ARO-OL) to Paul Hunter (ARO-OL), February 18, 1988; both in AA-7604.

[56] Tred Eyerly (ALSC) to Will A. Irwin (IBLA), January 30, 1986, in AA-7604.

[57] F. Christopher Bockmon (USDI Office of the Solicitor) to Tred D. Eyerly (ASLC), March 17, 1986; Eyerly to Bockmon, April 16, 1986; both in AA-7604.

[58] John W. Burke to Harvey C. Sweitzer, November 28, 1988; IBLA, "Appeal to Contest No. AA-7604," June 20, 1986; Garey Coatney to Paul Hunter, February 18, 1988; all in AA-7604.

[59] "Declaration of William Tanner," June 10, 1986; Gary M. Ahlstrand, "Age Determination of a Brooks Camp Cabin Ruin, Katmai National Park and Preserve," September 1985; both in AA-7604.

[60] IBLA, "Order" on IBLA 86-32, May 11, 1988; Tred Eyerly (ALSC), "Memorandum in Support of Motion for Expedited Hearing," May 17, 1988, in AA-7604.

[61] John W. Burke (Interior Department Solicitor's Office), telephone call to Richard Stenmark (Deputy RD/ARO), May 23, 1988; Richard O'Guin (Acting RD/ARO) to Burke, June 3, 1988); both in AA-7604.

[62] Burke to RD/ARO, June 21, 1988; Richard O'Guin, telephone call to Jack Burke, July 8, 1988; O'Guin to Burke, August 23, 1988; Gary M. Ahlstrand, "Age Determination of Brooks Camp Cabin Ruins, Katmai National Park, Alaska," August 1988, 13; all in AA-7604.

[63] Paul Hunter, telephone call to Jack Burke, November 29, 1988; Tred Eyerly (ALSC) to Burke, December 8, 1988; Burke to Eyerly, February 21, 1989.

[64] John Burke to RD/ARO, July 18, 1989; Paul Hunter, telephone call to David Meko, July 26, 1989.

[65] Harvey C. Sweitzer, (USDI Office of Hearings and Appeals), "Amended Notice of Hearing," July 10, 1989.

[66] USDI Office of Hearings and Appeals, "Transcript of Proceedings Before the Honorable Harvey C. Sweitzer, August 30, 1989;" John W. Burke, "National Park Service's Post Hearing Brief, Findings and Conclusions," October 27, 1989, 5-9; Tred Eyerly, "Contestee's Post Hearing Brief, Findings and Conclusions," December 7, 1989, 2, 4, 6; Harvey C. Sweitzer, "Findings of Fact," January 4, 1990.

[67] Tred Eyerly to Harvey C. Sweitzer, October 27, 1988; Eyerly, "Motion to Clarify Scope of Hearing" and "Memorandum in Support of Motion to Clarify Scope of Hearing," both August 22, 1989.

[68] Burke, "National Park Service's Opposition to Contestee's Motion to Clarify Scope of Hearing," October 27, 1989; Eyerly, "Reply to National Park Service's Opposition to Motion to Clarify Scope of Hearing," December 7, 1989.

[69] NPS, "Brooks Camp Appeal, Case Status/Prognosis," August 24, 1990; IBLA, "United States v. Palakia Melgenak, IBLA 86-32," September 24, 1993, 225, 244, in Melgenak File, AKSO-EL.

[70] "Alaska Native Allotment Application and Evidence of Occupancy," AA 6212, registered March 5, 1971; BLM, "Native Allotment Held for Approval, Village Selection Rejected in Part," March 1, 1984; both in AA-6212, BLM, Alaska State Office, Anchorage.

[71] Jesse H. Johnson (Chief, Lands and Locatable Minerals Section, BLM) to Ms. Pamela [sic] D. Peters, April 15, 1976, in AA-6212.

[72] State of Alaska, "State of Alaska Protest Form," May 20, 1981; BLM, "Native Allotment Held for Approval, Village Selection Rejected in Part," March 1, 1984; both in AA-6212.

[73] Michael J. Thompson, Realty Specialist, BLM, "Native Allotment Field Report," January 10, 1980; BLM, "Native Allotment Held for Approval, Village Selection Rejected in Part," March 1, 1984; Chief, Branch of Southwest Adjudication, BLM to Chief, ARO-OL, January 27, 1992; all in AA-6212.

[74] BLM, "U.S. Survey No. 9197, Alaska, and the Retracement of a Portion of U.S. Survey No. 5712," October 16, 1987.

[75] Supt. KATM to RD/ARO, July 6, 1981, in AA-6212.

[76] Acting Supt. KATM to Chief, ARO-OL, Nov. 16, 1988, in AA-6212. In the 1986 General Management Plan, Peters' parcel was proposed for acquisition, but the NPS considered it no more or less important than Katmai's other native allotments. NPS, General Management Plan, Wilderness Suitability Review, Land Protection Plan, Katmai National Park and Preserve (Denver, NPS, 1986), 84-86.

[77] Garey E. Coatney (Chief, ARO-OL) to Chief, Branch of Southwest Adjudication, BLM State Office, April 6, 1990, in AA-6212.

[78] Mary Jane Clawson (Chief, Branch of Southwest Adjudication, BLM) to Chief, ARO-OL, April 23, 1990; Chief, Branch of Southwest Adjudication, BLM to Chief, ARO-OL, January 27, 1992; both in AA-6212.

[79] The road from King Salmon to Naknek Recreation Site #2 had been roughed out in the late 1950s; the spur road to the Lake Camp dock had been constructed a decade later.

[80] Garey E. Coatney (Chief, ARO-OL) to Chief, Branch of Southwest Adjudication, BLM State Office, May 23, 1990, in AA-6212. Also see Robert E. Sorenson (Chief, Branch of Lands and Minerals Operations, BLM) to Bob Baker, January 13, 1978, and Paul Hunter, NPS, to Janice Yankus, Land Law Examiner, BLM, November 28, 1990, in same file.

[81] Sandra Dunn (Assistant District Manager, Lands, BLM to Chief, Branch of Southwest Adjudication, BLM, September 25, 1991, in AA-6212.

[82] Certificate of Allotment No. 50-92-0420, July 9, 1992; BLM, "Conformance to Plat of Survey," January 24, 1992, both in AA-6212.

[83] Charles Gilbert (Chief, ARO-OL) to Ray O'Neill, December 17, 1991, in AA-6212.

[84] Morris interview, June 1, 1993.

[85] SAR, 1972-1983.

[86] SAR, 1978, 3.

[87] SAR, 1982, 6.

[88] SAR for 1983, 7-8; 1984, 5-6; 1985, 5-6; 1986, 5; and 1988, 3.

[89] SAR, 1985, 5-6; 1986, 5.

[90] Janis Meldrum, interview by the author, May 11, 1993; SAR, 1991, 7-8.

[91] ANILCA (P.L. 96-487), Sec. 1317 (a).

[92] NPS, Draft GMP, March 1985, 68; NPS, Draft Environmental Impact Statement for the Wilderness Recommendation, Katmai National Park and Preserve (Denver, the author), April 1988, iii.

[93] NPS, Draft GMP, March 1985, 68.

[94] NPS, Draft EIS for Wilderness, 5-6, 90.

[95] NPS, Draft EIS for Wilderness, 8, 93. The document was dated April 1988 but was not released to the public until June 17.

[96] NPS, Draft EIS for Wilderness, iii-vi.

[97] NPS, Draft EIS for Wilderness, 20-23.

[98] NPS, Draft GMP, March 1985, 65; NPS, Draft EIS for Wilderness, 23-26.

[99] National Park Service, Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Wilderness Recommendation, Katmai National Park and Preserve, Alaska (Denver, the author, September 1988), 93.

[100] NPS, Final EIS for Wilderness, i, iv.

[101] Robert G. Hadfield (King Salmon) to Governor Steve Cowper, August 26, 1988; Bristol Bay Borough, "Resolution 88-14," August 1, 1988; both in File 1004 (1988), Series 88, RG 01, ASA.

[102] Dick Sellers to Sterling Eide, September 29, 1982; Dick Sellers to Carl Yanagawa, October 12, 1982; both in KATM subsistence files.

[103] Superintendent KATM to RD/ARO, October 29, 1982.

[104] In the Alternatives Workbook which had been distributed to the public the previous July, a similar plan had been proposed; it called for the reopening of fishing areas closed by the 1969 monument expansion, the reopening of hunting and trapping areas closed by the Alaska Lands Act, and the movement, five miles to the east, of the park's westernmost boundary.

[105] Adelheid Herrmann to Dave Morris, January 13, 1984; "Proposed Kamishak-Katmai Land Trade;" David K. Morris to Rep. Adelheid Herrmann, February 6, 1984; all in KATM subsistence files.

[106] Dick Sellers to W. Lewis Pamplin, Jr., March 20, 1984, in KATM subsistence files.

[107] Lance Trasky to Norman Cohen and Lew Pamplin, May 9, 1984; Roger J. Contor (RD/ARO) to Rep. Adelheid Herrmann, June 22, 1984; Debby Clausen to Lance L. Trasky, July 10, 1984; all in KATM subsistence files.

[108] Dennis D. Kelso (ADF&G) to Tom Hawkins (DNR), August 2, 1984; C. Wayne Dolezal (ADF&G) to Veronica Gilbert (DNR), June 9, 1988; Dick Sellers to Wayne Dolezal, August 13, 1987; Larry Aumiller (ADF&G) to John Westlund, April 18, 1988; all in KATM subsistence files.

[109] Roger Contor (RD/ARO) to State Director, BLM, Alaska, September 5, 1984, in KATM subsistence files. By 1988, all of the parcels which had been suggested for disposal had been found unsuitable for that purpose. Debra Clausen (ADF&G) to Ray Bane, May 10, 1988, in KATM subsistence files.

[110] Larry Aumiller (ADF&G) to Dan Timm, March 20, 1985; Richard A. Sellers to Roger Contor, May 10, 1985; both in KATM subsistence files.

[111] G. Ray Bane (Supt. KATM/ANIA) to RD/ARO, April 19, 1988; Lance L. Trasky (ADF&G) to Gary Gustafson (DNR), May 4, 1988; C. Wayne Dolezal (ADF&G) to Veronica Gilbert (DNR), June 9, 1988; all in KATM subsistence files; Bane to author, email, April 19, 1996.

[112] Stephen Hurd (Acting Supt. KATM) to Veronica Gilbert (ADNR), June 28, 1989; G. Ray Bane (Supt. KATM/ANIA) to Gary Gustafson (ADNR), July 25, 1989; Charles Gilbert (ARO-OL) to ARD Operations, et.al., October 18, 1989; all in KATM subsistence files.

[113] SAR, 1991, 1; Morris interview, by Hanable.

[114] Stondall interview; SAR, KATM, 1986, 1. The agency's space in their new facility was expanded in 1987 and again in 1992. SAR, 1987, 2; SAR, 1991, 5.

[115] Janis Meldrum, interview with the author, December 29, 1992; SAR, KATM, for 1985, 3; 1986, 3; 1988, 7; and 1991, 4; Stondall interview; Morris interview. The two Fish and Wildlife trailers hauled to the property in 1988 were not set, skirted or provided utility hookups until 1991.

[116] SAR, 1991, 4; NPS Briefing Statement, July 22, 1992, in AKSO-EL files. Barrie Gilbert, the Utah State University bear expert, had advocated the construction of such a platform as early as 1985. Gilbert to NPS, "Draft Problem Analysis/Bear Behavior," August 3, 1985, in

File CX 9700-4-0019, at KATM.

[117] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill and the National Park Service: A Report on the Initial Response (Anchorage, NPS, 1990), 5.

[118] The primary NPS historical documents dealing with the spill have been William S. Hanable and Carol Burkhart's The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill and the National Park Service and Rick Kurtz's Lessons to Be Learned: An Administrative History and Assessment of NPS Activities Following the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill.

[119] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, 22.

[120] Ibid., 2, 39, 40; Ray Bane to author, email, April 19, 1996.

[121] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, 39.

[122] Ibid., 39, 43, 79; Ray Bane to author, email, April 19, 1996. The Superintendent's Representative was Cordell Roy.

[123] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, 3, 43-45.

[124] Ibid., 49-50, 56, 59.

[125] Ibid., 77, 79, 88.

[126] Ibid., 79.

[127] Ibid., 80; Ray Bane to author, email, April 19, 1996.

[128] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, 3, 81.

[129] Ibid., 49-50, 80-81.

[130] Ibid., 81-82.

[131] Ibid., 82; Kurtz, Lessons to be Learned, 40.

[132] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, 3, 82; Janis Meldrum interview, May 11, 1993.

[133] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, 82.

[134] Kurtz, Lessons to be Learned, 50-51; Janis Meldrum interview, May 11, 1993.

[135] Kurtz, Lessons to be Learned, 52-53.

[136] FOSC Master Segment Files, located at FOSC office, Anchorage.

[137] Kurtz, Lessons to be Learned, 56.

[138] Ibid., 56.

[139] Ibid., 56-57.

[140] Ibid., 58.

[141] Ibid., 59; Master Segment Files, located in Anchorage FOSC office.

[142] G. Ray Bane (former Supt. KATM), interview by author, February 7, 1991.

[143] NPS, General Management Plan, Wilderness Suitability Review, and Land Protection Plan, KATM, October 1986, iv-vi, 127.

[144] NPS, GMP, iii, v, vi, 32, 43.

[145] SAR, 1984, 6.

[146] SAR, 1988, 5; Ray Bane, interview by author, June 13, 1991.

[147] Bane's closure order hearkened back to a previously-established pattern. Until 1985, the camp had closed on September 10, but in 1986 and 1987, it had remained open until the 17th. David Manski (Acting RMS, KATM) to Supt. KATM/ANIA, December 24, 1987; G. Ray Bane to Raymond F. Petersen, December 30, 1987; Bane interview, June 13, 1991; Bane to author, email, April 19, 1996.

[148] Compilation of statistics from CUL folders, AKSO-EC.

[149] In 1988, the first year in which the tour package was offered, a side-trip was offered to Naknek as well as Brooks Camp. The Katmai trip proved more successful, however, so the Naknek excursion was eliminated after the 1988 season. Janis Meldrum, interview by author, December 20, 1990.

[150] Gil Blinn, interview by William Hanable, August 26, 1988, 23-24.

[151] [NPS], Katmai National Park and Preserve, Resources Management Plan (draft), April 15, 1982, 68-69.

[152] David K. Morris to Richard Mathews [sic], April 2, 1985, in American Creek Permit file, AKSO-EC.

[153] "Commercial Use License Superintendent's Directions, Aircraft Operations in the Vicinity of Brooks Camp, KATM" (pilot's map), May 12, 1990; Bane interview, February 7, 1991; SAR, FY 1988, 2, 8.

[154] NPS, "Brooks Camp DCP Meeting Agenda," February 23, 1988, in BLM File AA-7604; SAR, 1988, 5-6.

[155] SAR, 1990, 3.

[156] [NPS], Katmai National Park and Preserve, Brooks River Area Development Concept Plan, Alternatives Workbook, Summer 1991, 19, 29, 39, 51.

[157] SAR, 1991, 1; Larry Norris (DSC), "Analysis of Public Comments on the Brooks River

Development Concept Plan, Summer 1991 Alternatives Workbook," 3.

[158] Office of Environmental Planning and Design, Western Service Center, "Design Directive, Brooks Camp, Katmai," February 18, 1971; Bill Heubner, interview by author, February 8, 1993.

[159] Heubner interview, February 8, 1993; SAR, 1983, 10.

[160] Heubner interview; NPS, "Archeological Clearance Survey Form No. 002-91-KATM," June 20, 1991, at AKSO-RCR.

[161] Heubner interview, February 8, 1993.

[162] Anchorage Daily News, January 11, 1993, A1, A8.

Chapter 7

[1] George L. Collins to RD/R4, July 19, 1950, in KATM Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB; Nancarrow to Supt. MOMC, July 27, 1950, Monthly Narrative Report for July 1950, in File A2827 (Reports to Chief Ranger), at DENA.

[2] "General Pictorial Report for KATM, Summer 1951," in File 207, Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[3] File 504, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[4] KNM Box 2, NPS Archives, HFC.

[5] Yeager to Biologist Lowell Sumner, SEKI, August 25, 1955, in File N1423 (Fish), 1946-1959, at KATM. According to the NCA's Brooks Camp log book, Yeager arrived on July 17, 1955.

[6] NPS, "Mission 66 Prospectus," April 1956, 9, in KNM Box 2, NPS Archives, HFC.

[7] Richard G. Prasil, "Annual Report of Information and Interpretive Services, MOMC," 1956, at KATM; Neil J. Reid, (Park Naturalist), "Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, MOMC," 1957, at KATM.

[8] Neil J. Reid (MOMC Park Naturalist), "Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, MOMC," 1957, at KATM; Supt. MOMC to Director NPS, "Monthly Narrative Report for May 1958," June 5, 1958, at DENA.

[9] Reid to Supt. MOMC, June 3, 1958, in KNM Box 1, NPS Archives, HFC.

[10] Reid, "Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, MOMC," 1957 and 1958, both at KATM; NPS, Master Plan Brief for Katmai National Monument, 1965, 5.

[11] Reid, "Annual Report on Information and Interpretive Services, MOMC," 1959; Supt. MOMC, "Annual Report of Information and Interpretive Activity, KATM," 1960; both at KATM.

[12] Reid, "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Katmai National Monument, Volume I, Chapter 4, Park Operations Outline, Section E, Interpretive Operations," September 18, 1960, 9-12, at KATM.

[13] Supt. MOMC, "Annual Report of Informational and Interpretive Activity, KATM" for 1961 through 1964, in File K-1819, KATM Annex.

[14] Robert L. Peterson to Supt. MOMC, April 3, 1961; Gruening, "Lonely Wonders of Katmai," National Geographic Magazine, June 1963, 828; Management Assistant, KATM, Monthly Narrative Report, March 1967, KATM.

[15] Former MOMC Superintendent George Hall recalled that women were chosen to work at Brooks Camp because they were shorter in stature than men (and thus better qualified to stand up in the concessioner's small bus) and because they were perceived to be naturalists rather than protective personnel. Women continued to ride the buses through the early 1970s. Hall to William Hanable, November 15, 1989; SAR, 1972, 1.

[16] Supt. MOMC, "Annual Report, Information and Interpretive Activity, KATM," 1963, at KATM.

[17] Stanley A. Cain, "Alaska Trip Report," July 30 to August 10, 1965, 10, in NPS/Box 2, Bartlett Collection; "Statement of Raymond I. Petersen, President of WCA," December 17, 1971, in Box 13, NARA ANC; NPS, Master Plan Brief (1965), 4.

[18] Management Assistant KATM to Supt. MOMC, Monthly Narrative Report for June 1967, at KATM; Darrell L. Coe, "Katmai National Monument," Alaska Sportsman 35 (March, 1969), 33; Chief, Information and Education, PNRO to Assistant Director, Cooperative Programs, PNRO, August 11, 1970, 2, in Box 13, NARA ANC. Also see Stanley A. Cain to Gov. William A. Egan, December 13, 1965, in File 883.1, Series 41, RG 01, ASA; and Ranger in Charge, KATM, Monthly Narrative Report, May 1966, at KATM.

[19] Supt. KNM, "Annual Report, Information and Interpretive Services, Katmai, 1969," at KATM; Donald E. Dumond, "Prehistoric Dwellings in Katmai National Monument, Alaska," n.d. (1969?); Dumond, "Reconstruction of an Aboriginal Dwelling in Katmai National Monument, Alaska," January 15, 1969; both in KATM files, History Division Collection, WASO.

[20] Gilbert Blinn, interview by Bill Hanable, August 26, 1988, 6; Chief, Information and Education, PNRO, to Assistant Director, Cooperative Programs, PNRO, August 11, 1970, in Box 13, NARA ANC. The process of greeting spread, for awhile at least, to every aspect of the visitor's trip. In the summer of 1970, Charles Gebler noted that "the approximate 1400 visitors to Brooks Camp are probably personally greeted more than any other visitors in the National Park System. Almost all visitors are greeted by a clerical employee at King Salmon as they disembark from the airplane by the clerical employee. She does an amazingly effective job at making them feel at home. All incoming plane flights to Brooks Camp are then greeted by one of the park staff. As a third stage to the greeting procedure, the visitors to the lodge are given a short talk after their first meal."

[21] Lowell Sumner, Special Report, Katmai Master Planning Field Study, September 5-13, 1963 (Washington, NPS, 1963), 5.

[22] NPS, Master Plan Brief for Katmai National Monument, 1965, 9, 12.

[23] Charles C. Schmid (Acting General Supt., Alaska Group Office), January 19, 1971, in File 22, KATM. The prospectus was not updated until 1991. SAR, 1991, 7.

[24] Alaska Planning Group, Katmai National Park, Alaska, A Master Plan (Washington, D.C., NPS, December 1973), 37.

[25] Since the prospectus was published, several Statements for Interpretation have been prepared. NPS, "Interpretive Prospectus, Katmai National Monument," May 4, 1973, passim.; SAR, KATM, 1991, 6; Mark Wagner, interview by author, March 3, 1993.

[26] NPS, "Katmai National Monument" (brochure), editions of 1952, 1963, and 1968, in KATM Box 2, NPS History Collection, HFC; "Alaska's Land of Steaming Volcanoes," Sunset 118 (April 1957), 32.

[27] Keith Ryder, "On Foot in the Valley of Fire and Ice," Alaska Sportsman 30 (September 1964), 24; Darrell L. Coe, "Katmai National Monument," National Parks Magazine 40 (June 1966), 9.

[28] "Item 18, Backcountry Visitor Use," in Bailey Breedlove, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research, Katmai National Monument, Shelikof Strait-King Salmon, Alaska, June 1969, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[29] John Henneberger, "Backcountry Use," Katmai National Monument Master Plan, Preliminary Working Draft, August 1971, 36.

[30] "Visitation Figures - Parks in Alaska," in File A2615 (inactive) at KATM shows that 98 people visited Katmai's backcountry in 1972. Another 80 did so in 1973.

[31] During the late 1970s and early 1980s, bus-tour patrons may have been considered backcountry users; during the mid-1980s, the only bona fide users were overnight campers. Since then, it appears that both day-trippers and campers have been considered backcountry users.

[32] One indicator of the Katmai's popularity as an overnight destination has been the number of licensed companies sponsoring camping, backpacking, mountaineering, and ocean touring trips. Six such companies operated these trips in 1981. In 1985, seven companies were active, and in 1989 the number of involved companies remained at seven. Many Katmai campers, of course, are not affiliated with guiding companies, and park staff have had no reliable way of tabulating the number of independent campers. Some campers fill out NPS backcountry permits before commencing their explorations, but there is no requirement to do so and many do not. Source: Commercial Use License statistics, AKSO-EC; Janis Meldrum, interview by author, February 25, 1993.

[33] See Larry Rice, Gathering Paradise: Alaska Wilderness Journeys (Golden, Colo., Fulcrum Pub., 1990), 8; Janis Meldrum, interview by author, February 25, 1993.

[34] Commercial Use License statistics, AKSO-EC; Norris, Tourism in Katmai Country, Tables 1 and 2.

[35] SAR, passim.; Frankie Barker (ANHA), interview by author, February 24, 1993.

[36] Frankie Barker interview; David K. Morris (Supt. KATM) to RD/ARO, November 4,

1985, "Semiannual Report to Congress," in File A7221, KATM.

[37] The Bear Facts, vols. 1-3; Mark Wagner to author, June 1995.

[38] Chief, Information and Education, PNRO, to Assistant Director, Cooperative Programs, PNRO, August 11, 1970, 2, in Box 13, NARA ANC; SAR, 1978-1979, 1; NPS, "End of Season Interpretive Report, KATM," September 10, 1985.

[39] NPS, "End of Season Interpretive Report, KATM," September 10, 1983.

[40] SAR for 1973, 1; 1977, 1; and 1978, 1; Janis Meldrum, interview by author, February 25, 1993; Mark Wagner to author, June 1995.

[41] Norris, Tourism in Katmai Country, 43, 71, 80, 85, 104.

[42] Raymond F. Petersen to Roger Contor, May 2, 1986; SAR, 1986, 4. NPS staff may have encouraged Petersen to complain about the matter to a wide range of officials both in and out of the Service, in hopes that funding for the bus tours might be restored.

[43] Gil Blinn to Bruce Jones (Wien Air Alaska), June 22, 1977, in "Wien Air Alaska, Inc., 1973-1978" file, AKSO-EC; SAR, KATM, for 1978, 1; 1979, 2.

[44] SAR, 1982, 1; NPS, "End of Season Interpretive Report, KATM" for 1983 through 1985, at KATM.

[45] SAR, 1977, 1.

[46] Bruce Kaye (Park Ranger) to Robert A. Riggs, REDW, February 12, 1980, in File N615, AKSO; NPS, "End of Season Interpretive Report, KATM," September 10, 1983, at KATM. The handout was entitled "Alaskan Brown Bear of Katmai."

[47] SAR, passim.

[48] Chuck Peterson to Gil Blinn, January 14, 1977, in "Wien Air Alaska, Inc., 1973-1978" file, AKSO-EC; SAR, KATM, 1977, 1.

[49] SAR, 1979, 2; NPS, "End of Season Interpretive Report, KATM," September 10, 1987, at KATM.

[50] SAR, 1979, 2; SAR, 1980, 2; Janis Meldrum, interview by author, February 25, 1993; Mark Wagner to author, June 1995.

[51] SAR, 1987, 7; Morris interview; Janis Meldrum, interview by author, February 25, 1993.

[52] SAR, 1986, 4; NPS, "KATM Parkwide Wayside Exhibit Proposal," September 26, 1991; Chief, Division of Wayside Exhibits, HFC to RD/ARO, January 9, 1992, in File D6215, KATM.

[53] Mark Wagner (KATM Interpretive Specialist), interview by author, March 3, 1993; Wagner to author, June 1995.

[54] Loren Casebeer to RD/ARO, June 8, 1987, in "Katmai Concessions, vol. III, packet 2" file,

AKSO-EC.

Chapter 8

[1] Ross C. Kavanagh (ARO) and Charles P. Meacham (Commercial Fish Division, ADF&G), interview by William F. Hanable, November 15, 1989.

[2] Kavanagh and Meacham interview.

[3] National Park Service, "Draft Environmental Assessment - Fishing Regulations, Katmai National Park and Preserve," 7, ms. in files of AKSO-RCR.

[4] Don E. Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula: The Naknek Region, 1960-1975, University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 21 (1981), 6, Table 6-13.

[5] National Park Service, Draft Environmental Assessment, Fishing Regulations, Katmai National Park and Preserve, August 15, 1986, 9.

[6] NPS, Draft EA, Fishing Regulations, August 15, 1986, 7-8.

[7] Robert F. Griggs, Leader, Katmai Expedition, November 22, 1930, to Ernest Walker Sawyer, USDI, in Griggs Collection, National Geographic Society.

[8] Patricia Roppel, Salmon from Kodiak; An History of the Salmon Fishery of Kodiak Island, Alaska (Anchorage, Alaska Historical Commission Studies in History No. 216), 1986, 6; Antonson and Hanable, Alaska's Heritage, 439.

[9] Lewis G. MacDonald, "Chronological History of Salmon Canneries in Central Alaska," Alaska Fisheries Board Annual Report 3 (1951), 78, 83; U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries (Washington, GPO), various issues, 1923 to 1936.

[10] Because of confusing Federal agency name changes, the following historical summary is provided to assist the reader in understanding and tracking Federal involvement in Katmai fishery management and research.

In 1871 the U.S. Fish Commission was established as an independent agency of the Federal government. In 1903 the Commission was renamed the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries and placed in the newly-established Department of Commerce and Labor. (The Bureau became part of the Department of Commerce when the department split apart in 1913.) In 1940 the Bureau of Fisheries merged with the U.S. Biological Survey, which had been in the Department of Agriculture, to become the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. The new agency was placed within the Department of the Interior. In 1956 the Fish and Wildlife Service was reorganized and two bureaus were created within it: the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries and the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. In 1970 the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries was renamed the National Marine Fisheries Service, and it became part of the new National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in the Department of Commerce. "100 Years of BCF and Its Predecessors," Commercial Fisheries Review 32 (October 1970), 2.

[11] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries, 1920 (Washington, GPO, 1921), 31-32.

[12] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries (Washington, GPO) for 1920 (p. 32) and 1921 (p. 17); NPS, Draft Environmental Assessment, Brooks Falls Fish Ladder, Katmai National Park and Preserve, May 1987, 16. Many sources have stated that the original cut was located where the fish ladder was later built. Both the USBF and Frank Been's Field Notes of Katmai National Monument Inspection (p. 11), however, confirm that the 1920-21 activity took place across the river from the fish ladder.

[13] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries (Washington, GPO), 1920-25 editions; Frank T. Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection, November 12, 1940, 8; Alaska Travel Publications, Inc., Exploring Katmai National Monument and the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes (Anchorage, the author, 1974), 76.

[14] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries, 1936, 284; George J. Eicher, "The Effects of Laddering a Falls in a Salmon Stream," n.d. (1956?), AKSO-RCR Collection.

[15] George J. Eicher, "History of the Bristol Bay Investigation," April 25, 1967, 1, ms. in files of the Auke Bay [Alaska] Laboratory, National Marine Fisheries Service.

[16] Eicher, April 25, 1967, 1. Later it was discovered that Brooks Lake was the least typical of the Bristol Bay spawning and nursery areas.

[17] F. A. Davidson, Director (Seattle office), Bureau of Fisheries, to National Park Service, D.C., April 16, 1940, in File N1423, ("Fish 1946-1959"), KATM (also in File 205, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB); A. E. Demaray (Acting Director, NPS) to Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Fisheries, May 14, 1940, in RG 79, Box 312, NARA SB.

[18] Hillory A. Tolson (Acting Director, NPS) to Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Fisheries, April 25, 1940; A.E. Demaray to Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Fisheries, May 14, 1940; both in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB. Also Supt. MOMC to Director NPS, April 23, 1941 and George Eicher, telephone interview with Bill Tanner, August 18, 1984; both in Melgenak Case File, AKSO-EL.

[19] Eicher, April 25, 1967, 3.

[20] Eicher, April 25, 1967, 4-5.

[21] Revised figures are from Eicher, 1971, as quoted by Carl Burger, with James Lundeen and Anders Danielson, "Biological and Hydrological Evaluations of the Fish Ladder at Brooks River Falls, Alaska" (draft report), U.S. F&WS, National Fishery Research Center, Anchorage, June 1, 1985, copy in AKSO-RNR files. No count is available for 1943.

[22] Annual Reports of Alaska Fisheries Investigations, 1943-1944, 1944-1945; Section of Alaska Fishery Investigations, September 1 to September 30, 1945, in Box 294, BCF Collection, 1904-1960, RG 22, NARA Anchorage; George J. Eicher to William S. Hanable, September 1, 1989, in AKSO-RCR files.

[23] Eicher, April 25, 1967, 7.

[24] The NPS did not know that Brooks Falls had been blasted by Bureau of Fisheries personnel until Mount McKinley National Park Superintendent Frank Been visited the site in September 1940. Been was matter-of-fact in reporting on the modifications to the falls. His

superiors, however, apparently felt that the falls had been blasted during the past few years. They would have protested the action, but chose not to do so because the offending agency (the Bureau of Fisheries) no longer existed. Been, Field Notes of KNM Inspection, 10; Ronald F. Lee (Acting Director, NPS) to RD/R4, September 6, 1951, in "Katmai Rules and Regulations" folder, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[25] Annotated copy of "Kamishak Bay-Katmai Region" (map), USGS/1923, in File 601, KNM Box 2, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; Hillory Tolson (Acting Director NPS) to Edwin G. Arnold (Director, Division of Territories and Island Possessions), April 12, 1946, at KATM; William R. Heard, Richard L. Wallace, and Wilbur L. Hartman, Distribution of Fishes in Fresh Water of Katmai National Monument, Alaska and their Zoogeographical Implications, Special Scientific Report--Fisheries No. 590 (Washington, USF&WS), October 1969, 2.

[26] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries (Washington, GPO), 1947 through 1955 editions.

[27] Eicher, September 1, 1989.

[28] Eicher, April 25, 1967, 9.

[29] Ranger (Willie) Nancarrow to Supt. MOMC, August 26, 1950, in File A2827, Reports to Chief Ranger, January 1950-November 1954, DENA archives.

[30] Alfred C. Kuehl to Assistant Regional Director, Design and Construction, Region Four, August 21, 1951, in File N1423 ("Fish, 1946-1959"), KATM; George J. Eicher to Dean Paddock, March 21, 1987, in AKSO-RNR files.

[31] Alfred C. Kuehl to Assistant Regional Director, Design and Construction, Region Four, August 21, 1951, in File N1423 ("Fish, 1946-1959"), KATM.

[32] George L. Collins to RD/R4, NPS, July 19, 1950, in "Katmai NM" folder, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[33] O. A. Tomlinson (RD/R4) to Director NPS, July 31, 1950, in File 714, KNM Box 312, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[34] O. A. Tomlinson (RD/R4) to Director NPS, July 31, 1950; Hillory A. Tolson (Acting Director, NPS) to Director, F&WS, August 25, 1950; M.C. James (Acting Director, F&WS) to Director NPS, September 27, 1950; all in File 208, KNM Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB; Eicher, September 1, 1989.

[35] Alfred C. Kuehl to Assistant Regional Director, Design and Construction, Region 4, August 21, 1951, in File 208-06, Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[36] George L. Collins, July 19, 1950 letter; Eicher, September 1, 1989.

[37] Raymond I. Petersen, Affidavit, May 31, 1983, in Melgenak Case File, AKSO-EL.

[38] Subsequent Public Land Orders withdrawing land at the sites took place in 1944, 1945, and 1946. Historical Index for T17S, R43W and T18S, R44W, Seward Meridian.

[39] R. R. Lyons (Captain, U.S. Navy, Commanding Officer, Kodiak Naval Operating Base) to

Supt. MOMC, October 16, 1945; Grant Pearson (Supt. MOMC) telegram, September 9, 1946; both in File 901, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB.

[40] Grant Pearson (Supt. MOMC) to RD/R4, September 26, 1945 telegram, in "KNM-Permits" file, KNM Collection, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB; Alfred C. Kuehl, Memorandum to RD/R4, August 23, 1948, in "General Correspondence Concerning Katmai, 1946-1953," in KATM Annex Files.

[41] Lt. Col. Ernest B. Walters, USAF, to Regional Administrator, BLM, May 29, 1949; also Charles P. Mead to Acting Director, Alaska State Office, BLM, October 23, 1986; both in Case File AO 23000, BLM Anchorage.

[42] Public Land Order 3700, in Federal Register, June 10, 1965, 7899.

[43] U.S. Air Force, History of the Alaska Air Command, 1 January 1976-31 December 1976 (Anchorage, the author), 1977.

[44] Frank T. Been (Supt. MOMC) to RD/R4, May 20, 1948, in File 710, KNM Box 312, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB; George B. Kelez (Supervisor of Fisheries, Seattle) to Chief, Branch of Alaska Fisheries, Washington, D.C., February 17, 1950, in File 208, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[45] Hillory A. Tolson (Assistant Director NPS) to RD/R4, April 23, 1948, in File 208, KNM Box 311, RG 79, Entry 7, NARA SB.

[46] Raymond I. Petersen to Dave Morris (Supt. KATM), October 27, 1982, in AKSO-EC; Frank T. Been to RD/R4, December 13, 1948, at KATM.

[47] Raymond I Petersen to George L. Collins (Chief, Alaska Recreation Studies, Region 4), September 26, 1950, in Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB; George B. Kelez (Supervisor of Fisheries, Seattle) to Chief, Branch of Alaska Fisheries, Washington, D.C., February 17, 1950, in File 208, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[48] Hillory A. Tolson (Assistant Director, NPS) to RD/R4, April 23, 1948, in File 208, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[49] Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Sport Fish, Southwest Alaska Rainbow Trout Management Plan (Juneau?, the author, December 1988), 3; Superintendent, Camp Operations, Anglers Paradise, July 14, 1950, in Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB. In a May 16, 1951 letter from Raymond E. Hoyt (ARD/R4) to Roy Lindsley (F&WS, Kodiak), the regulation was cited not as one treble hook but as two single hooks.

