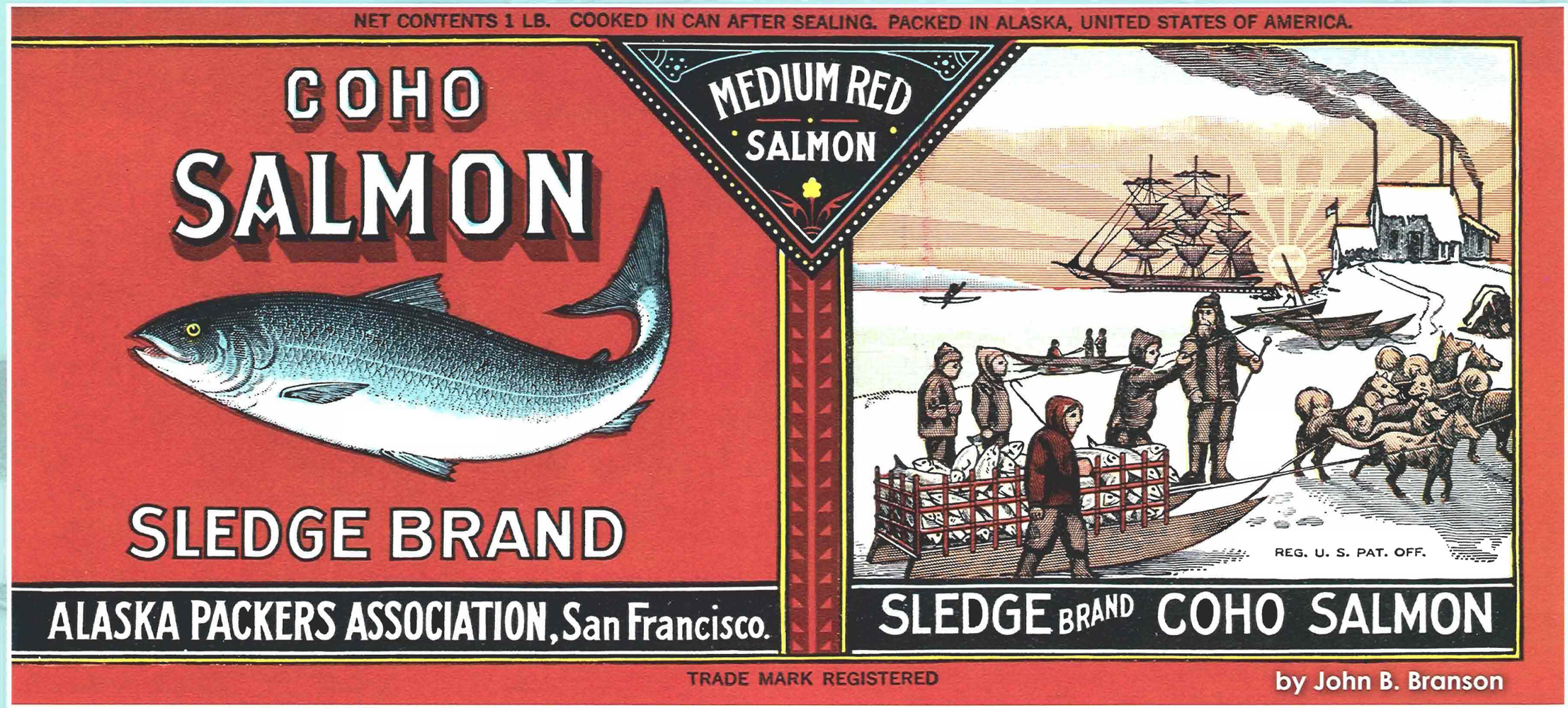
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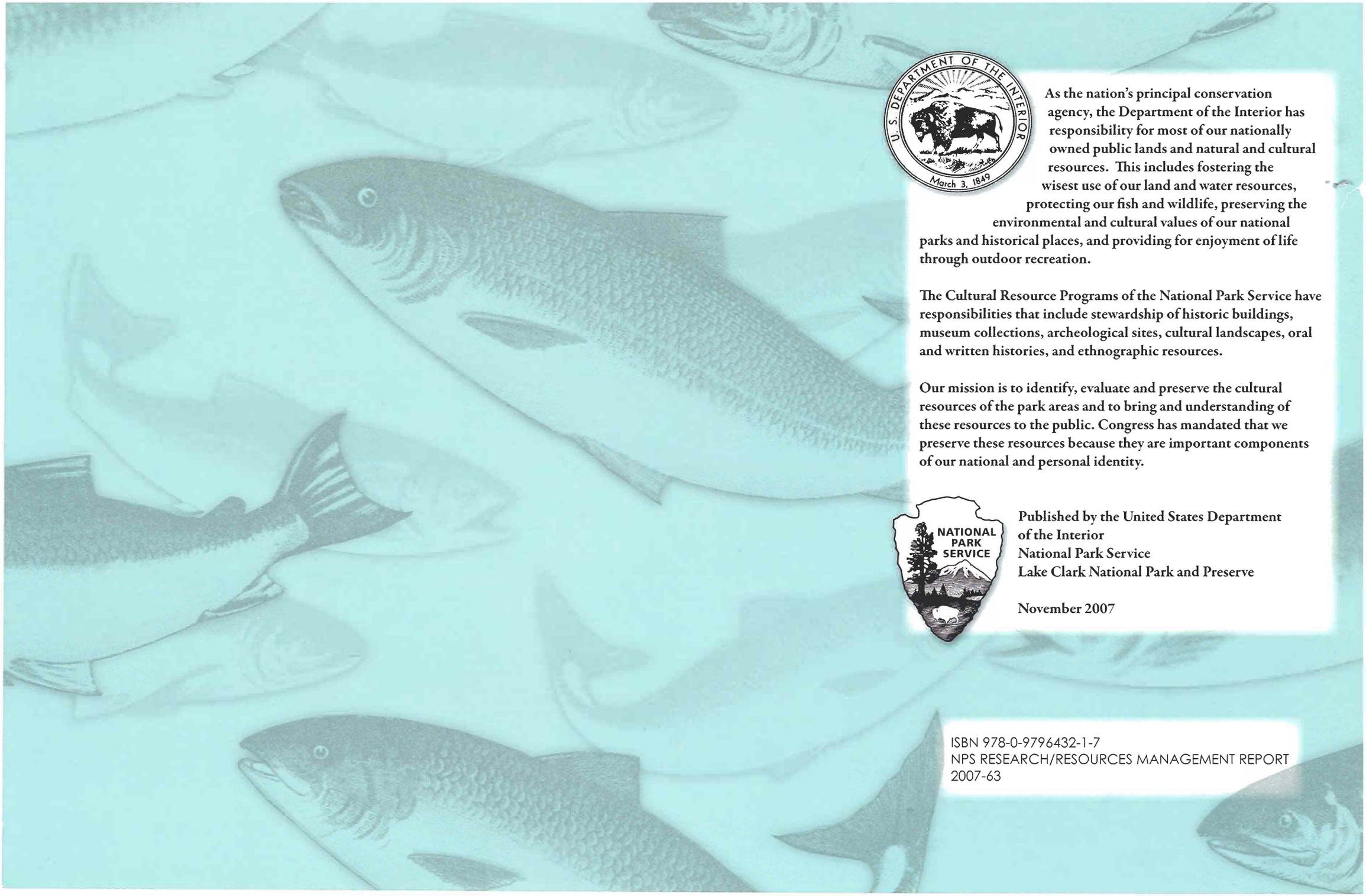
The Canneries, Cabins and Caches

of

Bristol Bay, Alaska



by John B. Branson



As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural and cultural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation.

The Cultural Resource Programs of the National Park Service have responsibilities that include stewardship of historic buildings, museum collections, archeological sites, cultural landscapes, oral and written histories, and ethnographic resources.

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

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By John B. Branson
Lake Clark National Park and Preserve



Detail of flag motif
from the Alaska Packers Association
canned salmon labels.

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Detail of label from "Red Crown Brand" canned Alaska red salmon.

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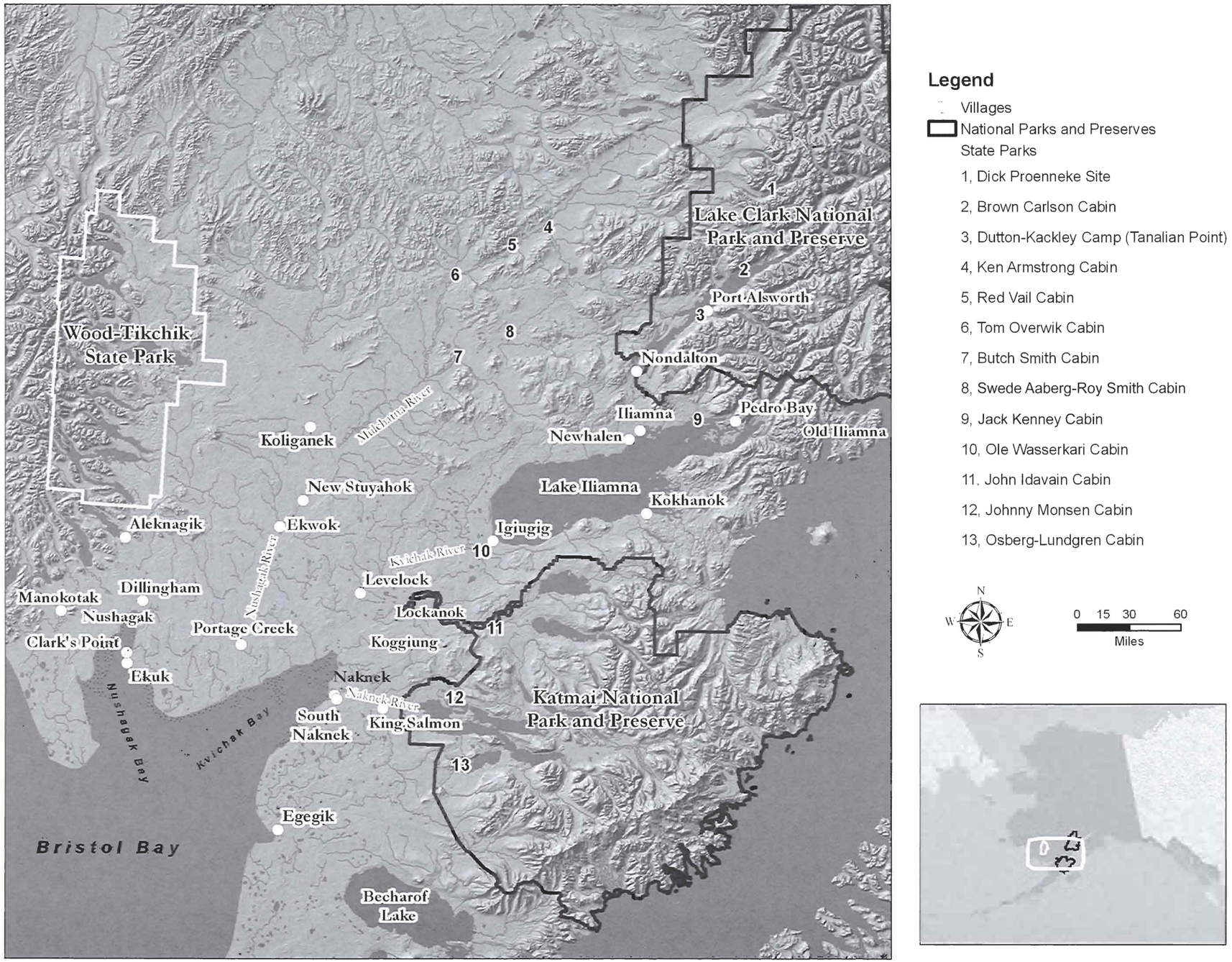
Dedication and Acknowledgements

This book is dedicated to the Melvin Monsens, Senior and Junior, who are both generous with their knowledge and resources in the collection and documentation of the history of the Bristol Bay region. The book is also dedicated to the Carvel Zimins, Senior and Junior, who are also very willing to share their knowledge and collections with the National Park Service to help preserve Bristol Bay history. The book is further dedicated to the brothers Aspelund: Allan, Alvin and Carl, who have always been willing and informative in sharing their vast knowledge of the Bristol Bay salmon fishery. From the Nushagak side of the Bristol Bay, I want to dedicate this book also to Hjalmer Olson for sharing his knowledge of Nushagak Bay history. Thanks also to Tim Troll of the Nushagak-Mulchatna /Wood-Tikchik Land Trust and retired state historian John Breiby for reading the manuscript and providing me with information and suggestions to make it better. I am grateful to Harry Barnes and Jerry Liboff of Dillingham, and Bob King for sharing their knowledge of Bay lore. It is a pleasure to spend time with these men who are so enthusiastic about all things related to the Bristol Bay fishery.

Of course, the book is also dedicated to all the informants who have shared their knowledge and made this book possible; many of their names appear in the bibliography. I want to thank all the individuals and institutions that provided the photographs that appear in this book.

I would like to thank my colleagues at Lake Clark National Park and Preserve who have assisted me on this project: Angela Olson, administrative assistant, for typing several of the narratives, Buck Mangipane, wildlife technician, for composing the maps used in the book, Dan Young, fishery biologist, for sharing his knowledge of salmon, and Amy Sayre, for reading part of the manuscript and offering suggestions to improve it. I also want to acknowledge subsistence assistant Michelle Ravenmoon for sharing her knowledge about Dena'ina culture and place names around Iliamna Lake. Park maintenance employees Bill Trefon, Sr. and George Alexie shared their local historical knowledge, for which I am most grateful. My thanks also goes to historians Frank Norris and Janet Clemens of the National Park Service Support Office in Anchorage for reading the manuscript and offering constructive ways to improve the content. Park ranger Jennifer Shaw and biological science technician Jared Irvine were very helpful in formatting the manuscript, as was local student, Courtney Natwick. I am grateful to archeologist Molly Casperson for improving the manuscript. Former colleague, archeologist Jennifer Tobey, was also most helpful sharing her knowledge of historic cabins in both Lake Clark National Park and Preserve and Katmai National Park and Preserve. State archeologist Dave McMahan, BIA-ANSCA Office archeologist Matt O'Leary and Professor Alan Boraas of Kenai Peninsula College have always been willing to share with me their ideas about the history and archeology of the region.

I would like to thank my supervisors for their support and guidance as this book developed: Park Superintendent Joel Hard, Chief Ranger Lee Fink and my immediate supervisor, Chief of Cultural Resources, Jeanne Schaaf.


Legend
Villages
National Parks and Preserves
State Parks
1, Dick Proenneke Site
2, Brown Carlson Cabin
3, Dutton-Kackley Camp (Tanalian Point)
4, Ken Armstrong Cabin
5, Red Vail Cabin
6, Tom Overwik Cabin
7, Butch Smith Cabin
8, Swede Aaberg-Roy Smith Cabin
9, Jack Kenney Cabin
10, Ole Wasserkari Cabin
11, John Idavain Cabin
12, Johnny Monsen Cabin
13, Osberg-Lundgren Cabin
Lake Clark National Park and Preserve
Wood-Tikchik State Park
Port Alsworth
Nondalton
Iliamna
Pedro Bay
Old Iliamna
Newhalen
Koliganek
Mulchatna River
New Stuyahok
Lake Iliamna
Kokhanok
Aleknagik
Ekwok
Igiugig
Kvichak River
Nushagak River
Levelock
Dillingham
Manokotak
Nushagak
Portage Creek
Lockanok
Clark's Point
Koggiung
Ekuk
Naknek
Naknek River
South Naknek
King Salmon
Katmai National Park and Preserve
Nushagak Bay
Kvichak Bay
Egegik
Bristol Bay
Becharof Lake
N
W
E
S
0 15 30 60
Miles



Detail of label from "Moose Head" canned salmon.

Preface

A grassroots pictorial narrative offering an overall view of early twentieth century life in the Bristol Bay region is needed now because time is carrying off the old canneries and distorting the memory of characters that fished and lived near them. Unprecedented forces loom large in the region, with oil and gas development offshore and the potential creation of the North America's largest open pit mine in the heart of the Nushagak and Kvichak River salmon spawning grounds. Such developments have the potential to transform a region of commercial fishing, subsistence, tourism and sport economies into an industrial zone where the old ways are but dim memories because of a diminution in the biological foundation of fresh water and fisheries.

Those who sailed double-enders for red salmon in the Bristol Bay area are now 70 years of age and older. Many canneries have succumbed to fire, coastal erosion and piecemeal disassembly for prized lumber. Similar fates have befallen most of the early twentieth century cabins and caches that dot the Bristol Bay uplands. They remain faintly visible along the river banks and lake shores throughout the region. These relics stand as poor testaments to the vibrant people who once lived and worked in them.

The purpose of *The Canneries, Cabins and Caches of Bristol Bay, Alaska* is to present a pictorial of early twentieth century social history along the three great Bristol Bay rivers: the Nushagak, Kvichak and Naknek. At the heart of this historical documentation is the fact that most of the canneries, cabins and caches pictured now rest in quiet oblivion. It is in the public interest, both for present and future generations, to document this period of Bristol Bay history in one volume, before all its actors have completely left the stage.

The Nushagak River, in part, heads in Lake Clark National Park and Preserve, the Kvichak heads in both Lake Clark and Katmai National Parks and Preserves, and the Naknek River begins in Katmai National Park and Preserve. While the Egegik and Ugashik Rivers are significant to Bristol Bay and have had salmon canneries at their mouths since the late 1890s, a paucity of historical photographs from both upriver and tidewater largely precludes inclusion in this work.

The organization of the cannery photographs and maps in the book are based on the chronology of construction and location on each river beginning in Nushagak Bay moving to Kvichak Bay, and finally in the Naknek River. The photographs begin at the Arctic Packing Company at Kanulik in 1884 and go around both sides of Nushagak Bay documenting most of the major canneries and some of the salteries. Proceeding eastward, on the west side of Kvichak Bay, the reader will first encounter Bristol Bay Packing Company's saltery at King Salmon Creek and "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's saltery at Squaw Creek (*sic*). The coverage continues upstream on the west side of the Kvichak River at Levelock where the Carlisle Packing Company had a floating cannery beached at the village. Moving across the Kvichak from Levelock to the east side of the river and proceeding downriver near the mouth of Alagnak River (Hallersville and Lockanok) the photos continue and chronicle the last three canneries near the mouth of the river,

ending at Graveyard. The last two canneries encountered on the east side of Kvichak Bay, before entering the mouth of the Naknek River, were Libbyville and Pedersen Point. The last section of the cannery chapter chronicles the location and history of the various Naknek River canneries beginning on the north side of the river at Nornek cannery and proceeding upriver documenting five additional canneries before crossing to the south side of the river. The farthest upriver cannery on the south side was the Alaska Portland Packers Association plant, and downstream, past three other canneries, and finally ends at Diamond M at the mouth of the Naknek River.

The narrative sections of the book will provide more regional context and detail. In order to enhance clarity and minimize ambiguity in the narratives, minor editing was employed to standardize spelling and punctuation. The reader will encounter the cabin and cache photographs that will describe the non-commercial fishing part of life in the Bristol Bay region. The cabin and cache photographs begin at Old Iliamna village and move along the north side of Iliamna Lake before covering the Newhalen River and Lake Clark country. The photographs then cover the southwestern portion of Iliamna Lake and the Kvichak and Alagnak Rivers before continuing on to the Katmai country. The last section of photographs covers the Nushagak drainage between Nushagak Bay proceeding upriver to the Mulchatna River and ending at Twin Lakes in what is now Lake Clark National Park and Preserve.

The Bristol Bay region is not as well known as other parts of Alaska, such as the Southeastern, the North Slope or the Kenai Peninsula, and even those who know of the Bay's rich commercial and sport fisheries often know little of its marvelous upriver history. I have sought to document the locations of the main canneries on the three big rivers before they become little more than quaint sounding names on maps. But there was and remains much more to the Bristol Bay region than the world's greatest concentration of salmon canneries. After all, each year, the main commercial fishery only lasted from late June to mid-July, with May and much of June spent preparing for the actual fishing. Late July to mid-August was the time of "fall fishing" and for the stowing of gear, pulling boats out of the bay and shutting down the canneries for the year.

All the largest cannery buildings were covered with corrugated iron sheets while other buildings, like bunkhouses and smaller residences, were often covered with variations of covered shiplap. However, such buildings did not look the same. Their most distinguishing characteristics were instead determined by their immediate surroundings and paint schemes. Some canneries were built on bays, rivers, at the confluences of rivers, and tidal creeks or sloughs. Most large cannery buildings retained an unpainted galvanized patina though some, such as Alaska Packers canneries, were painted a rusty red. Libby's Graveyard cannery buildings were aluminum colored, with green roofs, and Nakeen had gray colored buildings.[1] The Bristol Bay sailboat fishing fleet was very colorful with cannery affiliation determined by an array of paint jobs. The triangular sails were white, gray or brown. On a sunny day, the sailboats fishing the mouths of the Nushagak, Kvichak and Naknek must have accorded a viewer a kaleidoscopic seascape. For example, Alaska Packers boats had rusty red bottoms and white sides, Libby's Graveyard boats were painted orange, and Bristol Bay Packing boats were originally robin-egg blue. Later, when owned by New England Fish Company, they were red and black. Red Salmon Company sailboats were yellow, Pacific American Fisheries' boats had white sides with black bottoms, and Nakeen boats were painted gray with white trim.[2]

If commercial fishing was the main activity for only one or two months a year, how did the people of the Bristol Bay country spend the rest of the intervening ten months? Surely, they did not go into a deep winter sleep like the big brown bears for which the region is renowned. Far from sleeping, many Bristol Bay residents spent the time between September and early May upriver, trapping and living off the land in what has generally been regarded by many, including the late former governor Jay S. Hammond, as the richest fish and game region in Alaska. It seems appropriate to discuss the upriver country of the Bay by focusing on some of the cabins and caches built by local people to provide shelter and storage as they went about their wintertime activities. In short, the second goal of this book, therefore, is to elucidate some of the outstanding individuals and life ways practiced to keep body and soul together in the wilds of the Bristol Bay country. Unlike the canneries, the cabins and caches are not uniform, but rather variations on a theme, each reflecting local surroundings, the builder's capabilities, the materials used and their function.

I first came to Naknek in 1969 to teach high school social studies. At the time, Naknek was called "the salmon canning capital of the world." I immediately began to learn about both the cannery culture and the upriver wintertime trapping from my students, their parents and elders such as Martha Monsen, Anisha Chukan McCormick, Martin Seversen, Victor and Anne Monsen, Gunnar and Dorothy Berggren, Paul "Taddy" Monsen, Nicky Monsen, Oscar Monsen, Bob Hadfield, John Lundgren, Tony and Olga Malone, Jay and Bella Hammond, Chuck and Sara Hornberger, Joe McGill and Joe Huard. I did not take notes of these initial conversations with my new friends and as a result, I do not have specific dates for some of the citations in the bibliography. Nevertheless, these conversations continue to inform, and much of what knowledge I have amassed about the Bristol Bay country is a direct result of the willingness of my acquaintances to share their life stories with me.

In the summer of 1970, I got my first taste of commercial fishing while set netting and drifting in a skiff with Red and Margaret Clark at Coffee Point in Egegik Bay. In the spring of 1971, I was hired by Dan O'Hara, winter watchman at New England Fish

Company cannery at Pedersen Point, as part of the spring crew to open up the cannery before the first cannery workers and fishermen arrived from Seattle. One of my most interesting jobs at Pedersen Point was working with Oscar Monsen on the ships ways jacking up the scows to make ready to launch for the season. During the season of 1971, I also set net near the Cut Bank in Kvichak Bay with Bobby King. We and many others frequently stayed in an abandoned cannery bunkhouse at Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery. My next Bristol Bay experience was in 1975 working at the Standard Oil Chevron bulk plant dock for Taddy Monsen on the Naknek River, which was run by Red Salmon Canning Company. I sold gas and oil to fishermen and stacked thousands of wooden boxes of gasoline, Pearl oil and white gas in an 80-year-old cannery warehouse. In 1985, I was a boat-puller on Darrell Aspelund's fish boat in Naknek and received a stark introduction to the frenzied combat fishing on the "line," where hundreds of power boats jostled for position to lay out their nets. The diesel exhaust, noise and lack of sportsmanship and fair play that characterized commercial combat fishing on the "line" were lamentable, and stand in stark contrast to the more gentlemanly sailboat fishing days. In 1986, I worked for Whitney-Fidalgo on the spring crew. Later, I also helped Bella Hammond fish her set net sites near Naknek Point for a few particularly busy tides. In 2007 I fished in Nushagak Bay, and unlike the lowlands bordering the Naknek-Kvichak district, found its spacious beauty accentuated by mountains to the northwest.

Through the years I have visited Nornek, Nelbro and Red Salmon canneries in Naknek and Diamond NN and Bumble Bee in South Naknek. In 1970, I visited the Diamond E cannery at Egegik, and, in 1971, I traveled from Naknek to Port Heiden on a scow hauling fuel and general cargo, briefly visiting Diamond U cannery at Pilot Point. I visited Libbyville for the first time in 1971. More recently, I have visited Lockanok on the Alagnak River and Diamond J and Diamond X on the Kvichak River. In Nushagak Bay, I have toured the Peter Pan cannery in Dillingham and have visited the locations of the former Scandinavian and Bradford canneries. I have also fished off Clark's Point and the Ekuk cannery.

My knowledge and experience with historic cabins began in 1970-1971 when I wintered at Eddie King's hunting camp on Scotty's Island in the Meshik River. Nearby were the remains of George "100 Fox Scotty" Irons' framed house, built in the 1920s from lumber obtained at the Diamond U cannery at Pilot Point.

My first experience with Bristol Bay log trapping cabins occurred in 1969 when I spent a couple of weeks with Tony Malone on his trap line southwest of Brooks Lake in what is now Katmai National Park and Preserve. In 1973, Olga Malone allowed me to live at one of her Native Allotment cabins where I built a log steam bath and a raised log cache, using only hand tools. The results of my first efforts were crude, but functional. Subsequently, in the 1970s and early 1980s, while caretaking Jay and Bella Hammond's homestead on Lake Clark, I worked with Dick Proenneke and craftsman Monroe Robinson on various log building projects, vastly improving my skills.

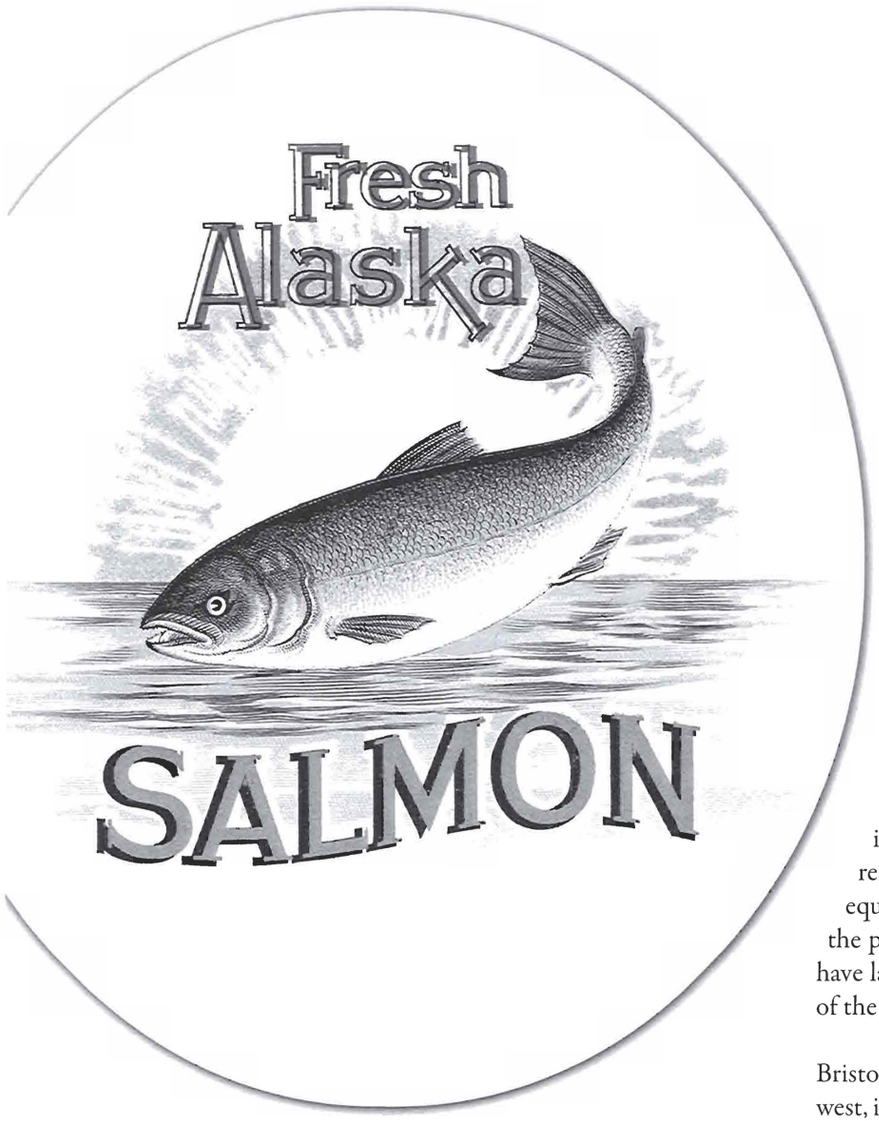
I began working for Lake Clark National Park and Preserve in 1992 as a ranger and more recently as a historian. I have been fortunate to have worked alongside historical architects, archeologists, historians and other resource professionals documenting and studying scores of log structures in the park, Katmai National Park and Preserve and on borough and state land along the Mulchatna and Koktuli Rivers.

In short, I think my 38 years spent in the Bristol Bay country have been my finest education. These many years have generously accorded me the knowledge, practical experiences, a network of life-long local resident friends and the professional training to write and edit a book such as this. Yet this book is put forth with great diffidence and awareness that this is far from the last word on such a complex subject. The full history of the Bristol Bay salmon industry has yet to be written; perhaps the best to date is Laurence Freeburn's *The Silver Years of the Alaska Canned Salmon Industry*. Another excellent source of Bristol Bay commercial fishing history, is to be found in the *Uutuqtwa* series, an oral history compiled by students at Bristol Bay High School in Naknek circa 1980-1985. A detailed study of the Bristol Bay life-style, commercial fishing in the summer, and upriver trapping in the winter, awaits social historians and other writers. Any errors in this book are my responsibility and not those of my informants. All opinion in these pages reflects my own thinking and not that of the National Park Service.

NOTES

[1] Jack Vantrease interview: May 2, 2005.
[2] Oscar Monsen interview: May 2, 2007.





Detail of label from "North King" canned Alaska salmon.

The Bristol Bay as a Way of Life

The Bristol Bay watershed is a vast sparsely populated area of largely pristine lands and waters, both fresh and salt, in southwest Alaska. The region is remote, far from cities, and for many it has a kind of enchantment about it that harks back to an earlier more leisurely time in Alaska history. Visiting old Native villages at Kijik or Paugvik, stopping by long abandoned canneries such as Lockanok or a cabin ruin on the Koktuli River or traveling the ancient Telaquana Trail, one gets a sense of the place because these places exude the spirit of those who lived here before. The Bristol Bay area is tough country, a place of active volcanoes, earthquakes, huge tides, swift cold rivers, torrential rains, floods and 100-mile-per-hour winds. Nature still calls the shots here and, maybe, that is why so few people call it home. A place blessed with rich renewable natural resources, the Bristol Bay country has an equally rich diverse human history that has been sustainable the past 9,000 years because past and present human activities have largely been compatible with the biological underpinnings of the region, the fresh water and fish resources.

Bristol Bay has been called an "isolated paradise" because, to the west, it is bounded by the Bering Sea and from the north, east and south by the Ahklun and Kuskokwim Mountains and the Alaska and Aleutian Ranges, effectively walling it off from the wider world. As a result, the Bristol Bay country, more than 50,000 square miles, is an intact ecosystem, a rare global commodity in this day and age.[3] It is rich in life-giving renewable resources of fresh water, the world's richest *wild* red salmon fishery and has large populations of moose, caribou and brown bears. It is also home to indigenous Yup'ik, Alutiiq and Dena'ina people and non-Native Alaskans, whose cultural identities significantly revolve around the annual migration of millions of salmon.

Although human beings have lived in the Bristol Bay watershed for at least 9,000 years, their relatively low numbers have not appreciably transformed the natural world, as is the case in so much of the Lower 48 and the wider world.[4] The pure fresh waters of the Bristol Bay uplands support five species of Pacific salmon, of which the red or sockeye salmon (*Oncorhynchus nerka*) is the keystone species. All five species of Pacific salmon undergirds most other life forms in the region, including humans, some of whom are directly descended from people who have lived on the regions great rivers and lakes for millennia.

The Bristol Bay uplands are marked by the great glacial lakes that are drained by relatively short rivers, enabling millions of annually migrating salmon to return to their spawning grounds, perpetuating the natural renewable productivity of the entire region. Along the riparian zones, the spawning salmon feed aquatic and plant life, mammals and birds. Moose and beaver, for example, feed on trees and shrubs that are fertilized by decaying salmon.

The very names of the Bristol Bay's rivers and lakes conjure up a rare wild purity that is the envy of an increasingly developed world populated by 6.5 billion people. The Bristol Bay region is a veritable living natural museum that is home to one of the world's

An Early 20th century Bristol Bay Family

H-2210 A portrait of the George and Mary Irons family at Pilot Point in 1940-1941. Left to right: Alice (b. 1928), Mary (1912-1996), Mabel (1929-1992), Winnie (b. 1936), George Jr., (1939-1996), George Sr., (1892-1956), and Mary Lou (b. 1934). Mary was born at Chignik, and George was born in Scotland. He was a Bristol Bay fisherman and trapper, and she was a homemaker and set netter. Iron's nickname was "One Hundred Fox Scotty," a testament to his prowess as a trapper. The Irons family wintered 25 miles up the Meshik River from Port Heiden on Scotty's Island. They lived in a wooden framed house made from lumber from the Alaska Packers' cannery at Pilot Point. (Aspelund interview: 2001 and April 2007)

Photo courtesy of Mary Lou Aspelund.



last great wild fisheries, the red salmon fishery. Beginning to the south on the Alaska Peninsula, the most important Alaskan lakes are the improbable sounding Mother Goose Lake, next the Lower and Upper Ugashik Lakes, Becharof Lake, Naknek Lake, Nonvianuk Lake, Kukaklek Lake, Iliamna Lake, Lake Clark, Twin Lakes and Turquoise Lake. The most important lakes draining into the Bay from the northwest are the twelve lakes of the Wood-Tikchik State Park such as Lake Aleknagik, Lake Nerka, Lake Beverley, Nuyakuk Lake and Chickuminuk Lake and Togiak Lake further to the west. These pristine "great lakes of Alaska" are fountains of pure water and nurseries of the Bristol Bay salmon. They are of incalculable worth to our nation and humanity going forward into an era of global climate change in a more crowded and polluted world. If there ever was a truly strategic commodity in the world, it is pure water, which Bristol Bay has in great abundance.

The focus of this social and pictorial history of the salmon industry, and its influence on upriver people, will consider only the three most important historical red salmon drainages in the Bristol Bay: the Naknek that heads at Naknek Lake, the Kvichak that heads in Iliamna Lake and Lake Clark and the Nushagak that flows from Twin Lakes, Turquoise Lake and the Wood-Tikchik Lakes. All three of these productive rivers head in world-class conservation units: Katmai National Park and Preserve, Lake Clark National Park and Preserve and the Wood River-Tikchik State Park. The historic photographs in the first chapter, "A Historical View of Bristol Bay Canneries," are intended to provide a glimpse of the canneries in their historic period.

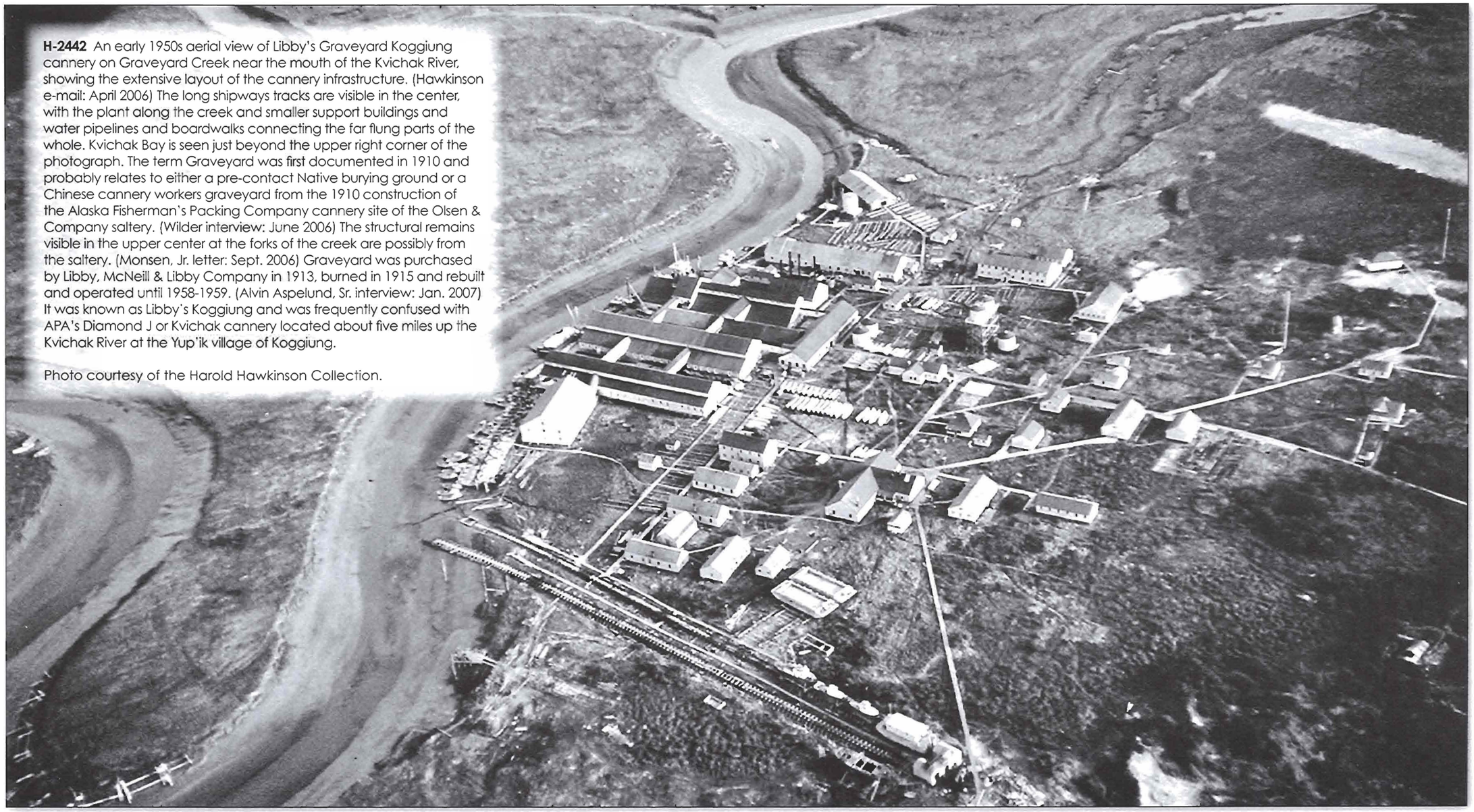
The Bristol Bay region probably first came to European attention in 1778 when Captain James Cook sailed into the bay on board the *Resolution* and gave it its present name. Captain Cook never set foot on land but he did note the prodigious salmon runs streaming back toward their spawning grounds. Russian colonials apparently never engaged in commercial salmon fishing in Bristol Bay. It was probably during the first decade of the American era, post 1867, that commercial fishing was undertaken on board sailing ships in the form of catching salmon in gill nets and salting them in wooden barrels on Nushagak Bay. In a March 19, 1872 edition of the San Francisco-based *Alaska Herald,* an article appeared extolling the culinary virtues of "the Nushagak... [salmon] is an article much superior to the Columbia River salmon...[and had a] delicious flavor," and most who have tasted cottonwood-smoked, translucent Nushagak king salmon strips would heartily agree.[5] The Bristol Bay country has its own taste, and that would be salmon, but there are many other tastes, such as fresh blueberries and orange-colored salmon berries, moose meat, fat caribou ribs, beaver pot-roasted in a Dutch oven and succulent roasted ducks and geese. During one conversation with the late Bristol Bay elder, Fred Roehl, Jr., he mentioned that his father, Frederick J. Roehl, Sr., who was born in Bremen, Germany and came to Koggiung in 1899, was the man who introduced pickled salmon to the bay, an example of the fusion of northern European and Alaska Native cuisine.[6]

In 1878, the first salmon salting station (saltery) was built on the Kenai River by the Alaska Commercial Company, and the first two salmon canneries in Alaska Territory were built in southeastern Alaska, at Klawock and near Sitka. In 1882, a cannery was built at a salting station at Karluk on Kodiak Island, and another was built near the mouth of the Kasilof River on Cook Inlet. In 1883, the first documented salting station in Bristol Bay was built by Arctic Packing Company at Kanulik, two miles above Nushagak village. In 1884, it was converted to a cannery and made its first pack of 400 cases.[7] A case of salmon contained 48 one pound tall cans. The Carl Johnson interview included in this text offers an insider view of the workings of a salmon salting station, often mentioned in Alaska history books, but scarcely elucidated.

The development of the Bristol Bay commercial fishery profoundly impacted Native people, for good and ill. It brought Natives into contact with people from all over the world and provided for their first participation in wage employment. In short, the commercial fishery brought about great socio-cultural changes to the Yup'ik, Alutiiq and Athabascan people in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Archeologist Don Dumond has remarked about the great infusion of northern European blood that commingled with Bristol Bay Native people as a result of the commercial fishery. Thousands of Scandinavians and other Europeans came to fish and many married local women and established families. The Bay became even more ethnically diverse, as the fishery attracted Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Mexicans, Italians, English, Irish and Americans, eventually producing one of the most heterogeneous populations in Alaska. Most of these newcomers embraced Native seasonal subsistence practices and were simultaneously imparting their ways to Native relatives and friends. The annual infusion of cash from cannery work and fishing enabled Natives to enhance their customary and traditional subsistence existence by purchasing better grubstakes so they could spend the months between October and May ensconced in their villages and winter trapping cabins. Canneries also had stores that supplied all manner of food, clothing, hardware and building materials; some canneries also brought family grubstakes north on the spring ships that generally arrived each May in the Bristol Bay.

The influences of the canneries were hardly all positive. Contagious illness and alcohol abuse were two of the most damaging cannery influences. According to James Van Stone, in his book *Eskimos of the Nushagak*, the Spanish influenza first hit the Bristol Bay population during the fall of 1918 and by the time cannery ships returned to the bay in May 1919, the flu had fully engulfed coastal villages.[8] It would seem that VanStone's research absolved cannery personnel from directly introducing the Spanish

LIBBY'S GRAVEYARD KOGGIUNG CANNERY CIRCA 1950



H-2442 An early 1950s aerial view of Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery on Graveyard Creek near the mouth of the Kvichak River, showing the extensive layout of the cannery infrastructure. (Hawkinson e-mail: April 2006) The long shipways tracks are visible in the center, with the plant along the creek and smaller support buildings and water pipelines and boardwalks connecting the far flung parts of the whole. Kvichak Bay is seen just beyond the upper right corner of the photograph. The term Graveyard was first documented in 1910 and probably relates to either a pre-contact Native burying ground or a Chinese cannery workers graveyard from the 1910 construction of the Alaska Fisherman's Packing Company cannery site of the Olsen & Company saltery. (Wilder interview: June 2006) The structural remains visible in the upper center at the forks of the creek are possibly from the saltery. (Monsen, Jr. letter: Sept. 2006) Graveyard was purchased by Libby, McNeill & Libby Company in 1913, burned in 1915 and rebuilt and operated until 1958-1959. (Alvin Aspelund, Sr. interview: Jan. 2007) It was known as Libby's Koggiung and was frequently confused with APA's Diamond J or Kvichak cannery located about five miles up the Kvichak River at the Yup'ik village of Koggiung.

Photo courtesy of the Harold Hawkinson Collection.

influenza to the bay in 1919. Some local informants also state that the flu was spread by a Russian Orthodox priest at Nushagak during the winter of 1919, but exactly how the pathogen arrived in the relatively isolated Bristol Bay country will probably never be known.[9] The consequences were particularly devastating for people in most coastal villages. The Alaska Packers Association cannery personnel gave relief and comfort to the sick, the dying and surviving orphans. All the people living at Kanakanak, Igushik and the upriver village of Kaskanak perished or moved to other locations. The year 1919 was a very bad year for people in the Bristol Bay region. Not only had the Spanish influenza killed about 200 people, but there was also a very small return of salmon. The former suggesting to some that there was a dearth of public health facilities in the Bay while the latter was due to chronic over-harvesting of salmon by commercial interests and was jeopardizing the long term viability of the world's greatest red salmon fishery.[10]

In 1898, Josiah Spurr of the United States Geological Survey reported that, in 1890, three prospectors had traveled up the Mulchatna River some 200 miles and found gold, probably in the Bonanza Hills.[11] Some of the first prospectors to journey to the headwaters of Bristol Bay Rivers were undoubtedly veteran California gold miners seeking new ground to stake. Although it is not clear if there is written documentation extant to substantiate it, it is plausible that prospectors first came to the bay in the 1870s and 1880s with commercial fishing interests. After the season, they could have headed up the Nushagak and Mulchatna Rivers in search of gold. Prospectors also traveled to the Mulchatna country through Iliamna Bay and the Iliamna Portage; J. Adrian Jacobsen, an ethnographic collector for a Berlin museum, encountered San Francisco miners at Iliamna Bay, in 1883.[12] Father Vasilii Shishkin wrote in the fall of 1881, that nine Mulchatna Dena'ina died from scarlet fever.[13] Since men looking for gold were likely the first Americans to visit the upper Mulchatna River, it is quite possible that the epidemic was brought to the villages by prospectors coming upriver from Nushagak or overland from the Kuskokwim or Iliamna Bay.[14] Alternatively, Dena'ina traders returning home from trading forays to Nushagak, Iliamna Bay or Tyonek could have brought in the contagion. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, it was probably contact with American prospectors or commercial fishermen that made Native people sick with contagious diseases such as influenza, measles, and scarlet fever.

As the letters of Quincy Williams and L. E. Bonham show in this volume, there was an early relationship between the Bristol Bay fishery and prospecting. Both Williams and Bonham helped construct Nushagak and Kvichak River canneries around the turn of the twentieth century and used their wages to outfit themselves for their upriver prospecting. Williams and Bonham, veterans of the Klondike and Nome gold rushes, spent winters prospecting on the Mulchatna River. Certainly, such prospectors relied on cannery employment and stores to supply themselves for their prospecting forays on the creeks and rivers of the region.

It is also very likely that the first wooden sailboats and the first power boats to ply the waters of some of the great lakes of the Bristol Bay country traced their origin to the commercial fishery. The Columbia River fishing boats used during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Bay were sold or traded by canneries to permanent Bristol Bay residents and first sailed into Iliamna Lake and even Lake Clark.[15] A 1902 photograph taken by Wilfred Osgood of the United States Biological Survey at Old Iliamna village shows what appears to be a Columbia River boat tied to the bank in front of the village.[16] Another picture, from 1909, taken by F.J. Katz of the United States Geological Survey shows a similar boat at the village.[17] When Lake Clark fisherman Tommy Rasmusen died at Kijik in 1917, he left a 3 ½ horse-power Evenrude outboard engine and a flat bottomed Columbia River boat.[18] One wonders how Rasmusen would have transported a 28-foot wooden boat weighing approximately 3,000 pounds six miles from Roadhouse Portage (present-day Iliamna) to the upper Newhalen River in an era of dog sled traction only. It was done, evidently, because there is photographic proof of the boat on Lake Clark in 1914.[19] As soon as gas engines became mass produced and made their way north to Bristol Bay canneries, local men began to retrofit their sailboats into gas boats and, more often than not, retaining the mast and sail for auxiliary power. Holly Foss's family settled at Old Iliamna about 1903 and soon acquired the first of a number of cannery fish boats that he and his brother Sam retrofitted and used for hauling passengers and freight between the lake and Bristol Bay.[20] For particulars, see Holly Foss's journals (in this volume) for details of his frenetic summer life skippering a gas boat.

During the late 1880s and early 1890s, over-fishing in Cook Inlet and Nushagak Bay adversely affected the Dena'ina subsistence economy. The salmon harvest available upriver was severely diminished.[21] Salmon traps in Nushagak Bay prevented normal movement of fish, causing widespread hunger in the Mulchatna Dena'ina villages 200 miles upriver. The circumstances led Father Vasilii Shishkin, from Nushagak village, to urge the Dena'ina to move to Lake Clark where more fish were available. Subsequently, the Dena'ina left the Mulchatna villages for Kijik on Lake Clark in the late 1880s and 1890s.[22] Unregulated salmon traps blocked fish passage on the Nushagak and Wood Rivers, thus endangering the viability of upriver Native villages and threatening salmon with extinction. Congress passed the first legislation regulating fish traps and outlawing fish barricades on rivers in 1889.[23] The law also empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to regulate fish traps and set the precedent that future laws and regulations would be enacted to assure adequate salmon escapement to the spawning grounds. It was recognized that it was in the national interest to prevent over-fishing by the canneries.[24] No doubt, wise

cannery operators recognized early on that it was in their best interest to adhere to a federal conservation regimen to perpetuate their renewable salmon resource and guarantee production and profits into the future.

By the late 1880s, there were four operating canneries in Nushagak Bay, and by the end of the 1890s, there were other canneries on the Naknek and Kvichak Rivers. Bristol Bay commercial fishing boomed in the first decade of the twentieth century. The total pack for 1901 was 719, 643 cases, and in 1910, the bay pack was 914,138 cases, about 40% of the total Alaska canned salmon pack of 2, 413, 954 cases.[25] The number of bay canneries fell from 21 to 19 during the decade.

During the years 1911 through 1920, the Bristol Bay fishery was characterized by an intensity of effort, in part spurred on by the demand for canned salmon by military and civilians during World War I. As a result of poor fishing in 1919, the Bureau of Fisheries began to more intensively regulate the fishery to prevent the possible extinction of the Bristol Bay salmon by commercial interests. In 1921, regulations preventing commercial fishing in salmon streams, their tributaries and lakes and near the mouths of rivers flowing into the Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea, except the Ugashik River, were put in effect. Regulations were also instituted to prevent the canning or salting of any salmon more than 48 hours after it died. Wanton waste of salmon by using only their bellies was also prohibited. Fish traps were also further restricted so as to assure adequate salmon escapement to spawning grounds.[26]

In 1920, the Bureau of Fisheries also began a partnership with the canneries and the Alaska Territorial Fish Commission to institute predator control on Dolly Varden trout and inadvertently on rainbow trout, Arctic char and other "predatory fishes" of salmon. In 1920, 50,000 so-called predatory fish in the Bristol Bay drainage were killed.[27] In 1928, the Bureau of Fisheries working with an appropriation from the Alaska Territorial legislature paid a bounty of five cents for each predatory trout tail taken in the Bristol Bay country. In 1929-1930, the Alaska Territorial legislature made payment of $12,500 for 251,000 trout tails.[28]

The decade of the 1920s saw a general downturn in the Bristol Bay fishery in terms of total catch and price. Yet, in 1923, 1,224,587 cases of canned salmon and 10,500 barrels of salt salmon were produced. The next year, 1924, the total pack for Bristol Bay plunged by 33%.[29] The decade long slide in the salmon industry was exacerbated by chronic over-fishing by cannery gill netters and made worse by the economic crash of October 1929. Although fish traps had been banned in 1924, over-fishing by legal means of gill nets still adversely affected upriver Native people. For example, in 1926, very few fish returned to Bristol Bay and consequently, fewer still to Lake Clark. The lack of fish prompted Gabriel Trefon and his family and others from Old Nondalton to walk the 50 mile long Telaquana Trail to the old village near Telaquana Lake in the Kuskokwim drainage where there was a sufficient number of red salmon to support the family for the entire winter. Once back at the place of his birth, Gabriel built a log cabin for his family and spent the winter trapping, but not before catching and freeze-drying in the cold fall air enough red salmon to feed his family, friends and their dogs all winter. The fish diet, of course, was augmented with spruce grouse, rabbits, Dall sheep and moose meat.[30] The 1933 diary of Anton Balluta, a cousin of Gabriel's, provides insight into the seasonal life of a Nondalton subsistence hunter and trapper as he makes the transition from spring trapping to traveling downriver to the bay to obtain a fishing job at Diamond J cannery.

The first power boats were introduced in the Bristol Bay fishery in 1922 and 1923. However, the canneries were concerned that local fishermen fishing their own power boats would diminish cannery hegemony over the industry. The powerful salmon industry saw to it that a regulation was enacted mandating that only sailboats be used in the Bristol Bay after 1923.[31] However, the canneries were still allowed to use small tug boats known locally as "monkey boats" to tow becalmed sailboats to and from the fishing grounds. This double standard was pitched as a "conservation measure" but was clearly designed to keep the fishermen under control of the operators. In the 1930s and 1940s, local labor unions of Bristol Bay fishermen organized, and during and after World War II, canneries hired more Native laborers.[32] The year 1950 was the last year that Bristol Bay sailboats were mandated, and within three years, nearly all the sailboats had been replaced by power boats. During the halcyon years of the Bristol Bay fisheries, in the 1920s and 1930s, there were approximately 1,200 gill netters or Bristol Bay double-enders fishing at the mouths of the five major bay rivers: the Nushagak, Kvichak, Naknek, Egegik and Ugashik each summer.[33] Now there are thought to be only 10 to 12 museum quality boats extant in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest. Once the sailboats were not required by the canneries they were sold, given away, burned and abandoned. There are three double-enders, known to the writer, in top condition remaining in the Bristol Bay area, one at the Peter Pan cannery in Dillingham (owned by the City of Dillingham), another at the Peter Pan cannery in Naknek belonging to the Bristol Bay Historical Society, and a third at the visitor center of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve at Port Alsworth. A rare boat plan of a Bristol Bay double-ender is reproduced in this book.

In 1924, Congress passed a law known as the White Act that gave great powers to the Secretary of Commerce to regulate fisheries. Among other regulations associated with the White Act was secretarial authority to establish fishing districts, and, to assure adequate fish escapement to the spawning grounds. There were to be periods of no fishing throughout the fishing season. All

fish traps were outlawed, with drift gill nets the only legal means to fish Bristol Bay.[34] (For a thorough account of the full range of cannery operations during 1926 and 1927, see Stan Tarrant's account.) In the latter part of the 1920s, more independent fishermen appeared in the Bristol Bay. These were both Native and Euroamerican fishermen who fished cannery owned boats and were likely to be full-time residents of the Bay. In 1927, there were 35 independent boats operated by Natives and 28 skippered by Euroamericans. In 1930, there were 125 independent Native fishing boats and 66 independent Euro-American boats.[35]

The Bristol Bay salmon fishery had boom years in 1932, 1933 and 1934; during the latter year, a huge pack of 1,739,677 cases were put up at 19 canneries. In 1935, commercial fishing was drastically reduced as a conservation measure, only 238,892 cases were made. During the 1938 commercial fishing season, an astounding 1,833,227 cases were made, while only 454, 553 cases were canned in 1940.[36] In 1931, 339,748 predatory fish were killed in the Bristol Bay region; $25,000 was approved by the Alaska Territorial legislature with an additional $8,000 from Bay canneries to pay for the trout tail bounty between 1931 and 1933. The Bureau of Fisheries claimed that the fish bounty system enhanced spawning survival and aided local Bristol Bay Natives by paying cash for trout tails. Trout over 6 inches fetched 5 cents per tail and trout under 6 inches brought 2 cents per tail.[37]

Driven by the great demand for canned salmon by Allied armies and civilians during World War II, the price of a can of salmon reached its previous high from the mid-1920s in 1941. Bristol Bay salmon production had fluctuated greatly during the war with a low of 454, 553 cases in 1940 to a high of 1,320,286 produced in 1943. In 1945, 644,072 cases were packed by only 8 bay area plants. After World War II, prices for canned salmon reached record highs, with a case of salmon costing $29.43.[38] Higher prices led to new smaller companies being formed such as Intercoastal Packing in Naknek and Levelock Packing Company in Levelock.[39] During the years immediately after the war, canned salmon packs continued to vary drastically, from 1,370,722 cases in 1947 to 563,000 in 1949, due to the volatility of the salmon runs.[40] Many Bay canneries upgraded their equipment, and the number of canneries continued to contract. Seventeen canneries ran in 1947, 14 in 1950 and 8 operated in 1959.

Native involvement in the Bristol Bay commercial fishery dates from the 1870s when the first salmon "prospectors" sailed to the bay to salt salmon bellies for San Francisco bars and restaurants. In 1887, Dena'ina from Tyonek on Cook Inlet sold 2,400 salmon to commercial interests.[41] One can assume that Yup'ik' fishermen from the lower Nushagak River were also selling king salmon to local canneries and salteries at the same time. In 1893, the three operating canneries in the Nushagak Bay: Arctic Packing Company at Kanulik, Bristol Bay Packing, which was the Old Bradford cannery near Kanakanak, and Alaska Packing Company, the Scandinavian cannery, at present day Dillingham, packed 107,786 cases and 2,850 barrels of salt fish. The three canneries employed 126 Natives, more than 250 Chinese and 192 Euroamericans.[42] In 1897, the Point Roberts cannery on the Kvichak River (later known as Diamond J) canned 55,382 cases of red salmon and employed 25 Natives, 150 Chinese and 65 Euroamericans.[43] Also in 1897, the two canneries on the Naknek River, Arctic Packing (later known as Diamond NN) and Naknek Packing Company (later known as the Frank B. Peterson cannery) combined to can 52,676 cases of red salmon using a total of 20 Natives, 175 Chinese and 110 Euro-American employees.[44]

The Native role in the Bristol Bay fishery continued to grow as more men and women from southwestern Alaska villages commercial fished and performed cannery work. It is no wonder that this was a gradual process, as there was much bias by cannery operators toward Native employment. It is important to note that this was the first exposure to the wage economy and working by the clock that most Bay area Native people experienced. It is truly amazing just how adaptable and resilient Bristol Bay Natives have been in the short time since the first cannery was built on Nushagak Bay in 1884. Historically, coastal Yup'ik villages and adjacent lands were situated at many fine spots for ready access to shorelines and proximity to fresh water. Villages such as Kanulik on the Nushagak River, Koggiung on the Kvichak River and Paugvik on the Naknek River all attracted canneries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

One can only imagine the culture shock that villagers, who were subsistence fishermen and hunters and gatherers, experienced when large sailing ships offloaded hundreds of strangers and piles of building materials. In short order, they constructed modern industrial plants, with giant stacks belching plumes of black smoke. For example, the combined 1900 summer population of Koggiung, a Yup'ik village and site of Diamond J cannery, was 533, with the majority probably cannery workers and fishermen.[45] No one asked the Natives if they wanted to join the modern industrial world, rather it was imposed upon them. There was no Environmental Impact Statement or socio-cultural study to evaluate the impact that the cannery economy might pose to the local people. The Natives' challenge was to preserve their way of life in the face of modernity, and to adapt and fashion in their own way those introduced methods and means that were of utility to them. Bristol Bay Natives already had some experience along these lines. They had their first contacts with Russian fur traders, representing another extractive industry, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The Russian impact was profound because it began the gradual loss of a total Native self-reliance on a subsistence economy and its traditional culture, to one that was based on trade for manufactured goods and an adoption of the Russian Orthodox religion. The Russians

also brought epidemic diseases to Bristol Bay, such as a smallpox contagion between 1836 and 1840.[46]

Both the impact of the Russian period and the later cannery economy were profoundly transformative of Native cultures. The cannery culture brought the wage economy, prospectors, western education, experimental reindeer herding, commercial aviation and a major influx of diverse populations, many of whom put down roots in Native villages in the Bristol Bay region and have influenced it for good and for ill to this day.

The cannery based commercial fishing economy has physically dominated the mouths of the Nushagak, Kvichak and Naknek rivers with its huge industrial plants looming uneasily on the edge of the Bering Sea; and yet, over time, these behemoths have proven to be very ephemeral. Between 1883 and 1950, there were some 50 canneries built, and of these, more than two thirds have burned. Others have become landlocked by ever shifting rivers, an object lesson about the relentless forces of nature at play in the Bristol Bay drainage.[47] Historically, the fate of most bay canneries is to burn, still others have been battered by tidal surges from Bering Sea storms. There are two accounts of cannery fires in this volume, the 1906 arson fire at Diamond X and the mysterious 1936 fire at Bristol Bay Packing Company at Pedersen Point.

Historian Harlan D. Unrau, writing in his history, *Lake Clark National Park and Preserve Historic Resource Study*, succinctly summarizes the twentieth century growth of Native involvement in the Bristol Bay fishery."

> During the 1930s, growing numbers of Natives gradually had been able to obtain employment in the canneries of Bristol Bay despite considerable prejudice against them and their abilities as workers. Nevertheless, it was not until after World War II when Natives began to participate fully in the industry... The Native cannery workers on Bristol Bay had formed their own local union, an affiliate of the International Fisherman and Allied Workers of America in Seattle. During the succeeding years, the commercial fishery in Bristol Bay was responsible for bringing about major seasonal fluctuations of population which brought Natives from the remotest villages to the area and into direct contact with many different races and nationalities.[48]

Once the regulation was removed requiring sailboats only, power boats quickly transformed the more gentlemanly fishery into a progressively more aggressive kind of fishery that is visible today. The end of sail and the rise of power also led to more independent fishermen who owned their own boats. This gradually loosened the powerful control of the canneries over the entire industry and enhanced the earning power of local fishermen. There were only 20 fishermen-owned boats in Bristol Bay in the early 1950s, but by 1955, there were 150, a number that continued to grow.[49]

As the Bristol Bay fishery declined in the early 1970s, the state of Alaska Commercial Fisheries Entry Commission initiated rules to restrict participation by fishermen as a conservation measure. In 1974, fishermen needed to obtain an interim-use permit in order to fish commercially. The fisherman needed to have held a gear license before January 1, 1973. Ironically, some Bristol Bay Natives, life long commercial fishermen, had not previously been gear license holders, so they did not qualify for new permits.

The limited entry system was put into effect in 1975, whereby fishermen were ranked according to past participation and level of economic dependence on the Bristol Bay fishery.[50] Some Bristol Bay Native fishermen, for whom the fishery was their bread and butter, did not have the financial resources to obtain newer, faster boats and other equipment to stay competitive in an increasingly hard-edged fishery. As the price of limited entry permits became more expensive, at times selling for over $200,000, more upriver people sold their permits to Outside fishermen. The result was that a number of Native fishermen and their families, attached to the bounty of the Bristol Bay salmon for thousands of years, first as subsistence users and also much more recently as commercial fisherman, no longer made their livelihood from commercial fishing.[51] In effect, these people lost part of their birth right when they sold their permits.

In the early twenty-first century there is still substantial participation in the commercial fishery by Bristol Bay residents. With the sale of a large number of limited entry permits to Outside fishermen by Alaska residents, non-residents are taking a larger and larger share of the total Bristol Bay salmon catch. The rise of farmed salmon, the volatile nature of the seafood processing industry, offshore and onshore development pressures, with looming global climate change overhanging all, combine to create a certain sense of anxiety. The images and stories in this book should be seen in part as a palliative, offering the reader a nostalgic view of a simpler time.

Upriver

In Bristol Bay, people traditionally spent their summer commercial fishing and providing for their own subsistence fish needs, then winter was a much slower time for trapping, celebrating Russian Christmas and visiting kith and kin. During the greater part of the twentieth century, many Bay people left their villages to travel upriver to winter trapping cabins. Some would be gone from mid-September to mid-May in pursuit of fox, otter, mink, martin, wolf, wolverine and beaver furs. Others would only spend a few weeks or a month living in wall tents while tending their trap lines, especially during spring beaver trapping season. The Bristol Bay country was long known to have some of the finest beaver

trapping in Alaska. During the 1920s and 1930s, fur prices were high, so trappers who caught a lot of fur could make more money trapping than they could commercial fishing, when fish prices were low. During the past ten years, trapping has diminished in importance for many Bristol Bay residents. However, if fur prices rise and people once again hit the trail in pursuit of fur bearers, they will not be disappointed because the pristine environment still sustains ample wildlife populations for trappers.

The chapter entitled "A Historical View of Upriver Cabins and Caches of Bristol Bay" consists of historical photographs documenting the various styles and locations of cabins and caches that were so essential in providing shelter and the storage of gear and provisions. The photographs begin at Old Iliamna in the Kvichak River watershed and continue documenting life in the Lake Clark country and the Naknek River and Nushagak drainages.

There was a definite seasonal rhythm to the lives of Bristol Bay people based on regular patterns of nature. In the early spring, people trapped beaver, often living in wall tents while they did so, and then busied themselves with preparations for the commercial salmon fishing that started toward the beginning of summer. The hustle-bustle of commercial fishing generally lasted until mid-August when the big cannery ships, fully loaded with the salmon pack and cannery crews, left the bay for San Francisco, Seattle or Portland. Starting in mid-to-late July through August and early September was a time of berry picking and moose, caribou and waterfowl hunting. Fall was also a time for putting up spawned out red fish for both human and dog consumption. All over the bay people fall-fished at various prime locations where spawning salmon congregated. Two of the most historically important locations for the harvest of fall fish were the mouth of Kittiwick Creek on Naknek Lake (now known as Brooks Camp in Katmai National Park and Preserve), where many South Naknek and Naknek people netted large numbers of fish; and also at Kijik village on Lake Clark, where many Nondalton people caught red fish.

By mid-October, just before freeze-up, many families traveled by narrow 20-30 foot long river boats. Others, on the lower Nushagak, traveled upriver in sailboats powered by outboard engines or, later, in Bristol Bay "conversions" to trapping cabins considerable distances from their permanent summer homes. For instance, in the 1930s and 1940s, Red and Gladys Vail left their home in Dillingham in September and traveled by skiff some 200 river miles up the Nushagak and Mulchatna Rivers to their winter home and trapping cabin near Overlook Mountain. There they would be ensconced for the next seven and a half months in a kind of splendid isolation.[52] It was not an easy journey, as the swift shallow rivers required constant vigilance to avoid being pinned on a sweeper or the loss of the lower unit of the "kicker" (outboard) to a snag or rock. The Vail's trip required camping out every night along the Nushagak and Mulchatna for two weeks. Once October arrived, there was the constant threat that an early cold snap would freeze them in place before they reached their destination. This happened once to the Ken Armstrong family, who were stopped by ice and taken in by "Hard Working Tom" Overwik at his place near the confluence of the Mulchatna and Mosquito Rivers. In order to accommodate his unexpected winter guests, Overwik simply built an addition on his log cabin.[52]

Before modernity finally caught up with Alaska in the 1960s and 1970s, most Bay folk who were engaged in the seasonal life-style, tended to use winter to catch their breath after the non-stop spring, summer and fall months of commercial and subsistence fishing activities. During the shorter fall and early winter days, time was taken up in more leisurely pursuits such as cutting fire wood, putting up moose or caribou meat, mending dog harnesses and fixing sleds and snowshoes in anticipation of the coming of snow and easier travel season.

Cannery stores were a major benefit to local people; they were very much like a general store carrying a wide array of items. One only has to read Martin Monsen, Jr.'s grocery order list from 1927 (in this volume) to be amazed at the great variety of supplies available to local fishing families. Cannery stores were generally open during winter months on a reduced schedule, but certainly trappers could obtain a winter's grubstake at the company store or a trading post, such as Lowe's in Dillingham or Severson's Roadhouse at Iliamna, before heading upriver to their home villages and trapping cabins. The local storekeeper, who was often the cannery winter watchman, had the discretion to extend credit to his customers, often fishermen at the cannery. Debt was carried over to the upcoming fishing season and subtracted from the fishermen's pay.

The bounty of the natural world, coupled with the commercial fishing economy, created a way of life for the people of the Bristol Bay that was both self sustaining and satisfying. People worked in the fishery for a couple of months, using their wages to gather a winter grubstake. Before freeze-up, they headed upriver for the life of a self-employed trapper, working as much or as little as they desired, knowing full well that one could always get by until the next fishing season. Stuck in a cabin in the wilds of the Bristol Bay country, one could always get enough firewood to stay warm and cook one's humble fare on a cook stove. During the height of the Great Depression, Bristol Bay people were insulated from the hard times of soup kitchens, unemployment and low agricultural prices that beset the Lower 48. Far from going to bed hungry, bay area trappers often ate moose meat, smoked salmon, trout and beaver meat. But there were lean times on the trap line as well. Sometimes, folks had to live only on willow-bud and beaver soup or porcupine prepared every conceivable way, until they were heartily sick of it. But then, the water fowl would return, and people went downstream, and the canneries were preparing for the upcoming fishing season. And with the return of the first

king salmon in late May, the cycle of life began once again in the Bristol Bay country.

It was still a life of hard work, surviving on the land by trapping, hunting, ice fishing, and cutting firewood. Traveling by dog sled and boat required physical vigor. The Bristol Bay life-style has always been based on the annual abundance of nature, specifically the renewable resources of the world's greatest salmon fishery. Although one can no longer go out in the hills and build a squatter's cabin, the Bristol Bay watershed remains unspoiled and continues to sustain the salmon, the people and all the other life forms dependent on the fish. Given how beleaguered most of the world's other wild fish stocks are, it is simply phenomenal that in the year 2007 the Bristol Bay salmon spawning grounds remain pristine. For example, in 2006, and 2007 approximately 700,000 red salmon returned to Lake Clark to spawn.[53] So long as the salmon return from the sea and the spawning grounds remain unsullied, the Bristol Bay, both as a geographical feature and a way of life, remain possible.

NOTES

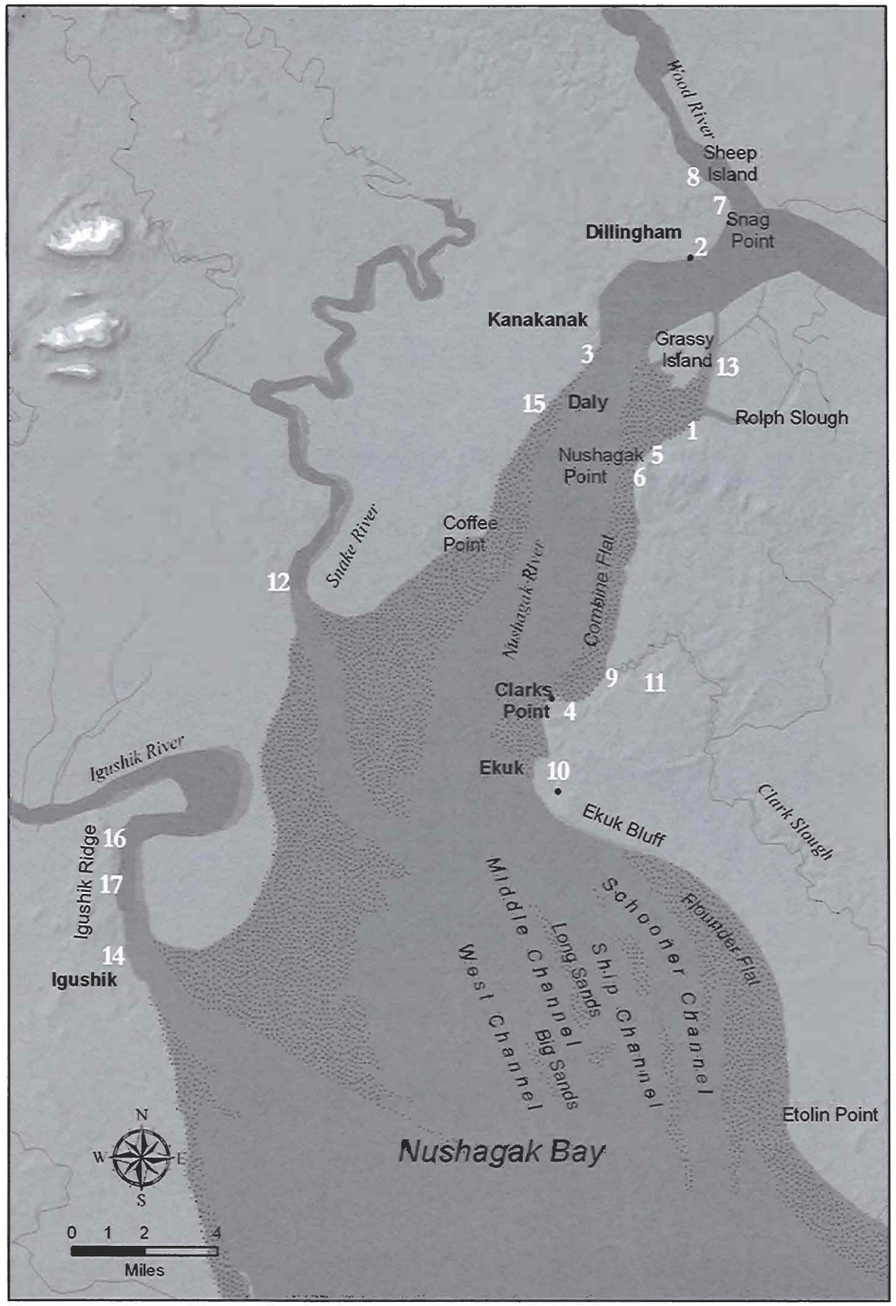
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[23] Unrau, *Lake Clark*, draft, 261-263.
[24] op. cit. 261-263.
[25] op. cit. 283-288.
[26] op. cit. 293-299.
[27] op. cit. 295.
[28] op. cit. 311-312.
[29] op. cit. 301-302.
[30] Ellanna and Balluta, *Nondalton*, 280.
[31] Unrau, *Lake Clark*, draft, 309-312.
[32] op. cit. 308, 326.
[33] op. cit. 310-311, 318.
[34] op. cit. 311-312.
[35] op. cit. 302.
[36] op. cit. 316-317.
[37] op. cit. 320.
[38] op. cit. 324-325.
[39] Melvin Monsen, Sr. interview: May 11, 2006 and November 2, 2006.
[40] Unrau. *Lake Clark,* draft, 325-326.
[41] op. cit. 261.
[42] op. cit. 264.
[43] op. cit. 267.
[44] op. cit. 267-268.
[45] Donald J.Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names*, USGS Professional Paper 567, Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1971, 535.
[46] Ellanna and Balluta, *Nondalton*, 294.
[47] Lewis MacDonald, "Chronological History of Salmon Canneries in Western Alaska," *1950 Annual Report,* No. 2, Juneau: Alaska Fisheries Board and Alaska Department of Fisheries, 1951, 57.
[48] Unrau, *Lake Clark*, draft, 326.
[49] op. cit. 328.
[50] op. cit. 329-330.
[51] Don Dumond, interview, August 15, 2007.
[52] William Andrews interview: July 28, 2000.
[53] Dick Armstrong interview: June 19, 2001.

A Historical View Of Bristol Bay Canneries



The Nushagak Bay Canneries

1. H-1242 Arctic Packing Company cannery at Kanulik at the mouth of the Nushagak River circa 1885 with the three-masted bark, *Montana*, listing to starboard. The caption was probably written by John W. Clark: "Kanuluk Salmon cannery with the wreck of the bark *Montana*." Fish drying racks and a large canvas tent are seen on the left of the image. The cannery made its first pack in 1884 and was the first salmon cannery in the Bristol Bay region. (Unrau 1993: 257-258)
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Nicholson Butkovich.

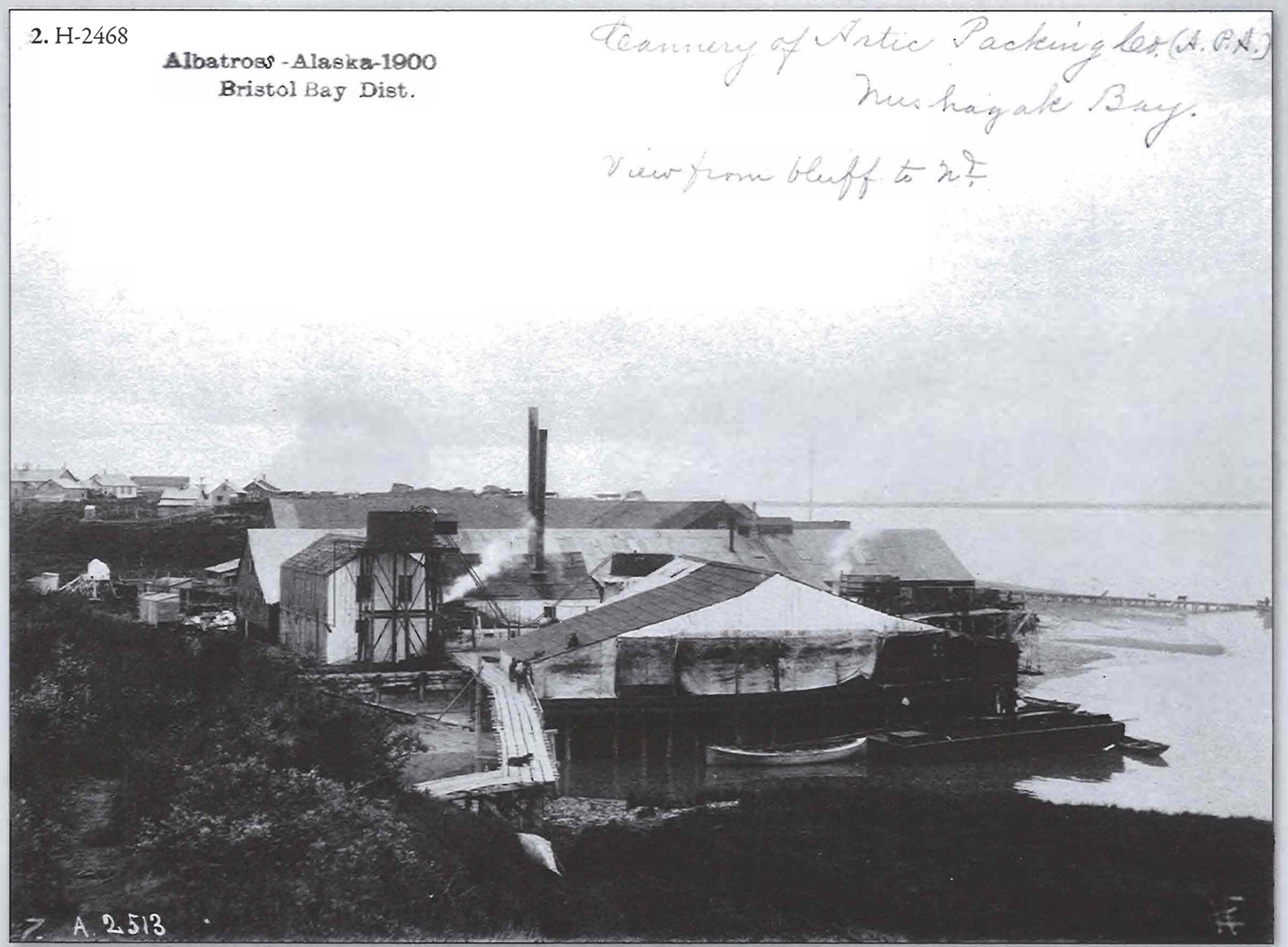


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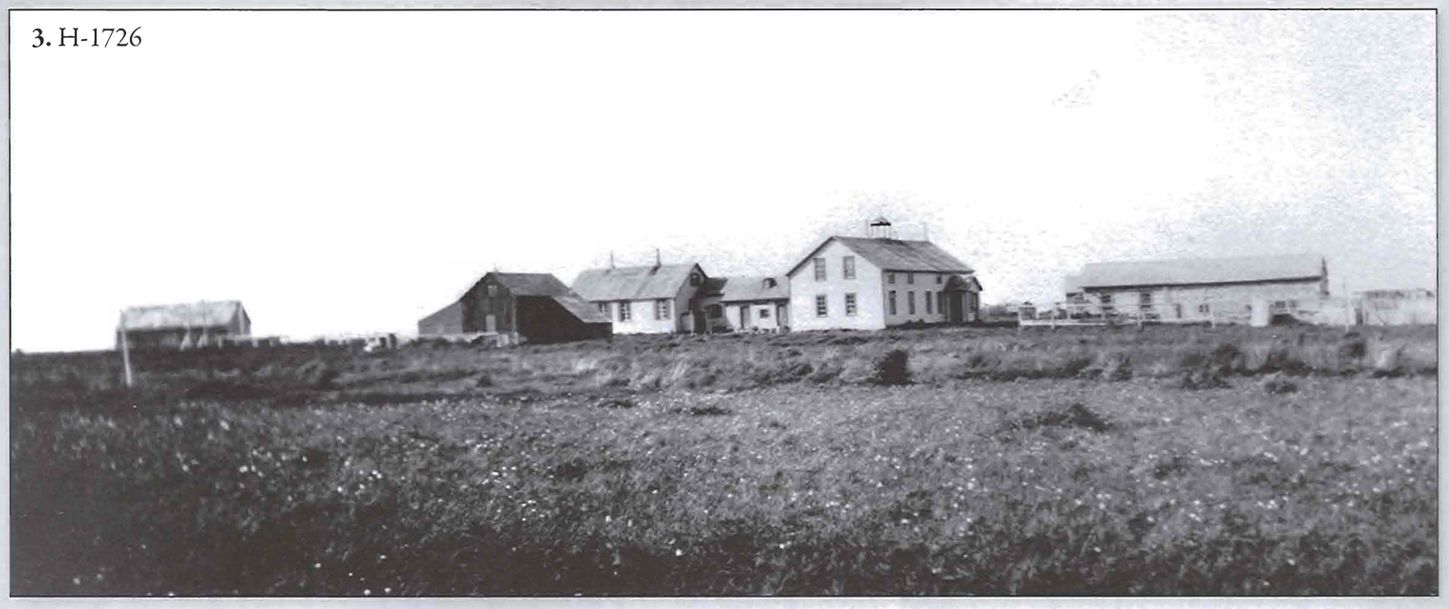
Nushagak Canneries and Salteries

Name

1. Arctic Packing Company, Kanulik, 1884.
2. Alaska Packing Company, Scandinavian, Diamond PHJ, 1885.
3. Bristol Bay Packing Company, Kanakanak, Bradford, 1886.
4. Nushagak Canning Company, Stugarok-Clarks Point, Diamond NC, 1888.
5. Pacific Steam Whaling Company, NWF, Nushagak, 1899.
6. Alaska Fisherman's Packing Company, Libby, Nushagak, 1899 or 1903.
7. Alaska Portland Packers, Dillingham, Peter Pan.1901.
8. Alaska Salmon Company, Wood River, 1901
9. Columbia River Packers Association (Combine), Clarks Slough, 1901.
10. North Alaska Salmon Company, Ekuk, 1903.
11. Queen Fisheries, 1953.
12. C.E. Whitney & Company, Snake River, 1886.
13. C.E. Whitney & Company, Nushagak River, 1892.
14. "Whitehead Pete" Nelson, Igushik River, circa 1902.
15. Daly, "old saltery," Nushagak Bay, below Kanakanak, circa 1910.
16. Alaska Packers Association, Diamond EK, Igushik River, pre-1917
17. Libby, McNeill&Libby, Igushik River, unknown date.



2. H-2468 A 1900 Henry C. Fassett photograph of Arctic Packing Company's cannery at Kanulik at the mouth of the Nushagak River. The Moravian mission at Carmel is in the left background, and Kanulik is in the right center background. Fassett was employed by the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries on board the steamer *Albatross,* under Lt. Commander Jefferson F. Moser, United States Navy. (Orth 1971: 13, 22) Moser's book *Salmon Investigations of the Steamer Albatross in the Summer of 1900* is perhaps the finest eyewitness account of the state of the Bristol Bay canning industry and its influence on the local Native people. The Wood River Mountains are visible to the right background.
Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Record Administration, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, RG 22-FF-A2513.



3. H-1726



4. H-2487

3. H-1726 A 1911 view of the Arctic Packing Company, at the Yup'ik village of Kanulik. This was located about 2 miles upstream from Nushagak village. In 1884, the first pack of 400 cases of canned salmon was made at Arctic Packing, a San Francisco-based company. It stopped canning in 1901 when Arctic Packing became part of the Alaskan Packers Association (APA) and joined with the Clark's Point cannery, run by Nushagak Canning Company, to form a large double cannery. On the right are the former Carmel mission buildings that were purchased by Dr. Joseph H. Romig in 1908 from the Moravian Church and used as the first public health hospital in the Bristol Bay region, under contract with the Bureau of Education. (VanStone 1967: 67, 101-103) *Photo courtesy of Gail Gilbert.*

4. H-2487 The Scandinavian cannery near Dillingham circa 1910. The cannery was built in 1885 by the Astoria-based Alaska Packing Company and was the second earliest salmon packing plant in Bristol Bay. (VanStone 1967: 68, 116, 123; Morgan 1978: 35) The Scandinavian cannery joined Alaska Packers Association in 1893 and was later given the designation Diamond PHJ for the initials of Superintendent P. H. Johnson. In 1945, it was purchased by the Bristol Bay Packing Company. (MacDonald 1951: 57) The Yup'ik village of Choggiung was begun in about 1890 as a result of the existence of the Scandinavian cannery and was renamed Dillingham in 1904. The new community was also known as Snag Point in the early twentieth century. (Orth 1971: 272) The cannery was idle between 1930 and 1945 and then operated briefly. In 1957 the New England Fish Company of Seattle purchased the plant but never operated it. (King e-mail: March 2007) The cannery was shut down in the late 1940s and torn down in the mid-



5. H-1511

6. H-2473

1960s. (Olson interview: Feb. 2007) The Alaska Portland Packers cannery is seen on the right.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection PCA 35-9.

5. H-1511 The "China House" and a row of smaller houses used by the Chinese workers at the Diamond PHJ cannery at Snag Point, Dillingham, in 1917. Chinese cannery laborers were hired by a west coast Chinese labor contractor, and closely supervised by a "boss" who furnished the staple food items. (King e-mail: April 2006)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4139.

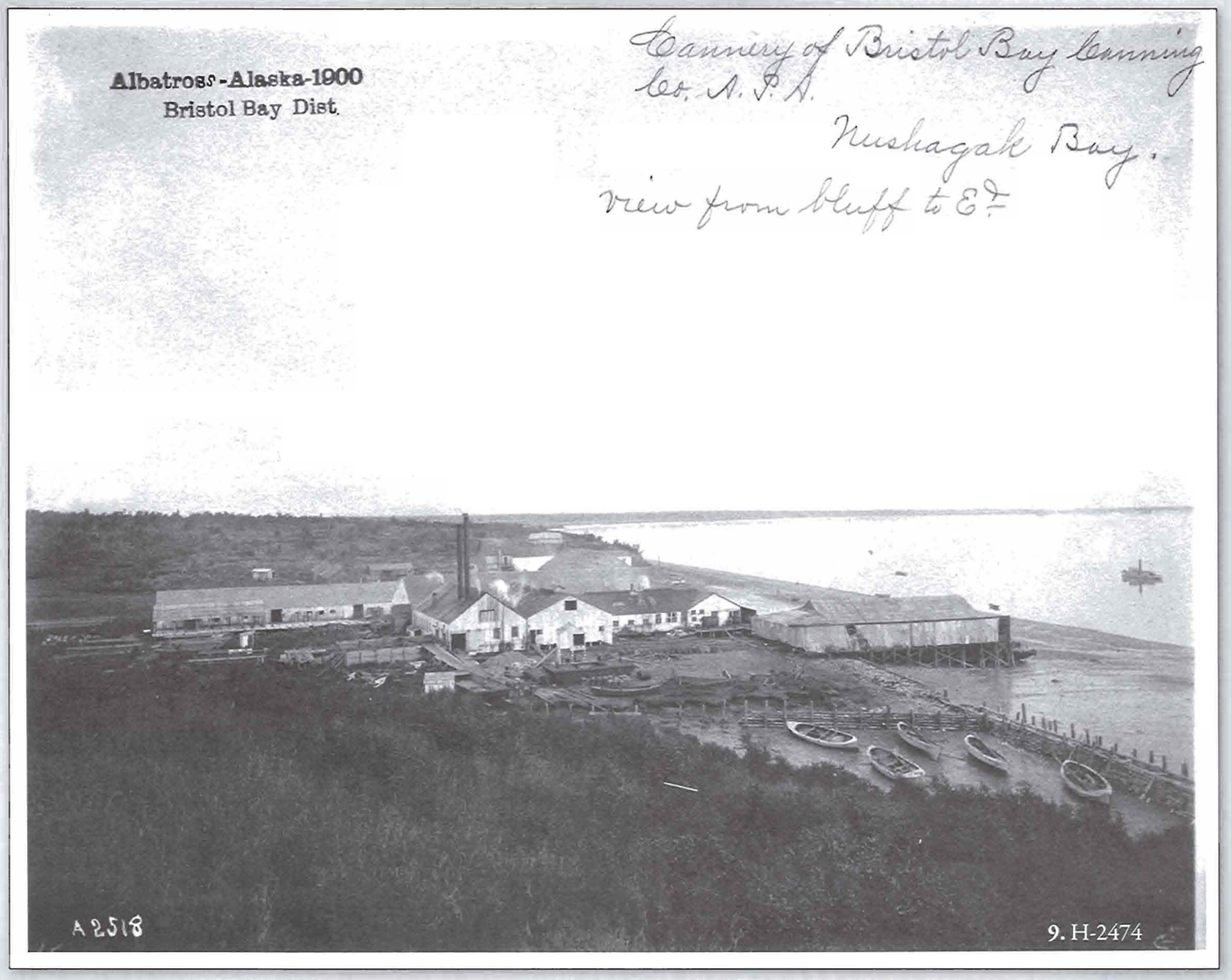
6. H-2473 A 1900 Henry C. Fassett photograph of an APA salmon trap along the beach near the Alaska Packing Company cannery near present-day Dillingham. Sailing ships and a coal-burning steamship ride beyond the trap. The plant was known as the Scandinavian cannery. (VanStone 1967: 68) In 1890, John W. Clark of Nushagak was involved with APA cannery men constructing a fish trap on the Wood River but vowed he would not be party to a trap that did not allow for open passage of at least 100 feet in the middle of the river. Clark was motivated by his concern for the welfare of local Native people, knowing full well that Bristol Bay Native subsistence cultures were completely dependent on abundant red salmon runs. (Unrau 1993: 261-262)
Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, RG 22-FF-A2523.



7. H-2469 The barkentine *Willie R. Hume* at the C. E. Whitney saltery a few miles above the village of Kanulik on Rolph Slough. In 1897 the Whitney saltery put up 2,436 barrels of salt cured salmon. By 1900 the saltery was the largest of its kind in the district of Alaska, producing 7,722 barrels. (Unrau 1993: 267, 277) It had 62 Euroamerican and 3 Native fishermen and workers. (VanStone 1967: 70)
Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, RG 22-FF-A2514.



8. H-2470 A salmon trap owned by the C.E. Whitney saltery at the mouth of the Nushagak River in 1900. Salmon traps were common in the early years of the Bristol Bay salmon fishery, but were harmful to the well being of Native people and to the perpetuation of the salmon stocks. The traps were gradually regulated and outlawed by the mid-1920s. The low coastal terrain is characteristic of parts of Nushagak Bay, but particularly the Kvichak district. Looking to the north and east from Nushagak Bay, the Wood River Mountains and Muklung Hills can frequently be observed, as seen in photo H-2469.
Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, RG 22-FF-A2516.



9. H-2474 A Henry C. Fassett photograph of the Bristol Bay Canning Company cannery at low tide in 1900, looking north on Nushagak Bay. The cannery was also known as the Bradford; it was the third cannery built in the bay. It was built on a small creek near Kanakanak about two miles below present-day Dillingham. (VanStone 1967: 68) Shown here, on the lower right, are five gill netters that have gone dry, while the cannery buildings sprawl from below the high water to the coastal tundra.
Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, RG 22-FF-A2518.



10. H-1163 The Bradford cannery photographed by John Cobb in about 1917. The cannery was built by the San Francisco based Bristol Bay Canning Company in 1886, one mile above the Yup'ik village of Kanakanak on the west side of Nushagak Bay. According to the late archeologist, James VanStone, the first school on the Dillingham side of the Bay likely was held at the Old Bradford cannery. (VanStone 1967: 68, 71, 96) The Bristol Bay Canning Company became part of the Alaska Packers Association in 1893. Sailing ships ride at anchor across the bay, off Nushagak village, in the right center of the image. (Olson interview: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4200.



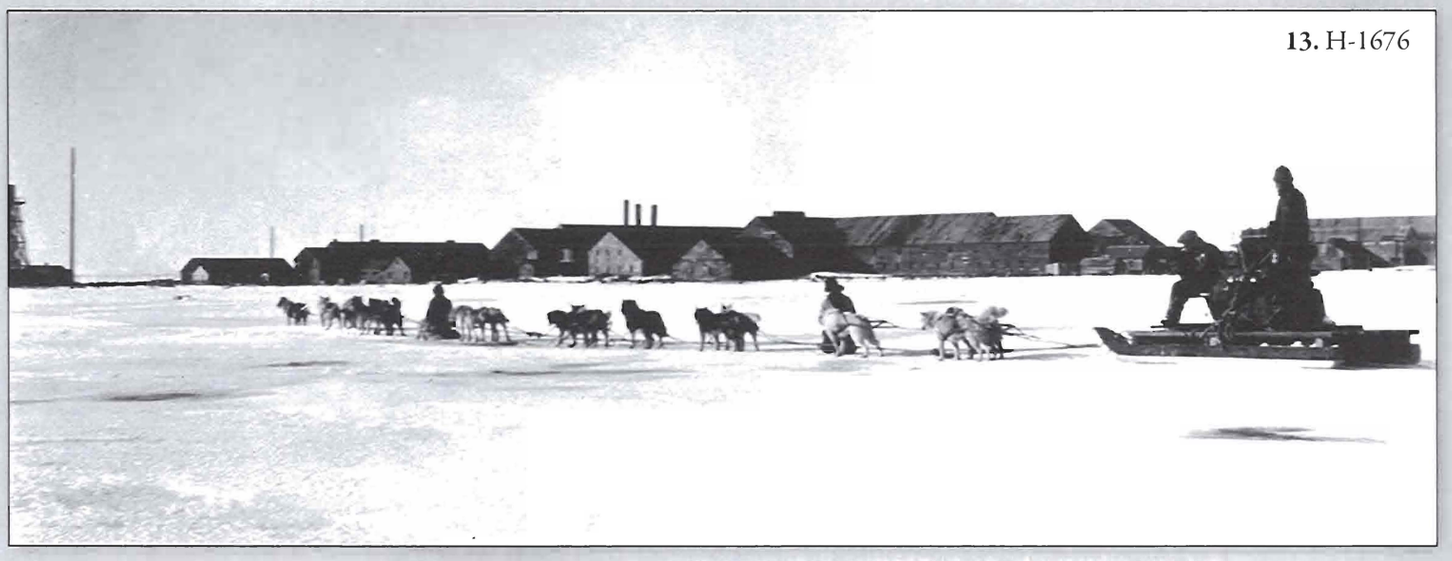
11. H-2306



12. H-2305

11. H-2306 John W. Clark (1846-1896), probably photographed in the 1890s in San Francisco. The caption on the image reads: "with compliments yours J.W. Clark...Edoaurt [?] 2171-2 Spring St." Clark was reported to be born in California and was a trader at Anvik on the Yukon in 1869. (Raymond 1900: 91) He was "The" Alaska Commercial Company agent at Nushagak by 1880. (VanStone 1967: 59) Clark was involved with the Bristol Bay commercial salmon industry from its earliest days and was probably the first Euroamerican in the area to marry an Alaska Native and make the Bay his permanent residence. He died of blood poisoning after butchering salmon. He is buried at Nushagak village. Alaska's sixth largest lake, Lake Clark, was named for him.
Photo H-2306 courtesy of Elizabeth Nicholson Butkovich.

12. H-2305 Natalia Orloff Clark (1868-1918) was born in the Aleutian Islands and was part Aleut and part Russian. Natalia might also have been related to the Russian Orthodox deacon, Vasilii E. Orloff, who lived at Nushagak village contemporaneously with her. (VanStone 1967: 34) The picture was taken in the 1890s at "J. H. Peters Portraits 914 Market St. San Francisco, Cal." Natalia and her husband had one daughter, Fedora, who was married to Hans Peter Nicholson. (Butkovich interview: May 1992)
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Nicholson Butkovich.





13. H-1676 APA's sprawling Clark's Point cannery circa 1930s. A large number of dogs pull a heavy generator on a sled. (Shade, Jr. interview: Sept. 2004) A section of the water tower and the wireless antenna mast is visible on the left; three smokestacks loom beyond the middle part of the plant. Clark's Point was named after Nushagak merchant John W. Clark who started a salmon salting station there before the cannery was built in 1888 by Nushagak Packing Company. Clark ran the Alaska Commercial Company trading post at Nushagak from the 1880s until his death in 1896. (VanStone 1967: 150-151)
Photo courtesy of Mr. Henry Shade, Jr.

14. H-2313 Bristol Bay double-enders sail by the dock at Diamond NC cannery, part of the Alaska Packers Association, at Clark's Point in the late 1930s or early 1940s. Dillingham trapper and fisherman Dave Carlson took this photograph. In 1888, Nushagak Canning Company built the plant at the village of Stugarok, later known as Clark's Point. (VanStone 1967: 68) The white house on the left was the cannery superintendent's summer residence. The water tank tower looms in background, on the left.
Photo courtesy of the Samuel K. Fox Museum, David and Mary Carlson Collection.

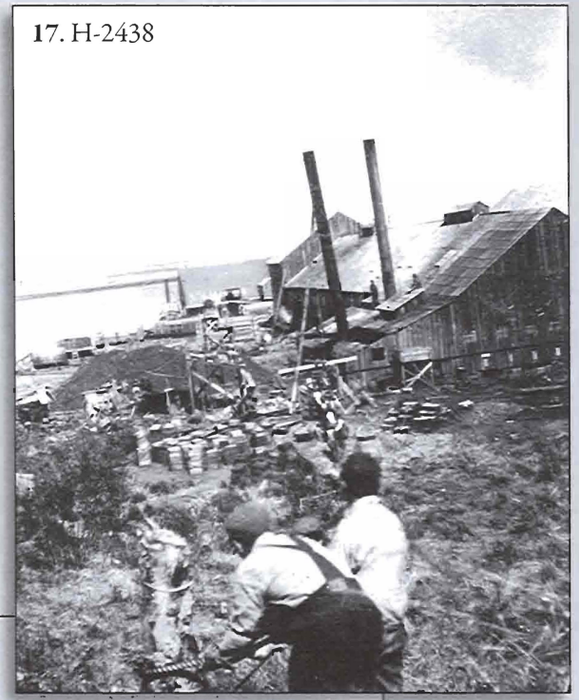


15. H-2419

16. H-2471

15. H-2419 Bristol Bay sailboats at the Alaska Packers Association Clark's Point cannery, on the east side of Nushagak Bay, are being outfitted for the approaching red salmon fishing in 1936. (Olson interview: March 2006) Boat No. 58 APA has a name painted on the bow, *Seafox*, an unusual situation in the Bristol Bay fishery, where most canneries insisted on strict uniformity of color and number without the frills of a boat name. *Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.*

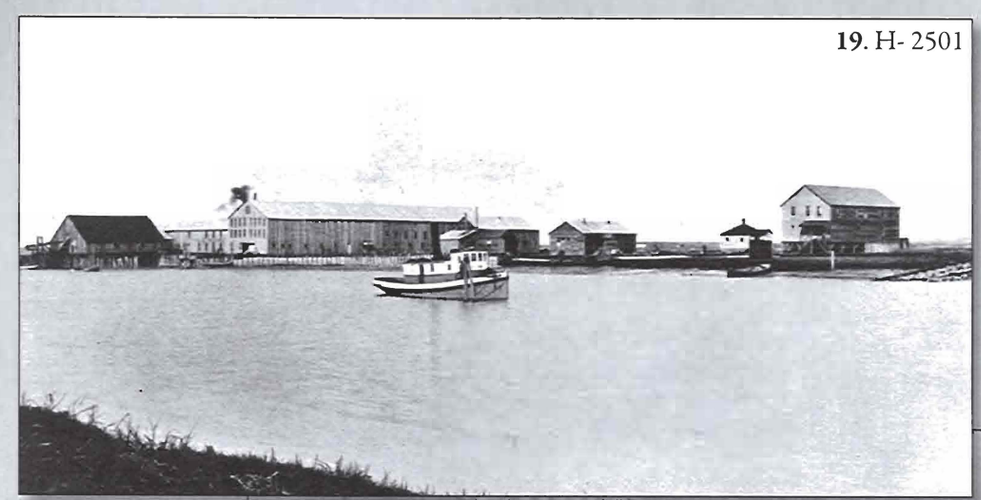
16. H-2471 The Pacific Steam Whaling Company cannery in 1900. The company built a salmon cannery at Nushagak village in 1899 immediately north of the Alaska Commercial Company store. In 1900 the cannery employed 56 Euroamerican fisherman, 10 Euroamerican cannery workers, 35 Natives, and 100 Chinese and produced 43,387 cases of salmon. (Unrau 1994: 277) Subsequent owners of the cannery were Pacific Packing & Navigation Company, Northwestern Fisheries Company, and Pacific American Fisheries. It ceased to operate after 1932. (MacDonald 1951: 58)
Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, RG 22-FF-A2509.





17. H-2438 The smokestacks for the boiler room go up in this circa 1901 photograph at the Alaska Salmon Company cannery at Wood River near its confluence with the Nushagak River and present-day Dillingham. The cannery operated until 1942. It then became known as the Bristol Bay Packing Company and apparently moved to the Scandinavian cannery in Dillingham, where it continued to operate into the late 1940s. (King e-mail: April 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Amelia Elkinton Collection, 74-175-604, Archives, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections, Rasmusen Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

18. H-1600 Chinese cannery workers disembarking from a scow at the Wood River cannery near Snag Point (Dillingham) in the early twentieth century. Chinese laborers provided the muscle in fabricating the cans, butchering the fish, packing fish in cans, and unloading the giant retorts in which canned salmon was cooked. (Liljeblad 1979) Note the log cribs built to support the docks during spring break-up, when flowing icebergs often destroyed log pilings. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Museum of History and Industry, Seattle, SHS 10, 139 B.



