Kobuk River
Human-Land Relationships
(Summary Report)

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Editor

Including an Oral History
with Rose Custer
and
Interviews with
Ed Iten and Raymond Woods

Interviewed by
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Transcripts
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Abstract

This report summarizes data collected for the third year of the Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project, and discusses findings from all three years. In the third year, researchers interviewed one elder respondent, Rose Tickett Custer, and two younger respondents, Ed Iten and Raymond Woods.

Rose Custer's life history added to the elder life histories previously collected. The life histories describe a small, self-sufficient, semi-nomadic society living apart from the villages during the first half of the 20th century. Rose Custer's family lived in Kobuk during part of her childhood. When the school in Kobuk moved down to Shungnak in the late 1920s, her family returned up river to Qala to live year round. This was a new explanation for the persistence of the up-river community.

Ed Iten provided a view of life at the mouth of the Pah River in the late 1970s, almost 50 years after Rose's childhood in the area, and also provided the settlement entry perspective. He described an active seasonal subsistence community at *Ɬaaki* in 1977, with virtually no non-local activities in the area. Ed also provided a glimpse of Joseph Harvey, an *Iñupiaq* elder who lived alone just below Mauneluk River until his death in 1998. Raymond Woods described how his experiences in the National Guard helped prepare him to operate his own business, transporting non-local hunters and fishers up the river from Kobuk and Shungnak.

About 1980, non-local use of the area began to increase and the rate of increase accelerated in the mid 1990s following the development of local transporter business. The Kobuk provided a case example of how local people resisted the non-local expansions, aggressively and unlawfully in one instance, and through formal regulatory mechanisms in another. Neither response was successful in changing patterns of non-local use of the area, but both raised awareness of local concerns.

Providing services to non-local hunters, fishers, and floaters could be an ideal business for local, rural Native people. Local transporters on the upper Kobuk found, though, that it was a challenging business. Because they based their operations in the communities and used the river corridor, they were much more visible to their fellow citizens than were the air taxi transporters, and they also were more subject to social pressures, factors which complicated the operations of their businesses.

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I
Introduction

This report summarizes and discusses data collected in the Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project, a cooperative effort funded by the National Park Service and conducted by the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. The project explored human-land relationships through oral histories of nine elder *Iñupiaq* Eskimo residents of the upper Kobuk River area, through interviews with two younger residents, and by documenting attempts to resolve recent user conflicts in the area.

This is the third phase of a multi-phase research effort. In the short term, the project was intended to help land and resource managers better understand and work to resolve conflicts between local and non-local users of the area. In the longer term, the project is intended to add to existing knowledge of the history, settlement patterns, social organization, and subsistence activities of the people of the upper Kobuk River. Researchers hoped that some of the data gathered in this project – particularly the audio material in the *Iñupiaq* Eskimo language – could be used in a multimedia program about upper Kobuk River history for use in schools, visitor centers, and other educational and scientific contexts.

Background

The study area included the upper Kobuk River watershed in northwest Alaska from the confluence of the Ambler and Kobuk Rivers upstream to its headwaters within Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, focusing specifically on areas within and adjacent to the park and preserve. Virtually all permanent residents of the area were indigenous *Iñupiaq* Eskimo.

During the late 20th century, the number of non-local hunters, fishers, and recreational users in the upper Kobuk watershed increased substantially. Especially when hunting and fishing were involved, local and non-local residents competed for limited resources in a limited area and, periodically, came into conflict with one another. The most dramatic conflict occurred in 1998 when five intoxicated local men robbed and threatened four parties of non-local hunters at gunpoint. Subtle conflicts occurred more frequently, as local *Iñupiaq* changed their hunting and fishing patterns to avoid contact with non-local hunters and fishers. These latter conflicts were literally invisible to non-local residents.