[50] Clarence J. Rhode (Alaska Regional Director, F&WS) to Director, F&WS, July 25, 1951, in File N1423 ("Fish, 1946-1949"), KATM.

[51] Acting RD, Region 4 to Director NPS, August 3, 1951, in File N1423, KATM.

[52] Acting RD, Region 4 to Director NPS, August 3, 1951, in File N1423, KATM.

[53] A. E. Demaray (Director NPS) to Secretary of the Interior, September 19, 1951, in File 208, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[54] Lawrence Merriam (RD/R4) to Director NPS, August 29, 1951, in File 208, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[55] RD/R4 to Director NPS, August 29, 1951, in "Katmai Rules and Regulations" folder, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[56] A. E. Demaray (Director NPS) to Director F&WS, October 3, 1951, in File 208, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[57] Chief Counsel, NPS, to RD, Region 4, March 10, 1952, in File N1423, KATM.

[58] Federal Register, May 28, 1952.

[59] "APK" to Mr. (Douglas) McKay (Secretary of the Interior), July 13, 1953, in File N1423, KATM.

[60] John Greenbank (Fishery Management Biologist, F&WS), "Sport Fish Survey, Katmai National Monument, Alaska," n.d. (c. 1955), in File N1423, KATM.

[61] Greenbank, c. 1955, 30.

[62] Dorr G. Yeager (Chief of Interpretation, Region 4) to Lowell Sumner (Biologist, SEKI), August 25, 1955, in File N1423, KATM.

[63] USDI, Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska, 1956, 69.

[64] Neil J. Reid to Supt. MOMC, "Report on Katmai Visit, May 29 to June 1, 1958," in "D-18 Master Plan, Katmai, 1953-59" file, KNM Box 1, HFC.

[65] Chief, Division of Design and Construction, NPS, October 11, 1955, NPS History Collection, Serendipity File, KATM.

[66] "Policies for the Protection and Management of Fishery Resources," in National Park Service Administrative Manual;, Vol. IV, Ranger Activities, Part 2, Chapter 5, August 1959, 3-7.

[67] William W. Redmond (Regional Solicitor, Department of the Interior) to Supt. MOMC, May 23, 1961, in File N1423 ("Fish, 1960-74"), KATM; William A. Egan to Ernest Gruening, April 18, 1961, in File 883.1, Series 41, RG 01, ASA.

[68] Folder 45 (Naknek Advisory Committee), Series 556 (Local Advisory Committee files), RG 11 (Fish and Game Records), ASA; SAR, KATM, 1986, 7.

[69] Ranger-in-Charge, KNM, to Supt. MOMC, July 6, 1966, in DENA files.

[70] Reetz to Keith Miller, January 23, 1969, in File NR/1-2, Series 88, RG 01, ASA; Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Sport Fish, Southwest Alaska Rainbow Trout Management Plan, December 1988, 4; Bailey O. Breedlove (Park Planner, Alaska Field Office) to RD/WRO, April 7, 1969, in File 22 (Professional Services Proposals, KATM), AKSO files.

[71] Gil Blinn, interview by William Hanable, August 26, 1988; Chief, Information and

Education, PNRO to Assistant Director, Cooperative Programs, PNRO, August 11, 1970, in "Katmai NM Correspondence 1971-75" file, Box 13, RG 79, NARA ANC.

[72] "Annual Aquatic Resources Report for 1973, Katmai, January 14, 1974," in File N1423 ("Fish, 1960-74"), KATM; Alaska Travel Publications, Inc., Exploring Katmai National Monument and the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, 160.

[73] SAR, KATM, for 1972, 2, and 1974, 2; ADF&G, Division of Sport Fish, Southwest Alaska Rainbow Trout Management Plan (December 1988), 4. In 1974, the salmon returns were so poor throughout the area that President Nixon declared Bristol Bay an economic disaster area. NPS, Draft Environmental Assessment, Brooks Falls Fish Ladder, KATM (May, 1987), 13, in AKSO-RCR files.

[74] 36 CFR 7.46 for 1972 and 1973.

[75] Chief, Information and Education, PNRO to Assistant Director, Cooperative Programs, PNRO, August 11, 1970, in "Katmai NM Correspondence 1971-75" file, Box 13, RG 79, NARA ANC; Supt. KATM to State Director, Alaska, August 17, 1972, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[76] Aleutian Island and Bristol Bay Order No. 11-2-74, May 16, 1974, ADF&G, Division of Sport Fish, in File N1423 ("Fish, 1960-1974"), KATM; Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Alaska Sport Fishing Seasons and Bag Limits, 1976 (Juneau, 1976), 39.

[77] Eicher, April 25, 1967, 10-12.

[78] Frank T. Been to Director NPS, April 23, 1941, in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; "Brooks Lake Real Property" file, "Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Brooks Lake" folder, AKSO-RCR Collection.

[79] William R. Heard, Richard L. Wallace, and Wilbur L. Hartman, Distribution of Fishes in Fresh Water of Katmai National Monument, Alaska and their Zoogeographical Implications, Special Scientific Report--Fisheries No. 590 (Washington, USF&WS), October 1969, 1; F. W. Stokes (BCF Administrative Officer) to GSA Seattle, March 31, 1960, in "Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Brooks Lake Files" folder, AKSO-RCR Collection.

[80] NPS, Master Plan Brief for Katmai National Monument, 1965, 17 (map).

[81] Most of the structures erected outside of the BCF's three main temporary camps were built rudely and deteriorated quickly. Item 17, "Inventory of Backcountry Facilities and Structures," in Breedlove, 1969; Robert L. Carper, List of Classified Structures Inventory (Denver, NPS), April 1976; NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Katmai Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska (FES 74-35), June 13, 1974, 31, 37; William R. Heard, Richard L. Wallace, and Wilbur L. Hartman, Distribution of Fishes in Fresh Water of Katmai National Monument, Alaska and their Zoogeographical Implications, Special Scientific Report--Fisheries No. 590 (Washington, USF&WS), October 1969, 1-2; NPS, "Important Issues Concerning Preliminary Wilderness Proposal for Katmai National Monument," in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[82] NPS, Draft Environmental Assessment, Brooks Falls Fish Ladder, KATM, May 1987, 18. But Superintendent Gil Blinn, who arrived in September 1969, recalled that the weir was "discontinued about my first summer or so." Blinn interview, August 26, 1988.

[83] Ross C. Kavanagh interview, October 27, 1989; Richard Wilmot with Carl Burger and Pierre Steinbeck, "Genetics of Sockeye Salmon (Oncorhynchus nerka) in Katmai National Park and Preserve, Alaska," report sponsored and funded by the NPS (Anchorage, F&WS, Alaska Fish and Wildlife Office of Research, May 1, 1986), 18-19.

[84] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Katmai Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, June 13, 1974, 29; SAR for 1973 (p. 2) and 1974 (p. 2). Harry Reitz, the NMFS Alaska Director, noted in 1978 that the agency "had not maintained an active research program there since 1972." Reitz to RD/PNRO, March 20, 1978, in "Buildings" file, KATM.

[85] Gilbert E. Blinn (Supt. KNM) to Area Director, Alaska, NPS, Memorandum on Salmon Research by NMFS, August 2, 1976, in AKSO-RNR files; Ross C. Kavanagh, October 27, 1989; NPS, "Important Issues Concerning Wilderness Proposal for Katmai National Monument," February 24, 1977, in "Wilderness Katmai" file, Box 13, RG 79, NARA ANC.

[86] "Brooks Lake General Correspondence" file, BCF folder, AKSO-RCR Collection; SAR 1978, 6; Morris interview, November 2, 1989.

[87] Carper, List of Classified Structures Inventory, 4-5; Janis Meldrum interview, June 9, 1993.

[88] George J. Eicher's analysis, "The Effects of Laddering a Falls in a Salmon Stream," (unpublished mss., USF&WS), c. 1956. Eicher ascribed the post-ladder sockeye salmon decline to overfishing in Bristol Bay and not to the presence of the fish ladder. He argued that the population of three salmon species--pinks, cohoes, and chums--were healthier in the 1950s (after ladder construction) than in the 1940s. But the average numbers of those three species (both before and after ladder construction) were less than one-tenth of one percent of the red salmon population. Contemporary biologists consider any differences in the number of pinks, cohoes, and chums to be so small as to be insignificant and inconclusive.

[89] Darrell L. Coe (Management Assistant, KNM) to Supt. MOMC, March 27, 1967; George A. Hall (MOMC) to Assistant RD, WRO, August 19, 1967; both in AKSO-RNR files.

[90] Vernon C. Betts (Chief Ranger, KNM) to Management Biologist (Alaska Office, NPS), July 21, 1970, in AKSO-RNR files.

[91] Cahalane, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument, 178.

[92] Samuel A. King (Supt. MOMC) to Dexter F. Lall (ADF&G, Kodiak), June 22, 1962; Special Use Permit KATM-1-62; both in Item 13 ("Special Use Permits"), Breedlove 1962; Robert F. Cooney, "Preamble to Master Plan for Katmai National Monument," September 10, 1963; Kathy Jope to author, email, April 8, 1996.

[93] Gil Blinn (Supt. KATM), "Revised Statement for Management, KATM," June 7, 1976, 5; SAR for 1977 (p. 4) and 1978 (p. 5).

[94] Kavanagh interview, November 15, 1989.

[95] Kavanagh interview, November 15, 1989; Eugene H. Buck et.al., "Bibliography, Synthesis, and Modeling of Naknek River Aquatic System Information," September 1979, report prepared for USDI, NPS, PNRO by AEIDC, Anchorage, in AKSO-RNR files.

[96] Morris interview, November 2, 1989.

[97] Kavanagh, November 15, 1989; Louis A. Gwartney, "Naknek Drainage Rainbow Trout Study in the Katmai National Park and Preserve," Anchorage, ADF&G Division of Sport Fish and USDI, NPS, 1985, 75-78.

[98] Kavanagh, November 15, 1989; Carl V. Burger and Louis A. Gwartney, "A Radio Tagging Study of Naknek Drainage Rainbow Trout," December 1, 1986, report sponsored and funded by the Alaska Regional Office, NPS; copies at AKSO-RNR.

[99] Kavanagh, November 15, 1989; Wilmot, Burger, and Steinbeck, "Genetics of Sockeye Salmon," May 1, 1986.

[100] Carl Burger with James Lundeen and Anders Danielson, "Biological and Hydrological Evaluations of the Fish Ladder at Brooks River Falls, Alaska" (Anchorage, NPS, June 1, 1985), 3, 19-21, in AKSO-RNR files; SAR 1985, 7.

[101] William R. Heard to George R. Snyder, May 21, 1986, in AKSO-RNR files.

[102] Theodore R. Merrell, Jr. to Carl Burger, December 1985, in AKSO-RNR files; Burger, Lundeen, and Danielson, "Biological and Hydrological Evaluations," 1985, 19-20, 24, 35.

[103] Heard to Snyder letter, May 21, 1986.

[104] Burger, Lundeen, and Danielson, "Biological and Hydrological Evaluations," 1985, 36-37.

[105] Janis Meldrum interview, June 9, 1993.

[106] G. E. Horton and J. Reynolds, "Effects of Jet Boats on Salmonid Reproduction in Alaskan Streams," unpub. M.S. thesis (by Horton, with an executive summary by Reynolds), University of Alaska Fairbanks, 1994.

[107] Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Sport Fish, Southwest Alaska Rainbow Trout Management Plan, December 1988, 3-4; Kathy Jope to author, email, April 9, 1996.

[108] Barrie K. Gilbert to NPS, August 3, 1985, "Draft Problem Analysis/Bear Behavior," 1, in "File CX-9700-4-0019 Bear Study," at KATM.

[109] Federal Register, August 8, 1988, 29746-48; SAR 1986, 7; SAR 1987, 3-4; NPS, Draft Environmental Assessment, Fishing Regulations, Katmai National Park and Preserve, August 15, 1986, in AKSO-RCR Collection.

[110] SAR 1988, 2; "Katmai Country," Alaska Geographic 16 (1989), 60; Federal Register, August 8, 1988, 29746; Federal Register, May 1, 1989, 18491-94; Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Alaska Sport Fishing Regulations Summary, 1990, 46.

[111] Edwin W. Seiler to National Park Service, February 9, 1952; Grant H. Pearson (Supt. MOMC) to Edwin W. Seiler, February 18, 1952; both in KATM files.

[112] Region 4 (NPS) telegram to Supt. MOMC, April 8, 1952; Supt. MOMC telegram to

Region 4, April 8, 1952; RD/R4 to Director NPS, April 16, 1952; all in File N1423 ("Fish, 1946-1959"), KATM and RG 79, Box 312, NARA SB. Also Ronald Lee (Asst. Dir. NPS) to RD/R4 (telegram), April 7, 1952 and Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, April 10, 1952; both in File 208, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[113] George M. Peters to Gunnar Berggren, July 5, 1953, in File N1423 ("Fish, 1946-1959"), KATM.

[114] Oscar T. Dick (Supt. MOMC) to Walter Kirkness (Commissioner, ADF&G), March 30, April 23, and May 7, 1965; Howard W. Baker (Assistant Director NPS) to Hon. Ralph J. Rivers, March 26, 1965, in File N1423 ("Fish, 1960-1974"), KATM.

[115] Ralph Root and Fred Eubanks (Park Planners) to Project Leader, Alaska Task Force, May 27, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[116] SAR, KATM, 1972, 2.

[117] NPS, Environmental Assessment for Proposed Revision of Fishing Regulations for Naknek River, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, n.d. (October 1975?), in Box 13, NARA ANC; NPS, Environmental Review, Proposed Revision of Fishing Regulations for Naknek River, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, January 13, 1976 (NPS Report 127/D-9, TIC).

[118] 36 CFR 7.46, effective July 1, 1977.

[119] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries (Washington, GPO), 1914 through 1924 editions.

[120] Richard B. Nickerson, A Critical Analysis of Some Razor Clam (Siliqua patula, Dixon) Populations in Alaska (Juneau?, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, July 1975), 23; F. H. Oliphant, "Report on Clam and Salmon Packing" (brochure), c. 1924; F. W. Weymouth, H. C. McMillan, and H. B. Holmes, "Growth and Age at Maturity of the Pacific Ocean Clam, Siliqua patula (Dixon)," Document No. 984, in Bulletin of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries 41, 1925 (Washington, GPO, 1927), 69th Cong., 1st sess., House Doc. 230, 201, 208.

[121] James McBurney (Surf Canneries) to Harold Ickes, February 4, 1936, in "General 1930-38" file, KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[122] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries (Washington, GPO), editions from 1924 through 1936; F. H. Oliphant, "Report on Clam and Salmon Packing" (brochure), c. 1924.

[123] Robert F. Griggs to Ernest W. Sawyer, November 22, 1930, in National Geographic Society Collection; Hillory A. Tolson (Acting Director NPS) to Director USF&WS, February 24, 1944, in RG 79, Box 313, "Katmai - Concessions" file, NARA SB; Herbert Maier (Acting RD/R4) to Director NPS, December 14, 1949, in "Katmai-Permits" file, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB; Fred W. Johnson (BLM) to Director NPS, August 28, 1946, in File 601, KNM Box 2, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; A. C. Kinsley (USDI Division of Investigations) to Dale B. Whiteside, August 11, 1941, in File 602, Box 311, Entry 7, NARA SB.

[124] Frank L. Beals (Under Refuge Manager, Alaska Game Commission, Fish and Wildlife Service) to Herbert Maier, NPS, November 1, 1944, in "General 1930-38" file, KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; Hillory A. Tolson (Acting Director, NPS) to Mr. Crouch,

F&WS and Clinton H. Hartstrom, April 30, 1945, in "Katmai-Permits" File, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB.

[125] Hillory A. Tolson (Acting Director NPS) to Joseph T. Jones, Cape Douglas Canning Corp., March 27, 1946, at KATM.

[126] Hillory A. Tolson to Jones, March 27, 1946; Tolson to Clinton H. Hartson, April 9, 1946, at KATM.

[127] Tolson to Jones, March 27, 1946; Warner W. Gardner (Assistant Secretary of the Interior) to Director NPS, December 12, 1946; Cape Douglas Canning Corporation to Acting Director, NPS, December 21, 1946; Warner W. Gardner, "Permit," January 28, 1947; all in File N1423 ("Fish, 1946-1959"), KATM; also see File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA.

[128] "Authority of the Secretary to Administer Tidelands Adjoining Katmai National Monument in Alaska," in Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, 1974, 529-31. Also located in USDI, Decisions of the Department of the Interior 59 (Washington, GPO, 1952), 360-63.

[129] F. L. Ekholm (President, Cape Douglas Canning Corporation) to Warner W. Gardner, September 8, 1947, in File N1423, KATM; Lewis G. MacDonald, "Chronological History of Salmon Canneries in Central Alaska," Alaska Fisheries Board Annual Report 3 (1951), 83.

[130] Walter A. Fuhrer to Julius A. Krug (Secretary of the Interior), September 2, 1948, in Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB.

[131] William E. Warne (Assistant Secretary of the Interior), "Permit, January 1, 1949 to January 1, 1954," January 6, 1949; Warne to Walter Fuhrer (President, Mainland Fisheries, Inc.), October 6, 1950; both in File N1423, KATM. The permit was listed with the BLM as serial number ANC 011285; it required a payment to the NPS of $50 per year.

[132] Walter A. Fuhrer to Julius Krug, September 2, 1948, in "Katmai-Concessions" folder, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB.

[133] Hillory A. Tolson (Acting Director NPS) to E. L. Bartlett, February 15, 1950; G. P. Halferty (Whiz Halferty Canneries, Inc.) to E. L. Bartlett, February 23, 1951; both in Bartlett Collection; Dale E. Doty (Asst. Sec. of Interior) to G. P. Halferty, March 16, 1951, in Item 3, Breedlove, 1969; MacDonald, "Chronological History of Salmon Canneries in Central Alaska," 83. Trade and Manufacturing Site Permit number 055515 was listed as BLM serial number ANC 018180.

[134] Lowell Sumner, "Magnificent Katmai," Sierra Club Bulletin 37 (December 1952), 39; Darrell L. Coe, "Katmai National Monument," National Parks Magazine 40 (June 1966), 6; Paul Schumacher (Regional Archeologist, WRO) to Supt. MOMC, July 30, 1965, in File A2623, Ranger Patrol Reports, 1965-69, DENA. William C. King, of Kodiak, may also have been an active Katmai clam digger in 1950. King to A.C. Kuehl, March 13, 1950, in File 208, Box 311, KNM, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB.

[135] BLM Permit 032198, at BLM State Office, Anchorage.

[136] BLM, "Special Land-Use Application and Permit," number 051596, Alaska State Office, Juneau.

[137] NPS, Master Plan Brief for Katmai National Monument, 1965, 17 (map).

[138] Sumner, Special Report, Katmai Master Planning Field Study, 1963, 33.

[139] Nickerson, A Critical Analysis of Some Razor Clam Populations, July 1975, 6.

[140] Nickerson, A Critical Analysis of Some Razor Clam Populations, July 1975, 18, 28.

[141] Jack Benson (Kodiak AGC agent), notes on USGS, "Kamishak Bay-Katmai Region" (map), 1923, in File 601; also File 503 (photographs); both in KNM Box 2, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[142] Everett L. Schiller, "Summary Report on Mammology," in Interim Report, Katmai Project, Katmai National Monument, Alaska (Washington, USDI, March 1954), 112; Blinn interview, August 26, 1988.

[143] HFC photo; SAR, 1973, 4; Melanie Neuman and Kim Heacox, Katmai National Park and Preserve, Katmai Coast Field Season Report 1985, 54. On Kukak Bay's north shore was also found a one-room cabin constructed of plywood and gasoline cans. The cabin was thought to have been constructed "by unknown individuals, probably fishermen." (It was probably unrelated to the old cannery.) By 1969, NPS personnel had recommended that the eyesore be destroyed and removed. What has become of it is unknown; it may have burned down at about the time of the 1969 report. Item #17, "Inventory of Backcountry Facilities and Structures," in Breedlove 1969. Scattered reports note that many crude structures have been built by fishermen in recent years. NPS personnel, when they encounter them, have torn most of them down.

[144] SAR (KATM), 1972.

[145] Blinn interview, August 26, 1988.

[146] Wallace H. Noerenberg (Commissioner, Dept. of Fish and Game) to Gov. William A. Egan, November 1, 1971, in File NR/1-6, Series 88, RG 01, ASA; SAR, 1972, 2.

[147] SAR (KATM), 1973.

[148] Blinn interview, August 26, 1988.

[149] SAR, 1974, 2; Blinn interview, August 26, 1988.

[150] Gilbert E. Blinn, "Statement for Management, Katmai National Monument," September 15, 1976, in File D18, AKSO.

[151] SAR (KATM), 1977, 3-4; NPS, "Important Issues Concerning Wilderness Proposal for Katmai National Monument," February 24, 1977, in "Wilderness Katmai" file, Box 13, RG 79, NARA ANC.

[152] SAR (KATM), 1982; "Clam Digging" file, KATM; Morris interview, November 2, 1989.

[153] Melanie Neuman and Kim Heacox, Katmai National Park and Preserve, Katmai Coast Field Season Report, 1985, 2.

Chapter 9

[1] USF&WS, "Alaska Peninsula National Wildlife Refuge, Annual Report," 1985, 56, in F&WS-Alaska Office files. The peninsula brown bear was formerly described as Ursos gyas Merriam (Cahalane, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument, 158); more recently, its variety has been designated as either middendorffi or horribilis.

[2] Victor H. Cahalane, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument, Publication 4376 (Washington, D.C., The Smithsonian Institution, 1959), 158, 165-67, 173-74.

[3] Pat McClenahan, Brooks River Archeological District National Historic Landmark Nomination (draft), March 24, 1989, in AKSO-RCR files.

[4] Proclamation No. 1950 (47 Stat. 2453), April 24, 1931. Glacier Bay National Monument was expanded for provide more bear habitat on April 18, 1939.

[5] Frank T. Been (Supt. MOMC) to Director NPS, April 15, 1940, in KATM files.

[6] Cahalane, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument, 5.

[7] Newton B. Drury to Col. Clifford C. Gregg, April 25,1947; J. D. Coffman (Acting Director, NPS) to Clarence J. Albrecht, April 30, 1947; both in KATM files.

[8] Clifford D. Gregg (Director, Chicago Museum of Natural History) to Director NPS, September 19, 1947; Acting Director, NPS to Acting Director, F&WS, September 26, 1947; both in KATM files.

[9] Hugh M. Miller (Personnel Officer, NPS) to RD/R4, March 15, 1948, in KATM files.

[10] Victor H. Cahalane (Acting Chief Naturalist, NPS) to Clarence Rhode (F&WS, Anchorage), April 9, 1948, in KATM files.

[11] Cahalane, A Biological Survey, 164. Some investigators have argued that the increase was a simple result of changing population dynamics among the bear population. Given the fact that bears roam across a broad territory, some researchers are unsurprised that they were absent in the Brooks Camp area during the early 1950s. Others, however, have concluded that those who visited Brooks River prior to 1950 hunted bears and wiped out the local population.

[12] William J. Nancarrow to Supt. MOMC, "Monthly Narrative Report for Katmai, July 1950, Brooks River Ranger Station," July 27, 1950, in File A2827 (Reports to Chief Ranger, January 1950-November 1954), DENA archives.

[13] San Francisco Call-Bulletin, July 26, 1951.

[14] Conrad L. Wirth (Director NPS) to RD/R4, April 7, 1952, in KATM files.

[15] Elsie May Bell Grosvenor, "Alaska's Warmer Side," National Geographic Magazine 109 (June 1956), 761.

[16] Supt. MOMC to RD/R4, May 1, 1953; RD/R4 to Supt. MOMC, May 21, 1953; both in KATM files.

[17] Stanford E. Demars, The Tourist in Yosemite, 1855-1985 (Salt Lake City, University of Utah, 1991), 99; Committee on the Yellowstone Grizzlies, Division of Biological Sciences, Assembly of Life Sciences, National Research Council, National Science Foundation, "Report of Committee on the Yellowstone Grizzlies," July 1974, 1-2, ms. in AKSO files; John J. Craighead, J. S. Sumner, and John A. Mitchell, The Grizzly Bears of Yellowstone: Their Ecology in the Yellowstone Ecosystem, 1959-1992 (Washington, Island Press, 1995), 35-36, 44-47; Alston Chase, Playing God in Yellowstone; the Destruction of America's First National Park (Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986), 154; Kathy Jope to author, email, April 8, 1996.

[18] Everett L. Schiller, "Summary Report on Mammalogy," in Robert S. Luntey, comp., Interim Report on Katmai Project, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, March 1954, 112.

[19] Cahalane, A Biological Survey, 177, 185.

[20] Cahalane, A Biological Survey, 178.

[21] Chief Ranger, MOMC to Supt. MOMC, Monthly Narrative Report on Ranger Activity (File A2827), October 31, 1961, at DENA.

[22] Gilbert E. Blinn to the author, email, February 23, 1996; Steve Shackleton, interview with the author, February 23, 1996.

[23] NCA, Brooks Camp Log Books, for 1953 to 1957, from Katmailand office files, Anchorage.

[24] Ray Petersen (Sr. and Jr.), interview by author, April 17, 1991.

[25] Frank Singer (Wildlife Biologist, ARO) to Supt. KATM, March 19, 1982, "Review of Case Incident Reports -- Bear Incidents," in File N1615 (Wildlife Management, Bear, 1976 to Present), KATM; Darrell L. Coe to Oscar Dick, July 1, 1965, "Supplement to Monthly Narrative Report," in File A2615, "Chief Ranger's Monthly Narrative Report, 1959-1967," DENA; John Kauffmann, 1964 Memo on Alaskan Park Areas, in Box B, Alaska Administrative History Collection, NPS Archives, Harpers Ferry; Don Dumond, interview by the author, June 14, 1996.

[26] Darrell Coe to Oscar Dick (Supt. MOMC), July 1, 1965.

[27] Paul J. F. Schumacher (Regional Archeologist, Region Four) to Supt. MOMC, July 30, 1965, in File A2623 (Ranger Patrol Reports, 1965-69), DENA archives.

[28] Monthly Narrative Report, May 1966, in File A2615 (Superintendent's Reports, 1957-1968], DENA archives.

[29] Monthly Narrative Report, June 1966, in File A2615, DENA archives.

[30] Darrell L. Coe to Supt. MOMC, June 1, 1966, in File A2615, DENA; Supt. MOMC/KATM to RD/WRO, September 27, 1968, in "Bear Management Documents" file, AKSO-RCR Collection; Bruce M. Kaye (Park Ranger, KATM) to Robert A. Riggs, (Wildlife

Biologist, REDW), February 12, 1980, in File N1615 ("Wildlife Management-Bear, 1976-present"), KATM.

[31] Monthly Narrative Report for KATM, July 1966, in File A2615, DENA archives; Frank Singer (Wildlife Biologist, ARO) to Supt. KATM, March 19, 1982, in File N1616, KATM.

[32] Coe did not directly state that he shot the bear. The following June, however, he noted in his monthly report that he had just performed the "first live trapping-transplanting of bears" at the monument. Monthly Narrative Report for KNM for October 1966, February 1967, and June 1967, all in File A2615, DENA archives; Purchase Order 126-301, June 2, 1967, in "Brown Bear-Human Conflicts" file, KATM archives.

[33] Darrell Coe, interview with William S. Hanable, August 5, 1988, on file at AKSO; Anchorage Daily Times, August 29, 1968, 21.

[34] Management Assistant, KNM, to Supt. MOMC, March 2, 1967, in File A2615, DENA archives; Purchase Order 126-301, June 2, 1967, in "Brown Bear-Human Conflicts" file, KATM.

[35] Management Assistant, Katmai to Supt. MOMC, July 4, 1967, in File A2615, DENA archives.

[36] Richard G. Prasil (Research Biologist, MOMC) to Supt. MOMC, Monthly Report for July 1967, in File A26 ("Reports, MOMC, 1958-73"), DENA archives.

[37] Darrell Coe interview.

[38] Frederick C. Dean, "Preliminary Report - Brown Bear-Human Interrelationship Study," undated ms. (c. 1969) in file "Bears, etc.", KATM.

[39] Research Biologist, Alaska Field Office, to Director NPS, August 16, 1967, in file "Bears, etc."; George A. Hall to Marvin W. Balousek, Sr., October 17, 1967, in file "Bear Management in Parks;" both at KATM.

[40] Acting RD, WRO, to Administrative Officer, Katmai, July 24, 1968, in file "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM.

[41] Supt. MOMC/KATM to RD, WRO, Annual Bear Report, January 17, 1969, in "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM.

[42] Supt. MOMC/KATM to RD, WRO, September 27, 1968, in "Bear Management/Historical," KATM.

[43] Supt. MOMC/KATM to RD/WRO, September 27, 1968, in "Bear Management Documents" file, AKSO-RCR Collection; Gil Blinn (Management Assistant, KATM) to Supt. Alaska Field Office, October 30, 1969, in "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM.

[44] Management Assistant, KNM, to Supt. AFO, October 30, 1969, in "Bears, etc." file, KATM.

[45] Frederick C. Dean, "Brown Bear-Human Interrelationship Study," undated ms. (c. 1969), in "Bears, etc." file, KATM.

[46] Dean, c. 1969, 22-28.

[47] Dean, c. 1969, 34.

[48] Dean, c. 1969, 37.

[49] Management Assistant, KNM, to Supt. AFO, October 30, 1969, in "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM.

[50] General Supt., Alaska Cluster Office, to District Director, Northwest Region, November 7, 1969, in "Bears, etc." file, KATM.

[51] Gilbert Blinn, interview with William S. Hanable, August 26, 1988.

[52] Frederick C. Dean, "Brown Bear-Human Interrelationship Study," n.d. (c. 1969), 22, in file "Bears, etc.", KATM; Frank Singer (Wildlife Biologist, ARO) to Supt. KATM, March 19, 1982, "Review of Case Incident Reports--Bear Incidents," in File N1615 (Wildlife Management, Bear, 1976 to Present), KATM; Gil Blinn, interview by William Hanable, August 26, 1988.

[53] Assistant Director, NPS, to Regional Directors, January 7, 1970, in "Bears, etc." file, KATM.

[54] General Supt., Alaska Cluster Office, to Regional Director, NWRO, January 29, 1970, in "Bears, etc." file, KATM; Ernest J. Borgman (General Supt., Alaska Areas Group) to Mrs. Paul V. Shell, June 30, 1971, in "Bear Management in Parks, 1967-1977" file, KATM.

[55] Borgman to Shell, June 30, 1971.

[56] [Gilbert Blinn], "Katmai National Monument, Bear Policy for Developed Areas," c. 1972-73, in "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM; Blinn to William Hanable, July 14, 1989.

[57] Borgman to Shell, June 30, 1971.

[58] Gilbert Blinn to Dick Prasil, September 9, 1971, in File N16 ("Bears-Katmai, 1965-77"), KATM.

[59] Kaye to Riggs, February 12, 1980.

[60] Park Ranger, MOMC, to State Director, Alaska, November 11, 1972, in "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM; SAR 1972, 2.

[61] "Grizzly Bears, Human Injuries, and Aggressive Encounters," July 20, 1973, in File N16 ("Bears-Katmai, 1965-77"), KATM; Kathy Jope to author, email, April 9, 1996.

[62] Steve Buskirk (KATM ranger) to Dick Prasil, Alaska State Office, September 18, 1973, in "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM.

[63] Park Ranger (KNM), "Bear Management at Brooks Camp," November 29, 1976, in File N1615 ("Wildlife Management/Bear, 1976 to present"), KATM.

[64] SAR, 1972, 2-3; SAR, 1973, 2, 7. The bear removed in 1975 was taken to Kukak Bay; two months later, it reappeared at Brooks Camp. Christopher Cauble, "I Remember Mama," National Wildlife 17 (February-March 1979), 40.

[65] Mike Tollefson (respondent), "Survey of Current Bear Problems and Related Management Activities in the National Park System," January 1975, in "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM.

[66] "Survey of Current Bear Problems and Related Management Activities in the National Park System," copy of Katmai response, January 1975, compiled by Mike Tollefson, in "Bear Management/Historical" file, KATM.

[67] SAR, 1974, 3.

[68] SAR, 1977, 3-5; SAR, 1978, 5; SAR, 1979, 5; Will Troyer, "Number, Distribution and Composition of Brown Bear in Katmai" and "Movement, Behavior and Population Characteristics of Brown Bear at Brooks River," both in AKSO-RNR Collection; Kaye to Riggs, February 12, 1980.

[69] SAR, 1979, 6; Kaye to Riggs, February 12, 1980.

[70] SAR 1980, 4-5; David K. Morris (Supt. KATM) to Christina Neal, November 4, 1982, in Inactive Files, KATM.

[71] Kathy Jope to author, email, April 9, 1996.

[72] Morris to Neal, November 4, 1982; SAR, 1982, 3; SAR, 1983, 7.

[73] SAR, 1983, 4; SAR, 1984, 8.

[74] Rangers used light bird shot (#9 shot) from 1977 until 1980. Either birdshot or cracker shells were used from 1981 until 1985, when birdshot gave way to rubber shot. SAR, various years; Al Lovaas (Chief Scientist, Alaska) and Frank Singer (Wildlife Biologist) to Supt. KATM, etc., October 14, 1981, in File 1615, KATM.

[75] Kaye to Riggs, February 12, 1980; Kathy Jope to author, email, April 9, 1996.

[76] NPS, Katmai National Park and Preserve Resources Management Plan (draft), April 15, 1982, 25-33; SAR, 1983, 4; NPS, Bear Management Plan, Katmai National Park and Preserve, 1983 and 1986, in "KATM-Bear Management" files.

[77] Joan B. Beattie, "Brown Bear/Human Interactions at Katmai National Park and Preserve," n.d. (1982?), unpub. mss. in "KATM-Bear Management" files.

[78] SAR, 1983, 4.

[79] Katherine L. Jope to Albert Harting, December 6, 1985, in File A7221, at KATM; SAR 1984, 9.

[80] SAR for 1985 (p. 7), 1986 (p. 7), and 1987 (p. 3).

[81] Anne M. Braaten and Barrie K. Gilbert, Profile Analysis of Human-Bear Relationships in

Katmai National Park and Preserve (Logan, Utah State University Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, 1987?), 74-80.

[82] Susan H. Warner, Patterns of Brown Bear and Visitor Use of Brooks River and Recommendations for Management (draft), December 1987; SAR, 1987, 3.

[83] Tamara L. Olson, Barrie K. Gilbert, and Scott H. Fitkin, Brown Bear Behavior and Human Activity at Salmon Streams in Katmai National Park, Alaska (Logan, Utah, Utah State University Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, June 1, 1990), 106-07.

[84] SAR, 1990, 2; Anchorage Daily News, July 26, 1991.

[85] SAR for 1990 (p. 2), 1991 (p. 3), and 1992 (p. 4).

[86] Exxon Valdez Trustee Council, State/Federal Natural Resource Damage Assessment Plan for the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, Public Review Draft (Juneau, the author, August 1989), 136-37; SAR, 1990, 3; SAR, 1991, 3; SAR, 1992, 4.

Chapter 10

[1] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 369; Been, Field Notes of Katmai National Monument Inspection, 24, 42. Natives in the Naknek area still visit the area from time to time, and groups have made several recent attempts to bury family members at Old Savonoski.

[2] Frank T. Been to RD/R4, January 29, 1941, in Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[3] Been, Field Notes of Katmai National Monument Inspection, 9, 15-16. As noted in Chapter 6, dendrochronological studies carried out during the 1980s established that one of the cabins was built in late 1931 or early 1932 and the other was built approximately 1936. One of the cabins is still standing, though in a ruined state; the other was torn down by NPS personnel in June 1966. Gary Ahlstrand, "Age Determination of Brooks Camp Cabin Ruins, Katmai National Park, Alaska," Natural Resources Final Report AR-88/09 (Anchorage, NPS, August 1988), 1, in Palakia Melgenak land claim file (AA-7604), AKSO-EL; Monthly Narrative Report (KATM), June 1966, at MOMC.