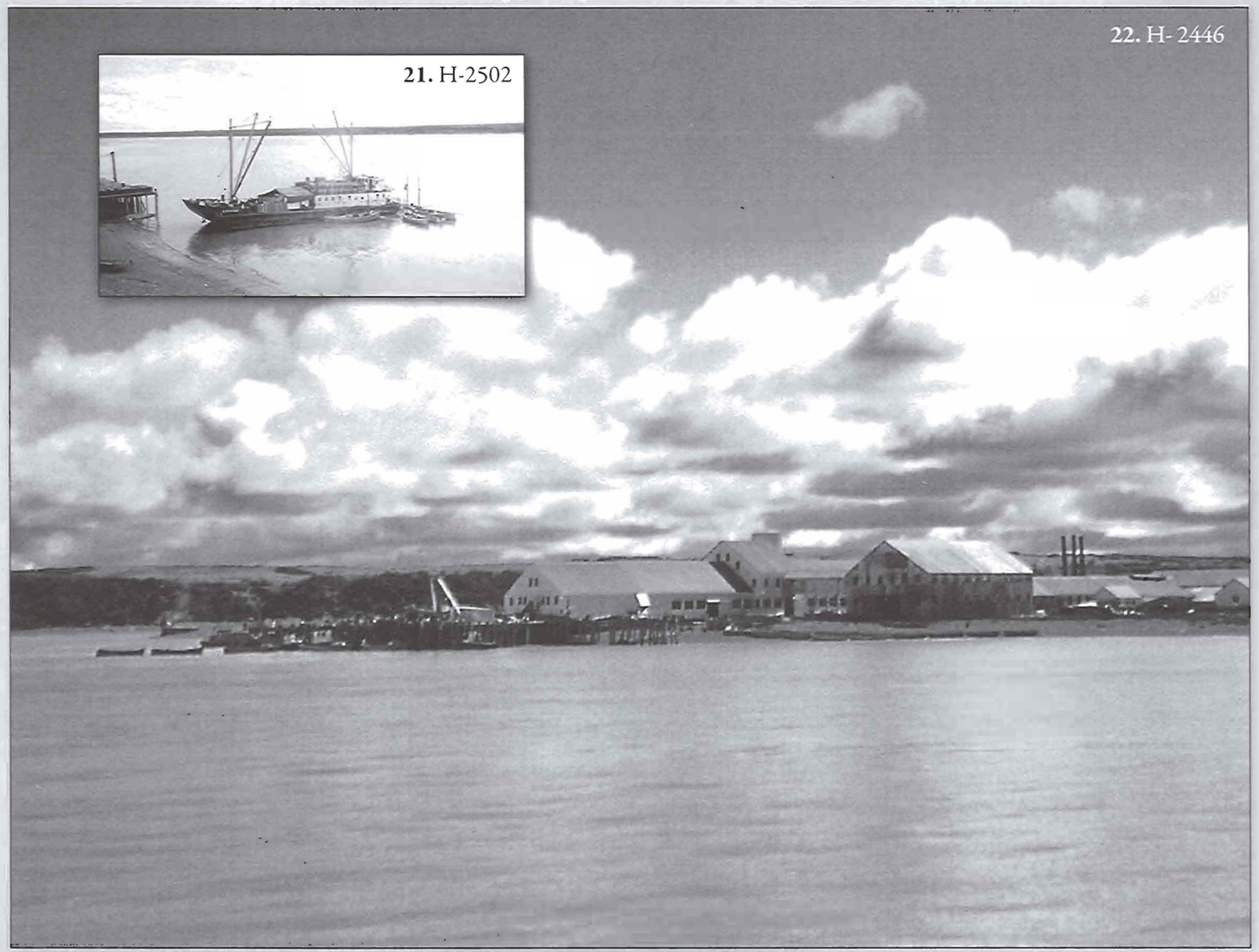
19. H- 2501



20. H-2255

19. H- 2501 The Columbia River Packers Association (CRPA) cannery on Clark's Slough about one mile north of Clark's Point circa 1915. (King e-mail: April 2007) The cannery was built in 1901. (MacDonald 1951: 59) Over time, the cannery became locally known as the "Creek Cannery." (Bennett interview: April 2007) The cannery was built on pilings on low tundra and it was hindered by difficulties in accessing fresh water, essential for cannery operations. In addition, fall storms often sent high tides flooding around the plant and ancillary buildings. (Olson interview: April 2007) In 1945, a Bering Sea storm, bringing in a tidal surge, destroyed the cannery. In the late 1940s, Seattle-based fish processor, Erling Bendickson, brought a large steel power scow, the *Alaska Queen*, upstream from the former site of the CRPA cannery, as a floating cannery. (Monsen, Sr. interview: April 2007) Bella Hammond recalls her first job on the floater, in 1947 or 1948, washing pots and pans, in a very low sink. (Hammond interview: April 2007) During the 1950s, Queen Fisheries established a shore-based cannery on the slough that operated until the 1990s. At the time that Queen Fisheries operated on the site the slough was referred to as Queen Slough. (Noden interview: April 2007)
Photo courtesy of Bob King from Pacific Fisherman Annual 1915, 66.

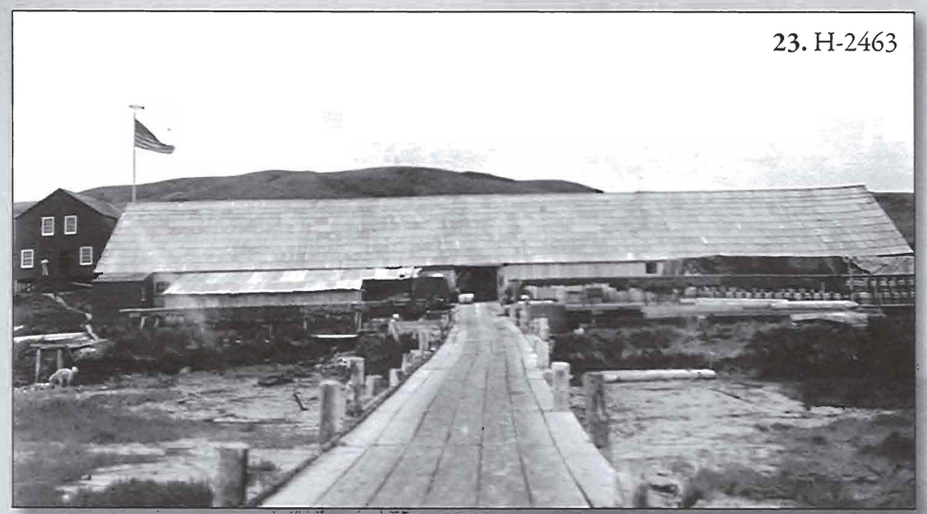
20. H-2255 Gust Griechen, Sr. (1886-1970), was a long-time winter watchman at Diamond U cannery, Pilot Point. He first came to Nushagak on Bristol Bay for Alaska Packers Association in 1906. (Clum interview: March 2006) Griechen leans against the stern of a Bristol Bay sailboat; to his left, the bow of a sailboat is visible including a mast ring that holds the mast fast. This picture provides a classic insider's view of a typical Bristol



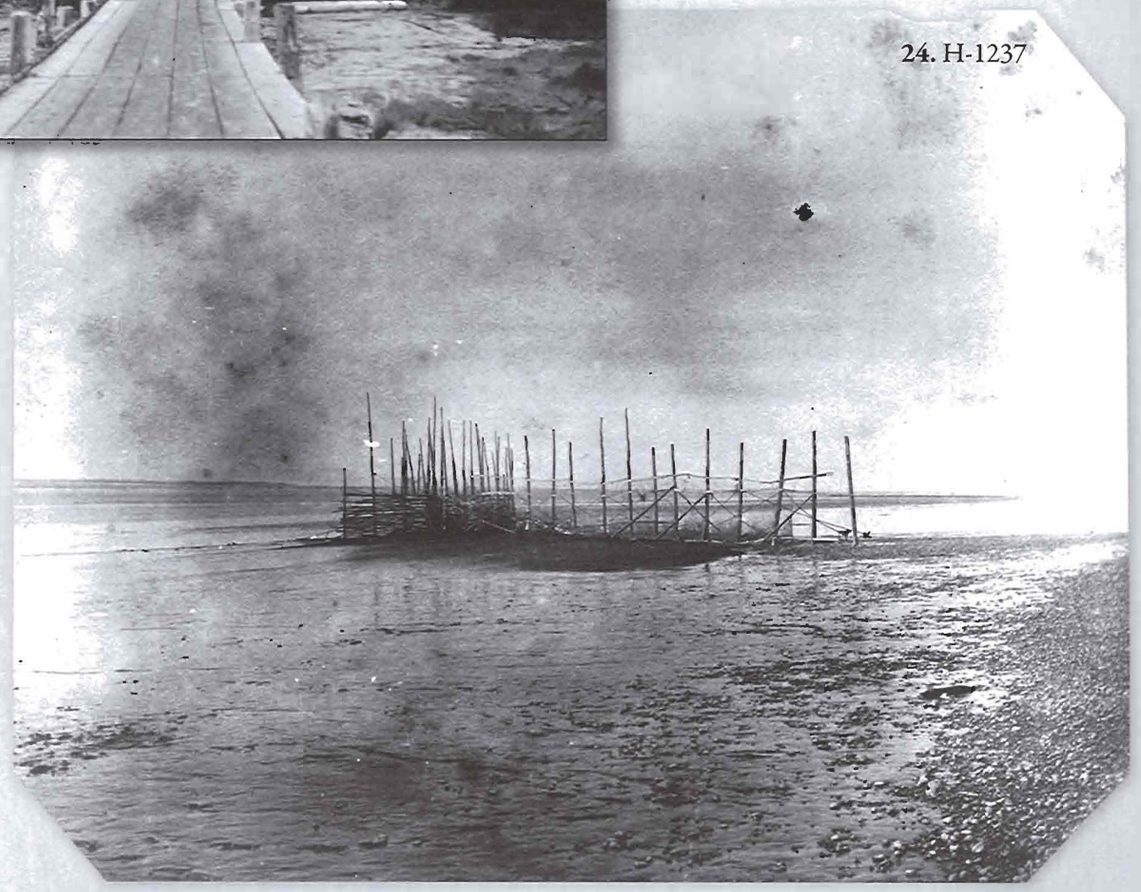
Bay salmon cannery with boats, sheet iron clad industrial buildings, wooden plank docks and the ubiquitous steel fuel drums. (Griechen, Jr. interview: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of Diane and Gust Griechen, Jr.

21. H-2502 The *Alaska Queen*, a steel scow that had been converted to a floating cannery, is seen in front of the dock at Naknek Packing Company on the Naknek River circa 1946. Note the stacks of wooden barrels on board indicating the owners also planned to salt salmon. There is also a number of Bristol Bay double-enders tied to the stern of the floating cannery. Herman Sandvik of Naknek was a large shareholder in the outfit but it was soon sold to Erling Bendickson and became Queen Fisheries. The *Alaska Queen* was moved over to Clark's Slough on the east side of Nushagak Bay by 1947 or 1948 and over time the slough became known as Queen Slough as Alaska Queen Fisheries first operated the floater and then a shore-based cannery at the site (Monsen, Sr. email: April 2007).
Photo courtesy of Melvin Monsen, Sr.

22. H- 2446 A view of Libby's Ekuk cannery at the Yup'ik village of Ekuk about one mile south of Clark's Point, on the east side of Nushagak Bay. The North Alaska Salmon Company opened a salmon cannery at Ekuk in 1903. In 1916, the cannery was acquired by Libby, McNeill & Libby Company and operated into the 1960s. (MacDonald 1951: 59) In the late 1940s, Libby's Ekuk along with Libby's Koggiung at Graveyard Creek, used predominately Alaska Native crews to run the canneries. (Unrau 1993: 266-268)
Photo courtesy of Harold Hawkinson Collection.



23. H-2463



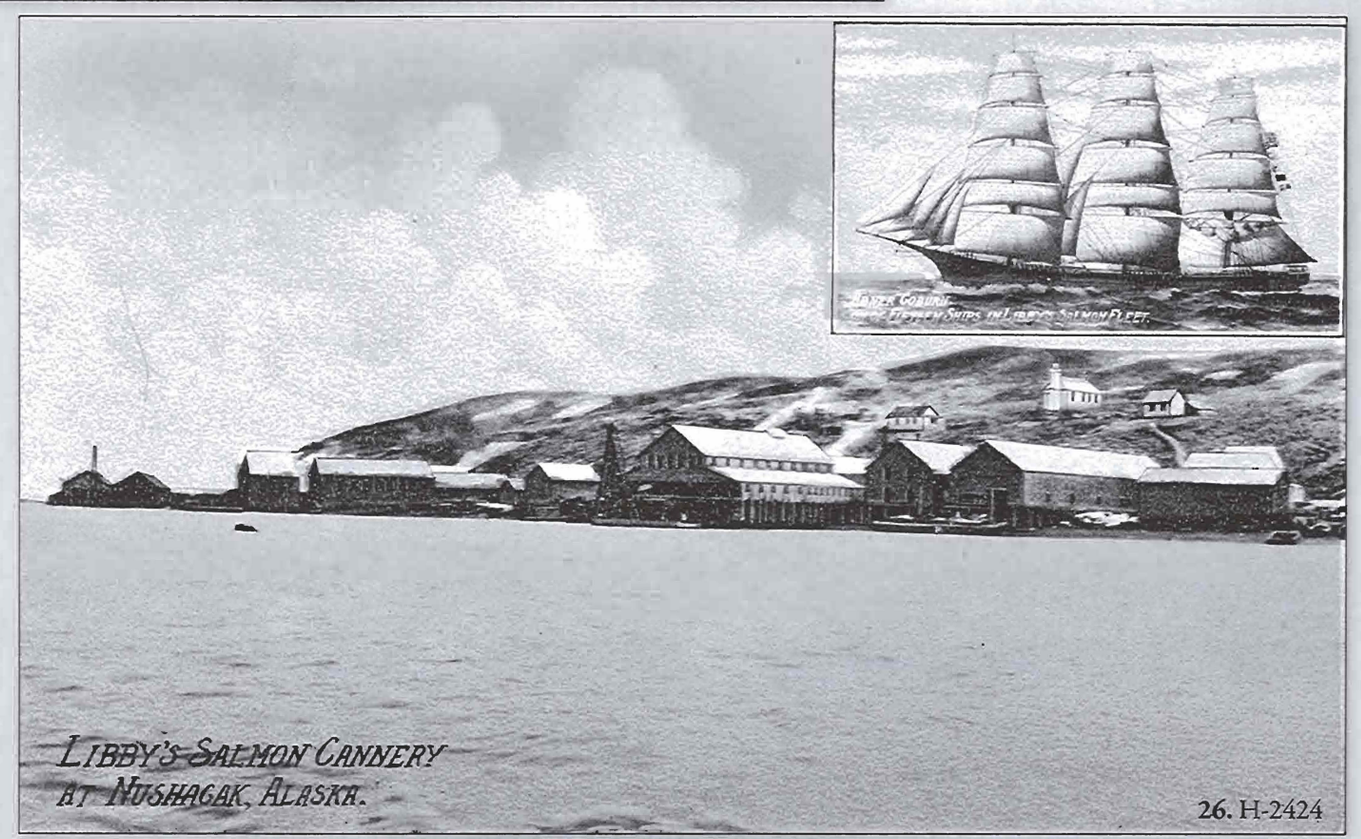
24. H-1237

23. H-2463 A 1917 John Cobb photograph of APA's Diamond EK Igushik River saltery, on the west side of Nushagak Bay, about 25 miles southwest of Dillingham. There were three salteries on the western bank of the lower Igushik. Beginning near the mouth of the river, and the Yup'ik village of Igushik, was "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's saltery; Libby, McNeill & Libby had a saltery about one-and-a-half miles up stream; farthest up river was the Diamond EK saltery. The 150-foot high Igushik Ridge, seen in the background, runs behind all three the salting stations. (Olson interview: Oct. 2006) More details about salteries can be found in the Carl Johnson's oral history narrative.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 418.

24. H-1237 A fish trap at low tide near Nushagak in the 1880s or 1890s. Fish traps were used early in the Bristol Bay cannery days but their potential to wipe out salmon runs and devastate the lives of Bristol Bay Natives made them an early target for federal regulation. In 1889 Congress passed a law forbidding barricades and empowering the Secretary of the Treasury to regulate fish traps. However, canneries resorted to other methods: gill nets, small traps, and seines to prevent salmon from escaping upriver to spawn. Finally, in 1922, the Department of Commerce created a fish reservation in the Bristol Bay region that outlawed all traps and motorized fish boats by 1923. (Unrau 1993: 261-269, 310)
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Nicholson Butkovich.



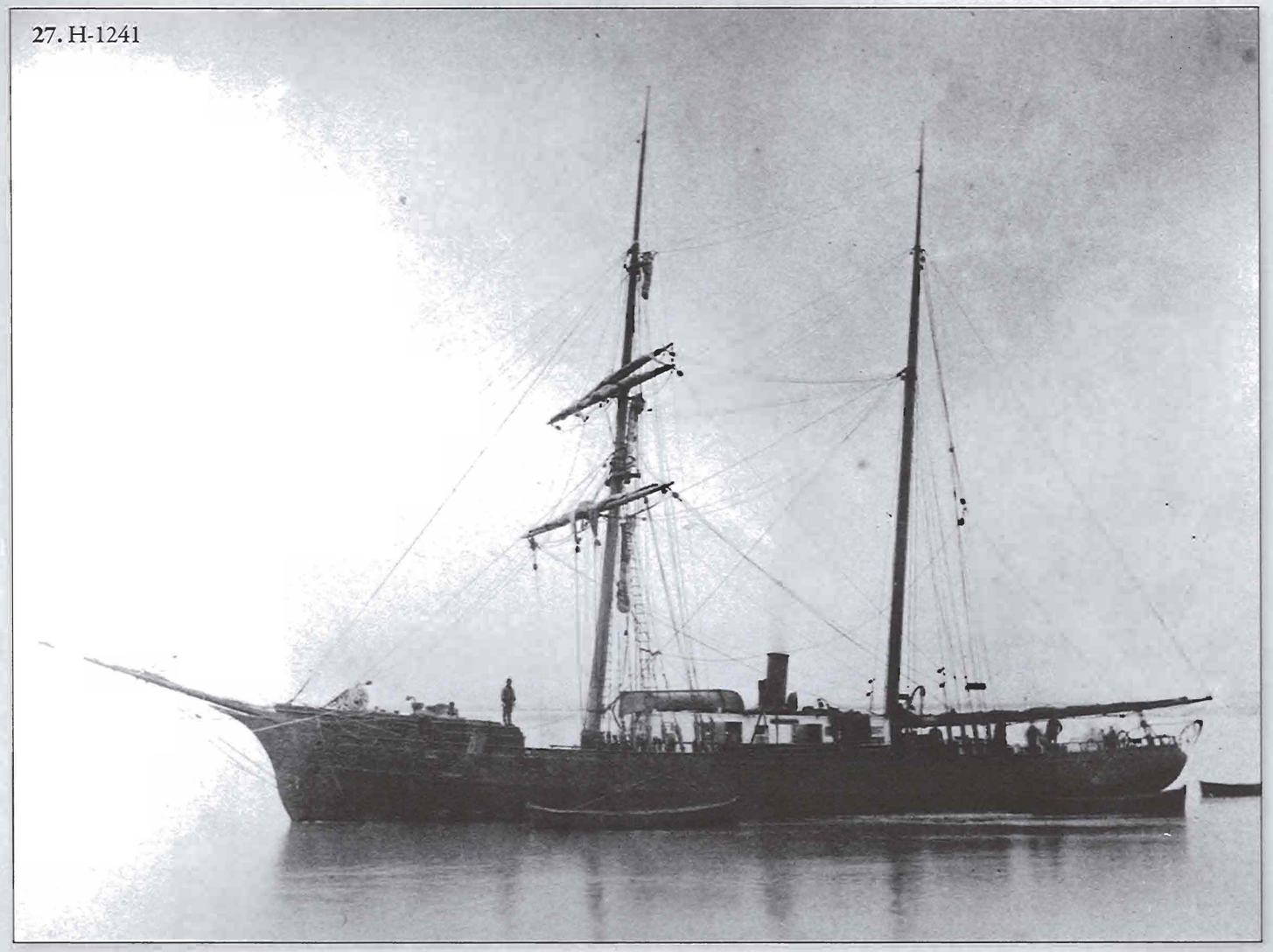
25. H-1424



26. H-2424

25. H-1424 A circa 1910 John Thwaites photograph of Nushagak village surrounded by two canneries. The Northwestern Fisheries Company is on the left and the Alaska Fisherman's Packing Company (Libby's after 1913) is on the right. The house and store of Alaska Commercial Company agent, John W. Clark, are in the center between the two canneries. The Russian Orthodox Church and cemetery are seen on the higher terrace above the village. The cannery on the left was first built by Pacific Steam Whaling Company in 1899, it was then sold to Pacific Packing and Navigation Company in 1901. It was again sold to Northwestern Fisheries in 1904 and ran until 1932, when it was sold to Pacific American Fisheries in 1933 and ceased to operate. The cannery on the right was built in 1903 by the Alaska Fisherman's Packing Company and sold to Libby, McNeill & Libby in 1913. The cannery burned in 1915 and was rebuilt in 1916. It operated until 1936 when mud flats built up and blocked the dock. (MacDonald 1951: 58-59)
Photo courtesy of the Anchorage Museum of History and Art Simonson Collection B91-9-113.

26. H-2424 A Libby, McNeill & Libby Company postcard showing their cannery, right, at Nushagak village, and the *Abner Coburn*, a 225 feet long wooden fully rigged sailing ship that supplied five Libby canneries in Bristol Bay at Libbyville, Graveyard Koggiung, Lockanok, Ekuk, and Nushagak, beginning about 1913-1916. Nushagak village was the first Russian outpost in the Bristol Bay country. The postcard was based on a photograph taken by the noted photographer John Thwaites, who traveled to Bristol Bay as a mail clerk on the *Dora* during the first decade of the 20th century. The *Abner Coburn* was built in Bath, Maine by William Rogers in 1882 and was involved in the Orient trade. It



was acquired by Libby's in 1912 and was burned in Puget Sound to salvage its metal parts about 1929. (Burwell e-mail: April 2006)
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.

27. H-1241 The *Dora,* was a combination sailing and steam ship, belonging to the Alaska Commercial Company. It was photographed by Moravian missionaries Henry Hartmann and William Weinland at Nushagak in the 1880s or 1890s. This photograph originally belonged to Nushagak merchant John W. Clark. The *Dora* was a wooden ship of 320 tons, 112 feet long and about 27 feet wide. It was powered by a steam boiler and two masts for sails. (Goforth 2003: 10, 55) The *Dora* plied Bristol Bay waters from 1880 until her demise on a reef off Hobble Island, B.C. in 1920. (Turner 1983: 11)
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Nicholson Butkovich.



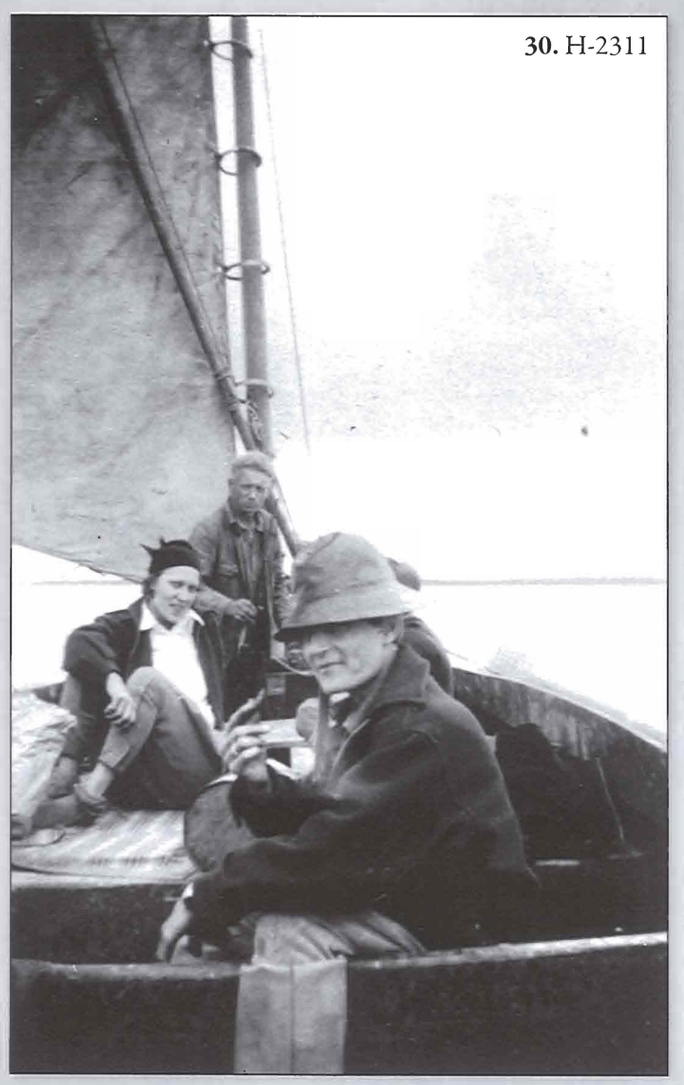
28. H-2043



29. H-2427

28. H-2043 A John E. Thwaites postcard of Nushagak village and the cannery to the right, circa 1910. The Russian Orthodox Church is seen on the left. A cannery pile driver is immediately to the left of the main cannery buildings. The cannery on the right was originally built in 1899 by the Pacific Steam Whaling Company and became part of Northwestern Fisheries Company in 1904. (Unrau 1993: 277)
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Lundgren Mitchell.

29. H-2427 The Alaska Portland Packing Association cannery presently known as the Peter Pan Cannery, in downtown Dillingham. The cannery was built in 1901 and was burned down in 1910. (MacDonald 1951: 57) It was rebuilt in 1911 and was acquired by Pacific American Fisheries (PAF) in 1934. It is still in operation and is considered to be the longest continuously operated cannery in Alaska. (Troll letter: Sept. 2006) A tally scow is tied to the piling on the right and a pile driver is on a scow that is anchored in front of the building on the left. A water tower looms in the left background.
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.



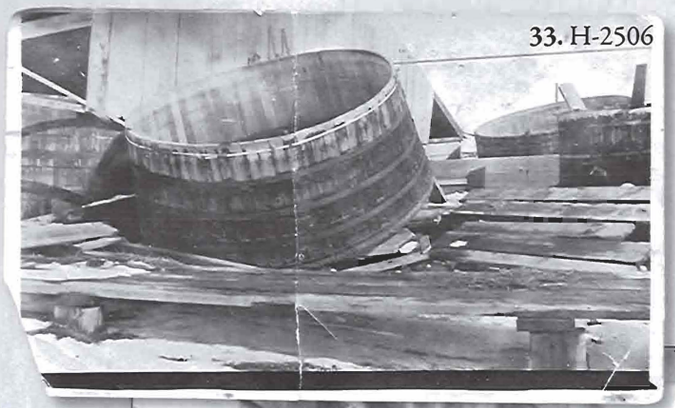
30. H-2311



31. H-2309

30. H-2311 Icelandic-born Bristol Bay fisherman "Hard Working Tom" Overwik sails his fishing boat in Nushagak Bay in the 1940s. "Hard Working Tom's" girlfriend, Laura Zelapusa, sits on the left, the woman on the right is possibly Mary Carlson. The mainsail is held on the mast with bent oak mast rings and is rigged with a sprit. Local Yup'ik people gave Overwik a nickname, Nacayuilngug, that meant: "He never wears a hat." (Troll letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Samuel K. Fox Museum, Dave and Mary Carlson Collection.

31. H-2309 Two men, who epitomized the unique life-style of the Bristol Bay commercial fishery and upriver winter-time trapping that was a viable livelihood for most of the twentieth century, were "Hard Working Tom" Overwik, left, and Butch Smith, right, shown picking fish in a sailboat during the 1940s, off the PAF (now Peter Pan) dock in Dillingham. (Troll interview: Dec. 2005) A sprit, oars, and a fish pew are lying on the starboard side of the boat; the sail is furled around the mast on the port side. The all-important coffee pot sits on the bow. Bristol Bay fishermen loved coffee, black or with canned Carnation evaporated milk.
Photo courtesy of the Samuel K. Fox Museum, Dave and Mary Carlson Collection.



33. H-2506



32. H-2504



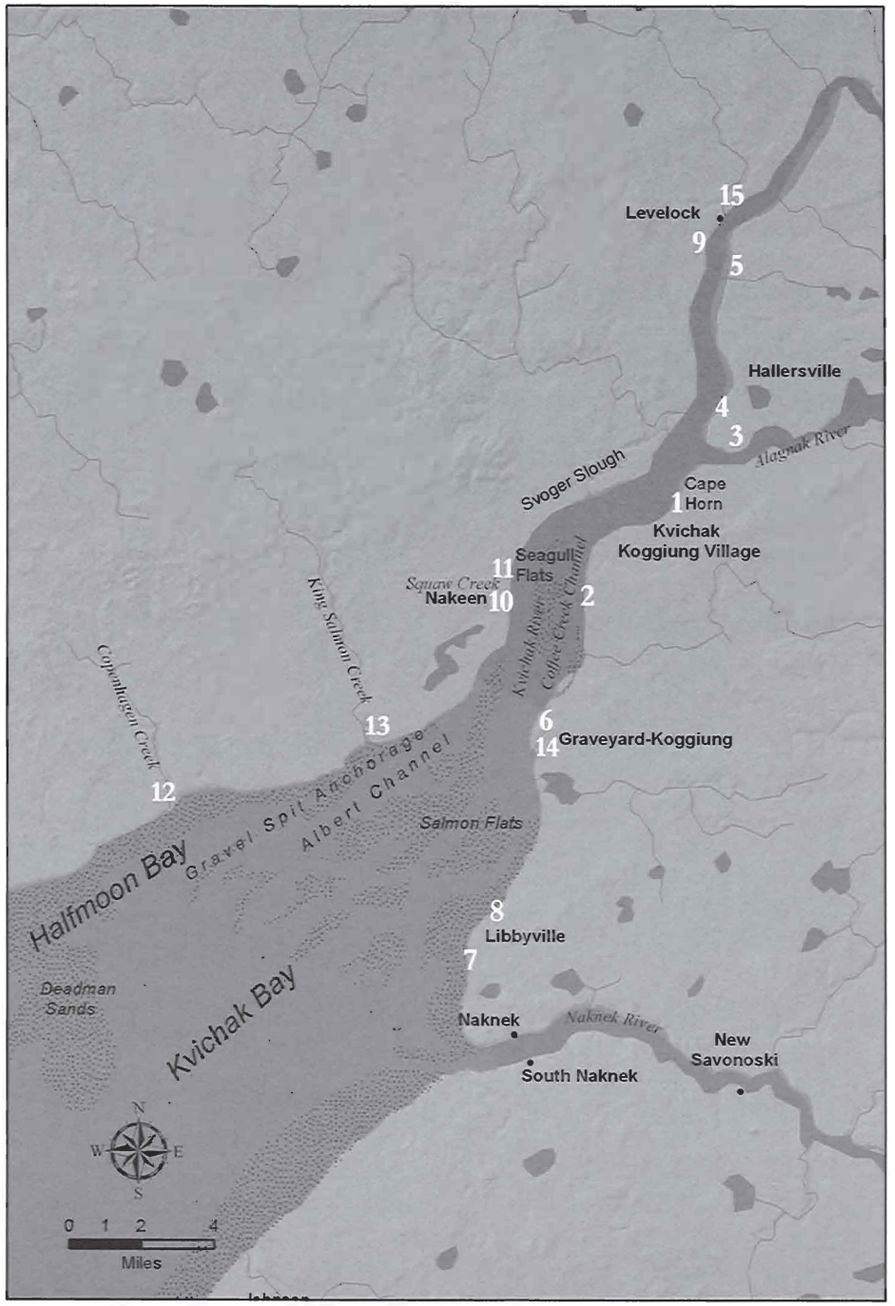
34. H-1562

The Kvichak Bay Canneries

32. H-2504 A circa 1920s or early 1930s scene at the Bristol Bay Packing Company saltery on King Salmon Creek, on the west side of Kvichak Bay, in a state of disarray, perhaps as a result of a coastal storm. Wooden barrels used for salt cured salmon are piled in the foreground. Four large wooden tanks are listing to starboard, a pile driver gin and a warehouse are seen in the left background, and King Salmon Creek and coastal low lands are in the right rear. The saltery was located about ten miles southwest of "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's saltery at Squaw Creek [sic].
Photo courtesy of Inez Floyd.

33. H-2506 Three tipped wooden brining tanks at the Bristol Bay Packing Company saltery on King Salmon Creek, circa 1920s or early 1930s. Bristol Bay Packing owned the largest cannery in the bay, about eight miles east of the saltery, across Kvichak Bay, at Pedersen Point. Split salmon were layered with rock salt in the tanks during the brining process. Later the salt cured fish were repacked in wooden barrels called tierces, that weighed 400 hundred pounds when full, for shipment to the Lower 48. If the cannery was overwhelmed with salmon, the excess could be shipped on scows to the saltery, for salting.
Photo courtesy of Inez Floyd.

34. H-1562 A group of people at Koggiung, or perhaps at Nakeen cannery, in the 1920s. Left to right, Ekobuk, Ernest Holmquist holding his daughter Jane, Mollia (Mary) Holmquist holding her daughter Ann, Mrs. Tallekpalek, wearing a white cap and holding a baby,



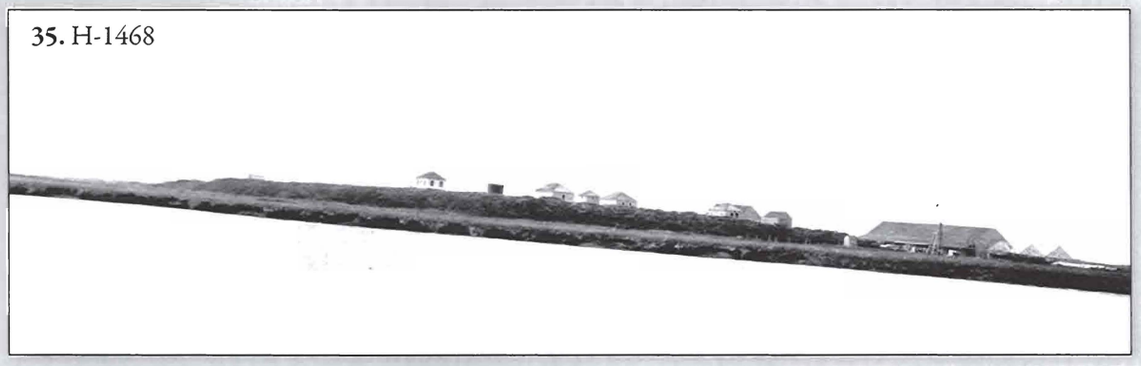
Legend

Kvichak Canneries and Salteries

Name

1. Point Roberts Packing Company, Koggiung, Kvichak, Diamond J, Kvichak River,1894-1895.
2. Kvichak Packing Company, Coffee Creek, Diamond X, Kvichak River, 1900.
3. North Alaska Salmon Company, Lockanok, Branch River, Alagnak River. 1900.
4. North Alaska Salmon Company, Hallersville, Kvichak River. 1900.
5. Union Packing Company, Kvichak River. 1904.
6. Alaska Fisherman's Packing Company, Libby's Graveyard Koggiung, 1910.
7. Bristol Bay Packing Company, Pedersen Point, 1910.
8. North Alaska Salmon Company, Libbyville, 1913.
9. Carlisle Packing Company, Levelock, 1922-1923.
10. Nakat Packing Corporation, Nakeen. Kvichak River.1925.
11. "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's saltery, Squaw (sic) Creek, Kvichak River, circa 1912.
12. "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's saltery, Copenhagen Creek, west side Kvichak Bay, early 1900s.
13. Bristol Bay Packing Company saltery at King Salmon Creek, undated.
14. Olson & Company saltery at Graveyard Creek, pre-1910.
15. Levelock Packing Company, 1950-55.

35. H-1468



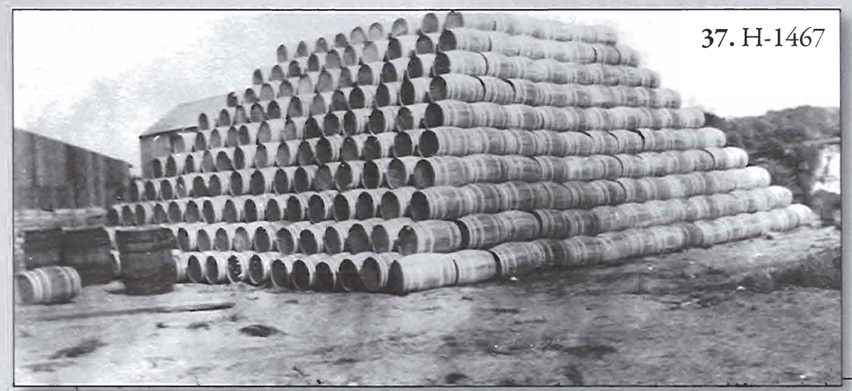
36. H-2464



and Katie Martin, standing by the door. The man on the right is probably Carl Ake, winter watchman at Nakeen. Holmquist was watchman for the Bristol Bay Packing Company saltery at King Salmon Creek, on the west side of Kvichak Bay. His nickname was the "Policeman," as he had formerly been a member of the King of Sweden's palace guard. Katie Martin lived in Levelock with her husband, Pete Martin, a Bristol Bay fisherman. (Brown e-mail: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

35. H-1468 The saltery of Peter M. "Whitehead Pete" Nelson on the Kvichak River at Squaw Creek circa 1914. Nakat Packing Corporation bought the saltery and built a cannery known as Nakeen in 1925. The cannery was owned by the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, a national grocery store chain. (MacDonald 1951: 61) An oral history report at Fort Mason in San Francisco states that Nelson built his saltery at the site because it had formerly been the location of a Native village and the land was stable from the ever-changing Kvichak River. (Johnson interview: n.d.)
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, Carl Johnson Collection, G11.9.975n.

36. H-2464 "Whitehead Pete" Nelson, left, the "Salt Fish King of San Francisco," on board a ship in the early twentieth century. Nelson fished Bristol Bay in the 1890s and started his first saltery on the Igushik River, on the west side of Nushagak Bay, in 1902. He also built a saltery on Copenhagen Creek, on the west side of Kvichak Bay, but his largest and most successful salting station was at Squaw Creek on the west side of the mouth of the Kvichak River across from Diamond J and Diamond X canneries. (Nelson website: http://www.techprose...)



37. H-1467



38. H-2466

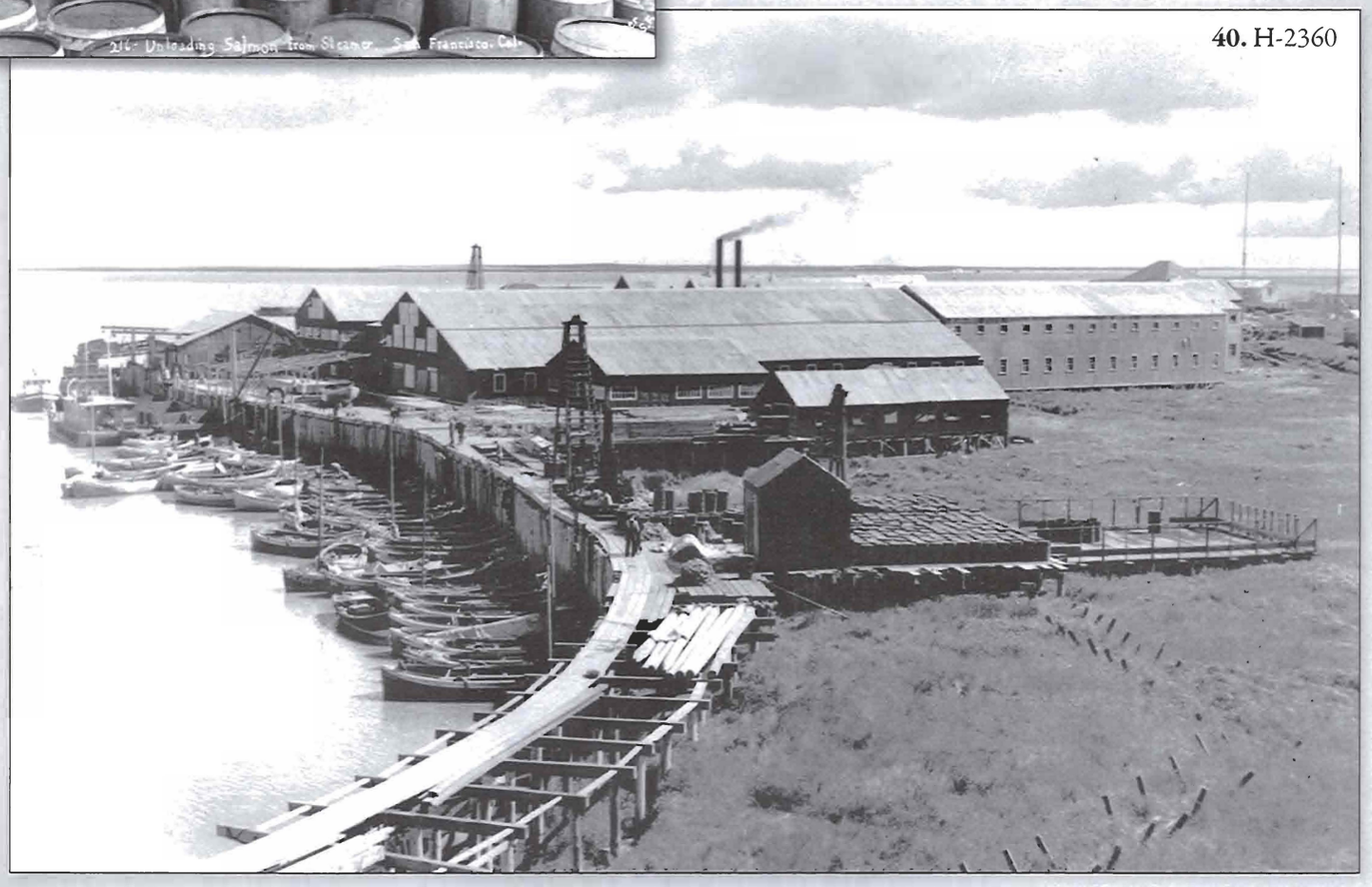
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, Mrs. Pete Nelson Collection, P.268n.

37. H-1467 Wooden barrels of mild-cured salt salmon are stacked at either Diamond J or Peter M. Nelson's saltery on the west side of the mouth of the Kvichak river, circa 1914. The standing barrels on the left are full tierces that weighed 800 pounds when full. Nelson's saltery was built at the site of a long abandoned Native village. In 1925, Nakat Packing Corporation purchased the saltery and built a cannery on the site. (MacDonald 1951: 61) A standard-size wooden barrel weighed 400 pounds when filled with brined salmon; Carl Johnson stated that Nelson's barrels were about 200 pounds; a figure that old timers from the Bay say is 200 pounds too little. (Unrau 1994: 270; Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, Mrs. Pete Nelson Collection, G12.5130n.

38. H-2466 Ten gillnetters from "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's fleet lie in the mud at the high water mark at Squaw Creek in 1923. John Englund, Nelson's nephew, is in the foreground. The three-masted schooner *C.A. Thayer,* lies at the dock in the left background. The *Thayer* was originally built in Humboldt Bay, California in 1895 as a lumber hauler and was 156 feet long with a beam of 36 feet. Nelson purchased the schooner for support of his Alaska saltery business, between 1912 and 1924. (Nelson website: http://techprose...)
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco National Historical Park, G11.9.922n.







39. H-2465 Barrels of salted Alaska salmon being unloaded from the schooner *Salvator* in the early twentieth century at the China Basin in San Francisco. (Nelson website: http://techprose...) Salt salmon in 400 pound wooden barrels such as these were exactly what "Whitehead Pete" Nelson produced at his Bristol Bay salting stations between 1902 and 1924.
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, A12.334.

40. H-2360 A circa 1930s view of the Nakat Packing Corporation's Nakeen cannery on the west side of the mouth of the Kvichak River. The dockside view shows the fishing fleet in, along with a flat scow, a bunk scow, and tug boats.
Photo courtesy of Helena Seversen Moses.

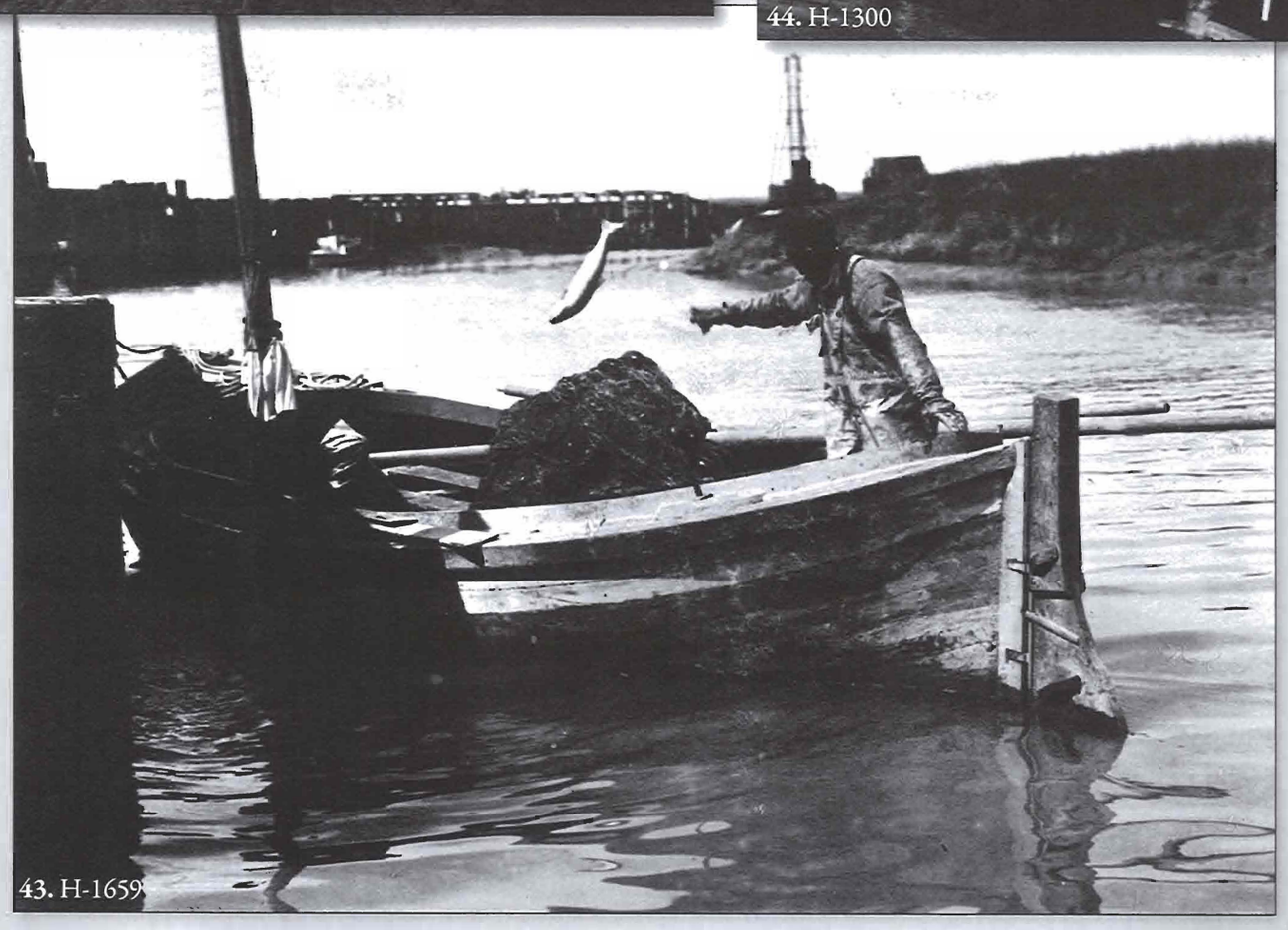
41. H-939 A circa 1935-1941 view of Roy Dickson's Travel Air floatplane sitting on the mud of the Kvichak River near Nakeen, looking east toward Diamond J and Diamond X canneries. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006; Alvin Aspelund, Sr. letter: March 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Roy Dickson, Jr. Collection.



42. H-787



44. H-1300



43. H-1659

42. H-787 A view of Nakeen cannery on the west side of the mouth of the Kvichak River in the 1930s, looking toward Diamond J and Diamond X canneries. The cannery ceased canning in the late 1950s or early 1960s. Looking southeast, across the Kvichak River on the upper left of the image, would be Diamond J and Diamond X canneries. (Alvin Aspelund, Sr. letter and interview: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of Dorothy Monsen Berggren.

43. H-1659 An unknown fisherman tosses a fish toward the fish bins as his partner reaches for water to wash down the boat at Nakeen cannery. The mast is up with the sail lowered, and the boom and sprit are hanging over on the starboard side. Oars lie on the port splash deck. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005)
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.

44. H-1300 The tug *Nakeen* alongside another tug boat, the *Sultana* in Kvichak Bay circa 1935. Nakeen was owned by the national grocery chain A & P and the company logo is visible on the tug's stack. Tug boats towed tally scows from the fishing grounds to cannery docks to off-load their fish, sometime up to 40,000 fish. Generally, a tug such as the *Nakeen* was powered by a Fairbanks-Morse diesel engine; these engines made an unusual "boom-boom" sound when running. When the *Nakeen* and the *Salmon Scout* were operating for Bristol Bay Packing Company's Pedersen Point cannery, their presence was known to all the fishermen in the Naknek-Kvichak district by the distinctive sounds of their engines. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

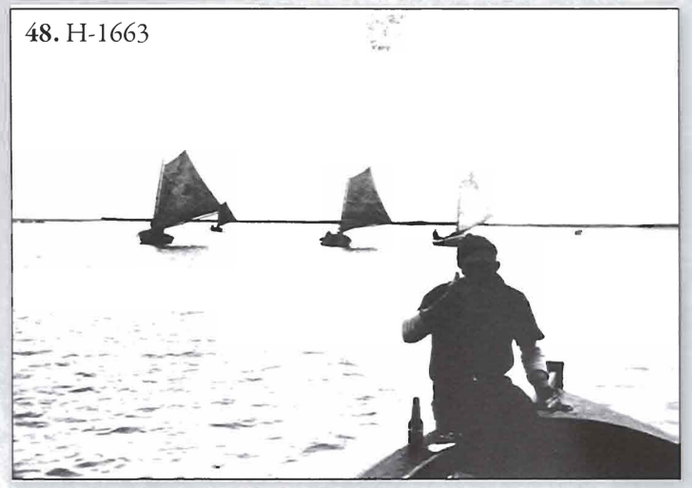


45. H-1660 The tug boat *Nakeen* approaches a flat scow in Kvichak Bay circa 1937. The flat scow probably contains about 35,000 to 40,000 red salmon destined for the cannery. (Monsen, Sr. interview and letter: Sept. 2006) In the background, another tug appears to be towing a flat scow. In the right background another cannery looms, perhaps Libbyville or Libby's Koggiung at Graveyard. Floyd Denison's caption written for this picture: "...35,000 fish on this scow. Seems almost impossible that I handle more fish than the amount shown here, eh?"
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.

46. H-1661 Bristol Bay fishing boats at the Nakeen cannery dock on the west side of the mouth of the Kvichak River on Kvichak Bay, circa 1937. The Kvichak River system, including Iliamna and Lake Clark, historically has been the largest producer of red salmon in the world, but in recent years the run has been declining. A pile driver is seen on the dock and a donkey engine boiler stack is just left of the pile driver. Donkey engines were used to power winches and cranes on the dock. Floyd Denison's father, Charlie, brought a donkey engine to Lake Clark in the winter of 1934 and set up a sawmill. In the 1930s and 1940s most of the lumber used on Lake Clark was cut on the Denison's steam powered sawmill.
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.



47. H-1664



48. H-1663



49. H-1557



50. H-1662

47. H-1664 Nakeen cannery sailboats in Kvichak Bay, circa 1937. Floyd Denison fished for Nakeen but it was known for having a preponderance of fisherman of Scandinavian descent. He recalled on the caption: "Sailing out wing and wing 1937."
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.

48. H-1663 Floyd Denison pauses for refreshments as he sails his boat on Kvichak Bay near Nakeen cannery in 1937. He recalled, "The skipper grabs a bite on the run. Beer, hard tack, and sardines 1937." The boats astern are rigged with mast, boom and sprit, an arrangement that maximizes the surface of the sail.
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.

49. H-1557 The floating Carlisle cannery beached near Hallersville about 1922 on the lower Kvichak River. The "floater" was first used on the Yukon River at Andreafsky (St. Mary's) in 1918. (King interview: May 2005) It was towed to the Kvichak River in 1922 and located near the mouth of the Alagnak River. It eventually moved to Levelock in 1924 and ceased canning in 1926, after which it was sold to APA and dismantled.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

50. H-1662 Floyd Denison in his Nakeen Bristol Bay sailboat, circa 1937. The fish bins are full. A fully loaded 30 foot boat could carry about 1,000 to 2,000, five to six-pound average red salmon, or between 6,000 and 12,000 pounds of fish. Denison's caption read: "Here I am at last with some of the fish I've been shouting about.... About 1,700 reds."
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.



51. H-2333 A rare picture of the Hallersville cannery built in 1900 by the North Alaska Salmon Company, about 300 yards north of the Lockanok cannery. The Hallersville cannery apparently ceased to operate after 1905 because mud flats built up in front of the dock, prevented the landing of tally scows to off-load their cargo. The machinery was moved to the new Libbyville cannery in 1916. (MacDonald 1951: 59-60) Both photographs H-2333 and H-2334 first appeared in the September 1917 issue of *Pacific Fisherman.*
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington, Fisheries and Oceanography Library.

52. H-2334 A 1917 view of the Libby, McNeill & Libby cannery at the mouth of the Alagnak River at a site known as Lockanok. Scows are at the dock, with the cannery buildings and water tower also in view. The cannery was first built in 1900 by the San Francisco based North Alaska Salmon Company; Libby's purchased it in 1916. (MacDonald 1951: 59)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington, Fisheries and Oceanography Library.

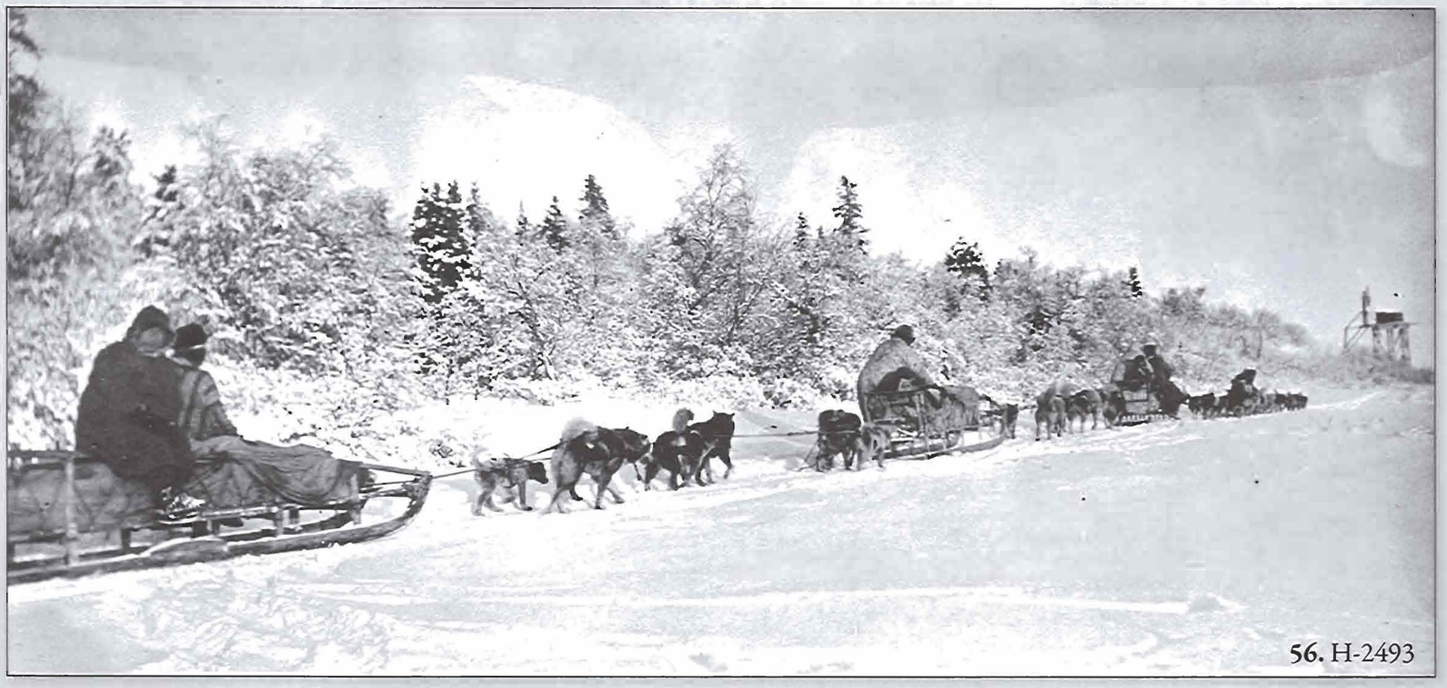
53. H-1558 Parka-clad people with a dog team posed for a summer time photograph at Lockanok cannery in the 1920s. The word Lockanok is a corruption of the Yup'ik word Alagnak which is pronounced "ah-lock-a-nok." (Tallekpalek interview: Aug. 1998) The caption on the lower right is apparently HoMoKo, but its meaning is unknown.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.



55. H-1226



54. H-394

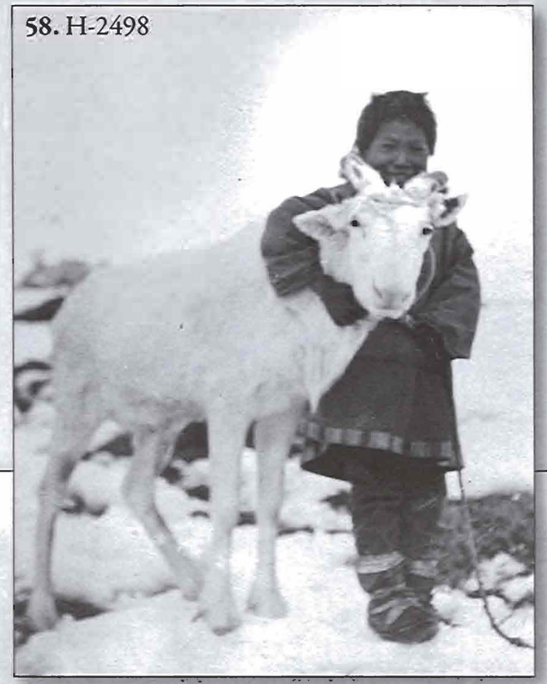


56. H-2493

54. H-394 Four Bristol Bay resident fishermen who lived in a small cluster of cabins about four miles upstream on the Alagnak River from Libby's Lockanok cannery, circa 1930. Oscar Rousseau (1883-?) originally from Canada, immigrated to Alaska about 1910. His brother was Charlie Rousseau. (Alaska Census 1910) These men fished in the Bristol Bay salmon fishery in the summer and trapped during the winter. (Monsen, Sr. interview: 1973-1994, March 1994) Left to right: Charlie Rousseau, Charlie Olson, Harry Langord and Oscar Rousseau. (Monsen, interview: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of Alex Tallekpalek.

55. H-1226 Two men stand on the frozen Kvichak or Alagnak rivers in front of Lockanok cannery and a massive ice jam that was pushed against the cannery dock and buildings, circa 1909-1913. The surge of ice was perhaps caused by a higher than usual tide. The mast without the boom is visible in front of the cannery building; the dock appears as if it was sheared off by the ice. The mast and boom were used to load and unload cargo, including slinging sailboats on and off the dock. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005)
Photo courtesy of Ray Schaleben.

56. H-2493 Diamond J storekeeper Arthur L. Agren took this picture, sometime after 1906, and probably before 1920, of four dog teams pulling large sleds along a frozen stream. A framed structure is on the right, and might have been part of a cannery complex. Since there were few if any spruce trees around Diamond J, the location is likely upriver on the lower Alagnak River near the Lockanok or Hallersville canneries. Before aircraft came into common use in the mid to late 1930s, winter travel by dog team was the easiest way to move around



58. H-2498



57. H-2494

the Bristol Bay country.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection PCA 35-37.

57. H-2494 Five reindeer hitched to sleds on a frozen river, probably either the Alagnak or Kvichak, soon after the Koggiung reindeer station was established in 1909. In 1909, 500 head of reindeer were driven from the Kokhanok reindeer station on Iliamna Lake to Koggiung village at Diamond J cannery. The Koggiung location was described as "ideal reindeer country," with patches of timber and much open tundra. Dr. Henry O. Schaleben, the husband of Koggiung schoolteacher Gertrude Schaleben, was superintendent of the reindeer station. (Unrau 1993: 471-472) Reindeer were barely adequate as draft animals and could not compare with the intelligence, strength, and stamina of sled dogs. (Breece 1995: 212-214)
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection PCA 35-25.

58. H-2498 An unidentified boy holds a white reindeer from the Koggiung reindeer herd, circa 1909-1915. The animal appears to be one that was used as a draft animal. Reindeer that pulled sleds frequently stopped along the trail to browse a snack of moss or brush and occasionally gored their herders. The reindeer were not at all like big strong sled dogs, and soon fell out of use in the region.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection PCA 35-19.



60. H-2485



59. H-2417



61. H-2486

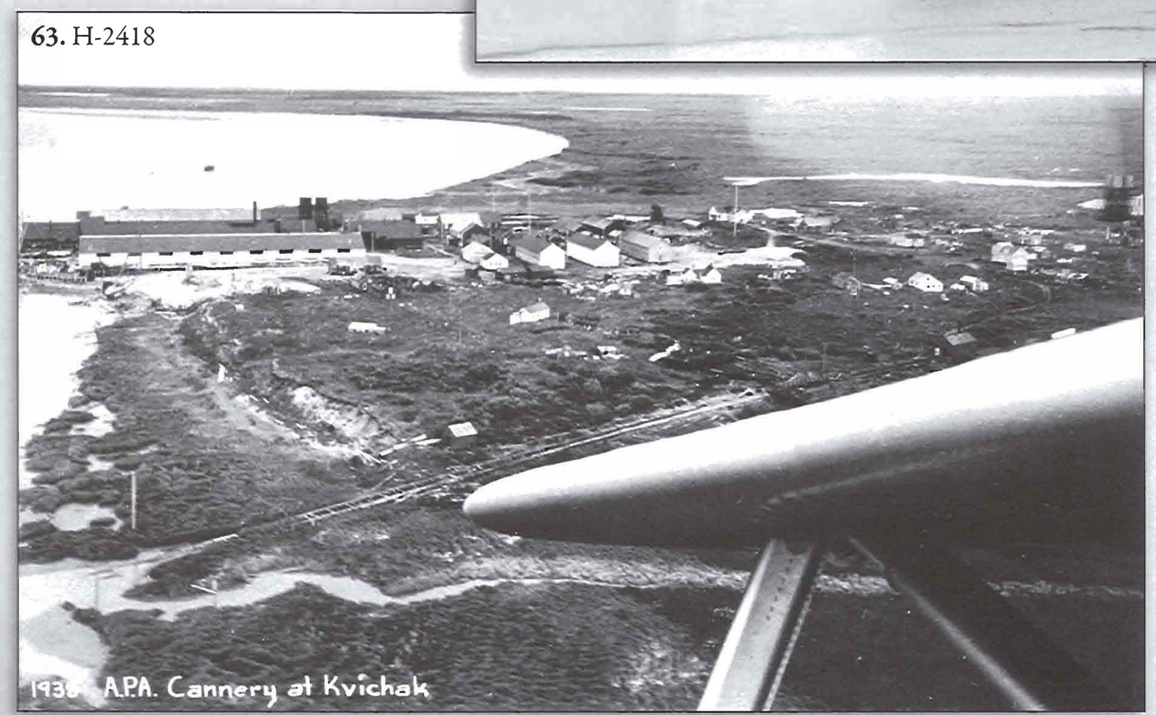
59. H-2417 A rare picture of Libby's Lockanok cannery in 1918, at the confluence of the Alagnak and Kvichak rivers, about five miles upstream from Koggiung. The men in view appear to be waiting, perhaps for dinner, at a mess hall. The other buildings are bunk houses, warehouses, and below the smokestacks, the cannery complex. (Tarrant letter: June 1995) The photograph appears to be looking toward the Kvichak River, with Hallersville to the right, about 1,000 feet upstream.
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.

60. H-2485 A circa 1906-1915 view of the Point Roberts Packing Company (APA) cannery, also known as Kvichak, Diamond J, and Koggiung, after the Yup'ik village it was built next to in 1896. (Unrau 1993: 265) Like many early Bristol Bay canneries, it began as a salmon saltery in 1894, and was converted to a cannery when its location was proven to be advantageous as a cannery site. Koggiung village is partly visible on the right, downstream from the cannery. Low water reveals the log pilings that support the dock and fish house, but most other plant buildings were built on shore. A current view of this location would show land with small willows and alders growing in front of the dock. The Kvichak River frequently shifts its channel, ripping out banks and depositing new gravel bars.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection, PCA 35-3.

61. H-2486 A view of Diamond J cannery as smoke stacks belch coal smoke, circa 1906-1915. The view reveals the sprawling scale of the cannery plant, with many of the warehouses being more than 200 feet long. Diamond J was perhaps the largest cannery on the Kvichak River and was long the favored place to fish for



62. H-2488



63. H-2418

the men from Nondalton until it ceased to operate in the mid-1950s.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection PCA 35-50.

62. H-2488 Bristol Bay double-enders on the beach, and scows and a pile driver ride at anchor on the Kvichak River, circa 1906-1915. A tug sits on the shipways. The ways are seen running from land, across the beach and into the river. Koggiung village lies beyond the tug, and Diamond J cannery is immediately beyond the village.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren PCA 35-52.

63. H-2418 A 1938 aerial view of the Alaska Packers Association (APA) Diamond J cannery and Koggiung village, looking up the east side of the Kvichak River. In the foreground are the remains of the Yup'ik village of Koggiung. The 1900 federal census counted 500 people living at the cannery and village during the height of the canning season. The shipsways are visible just above the aircraft wing, and Koggiung village is in the grassy area beyond the ways. The Russian Orthodox Church and burying ground are in the right center of the grassy village area. The 1919 influenza killed most of the Native adults. (Unrau 1993: 265, 297-298) Until the flu devastated Koggiung's adult population, it was perhaps the most important village on the east side of Bristol Bay. Today it is abandoned, and most of the cannery has burned, but many smaller outbuildings still stand. APA stopped canning at Diamond J in the mid-1950s. (Aspelund, Sr. interview: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.



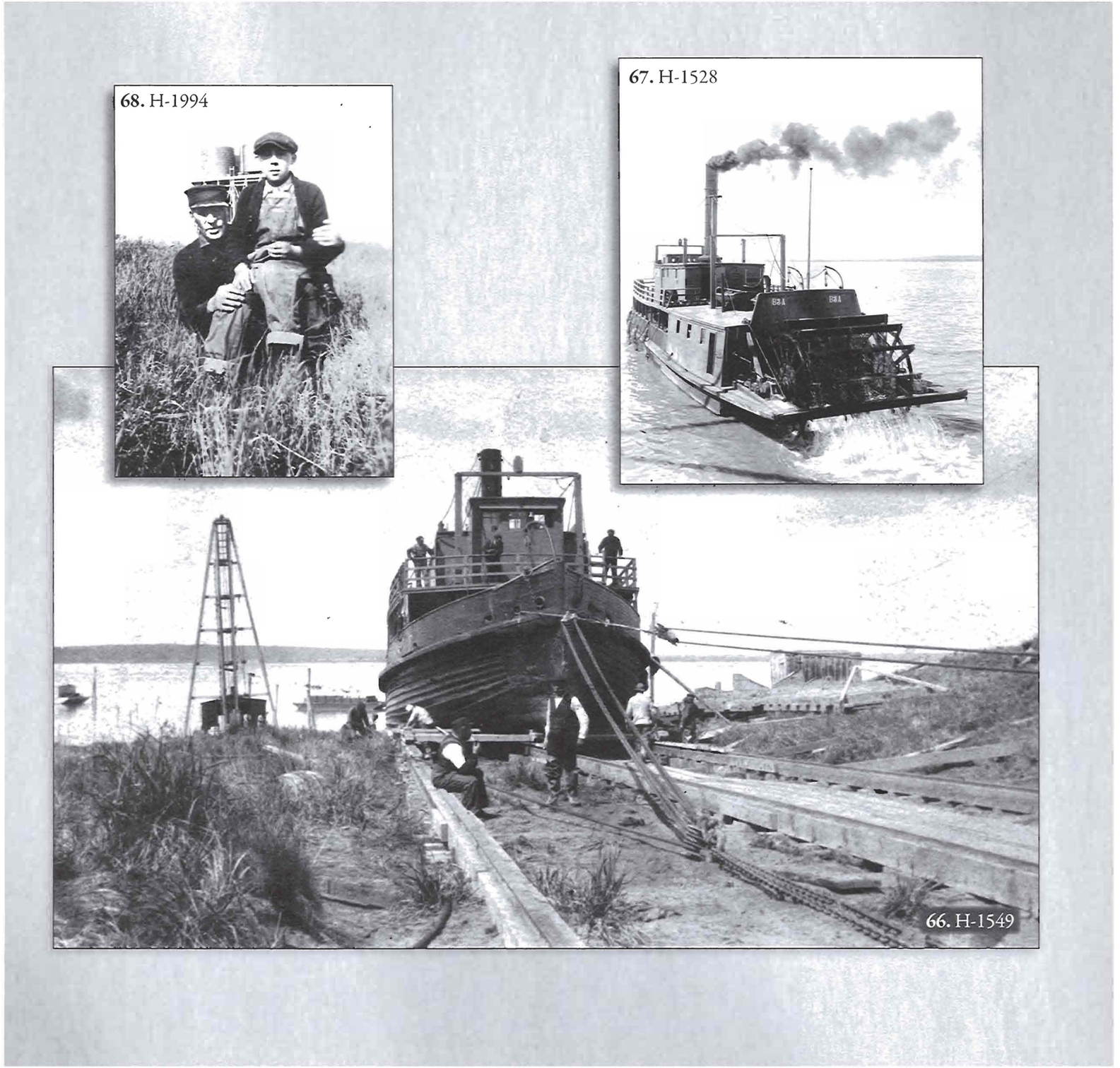
64. H-2480



65. H-2004 and H-2006

64. H-2480 A 1973 aerial view of Diamond J cannery on the Kvichak River with a landing strip in the center foreground. The abandoned Yup'ik village of Koggiung is in the open grassy area immediately left of the cannery. In the process of bulldozing the runway in the mid-1950s the old Koggiung school was demolished. (Victor Monsen interviews: 1973-1999)
Photo courtesy of George Hansen.

65. H-2004 and H-2006 A mid-1930s panorama of Koggiung village, left, and a portion of Diamond J cannery on the lower Kvichak River. The cannery superintendent lived in the white house on the river bank, seen on the right. A pile driver is seen to the left of the white house. Fenced-in gardens, and a livestock enclosure or cemetery, are visible on the left. The photo was taken from the cannery water tower, seen in extreme left foreground. Scows are on the shipways on the left, and just up river from the scows is another pile driver. In front of the pile driver, is the cemetery and Russian Orthodox Church, which is painted a dark color with white trim. The long building in the lower right is a bunkhouse. The view of the scene is toward the west side of Kvichak Bay. The river is about one mile wide in front of the cannery. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photos courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.



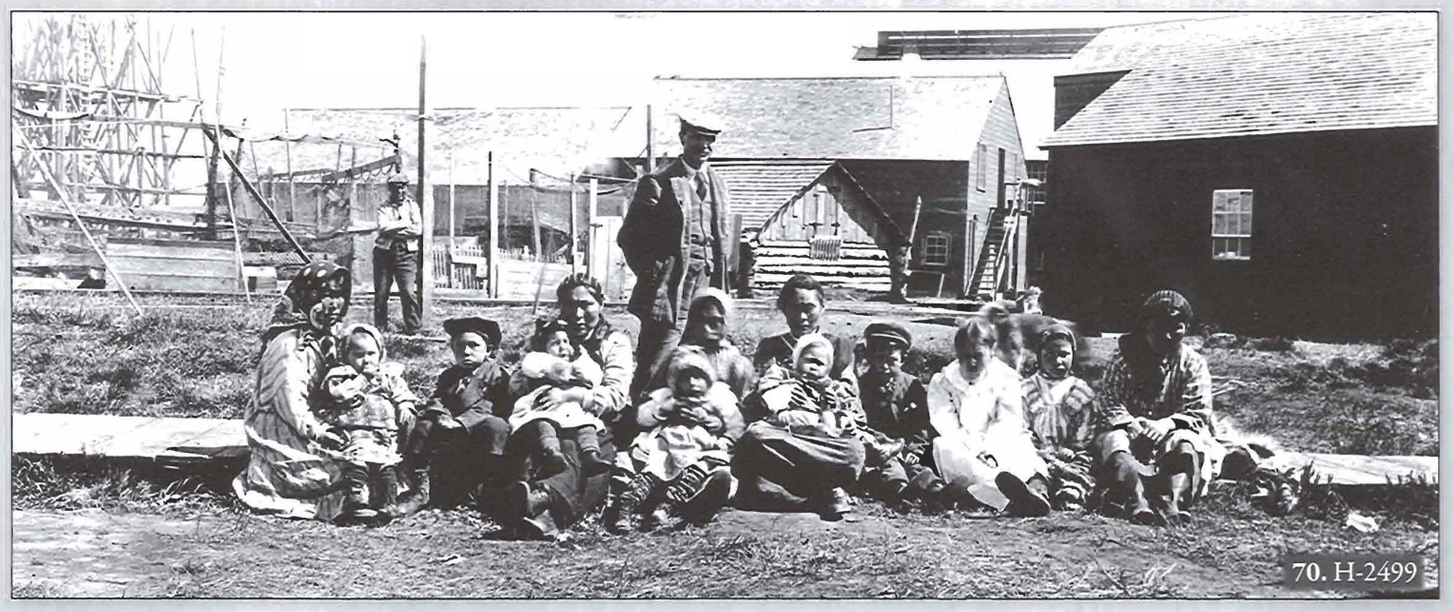
66. H-1549 The *Chenega* on the shipways at Diamond J cannery, circa 1920. The stern wheel paddleboat is probably being launched. Scows are at anchorage on the Kvichak River, and a pile driver is located to the left near below the *Chenega*. The ways were used for winter storage of scows and tugs. Vessels being moved were jacked up and dollies placed under them and moved along the tracks on ways powered by a steam powered donkey engine.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

67. H-1528 The *Chenega* moves along the lower Kvichak River near Diamond J cannery in 1917. The ship was used in cannery operations to support the fleet, perhaps as a bunk scow. The S.F. below *Chenega* stands for San Francisco, the corporate headquarters of the Alaska Packers Association, which owned the cannery.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4252.

68. H-1994 Bristol Bay cannery man Theodore "Svoger" Nelson (1867-?) holding his son Allen in front of the water tank tower at Diamond J cannery, circa 1920. "Svoger" was from Sweden and married a Yup'ik woman, Helena, from Koggiung village. (Tibbetts interview: Nov. 2002) Across the Kvichak River from Diamond J cannery is a small slough known as Svoger Slough. Svoger, which comes from the word svager means "brother-in-law" in Swedish, and the slough was likely named for Svoger Nelson. (McNabb interview: Jan. and March 2006)
Photo courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.



69. H-388



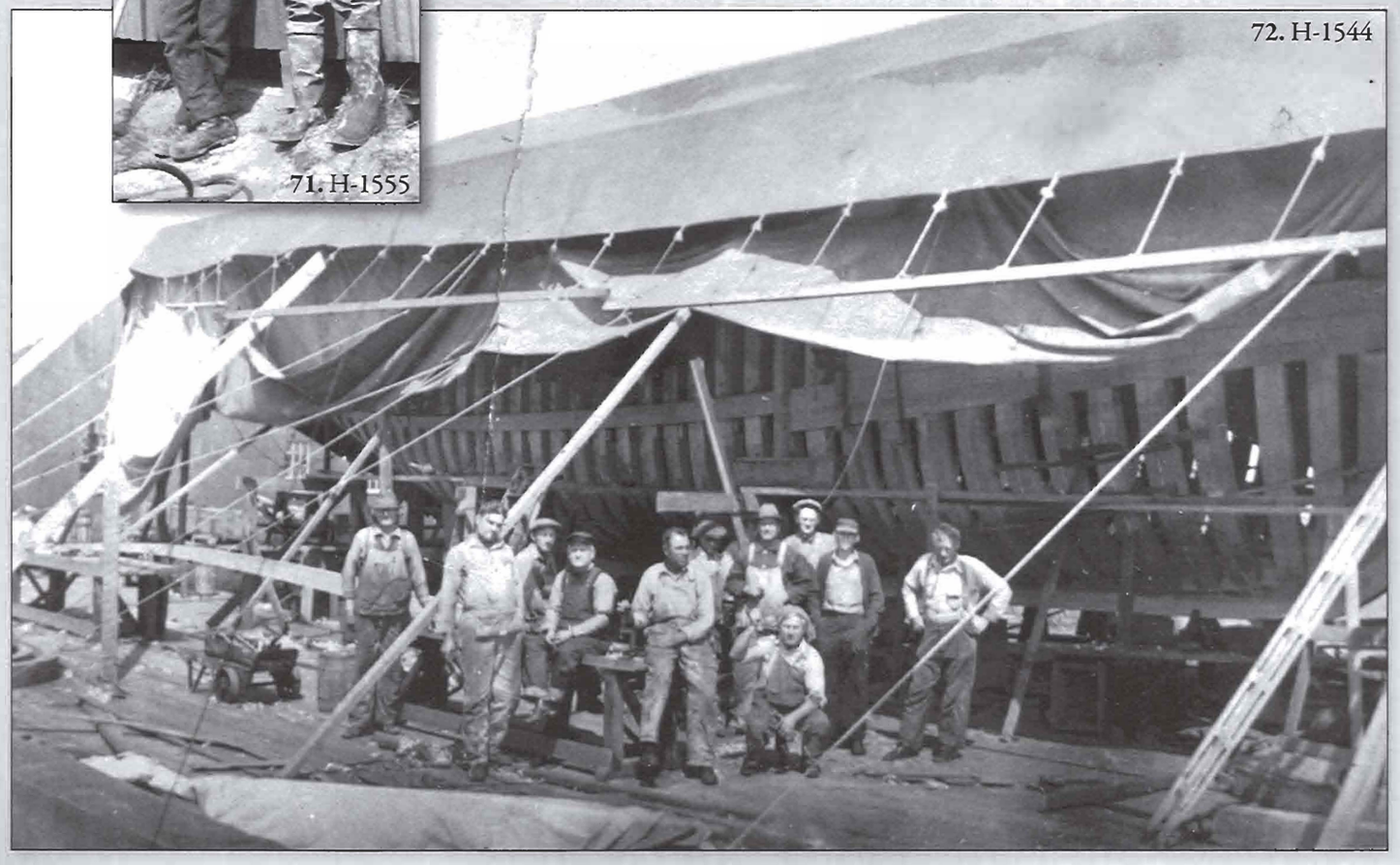
70. H-2499

69. H-388 A man and a woman play an accordion and a ukulele in front of a framed cabin at Koggiung, circa 1922. (Tallekpalek interview: Aug. 1998 and May 2006) Their names are not known for certain, but an informant thought the man might be Evan Newatk and the woman Molly Ekubuk. (Brown interview: Nov. 2006) Local people obtained lumber and other building materials, such as windows, doors, and sheet iron siding from canneries through purchases, as gifts, or from salvage. They then re-adapted the materials for use in dwellings, cabins, smokehouses and steam baths, many times in their own distinct style. In addition to building materials, Native people obtained musical instruments from cannery workers or at cannery stores.
Photo courtesy of Alex Tallekpalek.

70. H-2499 A group of Koggiung mothers and children sit on a boardwalk at the Diamond J cannery, circa 1906-1916. The Euroamerican standing behind them could be H. C. Jensen, superintendent for the Koggiung canneries (Diamond J and Diamond X). Perhaps the people were waiting for the mess hall or store to open for business. The netting in the background may have enclosed a vegetable garden. The log building, center rear, with framed gable end, shows an interesting mix of local materials in the midst of the cannery complex.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection PCA 35-183.



71. H-1555



72. H-1544

71. H-1555 Diamond J winter watchman Charlie Herrmann (1890?-1959), left, with an unidentified cannery worker, circa 1930. Herrmann was an accomplished boat builder and mechanic. The men stand in front of a corrugated sheet-iron-clad building at the cannery. Sheet iron was the standard covering for Bristol Bay canneries, and it became dispersed throughout the Bristol Bay hinterlands as the most durable roofing material for far flung trapping cabins. However, the more remote a trapping cabin was away from the major drainages of the Naknek, Kvichak and Nushagak Rivers the less likely it was that cabin would be roofed with sheet iron. These more distant cabins were more often covered with sod, whip sawed boards or a combination of sod and canvas. Some roofs even sported five-gallon tin gas cans which were flattened and used as shingles.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

72. H-1544 A wooden tug, *Quail,* being constructed at Diamond J cannery about 1942. (Herrmann interview: Feb. 2000) Charlie Herrmann, a renowned boat builder, constructed the *Quail,* which is still operating from Anacortes, Washington, using its original Atlas Imperial diesel engine. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006) Diamond J was built in 1896 at Koggiung, a Yup'ik village, and was the most important village on the east side of the Bristol Bay until the outbreak of 1919 Spanish flu epidemic, which caused the death of many of the adults at Koggiung. Charlie Herrmann is probably the man on the right. Not only was he an accomplished shipwright, but he also built exquisite model ships.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.



73. H-1552



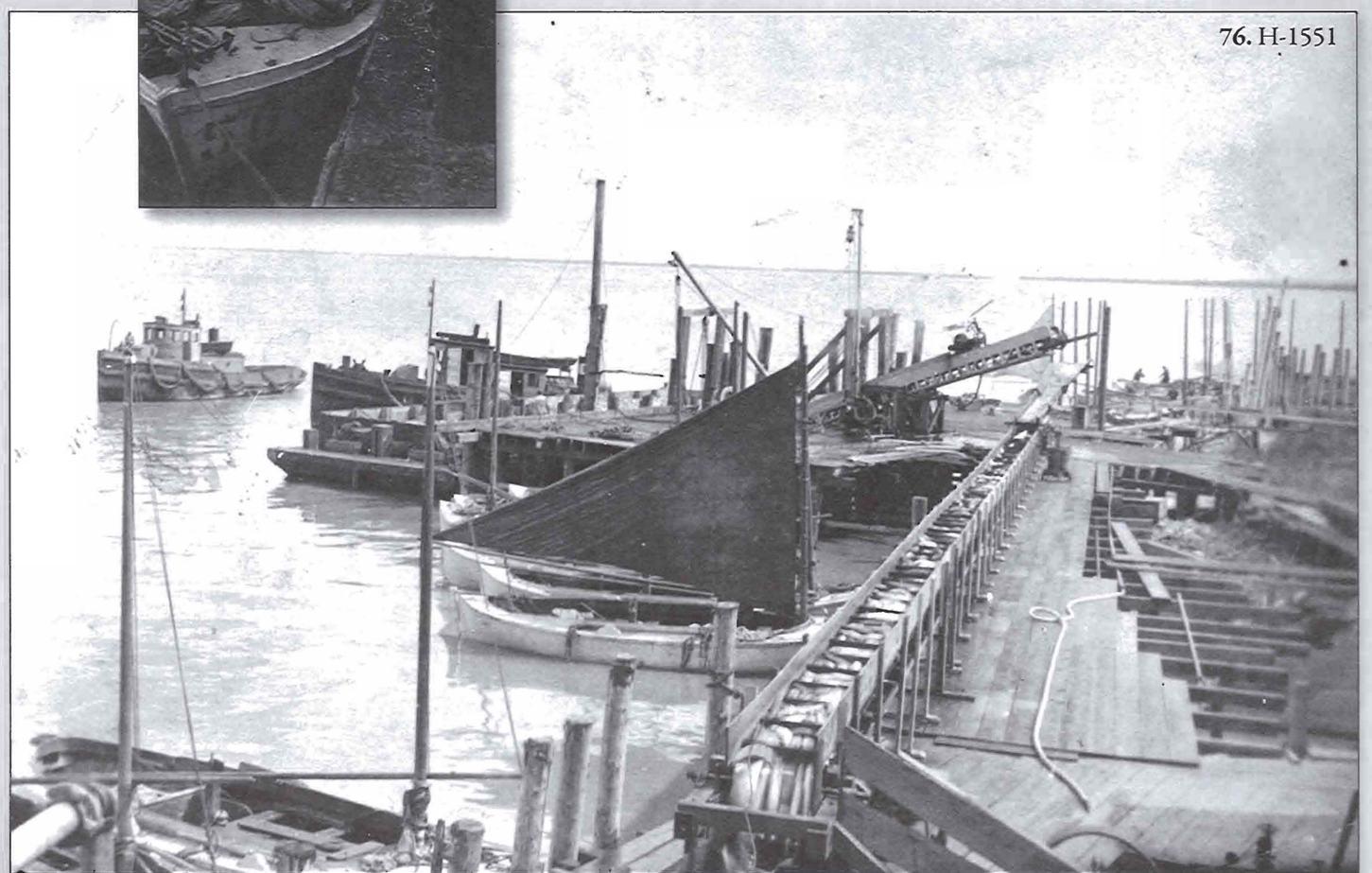
74. H-1550

73. H-1552 Diamond J superintendent Fred Butler, left, with an unidentified beach gang "boss," and some of the beach gang on the dock on the lower Kvichak River in the 1930s-1940s. (Herrmann interview: Feb. and Sept. 2000 and July 2001) In the background on the river are a number of Bristol Bay sailboats off loading their catch onto an anchored tally scow. An insulated steam pipe runs above the men. The beach gang launched scows, and ships, unloaded tenders, launched fishing boats, and collected fish from boats at the dock. Then, at the conclusion of the season, they put all the tugs, scows, and boats back on the shipways and in warehouses for safe keeping during the winter months.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

74. H-1550 A 1930s view of cannery workers at Diamond J shows the diverse ethnic make-up of the Bristol Bay cannery work force. The only identified individual is beach boss Billy Solgren, standing third from right, holding a tarp or blanket. (Hermann interview: Sept. 2000 and July 2001) From the very first Bristol Bay cannery at Kanulik, in 1884, the industry drew people from the Americas, Europe, and Asia to the Bay's icy waters in search of work and adventure. These arrivals intermingled with Bristol Bay Natives, creating a unique Alaskan lifestyle that revolved around the red salmon. Salmon was the keystone species that supported human existence in the Bristol Bay from time immemorial, directly supporting summer fishing, both commercial and subsistence. Indirectly, salmon also formed the underpinnings of the rich Bristol Bay uplands ecosystem that supported a robust fishing, hunting, and trapping culture.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.



75. H-1998



76. H-1551

75. H-1998 Allen Nelson (1911-2001), right, from Koggiung village, pews fish with an unidentified partner on the Kvichak River near Diamond J and Diamond X canneries, sometime in the 1930s. The fish bins are full, the mast is up with the sail lowered to the bow; the anchor lies on the bow, and the oars, boom, and sprit are lying on the starboard sides of the boat. The net is piled in the stern and the tiller leans against the comb in the stern. Boats could carry 2,000 red salmon, averaging 5 to 6 pounds per fish, for an approximate weight of 12,000 pounds. (Johnson, Sr. interview: June 2006) It is reported that some overloaded boats carrying as many as 3,000 to 3,500 red salmon would barely float with 18,000 pounds. (Monsen, Sr. interview: June 2006)
Photo courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.

76. H-1551 A busy dockside view, probably at Diamond J, during the typically hectic Bristol Bay commercial salmon season, circa 1930. A flat scow is off-loading salmon into a mechanical elevator that drops the fish onto another conveyor in the center that carries the fish into the cannery for processing. Meanwhile, two tugs are on the left, and one is tied next to the flat scow that it towed in from the fishing grounds on Kvichak Bay. Fish boats are tied to the dock on the left, in the center, and on the right center. The sailboat in the center has the mainsail up and is rigged with mast and boom, but the diagonally placed sprit is absent.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.



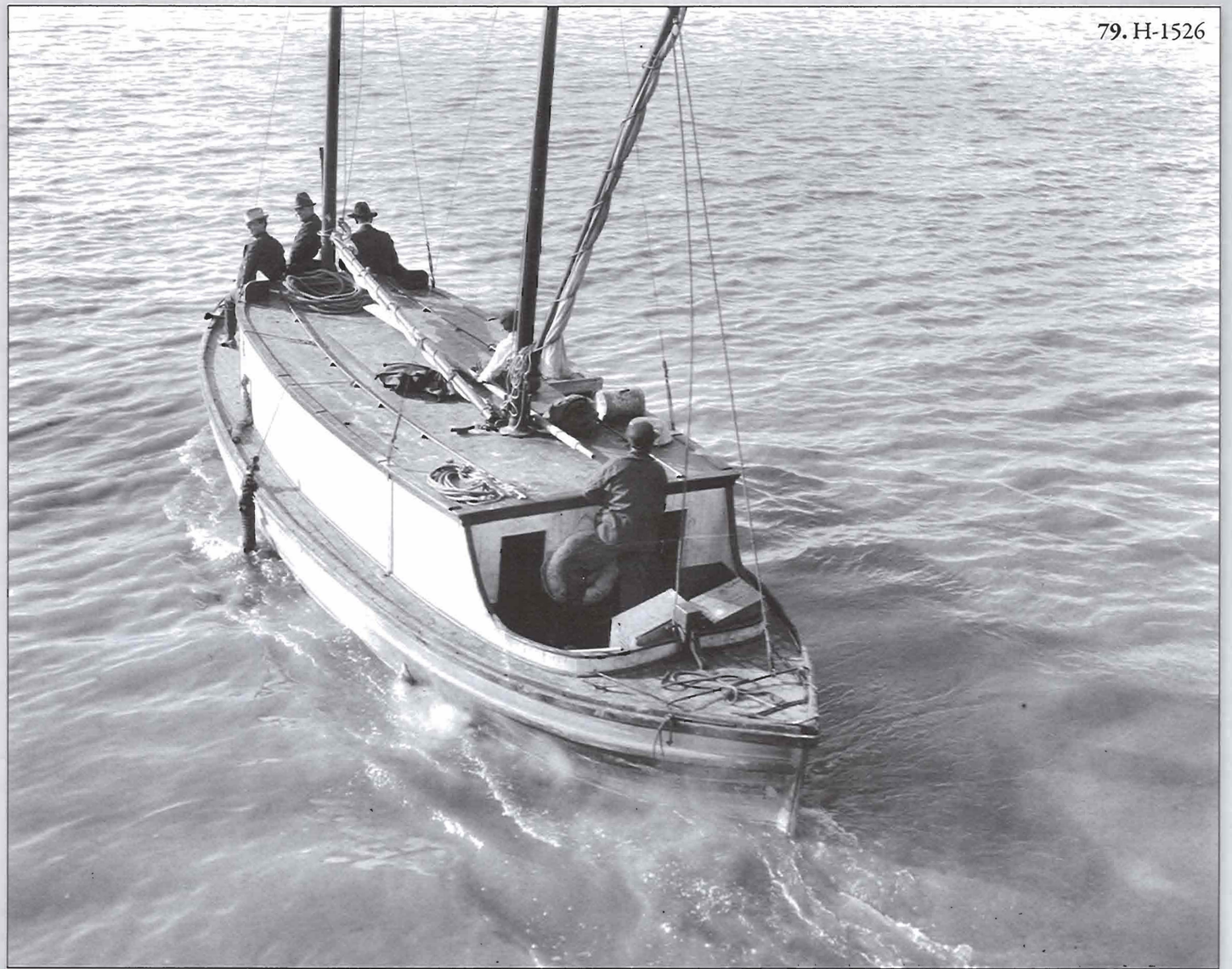
77. H-1997



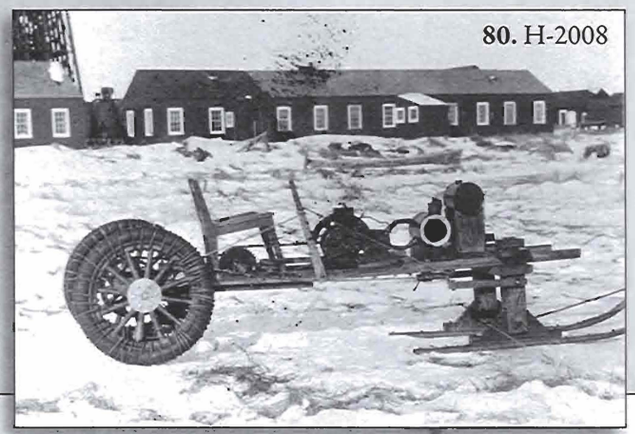
78. H-2000

77. H-1997 Double-enders fish on a nearly becalmed Kvichak Bay, circa 1930s. There are fish in the bin from a previous set; cedar floats keep the net afloat awaiting it to start "smoking" when a school of salmon hit and the fury begins.
Photo courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.

78. H-2000 A double-ender races along with the wind on Kvichak Bay in the 1930s. The photograph was taken by Diamond J fisherman Allen Nelson.
Photo H-2000 courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.



79. H-1526 Herman Gartlemann, right, (1871-1923) sails the *Katie G.* on the Kvichak River in 1917. The boat was named in honor of his daughter, Katie, who was the half-sister of the late life-long Bristol Bay resident Herman Herrmann of Naknek. The identities of the three men sitting on the bow are not known. Gartlemann was an owner of a roadhouse on the spit at Iliamna that was referred to by George S. Parks in 1914 as Brown's Roadhouse; by 1923 it was called Severseн's Roadhouse. The spot is now present-day Iliamna village. The *Katie G.* had two masts and two booms. The forward mast rests on the cabin roof while the aft mast has its sail furled and is ready for use. Later, Frederick Roehl, Sr. of Old Iliamna acquired the *Katie G.* and renamed it the *Marie R.* in honor of his daughter Marie (1902-2005) who married Hugh Millett. (Roehl, Jr. and Anna Roehl, Jr. interviews: June and July 1998)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4291.



80. H-2008



81. H-2002

80. H-2008 An early form of snow machine at Diamond J cannery on the lower Kvichak River, circa 1930. In the background are cannery buildings, perhaps bunkhouses and part of the timbers supporting a freshwater tower. *Photo courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.*

81. H-2002 Allen Nelson astride two tugboats in Kvichak Bay, circa 1930. The tug boats were used to tow flat scows to and from the cannery and also to haul becalmed Bristol Bay sail boats to and from the fishing grounds. The tugs belong to APA, owners of Diamond X and Diamond J canneries, where Nelson fished and lived. Large tugs like these were often powered by Atlas diesel engines. After the season they were pulled up on shipways for winter storage. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005) *Photo courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.*



82. H-1527 An unidentified stake set-netter with his catch, in 1917, probably near Koggiung on the Kvichak River. The raised stake net was also used in Nushagak Bay in 1900. (Moser 1902) One advantage of the raised net would have been cleaner fish, rather than those coated with Bristol Bay mud. In the background center is a pile driver gin, and at right, a flat scow at anchor.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collection, Cobb 4181.



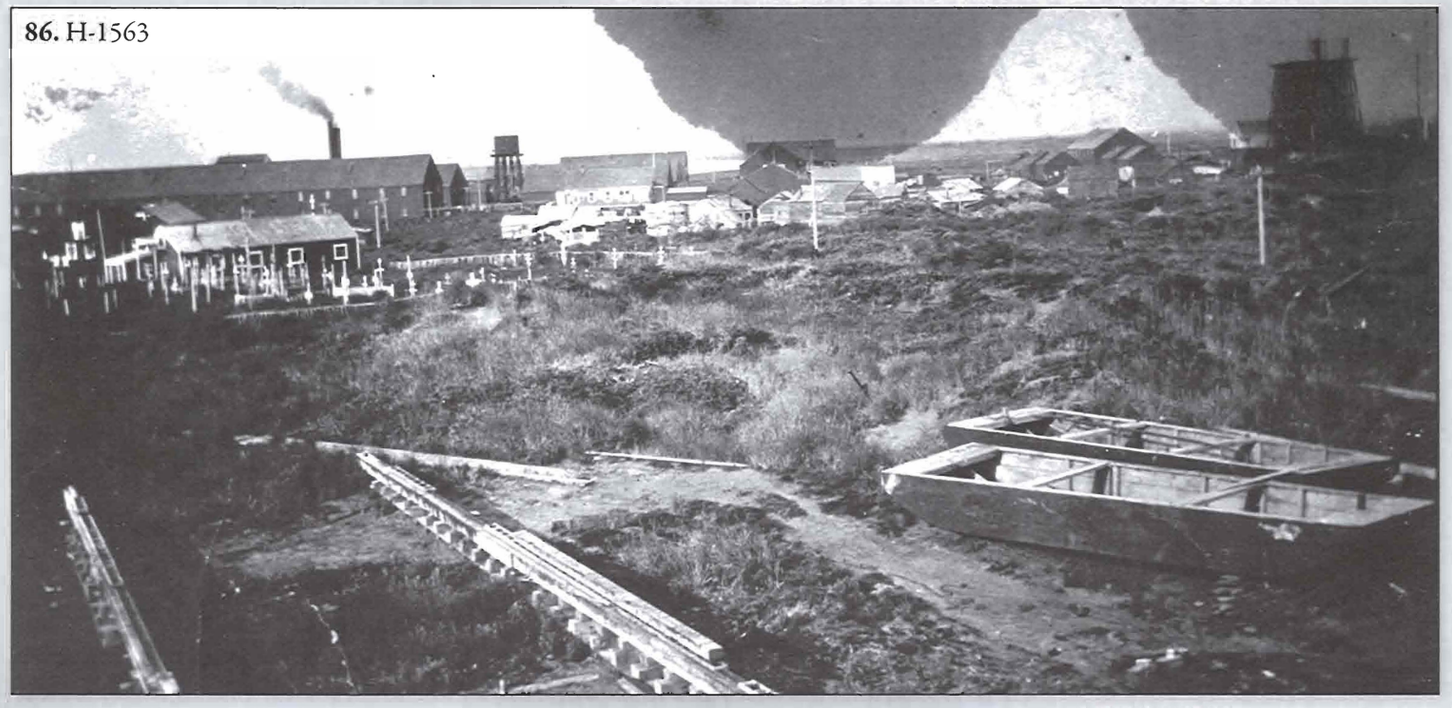
83. H-1443 Terry Gill (1910?-1986?) holds the tail of a small beluga whale at Koggiung village in 1948 or 1949. Gill was a winter watchman at Diamond J cannery at the time. Later, he and his wife, Victoria, had a small cabin at Port Alsworth and placer mined in the Bonanza Hills near the headwaters of the Mulchatna River. On the left, a cannery building with smokestacks stands in the background. A shingled residence is behind Gill. Beluga whales are a part of the Bristol Bay ecosystem and have been hunted by Natives from kayaks for, perhaps, thousands of years; part of the whale's diet is juvenile salmon as they swim out to sea.
Photo courtesy of the Vantrease and Wilder Family Collections.



84. H-1522



85. H-1566



86. H-1563

84. H-1522 The hospital at the Alaska Packing Association's Diamond J cannery was staffed by Dr. Isaac B. Wilson and an assistant. This hospital provided much needed succor during the 1919 Spanish flu pandemic. Most of the adult Natives of Koggiung perished during the flu, and the Alaska Packers' doctor and nurses comforted the dying and nursed the ill and the orphans. Between May 25 and June 16, 1919, thirty nine people died of the flu at Koggiung. By mid-August, sixteen Koggiung orphans were transferred by APA boat to an orphanage in Dillingham on Nushagak Bay, run by the U.S. Bureau of Education. (Unrau 1992: 298)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collection, UW 18712.

85. H-1566 The "white house" at Koggiung in the 1920s or 1930s with an unidentified man in view. This well-built house was the summer home of the cannery superintendent. Large canneries, such as Diamond J, usually had at least two winter watchmen who had their own houses.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

86. H-1563 An example of the often close proximity of Bristol Bay Native villages with late nineteenth century and early twentieth century American industrial landscape as seen in this view of Koggiung village and Diamond J cannery, circa 1920. Bristol Bay tidewater Native villages occupied favorable locations, handy to freshwater with easy boat access, and so canneries often located next to villages or on top of older villages. Two examples of the latter circumstance were Libbyville in 1913 and Columbia River Packers Association in South Naknek in 1937. (*Seward Gateway* 1922; Smith interview: Jan. 1998) The Russian Orthodox Church and graveyard and the shipways and flat scows are seen on the



88. H-2434

87. H-1129

right. The salmon cannery is in the background, with billowing smoke rising from a smokestack and water towers dominate the landscape. Even today, a water tower at Diamond J provides relief on an otherwise low horizon for travelers approaching the Bering Sea coast from the north.
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

87. H-1129 Bristol Bay fisherman, Joe Huard (1905-1983), holds his son Adelard at Koggiung about 1937. A wind charger rises to the rear of the house on the right. Huard was an excellent sailor and fished for salmon in a Bristol Bay sailboat for many years. (Andree *in* Reardon July and Aug.1986) He was also a very good trapper and, later in life, Huard started Fisherman's Bar in Naknek. Huard was a great storyteller, regaling patrons about his logging days in Maine and his trapping and fishing days in the Bristol Bay country during the 1930s and 1940s. Huard was born in Paspebiac, Quebec, near Bathurst, New Brunswick where he learned to sail. (Smith interview: June 2006)
P*hoto courtesy of the Norm Staden Family.*

88. H-2434 The caption below the photograph reads "Cannery hands getting ready to go aboard ship, Koggiung, Alaska." It appears that the Chinese laborers are on the APA tug *Kvichak* and will be transferred to a sailing ship for the return voyage to San Francisco Bay, circa 1898. In spite of the enormous role Chinese laborers played in the early days of the Bristol Bay fishing, which included soldering cans, butchering fish, packing cans with raw salmon, and removing them from retorts, very few photographs exist of Chinese workers in the Bay. (Unrau 1993: 257-268)
Photo courtesy of the H. M. Wetherbee Collection 866-117, Archives, Alaska and Polar Region Collections, Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.