For their part, non-local hunters were facing similar pressures. Prohibited from hunting in the new national parks created by the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) in 1981, they moved to less restricted areas in Alaska. The Alaska Board of Game responded to some local user conflicts by creating controlled use areas (CUAs) such the Noatak CUA and the Koyukuk CUA. Controlled use areas, which usually limited access methods, were quite successful where they were applied. But they displaced some users to the ever smaller areas still open to entry, which in turn sometimes created new user conflicts. In short, the number of people seeking to hunt and fish in remote Alaska was increasing, while the lands open to hunting and fishing were diminishing. Absent strong management, increased demand by hunters also threatened to diminish fish and game populations.

In theory, increasing demand (by hunters) and diminishing supply (of lands and resources) should create new economic opportunities for commercial operators – the guides, transporters, and outfitters – because the price of providing those services should go up. But in practice, the opposite seemed to be happening. To maximize their competitive advantage, operators invest in bigger and faster boats or airplanes. In the short term, individual operators profit by adding capacity and transporting more hunters. In the long term, as commercial fishing histories clearly show, such industries tend to over-

capitalize and operate at a loss overall.

Economic stresses on operators translated into political pressures on managers to over-exploit resources. Management was complicated by a patchwork of land ownership, and by differing goals and authorities of the various land owners and resource managers. Various groups of land and resource managers, local residents, and non-local users of the region met in the late 1990s and early 2000s to attempt to resolve some of the problems. In 2005, the state legislature established a Big Game Commercial Services Board to regulate providers of commercial hunting services, but it was too early to know what impact the new board would have.

It was clear that a *laissez faire* approach to commercial hunting services could result in a commons tragedy such as those found in commercial fisheries, and at the expense of subsistence hunting and fishing. These kinds of user conflicts were by no means unique to the upper Kobuk River. If anything, they were even more evident in Kotzebue, a regional center 200 miles to the west. At this writing, similar user conflicts were occurring throughout rural Alaska.

Purposes and Objectives

The purpose of this research was to explore human-land relationships on the upper Kobuk River during the twentieth century. Key respondents identified specific places that were significant to the key respondents, explored the nature of the human-land relationships for each place and respondent, discussed how these relationships had changed over time, and explored the significance of these places to respondents' children and grandchildren. The objective of this phase of the study was this report, presenting a summary of findings and transcripts of the initial series of interviews.

Research Questions

The report addressed a number of research questions on human-land relationships on the upper Kobuk River, including the following:

> Where were settlements located on the upper Kobuk River in the twentieth century?
>
> How did settlement patterns changed during the twentieth century, and why?
>
> How did residents of these settlements adapt to changing social and economic conditions?
>
> What impact did changes in land status have on human-land relationships?
>
> What impact have allotment programs had on human-land relationships?
>
> What impact did non-local users have on human-land relationships?
>
> How did human-land relationships differ among the elder respondents, their children, and grandchildren at the time of the study?

These types of questions served as the focus of the research.

Rationale, Literature Review

The researchers' basic premise was that the *Iñupiat* experience of the upper Kobuk River was fundamentally different than the experience of non-local users. Most state and federal land and resource managers were from outside the area, and thus were most familiar with non-local perspectives. To the extent that non-local managers better understood the *Iñupiat* experience in the area, they would be better equipped to manage lands and resources for the benefit of all users, and could better inform non-local users of the unique circumstances of the lands they visit.

The principal researcher was familiar with the area and its residents. He had lived in Northwest Alaska almost continuously since 1979. He lived in Shungnak in 1979-80, and has owned a cabin on the Mauneluk River since 1989. He has known most of the key respondents interviewed in this project for more than 20 years, and has traveled in the area by boat, snowmachine, dog team, and small aircraft.

Researchers adopted an oral history approach for several reasons. Although the respondents all could speak English, in almost every instance their first language was *Iñupiaq* Eskimo. Recording interviews on tape allowed respondents to answer questions in their primary language; their responses could be translated later. With a taped record, proper spellings of place names and subtle meanings could be reviewed anytime.