[4] USA vs. Palakia Melgenak, Contest No. AA-7604, "Decision," September 12, 1985, 9-13, in Melgenak file.

[5] Item 3, "Stock Trails, Stock Control Devices, Grazing Permits," in Bailey O. Breedlove, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research, Katmai National Monument, Shelikof Strait-King Salmon, Alaska (manuscript), June 1969), Box 13, NARA ANC.

[6] Ales Hrdlicka, The Anthropology of Kodiak Island (Philadelphia, The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1944), 131-33, 267-68; Dumond, 1981, 1.

[7] Been, Field Notes of Katmai National Monument Inspection, 15, 24. Been's suggestion to reconstruct Old Savonoski, discussed in Chapter 3, came from the following sources: Frank T. Been to Regional Director, Region Four, January 14, 1942; Victor H. Cahalane to Thomas C. Vint, March 30, 1942; both in File 600, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB; E. A. Davidson to RD/R4, April 26, 1942; H. Maier to Superintendent MOMC, April 30, 1942, both at KATM.

[8] Been, 1940, 10, 16; William J. Nancarrow to Supt. MOMC, August 26, 1950, in File A2827, "Reports to Chief Ranger," at DENA.

[9] Ben H. Thompson (Chief of Recreation Planning) to Ronald Lee (Asst. NPS Director), October 16, 1952, in KNM Box 1, WASO History Division; Don E. Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula: The Naknek Region, 1960-1975, University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 21 (Eugene, Ore., 1981), 1, 2; Luntey, The Katmai Project, 1954. The Katmai project was jointly sponsored by ONR, NPS, the U.S. Geological Survey, the Public Health Service, and the Quartermaster General, but most of the funding came from ONR.

[10] Wilbur Davis and James W. Leach, "Archeological Investigations of Inland and Coastal Sites of the Katmai National Monument, Alaska," March 4, 1954, in AKSO-RCR files; NCA, "Brooks Camp Log Book," July 8 and August 7, 1953, in Katmailand Collection. The cellar was located between today's Brooks Lodge and the manager's office. Mildred Walatka, one of the camp managers, noted that "Not much of interest was discovered during the digging. What appears to be part of an old pottery pot was found, and an arrowhead or two."

[11] Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula, 2-4.

[12] Herbert Maier to Director NPS, June 1, 1953, in KNM Box 1, WASO History Division; Wendell Oswalt, "Prehistoric Sea Mammal Hunters at Kaflia, Alaska," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska 4 (December, 1955); Don Dumond, "Revised Archeological Site Survey Sheets for Katmai National Monument and Surrounding Areas," July 1971, in AKSO-RCR collection; Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula, 1, 3.

[13] Herbert E. Kahler to RD/R4, May 14, 1953, in KNM Box 1, WASO History Collection.

[14] Hussey apparently hoped that his work schedule would allow him to chronicle the post-1918 period with the same thoroughness which had characterized his coverage of Katmai's early history. No such opportunity was created, however, for the next fifteen years. In 1969, officials in Anchorage and Washington saw a renewed need for historical information pertaining to Katmai, and funds became available to publish his volume. Working with other NPS officials, Hussey resurrected his notes of events which had taken place from 1918 to 1954 and combined them into a single undocumented chapter. Embattled Katmai, a 450-page history study, was published by the agency's Western Service Center in August 1971. Ernest Allen Connally to Director, Northwest District Office, December 4, 1969, in KNM Box 1, WASO History Division; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, v-vi, 419.

[15] Park Naturalist (Neil J. Reid) to Supt. MOMC, June 3, 1958, "Report on Katmai Visit, May 29 to June 1, 1958," in File D-18, "Master Plan, Katmai, 1953-1959," KATM Box 1, HFC.

[16] Don Dumond, "Revised Archeological Site Survey Sheets for Katmai National Monument and Surrounding Areas," July 1971, in AKSO-RCR Collection.

[17] George Collins of the NPS had suggested just such a project four years earlier. George L. Collins to Ivar Skarland, March 2, 1955; Skarland to John A. Hussey, March 23, 1959; Bennett T. Gale to Skarland, April 7, 1959; all in KATM Box 1, WASO History Division.

[18] Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula, 3.

[19] Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula, 3-4. The search for quantifiable fish

remains, as it turned out, was less than successful because of the acidity of the Brooks Camp soil. The Bureau of Commercial Fisheries was primarily interested in the data that might be obtained from fish bones; the NSF, by contrast, had a broader interest, that of reconstructing the cultural sequence in the area surrounding the mouth of Brooks River.

[20] Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula, 4.

[21] Wilbur A. Davis, "Mt. Katmai, Alaska Eruption," in AKSO-RCR Collection. During the 1970s, Mike Tollefson and Carolyn Elder were also able to obtain interviews with eyewitnesses of the eruption. Interviewees included Larry and Katie Ellenak, August Heitman, George Kosbruk, Fred Shangin, John Larson, Eli and Walter Metrokin, and Eunice Neseth.

[22] Dumond, 1971; Dumond, 1981, 4-5.

[23] Dumond, 1971; Dumond, 1981, 5; NPS Press Release, February 15, 1965, in NPS/Box 2, Bartlett Collection.

[24] Emil Haury (University of Arizona) to George Hartzog (Director NPS), November 14, 1966, in KNM Box 1, WASO History Division.

[25] Dumond, 1981, 5; Supt. MOMC to Asst. Director, Policy and Program Analysis, January 5, 1968, "Park Highlight Briefing Statements, 1967 Calendar Year," at MOMC.

[26] Supt. MOMC, "Annual Report of Information and Interpretive Activity, KATM," 1960, at KATM; Dumond, Archeology on the Naknek Peninsula, 4; Darrell Coe to Oscar Dick, Supplement to Monthly Narrative Report, July 1, 1965, in File A2615, DENA.

[27] New York Times, August 22, 1965, X:17; Darrell L. Coe, "Katmai National Monument," National Parks Magazine 40 (June 1966), 6, 9; Coe, "Katmai National Monument," Alaska Sportsman 35 (March 1969), 33.

[28] Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula, 18, 28.

[29] Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula, 6.

[30] Dumond, Archeology on the Alaska Peninsula, 6, 22, 62.

[31] Allen P. McCartney, "An Archeological Site Survey and Inventory of the Alaska Peninsula, Shumagin Islands, and Other Islands South of the Alaska Peninsula," Anchorage, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service/Refuges Branch, 1973, 7.

[32] SAR, 1974, 3.

[33] Don Dumond to John Ritter, August 12, 1974, in KNM Box 1; Don Dumond to John Ritter, June 9, 1975; Edward J. Kurtz to Don Dumond, July 16, 1975; both in "KNM, 1975-present" file; both in WASO History Division.

[34] Fred Bohannan, "Archeological Resources Assessment, Katmai National Monument," October 6, 1975, in "Katmai National Monument, 1975-present" file, WASO History Division; E.O. 11593, "Protection and Enhancement of the Cultural Environment," May 13, 1971.

[35] Charles Bohannan, "Archeological Resources Assessment, Katmai National Monument," October 6, 1975.

[36] National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, et.al., National Register of Historic Places 1966-1988 (Nashville, American Association of State and Local History, 1989), 16-17.

[37] Robert L. Carper, List of Classified Structures Inventory, Katmai National Monument, April 1976, in AKSO-RCR files; NPS, Cultural Resource Management Guideline (NPS-28), December 1991, 27.

[38] William S. Hanable to Gilbert Blinn, September 3, 1976; Charles F. Bohannon to Area Director, Alaska, April 30, 1980; both in AKSO-RCR files.

[39] Carper, List of Classified Structures; Michael J. Tollefson to Supt. KATM, "Area History, Old Cabins," March 21, 1977, in File H14, KATM; SAR, 1983, 6.

[40] SAR for 1977 (p. 3), 1980 (p. 6), and 1982 (p. 5).

[41] SAR, 1983, 6; NPS, "Collections Management Report" (Form 10-94) for 1983, in AKSO-RCR files.

[42] Joaqlin Estus, Harvey Shields, and Dave Snow, Historic Structure Report, Fure's Cabin, Bay of Islands, Naknek Lake, Katmai National Park and Preserve (NPS, Anchorage), 1984.

[43] SAR, 1987, 3; SAR, 1988, 6; Supt. KATM/ANIA to RD/ARO, December 18, 1987, in AKSO-RCR files; Steve Peterson interview, March 13, 1996. The Moore Cabin, located in Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park, was reconstructed from 1985 to 1987 by two cabin builders working on an NPS contract.

[44] SAR, 1982, 5; "Fure's Cabin" NRHP nomination, May 2, 1983; Estus, Shields, and Snow, Historic Structure Report, Fure's Cabin, 9-13.

[45] Chief, ARO-RCR to Chief Historian, WASO, December 26, 1983, and Chief, ARO-RCR to Chief Historian, WASO, August 4, 1984, both in "KNM, 1975-present" file, WASO History Division; National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, National Register of Historic Places 1966-1988, 16.

[46] NPS, "Fure's Cabin" registration form, November 21, 1988; NPS, "Weekly List of Listed Properties, 5/22/89 through 5/29/89," in AKSO-RCR files.

[47] Roger Harritt, "The Late Prehistory of Brooks River, Alaska; A Model for Analysis of Occupations on the Alaska Peninsula," University of Oregon Anthropological Papers 38 (1988), iii; SAR, 1978, 4.

[48] SAR, 1979, 4; Harvey M. Shields, "Research Design for Archeological Excavations in Katmai National Park and Preserve, Alaska, 1982 and 1983," on file in AKSO-RCR.

[49] Harritt, "The Late Prehistory of Brooks River, Alaska," iii-iv, 1-4; SAR for 1982 (p. 5), 1983 (p. 6), and 1984 (p. 10).

S. Neil Crozier, 1983 Cultural Resource Management Inventory, 36 Native Allotments, Bristol Bay Region (Juneau, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1983), AA-6204a; Acting Director, NPS to Secretary of the Interior, March 8, 1993, in NHL file, AKSO-RCR Collection; NPS, "Cultural Resource Site Inventory Form" for ILI-059, -060, and -061, in Cultural Resource Mining Inventory and Monitoring files, AKSO-RCR collection.

[51] SAR, 1979, 4; NPS, Archeological Compliance Reports/KATM (2 volumes), AKSO-RCR Collection; Pat McClenahan, interview by author, March 23, 1993.

[52] SAR, FY 1988, 6; Pat McClenahan interview, March 23, 1993.

[53] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill and the National Park Service, 54-59; William L. Sheppard and David P. Staley, Archeological Overview and Assessment of Katmai National Park and Preserve (draft), (Anchorage, ENRI, 1992), 93-94.

[54] Sheppard and Staley, Archeological Overview and Assessment, 93-94.

[55] SAR, 1983, 6; Katherine L. Jope, "Collections Management Report" (NPS Form 10-94) for 1983, March 12, 1984, in AKSO-RCR Collection.

[56] SAR, 1984, 3, 10; SAR, 1986, 3.

[57] NPS, "Collections Management Report (Form 10-94) for 1984-1987, in AKSO-RCR collection.

[58] NPS, "Collections Management Report" (Form 10-94) for 1984-1987, in AKSO-RCR collection.

[59] Automated National Catalog System list, AKSO-RCR Collection.

Chapter 11

[1] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 280-81.

[2] Ibid., 312-15.

[3] Ibid., 323-28; n.a., "Oil Exploration Areas Surrounding Katmai NM," n.d. (1968?), in Item 9, Bailey O. Breedlove (Park Planner), Preliminary Draft, Basic Data, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research, Katmai National Monument, Shelikof Strait-King Salmon, Alaska, (Anchorage, NPS, June 1969), Box 13, NARA ANC.

[4] G. C. Martin, "Notes on the Petroleum Fields of Alaska," in Report on Progress of Investigations of Mineral Resources of Alaska in 1904, USGS Bulletin 259 (1906), 139; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 325-27.

[5] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 317-19; William H. Dall, "Report on Coal and Lignite of Alaska," Seventeenth Annual Report of the U.S. Geological Survey, 1895-96; Part I, Director's Report and Other Papers (Washington, GPO, 1896), 799.

[6] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 320, 326; Ralph W. Stone, "Coal Resources of Southwestern

Alaska," Report on Progress of Investigations of Mineral Resources of Alaska in 1904, USGS Bulletin 259 (Washington, GPO, 1906), 161.

[7] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 375; L. W. McFarland (James H. Rhodes and Co.) to National Geographic Magazine, February 21, 1917, in Box 24, Griggs Collection, NGS.

[8] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 417; Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 612-13; Item 9, "Status of Research on Mineral Claims," in Breedlove, Preliminary Draft, Basic Data, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research, KATM.

[9] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 410, 418; J. C. Roehm, "Summary Report of Mining Investigations in the Kvichak Precinct, Alaska, June 13 to July 6, 1941," Alaska Territorial Department of Mines Report 195-31, 1.

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[11] Antonson and Hanable, Administrative History of Sitka National Historical Park, 81; William E. Brown, A History of the Denali-Mount McKinley Region, Alaska, 93.

[12] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 411-12, 415, 456-57; Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 6-7; Albright, The Birth of the National Park Service, 75.

[13] Thomas C. Riggs to Stephen Mather, November 19, 1918, in File 54 (1917), RG 101, ASA.

[14] USDI, Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska for 1921 (p. 30), 1922 (p. 37), and 1923 (p. 30); Kirtley F. Mather, "Petroleum on Alaska Peninsula; Mineral Resources of the Kamishak Bay Region," in Mineral Resources of Alaska, USGS Bulletin 773 (1925), 174.

[15] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 421; Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 7-8.

[16] Mather, "Petroleum on Alaska Peninsula,", 174, 180; Walter R. Smith, "Cold Bay-Katmai District," in Mineral Resources of Alaska, USGS Bulletin 773, (1925), 206.

[17] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 10, 12.

[18]Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 13-14.

[19] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 15-17.

[20] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 18-19.

[21] J. C. Roehm, "Summary Report of Mining Investigations in the Kvichak Precinct, Alaska, June 13 to July 6, 1941," Alaska Territorial Department of Mines Report 195-31, 5-6.

[22] Roehm, "Summary Report of Mining Investigations," 1-3, 10.

[23] Item 9, "Status of Research on Mineral Claims," Breedlove 1969, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[24] Roehm, "Summary Report of Mining Investigations," 3, 5, 9; Alfred C. Kuehl, "Report on Katmai National Monument, Alaska," 3.

[25] Bernard F. Hubbard as told to Barrett Willoughby, "Volcanoes Packed in Ice," Saturday Evening Post 203 (August 23, 1930), 18; Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 345.

[26] Roehm, J. C., "Preliminary Report on Some Pumicite Deposits, Katmai National Monument, Alaska" (Report MJ-126-1), Territorial Department of Mines, September, 1947, 1-2; J. L. McCarrey to E. L. Bartlett, April 16, 1947, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection. As noted in the Territory of Alaska, Department of Mines, Report of the Commissioner of Mines for the 1947-48 and 1949-50 biennia (pp. 15 and 17, respectively), the Katmalite operation remained active through 1949.

[27] J. L. McCarrey to E. L. Bartlett, April 16, 1947, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection; Territory of Alaska, Department of Mines, Report of the Commissioner of Mines for the Biennium Ended December 31, 1948, 14. J. C. Roehm, in his "Preliminary Report on Some Pumicite Deposits," September 1947, p. 1, noted that samples had been taken from the southwestern end of Geographic Harbor, five miles northwest of Takli Island.

[28] J. L. McCarrey to E. L. Bartlett, April 16, 1947; Arthur B. Demaray (Associate Director) to Director NPS, May 6, 1947, in File 732-01, KNM Box 2, RG 79, NARA DC.

[29] E. L. Bartlett to J. L. McCarrey, May 7, 1947; Bartlett to Julius A. Krug, May 7, 1947; both in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[30] Julius Krug to E. L. Bartlett, May 19, 1947; Bartlett to Krug, May 21, 1947. Bartlett protested Krug's delaying action, but to no avail.

[31] J. C. Roehm, "Preliminary Report on Some Pumicite Deposits," September 1947, 1-8; J. C. Roehm, "Summary Report of Mining Investigations," 1941, 7-9. Roehm had visited the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes twice before during Department of Mines investigations, in 1939 and again in 1941. He was well aware of the area's potential for commercial ash production, and in 1941 he had noted that "via Katmai Pass, there exists a suitable caterpillar route over which this pumice could be hauled to the beach in Katmai Bay." But he had made no previous visits to the monument's eastern coastline before 1947, and rejected Katmai Bay as a pumice extraction site because of access difficulties.

[32] J. L. McCarrey to E. L. Bartlett, June 10, 1947; Ken Hinchey to Bartlett, January 22, 1948; both in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[33] Charles Richey (Land Planning Division, WASO) to Director NPS, June 3, 1947; Hillory A. Tolson (Assistant Director, WASO) to Director NPS, May 29, 1947; both in File 732-01, KNM, RG 79, NARA DC; Warner W. Gardner (Asst. Sec. Int.) to E. L. Bartlett, June 6, 1947, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[34] Ken Hinchey (Ken Hinchey Co., Anchorage) to E. L. Bartlett, January 22, 1948; Newton B. Drury to Bartlett, February 11, 1948; both in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection; Acting Director, USGS to Newton B. Drury, February 24, 1948, in File 732-01, KNM, RG 79, NARA DC.

[35] See March 12, 1948 and May 5, 1948 letters in File 732-01, KNM, RG 79, NARA DC.

[36] Ken Hinchey to Hugh Dougherty, March 9, 1948; E. L. Bartlett to Newton B. Drury, March 18, 1948; both in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[37] Robert F. Griggs to Conrad L. Wirth, July 7, 1948; A. E. Demaray (Acting Director NPS) to E. L.Bartlett, September 14, 1948; Demaray to Griggs, September 14, 1948; all in NPS Box 1, Bartlett Collection.

[38] E. L. Bartlett to A. E. Demaray, Demaray, December 21, 1948; Hillory A. Tolson to Bartlett, December 31, 1948; both in File 732-01, KNM, RG 79, NARA DC.

[39] O. A. Tomlinson (RD/R4) to Dir. NPS, April 29, 1949, in File 208, KNM Box 311, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB; Newton B. Drury (Dir. NPS) to RD/R4, December 16, 1949, in "KNM-Permits" file, KNM Box 313, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA SB; E. L. Bartlett to Newton B. Drury, December 20, 1949, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[40] SMR (MOMC), September 1948, 3; Arthur F. Waldron (Anchorage Sand and Gravel) to E. L. Bartlett, November 22, 1949; Bartlett to Newton B. Drury, November 25, 1949; both in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection; Kenneth J. Kadow (USDI, Alaska Field Office) to William E. Warne (Asst. Int. Sec.), December 6, 1949, in "KNM-Permits" file, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB.

[41] Newton B. Drury (Dir. NPS) to RD/R4, January 13, 1950, in "KNM-Permits" file, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB. O. A. Tomlinson, Director of Region Four, suggested the idea to Director Drury, noting that the pumice situation at Katmai was similar to an existing gravel-removal operation at Sitka National Monument. Tomlinson to Dir. NPS, January 11, 1950, in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[42] Oscar L. Chapman (Sec. Int.) to President (Truman), May 19, 1950, in File 205.01.1, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[43] Kenneth Kadow to Arthur Waldron, January 24, 1950, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[44] Conrad Wirth (Acting Dir.) to RD/R4, March 15, 1950; Maier to Supt. MOMC, March 21, 1950; both in File 602, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[45] Oscar L. Chapman to President (Truman), May 19, 1950, in File 205.01.1, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[46] Oscar Chapman (Sec. Int.) to E. L. Bartlett, June 9, 1950, in Bartlett Collection; George L. Collins to RD/R4, July 19, 1950, in File 201, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[47] Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 27-28.

[48] Kenneth J. Kadow to Arthur F. Waldron, November 25, 1949, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection; Newton B. Drury (Dir. NPS) to RD/R4, January 13, 1950, in "KNM-Permits" file, Box 313, RG 79, NARA SB.

[49] Oscar L. Chapman to President (Truman), May 19, 1950, in File 205.01.1, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB.

[50] R. M. Moxham, "Pumice Deposits in the Alaska Peninsula-Cook Inlet Region, Alaska," USGS Open File Report #49, 1951, p. 19, in File 609-01, RG 79, NARA SB; USDI (USGS) Press Release, January 21, 1952, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[51] Territory of Alaska, Department of Mines, Report of the Commissioner of Mines for the Biennium Ended December 31, 1950, 17, 52; Report of the Commissioner of Mines for the Biennium Ended December 31, 1952, 60.

[52] Herbert Maier (Acting RD/R4) to Dir. NPS, August 7, 1951; George Collins, August 19, 1951 memo in pencil; Lawrence C. Merriam (RD/R4) to J. J. Grove, Anchorage, September 24, 1951; all in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; A. E. Demaray to E. L. Bartlett, September 9, 1951, in Legislative Bill File, 83rd Congress, Bartlett Collection.

[53] Congressional Record, 1951, p. 8176; HR 4794, in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[54] A. E. Demaray (Dir. NPS) to Charles G. Sauers (Chairman of the Advisory Board), July 30, 1951, in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; Dale E. Doty (Asst. Sec. Int.) to John R. Murdock (Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives), October 4, 1951, in Legislative Bill File, 83rd Congress, Bartlett Collection.

[55] Ernest Gruening to George Sundborg (General Manager, Alaska Development Board), December 29, 1951, in Legislative Bill File, 83rd Congress, Bartlett Collection.

[56] Thola E. Noon (Pacific Pumice) to RD/R4, December 7, 1951, in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; George Sundborg (ADB) to Mastin G. White (Acting Assistant Secretary of the Interior), January 7, 1952, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[57] Congressional Record, 1952, part 12, p. 521; 82d Cong., 2nd sess., House Report 1384; "Katmai Pumice bill passed by House yesterday" (teletype), March 4, 1952, in File 0.10, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB; E. L. Bartlett to George Sundborg, March 11, 1952, in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB.

[58] Conrad L. Wirth (Director NPS) to E. L. Bartlett, January 26, 1953, KATM Collection.

[59] 83rd Cong., 1st sess., House Report 71; 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., Senate Report 1136; E. L. Bartlett to Nick Zimin, January 16, 1954; Bartlett to Marshall C. Hoppen, April 6, 1954; both in Legislative Bill File, 83rd Congress, Bartlett Collection.

[60] Congressional Record, 1953, part 1, pp. 378, 434; pt. 13, p. 772; Congressional Record, 1954, part 13, 645; Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 28.

[61] Item 1, "Review of Legislation, Proclamations, etc." in Breedlove, Preliminary Draft, Basic Data, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research, 1969.

[62] Arthur F. Waldron (President, Basic Building Products) to E. L. Bartlett, February 11, 1953, in Legislative Bill File, Bartlett Collection; Anchorage Daily Times, February 18, 1959, 8.

[63] Herbert Maier (Acting RD/R4) to Dir. NPS, August 7, 1951; George Collins, August 19, 1951 memo in pencil; both in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; Melanie Neuman

and Kim Heacox, Katmai National Park and Preserve, Katmai Coast Field Season Report, 1985, (King Salmon, NPS, 1985), 50.

[64] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 22.

[65] O. A. Tomlinson to Director NPS, November 14, 1948, in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB. Tomlinson repeated his warning in an April 29, 1949 letter to the Director; see same file.

[66] C. M. Carson to O. A. Tomlinson (RD/R4), April 19, 1949, in File 609-01, Box 312, RG 79, NARA SB; Grant Pearson to C. M. Carson, April 27, 1949, in File 208, Box 311, RG 79, NARA SB; O. A. Tomlinson to C. M. Carson, April 28, 1949, at KATM.

[67] Roehm, J. C. (Associate Mining Engineer), "Preliminary Report on Some Pumicite Deposits, Katmai National Monument, Alaska," Report MJ-126-1 (Juneau, Alaska Bureau of Mines), September 1947, 6.

[68] "Affidavit of Elmer S. Harrop," June 23, 1983, in BLM Melgenak File (AA-7604), AKSO-EL.

[69] NPS, Katmai Project, Interim Report, Katmai National Monument, Alaska (Washington, NPS, March 1954), 9.

[70] Director USGS to Director PNRO, May 15, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[71] A. Samuel Keller & Hillard N. Reiser, Geology of the Mount Katmai Area, Alaska, USGS Bulletin 1058-G (Wash., GPO, 1959), 278-82, 291; Director U.S. Bureau of Mines to Director PNRO, May 17, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC. Keller and Reiser's work was reprised in Don J. Miller, Thomas G. Payne, and George Gryc, Geology of Possible Petroleum Provinces in Alaska, USGS Bulletin 1094 (1959), 33.

[72] Robert S. Luntey (Chief, Office of Resource Planning, San Francisco Planning & Service Center) to Park Planner Breedlove, Alaska Field Office, January 28, 1969; George D. Gates (Chief, Alaskan Geology Branch, USGS) to Bennett Gale (WASO), December 2, 1954; both in Item 9, "Alaska Borough and Mining Districts," Breedlove, 1969.

[73] E. L. Bartlett to Nick Zimin (South Naknek), January 16, 1954, in Bartlett Collection.

[74] H.R. 8893 (83rd Congress, 2nd Session), April 27, 1954, at AHL.

[75] H.R. 250 (84th Congress, 1st Session), January 5, 1955, in Legislative Bill File, 84th Congress; Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Clair Engle (Chairman, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs), April 19, 1955; E. L. Bartlett to Nick Zimin, April 22, 1955; all in NPS/Box 1, Bartlett Collection.

[76] B. F. Heintzleman to Nick Zimin, May 18, 1956, in File 15-14-a (1953-58), RG 101, ASA.

[77] Charles F. Herbert to E. L. Bartlett, February 19, 1959; Bartlett to Herbert, February 24, 1959; both in Bartlett Collection.

[78] William A. Egan to Ernest Gruening, April 18, 1961, in File 883.1, Series 41, RG 01,

ASA.

[79] Ralph Rivers to George Hartzog, August 27, 1965, in NPS Box 2, Bartlett Collection.

[80] G. Donald Eberlein (Chief, Alaska Geology Branch, USGS) to Dr. D. T. Griggs, July 3, 1963, in File A2021, at KATM; John Henneberger, "Factors Affecting Resources and Use," December 16, 1969 [draft section of 1971-73 master plan], in AKSO-RCR Collection.

[81] Naske and Slotnick, Alaska, A History of the 49th State, 203.

[82] Phil R. Holdsworth to William A. Egan, March 27, 1961, in File 883.1, Series 41, RG 01, ASA.

[83] Naske and Slotnick, Alaska, A History of the 49th State, 236-37.

[84] Antonson and Hanable, Alaska's Heritage, 434; Bailey O. Breedlove (Park Planner, AFO) to RD/WRO, April 7, 1969, in File D22, KATM.

[85] Breedlove, "Oil and Gas Rights," Item 9, in Breedlove, Preliminary Draft, Basic Data, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research, 1969.

[86] Monthly Narrative Report, KATM, for June 1966 and July 1966, at MOMC; SAR, KATM, 1972, 2.

[87] Ralph Root (Park Planner, AAO) to Project Leader, AAO, September 3, 1976, in File D18, Box 14, NARA ANC.

[88] BLM, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Office, Lower Cook Inlet Draft Environmental Impact Statement (Anchorage, the author, July 9, 1976), i, 2.

[89] G. Bryan Harry (Director, AAO) to RD, PNRO, August 24, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC; Supt. KATM to RD, PNRO, February 24, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Pamela E. Rich and Arlon R. Tussing, The National Park System in Alaska, an Economic Impact Study (College, Alaska, University of Alaska Institute of Social, Economic, and Government Research, 1973), 40.

[90] BLM, Alaska Outer Continental Shelf Office, Proposed 1976 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Lease Sale, Lower Cook Inlet Final Environmental Statement (Anchorage, the author), December 1976; Supt. KATM to RD/PNRO, February 24, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Pat Richardson, "$400 Million in High Bids at OCS Sale," Alaska Construction and Oil 18 (December 1977), 34.

[91] Russ Dickenson (Acting RD/PNRO) to Director AAO, August 29, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC; Richardson, "$400 Million in High Bids," 34.

[92] SAR for 1977 (p. 4), 1978 (p. 4), and 1980 (p. 7); Gil Blinn, "Revised Statement for Management" (KATM), June 7, 1976, 5.

[93] NOAA did not press forward with nominating eligible Alaskan areas for marine sanctuaries until 1982. After some discussion, the agency nominated 18 of 42 Alaskan marine sites; the four sites it identified off the Katmai coast were among the 24 sites which were not recommended for nomination. Chelsea International Corporation, "Marine Sanctuary Site

Evaluation List," n.d. (August 15, 1982?), in "Marine Sanctuary" file, AKSO-RNR Collection.

[94] "Status of Research on Mineral Claims," Item 9, in Breedlove, Preliminary Draft, Basic Data, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research, 1969.

[95] John Henneberger, "Factors Affecting Resources and Use," December 16, 1969 (draft section of master plan), in "Planning Documents" file, AKSO-RCR Collection.

[96] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska (Seattle?, the author, June 13, 1974), 35-36.

[97] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai Wilderness, 157-61, 167-71.

[98] NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai Wilderness, 81, 91.

[99] Alaska Planning Group, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, Draft Environmental Statement, December 1973, 129-30; Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, 1974, 97; NPS, "Distribution and Density of Mineral Entries, Proposed Katmai National Park Additions," December 1, 1977, Box 15, NARA ANC. Both the 1974 and 1977 reports noted that a small, active small gold placer operation and gold-copper operation were located on Crevice Creek, 22 miles west of the mouth of McNeil River. The mine site, however, was later discovered to be outside of the proposed park.

[100] Alaska Planning Group, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, Draft Environmental Statement, December 1973, 135; BLM, "Historical Index" sheets for various townships in the area of the proposed addition, located at BLM State Office, Anchorage.

[101] Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, 1974, 33, 252-55, 259-63, 315-16, 394; Director USGS to Director PNRO, May 15, 1973, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[102] Al Henson (Project Leader, ATFO) to Asst. Director, Cooperative Activities, WASO, March 13, 1973; NPS, "Katmai National Park, Statement on Special Problems," n.d. (1973); NPS, "Minerals," in "Katmai EIS Comments" folder, n.d. (1974?); all in Box 13, NARA ANC. Pfaff had first become known to NPS officials back in May 1949, when he wrote the agency and asked if the monument was open to uranium prospecting. He received a kind but firm negative reply. Jackson E. Price, (NPS Office of the Chief Counsel, WASO) to Ernest Pfaff, July 25, 1949, at KATM.

[103] "Sugarloaf Association Claim" file, in Inactive Mining Claim Collection, AKSO-RMM; BLM, Serial Number AA-024382 through AA-024385, Alaska State Office, Anchorage.

[104] "Dog V Claim" file, in Inactive Mining Claim Collection, AKSO-RMM; BLM, Serial Number AA-030173, Alaska State Office, Anchorage.

[105] H. C. Berg and E. H. Cobb, Metalliferous Lode Deposits of Alaska, USGS Bulletin 1246 (Washington, GPO, 1967), 14, B78-79.

[106] SAR for 1985 (p. 7) and 1986 (pp. 6-7); BLM, Serial Number AA-025641 through AA-025643, Alaska State Office, Anchorage.

[107] SAR, 1982, 8; "Permits/Geological/AMRAP" folders, AKSO-RMM files.

Chapter 12

[1] Hussey, Embattled Katmai, 317, 327.

[2] Ibid., 371, 385.

[3] Ibid., 401; Peter L. Ward, A Bibliography of Katmai National Monument, Alaska, revised edition (Palisades, N.Y., Lamont Geological Observatory), February 1971.

[4] Frank T. Been to Victor H. Cahalane, March 24, 1941, in File 201, Box 311, KNM, RG 79, NARA SB; SMR (MOMC), September 1949.

[5] During the late 1930s, Cahalane had headed the NPS Wildlife Division; in January 1940, however, the division was transferred to the U.S. Bureau of Biological Survey, where he headed the section on National Park wildlife.

[6] Arthur E. Demaray to Commissioner GLO, May 4, 1939, in "Katmai General, 1930-38" file, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; Cahalane resume, in File 40-10 (1933-52), RG 101, ASA; V. H. Cahalane, "Birds of the Katmai Region," Auk 61 (1944), 351-75.

[7] Chief Ranger, MOMC to George B. Chaffee, KNM, June 23, 1952, at KATM.

[8] Ben H. Thompson (Recreation Planning Division, WASO) to Sidney S. Kennedy (State Cooperation Branch, WASO), December 29, 1952, in KATM Correspondence, Box 1, in History Division Office, WASO.

[9] NPS, Katmai Project, Interim Report, Katmai National Monument, Alaska (Washington, the author, March 1954), 9-10; USDI, "McKay Announces Alaska Volcanic Study at Katmai" (press release), August 15, 1953, in File 15-15 (1953-58), RG 101, ASA.

[10] NPS, Katmai Project, Interim Report, 9-10.

[11] NPS, Katmai Project, Interim Report, 11-13; Lage, George L. Collins, 182.

[12] NPS, Katmai Project, Interim Report, 11-12, 14.

[13] NPS, Katmai Project, Interim Report, 11-12, 14. The papers were all contained in the above report; they were also published in various academic journals. See Ernest H. Muller, Werner Juhle, and Henry W. Coulter, "Current Volcanic Activity in Katmai National Monument," Science 119 (March 5, 1954), 319.

[14] Kirtley F. Mather, the USGS geologist who had surveyed the area north of the old monument boundaries in the summer of 1923, met Fenner in the field that summer and (according to a later remembrance) told Fenner at the time that he disagreed with his theory. Kirtley F. Mather, "Biographical Notes for My Grandchildren and Great-Grandchildren," AKSO-RNR Collection.

[15] Howel Williams, "Preliminary Notes on Geological Work Done on Mount Katmai and in

the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, Alaska," in NPS, Katmai Project, Interim Report, 55-61; William T. Ingersoll, "Lands of Change: Four Parks in Alaska," Journal of the West 7 (April 1968), 173-93.

[16] Ernest H. Muller, Werner Juhle, and Henry W. Coulter, "Current Volcanic Activity in Katmai National Monument," pp. 62-66; George L. Snyder, "Trident Volcano Observations," pp. 72-74; both in NPS, Katmai Project, Interim Report; USDI, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1953 (p. 320) and 1954 (p. 364).

[17] Conrad L. Wirth to B. Frank Heintzleman, March 3, 1954, in File 15-14-a (1953-58), RG 101, ASA; Cahalane, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument, 6.

[18] USDI, "Katmai Scientific Study Continued Another Year" (press release), August 4, 1954, in KATM Box 1, HFC.

[19] "Wrong Volcano Blamed," Science News Letter 69 (April 21, 1956), 246; Ingersoll, "Lands of Change: Four Parks in Alaska," 173-93.

[20] George B. Schaller, "When the Earth Exploded," Alaska Sportsman 22 (June 1956), 8-9, 13; Cahalane, A Biological Survey of Katmai National Monument, 6.

[21] Keller and Reiser's Geology of the Mount Katmai Area (USGS Bulletin 1058-G) was released in 1959; project field work, however, was completed in 1954.

[22] E. L. Bartlett to Ward Sims (Juneau) and United Press International (Seattle), telegram, February 11, 1965, in Bartlett Collection; USDI, "Increased Research Activity Planned in Katmai National Monument This Year" (press release), February 15, 1965, in Bartlett Collection; Peter L. Ward, A Bibliography of Katmai National Monument, Alaska (Palisades, N.Y., Lamont Geological Observatory), May 1966; Management Assistant (KATM) to Supt. MOMC, Monthly Narrative Report for July 1966, at DENA; Peter Ward, interview by author, May 18, 1993.