89. H-1276 Koggiung in 1939. Left to right: Herbie Herrmann, Henry Herrmann, Hermie Herrmann, Elizabeth Herrmann and Babe Alsworth stand on a frozen tundra pond in front of a ski-equipped Stinson SR-JR. Elizabeth was a granddaughter of John W. Clark, one of the first Euroamericans to become a permanent resident of the Bristol Bay. Clark was actively engaged in the commercial salmon industry from the 1880s until his death of fish poisoning in 1896. Babe Alsworth flew for Herman Herrmann for a time from Koggiung before moving to Lake Clark in 1942. (Butkovich interview: 1992)
Photo courtesy of Violet Willson.

90. H-1564 Henry Herrmann sits on the Diamond J cannery superintendent's car, a 1923 Ford Model T-Runabout, in 1928. (Rogers letter: Dec. 2005) The cannery superintendent managed both Diamond J and Diamond X canneries, which were about 3 miles apart. The superintendent traveled in the car over a 2x12 Douglas fir plank elevated road that connected the two plants. (Pike e-mail: Jan. 2007)
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

91. H-2407 A cannery work crew appears to be doing maintenance on the 2x12 plank road that connected Diamond J and Diamond X canneries in 1950. The road was about three miles long and is a testament to the tremendous amount of first rate lumber that was brought to the Bristol Bay region by the canning industry. The trusses in some buildings at Diamond NC cannery at Clark's Point were 2x12s or 2x14s and 80 feet long with hardly a knot. (Breiby e-mail: March 2007) The photograph was taken by Terry Gill while he was one of the winter watchmen at Diamond J. In places the road was slightly elevated above the tundra.
Photo courtesy of Margaret Alsworth Clum.



92. H-1560



93. H-2462



94. H-967

92. H-1560 Charley Anderson (1921-1985) at Lockanok or Coffee Creek, circa 1929. (*Anchorage Times* March 1985) Anderson was born at Coffee Creek cannery where his father Emil Erik Anderson (1880-?) was winter watchman. In 1915, the elder Anderson was reported to be a skipper on Alaska Packers sailing ships between San Francisco and Bristol Bay. Erik Anderson was a Swedish-Finn who first came to the bay in 1912. (Anderson interview: Feb. 2007) The Andersons moved to Naknek in 1933 and, later, Charley became winter watchman for Red Salmon cannery. (Siler interview and letter: Jan. 2006)
Photo courtesy of Helen and Henry Herrmann.

93. H-2462 Charley Anderson steers his Bristol Bay sailboat in the Naknek-Kvichak district, during the 1940s. The iron lever seen in the lower center of the image was used to raise or lower the center-board for the boat.
Photo courtesy of Rosalie Anderson Siler.

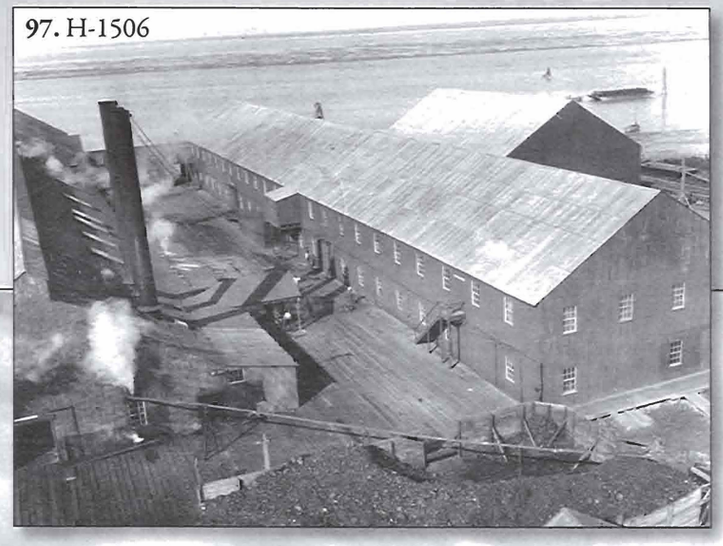
94. H-967 A dog team poses for a summer time photograph at the winter watchman's house at Coffee Creek, Diamond X cannery on the lower Kvichak River, circa 1920s. In the early twentieth century most Bristol Bay canneries had a number of winter residents living in and around them. Through the years, Coffee Creek cannery suffered from fire and a major change in the Kvichak River channel, likely in the late 1920s, which silted-up in front of the cannery dock, blocking scows from off-loading fish. In the early 1930s, a wooden dock extension or trestle, at least a quarter-mile long, made with 2x12 Douglas fir planks, supported gas powered jitneys which pulled 4x6 or 4x8 foot fish-laden carts from the slough. Here scows could off-load to the cannery fish house for processing. (Alvin Aspelund, Sr. interview: Jan.



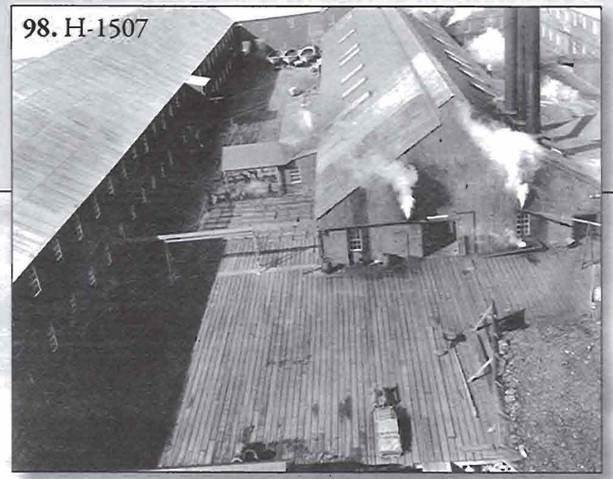
95. H-2003

2007; Pike e-mail: Jan. 2007) At the end of the season the wooden cases of canned salmon were moved over the trestle, five at a time, on oak framed hand trucks, from the cannery to the end, where they were loaded on scows. Men who pushed the hand trucks got a very considerable workout, walking a half mile per round trip. (Anderson interview: Feb. 2007)
Photo courtesy of Mary Jane and Matt Davey.

95. H-2003 Diamond X cannery in the winter, circa 1930. Two cannery warehouses are on the right, a pile driver is in the center right, and the Coffee Creek residences are in the center. A small graveyard was to the right of the houses, out of view. A trestle (next photograph) was built about 1930 by Pete Stadem, who drove the pilings and oversaw the construction. The trestle was decked with 2x12 Douglas fir planks and it went out over the tundra away from the cannery, at least a quarter mile, to the south east, to a slough where scows could be off loaded. (Anderson interview: Feb. 2007; Johnson, Sr. interview: Jan. 2007) The runway was built on 4x6 wooden posts to which 6x8, 28 to 32 foot Douglas fur stringers were attached. (Wilson interview: Jan. 2007) It was reported that the late Naknek resident Herbie Herrmann landed a Taylor Craft on the wooden runway in the early 1950s. (Aspelund, Sr. interview: Jan. 2007) Note some of the houses in the center of the image are perilously close to the river bank, and small sheds appear to be on the verge of falling into the river. With the coming of World War II and the huge logistical challenges, remote Coffee Creek made its last pack in 1941.
Photo courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.



97. H-1506



98. H-1507

96. H-2482

96. H-2482 A 1973 view of Diamond X cannery taken from the dilapidated trestle looking into the plant. The water tank tower is visible on the right. Three smokestacks mark the location of the fire room. Until a fire swept through the cannery in 2005, a large pile of coal had remained that had been intended to power the cannery complex. The trestle connected the dock on a slough southeast of the cannery where the fish were delivered by scow, to the fish house in the plant, about a quarter mile away. (Johnson, Sr. interview: Jan. 2007) *Photo courtesy of George Hansen.*

97. H-1506 A view of Diamond X cannery in 1917 showing the lower Kvichak River with a tally scow at anchorage and sail boats. The coal bin that supplied the cannery boiler house is on the lower right, and three large smoke stacks are in view. The cavernous size of the sheet iron-covered buildings, full of pulley-driven equipment and powered by coal fired steam boilers, indicates the extensive scale of the cannery industry in the Bristol Bay. Photo courtesy of the University of Washington *Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4300-3.*

98. H-1507 Diamond X cannery at Coffee Creek in 1917. The cannery was first built in 1900 by the Kvichak Packing Company, part of the Alaska Packers Association, on Bear Slough about three miles downstream from Diamond J. The cannery burned in 1906, rebuilt in 1908 and operated until 1914. The abandoned cannery was consumed by fire in 2005. This cannery complex is yet another example of the vast amounts of high grade lumber and sheet iron siding that Bristol Bay canneries used. Three Bristol Bay sailboats are seen between two buildings; the coal bunker is in the lower right corner and steam vents from pipes near the



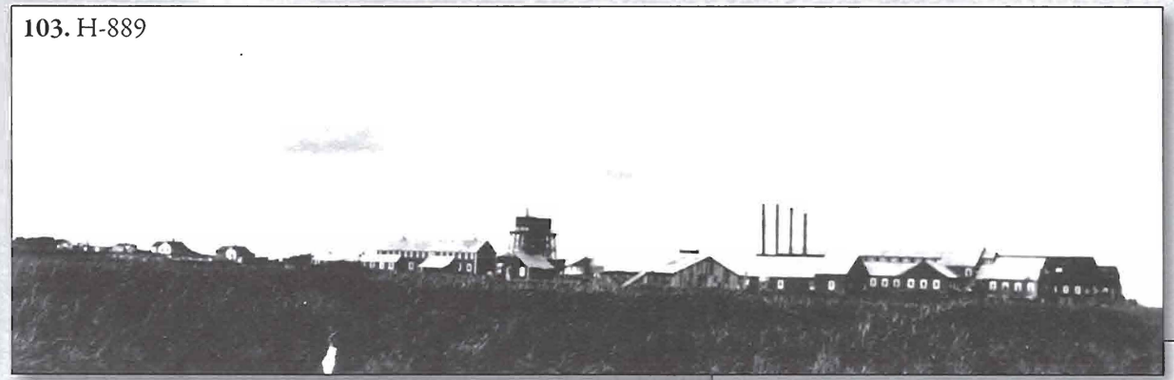
boiler house that supplied the cannery with electricity. Three large smokestacks are on the right side of the boiler house and the sign over the wide open door reads "Fire Room." Pictured in the center, are several galvanized steel trays used to hold canned salmon while they are cooked in retorts, giant pressure cookers.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb, 4299-2.

99. H-2481 A 1973 aerial view of Diamond X cannery showing the vegetated sandbar in front of the cannery that necessitated the trestle to be constructed so fish could be hauled into the plant. Beyond is the Kvichak River with the Nakeen cannery in view on the north side of the river.
Photo courtesy of George Hansen.

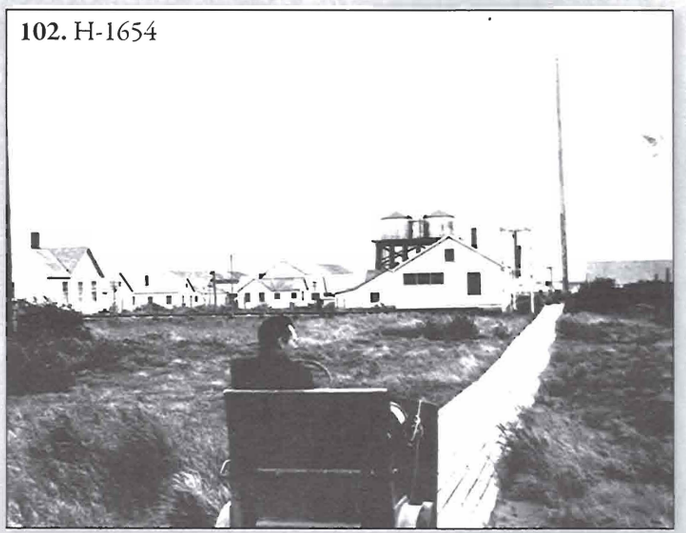
100. H-1509 A 1917 view of Diamond X cannery with houses in the upper center of this image. Boardwalks over tundra were standard for walking between Bristol Bay cannery buildings. A flat scow is at anchor off Coffee Creek "village." Coffee Creek was a creation of the cannery and it was only three miles downriver from the Yup'ik village of Koggiung where Diamond J cannery was located. The mess hall was located in the middle building on the left, and the bunk houses are shown in the upper left and upper right of the image.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4301-4.



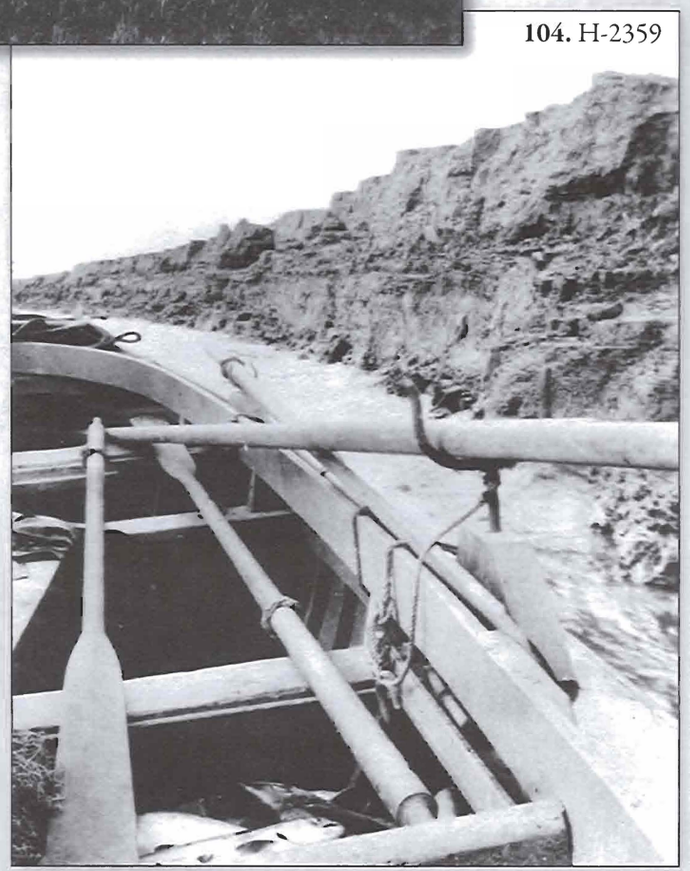
101. H-2475 The stern wheel steamer *Sayak* lies at anchor at a fish trap operated by Alaska Packers Association near Graveyard Point at the mouth of the Kvichak River in 1900. There was also a saltery on Graveyard Creek, owned by Olsen & Company, which was purchased by the Alaska Fisherman's Packing Company in 1910 and transformed into what would be known as Libby's Graveyard cannery or Libby's Koggiung. (MacDonald 1951: 60)
Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 22-FF-A2537.



103. H-889



102. H-1654



104. H-2359

102. H-1654 An unidentified man drives a jitney on a boardwalk at the Libby, McNeill & Libby Graveyard cannery in 1964. (Johnson, Sr. letter: Dec. 2005) Cannery buildings are seen on the left and center with water tower and tanks and a wireless antenna on the right. Boardwalks were necessary because most Bristol Bay canneries were built on tundra. A water or sewer pipeline is visible running across in the middle of the image. (Alvin Aspelund, Sr. letter: March 2006) *Photo courtesy of Violet Wilson.*

103. H-889 A late 1930s view of Libby's Koggiung at Graveyard Creek, between the mouth of the Naknek and Kvichak rivers. (Aspelund, Sr. interview: May 2006) The view is looking south. A few miles to the southeast was Libbyville, then the Bristol Bay Packing Company cannery at Pedersen Point, and a few miles farther to the south was the mouth of the Naknek River. In the early years of the cannery a narrow gauge railroad was used to transport salmon from tally scows into the cannery complex. Later, scows off-loaded at the dock in Graveyard Creek onto an elevated conveyor line. Besides the cannery operations, Libby's also ran a saltery at Graveyard. (Alvin Aspelund, Sr. interview: March 2007) *Photo courtesy of Dottie and Frank Hill.*

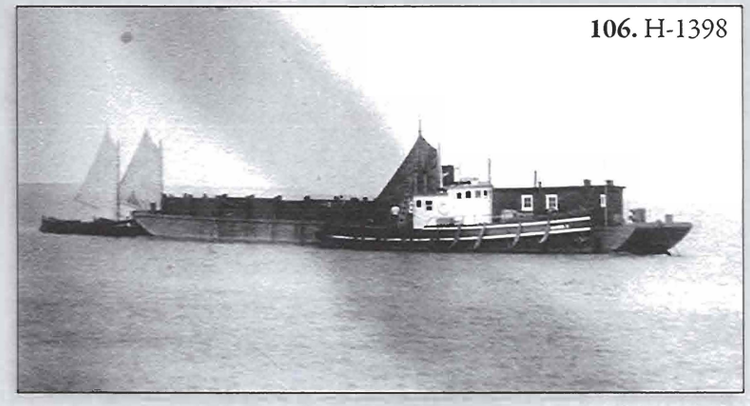
104. H-2359 A double-ender travels through the Cut Bank, as seen on the right. It was between Graveyard and Libbyville canneries on Kvichak Bay where strong tides and a swift relentless current constantly cut away at the bank. When salmon schooled against the bank it was very good, but very fast fishing, with nets sinking in a few "smoking" minutes. Some fishermen from Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery made their season by making a few very big catches along Cut Bank. The



105. H-1323

over-sized oar lock, right, was used to hold the spars, such as the mast and boom, when not in use.
Photo courtesy of Helena Seversen Moses.

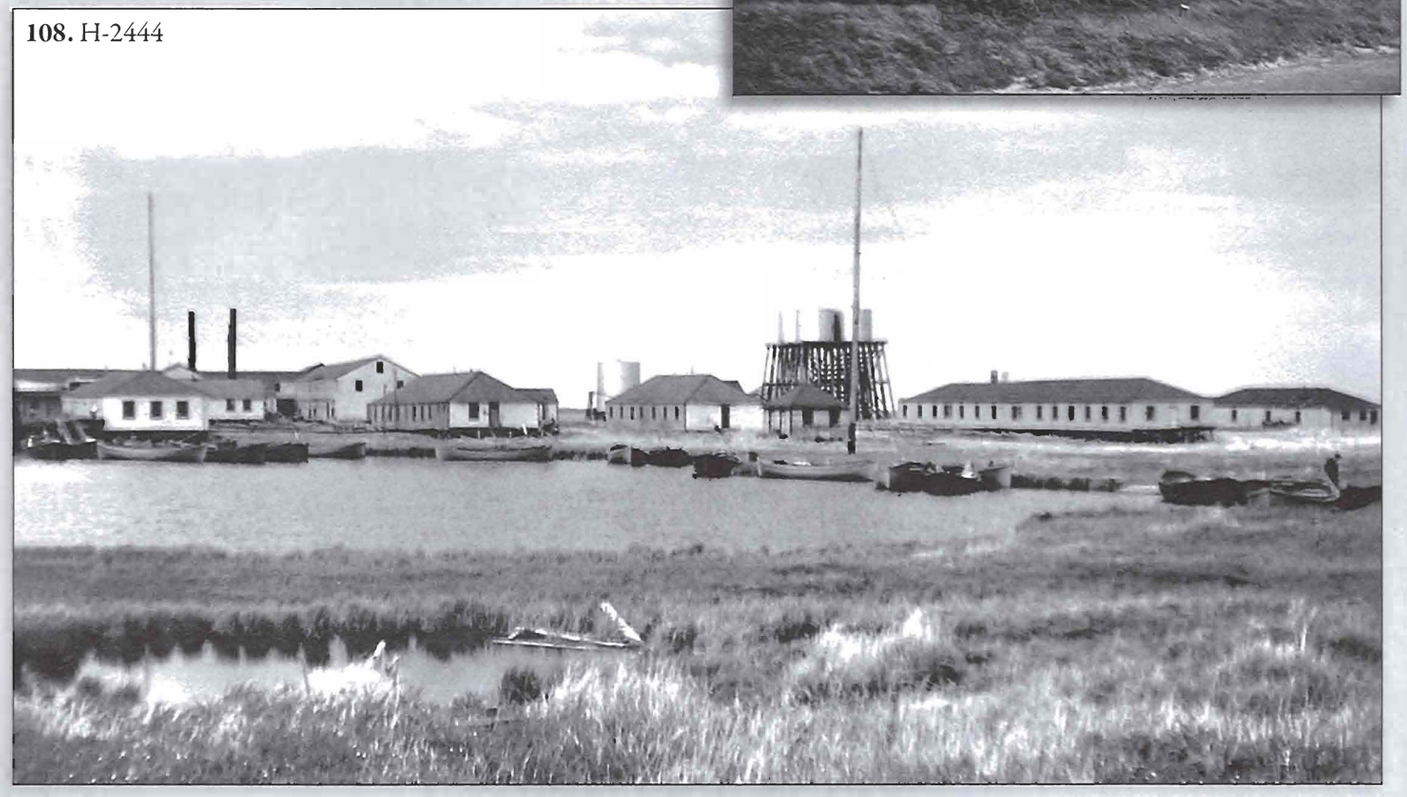
105. H-1323 Two unidentified fishermen from Libby's Graveyard Koggiung or Libbyville canneries sail along to the next set on Kvichak Bay. The image is a fine example of a fully rigged Bristol Bay double-ender with all its spars set: boom, sprit, and mast completely extending the main sail.
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.



106. H-1398



107. H-1444



108. H-2444

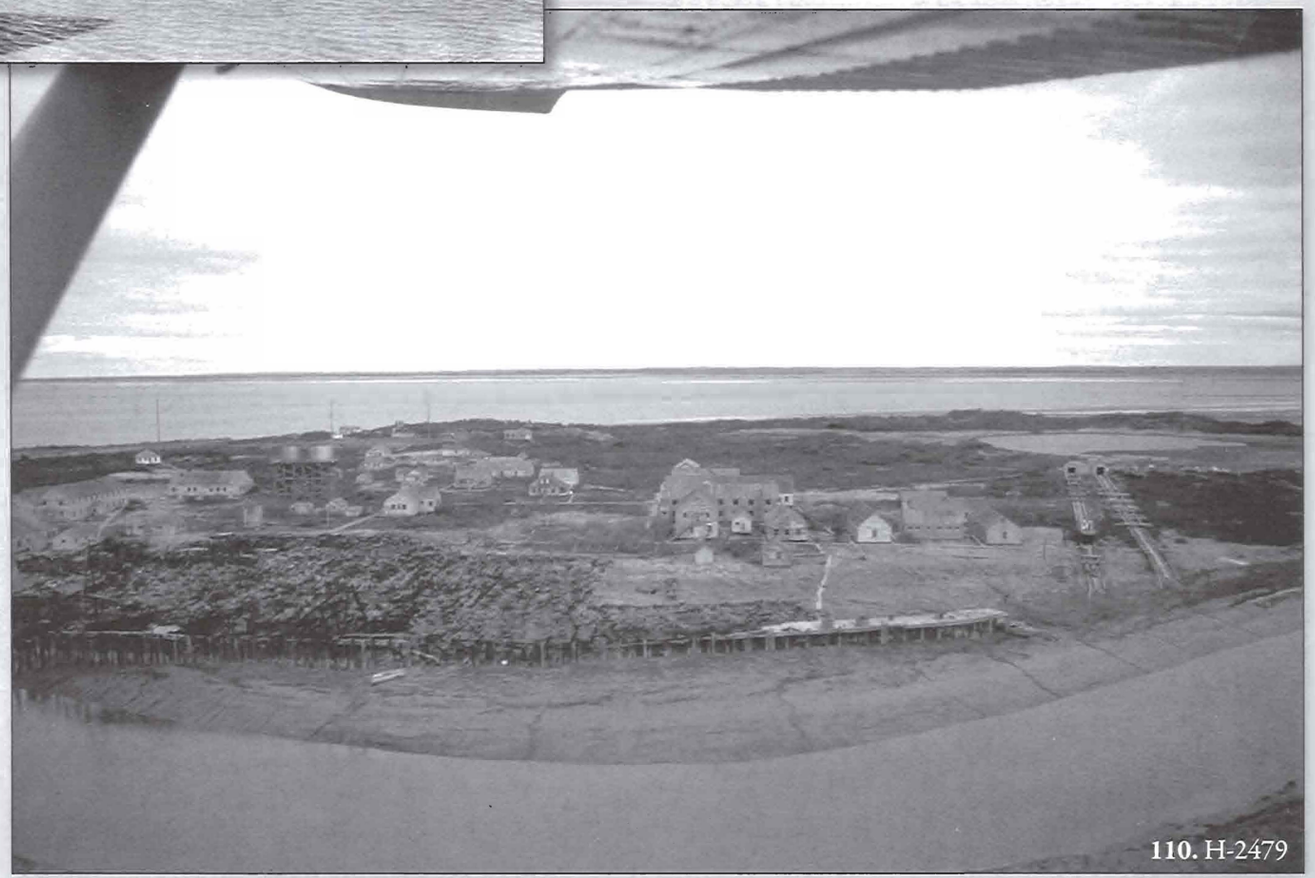
106. H-1398 In this 1930s-era photograph, three double-enders are tied to the stern of a flat scow after delivering fish. A tug is tied along a bunk scow in Kvichak Bay. Fish were delivered to flat scows, where tally men counted each salmon that was pewed on board. The tally men lived in the bunk scow and both scows were towed back and forth to the cannery by the tug. Occasionally, fishermen could get a hot meal and a nap on a bunk scow.
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

107. H-1444 Libby's Koggiung Graveyard cannery on the south side of the mouth of the Kvichak River, in September 1961. The steel water tanks atop a wooden tower dominate the scene. Two wooden masts that hold wireless antennas are seen in center right, and various cannery buildings spread across the tundra. Graveyard Creek is in the right background. The view is looking toward the east.
Photo courtesy of the Vantrease Family Collections.

108. H-2444 A group of Bristol Bay double-enders receive their spring soak at Libbyville in order to swell their planks after a winter of drying out in the cannery warehouses. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006) Each spring the boats had to be taken out of storage and their seams plied with cotton or oakum caulking before receiving their soaking.
Photo courtesy of the Harold Hawkinson Collection.



109. H-2439



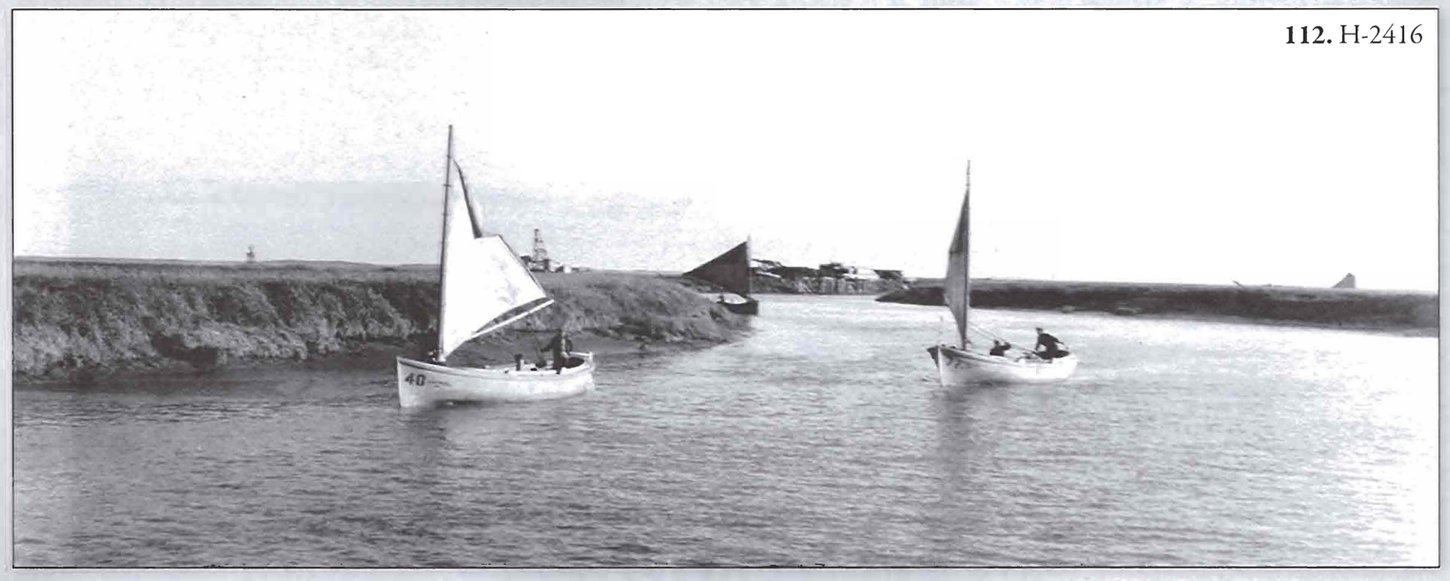
110. H-2479

109. H-2439 A 1972 view dockside at Libby's Koggiung at Graveyard Creek. Wards Cove acquired the Libby canneries in Bristol Bay in 1959, after Graveyard and Libbyville had ceased canning, which was shortly before the purchase. (Carl Aspelund, Sr. interview: March 2006) *Photo courtesy of the Wilder Family Collections.*

110. H-2479 A 1973 aerial view of Libby's Koggiung at Graveyard Point with Graveyard Creek in the foreground. The shipways are on the right and various cannery buildings are in the center. The cannery complex burned in 1962 and its remains lie along the dock, left of center. (Aspelund, Sr. interview: Jan. 2007) In the background, the mouth of the Kvichak River begins to open up into Kvichak Bay.
Photo courtesy of George Hansen.



111. H-1324



112. H-2416

111. H-1324 A Libby, McNeill & Libby sailboat off Libby's Koggiung cannery at Graveyard Point, near the mouth of the Kvichak River, circa 1935. (Breiby 2006: 4, 6)
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

112. H-2416 Three Libby's sailboats approach Graveyard Koggiung on Graveyard Creek, circa 1937. A pile driver gin is visible in the center background. (Breiby 2006: 4, 6) The remains of an old saltery are also visible in the background, and a sailboat out on Kvichak Bay is seen on the right.
Photo courtesy of the Howard Bowman Collection.



115. H-2492



114. H-1014



113. H-1665

113. H-1665 Two fisherman pick fish from their net while free-board on the Bristol Bay sailboat is precarious. The fishermen appear to be tied up to a scow off the main channel of the Kvichak River. Tanalian Point resident Floyd Denison may be the fisherman who captioned the picture: "1942 Bristol Bay, Koggiung 37,000 lbs. That season-high boat." Denison was probably referring to Libby's Koggiung at Graveyard cannery rather than Diamond J the APA cannery at Koggiung village, about five miles upstream on the Kvichak River. Denison might also have meant 37,000 fish rather than 37,000 pounds of fish for high boat; at a 5 pound average per salmon that would tally only 7,400 fish, much less than what one would expect for the high boat at Graveyard cannery. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.

114. H-1014 A fire reduced Libby's Koggiung at Graveyard to ruins as seen in this 1915 photo. (Roehl, Jr. and Roehl, Jr. interviews: June and July 1998) Sudden catastrophic fires were the biggest threat to the longevity of the wooden cannery buildings. Throughout the history of Bristol Bay canning industry, fires have ultimately destroyed most of the canneries, the latest being a human caused fire at the remains of Diamond X cannery at Coffee Creek on the lower Kvichak River in July of 2005. Warped sections of iron sheeting form the bulk of the identifiable debris in the image.
Photo courtesy of Mary Jane and Matt Davey.

115. H-2492 A dockside view of the aftermath of fire at Libby's Koggiung cannery. Arthur L. Agren wrote from Diamond J on June 19, 1915: " Dear Father and Mother: This is what is left of Libby, McNeill & Libby's cannery that burned June 10th. It is about 10 miles below here

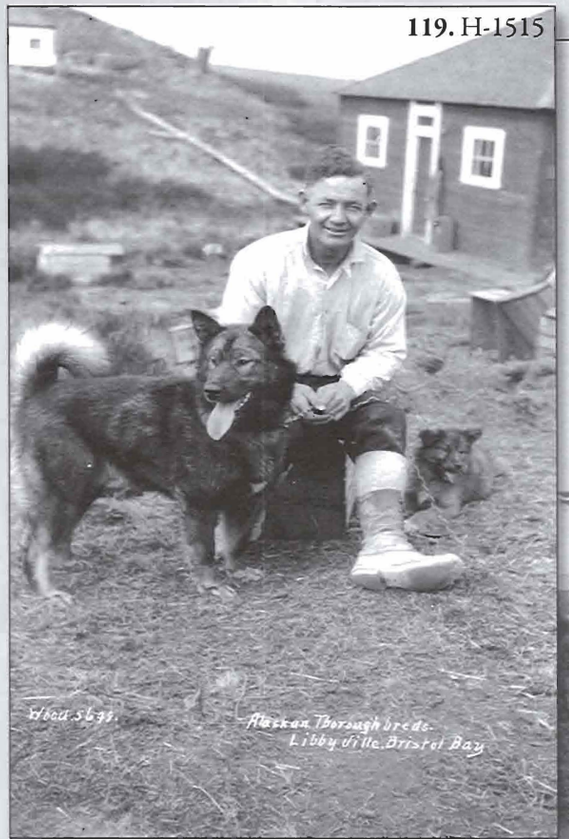


(Diamond J). A bunkhouse and mess house is left but you can't see it in the picture. This picture was taken for the insurance company by our wireless man and gave this to me..." (Arthur L. Agren Collection) Graveyard Creek and the tundra plain are visible to the east.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska Historical Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection PCA 35-45.

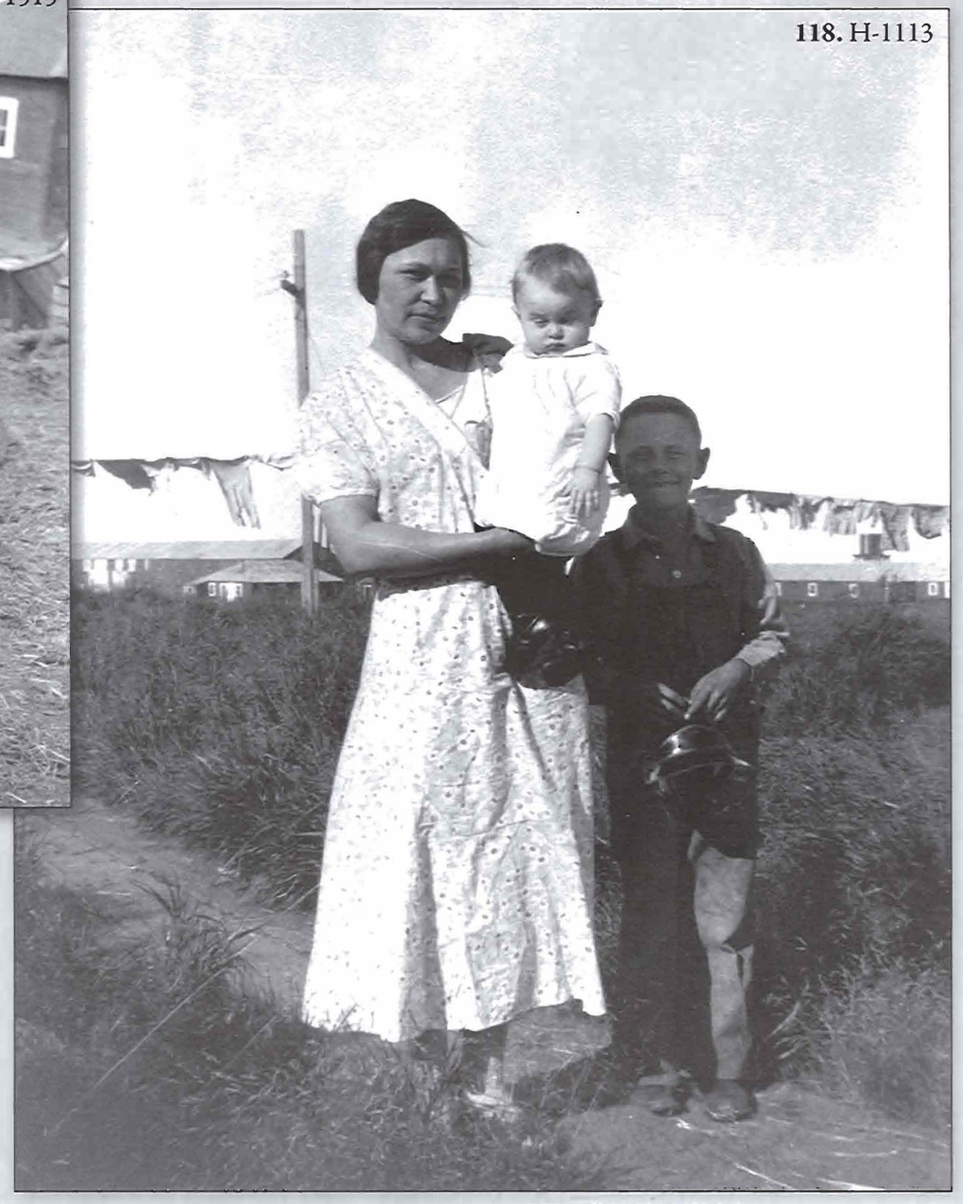
116. H-2445 An early 1950s view of Libby's Libbyville cannery, about three miles east of Graveyard Koggiung on Kvichak Bay. (Hawkinson e-mail: April 2006) Libbyville was built in 1913 by the North Alaska Salmon Company and was acquired by Libby, McNeill & Libby in 1916. Canning equipment from the abandoned Hallersville plant was transferred to the new cannery, which operated until 1941. The cannery was reopened in 1947 though it is believed that Libbyville stopped canning salmon in the late 1940s or early 1950s. (Allan Aspelund, Sr. interview: Jan. 2007) A natural artesian spring supplied Libbyville with excellent water and because of its superior qualities; other nearby canneries frequently dispatched scows to tank-up with Libbyville water for transport to their plants, that otherwise relied on tundra pond water. (Alvin Aspelund, Sr. interview: May 1998)
Photo courtesy of the Harold Hawkinson Collection.



117. H-1095 The Aspelund and Kraun children at Libbyville cannery in the 1930s. Left to right (front row): Bertha Aspelund, Thelma Aspelund, Earl Aspelund, Alvin Aspelund and Fred Kraun. Back row, left to right: Sophie Kraun, Lena Kraun and Carl Aspelund, Jr. (Aspelund, Sr. interview: Aug. 1996 and May 1998) Carl Aspelund, Sr. was winter watchman at Libbyville, between 1923 and 1939. (Carl Aspelund, Jr. interview: March 2006)
Photo courtesy of Annie and Carvel Zimin, Sr.



119. H-1515



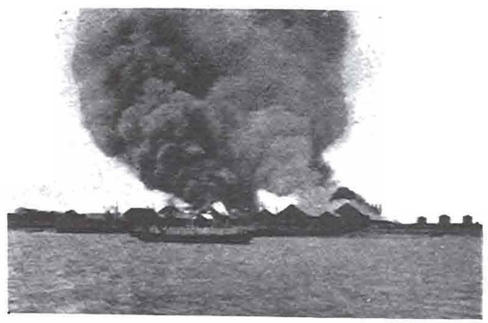
118. H-1113

118. H-1113 Nina Klein Kraun holds Viola Aspelund as Carl Aspelund, Jr. looks on at Libbyville cannery in the early 1930s. Carl Aspelund, Sr. was winter watchman at Libbyville cannery. Carl, Jr. was involved in the salmon canning industry for fifty years, including thirty years as superintendent at Libby's Craig cannery. In 1948, he became superintendent at his birthplace, Libbyville, and he was assistant superintendent at Graveyard Koggiung between 1954 and 1959. (Carl Aspelund, Jr. interview: March 2006)
Photo courtesy of Annie and Carvel Zimin, Sr.

119. H-1515 An unidentified man at the Libbyville cannery, circa 1915. A pipeline is visible in the background. The man was probably associated with the cannery as a fisherman or beach gang member and if he wintered in the country, he likely would have trapped fox and beaver to supplement his income.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Thwaites 0082 5648.

121. H-2447

PACIFIC FISHERMAN



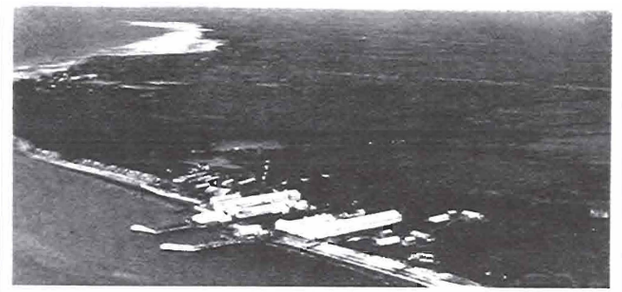
THE FIRE OF JULY 7

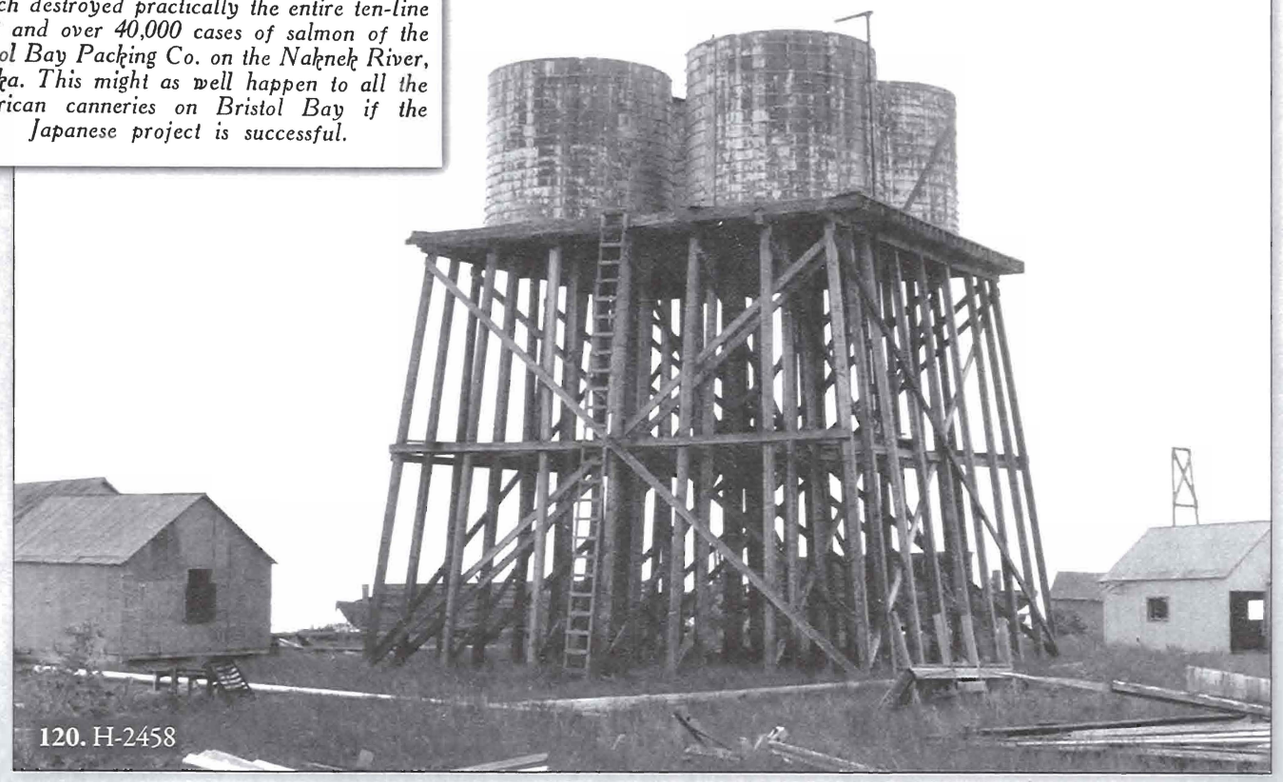
Which destroyed practically the entire ten-line plant and over 40,000 cases of salmon of the Bristol Bay Packing Co. on the Naknek River, Alaska. This might as well happen to all the American canneries on Bristol Bay if the Japanese project is successful.

122. H-2448

A VIEW OF BRISTOL BAY TUNDRA COUNTRY

Showing a strip of beach at Pedersen's Point, between Naknek and Kvichak rivers, with Alaska Salmon Co.'s new double cannery in the foreground.





120. H-2458

120. H-2458 A 1975 view of a water tower at Libbyville. The tower was 40 feet high, topped with a 40x40 foot platform made of 20- 4x12 inch planks, on which rested four redwood tanks that were 16 feet in diameter and were 14 feet high. They held a combined 80,000 gallons of fresh water for cannery use.. The four tanks consisted of 3x6 inch staves, each 14 feet long, and bound together with 5/8 inch steel hoops. The tower and the platform were made of Douglas fir. The tower consisted of 64-40-foot-tall, 10x10 inch timbers set in 8 rows of 8 legs per row, spiked together with 4x12 inch bracing. (Robinson interview: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of Monroe Robinson.

121. H-2447 The Bristol Bay Packing Company cannery at Pedersen Point that was built in 1910, burns to the ground on July 7, 1936. ("The Bristol Bay Fire" 1937) The cannery was about one mile south of Libbyville and was the largest cannery in the Bristol Bay at the time of the fire. After the fire had cooled, local people from Naknek were able to salvage thousands of unburned cans of red salmon to feed their sled dogs and to use as trap bait for foxes. (Monsen, Sr. interview: April 2006) The photograph first appeared in print in the September 1936 issue of *Pacific Fisherman.*
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington, Fisheries and Oceanography Library.

122. H-2448 The Alaska Salmon Company cannery at Pedersen Point after it was rebuilt in 1942. It was a double cannery, and was built on the site of the cannery that burned in 1936. (Alvin Aspelund, Sr. interview: May 2006) The view is to the north toward Libbyville cannery. The photograph appeared in the May 1948 issue of *Pacific Fisherman.* Today the plant is owned by



123. H-2500



124. H-1978

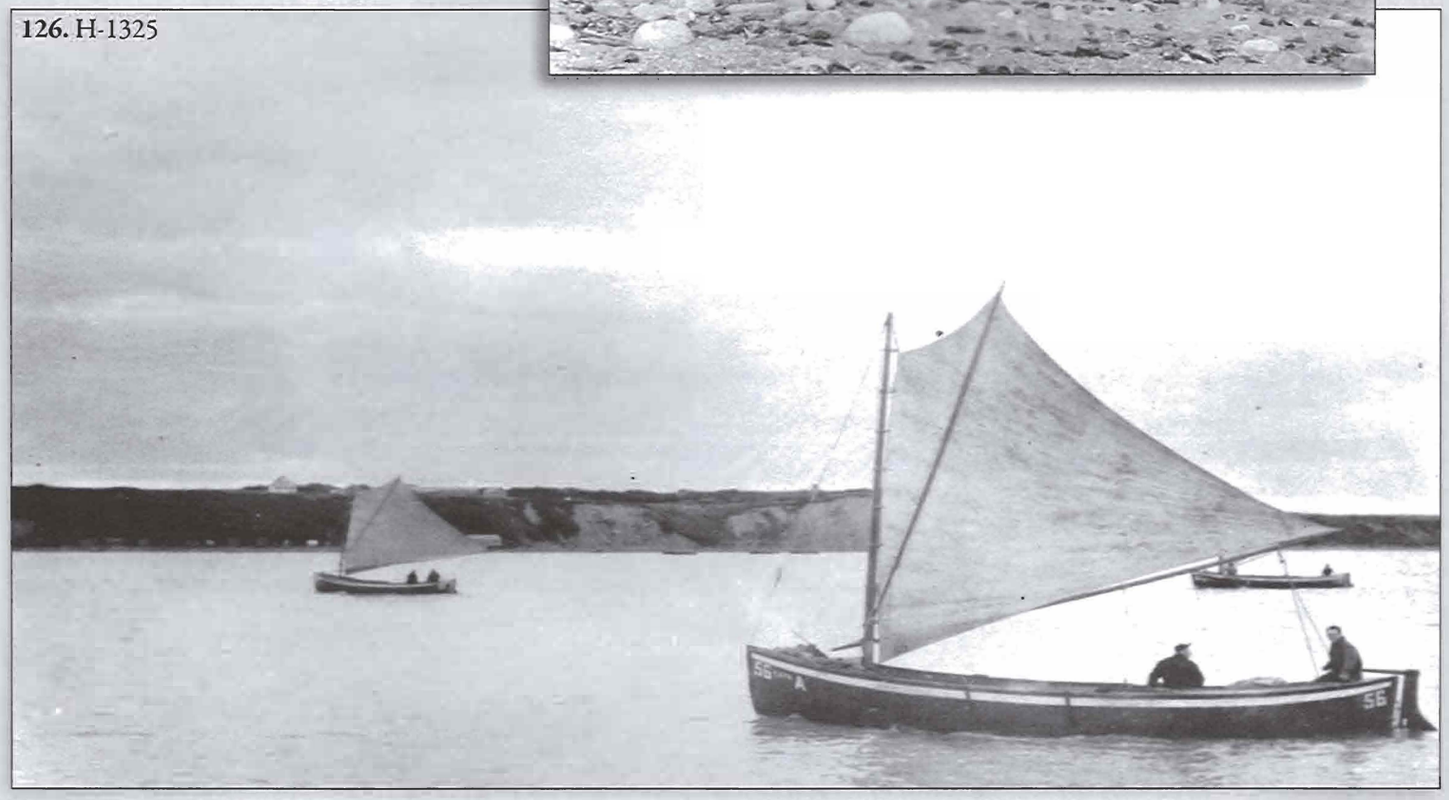
North Pacific Processors. In recent years it has served as a salmon cold storage facility, although it canned salmon into the mid-1970s. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Jan. 2007)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington, Fisheries and Oceanography Library.

123. H-2500 An early 1950s view of the Bristol Bay Packing Company cannery at Pedersen Point. The ship's gear on the dock came from a Liberty Ship and was installed after World War II. The white-colored winter watchman's house is the second structure right of the water tower. An airplane is seen on the left, on a short gravel strip. (Monsen, Sr. e-mail: Feb. 2007)
Photo courtesy of Melvin Monsen, Jr.

124. H-1978 Freda Graham in a Libby's double-ender off the Bristol Bay Packing Company cannery at Pedersen Point, circa 1940. A Pacific American Fisheries boat No. 56 is on the right. Graham and her husband, Arnold, lived at Graveyard and Lockanok canneries. Freda was normally a set netter during the fishing season.
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.



125. H-2044

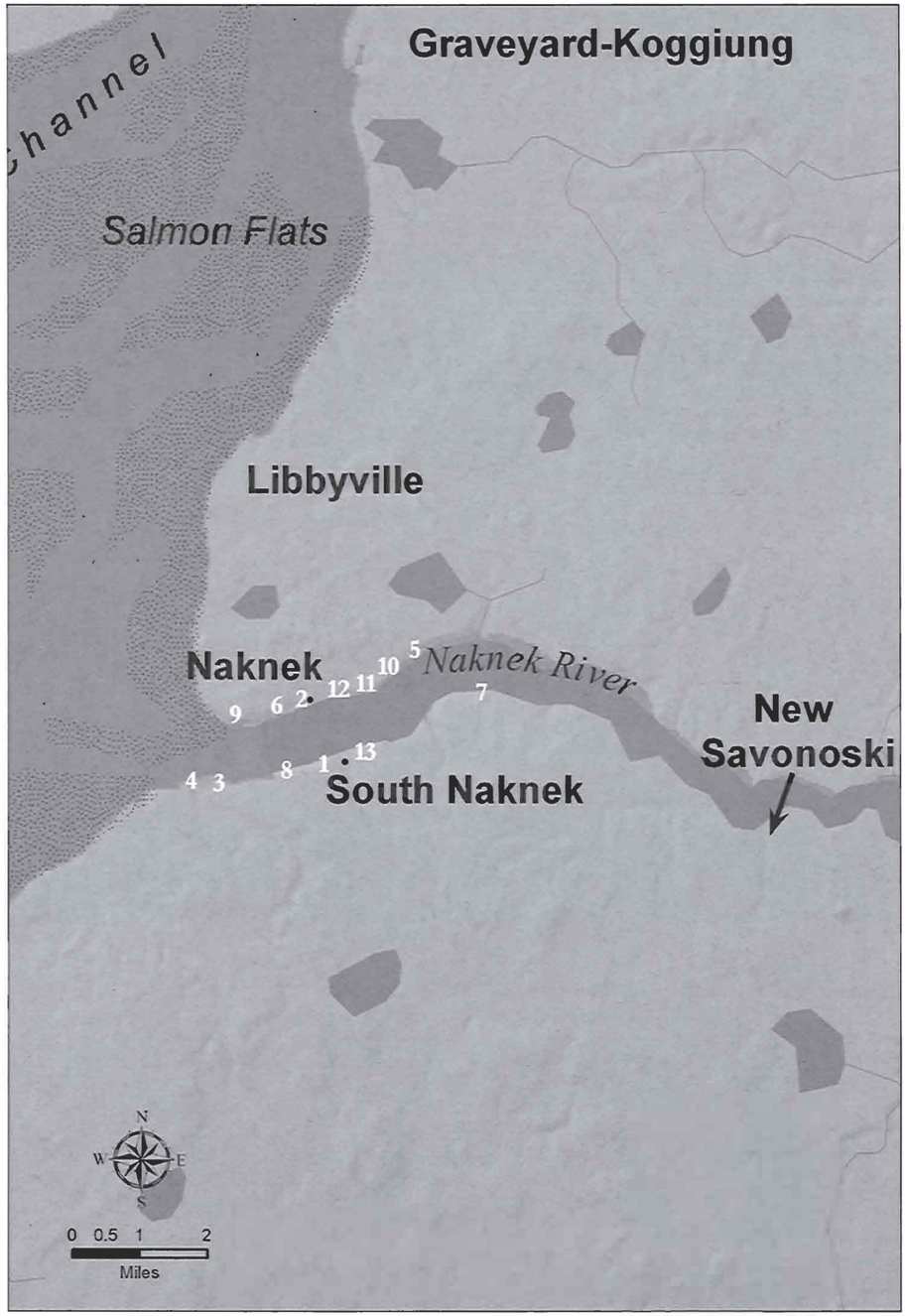


126. H-1325

The Naknek River Canneries

125. H-2044 Two set-net wall tents near Naknek Point at the mouth of the Naknek River in the 1930s. Set netting salmon along the Bristol Bay coastline near the mouths of major rivers such as the Nushagak, Kvichak, Naknek, Egegik and Ugashik provided dependable seasonal employment for residents; men, women, and children. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005) Most set netters preferred to pick their fish from a skiff before the tide went out. They then delivered their catch to anchored scows. Later, in the 1960s, canneries used trucks to collect set net fish along the Naknek River beach.
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Lundgren Mitchell.

126. H-1325 A circa 1942 view of three Columbia River Packers Association Bristol Bay boats sailing down the Naknek River, near its mouth, with set net cabins visible on the north side. The cabins were built in 1942 and belonged to various Naknek families, including the Monsens and Berggrens. A 100-step flight of stairs is visible at the base of the North Bluff, immediately to the right of a small warehouse. These steps provided access to the Intercoastal Packing Company winterman's house that is seen on top of the bluff to the left. At the time, the house was occupied by Sig Lundgren, a fisherman and Katmai trapper. Through the efforts of Gunnar Berggren, the winter man's house was moved to Naknek and donated to the village as its health center around 1949. (Monsen, Sr. interview and letter: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.



Legend

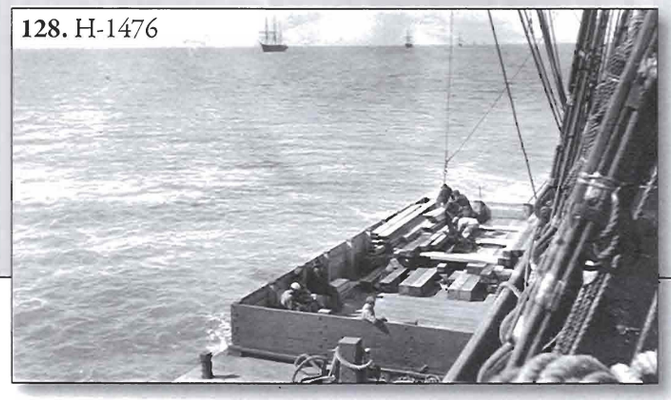
Naknek Canneries and Salteries

Name

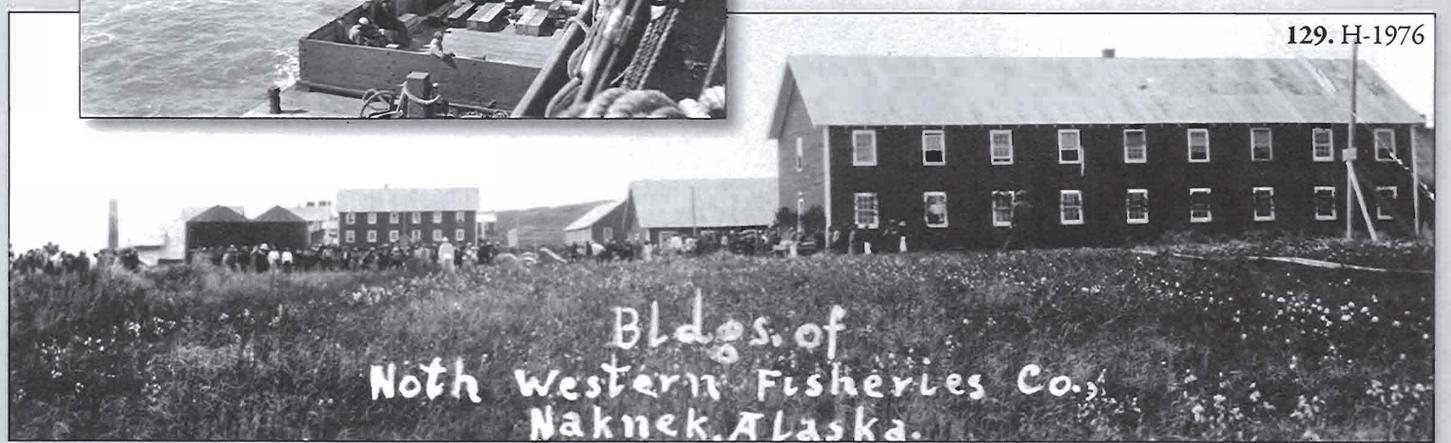
1. Alaska Packers Association, Arctic Packing Company, Diamond NN, South Naknek, 1894.
2. Naknek Packing Company, Frank B. Peterson Company, Naknek, 1894.
3. Alaska Packers Association, South Naknek, Diamond 0, 1901
4. Alaska Packers Association, South Naknek, Diamond M, 1911.
5. Red Salmon Canning Company, Naknek, 1916.
6. Northwestern Fisheries Company. Nornek, Naknek, 1918.
7. Alaska Portland Packers, Pacific American Fisheries. PAF-Warrens, South Naknek, 1919.
8. Columbia River Packers Association, Bumble Bee, South Naknek, 1938.
9. Intercoastal Packing Company, 1939-1941.
10. American Packing Company, Nelbro, Naknek, circa 1953.
11. Arctic Maid Fisheries, Whitney-Fildalgo, Naknek, circa 1955.
12. L.A. Peterson saltery, Naknek village, pre-1894.
13. Arctic Packing Company saltery, South Naknek, pre-1894.



127. H-2032



128. H-1476



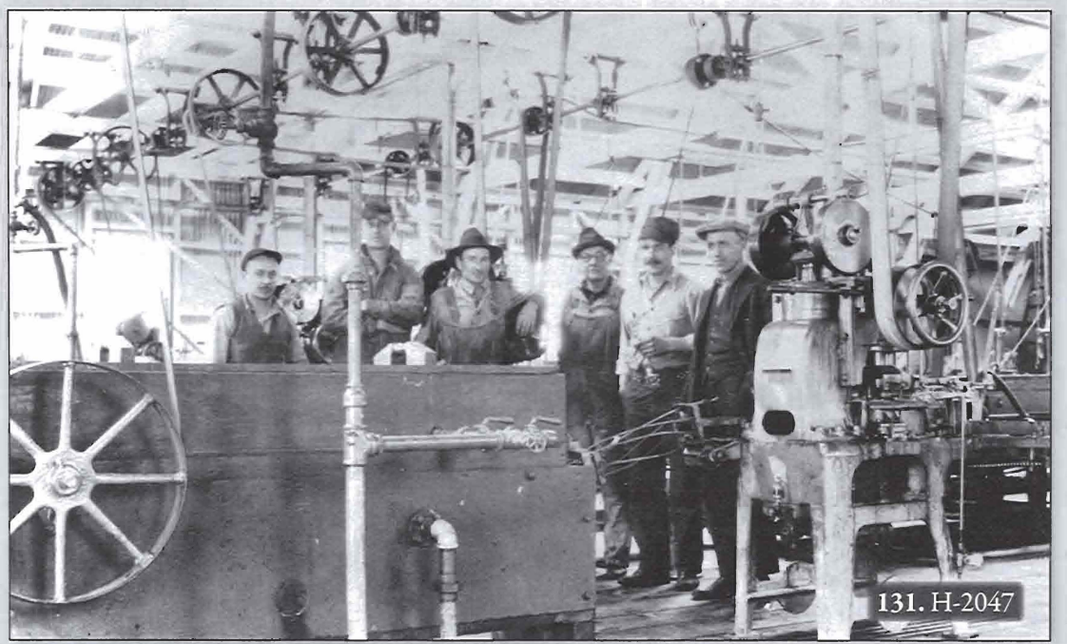
129. H-1976

127. H-2032 Nornek, the Northwestern Fisheries cannery near the mouth of the Naknek River, in the 1920s or early 1930s. Nornek was built in 1918, and the name was an abbreviation for North Naknek. (MacDonald 1951: 61) The lake is a fine example of the tundra pond, the only source of freshwater for many Bristol Bay canneries. The south bank of the Naknek River is visible in the left center of the image. Assorted cannery buildings, freshwater tanks atop a tower and two wireless antennas are seen at the complex.
Photo courtesy of Dorothy Monsen Berggren.

128. H-1476 Lumber from the Pacific Northwest is unloaded from one of the Alaska Packers Association's Star Fleet sailing ships onto a flat scow in the ship's channel about 5 miles off the mouth of the Naknek River, circa 1920. Four other sailing ships ride at anchor in the channel in the background. High grade lumber, much of it knot-free 40-foot lengths of Douglas fir, was brought up on sailing ships to construct and maintain Bristol Bay canneries. As the more remote canneries were abandoned or burned, some of the surviving lumber was salvaged and adapted for re-use by local people for houses and cabins. For example, many houses in Levelock were at least partly constructed from lumber from the abandoned cannery at the mouth of the Alagnak River, Lockanok. (Tallekpalek interview: Aug. 1998)
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, Alex Widerstrom Collection, P77.040a.30n.

129. H-1976 The Nornek cannery, with assembled crew and fishermen, at the mouth of the north side of the Naknek River circa 1930. Northwestern Fisheries Company built the cannery in 1918 and it was purchased





by Pacific American Fisheries (PAF) in 1935. The two-story building on the right, used as a bunkhouse, was clapboard rather than the usual corrugated iron siding. Left to right: smokestacks by boiler room, tanks for bunker c. oil, cannery store, mess hall, fishermen's bunkhouse, cannery workers, mess hall and bunkhouse. The two-story bunkhouse is still in use by Peter Pan Company. During World War II, it was used as a barracks for soldiers en-route to the Aleutian theater of operations. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.

130. H-968 Soaking up the sunshine on the bank of the Naknek River by the Nornek cannery, circa 1926, are left to right, Harry Backman, Mrs. Harold Backman, Mrs. Oscar Lundgren, Alyce E. Anderson, and Johnny Lundgren. Harold Backman was winter watchman at Northwestern Fisheries Company in Naknek and at Nakeen. Oscar Lundgren was a fisherman and also a watchman at Northwestern Fisheries. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005) Mrs. Anderson was Naknek's first schoolteacher, beginning in 1923.
Photo courtesy of Mary Jane and Matt Davey.

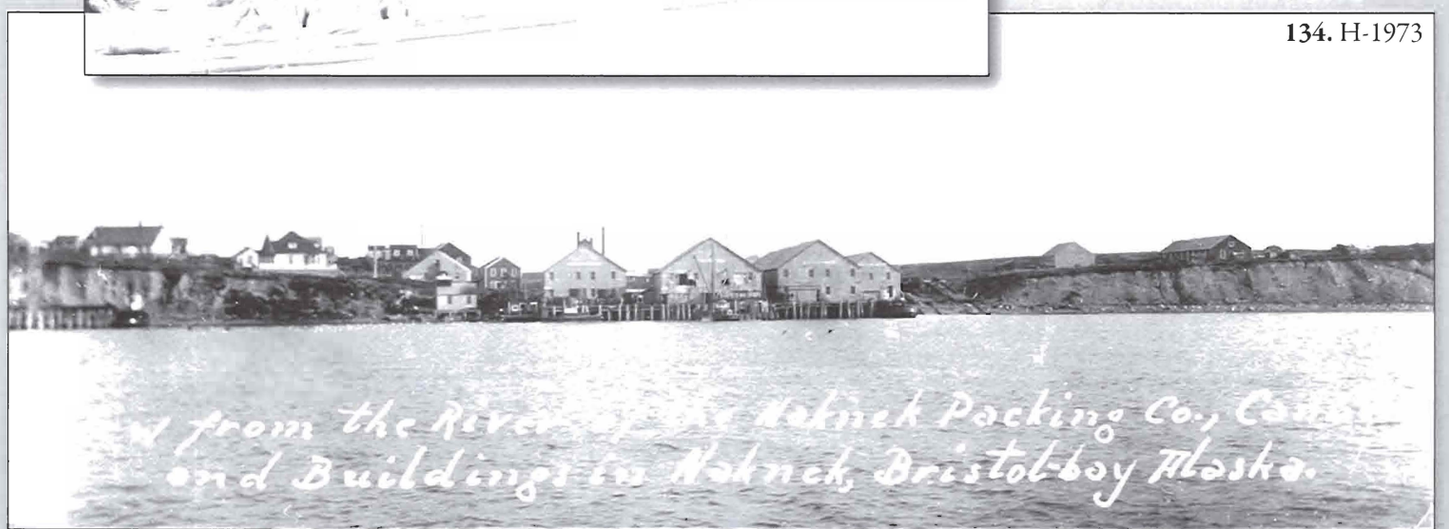
131. H-2047 Oscar Lundgren, right, was a cannery man at Northwestern Fisheries' Nornek and was at Nakeen cannery in Naknek-Kvichak district. He is shown here with a group of mechanists inside a cannery, circa 1920s. The exact cannery where this photograph was taken is not known, but likely in the Naknek-Kvichak district. Most of the cannery equipment was run by motors powered by belts and pulleys, whose ultimate power was steam boilers powered by coal or bunker c. oil.
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Lundgren Mitchell.



132. H-2039



133. H-1974



134. H-1973

132. H-2039 The Northwestern Fisheries Company's Nornek cannery, circa 1920s, in Naknek. (Alvin Aspelund, Sr. interview: May 2006) The Nornek cannery was about one mile west of the Frank B. Peterson cannery in Naknek village. The cannery was sold to Pacific American Fisheries in 1935, which was then sold to Intercoastal Packing Company in 1944 and eventually operated by Columbia River Packers Association in 1950. (MacDonald 1951: 61)
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Lundgren Mitchell.

133. H-1974 Naknek Packing Company warehouses photographed from the ice of the frozen Naknek River, circa 1930, with chunks of ice having been heaved up. The wireless antenna mast is visible on the left. The shipways are on the right, with tugboats pulled up for the winter. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005) L.A. Peterson had a saltery on the site in the early 1890s, and Naknek Packing Company built a cannery there in 1894. The latter merged with the Red Salmon Canning Company in 1928. (MacDonald 1951: 58)
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.

134. H-1973 A circa 1930 view of the Naknek Packing Company cannery. Left to right, winter watchman, Martin Monsen, Sr.'s house, the "white house," the cannery superintendent's house, store, bunkhouse and cannery buildings. The "China house" mess hall, and cannery workers bunkhouse, sits on the site of the present-day bulk fuel tank farm, on the far right. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005)
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.



135. H-1233



136. H-1632

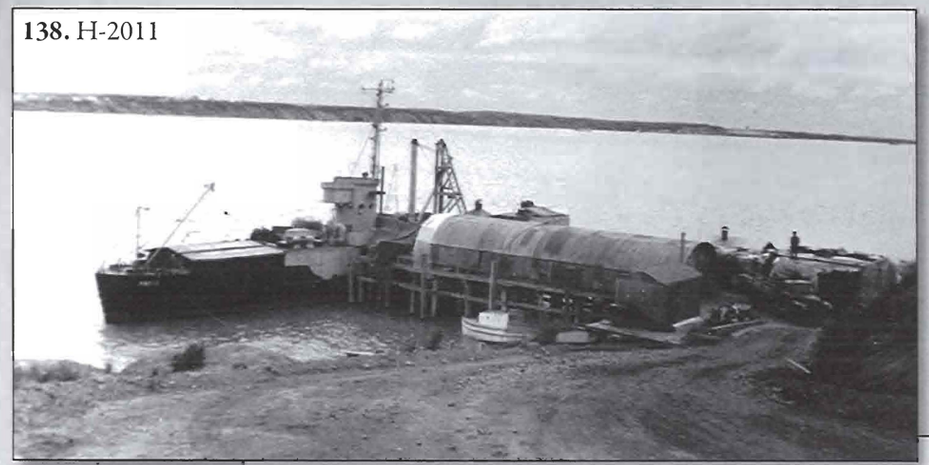


137. H-2503

135. H-1233 An aerial view of Naknek prior to 1952. The Diamond NN cannery dock is visible across the Naknek River at South Naknek. Naknek Packing Company is seen in the middle left, on the Naknek village side of the river. The lack of alders in this photograph is a marked difference from the profuse growth of the brush in recent years in this same location. *Photo courtesy of Jilda and Melvin Monsen, Sr.*

136. H-1632 Three amphibious planes offload mail on the Naknek River in front of Martha and Martin Monsen Sr.'s home in Naknek, circa 1945. Left to right: a Seabee from Northern Consolidated Airlines, often piloted by Elmer Nicholson of Dillingham, a Stinson Voyager probably owned by W.S. Woods, and a Norsemen owned by Western Alaska Airways pilot Albert Ball. Men are packing mail from the beach in front of the Monsen's home because Martha was postmistress at the time. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005)
Photo courtesy of Janet Monsen and Martha Monsen McClain.

137. H-2503 The Martin and Martha Monsen, Sr. family by their home in Naknek in 1934. Martin Monsen Sr., (1873-1950), third from left back row, was born in Stavanger, Norway and came to the Bristol Bay by 1900. He was the long time winter watchman at the Naknek Packing Company cannery. Martha McGlashan Monsen (1890-1981), middle reaching between sons, Nick and Oscar, was born in Akutan and was postmistress and midwife in Naknek for many years. Some of their children are seen left to right: Victor, Harold, Martin, Sr., Carl, (in front of his father), Billy, Martha, Josie, Dorothy, and Paul. From left to right, the three little boys in front are: Nick, Oscar and Melvin. The Monsen's



138. H-2011



139. H-1131

home is on the left, in the background, and the white house in the right background is the Naknek Packing Company superintendent's quarters. The photograph was probably taken by Naknek schoolteacher, John Meggett. (Monsen, Sr. interview: April 2007)
Photo courtesy of Melvin Monsen, Sr.

138. H-2011 The *M.V. Kayak* at a dock on the Naknek River, circa 1953-1954. The site would soon become Nelbro Packing. Seattle businessman Jack Most, of American Packing Company, owned a one-line floating processor, the *Kayak*, which became the forerunner of Nelbro cannery. Nels Peterson was the guiding force behind the growth of Nelbro, and Naknek resident, Allen Nelson built many of the first cannery buildings. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005 and Nov. 2006) Across the river, at South Naknek, Diamond NN cannery and the village are on the left, while the Columbia River Packers Association (CRPA), and later known as Bumble Bee cannery, is on the right.
Photo courtesy of Cindy and Larry Tibbetts.

139. H-1131 An unidentified fisherman, left, sits with Clarence "Shorty" Wilson (1900-1995), center, and Peder Stadem (1901-1988), right, on board the latter's fish boat near Nelbro cannery on the Naknek River, circa 1965. Wilson and Stadem both fished from the sailboat days into the post-1951 powerboat days. (Stadem interview: April 1998)
Photo courtesy of the Norm Stadem Family.



140. H-2357 Part of the salmon fleet heads down the Naknek River, circa 1930. The cannery in the background is Alaska Portland Packers at South Naknek. The photograph was probably taken from Red Salmon Canning Company in Naknek, looking southeast. This is an unusual image of double-enders using jibs, in addition to their mainsails. It was reported that Italian fishermen frequently used jibs. Red Salmon cannery along with Diamond NN and PAF-Warren were known to have large numbers of Italian fishermen from California, just as Nakeen and Graveyard Koggiung canneries had a preponderance of fishermen of Scandinavian origin. (Allan Aspelund, Sr. interview: March 2007)
Photo courtesy of Helena Seversen Moses.



141. H-2042



142. H-786



143. H-2040

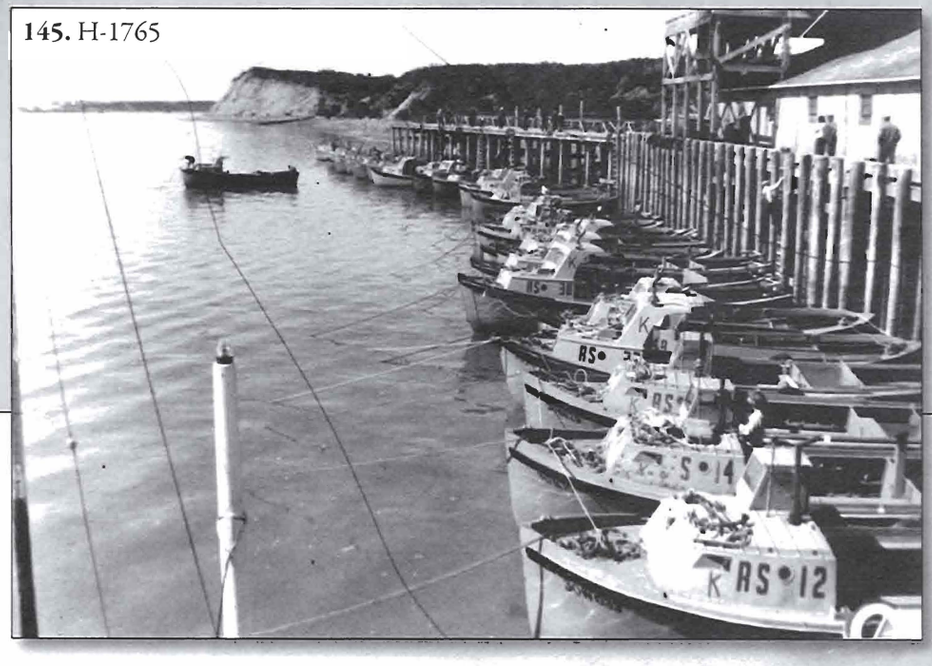
141. H-2042 The aftermath of a fire at Red Salmon cannery on the Naknek River in May 1929, with warped corrugated sheet iron siding dominating the view. Fires were the greatest threat to cannery infrastructure; canneries were made of wood, and fire departments were non-existent. In the right background snow drifts cling to the river bank. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005) *Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Lundgren Mitchell.*

142. H-786 A view east to the Red Salmon cannery in the late 1930s. The tug on the right is the *Curlew,* a "monkey boat" used to haul becalmed Bristol Bay sailboats to and from the fishing grounds. *Photo courtesy of Dorothy Monsen Berggren.*

143. H-2040 Rebuilding Red Salmon cannery in 1935 after the fire of 1933. (Johnson, Sr. letter: Feb. 2006) The earliest Bristol Bay canneries were framed with Douglas fir, but by the mid-1930s, new buildings were framed with steel I-beams. *Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Lundgren Mitchell.*



144. H-1760 An early 1940s view of Bristol Bay sailboats at the Red Salmon cannery dock on the Naknek River. The sailboats or double-enders were mandated by the Secretary of Commerce's regulations of December 16, 1922 and were in effect until the 1951 season. The boats all have their masts up and are anchored out from the bow. A power scow sits in the mud of low water at the dock beyond. The sailboat No. 45, left foreground, has its tent up in the forecastle, the sleeping and eating part of the boat. The sailboats belong to Red Salmon, Libby's and PAF canneries, which indicates that it must have been a year when a low return of salmon was predicted, and cannery operators were combined in order to keep costs down for all the processors. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of George and Mary Tibbetts, Jr.



145. H-1765



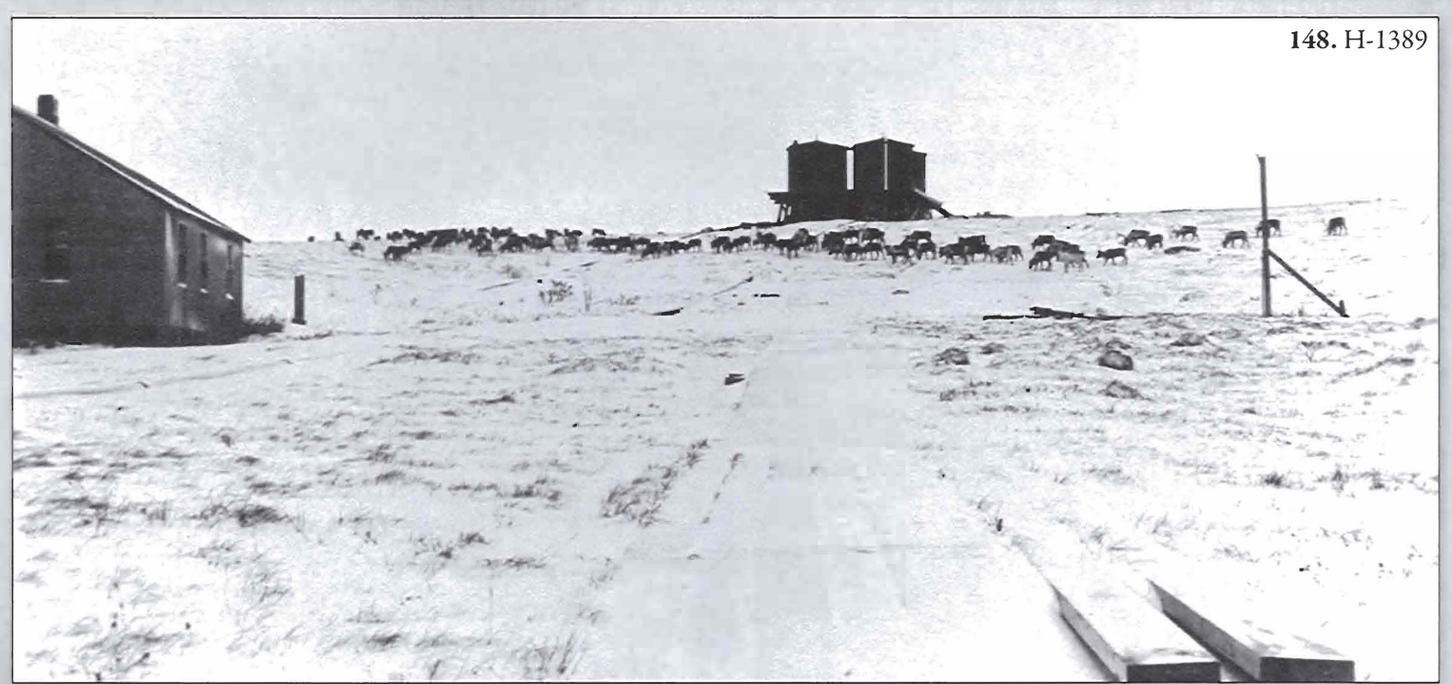
146. H-2426

145. H-1765 Several early power boats with brand names of Sagstad, Bryant and Breskovich, along with Bristol Bay "conversions," recently converted from Bristol Bay sailboats, are pictured at anchor by the Red Salmon cannery on the Naknek River, post 1950. The caption on the photo, probably written by Allen Nelson, reads: "This is just half of the fish boats." (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006) There appear to be 24 or 25 boats in view.
Photo courtesy of George and Mary Tibbetts, Jr.

146. H-2426 Alaska Portland Packers Association cannery at South Naknek in 1928, looking west across the Naknek River toward the Red Salmon cannery, center right, and the village of Naknek further downstream, with the Frank B. Peterson and Northwestern Fisheries canneries in view. The caption on the postcard reads: "Naknek Alaska May 1928...Miss Pledger, This is the picture of the cannery where I am employed until August 20. It is surely a lonesome place to stay. Yours truly, Geo. Alfaras."
One person of importantance to the history of Katmai National Park and Preserve was Stephen M. Scott (1883?-1950s?). An Australian by birth and longtime South Naknek resident, Scott was nicknamed "Portland Packer Scotty." Scott lived just upriver from the cannery and was a blacksmith or boiler man. He had longtime affiliation with Alaska Portland Packers Association. (Allan Aspelund, Sr. interview: March 2007) Scott was one of the last trappers to operate in Katmai National Monument from his cabin at Brooks Lake. (Clemens and Norris 1999: 126-129)
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.



147. H-1658



148. H-1389

147. H-1658 Pacific American Fisheries (PAF-Warren) cannery at South Naknek as it appeared in 1980. The cannery was first built in 1919 by Alaska Portland Packers and sold to PAF in 1934. (MacDonald 1951: 61) At the time that it burned about 2000, it was one of the most intact Bristol Bay canneries. The dock faces the river on the right, with the large canning buildings in the center and various support buildings: the fish house, boiler house, mess hall, bunkhouses, laundry, store, superintendent's house and the winter watchman's house, on the left. (Savo interview: March 2006 and 2007) The cannery was the farthest upstream on the south side of the Naknek River.
Photo courtesy of Violet Willson.

148. H-1389 Part of the South Naknek reindeer herd passes by the Alaska Portland Packers Association (APPA) cannery on the Naknek River, circa 1935. The cannery was purchased by Pacific American Fisheries in 1934. It was later known as PAF-Warren cannery. As Holly Foss documents in his diary, a Mr. Warren was apparently cannery superintendent there in the early 1920s, probably accounting for the origin of the cannery name. (Savo interview: March 2007) Water tanks are in the center background and a cannery building is to the left of the wooden plank boardwalks. Reindeer meat was sometimes sold to canneries and fishermen. During the past 70 years, a dense thicket of alders has overgrown this open tundra area.
Photo courtesy of Josie Savo.



149. H-1106



150. H-1491

149. H-1106 Merle Zimin, at South Naknek, near Diamond NN cannery in the 1940s, holds a pair of horse shoes. In the background is a water tower holding redwood tanks of fresh water. Since all canneries had to be built on tidal rivers, water pipelines were constructed from nearby tundra ponds to transport fresh water to the plant for industrial and personal use. The water was carried in wooden pipes from the pond to the tanks and then gravity fed to supply the cannery operation. *Photo courtesy of Annie and Carvel Zimin, Sr.*

150. H-1491 Two girls, probably at Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek, photographed in 1916. *Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection, P78-068a.17.*



151. H-1497



152. H-1498

151. H-1497 Two unidentified boys and a cannery man, probably in South Naknek or Naknek circa 1916. They are demonstrating their skill with bows and arrows. The boys are wearing mukluks and appear to have arrows with multi-pronged tips designed for use on fish.
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection, P78.068.13n.

152. H-1498 A 1916 view of five unidentified children probably at Koggiung. A 100 gallon fuel drum that was brought to the Bay by the canneries is seen behind the children.
Photo courtesy of San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection P78-068a.13.



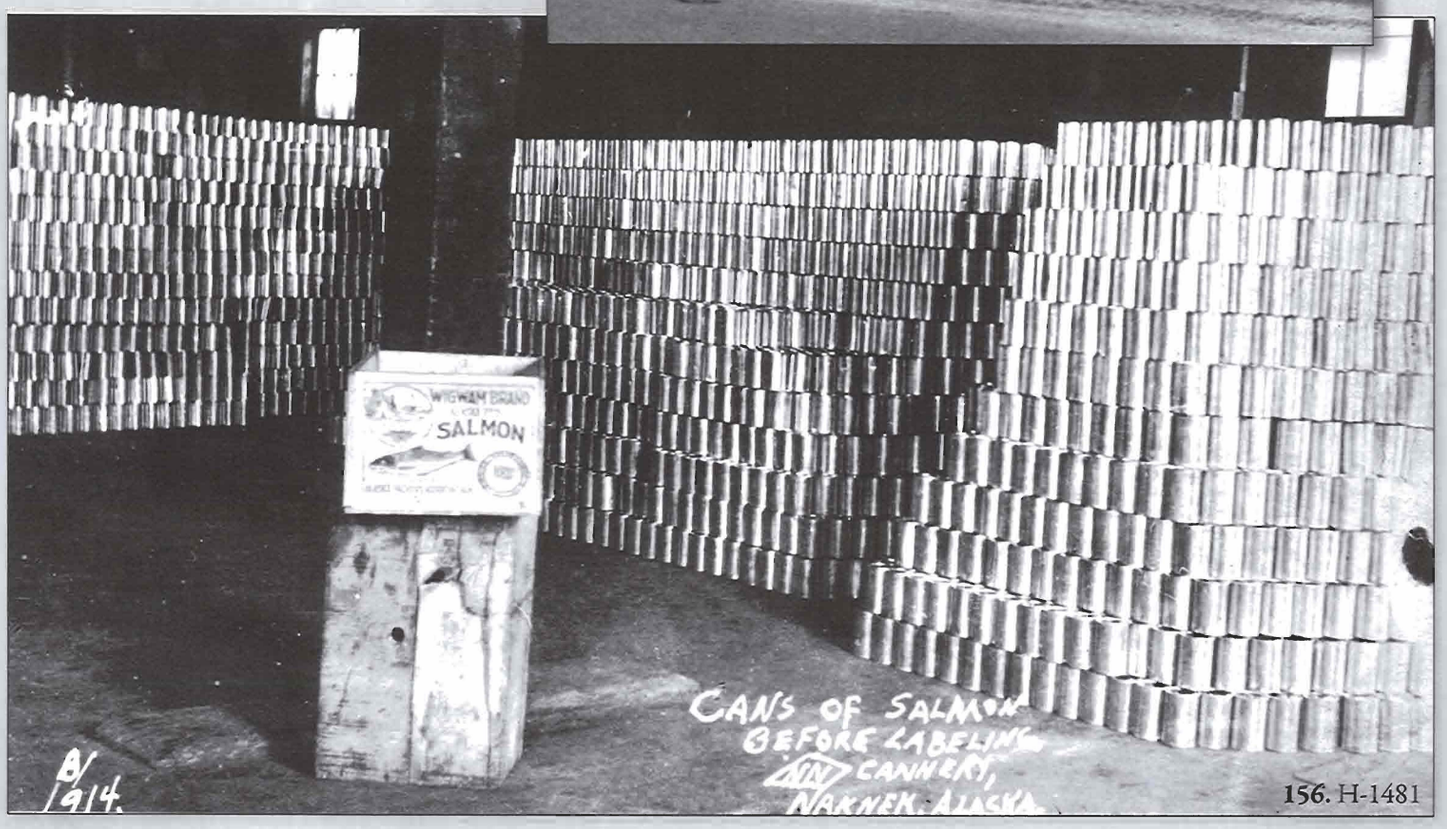
153. H-1534 A view of an unidentified man, near the Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek, sitting on a fully laden fish rack that holds several hundred drying red salmon. A cannery warehouse is in the left background. Dried red salmon was, and remains, a dietary mainstay in most of the households of Bristol Bay's people. The juxtaposition of the traditional fish rack and cannery building highlights the ambivalence of the burgeoning commercial fishing industry in Bristol Bay during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the Native people.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collection, Cobb 2410.



154. H-1496 A 1914-1916 view of a Bristol Bay village, probably South Naknek, Naknek or Koggiung, showing two semi-subterranean houses, a sheet-iron-clad smoke house, dog sleds, galvanized tubs and assorted lumber. An unknown cannery man poses with a group of unidentified villagers, and salmon are drying and curing, high out of the reach of dogs. It is evident that Native people were able to obtain various building materials from canneries and utilize them in their own culture, for example, the framed door in the barabara on the left. The advent of the cannery economy was a catalyst for great changes to the more traditional life ways. This included the transition from semi-subterranean houses to those that used western building materials, such as wooden door frames, widows, sheet metal stoves, and stove pipes to vent smoke.
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection, P78-068a 32n.



155. H-1653



156. H-1481

155 H-1653 A circa 1959 view of Herman Herrmann's (1916-1984?) power scow, the *Fajen*, beached at South Naknek. Herman was born at Diamond J cannery on the Kvichak River and was involved with the Bristol Bay fishery his entire life. The *Fajen* was 115 feet long. It was powered by three diesel engines and ideal for hauling freight to various Bristol Bay villages. Originally the *Fajen* was a military landing craft used in the Aleutian campaign during World War II. The name *Fajen* is an acronym for the first names of the original owners of the vessel: Fred Grindle, Sr. of Egegik, Andrew Johnson of Cordova, Jack Hately of Bethel, Elmer Nicholson of Dillingham and Nick Shanigan of Chignik. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Dec. 2005)
Photo courtesy of Violet Willson.

156. H-1481 Stacks of one pound canned salmon sit in a warehouse at Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek, August 1914. An empty wooden case that held 48 one-pound salmon cans sits on top of a wooden case gas box. Gas boxes held two five gallon tin gas cans. In an era before the widespread use of cardboard boxes, wooden salmon and gas boxes provided the local Bristol Bay people with shelving, shingles, tool boxes and even flooring. Though salmon labels were generally put on the canned salmon after shipment south to warehouses in Alameda, San Francisco, Portland or Seattle, some canneries labeled their canned salmon before leaving the cannery of origin. Wooden box ends were often stenciled at the cannery before packing and shipping south. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection, P78-068a.60n.

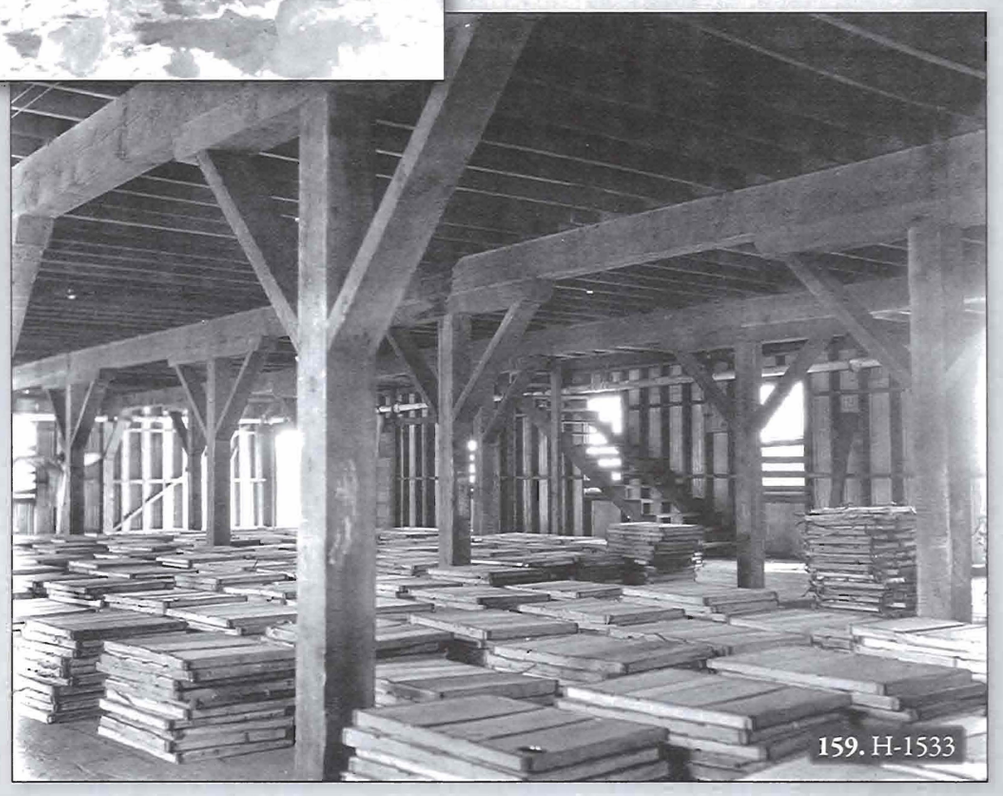


157. H-2252

157. H-2252 Anna Griechen (1914-1994), at Diamond U cannery at Pilot Point on Ugashik Bay on the Alaska Peninsula in 1941. (Clum interview: March 2006) Anna rests against a stack of cardboard boxes which held 48 one-pound cans of salmon. Canneries used wooden boxes into the 1940s, but during World War II, the canning industry made the switch to the cheaper and lighter cardboard boxes. The switch to cardboard made the canned salmon easier to handle and did not snag the clothes of workers with banding wire and splinters. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept 2006)
Photo courtesy of Diane and Gust Griechen, Jr.



158. H-1120



159. H-1533

158. H-1120 A winter crew at Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek cuts blocks of ice to be stored in the icehouse for summer use. From left to right on the bank above the pond are two bunk scows and a pile driver. Trefon Angasan (in white hat) is seen with a pair of ice tongs ready to pull a chunk of ice from the pond. (Zimin, Sr. interview and letter: July 1997)
Photo courtesy of Annie and Carvel Zimin, Sr.

159. H-1533 Tin plates used for making one-pound salmon cans await fabrication in the can loft at Diamond M cannery, South Naknek, circa 1917. Carvel Zimin, Sr. wrote in 2001: "I believe this is Diamond M warehouse, the crates are tin for making cans, tin was shipped in about 32-inch squares, upstairs is the can loft where tin was cut to size, formed and soldered. As kids we used to play with the shears that cut the tin. We could make tin boats up to 30 inches, same with double end or flat stern." (Zimin, Sr. letter: March 2001)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4143.



160. H-1531 The interior of Diamond NN on Naknek River cannery mess hall, circa 1917. Cannery cooks and bakers were generally very popular with the fishermen and crew, especially if they were talented and generous with the food. The canneries fed hundreds of people at least 4 meals per day plus three or four "mug ups" (cannery jargon for coffee breaks) or in-between light lunches at 10:00 AM, 3:00 PM and 9:00 PM. Cannery food was wholesome, tasty and plentiful. Chinese cannery laborers had their own mess hall that featured rice, noodles, pork and tea among other staples, along with vegetables often locally grown. Jefferson Moser of the U.S. Navy wrote in 1900: "...the food is abundant to the point of wastefulness; it is of excellent quality, well cooked, in large variety, and given with a generous hand, none need go hungry; even the hundreds of sled dogs from the villages greet the cannery ships, gather around the canneries during the season, and grow fat, sleek, lazy and good natured." (Unrau 1993: 272)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 2408.

161. H-1475 A number of pigs await their fate in a pen at the Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek, circa 1915. In the early days of the Bristol Bay commercial fishery, canneries often brought livestock such as fowl, pigs, goats, sheep and cows from the Lower 48 to feed hungry cannery workers and fishermen. This trend explains the name of Sheep Island in the lower Wood River. (Johnson, Sr. interview: April 2006) The caption on the photo reads: "Pigs at Diamond NN cannery tended by Monk Sullivan."
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, Axel Widerstrom Collection P77.040a.146n.

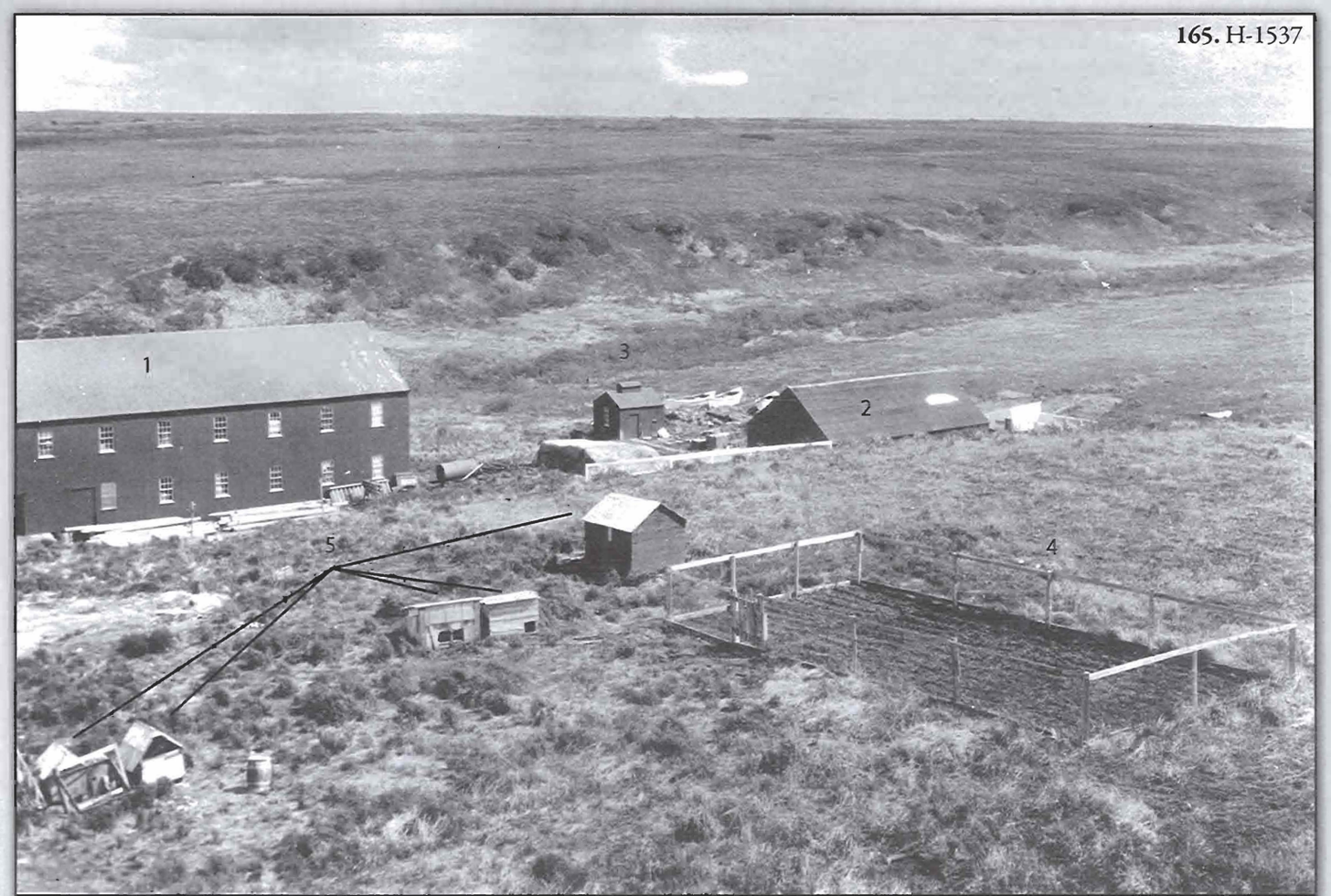


162. H-1530 A cannery tug, probably the *Naknek* or *Sanak* (bow visible on right of scow), tows a bunk scow and a number of sailboats on the Naknek River, circa 1917, off South Naknek. The Frank B. Peterson cannery is visible across the river in Naknek. Bunk scows were generally used by tally scow crews to eat and sleep, but some fishermen were able to eat there after delivering fish. (Monsen, Sr. interview and letter: Dec 2005 and Sept. 2006) Typically, Bristol Bay fishermen stayed out in their sailboats fishing Monday through Friday, and they were chronically sleep deprived because damp oilskins in a damp forecastle between caribou hides and brown bear skins made a poor bed. (Aspelund, Sr. interview: May 2006) Men in the foreground are cleaning boats, a sure sign of the end of the commercial fishing season in late July. The flat bottomed skiffs on the lower right, were perhaps Fraser River skiffs, 20 foot long double-enders. They were not sufficiently seaworthy for the Bering Sea and gradually gave way to the Columbia River sailboat, a 30-foot long double-ender with round bottom, that was to become known as the Bristol Bay double-ender. (Stacey 1982: 12-14)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 2408.



163. H-1493 A cannery tug boat steams down the Naknek River towards Bristol Bay in 1914. The tug has just passed a dory and two sailboats at anchor on the south side of the river. Naknek Point is visible in the upper left. The caption written on the back of the photograph by the anonymous photographer reads: "Beach, Naknek, (South), Alaska.... Naknek River- We did walk across at low tide to Hungry Pederson's cannery- we would do like the natives-look for fish in remaining pools in the sand- flounders, small salmon." Melvin Monsen, Sr., who was born and raised on the Naknek River, cautions that one should take the above claim skeptically because of the existence of a deep channel on the south side of the Naknek River requiring a swim or use of a boat to cross. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection P78-068a. 58n.

164. H-1827 A view looking northeast at the Diamond NN cannery at South Naknek in the 1940s. Several Bristol Bay sailboats are in view by the dock. The boat in the foreground is anchored out from the bow. The mast and boom and oars are visible in the boat. The star on the cannery warehouse was a light signal used to call in tugs that were anchored in the "hole" downriver from the cannery. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Roy and Harriet Smith Collection.