Other research approaches were considered – spe-

cifically, a household survey of opinions about land use and conflicts. Researchers decided against the survey approach because of the abstract or open-ended nature of the questions, types of questions that often were unsuccessful in previous survey research in northwest Alaska.

The oral history approach also encouraged collaboration between researchers and respondents. Although interview guides were used to structure interviews, they often were modified for specific circumstances after discussing the content and direction of a scheduled interview with a respondent. Both parties were able to influence the content and direction of the interviews. By comparison, a survey approach places all the control over the content of a session with the researcher.

Oral history methods have been used extensively throughout Alaska and Canada to document native history and biography (e.g. Bodfish 1991, Cruikshank et al 1990, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer n.d., Hall 1975, Pete n.d., Schneider 1976). Previous research in the Kobuk area has successfully employed the oral history approach. Foote's recordings with Robert *Nasruk* Cleveland were the basis for an extensive collection of *Kuuvaŋmiut* legends. NANA Elder's conference recordings were the basis for a series of books published by the school district, documenting community histories and traditional stories (Lee et al 1990, Lee et al 1992, Mendenhall 1989). Oral life histories also were a significant component of *Kuuvaŋmiut Subsistence,* an encyclopedic study of Kobuk River subsistence practices in the 1970s (Anderson et al 1998). A common theme of these works was the *Kuuvaŋmiut*'s close connection with and reliance upon the landscape, as described by Nelson:

> Although they have experienced profound cultural changes over the past century, the *Kuuvaŋmiut* remain deeply involved with living on and from the land… Kobuk villagers' interest in subsistence goes far deeper than the purely economic, because the patterning of their entire culture and society is deeply rooted in subsistence living. Relationships among people are closely bound to the need for cooperative endeavors and sharing the wild harvest. Traditional modes of child rearing, education, and recreation are directly related to the hunting and gathering livelihood. (Anderson et al 1998:269)

Nelson, Giddings, Ray, and Burch have been the primary contributors to the ethnographic portrait of northwest Alaska Inupiat in general. Burch has described the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* in particular (1998a, 1998b).

Burch, Jones, Loon, and Kaplan have raised questions about the genesis of the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* (Burch et al 1999). They proposed that the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* were a Koyukon Athabaskan society as recently as 1850, and were assimilated rapidly and peacefully into *Iñupiaq* Eskimo society between 1860 and 1880. Their theory is based on place name data, and on early ethnographic observations by Nelson (1899), Stoney (1900), Curtis (1930), Sun (1985), and others. The ethnogenesis theory was not widely accepted among *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* descendents themselves. They thought the upper Kobuk may have been inhabited by *itkillich* ("Indians"), but they accepted the conventional view that *Iñupiat* pushed them out of the upper Kobuk. *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* legends abound with stories of wars with Indians, which tended to support the conventional view.

The earliest written accounts of life on the upper Kobuk River date from 1884 and 1885, when Cantwell (1887, 1889) and Stoney (1900) conducted separate explorations of the region. Stoney's party spent the winter of 1885-86 living in a log cabin at the mouth of Cosmos Creek, about 10 miles below the community of Shungnak. Cantwell's and Stoney's accounts both provide views of the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* in a near pre-contact status. Stoney and his men traveled widely, into the Noatak valley and as far north as Point Barrow, providing an extensive record of conditions at the time.

The next accounts of life on the Kobuk date from 1900, when an estimated 1,000 gold prospectors spread out across the valley. Gold was discovered near the community of Kobuk, a mission school soon followed, and the settlement patterns and economic life of the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* began to change rapidly. Roberts' history of the Friends Church

provides considerable detail from the missionaries' perspective (1978). Other accounts, such as those by Grinnell (1901) and Oman (1975) – although focused on the central and lower Kobuk valley -- are useful in understanding conditions on the upper Kobuk in the early twentieth century.