[23] New York Times, June 22, 1965, 2; "Astronauts Make Geology Field Trips to Alaska and Iceland," JSC Space News Roundup, July 23, 1965, 2; "Katmai is Out of this World," The Midnight Sun (NCA newsletter) 5 (Summer 1965), 3.

[24] New York Times, August 22, 1965, X:17.

[25] Darrell L. Coe to Oscar Dick, Supplement to June 1965 Monthly Narrative Report, MOMC File A2615, at DENA.

[26] "Astronauts Train for Moon Landing," The Midnight Sun 6 (Fall 1966), 3.

[27] USDI, "Increased Research Activity Planned in Katmai National Monument This Year" (press release), February 15, 1965, in Bartlett Collection.

[28] Keith B. Mather (Director, Geophysical Institute of the University of Alaska) to Oscar Dick (Supt. MOMC), April 6, 1965, in Item 13, "Special Use Permits," in Breedlove, 1969; MOMC Special Use Permit, issued April 14, 1965.

[29] NPS, Master Plan Brief, 1965, 16. Later, a storage shed was constructed at Baked Mountain and a third seismometer was installed in the Geographic Harbor area. Ed Stondall

interview, September 15, 1989; John Henneberger, "Factors Affecting Resources and Use," (draft portion of 1971 master plan), December 16, 1969, in "Planning Documents" file, KATM.

[30] Management Assistant (KATM) to Supt. MOMC, Monthly Narrative Report for June 1966 and June 1967, at DENA; NPS, Master Plan Brief, 16.

[31] SAR for 1974 (p. 3), 1977 (p. 4), 1978 (p. 4), 1979 (p. 4), 1980 (p. 6), and 1982 (p. 3); Roman J. Motyka, "Surveillance of Katmai Caldera and Crater Lake, Alaska: 1977" (University of Alaska Geophysical Institute, 1978), in Box 15, NARA ANC; Blinn interview, May 24, 1993; Morris interview, June 1, 1993.

[32] NPS, Wilderness Study, Katmai National Monument, August 1971, 8; NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, June 13, 1974, 54.

[33] Item 17, "Inventory of Backcountry Facilities and Structures," in Breedlove, Preliminary Draft, Basic Data, Advance Master Plan/Wilderness Research.

[34] Susan K. Hansen, "Valley of 10,000 Wonders," American Forests 83 (February 1977), 29.

[35] SAR, 1984, 10; Ed Stondall interview, September 15, 1989; John C. Eichelberger, et. al., "Successful Completion of the second field season of the Katmai Project," in U.S. Continental Scientific Drilling Program, 1990 Geophysical Expedition to Novarupta Volcano, Katmai National Park, Alaska, AKSO-RNR Collection.

[36] Richard G. Prasil, "Sea and Coastline Surveys, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, July 1969 to June 26,1971," Natural Resources Survey and Inventory Report (NRSIR) AR-71/02; Prasil, "Notes on Observations Made Along the Katmai Coast During 1971," NRSIR AR-71/01, AKSO-RNR; Ernest J. Borgman (Gen. Supt., Alaska Cluster Office) to RD/NWRO, 1/30/70, in "Wildlife Management" file, KATM.

[37] Williss, 259.

[38] SAR for 1972 (p. 2), 1973 (p. 3), and 1974 (p. 3).

[39] S. B. Young and C. H. Racine, "Ecosystems of the Proposed Katmai Western Extension, Bristol Bay Lowlands, Alaska," Contributions from the Center for Northern Studies #15 (Wolcott, Vt., Center for Northern Studies, March 1978), 21.

[40] Ralph R. Root (Park Ranger) to Project Leader, ATFO, December 16, 1975; n.a. (John Dennis?), "Proposed Katmai National Park Briefing Paper, Lowland Tundra Addition," n.d. (1975?); both in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[41] Steven R. Behnke, Resource Use and Subsistence in the Vicinity of the Proposed Lake Clark National Park, Alaska and Additions to Katmai National Monument, Anthropology and Historic Preservation, Cooperative Park Studies Unit, Occasional Paper No. 15 (Fairbanks, University of Alaska, October 1978), 142-57.

[42] W. Troyer, "Distribution and Density of Bald Eagle Nests, Katmai Area, Alaska, July 1974," Natural Resources Survey and Inventory Report AR-74/02, AKSO-RNR Collection; Judith Ayres, "Katmai's Eagle Beagle," Alaska 42 (June 1976), A2; SAR for 1977 (p. 4),

1978 (p. 5), 1980 (p. 6), and 1983 (p. 4).

[43] SAR for 1977 (p. 4), 1978 (p. 4), 1979 (pp. 4-5), and 1980 (p. 6); NPS, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Wilderness, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, June 13, 1974, 29.

[44] W. Troyer, "Moose Census, Katmai National Monument, 1/75-2/75," NRSIR AR-75/02, AKSO-RNR files; Gil Blinn, "Revised Statement for Management," June 7, 1976, 5; SAR, KATM, 1977, 4.

[45] SAR for 1972 (p. 2) and 1978 (p. 4).

[46] Ralph R. Root to Project Leader, Alaska Task Force, June 17, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[47] In 1983, the RMP was revised and approved by the regional office. Ernest J. Borgman (General Supt. Alaska Cluster Office) to RD/NWRO, January 30, 1970, in "Wildlife Management" file, KATM; NPS, Katmai National Park and Preserve Resources Management Plan, April 15, 1982, 8-17, 25-84; SAR for 1982 (p. 3) and 1983 (p. 4).

[48] SAR for 1983 (pp. 4, 5) and 1984 (pp. 7-9); Natural Resource Survey and Inventory Report file, AKSO-RNR Collection.

[49] NPS, Resource Management Plan and Environmental Assessment for KATM, dated April 25, 1983, January 1985, and April 1987, in AKSO-RNR Collection.

[50] SAR for 1978 (p. 4), 1985 (p. 7), 1986 (p. 6), 1990 (p. 3), 1991 (p. 3), and 1992 (p. 4).

[51] SAR for 1985 (p. 7), 1988 (p. 6), 1990 (p. 3), 1991 (p. 3), and 1992 (p. 4).

[52] SAR for 1986 (p. 6), 1990 (p. 3), 1991 (pp. 2-3), and 1992 (pp. 4-5).

[53] John Power (Alaska Volcano Observatory, Fairbanks), interview by the author, May 18, 1993; SAR, 1991, 4; Anchorage Daily News, June 21, 1992, A7.

[54] SAR for 1985 (p. 8), 1986 (p. 6), and 1991 (pp. 2-3); Peter Ward, interview by the author, May 18, 1993.

[55] The initial project entailed up to eight holes, but by 1991 project sponsors were requiring only three. Plans call for two holes to be adjacent to Novarupta Volcano; the third will be approximately four miles away.

[56] Kathy Jope to author, email, April 9, 1996.

[57] John C. Eichelberger (Geochemistry Division, Sandia National Laboratories) to Boyd Evison (RD/ARO), September 25, 1985; SAR for 1985 (p. 7) and 1986 (p. 6).

[58] SAR, 1987, 4; William B. Lawrence (Chief, ARO-REC) to ARO Directorate, etc., December 22, 1987, in AKSO-RNR files; Ray Bane to author, email, April 19, 1996.

[59] David B. Ames (Acting RD/ARO) to Pete McKhann, September 1, 1988, in AKSO-RNR files; USGS, "Scientists Return to Katmai to Study the 1912 Eruption," in AKSO-RNR files.

[60] Washington Times, October 12, 1990, 5; USGS, "Scientists Return to Katmai to Study the 1912 Eruption;" Resource Management Specialist, ARO to ARD/ARO, December 1990?, AKSO-RNR files; John C. Eichelberger, Wes Hildreth, and J. J. Papike, "The Katmai Scientific Drilling Project, Surface Phase; Investigation of an Exceptional Igneous System," Geophysical Research Letters 18 (August 1991), 1513-16.

[61] Allan R. Sattler to Al Lovaas, etc., October 6, 1989, in AKSO-RNR files.

[62] Bill Lawrence (ARO-EC) to RD/ARO, January 2, 1990, in AKSO-RNR files.

[63] "Doing Science at the Gates of Hell," Science 249 (August 3, 1990), 475; SAR, KATM, 1991, 3-4; NAS, "Volcanic Studies at Katmai," 1989, 9 pp., in AKSO-REQ Collection.

[64] Anchorage Daily News, April 15, 1992, B2 and April 19, 1992, A1, A6-A7.

[65] John Quinley to Alaska Region Supts., December 14, 1992 (ccmail message), "Issues for Decision Between January 20 and June 20, 1993, National Park Service, Alaska Region."

[66] Bud Rice to author, June 4, 1993 and May 28, 1996, both in AKSO-RCR files; Joan Darnell, interview by author, May 23, 1996; David P. Russ, William C. Luth, and Ian D. MacGregor to John M. Morehead, March 28, 1994. Rice notes that the ICG was reluctant to abandon the project; although the letter authorizing its withdrawal was dated on March 28, the NPS did not receive it until June 19.

[67] William S. Hanable and Carol Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill and the National Park Service: A Report on the Initial Response (Anchorage, National Park Service, 1990), 16, 48-49, 52, 59.

[68] Ibid., 56, 59.

[69] Ibid., 80.

[70] Ibid., 81.

[71] Ibid., 82-83; Janis Meldrum, interview by author, May 11, 1993.

[72] Rick S. Kurtz, Lessons to Be Learned: The National Park Service Administrative History and Assessment of the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill (Anchorage, NPS, in press), 61-62, 94-98.

[73] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill, 83; Kurtz, Lessons to Be Learned, 51; Meldrum interview, May 11, 1993.

[74] Kurtz, Lessons to Be Learned, 53-54.

[75] Kurtz, Lessons to Be Learned, 57-59; SAR, 1990, 2.

[76] Kurtz, Lessons to Be Learned, 61-63; Joel Cusick, "NRDA Study List," AKSO-RCP files.

[77] Joel Cusick, "NRDA Study List;" Exxon Valdez Trustee Council, State/Federal Natural Resource Damage Assessment Plan for the Exxon Valdez Oil Spill (also known as NRDA Plan), public review draft, (Juneau, the author, August 1989), 39-43, 65-68, 138-39; Trustee

Council, 1990 NRDA Plan (Juneau, the author, August 1990), 142-51; 261-66; Trustee Council, 1991 NRDA Plan (Juneau, the author, April 1991), 58-59.

[78] Kurtz, Lessons to Be Learned, 70-71, 74.

[79] Joel Cusick, "Restoration Projects," AKSO-RCP Collection; Exxon Valdez Oil Spill Trustees, Exxon Valdez Oil Spill Restoration, Vol. II, 1992 Draft Work Plan (Anchorage, the author, April 1992), 278-79; EVOS Trustees, Exxon Valdez Oil Spill Restoration, 1993 Draft Work Plan (October 1992), 154-57.

[80] SAR, 1992, 4; Rick Potts, interview by the author, May 17, 1993.

[81] Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (P.L. 96-487), Sec. 203; Behnke, Resource Use and Subsistence in the Vicinity of the Proposed Lake Clark National Park, Alaska and Additions to Katmai National Monument, 141.

[82] Susan Savage (KATM Subsistence Manager), interview by the author, May 3, 1993.

[83] NPS, Katmai National Park and Preserve Resources Management Plan (draft), April 15, 1982, 10-11.

[84] NPS, Resource Management Plan and Environmental Assessment for KATM, dated January 1985 and April 1987, in AKSO-RNR Collection.

[85] Anchorage Daily News, May 9, 1990, A1; July 1, 1990, A1; July 9, 1990, A1; July 10, 1990, A1.

[86] SAR, 1991, 1.

[87] SAR, 1992, 4; Susan Savage interview, May 3, 1993.

[88] James L. Ryan (Acting Supt. KATM), "Record of Meeting, 5-15-90," in KATM-RS files; Richard Russell (ADF&G, King Salmon), interview with the author, May 18, 1993).

[89] James A. Fall (ADF&G Subsistence Division, Anchorage), interview with the author, May 17, 1993; Ray Bane, interview with the author, May 18, 1993; Morris interview, June 1, 1993.

[90] James L. Ryan (Acting Supt. KATM), "Record of Meeting, 5-15-90," in KATM-RS files; Temporary Subsistence Management Regulations for Federal Public Lands in Alaska (Game, Fish, and Shellfish), July 1, 1991-June 30, 1992, 100.

[91] BBNA Resolution 92-43, April 14, 1992; Louis Waller (ARO-RS) to Terry Hoefferle (BBNA), May 15, 1992; John M. Morehead to Ted Stevens, May 8, 1992; all in KATM-RS files. State regulations continue to allow the subsistence redfish fishery. Those regulations, however, are currently not being enforced.

[92] BBNA, "Resolution 93-27," October 9, 1992, in KATM-RS files; John Quinley to Alaska Region Superintendents, December 20, 1992 (email), "Issues for Decision Between January 20 and June 20, 1993, National Park Service, Alaska Region," 2; "Bristol Bay Residents Target Fisheries, Hunting Rights," Alaska Natives Commission (newsletter) 2:2 (1993), 1; Tim Cochrane, interview by author, March 20, 1995.

Chapter 13

[1] Public Law 96-487, Section 201.

[2] Merry Allen Tuten, 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 (Fairbanks, University of Alaska, 1977), 14; Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Assessment, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, Alaska (Washington, USDI), 32; Lidia L. Selkregg, Alaska Regional Profiles: vol. III, Southwest Region (Anchorage, Alaska Environmental Information and Data Center, 1974-76), Figs. 5, 6, 18, 21.

[3] Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, October 1974, 54, 58-59; David Manski, interview by author, May 30, 1996.

[4] Roger Harritt, "A Model for Analysis of Late Prehistoric Occupation of the Naknek Region, Southwest Alaska," in Robert Shaw, Roger Harritt and Don Dumond, ed., The Late Prehistoric Development of Alaska's Native People, Aurora (Alaska Anthropological Association, Monograph Series No. 4), 1988, 199. Svetlana G. Fedorova, in The Russian Population of Alaska and California, Late Eighteenth Century to 1867, translated and edited by R. A. Pierce and A. S. Donnelly (Kingston, Ont., Limestone Press, c. 1973), 162 indicates that in the 1820s, Alaska Peninsula Natives were known only as "Peninsula Eskimos." Her map is based on one published in Wendell H. Oswalt, Alaskan Eskimos (San Francisco, Chandler, 1967), 7. Also see R. E. Ackerman and L. Ackerman, "Ethnoarchaeological Interpretations of Territoriality and Land Use in Southwest Alaska," Ethnohistory 20 (1973), 315-334.

[5] Don E. Dumond, "Archaeology on the Alaska Peninsula: The Naknek Region, 1960-1975," University of Oregon Anthropological Papers 21 (1981), Fig. 1.1; Michael E. Krauss, "Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska" (map), 2nd edition (Fairbanks, University of Alaska, Native Language Center), 1982.

[6] Jeff Leer, in A Conversational Dictionary of Kodiak Alutiiq (Fairbanks, University of Alaska, Alaska Native Language Center, 1978, 1-4) notes that although older Natives consider themselves Sugpiaq, Alutiiq is the currently preferred term. They have also been called Suk Eskimo, Pacific Gulf Eskimo, Sugcestun and Chugach Eskimo.

[7] D. E. Dumond, L. Conton and H. Shields, "Eskimos and Aleuts on the Alaska Peninsula: A Reappraisal of Port Moller Affinities," Arctic Anthropology 12:1 (1975), 52-53.

[8] A. P. McCartney, "Prehistoric Cultural Integration Along the Alaska Peninsula," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska 16 (1), 1974, 59-84, as quoted in Roger Harritt, "Historic Structure Assessment Report, Bunkhouse, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Archeology Section," unpublished draft report, NPS, Alaska Regional Office, June 1987, (3).

[9] David R. Yesner, "Cultural Boundaries and Ecological Frontiers in Coastal Regions; An Example from the Alaska Peninsula," in S. W. Green and S. M. Perlman, ed., The Archaeology of Frontiers and Boundaries (New York, Academic Press, 1985), 81-84.

Donald W. Clark, "Pacific Eskimo Encoded Precontact History," in Shaw, Harritt and Dumond, 211.

[11] Harritt, 1987, (1).

[12] NPS, "Archeological Clearance Survey Form," #001-87-ANIA, 1987, 2. Donald Orth, in Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, p. 79 lists Aniakchak as an "Eskimo camp or settlement" which in 1925 was "occupied only by a trapper's cabin." He does not, however, specify a location of the camp or a source for his information.

[13] Alfred Hulse Brooks, Geography and Geology of Alaska, A Summary of Existing Knowledge (Washington, GPO, 1906), 109; National Park Service, Alaska History, 1741-1910, The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XXI, Political and Military Affairs, 1865-1910, Special Study (Washington?, the author, 1961), 14-15; George A. Parks, comp., "Early Exploratory Routes, Alaska" (map), c. 1930, in University of Washington, Special Collections (hereafter referred to as UWSC).

[14] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 16-18; NPS, Alaska History, 1741-1910, 12.

[15] Alaska Dept. of Community and Regional Affairs, "Chignik Lagoon" Community Profile (Iliamna/Alaska Peninsula Region), December 1982; Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 16-17.

[16] Alaska Department of Community and Regional Affairs, "Chignik" Community Profile, December 1982; Donald W. Clark, "Pacific Eskimo: Historical Ethnography," in David Dumas, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 5: Arctic (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1984), 186.

[17] Fedorova, The Russian Population of Alaska and California, 112.

[18] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 22, 25; Clark, "Pacific Eskimo: Historical Ethnography," 186.

[19] Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 16-17, 79. As part of the application which the Koniag Incorporated Regional Native Corporation provided to the U.S. Bureau of Land Management for a 240 acre Cemetery/Historical Site (Case File AA 011774), the "Statement for Site #71" (p. 2) noted that "the village of Kujulik was first recorded on Russian Hydrographic Department charts as 'Kizhulik'. Ales Hrdlicka noted in 1930 an uncertainty about the location of the abandoned village. He was uncertain as to whether it was actually located in Kujulik Bay, or was in Aniakchak Bay. It may be that there was actually a village in each bay area, and that one is previously recorded."

[20] W. R. Smith and Arthur A. Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," Mineral Resources of Alaska, Report on Progress of Investigations in 1922, USGS Bulletin 755 (Washington, GPO, 1924), 151-52; Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 41-42, 79.

[21] In 1847, a Russian Hydrographic Department chart labelled the bay "Zal[iv] Aniakshak," while the first map known to label the bay "Aniakchak" was published in 1869. Capt. M. D. Teben'kov, Atlas of the Northwest Coasts of America, translated and edited by R. A. Pierce (Kingston, Ont., Limestone Press, 1981), 60; Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 79; U.S. Coast Survey, "Alaska and Adjoining Territory" (map), 1869, UWSC.

[22] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 28-29; U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, "Alaska and Adjoining Territory" (map), 1887, UWSC. Robert P. Porter, Dept. of the Interior, Census Office, Report on the Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington, GPO, 1893), 73, also indicated a "Sutkum Village" on Sutwik Island.

[23] MacDonald, Lewis G., "Chronological History of Salmon Canneries in Central Alaska," Alaska Fisheries Board Annual Report 3 (1951), 71-84; Jefferson F. Moser, "The Salmon and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska; Report of the Alaskan Salmon Investigations of the United States Fish Commission Steamer Albatross in the 1900 and 1901," Bulletin of the U.S. Fish Commission 21 (Washington, GPO, 1902), 173-398.

[24] In 1888, the salmon fishery began at Chignik when 2,160 barrels of salted salmon were packed. Willis H. Rich and Edward M. Ball, "Statistical Review of the Alaska Fisheries, Part II: Chignik to Resurrection Bay," Bulletin of the Bureau of Fisheries 46, Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 1102 (Washington, GPO, 1931), 645; MacDonald, 73; Selkregg, Alaska Regional Profiles: vol. III, Southwest Region, Fig. 159.

[25] In 1891, one of the Chignik canneries was operated by the Alaska Packers Association; the following year by the Alaska Packing Association, and from 1893 to the 1970s the Alaska Packers Association. Pat Roppel, Salmon From Kodiak: An History of the Salmon Fishery of Kodiak Island, Alaska (Anchorage, Alaska Historical Commission Studies in History No. 216, 1986), 34; Richard A. Cooley, Politics and Conservation; the Decline of the Alaska Salmon (New York, Harper and Row, 1963), 43-48; Laurence Freeburn, "The Silver Years of the Alaska Canned Salmon Industry; an Album of Historical Photos," Alaska Geographic 3 (Anchorage, Alaska Northwest, c. 1976), 22.

[26] H. C. Scudder, "The Alaska Salmon Trap: Its Evolution, Conflicts, and Consequences," Alaska State Library Historical Monographs, No. 1 (Juneau, Dept. of Education, 1970), 1-3; Cooley, Politics and Conservation, 45.

[27] MacDonald, "Chronological History," 74-75; Roppel, Salmon from Kodiak, 27; Howard M. Kutchin, Report on the Salmon Fisheries of Alaska (Washington, GPO), editions of 1903 (p. 12) and 1904 (p. 13); Rich and Ball, "Statistical Review of the Alaska Fisheries, Part II," 645; Scudder, "The Alaska Salmon Trap," 8, 15.

[28] Selkregg, Alaska Regional Profiles: Vol. III, Southwest Region, Fig. 159.

[29] Rich and Ball, "Statistical Review of the Alaska Salmon Fisheries," 1931, 646.

[30] Willis H. Rich and Edward M. Ball, "Statistical Review of the Alaska Salmon Fisheries, Part I: Bristol Bay and Alaska Peninsula," Bulletin of the Bureau of Fisheries 44, Document 1041 (Washington, GPO, 1928), 42. Before World War I, little demand existed for pink and chum salmon. In 1900, "dog salmon" were regarded as waste, and a decade later certain canneries paid fishermen seven to eight times more for sockeye salmon than for pink salmon. Moser, "The Salmon and Salmon Fisheries of Alaska," 1902, 218; Cooley, Politics and Conservation, 40-41.

[31] Scudder, "The Alaska Salmon Trap," 9, 15-16.

[32] Rich and Ball, "Statistical Review of the Alaska Salmon Fisheries, Part II," 646; Harold H. Waller, "Map of Fish Trap Location, Territorial License No. 19-085, Situated North End

Aniakchak Bay on Small Island, Alaska Peninsula, Alaska," Columbia River Packers Association, October 14, 1919, in CRPA Collection, Columbia River Maritime Museum. This is the first source known to have named the Aniakchak River.

[33] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, "Location of Traps in Alaska Other Than Southeast," 1924-1958, in Box 16, RG 22, NARA ANC.

[34] U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, "Location of Traps in Alaska Other Than Southeast," 1924-1958, in Box 16, RG 22, NARA ANC; A. K. Tichenor, "Traps Owned by Alaska Packers (Operated and Leased) and Traps Operated for Other Companies in 1934," APA Collection, Box 6 (II/2), UAA; [Transfer Agreement, CRPA to APA], April 20, 1940, in CRPA Collection.

[35] Waller, "Map of Fish Trap Location;" Scudder, "The Alaska Salmon Trap," 15; Rich and Ball, "Statistical Review of the Alaska Salmon Fisheries, Part II," 646. The trap locations were well within the legal limits of the period, which specified that all traps had to be at least 500 yards away from any red salmon stream less than 500 feet wide, and also had to be at least 100 yards endwise from any other trap.

[36] Osmund to Barker, January 8, 1926, CRPA Collection. The following year, an unknown watchman inscribed "May 11 to Sept. 30, 1927 - 132 days in camp" on one of the cabin's inside walls. George Stroud and Lynn Fuller, "End of Season Report, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve," September 1983, 7.

[37] Alec Pedersen, interview by the author, September 19, 1990; Clemens Grunert Sr., interview by the author, September 19, 1990; Stan Lilian, "Fish-Trap Patrol," Alaska Sportsman 6 (March 1940), 14.

[38] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 168.

[39] U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Annual Report (Washington, GPO) for 1924 (pp. 53, 78), 1925 (pp. 58-59, 74), and 1926 (pp. 39, 55 and Map 14).

[40] U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, U.S. Coast Pilot, Alaska, Part II: Yakutat Bay to the Arctic Ocean, second edition (Washington, GPO, 1926), 172. The publication did not report a detailed description of Aniakchak Bay until after World War II. Ibid., fifth edition (Washington, GPO, 1947), 281.

[41] Smith, "The Cold Bay-Katmai District," 143; Hubbard, "A World Inside a Mountain," National Geographic 60 (September 1931), 322; Pedersen interview; Grunert interview.

[42] John Hillborn, "Chignik Trapper," Alaska Sportsman 3 (December 1937), 12-13.

[43] Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 62, 419, 430, 668; Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 164.

[44] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 32; Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 154, Pl. XII; Orth, Dictionary of Alaska Place Names, 62; Smith, "The Cold Bay-Katmai District," 143; Russell Knappen, "Geology and Mineral Resources of the Aniakchak District, Alaska," Mineral Resources of Alaska, 1926, USGS Bulletin 797-F (Washington, GPO, 1929), 167.

[45] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 34.

[46] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 32; Pedersen interview; Grunert interview.

[47] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 152-53; Knappen, "Geology and Mineral Resources of the Aniakchak District," 212-13. Two mines near Chignik also yielded a small amount of coal; operations began in the 1880s and continued until 1913.

[48] Knappen, "Geology and Mineral Resources of the Aniakchak District," 164; Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 163. Kanatak never did regain its former glory; in 1931, it was described as a Native village with a single store. Robert Dick Douglas, In the Land of the Thunder Mountains: Adventures with Father Hubbard Among the Volcanoes of Alaska (New York, Brewer, Warren and Putnam, 1932), 14.

[49] A. G. Maddren, "Geologic Map of Alaskan Peninsula," in USGS Collection; George C. Martin, "The Outlook for Petroleum Near Chignik," Mineral Resources of Alaska, 1923, USGS Bulletin 773 (Washington, GPO, 1925), 209.

[50] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 210.

[51] USDI, Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska for FY 1922 (p. 37), FY 1923 (p. 40), and FY 1924 (p. 27).

[52] Smith and Baker, 209; Metcalf and Grefe surveyors, "First Preliminary Map of the Aniakchak and Chignik District, Showing Approximate Position of Oil Locations, Compiled from Data in U.S. Land Office," March 1922, in USGS Collection; BLM, Historical Index sheets (various), in Alaska State Office, Anchorage.

[53] Smith, "The Cold Bay-Katmai District," 139; E. D. Calvin, "Legend, Working Diagram, Group 27, Showing in Solid Lines Public Land Surveys Executed in 1922," June 14, 1923, in USGS Collection, Anchorage. Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 210 noted that "most of the claims [in the Aniakchak country] had been staked by one man." W. W. French was probably the person most involved in the leasing activity, although BLM records show that his interest was shared by many others.

[54] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 164.

[55] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 210-211.

[56] Martin, "The Outlook for Petroleum Near Chignik," 213. Russell Knappen's report (pp. 162, 211), based on 1925 field work, reinforced the conclusions made in other USGS reports and provided an elaborate rationale for the lack of petroleum potential in the area.

[57] BLM, Historical Index File for Township 39S Range 52W of the Seward Meridian, Alaska. Between 1956 and 1958, a new wave of interest in petroleum arose, and the BLM issued a number of Oil and Gas Leases in the area, four of which were in the township surrounding the mouth of the Aniakchak River. These were taken up by various Anchorage bankers and financiers, one of which was Elmer E. Rasmuson. These lessees apparently had no greater luck than their predecessors, however, and by 1962 all leases had been cancelled or terminated by the BLM. BLM, Case Files for A-033942, A-033943, A-033950 and A-04595; Directory Co., Kriss Kross City Directory of Anchorage, 1958 (Anchorage, the author), c. 1957.

[58] See, for example, the following maps: Alaska Road Commission, "Alaska", 1912, scale 1:1,250,000, in UWSC, or Metcalfe and Grefe surveyors, "First Preliminary Map of the Aniakchak and Chignik District Showing Approximate Position of Oil Locations, Compiled from Data in U.S. Land Office," March 1922, in USGS Collection.

[59] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 153; Smith, "The Cold Bay-Katmai District," 139, 143; Knappen, "Geology and Mineral Resources of the Aniakchak District," 167, 173-177. The nearest known "old trail" found by the 1922 USGS party led from Hook Bay, 25 miles southwest of Aniakchak Bay, north to the Meshik River valley.

[60] Knappen, "Geology and Mineral Resources of the Aniakchak District," 163, 210-212.

[61] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 157; Smith, "The Cold Bay-Katmai District," 140.

[62] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 157; Smith, "The Cold Bay-Katmai District," 141, 145. In a prophetic statement, Smith noted that "were it not so remote from the usual paths of travel the setting apart of this crater as a national monument would be justified."

[63] Smith, "The Cold Bay-Katmai District," 141.

[64] M. Woodbridge Williams, "Aniakchak: Kingdom of Genesis," National Parks and Conservation Magazine 49 (June 1975), 8; "Aleutian Eruptions 1930-1932," The Volcano Letter 375 (March 3, 1932), 1-3; Bernard R. Hubbard, S.J., Mush, You Malemutes! (New York, America Press, 1932), 55-57.

[65] Howard A. Powers, "Alaska Peninsula - Aleutian Islands," in Howel Williams, ed., Landscapes of Alaska, Their Geologic Evolution (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1958), 64-65.

[66] Seattle Times, May 2, 1931, 1; May 4, 1931, 2; Seward Daily Gateway, May 2, 1931, 8; May 14, 1931, 1; Anchorage Daily Times, May 4, 1931, 1; May 14, 1931, 1.

[67] Bernard R. Hubbard, S.J., Cradle of the Storms (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1935), 186; Hubbard, Mush, You Malemutes!, 71-73, 138-139.

[68] Bernard R. Hubbard, S.J., "Exploring the Alaskan 'Moon Craters'," New York Times, October 12, 1930, V:8. The only known sources about Aniakchak previous to 1930 were those by Baker and Smith (1924), Smith (1925) and Knappen (1929) of the USGS, and a brief description of the area in a leading travel publication ("An Extinct Crater on the Alaskan Peninsula," Travel 45 [September, 1925], 46). The "Mr. Sargent" he referred to was R. H. Sargent, topographer for both the 1922 and 1925 expeditions.

[69] Hubbard, "A World Inside a Mountain," 324; Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, October 1974, 71.

[70] Hubbard, Mush, You Malemutes!, 55-68; Hubbard, Cradle of the Storms, 1-16. Several accounts of the 1931 expedition have been recorded, including Douglas, In the Land of the Thunder Mountains; William Regan, personal interview by Julie O'Keefe, February 8, 1965; William Regan, [Untitled 1931 diary], University of Santa Clara archives; William V. Regan, "Alaska Diary," Santa Clara Magazine 29 (Summer 1987), 10-17; Kenneth Chisholm, Guide

to the Kenneth Chisholm Papers/Photographs, including Alaska Expeditions with Father B. J. [sic] Hubbard, 1930-1938, unpublished mss., Alaska Historical Library, c. 1974.

[71] Hubbard, "Exploring the Alaskan 'Moon Craters'," V/8; Barrett Willoughby, "The Moon Craters of Alaska," Saturday Evening Post 203 (December 13, 1930), 11; New York Times, November 6, 1930, 27.

[72] Hubbard, Mush, You Malemutes!, 57, 64.

[73] The total number of fish caught in the "Aniakchak Beach" and "Aniakchak Pinnacle" traps is as follows:

1929 - 26,084	1931 - 68,462	1933 - 186,899
1930 - 9,728	1932 - 377,311	1934 - 367,329

Source: A. K. Tichenor, "Fish Caught in Traps," in Box 6 (II/2), APA Collection, UAA.

[74] Hubbard, "Exploring the Alaskan 'Moon Craters'," V:8; Willoughby, "The Moon Craters of Alaska," 10-11.

[75] Brooks to Cammerer, January 8, 1931; Arno B. Cammerer to A. E. Demaray and George A. Moskey, January 10, 1931; Wallace R. Atwood to the Director, January 21, 1931; all in "Aniakchak, Alaska" folder, in Box 658, File 0-35, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[76] Regarding Veniaminof National Monument, Atwood had difficulty drawing a plausible boundary because portions of the proposed area had not yet been included on a detailed map. "Proposed Aniakchak and Veniaminof National Monument" (map overlay), n.d., in "Aniakchak, Alaska" folder, in Box 658, File 0-35, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[77] Horace M. Albright to W. C. Mendenhall (Acting Director, USGS), Henry O'Malley (Commissioner, USBF) and Charles C. Moore (Commissioner, GLO), February 5, 1931, in "Aniakchak, Alaska" folder, in Box 658, File 0-35, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[78] Henry O'Malley to Albright, February 6, 1931; Thomas C. Howell (Acting Commissioner GLO), February 11, 1931; both in "Aniakchak, Alaska" folder, in Box 658, File 0-35, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[79] Julian D. Sears (Acting Director, USGS) to Horace M. Albright, February 18, 1931, in "Aniakchak, Alaska" folder, in Box 658, File 0-35, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[80] Brooks to Albright, etc., February 25, 1931; "Proposed Aniakchak and Veniaminof National Monument" (map overlay), n.d.; both in "Aniakchak, Alaska" folder, in Box 658, File 0-35, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[81] Cammerer to Wirth and Moskey, February 26, 1931, in "Aniakchak, Alaska" folder, in Box 658, File 0-35, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[82] Smith and Baker, "The Cold Bay-Chignik District," 161; Knappen, "Geology and Mineral Resources of the Aniakchak District," 168.

[83] H. C. Bryant, "Memorandum Relative to Proposed National Monuments in Alaska," March 17, 1931, in "General, 1930-38" folder, KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC.

[84] Horace M. Albright to Acting Director, USGS, April 8, 1931, in "General, 1930-38" folder, KNM Box 1, Entry 7, RG 79, NARA DC; Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 1954, 17-19.

[85] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 34, 58, 78; U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Alaska Fishery and Fur-Seal Industries (Washington, GPO, 1932), 54; Axel Olsen, "Notice of Location Notice," July 20, 1932, in Miscellaneous Records, Unga Peninsula District, October 1917-December 1935, in "Unga Peninsula Recording District #4" (microfilm roll), Anchorage Recorder's Office, State of Alaska.

[86] Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, October 1974, 71; John Haile Cloe, The Aleutian Warriors; a History of the 11th Air Force and Fleet Air Wing 4 (Missoula, Pictorial Histories, 1991), 53-57.

[87] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 62-65, 78, 81.

[88] R. M. Moxham, "Pumice Deposits in the Alaska Peninsula-Cook Inlet Region, Alaska," USGS Open File Report #49, 1951, pp. 16 and 19-20, in File 609-01, RG 79, NARA SB; USDI (USGS) Press Release, January 21, 1952, in Pumice Bill File, Bartlett Collection.

[89] BLM, Historical Index sheets for the Aniakchak area, in BLM State Office, Anchorage.

[90] Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 34, 38; Ernest P. Walker, Report of the Executive Officer to the Alaska Game Commission, 1925 through 1936 editions; Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, October 1974, 77, 80, 82, 92; Stroud and Fuller, "End of Season Report," 1983, 6; National Park Service, Final Environmental Impact Statement and Wilderness Recommendations for Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve (Denver, the author, c. 1988), 14; U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Becharof National Wildlife Refuge, Annual Narrative Report, 1979, 9, in USF&WS files, Anchorage.

Chapter 14

[1] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 34-36; NPS, Operation Great Land, 1965, 33, in ANILCA Box 1, HFC. Hartzog thought that Operation Great Land was controversial because it suggested that the NPS had an interest in lands which other agencies might also wish to manage. He therefore refused to circulate it. Even so, it remained as a blueprint for future studies.

[2] Roger W. Allin, Alaska: A Plan for Action, typescript, November 1966, in "Roger Allin 1966 Report" file, Box #6, Swem Collection, DPL. The NPS was responsible for both the National Historic Landmark and the National Natural Landmark programs.