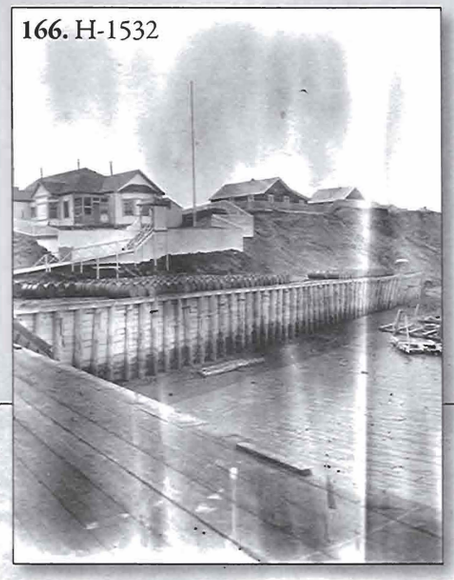


165. H-1537

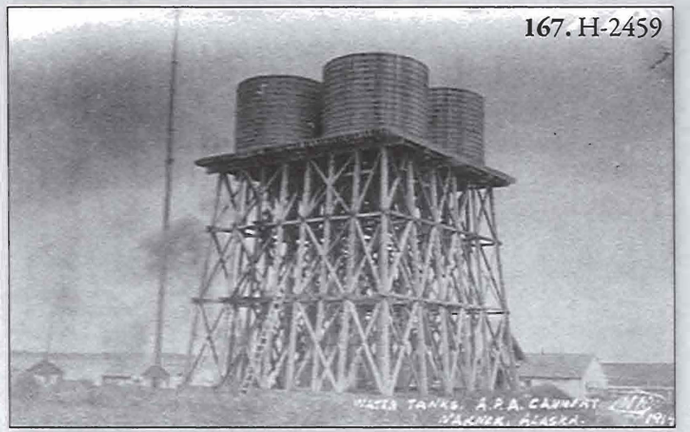
Diamond NN Cannery

1 Provisions warehouse (ground floor), net loft (second floor), still in use
2 Old pig pen, used as storage today
3 Lead house
4 Company garden
5 Smoke houses used by fishermen and cannery workers

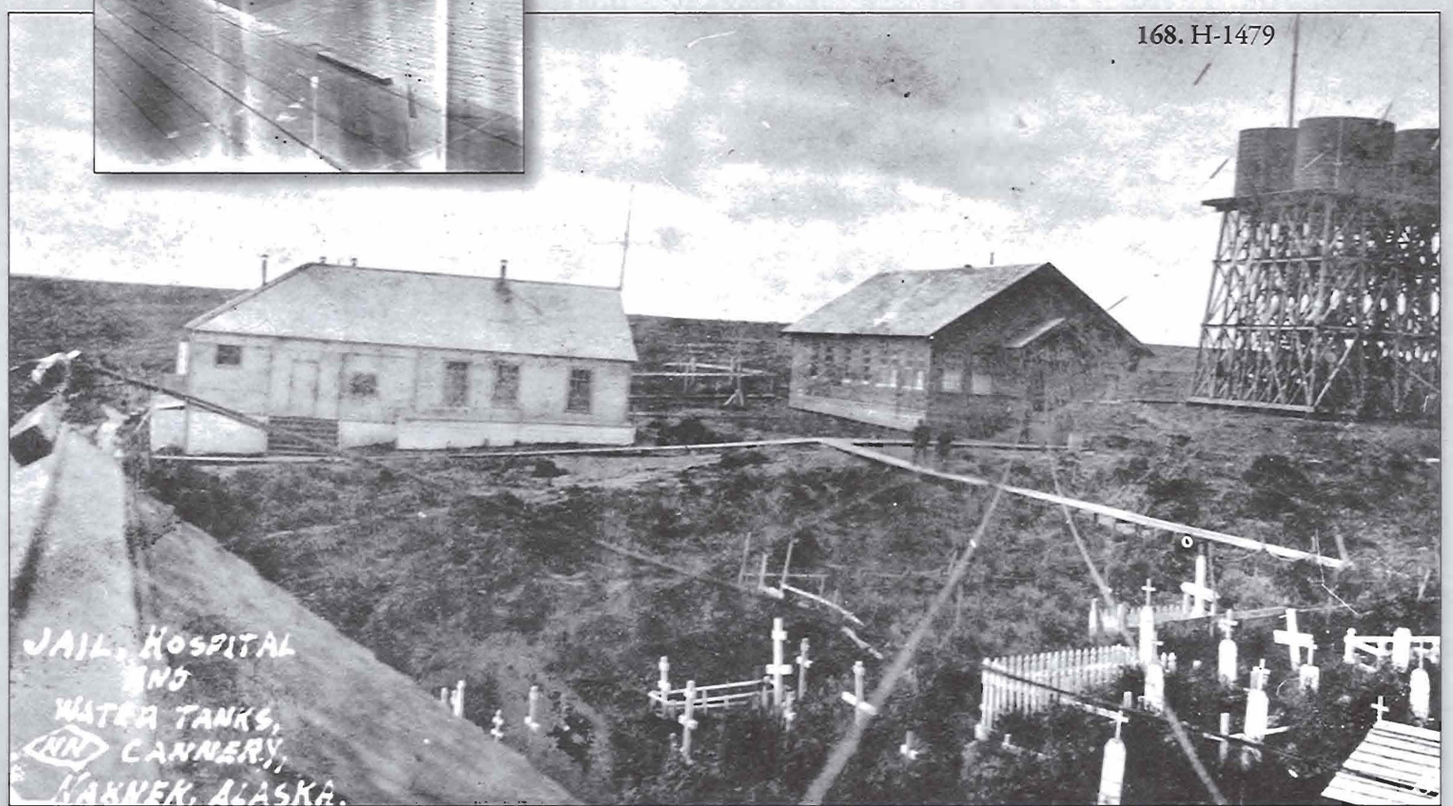
165. H-1537 The provisions warehouse and net loft, left, at Diamond NN at South Naknek, looking toward the southeast across the tundra. A fenced in vegetable garden and some smaller outbuildings are also in view (Zimin, Sr. letter: March 2001). This image is a good example to compare and contrast the scant extent of the alders in 1917 with the profusion of deciduous brush in 2006. *Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb, 4306-5.*



166. H-1532



167. H-2459

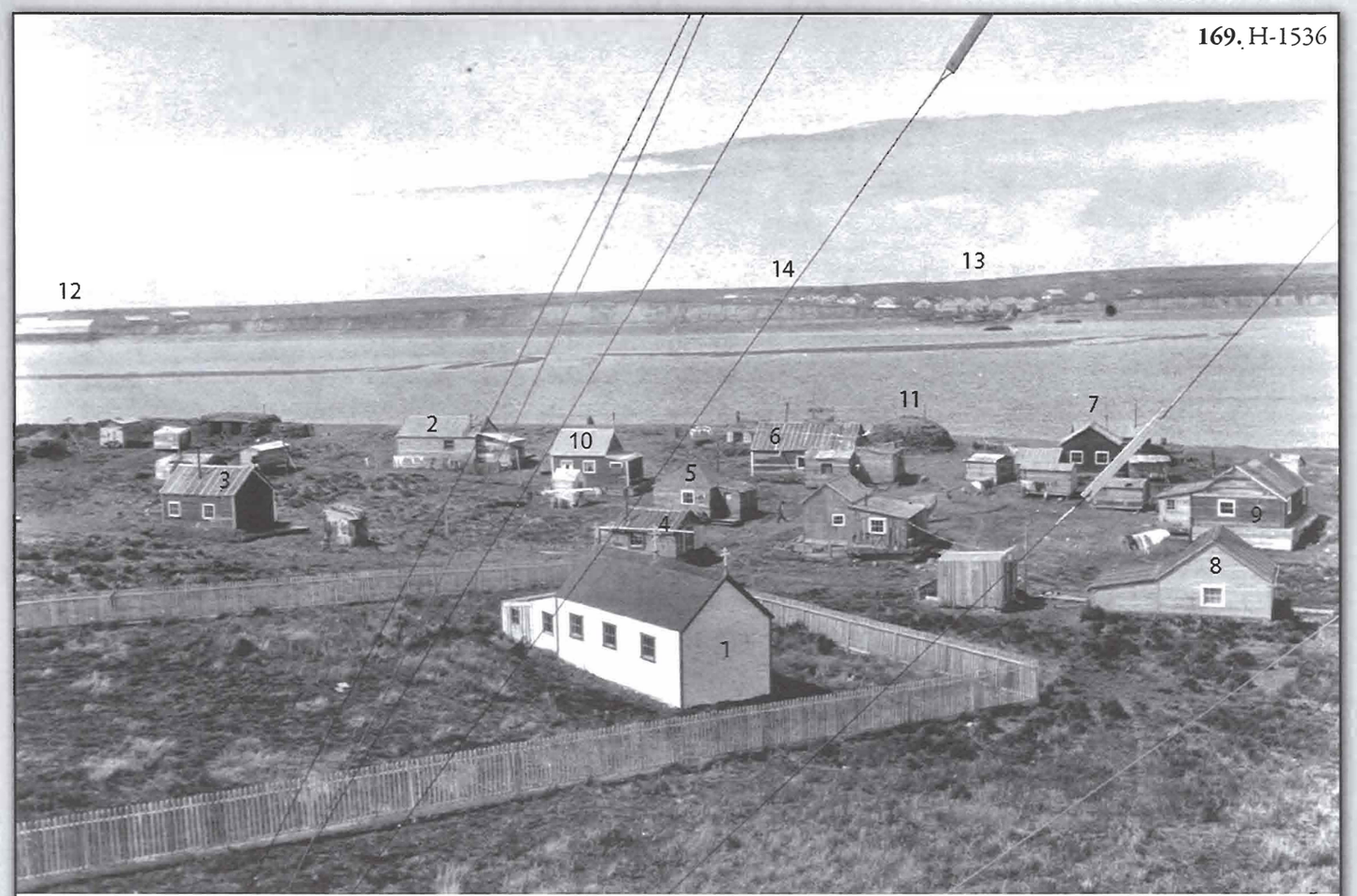


168. H-1479

166. H-1532 The "white house" in 1917 at Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek, where the superintendent lived. The house to the right is the beach gang quarters and third watchman, Billy Regan's house. Numerous 100-gallon fuel drums lie on the oil dock in front of the "white house," and the wooden objects on the beach on the right were used as cradles for tug boats. (Zimin, Sr. letter: March 2001)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4170.

167. H-2459 A 1917 close-up of the intricately constructed fresh water tank tower at Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek. The tower supported four redwood tanks that each held 20,000 gallons of freshwater for cannery use. The water was pumped to the tower from a nearby tundra pond.
Photo courtesy of Melvin Monsen, Jr.

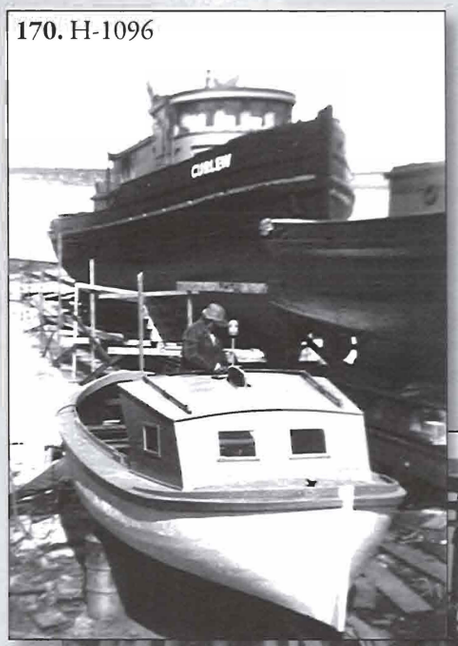
168. H-1479 The jail, left, hospital, center, and water tanks and tower, right at Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek circa 1914-1919. The village graveyard is at the lower right. A wireless antenna is beyond the water tanks. The hospital still stands and is in use as a bunkhouse for the Trident Seafoods cannery. (Zimin, Sr. letter: March 2001) The water tower was constructed of 12x12 Douglas fir timbers.
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection, P78.068a.23n.



Diamond NN and South Naknek

1 Russian Orthodox Church
2 Paul Ansaknok house
3 Nick Holstrom house
4 Nasalea's house
5 Andrew Alenak house
6 Evan Olympic house
7 Eddie Bent house (cannery house)
8 Cannery housing for local fishermen
9 Cannery house
10 Harry Doleman house
11 Barabara-semisubterranean house
12 Northwestern Fisheries Company cannery
13 Naknek Packing Company cannery
14 Naknek Village

169. H-1536 A view of South Naknek village from the Diamond NN cannery water tower, with north Naknek village and the Naknek River in the background. Guy wires in the foreground are to support the wireless antennae mast. In addition to the frame buildings, note the semi-subterranean house on the bank, right center, which was known locally by its Russian name "barabara." (Zimin, Sr. letter: March 2001) It has a metal stovepipe protruding from the earthen roof for venting the smoke from the stove. The labeled structures in the photograph were identified by Carvel Zimin, Sr. who wrote, "These houses may have been lived in by other people; the names are people I remember living there in the late 1930s." (Zimin, Sr. letter: March 2001)
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4304-1.



170. H-1096



171. H-2421

170. H-1096 Nick Zimin's Bristol Bay conversion, the *Anrum,* on the Diamond NN cannery shipways at South Naknek in 1952. The cannery tug *Curlew* is on the ways in the rear ready for maintenance. Bristol Bay conversions were originally 30-foot sailboats and were converted to gas engines and outfitted with a cabin for the 1951 commercial season. (Andrews and Larssen 1959: 108) *Photo courtesy of Annie and Carvel Zimin, Sr.*

171. H-2421 Several fishermen are relaxing on their boats during low water at Diamond NN cannery at South Naknek circa 1916. Two bunk scows are behind the sailboat. The life of a Bristol Bay fisherman was difficult and dangerous, and the occasional nap or hot meal in a warm bunk scow after delivering their catch to a tally scow was quite a luxury.
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.



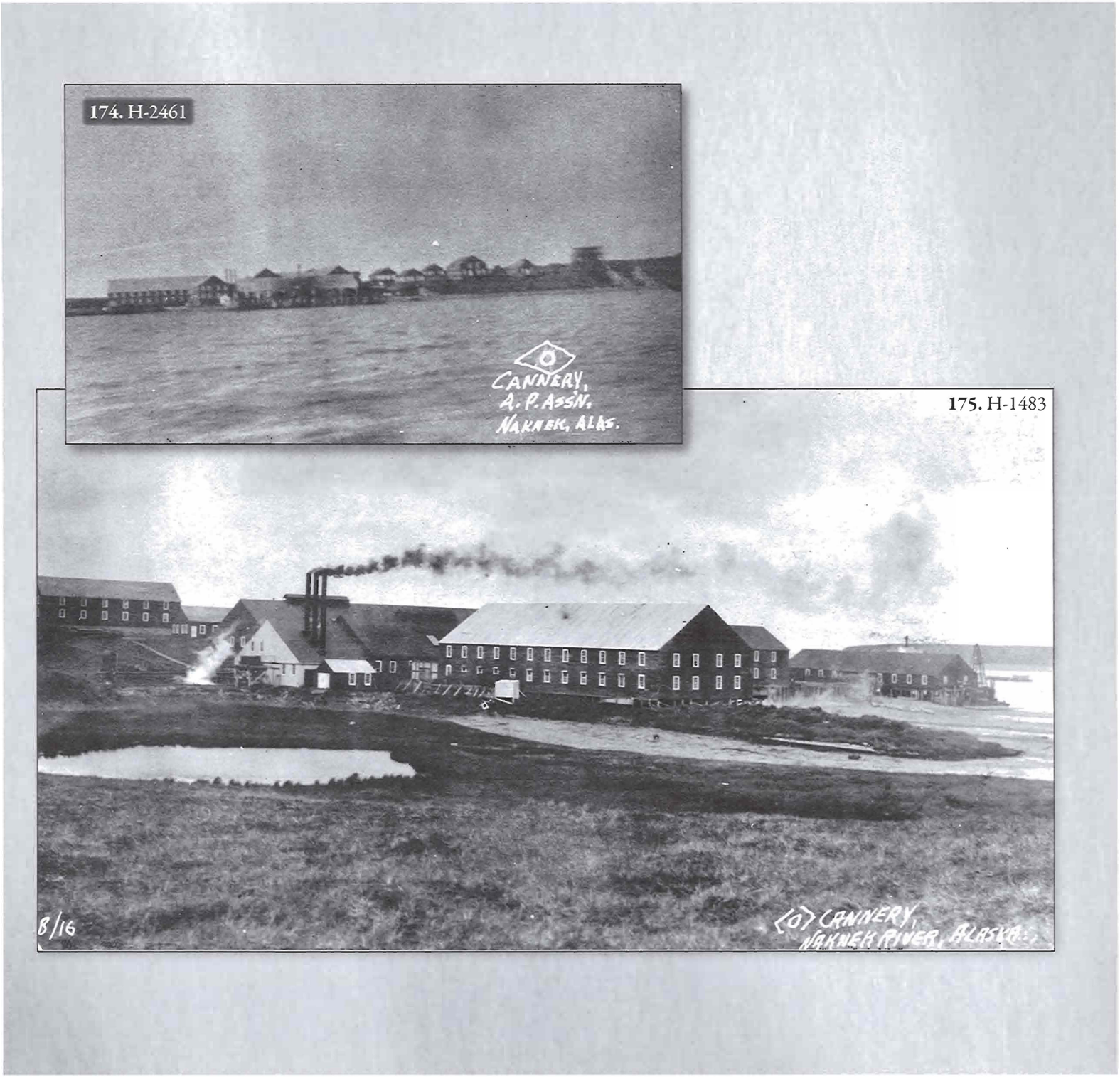
172. H-2425



173. H-2420

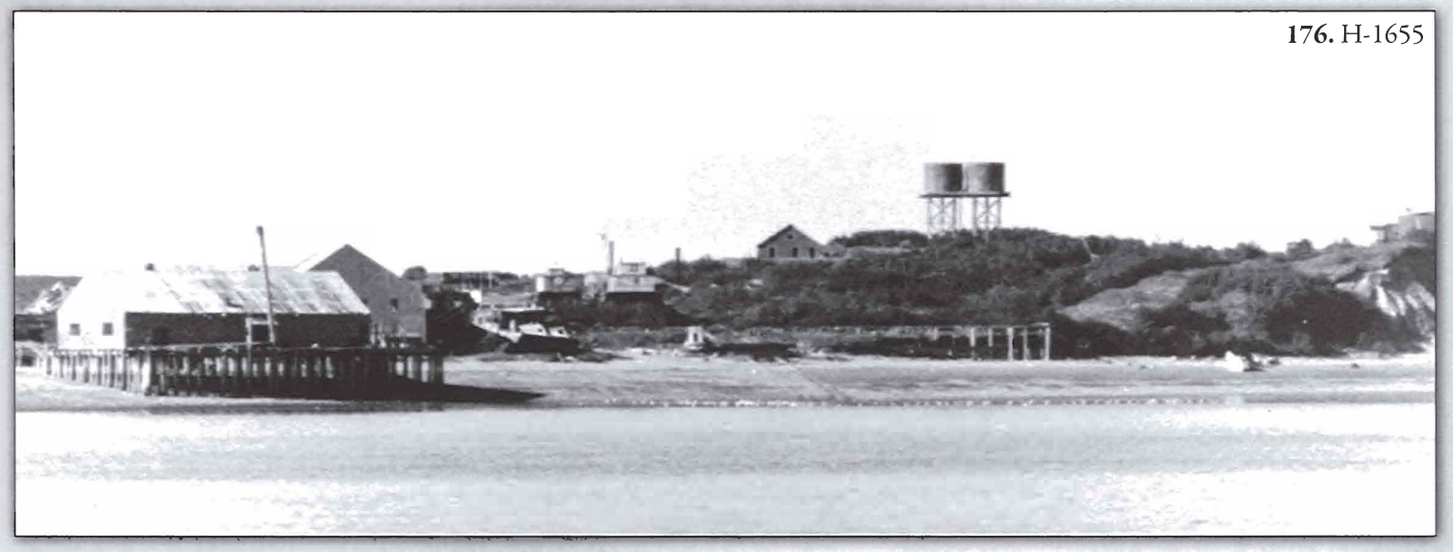
172. H-2425 The Columbia River Packers Association (CRPA) cannery at South Naknek was probably built in 1938 by the Thompson Salmon Co., a subsidiary of CRPA. (MacDonald 1951: 62) By the 1960s, the cannery was owned by Bumble Bee Seafoods. The cannery to the west is the Diamond O, and farthest west was Diamond M that operated between 1901 and 1929. The view at the upper center and right of the photograph is the mouth of the Naknek River. The caption on the reverse side of the photograph reads: "South Naknek, July 1940."
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.

173. H-2420 An August 1916 view of six Bristol Bay sailboats at Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek. The photographer referred to what is now South Naknek as Naknek and present-day Naknek as Paugvik or Bugouvik. The boats are full of booms, sprits, oars, rudders, bilge pumps, center boards, anchors, sails, lines and rope bumpers.
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.

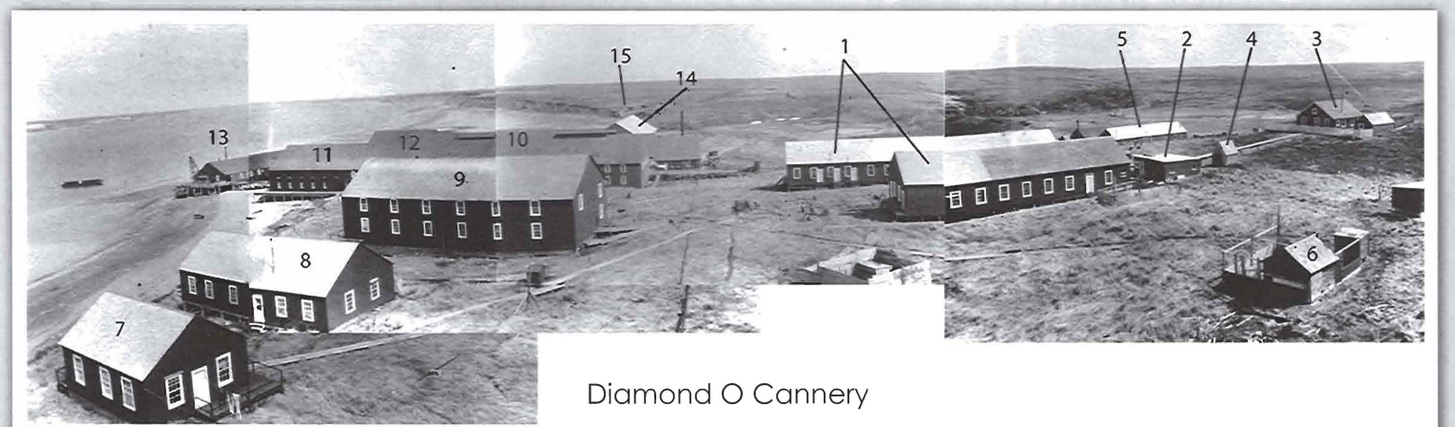


174. H-2461 A 1914 view of the APA Diamond O cannery taken from the Naknek River. The cannery was built in 1901 on the south side of the river and operated until 1929. Thereafter, the APA canned salmon at Diamond NN upstream one mile on the Naknek River and at Diamond M, one half mile downstream from Diamond O. (MacDonald 1951: 59)
Photo courtesy of Melvin Monsen, Jr.

175. H-1483 Diamond O cannery in 1916 on the south side of the lower Naknek River. A freshwater tundra pond is seen in the left center. Smoke billows from three stacks at the cannery boiler, or fire room, while steam vents to the left. Canneries were powered by electricity generated on site by burning coal or bunker c oil.
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection, P78.068a 22.



176. H-1655



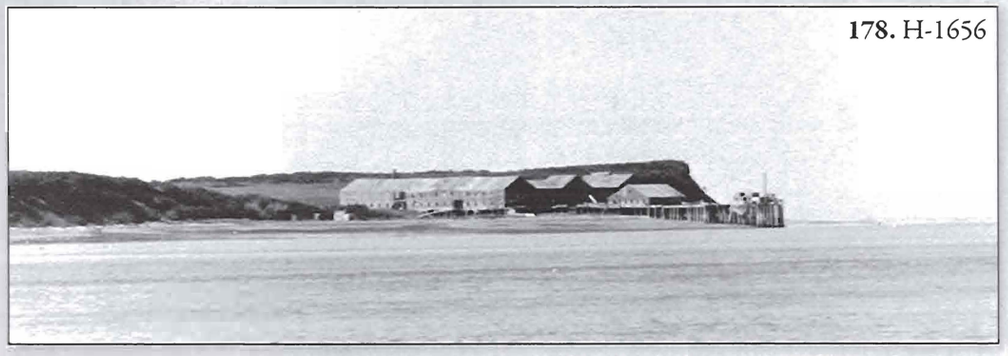
Diamond O Cannery

1 Fishermen's bunkhouse
2 Fishermen's laundry and toilets
3 Second watchman's house
4 Second watchman's smokehouse
5 Chinese mess hall and bunkhouse
6 Cannery pig pen
7 Cooks and steward quarters
8 Mechanic's quarters
9 Store and office (ground floor)
living quarters for office staff (second floor)
10 Canning warehouse
11 Boat storage, can making and storage
12 Carpenter shop, box shop and storage
13 Fish house
14 Boat storage
15 Old shipway

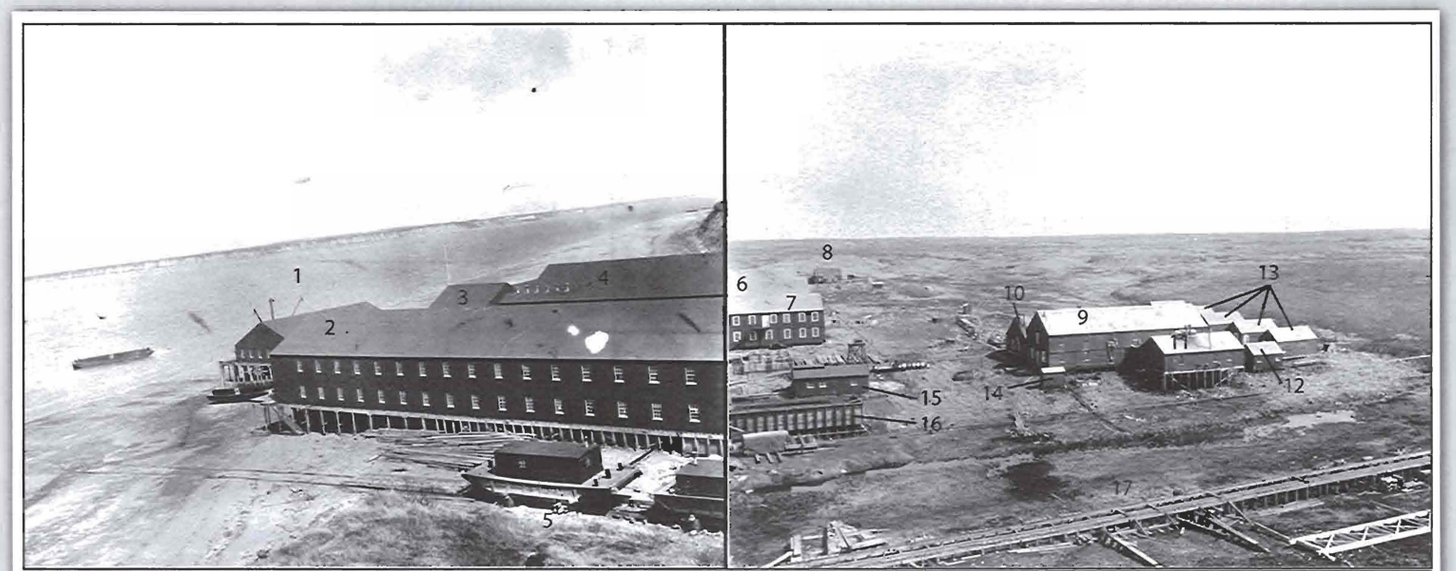
177. H-1540, H-1539, H-1541, and H-1538

176. H-1655 Alaska Packers cannery, Diamond O, on the south side of the Naknek River in 1980 before it burned in 1985. Water towers are seen on the bluff, and power and flat scows rest on shipways just beyond the high water mark. Little remains of the cannery today. *Photo courtesy of Violet Willson.*

177. H-1540, H-1539, H-1541, and H-1538 A panorama of the Diamond O cannery, in 1917, looking across the Naknek River toward Naknek village. A flat scow is at anchor in front of the cannery, and a pile driver is visible in front of the dock in the center of the image. (Zimin, Sr. letter: March 2001) The tundra plain extends away from the river to the southeast. The photo was taken from the water tank tower. The two canneries that are visible across the Naknek River are Nornek and Naknek Packing Company. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006) *Photos courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4308-1, 4309-2, 4310-3 and 4311-4.*



178. H-1656



Diamond M Cannery

1 Fish house
2 Fish boat storage (bottom floor), can making and storage (top floor)
3 Canning warehouse, retort and boiler (fire) room
4 Warehouse
5 Bunk scows on shipway
6 Fishermen's bunkhouse
7 Italian fishermen's bunkhouse
8 Winter watchman's house
9 Chinese mess hall (bottom floor), bunkhouse (top floor)
10 Cannery workers' mess hall and bunkhouse
11 Bakery - Chinese cookhouse
12 Bathouse - laundry
13 Chinese quarters
14 Toilet
15 Lead house
16 Coal bunker
17 Shipway

179. H-1543 and H-1542

178. H-1656 Alaska Packers Association Diamond M cannery was located just downstream from Diamond O at the mouth of the Naknek River in 1980. It was burned in 1985.
Photo courtesy of Violet Willson.

179. H-1543 and H-1542 Diamond M cannery was the last cannery on the south side of the Naknek River. It was built in 1911 by the Alaska Packers Association, and it packed its last salmon in 1941. Two tally scows are on shipways ready for launching. A flat scow is anchored in the river, and across the Naknek River is the Northwestern Fisheries Company cannery (Nornek) in Naknek. The right part of the image shows more of the shipways, where scows and tugs were stored during the winter. Wooden water pipelines and various cannery buildings are on the right. (Zimin, Sr. letter: March 2001)
Photos courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4314-3 and 4312-1.



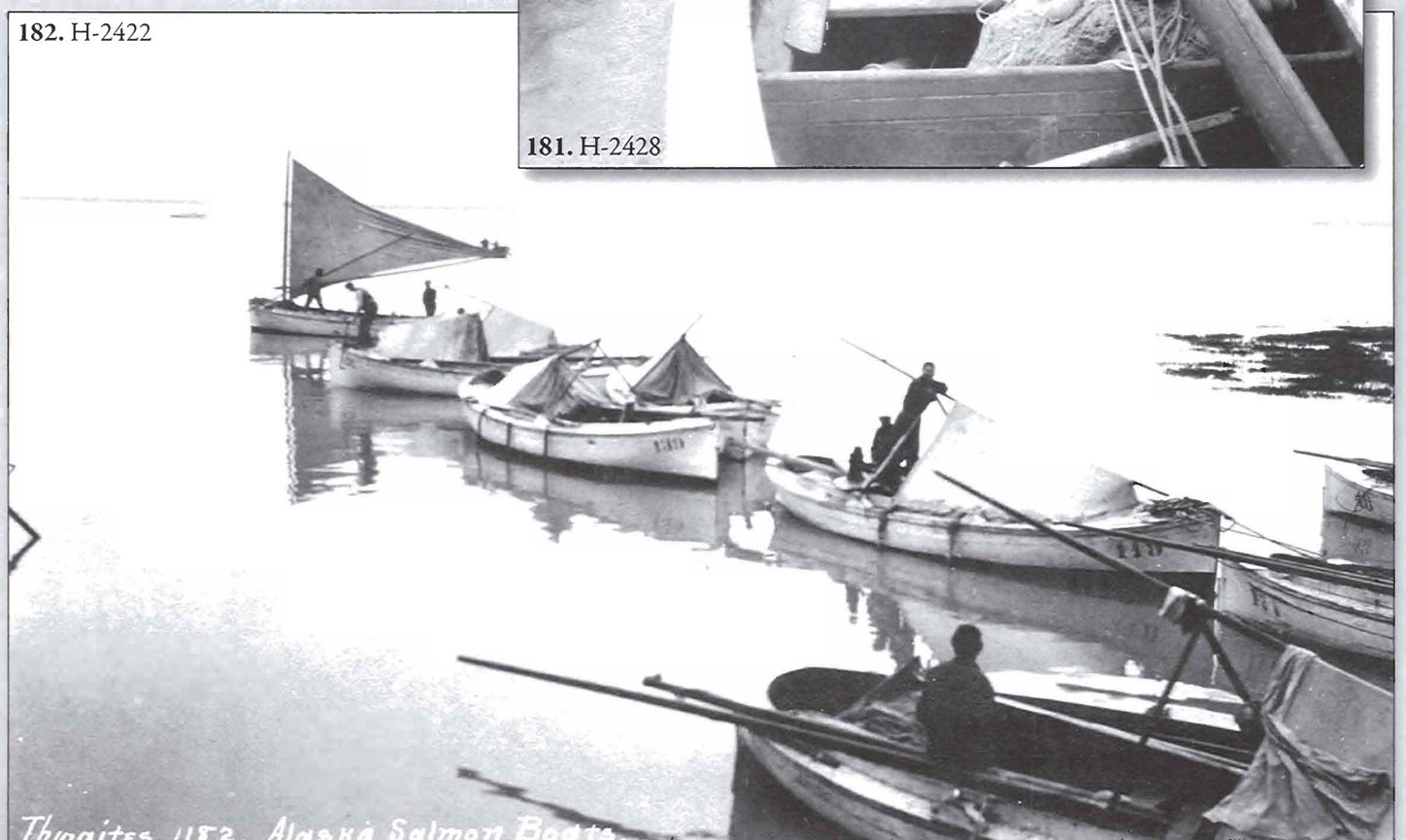
180. H-1361

180. H-1361 Fred Bowman of Portage Creek on Lake Clark, brought one of the first Bristol Bay sailboats to Lake Clark soon after World War II. In this photograph, left to right: an unknown man, Howard Bowman, Fred Bowman and Wasili Trefon on the beach at Hardenburg Bay, the future site of Port Alsworth. Tanalian Mountain is seen in the background. Fred Bowman was a Portage Creek placer miner and blacksmith at Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery at the mouth of the Kvichak River. (Bowman interview: 1974-1998) A pair of airplane floats lie across the sailboat. The tent is up in the forecastle with an oar as the ridge pole and two other oars to support the ridge. Wasili Trefon fished at Graveyard and was drowned while commercial fishing off Cut Bank in 1958. (Trefon interview: Jan. 2007) Trefon also brought a double-ender upriver, but stored it at Iliamna village in the 1950s.
Photo courtesy of Esther and John Alsworth.



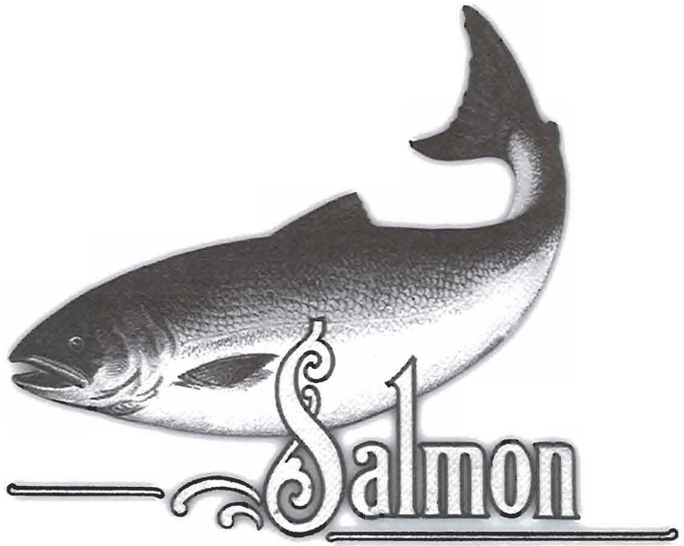
181. H-2428

182. H-2422



181. H-2428 An interior view of a Bristol Bay sailboat at low water. The mast and boom are lying on top of the linen net with cedar floats, and four oars are visible. The bilge pump is in the center of the boat and appears to hold a brush for scrubbing fish gurry from the boat. The tent is up over the forecastle indicating the fishermen are perhaps inside resting. The wooden trough on the right, next to the boom, was used to carry bilge water out of the boat. (Breiby 2006: 1-3)
Photo courtesy of the Samuel K. Fox Museum, Dave and Mary Carlson Collection.

182. H-2422 A John Thwaites image, circa 1910, of a group of Bristol Bay sailboats, probably at the Scandinavian cannery at Dillingham on Nushagak Bay. Most of the boats have their tents up using the sprit for the ridge pole. (Breiby 2006: 1-3) The tent was used to provide shelter from the forecastle toward midships. Fishermen cooked on Swede stoves or coal burning Santa Maria stoves near the tent opening, and they slept in the tent on reindeer hides frequently covered with brown bear hides and blankets. The tents provided fishermen with rest and shelter from the rigorous Bering Sea weather.
Photo courtesy of Candy Waugaman.



Detail of label from "Pilgrim Brand" canned Alaska red salmon.

Down in the Bay and Upriver too: Narrative Voices from the Past

THE BONHAM-WILLIAMS LETTERS

The letters of Lemuel L. Bonham and his brother-in-law Quincy Williams shed light on the obscure activities of late nineteenth and early twentieth century prospectors who searched the Bristol Bay uplands for gold. Bonham and Williams were originally from Wisconsin but had come north to the Klondike in 1898 and soon moved to Nome and finally to the Nushagak-Iliamna country.

Bonham and Williams both worked as carpenters on the construction of Nushagak and Kvichak River canneries about the year 1900. Williams also cooked for a big crew of cannery carpenters building an unnamed Nushagak Bay cannery. Both men used their cannery derived wages to purchase grub stakes and to travel upriver to the Mulchatna country and Old Iliamna village. Their letters are a testament as to how cannery wages in a cash starved region enabled prospectors to penetrate the Bristol Bay hinterlands in their search for "the spot," where the next Eldorado might be located.

Both Bonham's and Williams' missives generally suffer from a lack of specificity as to people's names and locations while in Bristol Bay. For instance, in all of their references to Bristol Bay canneries only one is named by company, Koggiung of Alaska Packers Association on the Kvichak River. However, from other sources it is possible to document the fact that Bonham and W. D. Keefer were sharing a cabin at the confluence of Keefer Creek and the Mulchatna River in December 1901 when an expedition of the Trans-Alaska Company came through from the Kuskokwim country on their way to Old Iliamna village.[53]

Bonham is the better and more revelatory writer and that is especially true when he describes their arduous trip from Nome to Old Iliamna village by way of Nushagak and the Kvichak River in the fall of 1900. Bonham also seems to be the first person to document the historic Iliamna Dena'ina way of hunting the fresh water seals of Iliamna Lake. Bonham is also most laudatory about the generosity of the Dena'ina to his party in furnishing them with transportation, a cabin, and food while they were living at Old Iliamna.

Letter of Lemuel E. Bonham (1853-1925) to Grant and Elizabeth Bonham in Wisconsin.

Iliamna Bay
March 10 1901

Dear Father and Mother

To keep you posted on our past experience it will be necessary to start you on our track at Nome, as I wrote you last from there. Of course this is a cold trail but it is so full of

narratives and incidences that you may be able to sense it with some degree of interest. After exploring much of the country for a hundred and fifty miles around Nome, we were unable to find anything worth taking that was not already staked.

When we were camped at Nome an old Alaska guide and pioneer by the name of Howe pitched his tent within a few feet of ours. His partner in the meantime was in and [talked] about Bristol Bay. We became quite intimately acquainted with Mr. H and learned much about Alaska from him. His partner returned to Nome in a few days, bringing flattering news to Mr. H which was kept secret, except (as he said) to us. And he did not give us any definite information, stating that he wanted to get there first. But told us to go to the head of Iliamna Lake and winter – that we would meet him there when he would tell us the rest – said his mouth was sealed for the present. This is what brought us to this part of the country.

We purchased nine months provisions at Nome ... and took passage on a small two mast schooner for Bristol Bay taking our five dogs that we drove from Dawson to Nome last winter. The *Casco* is the name of the schooner.

It was originally built by a wealthy Oakland man for a pleasure yacht. It was about 100 ft. long – built of good material and in the best of workmanship – two masts and very large sails for the size of the craft. It reminded me of a Whippoorwill – having very large wings compared to size of the body. It proved to be almost submarine. Unfortunately we encountered rain and heavy head winds all the way. It would rear up almost on end, then plunge down and almost submerge. Then turn on either side. One was kept busy clinging to something to maintain his equilibrium. The bunks were well fenced on all sides to keep one from rolling out. The storm would rage so furious that we could use no sail for two or three days at a time. During which time we drifted all around over Bering Sea I think. At any rate we would be two or three days getting back to where we lowered sails. I have had enough of schooner travel – they are a most helpless thing unless it comes their way. We were fourteen days making the trip from Nome to Nushagak (an arm of Bristol Bay). We could have made the trip in four days with fair winds.

One dark night when it was raining I went up on deck and the whole sea was lightened up by phosphorescent light – a very beautiful sight. It looked as thought there was an incandescent light in the pinnacle of each little ripple. Bering Sea as a whole is very shallow – for this reason its surface is soon changed from mill pond smoothness to savage waves thirty feet high.

Instead of being landed at Bristol Bay, we were put off at Nushagak – one hundred miles [approximately 80 miles] from Koggiung where we expected to land.

Here we chipped in with three others and bought a large fishing boat of one of the salmon canneries (there are six canneries on Nushagak Bay). Aug 29 we started for Iliamna Lake – dogs in small boat – provisions etc. in the other. First day made a good run. Anchored the large boat a short distance from shore – went ashore with small boat and pitched tents – next day wind blew and we had to beach boat and unload. We remained there four days before weather would permit of our sailing – Indian Village about 2 miles off.[54] They sold us some fresh flounders. There is about 20 ft. of tide in Bristol Bay at low tide the whole bay seems to go dry leaving mud flats from two to ten miles wide. We were told by those living there to keep along shore and run into the mouth of some creek for safely when the tide went out – so treacherous was the sea. We pulled out again – sea smooth scarcely a swell – going along so nicely it seemed as thought it would remain so for at least a few hours. The tide was receding just as we were passing the mouth of a creek a splendid harbor for small boats. I called the boys attention to if reminding them of what we had been told, and suggested that we pull in and wait for the next tide, and stating that I was afraid to be out after dark on the land much less a treacherous water. They said we must take some chances and were in for following the tide out and come in with it. I was only one of five so of course had to go.

A short time before we could reach shore for the mud flats – or before tide had reached the beach, a storm came up. We anchored the big boat and went shore with small boat nearly swamped. In a few minutes the surf was so wild that we could not go back to the big boat. It was now dark. The storm grew worse. By morning the surf was furious. The large boat drug anchor and soon filled with water and everything in the boat that would float was soon out and going off with the swift tide. A steep bank (almost perpendicular) came down to the beach.

It was on the new or full moon when the tide was the highest – wind blowing in shore, so that the waves were beating heavily against the bank. Both boats were smashed into splinters and everything that sank was covered up with sand and lost. What we did recover was so badly damaged it was almost worthless. We camped a short distance below in a small ravine and remained several days to dry things.

We were then in a very bad predicament – no boat – little provisions – less money, and fifty miles from any settlement. I put a pack on my back (consisting of blanket and a little grub) and started for Koggiung Cannery in the extreme head of Bristol Bay, hoping to borrow a boat at the cannery.[55] Having to travel all the irregularities of the beach, I found it to be about 65 miles. The cannery was on the opposite side of the bay so I had to trust providence or some other unknown way to get over. Providence seemed to smile on me. When within fifteen miles of the cannery I met two Indians in a two-hole bidarka ... made of skins drawn over a delicate frame work.[56] I paid them two dollars to take me the remainder of the way, after night. You will wonder how three could ride in it. They put me between the holes on my back. It was a little too short and I was in a cramped position. But the most disagreeable part of the ride was the offensive smell from the skins the boat was made of. It was covered with porpoise skins. This is the most disagreeable three hours ride I ever took. This was the closed season and the cannery was left in charge of a Swede and Dutchmen.[57]

I told them my tale of woe and asked for the loan of a boat. They said they had no right to loan the company [APA] boats. That they did not know me – that we might run off with the boat, and the company, would charge them $50.00 for it etc. After considerable parleying they decided to let us have a boat – a very good one that would carry about three tons. I started out next morning so soon as the tide started out – one can only go with the tide. It is so swift one cannot even row a small boat against it. There is twenty feet of tide in Bristol Bay. There was a head wind and by hard work and tacking I made the mouth of the first creek sixteen miles below just in time to get in before the tide receded. Fifteen minutes later and I would have been left on the mud flats. The next day I made another creek ten miles on with some difficulty, on account of storm. I remained in this little harbor three days on account of bad weather next day started out for a creek ten miles away, but was caught on the mud flat about two hundred yards from the creek – of course had to leave the boat there until the tide came in. Built a fire on the bank – very dark – tide came in twelve o'clock that night.

I went down and remained in the boat so as to be there when the boat would float. It was so very dark that I could not even see the length of the boat. But after considerable polling and bumping I got the boat in the creek. Bad weather compelled me to remain there three days. The other boys thought I was not coming back with a boat, so they made a rude wagon of the remains of our wrecked boats, and began moving the outfit along the beach with the dogs. They met me fourteen miles from where we were wrecked. Thus is as far as they could have drawn the stuff, on account of mud beach. Here we loaded dogs and everything in the boat and made our way to Koggiung, taking us four days. I mention this experience in detail more to give you some idea of the difficulty in navigating this coast in a small boat. This [Diamond J] cannery consists of four large building about 50 by 200 ft. besides some smaller buildings. The canning season lasted five weeks last season. They employed two hundred Chinese, fifty Japs [*sic*], eighty white men and twenty Indians.[58] They put up one hundred forty three thousand cases of forty eight cans each. The fish are caught by white men – two men to each boat. They are furnished with boat, net, provisions etc. and are paid 2¢ per fish. There are sixteen distinct varieties of salmon. "The Sockeye" is the kind used here principally – though they label them in four or five different brands to suit the trade. Some canned here are labeled "Columbia River Salmon."

The two men who are looking after the cannery during the closed season are married to squaws [*sic*]. They were very kind to us. [The] Harry Patch of Lancaster party is with us. He traded some carpenter tools for another boat. A very poor leaky thing it was too. We remained at Koggiung five days. Then went ten miles up the bay to where a large new cannery is being build.[59] We shingled nearly one side of a building two hundred feet long. Then built a small house for a trader who is going to put up a store there. He is also married to a squaw.[60] We bought a few provisions and pulled out for Iliamna Lake. This was Oct. 8 the tide runs the Kvichak River about forty miles, or half way to the lake. We could travel only when the tide came in. We let the dogs run along the bank. The first day "Bryan" got caught in a steel-trap that some Native had set for fox. I wish you could have [heard?] him howl – perhaps you did.

Up near the lake this river divides into several channels [Kaskanak Flats]. It took us five days to reach the lake [Iliamna] an Indian village at foot of lake.[61] We went up the lake about twenty five miles the first day. Wind set in from [the] north and we were obliged to stay there three days – between squalls we made another short run, and bad weather detained us two weeks. I went out hunting ptarmigan one morning, had gone but a short distance when I saw a fresh bear track – very large one. I went back to the tent and got the whole gang of dogs – thinking we might find him. I heard the dogs making a fuss in the brush. I thought they had found the bear. I went in where they were and found them tearing a porcupine to pieces and eating it – skin quills and all. They were a sight to behold – mouth and head full of quills. We pulled all out we could. Some quills went down their throats, which resulted in the death of three of the best dogs we had – "McKinley", "Nero", and "Ned." I regretted this more than any loss we had sustained in Alaska. "Ned" and "McKinley" were very excellent dogs. "Bing" got quills in his foot and went on three legs about a month. "Bryan's" head swelled up – big as two heads. The quills are still working through him and he is very poor. The dogs treed another porcupine and I climbed the tree and poked him out. We were careful not to let the dogs get at him. We ate this one ourselves. They are very fine eating.

Reached the head of the lake Nov. 8 [Old] Iliamna Village is six miles up a river [Iliamna River] that runs into the lake near the head of this river was frozen over so we could not get up to the village with the boat, so we camped at the mouth of the river.

The Natives [Dena'ina Athabascans] learned we were there, so (unexpected) they came down with two dog teams and moved us up to the village where we have been ever since.[62]

Iliamna Lake is over one hundred miles long [75 miles long and 20 miles wide] and about 25 miles wide. I think they are the largest lake in American territory, except the Great Lakes.

It has many islands in the upper half. Among these islands are plenty of hair seal [harbor seal].[63] Perhaps the only place on earth where seals are found in fresh water. The Natives went hunting them once this winter and killed twelve. They gave us some. It is very good, but tastes a little fishy. They hunt them only when the lake is frozen over, and the weather very cold. The seals live under the ice, and have places at the islands where they come at frequent intervals to breathe – a small hole in the ice. The Native finds these holes – they cut a hole in the ice about a foot across, and two or three feet from the hole where the seal comes to breathe. The Indian sits by this hole he has cut in the ice with a spear. So arraigned that when it is plunged into the seal the end is detached to which is fastened a strong rope. When the seal comes to breathe the Native sees him through this hole he had cut in the ice and throws the spear into him.

The Natives furnished us a good cabin to live in this winter. They would bring us something nearly every week. They are the

most generous people I ever met. The old chief especially.[64] He is half Russian. His son reads and writes the Russian language. They embrace the Russian Catholic [Orthodox] religion. As also do all the Natives in this part of Alaska. Their language is somewhat jumbled up with Russian. Nearly every village has a church – and a church keeper as they call him. He collects the money for the missionary who moves around about once a year on a collecting tour – this is very wrong. The Natives as a rule are poorly fed and poorly clothed and need every cent they have for provisions etc. Game is getting scarce, and they must soon live on "white mans grub". Missionaries who are honest and devoted to their work are scarce as white black birds.

I have seen them selling provisions, steel traps, clothing etc. That was no doubt purchased with the pennies collected from Sunday school children who no doubt hadn't enough to eat and wear at home. There are hundreds of Natives in this country with missionary blood coursing their veins. Improve the stock. Perhaps that is the mission for which they came. Think of this when you drop your pennies in the missionary box. The government should do something for the Natives here. Put up a few good free schools and ship up a few cargos of provisions each year. Nine out of twenty one died at Newhalen – a village on the shore of Iliamna Lake.

I am bumming this paper and he has only a few sheets left so will have to omit much that I would like to say. I am at this present time on Cooks Inlet, or at the mouth just opposite Kodiak town. I have been here four weeks to get some provisions off a steamer that was to have arrived here Feb. 26. The same steamer run in here Feb. 1 with passengers from Seattle, bound for the headwaters of the Kuskokwim River. This is the best winter rout 12 mile portage from here to Iliamna Village, hence 50 [25 miles] miles down the lake [the Portage, present-Iliamna], hence 6 miles [Newhalen Portage] portage to [Newhalen] river between Clark Lake and Iliamna Lake, hence 13 miles up river to Clark Lake, thence 60 [30 miles] miles up Clark Lake to Keejak [Kijik] (Indian village). Hence 140 miles do north to point of late discoveries on Kuskokwim. I took 500 lbs. for a stampeder from here to Keejak. We expected to get provisions off the boat on her next try and strike out for the head of the Kuskokwim at a point of 63° N latitude and 154 W longitude. The party I took a load for is from California. He told me they had found a good thing. As high as $17.00 to the pan – said he would put notices along the trail informing me of the locality. Quincy is over at our winter quarters and I am over here on the coast stopping in an old shack with some other fellows who are waiting for the boat, "the ship that never returned" it is now so late that I am afraid we could make it to the head of the Kuskokwim before the break up.[65] The trail goes over several mountains and we would have to do much relaying. I will return to the [Iliamna] lake, then go over to Coal Oil Bay [Oil Bay] 50 miles where I hear we can get a little grub. Coal Oil Bay is only 40 miles up Cooks Inlet from here – They have struck coal oil there and machinery is expected in there next spring to work it. We may go down to Koggiung and work at the cannery next summer and move up the Kuskokwim next winter.

If I had some paper I would draw a sectional map of this country that would give you a better idea of how it lies – its rivers, creeks, lakes etc. I believe that good places and quartz mines will be found on the head waters of the Kuskokwim.

I am very anxious to hear from you all. Our health is good. Winters very moderate here. January (the coldest month) averaged 3 1/10 above, 35 below was the coldest, and 50 above the highest. The lake did not freeze over until Jan 8. It rained much of Dec., the climate is modified by the influence of the Japan Current.

I presume Mable and Lura are teaching. Charley and Nora are farming I suppose. And Laura – well I suppose she must be married by this time. What is Harry doing?

Address me at Koggiung I might get a letter there. Love to all, L.E. Bonham

L. E. Bonham, letter of March 10, 1901, to Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Bonham, in the possession of Laura L. Ley of Cassville, Wisconsin and used with the permission of Mrs. Ley.

NOTES

[53] Unrau, *Lake Clark*, 364.

[54] The Yup'ik village of Ekuk located on the east side of Nushagak Bay about one mile south of Clarks Point. Like many early twentieth century new-comers to Alaska Bonham did not distinguish between the various Native ethnic groups, instead referring to all Natives as Indians.

[55] Koggiung cannery was owned by the Alaska Packers Association (APA) and was known as Diamond J cannery.

[56] Here again Bonham refers to Indians when the Natives he met in a bidarka are almost certainly Yup'ik men from Koggiung or Paug'vik villages on the Kvichak and Naknek Rivers respectively. Bonham made a sketch of the bidarka in his letter.

[57] The Euroamerican wintermen at Diamond J cannery could have been Nels Olson (1865-?) who was born in Sweden and Frederick J. Roehl, Sr. (1859-1924?) who was born in Germany or perhaps Rudolph Buchert (1865-?) who was related to Roehl and also from Germany and lived at Koggiung in 1900. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Entry for Koggiung, National Archives, Alaska Region, Microfilm Publication, Cabinet 12, Drawer 3, Anchorage.

[58] It is doubtful that "twenty Indians" were employed at Diamond J, it is more likely that the Natives were Yup'ik from nearby villages of Koggiung and Paug'vik. It is not certain when the first Dena'ina Athabascan Indians worked at Diamond J but certainly some were employed there as fishermen or cannery workers before World War I. It is thought that Jack Hobson (1868-1949), the first Euroamerican to marry into the Inland Dena'ina community probably helped some of his in-laws and friends from Nondalton work at Diamond J before 1913. Hobson began working at Diamond J in 1901 and continued on each year through the 1920s, acting as a "intermediary between the inland Dena'ina and cannery managers at Bristol Bay." Ellanna and Balluta, *Nondalton*, 238.

[59] The large new salmon cannery was probably Hallersville built by the North Alaska Salmon Company in 1900-1901.
[60] The trader was very likely Frederick J. Roehl, Sr. who moved from Koggiung to Hallersville early in the twentieth century to start a store, Frederick J. Roehl, Jr. was born at Hallersville in 1907.
Frederick J. Roehl, Jr., interviews, 1994-1998.
[61] Bonham's "Indian village" at the foot of Iliamna Lake is the Yup'ik village of Igiugig.
[62] The Natives from Old Iliamna village that Bonham met on the Iliamna River were the Iliamna band of Dena'ina Athabascans.
[63] The Harbor seal, *Phoca vitulina*; there is a small population of seals in Iliamna Lake, one of the few populations of seals living in fresh water lakes in the world.
[64] The "old chief" at Old Iliamna was Cusma Riktorov or Rickteroff (1838-1919). His father, Savva Riktorov (1808-1884) was a Creole from Kodiak who worked for the Russian America Company and moved to Old Iliamna in 1850s. Znamenski, *Orthodox Eyes,* 29, 289.
[65] Quincy refers to Quincy Williams (1852-1932) Bonham's brother-in-law.

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Detail of label from "Pirate Brand" canned Alaska salmon.

Letter of Quincy Williams (1852-1932) to Nora, Althea, and Melvin Williams in Wisconsin.

Nushagak, Alaska
Bristol Bay
June 13, 1901

Dear Nora, Althea, and Melvin

I will write a little tonight to let you know where I am. Sam and I are working for a company building a cannery.[66] We are carpentering get $2.50 per day and board and 28 cents per hour for over time and we generally work 13 hours that is 3 hours over time that brings us 3.25 per day. We did not work much over time until lately for they [had] nothing much to work with until the last ship came and since that we have been working long days. They had a fellow cooking and he could not cook a little bit so the superintendent and the head carpenter kept dinging me to cook until I had to say yes. So commenced to cook for about 40 men on a little cast-iron stove No. 8, and I guess I was pretty busy but I got along pretty good. I had to have breakfast at 5:30 coffee and lunch at 9-30 dinner at 12M, supper at 5 P.M. and sometimes lunch at 9 or 10 P.M. and I didn't get much sleep and I didn't like it very well but I told them I would cook until the ship came, and then the cook on the ship was to cook all summer. I cooked about a week after the ship came and could of stayed in all the time if I wanted to but I did not get sleep enough and the head carpenter told me if I wanted to get out and could get out he would give me light work. He told me I wouldn't loose anything by cooking. There are about 20 men working here (miners that are prospecting in this part of the country) and they and lots of others wanted me to stay in the kitchen but I would rather be outside, we have been working 33 days [besides] the overtime, the wages seem very small to me for I have always got good wages when I did work but it has been very little that I have worked for wages. I don't know how long I will stay here. I think until I get money enough to go some place else. I am going to quit running around for it takes all the money I can get to live on and traveling expenses I may go back to Nome if I don't find anything here ... There are quite a good many here that are going up the Nushagak River and then up the Mulchatna River there are quite a number that have been up there and are going back but I am unsettled as to what I will do...
Quincy Williams

Quincy Williams, letter of June 13, 1901, in the Quincy Williams Collection, Alaska and Polar Regions Collections, Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

NOTES

[66] Three canneries were built in 1901 in Nushagak Bay and it is not known to which cannery Williams is referring. In 1901 the Alaska Salmon Company built a cannery near the mouth of the Wood River. Alaska Portland Packers built a plant on the Nushagak River now known as Peter Pan in Dillingham and Columbia River Packers Association built a cannery on Nushagak Bay at Clark's Slough, later known as the "Creek cannery."
MacDonald, *Chronology,* 59.

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Letter from Lemuel E. Bonham (1853-1925) to Mr. and Mrs. A.G. Bonham.

Nushagak, Alaska
July 10-'03

Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Bonham
Hurricane Wis

Dear Father and Mother.

Your letter came to hand soon after date-that is soon for this country. About three months is late news up here....

I heard through a friend at Kayak Island that Charley had been at Iliamna looking for me. I am sorry to have missed him. It seems ... he might have learned of my whereabouts. All those Natives know me and know where I went from there. Also some of the men who worked for that company at Iliamna knew of my whereabouts.[67]

A few lines showing how the salmon industry is conducted may interest you.

Around Bristol Bay there are fifteen salmon canneries and two salting stations in operation owned by different companies. The Alaska Packers Association own eight of them and one salting station. At each of the canneries are about one hundred Chinese and Japs, and about one hundred twenty white men. The Chinese and Japs at each cannery come under contract through a boss Chinaman [*sic*] who receives a certain amount per case. The company at this cannery guarantee them at least forty thousand cases. The boss Chinaman employs the other Chinese and Japs, and feed them. This boss Chinaman of course figures his profits on a basis of forty thousand cases. But this cannery usually packs from fifty to sixty thousand cases each season. It is said that this boss Chinaman makes over six thousand dollar in a season. They do most of the fish cleaning and handling the cans from the time they are filled until they are boxed. They also help make the cans. The cans are made here.

From eighty to ninety white men at each cannery come up under contract as fishermen. They bring the ships up and take them back for which they receive fifty dollars each. They work about a month after they arrive here before fishing begins. That is gratis - or for the privilege of getting to fish. They receive 2 ½ cents each for the fish they catch. The company furnishing them everything. They (each two men) are furnished with a good boat of about three tons capacity, and a fish net about seven hundred feet long by fifteen feet deep. There are about seven hundred of these boats on the bay. All the canneries on the bay use up about a half million fish per day when running at full capacity. The bay is about thirty five miles long. The fishermen often go some distance out in the sea to meet the fish as they come in. The fish run by spurts or in large schools. Some days they will be very numerous, other times scarce. The "King Salmon" run first. They are the largest and best of all salmon. They are often caught here that weight over fifty lbs. Only a few thousand cases of King Salmon are put up each season. The Red Salmon and Dog Salmon run next. Then the Humpbacks and Sockeyes [red salmon], and last the Silver Salmon. More Red Salmon are canned than all other kinds together not that they are any better, but like red apples they are more salable. It requires about fifty men cleaning fish to keep one cannery going. The head, tail, and fins are cut off. Then the fish are thrown into patent [?] machines that do the rest.[68] They are then thrown into a large vat of water pitched out of that into another vat of clean water, then into a car where they are taken to the cannery. Here they are first run through a machine that cuts them into about four pieces each. Then to the fillers. Each cannery has two or three fillers that fill about fifty five cans each per minute they next go to the topper – from the topper to the crimper – from the crimper through the acid gutter. Then through the soldering machine and down a shoot where they are picked up by hand and placed in a large iron crate that holds about a hundred and twenty cans the small hole in the top is then soldered when they are lowered into a vat of water to see if any can leak – if so they bubble when they are removed and re-soldered. Six of these crates of cans are put on a car and run into the retort or roaster. Each retort holds about five of these cars, they are roasted (by steam) 45 minutes in a temperature of 216 degrees, then removed and a small hole is punched in the top of each can to let the steam out. This hole is then soldered and they are run into another retort and roasted again 55 minutes in a temperature of 244 degrees. A retort is about the size, and made in the same way as a large steam boiler with a large iron door in front that closes air tight. They are next dipped into a solution of hot lye to clean the cans, then hosed off with cold water. Then placed on a large platform to cool. When cool they are again tested by tapping on the head to see if any leak or are short weight (not full) it is told by the sound. These are charge[d] up to the boss Chinaman, as it is carelessness on their part, and it is agreed that he stand[s] the loss. To avoid this loss the Chinamen bury most of these cans after night...

A large part of the fish are caught in traps. These traps are so constructed by pens, shoots and wings that most of the fish can be caught that go up a river. When the trap is too full they are let out into pens where they are kept alive until needed. Such a wholesale slaughter surely cannot continue many years without greatly diminishing their numbers. The government collets four cents revenue on each case (48 cans) the Alaska Packers Association pays something over forty [$40,000?] dollars revenue in Alaska every year. Salmon canneries are scattered all along the coast of Alaska from Bristol Bay to the British line nearly all the white men at these canneries are Scandinavian from the superintendent down.

They will all put up a big pack this season. There is a heavy run of fish.

The ships will leave about Aug 25. One of the steamers will start to Dutch Harbor tomorrow for potatoes, mail and will send this letter on it.

I trust this may find you happy and enjoying good health.

Your prodigal son
L. E. Bonham

Will write you again when the ships leave.

L. E. Bonham, letter of July 10, 1903 to Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Bonham in the Quincy Williams Collection, Alaska and Polar Region Collections, Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

NOTES

[67] Bonham probably refers to the venture capitalists of the Trans-Alaska Company that were based in San Francisco and planned to build a 560-mile horse powered tram line from Iliamna Bay to Norton Sound to transport miners and supplies to the Nome gold fields. Unrau, *Lake Clark*, 202.

[68] Perhaps Bonham is referring to an early proto-type of the so-called "Iron Chink"[*sic*] that mechanized the butchering of salmon and reduced the need for Chinese laborers.



Industrial Sabotage at Diamond X, A Judicial Record 1906

The Findings Of A Coroners Jury Into the Deaths of Seven Men at Diamond X Cannery On The Kvichak River July 24, 1906.

Between 1884 when the first Bristol Bay cannery was built at Kanulik and 1950 some 51 plants have been built in western Alaska, most on the Bay.[69] Canneries have tended to have short life spans and most have burned. How many fires were accidental and how many were arson is not known.

Diamond X cannery was built in 1900 by Kvichak Packing Company, part of the Alaska Packers Association, about five miles below the Point Roberts (Diamond J) cannery at Koggiung village. Diamond X was a 3-line cannery that had a capacity of 2,400 cases per day. The cannery was run jointly by the Point Roberts plant superintendent and connected by telephone and a plank trail that small cars traversed. In 1900 Diamond J and Diamond X canneries packed 147,092 cases of salmon. After the 1906 fire the cannery was rebuilt and operated until 1941 when it was abandoned. The remnant structures, still very substantial albeit dilapidated in 2005, were burned in a human caused fire during the fishing season.

The 1906 Coroners inquest provides an insider view into the murky crime of industrial arson that killed seven workers and destroyed the cannery. As the inquest shows, labor strife was a fact of life at Bristol Bay canneries and it raises the question of what might have been the true cause of the great 1936 Bristol Bay Packing Company cannery fire at Pedersen Point, a few miles away. The ultimate fate, within the criminal justice system, of the alleged arsonists, Lee and Rowan, is not known.

In the United States Commissioners Court, Koggiung June 24, 1906.
Bristol Bay Precinct, Third Division, Territory of Alaska.

In the matter of inquest upon
David Lundy; W. Silva; W. Silva; Manuel Wolk; Joe Perry; Wm. Perry; and Axel Johnson; Deceased.

Koggiung June 24, 1906.
The following proceedings were had.

Ordered the United States Deputy Marshal, Russell S. Bates to summon six qualified jurors to act as Coroners Jury.

The following persons were summoned and appeared. Gus. Langerman; Alfred A. Roebke; L. H. Woepke [?]; H. Osterhaus; Gustave Peterson; P. J. McKeon.

Upon each of the said jurors being duly sworn.

The Jury was instructed to view the remains of the bodies on which the inquest was to be held.

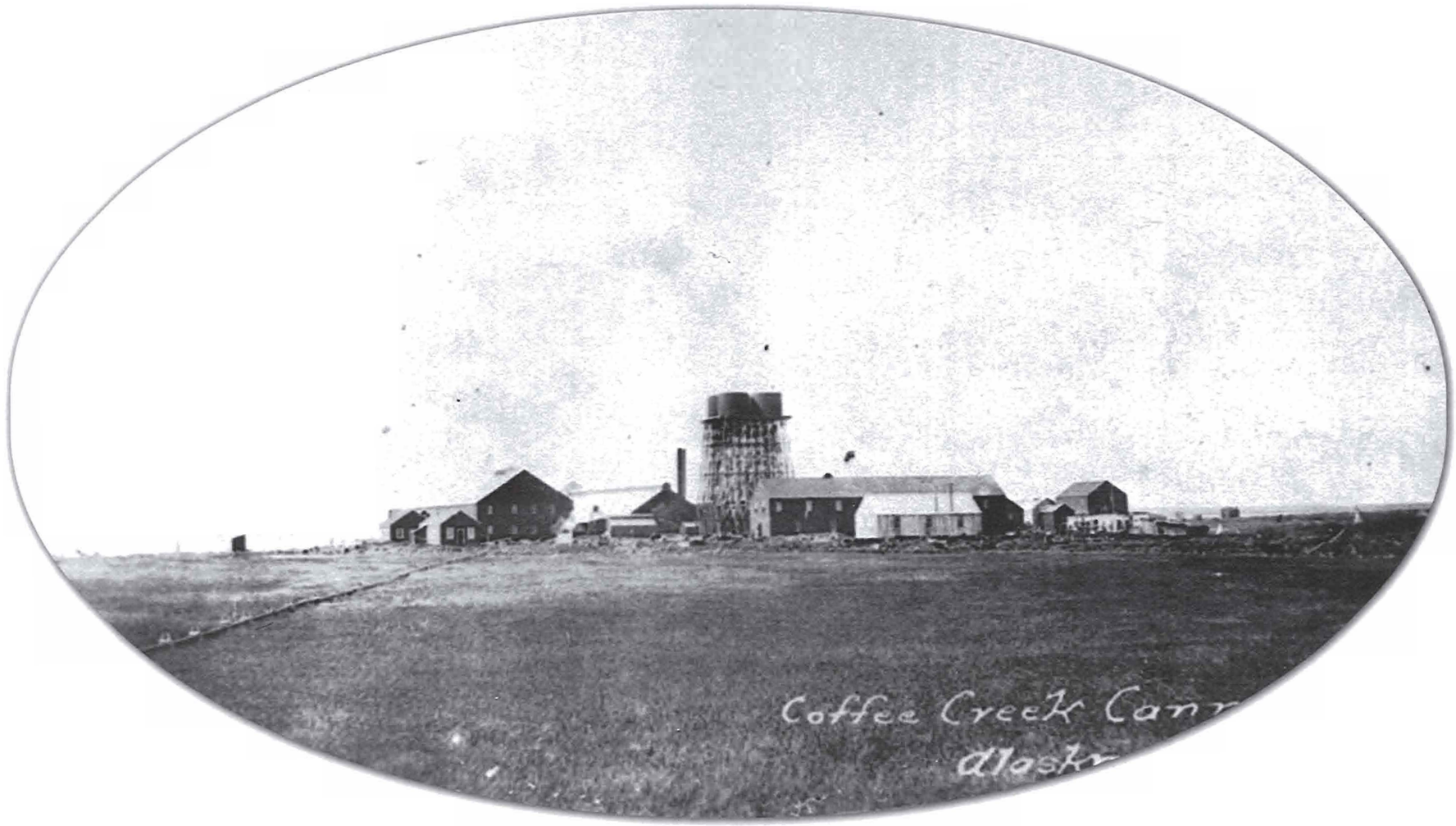
Court adjourned for 10 minutes.

On the jury returning to court.

Dr. Beverly S. House [?] called as witness and duly sworn makes the following statement.

I am a practicing physician and I certify that I examined this morning, June 24, 1906, the remains of seven human beings and that I found them burned beyond identification. It is my opinion that their death was due to fire.

COFFEE CREEK – DIAMOND X CANNERY



H-1227 Diamond X or Coffee Creek cannery as seen in this circa 1909-1912 photograph. The photograph was probably taken by Dr. H.O. Schaleben, medical doctor and superintendent of reindeer herding at Koggiung. His wife, Gertrude, was the school teacher at the Koggiung school from 1909 through 1912. It is not entirely clear, but it is reported by Lewis MacDonald, in his chronology of the history of Bristol Bay canneries, that APA built Coffee Creek cannery in 1900 at Bear Slough, about 3 miles down river from Diamond J, a saltery that had been converted to a cannery in 1896 by the Point Roberts Packing Company. (MacDonald 1951: 59) Coffee Creek cannery was burned in 1906 by two disgruntled laborers, resulting in the deaths of seven employees. The cannery was rebuilt in 1908 and began canning again in 1909. (Unrau 1993: 265, 278)

Photo courtesy of Ray Schaleben.

James Day called as a witness and duly sworn, testifies:

I was working at Diamond X Cannery making boxes before it was burned down. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among us men who were working for the Chinamen, as we had to work too many hours each day; and we did not get the food we were promised.

We had often spoken of leaving our jobs to try and get something else to do, and at noon on the day of the fire everybody seeming to be very much disgusted; I spoke of now being the time to leave. George Rowan said there were other ways of getting even with the company; by firing him. I, asked fire who?

He answered, fire the cannery. I told him such talk was all foolishness or something to that effect.

Rowan seemed much excited and in earnest and said; Oh well I can't tell you anything anyhow.

On my refusal to assist in carrying out his proposition he told me: For God's sake to say nothing, and if I saw it going up tonight for Christ sake to say nothing.

I told M. H. Lee of the conversation between Rowan and myself, and of the answer I had given him.

Lee said it was foolish in some ways, and in others it was not; just then the boss came in and we stopped talking.

Rowan and Lee seemed to be great friends. I went to sleep about 11 o'clock on the night of the fire and was first alarmed by hearing a great deal of noise.

I got out of bed and on going to the door could see the cannery was on fire, so I went back to alarm the others and get my belongings which I carried about 100 yards from the bunk house.

I met Rowan and Lee coming in as I was going out. They were giving an alarm.

Earlier in the evening I saw Rowan and Lee going out of the bunk house but did not see them return until the alarm of fire. I do not think the boys who where burned were either drunk or under the influence of opium at the time of the fire, as none of them were in the habit of drinking liquor or using opium with the exception probably of one.

I was first induced to speak of what I know of the fire, by one Harry Finnerty telling me that Capt. Whalman wished to know of everyone; what they know. On the next day I told the Captain all that I knew.

Albert K. Laven called as witness and duly sworn, testifies:

I was employed to work at the Diamond X Cannery and while there worked in the box factory.

I was out hunting on the evening before the fire, arriving home about 9 o'clock, and was in the bunk house all of the intervening time before the fire.

On the afternoon of the day of the fire, while I was in the bunk house sorting some cards, I saw George Rowan; M. H. Lee and Jack Day sitting together. I was near their bunk at the time, and overheard Rowan say; there is another way of getting even; "by firing cannery."

Day asked; What? And Rowan answered "fire the cannery."

Day answered, "That is foolishness," or something like that, and then they seemed to quarrel.

I did not hear Lee say anything.

On the night of the fire somewhere about 10 to 10:30 o'clock, I saw Rowan and Lee walking in front of my bunk toward door, and afterwards heard door slam and supposed they had gone inside.

I did not see them again until the fire had spread about half over the cannery.

Rowan and Lee seemed to be very friendly.

The noise of the men getting out of their bunks and the noise general excitement awakened me at the time of the fire.

I saw Lee going out of the bunk house with a bundle in his hands, while the fire was burning.

I saw Lee and Rowan at the place where we found the remains of those who were burned to death, and their faces were both very white as if they were scared.

There was general dissatisfaction among the men on account of too long hours of work a day, and on account of the food.

Harry Finnerty called as witness and duly sworn, testifies:

I came to Alaska employed to work at the Diamond X cannery and while there worked in the box factory.

There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the men on account of long hours and poor food.

I overheard George Rowan saying the cannery ought to be fired.

I afterwards heard Rowan saying to Jack Day; "for gods sake say nothing of what I told you," and something like "surprised if it went tonight."

At the time of the alarm of fire I saw Rowan and M.H. Lee by my bunk. They were dressed but I did not notice their having any bundles in their hands.

I carried my things to a safe place about 300 feet from bunk house and placed them with articles belonging to Rowan and Lee, which were already there.

Court adjourned until the jury rendered verdict.

Jury returned the following verdict;

Koggiung, June 24, 1906.

We the jury impaneled to hold an inquest on the bodies of, David Lundy,

W. Silva
W. Silva,} Brothers
Manuel Wolk,

Joe Perry
Wm. Perry
Axel Johnson

At Diamond X Cannery, do hereby find that death was caused by fire on midnight May 31 and we find that said fire was caused willfully and maliciously by M.H. Lee and Geo. Rowan, employed by Ah Hoe, a Chinese at said cannery.

Signed, Gus Langerman
Alfred A. Roebke
L. H. Woepke
H. Osterhaus
Gustave Peterson
P. J. McKeon, Foreman

After the verdict had been received the remains of the deceased were given to H. C. Jensen, Superintendent Koggiung Canneries to be decently interred.

John Niven, U.S. Commissioner and Coroner
Bristol Bay Precinct, Alaska

Bristol Bay Probate, Coroner Inquests, Insanity, Guardians 1903-1917. Alaska State Library, Division of Archives and Records Management Services, Record Group 508, Record Series 409, Box 05307.

NOTES

[69] MacDonald, "Chronological History," 59.



Carl Johnson, Bristol Bay Highliner

Carl Johnson's recollections of his days as a Bristol Bay fisherman working at "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's salteries at Igushik and Squaw [*sic*] Creek provides an insider look at the workings of an early twentieth century salmon salting station.[70]

Probably the first salting of salmon in the Bristol Bay by Americans occurred in the early 1870s on board San Francisco schooners anchored in Nushagak Bay. Since John W. Clark was a trader at Anvik on the Yukon River by 1869 it is very possible that he was one of the first commercial fishermen in the Nushagak in the 1870s.[71] Clark was the main trader at the Alaska Commercial Company Nushagak post by 1880.[72] An article in the *Alaska Herald* from March 19, 1872 calls Nushagak salmon, presumedly kings, "delicate and relishable."[73] In 1883 Arctic Packing Company built a saltery and cannery at Kanuluk and 1884 canned 400 cases of salmon, thus inaugurating the canned salmon industry in Bristol Bay. In an era and a place were industrial refrigeration was not available canneries continued to salt salmon in wooden barrels.

Salt fish was a highly sought commodity in late nineteenth century San Francisco both as pickled salmon for the bar room trade, as part of the inducement for the free (but salty) lunch. Salt salmon filets were also freshened in water and then boiled as the main course for dinner in many homes.

Carl Johnson was born in Sweden and first came to Naknek in Bristol Bay from San Francisco in 1909. He went to work for "Whitehead Pete" Nelson, the "Salt Fish King" of San Francisco in either 1913 or 1914.[74] Johnson recounts the entire salting process from catching the fish, the spitting, salting, barreling, and finally the completely salt cured red salmon bound for California. During his best season Johnson claimed he and his partner caught 44,000 fish in 18 days of fishing.

Interview with Carl Johnson, Early Twentieth Century Bristol Bay Saltery Man and Fisherman.

Carl Johnson, unknown interviewer and undated, at Fort Mason National Historical Maritime Park, San Francisco, J. Porter Shaw Library, Oral History Collection, P SH 349 J6.

"I left old country [Erland Island, Sweden] and I came to San Francisco 1909. In 1910 I got a job to go to Alaska. I went up to Naknek.[75] Went up to work on the beach gang.

Then in 1910-11 or 12 I was in a gasoline schooner named *Expansion*, she belonged to [J. P.] Haller in Bering Sea.[76] Haller was a small company [North Alaska Salmon Company].[77] They went up to put up salmon for commercial use. Ran out of San Francisco. Then they sold to Libby McNeill. Then I quit her ... 1913...

1913 was a good year up there, was the first year ["Whitehead Pete"] Nelson took his claim in Squaw Creek he took the claim ... and started to fish.[78] They had a good season. They had no quarters to sleep in, just tents. Plenty fish. They had big tanks they put up to cure 5,000 barrels of fish... Then afterwards they put them in barrels. They put up about 5,000 barrels ... then everybody was up Squaw Creek. Pete was a man gave a good chance to fish, you see, bigger limit than Packers [APA] had.[79] He was 2,000 a day – 24 hours, and 3,000, and

CARL JOHNSON, BRISTOL BAY FISHERMAN

H-2467 Carl Johnson, standing, fished for saltery man "Whitehead Pete" Nelson in Kvichak Bay off Squaw Creek circa 1920. (Nelson website: http://techprose...) Johnson is pushing off with an oar, while his partner pulls a net full of red salmon over the roller. In the background other fishermen are busy with tasks, and tally scows lie partly obscured by fog.
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco National Historical Park, John Johannesen Collection, G.6.7.879.



1918 was a good year. So I heard so much about Pete, so I get acquainted with him, and I ask him if there is a chance to go fishing for him.

Squaw Creek is little bit of a creek what was up the land a little bit ... runs out the big river [Kvichak].[80] Always was a tough place to fish because you always had low water, and you had to clean out , you see, before the low water. The creek had go dry before ... the [Kvichak] never go dry ... we had to get the boats out before we got stuck ... Every tide!

He ["Whitehead Pete" Nelson] used to tell us fellows, go ahead and fish, don't drown yourself... The highest I ever pulled, I pulled 44,000 fish... That's about 18 days fishing... At that time we had 8 or 9 cents a fish... We made $1,600 it was about 4 months from the time we leave San Francisco in all... The highest we had in one day up there, 5,400 fish. In one boat ... in ... 24 hours...

Ed Nelson ... he used to be a cooper, a splitter. He went up for Pete all the time. He split 10,000 fish one day! You have a table like this, you have a little hook here, and a little spike here, always two headers cut head off first, then they hand the fish to the splitter, he grab the fish, he put it on that hook..., and he have a sharp knife ... and he take one stroke in the back, and takes the [back] bone... Oh he was a strong wrist, he didn't do it all the time, but he had a race one day, and he did 10,000 fish [cut out the back bone.] Nobody up there could touch that ... time ... 10,000 fish in all, that's going some ... then the fellows take them away [the dressed fish] wheel them away, and put them in a big tank. Big tank hold about 400 barrels- 200 lb. barrels. We had to repack after the season is over, then we had to take them out of the big tank and put them in barrels. Nobody likes that job, that was tough work ... because we supposed to get extra pay for that. But some way or another, some flim flam, Pete Nelson, I guess, he was in with the second head of the fisherman's union. We had a meeting before we left [San Francisco] ... up in the Union Hall one day. The Fisherman's Secretary said, you boys ... you must remember you have big limit and you must give a little bit. So we didn't get no pay. They only got pay one year, $5.00- a day one year. That's all. Repacking.

...they wash it [split fish] and throw it in the tank. Couple fellows up there wash it, and what you call "slime" it, flip the skin inside out, ... clean them off, and then they throw [fish] in boxes on the wheelbarrow, then they wheel them up to two fellows who are salters. They are standing in the tank and they throw it [salt] all around the tank... [The tank] is empty then, fill up with fish... Then put salt on it. In 10 days is supposed to be cured... Round [wooden] tanks. A couple of men are down in there stowing the fish. Fellows wheel them in wheelbarrows and throw the fish in to them in a big throw ... they put another layer of fish, then salt again, then another layer... They [salters] standing in the middle [of the tank] ... they ... step on them [fish] and they walk all around the tank, and of course, get full up, and even big stack a top. They get to sink down...

[the tank was] About 10 feet diameter and 8 to 10 feet deep ... [it held] 400 barrels of 200 lbs. each. [Then] you put them [salt fish] in the 200 lbs. barrels, then they ready for shipping and sell. Then they refill them, [the 200 lbs. wooden barrels] put [salt] pickle in them ... that is for the fish to cure. [After the fish goes in the barrel salt pickle or brine is poured in the barrel] ... to keep [the fish] fresh. ["Whitehead Pete"] had about 30 [big tanks] ... [in] big shed, and a gangway in the center to walk the wheelbarrow ... they just throw the fish over with the "pew." But Pete was very careful to handle the fish with pew ... when we throw the fish up in the boat he always ... hollered, "tail or head." He didn't want it in the belly or the back. It make mark, ["Whitehead Pete"] wanted his fish put up good. He had a good name to put up fish ... he had his [label] in [the barrel] ... where laying the pickle ... they put one on top and one on the bottom [fish in the barrel]. "Guaranteed, extra Alaska red, put up by Pete Nelson in ice cold water, up in Alaska"...

...we always had about 100 tons of salt, we were loaded with salt when we went up ... the [*Thayer*] ... half full of salt ... then all the barrel ... all ready made ... but then ... [they] take too much room ... so they took all the staves in bundles, took all the barrels apart, and tied all the staves in bundles ... then they put them together up there... All the stores on top [decks] ... nets, ropes, cork lines, lead lines. One thing about Pete, it's hard to get hold of a net because he never had no "spare nets" ... the [APA] Packers, you got all kinds of nets... But with Pete it was pretty hard to get nets. One old shackle of net from last year and one new one for the year. You're supposed to have 100 fathom of net ... First when I start up, we had one shackle. Then we had 3 shackles, [of] 55 [fathoms each], because it's easier to handle. In case of heavy seas, easier to handle short net than big net. Because sometime you liable to get too much [fish], and you have to either cut the net, or do something in order to save the rest of it.

...in a good year they always catch the fish up river ... when the fish come in, they stay outside for awhile, then they go up ... river. They stay around... They stay about 8-10 days and that time you catch your fish ... if it's a good season. That's why 1918 and them years ... they were good years... I know one year up in Alaska was limit 1,200 fish for 19 days ... That's when I fished for Haller, the year before I went for Pete 1913. 19 days – 1,200 fish a day, and you quota in 2 hours ... all the fish in the boat, went home. You throw the net, time to pull it in... Oh, in them days, them years, there were fish.

In Squaw Creek that was a hard place to fish, you had to go home every tide ... you never get an hour for yourself to sleep...an hour or two, and then you start in again ... you get a number of fish one tide, you can anchor for 8 or 10 hours and go to sleep. But you couldn't do that with Pete ... He had bunkhouses ashore, but you couldn't use them ... not in fishing season. You stayed in the boat just about all season ... Saturday and Sunday you go home and get your provisions ... You sleep any way you could make the best of it. Blankets and oilskins, you had your oilskins on all the time ... you had to sleep on the floor and then maybe it was wet, blankets wet, under that little canvas [tent] up forward

... one year I think it was 1918, too, we was 2 boats fishing for 5 days straight- no sleep. Day and night. But then you are played out. I don't know if I throw the fish in the boat or throw them overboard.

...we spend about a good 3 weeks ... on the beach [at the end of fishing season]. Working with the fish ... you had to repack all the fish, and that year, 1918, we had 9,000 barrels. We had 9 boats [fishing boats] put up 9,000 barrels ... we were 18 fishermen that year, and ... about 12-15 men on the beach...

The splitters- they was paid... I think [Ed Nelson] maybe was paid high boat- the only fellow have high average. There were 2 splitters ... then there was 2 salters, then there was 2 headers ... he ["Whitehead Pete"] had about ... 35-37 men altogether.

...Before or after the season ... you had to coop all the barrels to put all the fish in. Before the season you had to put all the barrels together, all the staves. Put the bottoms, and they're all ready.

He ["Whitehead Pete" Nelson] had the *Rudolph* [a tug] up there one year up in the cannery for Packers, she burn up, big fire, over in Squaw Creek—Squaw Creek is right across from Koggiung.[81] When you go up Koggiung cannery where I used to fish, you go right across to Squaw Creek. That's the channel. From Kogguing to Squaw Creek. From Graveyard.[82] [to] Pedersen's Point, and out to the "ships."[83] That where the channel is... We went from here [Squaw Creek] to the cannery where I was fishing lately for Packers. Kogguing—they call it Kvichak cannery now... Then you go from Squaw Creek to Graveyard. That's Libby's. They call that Kogguing now. So Packers [APA] had to take Kvichak ... then ... channel goes to Pedersen's Point. Used to be called "Hungry Pedersen's." He was no more hungry than anybody else. Was just a nickname, that's all. From Naknek you run to Pedersen's Point.

Naknek is on the ... Naknek River.[84] The ships is anchored north of Naknek River. Libbyville, Libby's cannery is ... between Graveyard and Pedersen's Point.[85] Naknek goes in on Naknek River just below Pedersen's Point. Six canneries there on Naknek River.

...Old man Mickey [Alan Nelson], the Salter, took a cow up and he took care of the cow going up, milk it, etc.[86] Pete told Mickey, he was an old man, he says, "You've been handling the cow right along going up." He put the gangplank down and was going to talk the cow ashore. So Pete told Mickey, "You take the cow ashore because you are used to the cow, and the cow is used to you," Well, the cow been out to sea about 30-40 days, ... the cow went wild when she saw the green bank , and she took a jump and jumped overboard... Jumped down the gangplank. She dove right in the mud on her hind end and sit right in the mud. After the cow came Pete he landed on his hind end alongside the cow... In the mud! Soft mud there. Cow went over, and Pete had only a rope. And she dragged Pete along, too. Pete walked ashore, crawled out of the mud, he feel embarrassed, fisherman all laughing, talking, maybe saying hooray. So Pete comes flopping, and his wife was on the beach, and she says, "Pete, where's the cow?" Instead of "Pete where you been," or "Are you hurt," ... So he says "_____ the cow!!" That made me laugh and cry, that story. Like she thought more of the cow than she did of Pete. But that was before my time ... must be way back in 1900 or 1903 ... [or] around 1910 ... Pete was up for another company before salting fish. He was up for Whitney Fish Co.[87] He was paid 50 cents a barrel to put up the fish, and Mrs. Nelson was paid 10 cents a barrel to be the cook for Pete. So she made money, too. Pete made a good stake, so he said next year heck with that putting up fish for others, I can put up fish for myself, so he went in his own business.

[Johnson describes two historic photographs]. This is Natives what he ["Whitehead Pete" Nelson] had working up there—2 or 3 working on the fish, cleaning fish. There's one of the ships was up there in 1912. Belong to Haller. Haller Cannery. That's the *George Curtis.* Skysail yarder.[88] Only skysail yarder on the coast.

Squaw Creek is gone. Just the big river [Kvichak] now. Even had to put big bulkheads here all around, otherwise the whole cannery [Nakeen] be washed out. When Pete took this place, was filled in ... filled in about a mile out. This hill here what Pete took was belong to the Indians [Yup'ik]. There were all kinds of Indian [Yup'ik] villages there.

I know a [ship] all she could pack was 3-400 barrels of fish. All she was loaded with was salt. They get in a big storm, and this fellow told me all the salt aboard melted, was nothing left when they come up [Bristol Bay]. She was looking so bad, they had to go over the side when she heeled over in a bo's'un's chair in the water, and every time she heeled over, they bang in a little oakum in the seams to get her tightened up. By golly, they sailed 'til they got up [to Bristol Bay].

...from Pete's house up on the hill [at Squaw Creek] , down to the salt house, was about 2,000 feet. Had two planks to walk on, 2 x 12 inch planks. One day Pete was walking down—big leather boots on, took his cap off on sidewalk, get something in his head. Wave with his cap. Get something on his mind... We was looking in the bunkhouse when he comes walking down. About 50 times a day, up and down, up and down. Down to salt house, up to white house [Nelson's residence]. And he comes sliding down the planks. Some fellows who work for him say, by golly, we going to go together and buy Pete a couple roller skates, he can hardly walk. And every 10 feet or so he'd stop and throw his hat up and down, something on his mind.

That time was in slough up in Nushagak River, one of those small creeks.[89] Igushik was up around there.[90] He ["Whitehead Pete" Nelson] had one building there, sold that to Libby's. Then we went down there about 5 miles out and built another [salting] station. I fished up there 1919 in that station. He had Koggiung and Kvichak up Squaw Creek, but we had long trip, we had [a] 40 day trip coming up [from San Francisco to Bristol Bay on the *Thayer*]. So Pete was up ahead of us that year. So he was going to go home. He thought we were lost... We run into bad weather,

head winds ... and we drifted in on the mud on Nushagak River, we anchor there. We went ashore 3 or 4 hours, they sent us ashore to find out if [Carl] Ake was up.[91] He was the engineer ... Pete and him was up. Anyway, we went ashore, this was 1919, and it happens that year the flu was going around up there. Everybody was laying there dead. Windows was all gone, dogs was running loose, ropes was all chewed, all starved out... And when we went ashore, we had our pockets full of rocks to throw at the dogs, because they were like wolves, they was so loco. We wanted to try to find out where Ake was. They [Natives] died off. That was in the winter. They was all moved away, just was alive a little farther up [stream]. Indians [Natives] do that, you know. Anything happens in a village, they move to some other place. We couldn't find Ake. This fellow was over in Koggiung, Squaw Creek, so Pete says we fish here. He had 3,000 fish the whole season. No fish at all ... I made $300.00. And we had to build a long wharf, so we call it Oakland Long Wharf... We build a dock there by ourselves. Worked three weeks for nothing... Them days, you see, they could have you do everything for nothing. Same as Packers [APA], we have no strong union ... Up to the [salting] station at Igushik, because, you see, there was no dock there. Every year you had to build one. Was 200 feet long... Before the fishing season started. We were late too, Libby's [at Nushagak] was out fishing already a long time when we come there [Igushik]. "Bummest" season we ever had. Pete already go to Kogguing. Was better—up Squaw Creek, was only boat go there [to] fish, he done good. Had about 9,000 fish. Pete always said when he comes from Kogguing, "Oh boys, the fish gonna come, you betcha, the fish gonna come." That what he say, "You betcha."

NOTES

[70] Squaw Creek is a small creek flowing into the Kvichak River on the north side, near the mouth. In 1925 Nakeen cannery was built near the creek.

[71] Charles P. Raymond, *Reconnaissance of the Yukon River*, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1900,17-41.

[72] VanStone, *Eskimos of the Nushagak*, 59.

[73] Unrau, *Lake Clark*, draft, 142.

[74] Fort Mason National Historical Maritime Museum website: www.techprose.com/Samples/SFMaritime/thayermoreinfo.htm

[75] Naknek is located on the north side of the Naknek River on Bristol Bay, Bering Sea, and was formerly known as the center of the Bristol Bay salmon canning industry. It was about 20 miles south of "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's saltery

[76] The original *Expansion* was used by Libby's canneries until the mid-1940s. Melvin Monsen, Sr., letter to John Branson, September 20, 2006.

[77] J.P. Haller was the owner of the North Alaska Salmon Company based in San Francisco and built several canneries in the Kvichak, Nushagak, and Egegik Bays in the very early twentieth century. In 1916 Libby, McNeill & Libby purchased all the canneries belonging to the North Alaska Salmon Company. MacDonald, *Chronological History*, 60.

[78] "Whitehead Pete" M. Nelson sold his saltery to the Nakat Packing Corporation some time before 1925 and it was converted and enlarged to full cannery operations. The new cannery was called Nakeen and it was owned by the national grocery chain, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, also known as the A & P.

[79] Packers refers to Alaska Packers Association (APA) that operated Diamond J at Koggiung village and Diamond X at Coffee Creek, nearly across the Kvichak River from Squaw Creek.

[80] Kvichak River is a 50 mile river draining Iliamna Lake into Bristol Bay and historically has been the largest red salmon producing river in the world.

[81] Koggiung village was a Yup'ik village on the south side of the lower Kvichak River about 18 miles north west of Naknek. In 1895 Point Roberts Packing Company built the Diamond J cannery near Koggiung, the cannery was also known as Kvichak.

[82] Graveyard cannery was located about 6 miles down river from Diamond J. The cannery was built in 1910 by the Alaska Fisherman's Packing Company and sold to Libby, McNeill & Libby in 1913. It was referred to as Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery but should not be confused with the *real* Koggiung village, upriver near Diamond J cannery.

[83] Pedersen's Point was named for L. A. Pedersen who built a saltery on the site in the early 1890s. Pedersen Point is about 3 miles northwest of Naknek in Kvichak Bay. In 1910 Bristol Bay Packing Company built a cannery on the site. Orth, *Dictionary*, 746.

[84] Naknek River is a 35-mile long river that begins in Naknek Lake and flows into Bristol Bay. Its' source is within Katmai National Park and Preserve and it is considered one of the world's foremost producers of red salmon and rainbow trout.

[85] Libbyville cannery was built by North Alaska Salmon Company in 1913 and sold to Libby's in 1916.

[86] Nothing of note is known about Alan Nelson also known as "Mickey," however, he is not to be confused with life-long Naknek-Kvichak resident, Allen Nelson (1911-2001).

[87] Not much is known about the C. E. Whitney Company except that they operated a saltery on the Snake River in 1886 and in 1892 relocated it near Kanulik. "Whitehead Pete" started his own salting business in 1902. VanStone, *Eskimos of the Nushagak* , 70.

[88] Skysail yarder was a kind of square-rigged sailing vessel with a small square sail above the royal.

[89] Nushugak River is one of the great rivers of western Alaska flowing some 240 miles to Nushagak Bay. Orth, *Dictionay*, 712.

[90] Igushik River flows about 50 miles into the west side of Nushagak Bay. Alaska Packers operated a saltery, Diamond EK, on the lower river by 1919. Orth, Dictionary, 446.

[91] Carl Ake was born in Sweden in 1889 and was a long time resident of the Kvichak country. He was winterman at Nakeen cannery for many years.

The Foss Family Diaries

The excerpted diaries of Baard S. Foss (1858-1925?) and his son, Harold (Holly) (1888-1963) cover selected days between 1917 and 1923 and offer an upriver view of the hectic Bristol Bay commercial fishing industry through the eyes of early EuroAmerican residents of Iliamna who chronicle the ripple effects of fishing across the region in a number of terse entries.

Norwegian-born Baard Foss brought his wife Christina and his two sons, Sam and Harold, in the early twentieth century to Old Iliamna where they homesteaded at the confluence of the Iliamna and Chinkelyes Rivers at the western terminus of the Iliamna Portage. The Foss's farmed and used horses to pack people and freight over the portage from Iliamna Bay to Old Iliamna village. The Foss brothers also owned retrofitted Bristol Bay double-enders that were lengthened and powered with gas engines. By 1918 Sam Foss owned the *Twlight* and Holly owned the *Comet* and they hauled passengers and freight between Naknek and Kvichak River canneries and Iliamna Lake communities.

Holly Foss's brief diary entries are peppered with understated humor and portray a mechanically savvy skipper who was familiar with the waters from Bristol Bay to Iliamna Lake. However, when it came to getting safely into Kakhonak Bay, he relied on the traditional knowledge of a local Native elder from Kakhonak, Michael Matfae[92] to guide him to Kakhonak Falls.

At the time Holly kept his diary he was not married but eventually he married Logaria Rickteroff of Old Iliamna and established a family at Pedro Bay. The Foss diaries are an important local account of the devastation of the 1919 influenza pandemic in the Bristol Bay region and the early work of the Bureau of Fisheries on Iliamna Lake.

Foss Family Diaries, Iliamna Country

Diary of Baard S. Foss.
October 4, 1917

Left with Halle [Foss] in the *Comet* for Bristol Bay at 10 A. M.[93] We got to Kaganak Creek [Kakhonak Creek].[94] On the 5th we made upper trap[95] [fish trap] site. The 6th we got to Alakanok cannery [Lockanok].[96] On the 10th we started for home [Foss's Landing] and made Levelock.[97] The 11th we made Reindeer Station.[98] The 12th Igiugig.[99] The 13th Tommy Point.[100] The 14th [Foss's Landing].[101] Rough weather all the time.

Diary of Harold "Holly" Foss (1888-1963).

June 1, 1919
Left today and to Jack's[102] [Kinny's at Chekok] at noon.

June 2, 1919
Left the Portage [present-day Iliamna] this morning.[103] Came to Dead Men's Camp.[104]

June 3, 1919
Left here this morning [upper Kvichak River]. Met Sam [Foss]... from Branch [Lockanok cannery].[105] Anchored...

June 4, 1919
Came to Branch River everything is under quarantine, the flu has full sway here. 17 dead at Levelock. 47 Indians [Yup'ik] died,[106] in one day in Koggiung [Alaska Packers Association, Diamond J cannery].[107] Bode [?] is dead, Alex Flyum is in bed.[108] And hell to pay at Squaw Creek, "Whitehead Pete" Nelson's saltery].[109] Nushagak is all dead.[110]

HOLLY FOSS, ILIAMNA SOURDOUGH AND FRIENDS



H-780 Holly Foss, left, at Foss's Landing on the Iliamna River circa 1930 with Dolly Flyum Regan with her son, Billy Regan, Jr. In the background, a gas boat lies against the bank of the Iliamna River.

Photo courtesy of Bert and Edna Foss

June 6, 1919
We are now at Graveyard [Libby's Koggiung].[111] We are going to Libbyville [a Libby's cannery].[112]

June 10, 1919
I am in Graveyard brought "John the cook" up here.[113] The tide is coming in and I am cooking rice for dinner. I am all alone. The engine won't run and well what is the use of kickin? I am going out to the "Ships" [channel off Naknek Point] for my letters.[114] It is hell to be alone. The flu has got this place bad. Billy [Regan] is working in Graveyard.[115] I am a day a head. I came back to N.W.F. Co. [Northwestern Fisheries Company] today, my stuff is still out on the ships.[116]

June 11, 1919
Still in Burgland waiting for my gas fittings.[117] They are now [supposed?] to be on the *Atka* and she is anchored in the Hole [Ships channel].[118] I took a walk up to Libbyville today did not see anybody. It is quite a walk [approximately 3 miles along the beach]... Received my gas parts today, look them over and they seem to be fine. I will start in the morning for home.

June 13, 1919
I am kind of losing my days here in this damn place and do you blame me? Today to go for home on the next flood [tide]. Fine weather a little easterly. I saw 2 Indians I guess the only two in Bristol Bay.

June 14, 1919
Left Graveyard this morning came to Branch River...Michael A. [Rickteroff] is with me.[119] Mr. Millett [O.B. Millett] is down with the flu.[120] Left Branch River ... at 2 o'clock am now at Reindeer Station [on Kvichak River] 15 to 9 [P.M.] and still ... fine weather and Mike is steering like a good fellow, engine works fine. Anchored just below the Horseshoe [Bend] at 10:30 [P.M.].[121]

June 15, 1919
Left here this morning at 9 ... and am writing a mile from Igiugig. 15 to nine [P.M.] we are now at the mouth of Kakhonak Bay crossing for Tommy Point fair wind .[122] 25 to 12 [P.M.] we are at the islands below Tommy Point and still going. Mike A. [Rickteroff] is a good "pardner" to have in a boat, good captain and good cook.

June 19, 1919
Came to Igiugig last evening and stayed over night had one good sleep... Clutch went on the bum patched it up started again and landed on a bar with my six passengers aboard. First time that has happened to me and of course I had to get wet again with my tooth ache... Came to Branch River in due time got there for supper. Stay here tonight.

June 25, 1919
Left home this morning at 10 for New Railing [Newhalen village] have 7 Natives.[123] Westerly wind in Iliamna River.[124] Put in the governor yesterday and it seems to work fine.

June 27, 1919
Left this morning at 6 o'clock for Bristol Bay, fine weather, got a tooth ache again and now 4 o'clock at the mouth of the lake [near Igiugig]. Out of oil and blowing west wind. We are anchored at Jack's [?] place.

June 28, 1919
Came to Branch River this morning for oil & something to eat. Saw Mr. Miller & Smith, bought a 50 gallon drum of distillate.[125] Started at 2: 30 for Graveyard not blowing so bad. Sun shine for a wonder. Came to Graveyard. Settled up and am square with this bunch.

June 28, 1919
2 o'clock in the morning and tide is almost to the boat. I am going up to Graveyard this morning the weather looks fine, a little foggy. Nice bunch of boys here, had a dance (man dance) last night. There is not much wind. I wonder what is the matter with Sam [Foss]. Stopped in at Koggiung [Diamond J cannery] and got some stuff and came to Branch River.

July 5, 1919 Trip No. 4
Left [Foss's Landing] this morning fixed up the B.B.[126] launch and came to Big Mountain by way of New Railing [Newhalen].[127] I have 7 passengers.

July 6, 1919
Came to Graveyard today...saw the book keeper about the Indians and came down to N.W.F. Co. at night.

July 8, 1919
Came to Squaw Creek [saltery] with Mr. Roehl.[128] Raining like hell and east wind. No good. And Sam did not get the *Atka*.

July 9, 1919
I am going up to Branch River today rain or shine. Came to Koggiung hired out to Mr. Wingard and am bound for Graveyard.[129] Left for Naknek and came back to Graveyard.

July 10, 1919
Am waiting for orders got a wireless from N.W.F Co. to come down there, fine weather easterly wind. Came to N.W.F. Co. and came back to Koggiung.

July11, 1919
Left today about noon for the *J.P. Haller*.[130] With Mr. Lowe.[131] And Mr. Gartleman.[132] On the *Hermeana*.[133] Westerly wind holy smoke how she rained yesterday. Went out to the *Libby Maine*

and am on my way back to Koggiung.[134] Came to Koggiung. Saw Bill Regan.