In 1940, archeologist J. Louis Giddings floated down the Kobuk River, and encountered Henry Stocking's and Roxie Douglas' families at the confluence of the Mauneluk and Kobuk rivers (Giddings 1977:297-302). Giddings' work continued in the area until his death in the 1960s. Giddings published accounts of *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* life as recalled by four respondents, including a short account by Mike *Qakiq* Commack, who lived at the confluence of the Pah and Kobuk rivers (Giddings 1961), and an ethnographic portrait of the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* (Giddings 1956).

Georgette and Loon have documented contemporary subsistence practices, including those for brown bear and Dall sheep (Loon and Georgette 1989, Georgette and Loon 1991). Conflicts between local and non-local residents over fishing also have been described (Georgette and Loon 1990). Contemporary life on the upper Kobuk has been described in a series of popular and insightful accounts by an Ambler teacher, Nick Jans (1994, 1996).

For the most part, the literature has focused on the distant past or on the present. Less well reported have been patterns of settlement and land use in the early twentieth century, and decisions made by individuals and families as the social and economic conditions of the state and nation changed dramatically. Of all observers, Giddings was especially well situated to document those times. But, understandably, he was interested in documenting pre-contact conditions while knowledgeable informants were still alive. So the literature has included less about respondents' own early lives than their ancestors' circumstances.

Products

In the project as a whole, a number of different presentations of the data are possible, including written reports, maps, and multi-media programs. This report is the third product; it adds to the findings previously published in progress reports for the first and second years.

In this report, Chapter 2 discusses research methods, Chapter 3 provides an overview of the setting, and Chapter 4 summarizes interviews with the respondents. Chapter 5, in a departure from the two previous reports, discusses the growth of non-local hunting on the upper Kobuk River, describes an extreme incident of conflict in September 1998, and summarizes the Board of Game's deliberations on a proposed controlled use area on the upper Kobuk River. Chapter 6 summarizes this report, as well as the two prior project reports in the series.

Translations and transcripts of interviews with the respondents are contained in Appendix 3, Appendix 4, and Appendix 5. Appendix 6 includes minutes and transcripts from the regulatory meetings involving the controlled use area proposals.

2
Methods

This project attempted to explore human-land relationships in depth from the perspectives of a relatively few elder *Iñupiaq* residents. In this final year, the project also interviewed two younger residents with different perspectives, a 48-year-old resident of Shungnak who operated a business transporting hunters and fishers in the Pah River area, and a 51-year-old resident of Kotzebue who lived in several remote camps in the Pah River area in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The latter two respondents provided different perspectives on human-land relationships in the study area.

In the elder interview, researchers conduced a series of structured interviews to identify significant places in the elder's life, and gathered information about the people, activities, and events at each place. Interviews were conducted in *Iñupiaq* by a researcher fluent in *Iñupiaq*. In the other interviews, researcher conducted a direct interview focusing on activities in the Pah River area. Most interviews were conducted in respondents' homes.

From these data, researchers attempted to construct a coherent, chronological narrative of each elder's life or, in the case of younger respondents, the portions of their lives germane to the research. The narrative emphasized the places occupied and used by the respondent.

During the three years of the project, researchers developed a genealogical database of upper Kobuk families. By the third year, the database included 618 individuals, only two of whom were not linked to at least one other person in the genealogy. The genealogy emphasized people who would have been alive during the first half of the 20th century, and their ancestors. Birthdates collected from respondents, census, and school records were known for 295 of the 618 individuals (48 percent). Of those individuals with known birthdates, 277 (94 percent) were born before 1950. The age distribution for individuals with unknown birthdates was believed to be similar.