[3] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 45, 50.

[4] Alaskasearch, Ltd., "National Natural Landmark Study, Report I," 28 July 1967, 1, 3, 5, at AHL and AKSO-RNR; Chief, Interagency Resources Division, NPS to Chief Historian, NPS, May 29, 1985, in "KNM 1975-present" file, NPS History office, WASO; George B. Hartzog (Director NPS) to Walter J. Hickel (Governor of Alaska), December 7, 1967, in File 882, Series 41, RG 01, ASA; Una G. Swain, National Natural Landmarks in Alaska (Anchorage, The Nature Conservancy, December 1990), 8; State Director BLM to RD/PNRO, July 9,

1970; Boyd Rasmussen (Director BLM) to Director NPS, August 14, 1970. The area contained within the NNL is unknown. Sources have variously claimed it to be 20,000 or 20,440 acres in extent. A status report on the site, however, noted that its boundaries were unspecific and were probably never delineated.

[5] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 51.

[6] Ibid., 51-53, 76-79.

[7] Ibid., 98-99.

[8] Ibid., 104-05.

[9] Ibid., 112-13.

[10] Ibid., 110, 115.

[11] Ibid., 122, 124, 127; "Team 4 Briefing Book, Aniakchak Caldera Proposal," in Box 15, NARA ANC.

[12] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 124, 131.

[13] R. H. Sargent and W. R. Smith, in 1922, "discovered" and named Aniakchak Crater. Three years later, however, Russell Knappen called it Aniakchak Volcano. Father Bernard Hubbard, who popularized the area, used both terms. Early NPS proposals had called it a crater. During 1972 or 1973, however, the NPS discovered that the feature was properly termed a dry caldera, and the name of the proposed NPS unit was changed to Aniakchak Caldera National Monument. In 1977, the unit's name was changed again, to Aniakchak National Monument, probably because the area under consideration as parkland covered far more than just the caldera.

[14] Alaska Task Force (USDI), Preliminary Draft Environmental Statement and Master Plan, Aniakchak Caldera National Recreation Area (Washington?, the author, June 1973), 1, 5; Urban Rogers, "Summary of Aniakchak Crater: D2-52 and D1-27," July 3, 1972, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[15] ATF, Preliminary DES and Master Plan, ANIA NRA, June 1973, 5; Glenn Reed (PNRO), "Mineralization Within the NPS Study Area Considered for the Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Recreation Area," March 1973, 4.

[16] In February 1973, the Alaska planning units of the various Interior bureaus formed the Alaska Planning Group. The APG remained active until 1977, when the legislative process began. Williss, 130, 162.

[17] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 137.

[18] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 143, 145; Alaska Planning Group, Draft Environmental Statement, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument and Aniakchak Wild River, Alaska, December 1973, 1. Williss noted that only 440,000 acres were reserved at that time. The boundaries on Williss's map and the DES map, however, are identical. Comparison of the two maps with today's boundaries suggest that the 580,000-acre figure is correct.

[19] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 143. AECs were defined as adjacent lands and waters "that contain resources that are part of the total ecosystem and which, if compromised, would endanger resources within the proposal."

[20] Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, Alaska (USDI, October 1974), 9.

[21] M. Woodbridge Williams, "Aniakchak: Kingdom of Genesis," National Parks and Conservation Magazine 49 (June 1975), 9.

[22] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 125; Alaska Planning Group, Draft Environmental Statement, Proposed Alaska Caldera National Monument and Aniakchak Wild River, Alaska, (Washington?, USDI, December 1973), 1; APG, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, Alaska (USDI, October 1974), 47.

[23] Jack Hession, of the Sierra Club, told the author (April 4, 1996) that the state had no legal grounds for its suit, and it agreed as much when it settled out of court. The intent of the suit, however, was partially successful because the suit brought the Interior Department to the bargaining table, where it extracted some notable concessions in its September 2 agreement.

[24] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 109-10, 121-22; USDI, "Alaska and Interior Agree to Settlement of State's Land Selection Lawsuit" (press release), September 5, 1972; Anchorage Daily Times, September 5, 1972, 1. NPS officials hoped that Aniakchak would be the only new unit which would allow hunting. In 1976, however, the same controversy erupted in regards to the proposed Lake Clark unit, and the NPS acceded to having a preserve there as well. Finally, in 1977, the floodgates opened. When Congress began deliberating the issue, the agency responded by allowing the preserve designation to be placed on several additional areas. Today, ten of the fifteen NPS units in Alaska allow hunting within them. Williss, 153-54, 166-68, 191.

[25] "Team 4 Briefing Book, Aniakchak Caldera Proposal," in Box 15, NARA ANC; ATF, Preliminary DES and Master Plan, Aniakchak Caldera NRA, June 1973, 3, 7, 10.

[26] ATF, Preliminary DES and Master Plan, Aniakchak Caldera NRA, June 1973, 3, 7, 12.

[27] APG, Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, Alaska, Master Plan, December 1973, 22-25.

[28] APG, DES, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument and Aniakchak Wild River, Alaska, December 1973, 1-2, 7.

[29] Patrick L. Dobey (DGGS) to Jules Tileston (BOR), July 25, 1973, in Box 14, NARA ANC; APG, DES, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument and Aniakchak Wild River, December 1973, 7, 167-68; APG, FES, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, October 1974, 22, 453-54; Williams, "Aniakchak, Kingdom of Genesis," 7-8; William M. Lyle, "Geology and Mineral Evaluation of the Aniakchak River Drainage, Alaska Peninsula" (Alaska Division of Geological and Geophysical Surveys, Open File Report No. 26, 1973), 2a, 4.

[30] APG, FES, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, October 1974, 13-21.

[31] APG, FES, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, 2; Ralph R. Root to Project Leader, ATFO, December 16, 1975, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[32] Ralph Root to Special Assistant to the Director, Alaska, January 20, 1976; Root to Project Leader, AAO, September 3, 1976; Root to Area Director, Alaska, October 6, 1976; all in Box 14, NARA ANC; Thomas P. Miller and Robert L. Smith, "Ash Flows on the Alaska Peninsula: A Preliminary Report on Their Distribution, Composition, and Age," Geological Society of America, Annual Meeting Abstracts, 1975, 1201; Dr. Robert Forbes, interview by author, July 16, 1993.

[33] Thomas P. Miller and Robert L. Smith of the USGS began working on the Alaska Peninsula in 1975. Two years later, the two wrote a more substantial paper on the Aniakchak ash flows; a year after that, Miller published a USGS Professional Paper on the caldera. See Georef Disc 1, at UAF Geophysical Institute Library.

[34] The impetus behind this study was probably Dr. John G. Dennis, and NPS biologist who had just completed a brief study entitled "An Introduction to Vegetation of the Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument and its Environs on the Alaska Peninsula of Alaska," 1976, in KATM RMS files.

[35] Ralph Root to Project Leader, ATF, June 17, 1976; "Detail of Annual Operating Requirements (Form 10-23), October 8, 1976; both in Box 14, NARA ANC; L. P. Glenn and L. H. Miller, "Seasonal Movement of an Alaska Peninsula Brown Bear Population," International Association of Bear Research and Management 4 (1980), 307-12.

[36] Alaska Professional Hunters Association, "Proposals for Disposition of 80 Million Acres Under Terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act," (c. 1972), in Box 13, NARA ANC; Arnold Shaul (ADF&G, Kodiak) to Nate Johnson, ADF&G, Anchorage, January 31, 1974, in Box 14, NARA ANC; APG, Final Environmental Statement, Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, 280, 320, 347.

[37] "Notes for Bryan Harry for Talk Before the APHA, Sunday, December 14" [1975], in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[38] NPS, "Briefing Statement," for June 6, 1975, March 29, 1976, and November 5, 1976; all in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[39] R. Gerald Wright, "The Issue of Sport Hunting in the Proposed Alaskan Parks; A Review of Data, Philosophies, and Recommendations," April 28, 1977, 10, 38, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[40] APG, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, 5; Tuten, A Preliminary Study of Subsistence Activities, 7-8, 88-89.

[41] Ralph Root and S. Fred Eubanks to Project Leader, ATF, May 27, 1976; Root to Project Leader, ATF, May 5, 1976; both in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[42] See, for example, Smith and Baker (1924) and Knappen (1929). Also see Patrick L. Dobey to Jules Tileston, July 25, 1973, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[43] Root to Project Leader, ATF, May 5, 1976; Glenn C. Reed (Mining Engineer, PNRO) to Project Leader, ATF, June 28, 1976; Reed to Files, November 5, 1976, all in Box 14, NARA

ANC; Reed to A.G. Henson, April 7, 1977, in Box 15, NARA ANC.

[44] APG, Final Environmental Statement, Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, 47, 49; Root to Project Leader, ATF, May 5, 1976; Root to Area Director, Alaska, September 17, 1976; both in Box 14, NARA ANC; Glenn C. Reed to A. G. Henson, April 7, 1977, in Box 15, NARA ANC; P.L. 94-204 (passed January 2, 1976), Sec. 15(a).

[45] Ralph Root, "Field Trip Notes for July 11-18, 1975;" Root to Project Leader, ATF, May 5, 1976; T. M. Grove (Skelly Oil Co.) to Bureau of Land Management, Anchorage, January 22, 1976; all in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[46] APG, Final Environmental Statement, Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, 13, 19; "Briefing Statement, Proposed Aniakchak Caldera National Monument," November 5, 1976.

[47] Ed Stondall, "Development Cost Estimates for Proposed Aniakchak Caldera Staffing and Development Needs," December 27, 1976; Root to Jim Pepper, September 8, 1976; both in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[48] "Recreational Visitation to the Proposed Aniakchak National Monument," n.d., in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[49] "Aniakchak National Monument, Areas of Conflict, Questions and Answers," November 1977, Box 15, NARA ANC; Root to Project Leader, ATF, August 2, 1976, in Box 14, NARA ANC; Ben Guild, "Aniakchak Caldera, Wilderness World Within a Mountain," Anchorage Daily Times, December 6, 1976, 15; Williams, "Aniakchak, Kingdom of Genesis," 7-8.

[50] The language in the bill called for a 400,000-acre monument. NPS staff, however, recognized that the acreage had not changed since December 1973, and the size called for in the accompanying map suggests that it was 580,000 acres in extent.

[51] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 174, 177; Root to Director AAO, January 31, 1977; Root to Project Leader, February 17, 1977.

[52] Root to Project Leader, ATF, December 8, 1975, in Box 14, NARA ANC.

[53] Congressional Record, June 30, 1977, 21751.

[54] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 181, 183.

[55] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 186. The NPS, which had proposed a 580,000-acre monument in November 1976, had by January 1977 decided on the legitimacy of the national preserve for Aniakchak as well as several other Alaskan park units. NPS planner John M. Kauffmann apologized about the concept, noting that "They merely denote parks where hunting is allowed, and we are using the preserve idea just to avoid the controversy over parks with hunting permitted." Preserves, however, were valuable in that they could permit other uses, such as hunting, mining, and recreation, while still maintaining an area's basic scientific values. John M. Kauffmann to Director, AAO, "National Preserves in Alaska, a Positive Approach," January 31, 1977, in Box 13, NARA ANC.

[56] "Statement of Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus Before the Subcommittee on General Oversight and Alaska Lands," September 6, 1977; "Department of the Interior Proposed Additions to the National Park System," September 13, 1977; "Administration

Comments on H.R. 39, Proposed Additions to the National Park System," September 15, 1977; all in Box 14, NARA ANC. Williss (pp. 190-93) noted that the proposal called for an monument addition of 340,000 acres and a preserve addition of 160,000 acres, perhaps because that was the acreage of Federal land which had not been selected by the state or by Native corporations.

[57] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 203-04, 207; "Summary of Energy Committee's Decisions on Alaska Lands Bill," October 5, 1978, in Box 15, NARA ANC.

[58] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 216-19; Federal Register, December 5, 1978, 57013-14.

[59] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 226, 230; Congressional Record, May 16, 1979, H 11459; and November 12, 1980, H 10532. Acreage figures are for public lands only.

[60] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 231-34.

[61] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 235, 239. The approximate number of acres of Federal land in the monument was 138,000; in the preserve, 376,000.

[62] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 236-37.

[63] Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (P.L. 96-487), sections 201 (1), 601 (27), 701, and 1317. Section 601, pertaining to the Wild and Scenic River System, noted that the Aniakchak River's major tributaries were Hidden Creek, Mystery Creek, Albert Johnson Creek, and North Fork Aniakchak River.

[64] P.L. 96-487, Sec. 201 (1).

Chapter 15

[1] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 224, 274; Federal Register, December 26, 1978, 60252-55, and June 28, 1979, 37732-51, 37784-85; SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1979, 7.

[2] Williss, "Do Things Right the First Time," 274-79.

[3] NPS, "Draft Statement for Management, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve," May 1983, 16-18, in TIC.

[4] NPS, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Issues and Management Alternatives, February 1984, Report 181/D2187, TIC Collection, 3; George Stroud and Lynn Fuller, "Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, End of Season Report," September 18, 1983; SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1983, 9.

[5] NPS, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Issues and Management Alternatives, February 1984. All three alternatives were less tilted toward development than the 1974 Final Environmental Statement had been. The plans laid out in the FES were not considered because "Although this type of alternative would meet minimum resource protection requirements ... its likelihood of being achieved by the Park Service in the foreseeable future would be very low [due to] budgetary limitations, a growing conservatism toward physical development in remote parklands in Alaska, the unresolved question of wilderness

designation, and a history of extremely low public demand at Aniakchak." NPS, Draft General Management Plan/Environmental Assessment, Land Protection Plan, Aniakchak Wild River Management Plan, Wilderness Suitability Review, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Alaska (Denver, NPS, March 1985), 97.

[6] George Stroud and Lynn Fuller, "Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Field Season Report 1984," 1, in AKSO-RNR Collection; SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1984, 2.

[7] NPS, Draft General Management Plan/Environmental Assessment, ANIA, March 1985, 9-18, 104-05.

[8] NPS, Draft General Management Plan/Environmental Assessment, ANIA, March 1985, 21-47.

[9] NPS, Draft General Management Plan/Environmental Assessment, ANIA, March 1985, 53-55.

[10] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1985, 2.

[11] NPS, General Management Plan, Land Protection Plan, Wilderness Suitability Review, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Alaska (Denver, NPS, December 1986), 36, 55, 58, 83-85.

[12] NPS, Final Environmental Statement for the Wilderness Recommendation, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Alaska (Denver, NPS, September 1988), 13-20, 87-89.

[13] NPS, FES for Wilderness, ANIA, 14, 60, 89-90.

[14] Anchorage Daily News, April 3, 1992, B1, B3; Congressional Record, March 1, 1991, H1325; August 3, 1992, H7212; Brian Miller (aide to Rep. Young), interview by the author, August 12, 1993 and September 8, 1993.

[15] Congressional Record, April 2, 1993, H1881; April 5, 1993, E897; and April 29, 1993, S5227; Brian Miller interview, September 8, 1993.

[16] Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (P.L. 96-487), secs. 805(a) and 808(a).

[17] SAR, KATM/ANIA, for 1984 (p. 3), 1985 (p. 3), and 1986 (p. 3); Aniakchak National Monument Subsistence Resource Commission, Recommendations AN-85-01 and AN-87-01.

[18] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1992, 4; Susan Savage (KATM Subsistence Specialist) to ARO Staff Historian, August 30, 1993; Federal Register, October 26, 1992, 48526-27; NPS, "Aniakchak National Monument Subsistence Resource Commission, 1992 Hunting Plan Recommendations," in KATM subsistence files.

[19] Despite the relatively small visitor total, park staff completed a non-official draft of an interpretive prospectus in the early 1980s. NPS, Draft Statement for Management, May 1983, 8.

[20] As the 1986 annual report noted, "It is difficult to monitor visitation in Aniakchak. No visitor use data, other than that associated with commercial use licenses, was collected for Aniakchak in 1986." SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1986, 4.

[21] Hanable and Burkhart, The Exxon Valdez Oil Spill and the National Park Service, 12, 56, 59.

[22] Ibid., 80-82.

[23] Ibid., 83.

[24] Kurtz, Lessons to Be Learned, 56.

[25] NPS, "Summary of Obligations and Program Evaluation, ANIA," January 27, 1993, in AKSO-EEI files.

[26] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1991, 6, 7; Jean Bodeau, Katmai National Park and Preserve, Alaska (Anchorage, Alaska Natural History Association), 1992.

[27] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1982, 6.

[28] George Stroud and Lynn Fuller, "Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Field Season Report 1984," 1.

[29] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1984, 1.

[30] SAR, KATM/ANIA, for 1985, 8, and 1986, 7. Specific projects dealt with fisheries management along American Creek and spruce beetle infestation in the Brooks Camp area.

[31] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1986, 1.

[32] SAR, KATM/ANIA, for 1988, 3, 5, and 1991, 8; Frank and Penny Starr, "Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, End of Season Report 1988," 1; John and Shakti Eppling, "End of Season Report 1991, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve," September 1991, both in AKSO-RCR files.

[33] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1987, 8.

[34] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1992, 3.

[35] As was noted in Chapter 14, the biological inventory, the geological study, and the cultural resource inventory had first been proposed by keyman Ralph Root in 1976. NPS, Draft Resource Management Plan, Aniakchak, April 29, 1982, in AKSO-RNR files. The RMP was never signed by the regional director.

[36] Koren Bosworth, "A Vegetation Reconnaissance of Aniakchak Caldera, Alaska," NRSIR AR-87/18, 1987; Gordon H. Jarrell, "Small Mammal Survey of Aniakchak Caldera," NRSIR AR-87/17, December 1987; Mahoney and Sonnevil, "Surprise Lake Fishery Investigation, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Alaska" (progress report), 1987; all in AKSO-RNR files; SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1987, 2-3.

[37] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1988, 6; Barbara A. Mahoney and Gary M. Sonnevil, "Surprise Lake and Aniakchak River Fishery Investigation, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, 1987 and 1988 Final Report," May 1991; Kristine Sowl, "Investigations of the Flora and Fauna Inside Aniakchak Caldera," 1988 (NRFR AR-88/19), 2; William A. Cameron and

Gary L. Larson (PNRO), "Baseline Inventory of the Aquatic Resource of Aniakchak National Monument, Alaska," October 1992 (NRTR AR-92/03), 1; all in AKSO-RNR files.

[38] David Morris, Supt. KATM/ANIA to Chief, ARO-RNR, November 6, 1986; Starr and Starr, 24; Barbara A. Mahoney and Gary M. Sonnevil, "Surprise Lake and Aniakchak River Fishery Investigation, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, 1987 and 1988 Final Report," May 1991, in AKSO-RNR files.

[39] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1988, 6; E. P. Bailey and N. H. Faust, "Distribution and Abundance of Marine Birds Breeding Between Amber and Kamishak Bays, Alaska with Notes on Interactions with Bears," Western Birds 15 (1984), 161-74.

[40] NPS, "Aniakchak Inventory and Monitoring Studies," Summer 1992, in AKSO-RNR files; SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1992, 4; "A Description of the Vegetation of Aniakchak Caldera," 1992, at KATM; Susan Savage (Subsistence Specialist, KATM) to ARO Staff Historian, August 30, 1993, in KATM files.

[41] SAR, KATM/ANIA, for 1988, (p. 5), 1990 (p. 3), and 1991 (p. 3); Sterling D. Miller and Richard A. Sellers, "Brown Bear Density on the Alaska Peninsula at Black Lake, Alaska," July 1989 (NRPR AR-89/09) and March 1990 (NRFR AR-90/12).

[42] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1983, 8; NPS, General Management Plan, Land Protection Plan, Wilderness Suitability Review, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Alaska (Denver, NPS, December 1986), 37; David Manski interview, May 30, 1996.

[43] SAR, KATM/ANIA, 1987, 3; Roger Harritt, "Historic Structure Assessment Report, Bunkhouse, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve" (draft), June 1987; NPS, "Archeological Clearance Survey Form number 001-87-ANIA," AKSO-RCR files; Sandra M. Faulkner, "Father Hubbard, The Glacier Priest," unpub. mss., Alaska Historical Society symposium, Fairbanks, October 1987; Faulkner, "Cultural Diversity Within Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve," unpub. poster discussion (George Wright Society symposium, Tucson, 1988).

[44] "Aniakchak" photo folder, AKSO Chief Historical Architect's files; Frank Norris, "Aniakchak Bay Historic Landscape District," NRHP form, 1991, in AKSO-RCR files.

[45] Thomas P. Miller and Robert L. Smith, "Calderas of the Eastern Aleutian Arc," Eos (Transactions, American Geophysical Union) 64 (November 8, 1983), 877; Miller and Smith, "Late Quaternary Caldera-Forming Eruptions of the Eastern Aleutian Arc, Alaska," Geology 15 (1987), 434-38. See GeoRef disks 1, 2, and 3.

[46] "Permits/Geological/AMRAP" folders, AKSO-RMM files; Susan Savage (Subsistence Specialist, KATM) to ARO Staff Historian, August 30, 1993, in KATM files.

KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

Appendix A:
Growth in Katmai's Boundaries, 1918 to Present

			Public Acreage	Private Acreage	Total Acreage
September 24, 1918 - (Proc. 1487, 40 Stat. 1855)			922,018	13.74	922,031.74
September 5, 1923 - (Executive Order No. 3897)			-10		
		s/t	922,008	13.74	922.021.74
April 24, 1931 - ((Proc. 1950, 47 Stat. 2453))			+1,553,371	+215.27	+1,553,586.27
		s/t	2,475,389	229.01	2,475,618.01
August 4, 1942 - (Proc. 2564, 56 Stat. 1972)			+3,008	0	+3,008.00
		s/t	2,478,397	229.01	2,478,626.01
January 20, 1969 - (Proc. 3890)			+94,284	+459.87	+94,743.87
		s/t	2,572,681	688.88	2,573,369.88
December 1, 1978 - (Proc. 4619)				+125,719.00 (State) +46,683.15 (Native) +2,161.06 (Private) +11.56 (U.S. Air Force) +96.51 (easements and mining claims)	
			+1,331,570	+174,671.28	+1,506,241.28
		s/t	3,904,251	175,360.16	4,079,611.16
December 2, 1980 - (P.L. 96-487)	12,683 gained 2,753 lost		+9,930	0	+9,930.00
present acreage			**3,914,181**	**175,360.16**	**4,089,541.16**

On 7/7/92, checked with John Myers (ARO-OL); he said that the
park acreage was 3,669,521 (3,365,233 which was in wilderness), 304,288 non-wild.
preserve acreage was 423,719 (60,578 which was in wilderness), 363,141 non-wild.
total acreage was 4,093,240 (3,425,811 which was in wilderness), 667,429 non-wild.

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KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

Appendix B:
Officials in Charge of the Katmai and Aniakchak NPS Units

I. While Administered by Outside Units (1921-1971)

Mt. McKinley N.P. Superintendents with Authority over Katmai:
Henry P. Karstens, 7/21-10/28
Harry J. Liek, 11/28-5/39
Frank T. Been, 6/39-5/43
Grant H. Pearson (acting), 5/43-1/47
Frank T. Been, 1/47-2/49
Grant H. Pearson, 2/49-6/49
Grant H. Pearson (acting), 6/49-8/49
Grant H. Pearson, 8/49-11/56
Duane D. Jacobs, 11/56-1/60
Samuel A. King, 1/60-9/62
Oscar T. Dick, 12/62-2/67
George A. Hall, 3/67-6/69

Alaska State Office General Superintendents with Authority Over Katmai:
George A. Hall, 7/69-10/69
Ernest J. Borgman, 10/69-2/72

Mt. McKinley-based Seasonal Rangers:
William J. Nancarrow, 1950
William J. Nancarrow, then Morton Wood, 1951
George B. Chaffee, 1952
George L. Peters, 1953
Dick Ward, 1954-55
Richard Riegelhuth, 1956

Mt. McKinley-based Rangers-in-Charge:
Warren Steenburgh, 1957
Theodore E. Roeder, 1958-59
Robert Peterson, 1960

Mt. McKinley-based Supervisory Park Rangers:
Robert Peterson, also Robert Dewey, 1961
Dave Bogart, 1962-64

King Salmon-based Supervisory Park Rangers:
Darrell Coe, late 1964-5/66

King Salmon-based Management Assistants:
Darrell Coe, 5/66-9/67
Thomas E. Atwood, 1968-5/69
Russ Cahill (acting), 6/69-9/69
Gilbert E. Blinn, 9/69-3/71

II. While Under Independent Administration (1971-present)

Superintendents:
Gilbert E. Blinn, 3/71-6/79
Roy M. Sanborn (acting), 6/79-9/79
David K. Morris, 9/79-4/87
James R. Pepper (acting), 7/87-8/87
Gilbert R. (Ray) Bane, 8/87-3/90
James L. Ryan (acting), 3/90-6/90
Alan D. Eliason, 6/90-7/93
William Pierce, 12/93-present

Park Rangers (summer at KATM, winter at MOMC):
Vernon C. Betts, 8/69-1/72
Steven Buskirk, 5/72-10/72

Rangers (full-time at KATM):
Mike Tollefson, 10/73-3/77 (park ranger)
Bruce Kaye, 6/77-6/82 (park ranger)
Hal Grovert, 11/82-3/88 (park ranger; became Supervisory Park Ranger in 1985, District Ranger in 1987)
Kim Speckman, 6/88-4/91 (ranger-pilot)
Stanley Steck, late 1991-1995 (ranger-pilot)

Chief Rangers:
Loren Casebeer, 1981-6/87
Stephen Hurd, 2/88-1995
Jim Hummel, 1995-present

Subsistence Pilot:
Joel Collins, 1991-1995

Resource Management Specialists:
Kathy Jope, 9/82-9/87 (trainee 1982-84)
Janis Meldrum, 2/88-9/90
Rob Squibb, 4/89-early 1992
Rick Potts (Supervisory RMS/research), 1991-1995

Research Biologist:
Tom Smith, spring 1992-1994

Fisheries Biologist:
Don Bill, 1995-present

Resource Management Specialists (ANIA):
David Manski, 11/84-9/88 (Anchorage-based trainee 11/84-10/86)

Cultural Resource Manager:
Pat McClenahan, 1991-1994
Jeanne Schaaf, 1996-present (based in Anchorage)

Subsistence Chief:
Susan Savage, 1991-present

Interpretive Specialist:
Mark Wagner, 3/91-present

Concessions Specialists:
Susan Sonnevil (later Susan Joffre), 2/86-9/88
David Nemeth, 1989-4/93
Brenda Coleman, 1996-present (also LACL & KEFJ)

Management Assistants (based in King Salmon):
David Nemeth, 4/93-7/93
Cary Brown, 1993-present

Maintenance Mechanics/Maintenance Foremen/Facilities Chiefs:
Bill Ross Jefford, 10/66-1968
Bert James, 1968-10/70
Hugh Nicholls, 3/71-8/71
James R. Hepburn, 1/72-1975
Carl Yoas, 1976-5/85
Bob Wemple - 5/85-8/85 (acting)
Ed Stondall, 8/85-10/92
Richard Sherman, 10/92-5/93 (acting)
Robin Leatherman, 5/93-present

Permanent Maintenance Workers:
Richard Sherman, 1981-1985 (seasonal/King Salmon)
Richard Sherman, 3/86-present
Richard Proctor, 10/92-present

Administrative Technicians:
Sally Huff (later Sally Orot), 1981-11/87
Valerie Payne, spring 1988-11/88
Lori Rummele, 3/89-9/89
Elizabeth Copeman, 1989-present

Clerk-Typists:
Bobbie Mitchell, 1969
Claudia Baldwin, 1970
Jeannette L. Patterson, 1971, 1974
Lillie Jue, 1972
Wilma McElhaney, 1973
Patty Wood, 1975, 1976
Deborah Tibbetts, 1977-5/78
Augusta (Gus) Skillman, 5/78-6/79
Peggie Huff, 11/79-8/80
Betty Durand, 8/80-1981
Karen Nye, 1982
Jenifer Agee, 1983
Ruby Werden, 4/84-7/84

Karen Williams Agee, 11/84-8/85
Jennifer Tanner, 9/85-11/86
Kathy Johnson, 2/87-1988
Elizabeth Copeman, 1988-1989
Sally Backas, 1988-1990
Jean Gansch, 1989-91
Mary McQuity, 1990-1991
Elizabeth Maynard, 1990-1991
Sharon Hudon, 1991
Carole Woodmancy, 1991-present

Superintendent's Representative, Kodiak:
Jerry Hammond, summer of 1989
Bill Miller, winter of 1989-1990
Jerry Hammond, summer of 1990
James L. Ryan (volunteer), summer of 1991
Stan Young (volunteer), summer of 1992

Coastal Manager, Kodiak:
Buddy Goatcher, 1993-present (Coastal Biologist, 1993-1994)

Criminal Investigator, Kodiak:
Dennis Ziemann, 12/92-1995

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Appendix C:
Katmai/Aniakchak Budgets

(Budgets are for Katmai only prior to FY 1981.)

FY 1949-50: $500-$1000 budget; NPS gave it to F&WS for game protection.

FY 1951-55: Total Budget = Management and Protection (M&P) + Maintenance and Rehabilitation (M&R). [Maintenance and Rehabilitation = Buildings and Utilities (B&U) + Roads and Trails (R&T).]

Year	M&P	M&R	Total
1951	2,042	0	2,042
1952	2,042	0	2,042
1953	2,962	0	2,962
1954	2,962	0	2,962
1955	4,342	0	4,342
1956-57 - no data			

FY 1958-1970: Total Budget = Management and Protection (M&P) + Roads and Trails (R&T) + Buildings and Utilities (B&U).

Year	M&P	R&T	B&U	Total
1958	6,443	0	0	6,443
1959	8,321	0	0	8,321
1960	8,316	0	2,250	10,566
1961	9,729	0	2,249	11,978
1962	10,398	559	3,240	14,197
1963	14,220	782	3,382	18,384
1964	16,300	800	3,400	20,500
1965 - no data				
1966	26,300	8,700	15,200	50,200
1967	47,800	20,200	35,700	103,700
1968	52,500	21,400	35,900	109,800
1969	60,900	22,400	37,700	121,000

1970	67,800	25,400	48,900	142,100

FY 1971-72: Total Budget = Park Management (PM) + Forestry and Fire Control (F&FC) + Roads and Trails (R&T) + Buildings and Utilities (B&U).

Year	PM	F&FC	R&T	B&U	Total
1971	59,100	4,500	27,300	54,700	145,600
1972	63,300	4,600	27,700	50,600	146,200

FY 1973-1980: Total Budget = Operations/National Park Service (ONPS)

Year	ONPS
1973	177,300
1974	202,800
1975	202,400
1976	246,400
1977	276,300
1978	272,100
1979	294,900
1980	326,600

FY 1981-present: Budgets provided for both Katmai and Aniakchak. Total budget for each = Operations/National Park Service (ONPS).

Fiscal Year	ANIA	KATM
1981	61,400	355,100
1982	95,300	541,900
1983	65,800	681,500
1984	68,100	690,500
1985	67,300	672,900
1986	63,000	643,000
1987	101,000	685,700
1988	102,600	693,300
1989	99,800	689,100
1990	119,000	731,000
1991	123,000	989,000
1992	121,000	1,162,000
1993	152,000	1,262,000
1994	156,000	1,242,000
1995	160,000	1,353,000

Source: USDI, U.S. Department of the Interior Budget Justifications volumes (later, U.S. National Park Service Budget Justifications), various dates, at WASO-ABF.

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Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

Appendix D:
Katmai Visitation Figures, 1966-1992

Year	Total Park Visitation	Recreational Visitation	Brooks Camp Visitation	Attendance for: Evening Programs	Bus Tours	Guided Walks	Overnight Backcountry Stays	Receipts from Coop. Assn.
1966				12	22	3		
1967				26	23	7		
1968	1584		1584				20	
1969	7754		1407				194	
1970	11816		1437				60	
1971	10424	9611	1145				122	$ 285
1972	12670	11932	1182				98	365
1973	9054	8389	1250				80	846
1974	12483	11900	1319		847		624	1132
1975	9966	9729	1590				741	
1976	10590	10423	1737				804	2684
1977	10107	9985	1684	2062	1093	782	1196	2480
1978	11445	11363	2108	2391	1273	985	1238	2300
1979	10706	10629	2656	2819	1471	1032	1703	3138
1980	11868	11824	2179	2584	776	808	1318	3922
1981	13140	13115	2329				2086	5765
1982	14466	14377	2886	3151	1322	915	1739	6218
1983	14105	11182	3033	2581	1227	1178	190	4739
1984	20329	20074	4295	2306	1150	849	367	4603
1985	25340	25142	3674	2337	885	938	387	5459
1986	41776	41663	3893	1852	1000	764	2564	5178
1987	38310	38212	4486	2319	1128	945	2038	7533
1988	45730	45710	6523				3079	8198
1989	49254	40247	5540				1759	8970

1990	42769	40778	5858	4400	450	5812	8858
1991	41568	41417		7420	645	5327	8874
1992	46313	46196				5424	18363

Sources: NPS, "Brooks Camp Recreational Use" charts, 1970-1990, KATM-OC; File A2615 (inactive), KATM; compilation of NPS, "Monthly Public Use Report" (Form 10-157), ARO-OIV; Frankie Barker (ANHA) to the author, March 11, 1993.