July 25, 1919 Trip No. 5
Left home came to Jack Kinney's place [Chekok] got bunch of slippers and stuff for sale, called at Mrs. Millettt's [Millett's Point] had dinner.[135] Then came down to Roadhouse [Seversen's]. Hans Seversen is here, he wants to go to the cannery.[136] He brought out the camera. Fine weather, dead calm all day... Am down at New Railing River waiting for the deer [reindeer meat].

July 26, 1919
We came on down to Koggiung. There Hans [Seversen] left us... I came down to nearby talley scow of Libby's and the tide turned we waited till high water and came to Graveyard on the morning of the 27th ... delivered the meat ... and left on the next flood ... went down to N.W.F. Co. Sam [Foss] and I went over to Michael's [? probably in Naknek].

July 30, 1919
Left N.W.F. Co. with 6 passengers for Iliamna [Bay].[137] Sailed all night.[138]

June 5th, 1921
Started on my summer's work with the [Bureau of] Fisheries.[139] Saw Sophus [Hendrickson] and Hans [Seversen].[140]

June 9th, 1921
Left this morning for Kakhanok Falls.[141] And from there to Copper River.[142] [Edward] Garman don't know the place.[143] Went down to the Reindeer Station [Kakhanok Bay].[144] Got Matfe to show us in.[145] Will stay here tonight, lots of fish.

June 10, 1921
Left Copper River went to Bidarky Portage.[146] From there to Gull Island.[147] And to Eagle Bay.[148] Spent 1 and a half hours machine work [?] then started for ... Igiugig.

June 11, 1921
Left Igiugig this morning and came to Koggiung. Heard that [Dennis] Winn[149] is at P.P.C.So went down to Naknek came there at 9:30.[150] Fine weather.

June 12, 1921
Had the launch on the ways and off again. Sam [Foss] came here today. Will go to Koggiung tomorrow.

June 13, 1921
Left the Portland Packers [Naknek River] this morning for Koggiung [Kvichak River]. Stop at Libbyville got Sam to fix up the oil cleaner. Fred Roehl is here and so is Sophus [Hendrickson] and Hans S[eversen].[151]

June 14, 1921
Left Koggiung came to Tom Sawyer's place [Levelock], doing a little fishing.[152] Fine weather, a little cold. We caught about a hundred pounds of fish. Salmon, trout, white fish, grayling.

June 15, 1921
Left Tom's place [Levelock] about 1:30 stopped at Old Kaskanak a few minutes then came on to Igiugig.[153] Will stay here tonight, had my first taste of salmon today. Fine weather ... very hot.

June 16, 1921
This morning blowing a gale of S.E. wind... Left here today at 4:30 [P.M.] and came to Reindeer Point at 11 [P.M.]. Easterly wind in Kakhanok Bay.[154] I have a gov't dory in tow loaded with stuff. [155] Killed 3 ducks.

June 17, 1921
Left our harbor this morning and came to Copper River. Mr. Garman [Bureau of Fisheries] is not home. We will leave Mr. Turner here.[156] Came to New Railing River.

June 18, 1921
Mother's [Christina Foss] birthday, 66 years old.[157] Bless her soul. I wish she could live 66 years more.

June 29, 1921
Another day in New Railing River awaiting further orders from Mr. Gardner [Bureau of Fisheries].[158]

July 1, 1921
Made a trip to Talarik Creek this morning.[159] Coming back easterly wind and strong big sea.

July 2, 1921
Left the river [Newhalen] this morning at 2 came to Copper River, stayed there a couple of hours and came down to Levelock.

July 3, 1921
Stayed here at Bill's [Regan] place today ... go to Branch River tonight or in the morning.

July 4, 1921
Came to Branch River [Lockanok cannery] this morning. Fresh pork for dinner. Worked on the engine all day and can't make her go at all. Damn!

July 5, 1921
Fixed up the engine. Just a washer missing that is all. Oh hell! Left Branch River this morning and called in at Koggiung and then came on down to Graveyard Creek.

July 7, 1921
Left Graveyard this morning and bucked the tide all the way to P.P. Co. [Naknek River]. Mr. Winn [Bureau of Fisheries] is here. Saw Hans [Seversen] at NN [Diamond NN cannery].[160] Mr. Winn advanced me $260.00 today. Called in at a few canneries today getting prices.

July 8, 1921
Take a Mr. Warren, a Mr. Harris and Winn and partner up to Rapids in the Naknek River [east of present-day King Salmon].[161] About 4 hour run from P.P. Co.[162] Fine weather.

July 22, 1921
...at New Railing River this morning came to Kakhonak Falls in 4 hours, fine weather. Working on the open rock cut.[163]

July 23, 1921
Finished the rock cut at noon and started for Portage [Seversen's Roadhouse] today about 2 [P.M.]. Came to Portage at 6:30. Brought Turner and Gardner and all their stuff.

July 24, 1921
Still in New Railing River. South wind. Fishing a little. Plenty salmon. Hans S. arrived last night. Will start for [Old] Iliamna tomorrow if nice weather. Hans is going up with us.

July 29, 1921
Started with Mr. Hynes for Naknek tonight. I repose in the bay of Porcupine [Island].[164]

July 30, 1921
Left Porcupine Bay this morning at 11:15 came to Belinda Creek.[165] Millett's and the *Katy G.* [are] here awaiting calm weather.[166] Millett's have 10 passengers.[167]

July 31, 1921
Left Belinda Creek this morning came to Tom's [Sawyer] place (Levelock). Fine weather. E.W.[168] Bill Hill.[169] Sophus [Hendrickson] and a bunch of galoots are here.

August 24, 1923
Started on my tenth trip for Bristol Bay. This makes 3,000 miles for the *Comet*. Fine weather I have Dick [Mycee] with me.[170]

NOTES

[92] Michael Matfae (1866?-?) lived at Kakhonak in 1910 and might have been the village chief, based on the order of enumeration by the Federal Census taker. Matfae was a reindeer herder.
Entry for Kakhonak, Alaska Census of Population 1910; (National Archives Microfilm Publications, Cabinet 19, Drawer 7, Roll 1750), Thirteenth Census of the United States, Record Group 29; National Archives, Alaska Region.
[93] The *Comet* was Holly Foss's gas boat that was a retrofitted Bristol Bay double-ender that had been lengthened to 36-feet and powered with 6 horsepower gas engine, the mast and sail were retained for auxiliary power.
Frederick Roehl, Jr., interview, July 7, 1998.
[94] Kakhonak Creek enters Kakhonak Bay from the east.
[95] The upper fish trap might have been located a few miles below the Kaskanak Flats on the upper Kvichak River. It is reported that the Bureau of Fisheries used the trap to count salmon escapement into Iliamna Lake.
George Wilson, Sr., interview, September 6, 2006.
[96] Lockanok cannery was located near the mouth of the Alagnak River where it joins the lower Kvichak River. The cannery was owned by Libby, McNeill & Libby. Holly Foss referred to the cannery as Branch River.
[97] Levelock was a small Yup'ik village on the north side of the lower Kvichak River about 7 miles up river from Lockanok cannery.
[98] Reindeer Station was located about half way between Levelock and Igiugig on the Kvichak River. It was the site of a reindeer camp 22 miles up river from Levelock and was on the left side of the river going upstream. There is a shallow stretch of river near the Kvichak confluence with Yellow Creek where the reindeer were driven across the river from the camp to pasturage.
George Wilson, Sr., interview, September 6, 2006.
Thomas Hedlund, September 11, 2006.
[99] Igiugig is a small Yup'ik village at the foot of Iliamna Lake and at the outlet of the Kvichak River.
[100] Tommy Point is on the south east side of Iliamna Lake across from the mouth of the Newhalen River.
[101] Foss's Landing was the homestead of the Baard S. Foss family on the Iliamna River across from Old Iliamna village and situated at the western end of the Iliamna Portage.
[102] Jack Kinney's place was located on the north east side of Iliamna at Chekok Bay.
[103] Portage was one of the many names for what eventually became present-day Iliamna village on the north side of Iliamna Lake, three miles east of the mouth of the Newhalen River. It was the trail head for the Newhalen Portage from Iliamna to the middle Newhalen River and on to Nondalton and Lake Clark. Portage was also known as Roadhouse Portage, Brown's Roadhouse, the Roadhouse, and Seversen's Roadhouse.
[104] Dead Men's Camp might refer to Old Kaskanak village on the upper Kvichak River whose population was reported to have been wiped out by the 1919 influenza pandemic.
Bert Foss, interview, September 11, 2006.
[105] Sam Foss (1882-1950) was the older brother of Holly Foss. He owned the gas boat *Twilight* and like his brother, hauled passengers and freight between Iliamna and Bristol Bay. He also hauled freight and passengers over the Iliamna Portage with horses.
[106] Foss refers to the 1918-1919 Spanish influenza pandemic that killed millions of people world-wide. It decimated many Bristol Bay coastal villages, tending to be more often fatal to adults, thus creating a large number of orphans. The late Ekwok elder, John Larson, who was born and raised on the Alagnak River, described a mass grave located near the Lockanok cannery at the mouth of the Alagnak (Branch) River and attributed it to the 1919 influenza. The grave was fenced and marked by an 8 to 10 foot tall cross, and was seen by the author in the mid-1990s.

[107] Koggiung was a Yup'ik village on the south side of the lower Kvichak River and the site of the Alaska Packers Association cannery known as Diamond J. It was also known as Kvichak Koggiung to distinguish it from Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery.
[108] Alex Flyum (1873-1957) was a Norwegian-born Bristol Bay fisherman-log builder who was one of the first permanent Euroamerican settlers to reside at Old Iliamna. Flyum was married to Annie Rickteroff at Old Iliamna in 1904.
Hornberger, "Overview," 4-29 to 4-31
[109] Squaw Creek was a creek that flowed into the Kvichak River from the north near the mouth of the river. It was the site of "Whitehead" Pete Nelson's saltery. In 1925 Nakeen cannery was built near the site.
[110] Nushagak village was the most important trading center in the Bristol Bay region throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There were several Yup'ik villages on the shores of Nushagak Bay, such as Kanuluk, Nushagak, Igushik, and Kanakanak. Dr. E. B. Robinson of the Alaska Packers Association estimated the pandemic in Nushagak Bay lasted from May 12 to June 9, 1919 and resulted in at least 35 deaths. Some place the total of dead in the Bristol Bay region from the 1919 influenza at 200.
E.B. Robinson, M.D., Report on 1919 Influenza Epidemic, Alaska Packers Association, Nushagak Station, Bristol Bay, Alaska, 5.
Unrau, *Lake Clark*, draft, 297.
[111] Graveyard cannery was also known as Libby's Koggiung and it was located at the mouth of the Kvichak River on the south side and opposite Nakeen cannery.
[112] Libbyville was another Libby, McNeill & Libby cannery about four miles south of Graveyard cannery on Kvichak Bay.
[113] "John the cook" was also known as John Cook, he was from Denmark and a Bristol Bay fisherman who lived at Old Iliamna in a small log cabin in front of the schoolhouse.
Breece, *A Schoolteacher*, 114.
[114] The "Ships" or the "hole" refers to the deep ships channel three miles off Naknek Point below the Salmon Flats were deep draft ships anchored out during the commercial fishing season. In the twentieth century Naknek was a bustling cannery town that was near the historic Yup'ik village of Paug-vik. After Arctic Packing Company built. the first cannery on the Naknek River (at South Naknek) in 1894, Naknek gradually became the red salmon canning capital of the world.
Melvin Monsen, Sr., interview, September 12, 2006.
[115] W. B. "Billy" Regan (1880-?) was a Bristol Bay fisherman and U.S. Commissioner at Old Iliamna in the 1920s. He also lived at South Naknek where he was U.S. Commissioner for the Kvichak Recording District.
Hornberger, "Overview" 4-54.
Gary Nielsen, September 7, 2006.
[116] Northwestern Fisheries Company (NWF Co.) cannery was located at the mouth of the Naknek River on the north side near the old village of Paugvik. It was also known as Nornak and PAF, for Pacific American Fisheries.
[117] The name Burgland is not known to the editor, but probably referred to an individual who lived at the NWF Company cannery at the mouth of the Naknek River. A walk from Nornak to Libbyville along the beach takes one and a half hours to two hours.
[118] The "Hole"refers to the 40-50 foot deep ships channel off Naknek Point where large ships have historically anchored during the fishing season and cargo was transferred to the mainland by smaller draft boats.
Melvin Monsen, Sr., interview, September 12, 2006.
[119] Michael A. Rickteroff (1900-1965?) was from Old Iliamna village. He was the son of Chief Cusma Rickteroff and his wife Wasileasa. Michael A. was a commercial fisherman who hauled the U.S. Mail by dog team to Iliamna Lake villages in the 1930s.
Violet Willson, interview, September 8 and 26, 2006.
Marge Jensen, interview, September 12, 2006.
[120] Oliver B. Millett (1865-1951) was a prospector and miner who was born in Nova Scotia and participated in the Klondike and Nome, and was active in the Bonanza Hills in the early twentieth century. He and his wife, Teresa, had a copper claim on the north shore of Iliamna Lake near Millett's Point.
[121] Horseshoe Bend is a short U-shaped bend in the river and a landmark for travelers on the upper Kvichak River about 2-3 miles below Kaskanak Flats.
Thomas Hedlund, September 11, 2006.
[122] Kakhonak Bay is on the south east side of Iliamna Lake, east of the village of Kakhonak and the site of the first reindeer herd in the Bristol Bay country beginning in 1905.
[123] Newhalen was a small Kiatagmiut Yup'ik village at the mouth of the Newhalen River. "New Railing" was Holly Foss's way of pronouncing Newhalen.
Bert Foss, interview, January 21, 1995.
[124] The Iliamna River is a major tributary of Iliamna Lake entering in Pile Bay. Six miles up river from the debouchment with the lake, was the site of Old Iliamna village and just upstream and on the opposite bank was Foss's Landing, the home of Holly Foss at the time he was writing his diary.
[125] Nothing is known about Mr. Miller but he was probably an official of the Libby, McNeill & Libby company. Mr. Willard Smith was the Lockanok cannery superintendent at least by 1926.
Stan Tarrant, letter, June 30, 1995.
[126] "B.B." refers to a gas boat, the *Blue Bird*.
[127] Big Mountain is a 2,161 foot mountain on the south side of Iliamna Lake about 14 miles west of Kokhanok village. It is a prominent geographical landmark for travelers on the lake.
[128] Frederick J. Roehl, Sr. (1859-1924) was an Old Iliamna merchant and owner of the Roadhouse at the Portage (present-day Iliamna). Roehl was born in Germany and living at Koggiung as early as 1899.
Frederick J. Roehl, Jr., interviews, June 24, 1994 and June 2, 1995, and September 26, 2001.
[129] Mr. Wingard probably refers to Lemuel Wingard who worked for the Bureau of Fisheries. Wingard later purchased the Red Salmon Canning Company cannery at Ugashik and operated it for many years.
Melvin Monsen, Sr., interview, November 16, 2006.
[130] The *J.P Haller* was a large ship used to supply the canneries that belonged to the North Alaska Salmon Company and later Libby, McNeill & Libby canneries.
[131] Mr. Low probably refers to J.C. Lowe of Snag Point or Dillingham who was a schoolteacher, postmaster, and prominent trader who died about 1930.
[132] Mr. Gartleman (1871-1923) was a prominent trader from Koggiung who was the moving force behind the construction of the roadhouse at the Portage in 1913 that became known as Seversen's Roadhouse by the early 1920s. The site is now present-day Iliamna village.
[133] The *Hermeana* was originally a Bristol Bay double-ender that had been converted to a gas boat and was owned by Holly Foss or Hans Seversen.

Frederick J. Roehl, Jr., interviews, June 24, 1994 and June 2, 1995, and September 26, 2001.

[134] The *Libby Maine,* was a wooden motor vessel of 1,811 tons and 226 feet long. In July 1919 the ship brought fifty tons of medicines, fresh vegetables, and supplies to APA canneries as part of the response to combating the affects of the influenza pandemic.
Gorden R. Newell, editor, *H.W. McCurdy Marine History of Pacific Northwest*, Seattle: Superior Publisher Company, 1966, 282; Unrau, *Lake Clark*, 161.

[135] Mrs. Millett (1866-1966) refers to Teresa, Mrs. Oliver B. Millett, who resided at Millett's Point and kept a guestbook at her home documenting the comings and goings of travelers in the Iliamna country starting about 1906 and continuing on into the 1930s.

[136] Hans Seversen (1869-1939) was born in Willmar, Minnesota and came to Alaska about 1895. He was a Turnagain miner, oil prospector east of Becharof Lake, Bristol Bay fisherman, trapper, and merchant in the Iliamna-Lake Clark country. He ran Seversen's Roadhouse, the air crossroads of the Bristol Bay country between the early 1920s and his death in 1939.
John Branson, editor, *Seversen's Roadhouse: Crossroads of Bristol Bay, Alaska*, Cook Inlet Historical Society: Anchorage, 2002, 15-54.

[137] Foss refers to Iliamna Bay where his boat passengers from Bristol Bay would ultimately take passage on a ship for Seward and points Outside. The route would have started in Kvichak Bay and went up the Kvichak River, across the length of Iliamna Lake to the mouth of the Iliamna River, then six miles up river to Old Iliamna village, and hence over land on the twelve mile long Iliamna Portage to the head of Iliamna Bay, at present-day Williamsport. Generally passengers had to row about five miles out to AC Point, on outer Iliamna Bay to await an incoming ships from lower Cook Inlet.

[138] The *Comet* retained its mast and sail and when the wind was favorable Foss would use the sail to travel.

[139] The Bureau of Fisheries was part of the department of Commerce and managed the Bristol Bay salmon fishery from a base of operations on the Naknek River just above the Alaska Portland Packers cannery on the south side of the river. Dennis Winn was the agent in charge of the Bureau's operation in the Naknek-Kvichak district.
Unrau, *Lake Clark,* draft, 293-322.

[140] Sophus Hendrickson (1882?-?) was a cousin to Holly and Sam Foss who lived at Foss's Landing

[141] Kakhonak Falls varies in height from 12 to 20 feet depending on the amount of water flowing in the Kakhonak River. The Kakhonak River enters Kakhonak Bay from the east and heads at Kakhonak Lake. When the water is high salmon have difficulty traveling upstream to their spawning grounds but when the water is low, salmon are able to gain passage to the upper Kakhonak River and spawning grounds on Kakhonak Lake and Moose Lake.
Gary Neilsen, interview, September 7, 2006.

[142] Copper River starts in Meadow Lake and flows about 20 miles before entering Intricate Bay about 10 miles east of Kakhonak village.
Orth, Dictionary, 238.

[143] Edward H.Garman (1864-?) was an employee of the Bureau of Fisheries. In 1920 he was living at Portage Creek on Lake Clark.
John Branson, editor, *Lake Clark-Iliamna 1921: The Travel Diary of Colonel A. J. Macnab*, Anchorage: Alaska Natural History Association, 1996, 95.

[144] The Reindeer Station was located in eastern part of Kakhonak Bay. It was the site of the first reindeer herd in Bristol Bay, the deer having been driven to the Iliamna country by Hedley Redmyer and four herders from the Alaska Reindeer Service in Bethel in 1905.
Unrau, *Lake Clark*, draft, 309-311.

[145] Probably Michael Matfe was the name of a Native reindeer herder who lived at the Reindeer Station, it is very likely that his permanent home was Kakhonak.

[146] Bidarky Portage is a 500 yard long trail connecting Kakhonak and Intricate Bays.
Michelle Ravenmoon, interview, September 7, 2006.
Gary Nielsen, interview, September 7, 2006.

[147] Gull Island refers to a group of islands in outer Intricate Bay that seagulls used for laying eggs, and that is a long-time subsistence egg gathering place.
Gary Nielsen, September 7, 2006.
Michelle Ravenmoon, September 7, 2006.

[148] Eagle Bay is about seven miles east of Seversen's Roadhouse on the north side of Iliamna Lake, it was the site of a Dena'ina reindeer herd that was shared by people from Old Iliamna and Old Nondalton.

[149] Dennis Winn (1870-1940) was the Bureau of Fisheries Chief Agent for Naknek-Kvichak district and was headquartered on the Naknek River.
ADT, December 2, 1940, 5.

[150] P.P.C. refers to Alaska Portland Packers Company that had a cannery on the south side of the Naknek River above Diamond NN, now known as PAF-Warren's.
Carvel Zimin, Sr., interview, September 8, 2006.

[151] Foss probably refers to Frederick J. Roehl, Sr.(1859-1924), Old Iliamna merchant and owner of the Roadhouse at the Portage, but he might be referring to Frederick J. Roehl, Jr. (1905?-2004?).

[152] Not much is known about Tom Sawyer but he had a business arrangement with Hans Seversen and Jack Kinney at Seversen's Roadhouse and apparently lived for a time in Levelock.
Rose Kinney Hedlund, interview, August 18, 1995 and August 17, 2001.

[153] Old Kaskanak was an historic Yup'ik village on the east side of the upper Kvichak River that was decimated by the 1919 Spanish Influenza pandemic and was largely abandoned afterward.
Orth, *Dictionary*, 499.

[154] The location of Reindeer Point is not known for certain but is probably near Big Mountain or in Kakhonak Bay near the Reindeer Station.

[155] The "gov't dory," probably refers to a skiff destined for the Bureau of Fisheries personnel who were working to enhance fish passage on the Kakhonak Falls.

[156] Mr. Turner refers to an employee of the Bureau of Fisheries. He was an obscure Portage Creek miner who was shot and killed at Seldovia in the early 1920s.
Macy Hobson, interview, November 12, 1994

[157] Christina Foss (1858-1942) was the mother of Sam and Holly Foss and the wife of Baard S. Foss.

[158] Possibly John W. Gardner of the Bureau of Fisheries who visited Mrs. Teresa Millett's house at Millett's Point on September 9, 1920.
Millett, *Records of Winters Cold Weather*, September 9, 1920.

[159] Talarik Creek probably refers to Lower Talarik Creek, a major red salmon spawning stream that enters Iliamna Lake toward the northwestern end of the lake. It is known for its world-famous rainbow trout sport fishery.

[160] NN refers to the Alaska Packers Association cannery in South Naknek known as Diamond NN.

[161] Mr. Warren was a superintendent at the Alaska Portland Packers cannery, Mr. Harris probably was also a company official. The cannery is known locally as PAF-Warren's, PAF is the abbreviation for Pacific American Fisheries.
Carvel Zimin, Sr., interview, September 8, 2006.
Josie Savo, interview, March 28, 2007.
[162] The Rapids that Foss refers to are on the upper Naknek River east of present-day King Salmon.
[163] When Foss refers to "rock cut" he is probably describing work that Garman, Turner, and Gardner of the Bureau of Fisheries had been engaged in attempting to improve fish passage at the Kakhonak Falls.
[164] Porcupine Island is a large island at the eastern end of Iliamna Lake.
[165] Belinda Creek is a tributary of Iliamna Lake entering just south of Big Mountain.
[166] Millett's refers to a boat that O.B. Millett and perhaps his son Hugh owned that was carrying passengers from Bristol Bay back to the Iliamna country.
[167] *Katy G* refers to a gas boat of that name formerly owned by Koggiung businessman Herman Gartlemann that had been sold to Frederick Roehl, Sr. in 1919 and renamed the *Marie R.* The boat was 38-feet long and powered with an 8-horsepower Atlas engine.
Frederick J. Roehl, Jr. and Anna Roehl, interviews, June 30, 1998 and July 7, 1998.
[168] E. W. might refer to Ed Wood, a schoolteacher from New York state who had lived in the Bristol Bay country for a number of years, including at Tanalian Point in 1917.
Helen Herrmann, interview, September 28, 2000.
[169] Bill Hill (1893-1946) was a Finnish-born Bristol Bay fisherman, trapper, boat builder, prospector, and cannery winterman.
[170] Dick Mycee (1894-?) was a trapper and Bristol Bay fisherman from Old Iliamna. Walter Johnson, transcribed and edited by James Kari, *I'll Tell You A Story: Stories I Recall From Growing Up On Iliamna Lake,* Fairbanks: Alaska Native Language Center, 2004, 6-7.

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Stan Tarrant: Bristol Bay Cannery Man

Stan Tarrant's (1910?-1999?) account of his first years (1926-1927) in Alaska, where he was an assistant bookkeeper and store keeper at Libby's Lockanok cannery, offers a detailed view of the entire range of cannery operations. Reading Tarrant's recollections one gets the sense of how similar isolated Bristol Bay canneries were to small cities. They were self-contained communities on the edge of wilderness, providing all the services needed to catch, process, and ship wild Alaska salmon in an era when nearly all the catch was canned or salted.

Tarrant spent 50 years in the commercial fishing industry starting in the mid-1920s. He documents steamship travel from Seattle to Bristol Bay and introduces local characters, high line fishermen, and "moon shiners" to the reader. He also had the good fortune to be at Lockanok when pilot Russel Merrill flew the first airplane from Anchorage to Bristol Bay on June 19, 1927. After Merrill's Travel Air was sunk on its mooring in the Alagnak River, Tarrant shared his room for next 40 days with the pioneering aviator while the plane was re-built.

Tarrant's account, part of a larger memoir edited by his friend, Bob Thorstenson, Sr., paints a vivid picture of a precocious teenager doing a man's work and growing into adulthood fully involved in the hay day of the Bristol Bay commercial salmon industry.

STAN TARRANT: EARLY TIMES OF AN INDUSTRY GIANT

Edited by Bob Thorstenson, Sr., 1998

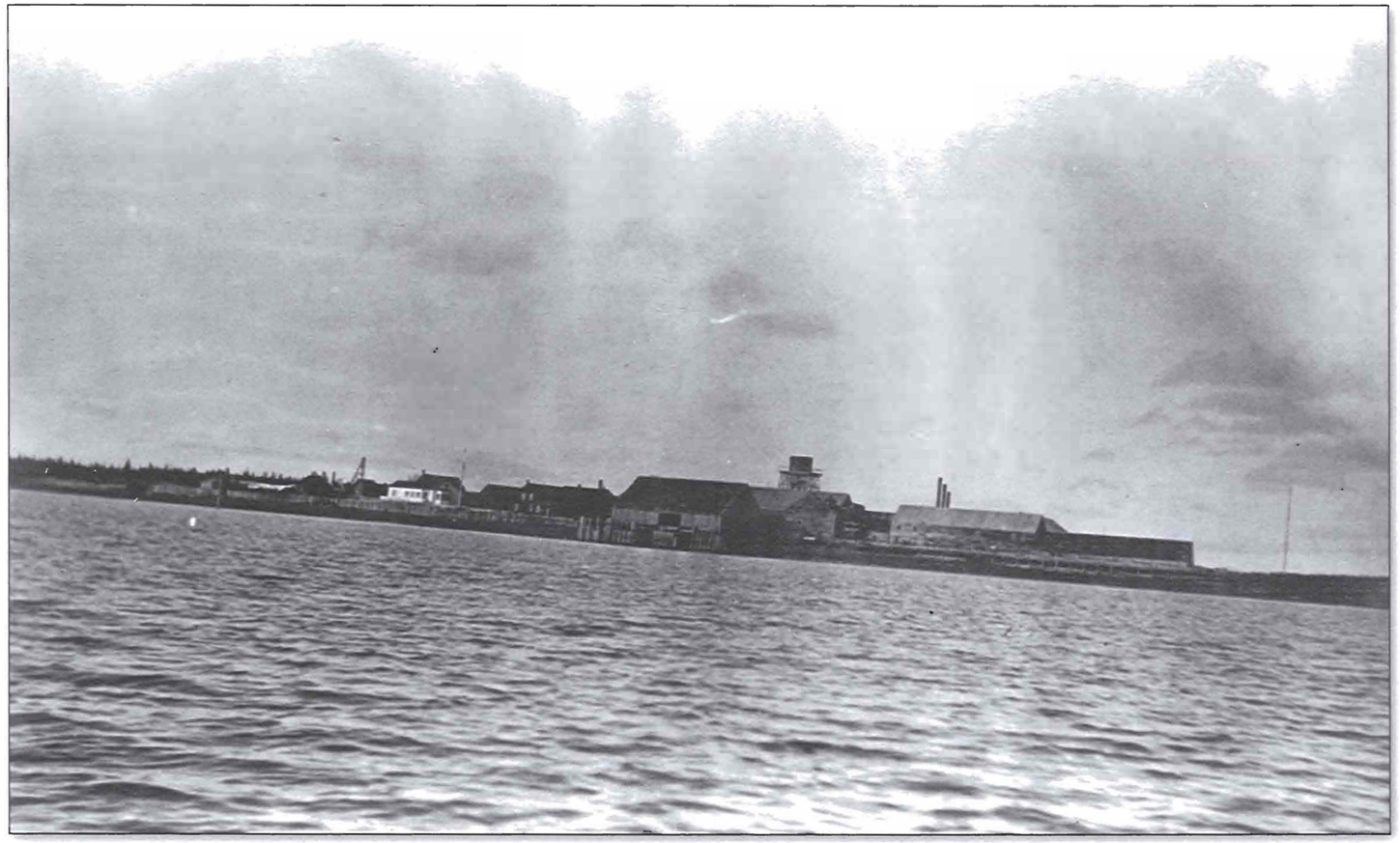
I had always wanted to be a sailor and I really wanted to go to sea, in fact I longed to be on the boat. So inasmuch as all the canneries except Nakat operated their own ships to Alaska I decided the best way to start would be to take a trip to Alaska, just to get on a ship. I talked with our salesman about it and he told me Willard Smith, one of Libby's cannery superintendents in Bristol Bay, had asked him about getting someone who wanted to go to Alaska who knew something about hardware to become stockman at his cannery to issue and keep track of tools, fittings, hardware supplies and that sort. Here again, I had to fib a little. I suddenly became 19 instead of 16.

I got the job but it was only March, so I had to wait until the 10th of May before the ship sailed for Bristol Bay. I made the mistake of immediately telling Peterson Hardware of my intention to leave for Alaska in early May. My boss, the head bookkeeper by the name of Sandstrom, wanted me to stay but that $90 per month plus transportation and room and board in Alaska that I would get, could see was no match for my $50 per month salary at the hardware store. He readily agreed it was the sensible thing for me to do., However, when his boss the owner, Oscar Peterson, was told, he promptly fired me on the spot, so I was out of a job in March. We had to eat – my boss, the hardware store bookkeeper and Carl Wickstrom, head of the store's plumbing department personally gave me work digging ditches and painting at their home so I kept earning $50 a month anyway. Then I got a welcome call form Libby, McNeill & Libby, in mid-April. They wanted me

Lockanok Cannery

H-2489 A circa 1906-1920 view of Lockanok cannery on the north side of the Alagnak (Branch) River, about one mile above its confluence with the Kvichak River. The cannery was built in 1900 by the North Alaska Salmon Company and sold to the Libby, McNeill & Libby Company in 1916. Over the years, the cannery experienced problems with the ever-changing Kvichak River channel forming huge mud flats in front of the dock, and also the long run out by the tides caused boats and ships troubles docking at the plant. (MacDonald 1951: 59) The cannery ceased operating in 1936. Libby's then concentrated their operations at Graveyard Koggiung and Libbyville canneries, where the tides were not as difficult for scows and tugs to deal with and the prime fishing was nearer at hand. Stan Tarrant's account of his youthful days at Lockanok offers an intimate view of the cannery in the 1920s. Lockanok was perhaps the only Bristol Bay cannery that had spruce trees immediately adjacent to it, and they are clearly visible in the background of the image. (Anderson interview: Feb. 2007)

Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur L. Agren Collection PCA 35-95.



to check cargo aboard their ships, make dock and ship manifests, etc., which job I promptly accepted. I spent my time until sailing day doing that kind of work.

The dock job was at Libby's Ames Terminal on Harbor Island, that's not there anymore, about where the salmon terminal is located and where the Sea-Land was located. The place really intrigued me. I liked the huge piles of canned salmon in the warehouse and the hustle and bustle of loading ships and rail car loading as well as my work of floor checking and sling checking northbound cargo. Already I was making more money than my hardware store wages.

Libby also headquartered its salt salmon, mild cure repacking at Ames Terminal. Their principal saltery was at Igushik on the Nushagak River, a branch of the river below Dillingham. An old-timer by the name of Danielson did this work and really got into it up to his elbows, I rode on the streetcar with him every night and he often took a partly filled gunny sack of wet dripping salt salmon scraps home with him. Needless to say, the other passengers on the streetcar gave us a wide berth when they could. I didn't mind the smell, although it got a little rank at times.

Getting back to the sailing day, about May 10, 1926, I was so anxious to go to sea that I had the cheap sea bag I bought all packed and ready to go for weeks alongside my bed at home. My first entry to Alaska was as stockman for the Lockanok Bristol Bay Cannery of Libby, McNeill & Libby in 1926. The ship I made my first tip on was the Libby steamer, *Otsego*, built in Hamburg, Germany, in 1902, and was formerly called the *Prinz Eitel Friderich* of German registry. She was 370' long, 45' wide and 26' deep, and a coal burner. The vessel was taken over by the German navy in World War 1 and operated as a deep sea war raider. She carried hidden deck cannons and preyed upon allied shipping during World War 1 doing a lot of damage. The deck mounted guns were surrounded by fake wooden bulkheads which were quickly dropped so the guns could go speedily into action when she hoisted her German flag and attacked a slow freighter or other allied vessel. Slow as she was the *Prinz Eitel Friderich* destroyed a lot of allied shipping without being caught by any of those war ships that were really looking for her. Libby did a good job of converting her for cannery use. Her iron hull was all riveted and her upper works, ports, doors and fittings were strong like the Rock of Gibraltar. She had a beautiful yacht like, smooth teak wood deck and lots of brass work all of which the crew and fishermen kept in apple pie order. The *Otsego* was a real good ship and comfortable even in bad weather.

Libby operated its ships in Bristol Bay with skeleton crews of officers and men who were "signed on" before the U.S. Shipping Commissioner. Most of the crew otherwise was made up from the cannery crews riding on her. The Bristol Bay ships were anchored all summer in the bay, leaving at the end of the season with the cannery workers, fishermen and canned salmon pack, all aboard for Seattle. Even some of the mates and engineers worked ashore at the canneries, leaving just the captain, chief engineer and a handful of crew members aboard. I believe they kept one small boiler going, otherwise the vessel just hung at anchor. One necessary operation was to get a scow and tugboat tied alongside the ship at the bow near the house pipes to put a swivel in the anchor chain so they wouldn't tangle up and drag. This had to be done in good weather at slack tide.

The *Otsego* carried fishermen and cannery workers for Libbyville, Koggiung [Graveyard], and Lockanok canneries, all on the Kvichak River. So the *Otsego* picked an anchorage at the "Y" near the mouth of the Kvichak and Naknek Rivers. It anchored as close in as possible to stay out of the rougher weather farther off shore to facilitate unloading and loading.

The fishermen served as sailors and longshoremen which arrangement was all covered by the agreement with the Alaskan Fishermen's Union. The AFU was one of the earliest labor unions on the coast, dating back to the early 1900s. The agreement covered fishermen and outside workers in the Bristol Bay, Chignik, Kenai fishing areas at first, and later they covered similar work in other areas of Alaska. In Bristol Bay in the 1920s when I first started going north, the canneries used non-resident fishermen mostly who fished company-owned sailboats. We also used resident fishermen when they were available and they also used company owned sailboats and gear and fished under the company fishermen's agreement with the AFU. This arrangement provided that the company would transport the fishermen to and from the port of embarkation, (Seattle was Libbys), feed them, house them and feed them ashore at the cannery, and out on the fishing grounds and furnish them with a two-man sailboat completely outfitted with sailing gear, nets, and all equipment necessary to catch the fish and deliver them to the scows and tenders which delivered them to the cannery. For this the company would pay each fisherman run money for the season and so much for fish divided between the two- men on the boat, that's called the captain and puller. In 1926 the run money was $150 per man for the season. For this $150 run money the fishermen were to serve as sailors on the ship taking them north, unload the cannery supplies from the ship to barges and unload the barges at the cannery, getting overtime only after 8 hours a day or work on Sundays or holidays. This would be their spring half of their run money. At the end of the season the fishermen earned the other half of the run money loading out the canned salmon on barges and unloading the barges and stowing the canned salmon in the holds of the ship. Then they would serve as sailors again for the south bound trip. If a fisherman worked only the spring or fall run money, he would only get $75.00 for the half run money which usually occurred only in cases of sickness, death or quitting, which was rare.

Another variation was that the fisherman run money workers were often divided into "gangs" for working at other than longshoring jobs. Some worked in the net gang, hanging, patching and making up the gill nets. Others worked in the mud gang, or marine ways gang, laying up and taking in the ways timbers or skids and launching and pulling out the tenders and scows each spring and fall. Still others worked in the sail loft, rigging up and patching fish boat sails, tents and lines for the season. The fishermen who served as longshoremen were divided into three gangs – the first gang would be the shore gang that loaded and unloaded the scows at the cannery dock, or the scow gangs that worked on the scows alongside the ship, unloading and loading, and then the ship gang that worked aboard ship, running the winches, tending hatch, that is signal men, and filling sling boards in the hold for unloading or towing canned salmon off the sling boards into the hold when loading in the fall. The scow gangs and ship gangs both lived aboard the ship during the loading and unloading in the spring and fall. Weather governed the time required to work hard about the ship. Flat scows usually held 3,000 – 4,000, 48 one pound, 12 cases [?], and then later years power scows held more. Some years the ships would be loaded and unloaded in a week. Other years it would take weeks or even longer.

Contending with the company fishermen arrangement, the company fish prices were so much per fish divided between the two men on the boat catching the fish. At the depth of the Depression in 1930, the run money for the season was still $150.00 per man in the Naknek-Kvichak area and each fisherman got one-half of the 8 ½ cent fish price or 4 ¼ cents each per fish. In 1934 the price went up to 9 ¼ cents or 4 and 5/8 cents per man per fish. The average fish catch per boat varied of course, ranging at Naknek in 1929 from 10,400 per boat to 29,300 per boat in 1938. In those years, in the 1920s and 30s the canneries were allowed to fish only so many boats per one pound tall line of machinery or equivalent, depending on the Fish & Wildlife Service's expected total run of sockeye for the year. In 1932 the total number of quota boats, that's non-resident fishermen allowed, was 678 boats for the whole bay, divided as follows: Kvichak 240 boats, Naknek 195, Egegik 36, Ugashik 22, Nushagak 185, for a total of 678 non-resident boats. In addition, resident boats were not subject to quota. In 1932 the total number of resident boats fished was broken down as follows: whites 250, Natives 95, for a total of 345. This made a grand total of 1,023 boats fished in Bristol Bay in 1932.

In later years with the emergence of new shore plants and floaters into the Bristol Bay fishery the government's boats per line formula and agreement was scrapped and other methods of control were used. The cruncher was the abandonment of the prohibition against power boats in the fishery in 1951 when control of the fishery finally was based upon total amounts of fishing gear in use. Fishing time allowed for the runs expected were based upon various methods of prediction.

I see by my notes I have wandered completely away form describing my first trip to Alaska on the *Otsego*, giving you instead a long-winded dissertation on our arrangements with the Alaskan Fishermen's Union, its fishermen members, the early boat quota system and fish prices in Bristol Bay. So now I'll go back to that first trip to Alaska in 1926.

The *Otsego* was set to sail May 10, 1926. I had finished my Ames Terminal dock work for Libby the day before, and with my sea bag on my shoulder I took the streetcar to Harbor Island and joined the crowd on the dock seeing their men and boys off for Alaska. Alaska law then required that everybody leaving for the Alaskan canneries had to have a heath card issued by the employer shortly before departure of the ship, attesting to the fact that the bearer was free of communicable diseases signed by the company doctor or its appointed doctor. This we all had. In addition, at departure time on the dock all the men boarding the ship had to line up in the warehouse for what was called "short arm" inspection to insure that they did not have venereal disease of any kind. This seemed a bit stupid to some of us as a good many of the workers undoubtedly had had a night on the town the night before leaving for Alaska.

We finally got away with the *Otsego* sailing about noon that day with crews and fishermen for Libbyville, Koggiung, and Lockanok aboard. There were probably at least 500 or 600 aboard, including the ship's crew, the fishermen for three canneries, the mess crews, cannery workers, and all the other workers assigned to the three plants. In additions we had a generous sprinkling of crates of hogs and chickens on deck, belongs to and to be eaten by the China contractors cannery worker crews, and/or the company's employees and fishermen who were also employees of Libby.

I probably was the greenest and undoubtedly the youngest aboard, at 16 years, I did have sense enough to look for my bunk and get rid of my sea bag. I was really surprised to find that I had been assigned to a 4 bunk stateroom on the top or bridge deck. Apparently, my stockroom job rated such a room. My roommates were two iron chink men and a first machinist by the name of Kenneth Kent, who in later years became a cannery Superintendent, and then General Superintendent for all of Libby's Alaska plants. I even remember the two iron chink men's names, Chris Wilms from San Francisco and a man by the name of Van Antwerp. They were all fine fellows but as it later developed, I did not see much of them during the north bound trip.

The weather was good that departure day so I went out on deck at once to "glory" in the fact that at last I was on a ship headed for the open ocean and Alaska. I made my way back to the stern and climbed the ladder to the elevated poop deck where there

was a huge hand-steering wheel and a compass and binnacle supporting it. Also pacing the deck back and forth were the first two men I talked to, the Sandvik brothers, Sig and Herman, both highliner fishermen at Lockanok. I had a nice visit with them, I also watched the Seattle skyline disappear. The only huge building we saw was the L.C. Smith building disappearing form sight. The first inbound vessel we saw later was a Japanese motor ship headed for Seattle that came real close to us. Its diesels were throbbing away like sewing machines. I even remember its name, *Kakatatsu Maru*. I was really thrilled to be at sea.

A little later that evening I was back on the main deck at the rail enjoying the view when a short fellow with an officer's cap on tapped me on the shoulder and asked me where I was going. I told him I was going to Lockanok cannery. He then said he had a job for me. I remembered Mr. Smith, the superintendent who hired me, told me I had to work on the ship on the way north so I went along with the officer, who was the chief steward by the name of Joe Henry. He told me I was to be the assistant pantry man and to help the signed-on head pantry man dish up and hand to the waiters all the cooked food and coffee to be taken by the waiters to the dinning saloon for serving family-style to the passengers (except for the Oriental crews, they had their own mess elsewhere on the ship). I was told to report to the pantry at 6 o'clock the next morning, as I recall.

The next morning I slipped out of my topside room and down to the pantry on the main deck and reported to a man called "Red," who had red hair and was the pantry man, an old-timer about 45 years old who smoked Bull Durham roll-your-own cigarettes. Red eyed me up and down and said he had doubts but maybe I'd do. He gave me an apron and a white cap and told me to go up the spiral staircase to the galley above and bring breakfast down in the trays that fitted into the steam table near the pass-through wall where we dished up and handed out the food on the numerous platter, vegetable dishes, and other serving dishes we had there. So I made several trips up and down the spiral staircase with pans of hotcakes, bacon, fried and scrambled eggs, toast, etc. Luckily I did not slip or fall. I had to have thick gloves on as the food was really hot and bubbling and sizzling. It did not take me long to learn how to dish up. When we got through the first meal, it worked without any trouble. Later I was told to clean up the place, scrub a few pots in the sink and use sea water which was heated with injected steam and salt water soap and perform various other tasks.

The second day, Red took several of what he called "blows" to go out on deck for a smoke and fresh air, leaving me to do all the work. He told me I was doing so well that he trusted me to do everything including making the coffee, and mixing the milk, and such other very skilled jobs. I thought that was great. I put in extra coffee in the 30 gallon steam jacketed coffee kettle and I put extra powdered milk, Golden State brand, that I mixed with water, so everybody was happy with the improved products except Joe Henry, the steward. At the end of the second day after I had cleaned up the area, Red said he was suffering from an old hernia and he had to go to bed. He doubted that he could make it to work the next day. He didn't show up either. He left me to do all the pantry work the next day, starting with breakfast. I found out later he was just "gold bricking" as they called it, playing cribbage and droning about his fake hernia pains, letting me do his work. I soon got a young, older than I, machinist helper to help me run the pantry after that.

On the fourth day on the ship I was out on deck before dinner taking a short "blow" for myself, watching the huge waves smashing against the ship's side and the gooney birds soaring and dipping over the swells when someone tapped me on the shoulder again, another officer's cap. He wanted to know where I was going. I told him Lockanok cannery. His name was Johnny Sorensen and he was the Chief Engineer, he said. He also said he was short of help and had a job for me in the fire room. I told him I already had a job working in the pantry. He got a little mad and said Joe Henry, that blankety blankety lime juice steward, had grabbed all the men and he was going to put me in the fire room anyway. I just looked dumb I guess, and told him that that was all right with me but he would have to straighten things out with the steward so I wouldn't get into trouble. The Chief Engineer told me to report below in the fire room at 8 in the morning and that I would only work eight hours a day down there on the day shift.

I reported to the engineer on watch in the engine room the next morning and I wound up in the fire room where they fed coal to the boilers. I worked there with another young fellow. My job was to supply coal to the firemen. I was called a coal passer. The coal was stored in huge bunkers on the sides of the ship. The bottoms had opening so the coal would feed down to the fire room floor from where we shoveled the coal into wheel barrows. I had to wheel the coal over to the firemen. Standing near the boilers and dump it down the steel floor plates, where they fed it into the roaring firs. I soon learned to go with the wheel barrow with the roll of the ship, so I was going downhill most of the time. When the coal got clogged in the bunkers, I had to climb up the ladder with a rod and loosen the coal so it would continue dropping down to the floor level. Also, when the firemen "pulled a fire" as they called it, scraping ashes out of the fire door onto the steel floor and dousing them with sea water, I had to shovel the ashes into what they called the ash hoist. I don't really remember how that worked, but I believe it used pumped sea water under pressure to blow the ashes up in a pipe and over the side into the ocean. All this work was on the warm side, although the ventilators helped. I even remembered the name of one of the young firemen, George Codman. Many years later I hired him at Bellingham as Chief Engineer of PAF's [Pacific American Fisheries] floating cannery, the *Neva*.

I spent about three days in the fire room. My roommates couldn't understand why I was doing these odd jobs and I think they asked Mr. Smith, my Superintendent about it. Anyway, he collared me and told me Mr. Kochergin, the Lockanok bookkeeper, needed me to help him. He told me that is what I should have been doing in the first place, so I shed my grubby fire room clothes and spent the rest of the days working at a corner table in the dining room with the bookkeeper. I kept busy preparing checklists from requisitions and invoices so we could check supplies for the cannery when they came ashore. I also made up a price list for the goods to be sold in the store and priced out items in the stock books for use later in charging out supplies used in the operations. Kochergin found out I had been working in an office so he gave me plenty of things to do. In retrospect, I think all of these things that happened to me on that trip helped me more than I realized at the time for use in my work in later years.

Nagary V. Kochergin, my bookkeeper boss, was a Russian, a White Russian, they were called. He had only a few years earlier escaped from Russia with the Bolsheviks at his heels. He was one of the Czars Cossacks, head of a mounted troop that maintained "law and order" as he called it, in the Kamchatka District of Siberia. He was well educated, and while he and his soldiers were very unpopular with the Bolsheviks, I found him to be a pretty nice person to work with. He spoke English fairly well. He escaped from Siberia to Shanghai, China. He finally found his wife, who escaped later from Russia and was in Japan. She was visiting her parents who were wealthy landowners when the revolution broke out. She hid in a cabinet or a closet and through a keyhole or crack in the wall she watched the angry crowd butcher her mother and father before her very eyes. Miraculously, they missed her. She eventually found her way to Japan, where she and her husband were reunited. They emigrated to the United States, winding up in Seattle, Kockergin worked at a few menial jobs and finally got a job with Libby as bookkeeper at Lockanock. I visited them at their home near Libby's office in Seattle once. They were not able to bring much of their money or possessions with them from Russia, but they did show me some very interesting photographs, snapshots, and trinkets from Russia.

Just about the time I got out of the fire room and started working with the bookkeeper, the ship made its first landfall, spotted Sanak Island in the distance off our starboard bow. I suspected we were nearing land as we started seeing shorebirds again, including seagulls, after crossing Cape Flattery to Unimak Pass. Also, the past couple of days, the kids I met on the boat had been feverishly writing letters. Somebody had conned them into believing we were soon due at the mail buoy in the middle of Unimak Pass where mail for home would be dropped off and picked up later by a southbound mail boat. In spite of my busy schedule, dishing out food and shoveling coal, I still had time to be homesick. I started a letter to my mother the first day out and when I mailed it ashore a few weeks later it was 67 pages long. I still have it somewhere as my mother gave it to me years later. It was the first letter she had ever received from me.

We entered Unimak Pass 7 or 8 days after leaving Seattle. The weather was calm and beautiful. Mt. Shishaldin, called Smokey Moses, was puffing out some black smoke, the snow was glistening, and the whole landscape made a beautiful picture. A short time later, just inside the Pass, as if to lend some truth to the mail buoy rumor, the *Otsego* stopped its engines and we lay drifting in the Bering Sea. Very soon we saw the reason. Captain Nielsen, our gray-haired, squinty-eyed amicable skipper, liked codfish, so did all the fishermen it seemed. In no time at all there were dozens of hand lines over the side, including the Captain's, and soon the deck was littered with flopping codfish, some of them really huge. It was quite a sight. I never did like fish until then. The cooks oiled it and deep fried it for dinner, and I just about ate myself sick eating fried cod for the first time. In a couple of hours, we were on our way again.

The Bering Sea for the next 30 hours or so enroute to Naknek/anchorage [ships channel] was interesting and beautiful. We saw a couple of windjammers headed in our same direction, one square-rigger and a large schooner. The sea was calm, with huge, low, greasy-looking swells, and vast flocks of what they crew called "whale birds" skimming the surface of the water. Whales were spouting everywhere, it seemed, and the air was filled with many other birds at times. It was really a grand sight for me. We finally dropped anchor at the Naknek/Kvichak roadstead [ships channel]. The place was littered with steamers and a few smaller boats and some windjammers. I don't remember which vessels they were as I viewed the same scene the next few years, also. I do know there were a number of sailing ships in 1926 and 1927 at the anchorage, especially APA windjammers. I remember the *Thomas E. Wilson*, a schooner, and the *Star of Falklands, Star of India, Star of Lapland,* were others. I took a picture of the *Star of Falklands* at the entrance to Unimak Pass with all sails set in the setting sun becalmed as we went through Unimak Pass. I heard a few hours later he [*Star of Falklands*?] had drifted ashore on Akun Head and was lost. The lighthouse tender, *Cedar*, passed us that same evening and I understand she rescued the crew and all the Oriental cannery workers aboard, but the tin sheet and all the other cargo was lost.

In these early days canneries usually had steam tugs hang around Unimak Pass to tow the ships through the pass into more open waters. PAF, Alaskan Portland Packers at that time, had a small 100' steamer the *Ice King* for that purpose, as they had a square rigger to tend.

When I was in Bellingham in 1930 we used the *Ice King* as a tender. It was a coal burner so we discontinued using it. We had to have a licensed captain and engineer aboard which added to the cost. The ice had gone out of Kvichak River in 1926 when we arrived at the anchorage around May 19 so we did not have

to wait for the breakup. The winter watchman at Lockanok sent the monkey boat down the Kvichak River to pick up the crew for the tender, *Thelma S*, a flat scow to take us back up the river to the cannery. We all, except the Orientals, went over the side on Jacob's Ladders with our belongings and made ourselves at home on the scow. There were about 100 of us aboard. The Orientals with their baggage went ashore the same way a day or two later. The scow had a makeshift cover or awning, made of 2x6 posts and beams with tarpaulins to keep us partially covered as it was raining. We were way early on the tide so we were stuck on the mud and sandbars and had to anchor up and wait a couple of times for the tide. The superintendent, his wife, and three small daughters rode to the cannery aboard the *Thelma S*. We had no life preservers or life rafts on the scow.

I suppose I tried to act like an old timer too, on the scow, but I didn't fool anyone, I'm sure. In my wandering around the scow, I met and talked with a short, heavyset, dark complexioned man carrying a flat box about a foot and a half square and a flour sack. He was puffing on a roll your own cigarette. He spoke broken English with a Spanish accent. I knew some Spanish from high school so I pleased him by talking Spanish. His name was Jose Samiento, a Spaniard who was the baker at Lockanok cannery. The box was a tin box full of baker's ammonia, which he used at the cannery to make cream puffs, of all things. I couldn't imagine getting cream puffs up there. Jose offered me a home made cigarette which I declined. I asked him what he was smoking, and he said half "Peerless" and half marijuana. He said he had been smoking the mixture for many years. It didn't show on him either, but he had rather sleepy looking eyes. He introduced me to his helper, a young Mexican boy named Felix. Felix, he said, would smoke marijuana full strength, but he only let him smoke the mixture, and not very often. He was 100% reliable, and perhaps the best baker I ever met.

Our trip upriver was probably about 20 miles. We arrived alongside the fish house safely at the dock, and got all our stuff ashore, so the tender and scow could go down river and back to the ship again. It stopped raining and cleared up while we were waiting to leave the dock fish house and go to the cannery. I was surprised to find out that the cannery itself was a half mile or so from the fish house and dock where we got off the scow with our belongings. The two were connected by a double set of narrow gauge steel railroad tracks on a trestle. The trestle carrying the two sets of rails were made of square timbers driven into the tundra, laced with sway braces, capped with heavy planks and cross planks, with heavy planks running lengthwise to which the steel rails were attached. Also running lengthwise were 2x12 planks that served as a walkway for foot traffic. The old trestle was originally completely level from the fish dock to the cannery, but the heaving of permafrost and tundra caused many gentle dips and hollows in the railway track system. Cargo and passengers were carried back and forth on small flatcars which were fitted with removable fish bins during the canning season.

There were also other boxes and bins used to haul coal on the cars during unloading in the spring. In the fall, the cases of salmon were hauled down the same cars from the cannery warehouse to the dock for loading out to the ship. The cars were towed by two or three speeders or two cars powered by one or two cylinder Atlas slow speed gasoline engines. Crude as they were the cars and open locomotives performed very well and practically trouble free. The main problem was the re-handling of cargo involved. The cargo was unloaded out of the ship, onto the scows, unloaded from the scows at the fish house dock, hand trucked or otherwise moved across the dock through the warehouse to the rail cars, loaded on the cars, towed to the cannery, unloaded and hand trucked to it final place of rest at the cannery. Can making supplies going upstairs were about the only things moved by a power driven conveyer belt. A branch of the railway took the coal buckets to the coal pile near the cannery's boiler room.

We all piled down to the flat cars with out baggage and after many trips, the whole crew eventually reached the cannery building and moved into their quarters for the summer. I was astounded to find that it didn't get dark at all that night, and we could easily see just about everything around us at midnight. I didn't go to bed at all that first night ashore.

Lockanok Cannery was purchased in 1916 by Libby, McNeill & Libby from the North Alaska Salmon Company. North Alaska built the plant in 1900, and built another cannery at Hallersville, about a mile away. In 1904, Hallersville was on the Kvichak River on a small slough, upriver from Lockanok. Lockanok cannery and its docks were also on the banks of the Kvichak River near its confluence with a smaller tributary called the Alagnak, locally called the Branch River.

According to legend on a property map made up in later years, the Kvichak River either changed course a bit or became rapidly silted so that the navigable water disappeared at the docks of both plants, leaving them high and dry a mile or so from the river itself. The map said that these areas were filling with alluvial material since 1902. What had once been the waterfront and beach was dry land covered by scrub willow, swamp grass and brush when I first arrived in 1926. Lockanok therefore built its dock and fish house on the bank of the Alagnak River and connected it to the cannery with a double track railway system. Hallersville was apparently abandoned altogether and its buildings were flattened by winter snows and storms. Eventually it was completely cannibalized by the local residents who hauled the lumber and other materials away in the wintertime when the tundra and river was covered with ice and snow. Lockanok was originally a large operation with 4 or 5 canning lines in two large buildings, plus a couple of good-sized warehouses. One of the old cannery buildings was snow damaged, leaking and only used for junk storage. When I got there, Lockanok had only 2 1-lb.

tall lines plus a standby line they used at the peak of the season. This "shoemaker's line" was manned by an emergency crew for short runs, consisting of cooks, waiters, carpenters, beach men and others including myself, when we had a lot of fish. My job was catching cans at the end of the line, that is, scooping the cans into the coolers with a flat piece of box shook, holding a dozen or more cans.

The fish dock machinery consisted of two Model G iron chinks (*sic*) and an older large, bull wheel type iron chink, and IC model, for standby. The fish house also had fish bins and the usual straight line sliming tables. The fish elevator was a crude affair, raised and lowered into the scows with an overhead hoist, into which the beach gang pewed the fish. The elevator was only about a foot wide. It took quite a while to unload the scows. The fish house machinery and elevator were all belt driven by a couple of horizontal semi-diesel engines that had to be hand started by fly wheel bar after heating their glow plugs with a kerosene blow torch. Water was pumped out of a small pond nearby.

At the cannery end of the railroad, there were a couple of round turntables with tracks leading to the fish cutters where the cars loaded with butchered fish could be unloaded into the cutter buckets. The fish cutters were made by the Wright & Dittson Co. There were three of them, one at the beginning of each canning line. They consisted of a number of round, slow moving, sharpened knives on a belt driven shaft spaced for the 16 oz., 1-lb., tall can sized cuts of salmon. The buckets were made of wood, slotted to run by the revolving knives mounted by attachments on an incline sprocket chain moving at a slow speed with the steel. Everything had to be closely fitted so the knives did not get hung up on the buckets. Each fish cutter discharged the sliced salmon into a filler bin. Each line had a Jensen 1 lb. tall filler made by Seattle Astoria Iron Works running at about 90 cans per minute. I believe the salting of ¼ oz. of salt for each can was done at the filler, but it may have been just ahead of the clincher.

There were no weighing machines in the cannery, there was a patching table after the filler on each line where the patcher's test weighed cans from time to time on small balance scales. Next came the 1 lb. Tall clinchers which were made by the American Can Company. The cans next were conveyed into the steam boxes or pre-cookers which were about 30 feet long made of wood. The tops of these boxes were split and hinged so they could by lifted open with a block and tackle to clear any jambs of the cans inside. The cans were conveyed through the boxes, containing steam coils, some of which were perforated to blow steam around the heating coils and cans as they pass through. The cans were carried on small flat-linked chains in one box, and on cables in the other two boxes. Pulleys at the end with turn tables changed the direction of the cans so they made 3 or 4 complete passes through the boxes, so they were adequately heated before discharge form the boxes. The cans were heated to 210° before they left the seam boxes. The loosely clinched lids on the cans allowed the heated air to escape without letting steam condense back into the cans. A jamb of cans in the steam box was a real mess, and it took time to clear.

The next machine on the line was a double seamer, also made by American Can Company. It was not a vacuum machine, it was a double seamer that completed the seams on the lids that had been clinched on before they entered the seam boxes. At Lockanok rather than buying or renting more machinery, in the spring we had to unfasten these double seamers and move them from the canning lines upstairs into the can shop for bottom seaming, after which they were unbolted and moved back downstairs again for use in seaming the canned fish.

The cans were then put into conventional coolers, the same size used when I retired from the business. The next equipment were the retorts, 3 or 4 car single-door affairs with cast iron wheel doors and pressure gauges, thermometers and safety valves only, plus blow down and other valves. There were no automatic control valves, nor were there retorts insulated with covering, so it was rather warm especially with sunny weather. In 1926 it hardly rained at all. In fact, we had a tundra fire that burned all summer, some miles away.

Lockanok also had the usual 4 wheel cooler trucks to fit the half round rails upon which to loaded coolers were stacked at the end of the line. Lockanok also had a transfer car on rails in front of the retorts, onto which the loaded cooler trucks were loaded to be rolled into the retorts. There were no air hoists at the end of the lines. Two men with hand grips to fit the cooler trays lifted the loaded coolers and stacked them on the cooler trucks. There were no forklifts, jitneys, or other powered vehicles in the plant. Several transveyors, one-man low hydraulic hand lift trucks, were used to slip under the cooked salmon stacks for moving out into the warehouses for cooling.

The boiler house was located near the cannery building. The boilers burned coal. The smokestacks were tall to insure a good draft, as no forced air was used. Water for the boilers and domestic use was pumped from a small lake or lily ponds located on the cannery property, using a gas engine driven pump. The water was pumped up into a large wood storage tank with a roof which was mounted on a wooden tower. In late summer the vegetation in the lake caused the water to become rather discolored and the boilers had to be blown down more frequently and boiler compound used.

The canning machinery was all belt-driven from pulleys and shafting powered by steam engines and a horizontal semi-diesel or two. Diesel fuel for the stationary engines was stored in drums, large 105 gallon drums, at the cannery, as well as drums of distillate for the gas engines. The tenders burned distillate, a low grade of gasoline, and the drums were stored near the fish dock.

Lockanok had a fairly good sized machine shop in the cannery building equipped with two lathes, a shaper, drill presses, power hack saws, grinding wheels, etc., all driven by a small vertical steam engine. Electric power was pretty much a minimum. I think we had a couple of small vertical, steam driven generators producing 15 or 20 kilowatts for lighting only.

The wireless station which required quite a lot of power to run, the old style spark and continuous wave telegraph transmitters, had its own power supply consisting of a 15 or 20 hp horizontal semi-diesel engine, belt driving a 10 or 15 kw generator. Each time the wireless operator had a schedule, he had to walk one-half block to the power house, heat the glow plug with a blow torch, and roll the diesel engine flat wheel over with a bar to start the engine. Radio telephones were not in use at any plant in 1926, either ashore or on boats.

Communications ashore at the wireless station were all dot and dash signals, done with a telegraph key. There were quite a number of kerosene lamps and lanterns used as electric generators were usually shut off early and not many electric lights were used. In the office and store a couple Aladdin kerosene mantle-type lamps were used quite often at night and on dark days.

Living quarters were varied. Lockanok had a fishermen's bunkhouse, a cannery crew bunkhouse, a few cottages for the cannery foremen, machinists crew, and other specialists. The mess crew slept in the mess house building. The bookkeeper slept in the store and office building which also housed the mess houses groceries and store supplies in rooms at the rear. The radio shack was a bungalow, which also housed a couple of guest rooms and one of the few bathtubs in camp. There was, of course a fairly nice bungalow for the cannery superintendent and his family. There were some wooden sidewalks connecting the buildings, but the whole living area had a rather hard surface composed of tons of coal ashes and clinkers spread around over the years from the boiler room operation. Consequently, there was good drainage and no mud to walk in.

The mess house was quite large and so was the kitchen. The three-oven range was coal-fired, and like the boiler had a large stack as there was no power for a fan blower. There was also a good-sized screened outdoor meat house and storage room adjoining the kitchen. There was no cold storage of any kind, so there was not much meat to cut, although some beef was taken ashore for a week or two in the spring and occasionally we would buy a few reindeer carcasses from the Natives. Lockanok did have a good ice house, though, which the winter watchmen filled with ice cut from the lakes each winter. This ice lasted all summer, so we had ice cream made by the baker quite often. The mess house also had a separate bakery building built around a huge brick oven, almost as big as the bakery room itself. It was a wood-fired affair, with two or three waist-high openings into which the baker would slide a great number of pans of bread or cake and pies. He used long-handled, flat, thin bladed paddles called "peels" to push in and pull out his bakery items. He also had a huge deep fryer on a small coal-fired laundry stove in which he cooked doughnuts and other goodies. To operate the oven, the baker made hot fires underneath the oven, which was "paved" with fire brick for a couple of days, using old crates and other scraps and timber ends to get the oven real hot. Then, depending upon the item, he could bake for a couple of days before building another fire. The kitchen range ovens were also used by the baker when available.

The store and office were together in the same building. It housed the warehouse rooms for mess house groceries and store supplies. Bookkeeping was all done by hand so the rather small office and minimum office equipment was adequate. The store was pretty well stocked with just about everything the crews needed, including a good supply of clothing and shoes. There was a bedroom for the bookkeeper and next to it was the dispensary and first aid room, stocked with a huge assortment of remedies and a cot to sit or lie on. All of the living quarters were heated with coal stoves, practically all of the old pot bellied cast iron type, of various sizes, sitting on metal and asbestos floor pads to keep from setting the floor on fire.

Flush toilets and bathtubs were almost nonexistent. There were probably only two flush toilets in camp, one at the superintendent's house and the one in the radio guest house which also had a bathtub. Any water heated for the various buildings had to be heated by coils in the heating stoves. Running cold water was available in most buildings, and there were water heaters in a couple of places, coal fired ones. Showers and baths were available for the crews and they also got water supplied by coal-fired water heaters. There were also tubs in the washing houses for washing clothes, and they got water that was heated by these coal-fired water heaters.

The bull cooks kept all the buildings supplied with coal, emptied the ashes, and kept some of the fires going, so life was not too bad. That is, except for one problem. The outdoor toilets were all of the chick sale [?] outhouse variety, of which three or four strategically placed within reasonable walking distance. They were six to ten "hollers", closed on both ends and back, but wide open in front. That, coupled with occasional cold weather and mosquitoes made business there uncomfortable and necessarily short.

The cannery workers were Filipinos and Chinese provided by the Chinese Labor Contracting Company, which in 1926 was Kwong Mun Yuen Company. The company told the Chinese contractor the number and kind of cannery workers it needed at the cannery for the season, and the contractor hired them and delivered them to the company's vessel at the port of embarkation. The

company transported the workers to the cannery on its ship, fed them aboard and took them ashore to the cannery free of charge. Then the contractor's foremen took charge and supervised the workers ashore at the direction of the cannery superintendent and foremen. The company provided housing for the workers, but the contractor fed them at the cannery out of his expenses and paid them their wages at the end of the season. The company transported the workers back to the port of embarkation, paid the contractor for the use of the workers so much per case of salmon on a 48 one pound tall basis packed at that cannery that season with a guarantee of so many dollars, usually an amount approximating the contractor bare cost. This profit had to come out of the additional cases packed above the guaranteed amount. In normal years, the contractor did quite well, but in poor years he was usually lucky to break even. There were stories that some contractors exploited and cheated the men they supplied, especially those operating out of San Francisco, but I observed over the years that we used contract labor and most of our workers were treated well and reasonably satisfied.

In later years when the unions took over and the labor contractors went out of business, many of the workers found they had lost the off season jobs and board, room, and financial assistance the contractor often provided to tide them over until they went to Alaska again, or were found agricultural jobs in California. The cannery workers had depended on the China contractors to take care of them in winter time, but with the advent of the unions and closure of the contracting business, the cannery workers were on their own and lost that winter time assistance.

In the early 1920s, the Chinese workers began dropping out of the Alaska cannery labor force due to age and infirmities. Because of the Immigration Exclusion Act new Chinese workers could not be brought in, so they were gradually replaced by Filipinos who were then wards of the U.S. government. The Philippine Islands were a U.S. possession and the Filipinos could freely enter the U.S. and work here. The Chinese were competent and loyal workers, but the Filipinos also proved they were similarly qualified and good replacements for the Chinese.

The industry had found earlier that few white workers were willing to leave home to work in Alaska at these cannery jobs, and transportation in those days was such that Alaskan native help could not be easily assembled to work. At Lockanok, the China contract cannery workers had their own bunkhouse and mess hall in the cannery building complex where they had approximately the same facilities as the rest of the crews.

In 1926 Lockanok had three cannery tenders and two tally scows. The tenders were the *Pride of Alaska*, the *Olga*, and the *Thelma S*. The *Olga* and *Pride of Alaska* were twin-screw towboats about 60 ft. long, shallow draft, with twin 50 or 60 hp, slow-speed, heavy-duty gasoline (distillate) burning engines. The engines were old-fashioned, using made and break igniters instead of spark plugs, sea water cooled. The engines had to be started by hand with a fly wheel roll bar with a can of starting fluid or ether available for priming.

Electricity for the starting coil and the few low-wattage lights aboard came from two sets of eight each primary cells on racks on both sides of the engine room. These primary glass cells were ceramic or heavy glass jars holding about a gallon of water each with loose fitting slotted lids into each of which was suspended a small slab of carbon on one side and a small slab of zinc on the other side, inside the jar. The suspended zinc and carbon bars had screw terminals on their tops projecting from the jar lids to which electric wires were fastened which hooked the cells in each battery cluster together in series to a double throw two-pull switch which led to the spark coil and the few electric light bulbs used. Electric current was produced when the cells were filled with a solution of sal-ammoniac and fresh water. I believe each cell produced about one and a half or two volts providing 12-16 volts on each of the two banks of eight primary cells. When one bank quit producing enough current, the other bank was switched on after which the run-down cells were recharged with new carbons, zinc and sal-ammoniac solutions.

The *Thelma S* was a newer and larger vessel, about 75' long and shallow draft, powered by a 6 cylinder, slow speed, heavy duty Atlas Imperial 110 hp gas engine. The *Thelma S* had a clutch and reverse gear, but it had a compressor and air start for the engine. The *Thelma S* also had a generator and banks of Edison cells, a form of storage battery with metal cases. They used an electrolyte liquid which was different from today's lead celled storage battery acid. The Edison cells were very durable, compact and long lasting. They were also expensive.

None of the tenders had radios or electronic equipment of any kind. Their navigating equipment consisted of a compass, a lead line, a pipe-bowl and very little else except for a few charts.

Lockanok's tenders and scows were stored during the winter on a set of marine ways on the bank of the Branch River [Alagnak] near the fish dock. The ways were simply sets of two 12x12 timbers dogged onto the tops of sawed off piling driven deep into the mud slanting into the river. There were simple cradles for the boats but no rollers. The cradled boats and fish scows were simply dragged and skidded ashore on the ways timbers which were generously coated with skid grease during the hauling. I don't remember whether a steam donkey or stationary diesel was used to pull the floating equipment out with cables and blocks they used. The beach gang even used its own skid grease mixture consisting of one part beef tallow to two parts of old lubricating oil which was thinned with about five gallons of kerosene to each 50 gallons of mixture.

Lockanok also had a small launch with a little pilot house forward which was used to make trips to the down river canneries. It was mainly used as a monkey boat on the fishing grounds during the fishing season. Fishing regulations allowed the loaded gill-net boats to be towed to the receiving stations when necessary, but using monkey boats or tenders to otherwise tow the sailboats around the fishing grounds was forbidden.

Fish receiving stations for Lockanok were two tally scows moored down river from the cannery on the fishing grounds usually near Libbyville and farther upriver near Koggiung. At least two or three tally men to count fish lived aboard the tally scow during the fishing season and a cook was aboard to feed them, give coffee, fish chowder or snacks to the fishermen. Water and a small supply of groceries were available for the fishermen also, but they were supposed to feed themselves aboard their gillnet boats with supplies issued each week at the cannery.

A fish scow was tied behind each tally scow onto which the fishermen pitched their fish, one by one, which was counted by the tally men who were standing on the edge of the scow near the boat delivering the fish. Spare, empty scows were standing on the edge of the scow near the boat delivering the fish. Spare, empty scows were exchanged for loaded scows by the tender which took them to the cannery at peak periods or when the gill-net boats fished at more distant locations and other sections of the district. The tenders would take an empty fish scow alongside and their crews would receive and tally fish on those scows. Fish were counted, not weighed.

In the Naknek/Kvichak district where the salmon were about 95% of the red variety, no attempt was made to tally reds and chums separately. The proportion for the reds to chums was calculated by the case count at the cannery for the season. Fishermen were credited for the fish that they delivered on a red-chum basis on the basis of percentage of each species canned when their accounts were made up at the end of each season. What few kings were caught were counted and credited as kings. Pinks were an absolute rarity in the Naknek/Kvichak district, and were seldom, if ever, delivered during the red season.

The only other marine equipment was the gill net fishing boat itself of which the cannery had about 40 of such company owned vessels. By law, the Bristol Bay fishing boats were not allowed to be power driven. The fishermen had to use sails and oars for motor power. The boats were limited to a maximum of 32 feet in length. The only metal mechanical devices built into the gillnet boats were its nails and other fastenings, its rudder irons, and the center board handle, a round rod used to push down and pull up and stow the wooden center board. Otherwise, wood and canvas were the only other materials used in the boat construction.

The boats were open, wooden planked, beamy double-enders, with a short, canvas covered deck at the bow, a narrow canvas covered board around each side from bow to stern. The whole open area was surrounded by a low, raised hardwood splash rail of 1x6, smooth finished hardwood on edge, forming a huge open cockpit-like working and fish storage area. This inside space was divided into several open-top fish storage bins or boxes and had several forks [thwarts?] running across the boats.

Ahead of the mid-ship fish boxes and forward bulkhead was the open area used as a sleeping space for the two man crew. A mast was also stepped forward in this area held by a loose mast band fastened at one end to the forward deck edge. This mast band was clamped around the mast when it was stepped on in a vertical position.

The sailing gear consisted of a square piece of canvas fastened at its lower forward edge to the bottom of the mast and sewed on its forward edge to round oak mast rings which circled the mast. The mast rings were pulled up to the top of the mast. A pulley sheeve was mounted into the top of the stubby but heavy mast through which a cotton rope was fed and fastened to the top mast ring sewed onto the canvas sail. Along the bottom edge of the sail a removable wooden boom with one end was fastened to the mast and the other end fastened to the after end of the lower edge of the sail. This was used to spread the lower end of the sail. When the mast hoops were then hoisted to the top of the mast, a sail was set, forming a triangular-shape sail of the upper after corner of the sail hanging loose, A smaller stick of wood, called the sprit was then inserted into a pocket of the sail at the upper after corner of the sail and the lower end of the sprit, which was slotted, was pulled into a tightened position by a rope lashed to the sprit at one end and fastened to the mast at its other end. This resulted in an almost square sail with more area to catch the wind.

If there was little or no wind, or when maneuvering, the fisherman used oars to move the boat. This was back breaking work as the oars were 13 feet long, made of heavy ash and hard to move the boat, especially with a load of fish aboard. Later, spruce oars were issued to replace the ash oars when needed. We had an epidemic of losing oars overboard when it was discovered spruce oars were available. The same type of epidemic occurred ashore when rubber tired hand trucks were available to replace the old heavy hand trucks with cast iron or steel wheels.

In addition to the regular sail, the Italian boats quite often were rigged a foresail in front, a triangular jib to do two things, give them more sail area when it was clear sailing, but usually to just use the jib to keep the head into the wind when it was rough weather.

The steering gear on the boat consisted of a very large wooden rudder with a strong tiller fastened to its slotted upper end. The rudder was fastened to the boat's oak stern post with rudder irons fashioned by the blacksmith.

Another bit of equipment was a canvas tent shaped to fit over the open space at the bow used as sleeping quarters. A short ridge pole was used to provide a certain amount of head room in the makeshift foc'sle [forecastle].

The net boss or sail-off man, we called him, issued the moveable equipment to the fishermen for their assigned boats. This consisted of the mast, boom, sprit, sail, tent, and sails with lines and also the tie-up lines for the boat. A 45 pound black painted kedge anchor was another item, as well as two sets of oars.

Each boat was issued a "Swede stove," a single burner brass stove with short removable legs and round slotted cooking top which burned kerosene. This was atomized through a fine nozzle under the cooking top by a pressure pump built into the body of the stove which was also its fuel tank. The stove had to be primed first with alcohol which was burned in a ring around the nozzle, then a small hand-adjustable valve released the spray of kerosene, producing a steady and intense flame for cooking and heating the tent. The whole stove could be taken down and fitted into a carton only about 10" inches square, 4" inches thick. A one gallon can of kerosene and corked pop bottle full of denatured alcohol was issued to the boats each week for fueling the stove.

Each boat was also supplied with some cooking gear each year, most of which was disposed of at the end of the season. This gear included "Columbia River" style utensils, consisting of one coffeepot, one stew pot, and one fry pan, all made of tin steel, and two Malacca table knives, two forks, teaspoons, and tablespoons of tin coated steel that turned black and rusty if not used every day. Each boat also got a hand scoop to bale water and a galvanized round water beaker with handles on its side, holding about 2 ½ gallons of water.

The net boss issued the gill-nets to the boats. Nets were usually chosen by lot. Lost nets were replaced with nets that had been used one season but had been reconditioned and about as good as the new ones issued the previous year. Linen nets were used at that time, so they had to be kept clean and washed in a blue stone (copper sulfate) solution each week in seven 1,000 gallon wooden tanks ashore, to keep the nets in good condition.

The nets were made of 8-ply, number 40 linen netting of 5 9/16" mesh stretched, measured and hung 28 meshes deep and two 75 fathom shackles long, totaling 150 fathoms hung measure. The netting was hung on cotton cork lines with number 40 soft laid cotton hanging twine. Cedar floats, which were 6" long by 3 ½" diameter with a 7/16" hole, were spaced one float to each two feet of cork line.

The minimum mesh size of the nets, by law, was 5 ½", and canneries used larger sizes to get bigger fish, as they were buying fish by the "each" then. It allowed some of the smaller fish to escape and the females to the spawning grounds because the nets could become quite selective if you played with the mesh size too much.

By 1926, most of the gill-net boat fishermen simply dragged in their nets by hand over the side of the boat to pick off the fish gilled in the nets. It was back breaking work and experimentation with net roller was already going on. A few years later most of the fishermen were using horizontal wooden rollers. Some used side rollers to facilitate dragging their nets into the boat. Rollers were made of clear fir, 9" in diameter and 32", long with metal axles clamped onto the boat or poked into holes bored in the covering board. Most of them also had side rollers, one on each side mounted vertically at two ends of the horizontal rollers. The side rollers were 18" high and 3" thick with the upper 2" tapered somewhat, also turning freely on metal axles. Thereafter, all sorts and sizes of rollers were tried until power rollers were finally developed and used.

The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service regulated the fishing season. The small fish, or red salmon season, in 1926 opened on June 25 at 6 a.m. and closed at 6 p.m. on July 25. Fishing was permitted each week from 6 a.m. Monday to 6 p.m. Saturday, making a weekend closed period of 36 hours. In 1934, an additional mid-week closure of 24 hours was adopted from 6 a.m. Wednesday to 6 a.m. Thursday, making a total weekly closed period of 60 hours. The fishermen stayed out on the grounds all week living in their boats, only coming into the cannery on Saturdays for the weekend closure. They spent the weekend washing and mending and racking their nets, bathing, washing clothes and getting badly needed sleep. The fishermen ate in the mess house ashore and before going back out on Monday, they re-outfitted their boats with groceries, coal, fuel and other necessary supplies.

Each boat was also issued a corked pop bottle of antiseptic solution hand wash, usually carbolic acid mixed with water, and a tin of carbolated Vaseline to smear on their hands to prevent or cure fish poison or any skin irritations. Such infections usually occur at the wrist, where their oil skin sleeves chafed the skin. Some fishermen encased their wrists in pieces of ladies' silk stockings to prevent such irritations. With all their gear and supplies aboard, the fishermen would leave the cannery on the next high tide that would permit them to be on the fishing grounds for the 6 a.m. Monday openings.

The fish were unloaded at the fish dock and run through the iron chinks and sliming tables, then loaded into the fish bins or boxes mounted on the small railroad cars and covered with burlap fish covers and taken to the cannery for canning. No sorting of salmon by species was necessary. The slimers would pick out what few chums and kings they encountered which were thrown into a separate railroad car box and hauled to the cannery later in the day.

The can ends, that is the round tops and bottoms of the salmon cans, were purchased already made and lacquered from the American Can Company, packed 2,400 ends to the 48 1-lb. tall wood box and shipped to the cannery each year as required for the estimated pack. The can bodies were made at the cannery from fairly heavy tinplate, usually purchased and shipped from England to Seattle for shipment to Alaska. The tinplate was packed in metal strapped flat wooden boxes called "packages" containing 112 sheets of 19 3/8"x24 3/14" tinplate. Each sheet would make 10 1-lb. tall bodies, each 4 13/16" by 9 39/64" which would be later formed into cans 3 1/16 diameter by 4 11/16" high. Later, the tall can height was reduced a little to lessen the excess head space in the can.

Machinery for making cans was located on the upper floor of the cannery building. Machinery consisted of at least one each slitter and trimmer, which were round thick wheel-like knives of hardened steel with honed cutting edges mounted on a shaft. They cut the tin into shapes to make the can bodies as the cutting rolls turned at a medium speed by the belt driven shaft. The body tin was fed into at least one body machine which rolled the tin into cylinder shape, crimped its side seam and passed each body, seam down, over the solder horse which applied solder to the side seam, wiping excess solder with a rotating wiping roll made of circular patches of canvas-like material on edge. The formed can body was then discharged to a belt elevator which took the can into the flanger which flanged both ends of the can body.

The solder horse was a cast iron tub-like rectangular pot, holding the molten solder over which the cans passed as the solder was applied and the seams wiped. The solder was kept hot by kerosene fired burners under the solder pot. A metal box under the solder horse caught any drippings and chunks of flux and solder that dropped from above. A conventional type of solder flux was used for the side seam. The brand name we used was Delwaco. The solder was made at the cannery from tin and lead.

The flanged cans left the flanger and one double-seamed end was applied by the double seamers that were borrowed each spring from the cannery below. The finished empty 1-lb. tall cans left the double seamer and rolled into chutes that dropped the cans into huge wicker baskets. They were waist-high, and at least 4' in diameter. When filled, they were either dragged or carried to one end of the can loft where the cans were stacked on the floor, horizontally, open ends out, in a continuous pile, almost ceiling high, for storage, until used by the cannery.

The adjoining warehouse, second floor or loft, was used to make wooden boxes for use later as shipping containers for the canned salmon. The boxes had to be made in the spring right after the arrival of the crew at the cannery so they would be available for use later as the crew would be needed during the fishing season to can the fish.

The boxes were all made by hand by the cannery workers crew. 48 one pound tall boxes made up at Lockanok were all made from wood box shooks manufactured by mills in the south 48 that were packed in bundles of box ends, sides, and tops and bottoms packed separately. They had to be made to exact specifications so that the boxes would all hold 48 cans. They also had to be made of kiln-dried stock as damp boxes would later rust the cans. The exact size of the shooks we used were for the ends 13/16" thick x 9 1/2" deep by 12 1/4" long. For the sides, they were 5/16" thick by 9 1/2" deep by 20" long. For the tops and bottoms 5/16" thick x 12 1/4" wide by 20" long. This made a wood box with inside dimensions of 18 3/8"x12 3/4" by 9 1/2". The wooden boxes were nailed with cement coated cooler nails, using on each end two five-penny nails for the tops. Later when tops applied, five five-penny nails for bottoms and five six-penny nails for sides were used.

As the boxes were made, they were nested three to a nest and piled in the loft until needed for casing up the pack. Chutes were used to slide the boxes from the upstairs box factory to the storage warehouse building below.

We did not strap the salmon cases for shipment in 1926. Later, however we did use a single wire strap and in some cases double straps. We used 14-gauge round wire straps and cut lengths at first that were 4'10" long, each wire. Later we used 14-gauge coiled wire and different kinds of strapping machines.

At the cannery the railcar load of fish was switched to a spot near the fish cutter. There the salmon were put by hand into the slowly moving buckets that carried the fish up against the rotating circulating knives that cut the fish into can size lengths. The cut pieces fell into a filler bin from which they were fed into the one pound tall filler, filling 80 to 90 cans per minute.

The cans then moved by chain to the patching table top where other workers checked the cans for end cut or top appearance, skin on top, skin or bones hanging over the edge of the can, and anything that detracted from appearance or inadequate fill. Test weighing of cans with small balance scales was also done frequently as there was no weighing machine in the line. Lightweight or inadequately filled cans were patched by the additional small cut pieces of salmon on trays on the inspection or patching table.

Except for the absence of vacuum machines and better and speedier mechanizing, the canning practice itself was pretty much the same as it is today. In the can shop, cans to feed the tall line were often picked off the can pile in the can loft with wooden rakes with smooth wood pegs for teeth, spaced so as to fit into the open ends of the cans in the pile. The rakeful of cans was then dropped into the cannery baskets. Otherwise, the cans were just taken off the piles by hand and dropped into the basket. The baskets were then taken to chutes over the filler area into

which the cans were fed by hand and dropped down into the fillers. Care had to be exercised so as not to damage the flanges of the cans which would cause a leaky lid seam later.

After the cooked cans of salmon were cooled in the cooling areas, stacks of cooled cans were moved by hand-lift trucks to the warehouse and the cans piled on end this time in the warehouse. The whole season's pack would then be seen piled at least head high in the warehouse for labeling and loading into wooden boxes later. After all canning was finished, the canning machinery was all washed, cleaned and taken apart, oiled an protected for winter storage.

The next phase of the canning operation was the labeling and casing of the salmon pack. Lockanok had a couple of old conventional type portable labeling machines, but otherwise labeling and casing was pretty much a hand operation from start to finish. The label machine was moved into the warehouse near the stacked cans. The cans were removed from the pile by hand and passed over a rather crude but effective weighing machine that kicked out underweight cans. At the same time the cans were checked for swells, droopy seams or other imperfections and set aside. There were very few lightweights which were set aside for the underweight labeling later. Any other cans which were not leakers but were otherwise defective were left at the cannery and later disposed of locally by the winter watchman for dog food.

The labeled cans were packed by hand into wooden 48 one pound tall boxes. Lids were nailed down and probably single wire strapped. Libby labeled about 95% of its pack at Lockanok with the Libby Alaska red label and with black stenciled the box ends as such. About 5% of the Lockanok pack was boxed and sent south unlabeled.

As labeling progressed, the salmon-filled boxes were piled near the warehouse entry door alongside the railroad track for eventual loading on the small railcars and taken to the dock for loading aboard the scows that were taking them to the ship out at the mouth of the river.

This about finishes my rather disgustingly long description of the cannery, its buildings and equipment, and the fishing and canning process at Lockanok in 1926. I hope to wind up this narrative with comments about life in general at Lockanok cannery that year. To say that my life at Lockanok in 1926 was varied would be a real understatement. I cannot recall any other assignment in my life that fed me so much knowledge and experience in such a short time to such a receptive ear.

I was fortunate to be given quarters in the radio house, radio shack as it was called. I had a twin bedroom to myself and shared the house with a young licensed radio operator by the name of Philip Wright. In addition to having at least twice a day schedules with other canneries in the area, the operator also had once a day schedules for traffic with the south 48 states and outside in general. In 1926, I believe his paid traffic schedules were through the Navy wireless at St. Paul Island in the Pribilofs and/or Dutch Harbor.

About a year later such routing was discontinued and such traffic was handled by the U.S. Army Signal Corp. station at Naknek. This Army radio station was officially called "Washington-Alaska Military Cable System" or WAMCATS" for short. Like the ACS later, it was manned by uniformed soldiers and non-commissioned officers. A wireless operator also listened to other stations off and on and once a day usually copied what was called "press," condensed news items sent out daily for the listening public. The cannery jobs usually required the operators to type out a legal size paper or two of daily press report which was hung on the wall at the store and bunkhouses.

The operator and I got along real well, but we both were kept busy and did not spend much time together. We had a guest or two to share the house with occasionally, but not often. The guests were usually company supervisors and off and on can company service men plus government people once in a while, including a once a year visitor of the tax collector, a Mr. Pauley, who collected school taxes and fishing license fees from us for our employees. Each adult male under 50 had to pay an annual school tax of $5.00.

Except for sending wireless messages or radio telegrams outside which were expensive, we did have mail service, consisting of once a month delivery of mail into the Bristol Bay area by a mail boat from Seward. A mail boat was the *Starr*, a small freight and passenger vessel owned by San Juan Fishing & Packing Co. of Seattle. It was contracted by them to the U.S. Postal Service. We enjoyed two or three mail deliveries during the three months I was at Lockanok in 1926. The mail was dumped off at Naknek post office, we picked up the mail sacks there and took them up to the cannery. There was no air mail.

The first bush plane I ever saw in Alaska was at Lockanok in 1927 when Russell Merrill flew in with Haakin Friele who was the head of most everyone else in adopting new things and methods. Nakat was also the first cannery in Bristol Bay to start using radio telephones on his boats and scows at Nakeen Cannery. Nakat Packing Company's Nakeen Cannery was built at Nakeen on the west bank of the Kvichak River in 1925. The cannery bulkhead was still being constructed while it was operating in 1926. The plant was visible from Lockanok on a clear day.

My job was in the cannery stockroom which was a lean-to building of the machine shop. In it were stored practically all the moveable supplies, fittings and small equipment used by the cannery and its boats and other mechanical equipment. I had to

issue and keep track of all the tools, machine parts, engine parts and such. I had to know the location of, and issue and keep track of just about everything else used including lumber, iron and steel, oils and other supplies. This was especially true of supplies used on any capital additions or boats sent to other canneries for which I had to make out charge slips for the bookkeeper to charge to any special jobs, projects, boats or outsiders for whom we had accounts. We had to approximate some materials used on special projects and manufacturing accounts, for cans, boxes, nets, although most consumable items used in the pack were simply charged at the end of the season when inventories disclosed how much had been used. This type of work was easy for me because my earlier hardware experience made it simple. This record keeping at Libby's was not complicated.

My 1926 boss, Mr. Kockergin, discovered I could provide information for him as he needed, so he kept me busy more than usual doing record keeping that he probable had to do himself before.

In addition to my work in the stockroom I was constantly called upon a myriad of other things which enabled me to get outside the stockroom and see new things. Being a greenhorn I was often asked for left handed monkey wrenches, asked to go to the boiler room for a bucket of steam and other similar nonsense, but I eventually became immune. The two shop machinists in the same building, George Reitz and Jack Garvey, were not only skilled machinists but comedians as well. The foreman kept most of the costly small items such as taps, dies, drills, gauges, meters, pocket rules in what he called his "gold locker" in the stockroom under lock and key, which at first posed some problems. After a few trips back and forth to the stockroom, the foreman gave me, with a warning, a key to his treasure. After that, we functioned a little better. Prior to can making, I was told to issue the components and supervise the making of the solder used in the can shop for making the can body seams. I suppose this was because the stock man job called for it. Until I cleared it through the superintendent and found out the simple formula I was a bit nervous about it. Defective solder would have been a catastrophe. Taking a mechanic and helper with me we went to the solder house where we scraped off and cleaned a lot of cast iron solder molds, a large cast iron pot with a kerosene burner underneath and otherwise cleaned the place thoroughly. The solder was made of 40% tin to 60% lead. The tin came in rectangular pigs as they were called, which had ears or lugs at each end so they could be picked up. The tin bars, or pigs, were marked "straights settlements" which was the name then for what is now Malaysia, and weighted about 100 pounds each. The lead bars were ½ round, flattened a bit on both ends, which were marked "Selby" and weighted about 100 pounds. I had the mechanics cut off one or the other bars to provide 40 pounds of tin and 60 pounds of lead for each 100 pounds of solder we made. We used a low platform beam scale to weigh the pieces and threw them into the melting pot. When the tin and lead were completely liquid we ladled the mixture into the molds which produced thumb sized ½ round bars of solder 16" long. These bars were taken to the can shop for use in can making.

I checked with the net boss to make up a report on the net making supplies used for making the nets, including the number of men doing it so the bookkeeper could make up a statement how much the nets cost. This same procedure was followed in obtaining information for the office to make up manufacturing statements for making cans and boxes. Consequently, I was kept pretty busy checking supplies and materials in obtaining information for the office. The big chore was toward the end of the season and at the close, taking an accurate inventory of just about everything. This was extremely important, not just for cost accounting, but to make certain how much inventory was actually left. Unless adequate replacements were ordered for the next year and shipped in the spring, it would be impossible to get necessary replacements unless they could be obtained from surplus, such as other plants in the area.

In the middle of the season, one day, I was sent down river on the monkey boat on the Alaska Packer's Koggiung Cannery [Diamond J] with two fishermen to appear before the U.S. Commissioner to answer for a fishing violation. They were charged by the Bureau of Fisheries to have been fishing in a closed area. I had no money with me to pay the fine, if any. They were found guilty, so we had to pay the fines. The trip was interesting, to say the least. I was offered a cigar on the way back which I thought I would try. It was a twisted black Italian cigar and after two puffs I almost fell overboard with dizziness, as it was unbelievably strong. That ended cigar smoking for me.

The crew on the whole was a good one. Everyone seemed to get along very well, and while living conditions were far from luxurious, they compared favorably with or better then most of the canneries in the area. There was some discontent in the machinist's crew, but it did not affect the cannery operation. The cannery foreman was a man from San Francisco, Joe Califro, who had some differences with the crew at the beginning of the season which never did correct itself.

In 1926 and earlier, many of the machinists' crew came from San Francisco, due to the fact that most of the early operating companies were based there. Possibly the native sons of California versus the newer breed from the Seattle area had something to do with it. Toward the end of the season, there was some drinking going on which did not bother the canning but did increase the unpleasantness in the bunkhouse.

Despite prohibition [of alcohol consumption], there was always something to drink. What little was consumed was hardly

vintage stuff. There were some old-timers living a mile or so from the cannery at the old abandoned Hallersville Cannery site who made moonshine and peddled their surplus. Their liquor was distilled from anything that would ferment and produce alcohol – rice, potatoes, beans, canned fruits, and even bran cow feed they got from the canneries, went into the mash barrel. Flour was an important ingredient, also, to make sour dough. When time closed in, the moonshiners did not wait to distill their product, they simply drank the bubbling juice from the sour dough or mash barrel to have their fun.

The fishermen and beach men kept to themselves, they were busy getting ready for the fishing season out on the grounds fishing during the season and laying up things in the fall. Coupled with the loading and unloading of the ship, they found little time to do much of anything else or get into trouble. The Chinese and Filipino cannery workers stayed entirely to themselves when they were not busy making cans and boxes in the spring, working in the cannery and fish house during canning season, and labeling and casing up in the fall. They had good cooks who cooked Oriental food and rice almost exclusively for them. Every now and then they would butcher a hog or two which usually was a noisy operation and one of their few exciting events. Once in a while a solitary drunk form Hallersville or elsewhere might invade their privacy but they would send them flying in short order. To sum it up, everybody kept so busy most of the time that there was little time left for trouble to develop.

I visited with the crew when I had spare time. We even went swimming one hot evening at a small lake near the cannery. But it was a poor diversion. We were in the nude, of course, and the mosquitoes almost ate us up. We could hardly get our clothes on fast enough, and we all had welts and bites to plague us for some time.

Some of us also went up to Hallersville to look around. Lars Johansen, Fred Pancoff[171] [or Pankoff, a fisherman whose headless body was found on the Chulitna River in 1931], and another resident were interesting and friendly old timers who trapped in the winter and rested in the summer. They swapped stories with us about their early days before they jumped ship in the cod fishing and whaling days. Lying in the small slough was an old horseless buggy, with a gas engine, an old Oldsmobile, which at one time chugged over the rough trail between Lockanok and Hallersville. The remains of old fashioned fish cleaning and canning machinery also lay out in the open amid the ruins of the snow crushed cannery buildings.

All of this, including a sizable cemetery, with its Russian Orthodox crosses made of wood were very interesting. A wireless operator and I walked up the bank of the other river, the Alagnak, and spent several hours with an old bachelor miner who surprisingly had a light and clean cottage he built overlooking the river. His name was Billy Gleason.[172] He said he had prospected just about everywhere in Alaska and also was in the Klondike gold fields. His last prospect was at Lake Clark near Lake Iliamna, a source of the Kvichak River. Billy showed us copper ore samples from his Lake Clark prospect that were heavy as lead, and other samples of silver and gold. He gave up at Lake Clark because no matter how rich the ore was, it was useless to develop because of no transportation in the area. He also showed us his garden, huge cabbages, lettuces and carrots, giant sized potatoes but they were soft and almost useless. We really enjoyed that visit, it was worth the long walk over the tundra, fighting mosquitoes.

Mosquitoes were a way of life at Lockanok. They were small but vicious. We had two such insects to plague us, mosquitoes that followed us everywhere, then there were the gnats or sand flies. They were small but heavier than mosquitoes with a thicker and stubbier proboscis, which felt more like teeth to us as they seemed to chew a chunk right out of us instead of just harpooning one's arm or neck. These gnats would not come into the house. Outside, they were savage and affected me far worse than mosquitoes, as their bites swelled up on me and were swollen and painful for days. Anyone working outside had to wear thick clothing and a hat to support a head net or be eaten alive. At night it was almost a religion with me to close the bedroom door, shake a tablespoon of Buhach powder on some tissue in a saucer, light it and put it under my bed or on the windowsill. The smoke from the powder, which smelled like burning hay, killed the mosquitoes in mid-flight. We swept their carcasses off the floor so we know it worked.

Lockanok also had its share of house flies during the summer, they possessed the faculty of hibernating during the below zero winter and then coming to life again in the spring. I saw this occur when we first occupied the office and store. The windowsills inside were covered with apparently dead flies. After starting a fire in the pot bellied coal heater, the flies gradually came to life again when the room warmed up. Another example of suspended animation was the lung fish [black fish],[173] a small trout size tubular fish that swam around in the small lakes on the tundra in the spring. When the lakes dried up in late summer, during a dry year, these fish would burrow down into the mud and stay there all winter, becoming frozen with the mud. Thawing snow and spring rains would bring them back to life again. Some fishermen out walking on the tundra brought some of these fish back to the bunkhouse in a pail with no water in it. They forgot the pail for a couple of weeks and found the fish were dried and shriveled in the caked mud. They filled the pail with water and the next day the fish were swimming around.

Libby fed well, as did most of the Bristol Bay canneries. Due to the short season and intense run of fish, about all the employees were able to do was work, eat and sleep. The company saw to it

that there was plenty of good food available. Lockanok also had good cooks and a baker, so despite the fact it had no cold storage, the men were fed well. Libby, McNeill & Libby was a well known packer of many food products. In 1926 it packed an unbelievable large assortment of canned, dried and preserved fruits, vegetables, meats, fish and other condiments such as jams, jellies, ketchup, sauces, puddings and condensed milk. What they didn't pack in the meat line was supplied by its affiliate Swift & Co. We were amply supplied by Swift with a great assortment of smoked hams and bacon, and pickled and salted barrels of pork, legs, shoulders, sausages, pig's feet, spareribs, corned beef, and other items. Our butter came in 50 and 100 lb. kegs in salt brine. Eggs came packed 30 dozen to a wooden case with cardboard separators between layers. We had about 1/3 of the eggs packed without any preservatives, next we had about 1/3 packed in coarse salt. This salt pack was soon discontinued as the salt made the cases too heavy and attracted moisture, which was dangerous to have in the warehouse with canned goods, as the saltwater caused rust to develop on anything nearby. The third type was the so-called processed eggs, which were used exclusively. They were dipped in a preservative or sealant. With proper storage and handling, they were edible until arrival of fresh eggs the next spring. The first few meals in the spring included bacon, ham, eggs and brine butter from the year before. Dry, cool storage in the non-insulated warehouse seemed adequate. The bacon and hams were double smoked with no water added, they came packed in paper in large wooden crates. They were unpacked as soon as possible and any mildew scraped off before scrubbed in a strong vinegar solution. Then the hams were hung overhead on nails in the rafters, from short loops of twine that were attached to the hocks or ham legs. The bacon slabs were pierced with loops of strapping wire and also hung in the rafters until they were consumed the next spring.

One requirement followed religiously was to roll over each case of eggs in storage every week to keep the egg yolk from settling down on the shell. The winter watchman did this with the few boxes we usually had left in the winter, and the processed eggs usually tasted about as good as the fresh ones in the spring. Once in awhile the eggs and butter tasted a little strong, but I didn't find it objectionable.

Potatoes and onions were usually kept all summer and into the winter, but they both had to have their sprouts removed frequently during the season by the mess house crew. With all the provisions we had and the good cooks, the meals were always very good and perhaps better than most of us got every day at home.

Breakfast included ham, bacon, eggs, toast and hotcakes, and canned or fresh grapefruit and oranges as long as they lasted. Lunch always included soup and one or two canned meat dishes and boiled potatoes and pudding or canned fruit. Dinner was also a big meal with spareribs, sausage dishes or roasted salt pork, hams or shoulders that had been soaked in water to remove the salt. Corned beef, both salted and canned, was another item served in various ways. On Fridays we usually had clam chowder, and on Sundays we had canned oyster stew. When the fresh beef ran out, just about when it started to spoil, we usually got a few salmon. Also when available, we ate reindeer meat which was best in the late summer as it was a bit stringy and tough in the spring. The baker kept pouring out huge quantities of bread, pies, cakes and pastries which went a long way in replacing the steaks, stews and roasts we did not have.

The cannery even provided ethnic foods for the different nationalities in the crews. Scandinavian fishermen got rye hardtack (phonograph records we called them) and sweet toast along with a box full of other groceries each week with lots of coffee. The few Greeks were issued a rock hard piece of dried bread, about 1" thick and round like a pancake. Lots of spaghetti and olive oil was issued to the few Italian fishermen with ground coffee and tea for everyone. The mess crew put in long days serving three regular meals everyday plus coffee and snacks between meals, in the morning, afternoon and evening, if they worked at night canning fish which they usually did. The Filipino and Chinese cannery workers operated their own mess and at Lockanok they were fed well. Rice was their staple food with special Chinese food items to round out their meals. They ate their share of the pork from the live hogs taken north and used lots of salmon when they became available. Some of the Oriental crew developed a condition caused by the lack of the right kind of food, called beriberi, a debilitating condition. The new rice they brought north was polished rice, as they were accustomed to eating unpolished rice which contained the necessary vitamins and roughage. Also, the lack of fresh fruit and meat aggravated their condition. Fresh salmon and lemons and oranges from our remaining small supply in the store corrected their dietary problem almost immediately.

We loaded the pack out and took off on the *Otsego* for home sometime in mid-August. The trip south was uneventful. I helped the bookkeeper make up the settlements for the crews and fishermen for the payoff, which in Libby's case were made in Seattle. The Oriental cannery workers were paid off by the Chinese Labor Contractor, the fishermen and cannery crew were paid by check at the Seattle office. The signed on ship crew were paid off in gold in front of the U.S. Fishing Commissioner at a small office on Coleman dock.

All the fishermen and workers on the Libby payrolls returning on the ship were given an advance in cash of $10 called "shore money" a day before the ship was expected to arrive in Seattle to tide them over until they were paid off at the Libby office. After helping with the payoff and turning my records over to the bookkeeper, I received the settlement statement check for my

season's work and went home to mother for a couple of days after which I got a job on the steamship *President Madison* and left for a two-month voyage to the Orient.