Researchers frequently used the genealogy to verify names in the transcripts and to write the summary narratives. During interviews, respondents identified people in various ways: English and *Iñupiaq* names, maiden and married names, and formal names and nicknames. For example, Susie Stocking also was known as Susie White, and Susie Wood. *Iñupiaq* personal names are often altered to reflect the person's character, personality, or manner. Wilson Ticket was *Aliqsi*, but he was also known as *Aliqsaiyaq*. Susie Stocking was *Anigniq*, but was also known as *Anignauraq* (Armstrong 2004).

Sample

In the first and second years of the project, researchers interviewed four elder Shungnak elder couples, following an interview protocol that emphasized human-land relationships over time (Appendix One). In the third year of the project, researchers interviewed one elder Kobuk resident (now living in the senior center in Kotzebue), and two middle-aged men who had lived and worked in the Pah River area.

Variables

This project focused on relationships between people and land, and the variables reflected that focus. For each respondent, a number of significant sites were identified (see methods, below). For each combination of site and person, data on the following variables were collected.

Site location.

Period of use.

Reasons for using.

Methods of access.

TABLE 2-1. INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Date	Location	Respondents	Subjects
Year One			
Feb. 8, 2000	Kotzebue, Alaska	Leonard and Vera Douglas	Informed Consent Discussion
Feb. 9, 2000	Kotzebue, Alaska	Leonard and Vera Douglas	Life History Overview
Mar. 7-10, 2000	Shungnak, Alaska	Leonard and Vera Douglas	Map Interviews, Genealogies
Apr. 4, 2000	Shungnak, Alaska	Wesley and Josephine Woods	Informed Consent Discussion
Apr. 17-18, 2000	Shungnak, Alaska	Wesley and Josephine Woods	Life History Overview, Map Interviews, Genealogies
Year Two			
Nov. 14-15, 2000	Shungnak, Alaska	Daisy and Wilson Tickett	Informed Consent Discussion, Life History Overview
Feb. 21-22, 2001	Shungnak, Alaska	Neal and Margaret Sheldon	Informed Consent Discussion, Life History Overview
Apr. 3-5, 2001	Shungnak, Alaska	Neal and Margaret Sheldon	Map Interviews, Genealogies
Apr. 6, 2001	Shungnak, Alaska	Daisy Tickett	Genealogies
Year Three			
Mar. 20, 2002	Kotzebue, Alaska	Rose Custer	Informed Consent Discussion, Life History Overview
Apr. 19, 2002	Kotzebue, Alaska	Rose Custer	Life History, Genealogies
May. 11, 2001	Kotzebue, Alaska	Ed Iten	Pah River History
Feb. 16, 2003	Kotzebue, Alaska	Raymond Woods	Business History

Occupants of site.

Type and number of structures.

Type of activities.

Tools and technologies used.

Significant events (births, deaths, etc.).

Visitors to the site.

These questions were repeated for each location in the respondent's lives.

Methods

Information was collected in a series of recorded interviews. Before interviews were conducted, the project was explained to respondents in *Iñupiaq*. Consent and release forms were signed, specifying permitted uses, obligations of the researchers, and distribution and deposition of the recorded tapes and transcripts. A list of the interviews appears in Table 2-1. A list of tapes collected appears in Table 2-2. All interviews were conducted in *Iñupiaq*. The interview series was structured as follows:

Informed Consent Discussion: This open-ended discussion discussed the purposes and objectives of the project, as well as the agencies and personnel involved. Discussions lasted up to two hours. Researchers translated (orally) the project overview into *Iñupiaq* (Appendix One). They answered respondents' questions about the project. These sessions were not recorded.

Life History Overview: An initial interview provided researchers with an overview of the respondent's life. Some material collected during this interview was used in the final report, but the primary purpose was to help researchers and respondents plan additional interviews.

Map Interviews: This series of interviews was temporally and geographically focused. Researchers and respondents identified significant places and times in the respondent's life (e.g., adolescence, experiences at camp, etc.) and structured interviews to explore respondent's activities and land use at each significant place and time. Maps were used as prompts, and to record exact locations of events. These interviews formed the basis of most of the respondent's life history. They were reviewed for relevance and most of their content was translated and transcribed.