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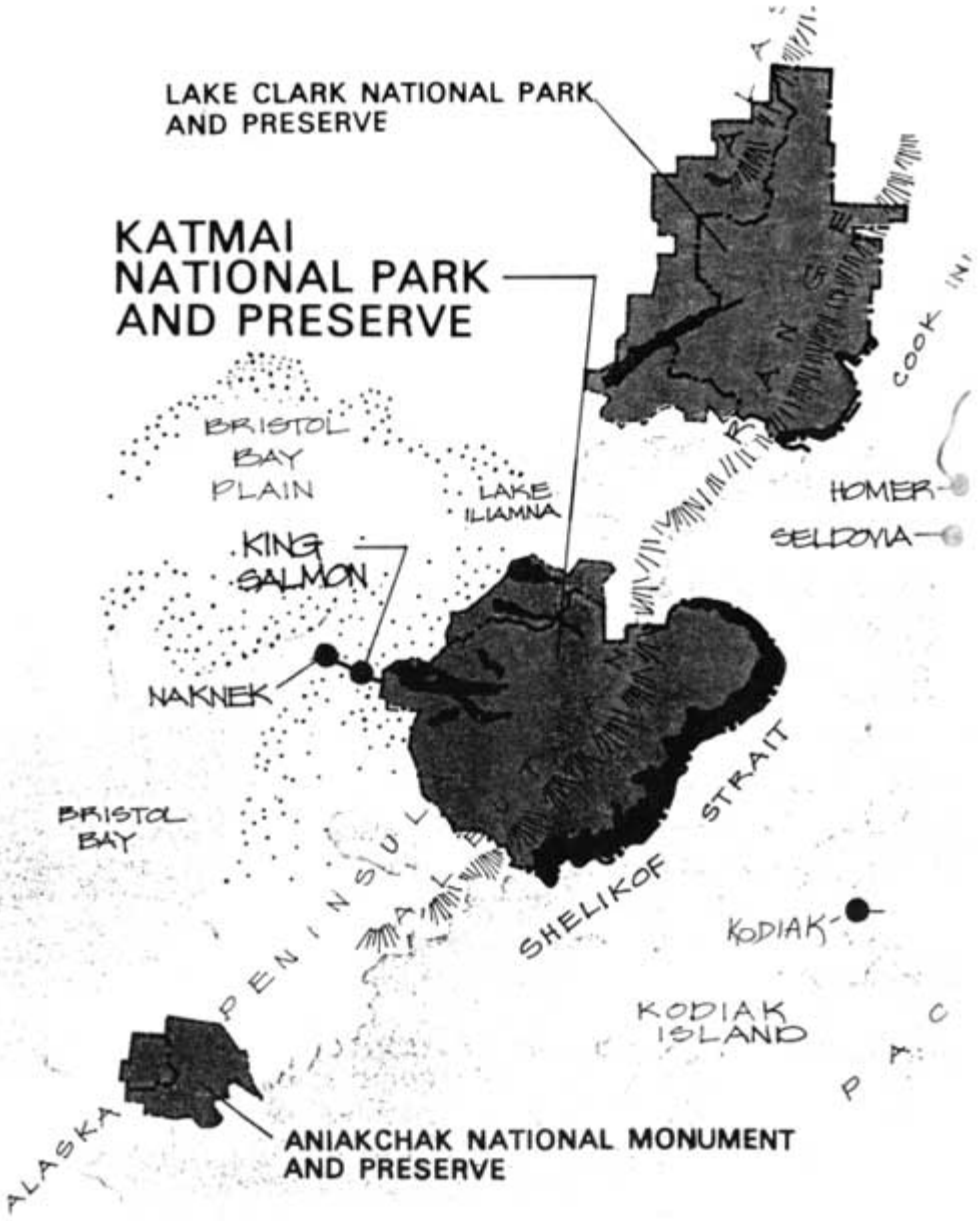
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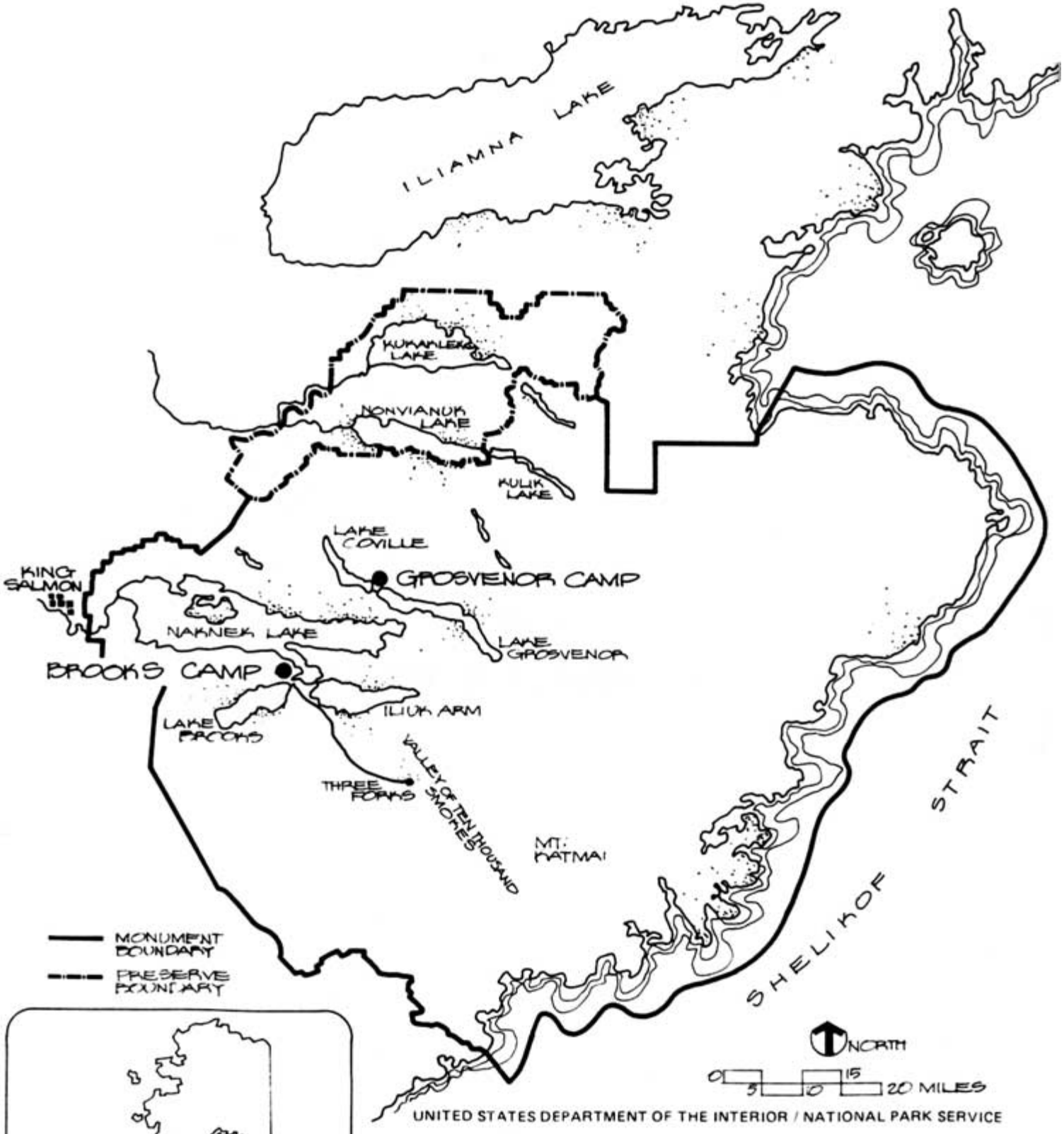
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ALASKA PENINSULA
ANIAKCHAK NATIONAL MONUMENT AND PRESERVE



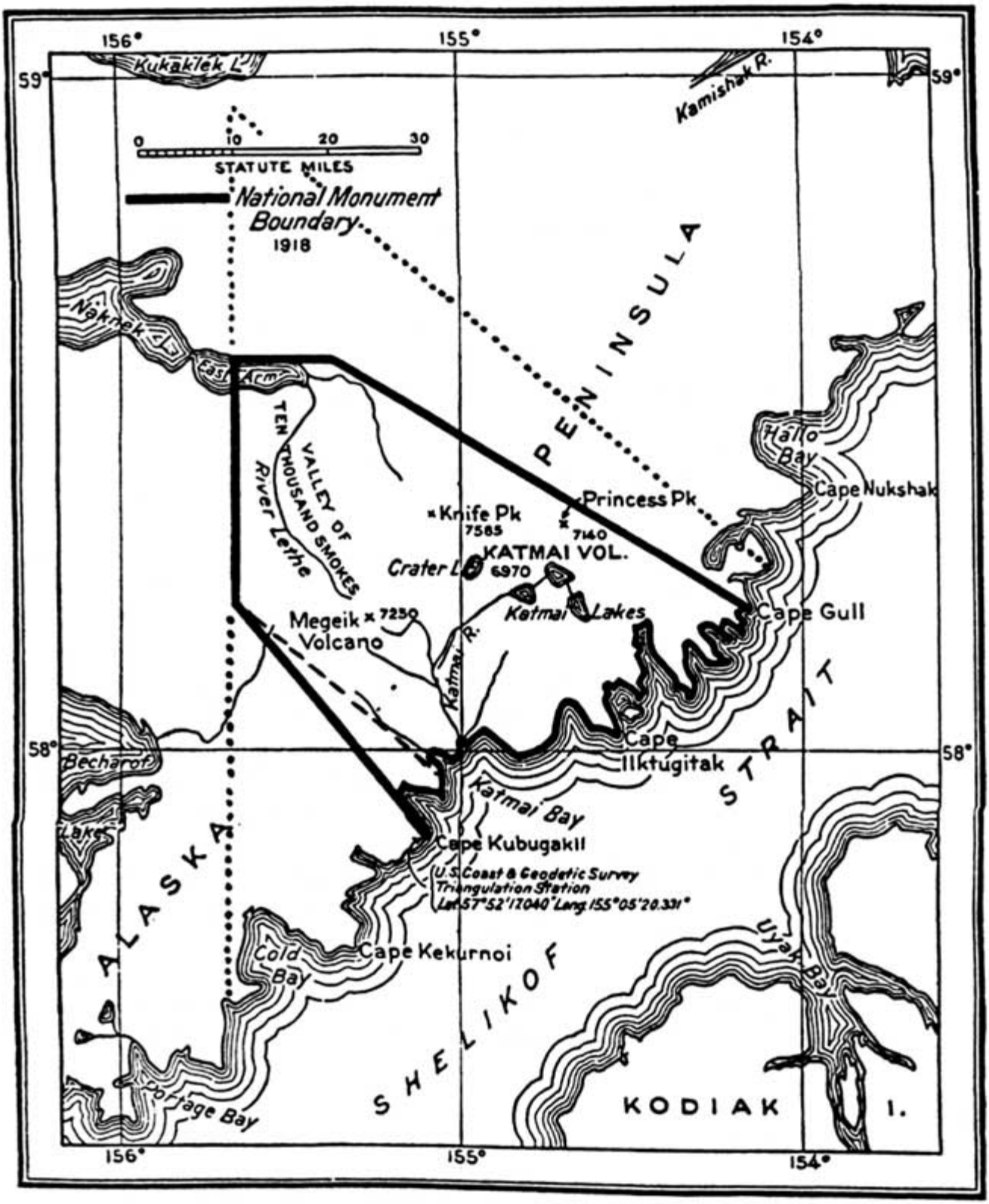
LOCATION

KATMAI NATIONAL MONUMENT

Map 2. Katmai National Park and Preserve. Source: NPS, Environmental Assessment, Draft Development Concept Plan, Brooks Camp and Grosvenor Camp for Katmai, January 1982, 2.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
STEPHEN T. MATHER, DIRECTOR

ALASKA

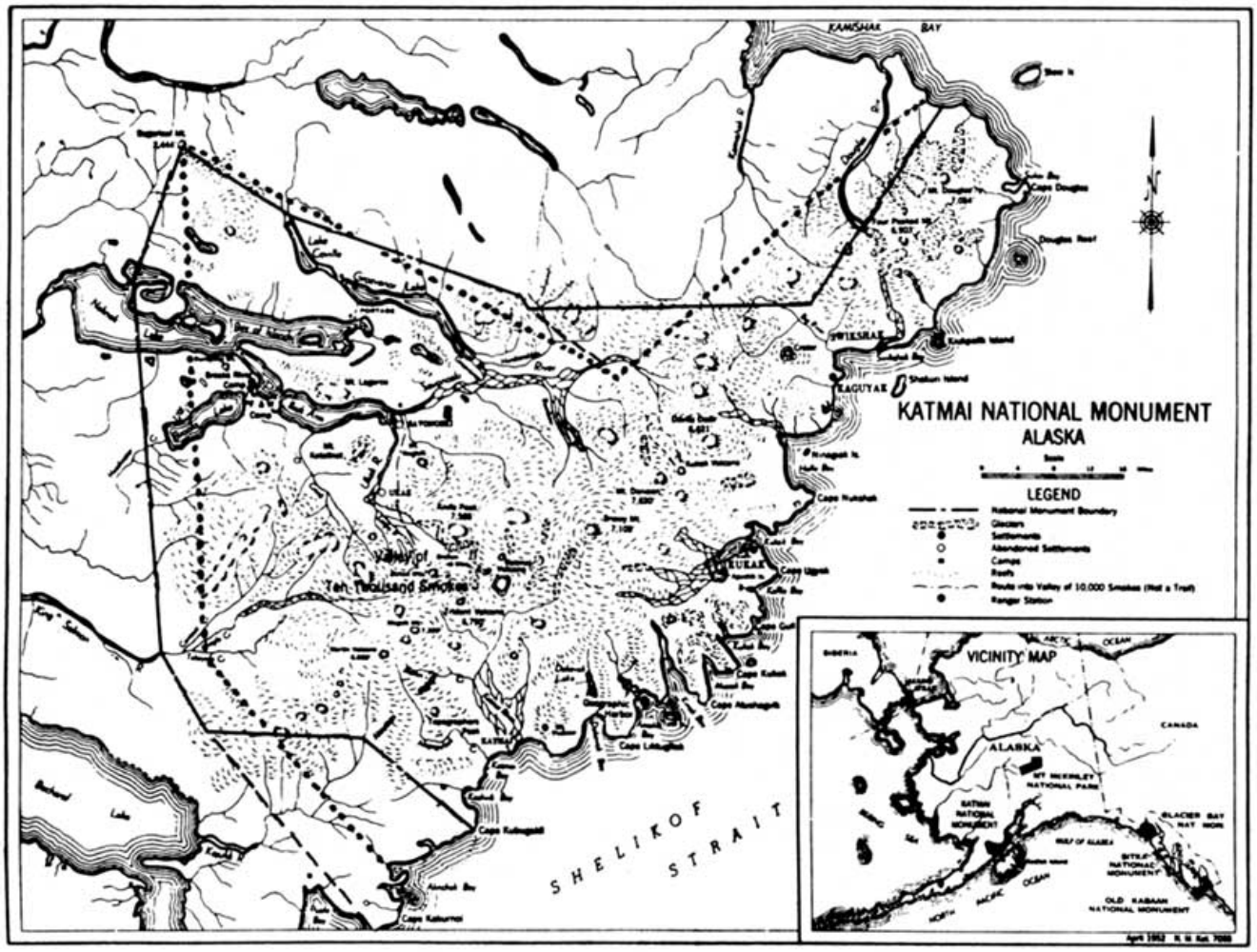


KATMAI NATIONAL MONUMENT

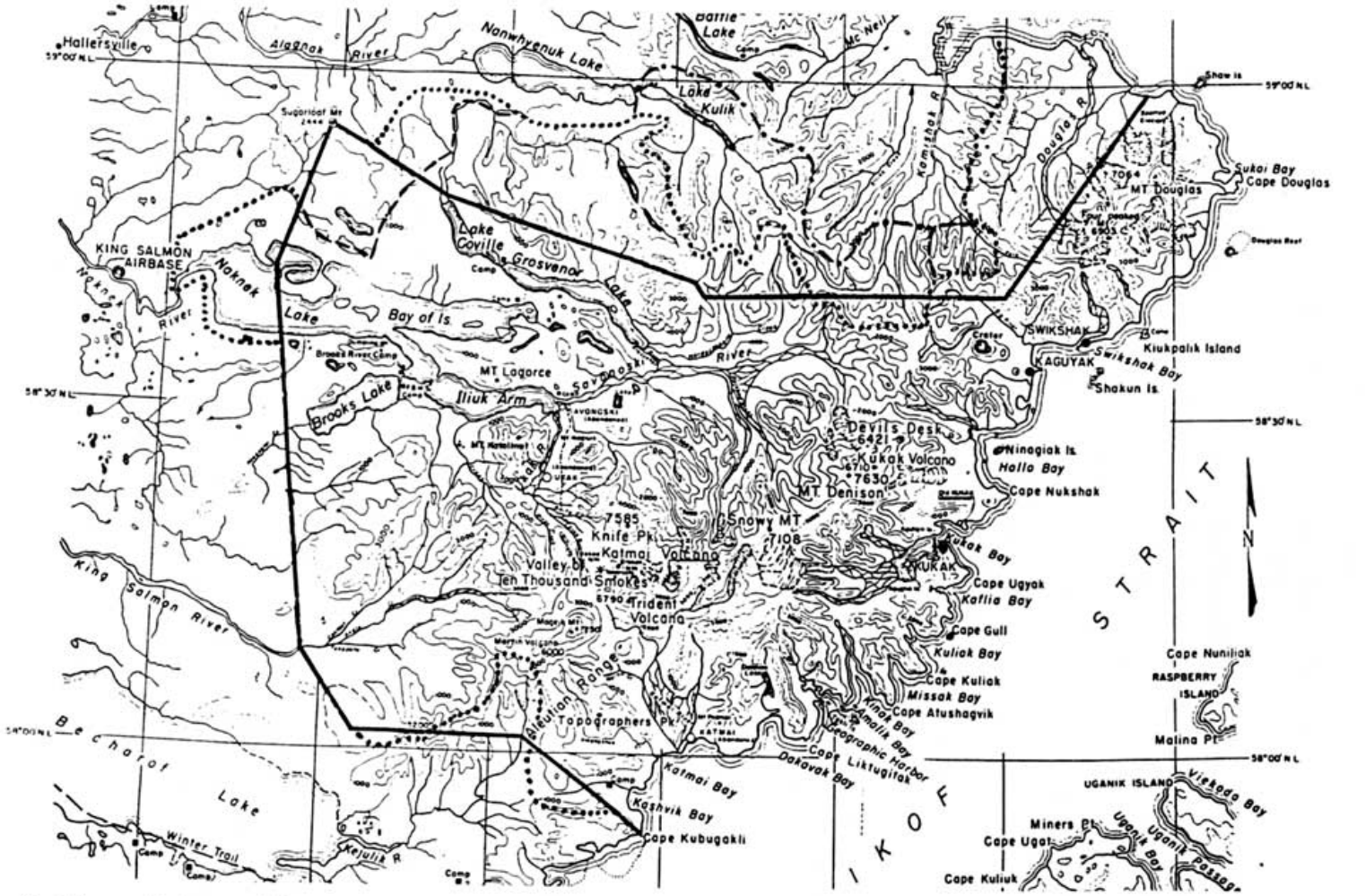
Map 3. Evolution of original monument boundaries, 1918. Robert F. Griggs's first proposal (dotted line) was rejected by the USGS, but a more modest second proposal

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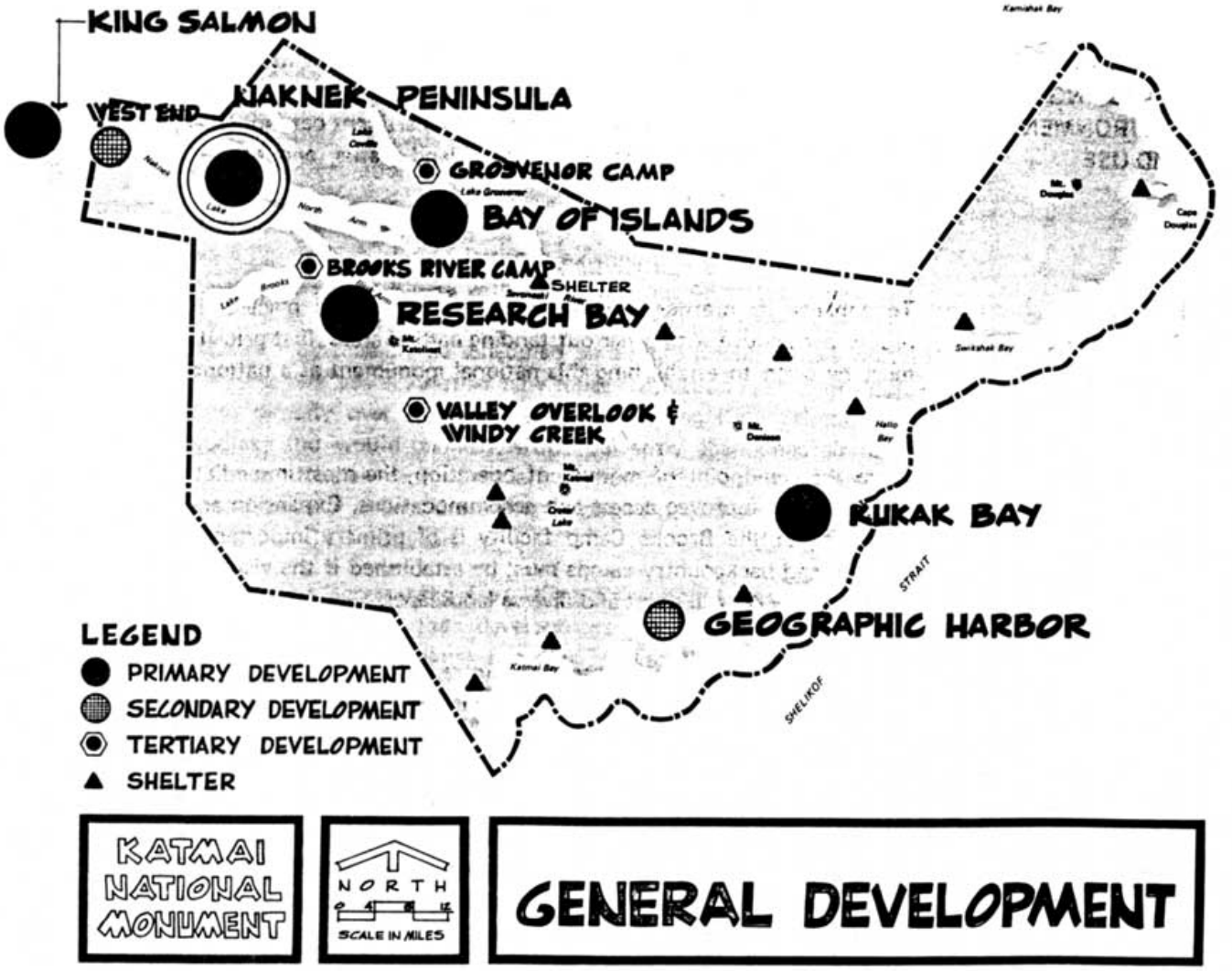
(heavy solid line) was accepted and became the monument boundary. Griggs was also asked to consider--but refused to promote--an alternative proposal (dashed line) with a smaller acreage than that accepted by the Secretary of the Interior. Source: Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 5a. The map accompanied Wilson's proclamation.



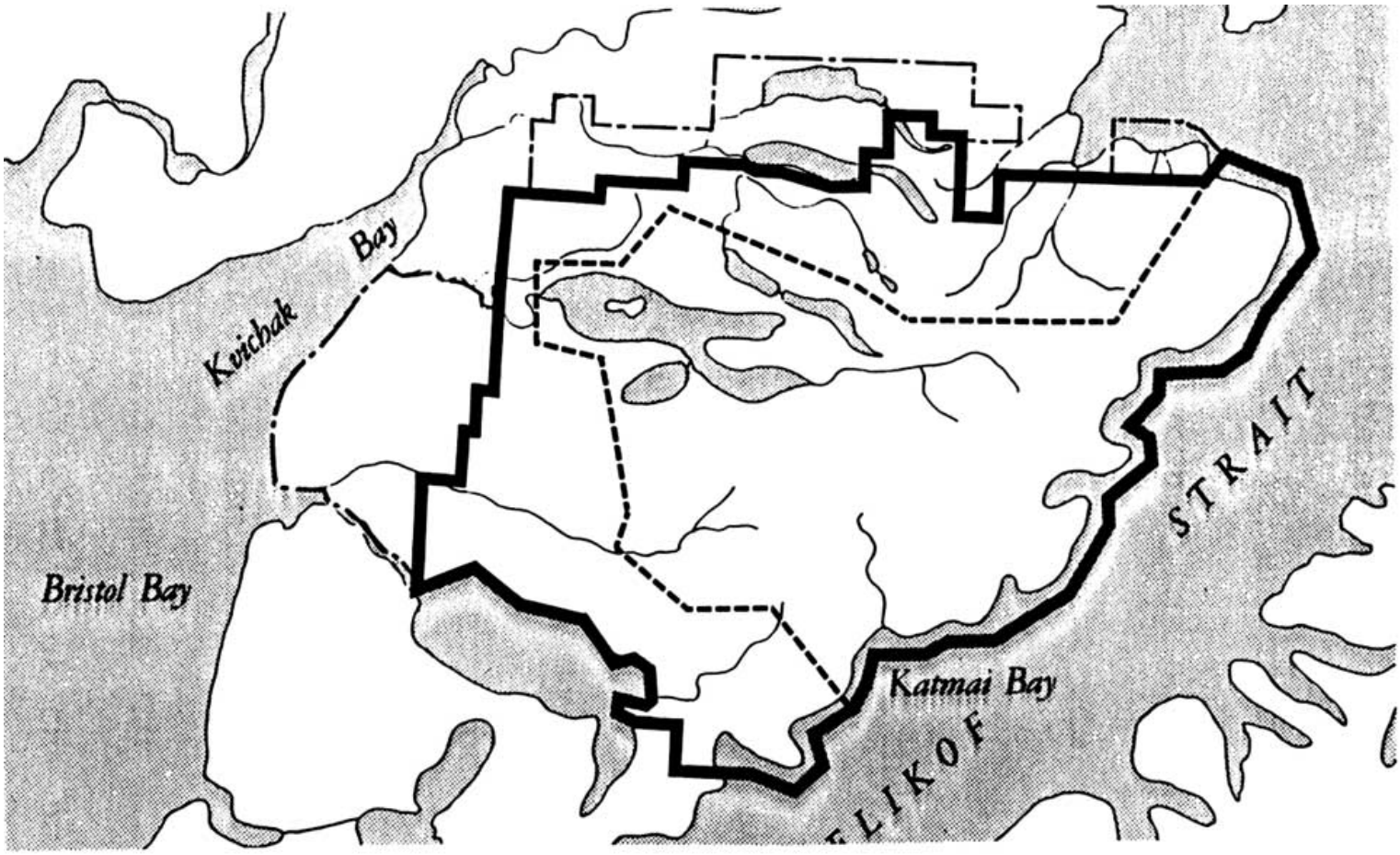
Map 4. Evolution of expanded monument boundaries, 1930-1931. Robert F. Griggs's proposal of 1930 (dotted line) was slightly expanded by the USGS (dashed line). The version that was forwarded to Secretary Wilbur and proclaimed by President Hoover (solid line) was a modification of the USGS's suggested boundary. Source: Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 5a; the base map, drawn in April 1952, was included in Katmai's first interpretive brochure.



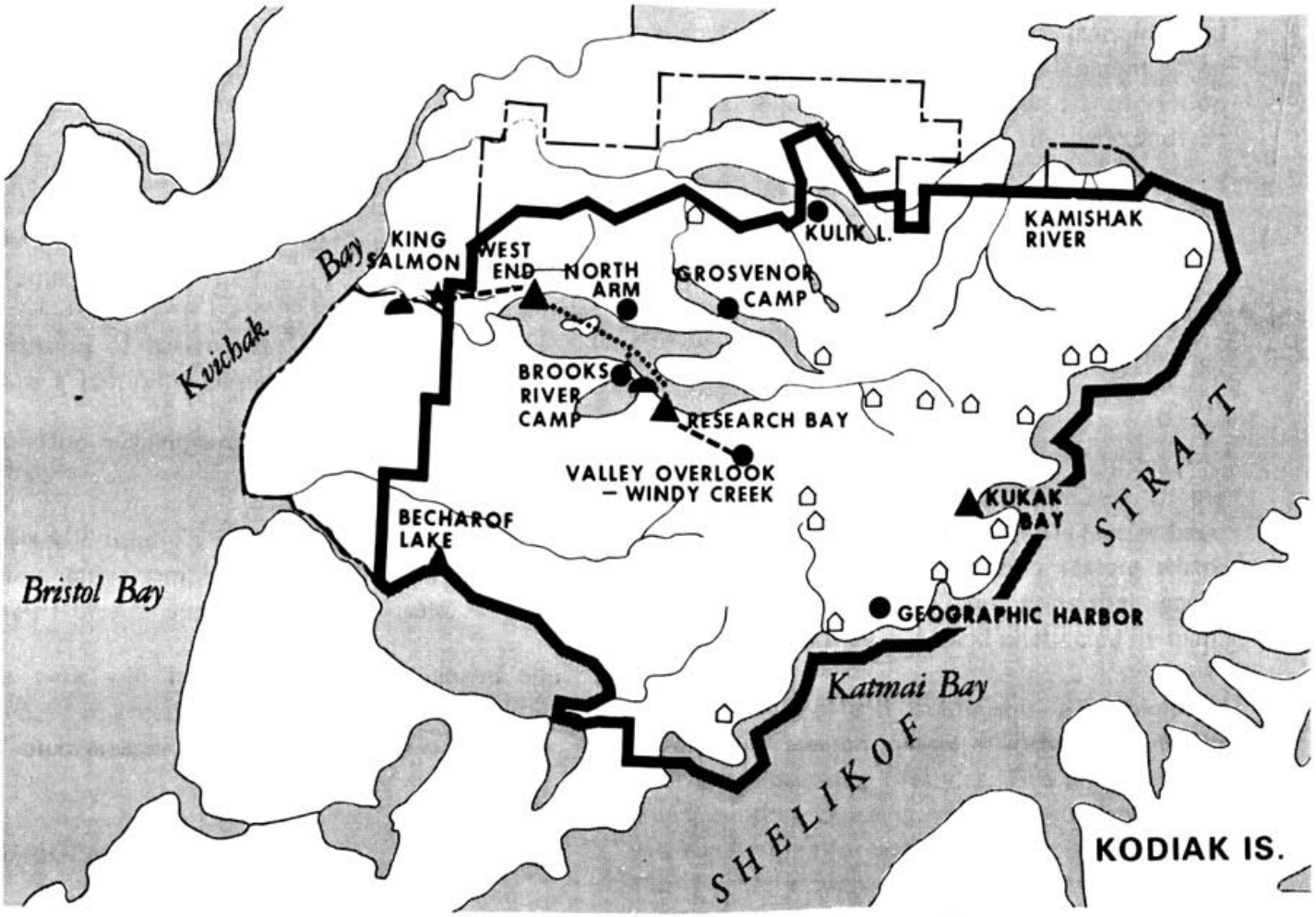
Map 5. Proposals for modification of 1931 boundaries by the Alaska Recreation Survey, 1952-1953. In June 1952, NPS Director Conrad Wirth made an aerial tour of the monument and suggested new boundaries (dotted line) that would conform more closely to aquatic and topographic features. Planner Lowell Sumner slightly modified Wirth's suggestions (dashed lines), and in September 1952, the Region Four office approved Sumner's line. In December 1953, NPS biologist Victor Cahalane suggested expanding Sumner's line with acreage along the proposed northern boundary (alternating dots and dashes). None of the proposals were implemented. Source: Kauffmann, Katmai National Monument, Alaska, 29a; base map from Alaska Recreation Survey, November 1951.



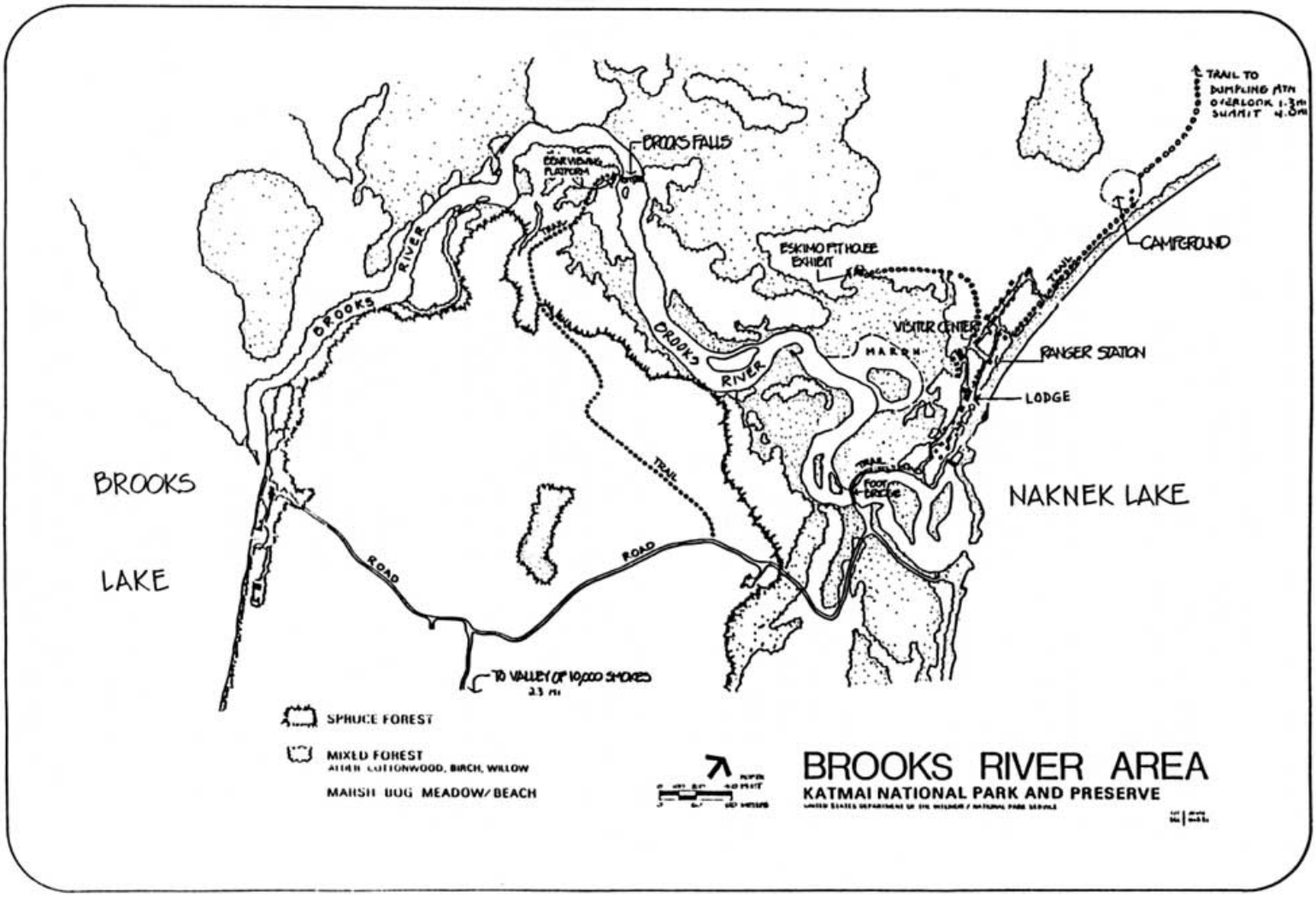
Map 6. In August 1971, the NPS released a preliminary working draft of the monument's master plan. It called for the largest development site to be located on the Naknek Peninsula, with other large developments at King Salmon, Research Bay, Bay of Islands, and Kukak Bay. The existing development sites, Brooks Camp and Grosvenor Camp, were to be de-emphasized. Source: NPS, Katmai National Monument, A Master Plan, August 1971, 17.



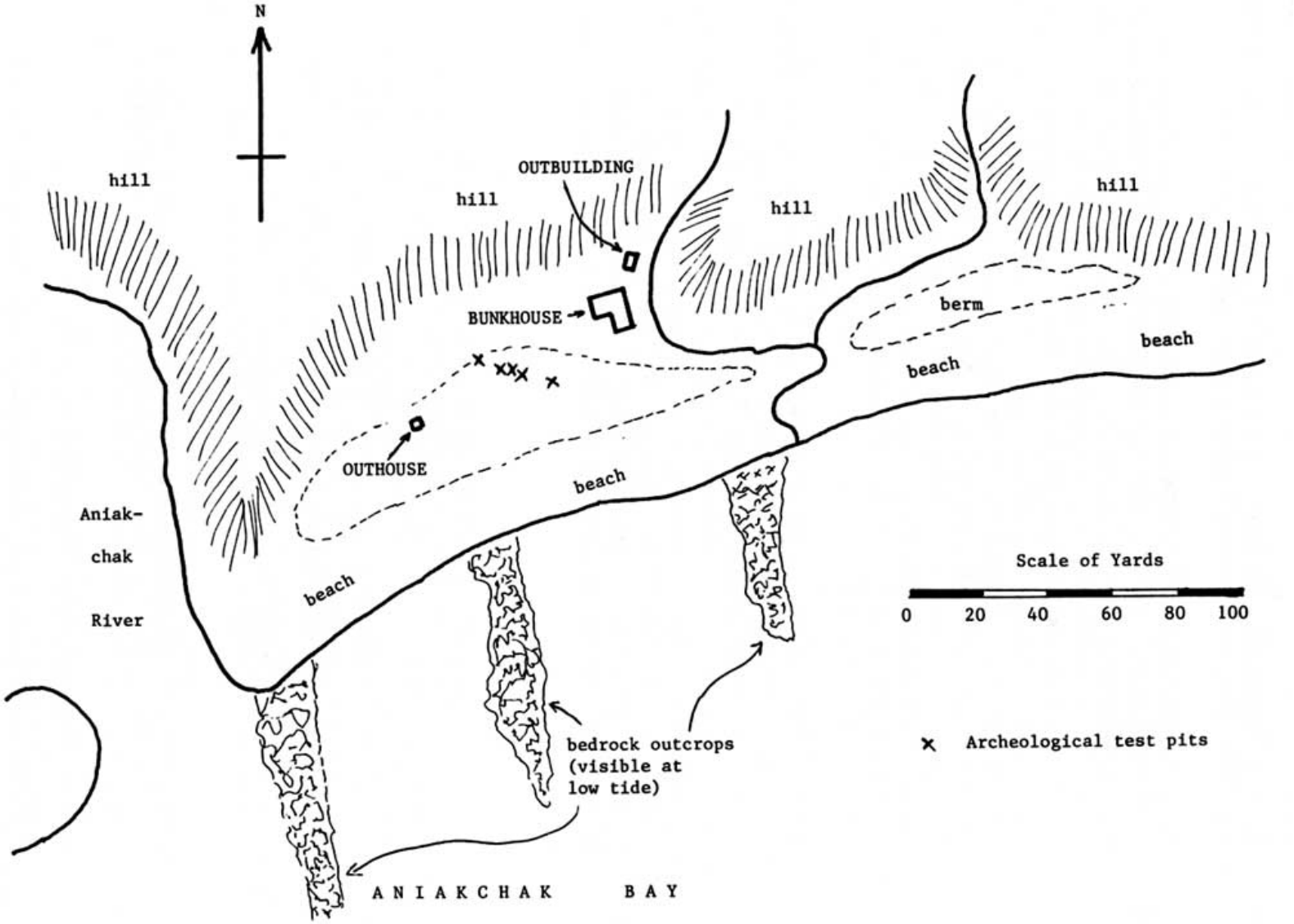
Map 7. When the NPS released its draft Environmental Impact Statement for the proposed Katmai National Park in December 1973, the proposed park boundaries (heavy black line) encompassed 4,600,000 acres--far larger area than the size of the existing national monument (heavy dashed line). The agency also proposed three areas of environmental concern (light dashed line): two north of the proposed park boundaries and another west of the park. Source: Alaska Planning Group, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, Draft Environmental Impact Statement, 3.