In the early spring of 1927 Libby called me to work at Ames terminal in Seattle again, helping to do super cargo and manifesting work on the cargo being loaded and shipped to Libby's earlier Alaska operations. I had been told that I had a job at Lockanok in Bristol Bay but not in the cannery stockroom as in 1926. My 1927 job was to assist the cannery bookkeeper in the cannery office and serve as storekeeper in the cannery store. As in most Bristol Bay canneries, except Alaska Packers Association plants, Libby did not try to run a general store selling groceries and other goods to local residents. Our store was just for the convenience of the employees. We carried only a small stock of clothing, tobacco, candies, toilet articles and other convenience items, similar to a store or slop chest, as they called it aboard ship. The store and office were located in the same building at Lockanok. The bookkeeper and storekeeper also slept in the same building, unlike the previous year when I slept in the wireless station and guest house, we had outdoor plumbing with just a wash basin with cold water in the store building.

Shortly before it was time to sail for Bristol Bay in 1927, I was taken off an Ames terminal dock job and pulled into Libby's office at the foot of Hamlin Street in Seattle to help the bookkeeper get ready for the trip to Lockanok. Mr. Kochergin, the 1926 Lockanok bookkeeper, was transferred to the Libby Koggiung cannery on the Kvichak River in 1927, so I worked as assistant to a new bookkeeper. I will not name him as he did not turn out too well. The 1927 Bristol Bay season was normal in many respects, I suppose, but to me, a 17 year old newcomer, it held a lot of surprises that certainly added to my knowledge and experience. Sailing day, May 1927, from Ames terminal at Seattle on the *Otsego* was the usual hubbub of crowds on the dock, good-byes and despite prohibition, a larger than usual number of drunks. One last fling before being away from home three months or longer. The *Otsego* again carried fishermen, cannery crews and workers for Libbyville, Koggiung [Graveyard] and Lockanok, all Libby canneries. Their Koggiung [Graveyard] cannery was also referred to as Graveyard cannery, probably because of an ancient graveyard located there.[174] The Lockanok cannery name was probably a variation of the name of one of the rivers upon which it was located, which was called the Alagnak River, a tributary of the Kvichak River which it joins near the Lockanok cannery. I presume there were more than 500 people all told, aboard the *Otsego* that sailing day in 1927.

I had a different room on the ship, it was on the main deck instead of the upper boat deck. It was a four-berth room also, but nearer to a bathroom located on the other side of the ship. I worked with the bookkeeper on the trip north, we worked at a table in the dining room on the main deck. I did a multitude of things, such as helping set up the ledgers and books for the season, prepare payrolls, store price lists, checklists for checking cargo in at the cannery, etc. My experience with Mr. Kochergin the year before stood me in good stead, I guess, as the new 1927 bookkeeper seemed a bit lost on the job at the onset. He was a middle aged man who had no Alaskan experience nor did he seem to know much about the Libby system of books. Consequently, I again felt myself drawn into areas and on tasks that were new to me. In retrospect, I guess the experience I gained far outweighed the drudgery I thought I was subjected to on the trip. There was nothing to see anyway as we sailed right across the Gulf of Alaska from Cape Flattery to Unimak Pass and then up into the Bering Sea.

The evening of the first day out of Seattle I had the heck scared out of me. The ship had been plowing through dense fog, as we approached Cape Flattery, and had been blowing its steam whistle as required. I was just climbing into my bunk when I decided to visit the bathroom on the port side of the ship, at mid-ships across from our room. As I stepped out on deck it was still foggy but visibility was probably a couple hundred yards or more. Nobody was on deck. I am sure a good share of the passengers were already sleeping it off after their alcoholic departure from Seattle. Anyway I heard a rushing sound above the beat of our own propeller and out of the fog, aiming directly at us, loomed the huge high bow of a gray painted ship, coming at us full bore. I could even see faces up on the bow of the ship. I thought we were doomed for sure. I was absolutely frozen to the deck with fear. Miraculously, the ship glided past our stern without hitting us. I finally went to the bathroom and when I got back on deck, I met Johnny Swanson, the first mate on the ship. He was carrying a coil of rope-like sash cord. The mate was sweating more than I was. He had seen the whole thing, too, coming down from the bridge. He said it was a motor ship, probably Norwegian, high in the water, approaching us from the south. The thing he was carrying was what was left of the *Otsego's* taffrail log, with the propeller or whatever the thing on the end of it is called, missing. The other ship had cut our log line end off. The mate and I were probably the only ones who saw the close call. I don't think any ship could ever had had a closer near miss than that.

Several days later we stopped dead in the water somewhere out in the Gulf of Alaska. We had a cracked or broken upper half of a line bearing on the tail shaft in the shaft alley on the ship. We had been going through some rather heavy weather, and the working of the ship in the pounding seas might have put some stress on the tail shaft, as occasionally we could feel the propeller kick out of the water on an especially huge sea or swell, even at reduced speed. We rolled around with the engines stopped for quite a few hours which were pretty uncomfortable. The cooks couldn't cook anything. A lot of the passengers couldn't have eaten anyway. It was even hard to walk around because of rolling in the trough

of the sea. After a number of wireless messages back and forth ashore, authority and instructions for temporary repairs were received, and with improving weather, and at reduced speed we were on our way again. The temporary repair held until we reached Naknek anchorage. Later on, a permanent repair was made, that is while the ship lay at anchor for the summer.

1927 was the last year I recall seeing windjammers or sailing ships at the Naknek anchorage. As usual, the anchorage was dotted with ships of all sizes and descriptions. The Alaska packers had several sailing ships at anchor and some steamers. The steamer *Delarof*, for one, and the converted Matson liner, they renamed the *Etolin*, at Naknek also. The Alaska Salmon Co., now called Peterson Point Cannery, had its ship the *Glacier*, a large vessel made of steel with a clipper bow of all things. The scuttlebutt was that the *Glacier* carried frozen meat to the Philippines in the Spanish American War and brought dead soldiers back to the states on return.

We went through the usual confusion of going ashore, and I was soon hard at it, running the store and helping the bookkeeper ashore. We did not have a doctor at Lockanok, the store keeper also had to serve as first aid man. I was told that I had to have a first aid certificate so I took the short first aid course and brought my Red Cross first aid handbook along to Lockanok. The dispensary and first aid room was located in a small room between the store and bedroom in the same store building. It was furnished with a single cot, a cupboard with a counter and shelves and wash basin with cold water. Medical supplies were mostly all over the counter. Some of the medicines would be hard to recognize today. To name a few we had lots of Friar's balsam, carbolated Vaseline, Bella Donna plasters, Lysol, camphorated oil, calamine lotion, peroxide, Epsom salts and bandages and tapes of all sizes and descriptions. If any serious illness or accidents occurred, our only recourse was to get the doctor up from Koggiung [Diamond J or Graveyard?] on the first available tide or send the patient down on our monkey boat. The doctor usually made 2-3 routine trips to the cannery during the season. Fortunately, I did not have any serious cases to handle.

I do remember giving first aid to a Filipino who worked in the can shop whose floppy shirt sleeve rolled around the drive shaft of the solder horse on the can making line, dragging him into it. It tore off his shirt and most of his underwear and scratched and bruised his upper body. I really cleaned him up with disinfectants and salves and wrapped lots of bandages on him.

Another case was a Swede beach man who pulled a long dead fox out of a trap near the fish dock and scratched a mosquito bite at the same time. He developed an ugly boil-like infection on his upper lip under his nose and came to me with it. In that case I was lucky, as with an infection anywhere above the shoulder is dangerous. I painted and repainted the sore with Friar's balsam and in a few days the thing was healed up.

A carpenter came in with his index finger on his left hand cut to the bone at the knuckle by a handsaw. The ligament was severed. It was bleeding profusely. I turned around to mix some disinfectant, and the guy looking at the blood, fainted and fell on the floor. I had no smelling salts so I soaked a bandage with spirits of camphor and put it under his nose and he jumped up and stood beside me again. I turned around, and he fainted again, half on the cot bed, so I pulled him up on the bed and got his bloody finger wrapped with a bandage before I revived him again.

The doctor eventually checked all three of these cases and fortunately they were all okay.

There were all sorts of other things, such as dishing out laxatives, salves, and liniment. Epsom salts were not popular so an item called Compound Cathartic pills (CC pills) was dispensed instead. I also had to make up pop bottles of carbolic acid and water solution for the fishermen to wash their hands frequently to prevent fish poisoning. They also received from me little tins of carbolated Vaseline for their wrists so the chafing of their oil-skinned sleeves would not develop fish poison. We did not provide mosquito repellant. We sold Buhach powder in the store which they could burn in their rooms as night to make the mosquitoes drop dead.

Running the store was a nuisance while deeply involved in other clerical problems in the office was actually interesting and to me, educational. I met people of just about every nationality, persuasion and temperament. Without being disrespectful to any race or nationality, I must say I encountered a lot of peculiar and humorous treatment of the English language as well as customs and suspicions. Being half-breed Norwegian myself, my mother having been born in Dramand, Norway, near Oslo, I could joke about square heads without getting into trouble. I understand quite a bit of Norwegian, but the languages of the Fins, Greeks, Italians, Natives, Chinese, Filipinos and others mixed sometimes with English was quite a challenge at times. Requests for socks hangers for garters; "wix wapo" for Vicks Vapor Rub, "pilm for bedelopment" of Kodak camera film; "sukar" for sugar; "land ledder leapers" for leather slippers were fairly easy to decipher, but some others took longer to figure out.

One old Chinaman came in several times, almost begging for "bega" which I finally realized meant bear gall, the dry gallbladder of a bear. I was told it is one of the old Chinese remedies used along with snake parts, rhinoceros snouts, etc. The bookkeeper had bought a huge brown bear skin from someone and had it hung in the store so I guess that is what prompted him to ask for it. That skin was huge, its nose was nailed on the wall at the ceiling and the rear end of the hide overlapped onto the floor.

Back in the store – cigarettes sold for 10 and 15 cents a pack. One brand called One-11 contained 24 cigarettes to the package and sold for 10 cents. Luckys, Chesterfields and Camels were 15 cents. One brand called 20 Grand contained very few cigarettes, about 10 inches long, which you were to cut with scissors into shorter lengths to get the equivalent of 20 or 24 regular length cigarettes. This was a gimmick to avoid some cigarette tax as they were taxed on the basis of number of cigarettes in a pack. We also sold huge quantities of snuff or Copenhagen "snooze" as it was called. To run out of "snooze" almost meant shutting the whole cannery down. Even the Filipinos used lots of snuff. It came in 9 rolls of 8 cans each to a carton, selling for 10 cents a can. It sells at a Safeway store now for $1.70 a can. We also sold cut plug chewing tobacco with brand names of Horseshoe, Climax and Star. These came in long plugs or bars which we had to cut to pocket size with a big tobacco cutter. The more refined chewing tobacco called Masterpiece was already cut to size and more expensive, usually purchased by the foreman or better paid men. Soda pop came in glass bottles, packed in sawdust in large barrels. Hickory shirts, blue chambray shirts, underwear, long wool drawers and shirts, romeos or fishermen's slippers, wool caps, rubber boots, wool fishermen's pants, and wool halibut shirts, were all popular items in the store. Most cotton shirts sold for 75 cents and $1, along with a $1 Ingersol pocket watches. The Natives came in occasionally to buy at the store. They usually purchased one item, then counted their change and eventually bought a second item, and so on, making a dozen different transactions per visit. The Filipinos would come in and look at you until you asked them what they wanted. Cigarettes, they would say. Then you would ask what kind? Chesterfield, they would answer. Then you would ask how many? One, they would answer. Then as you started back with a package, they would often say, no give me two. Those were the things that took time in the store. If anyone wanted things wrapped, we had a large roll of 24" wrapping paper with a cutter on the counter and string hanging overhead. This is enough store talk. We ran the store for the employees. Our prices were kept low and we usually only broke even.

In route north on the *Otsego*, I will never forget a burial at sea. We were only out of Seattle a couple of days, out in the Gulf of Alaska, when one of the cannery crew members from one of the other two canneries, died. The doctor on board had been attending him. Advice from shore via wireless resulted in a decision to bury the man at sea. We all attended the service on deck. The ship's engine was stopped. The captain read a short burial service from his captain's Book of Common Prayer, and we all joined in singing a few verses from a hymn we all knew. The body was wrapped in canvas and weighted down with a rock, stone, or cement block, from a deck holy stone scraper. It was slid off a table top into the sea. The boiler safety valves popped and the ship's engine restarted and we were on our way to Alaska again.

Jumping back ashore again, I don't think 1927 was a very big pack year. Lockanok had about 30,000 cases in1926. 1925 was a real flop. We had a lot of southwest and westerly wind during the fishing season. The southwest wind kept up even during August loading time, making it tough to unload scows at the ship. We called the season a Naknek year, because most of the fishing was done on the east side, or Naknek-Libbyville side of Bristol Bay. Despite the scientists telling us the winds had nothing to do with where the fish were caught, I personally observed and believed over the years that when we had a prevailing westerly wind during the season, the best fishing was on the Naknek, or east side, and on the Libbyville flats and beaches. With prevailing southeast winds, the best fishing was on the west side [Kvichak Bay] of the bay from Cape Adeline [probably Etolin Point] in toward Gravel Spit[175] and other west side spots.

The bookkeeper sort of goofed off during the season and I had to do a lot of his work. Libby's traveling auditor visited us and observing the situation, gave me a lot of specific instructions too, so I was able to keep enough records to enable us to make up all the statements for the fishermen and cannery crew on the ship headed for home in August for the payoff at Seattle. I don't know the trouble with the bookkeeper. He didn't show up at the office every day and seemed a bit confused or dazed at times. There was some sourdough and home brew around so I suppose it could have been part of the problem. During the doctor's visits, I saw very little of either of them. On one visit the doctor left a small hand-carried medical kit in the store, when he left the cannery. I found it – it contained dozens of small vials of pills and tablets, including a number of long glass vials of morphine pills, piled on top of each other, and some other drugs. I sent the package down river to the doctor. It was hand carried to him with a note, and never heard anything about it. I have since wondered if narcotics had anything to do with the problem.

Russell Merrill, a bush pilot, after whom Merrill Field at Anchorage was named, flew into Lockanok with Haakin Friele of A & P [the Great Atlantic & Pacific] Tea Company's Naknek Packing Corp., landing on floats in the Alagnak River near our fish dock at Lockanok. This 1927 plane arrival was a first. One of the locals had never seen a plane there before.

Merrill, the pilot, left his plane, a Travel Air plane on floats, powered by a Wright Radial Whirlwind motor, anchored with a fish boat anchor. He left it out in the river near the dock. When we returned to the dock, a wind had come up, lifted the plane up on its nose, and it sank with only the tail end sticking out of the water at high tide. The pilot stayed with us at Lockanok and we took Friele down to his cannery at Nakeen with a monkey boat later.

Also, at Merrill's request, we lifted the plane up with the pile driver and took it ashore in two pieces, badly damaged, especially the wing and fuselage fabric and the water filled engine. Merrill stayed with us for a month, repairing the plane. He had some of our mechanics take the motor completely apart and spread the parts on the floor of the cannery loft. He sent for lots of unbleached muslin to replace the damaged fabric. Matt Nieminen,[176] his Anchorage mechanic, came in the next mail boat, *Starr* with a new Hamilton wood propeller. Between them and our cannery kids and a fisherman who could weld aluminum tubing and others who could sew fabric, the plane was repaired and flew out of Lockanok for Anchorage. All the parts had to be cleaned, oiled and reassembled before takeoff. The plane looked like a zebra because of the white muslin strips with what remained intact of the original dark green fabric.

During his stay at Lockanok I helped Merrill compose a radiogram to the Dole Pineapple Co. in Hawaii asking them if Merrill could compete in the Dole sponsored U.S. mainland flight to Hawaii leaving from Alaska. They sent him a reply advising that a flight from anywhere on the North American continent was okay with them. Merrill never did get to make the flight. Some weeks later he was missing.[177] They eventually found the wheels off his plane somewhere [off Tyonek] in Cook Inlet where he must have crashed.

Liquor and booze was a bit of a problem at the cannery in 1927. In addition to the moon shining going on at nearby Hallersville, some home brew or sourdough mash juice was being made near the cannery. One day the superintendent and I noticed a sugar pile in the store warehouse looked different. The 100 pound sacks were piled about 5 high in a row of about 12 sacks long. The lower row of sacks on the floor was rather flat and deflated. We found that someone had gone under the floor, outside the building, and using a brace and bit had bored holes through the floor into the sacks and drained out much of the sugar. The floor under the sugar was practically all holes. We re-piled the sugar high off the floor on a rack. Al least we cut off the source of supply even if a bit late. Toward the end of the season, one of the machinists drank himself out of a job and was fired and told to get off the property. He moved in with one of the locals up river. Shortly before we left the cannery to go home, the man was seen sulking around the cannery one night and was again told to leave. A day or two later, upon checking over the machinery laid up for the winter some of the oily sawdust used to cover the slitter and trimmer knives in the can shop was observed spilled on the floor. It was then discovered that someone had taken a bar of tool steel which was also found nearby and had hammered the edges off most of the slitter and trimmer knives. If this had not been discovered it is probable the cannery would not have been able to make any cans the next year. It couldn't be proven but there was little doubt about who did it. Sugar was not the only thing stolen out of the warehouse. Skipping the details, the so-called robbers were caught red-handed one night near the end of the season. One of the mess crew was helping the two of the Hallersville locals load groceries on a dogsled that had been equipped with wheels of some kind taken from the abandoned cannery at Hallersville. The noise of the dogs made no difference as there were dogs staked out everywhere near the cannery. They belonged to the locals.

Our trip south on the *Otsego* was uneventful, but we were late getting away because of the slow loading causes by the southwesterly bad weather.

In 1929 I was made bookkeeper at Lockanok Cannery. I was going to business college at night school.

NOTES

[171] Fred Pancoff or Pankoff (?-1931) was a Bristol Bay fisherman and trapper whose decapitated body was discovered by Bill Hammersly on the Chulitna River. Hammersly thought the death was accidental and had Pancoff buried in Nondalton. Pancoff also was reported to live at Kakhonak before trapping on the Chulitna River.
ADT, October 23, 1931.
Gary Nielsen, interview, September 26, 2006.

[172] Billy Gleason (1869-1929) was an Irish born prospector who lived at Portage Creek village on Lake Clark for many years beginning at least by 1913. He apparently died suddenly while at Libbyville cannery in 1929.
Macy Hobson, interview, November 12, 1994.
Entry for William Gleason of Branch River, June 1, 1929, Kvichak Probate Docket Book 1912-1954, Alaska State Archives, 66.

[173] "Alaska black fish," *Dallia pectoralis*, is a small bony fish of the mudminnow family usually found in fresh water ponds. Catherine W. Mecklenburg, T. Anthony Mechlenburg, and Lyman K. Thorsteinson. *Fishes of Alaska*, Bethesda, Maryland: American Fisheries Society 2002, 146.

[174] In 1975 archeologist Don Dumond of the University of Oregon found artifacts from an prehistoric hunter's camp at Graveyard Point where a runway had been bulldozed. Radiocarbon analysis of charcoal taken from the site was dated from approximately 5000 B.C.
Don E. Dumond. *A Naknek Chronicle*, Anchorage: National Park Service, 2005, 10.

[175] Gravel Spit is a location on the western side of Kvichak Bay off the mouth of Copenhagen Creek.

[176] Matt Nieminen (1898-1966) was a pilot for Anchorage Air Transport with Merrill but Tarrant confused him with Merrill's mechanic, Alonzo Cope. There is no record of Nieminen being at Lockanok cannery while the Travel Air was being repaired in June-July, 1927. Cope walked across the Iliamna Portage packing the wooden prop to Old Iliamna, where one of the Foss brothers, Holly or Sam, hauled him to Lockanok by gas boat to rebuild the Travel Air.
Robert Merrill MacLean and Sean Rossitor, *Flying Cold: The Adventures of Russel Merrill, Pioneer Aviator,* Seattle: Epicenter Press, 1994, 82-100.

[177] Russel Merrill went missing when his plane went down in Cook Inlet, off Tyonek, on September 16, 1929.
MacLean and Rossitor, *Flying Cold*, 162-172.

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The Martin Monsen, Jr. Grocery List

Martin Monsen Jr., was born in Naknek in 1909, the son of Norwegian-born Martin Monsen, Sr. and Helena Ashoksuk, from Naknek.[178] He was a high-line fisherman for Nakeen cannery and a trapper in the Katmai country and on the northern Alaska Peninsula east of Egegik. Monsen died about 1970.[179]

Monsen's "grub list" was found in the Monsen cabin complex on Iliuk Arm of Naknek Lake one and a half miles north of the mouth of the Savonoski River. The cabin was built about 1930 by Martin, Jr., his brother Johnny Monsen, and Alfred Cooper as a base of trapping operations.[180] The cabin was generally occupied from October to April while trapping was going on and the grocery list provided basic store bought supplies that were augmented by wild fish and game resources during those seven months.

The term "last boat" refers to obtaining perishable items on the last possible boat from San Fransisco bound for Naknek before the close of navigation. Once fall set in there would be no more boats into the bay until May.

What is remarkable about the "grub list" is how current it seems to be, the fact that in 1927 Monsen living in a very remote section of Alaska Territory could purchase the wide array of groceries through his affiliation with the Frank B. Peterson cannery is really quite amazing. Of course, the fact that Martin Monsen, Sr. was cannery winter watchman and store keeper made certain the order would be filled. Other Bristol Bay residents also obtained their groceries by cannery ship from Seattle or San Francisco.

Martin Monsen, Jr. Grocery List, July 1927

50 .22 L. R. $3.00
5 gal. Kendall Oil $7.00
100 lbs. coarse salt $1.20 [for salting fish and curing bear hides]
1 case dark malt $7.20 [for home brew]
10 pkg. borax chips $2.50 [for soap making]
1 gross Velvet $21.60 [tobacco]
1 ctn. papers (24) $1.20 [cigarette papers]
2 "Prep" [?] $.80
5 cocoa $1.50
4 -3 inch snowdrift $3.00
24 flashlite batteries $2.40
2 – 6# cookies $3.60
4- 10# pilot bread $6.00
50 lbs. butter $20.00
200 lbs. flour $10.00
200 lbs. sugar $12.00
150 lbs. sugar (5's) $9.35
40 lbs. coffee (2 # cans)
15.5 lbs. bacon $6.95
20 lbs. white figs $3.00
48 lbs. raisins $4.80
12 bottles catsup $2.40
6 -2 # shaker salt $.60
12 lbs. peanut butter $2.40
100 lbs. dog rice $2.40 [for dog food]
5 lbs. Lipton tea $5.00
12 bar white king $.60
12 Palm[olive] soap $.60

2 generators for # 21 lanterns $.70
No.[?] 108 carborundum $1.50
1 ax stone $1.00
1 .22 long rifle Model 61 Winchester $25.00
1 rifle scabbard $5.00
1 bottle mapleene $.40
1 25-20 Model GT [?] Winchester $27.50
8 rolls #620 film $2.80
2 sail needles # 15.5 $.10
2 sail needles # 14 $.10
1 # hanging twine $.35
1 High Standard .22 pistol $20.00
1 holster for above $3.00
1 double-bit ax $2.50
1 boys ax $1.25
1 [?] covered pots (3) $3.00
2 pair size 40 coveralls $7.00
1 cross cut saw set $3.00
1- 5- foot cross cut saw $7.00
1 pair reversible saw handles $1.75
5 # garlic $.30
5 gallons olive oil $7.50
4- 8 inch cross cut saw files $1.20
5- boxes 12 gauge shells # 4's (7 boxes) $6.25
20 lbs. [?] cheese (only 10 lbs.) $8.00
20 lbs. dried apples $3.00
25 lbs. spaghetti $1.25
30 lbs. Graham flour $1.80
4 cans dried eggs $8.00
3 quick oats 3's $.90
19 # half haves[?] $9.50
1 case tomatoes $3.50
12 [wooden] cases aviation gas $48.00
2 [wooden] cases kerosene $8.00
2 T 44 generators $.70
3 cases [canned] milk $11.25
6 slabs bacon
1 case spuds
1 case eggs
2 boxes shot gun shells
4 lengths 5 inch stove pipe
4 radio B batteries
1 A battery
25 lbs. mixed [pickling] spices

Martin Monsen, Jr...merchandise to arrive next boat

4 Buhach $2.00
25 lbs. Swedish [Melba toast] toast $5.00
Half case whole razor clams $3.00
Half case searchlight matches $3.00
1 case grapefruit $4.00

Martin Monsen, Jr. 7-27 Last Boat

2 cases potatoes (1 case only) $12.00
1 case eggs $12.00
1 case oranges $7.00

NOTES

[178] Dorothy Monsen Berggren, interview, September 19, 2006.
[179] Melvin Monsen, Sr., interview, September 19, 2006.
[180] Janet Clemens and Frank Norris, *Building In An Ashen Land: Historic Resources Study of Katmai National Park and Preserve,* Anchorage: National Park Service, 1999, 123-124.



Detail of label from "Golden Gate" brand canned Alaska chinook salmon.

The Anton Balluta Diary 1933

The Anton Balluta diary is hand written in a lined school writing book, an "Evergreen Composition Book No. 2880," that measures 6 and a half inches by 8 and a half inches and was in disrepair when copied.

Anton Balluta was born at Ch'qulch'ishtnu village near Telaquana Lake in 1905. He was a Dena'ina hunter, trapper, big game guide, and commercial fisherman who spent most of his short life on Lake Clark. Balluta was the son of Andrew and Daria Koktelash Balluta, and his ancestors came from historic Kijik, Telaquana, and the Mulchatna villages.[181]

When Balluta was a young man his family moved to Lake Clark and Anton lived with his aunt, Christina, who was married to Brown Carlson at Portage Creek, a small mining camp on Lake Clark. Portage Creek prospectors taught Anton to read and write and as such he was probably one of the first Lake Clark Dena'ina to become literate in English.[182]

In 1927 Balluta married Sophie Hobson from the Stony River Dena'ina band at Goose Bay on Iliamna Lake. During the winter the Balluta family lived at Miller Creek on Lake Clark and subsisted off the country hunting, ice fishing, and trapping. Balluta commercial fished with other Lake Clark Dena'ina at Kvichak River canneries. In 1937 Anton Balluta died from the post-operative complications of an appendectomy he had at the public health hospital at Kanakanak. The complications came about when, he fell on the ice in front of his Lake Clark home, rupturing his incision, and he was unable to receive medical attention before an infection caused his death. Balluta was survived by his widow and five young children.[183]

The excerpts from the Anton Balluta diary follow him during the 1933 spring beaver trapping season in the Chulitna River drainage, the "breadbasket" of the Nondalton people. It continues with his efforts to land a fishing job at Diamond J cannery on the Kvichak River. Balluta comes across as an intelligent and energetic young man who was completely at home living off the land. One can only lament his early passing from life's struggles, denying his talents from family and village alike. Yet there is some justice, in that Balluta did leave his mark on posterity. One of his sons, Andrew Balluta, is a noted Dena'ina historian and linguist.

The Anton Balluta Diary

April 21, 1933
...this morning I get up [Long Lake] before somebody get up then I had a breakfast.[184] Then I went ... over the mountain I get over the Carbou Creek [Koksetna Creek].[185]

W[ednesday] April 26, 1933
...the morning was a snowing so I did not go to beaver traps I stay at camp all day long. Work out at canoe board. Simeon K[ankanton] went look at the traps that is all to day.[186]

T[hursday] May 9, 1933
I work at the sweat house about the two hours after Simeon K he shot at geese he got one then I went after that goose I took a net [in] it... I got 12 fish ... all white fishs I got that goose and fishs OK.

Anton Balluta, Dena'ina Hunter



H-92 Anton Balluta hunting on the Chulitna River, circa 1928. He was born at Telaquana Lake, in 1905, and at a young age, lived at Portage Creek, where prospectors taught him to read and write. In 1937, he died at Lake Clark from complications after surgery to remove his appendix at the U.S Public Health Hospital at Kanakanak. (Austin interview: Feb. 1985) On May 20, 1933 Balluta wrote in his journal: "In the morning I cut wood for the fire. Me and Harry [Balluta?] went over to the Chulitna River I shot 2 ducks we came back [to camp]. Evan Koktelash went down the river [Chulitna]. Simeon K[ankanton] stay at camp. It is a north wind blow hard for all afternoon, that is all today."

Photo courtesy of Ida Carlson Crater.

May 18, 1933
...to day me and Simeon K. we went up the Chulitna River. Evan Koktelash and his wife went down to Carbou Creek.[187] We was up Rock Creek we met ... Steve Hobson, Macy Hobson and Alex Trefon they came down the river to our camp.[188]

F[riday] May 26, 1933
...I ... walk up the little way to get my beaver skin then we went down [to] the Roadhouse ... everybody was there.[189]

S[aturday] May 27, 1933
...to day we was paid ... we stay ... there all day long right in Roadhouse [Seversen's].

S[unday] May 28, 1933
We get ready then we left over the river [Newhalen Portage].[190] We get there then we went up with ... Alex, Pete and Mrs.[Mary Ann] Trefon. [191] They take us up to Nondalton we was a go up all night long we get home 2 O'Clock morning...[192]

T[uesday] June 20, 1933
[At Seversen's Roadhouse] We [want to go] down [to] the cannery [Bristol Bay] ... it blow hard so we not go ... all day we stay ... then we went down. 7:20 P.M... We was going all night long.

W[ednesday] June 21, 1933
This morning we got down [to] Bill Hammersly's place [across the Kvichak River from Igiugig]. [193] We stay there but 3 or 4 hours then we go ... down [to] Koggiung [Diamond J cannery].[194] They all get job but me, Kerosim [Balluta].[195] And Gulia Delkittie, we did not get the job.[196] We ... going down the line to look for job.

T[hursday] June 22, 1933
This morning we ... came [to] ... Nakeen cannery [but] we can't get the job.[197] But we ... stay there...

F[riday] June 23, 1933
Today was at Koggiung all day long to get a boat. We go to get the boat from Simeon K. for $25.00. This afternoon all the Iliamna boys came down from the lake- Steve Sava ... got lost someplace in the lake we all was talk[ing] about [him].[198]

S[aturday] June 24, 1933
Today I get up at 3-o-clock this morning. I work at the boat ... then we went down there ... we get [a] job fishing, we stay for fishing [at Koggiung].

S[unday] June 25, 1933
Today I ... work at the boat all day ... we [put] everything in the boat. We [will] go out [fishing] tomorrow.

M[onday] June 26, 1933
This morning we went out ... fishing. We cross to ... Coffee Creek [Diamond X cannery].[199] We was fishing there all day. Then night we went down [to] Libbyville [cannery].[200] We get down there [at] 9:30 P.M. We stay over night today we get 495 fish, 3 kings.

T[uesday] June 27, 1933
This morning we went [a]cross [to] King Salmon Creek we set the net, but [got]nothing.[201] So we went up to Telephone [Point] fishing.[202] We got 873 fish we was there ... all day long.

W[ednesday] June 28, 1933
This morning we got up at 3 o'clock we went up to Squrrly Creek [Squaw Creek?] but we only got 3 fish.[203] We came back to Squrrly Creek before 6 o'clock we stay there ... all day long ... Nick [?] and Michael A. R[ickteroff].[204] Stay there all day long [until] they went back [to] Koggiung [in the] afternoon. Steve Sava came down to go out ... with Simeon John.[205]

T[hursday] June 29, 1933
This morning we went out fishing but no fish ... it is much blow hard. So we stay in the creek ... then we went out fishing. We ... got 1224 fish ... to [go to] the tally scow. Then we went out fishing [and] get some more.

F[riday] June 30, 1933
Today we ... fish all day long we get 806 fish ... later ... we went fishing up the river [Kvichak] we was fishing all night long.

S[aturday] July 1, 1933
This morning we came [to] the tally scow [at] 2:30 A.M. we got 906. Then we went fishing more, it is a 1,500 for limit. We come back [to] the tally scow 9 A.M. Then we went back [to] the cannery we came [to] sleep all day long. Every fisherman got limit today.

S[unday] July 2, 1933
Today we do nothing but sleep... We work [our] net [a] little. We blue stone our net ... today ... no fishing. It is a fine day we all ... the fisherman they take up down [to] Libbyville then we stay. Good bye this place.

NOTES

[181] Ellanna-Balluta, *Nondalton,* 178.
[182] Macy Hobson, Sophie Austin, Andrew Balluta, interview, February 21, 1985.
[183] Ellanna-Balluta, op cit.,175-186.
[184] Long Lake is a large tributary of the Chulitna River, the largest tributary of Lake Clark. Long Lake is about 15 miles north of Nondalton.
[185] Koksetna Creek is a major tributary of the Chulitna River and heads in the Caribou Lakes about 25 miles northeast of Nondalton.
[186] Simeon Kankaton (1871-1935?) was from the Telaquana country and lived at Kijik before moving to Old Nondalton in the early twentieth century. His Dena'ina name was Singa. In the 1920s and early 1930s he traveled with Anton Balluta and the Trefons hunting

and trapping on the Telaquana Trail. Singa also commercial fished with Anton Balluta in Bristol Bay.
Andrew Balluta, interview, August 30, 2006.

[187] Chulitna River is the largest tributary of Lake Clark draining an area of more tha 1,200 square miles. It is the subsistence "breadbasket" of the people of Nondalton.

[188] Steve (1908-1983) and Macy (1914-1999?) Hobson were brothers who had been born on the Stony River about 1910 and had moved to Old Nondalton in 1915. Their sister, Sophie, was married to Anton Balluta. Alex Trefon (1912-1996?) was from Tanalian Point and related to Anton Balluta.

[189] Roadhouse refers to Seversen's Roadhouse at present-day Ilaimna.

[190] Newhalen River is the 23 mile river that carries Lake Clark waters into Iliamna Lake. The six mile long Newhalen Portage was the overland trail that enabled people to travel between Lake Clark and Iliamna avoiding the impassable cataracts on the lower Newhalen River.

[191] Alex, Pete (1914-1985) and Mary Ann Trefon (1878-1959) lived at Tanalian Point on Lake Clark, the boys were the sons of Mary Ann and related to Anton Balluta.

[192] Old Nondalton was located on Sixmile Lake approximately 3 miles east of present-day Nondalton. Old Nondalton was founded between 1902 and 1909 as a result of a devastating measles and influenza outbreak that decimated the population of historic Kijik village on Lake Clark in 1902.

[193] Bill Hammersly was a trapper who came in the country in 1926 and had a cabin on the Kvichak River across from Igiugig in 1933. Later he built a cabin on the upper Nonvianuk River, near Nonvianuk Lake.
Bo Bennett, *Rods & Wings: A History of the Fishing Lodge Business in Bristol Bay, Alaska*, Publication Consultants: Anchorage, 2000, 108.

[194] Koggiung, a Yup'ik village on the lower Kvichak River about 18 miles west of Naknek and the site of a large salmon cannery owned by the Alaska Packers Association known as Diamond J. Most of the early Dena'ina commercial salmon fishermen from historic Kijik and Old Iliamna fished at Diamond J.

[195] Garasiam Balluta (1892-?) lived at Old Nondalton.

[196] Gulia Delkittie (1897-1970?) was the son of Pete and Olga Delkittie. Gulia was born at historic Kijik .
Andrew Balluta, interview, August 30, 2006

[197] Nakeen cannery was located on the west side of the Kvichak River where it enters Kvichak Bay and was built in 1925 by the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company.

[198] Steve Sava (1900-?) was the son of Pete and Daria Sava from Old Iliamna. He also was a reindeer herder at Eagle Bay on Iliamna Lake in 1920.
Andrew Balluta, interview, August 30, 2006.

[199] Coffee Creek was the name of another APA cannery, Diamond X, it was located 5 miles down river on the Kvichak from Diamond J.

[200] Libbyville was a cannery located between the mouth of the Kvichak and Naknek Rivers and operated by Libby, McNeill & Libby. It was about 12 miles south of Diamond J.

[201] King Salmon Creek is a large creek on the west side of Kvichak Bay about 6 miles below Nakeen cannery. A saltery owned by Bristol Bay Packing Company was located on the creek about one half mile above the mouth.
Melvin Monsen, Sr., interview, November 16, 2006.

[202] Telephone Point is on the Kvichak River about 3 miles below Nakeen cannery.

[203] "Squrrly" Creek is not known, but it might refer to Squaw Creek, a small creek on which Nakeen cannery was located.

[204] Michael A. Rickteroff (1900-1965?) was from Old Iliamna and was a fisherman.

[205] Simeon John (?-1936) was the chief reindeer herder for the Newhalen reindeer herd.
Unrau, *Lake Clark*, draft, 474.





Detail of label from "Mohawk Brand" canned Alaska medium red salmon.

The Bristol Bay Fire of 1936

The Bristol Bay Fire is an account of the July 8, 1936 fire that burned down the 12-line Bristol Bay Packers cannery at Pedersen Point near Naknek. It was the largest cannery in Alaska Territory and consisted of two 6-line canneries within the same complex.

The account of the fire and its aftermath is of note because it documents how a company headquartered in San Francisco responded to a major catastrophe at one of its canneries on the remote shores of the Bering Sea. Included in the *The Bristol Bay Fire* is an eye witness account of the fire quoting Crescent P. Hale (1872-1937) who was a pioneer in the Bristol Bay salmon canning industry.[206] Fire was the cause of the destruction of many canneries, but few if any, are as well described as is in this account, by Cress Hale. The account also follows the insurance adjustor's adventurous trip from Seattle to Pedersen Point by sea and air in the early days of commercial aviation in the Alaska Territory.

The author of the following account is not known. A copy of this publication was donated to the National Park Service by Melvin Monsen, Jr. of Anchorage, Alaska. His father, Melvin Monsen, Sr. purchased an original copy from a book dealer in Juneau. Levison Brothers insurance company is no longer in existence and the Transamerica Company advised the editor that they had no interest in the rights to the document.[207]

THE BRISTOL BAY FIRE

PRINTED FOR LEVISON BROTHERS
BY THE PRESS OF CROCKER-UNION

San Fransisco, California
1937

WHEN, with the suddenness of an earthquake and with the completeness of death, fire struck the salmon packing plant of the Bristol Bay Packing Company on the afternoon of July 7th, 1936, it wiped out the largest canning plant of its kind in the Territory of Alaska.

San Francisco
December, 1936 J. G. L.

THE BRISTOL BAY FIRE

I.

THE Bristol Bay Packing Company is one of three subsidiary companies of Northern Fisheries, Inc., the others being the Alaska Salmon Company, with its plant at Nushagak, Bristol Bay, and the Union Fish Company, which operates a codfish plant at Belvedere in San Francisco Bay.

Supplies, materials, and employees are carried to the scene of operations by company–owned vessels; the *S.S. Glacier*, owned and operated by the Bristol Bay Packing Company; the *S. S. Elwyn C. Hale* by the Alaska Salmon

Company. At the end of the salmon canning season, these vessels return the men and bring the pack to San Francisco.

Northern Fisheries, Inc., is managed by Mr. Crescent P. Hale, President; Mr. Charles E. Cocks, Vice President, and Mr. Elwyn C. Hale, Secretary. These gentlemen, in similar capacities, manage the Bristol Bay Packing Company, operating the plant destroyed by the fire.

Conceded to be the largest of its kind in Alaska, the Bristol Bay Packing Company plant is located on Pederson's Point, at the head of Bristol Bay on the Kvichak River, which flows from Lake Iliamna, the largest in Alaska, to Bristol Bay.

The destroyed plant consisted of two canneries, each serviced by separate warehouses, fish docks, fish houses and accessory buildings; although the crews of both canneries used common bunkhouses, mess halls, etc.

Equipped with modern machinery, these canneries had a combined capacity of more than two hundred thousand cases of high grade salmon. Each contained five complete canning lines; picking up the raw fish at one end and delivering the finished product at the other.

When operations started in 1936, three of the five lines in each cannery were new high-speed equipment temporarily installed under lease with the American Can Company. The other tow lines in each plant were owned by the Bristol Bay Packing Company.

The buildings had been erected many years ago, but had been kept in excellent condition. Bunkhouses were adequate and comfortable. In fact, it was a compact, well equipped, industrious colony; clinging to a far-off edge of Bering Sea, more than 2500 miles from headquarters in San Francisco.

The location of the plant is one of the most strategic for the salmon canning business. Lake Iliamna is known as one of the best salmon spawning waters of the world, due largely to the peculiar natural shape of Bristol Bay and surrounding terrain. Thus a substantial catch is nearly always assured.

This situation was emphasized in 1936 when canneries located in other sections did not get the catch anticipated, as the fish, for some reason, avoided their usual course near the shore-line. However, this did not affect the plants on the Kvichak River.

* * *

Loaded with sufficient supplies, materials, and crews for the entire season, the steamers *Glacier* and *Elwyn C. Hale* sail from San Francisco about the middle of May each year; the *Glacier* headed for the Kvichak River and the *Hale* for Nushagak. The return trip is made about the middle of August, and the plants are virtually abandoned until the following spring. This is true of all canneries in the district. In the summer, the scene is one of almost hysterical activity for a very few weeks; for the rest of the year, the eerie stillness of the far north is broken only by the cries of sea gulls.

To prevent abuses entering the business, all commercial fishing is under the rigid scrutiny and strict supervision of the United States Bureau of Fisheries. The opening and closing dates of the season, the permissible maximum number of fishing boats and the number of fishing hours are all set by the federal body. In 1936, the season opened June 25 and closed July 25. To allow proper escapement of salmon to fresh waters and to conserve the eventual supply, fishing was limited to 108 hours a week.

While apparently no one knows why, it is a peculiarity of the fish that the number returning to the spawning grounds is considerably less than normal in the years divisible by five. Poor fishing prevailed in 1915, 1920, 1925, 1930, and 1935. Because of the facts and records, the Bureau of Fisheries announced that the season would be closed in 1935 to all fishing, to allow more prolific propagation. However, Bristol Bay was opened for limited operations in July, producing a very light catch. As a result of this conservation program the canneries on the Kvichak River had a very satisfactory pack in 1936.

* * *

The Bristol Bay district in general, and the Kvichak River in particular, is the native home of the famous Red Salmon, considered as the best of all varieties. Approximately 99 per cent of the pack from this district consists of these "Reds," and this small area of the world produces 15 per cent of all the salmon packed, and practically all the top-grade, best priced salmon.

The Red Salmon, which is called the "Sockeye" on Puget Sound and the "Blueback" in the Columbia River district, is know to scientists as *Oncorhynchus nerka*, and flourishes in the waters of the Pacific Coast from central California to the Yukon. Its average size is about seven pounds and its life span in Alaska is from five to six years.

II.

ABOUT 4:30 on the morning of July 8, 1936, Mr. Charles E. Cocks was awakened by a call from the telegraph company and the following message was read to him:

"BOTH CANNERIES AND WAREHOUSES ALL STOCK COMPLETELY DESTROYED BY FIRE THIS AFTERNOON ABOUT FIVE O'CLOCK FISH DOCKS STILL STANDING BUT DOUBTFUL WHETHER OR NOT WE CAN SAVE THEM NOT SURE AT THIS TIME IF WE CAN SAVE MESS HOUSE BUNK HOUSES AND OFFICE AS FIRE STILL BURNING SAVED SOME OF THE PROVISIONS NOBODY INJURED ALL WELL EXPECT TO LEAVE FOR HOME AS SOON AS CAN BE ARRANGED CAUSE OF FIRE UNKNOWN AT PRESENT.

(Signed) C.P. HALE."

Further sleep, of course, was impossible, and he could only ponder the magnitude of the disaster and await the

start of a new business day. At 9 o'clock he notified us. We immediately called in two executives of insurance companies involved for an informal meeting, also attended by Mr. Cocks. Here it was decided that, because of his experience with cannery fire loss adjustments, we enlist the services of Mr. George L. A. Lauer of the Fire Companies Adjustment Bureau at Seattle. All companies interested in the loss attended a second more formal meeting that same morning and concurred in the choice of Mr. Lauer.

Mr. Lauer, reached in Seattle by phone, said he was available and was told to "stand by" and await instructions. Thus were the wheels of adjustment started in motion. Speed in reaching the scene of the fire was essential and here modern science and means of transportation were pressed into service.

Although Mr. Lauer had never taken a trip in an airplane, he agreed to fly to Bristol Bay if we could get a plane. Our first approach to Pan-American Airways was discouraging. "Could the Pacific Alaska Airways take Mr. Lauer direct to Bristol Bay from Seattle?" we asked. After some discussion, the answer was "No." Further negotiations resulted in deciding that Mr. Lauer travel by boat to Juneau and from there by plane.

...Pan-American Airways was again contacted, informed that Mr. Lauer was ready to leave for Juneau on July 11 and was ready to fly from there to Bristol Bay. At first the officials of the airways company said there was no plane to make the flight to the cannery, but early next morning they telephoned that they could confirm reservations for the round trip form Juneau to Fairbanks on the regular Pacific Alaska Airways plane and could charter a special plane for the trip from Fairbanks to the cannery and return, with lay-over. The insurance companies readily agreed and reservations were mailed to Mr. Lauer, air-mail, special delivery.

III.

THE story of the fire was such a tale by itself that we requested Mr. Hale to write his experience of that day. We can add nothing to his story and have taken the liberty of repeating it exactly as it was told to us:

"On the afternoon of July 7, 1936, twelve days after the season had been opened, canning operations were in full swing. The run of fish had been very satisfactory and all our equipment was running to capacity. While we had considerable difficulty with various labor unions earlier in the year, our troubles were smoothed out and, in spite of a greatly increased payroll, everything indicated a profitable season.

"A few minutes after five o'clock, I had completed my usual inspection tour of the entire cannery and, finding everything in order, had returned to the superintendent's house. I had a few matters to attend to before the 5:30 whistle would blow, and wanted to complete them before the cannery shut down. It was but a few moments after I entered the house and before I got settled at my desk, that the whistle blew. The clock at the moment indicated 5:20 P.M. and the thought flashed through my mind that something had gone wrong. Immediately following the first blast, a second, third and fourth were heard, indicating either a fire drill, which I had not ordered, or a fire. Obviously a fire had broken out.

"As I rushed to the window, hoping against hope that I was wrong, my heart sank when I saw a dense cloud of smoke pouring out of the north end of Warehouse No. 1. As quickly as I could, I rushed over the 500 or 600 feet separating the office from the canneries to get the men organized into a makeshift fire-fighting brigade. When I arrived, I found the fireman on duty in the boiler house of Cannery No. 1 had already started the pump and spread out several hundred feet of hose, preparatory to getting water on the northern end of the warehouse building. While the efforts of the fireman and his force were temporarily augmented by the gathering throng of our entire cannery crew, who very rapidly came to help, their number, in a few moments, was a definite hindrance to our efforts. In the end, however, this made no difference, as we had hardly started to effectively fight the fire when the pressure in the pump dropped and we found we had no water. As it developed, this came about through the bursting of a steam pipe adjacent to the building on fire, but we did not know this at the time and were very much at a loss to understand what had happened.

"All this time, a strong southwest wind was blowing and, as we now had no water and no other means of combating the flames, there was nothing more we could do and it was only a matter of minutes before the can shop and box factory were involved, as well as Cannery No. 1, the refrigerator building, Cannery No. 2, and Warehouse No. 2.

"By now, I realized that the fire was completely out of control and the plant doomed. It came to me that I was responsible for the lives and safety of more than 500 men, and my thoughts turned to their welfare. I gathered a large crew of men around me and rushed them to the saltery building, which had not as yet caught fire. With their prompt, wholehearted aid, all the provisions in that building were moved a considerable distance over the boat-ways toward the west, where they would be comparatively safe. Prompt as we were, we were only just in time for no sooner had we finished removing these supplies than the saltery building itself caught fire and, within a very few moments, was completely destroyed. All our provisions, except a small amount kept elsewhere, had been in this building so we were, at least for the time, in no danger of being in actual want.

"It was about this time that I had the first opportunity to ask the chief fireman if he knew how the fire started. Unfortunately, all he could tell me was that he had heard

several men running out of the north end of the second floor of the warehouse building, shouting 'fire' at the top of their lungs and that, before he had finished blowing the whistle—which he had done at once—the flames and smoke were pouring out of the whole north end of the building. The cause of the fire therefore will probably never be known. Was it incendiary; did it come from a carelessly discarded cigarette or match; was it due to spontaneous combustion or to defective wiring? All these thoughts flashed through my mind. It is to be regretted that there appears to be no answer.

"As there was nothing that could be done at the moment, now that the food had been saved, I had an opportunity to check on the extent of the fire and discovered, much to my surprise and delight, that the fish docks had not yet been involved. The wind, while generally coming from the southwest, had veered to the west and greatly aided the flames. Now it turned again to the southwest and proved to be of considerable benefit to us in the successful efforts made with a bucket brigade and wet sacks, and which ended by saving both fish docks.

"In the meantime, I sent a radiogram to Mr. Cocks, telling of the fire, because I felt that our San Francisco office should at once notify Levison Brothers, and they the insurance companies, to start the necessary preliminaries of the adjustment. By good fortune, the living quarters of the men were not destroyed and we were able, therefore, to care for them until the *Glacier* sailed for San Francisco July 11th.

"As soon as the fire had burned itself out and it was safe to enter the ruins, my chief concern was to determine if there was any salvage of salmon or equipment. It was obvious that the buildings themselves had been destroyed, but I felt that possibly there might be some salvage in either machinery or salmon. I found, and this was later verified be Mr. Lauer, that considerable value still remained in the boilers and retorts and there was a large amount of salmon which might be reconditioned. Between the day of the fire and Mr. Lauer's arrival on the 15th, I went over the situation thoroughly with my plant superintendent and engineering force, in order to be ready to work with him to the best possible advantage. Considerable thought was also given to the problem of rebuilding the cannery —where, how, and when. When Mr. Lauer arrived, he found the preliminary work well started and he was able to conclude his investigation so rapidly he decided to return the next day by air.

"The speed with which he was able to complete his work was due not only to the manner in which the preliminary work had been done, but also to the fact that, at that time of year, we had only two or three hours of darkness. Two days' work thus could be done in one.

"As I was anxious to get to San Francisco as soon as possible, and as there was room for me to accompany him, I left in his airplane. It was decided not to fly back to Fairbanks and from there to Juneau, but to go direct to Anchorage, taking the steamer from Seward the next morning. This was done and we arrived, with no further incident, in Seattle late on the morning of July 24."

IV.

THE account of Mr. Lauer's airplane flight from Juneau to Bristol Bay was a most thrilling one; so much so, in fact, that it definitely deserves a place herein. While the world has become more or less air minded in the last decade, a flight such as the one he undertook is so definitely out of the ordinary as to be worthy of more that passing comment. In writing to us after he returned to his home, he described it as follows:

"After a most pleasant three days on board the steamer from Seattle, I arrived at Juneau early on the morning of July 14th and left shortly after noon on the regular weekly Pacific Alaska Airways transport plane for Fairbanks.

..."The trip from this small lake, over Cooks Inlet, to the cannery site normally is a rather short one but that day there was a heavy fog over the mountains and we had a difficult time getting through. As a matter of fact, after two attempts, we turned back and crossed by an entirely different route at a very much higher altitude in order to keep to clear air.

"After crossing the mountains, we dropped down on Lake Iliamna and, after flying over it, went down the Kvichak River to the site of the cannery, where we were surprised to see, as we could while still in the air, that practically all of the living quarters at the cannery were intact. This was a great relief as we had known very little about what we were going to run into and had taken with us practically everything that might be needed for a fairly extended camping trip: food, guns, fishing tackle, sleeping bags, etc. As it turned out, none of this was necessary, and I believe the two pilots were as pleased as I was to discover that there were good beds and good food waiting for us at Bristol Bay.

"After flying around for a few moments, the pilot determined that the only place he could land was on a small lake a short distance from the cannery and, while he felt that he would have no trouble landing, he said to us while we were still in the air that he did not see how he would be able to get off again. As we approached nearer, however, a cannery tender plane landed on the lake and our pilot, realizing that where one could go another could follow, landed right after it.

"As it turned out, we were trusting a good deal to our luck, and the pilot had not over-emphasized the difficulties of leaving. When it came time to return, it was decided to unload everything possible from the plane and transport it down to the river, wait until the tide came in, and then, with an empty plane, see if the pilot could not get off the lake, land in the river and reload. It seemed to me to be a rather delicate thing to do but as it turned out, was most practical. No difficulty was experienced

and the return voyage was started from the river bank exactly as planned.

V.

...In preparing for the 1936 season, sufficient material to pack 208,000 cases of salmon had been purchased and shipped north. The investigation proved without doubt that this pack would have been reached had there been no fire. This decision was made principally because of the fact that four canneries of the Alaska Packers' Association and one each of the Pacific American Fisheries, Libby, McNeill & Libby and the Nakat Packing Company packed an average of 25,668 cases per line in the immediate vicinity. Inasmuch as the Bristol Bay Packing Company had ten canning lines, six of which were of high speed capacity, the theoretical limit of its pack was 256,680 cases and therefore there was no doubt the pack would have been considerably in excess of 175,000 cases.

As 37,960 cases had been packed prior to the fire, the difference between that and the 175,000 case policy limit was 137,040 cases. Therefore, the latter figure was taken as the number of cases the fire prevented from being packed. This figure was multiplied by the profit factor, fixing the loss as $185,000.00, which was promptly paid. Had it been possible to know the situation in advance and calculate accurately what the profit for the season would have been, considerably more profit insurance might have been carried, with a much larger recovery from the insurance companies.

VI.

THE loss to buildings and equipment was $294,730.85; to profits, $398,063.00; and the loss to merchandise was $558,571.70; and a total of $1,251,365.55. In addition, the American Can Company lost $150,000 of its equipment, which makes the actual loss in excess of $1,400,000. To this must be added the important intangible loss of which no measure can be made, including as it did loss of good will, prepaid advertising, employees' wages, etc.

...It can therefore be said upon the most reliable authority that the Bristol Bay Packing Company's disaster was the largest fire the canning industry has experienced in the history of the United States.

The amount actually paid to the Bristol Bay Packing Company was $256.890 on buildings and equipment; $558,571 on stock; and $185,004 on profits; a total of $1,000,465. As against this, its loss was $1,251,365, making a difference between what could have been collected and what actually was collected, slightly more than $250,000.

VII.

...It would seem at the time of writing that one cannery and warehouse will be completed in time for the 1937 season, equipped with six high speed cannery lines with a combined capacity of 200,000 cases. During the summer of 1937, the other cannery and warehouse unit will be built so that, when the 1938 season arrives, the new Bristol Bay Packing Company plant on the Kvichak River in far-off Alaska will be ready and capable of packing more than ever before. Thus, out of the disaster and from the ruins of probably the largest salmon canning plant in Alaska comes an even greater institution, due largely to the use of modern fire insurance facilities.

NOTES

[206] Crescent Porter Hale was born in Santa Cruz, California in 1872 and was one of the pioneering leaders of the Bristol Bay canned salmon industry. Hale first came to the Bay in 1886 when he worked on the construction of the Bristol Bay Canning Company at Kanakanak, on the west side of Nushagak Bay. He was the brother-in-law to J. P. Haller and together they founded the North Alaska Salmon Company and built canneries at Hallersville, Lockanok, Ekuk, and Egegik, they sold out to Libby, McNeill & Libby in 1916. Cress Hale owned Bristol Bay Packing Company's Pedersen Point cannery when it burned, and he died in the spring of 1937, while planning to rebuild the cannery. Bob King, e-mail message to John Branson, September 12, 2006.

[207] Nancy Green, Transamerica, voice mail to John Branson, September 19, 2006.

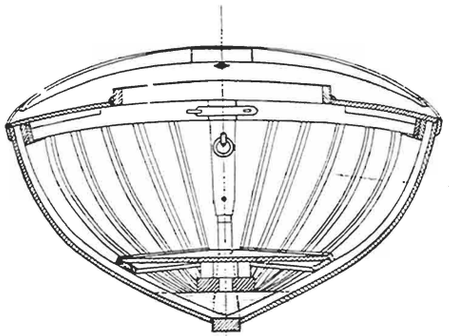
❖

Right: A boat plan for a Columbia River Salmon Fishing Boat commissioned by Alaska Packers Association in 1931. In Alaska the boat was more often known as a Bristol Bay double-ender or as a Bristol Bay gill-netter.

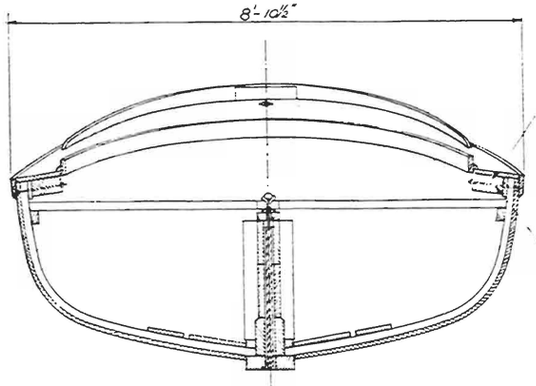
Plan courtesy of the Bristol Bay Borough.

-:Deck Shelf:-
This Piece of Fir runs from Mast Beam to 6'3" From Stern it is 16'6" Long & fasten with 5 Galv. Iron Carriage Bolts & Four 20d Galv. Iron Nails, the Bolts are Spaced @ 2'6" Ctrs. There are 2 Nails in each end This piece of Fir is Tapered Off on Ends to Conform to Shape of Boat

8'-10½"

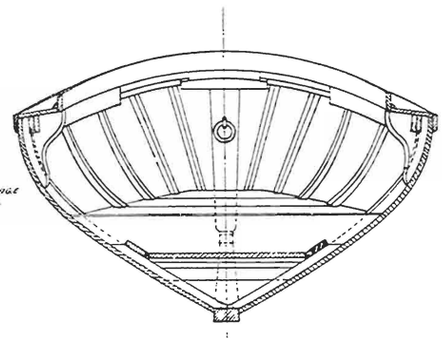


—Fore Section A-A—



3/8" Galv. Iron Carriage Bolt

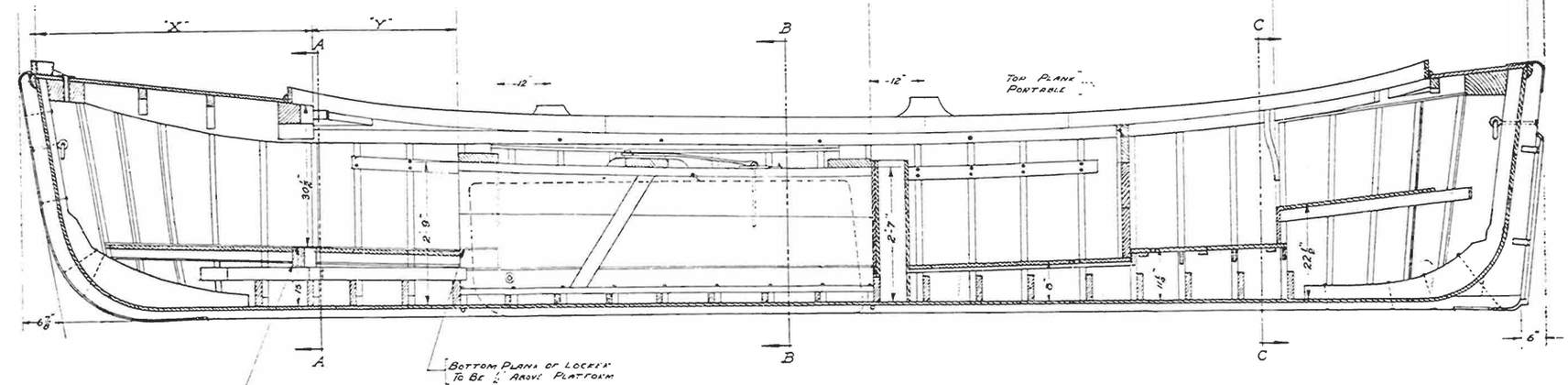
—Midship Section B-B—



—Aft Section C-C—

28'-0" Betw. Rabbets

3" 5'-6" 2'-7" 7'-11" 3'-9" 3'-9" 4'-6" 3"



—Longitudinal Section—

Note:-
Dimensions Shown Above were Taken From Boats Built in Winter of 1931 & 1932

Measurements	"X"	"Y"
Kneass Boats-1920.	4'-9"	3'-0"
Kneass Boats-1931	5'-4"	2'-6"

—Columbia River—
—Salmon Fishing Boat—

Scale ¾-Inch = 1-Foot	Date February-1931.
Dr. W.A. Carrick	Traced W.A. Carrick
Ck.	Approved
Dr No [redacted]	Sheet No. 2.

A Historical View Of Upriver Cabins and Caches of Bristol Bay



183. H-702

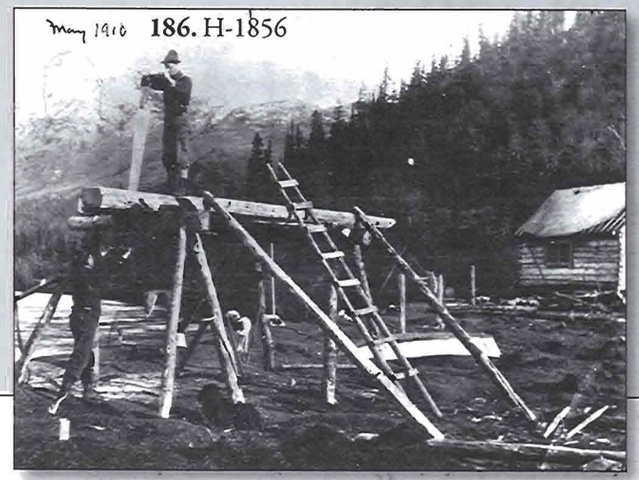


184. H-1922 and H-1923

The Iliamna Lake Country

183. H-702 A circa 1915 view of the Baard S. Foss house being enlarged at Foss's Landing, at the western trailhead for the Iliamna Portage. The main house on the right appears to have been sided with tongue and groove lumber; however, there were no mills in the region in 1915. (Kephardt 1988: 241-242) The siding was almost certainly shipped in from a Bristol Bay cannery on one of the Foss brothers' boats, or less likely, it was packed over the Iliamna Portage on a horse. The log addition on the left uses round log construction with square notches. (Doellefeld interview: Aug. 2006) The roofing was corrugated sheet iron obtained from Bristol Bay canneries.
Photo courtesy of Bert and Edna Foss.

184. H-1922 and H-1923 A 1914 view of the Old Iliamna village teacher's quarters, upper left and school house, left center with John Cook's cabin lower left on the Iliamna River, photographed by Dr. Linius Hiram French. On the lower right of center, near the river, is the log home of Thomas W. Hanmore. His garden, wooden boat, outhouse and a cabin owned by Alex Flyum are also seen. The Russian Orthodox Church and village cemetery are in view on the upper right. Hanmore was the Alaska Commercial Company trader at Tyonek in the late 1890s and had probably been in Cook Inlet since the mid-1880s. (Morgan 1994: 18) By 1910, Hanmore had moved to the Iliamna country when he filed on mining claims in the Mulchatna country. The people of Nondalton refer to "Hammer Cache" as a prominent jumping off place from the southwest corner of Lake Clark for winter travel to the Mulchatna and Stony River



186. H-1856

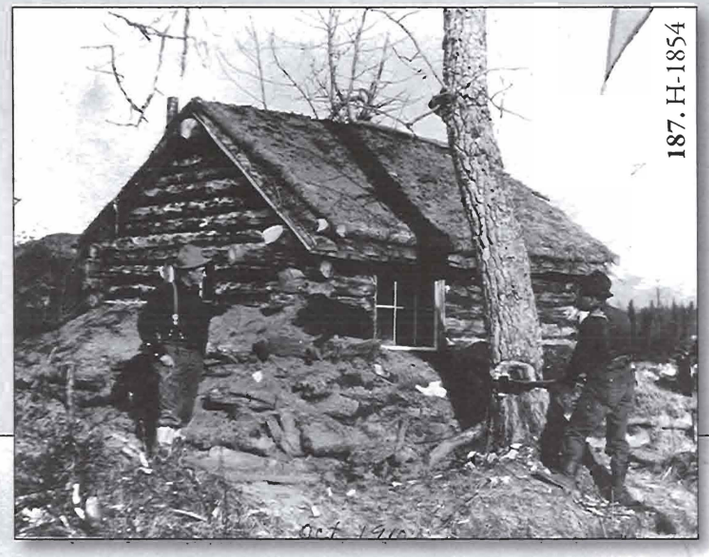


185. H-709

country. (Hornberger 1986: 4-23) However, "Hammer" is a corruption of the name Hanmore, who built a cache at the site during his prospecting days. Hanmore was well liked by the Native people at Tyonek and Old Iliamna. He once saved a young Charlie Roehl from certain drowning when he fell through a hole in the ice of the Iliamna River. About 1917, Hanmore took his own life because he was going blind and did not wish to burden his neighbors. (Roehl, Jr. interview: April 1994, March 1995, May 1998, and June 1998)
Photos courtesy of Dr. Charles Black.

185. H-709 A group of people on Holly Foss's converted Bristol Bay sailboat the *Comet* on the Iliamna River at Foss's Landing. Old Iliamna village is on the upper left, circa 1910. The man on the left might be Frank B. Peterson, who owned the Naknek Packing Company cannery. The young woman wearing dark glasses sitting on the left was thought to be Peterson's daughter. She had no arms and could paint with her toes and climb ladders using her teeth. (Roehl, Jr. and Roehl, Jr. interview: July 1998) Christina Foss, Holly's mother, with white hair and a white dress, sits in the middle of the group. The caption for the picture states: "Harold Foss's passengers to Bristol Bay." The *Comet* had a 5-horsepower gas engine. Holly Foss and his brother Sam were some of the first Iliamna residents to convert Bristol Bay sailboats by lengthening and adding a gas engine, using them to haul passengers and freight around the lake and between the lake and the Bay.
Photo courtesy of Bert and Edna Foss.

186. H-1856 A May 1910 view of Charlie McNeil (1859-1948) and Sam Foss at Foss's Landing on the Iliamna River whipsawing lumber. (Walker 1992: K-5) The cabin on the right probably belonged to Foss's father, Baard S. Foss. It is a well built cabin with dovetail corners; the



187. H-1854



188. H-2031

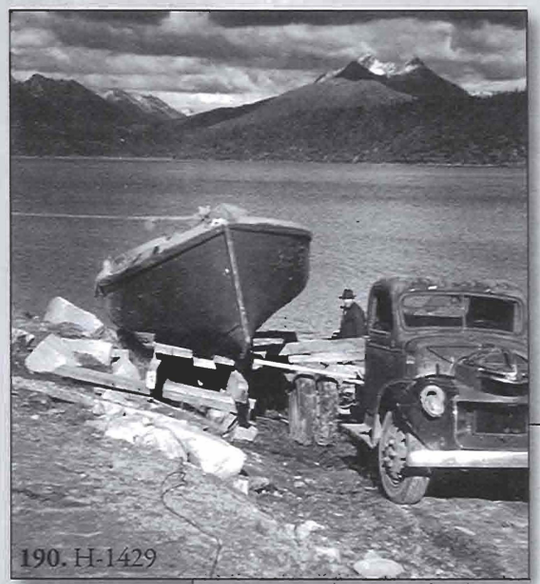
roof appears to be covered with canvas. McNeil spent the winter of 1910-1911 at Old Iliamna, and he made a visit to Teresa Millett's (wife of O.B. Millet) house in January 1911. (Millett n.d.)
Photo courtesy of Joanne E. Sargent-Wolverton.

187. H-1854 An October 1910 scene near Old Iliamna village and Foss's Landing on the Iliamna River. The man on the left might be the partner of Charlie McNeil, who is chopping down the cottonwood tree. The cabin is made of peeled white spruce logs with square corner notches. The cabin appears to have been "banked" up with earth to add insulation. A stove pipe shows above the left portion of the ridge pole. McNeil's main cabin was near the mouth of the McNeil River at Kamishak Bay.
Photo courtesy of Joanne E. Sargent-Wolverton.

188. H-2031 A circa 1925-1935 scene on the Iliamna River of Johnny Foss, right, and, Nick Kolyaha, left, gathering Dolly Varden trout, arctic char and rainbow trout that were caught with nets for the trout tail bounty. Although rainbow trout were not officially sanctioned for the bounty, thousands were inadvertently caught and their tails cut off and cashed in with the other trout tails for bounties. Fred Roehl, Jr. (1907-2003) once said he caught 800 trout at the mouth of Young's Creek on Iliamna Lake for the bounty in a single day. (Roehl, Jr. interview: May 1998, June 1998, and July 1998)
Photo courtesy of the Marie Roehl Millett Collection.



189. H-1426 Aggie Simeon O'Hara, who was born at Old Iliamna in 1914, cuts fall red salmon at Pile Bay on Iliamna in 1952. After the fish is freeze dried in the cold fall air, it is called *nudelvay*. (Ellanna and Balluta 1992: 333) Tom O'Hara (1889-1957) gathers fish in the skiff. (O'Hara e-mail: July 2006) The fall red salmon is filleted and dried in the cold air of October and November. Later, it is eaten with oil or even buttered, as the dried red salmon is very lean and has little resemblance to the fat summer red salmon.
Photo courtesy of the Vantrease and Wilder Family Collections.



190. H-1429



191. H-1925

190. H-1429 A circa 1950 view of Carl Williams (1912-1987) at Pile Bay unloading a Bristol Bay double-ender formerly used in the commercial salmon fishery. The boat was probably destined to be hauled to Iliamna Bay and taken to Homer. Pile Bay is the western head of the Iliamna Portage, a 17-mile trail that connected the Bristol Bay drainage with lower Cook Inlet. The view is looking northeast toward the mouth of Pile River which is the easternmost extent of Iliamna Lake.
Photo courtesy of the Vantrease and Wilder Family Collections.

191. H-1925 In a 1933 report from Dennis Winn, of the U.S. Fisheries Bureau, to Alaska Territorial Governor George S. Parks regarding payment of vouchers for the "predatory fish destruction program," also known as the trout tail bounty, Hans Seversen and Hugh Millett had the two largest numbers of trout tails. Seversen apparently traded merchandise from his Roadhouse store for vouchers; in 1931-1933, he collected some 37,676 trout tails and was paid $2,666 with a reported benefit to some 118 individuals. Millett's total was 8,161 trout tails for $408 that benefited 16 people. (Unrau 1993: 320-321) This circa 1935 view shows merchant Hans Seversen, left, and Hugh Millett, right, surveying gunny sacks full of trout tails from trout killed in the Iliamna Lake area as part of the bounty system.
Photo courtesy of Anne Seversen Monsen.



192. H-1434

192. H-1434 A circa 1952 view of (left to right) Karen Vantrease, Rosie O'Hara, Jacque Vantrease, and Hilda O'Hara on a dog sled in front of Fred and Vera Roehl's home at Pile Bay. The Roehl's had a gas powered Bell sawmill at Pile Bay. Some of the white spruce lumber, for the windbreak on the left, was sawed on his sawmill. Carl Williams was reported to have had the first gas powered sawmill on Iliamna Lake in the in the early 1940s. (Williams interview: April 2007)
Photo courtesy of the Vantrease and Wilder Family Collections.



193. H-1004



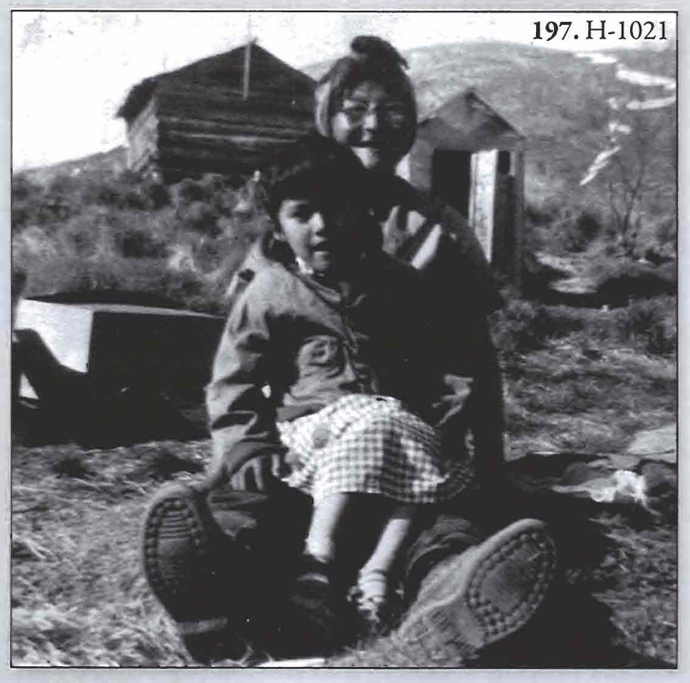
194. H-2219

193. H-1004 A six-legged cache at Jack Kinney's homestead at Chekok, on Iliamna Lake, circa 1930. Kinney was born in Maine, came north to the Klondike in the late 1890s and moved to the Iliamna-Mulchatna area by 1909. (Millett n.d.) While it is not known who built the cache, it may have been either Albert "Bert" Young in 1907 or Alex Borland in 1910. (Hedlund and Hedlund interview: Aug. 1986) The walls of the cache are made of spruce logs, as are the gable ends, while the roof appears to be covered with tar paper. The notches are either round or a modified dovetail, and the cache floor appears to be made from hewn spruce poles. To the right, are salmon drying racks and an older cabin. The legs of the cache are not shaped in the traditional Dena'ina style, which suggests the cache was built by a Euroamerican. *Photo courtesy of Rose Hedlund.*

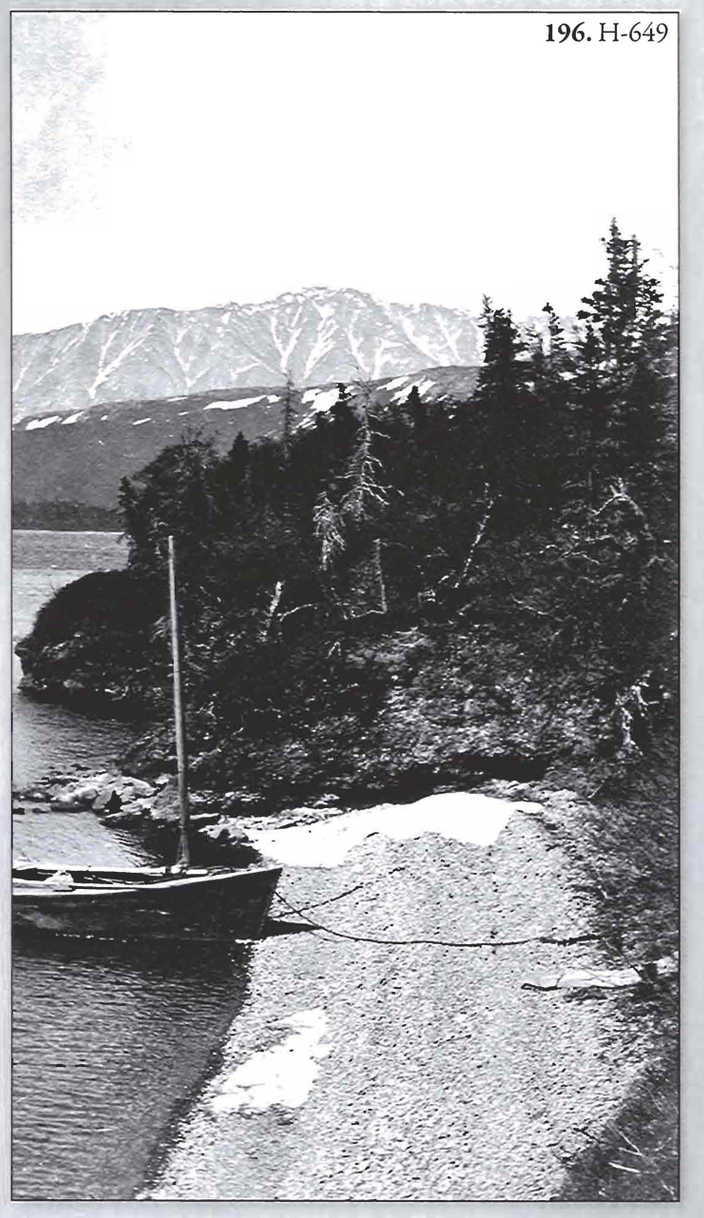
194. H-2219 Jack Vantrease taking a break to sharpen an axe while he builds a log house at Pile Bay in 1948-1949. Jack and his wife, Lynn, moved to Pile Bay in 1946 from the Lower 48. (Mattson 1999: 35-36) The Vantreases have been commercial fishermen in Bristol Bay since the late 1940s. Vantrease used round notches for his cabin corners and lateral grooves that created chinkless log walls, a technique possibly introduced to southwestern Alaska by Russians in the eighteenth century. *Photo courtesy of the Vantrease and Wilder Family Collections.*



195. H-1012



197. H-1021

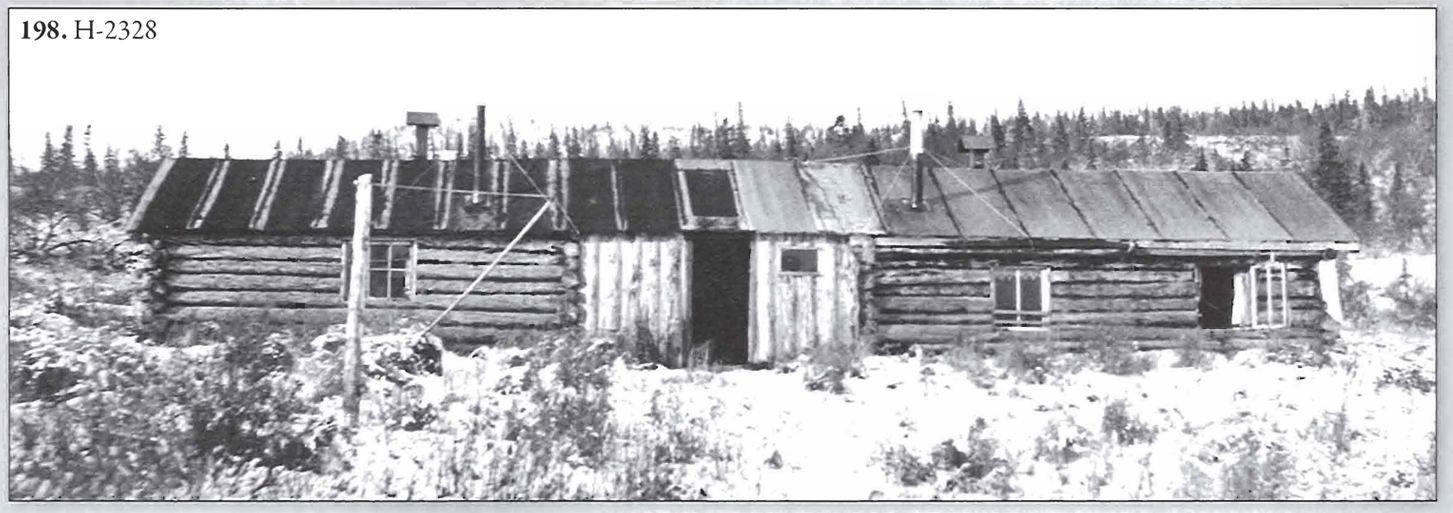


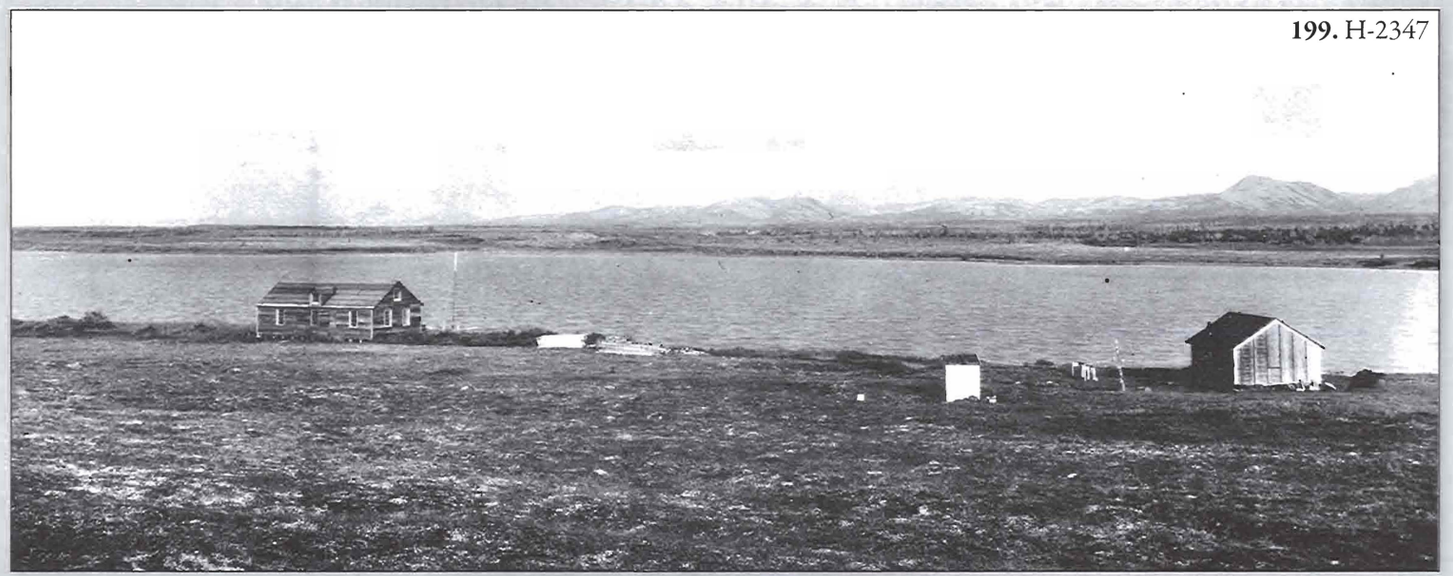
196. H-649

195. H-1012 Rose Hedland (1919-2003) of Chekok on Iliamna Lake hangs cut red salmon to glaze in the breeze before putting them in her smokehouse. Rose was a very skilled subsistence user. She was adept at mushing dogs, putting up fish, trapping and skin sewing to name just a few of her abilities. She was a life long resident of Iliamna Lake country.
Photo courtesy of the Rose Hedlund Collection.

196. H-649 A view of Joe Kackley's Bristol Bay sailboat anchored at Porcupine Island in the eastern end of Iliamna Lake. Knutsen Mountain is in the background. School teacher Hannah Breece reported the photograph was taken on June 21, 1911, as Kackley was transporting her to the head of the Newhalen Portage at what is now Iliamna village. Kackley's use of the sailboat is an early example of upriver people adapting equipment from the Bristol Bay commercial fishing industry. The boat appears to be one of the early flat-bottom fish boats used in Bristol Bay before the widespread adoption of the round-bottomed double-enders. (Monsen, Sr. letter: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Jane Jacobs Collection.

197. H-1021 Jean Carltikoff Rickteroff (1912?-1970?) holds her daughter Linda at Pedro Bay in the 1940s. (Balluta interview: June 2006) A log cache, probably for dry fish storage, is in the center background, an outhouse is on the right, and a fish splitting table is on the left. (Victoroff interview: June 2006) Jean was married to Michael A. Rickteroff. (Jensen interview: June 2006)
Photo courtesy of Vera Jean Kolyaha.



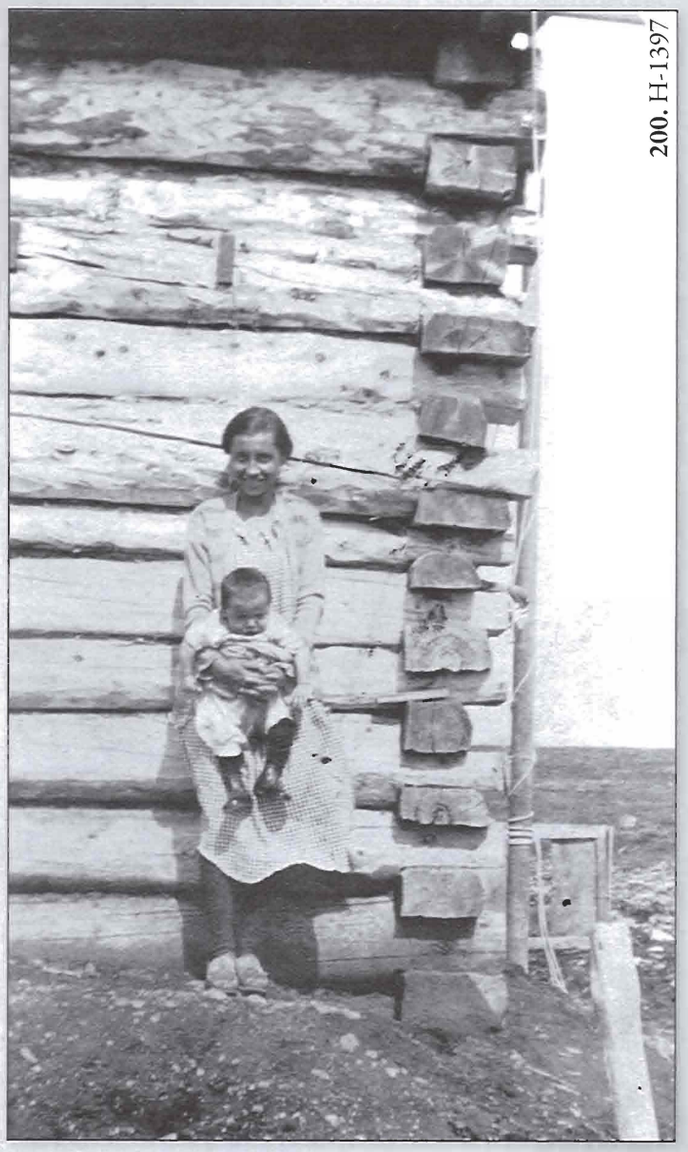


198. H-2328 The O.B. Millett cabin near Millett's Point on Iliamna Lake. Teresa Millett wrote on November 21, 1906: "Alex Flyum and three Natives builded [sic] our cabin." (Millet n.d.) The cabin is very similar to Charlie McNeil's cabin at Kamishak Bay that was 14x52 feet long. This cabin appears to be a duplex having two co-equal parts connected in the middle with a vertical log arctic entry. It also appears to have a tar paper roof. The right side had a kitchen and bedrooms, and the left side was used for storage. (Millet interview: Jan. 2006)
Photo courtesy of the University of Alaska Anchorage, Archives and Special Collections Department, Anonymous Collection, "A Trip to Portage Creek and Bonanza Creek Placer Mining Area c. 1911-1914," No.17.

199. H-2347 A 1914 view of "Brown's Portage," or Brown's Roadhouse, at present-day Iliamna, soon to be known as Seversen's Roadhouse (1923). The pile of lumber in the center was probably destined to be used for the warehouse that was a long time fixture at Seversen's, and still stands. The site was apparently first built by Herman Gartlemann, Frank Brown, Jack Kinney and Ed Ahola in 1913. The photograph was taken by George S. Parks, the future Alaska territorial governor, about September 7th, 1914. (Millet n.d.) The lumber for the roadhouse and warehouse was brought upriver from Koggiung Diamond J cannery by Gartlemann in his boat the *Katie G*. The framed house on the right was possibly prospector Frank Brown's roadhouse.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, George A. Parks Collection, ASL-PCA-240-572.



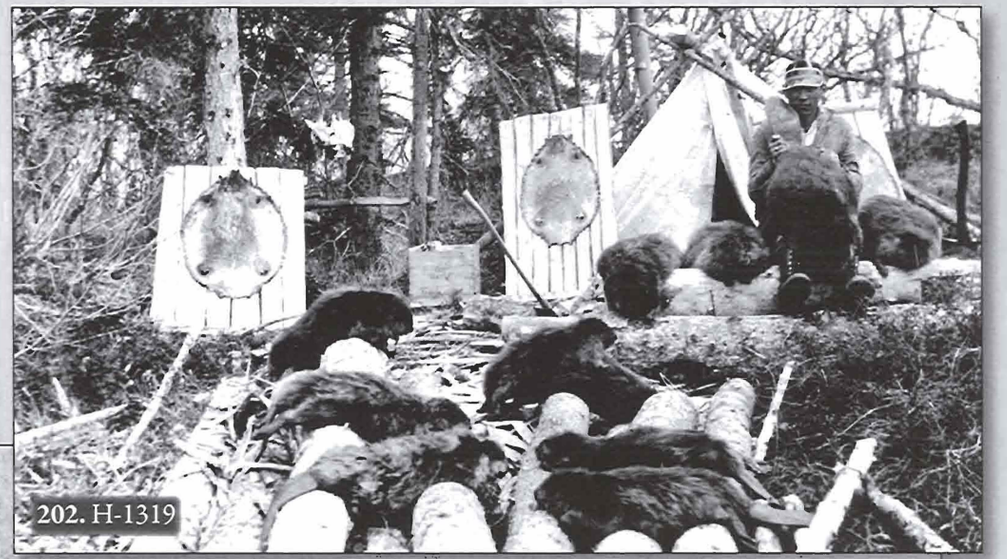
201. H-1928



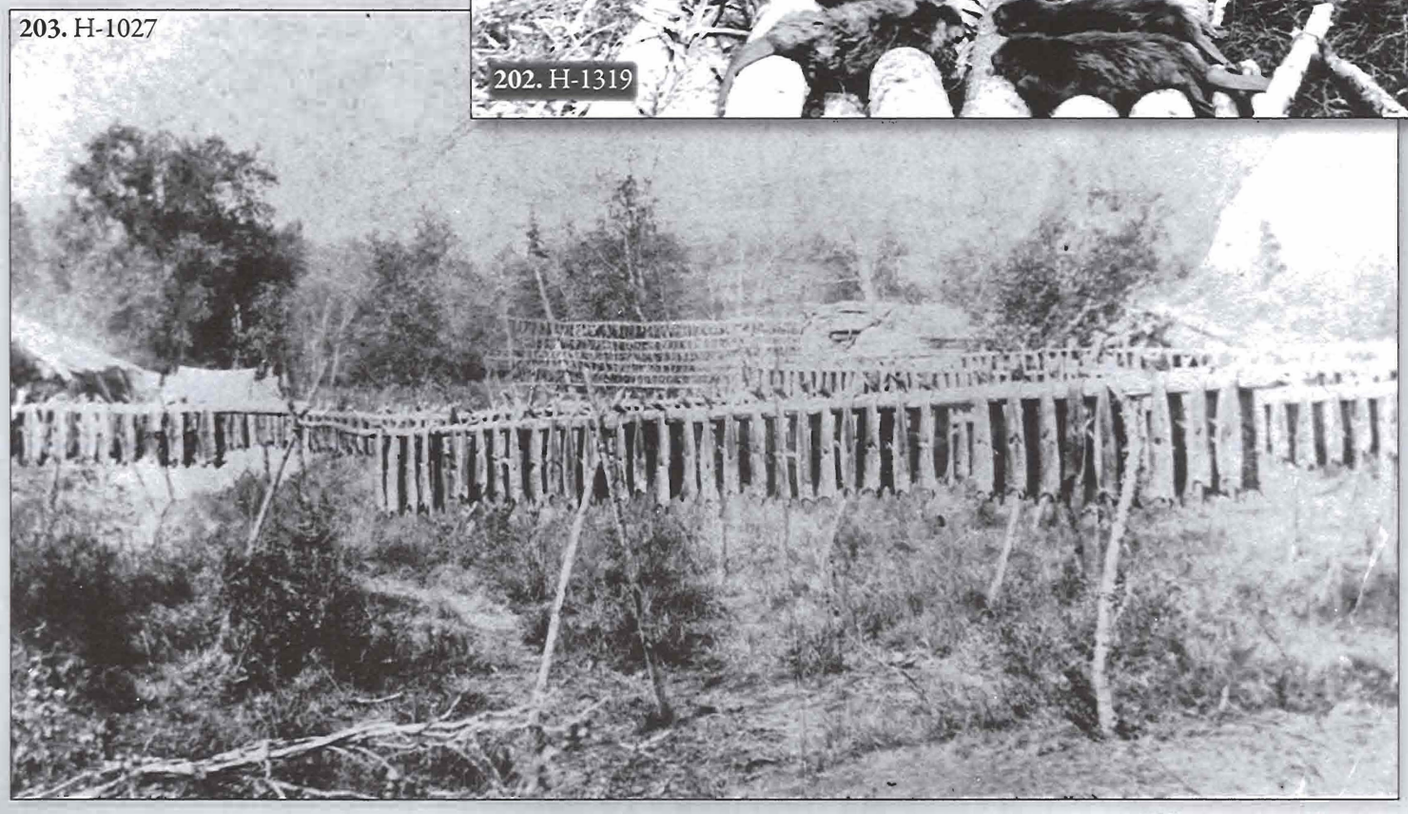
200. H-1397

200. H-1397 Sophie Hobson Balluta (1910-2001?) holds her daughter, Betty, at Hans Seversen's log house at the Roadhouse, circa 1934. (Austin interview: Feb. 1985) The house is a good example of a well crafted square notched log house, using peeled white spruce and chinked with moss or oakum. It was constructed by Ole and Walter Wassenkari in 1930.
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

201. H-1928 A group of Lake Clark-Iliamna women visiting Yenlu Seversen, circa 1933, at the Roadhouse at Iliamna. Left to right: Nastasia Zackar, Ruth Koktelash, Agafia Rickteroff, Mary Delkittie (rear), Yenlu Seversen, Mary Jacko and Mary Balluta (child). (Jensen interview: Aug. 2006) Seversen's Roadhouse was the social and commercial hub of the Lake Clark-Iliamna country during the 1920s and 1930s. The Seversen family saw a steady stream of friends, relatives and customers staying at their roadhouse throughout the year. The women represent four different Dena'ina bands. Nastasia and Ruth originally came from the Stony River, Agafia came from Old Iliamna, Mary Balluta was born at Old Nondalton or the Eagle Bay Creek reindeer camp and Yenlu and her sister, Mary Nudlash Delkittie, came from the Mulchatna villages. (Ellanna and Hornberger 1986) Mary Jacko was a Yup'ik woman who married Yako Evan from Telaquana village. (Jacko, Sr. interview: Aug. 2006; Morgan 1978: 43)
Photo courtesy of Anne Seversen Monsen.



202. H-1319



203. H-1027

202. H-1319 Edward Seversen (1916-1937) at a spring beaver trapping camp in the Lake Clark-Iliamna country, circa 1935, with his work cut out for him. There are eleven beavers to skin, with two more beaver hides drying on boards. A brace of ptarmigan hang in a tree to the left rear. Many Bristol Bay area trappers used canvas wall tents during spring beaver trapping because they enabled them to be more mobile and access more remote beaver ponds away from main trapping cabins. Many quiet beaver ponds being situated off swift gravel-bottomed creeks and rivers, were ideal salmon rearing grounds.
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

The Lake Clark Country

203. H-1027 A red salmon drying rack along the upper Newhalen River, or at Kijik village, on Lake Clark, circa 1909-1913. A brush smokehouse is partially visible on the left as is a small wall tent and more salmon racks in the center background. The Lake Clark Dena'ina both air dried and smoked red salmon. Salmon backbones were also air dried for dog food.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur Stanley Tulloch Collection, PCA 148-12.



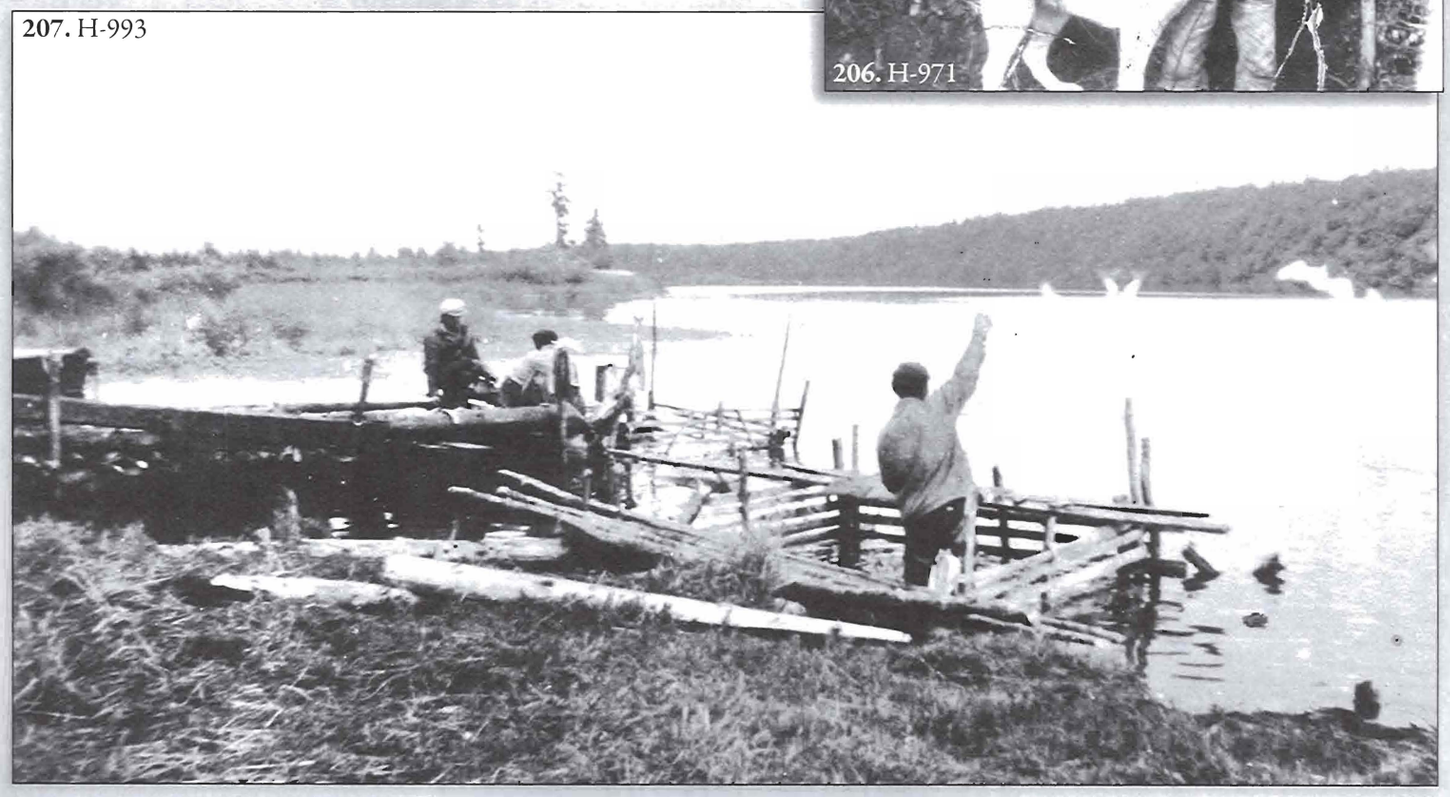
204. H-1213 Corey Ford, right, checks the weight of Newhalen River rainbow trout held by *Field and Stream* writer, Dan Holland, at Pete Delkittie's fish camp on the upper Newhalen River in June, 1940. Holland wrote: "I landed a 31½" rainbow, but Corey showed me it didn't weigh as much as his big one. Indian fish rack in background." (Holland 1941: 17)
Photo courtesy of Jean Holland.



205. H-2350



206. H-971



207. H-993

205. H-2350 A September 1914 photograph of Old Nondalton village on Sixmile Lake, a southwesterly extension of Lake Clark. The village was established between 1902 and 1909 as a result of the abandonment of historic Kijik Village, about 25 miles east on Lake Clark. A group of wooden skiffs, and perhaps some skin boats, are visible on the left in front of the village. An American flag flies over chief Zackar Evanoff's house in the center of the village. J.W. Walker, writing from Tanalian Point in 1911, said: "Dear Friend Tulloch, Your letter and pictures arrived some time ago and this mail brought us the papers and flag for 'Secar' [Zackar]." Doc Dutton also mentioned the flag from Tanalian Point in 1927: "Secar [Zackar] is still on deck will tell him hello for you when I see him he has the flag you sent him, but like the rest of us is getting old." (Walker letter: Nov. 1911)
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, George A. Parks Collection, AHL-PCA-240-577.

206. H-971 Johnny Kankanton at Nastasia Zackar's smokehouse near the mouth of the Newhalen River in the late 1930s. The traditional Lake Clark Dena'ina smokehouses were made by weaving green brush of willow, birch or alder though vertical saplings. The roof was generally covered with sections of white spruce bark or birch bark. Red salmon and lesser numbers of other kinds of fish were hung in the smokehouse over a smoldering fire of green birch, alder or cottonwood.
Photo courtesy of the Nastasia Zackar Collection.

207. H-993 A dock and fish holding pens at Nondalton Fish Village on the upper Newhalen River, circa 1940. Sea gulls are seen hovering on the right, apparently being fed salmon scraps. Like most upriver Bristol Bay villagers, early each summer the people of Nondalton moved a few miles downstream from their village to



208. H-2348

their fish village on the upper Newhalen and to the lower portion of Sixmile Lake to put up the returning red salmon for winter use.
Photo courtesy of the Pete Koktelash Collection.

208. H-2348 A Dena'ina woman, Mavdehiah (?) Rasmusen (1896-?), with her child, Stepenata Rasmusen (1912-?), in Tommy Rasmusen's Columbia River boat, are traveling on Lake Clark on the way to Tanalian Point in September 1914. (Hobson interview: Feb. 1985) The boat had to have originated from a Bristol Bay cannery, 150 miles southwest of Lake Clark. (Rasmussen 1918) The question remains: in a time of dog traction, how could a 28-foot and 3,000 pound boat have been hauled over the six-mile Newhalen Portage from the roadhouse at present-day Iliamna village to the middle Newhalen River for launching? The most obvious answer would seem to be several strong dog teams hauled the boat over the snow covered tundra to the river; perhaps the boat was sawed in two for easier handling. Since the Foss family owned a few horses at Old Iliamna it is also possible that a team of horses pulled the boat over the Newhalen Portage. It is more likely that big sled dogs performed the deed. Rasmusen's boat would probably have been the first Bristol Bay commercial fishing boat brought into Lake Clark.
Photo courtesy of Alaska State Library, George A. Parks Collection, PCA-240-580.



209. H-543



210. H-1641

209. H-543 George Wassillie and an unidentified boy at Old Nondalton, circa 1935, stand by a dog sled in front of a log house. Note the square corner notches and gable end with whipsawed board roofing. Slabs were used to span the joints between the boards, as it was difficult to obtain tar paper roofing or corrugated sheet iron roofing in a remote upriver village such as Old Nondalton.
Photo courtesy of Agnes Cusma.