Genealogy: Researchers worked with respondents to identify ancestors and descendents of the respondent, places and dates of births, marriages, and deaths. If family genealogies were available from another source, this interview was used to

TABLE 2-2. LOG OF TAPE RECORDINGS

Volume Number	Respondent Family	Date of Interview	Side A Subject	Side A Minutes	Side B Subject	Side B Minutes	Total Minutes
1 1	Douglas, Leonard and Vera	2/9/2000	Leonard's life history overview…	27	…continued and concluded.	10	37
1 2	Douglas, Leonard and Vera	2/9/2000	Vera's life history overview…	29	…continued and concluded.	24	53
1 3	Douglas, Leonard and Vera	3/8/2000	Vera's map interview…	29	…continued…	28	57
1 4	Douglas, Leonard and Vera	3/8/2000	…continued…	29	…continued and concluded.	29	58
1 5	Douglas, Leonard and Vera	3/9/2000	Leonard's map interview…	30	…continued…	29	59
1 6	Douglas, Leonard and Vera	3/9/2000	…continued…	29	…continued and concluded.	29	58
1 7	Douglas, Leonard and Vera	3/10/2000	Leonard & Vera's introspective…	29	…continued and concluded.	11	40
2 1	Woods, Wesley and Josephine	4/17/2000	Wesley's life history overview	29	…continued and concluded.	27	56
2 2	Woods, Wesley and Josephine	4/17/2000	Wesley's map interview…	29	…continued…	29	58
2 3	Woods, Wesley and Josephine	4/18/2000	…continued…	29	…continued…	29	58
2 4	Woods, Wesley and Josephine	4/18/2000	…continued…	29	…continued and concluded.	18	47
2 5	Woods, Wesley and Josephine	4/18/2000	Josephine's life history overview	29	…continued and concluded.	13	42
2 6	Woods, Wesley and Josephine	4/18/2000	Wesley's stories	28	…continued and concluded.	4	32
3 1	Tickett, Wilson and Daisy	11/14/2000	Daisy's life history overview…	30	…continued…	30	60
3 2	Tickett, Wilson and Daisy	11/14/2000	…continued and concluded.	20	(blank)		20
3 3	Tickett, Wilson and Daisy	11/15/2000	Wilson's life history overview…	27	…continued…	29	56
3 4	Tickett, Wilson and Daisy	11/15/2000	…continued and concluded.	4	(blank)		4
4 1	Tickett, Daisy	-	Daisy's Childhood #1	31	…continued and concluded.	30	61
4 2	Tickett, Daisy	-	Daisy's Childhood #2	30	(blank)		30
4 3	Tickett, Daisy	-	Daisy's Childhood #3	60	…continued and concluded.	30	90
4 4	Tickett, Daisy	-	Daisy's Childhood #4	60	…continued and concluded.	1	61
4 5	Tickett, Daisy	-	Daisy's Childhood #5	30	…continued and concluded.	30	60
4 6	Tickett, Daisy	-	Daisy's Childhood #6	2	(blank)		2
5 1	Sheldon, Neal and Margaret	2/22/2001	Margaret's life history overview.	27	Neal's life history overview…	29	56
5 2	Sheldon, Neal and Margaret	2/22/2001	…continued and concluded.	27	(blank)		27
5 3	Sheldon, Neal and Margaret	4/4/2001	Neal's life history	28	…continued…	29	57
5 4	Sheldon, Neal and Margaret	4/4/2001	…continued and concluded.	29	Margaret's life history overview	29	58
5 5	Sheldon, Neal and Margaret	4/5/2001	…continued and concluded.	4	(blank)		4
5 6	Sheldon, Neal and Margaret	4/5/2001	Neal's tobacco story	12	(blank)		12
6 1	Custer, Rose	3/20/2002	Life History overview	29	…continued and concluded.	29	58
6 2	Custer, Rose	4/19/2002	Rose's life history	29	…continued…	28	57
6 3	Custer, Rose	4/19/2002	…continued…	29	…continued and concluded.	29	58
6 1	Iten, Ed	5/11/2001	Ed's life in the Pah River area	28	…continued…	29	57
6 2	Iten, Ed	5/11/2001	…continued and concluded.	14	(blank)		14
6 1	Woods, Raymond	2/16/2003	Raymond's business	30	…continued and concluded.	30	60
	35 Tapes						1,617