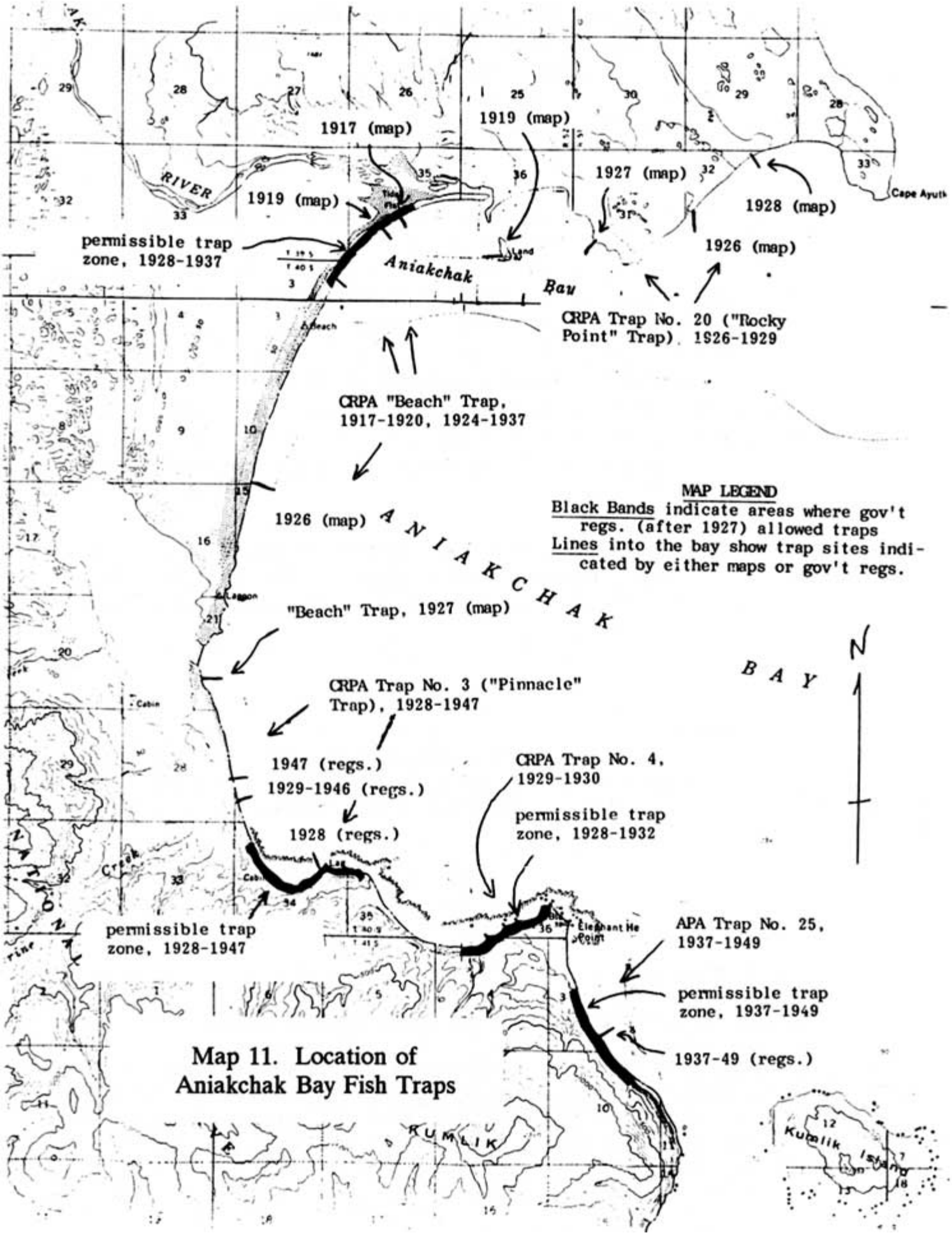
Map 8. By the time the NPS released its Final Environmental Statement for the proposed park in January 1975, the proposed boundaries had been slightly modified from those recommended in December 1973 (see Map 7). The proposed acreage (4,453,000 acres) was slightly smaller than had previously been proposed. The suggested primary development sites, however, had changed little since the monument's draft master plan had been released in August 1971 (see Map 6). Source: Alaska Planning Group, Final Environmental Statement, Proposed Katmai National Park, Alaska, 5.

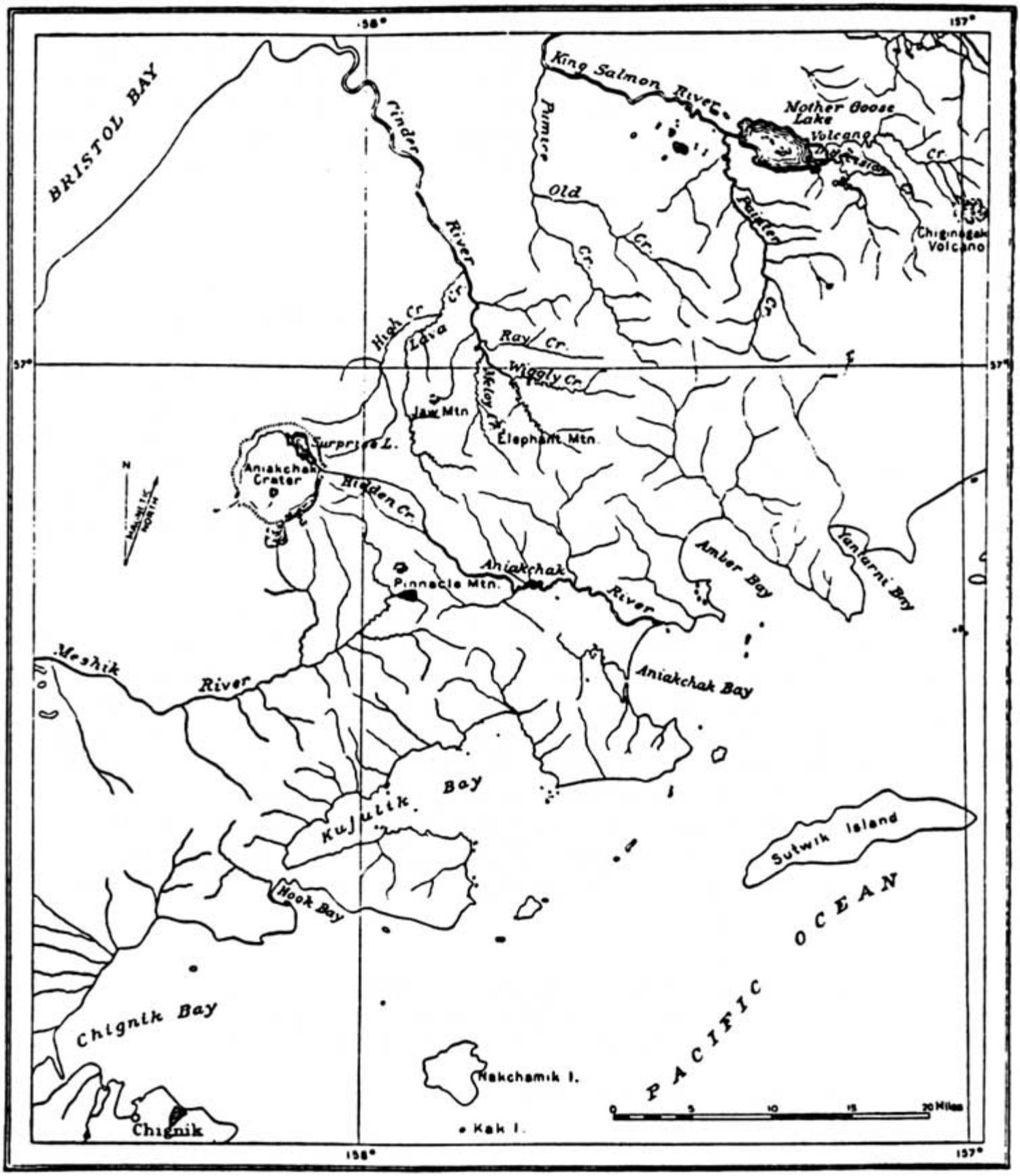


Map 9. Brooks River area in March 1983. The path to Brooks Falls had just been cleared, but the concessions camp was still located at the river's mouth. Brooks River, the park's main visitor locus, flows from Brooks Lake to Naknek Lake. Source: National Park Service.



Map 10. Aniakchak Bay Cultural Complex, located at the mouth of the Aniakchak River.

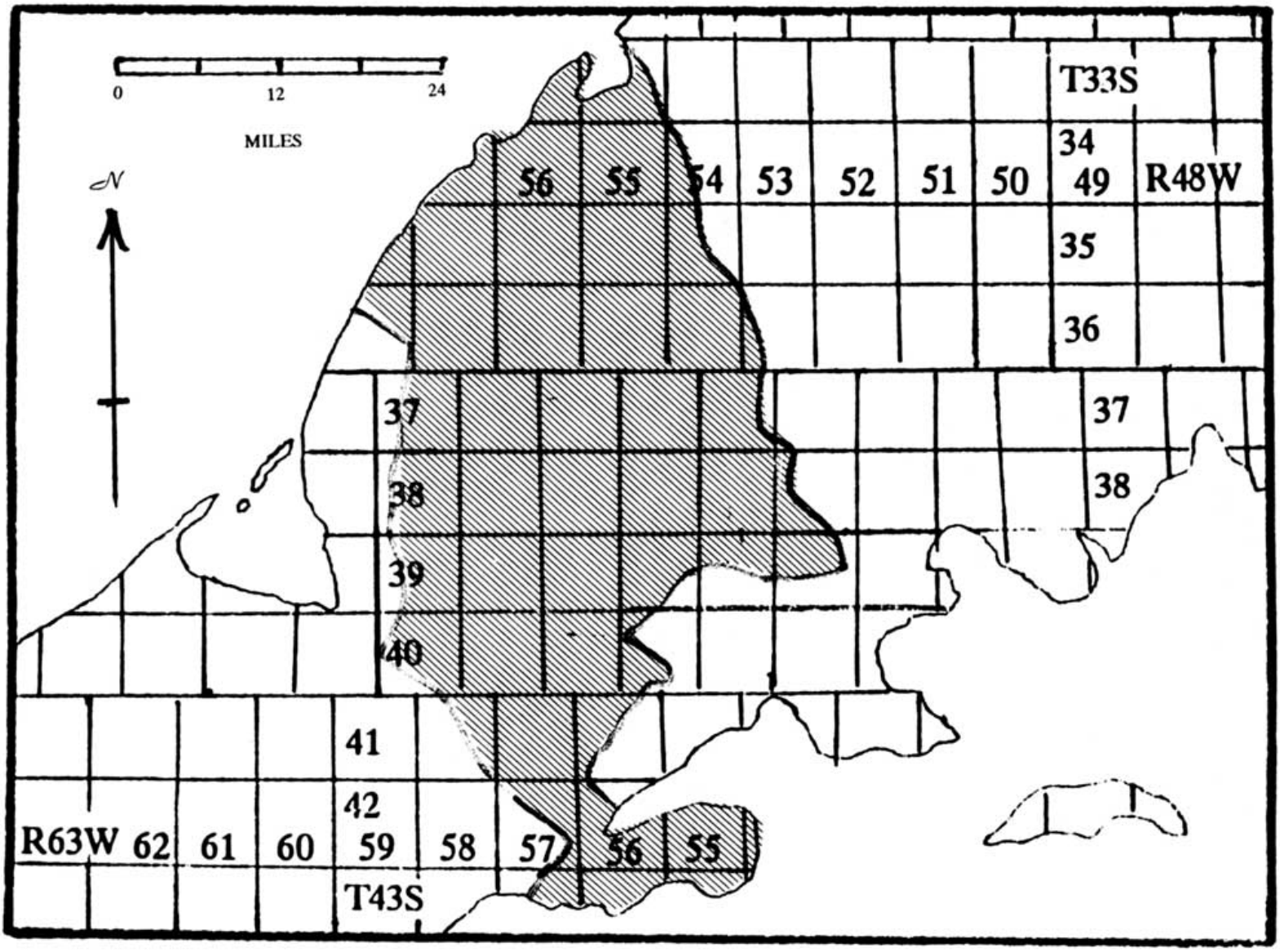

1917 (map)
1919 (map)
1927 (map)
1928 (map)
1919 (map)
permissible trap zone, 1928-1937
1926 (map)
Aniakchak Bay
CRPA Trap No. 20 ("Rocky Point" Trap), 1926-1929
CRPA "Beach" Trap, 1917-1920, 1924-1937
1926 (map)
ANIAKCHAK BAY
MAP LEGEND
Black Bands indicate areas where gov't regs. (after 1927) allowed traps
Lines into the bay show trap sites indicated by either maps or gov't regs.
"Beach" Trap, 1927 (map)
CRPA Trap No. 3 ("Pinnacle" Trap), 1928-1947
1947 (regs.)
1929-1946 (regs.)
1928 (regs.)
CRPA Trap No. 4, 1929-1930
permissible trap zone, 1928-1932
permissible trap zone, 1928-1947
APA Trap No. 25, 1937-1949
permissible trap zone, 1937-1949
1937-49 (regs.)
Map 11. Location of Aniakchak Bay Fish Traps
KUMLIK
Kumlik Island
N



Map 12. This "Sketch Map Showing Location of Aniakchak" was drawn by the U.S. Geological Survey during the 1920s. It was reprinted in Father Bernard Hubbard's 1932 publication, Mush, You Malemutes! (page 179).

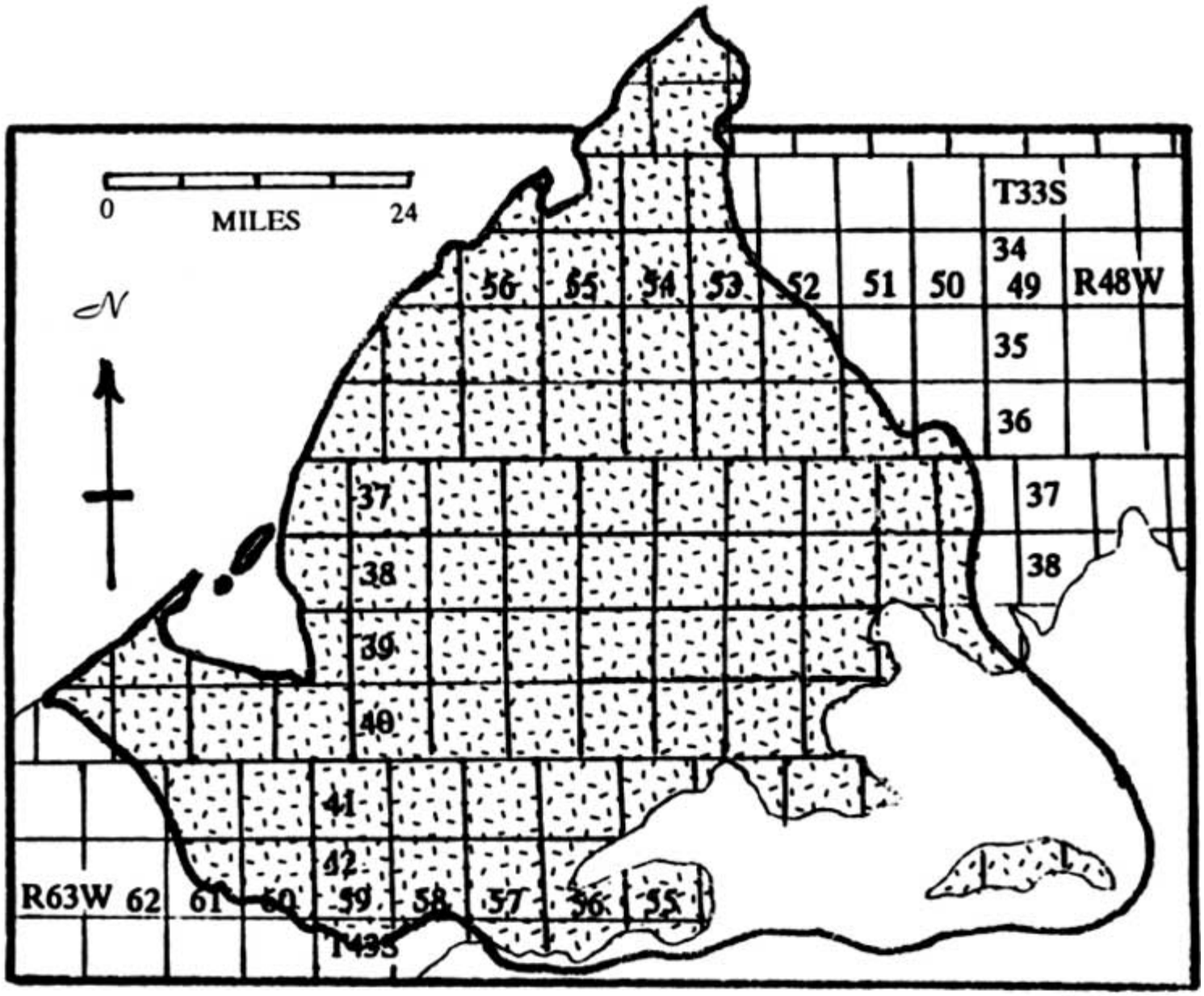
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Map 13. Proposed Aniakchak National Monument, 1931

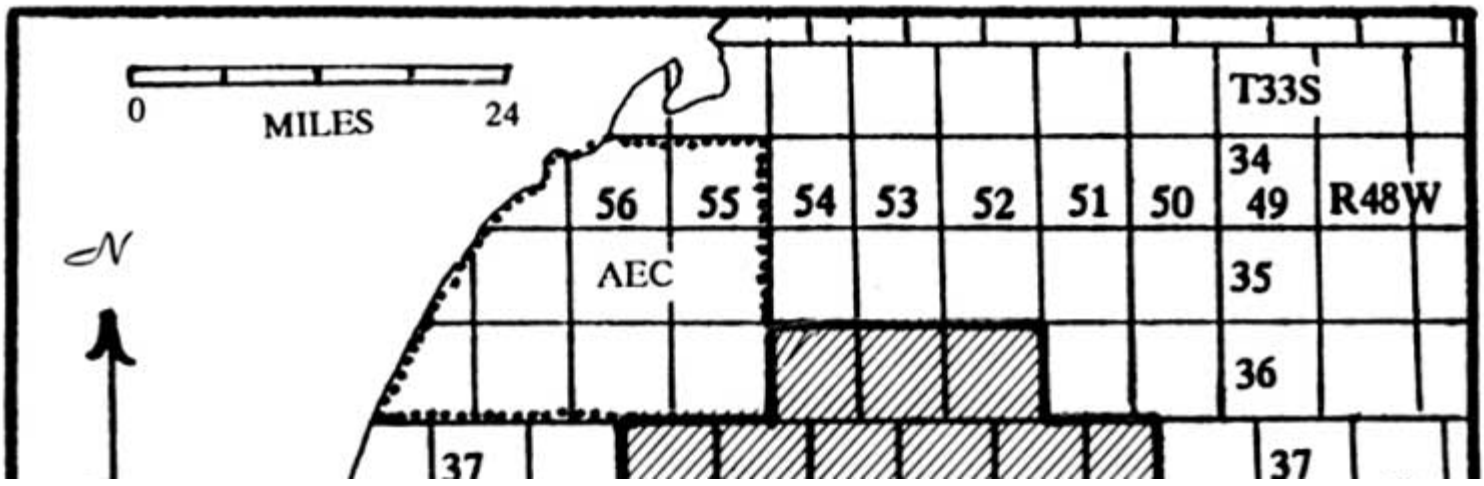


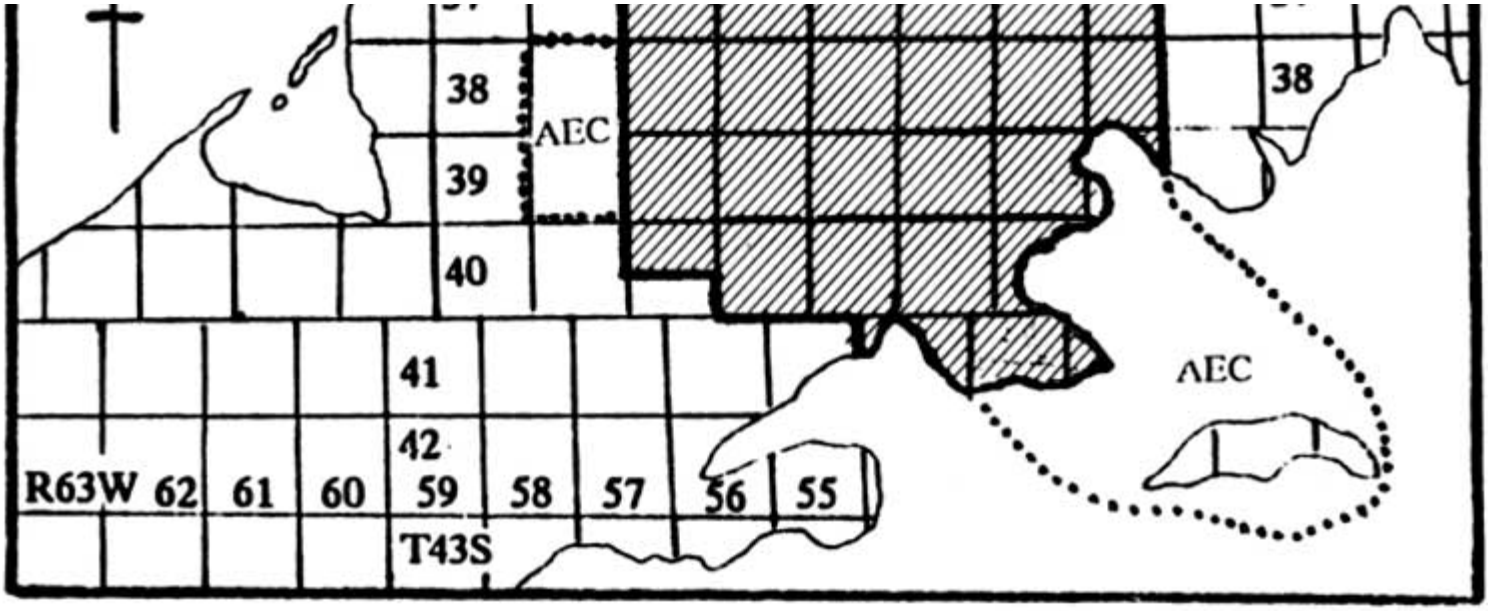
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Map 14. Aniakchak Administrative Proposals, 1973



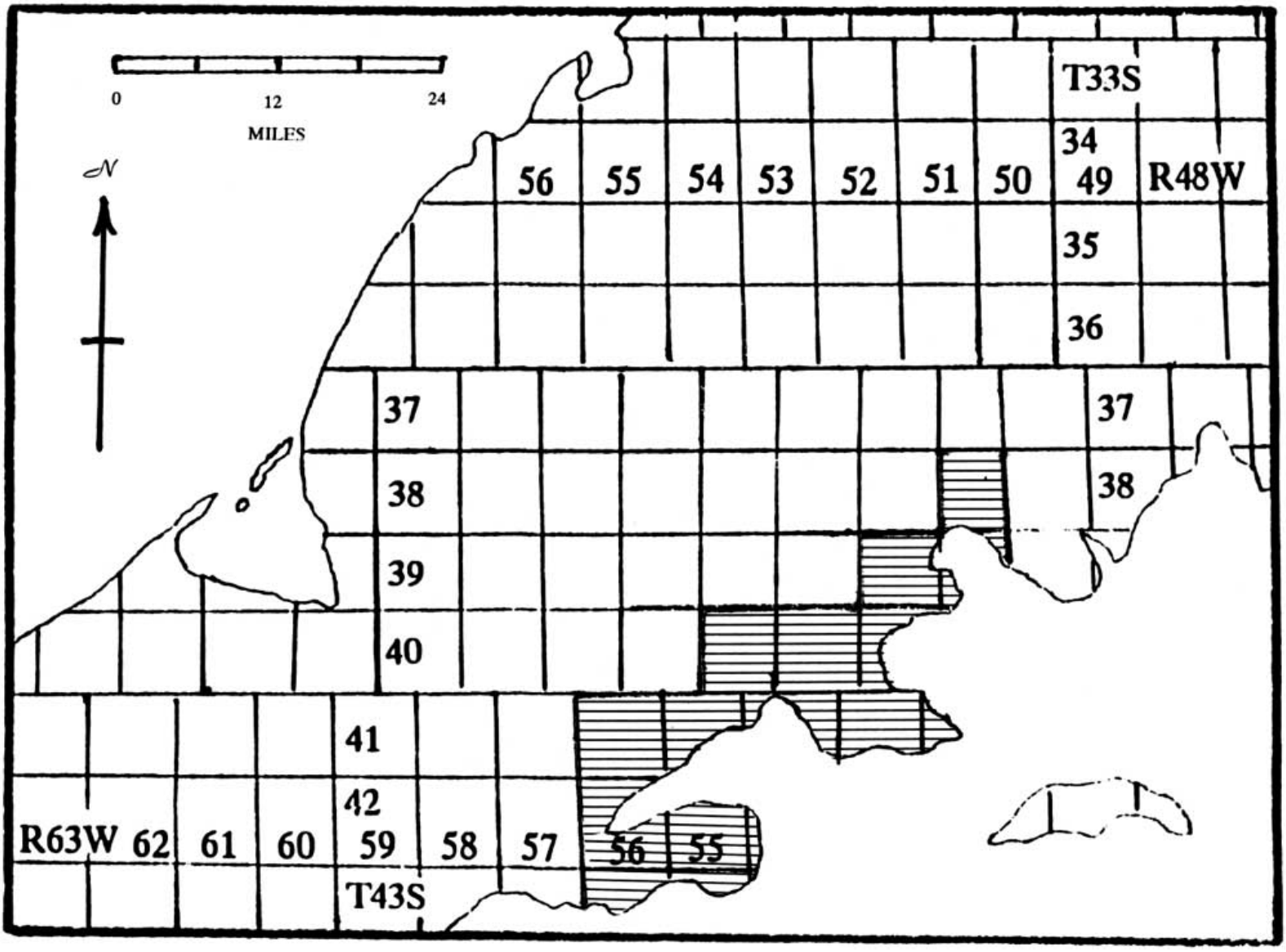
a. Aniakchak Caldera National Recreation Area, June 1973





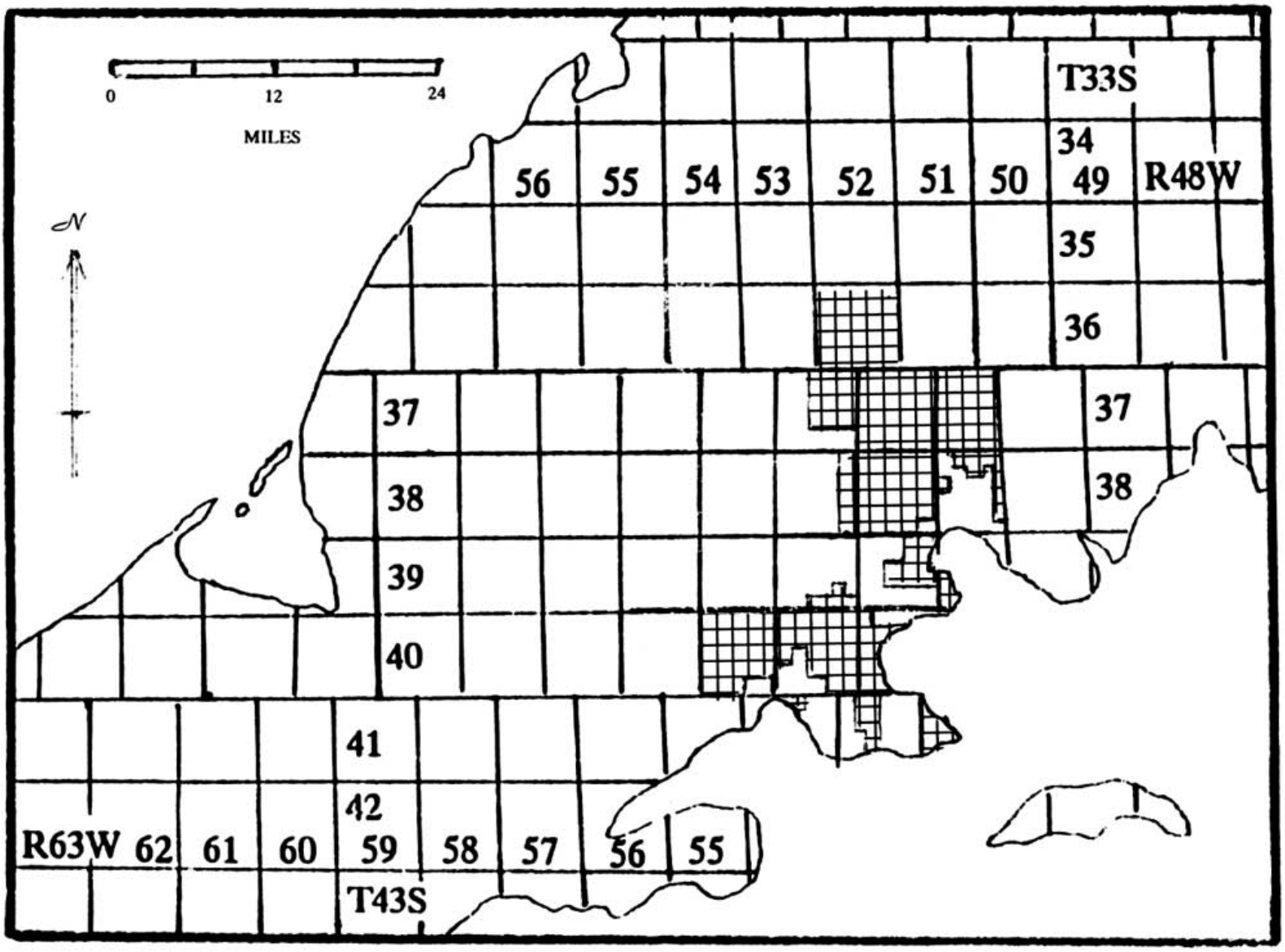
b. Aniakchak Caldera National Monument, December 1973

Map 15. Areas Recommended as Open to Sport Hunting as a Result of September 2, 1972 Memorandum of Understanding Between the Federal and State Governments



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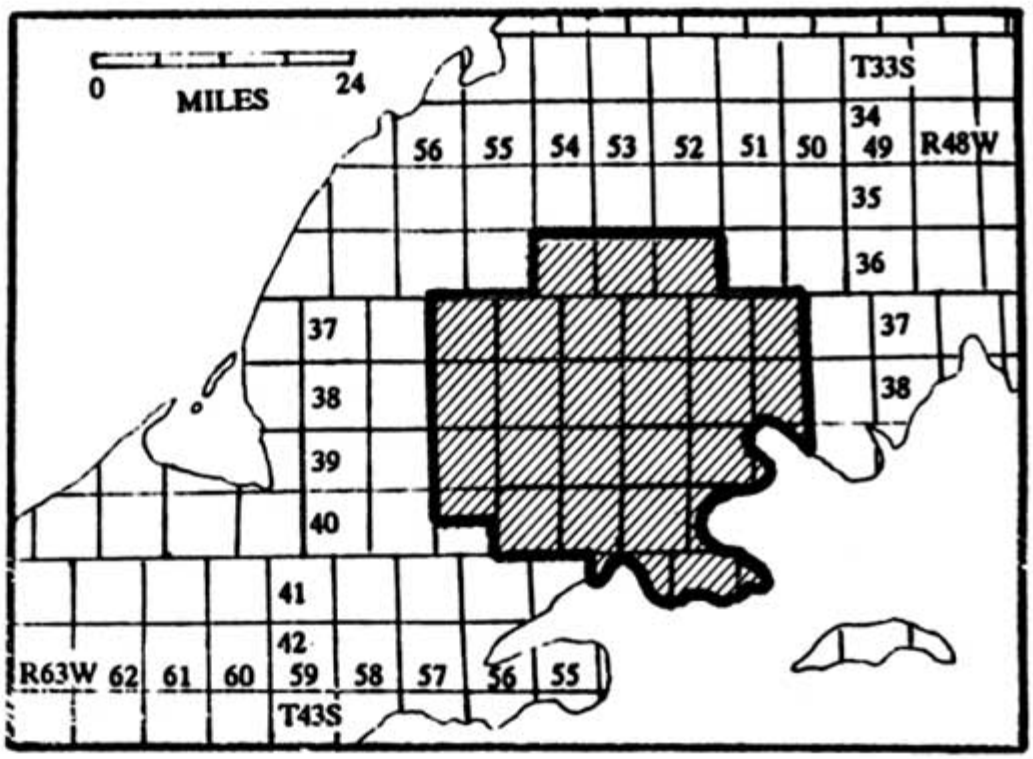
Map 16. Areas in Which Subsurface Rights Were Provided to Koniag, Inc. by ANCSA Amendments of January 2, 1976 (P.L. 94-204, Section 15 (a)).