210. H-1641 Gabriel Trefon (1897-1963) and his wife Katherine Hobson Trefon (1904-1972) in the late 1940s, at their log home at present day Nondalton. Gabriel fished commercially in the Bristol Bay in the summer and trapped in the winter. In the mid-1950s, Gabriel became the manager of the Alaska Packers Association store at Nondalton, a position he held for several years. The Trefon house logs were probably three sided on Charlie Denison's sawmill, then rafted to Nondalton for construction. During the 1940s and early 1950s, most of the lumber used in Nondalton housing was milled at Denison's sawmill. (Ellanna and Balluta 1992: 281) Note the ubiquitous 5-gallon Blazo fuel can to the right of the door. Blazo was used to power Coleman lights and stoves. Sara Hornberger notes that, "[The late Governor] Jay [Hammond] knew Gabriel Trefon well and respected him very much. Jay described him as handsome and distinguished appearing... Jay felt [Gabriel] to be the leader, historian and seer of his people ... he used to tell Jay many stories and one was ... up at Telaquana, wolves lived like men in stone houses and walked on two feet. He [Gabriel] told Jay about a woman who was washing a caribou skin at the edge of Turquoise Lake when a big monster came up and swallowed her." (Hammond and Hammond interview: Nov. 1984)
Photo courtesy of Margaret E. Jones.



211. H-2217



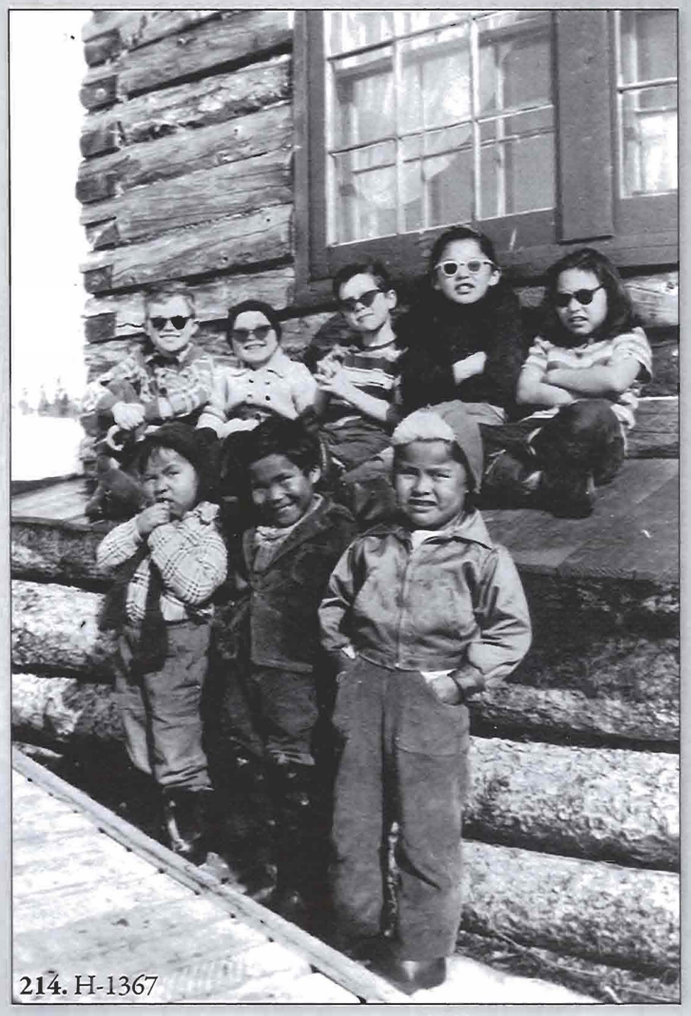
212. H-1639

211. H-2217 Ruth Koktelash, left, unidentified child, center, and George Koktelash, Sr. at Nondalton in the early 1950s. Seven beaver hides are tacked on boards for drying at Pete Koktelash's home. Spring beaver trapping was an important means of cash income during the late winter for many Bristol Bay families. During the twentieth century, the Bristol Bay region was known as the most productive beaver trapping grounds in Alaska. Each year, 3,000 to 4,000 beaver were sealed in Dillingham alone. Since beaver fur prices collapsed in the 1980s, trapping no longer occupies the central role it played during most of the twentieth century in the Bristol Bay. Though fur prices have risen in recent years and there are large numbers of beavers throughout the bay region, only 200 to 300 beavers are sealed in Dillingham annually. This is probably due to changes in lifestyle and the rising cost of motor fuels. (Woolington interview: Aug. 2006)
Photo courtesy of Vantrease Family Collection.

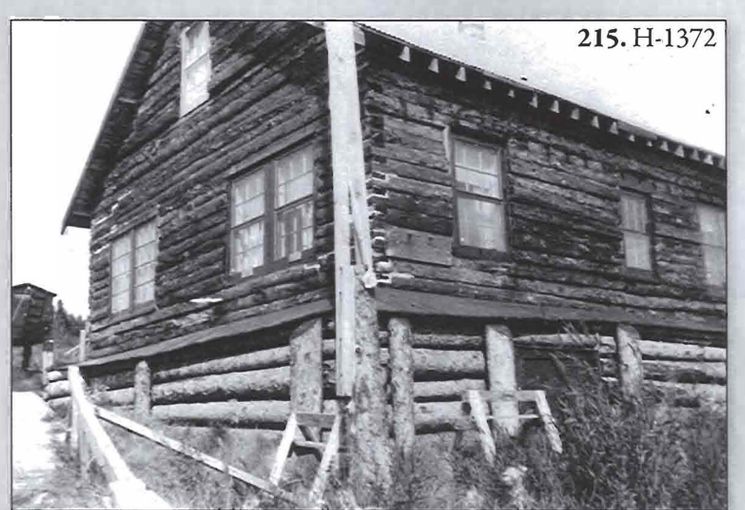
212. H-1639 A circa 1950-1952 photograph of Nondalton resident Forest Jones, husband of schoolteacher, Cleda Jones, right, with several students. Back row, left to right: Gory Zackar, Thurstan Delkittie, Bill Trefon, Sr., Alex Trefon, Jr., Aggie Hobson, George Kokletash, Dolly Balluta and Olga Evanoff. Front row, left to right: unknown boy, Katie Trefon, Loraine Evan, Abe Wilson, Diamond Jim Wilson, Phil Balluta and Virgil Delkittie. (Trefon, Sr. interview: June 2006) The school bell is attached to the cache roof and a pulley operated a ladder that accessed the cache. The cache is probably built with lumber sawed on Charley Denison's sawmill at Tanalian Point. The cache was used to store dry goods for the school and is about four or five feet off the ground.
Photo courtesy of Margaret E. Jones.



213.



214. H-1367



215. H-1372

213. Sam Turner's log goat barn at his former homestead near the mouth of Chulitna River, circa 1980. Turner was a World War I veteran who came to Lake Clark in 1932. He kept goats and was thought to have suffered from post traumatic syndrome as a result of his World War I experiences. The goat barn had a loft for hay storage and stalls for goats below. The barn was 10 feet by 12 feet with hand hewn spruce poles for roofing, and the front part of the ridge pole stood about 15 feet off the ground. (Hornberger interview: Dec. 2005)
Photo from Lake Clark National Park and Preserve Photographic Collection.

214. H-1367 A group of school children at the Nondalton school, in March of 1954. Front row left to right: Liz Balluta, Dekan Delkittie and Betty Cusma. Back row, left to right: Paul, David and Craig Coray and Hilda and Linda Cusma. (Alexie interview: June 2006) The Coray's parents, John and Claudine Coray, were school teachers at Nondalton school.
Photo courtesy of Claudine Coray Wright.

215. H-1372 Nondalton men built the local school house in 1944. The logs were cut around Lake Clark and probably milled on Denison's sawmill near Tanalian Point, then rafted down to present-day Nondalton. The school was used until 1962, when a new school was built, which has subsequently been replaced. The cache seen in photograph H-1639 is seen in the left background. (Unrau 1992: 485)
Photo courtesy of Claudine Coray Wright.



216. H-455 Three young men from Nondalton, left to right: Luther Hobson, Philip Balluta and Johnny Kankanton, travel down the Chulitna River in the 1950s with a boat load of sled dogs at the end of spring beaver trapping. In the fall, Bristol Bay people often traveled to winter trapping cabins or to camps with sled dogs in a skiff. After freeze up, trappers would make sleds and use dogs all winter. In the spring, they would transport their dogs by skiff or allow them to follow downstream along the river, back to their homes.
Photo courtesy of the Sophie Austin Collection.



217. H-174 Biologist Wilfred Osgood took this photograph of the unidentified oldest inhabitant of Kijik village in 1902. The man sits in front of a Dena'ina fish cache that shows the fine craftsmanship of hand hewn white spruce timber fitting into a vertical corner post. Dena'ina fish caches did not need to be high off the ground in a village setting since there was little chance a bear or wolverine would bother them. The only village threats were hungry sled dogs and mice.
Photo courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History, Wilfred Osgood Collection, 107936.



218. H-1711

218. H-1711 A circa 1936 view of the Nudlash family traditional Dena'ina smokehouse on the south side of the Kijik River near Lake Clark. The walls were made of green brush interwoven between vertical saplings to form a snug fit. The frame work consisted of vertical corner posts tied together with eave logs and a ridge pole; sheets of spruce and birch bark were used to cover the roof. Left to right are Hazel Nudlash, LaVerne Denison and Mary Kankaton Nudlash.
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.



219. H-462



220. H-1787

219. H-462 Nick Nudlash (1920?-1952?) at his home near the mouth of the Kijik River, circa later 1931. Kijik village was abandoned between 1902 and 1909 for Old Nondalton, but the Nudlash family did not leave until about 1942. Part of a cache is seen on the left, and a steam bath is on the right. Katie Trefon Wilson recalls the Nudlash family: "... Kijik ... that used to be old village ... just one family living there when I was growing up. Their name was Nudlash ... had two girls and two boys. They had ... a garden and lived just the way we did ... and my mom used to go help them quite a bit with groceries ... we used to row across [Lake Clark] with our boat [to visit]. Part of the time it was pretty windy but my mom always made it. I remember being scared laying down in the boat, look out once in a while, see those big swell coming up... [Mary Ann Trefon] used to make a little tent [in the boat], in the bow for us to lay in, keep dry if it was raining." (Wilson interview: Oct. 1975)
Photo courtesy of Hazel Nudlash Barlip.

220. H-1787 The Nudlash family, circa 1942, at their cabin on the south side of the Kijik River along the north side of Lake Clark. The Nudlash family members were the last Dena'ina people to live permanently near historic Kijik. Soon after this picture was taken, the family moved to Nondalton. Left to right: Anton Nudlash, Mary Kankaton Nudlash, Hazel Nudlash and Katherine "Chumba" Nudlash. The roof of the log house appears to be made of two courses of sawed boards, and a wooden gutter was used to funnel water into a wooden barrel. A five gallon gas can is shown in the foreground. Anton Nudlash drowned near Tanalian Point and is one of three people that were buried at the Tanalian Point burying ground.
Photo courtesy of Margaret Alsworth Clum.



221. H-1271



222. H-1284

221. H-1271 John Walatka's log house, 2 miles south of the mouth of the Kijik River, circa 1950. The house was originally built by Bill Smith, who came to Lake Clark about 1935 from Juneau. (Denison interview: Sept. 1984) The entrance to a root cellar is visible in the open field to the right of the house. Smith originally built the house on the hill behind the location in the photograph. Walatka purchased the house in 1942, from brothers Tom and Bill Moore. In 1943 Walatka hired Joe Thompson and Chester Whitehead, two Lake Clark trappers, to dismantle and rebuilt the cabin at its present location. (Alsworth manuscript letter: 1985)
Photo courtesy of Johanna Walatka Bouker.

222. H-1284 Ole Wassenkari, Glenda Kennedy and Bill Smith, right at the Jim Kennedy cabin on the north side of Lake Clark from Tanalian Point in 1936. The log house was built by Anton Balluta and Jim Kennedy in 1935. Architectural historian Alison K. Hoagland, writing in the book *Historic Structures within Lake Clark National Park and Preserve,* described the log house: "This log house is in a cruciform shape, unusual in this area. Round logs nailed into round corner parts, gable roof, six-light windows. Evidence of a patio in east L. [of house], remains of well. Handmade wood gutter, birdhouse, wooden sink. This house was built in 1935. Floyd Denison recalled that it was built at the same time his house was, and that they both used whipsawn lumber. The logs are nailed into corner boards, in this building the corner posts are round logs. The unusual shape of this house was inefficient in its use of logs and heat, but it was constructed with only 12 feet long logs, and for that enclosed a great space." (Hoagland 1982) The boards on either side of the door appear to have been split from blocks of straight-grained, knot-free white spruce.
Photo courtesy the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.



223. H-2327



224. H-1025



225. H-668

223. H-2327 A 1911-1914 view of a vegetable garden at Tanalian Point, probably near the Trefon Balluta house. (Trefon, Sr. interview: Jan. 1992) The three people are, left to right: an Anderson child, Agafia Anderson and Mary Ann Trefon. Agafia was married to Bristol Bay fisherman and merchant Pete Anderson. They had previously lived at Old Iliamna, but had moved to Tanalian Point sometime in the early teens before relocating to Naknek, in 1917. (Ezell interview: July 1998) While living on Lake Clark, Pete and Agafia Anderson filed mining claims, in 1912, on the Kijik River and on Portage Creek, in 1913. (Hornberger 1986) The structure behind Mary Ann is a log cabin with a wall tent entryway. Later on, Mary Ann's son, Wasili Trefon, had a cabin near this site, and still later, in the mid-1930s, Floyd Denison built his cabin here and continued to use the garden. (Denison interview: Dec. 1978)
Photo courtesy of University of Alaska Anchorage, Archives and Special Collections Department, Anonymous Collection "Trip to Portage Creek and Bonanza Creek Placer Mining Area, c. 1911-1914."

224. H-1025 A circa 1910 photograph of a platform cache, probably built along the shoreline on Kontrashibuna Lake near Kasna Creek or at Tanalian Point. The photograph was taken by Arthur S. Tulloch, who was with Doc Dutton and Joe Kackley at Tanalian Point in 1910-1913. A wall tent is seen in the background, and supplies in wooden boxes, and canvas duffels are piled on the platform cache. A sled dog sits on the left.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Arthur Stanley Tulloch Collection, PCA 148-8.

225. H-668 Penny Moore, left, and Lena Denison, right, at the Jim Kennedy cabin on the north shore of Lake Clark in the late 1930s. The children are not known



226. H-2211

but the infant is probably Shirley Denison. Moore was the daughter of Nellie Mae Alexander, the third wife of Charlie Denison, and Lena was the wife of Floyd Denison of Tanalian Point. (Alsworth manuscript letter 1985) The two toddlers are probably the daughters of Jim and Glenda Kennedy and Tom and Mary Moore.
Photo courtesy of Michael Moore.

226. H-2211 A circa 1950s view of Tanalian Point looking to the east. Left to right: the point of land protruding into Lake Clark, a wind charger, two skiffs, the Dutton-Kackley house, woodshed, fire wood pile, generator, sled, Tanalian Mountain and part of Floyd Denison's house. Presently, the point of land called Tanalian Point is much less obvious as a result of storms during high water. Floyd Denison recalled the early days of aviation in an August 14, 1986 letter to Sara Hornberger: "... bush pilots ... stopped at Tanalian Point years ago before there was any landing fields and the lake always froze good. Matt Nieminen flew mail winter 1932- he stopped at Current River, where my wife and I were trapping, and brought the first broadcast radio- I set it up for Dr. Dutton and Joe Kackley at Tanalian Point... Flying Cow Boy [Oscar] Winchell flew... for McGee Airways-he hauled 1000 lbs. flour and sugar from Severseń's Trading Post at Iliamna-45 miles landed on ice in front of Doc and Joe's home for 3½ cents a pound [in 1932]." (Denison manuscript letter: Aug. 1986)
Photo courtesy of Leyla and Glen Alsworth, Jr.



227. H-1290

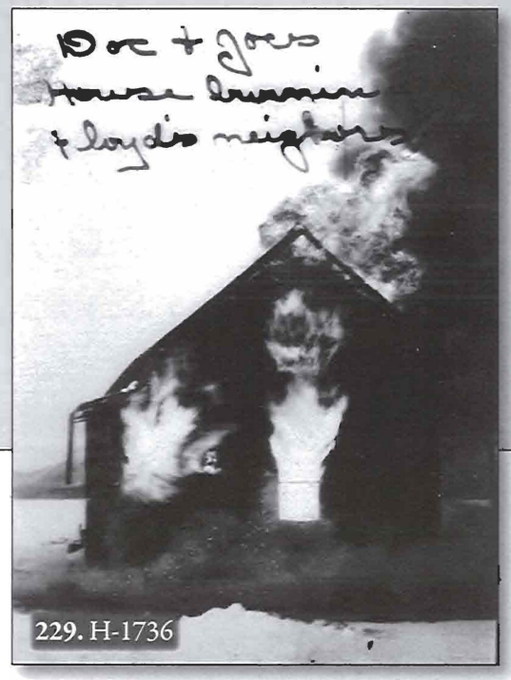


228. H-1719

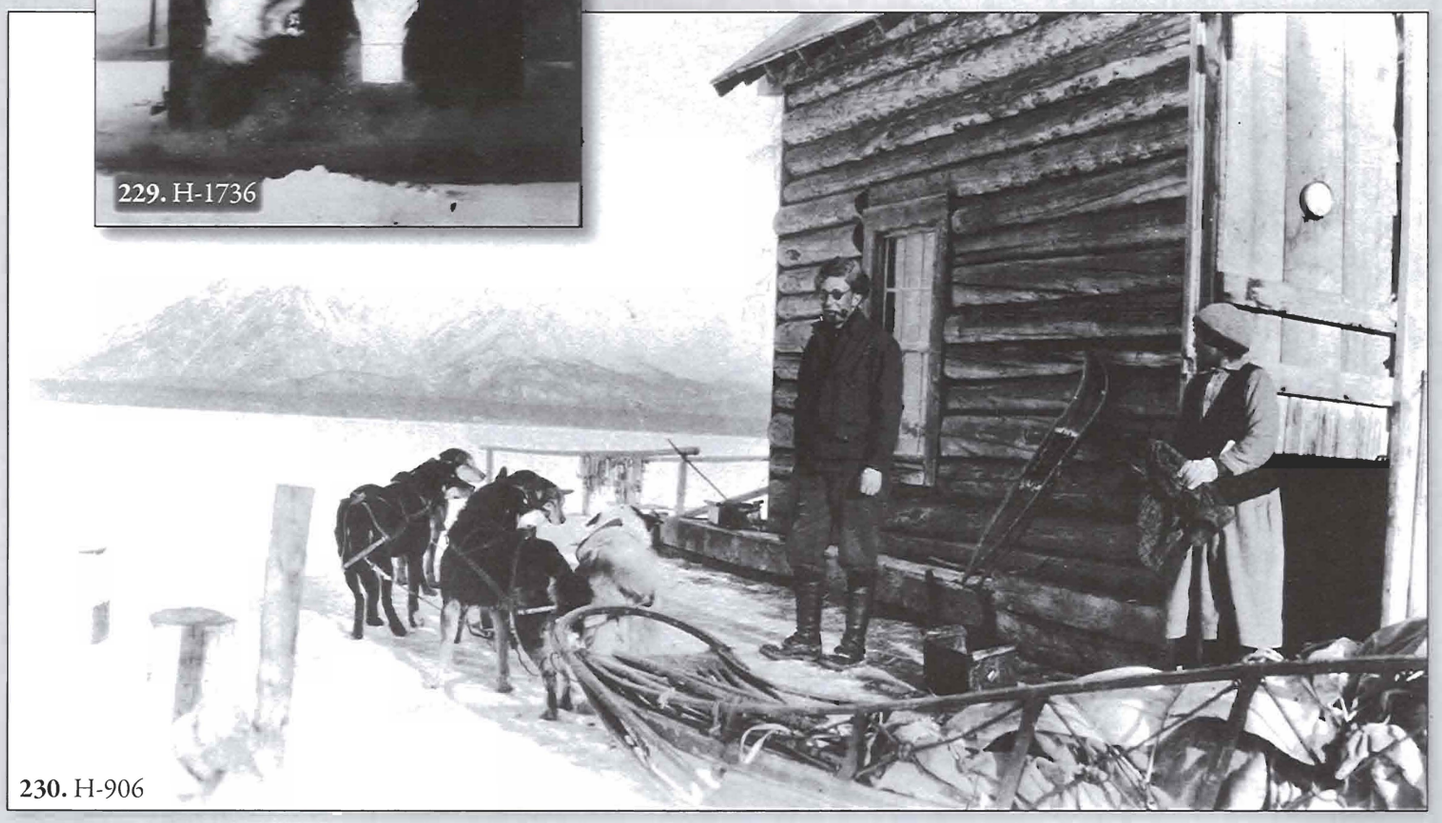
227. H-1290 The Dutton-Kackley garden at Tanalian Point, circa 1935. Doc Dutton is seen on the left in front of the roof of his root cellar. A log cache is in the center. The cache has square notches, and both round spruce logs and vertical whipsawed boards with a framed ridge cap over an elongated ridge pole. The original Dutton-Kackley cabin, dating from about 1911 and probably the oldest standing structure on Lake Clark, is partly visible to the left rear of the cache. Part of a fence to keep out rabbits and porcupines is visible on the right. Dutton and Kackley were known for their excellent vegetables. Doc Dutton described his garden in a March 30, 1924 letter: "The rhubarb is up nearly 1 inch. Will put our potatoes to sprout in a few days. Had a fine garden last year. I wish you could see the potatoes and cabbage- we had 80 heads, 2700 [pounds of] potatoes, turnips and rutabagas..." (Dutton letter: March 1924)
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection

228. H-1719 Left to right: O.M. "Doc" Dutton, his partner Joe Kackley, Glenda Kennedy, Lena Denison and LaVerne Denison on the beach at Tanalian Point about 1936. (Denison interview: Sept. 1984) The windlass on the right was used to pull skiffs up on the beach. Floyd Denison recalled: "In 1932 [Matt Nieminen] brought the first A. M. 3 band radio receiver I had ordered for Joe Kackley and Doc Dutton. My wife and I were trapping at Current River. Nieminen stopped and told us he had the radio ... next day we went down lake to Tanalian Point and hooked antenna and battery and set up for them. When I turned the radio on KFQD was giving news. Old Doc looked at Joe and then said if the darn thing never says another word it's paid for its self already. Big eyes both." (Denison manuscript letter: Aug. 1986)
Photo courtesy of LeVerne Denison Larson.

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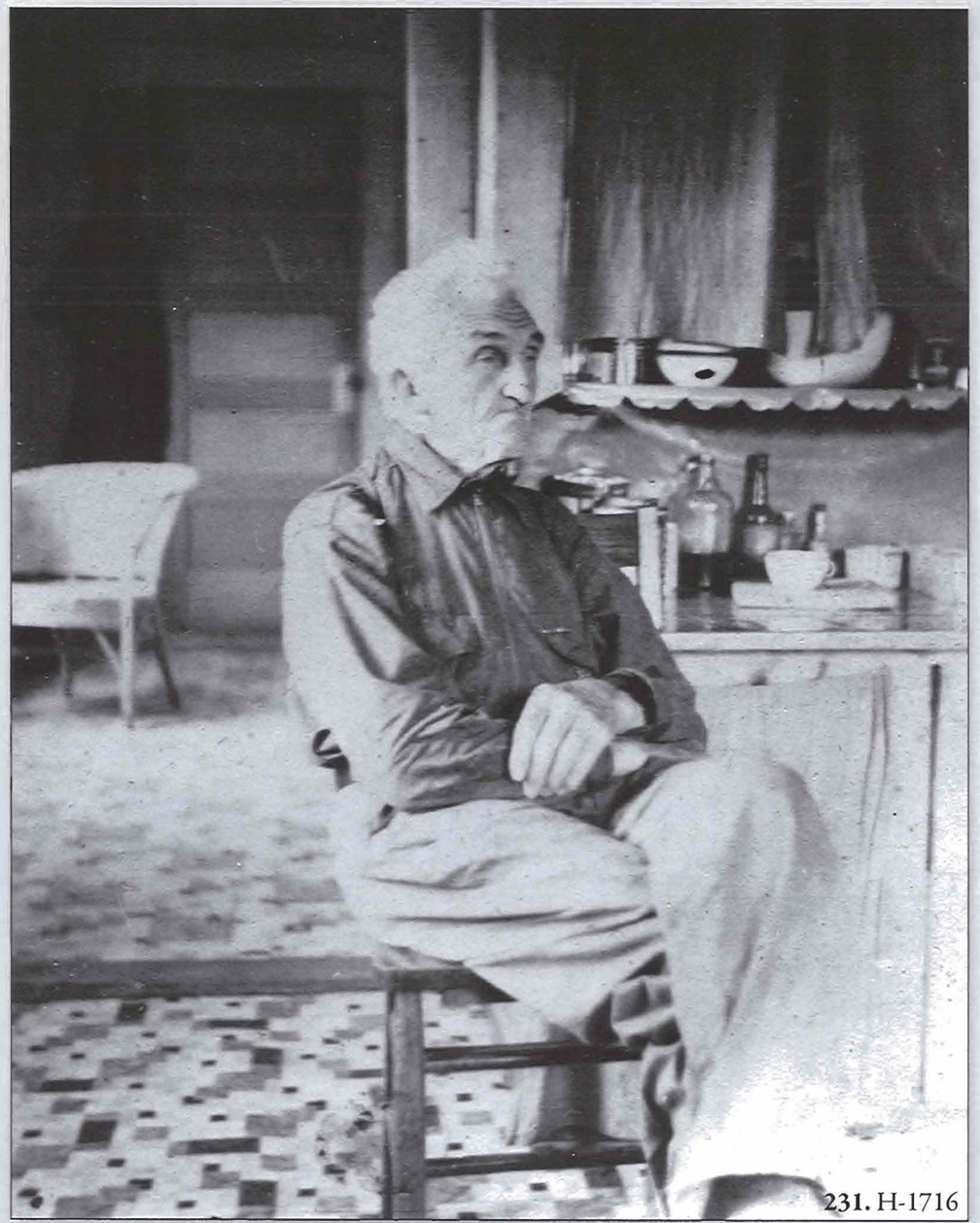
229. H-1736



230. H-906

229. H-1736 A winter house fire was, and remains, a great threat in bush Alaska. Shown here is Doc and Joe's original log house on the shore of Lake Clark at Tanalian Point burning the winter of 1938-1939. Some years later Floyd Denison wrote of the event: "...their [Doc and Joe's] house burned ... my father had [the] first sawmill- so Doc and Joe built a new house with logs sawed on 3 sides they built it exactly like this house that burned- The house burned early A.M. I have a picture- we had to shovel snow on the wood shed to keep [it] from burn [ing]- they had lots of old ammunition it sound [ed]- like 4th of July sometimes. Then I got them a Zenith radio and windmill generator to charge the 6 Volt battery. The windmill was still standing 4 years ago..." (Denison manuscript letter: Aug. 1986)
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.

230. H-906 Mary Ann Trefon (1878-1959) with an unidentified man at the Dutton-Kackley house at Tanalian Point. Mary Ann Trefon was the widow of Trefon Balluta. She had a log house 75 yards to the west of the Dutton-Kackley house, near the mouth of the Tanalian River. Bernie Hadfield, who lived at Tanalian Point in the mid 1940s, recalls Mary Ann: "...She was such a regal looking woman ... she walked ... with dignity ... she had a fish camp just below us where she came up [from Nondalton] and put up her dog fish and smoke fish and there was a whole batch of women camped down there [near the mouth of the Tanalian River] putting up fish." (Hadfield interview: April 1985) The first Dutton-Kackley house and the Trefon Balluta-Mary Ann Trefon house were built about 1911-1912.
Photo courtesy of Dottie and Frank Hill.



231. H-1716

231. H-1716 Joe Kackley (1862-1943) sits in his log house about 1937 at Tanalian Point. In 1924 Doc Dutton wrote Colonel A.J. Macnab: "Beaver was open last year and we had a good harvest. Joe caught 98... We went down to the canneries last summer for our outfit but could not get it until they were through canning so we went to work. I was cook on the gas tug, *Leona K*- $150 per month. Joe talleyed salmon-had fine jobs. Easy work, we made $600 in 2 months." (Dutton letter: March 1924) Like many early twentieth century settlers in the Bristol Bay country, Kackley and his partner, Doc Dutton, worked in the commercial fishing industry and trapped in the winter. As they grew older they concentrated on summer vegetable gardening and subsistence fishing at Tanalian Point and the Chulitna River. Another insight into Doc and Joe was provided by long-time Dillingham resident Dave Carlson, who stopped at Tanalian Point during World War II, on June 2-3, 1942: "Gren Collins came in with the Sikorsky Amphibian ... we got ready ... and took off ... we waited in Iliamna for fog to clear up ... had coffee, and went on to Tanalian Point, where we were met by Floyd Denison and Chris Hanson... Special radio order grounds all planes for the time being. Left Tanalian Point in the P.M. at 3:07... During the morning we got acquainted with Doc and Joe, Mr. Dutton the straight one and his garden and his partner [Kackley], who was working with Mr. Wolfe and firing Charlie Denison's saw mill boiler..." (Carlson Diary 1942)
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.



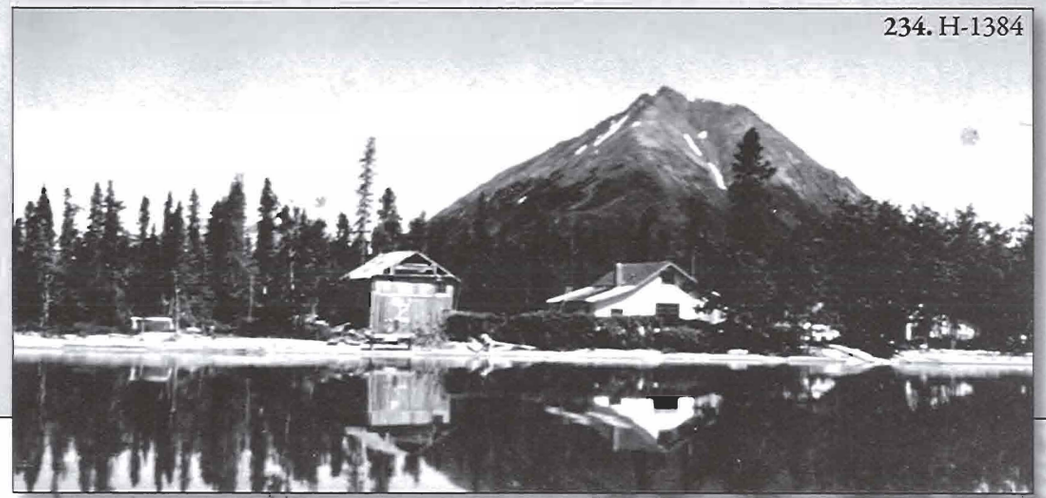
232. H-52



233. H-1644

232. H-52 Floyd Denison (1907-1986) at his home at Tanalian Point on Lake Clark in 1937. (*Anchorage Daily Times* Dec 1986) The cabin was built about 1935. The Dutton-Kackley house was 25 yards to the east of the Denison house. Later, Jim and Glenda Kennedy lived there when the Denisons moved to Anchorage in 1941. Bob and Bernie Hadfield lived in the house from 1946 to 1949. In the summer, Denison fished for salmon down in Bristol Bay, and in the winter he trapped and ran a radio station to report weather to McGee Airlines in Anchorage. (Hoagland 1982) Denison would walk out his door and go to Tanalian Point to estimate whether Lake Clark Pass was open. The radio antennas are visible on the left side of the Denison house. Floyd had a small generator and had the first electric washing machine (a Maytag) on Lake Clark. Denison had two radio call signs: KINV and K7CNW. (Hornberger 1986) *Photo courtesy of the Floyd Denison Collection.*

233. H-1644 Floyd Denison's L-shaped story-and-a-half log home, circa 1950, looking northwest across Lake Clark. The logs were three sided on Charlie Denison's sawmill and then spiked into vertical corner planks. This may have been the preferred method of log construction around Lake Clark in the 1930s. For example, the Jim Kennedy cabin, the Brown Carlson cabin and the Dutton-Kackley house all employed the same corner construction. Prior to that, it is more probable that the original Dutton-Kackley and original Brown Carlson cabin were constructed with modified dovetail corners or simple square notches. Notice the large rhubarb plants growing on the south side of the house. The shed on the right is probably the Dutton and Kackley's woodshed. *Photo courtesy of Margaret E. Jones.*



234. H-1384



235. H-1714

234. H-1384 Charlie (Charley) Denison's (1888-1959) place, circa 1959. Denison moved to Lake Clark in 1932 after the Bristol Bay fishing season. Denison, his son Floyd, and daughter-in-law Lena, spent their first winter on Lake Clark in a log cabin at the mouth of Current Creek, built by Harry Featherstone about 1920. Denison's main house was built with lumber he sawed on his sawmill. Over the years, Denison worked with many people from Nondalton and Lake Clark to saw lumber for shares. The building on the left is probably Denison's smokehouse. Charlie Denison wrote a letter to some friends on Dec. 20th, 1954: "My wife (Helen Beeman Denison) passed away about 11 months ago... I have indeed been a very lonely man since her passing ... had the urge to just take my dog team and head for the wilderness and go and go, to where I don't know... Suppose I did sell, where would I go from here? Surely I would not find anyplace that would suit me as this location does ... Alaska for me. This country has been very, very good to me, and I will not desert her now." (Denison letter: Dec. 1954)
Photo courtesy of Claudine Wright.

235. H-1714 Shirley Denison, left and her sister LaVerne, right, in their parent's vegetable garden at Tanalian Point. The building with shed roof and windows in the background was Floyd Denison's shop, and an outhouse with the door open is on the left rear. All the root crops did exceedingly well at Lake Clark, fertilized by fish waste and sawdust. Gardening was a big part of life at Tanalian Point and helped provide a balanced diet to complement the bountiful local fish and game resources.
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.



236. H-2236



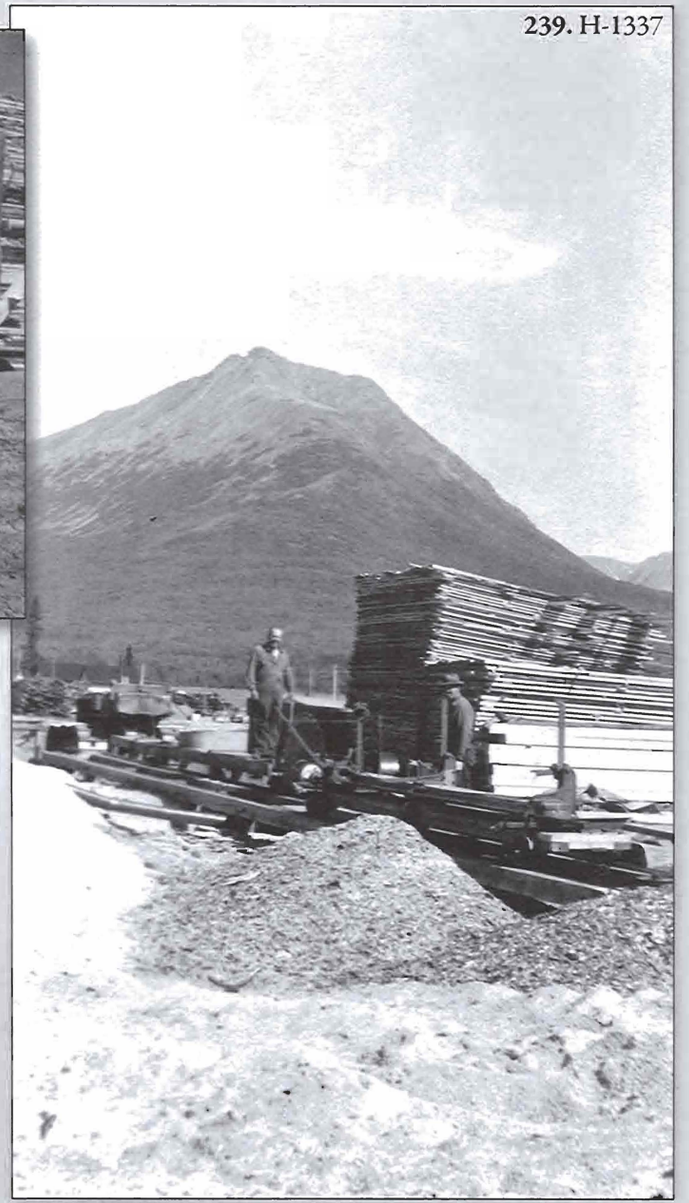
237. H-1733

236. H-2236 A circa 1943-1944 picture of Mary Alsworth and her first born child, Leon, at the Alsworth's first home on the north side of Lake Clark. Chester Whitehead (1903-1985) recalled: "I helped Babe and Mary move to the lake from Packer's Koggiung cannery... [I] stay[ed] at their place while Mary went to Dillingham to have her first child..." (Whitehead letter: Jan. 1985) The cache was probably built by Jim Kennedy, who sold his place to Babe Alsworth in 1942 and moved across the lake to Tanalian Point. There were no notches in this style of log construction that was popular with early twentieth century settlers on Lake Clark, but rather, logs were spiked into vertical corner posts. The style's advantage over dovetail, square or round notch construction was that it required less skill and could be built quicker, but this was offset by the need for spikes, and the design was not as strong as more traditional log notches. The roof of the cache appears to be made from flattened 5-gallon gas cans made into shingles- a style favored by Jim Kennedy, who as a pilot, would have had access to a constant supply of 5-gallon aviation fuel cans.
Photo courtesy of Diane and Gust Griechen, Jr.

237. H-1733 Charlie Denison, center, is sawing lumber on his sawmill on Lake Clark, about one mile from the mouth of Tanalian River in the 1940s. Floyd Denison recalled: "My father's place ... where we had a sawmill, we got a sawmill going about 1936 ... we got it in full operation ... we got the steam engine and we got it by boat up as far as Iliamna and then it took all the dogs in the country to haul that steam engine ... across [the Newhalen Portage to the upper Newhalen River to Sixmile Lake]. We had to make a special trail ... the first ... big school in Nondalton we saw it right there [at Denison's]." (Denison interview: Dec. 1978) The caption on the picture reads: "Mr. Denison's sawmill in the Lake



238. H-2062



239. H-1337

Clark area... Fifty dogs hauled the mill from Iliamna to Lake Clark. The Natives of that area have built their houses from lumber sawed by this mill." The donkey steam engine vents steam as the sawmill operates.
Photo courtesy of LaVerne Denison Larson.

238. H-2062 Sawing lumber from white spruce logs at Babe Alsworth's homestead in 1948. Left to right: Joe Thompson, Lonnie Alsworth, Babe Alsworth, Dr. Elmer Bly, Bee Alsworth and Mike Vandegrift. Raw logs are in the foreground, a log is on the cradle ready to be sawed, a large pile of sawdust is seen in the background and a stack of lumber is on the right. The lumber probably was used in the construction of the Alsworth and the Bly houses. Babe Alsworth flew in pieces of the saw mill in 1945, and mechanic Mike Vandegrift welded it together. (Alsworth manuscript interview: 1985)
Photo courtesy of Margaret Alsworth Clum.

239. H-1337 Mike Vandegrift, left, and Joe Thompson, right, at the Alsworth sawmill, operated by a D-4 Caterpillar. A caption probably written by Vandergrift states: "Part of my lumber for the hangar circa 1946." Vandergrift and Thompson were employed by Babe Alsworth as an aircraft mechanic and builder, respectively. Tanalian Mountain dominates the scene at what would become Port Alsworth in 1950. Bernie Hadfield lived at Tanalian Point from 1946 until 1949 and recalled the beautiful surroundings of the Lake Clark country in an April 10, 1985 interview with Sara Hornberger: "...that mountain [Tanalian] in the fall and all those colors on the side of that peak was fantastic, beautiful... I just loved it there. Stuff grew so good... They [Doc and Joe] had strawberries galore ... and they had lots of rhubarb and stuff... I canned so much rhubarb:



rhubarb jelly, rhubarb and strawberry jelly ... we had ... a good garden down on Tanalian Point... I had a greenhouse up [there]." (Hadfield interview: April 1985)
Photo courtesy of Esther and John Alsworth.

240. H-1356 Mary Alsworth holds a lake trout and a grayling in Hardenburg Bay at Port Alsworth, circa 1948. A steel lifeboat is seen in the middle, between a wooden scow on the left and a skiff on the right. The wooden scow was probably built locally by Mike Vandergrift. (Clum interview: March 2006) The lifeboat is an example of how various components from the Bristol Bay fishery were transferred upriver and adapted for reuse far away from the world of commercial fishing. The boat was likely brought into Lake Clark from Iliamna over the Newhalen Portage road built after World War II. It was powered by a 2 horsepower Redwing gas engine. (Alsworth, Sr. interview: July 2006)
Photo courtesy of Esther and John Alsworth.



241. H-1943



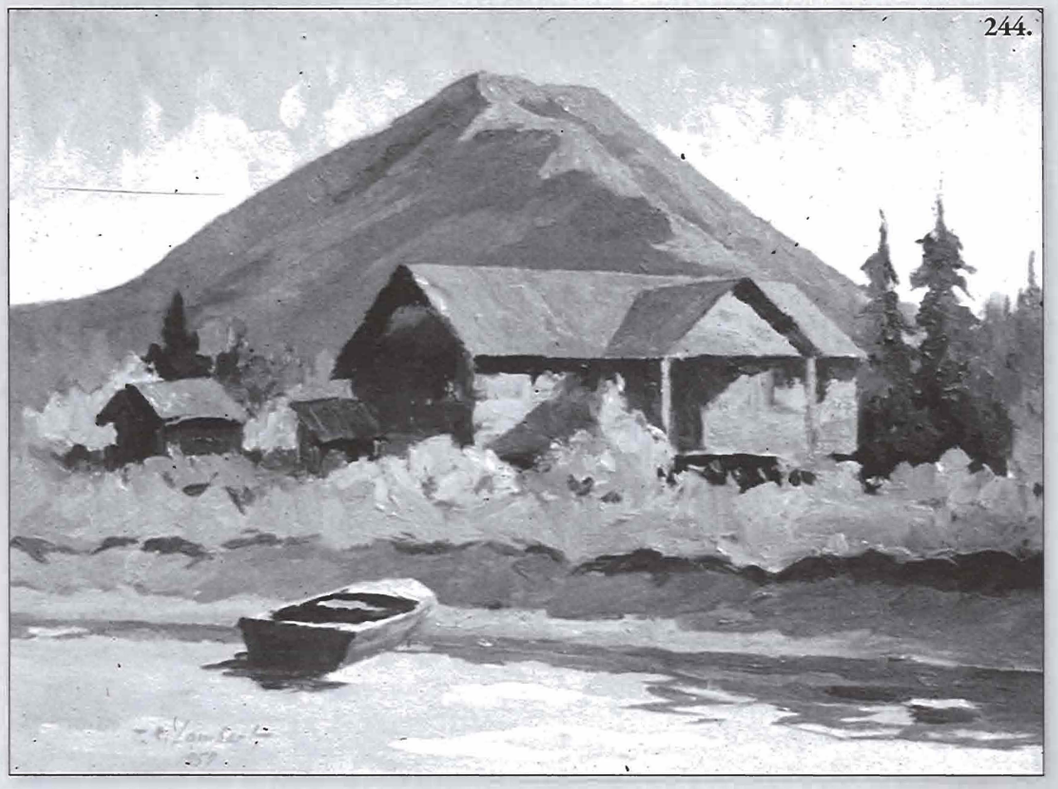
242. H-1341

241. H-1943 Dr. Elmer Bly (1886-1970), an Anchorage dentist, hired Joe Thompson to build the Bly house in the late 1940s on Hardenburg Bay east of the Alsworth homestead. Dr. Bly, because of his woodworking skills, assisted Thompson on the construction. (Woodward interview: June 2006) The white spruce logs were three sided on the Alsworth sawmill. Simple square notches were used on corners. Dr. Bly hoped to establish a dental practice on Lake Clark with Babe Alsworth flying in patients from all over the area, but, the concept never took. Nevertheless, Dr. Bly did practice a limited amount of dentistry here for a few years before selling the place to Al Woodward in 1957.
Photo courtesy of Ann Bly Ringstad.

242. H-1341 The Babe and Mary Alsworth house under construction in 1948-1949 at Port Alsworth. All the lumber, except the plywood sheeting on the roof, was built with locally sawed white spruce. Mike Vandergrift and Joe Thompson were the main builders, as Babe Alsworth was flying commercially for Bristol Bay salmon canneries. From Mary Alsworth's undated manuscript; "It was very hard keeping airplanes where we were living. [north side of Lake Clark], so Babe and Mike started looking for another place. Summer of 1943, they found the ideal place, Hardenburg Bay.... Beautiful protected bay and enough space for a 4,000 foot runway. So Mike surveyed the place [in 1944] and looked this over and then started to clear land. We hired Joe Thompson and he and Mike cleared enough land to build a "shop" near the water's edge. Lumber was brought from Charlie Denison and also [to] build a small place for Babe and I. In the fall of 1944 we moved to where Port Alsworth is today. Cleared some land ... and built ... a short 1500-foot runway. In 1950-51 the first freight plane came with freight." (Alsworth manuscript interview: 1985)
Photo courtesy of Esther and John Alsworth.



243. H-1374



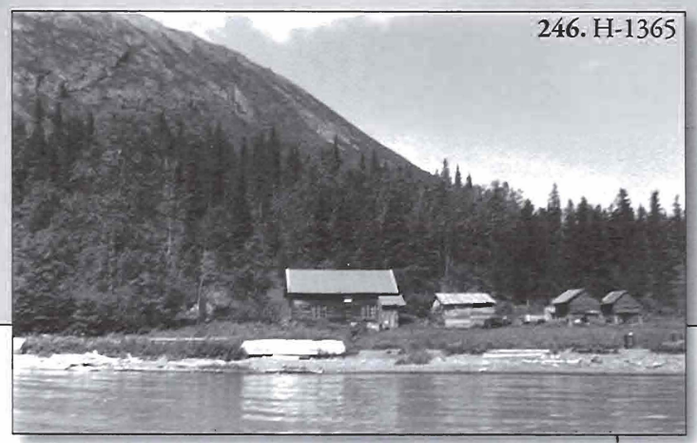
244.

243. H-1374 Tom (1919-1956) and Ida Meyer and Brown Carlson built this cabin in the early 1950s. Ida, who was Carlson's daughter, recounted the summer they built the cabin: "...we built ... the cabin ... one summer ... all of us worked at it. We went out and cut the logs. We used the tractor and [Fred] Bowman had a cart and we load the logs onto the cart and I'd drive them up to Bowmans, he had his sawmill up there, and he cut the logs on three sides and Tom and Dad [Brown Carlson] would stay in the woods getting the logs and I was driving the tractor. In fact, Mrs. Bowman took a picture of me one time when I was up there with a load of logs on." (Crater interview: Aug. 1985)
Jay Hammond told National Park historian, Sara Hornberger, "Tom, Ida and children ... had a tough life, no cash income, and truly subsisted on the game they could get, fish, and what they could grow. Tom was learning to trap from Brown [Carlson] and he caught 13 wolverines in the same set... He also shot a black bear... which was so large ... it must have been a world class ... it was tacked to ... a shed and it squared over 8 feet." (Hammond interview: Nov. 1984)
Photo courtesy of Claudine Wright.

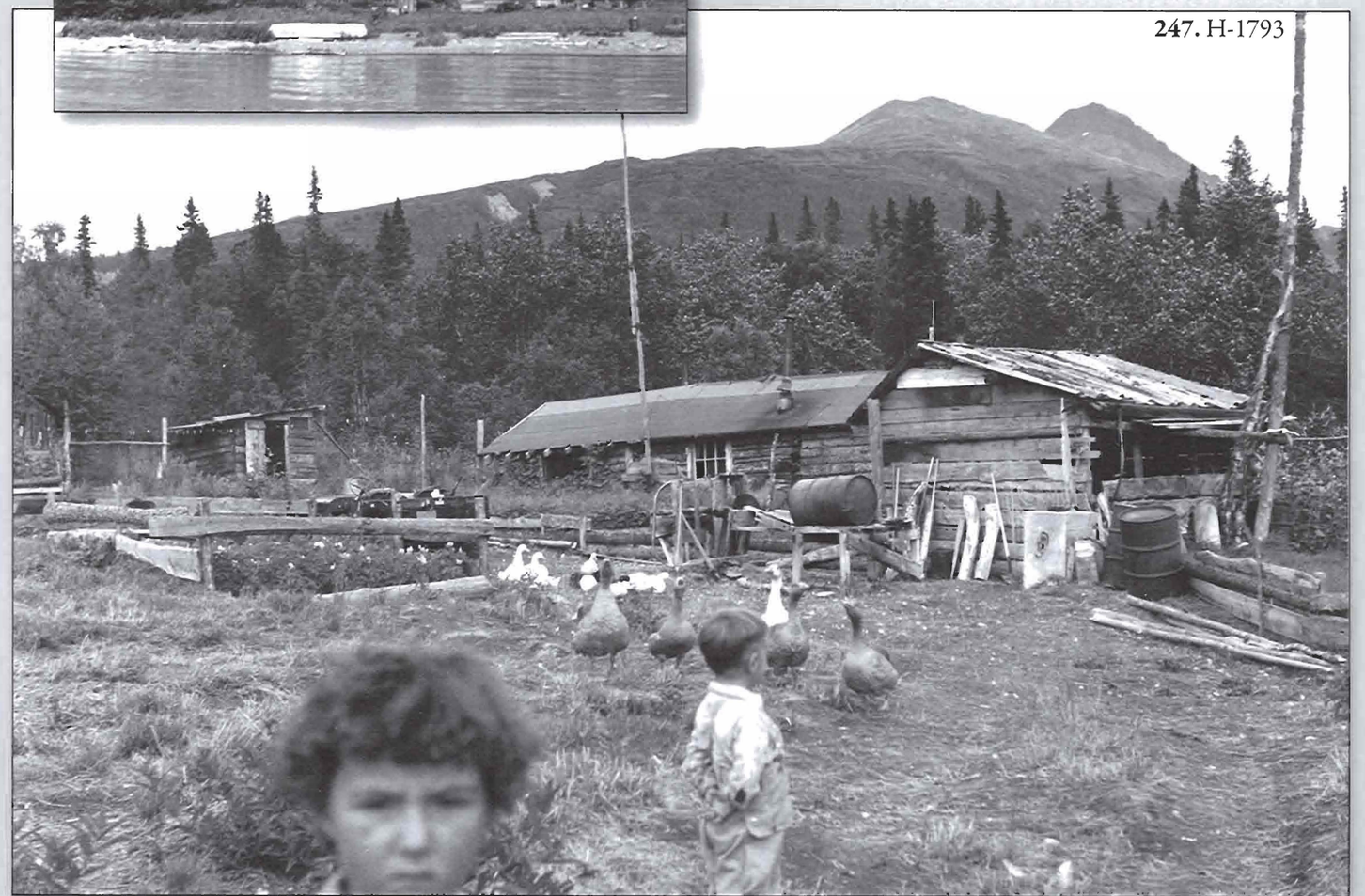
244. A 1959 Ted Lambert oil painting of the Dr. Elmer Bly House on Hardenburg Bay at Port Alsworth with Tanalian Mountain looming in the background. Lambert, a critically acclaimed painter, was a friend of the Alsworth family and lived in a cabin on the Kvichak River near Levelock. In the early 1960s Lambert disappeared from his cabin without a trace. Dr. Bly was an Anchorage based dentist who practiced in Dillingham in the early 1940s. He built his log cabin in the late 1940s. It is now a residence for National Park Service staff and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.
Painting courtesy of Kathleen and Ronald Meggitt.



245. H-1786 Brown Carlson's (1878-1975) cabin in the early 1960s, with his strawberry patch in full bloom. Since the window on the left wall is boarded up, it suggests that Carlson was no longer living at his place. In 1962, Carlson was nearly blind and unable to provide for himself, so friends flew him to Anchorage where he lived the last thirteen years of his life in a nursing home. Howard Bowman was quoted by Sara Hornberger, in a 1985 letter, talking about "Shovel Nose," Brown Carlson, "...Brown's sailing career went literally around the world... then the West Coast of America led to his coming to Bristol Bay and the salmon business... His place was ... you should have seen it... It was probably similar to a farm in Norway... He kept the grass cut. He used a scythe, a hand scythe. And he cut the grass in front of his house so the area was fairly cleanly mowed ... not a lawn, but ... it was clean. There was a smokehouse for putting up the salmon, potato patch, and magnificent strawberry patch. Howard [Bowman] tells how the Foss brothers [Sam and Holly] challenged Brown to set a bear trap without the use of clamps. Brown looked around, picked up the trap which was a mean feat in itself, walked out under a rather low cache and stood up so that his feet were on the spring of the trap, and his back against the low part of the cache, straightened his legs, spread the jaws of the trap, set the trigger under the pan and stepped off, leaving some rather large Foss men standing around open-mouthed ... they had tried it themselves and knew they were incapable of setting that trap without clamps ... yes, Brown was quite a person." (Bowman interview: Nov. 1985)
Photo courtesy of Margaret Alsworth Clum.



246. H-1365



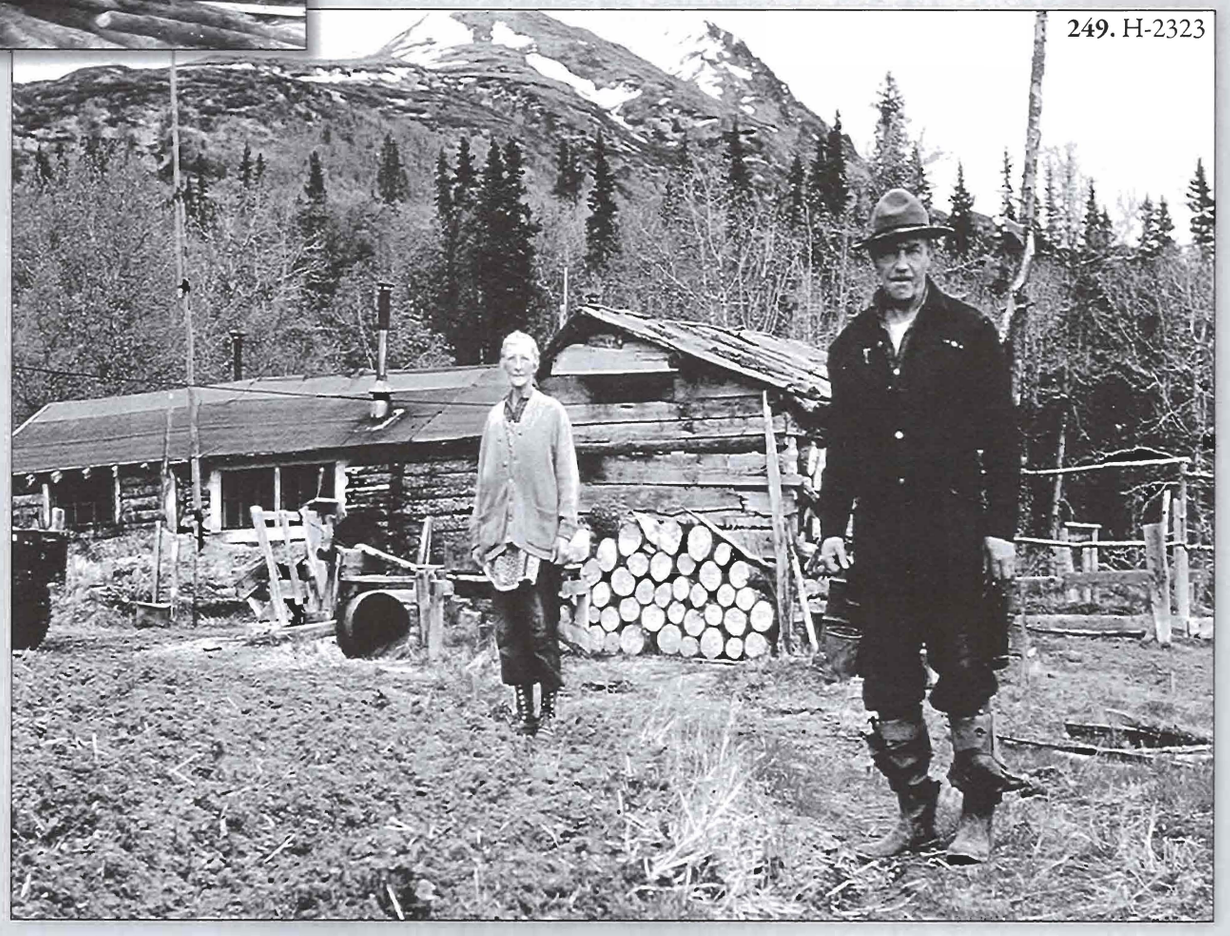
247. H-1793

246. H-1365 A circa 1959-1960 view of Brown Carlson's homestead on Lake Clark, near the abandoned mining camp at Portage Creek. Left to right: Carlson's cabin, woodshed and two log caches. The log house was one-and-a-half stories and about 15 by 30 feet with round logs spiked into vertical corner planks and at mid point on the walls. (Hoagland 1982) Carlson's original house burned in 1939 when he returned home from Seward and forgot he had disconnected his stove pipe, and after lighting a fire in the stove the upper floor caught fire. (Crater interview: Aug. 1985) Brown Carlson was a long time Bristol Bay fisherman, but he retired from fishing after 1932; he is reported to have arrived at Lake Clark sometime between 1902 and 1906. Carlson was born in Norway and arrived in the Bristol Bay in 1901, where he commercial fished. His best year was in 1902, when he caught 50,000 fish and was paid one and a half cents per fish, earning some $750.00. (Edmonson 1962: 1)
Photo courtesy of Claudine Coray Wright.

247. H-1793 A circa 1953 view of Margaret "Sis" Alsworth and her brother, Lonnie, as they watch geese at Bowman's Camp on Portage Creek. On the left are the Bowman's potato patch, a garden tractor, ducks, and geese. The Bowman's cabin is in the center background, and the woodshed is on the right, and an outhouse on the left. The Bowman house was built in four different sections: by Fred Bowman in 1936 and 1955, by his father Harry Bowman in1934-1935, and originally by some unidentified miners in 1914. The 1914 section, although somewhat altered in appearance and location, represents the second oldest standing structure on Lake Clark, second only to the small Dutton-Kackley cabin at Tanalian Point. (Hoagland 1982)
Photo courtesy of Margaret Alsworth Clum.



248. H-331



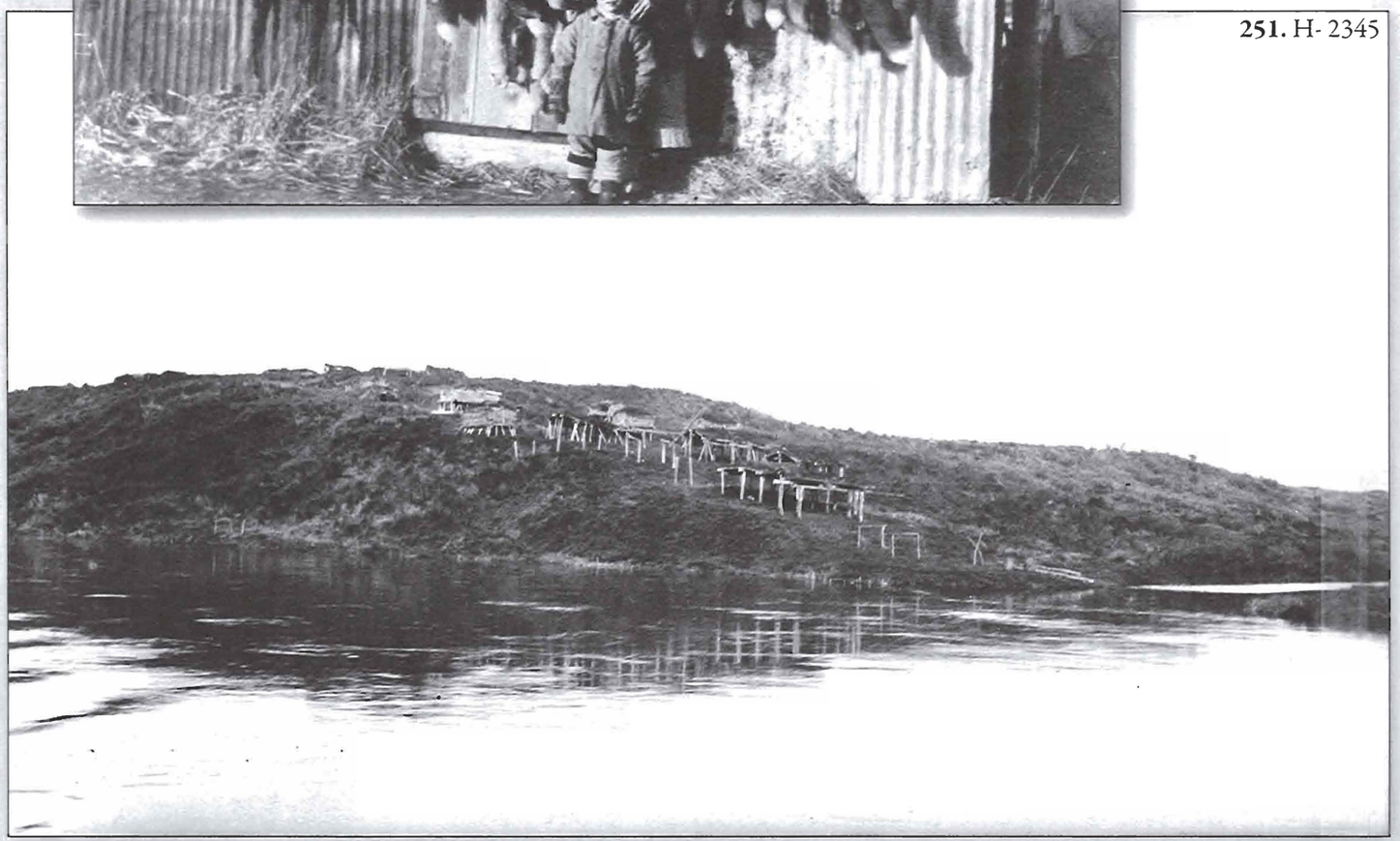
249. H-2323

248. H-331 An unidentified man stands between piles of lumber and white spruce logs at Bowman's camp, about 1936. Fred Bowman brought in a Fordson tractor with iron tires, perhaps a Model F Tractor that was made between 1917 and 1928. (Fordson Tractors website: http://tractordata.co.uk...) The Bowman sawmill was powered by the Fordson tractor. It is believed that the tractor was brought in from Bristol Bay and driven to Portage Creek from Severseń's Roadhouse. It started on gasoline and ran on diesel fuel. The sawmill supplied lumber for the placer mining activities and three sided logs for the Brown Carlson and Tommy Meyer log homes.
Photo courtesy of Howard Bowman.

249. H-2323 A circa 1958-1959 view of Fred Bowman (1890-1959) and Norma Bowman (1885-1978) at their camp at Portage Creek, near Lake Clark. The Bowman's lived at the camp from 1936 until Fred's death in 1959. Historically, in terms of effort, the Bowman camp was one of the most important mining sites on Lake Clark and in the Bristol Bay region. It was second only to the Bonanza Hills operations of Terry and Vickie Gill. The Bowmans used a hydraulic giant to mine the narrow Portage Creek valley. (Saleeby 2000: 261) Fred Bowman, a blacksmith, who worked at Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery in the summer, designed and built a one-man rock-moving rake that consisted of a water-wheel, winch and gin pole. The late Howard Bowman referred to their mine as a "boulder laundry." (Bowman interview: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of James Wood.



250. H-1623



251. H- 2345

The Kvichak and Alagnak Rivers

250. H-1623 A late 1930s view of Sophie Sandvik (?-1980?) with her daughter, Evelyn, (1932-1997) at Igiugig at the outlet of Iliamna Lake, where the Kvichak River begins its run to the Bering Sea. River otter pelts, left, and fox furs are attached to the eave of the shed. In this era, Bristol Bay residents generally made more money in the winter, trapping fox, otter, lynx, wolf, beaver and wolverine, than they did during the summer commercial fishing season. Since Igiugig was within 60 miles of several Bristol Bay canneries, it was relatively easy to obtain corrugated sheet iron for siding and roofing of structures as seen on the cabin in the background. The more remote Lake Clark country required an overland portage from Iliamna Lake.
Photo courtesy of Martha McClain and Janet Monsen.

251. H- 2345 A 1914 view of Kaskanak village, on the upper Kvichak River, with semi-subterranean pit house on the top of the hill and various log caches and platform caches on the slope to the river. The platforms held kayaks and other skin boats away from hungry sled dogs, while the log caches were used to store dry fish and other dry goods. In 1880, Kaskanak had a population of 119 and 66 in 1890. (Orth 1971: 499) The village population steadily declined in the early twentieth century and was devastated by the 1919 flu epidemic.
Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, George A. Parks Collection, ASL-PCA-240-547.



252. H-1283



253. H-1630

252. H-1283 Long time Kvichak River resident Ole Wassenkari wrote on the back of this photograph: "Old Kaskanak cabin...Walt [Wassenkari] lived here 2 years 1939 and 1940." It is not known who built the cabin but it was probably at the confluence of Kaskanak Creek and the Kvichak River. The building materials were probably obtained from one of several canneries down river, probably from Lockanok or Hallersville canneries, near the mouth of the Alagnak River. (Patterson, Sr. interview: March 2006) It is also possible that the lumber came from the Alaska Packer's Diamond J cannery at Koggiung or Diamond X cannery at Coffee Creek, about three miles further downstream. (Olympic interview: June 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

253. H-1630 Ben Courtney's camp on the upper Kvichak River, circa 1940, left to right: woodpile, dog yard, possible shop or steam bath, radio antennae, wind charger for electric lights, framed cabin and outhouse. (Wilson interview: March 2006) It is very likely that all the lumber that comprises the cabin complex was obtained from one or more Kvichak River canneries. Ben Courtney Creek enters the Kvichak River on the north side below Kaskanak Flats. Not much is known about Ben Courtney, like many others attracted to the fishery he was a transient. (Andrew interview: March 2006) He worked in the Bristol Bay fishery and trapped in the winter from his cabin for a few years before moving on. (Patterson interview: March 2006)
Photo courtesy of Janet Monsen and Martha McClain.

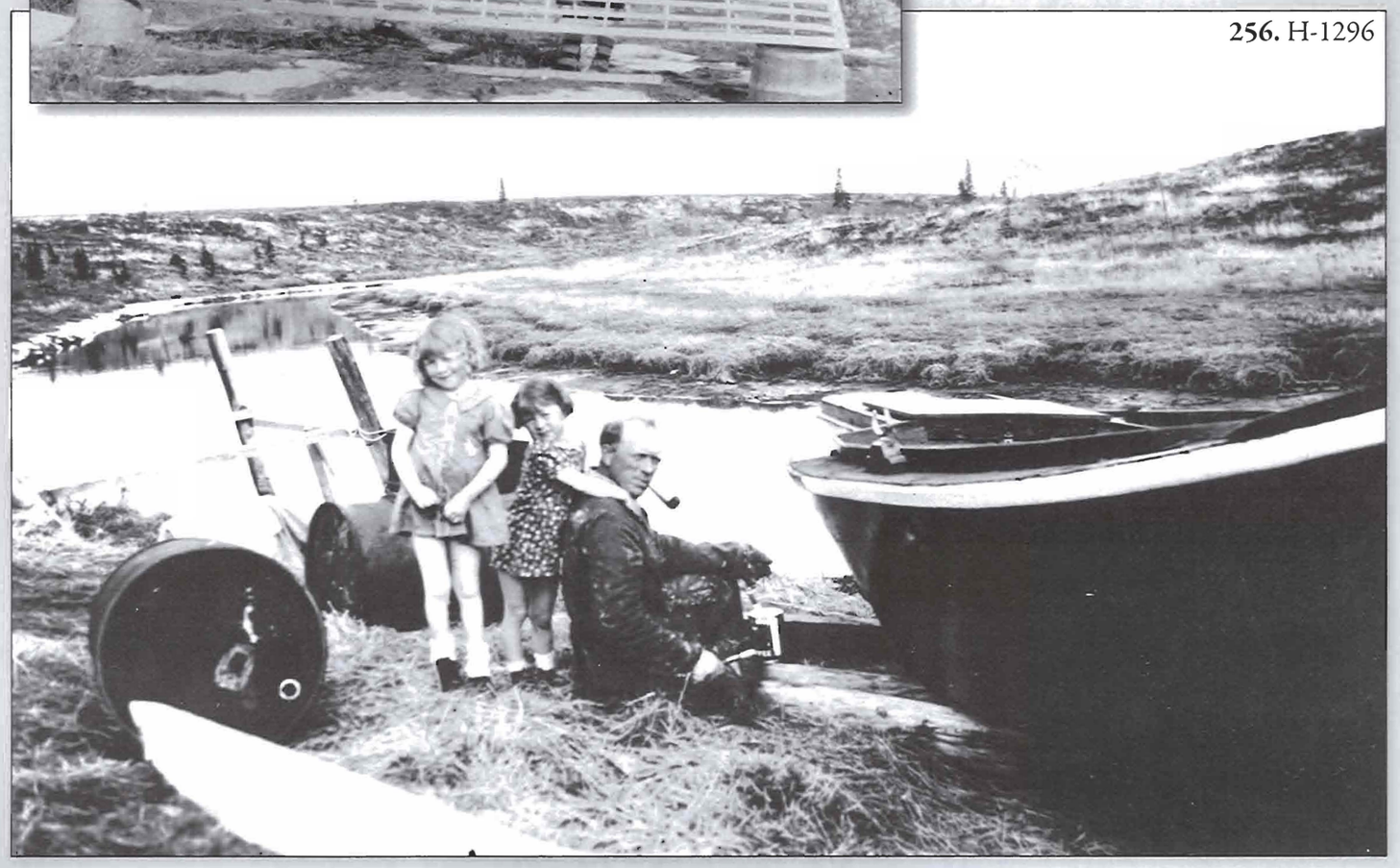


254. H-1304

254. H-1304 Walter Seversen, left, and his brother-in-law, Ole Wassenkari (1899-1984), right, at Ole Creek, about 1935. A caption on the back of the photograph reads "Ole Creek dory." The dory had a one cylinder Cliff gas engine. (Aspelund, Sr. interview: Jan. 2006) Ole was a fine trapper and Bristol Bay fisherman who lived at Ole Creek for about 50 years. He married Mary Seversen in 1934. Ole and his brother, Walter, built a log house for Hans Seversen at the Roadhouse (present-day Iliamna) in 1930. (Clark interview: Nov. 1985)
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.



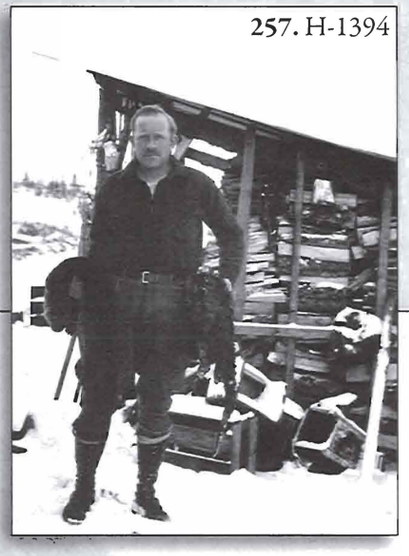
255. H-1327



256. H-1296

255. H-1327 Ole Wassenkari works on the ribs of a homemade canoe he built near his cabin on Ole Creek on the upper Kvichak River. The canoe was probably covered with canvas. Ole was a master of woodcraft skills; he was able to thrive in the Bristol Bay country because he was a good fisherman, hunter and trapper.
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

256. H-1296 Ole Wassenkari takes time out from painting his dory to visit with his daughters Ellen (1936-2001?), left, and Lorraine (1937-1980?), center, at Ole Creek on the upper Kvichak River, in the late 1930s. (Clark interview: Nov. 1985) The dory had a small inboard engine.
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.



257. H-1394



258. H-1287

257. H-1394 Ole Wassenkari holds two river otters in front of his woodshed at his camp on Ole Creek.
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

258. H-1287 Ole Wassenkari's 1930 catch of fur in the upper Kvichak River country, including a large brown bear hide. The cabin is covered with corrugated iron sheeting that certainly originated from canneries at the mouth of the Kvichak River. Wassenkari was known throughout the bay as a superb trapper and fisherman who had lived in the Nushagak-Mulchatna country in the 1920s before moving to the Kvichak-Iliamna-Lake Clark country about 1930.
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.



259. H-391



260. H-421

259. H-391 Two men on the Branch (Alagnak) River in the late 1930s heat rocks on an open fire to carry into the log steam bath on the left. A piece of canvas is pulled above the door, and when down, contained the heat. The steam bath has long been a vital part of Bristol Bay culture. The Dena'ina Athabascans call them *nli* (pronounced enlay) and Yup'ik people refer to the steam bath as *maqi* (pronounced ma-kay). (Ravenmoon interview: Aug. 2006) Some suggest Bristol Bay Natives adopted steam baths from contact with Russian fur hunters, but archeological field work suggests that Natives used attached steam bath rooms on their semi-subterranean houses at least as early as 1450 AD. Noted archeologist Don Dumond, of the University of Oregon, states that fire cracked rock rubble begins to show up in rooms in the Bristol Bay country by 1000-1100 AD, and it is possible that the practice of steam bath bathing was adopted from contact with Siberian Natives. (Dumond interview: Sept. 2006; Tobey interview: Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of Alex Tallekpalek.

260. H-421 Bertha Knutsen (Woods), right, with an unidentified girl, probably at a log house on the Branch (Alagnak River) in the late 1930s. (Monsen, Sr. interview: March 2006) Each girl is holding a ground (parka) squirrel while squirrel skins are strung above. A makeshift stove, made from two five gallon Pearl-oil cans, sits on bricks that rest on a piece of corrugated sheet iron. The door and most of the cultural items in the photograph, with the exception of the logs, came from Kvichak River canneries.
Photo courtesy of Alex Tallekpalek.



261. H-1893



262. H-1892



263. H-1896

261. H-1893 Elbert "Sarge" Sargent looks inside Clarence "Shorty" Wilson's cache in 1947, at the forks of the Branch and Nonvianuk Rivers. The cache was made of peeled and hewn spruce logs, but the composition of the roof cannot be determined, it might have been canvas. The cache was used to store dry goods in conjunction with Wilson's trapping efforts on the upper Branch River.
Photo courtesy of Joane Sargent-Wolverton.

262. H-1892 Floyd Henry holds a set of moose horns at "Shorty" Wilson's log trapping cabin at the forks of the Branch and Nonvianuk Rivers in 1947, a year after the cabin was built. The logs are unpeeled white spruce with round notches and there is a sod-dirt roof. A stove pipe extends above the roof.
Photo courtesy of Joanne Sargent-Wolverton.

263. H-1896 Elbert E. Sargent stands on the roof of a cache on the Branch River in 1947. The cache could have been built by Branch River Natives or "Shorty" Wilson but it appears to have seen better days as there was no door, and the sod roof is in disarray. (Wilson, Sr. interview: March 2006) The Branch River is seen in the left background.
Photo courtesy of Joanne Sargent-Wolverton.



264. H-598

265. H-1523

264. H-598 Two Bristol Bay sailboats are used to haul freight up the Kvichak River to Iliamna. The boats appear to have been towed by a gas boat, not in view, which may have been Hans Severson's *Tern*. This is another example of local people re-using the material culture accouterments of Bristol Bay commercial fishing industry for purposes separate and away from the commercial fishing industry.
Photo courtesy of Helena Severson Moses.

265. H-1523 A circa 1917 view of the Yup'ik village of Koggiung and its juxtaposition with the Diamond J cannery on the lower Kvichak River. There are three skin boats on the left and center. The second from left is a two-hatch baidarka, and the one in the center foreground is a single hatch kayak. Wooden barrels and drying red salmon backbones are seen from left to right on low racks in the foreground. The log fish cache in the center right appears to have been patched with small pieces of hewn wood. The cache roof is made of pieces of lumber from wooden boxes that held two 5-gallon tin gas cans. Flattened gas cans cover portions of the ridge pole near the gable ends. Cannery buildings are seen on the left background and the water tower tanks are visible in the center background, as is a set of moose horns and wireless antennae.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4190.



266. H-2143 Trapper-prospector John Idavain (Idavan) at his cabin on a small lake southwest of Nonvianuk Lake, circa 1951-1953. Idavain was a Bristol Bay Packers cannery man, the beach gang boss at the Pedersen Point cannery and winter man at Nakeen cannery in the 1930s and 1940s. (Monsen interview: July 2002) Idavain was born in Estonia and immigrated to the United Sates in the early twentieth century. He was a ship captain, sailing from San Francisco to Asian ports, before moving to the Bristol Bay area about 1930. He had two other cabins, one on Idavain Lake, just northwest of Naknek Lake and one on upper King Salmon Creek. About 1950, Idavian built a 20-foot long skiff made of whipsawed cottonwood planks and rode it down the creek on the spring freshet, traveling to the Frank B. Peterson cannery in Naknek where he abandoned the skiff. (Monsen, Sr. interview: July 2002)
Photo courtesy of Oscar Monsen.



267. H-1448



268. H-2332

267. H-1448 Cutting red salmon in the fall at Kittiwick (Kidawik), circa 1948, at the mouth of Brooks River near where it debouches into Naknek Lake. Left to right are Steve Kie, Mike Shapsnikoff, Trefon Angasan, Sr. and Johnny Monsen. Spawned out red salmon was a special treat for local people of Bristol Bay. Freeze dried in the cold fall air; the light colored flesh had a much more subtle taste than fresh salmon. It was also drier than fresh fish and was often eaten with seal oil or even buttered like a roll. Local elders say they rarely saw brown bear at this site that is now called Brooks Camp. Today it is a popular bear viewing site in Katmai National Park and Preserve. (Monsen, Sr. interview and letter: July 2002 and Sept. 2006)
Photo courtesy of Melvin Monsen, Sr.

268. H-2332 Four caches at Old Savonoski, photographed by a 1918 National Geographic Society expedition, six years after the Katmai eruption. The caches are still dusted by volcanic ash and are dilapidated. They were made of hewn white spruce logs with spruce bark and grass roofing. The logs are fitted with simple square notches. The cache in the foreground has six legs and the legs are notched to fit the cache sill logs.
Photo courtesy of the University of Alaska Anchorage, Archives and Special Collections, National Geographic Society Collection, Box 4, 4126.



269. H-1633



270. H-1447

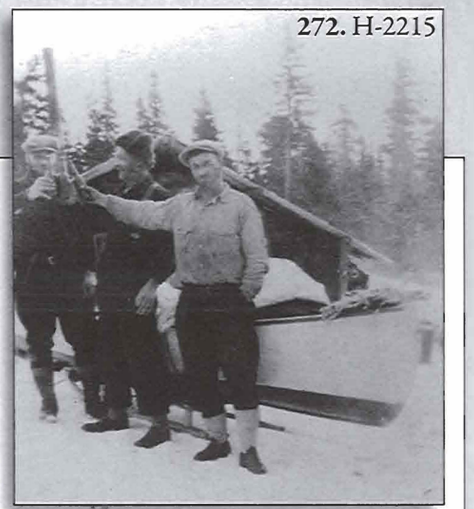


271. H-1461

269. H-1633 Johnny Monsen (1904-1955) looks at his trapping cabin on Naknek Lake in 1949. It is on a large bay in the southwest end of the lake now called "Johnny's Lake." Left to right, in the background: fish drying racks, outhouse (tin shed), log cache, steambath, log cabin, radio antenna and dog houses. The steel dory, a lifeboat from a large vessel involved in the Bristol Bay commercial fishery, lies between the cabin and the woodpile. The cabin is roofed with tar paper and sod. (Monsen, Sr. interview: July 2006)
Photo courtesy of Janet Monsen and Martha Monsen McClain.

270. H-1447 Grunnar Berggren (1898-1981) skins a beaver at his cabin in the late 1940s, near Naknek Lake. Berggren was an archetype non-Native Bristol Bay resident in the early twentieth century. He was born in Norway and attracted to the Bristol Bay in 1936 for commercial fishing. (Clemens and Norris 1999: 134) He married a local woman, Dorothy Monsen, and adopted the local life style of fishing in the summer and trapping in the winter. Eventually, Berggren became winter watchman at Nornek cannery at the mouth of the Naknek River. (Berggren interview: 1973-1974)
Photo courtesy of Melvin Monsen, Sr.

271. H-1461 Stephan "Googie" Pututuk (?-1950?), left, and Johnny Monsen, right, help a dog team pull their dory on a sled across Naknek Lake in 1946 to the outlet of the Naknek River. The dory was powered by a small outboard engine. The men had just concluded the spring beaver trapping season and were heading to Naknek for the opening of the canneries in preparation for the start of commercial fishing in late June. Pututuk was a Native of Naknek and drowned in a skiff accident on Smelt



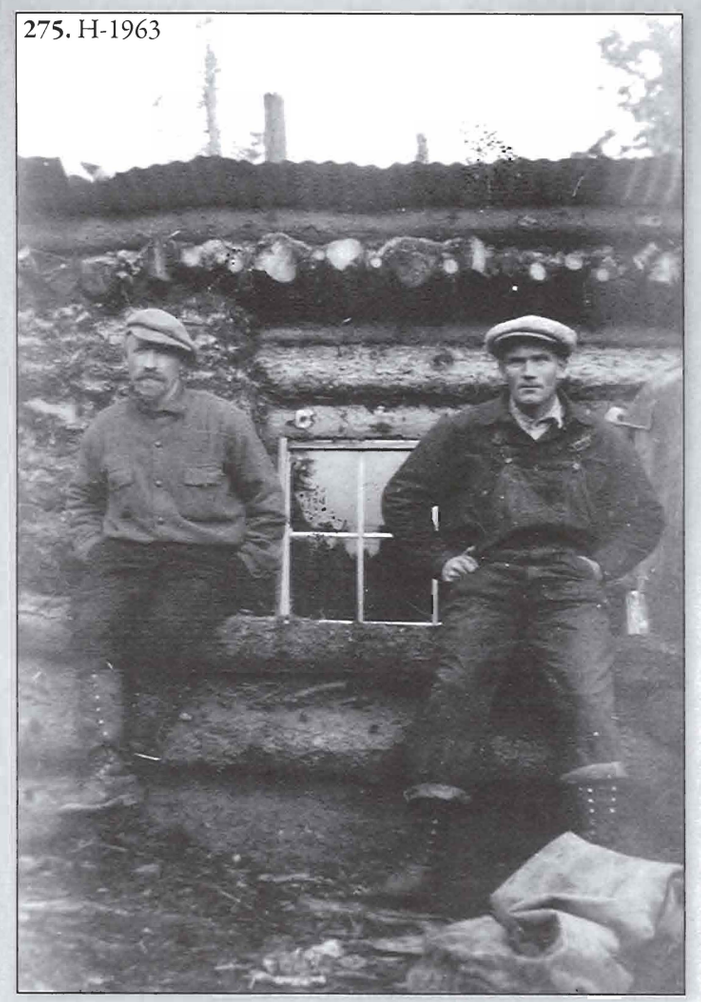
272. H-2215

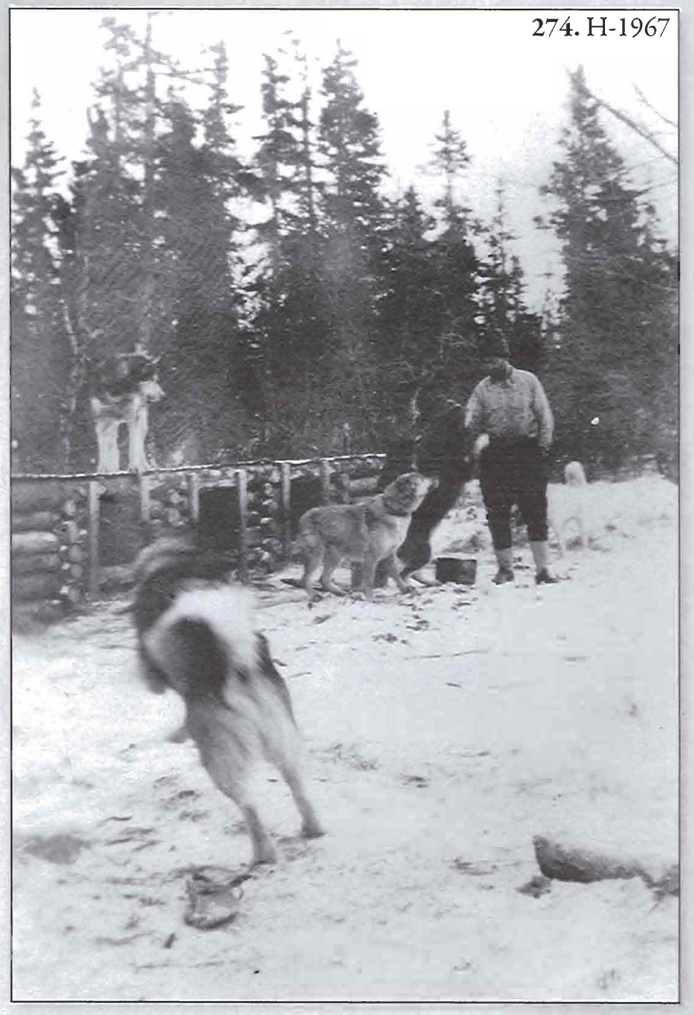
273. H-1968

Creek, a tributary of the Naknek River. (Monsen, Sr. interview: Aug. 2006)
Photo H-1461 courtesy of Melvin Monsen, Sr.

272. H-2215 Three Bristol Bay fishermen-trappers, perhaps toasting the repeal of Prohibition in 1933, at the Osberg-Lundgren cabin near Brooks Lake in Katmai National Monument, Left to right: Sig Lundgren, Axel Erling and John Inbeison (Ingebrigsten?). (Johnson, Sr. letter: Dec. 2005) Note the canoe on the dog sled for crossing open water during the winter in the Bristol Bay country.
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.

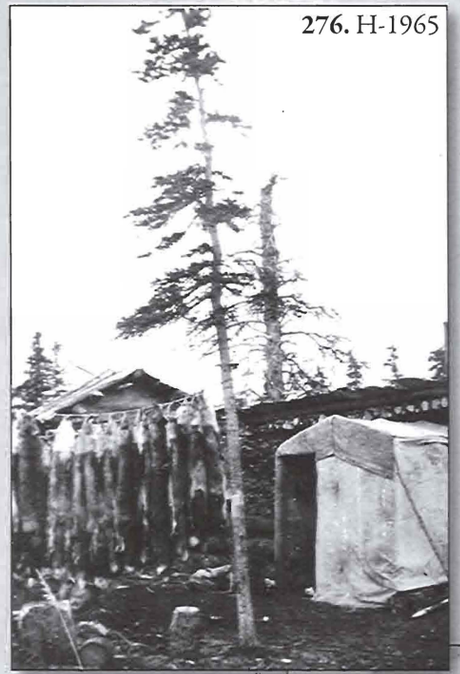
273. H-1968 This is probably Sig Lundgren's cabin where Headwaters Creek enters Brooks Lake in Katmai National Monument, circa 1930. The cabin was 14x15 and built in 1930 by Ronald Osberg. After he died, in 1934, it was used by Axel Erling (Orling?) (1895-?) and Sig Lundgren. (Lundgren, Sr. interview: 1969-1992) In the early 1970s John Lundgren told the writer that Sig Lundgren's cabin was built of cottonwood logs and that it had fallen in the creek, a victim of erosion. (Clemens and Norris 1999: 130-132)
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.



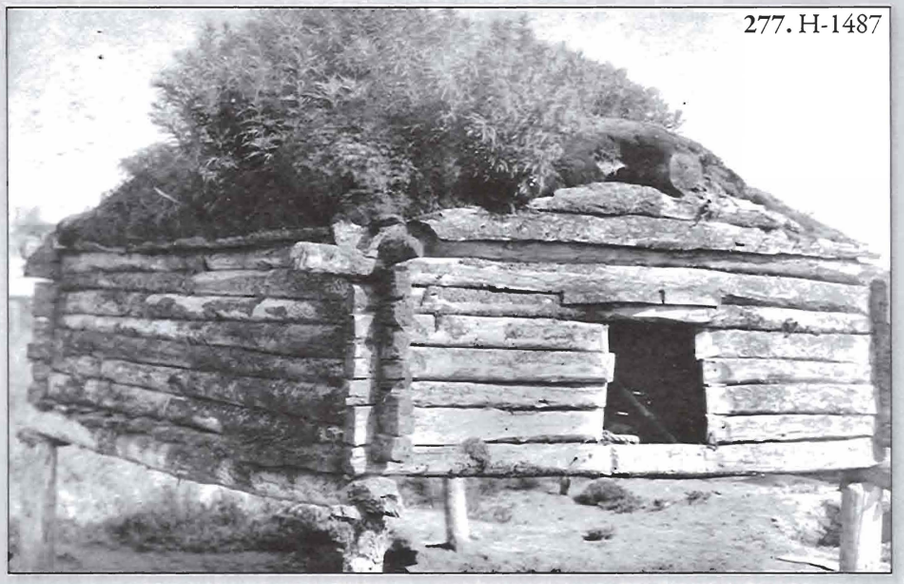


274. H-1967 John Inbeison in a dog yard at the Osberg-Lundgren cabin at the mouth of Headwaters Creek, on Brooks Lake in Katmai National Monument. Sled dogs were essential to winter travel in the Bristol Bay country in the early twentieth century and much of the region was more accessible by dog team in the winter than by boat in the summer.
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.

275. H-1963 Axel Erling, left, and Gust Jonsson, right, at the Osberg-Lundgren cabin, circa 1934. Both Erling and Jonsson fished at Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery in the 1930s and trapped in the Katmai country. The cabin had a shed roof with corrugated sheet iron roofing. Cabins that were directly connected by a water route to Bristol Bay canneries often used iron roofing. Those cabins without a direct water connection to tidewater generally did not have sheet iron roofing, but rather were covered with boards, canvas, dried grass, sod or dirt. But this image shows an exception, the iron roofing was probably hauled by boat up the Naknek River and across Naknek Lake and then moved to Headwaters Creek on Brooks Lake by dog team.
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.



276. H-1965



277. H-1487



278. H-2432

276. H-1965 Part of the Osberg-Lundgren complex at the mouth of Headwaters Creek in Katmai National Monument, circa 1933-1939. A canvas-covered windbreak leads into a shed roofed-cabin; another cabin's gable end is visible beyond the string of fox furs.
Photo courtesy of Sigga Lundgren Nichols.

277. H-1487 A spruce log cache built with square notches at South Naknek or Naknek circa 1914-1916. A lush growth of fireweed dominates the sod roof. The chinking appears to be a combination of mud daubed on moss, and the bark is peeling from the wall logs. The cache appears to have seen better days, and without a door, stored fish would likely fall prey to ravens.
Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, C.W. Brown Collection, P78-068a.4n.

278. H-2432 Axel Erling with his winter catch of red fox, ermine, mink, lynx, weasel, river otter and beaver at a cannery in Naknek in the late 1920s. Erling trapped at Headwaters Creek at the western end of Brooks Lake in Katmai National Monument. He had a cabin at the mouth of Eskimo Creek on the Naknek River, present-day King Salmon, and was reported to have recommended to the Army Air Corps that they establish their air field at what is now the King Salmon air field. (Lundgren, Sr. interview: 1969-1992) Erling fished at Libby's Graveyard Koggiung cannery in 1937.
Photo courtesy of Martin Johnson, Sr.



279. H-535



280. H-888



281. H-1082

The Nushagak-Mulchatna Country

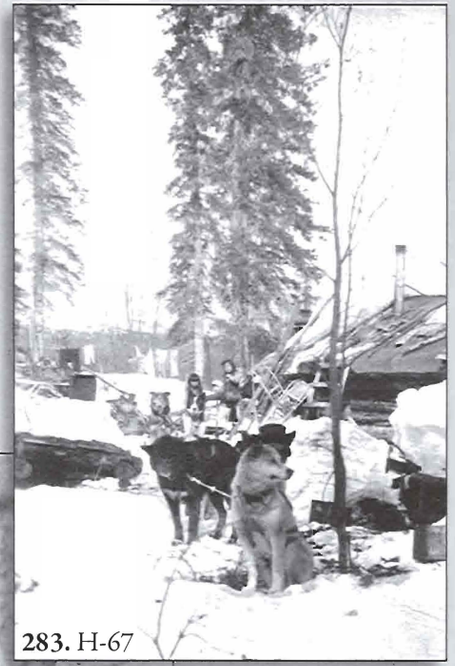
279. H-535 Martin "Poykin" Johnson, Sr., was born in Naknek in 1922 and came to the Lake Clark country in 1935 with Billy Hill. Ultimately, he mushed dogs all the way to Lime Village with Hill, and prospected and trapped in the Chilchitna country between 1935 and 1939. The cabin was about 16x18 feet, and built by Billy Hill, Charlie Denison and Wasili Trefon. The trapping cabin wall logs were partially peeled and the logs were chinked with moss. Poykin fished for 50 years in Naknek-Kvichak district, including several years at Libby's Koggiung cannery at Graveyard Point.
Photo courtesy of the Sophie Austin Collection.

280. H-888 An old cabin near the Chilchitna River slowly decomposing. The most vulnerable part of a trapping cabin was the roof. Once rain and melting snow breached a cabin roof it was generally fated for a quick return to nature. Another Achilles' heel of cabins were the sill logs. The bottom round of logs, generally lying on the earth, could endure about 25 years before rot compromised their integrity. (Alsworth interview: 1974-1992) Other natural threats to cabins are mice, squirrels, porcupines, wolverines, bears and careless human beings with fire. A raised cache is seen in the left background. It would have been covered by a canvas wall tent.
Photo courtesy of Dottie and Frank Hill.

281. H-1082 A dugout of logs, dirt and brush built by trapper Les Wernberg in the upper Chilikadrotna River country, circa 1937-1939, provided shelter when he was too far from his base camp near lower Twin Lakes to return in one day. (Wernberg interview: Sept. 1992)



282. H-1740



283. H-67



284. H-467

No stove pipe is visible, but Wernberg probably heated the small enclosure with a lightweight Yukon camp stove. The pipe would not be visible because it would only be in place during use. (*Anchorage Daily Times* Dec. 1978)
Photo courtesy of Allen Wernberg.

282. H-1740 Richard "Dick" Proenneke (1916-2003) stands by the door of Spike Carrithers' cabin at upper Twin Lakes, circa 1967. Carrithers, a friend of Proenneke's from Kodiak, built the cabin about 1961 and invited the latter to visit in 1962. Proenneke lived in Spike's cabin in 1967 and 1968, while he was building his own cabin nearby. Carrithers' cabin was built of peeled white spruce logs with round notches and is chinked with oakum.
Photo courtesy of Hope Carrithers.

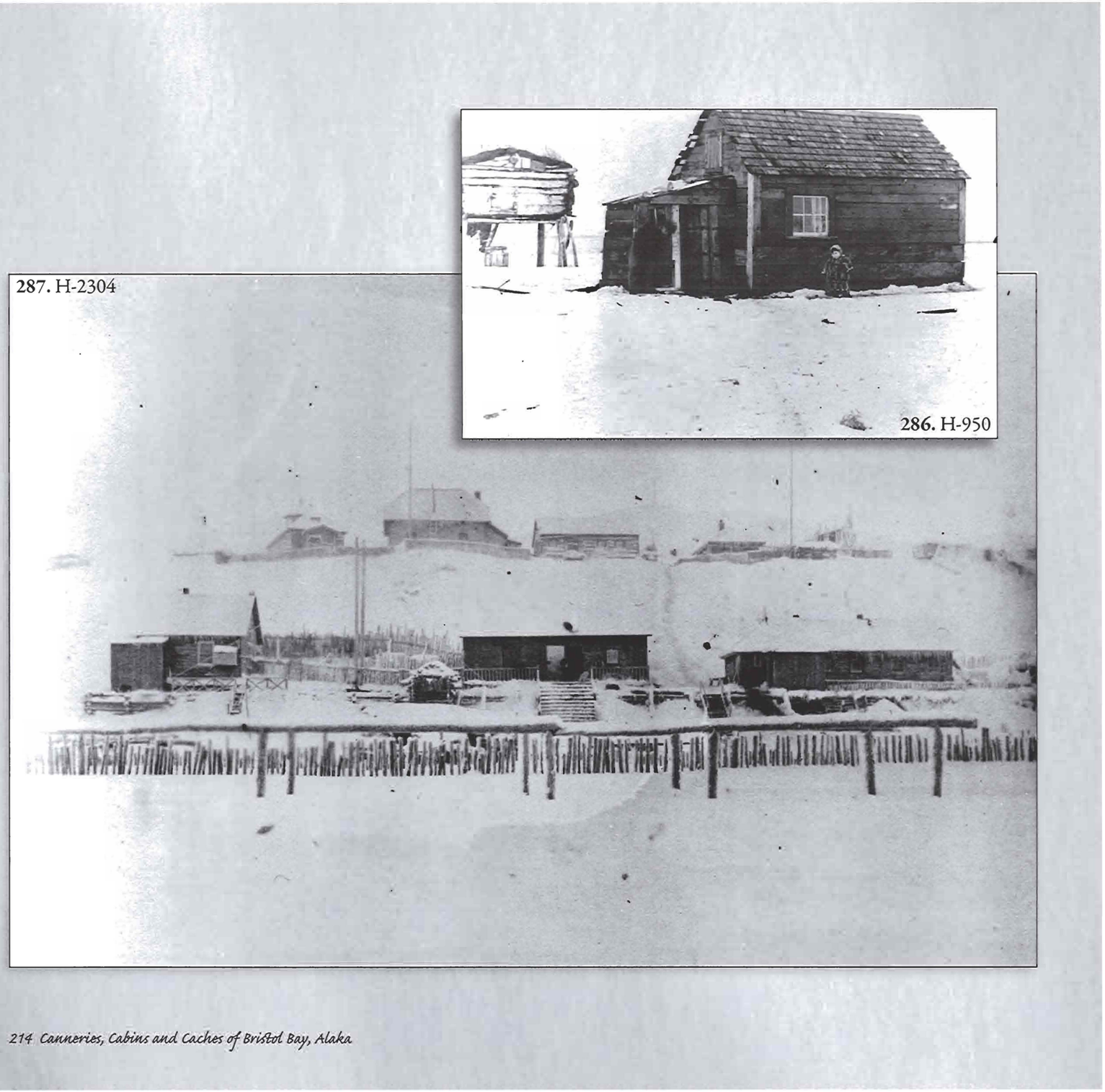
283. H-67 Linda Cusma, left, and Hilda Cusma, right, at their father Paul Cusma's trapping cabin near the confluence of the Mulchatna and Chilchitna Rivers. The roof was made of split or hewed logs and covered with tar paper. The cabin was built by Ken Armstrong in 1936-1937.
Photo courtesy of Agnes Cusma.

284. H-467 A mid-1930s view of Pete Trefon, right, and Chester Burk, left, at a spring beaver trapping camp in the Lake Clark country. Not much is known about Burk, but Teresa Millett lists him as coming from Cordova and passing through Millett's Point on August 24, 1937. (Millet n.d.) Burk had a cabin near Millett's Point on Iliamna Lake, and in 1937 he fished at Libby's Graveyard cannery. Trefon, born and raised at Tanalian Point, was a superb woodsman and was a master of living off the land. He fished for Diamond J at Koggiung and later at



Diamond NN cannery in South Naknek. (Johnson, Sr. interview: March 2006)
Photo courtesy of the Victor and Anne Seversen Monsen Collection

285. H-2456 The Proenneke cache, seen from below, in this 1988 photograph, was built on legs nine feet above the ground. Proenneke built the cache on the beach, and after numbering the logs he disassembled it, carried each piece up a ladder and erected it on the legs. The cache is four feet wide by six feet long, and was used to store extra clothes and food such as flour, sugar and candy bars. It was a challenge to cover the cache roof with moss, but Dick's agility and athleticism enabled him to accomplish the task from the top rung of the ladder. (Proenneke interview: June 2006)
Photo courtesy of Margaret Alsworth Clum and Randy Lutes.



286. H-950 This is the same cache as seen in photograph H-1519 on Nushagak Bay. This photograph was taken by Dr. Henry O. Schaleben, circa 1909-1913. Dr. Schaleben was stationed at Koggiung, on the Kvichak River, but did make visits to Nushagak Bay to survey the reindeer herds and treat the sick for the Bureau of Education. The man and child are unidentified. The cabin is made from lumber and has a wooden shingled roof. The hewn log cache has a sod roof.
Photo courtesy of Ray Schaleben.

287. H-2304 A circa 1885 wintertime view of Nushagak village. The caption on the reverse of the image states: "Nushagak Winter Time. Photographed by J.W. Clark." Clark's house is on the lower right, and his Alaska Commercial Company store is in the center. The Nushagak Russian Orthodox Church is on the upper left. Nushagak was the most important Bristol Bay area village during the nineteenth century, but was eclipsed by Dillingham (Snag Point) in the early twentieth century.
Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Nicholson Butkovich.



288. H-1520

289. H-1518

288. H-1520 A well built, hand hewn, timber cache with modified dovetail corners, built of white spruce, circa 1910, located at either Nushagak or Kanakanak. There is a ridge pole with a framed gable end. The door is made of lumber, as is the ladder. The cache roof is an amalgam of straw and sod over a layer of corrugated sheet iron. The cache sits on four round spruce logs that appear to be 8 or 10 inches in diameter. The cache is chinked with various side pieces from wooden case gas boxes. Wooden gas boxes were known to have many re-adaptive uses, for example, Bill Ingram used them for flooring in his cabin at Russian Slough on the Mulchatna River. *Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collection, Thwaites 0132-522.*

289. H-1518 A plank cache with a sod roof, possibly at Kanakanak or Nushagak, circa 1910, stands in front of the entrance to a semi-subterranean pit house (barabara). A stove pipe protrudes from the sod roof of the barabara, which has a log entrance. To the rear, the gable end of a framed cabin is also visible. A small sod structure, perhaps a steam bath, with two sections of sheet iron siding, sits close by the entrance of the barabara. A fenced in area to the right perhaps enclosed a vegetable garden. The cache stands on white spruce logs, and the sills are hewn logs topped by plank walls, suggesting that an older wall log cache had been partially replaced by the planks. *Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collection, Thwaites 0132-538.*



290. H-1229



291. H-1519

290. H-1229 An example of the acculturation happening at Koggiung, circa 1909-1914, where a Yup'ik woman stands by the entrance to her modified semi-subterranean house known by the Russian name, barabara. There are a number of material items traced to the local cannery. For example, the cased window in the ceremonial lodge known as the kashim is on the right. (Roehl interview: Sept. 1998) The fence around the window was to keep dogs from walking on it. There are stove pipes protruding from both structures indicating that they were heated by stoves. Also, there is a net enclosure against the barabara in the center right and sheets of corrugated iron used for roofing.
Photo courtesy of the Ray Schaleben Collection.