Figure 2-1. Jonas Ramoth, Vernetta Moberly, and Rose Custer. Jonas and Vernetta conducted the interviews with Rose Custer at the Kotzebue Senior Center in March and April 2002. (Photograph by James Magdanz)

verify and expand the existing genealogy. Respondents also were asked to identify non-relatives who had important roles in their lives. Data from this interview were entered into a genealogical database, and some are depicted in kinship diagrams in the reports. The genealogical interview itself was not transcribed for use in the report.

Human-Land Relationships: During a concluding interview, elders were asked to consider how their relationships with the land had changed over time, how their relationships with the land differed from their children and grandchildren, and why? Researchers asked focused questions about the affect of changes in land status, technology (e.g. outboard motors, snow machines), increases in non-local users, and community economic development (e.g. increases in wage labor).

Researchers turned to census records to gather additional information about the communities and inhabitants of the upper Kobuk River. Censuses taken in 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1929 are now open for public inspection. From the National Archives in Anchorage and from an Internet genealogy site, researchers obtained paper and electronic copies of all the extant individual census sheets for northwest Alaska. An examination of the original census sheets showed that census takers had documented some of the settlements described in this report, but they not reported as communities in published census reports. Their populations likely were included in regional totals. The census records were reviewed by several project researchers, who were able to identify some of the individuals, including the respondents in this study and some of the other people mentioned in these reports.

Census data were an especially rich source of birth dates. Respondents often did not know the exact year a certain event occurred, but they could recall the ages of the children present. With census data, researchers could determine the age of these children and thus date and sequence events.

Limitations and Assumptions

While the small size of the sample limited the range of experiences that were reported, as already discussed, it also allowed researchers to develop a

more comprehensive record of the uses of particular sites by specific individuals, in a life history context. Other people in the study area would have used other sites; these are not documented here.

A text based on translations presents some special considerations. Some *Iñupiaq* words had no precise English glosses, especially food items. In those cases, an approximate English word is used and the original *Iñupiaq* term appears in parentheses. For example, "The intestine of the bear was good food; the inside has melted fat (*puiñiq*)."

A considerable volume of oral material in the *Iñupiaq* language was collected for this project. The translators used were among the most literate and fluent speakers of the *Iñupiaq* language in the region. All were fluent English speakers. However, Alaska Department of Fish and Game purchasing rules allowed researchers to spend no more than $5,000 a year on respondents and translators, unless researchers adopted a competitive bid process. That was completely inappropriate for the situation. As a consequence, a limited amount of time and money was available to complete the translations, and each translator worked alone. Respondents and translators were selected on the basis of their knowledge, experiences, and skills. Price was not a consideration; all were paid the same rate.

To address this limitation, the original cassettes tapes with the oral histories in the *Iñupiaq* language were to be deposited in the University of Alaska archives. In addition, a CD-ROM with the entire collection of audio files was available from NPS and ADF&G. Thus, if questions arise about respondents' meanings, researchers and students of the *Iñupiaq* language can easily access the original oral material.