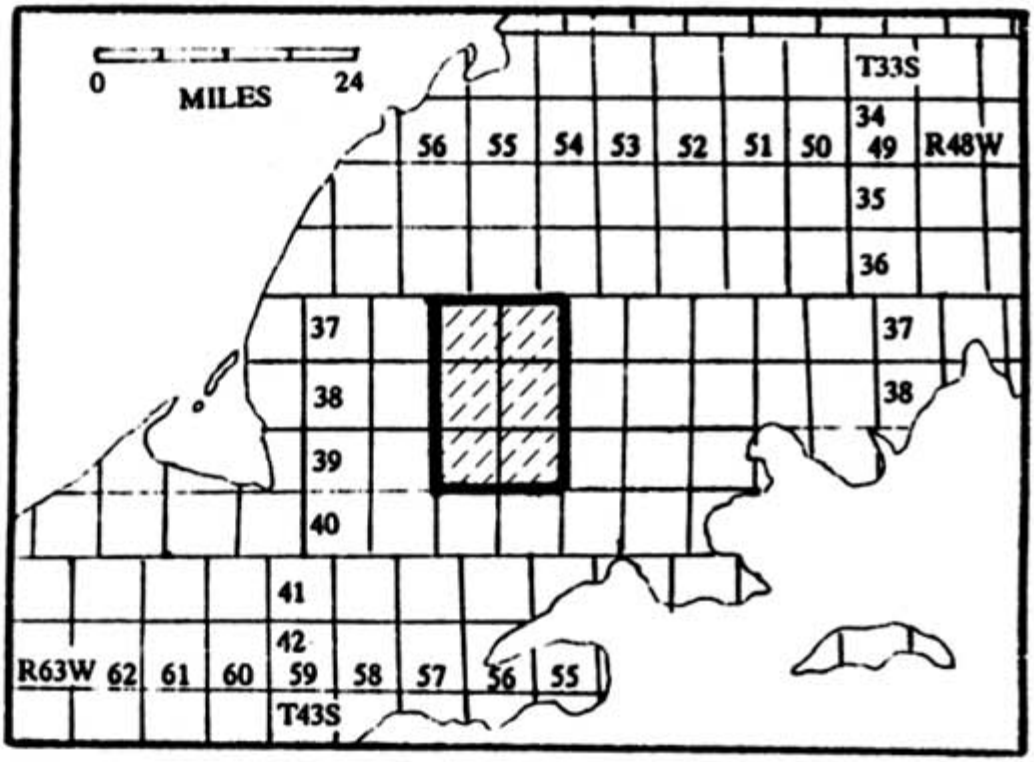
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Map 17. Aniakchak Proposals, 1977

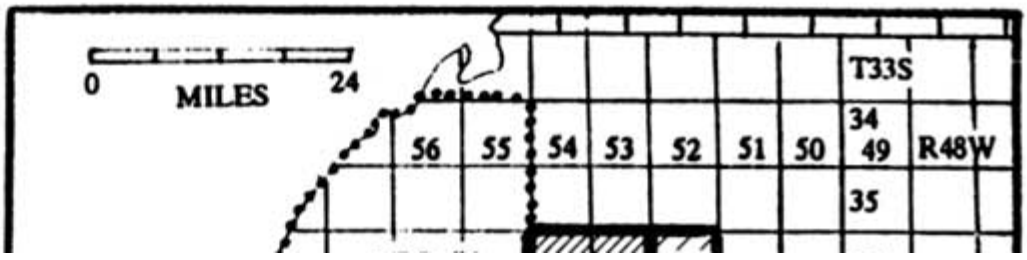
a. H.R. 39 (proposed Aniakchak National Monument), introduced January 4, 1977



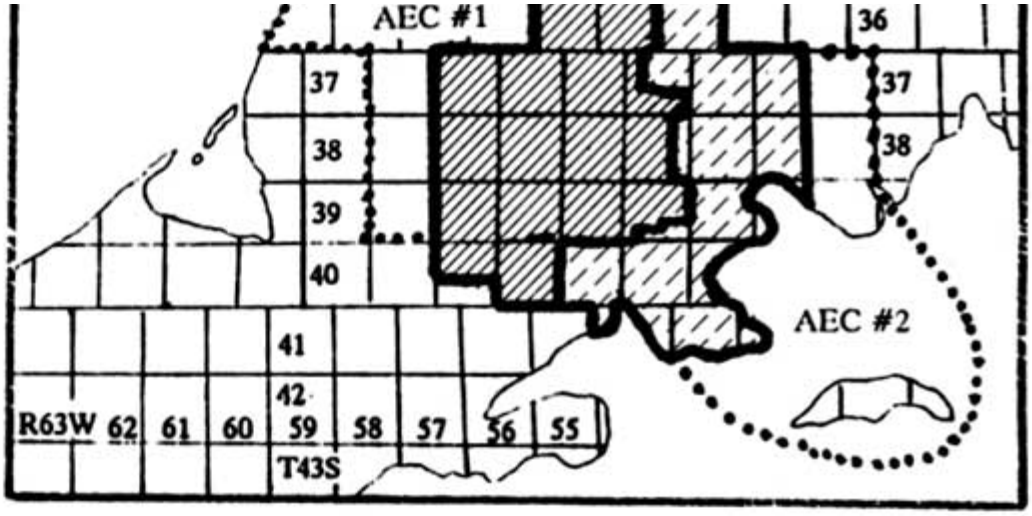
b. S. 1787 (proposed Aniakchak National Preserve), introduced June 30, 1977



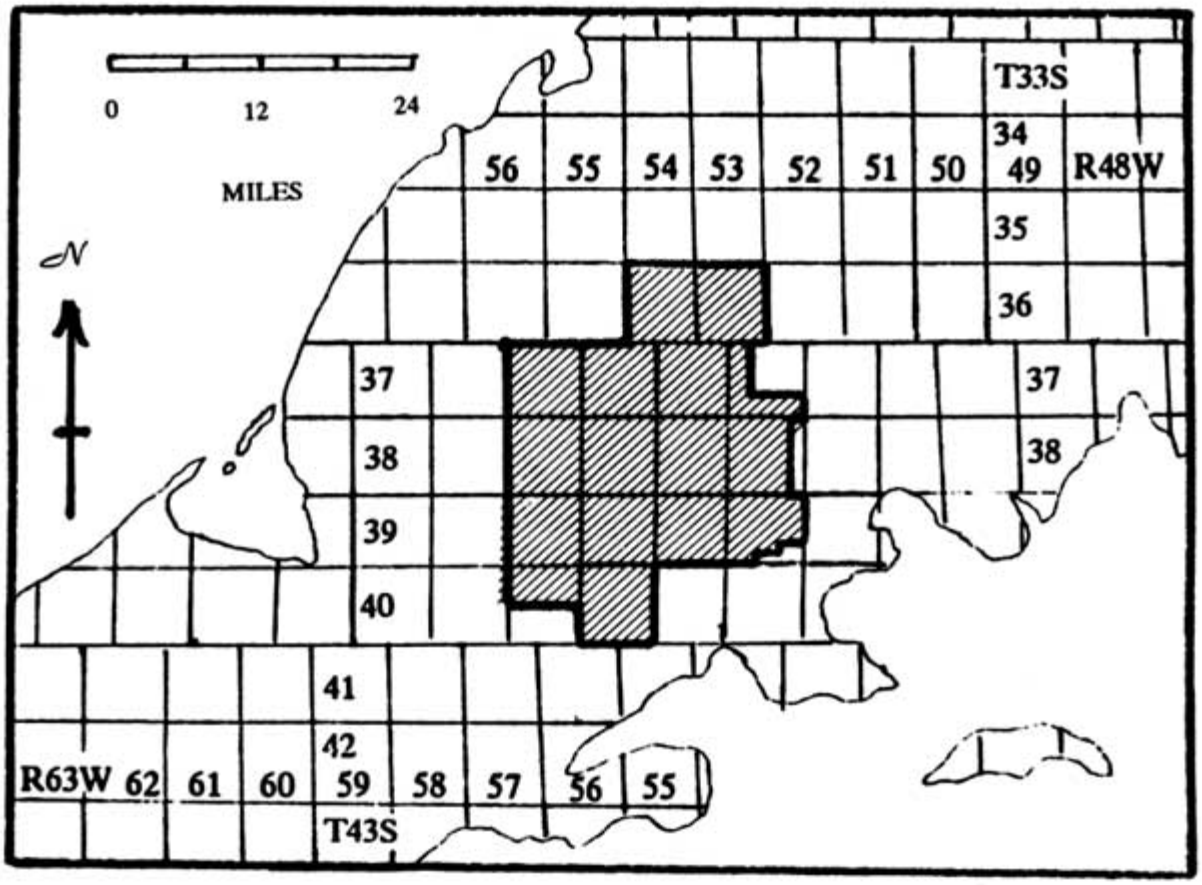
c. Department



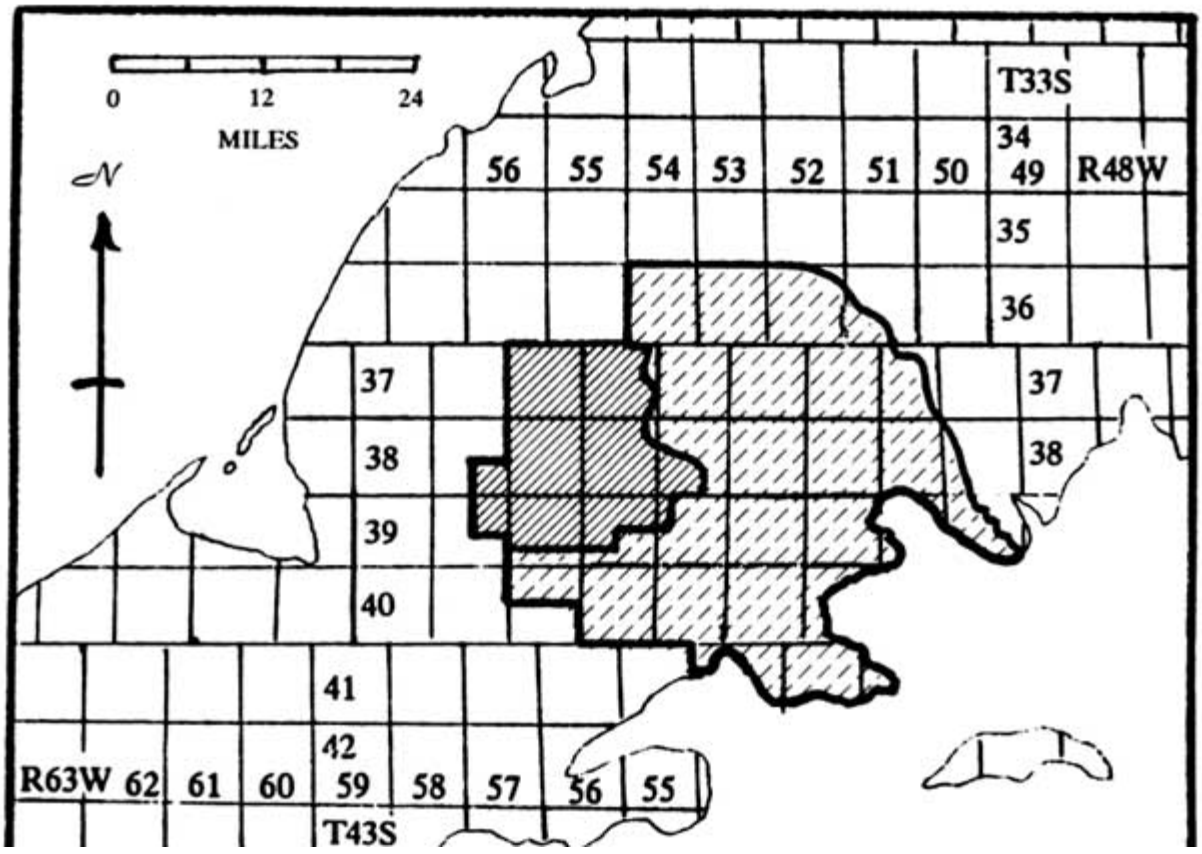
of the Interior recommendation (including Areas of Environmental Concern), issued September 15, 1977

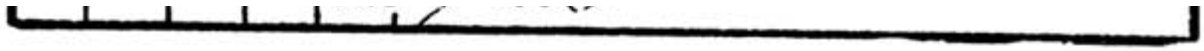


Map 18. Aniakchak Boundaries, 1978-80.



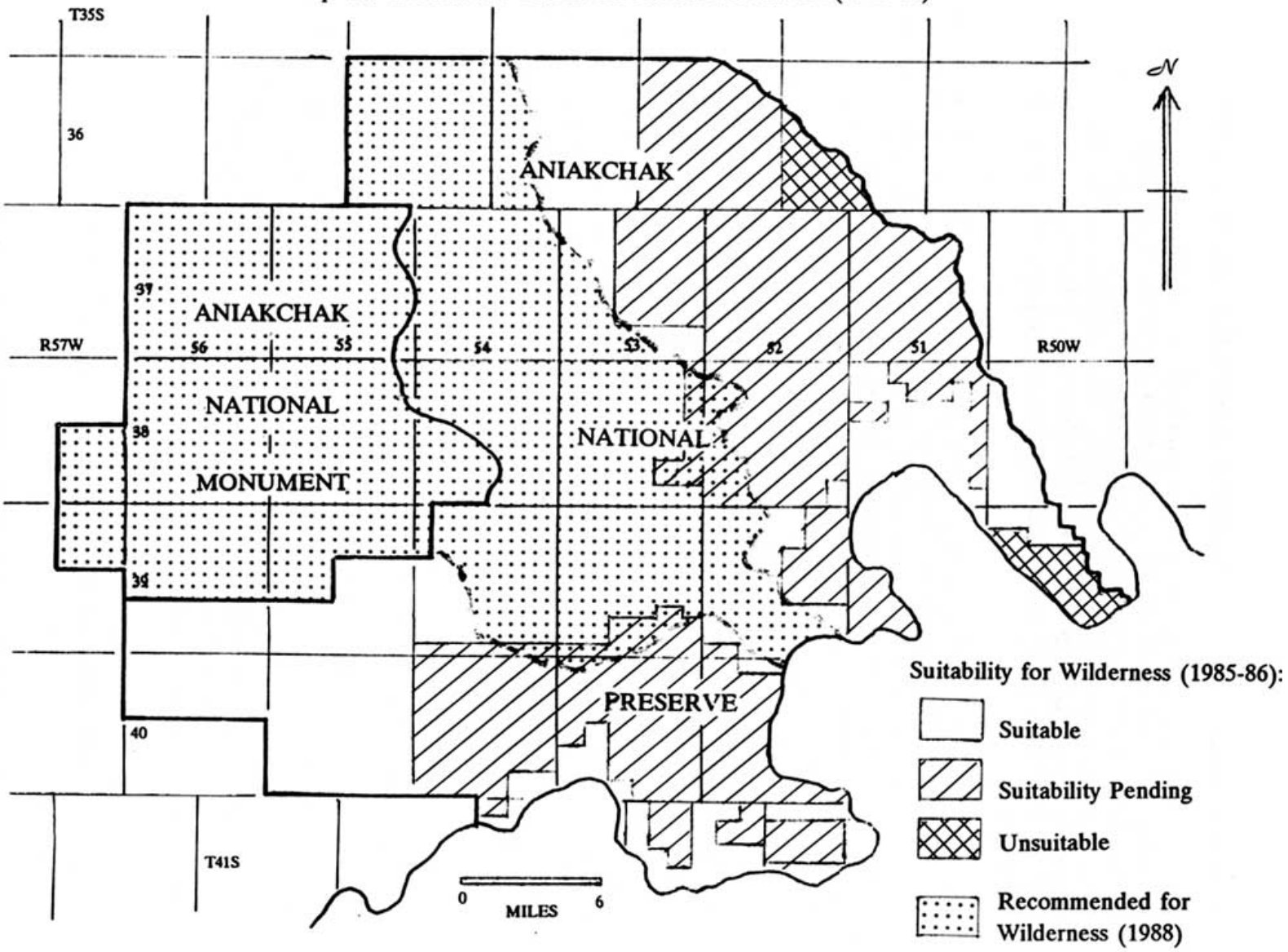
a. Aniakchak National Monument, proclaimed by President Carter on December 1, 1978



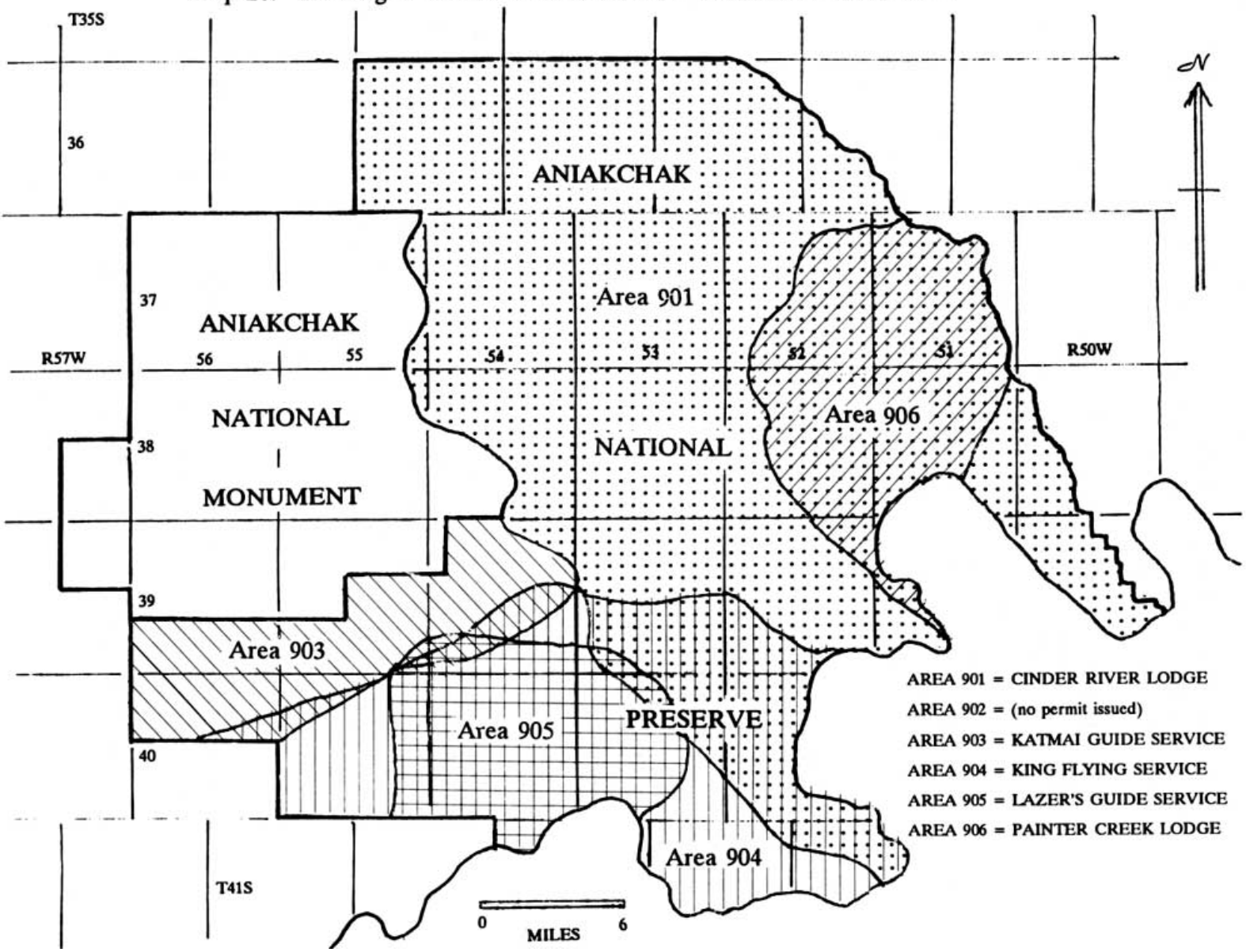


b. Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, as included in the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act and signed by President Carter on December 2, 1980.

Map 19. Aniakchak Wilderness Recommendations (1985-88)



Map 20. Hunting Guide Areas in Aniakchak National Preserve, 1988











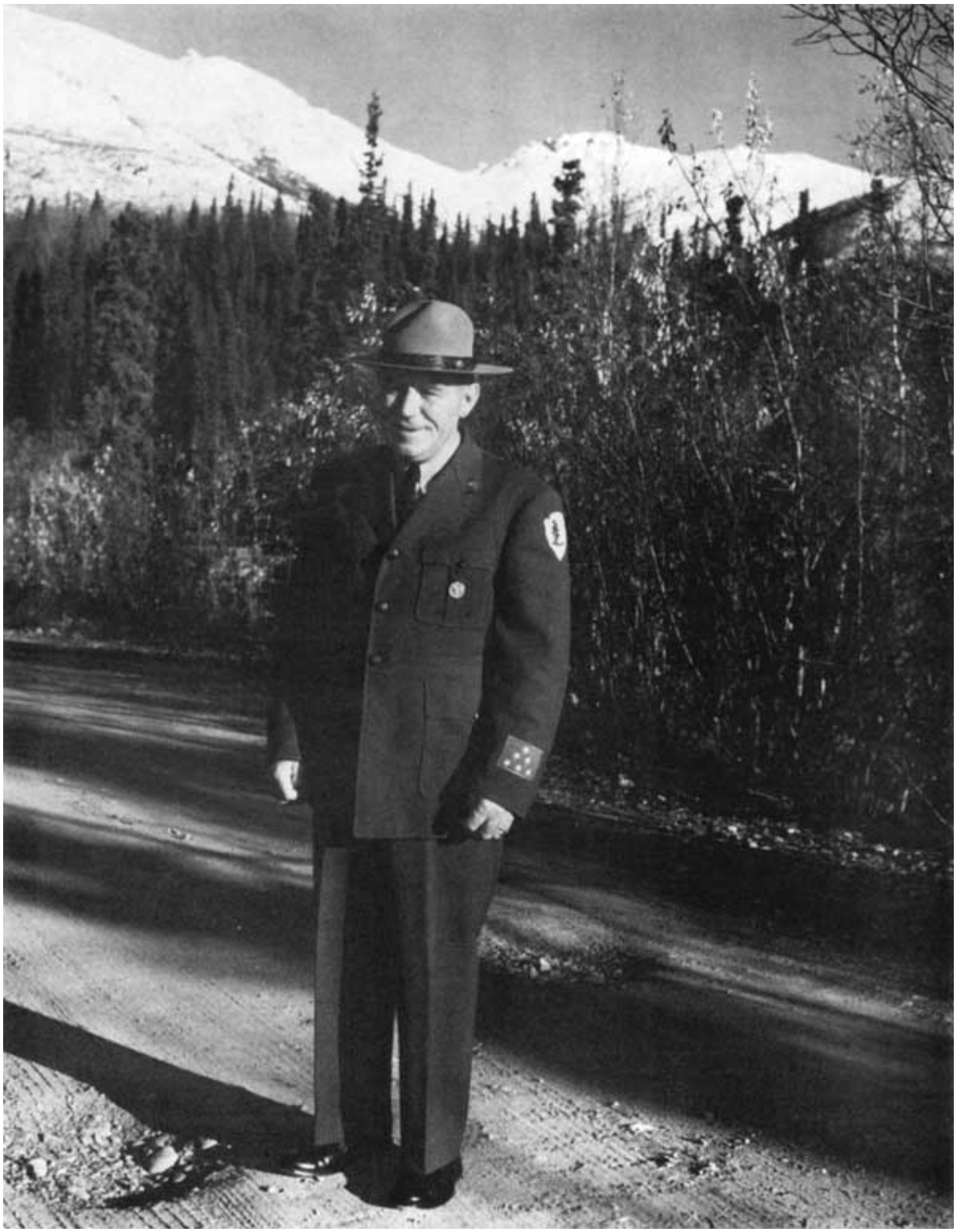






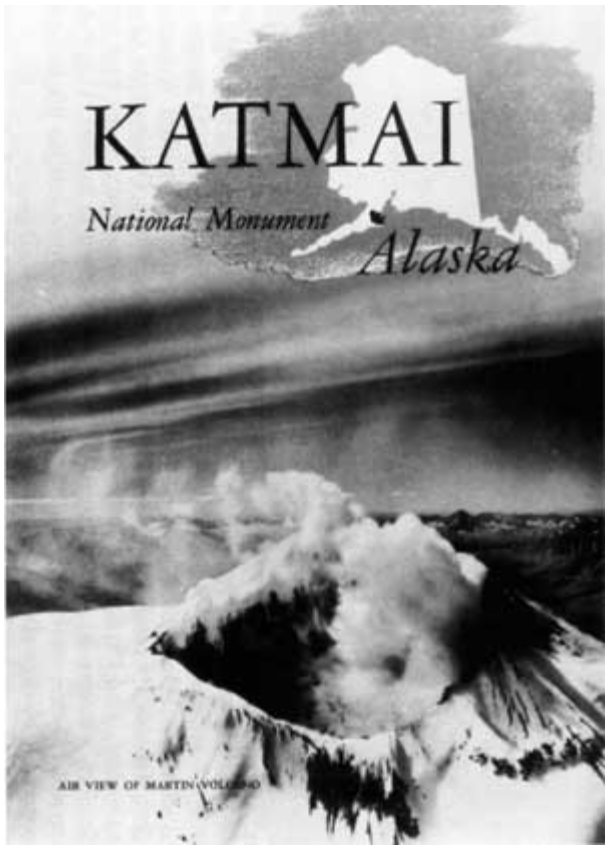











KATMAI
National Monument
Alaska

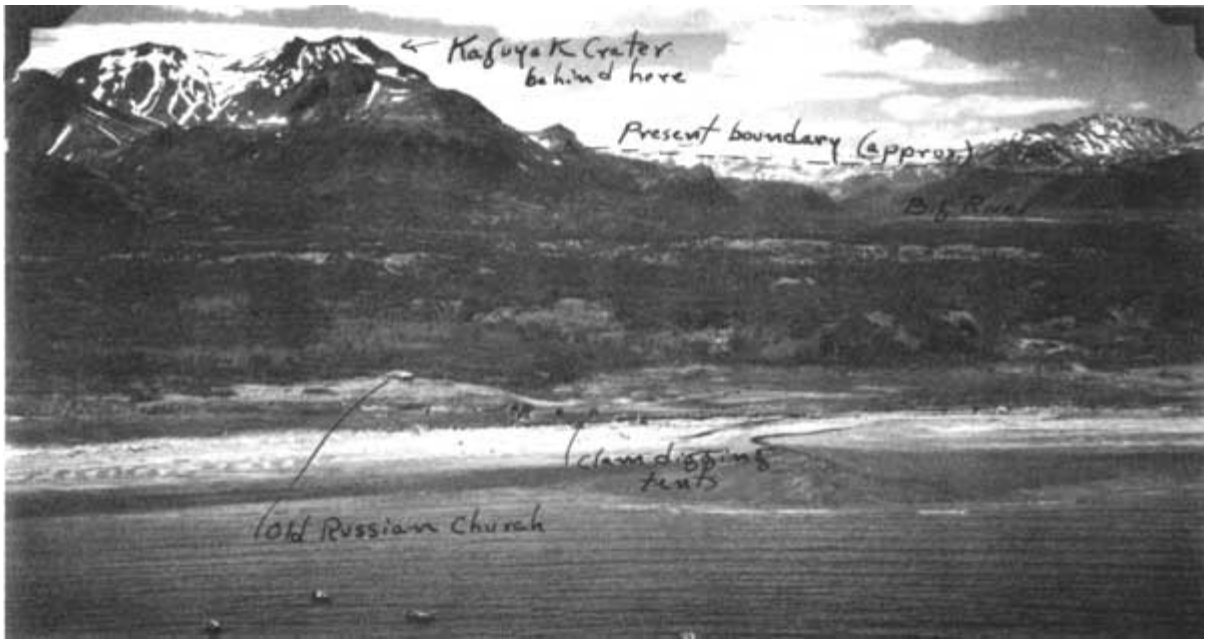









N68130


← Kaguyak Crater
behind here
Present boundary (approx)
Big Road
clam digging
tents
Old Russian Church


NCA




GEORGE A. HALL



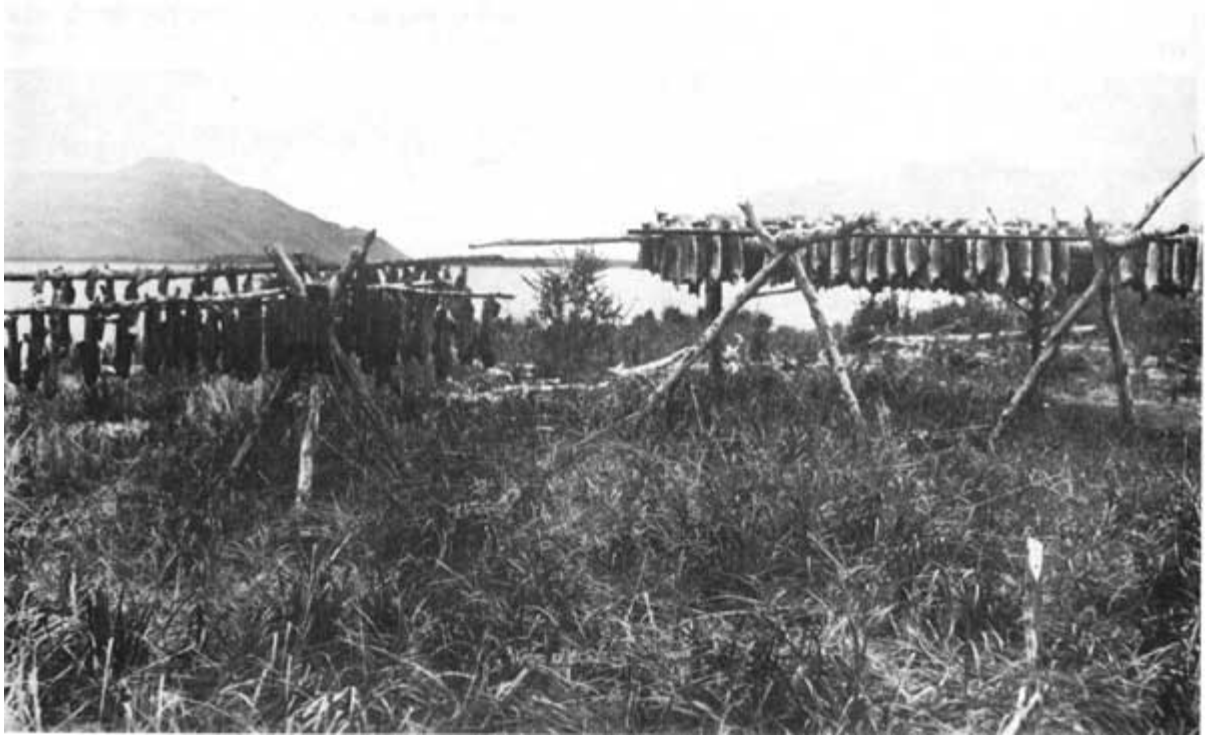








































FROM THE DESOLATE SHORES OF ANIAKCHAK BAY THE TRUK TO THE CRATER STARTED

The mounds in the foreground are native *barabaras*, half huts and half caves (see text, page 322, and illustration, page 338).



ANIAKCHAK CRATER PRESENTS A VISTA OF STRANGE CONTRASTS

From the desolate floor of the volcano at the left to ice-covered Vent Mountain; thence down to fields of grass and flowers and Surprise Lake at the right, the explorer passes through miniatures of the zones of earth (see, also, pages 326, 327, and 330).

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PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL AIRWAYS
OF
ALASKA









KATMAI / ANIAKCHAK

Isolated Paradise:
An Administrative History of the Katmai and Aniakchak National Park Units

Pictures cannot bring back the Valley of the Smokes. They have lost the awesomeness that lies in the setting. You may build in memory, but never reproduce the scenes which lie beyond the Katmai Pass. They seem too big to be a part of the rest of the world. They do not connect up with the little things which are built into our lives.

— Donovan B. Church, 1917, in Robert F. Griggs, The Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, p. 217.

Katmai National Monument serves no use and should be abolished.

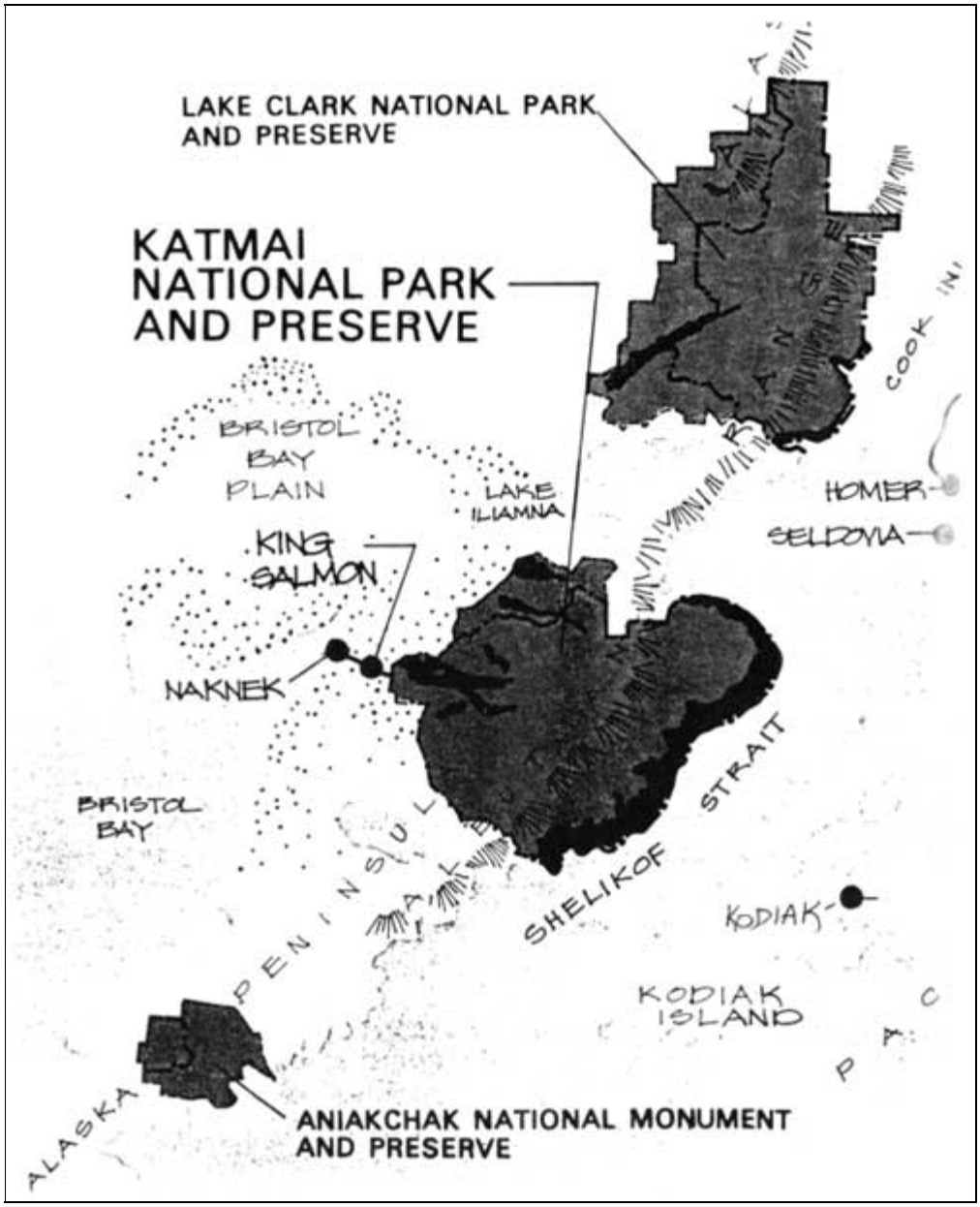
— Thomas C. Riggs, Annual Report of the Governor of Alaska, 1919, p. 45.

Katmai Monument is a principality in itself. It is substantially unknown even to the federal service which theoretically administers it, but every time an effort is made to do something constructive, the reminder is given that we must keep on thinking of the generations yet unborn and must give no thought to those now living. Of course, any sensible person will agree that if Katmai possesses scenic resources such as we are told it does (although no one knows very much about them), then perhaps a good argument can be made for saving scenic values unspoiled for those who are to come, but I submit this still can be done without applying such a heavy brush in the withdrawal orders.

— Alaska Delegate E. L. Bartlett to Secretary of the Interior Julius A. Krug, May 21, 1947, in Bartlett collection

Katmai National Monument is first of all a wilderness landscape, a place where the imprint of wildlife is greater than that of people, where clear lakes and rivers abound, where nearly two hundred miles of coastline bear little sign of man, and where steaming volcanoes rise above the entire scene. It is a land of uncrowded spaciousness, a place where people can experience wilderness on its own terms without the distraction of hordes of other visitors. It is a place where time and change are measured by the sun, the tides, and the seasons rather than clocks and calendars. Katmai, in short, is an experience set in the wild, and perhaps it is even a frame of mind.

— Supt. Gilbert E. Blinn, in Dave Bohn, Rambles Through an Alaskan Wild: Katmai and the Valley of the Smokes, 1979, p. 19.



Map. 1. Location of the Katmai and Aniakchak NPS units. *Source: NPS, General Management Plan for Katmai, October 1986, 4.*

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