291 H-1519 A Yup'ik cache in Nushagak Bay, perhaps near Snag Point, circa 1910. It is the same cache seen in photograph H-950. The log walls are made of hewn white spruce with interlocking square notches. The gable end is a combination of boards and pieces of a wooden box. Gill net webbing hangs underneath the cache, while unpeeled spruce poles lean against the cache. The poles were likely used to construct a salmon drying rack, with the bark left on to prevent the slippery fish from falling to the ground. A wooden barrel, perhaps for brining fish, is seen on the left. The Wood River Mountains show in the background.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Thwaites 0132-549.



292. H-1750

293. H-1521

292. H-1750 December 25th, 1901, at Kokwok village on the Nushagak River near present-day Ekwok. Neither the Yup'ik on the right nor the Euroamericans on the left, (from the Trans-Alaska Company) are identified. (Shawhan 1902: 510-516) The nature of the building on the left is not known, but it is a good example of hand hewn spruce timber joined by modified dovetail corners. There are six Yup'ik caches in the background, and an American flag flies from the flagpole.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Hegg 1552.

293. H-1521 A framed cache made with assorted boards, probably on Nushagak Bay or Kvichak Bay in 1917, is roofed with boards. A modified traditional barabara is on the right. It appears to have been constructed with sod and timber as well as various pieces of lumber from nearby canneries. An overturned dog sled lies near the cache. Two Bristol Bay sailboats are in the background. The barabara is vented by a stove pipe, which indicates it was probably heated by a small sheet-metal wood burning stove. A possible window casing, to the right of the stove pipe, seems to be built into the roof for use as a sky light.
Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Cobb 4154.

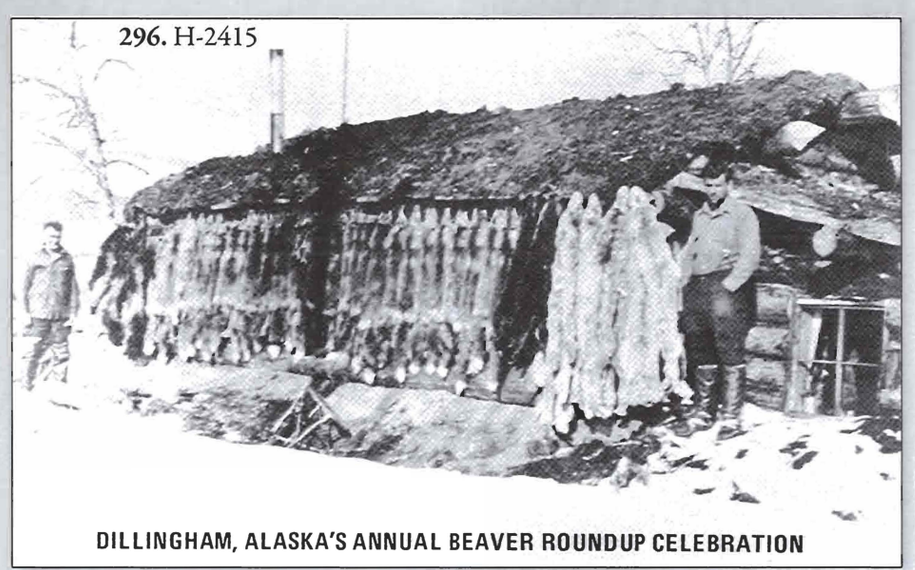


294. H-1329

295. H-171

294. H-1329 A late 1920s view of Mulchatna, a Nushagak River village photographed by Ole Wassenkari. The caption reads: "Mulchatna ... this is the way it was then [1928] now there is a school, post office, and air field, store..." The caption suggests that this is an early view of present-day New Stuyahok. However, the location could possibly be the small village Old Stuyahok, which is at the confluence of the Mulchatna and Stuyahok Rivers. (Troll letter: Sept. 2006) Reindeer herders with their sleds are seen on the frozen Nushagak River, while a cabin and cache stand beyond the river bank. New Stuyahok dates from about 1940 and is comprised of many families who formerly lived on the lower Mulchatna River. (VanStone 1967: 46, 147)
Photo courtesy of the Ellen Wassenkari Pike Collection.

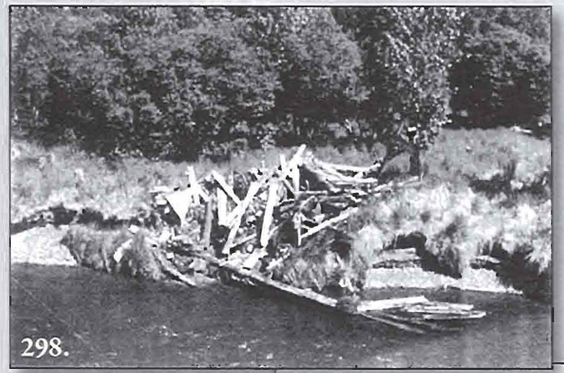
295. H-171 A Yup'ik cache at Kokwok village in 1902, photographed by Wilfred Osgood of the U.S. Biological Survey on his tour of the Bristol Bay region. The cache is made of hand hewn spruce logs with modified dovetail corners. The right front cache leg was built from a cut off standing spruce tree...a technique that is unusual. Osgood's, *A Biological Reconnaissance of the Base of the Alaska Peninsula*, published in 1904, is one of the earliest natural history studies of the Bristol Bay region.
Photo courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History, Wilfred Osgood Collection, 107943.





296. H-2415 Butch Smith, left, and his younger partner Bill Ingram, in the early 1940s at the "Mouth of the Swan," the confluence of the Koktuli and the Swan rivers. The hanging furs consisted of wolverine, fox, otter, and lynx. (O'Leary 2004: 5, 6) The sod-roofed 16x30 foot cabin was Smith's main camp in the Mulchatna River country. The two room cabin also had a 4x5 feet root cellar under the main floor. Smith had at least two other "out" or "line" cabins on sloughs off the main Mulchatna River. Smith was a long time resident of Dillingham who fished in the summer and trapped in the winter. His fishing partner was "Hard Working" Tom Overwik, who had a cabin to the north, near the confluence of the Mosquito and Mulchatna rivers.
Photo courtesy of David McMahan.

297. H-2308 Butch Smith stands by a string of otter and fox furs at his main cabin. Anthropologist Ales Hrdlicka writes about the Hurleys, Ekwok and Butch Smith: "Reach Hurley's 2:15. Rain stopped, traces of clearing, air just cool. Flocks of geese... We are in one of Butch's-or rather Mrs. Butch's-trapping cabins- has three in different parts here, all very well made- With Hurley's half-breed boy: Butch, nonchalantly: 'What day of the week you got here, Billy?' Billy: 'Friday, I think'. Butch: 'That's what we had too, down below.' Butch's pretty cabin here is on a flat and all Hurley's dogs are disposed about one end of it. So it smells correspondingly. Hurley's wife, a full blood Eskimo, about 40 (he about 70)- five ... children-not bad looking: and several died. Rain, squalls, keeps us from going farther. Cabin nice, but stove broken, the dogs about, bad smells, a rack-bed stand too short, sags and creaks badly. Thought of sleeping here- impossible. Luckily rain lets up about 7:15 and so we



298.



299. H-2272

leave, to be away from the dogs and people..." (Hrdlicka 1943: 357)
Photo courtesy of Dave and Mary Carlson Collection, Samuel K. Fox Museum.

298. A 1974 view of the remains of one of Butch Smith's cabins, probably visited by Ales Hrdlicka in 1931. It was located about three miles below Ethel Creek on a slough off the main Mulchatna River. (Hrdlicka 1943: 367-370) When the site was visited by archeologists in 2003 there were no cabin remains visible they having fallen victim to the relentless river current during the intervening years.
Photo courtesy of the Bureau of Land Management, Alaska State Office, File AA-7371.

299. H-2272 Butch and Ole Smith, right, stand on the Nushagak River bank in front of a Bristol Bay sailboat, circa 1930. Two unidentified men, left, are on a fully loaded riverboat, locally made for travel on the swift Nushagak-Mulchatna and Wood River systems. (Shade, Jr. interview: Sept. 2004)
Photo courtesy of Henry Shade, Jr.



300. H-1825



301. H-1669

300. H-1825 Butch Smith, third from left, stands on top of his boat's cabin on the Mulchatna River, in the late 1930s or early 1940s. None of the other people are identified. Smith, who probably built the boat, was considered an accomplished water man. He could sail a Bristol Bay commercial fish boat, build his own plank skiff and navigate the swift Nushagak and Mulchatna Rivers with skill and intelligence. USGS explorer Gerald FitzGerald called Smith a "river man" in 1931. (Orth 1971: 171) That same year, Smith guided Ales Hrdlicka on the Nushagak and Mulchatna River. Butch Mountain, a 1,900 foot peak in the Kilbuck-Kuskokwim Mountains, was named for Smith. The boat above looks very much like the one Smith used to guide Ales Hrdlicka in up the Mulchatna in 1931. Hrdlicka described it as, "An 18-foot flat bottomed homemade boat with old inside machine [engine], and a 'moth-eaten' canvas hood cover. Boat ... loaded, but out of current makes 6 to 7 an hour... Butch sits on a gasoline box in the stern... Butch ... from Idaho, with toothless gums though not yet 53- had scurvy; lanky, good weathered face, and real nice forget-me-not blue eyes..." (Hrdlicka 1943: 354)
Photo courtesy of the Roy and Harriet Smith Family Collection.

301. H-1669 Alaq'aq or "Ole Butch," also known as Mrs. Butch, was married to Bristol Bay fisherman, trapper, prospector Butch Smith (1882-1957). The 1940s era photograph shows Alaq'am fishing from a Bristol Bay double-ender in the Nushagak River with a homemade fishing pole and dip net. Alaq'aq was born in the Kwethluk area and was imbued with all necessary subsistence skills to live off the land. (Blue interview: Feb. 2005) She made a perfect match for Butch Smith who, upon his arrival in the Nushagak country, adopted the local Native subsistence lifestyle. The childless Smiths



302. H-2088

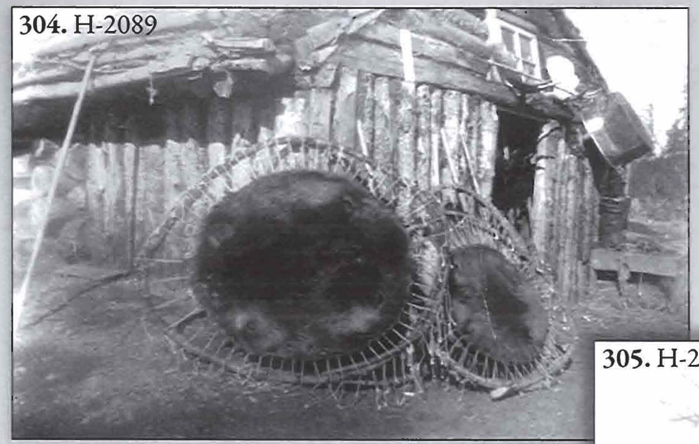


303. H-1824

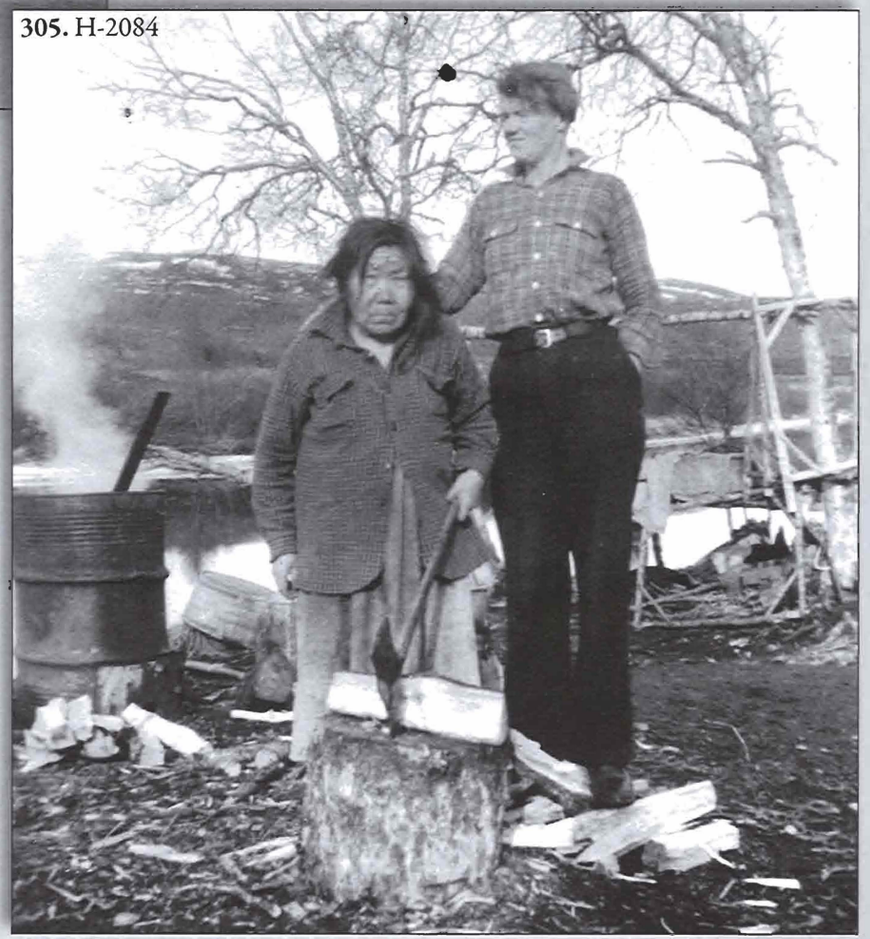
spent their elderly days at Ekwok. When children came to visit the couple, the Smiths would often treat the youngsters with chocolates and other sweets. (Akelkok, Sr. interview: May 2006)
Photo courtesy of Oscar and Sue Flensburg.

302. H-2088 Nels Hedlund (1913-1993) cooks rice, or oatmeal, or cornmeal, with perhaps a beaver or dried fish thrown in for good measure for his sled dogs. The photograph may have been taken at Butch Smith's main cabin at the confluence of the Koktuli and Swan rivers. Hedlund was born in Eek in the Kuskokwim country and came over to Dillingham in 1938. His father was a Swedish-born sailor who came to Bethel in 1910 and his mother was Yu'pik. Nels began hauling mail between Bethel to Aniak, when he was 16 years old, three hundred miles roundtrip. After he saw service in World War II, Nels and his wife Rose, and two young sons trapped the Mulchatna River country between 1946 and 1949. Hedlund built a big skiff up the Mulchatna and moved his family his wife's family place at Chekok, on Iliamna Lake, in 1949. (Hedlund and Hedlund interview: Aug. 1986)
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.

303. H-1824 Butch Smith's boat, the *Sally Rand*, on the Mulchatna River, near Red Vail's cabin, in the late 1930s or early 1940s. The boat was 30 feet long and relatively narrow. It was powered by a Grey inboard gas engine. (Smith interview: Jan. 1998) A smaller skiff is on the left, three 5 gallon gas cans are visible on the shore, and a 50 gallon drum is on the right. The people are unidentified.
Photo courtesy of the Roy and Harriet Smith Family Collection.



304. H-2089



305. H-2084

304. H-2089 This is possibly Butch Smith's main cabin at the "Mouth of the Swan." Swede Aaberg's caption reads: "...At Koktuli-the large beaver I got-spring of '41". The beaver are stretched on two willow wands tied together into a hoop and the hides are sewed onto it for drying. *Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.*

305. H-2084 The circa 1941 photograph caption written by the late Emma Aaberg states: "Ole [Smith] Butch Smith's wife and Billie Ursin-they both are gone-taken up Swan- cooking dog food, spring time." In the background, is the Swan River as it nears its junction with the Koktuli. The confluence was known as the " Mouth of the Swan." The Jack Rabbit Hills are seen in the background. An excerpt from David Carlson's diary is as follows: "May 16, 1942 ... Henry Smith, Butch Smith, Hard Working Tom [Overwik], Erling and Billy Ursin, Bill Ingram, Laura and the "Swede," Elleph Aaberg, came down today." (Carlson Diary 1942)
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.



306. H-2106



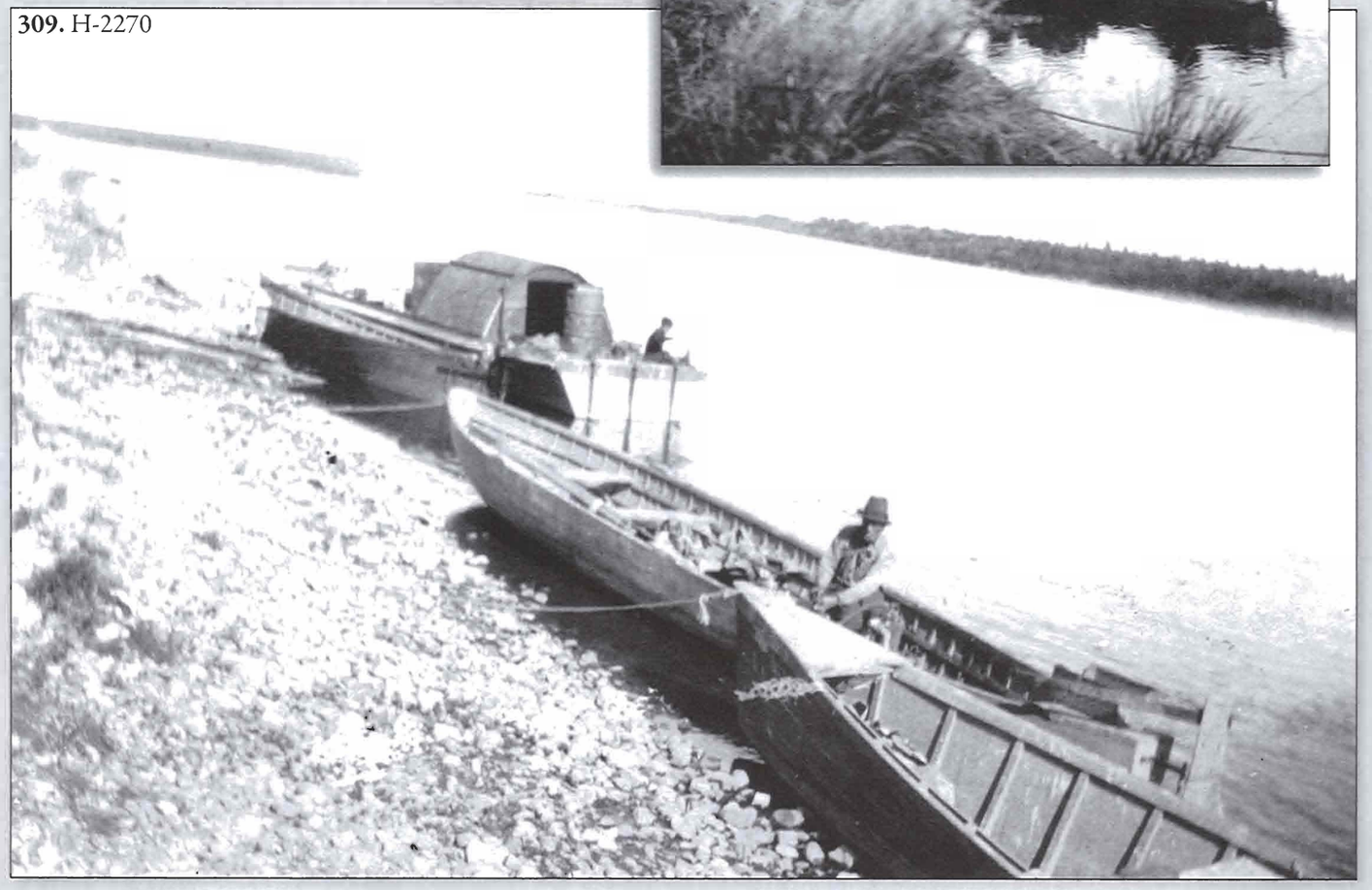
307. H-2085

306. H-2106 Not much is known about Billy Ursin, or her husband Erling Ursin, a Bristol Bay fisherman, but they were friends of Swede Aaberg's and lived in Dillingham in the late 1930s and early 1940s. (Andrews e-mail: June 2006) Emma Aaberg's caption reads: "Billy Ursin washing clothes up at Koktuli." The log cabin might have been near the "Mouth of the Swan" and Butch Smith's cabin. The roof is covered with corrugated sheet iron. A five gallon Stanavo aviation gasoline can is seen in the lower right corner.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.

307. H-2085 Andy Larson of Dillingham in his homemade canoe on the lower Koktuli River circa 1940. Many Bristol Bay trappers built their own canoes with a birch or spruce frame and covered with painted canvas. Other people made traditional bidarkas covering them with moose, caribou, or seal hides. One common thread running through the Bristol Bay country was that the people knew how to live off the land and were very self-sufficient in many ways. The photo caption reads: "Andy Larson canoes down the Koktuli River."
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.



308. H-2271



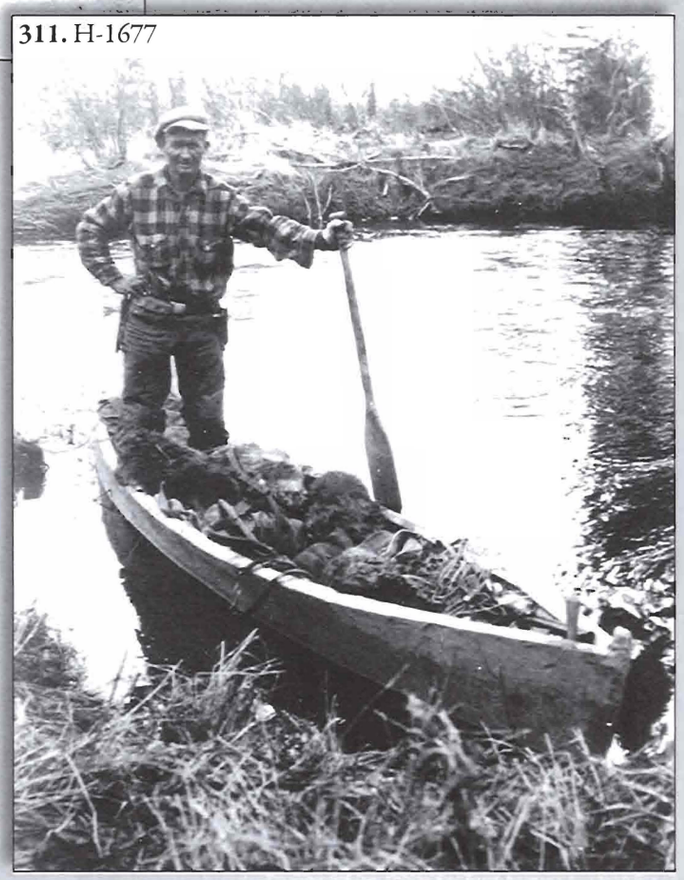
309. H-2270

308. H-2271 Mary Shade, of Dillingham, sits in the stern of a wooden riverboat powered by an inboard engine. Henry Shade is thought to be the man on the bank on the left. The man on the bow is unidentified. It appears the party is traveling upriver, perhaps the Nushagak, to a winter trapping cabin: note the sled dogs, absolutely essential for winter travel, atop the cargo in the bow of the boat. Trappers often built dog sleds, as soon as they arrived at their trapping cabins in the fall, taking advantage of the first snows.
Photo courtesy of Mr. Henry Shade, Jr.

309. H-2270 Trader Billy Hurley's wooden scow on the Nushagak River, near Ekwok, circa 1930. Hurley was born in England, married a woman from the Nushagak River and was a fisherman and trader. The two river boats were long and narrow and designed to go upstream on the swift Nushagak and Mulchatna Rivers. Each fall, Dillingham area trappers, often with their families, headed upriver in September for trapping grounds in the Nushagak drainage, from which they might not emerge until the following May. Ales Hrdlicka wrote: "Glimpse first mountain, far ahead. Meet two small sailboats with natives [sic] going down river to fish. Catching up with boat of "old Hurley"--- solitary trader and white man now on river; has a small scow with supplies for the summer." (Hrdlicka 1943: 355)
Photo courtesy of Mr. Henry Shade, Jr.



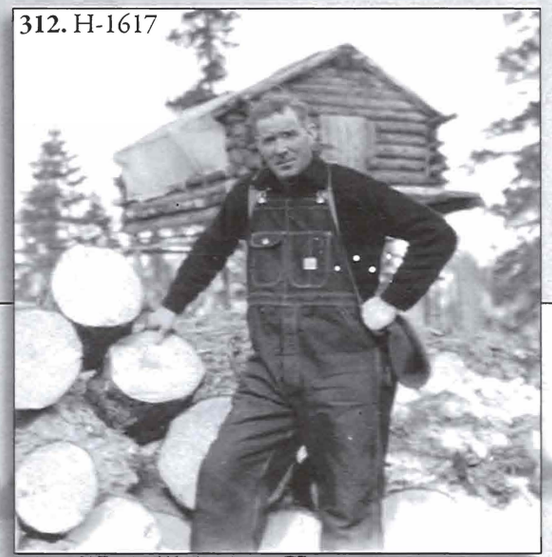
310. H-2269



311. H-1677

310. H-2269 Although trapping occurred in the winter when travel was by dog sled, snowshoes or skis, frequently open water was encountered. Henry Shade, Sr.'s solution was to haul a homemade canoe to traverse the open water. Above, Shade's dog team pauses to rest from their labors of hauling two sleds that supported a canoe during the spring beaver trapping season in late March and April.
Photo courtesy of Mr. Henry Shade, Jr.

311. H-1677 Henry Shade, Sr. (1894-1960) was born in Germany and came to America in 1909. He arrived in the Bristol Bay region sometime in the early to mid-1920s. He was a fisherman and trapper and had at least six trapping cabins within the Nushagak-Mulchatna watershed. He was also winterman at the Clark's Point cannery for a number of years. (Shade, Jr. interview: Sept. 2004) Shade stands in his homemade canvas-covered canoe in the early 1930s with at least five beavers and a number of leg hold traps. The Bristol Bay country, with its thousands of pristine lakes, rivers and creeks, was known as the number one producer of beaver furs in the territory.
Photo courtesy of Mr. Henry Shade, Jr.



312. H-1617



313. H-2083

312. H-1617 Harvey "Red" Vail (1880?-1955) stands in front of a pile of white spruce logs ready to be transformed into firewood for his Olympic cook stove, circa 1935. Red Vail's place, built in the early 1930s, was on the Mulchatna River about halfway between Keefer Creek and the Chilchitna River. (Andrews e-mail: June 2006) Vail's log cache stands in the background; it was made with unpeeled spruce and roofed with canvas. Caches associated with upriver cabins often stood higher off the ground than did caches built at village sites where dogs tended to keep bears and wolverines away.
Photo courtesy of Marie and William Andrews Collection.

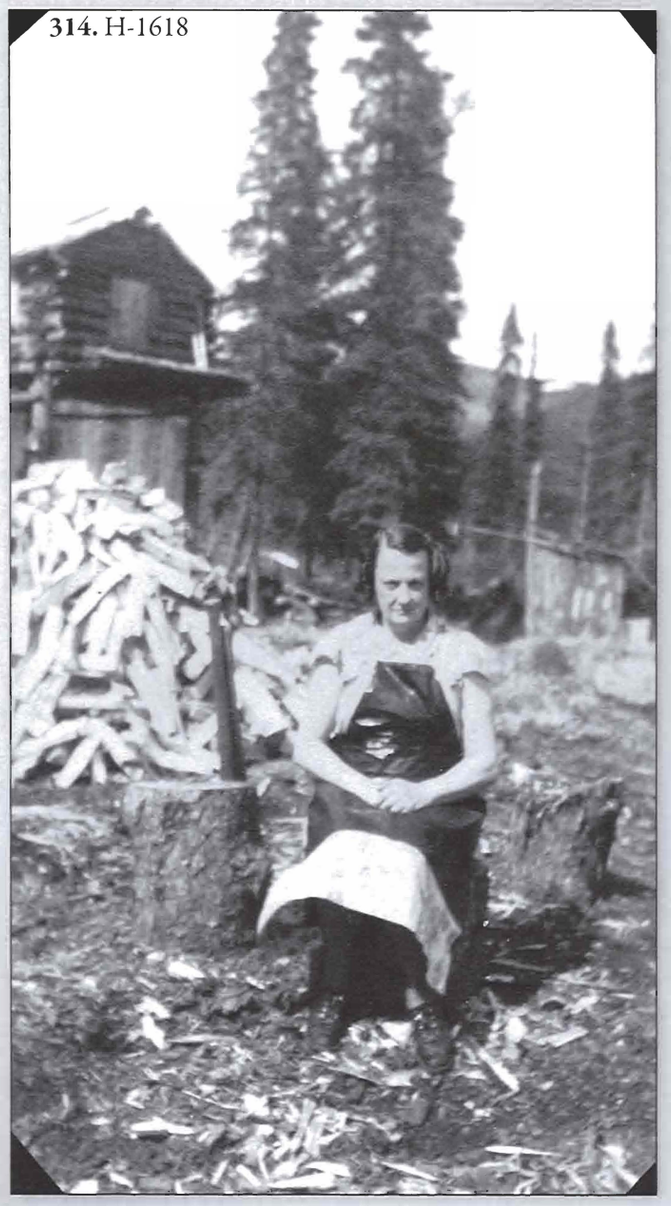
313. H-2083 The Ingrams, Brandens, and Orsins coming down the Mulchatna River after a winter at their trapping cabins, circa 1940. Besides the dogs, used to pull sleds in the winter, the river boats are loaded with all manner of personal gear from a winter of isolation living off the country. Moosemeat, caribou, spruce grouse, ptarmigan, trout, and beaver meat would have provided the bulk of their diet. Part of the grub-stake purchased before starting upriver would have consisted of flour, sugar, rice, beans, dried fruit, butter, coffee, canned milk, all of which was generally purchased at Lowe's Trading Post in Dillingham or various cannery stores.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.



315. H-1989



316. H-1615



314. H-1618

314. H-1618 Gladys Vail (1897-1969), at her husband Red Vail's camp on the Mulchatna River, sits in front of a large stove woodpile, with a cache in the left background and an outhouse in the right background. (Andrews e-mail: June 2006) Gladys Vail was originally from California and came to the Bristol Bay in the late 1920s or early 1930s. A story is told about the Vails visiting Butch and Ole Smith at their cabin at the "Mouth of the Swan." Just before bed time, Gladys hinted she was used to sleeping on very expensive beds and the thought of sleeping on the rough cabin floor didn't much appeal. Butch caught the drift of her conversation, but had no intention of giving up his bedroom to the Vails. So he disappeared into the bedroom and soon returned with arms full of lynx, fox, otter, marten, and beaver furs and spread them all out on the floor of the cabin in the corner and then he said: "Now Gladys how would you like to sleep on a bed worth $5000.00?" (Liboff interview: Sept. 2004)
Photo courtesy of Marie and William Andrews Collection.

315. H-1989 William Andrews (1914-2004) works on a hand-made canoe in front of his stepfather Red Vail's cabin on the mid-Mulchatna River in 1937. Andrews came to Bristol Bay in 1932 from San Francisco to live with his mother, Gladys, and stepfather in Dillingham. (Andrews interview: June 2006) Many Bristol Bay people had finely honed craft skills and were able to improvise local materials to build cabins, sleds and boats and live off the land by hunting and fishing.
Photo courtesy of Patrick Andrews.

316. H-1615 Three harnessed sled dogs await their marching orders at Red Vail's cabin on the Mulchatna River, circa 1932. William Andrews and Perry Wamser enlarged the cabin in the mid-1930s, making it about



317. H-1707



318. H-1708

twice as large its original dimensions. Two pairs of skis lean against the cabin on the right, and a rectangular beaver stretcher frame rests against the cabin near the skis. A large galvanized wash tub hangs from the middle part of the cabin. The left portion of the cabin roof is sheeted with corrugated iron, while the right half is covered with canvas, probably obtained from Lowe's Trading Post or Fenno's Store in Dillingham. (Andrews and Andrews interview: July 2000)
Photo courtesy of the Marie and William Andrews Collection.

317. H-1707 Left to right: Red Vail, Ray Harris and "Old Man" Dick Murphy at Red Vail's cabin on the Mulchatna River in 1937. The cabin has two side-by-side ridge poles supporting a sod roof topped by a second ridge pole and corrugated sheet iron roofing. Vail and Murphy were trapping partners who lived in Dillingham in the summer and trapped upriver in the winter. Harris had been partners with Ken Armstrong in 1936-1938, when they were flown in to the Mulchatna just upstream of the confluence of the Chilchitna River and Dummy Creek. Armstrong wrote on the photograph, "Red Vail, Ray Harris, Old Man Murphy at Vails Mulchatna 1937."
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.

318. H-1708 Young Dick Armstrong, left, and Old Man Dick Murphy at Red Vail's in 1937. The caption reads: "Dick and Murphy - Note Dick's legs of youth and Murphy of Old age 1937 Mulchatna cabin of Murphy's Alaska." According to a story, Murphy was asked what he did Outside, perhaps in Chicago, before coming to Alaska and he said he had been a burglar. (Olson interview: Sept. 2004)
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.



319. H-1616



320. H-1705

319. H-1616 A 1933-1934 view of Red and Gladys Vail, left, and their daughter-in-law Marie Osterhaus Andrews (1915-), right, at their camp on the Mulchatna River. The 12x32 foot log cabin was heated with two woodstoves, one was an Olympic cook stove. Gladys Vail uses a crosscut saw to cut wood. A Trapper Nelson backpack is hanging from the cabin wall.
Photo courtesy of the Marie and William Andrews Collection.

320. H-1705 The caption on the reverse of photograph, written by Ken Armstrong, states, "Roy Harris, Red Vail, Opal [Harris], Sally [Harris], Isabelle [Armstrong] and Dick [Armstrong], and Dick Murphy on way down river spring 1937 Mulchatna." After putting in the winter on the Mulchatna, living off the land and trapping, these Bristol Bay people were ready to travel down the Mulchatna and Nushagak Rivers to Dillingham to prepare for commercial fishing.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.



321. H-1612



322. H-1619

321. H-1612 Red Vail, left, his wife Gladys, center, and Bill Ingram, right, pick a trout net on a slough near their camp on the Mulchatna River, circa 1943. Most years, Red Vail stayed at his trapping cabin from late September to late May, and then he would return to Dillingham. However, for a few years, Red and Gladys stayed all year long at their camp. It appears that the net caught at least seven rainbow trout. Bill Ingram lived in Dillingham and had recently come into the Bristol Bay country to commercial fish. Ingram had a cabin on the Koktuli River and was a trapping partner of Butch Smith's.
Photo courtesy of the Marie and William Andrews Collection.

322. H-1619 A mid-to-late 1930s view of Red Vail, left, Gladys Vail, center, and Frank Woods, right, drinking home brew on a spring day on the Mulchatna River. Many trappers brewed home brew, using dried fruit and sugar. Frank Woods lived in Levelock and Dillingham and was known to be a great "fixer" who could make anything. He once made a boat propeller from a metal phonographic turn table. (Andrews and Andrews interview: July 2000)
Photo courtesy of the Marie and William Andrews Collection.



323. H-2095



324. H-1614

324. H-2095 "Hard Working" Tom Overwik, (1875?-1955), left, and Swede Aaberg (1909-1968) have a drink together at Tom's cabin near the mouth of the Mosquito River. Various 5 gallon gas cans, wooden boxes, galvanized tubs, pails and a wooden barrel are stacked on the left, indicating that the spring thaw may have flooded the cabin. A wind charger is seen in the left background and would have supplied sufficient electricity for lights and a radio. Overwik was born in Iceland and had long experience as a hand on fully rigged ships before coming to Bristol Bay in the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century. (*The Alaska Sportsman and Alaska Magazine* 1935-1959, 1981) He was well read, and known as an intelligent and humorous conversationalist. Aaberg was born in Minnesota to Norwegian immigrant parents and was a brother-in-law of Nels Hedlund, also a Mulchatna trapper.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.

323. H-1614 At Red Vail's camp in 1943-1944 are, left to right, Bill Ingram, Lillian Ingram, Gladys Vail, and Red Vail. At time, Lillian Ingram was pregnant with twins, Bill Jr. and Jim, and soon was flown to Dillingham for the delivery. (Ingram and Ingram interview: June 2003) A pile of dried spruce logs destined for firewood is on the left, while several pairs of snowshoes lean against the front cabin wall.
Photo courtesy of the Marie and William Andrews Collection.



325. H-1690

325. H-1690 Laura Zelapusa and Dick Armstrong in 1937 at "Hard Working" Tom Overwik's cabin on the Mulchatna River near the Mosquito River. In the background is the entrance to the windbreak of the Overwik cabin. Tom is seen in the right background, bent over at his steambath. One fall, on the way up to Ken Armstrong's cabin near the mouth of the Chilchitna, Isabelle and Dick Armstrong's boat was frozen in when the Mulchatna River iced up. Because their boat could proceed no further, they were invited to spend the winter with "Hard Working" Tom and Laura. Tom built an addition on his cabin for the Armstrongs, and they shared their grubstake with their hosts. (Armstrong interview: June 2001) Later, in the 1940s, Laura married Dillingham based trapper, John Zelapusa.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.



326. H-1702



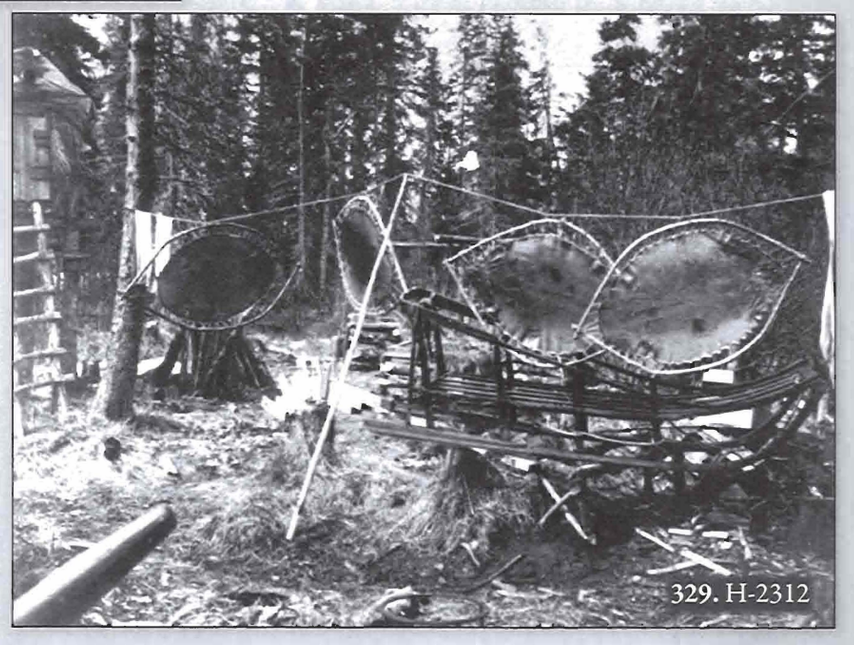
327. H-2087

326. H-1702 "Hard Working" Tom Overwik is probably washing clothes in front of his steam bath on the Mulchatna, in 1937. A dog sled is on the right. "Hard Working" Tom is bent over what appears to be a washboard in a wooden tub. Smoke billows from the stove pipe. Ken Armstrong wrote a terse caption: "T.Over 1937" which was shorthand for: Tom Overwik 1937. It was reported that Overwik had a hand carved wooden plaque over the door to his steam bath with a line from Dante Alighieri's The Divine Comedy-Inferno, Canto III: "All hope abandon, ye who enter in." Obviously, Overwik liked hot steam baths.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.

327. H-2087 The caption on photograph reads: "Tom Overwik's cabin up Mulchatna, it burned down several years later- in '42". Overwik was an old time Bristol Bay fisherman and trapper, who commercial fished in Dillingham during the summer and wintered at his trapping cabin near the confluence of the Mulchatna and Mosquito Rivers. Overwick never wore a hat and never cut extra firewood, so he always had to cut wood as needed. During the winter of 1954-55, he developed a tooth abscess during a particularly intense cold snap and was unable to get outside to obtain firewood, consequently he froze to death in about late March, 1955. (Morgan interview: winter 2004) "Hard Working Tom's" sprawling cabin was more than 30 feet long by 12 feet wide and was roofed with canvas. A brief notice in the August 1943 issue of *The Alaska Sportsman* reported an elderly couple being burned out of their Mulchatna River cabin near the Mosquito River, with a loss valued at $2000. The report stated that the trappers lost all their winter fur catch, equipment, a 60 pound barrel of brined butter, a large amount of canned milk, and suffered cuts



328. H-1678



329. H-2312

and burns as they tried to put the fire out. After the cabin was burned the woman snow-shoed nine miles to seek the help from another trapper. (*The Alaska Sportsman and Alaska Magazine* 1943: 32) It is quite possible that the unnamed burned-out trappers were "Hard Working Tom" Overwik and his girlfriend Laura.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.

328. H-1678 A 1936-1937 view of Ken Armstrong's cabin and cache near the confluence of the Chilchitna and Mulchatna rivers. In the fall of 1936, Armstrong (1909-2000) and his partner, Ray Harris, were flown into the Mulchatna country by either Bert Ruoff or Art Woodley in a ski-plane. (Armstrong interview: June 2001) During the winter, they had their families with them. Each built a cabin, a cache and an outhouse. Their cabins were about 50 yards apart and were separated by a small creek over which they built a footbridge. The buildings were built with unpeeled white spruce and chinked with moss. The roof of the cabin appears to be made from canvas or spruce bark and kept in place with poles. Repeated surveys in the years 2000-2003 failed to locate the site, and researchers believe that the Armstrong and Harris cabins have become victims to the relentless Mulchatna River current.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.

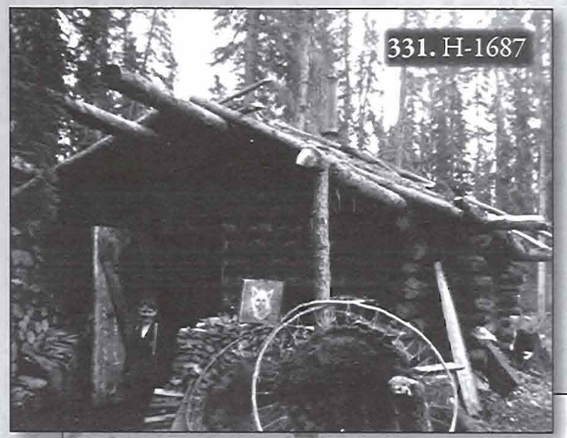
329. H-2312 The exact location of this camp is not known, other than it is in the Nushagak drainage. Four beaver hides are stretched and drying on willow wand hoops. A dog sled is on the right and a cache is visible on the left. A few log dog houses appear in the center background. Spring beaver trapping was an integral part of the annual seasonal round for the people of the Bristol Bay country, and trapping was frequently more lucrative

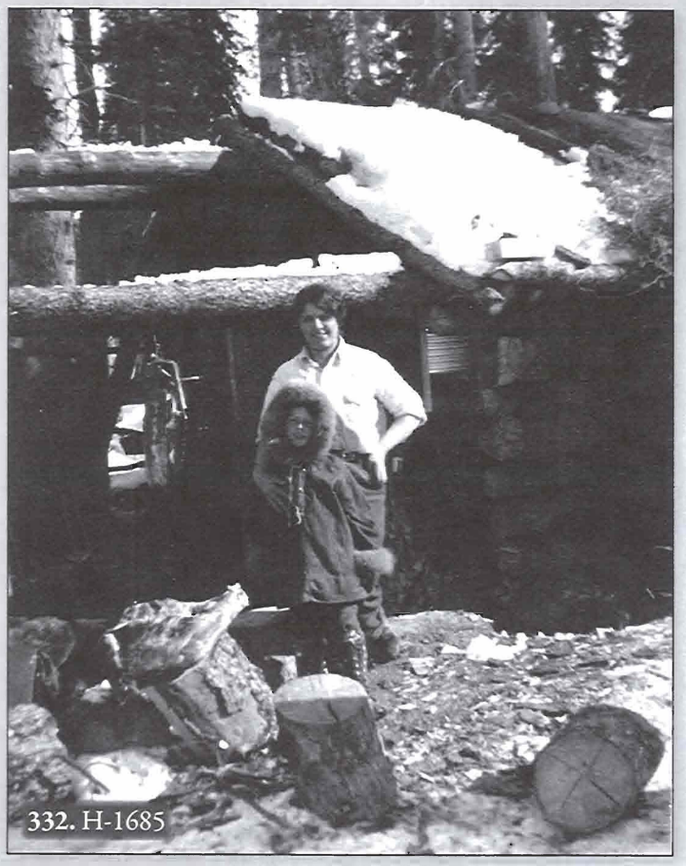


330. H-1688

than commercial fishing in the 1920s and 1930s.
Photo courtesy of the Samuel K. Fox Museum, David and Mary Carlson Collection.

330. H-1688 Ken Armstrong sits on a woodpile by his fox and marten furs at his cabin near the confluence of the Mulchatna and Chilchitna rivers. The roof of the Armstrong cabin was made of spruce poles, dirt, bark and canvas.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.







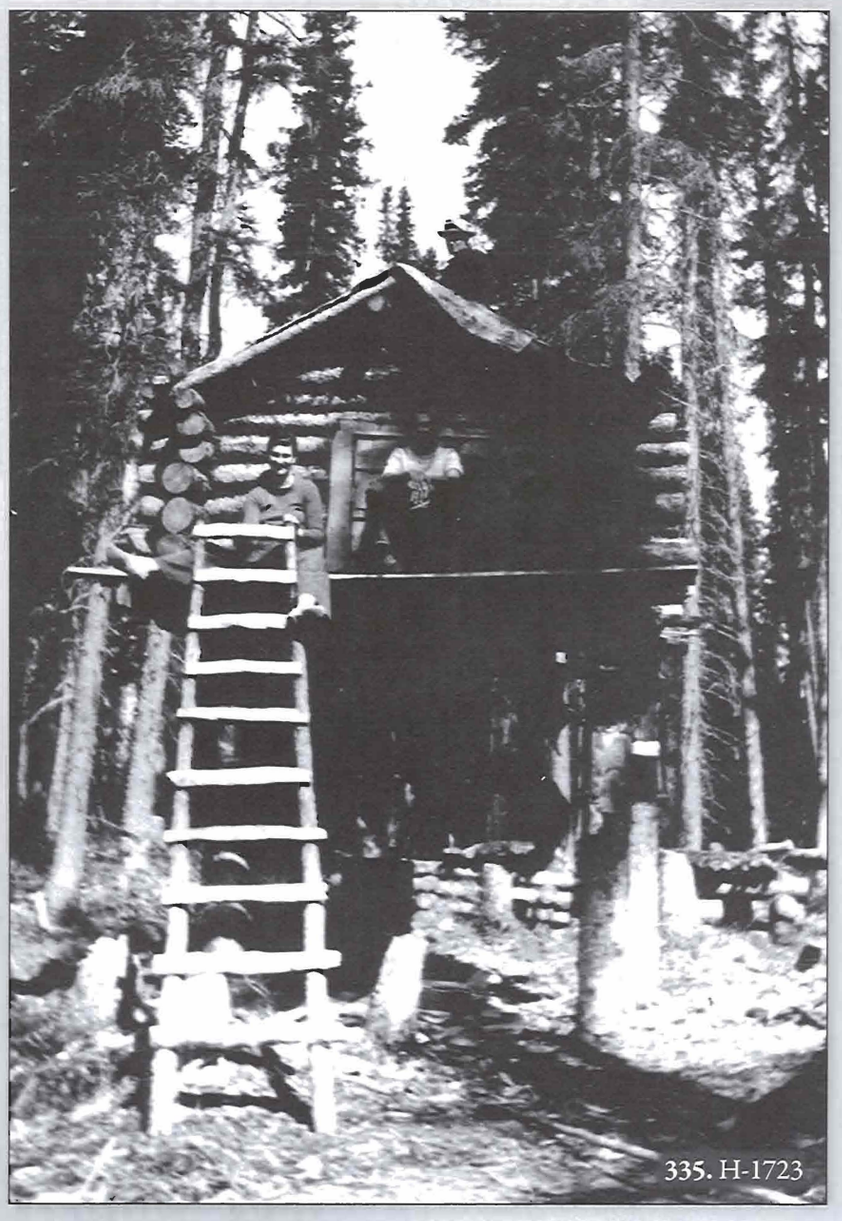
331. H-1687 Dick Armstrong, in 1937, stands in front of his father's trapping cabin on the Mulchatna River. Two beaver hides are stretched on willow wands, and a 5-foot ripping saw leans against the cabin. A painting of a dog or wolf, by Ken Armstrong, is on the woodpile. It must have been an exciting adventure for a boy of Dick's age to spend his early years with his parents at a wilderness trapping cabin.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.

332. H-1685 Elizabeth Isabelle Galdun Armstrong (1909-1981) and her son, Dick, at their camp on the Mulchatna River. A small quarter of moose meat lies on a block of wood, and it appears to be springtime in the Mulchatna country. Ken Armstrong wrote: "...Isabelle and Dick no meat shortage (moose) ... 1936-37 AK."
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.

333. H-1682 A spring 1937 photograph, Ken Armstrong is holding a double-bit felling axe in front of his cache on the Mulchatna River near the mouth of the Chilchitna. The cache door is hinged from the top and operated with a rope and pulley system. Below the cache are various wooden barrels and a wooden gas box. The small barrel to the right was a butter barrel that would have contained 60 pounds of brined butter. A galvanized tub hangs from the right side of the cache wall. The cache legs have a band of metal wrapped around them to prevent mice and other small pests from climbing up the legs. The metal generally came from one gallon cans or pieces of stove pipe nailed on the cache legs.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.



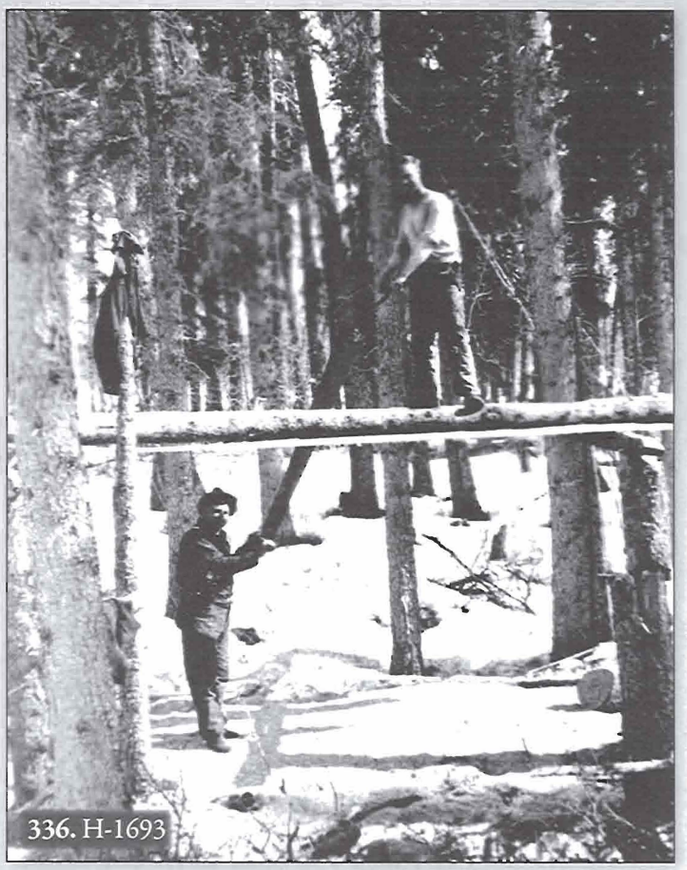
334. H-1704



335. H-1723

334. H-1704 Written on the reverse side of the photograph, Ken Armstrong wrote: "Ken with backpack at his 'out' cabin 1936-37 Mulchatna River, Alaska." "Out" or line cabins were small temporary shelter cabins that provided a roof and usually a small wood burning Yukon camp stove for a trapper who would be checking traps far enough away from his main cabin that he could not get back before nightfall. A pair of skis lean against the cabin on the left. The "out" cabin was made of unpeeled white spruce logs with a shed-roof style. It was located up the Chilchitna River, where it passes near a 2000-foot mountain, about 6 miles south of Armstrong's Mulchatna cabin and about 10 miles north of Tutna Lake. (Armstrong taped interview: n.d.)
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.

335. H-1723 Ray Harris on the roof of the cache, with Sally Harris on the right, and Gale Harris on the left, at the Harris's camp on the Mulchatna River. The Harris and the Armstrong camps were both built in the fall of 1936. They were only a short distance apart, separated by a small slough that was bridged with a foot span. The cache roof appears to be covered with canvas, and the walls are attached by round notches.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.



336. H-1693



337. H-1694



338. H-1696

336. H-1693 Ken Armstrong's caption reads: "Ray Harris [bottom] and Ken [top] whipsawing lumber (This is the hard way) Spring 1936 Mulchatna River". The men cut spruce boards and made a 20 foot skiff and went all the way to Dillingham with it, some 200 river miles. (Pierskalla interview: July 2006) With the coming of the Americans to the bay in the 1870s and 1880s, they learned subsistence life ways from the Native people, and that trend continues to this today. Bristol Bay people in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were masters of woodcraft and camp craft, subsistence skills, and they shared their knowledge with newcomers. *Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.*

337. H-1694 Isabelle and Dick Armstrong stand near the homemade skiff built by Ken Armstrong and Ray Harris in 1937. The Mulchatna River just upstream from the Chilchitna River flows in the background. The skiff was about 20 feet long and was caulked with moss and spruce pitch. It proved to be very seaworthy on the 200 river-mile journey to Dillingham.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.

338. H-1696 Ken Armstrong's caption reads: "Ray Harris and Ken with whipsawed boat built up Mulchatna River-spring 1936- working it over to install engine." The skiff was apparently used during the commercial fishing season. The view at Dillingham is looking east toward the mouth of the Nushagak River.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.



339. H-1698 The Ken Armstrong caption says it all: "In stern-Sally and Ray [Harris] then Opal Harris, Dick and Isabelle Armstrong, and Gale Harris on *Old Whipsaw* coming down the Nushagak or Mulchatna River in 1937 Alaska." The poles on the right were used to roll the boat out of the water when ashore.
Photo courtesy of Milton Armstrong.



340. H-911



341. H-2103

340. H-911 Another view of the Roy Smith-Swede Aaberg cabin at Lake Merithew in upper Chulitna River, circa 1940-1943. The wooden frames leaning against the cabin are used to stretch and dry beaver hides. From U.S Marshal J.B. Fleckenstein's diary July 18, 1941: "Ben Merithew died cancer of stomach- May 30th, 1941, Boston." (Fleckenstein Diary 1941) The late Nushagak old-timer Paul Romie commented on trapping cabins in the Mulchatna country: "We had nice log cabin ... they didn't leak and they was warm in the winter. They had a lot of dirt on top. When that dirt froze up that insulated the cabin good and it didn't take much to keep 'em warm ... we had nice cabins that weren't too big ... there was two room cabin ... then the little cabin about 15 miles out there was a small cabin ... probably 8 by 10. Small cabin, one that you could light a stove and get warm quick ... and home cabin was a big cabin ... probably 18 by 14 [feet] ... or 16 by 14." (Romie interview: Nov. 1996) *Photo courtesy of the Harriet and Roy Smith Collection.*

341. H-2103 Roy Smith, at the cabin he and Swede Aaberg used, at "Lake Merithew" near the upper Chulitna River circa 1940-1943. The cabin was reportedly built by Benny Merithew of Dillingham, who was stricken with cancer about 1937 and returned to Massachusetts to die. (Fleckenstein Diary 1941) The cabin was then used by Roy Smith, a nephew of the legendary Butch Smith, and Swede Aaberg as a trapping cabin. Roy Smith (1916-2003) was a Bristol Bay fisherman, trapper, guide, air taxi operator, and winterman at the Bumble Bee (originally CRPA) cannery in South Naknek. Note the huge caribou rack over the windbreak door and the meat pole on the left. *Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.*



342. H-1815



343. H-2086

342. H-1815 Swede Aaberg stands in front of his cabin on Lake Merithew in the upper Chulitna River country, circa 1940. A caption written by Roy Smith reads: "Swede's with one of my wolves". This is the same cabin as seen in H-2103. Note the dried grass roofing that presented a major fire hazard with sparks emanating from the stove pipe. A Trapper Nelson backpack is seen on the right wall. Swede Aaberg was the brother-in-law of Nels Hedlund, and Roy Smith was the nephew of Butch Smith. Paul Romie on cabin building: "All you needed was an ax 'n a saw... And you used moss ... you got your own roof on ... split [poles] roof ... and then you get grass ... if you could get grass. You'd get a bunch of grass ... bundles of grass and ... put that on there just like shingles ... and then you'd put dirt on top of that." (Romie interview: Nov. 1996)
Photo courtesy of the Roy and Harriet Smith Collection.

343. H-2086 Swede Aaberg's cabin near the Mosquito and Mulchatna river confluence. Emma Aaberg captioned the picture: "Our house up Mosquito ... in '42... Spent the winter up there- went up couple months after we were married so guess it was our honeymoon house." A large number of red fox furs are on the sled on the right. Two pairs of snowshoes and two Trapper Nelson packs are leaning against the cabin. The cabin logs are peeled white spruce arranged vertically for the windbreak, left, and horizontally with round notches for the main cabin. The roof is covered with canvas.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.


344. H-2078


345. H-2073


346. H-2102

344. H-2078 Nels Hedlund (1913-1993) holds his two sons, Sonny, left, and Tinny, right, at the Aaberg-Hedlund cabin near the Mosquito-Mulchatna river confluence in 1947-1948. Nels Hedlund was born on the Eek River below Bethel and grew up near Napaskiak village. As a young man, he trapped on the lower Kuskokwim River and moved to Nushagak in 1938. Nels' father was from Sweden and his mother was Yup'ik from the lower Kuskokwin River. He began hauling mail by dog team at the age of 16. (Hedlund and Hedlund interview: Aug 1986)
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.

346. H-2073 Bill Ingram leaving a finely built log outhouse at Swede Aaberg's camp at the Mosquito-Mulchatna confluence, circa 1940. The outhouse roof is covered with canvas, part of the inverted 55 gallon drum seen on the left was probably used to cook food for the sled dogs. This food included such items as dog rice, oatmeal or cornmeal that was frequently cooked with either beaver meat or dried salmon.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.

345. H-2102 Emma Aaberg's caption reads: "Al [Swede Aaberg] at Mosquito with a wolverine and dogs and mud houses later '30s." The dog houses were made of logs and covered with dirt and sod for insulation.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.



347. H-2081



349. H-1821



348. H-1940

347. H-2081 Two large spruce woodpiles at the Aaberg-Hedlund cabin in the Mulchatna country, circa 1940. The best firewood for cooking was from standing dead spruce trees, of which these piles are representative. The outhouse is seen beyond the left woodpile. Many bigger cabins, like Red Vail's or "Hard Working" Tom's, had two stoves- one for cooking and one, often made from a 55 gallon barrel, as a heater that could handle 3-foot-long pieces of green birch to hold the coals during the coldest Alaskan winter temperatures.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.

348. H-1940 Trappers left to right: Butch Hobson of Nondalton and brothers Sonny (1946-1983) and Tinny Hedlund in 1965 at the Aaberg-Hedlund cabin on the Mulchatna River, about one mile below the mouth of the Mosquito River. The trappers had to skin, stretch and dry the eight large beavers. Fur prices were still sufficiently high in the mid-1960s to make the effort viable. Ice chisels and snowshoes lean against the cabin.
Photo courtesy of the Rose Hedlund Collection.

349. H-1821 Harriet Smith works on the roof of the Roy Smith cabin at Russian Slough on the Mulchatna River in 1947. The dimensions of the cabin was about 17x19 feet, including an attached windbreak. Roy Smith and his partner, Bill Ingram, were possibly the first Mulchatna River trappers to operate with a ski plane, an Aronca Chief, hauling gear and aerial wolf hunting, which was not highly regulated in the 1940s. The cabin was made of unpeeled logs with round corner notches.
Photo courtesy of the Roy and Harriet Smith Collection.



350. H-2077

350. H-2077 Emma Aaberg wrote on the reverse of the photograph, "Ron Aaberg up at Russian Slough at Roy & Harriet's winter cabin, his beautiful parka was one my sister made for him," circa 1950. Ron was the son of Swede and Emma Aaberg of Dillingham. In the background are the vertical unpeeled spruce logs of the windbreak and the round notches of one corner of the cabin. This was a quick and functional log cabin building technique in the Mulchatna country.
Photo courtesy of the Aaberg Family Collection.

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The Trefon Cache



The Trefon cache was restored at the Visitor Center of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve at Port Alsworth by Nondalton elder, Steve "Butch" Hobson during the summer of 2007. Mr. Hobson is widely regarded as the foremost traditional Dena'ina woodworker in Nondalton. In 2004 Bill and Martha Trefon donated the cache with the caveat that the park would restore the cache and display it to park visitors.

The cache was originally built around 1920 at Nan Qelah, "mossy place" now called Miller Creek, where the Trefons had two cabins at the trailhead of the Telaquana Trail. The cache was built by Wasili Trefon, probably with assistance by his father, Trefon Balluta, and brother, Gabriel Trefon. The cache was built of white spruce logs using primarily an axe, with the use of a saw to cut the dovetail corners. It had no nails, spikes, or wooden pins holding it together. It originally had a sod roof, but later when it was at Nondalton Fish village it had a gas can shingle roof, and still later a sheet aluminum roof.

In the 1940s the cache was dismantled and hauled by boat to Horseshoe Bend on the upper Newhalen River. Later it was dismantled again and moved to the Nondalton Fish village where the Newhalen River runs out of Sixmile Lake, on its way to Iliamna Lake. The cache was used to store as many as 2,000 dried red salmon for human and dog consumption. Occasionally the cache was also used to store dried moose meat. Bill Trefon recalls the days, when as a boy, he stacked thousands of dried salmon in the cache.

Butch Hobson restored the cache after consulting Bill Trefon on its original appearance. Mr. Hobson was also guided by National Park Service architectural historian Grant Crosby who surveyed the cache and wrote a restoration work plan. Mr. Hobson replaced the original sill logs, the door, the legs, and the roof. The gray wall and gable end logs and the flooring poles are all original. The legs are built in the traditional Dena'ina style and were built to discourage mice and dogs from gaining access to the dried fish and meat. The ladder and the door were made by Mr. Hobson and represent the influence of his late father, Steve Hobson, Sr., and documentation from Cornelius Osgood's *The Ethnography of the Tanaina*.

Photo courtesy of Jeanne Schaaf.

Bristol Bay Canned Salmon Labels

Early twentieth century canned salmon labels represent a distinct genre in commercial art and are now highly collectible. The following labels are courtesy of Karen Hofstad of Petersburg. The labels nearly always seem to be colorfully rendered, and often try to captivate one's imagination to think about Alaska's the icy pure waters and the wholesomeness of salmon.

Growing up in Maine, in a place that *formerly* had prodigious Atlantic salmon runs, my family frequently ate salmon salad for dinner, made from canned Alaska red salmon. I recall studying the colorful, frequently exotic labels, and hoping one day to live in wild salmon country.

The labels on the following pages represent a small number of the companies that operated in the Bristol Bay. They also are a minuscule sample of the hundreds and perhaps thousands of labels that were produced. Three of these labels strike me as being particularly interesting and worthy of note. The first is the Hume Bros. & Hume Pioneer Brand Alaska Red Salmon packed by Northwestern Fisheries Company. Pioneer Brand is aptly named on any Hume product, since the Hume brothers, George and William, along with Andrew Hapgood, were veteran lobster packers from Maine, who founded the canned salmon industry on a barge in the Sacramento River in 1864.[1] The Hume's apparently owned an interest in Northwestern Fisheries and had canneries at Nushagak village and in the Naknek River at Nornek.

The second label of note is the Harpoon Brand Alaska Salmon that was packed by one of the Nushagak River canneries. The label has an evocative image of a canoeist going down a spruce fringed wild river that closely resembles the upper Chilikadrotna River that heads at Twin Lakes in Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. Of course, the stream could be one of any number of rivers within the Nushagak drainage. One message the label tries to convey is that canned salmon comes from a wild, swift, pure Alaska river.

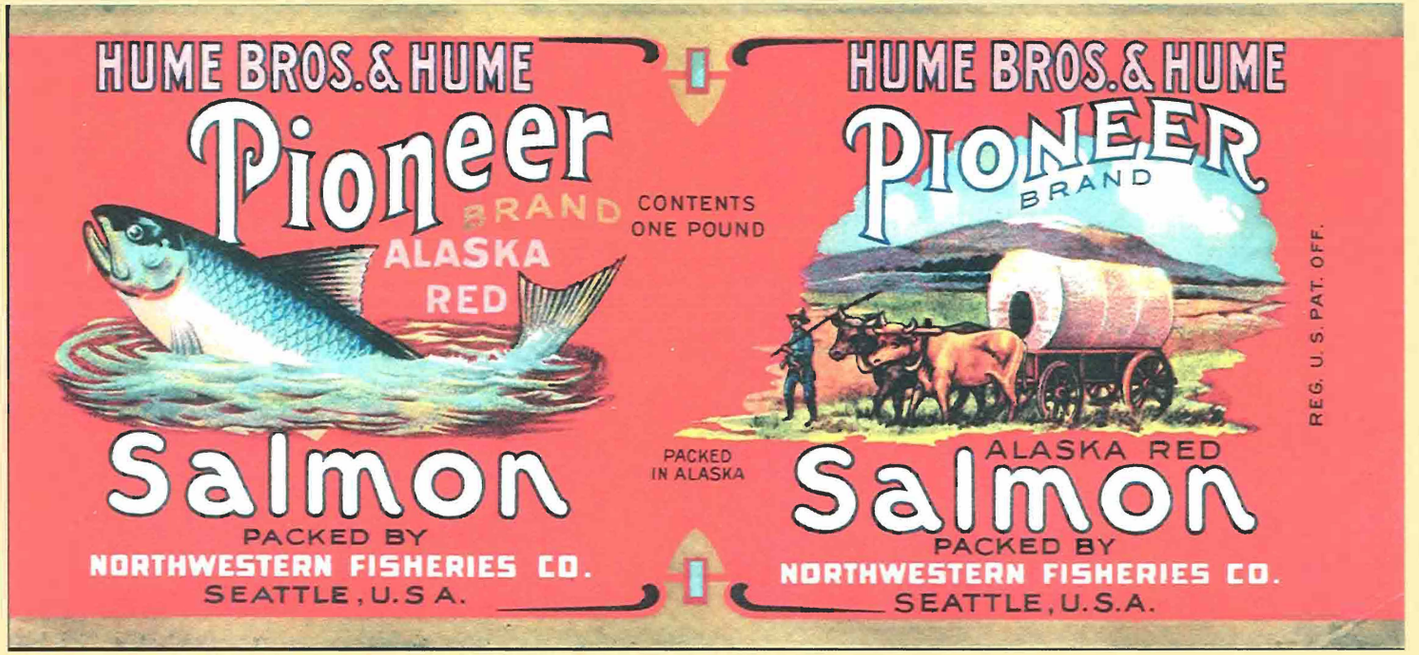
The third label was selected to use on the cover of the book because it a montage of all that made the Bristol Bay such a unique region, both in real geographical terms and as a way of life. The sea, the mountains, the big sky, the Native people, the noble portrayal of the salmon, the dog team, the fish laden sledge, the double-enders, the kayaks, the sailing ship, the cannery man, and the snow clad cannery, with billowing black smoke plume, convey a hyperbolic and contradictory image.

The fact that the label casts the cannery as operating does not square with reality. Bristol Bay canneries did not operate in winter, but rather were in a state of suspended animation until the ice went out of the Bay in May. Then the great sailing ships returned from the Lower 48 bringing crews and fishermen to open the plants up for another summer fishing season. Yet, even if the commercial artist presented a confused and incomplete view of the seasonal round of Bristol Bay life, the label still works because it combines so many images of bay life, mixing Native culture and cannery culture in the context of the natural world. Poetic license notwithstanding, the label is compelling because of its aesthetic and fanciful view of life around a salmon cannery on Nushagak Bay; it seems to capture the pertinent parts of the Bristol Bay commercial salmon industry and the life-style it helped create.

NOTE:

[1] Anthony Netboy. *The Salmon: Their Fight for Survival,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974, 247.

UNLESS NOTED, ALL LABEL IMAGES ARE COURTESY OF KAREN HOFSTAD


HUME BROS. & HUME
Pioneer
BRAND
ALASKA
RED
CONTENTS
ONE POUND
Salmon
PACKED BY
NORTHWESTERN FISHERIES CO.
SEATTLE, U.S.A.
PACKED
IN ALASKA
HUME BROS. & HUME
PIONEER
BRAND
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.
ALASKA RED
Salmon
PACKED BY
NORTHWESTERN FISHERIES CO.
SEATTLE, U.S.A.


HARPOON
BRAND
ALASKA
SALMON
PACKED AT
NUSHAGAK-RIVER
ALASKA

MARINERS FLAG
BRAND



FANCY ALASKA SOCKEYE
SALMON

PACKED BY
ALASKA SALMON CO.
AT BRISTOL BAY, ALASKA.
OFFICE: SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. U.S.A.

NET CONTENTS 1 LB.
FRESH SALMON
¼ OZ. SALT



COOKED
AFTER SEALING

EMPTY CONTENTS
SOON AS OPENED
PRODUCT OF U. S. A.

MARINERS FLAG
BRAND



FANCY ALASKA SOCKEYE
SALMON

PACKED BY
ALASKA SALMON CO.
AT BRISTOL BAY, ALASKA.
OFFICE: SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. U.S.A.

Mohawk
BRAND



CONTENTS
1 LB.

SALT ADDED
FOR SEASONING

ALASKA MEDIUM RED
SALMON

PACKED FOR
FRANK B. PETERSON CO.
SEATTLE 4, WASH., U.S.A.

Mohawk
BRAND
ALASKA MEDIUM RED
SALMON



Salmon Garden Bowl

2 one-pound tall cans of Salmon
1 large head lettuce
1½ cups diced celery
5 hard-cooked eggs
¼ cup sliced green onions
1 medium-sized bag potato chips (4½ oz.)

Drain salmon, separate into 4 large pieces. Line a salad bowl with frilly lettuce leaves; shred remaining lettuce and arrange in bottom of bowl. Add diced celery and onion. Slice 3 of the eggs over the celery and lettuce. Crush potato chips coarsely (about 1½ to 2 cups) and spread over eggs. Arrange salmon over top. Cut remaining eggs in halves and use for garnish. Serve with this dressing: Combine 2 cups mayonnaise, 2 tbsps. prepared mustard, 5 tbsps. vinegar, and 2 tbsps. minced parsley; pour part of the dressing over salad just before serving, and pass remainder separately. Serves 6 to 8.

1495

PIRATE

BRAND



SALT ADDED FOR SEASONING

Salmon

NET WEIGHT 16 OZ. (1 LB.)

PACKED FOR
FRANK B. PETERSON CO., INC
SEATTLE, WASH. 98105
U.S.A.



CAUGHT IN ICY ALASKA WATERS

PIRATE BRAND SALMON RECIPES

SALMON LOAF

1 cup soft bread crumbs; ½ teaspoon salt, dash pepper; ½ teaspoon dry mustard; 2 tablespoons melted butter; ½ cup milk; 1 can PIRATE BRAND salmon; 2 eggs. Combine the crumbs with the seasonings and butter. Add the milk, the liquid and oil from the salmon, and the slightly beaten eggs; mix well. Flake the salmon and add to the egg mixture. Turn into a shallow, oiled baking pan and bake in a moderate oven (350 F) about 45 minutes, or until firm and browned. Serve plain, garnished with lemon sections, or with a sauce. Six servings.

LADIES' CHOICE SALAD

Flake one can of PIRATE BRAND Salmon and mix with 1 cup of diced celery. Mix thoroughly with boiled salad dressing. Place lettuce leaves on a chop plate. In the center heap the salmon mixture, pyramid fashion, press lightly into the sides 1 dozen stuffed olives. Arrange around the edge 2 or 3 tomatoes sliced, with a ball of cottage cheese (moistened with salad dressing) in the center of each. Between slices of tomato place a small radish, green stem upwards.

Enjoy Canned Salmon the Year Around

70 105 1447

ARCTIC RED

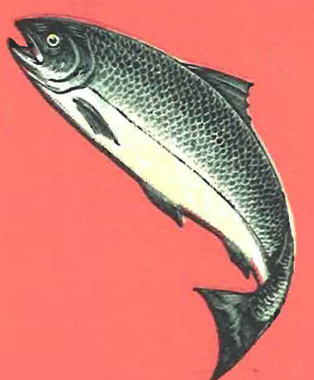
GUARANTEED BY ALASKA PACKERS ASSOCIATION UNDER THE FOOD AND DRUGS ACT, JUNE 30, 1906. U. S. SERIAL NO. 10595

ALASKA PACKERS ASSOCIATION
SAN FRANCISCO.
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

PACKED IN ALASKA - TRADE MARK REGISTERED
EMPTY IMMEDIATELY AFTER OPENING



CONTENTS — 1 LB. FRESH SALMON, ¼ OZ. SALT
COOKED IN CAN AFTER SEALING



SALMON

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

ARCTIC RED

SALMON

ARCTIC RED

SALMON

NET WEIGHT OF CONTENTS 1 LB

Libby's

King
Alaska
SALMON

Libby, McNeill & Libby, Chicago.

REMOVE THE ENTIRE CONTENTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER OPENING. KEEP UNUSED PORTION IN A DISH AND IN A COOL PLACE.

PACKED BY
Libby McNeill & Libby
CHICAGO U.S.A.

NET WEIGHT OF CONTENTS 1 LB.

Libby's

King
Alaska
SALMON



Packed in Alaska.

NET WEIGHT OF CONTENTS 8 OZ.

Libby's

King
Alaska
SALMON

Libby, McNeill & Libby, Chicago.

PACKED AND GUARANTEED BY
Libby, McNeill & Libby
MAIN OFFICE
CHICAGO

NET WEIGHT OF CONTENTS 8 OZ.

Libby's

King
Alaska
SALMON



Packed in Alaska

REMOVE THE ENTIRE CONTENTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER OPENING. KEEP UNUSED PORTION IN A DISH AND IN A COOL PLACE.

CONTENTS 1 LB. NET

Libby's

Red
Alaska
SALMON

Libby, McNeill & Libby, Chicago.

1-13

REMOVE THE ENTIRE CONTENTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER OPENING KEEP UNUSED PORTION IN A DISH AND IN A COOL PLACE

PACKED AND GUARANTEED BY
Libby, McNeill & Libby
SERIAL Nº288
CHICAGO

CONTENTS 1 LB. NET

Libby's

Red
Alaska
SALMON



Packed in Alaska.

NET WEIGHT 8 OZ.

Libby's

Red
Chinook
SALMON

Libby, McNeill & Libby, Chicago.

20-29 SAN 1¾ X 11⅞

HAND PACKED BY
Libby, McNeill & Libby
CHICAGO
U. S. A.

NET WEIGHT 8 OZ.

Libby's

Fancy
Chinook
SALMON



REMOVE THE ENTIRE CONTENTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER OPENING. KEEP UNUSED PORTION IN A DISH AND IN A COOL PLACE.


NET WEIGHT OF CONTENTS 1 LB.
Libby's
King
Alaska
SALMON
Libby, McNeill & Libby, Chicago.
1-16 SANITARY
REMOVE THE ENTIRE CONTENTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER OPENING KEEP UNUSED PORTION IN A DISH AND IN A COOL PLACE
PACKED AND GUARANTEED BY
Libby, McNeill & Libby
MAIN OFFICE
CHICAGO
NET WEIGHT OF CONTENTS 1 LB.
Libby's
King Alaska SALMON
KING
Packed in Alaska


NET WEIGHT OF CONTENTS 8 OZ.
Libby's
King
Alaska
SALMON
Libby, McNeill & Libby, Chicago.
PACKED BY
Libby, McNeill & Libby
CHICAGO
U. S. A.
NET WEIGHT OF CONTENTS 8 OZ.
Libby's
King Alaska SALMON
KING
Packed in Alaska
REMOVE THE ENTIRE CONTENTS IMMEDIATELY AFTER OPENING. KEEP UNUSE PORTION IN A DISH AN IN A COOL PLACE

BALBOA

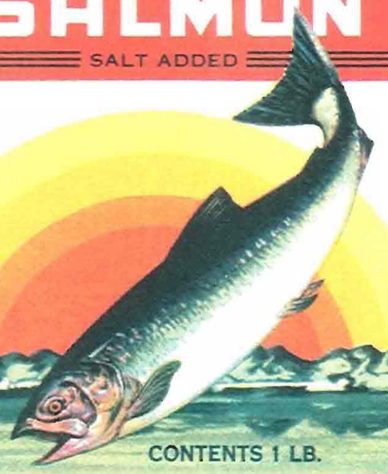
ALASKA CHUM

SALMON

SALT ADDED

DISTRIBUTED BY
SKINNER & EDDY
CORPORATION
SEATTLE
WASHINGTON

PRODUCT OF U. S. A.



PACKED FOR
BRISTOL BAY
PACKING COMPANY
SEATTLE
WASHINGTON

PRODUCT OF U. S. A.

CONTENTS 1 LB.

F-569-47

1-48 SAN. 4⅛ X 9¼

Libby's

100 FAMOUS FOODS . . . TABLE-READY

PRODUCT	SALMON
VARIETY	RED ALASKA SOCKEYE
SEASONING	SALT
CAN SIZE	NO. 1 TALL
AMOUNT	APPROX. 2 CUPS
SERVINGS	4

Caught in the waters of Alaska, this salmon has a fine flavor. It is firm in texture, and contains considerable oil—important for vitamin D.

Libby's Salmon chilled, is delicious just as it comes from the can. Use it for entrees, salads and sandwiches.

PACKED IN LIBBY'S ALASKAN CANNERIES

Libby's



NET WEIGHT 1 LB.
454 GRAMS

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RED ALASKA SOCKEYE SALMON

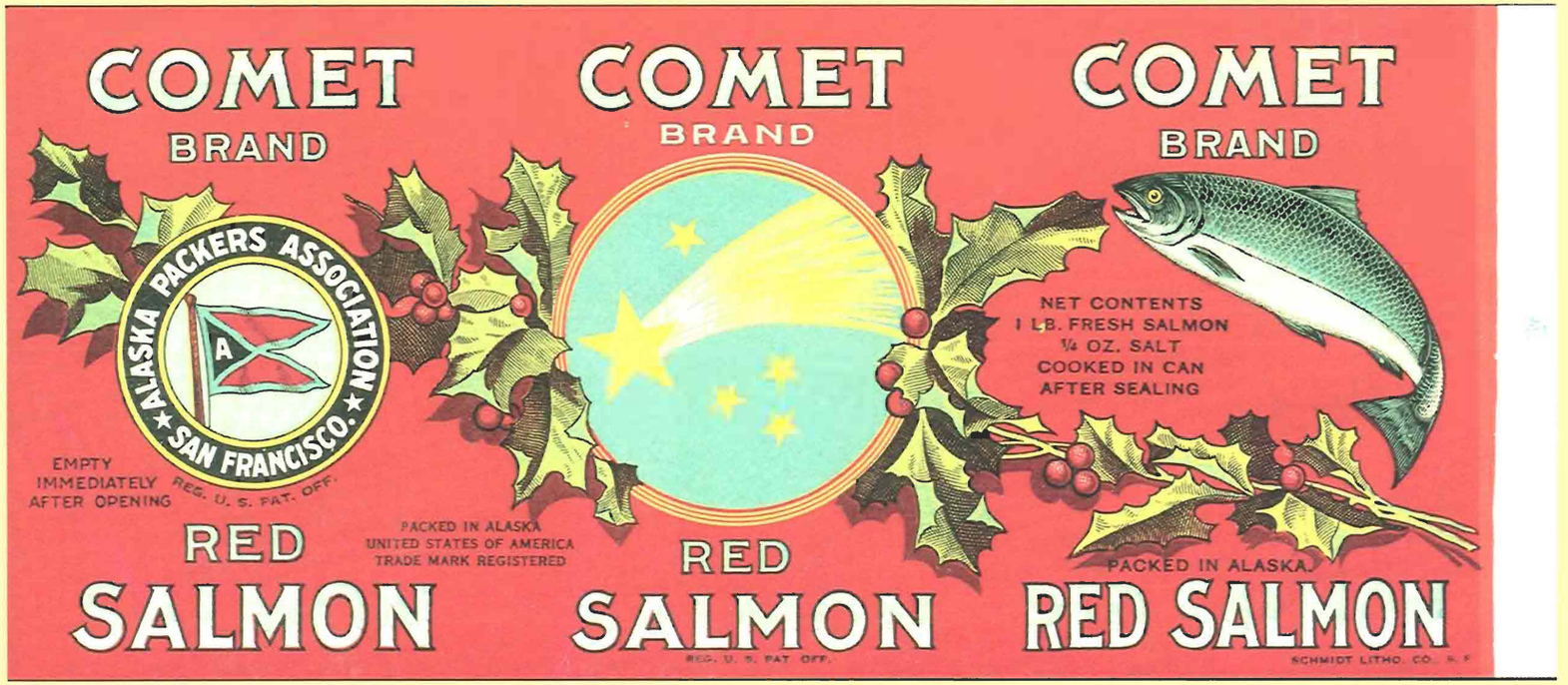
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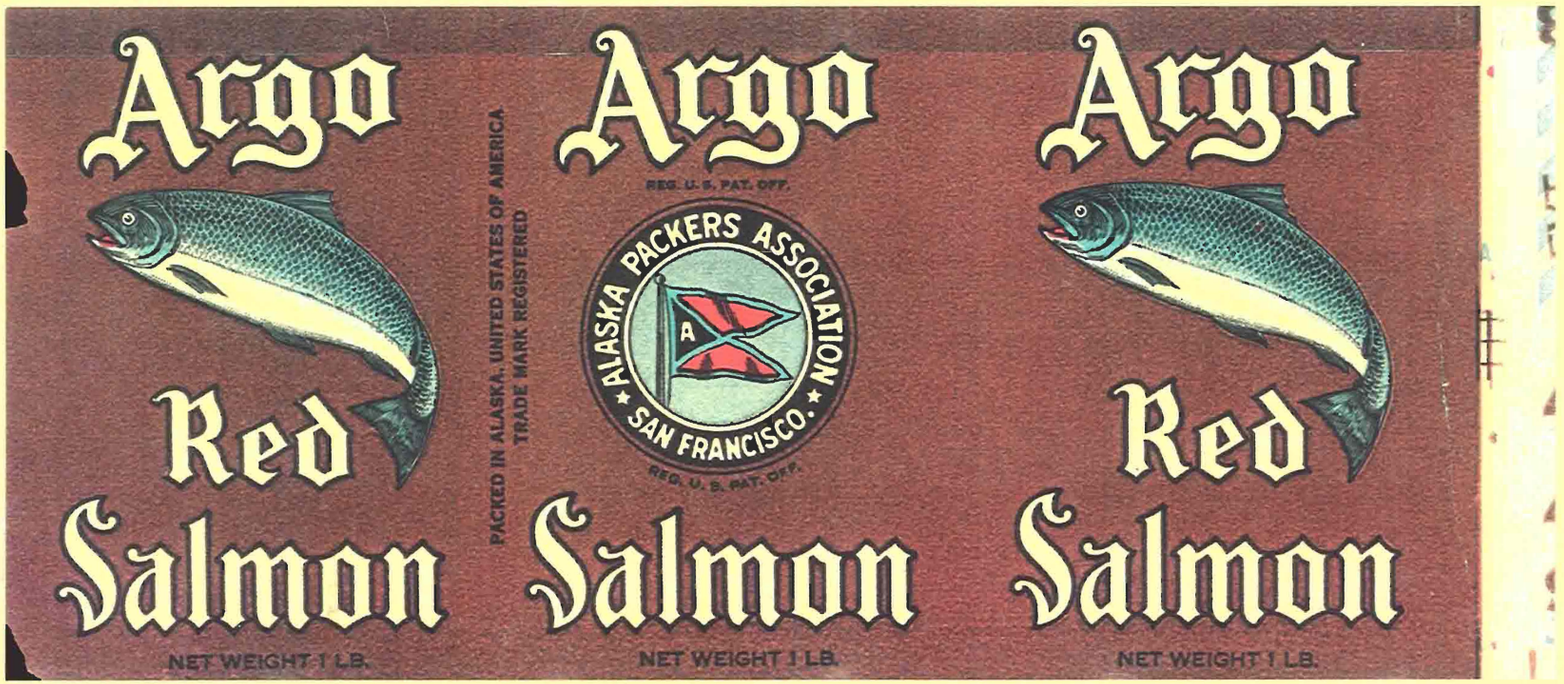
INGREDIENTS
RED ALASKA SOCKEYE SALMON
ADDED SALT

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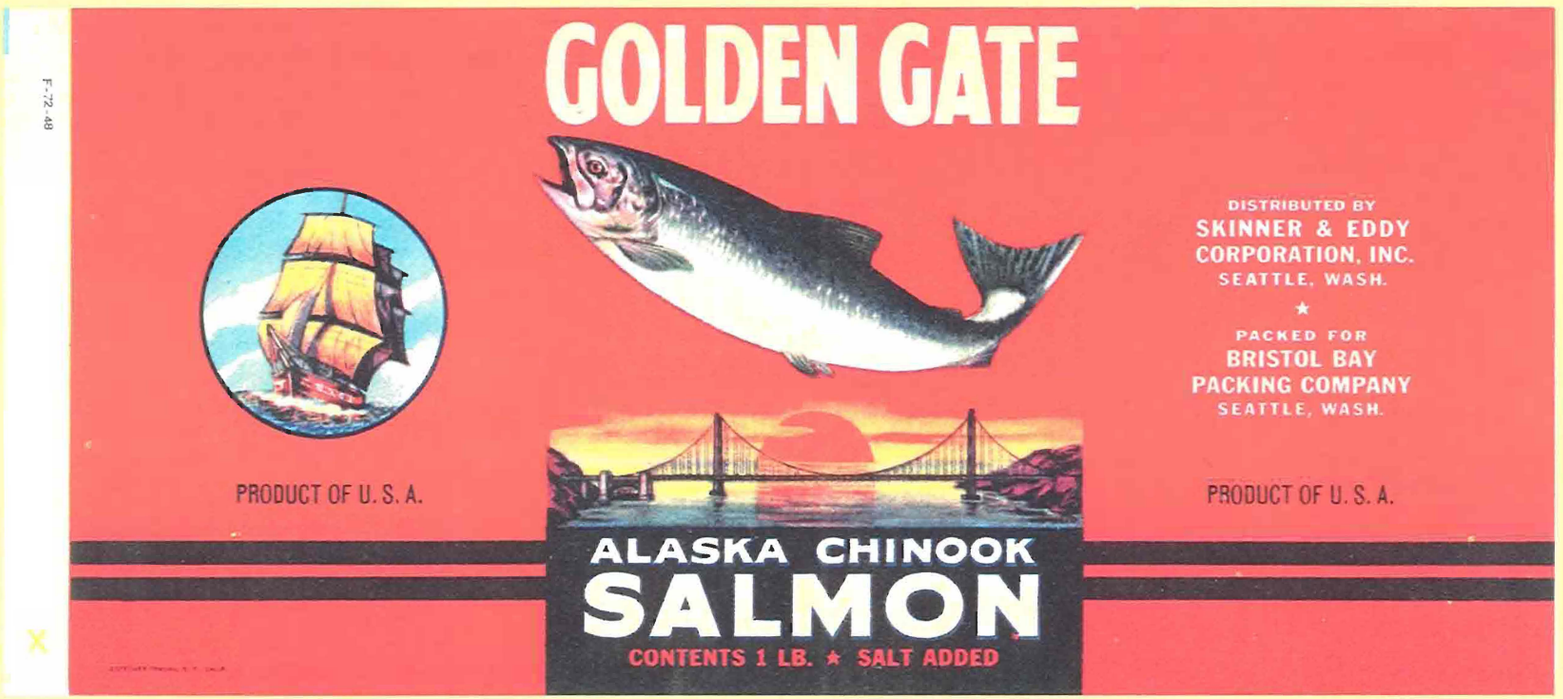
PACKED BY
Libby, McNeill & Libby
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

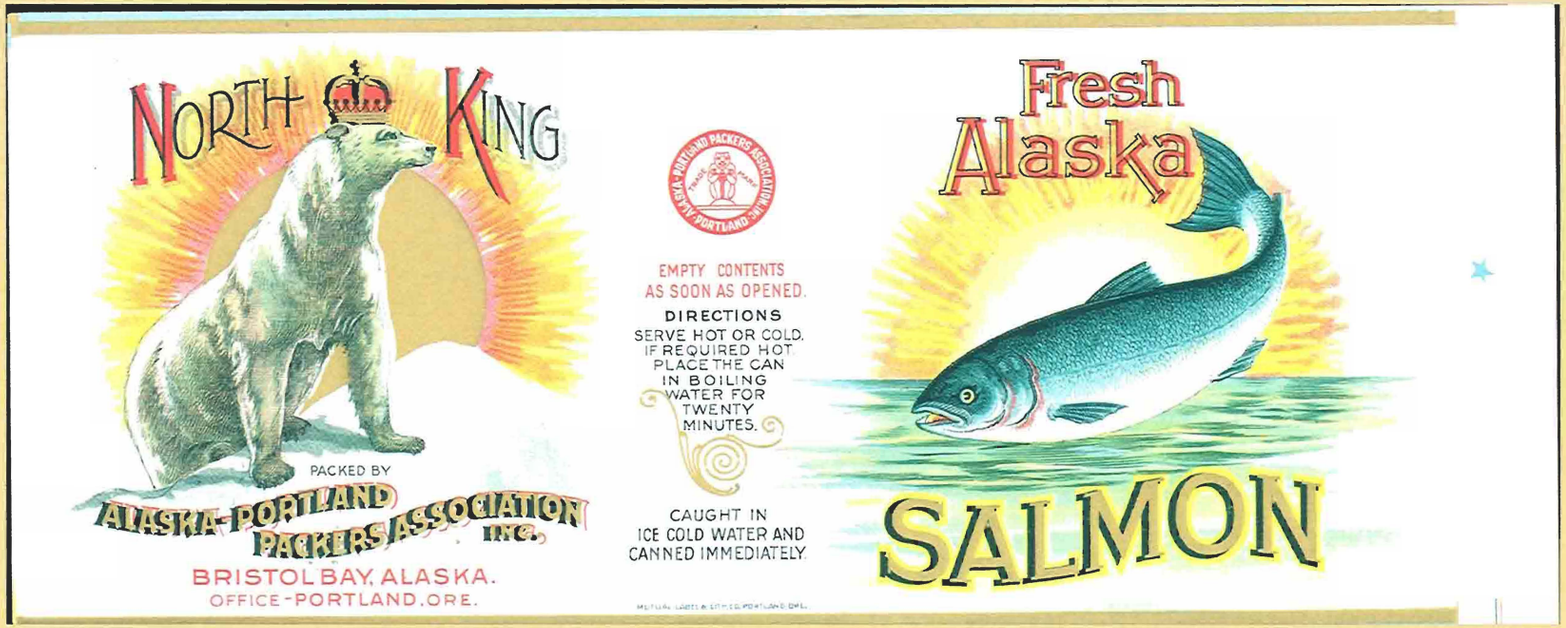
MADE IN U. S. A.


COMET
BRAND
COMET
BRAND
COMET
BRAND
ALASKA PACKERS ASSOCIATION
SAN FRANCISCO.
EMPTY
IMMEDIATELY
AFTER OPENING
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
PACKED IN ALASKA
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TRADE MARK REGISTERED
NET CONTENTS
1 LB. FRESH SALMON
¼ OZ. SALT
COOKED IN CAN
AFTER SEALING
PACKED IN ALASKA
RED
SALMON
RED
SALMON
RED SALMON
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
SCHMIDT LITHO. CO. S. F.


Argo
Red
Salmon
PACKED IN ALASKA, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TRADE MARK REGISTERED
Argo
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
ALASKA PACKERS ASSOCIATION
SAN FRANCISCO.
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.
Salmon
Argo
Red
Salmon
NET WEIGHT 1 LB.
NET WEIGHT 1 LB.
NET WEIGHT 1 LB.


CHOICE RED ALASKA
Salmon
PACIFIC PACKING & NAVIGATION CO.
NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO, SEATTLE.
TRADE MARK
REGISTERED
Pilgrim Brand


F-72-49
GOLDEN GATE
PRODUCT OF U. S. A.
DISTRIBUTED BY
SKINNER & EDDY CORPORATION, INC.
SEATTLE, WASH.
★
PACKED FOR
BRISTOL BAY PACKING COMPANY
SEATTLE, WASH.
PRODUCT OF U. S. A.
ALASKA CHINOOK
SALMON
CONTENTS 1 LB. ★ SALT ADDED

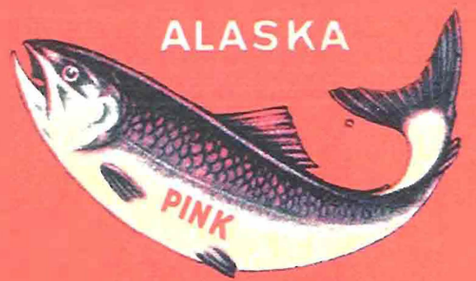

NORTH KING
PACKED BY
ALASKA-PORTLAND PACKERS ASSOCIATION INC.
BRISTOL BAY, ALASKA.
OFFICE-PORTLAND, ORE.
ALASKA-PORTLAND PACKERS ASSOCIATION INC. PORTLAND, OREGON
EMPTY CONTENTS AS SOON AS OPENED.
DIRECTIONS
SERVE HOT OR COLD. IF REQUIRED HOT PLACE THE CAN IN BOILING WATER FOR TWENTY MINUTES.
CAUGHT IN ICE COLD WATER AND CANNED IMMEDIATELY.
Fresh Alaska
SALMON


Fresh Alaska
SALMON
CONTENTS 1 POUND
ALASKA-PORTLAND PACKERS ASSOCIATION INC. PORTLAND, OREGON
CAUGHT IN ICE COLD WATER CANNED IMMEDIATELY
DIRECTIONS
SERVE COLD OR HOT. IF REQUIRED HOT, PLACE CAN IN BOILING WATER FOR TWENTY MINUTES.
EMPTY CAN AS SOON AS OPENED
MONK BRAND
PACKED FOR ALASKA-PORTLAND PACKERS ASS'N
INCORPORATED
BELLINGHAM, WASHINGTON.
Bristol Bay, Alaska.

LABEL LITHOGRAPHED IN U. S. A.

O.K.
BRAND

ALASKA



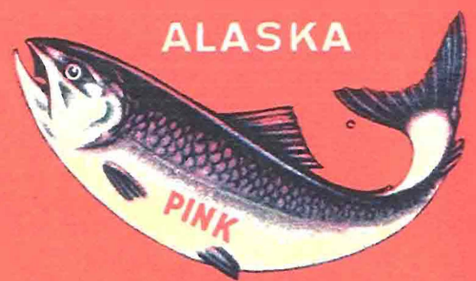
REPROCESSED
SALMON
CONTENTS ONE POUND

DISTRIBUTED BY
ALASKA
RED SALMON
PACKERS, INC.
SEATTLE, WASH.
U.S.A.

SALT ADDED
FOR SEASONING

O.K.
BRAND

ALASKA



REPROCESSED
SALMON
CONTENTS ONE POUND

Royal Standard Brand

NET CONTENTS 1 LB.

FRESH SALMON
¼ OZ. SALT



FANCY
ALASKA SOCKEYE
SALMON

PACKED BY
ALASKA SALMON CO.
AT BRISTOL BAY, ALASKA U.S.A.
OFFICE: SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.



COOKED
AFTER SEALING

EMPTY CONTENTS
SOON AS OPENED

Royal Standard Brand



FANCY
ALASKA SOCKEYE
SALMON

PACKED BY
ALASKA SALMON CO.
AT BRISTOL BAY, ALASKA U.S.A.
OFFICE: SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

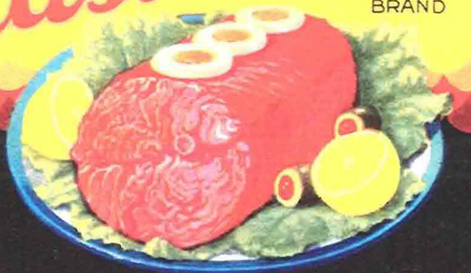
Bendiksen's
East Point
BRAND



DISTRIBUTORS
E. H. BENDIKSEN CO.
OCEAN PARK
WASH.

RED ALASKA SOCKEYE
SALMON
SALT ADDED
NET CONTENTS 1 LB

Bendiksen's
East Point
BRAND



RED ALASKA SOCKEYE
SALMON
SALT ADDED
NET CONTENTS 1 LB

1446

ICE KIST
BRAND

PRODUCT OF U. S. A.

NET CONTENTS 1 LB.
¼ OZ. SALT





EMPTY
CONTENTS
AS SOON AS
OPENED

ICE KIST
BRAND



SALMON

COOKED IN CAN AFTER SEALING.

Packed by
ALASKA SALMON CO.
AT BRISTOL BAY, ALASKA.
OFFICE: SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

SALMON

U.S.A.

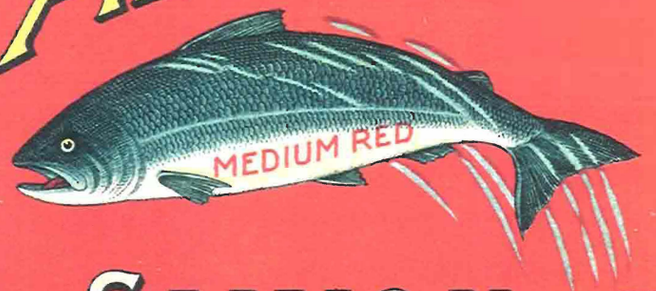


COURTESY MELVIN MONSEN, JR.



FRESH

ALASKA



SALMON

EMPTY CONTENTS OF CAN AS SOON AS OPENED

CONTENTS
1 LB. FRESH SALMON
1/4 OZ. SALT
COOKED IN CAN AFTER SEALING

A.S.Co

WIGWAG BRAND



PACKED BY
ALASKA SALMON CO.
BEHRING SEA, ALASKA.
MAIN OFFICE: SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

TRADING LABEL & LITHO. CO. S.F.

MOOSE HEAD
BRAND
PACKED BY

ALASKA PACKERS ASSOCIATION
SAN FRANCISCO.

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

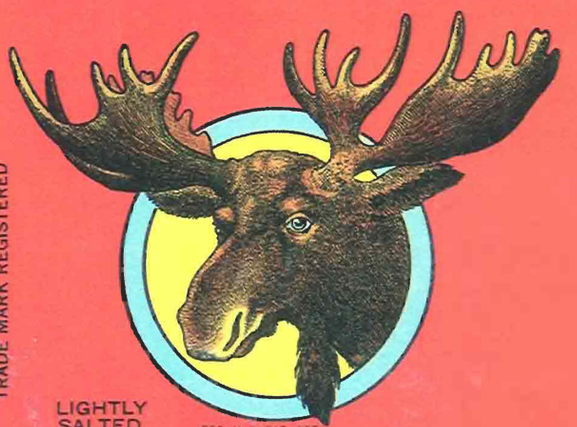
LIGHTLY SALTED

RED SALMON

CONTENTS 1 LB.

PACKED IN ALASKA, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TRADE MARK REGISTERED

MOOSE HEAD

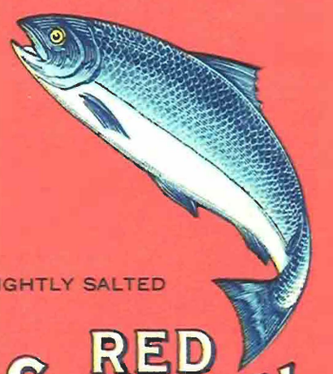


LIGHTLY SALTED

RED SALMON

CONTENTS 1 LB.

MOOSE HEAD
BRAND



LIGHTLY SALTED

RED SALMON

CONTENTS 1 LB.

3592

The Canneries, Cabins, and Caches of Bristol Bay, Alaska chronicles the world's greatest concentration of salmon canneries and their influence on Native and non-Native people in southwestern Alaska. This book documents long abandoned canneries, and those still in use, during the hey-day in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with maps, historic photographs, and first hand accounts that give the reader an impression of the unique Bristol Bay way of life.

The Canneries, Cabins, and Caches of Bristol Bay, Alaska also offers a view of life upriver, during the winter, along the length and breadth of the three great salmon rivers in the Bay, the Nushagak, the Kvichak, and the Naknek. Historic photographs document a variety of cabins, houses, caches and some of the people who built them and relied on them for shelter and storage.

Over the past 120 years the Bristol Bay region has produced some outstanding characters, people such as John W. Clark, Butch Smith and his Yup'ik wife Alaq'aq, Anton Balluta, Harold "Holly" Foss, "Hard Working Tom" Overwik, "100 Fox" Scotty Irons, "Whitehead Pete" Nelson, Ole Wassenkari, John Idavain, Mary Ann Trefon, Brown Carlson, and Nels and Rose Hedlund come alive in these pages. Journey back to a simpler time to the great sailboat fishery, and follow some of the men and women who harvested the seemingly inexhaustible supply of salmon in the summer and spent their winters trapping, hunting, and mushing dogs in the isolated paradise of the Bristol Bay country.