Iñupiaq names and locations in the study area have not been completely documented, and duplications of *Iñupiaq* place names have not been fully resolved. During the early 1990s, NANA Regional Corporation attempted to document as many sites as possible. NANA's researchers collected place names and locations from key respondents in Ambler, Kiana, Shungnak, and Noorvik, and combined them with place names and locations documented in *Kuuvaŋmiut Subsistence* (Anderson et al 1998). The National Park Service subsequently incorporated this work into an Arcview GIS database (Loon n.d.). Researchers relied upon that database as the authority for the spelling and location of *Iñupiaq* place names. It appeared in the first year's report as Appendix 5.

Nonetheless, ambiguities remained for some of the names and locations discussed in this report. The NANA place name database contained 1,023 names, but 1,477 locations, because 307 names were used in the database two or more times. For example, the place name *Kiḷḷaq* referred both to a stream, Killak Creek, and to a pass, Coal Pass, where the stream began. *Kiḷḷaq* appeared in the database four times, twice from Loon's Shungnak respondents and twice from the *Kuuvaŋmiut* report.

Respondents' *Iñupiaq* place names and locations were not always consistent with the NANA database or with one another. Respondents sometimes had difficulty locating places on the maps.

Researchers addressed the place name and location limitations in several ways. In this report, when it was clear the respondents were referring to a site in the NANA database, researchers adopted the spellings used in the NANA database, even though respondents' pronunciations did not always agree.

When respondents referred to sites or used names that were not in the NANA database, researchers followed the translator's spelling and used respondents' locations. The *Ukivigruaq* community near the Pah River mouth did not appear in the NANA database. Because it was such a significant site, researchers attempted to visit the site in the company of the respondent. When that proved impossible for health reasons, researchers visited the site alone, photographed it, and showed the photographs to the respondent for positive confirmation of the location. Resolution of all the ambiguities surrounding place names and locations was beyond the scope of this phase of the project.

While researchers relied on census data for birth dates, they also were aware that census dates could only be estimates for people born much before 1900, and were not always reliable for people born after 1900. Dates before 1900 were considered to be more as a sequence of individuals by age than as actual birth years.

Data Analysis

Analysis consisted primarily of organizing and summarizing the material collected. Tapes were digitized and stored as computer files, duplicated for the respondents and the project cooperators, and translated for use in this preliminary report.

Translated interviews were reviewed and are summarized in the body of this report. In those summaries, events in each person's life are presented chronologically, and annotated by the translators and the researchers.

In northwest Alaska, virtually all *Iñupiaq* residents had two proper names: English and *Iñupiaq*. In general, *Iñupiaq* people used their English names in government and business settings, and with non-Native friends. They used their *Iñupiaq* names with their family, with *Iñupiaq* friends, and in community settings. Long-term non-Native residents often had *Iñupiaq* names as well, but they usually were known by their English names.

This report adopted the following convention for proper names. In the first instance, both English and *Iñupiaq* names are used with the *Iñupiaq* name in parentheses, for example "Daisy Tickett (*Qaluvik*)." In the second instance, the given English name was used, "Daisy." In some cases, respondents knew their ancestors only by their *Iñupiaq* names. In those cases, only the *Iñupiaq* name was used. The use of English names, it was hoped, would make the narrative easier to follow for readers unfamiliar with the *Iñupiaq* language.

3
Setting

The study area included the upper Kobuk River watershed in northwest Alaska from the confluence of the Ambler and Kobuk Rivers upstream to its headwaters within Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, focusing specifically on areas within and adjacent to the park and preserve (Fig. 3-1). Although only the extreme eastern portion of the study area was designated formally as wilderness, at the time of this study most of the upper Kobuk valley was uninhabited and unaltered from its natural state. Virtually all permanent residents of the area were indigenous *Iñupiaq* Eskimo, who depended extensively upon local flora and fauna for food, and for the manufacture of certain traditional clothing and craft items.

Background

In the late nineteenth century, the upper Kobuk River was inhabited by a single society, the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* (Burch 1998a:126). They occupied the Kobuk watershed from Ambler River upstream to the headwaters, an area of approximately 6,500

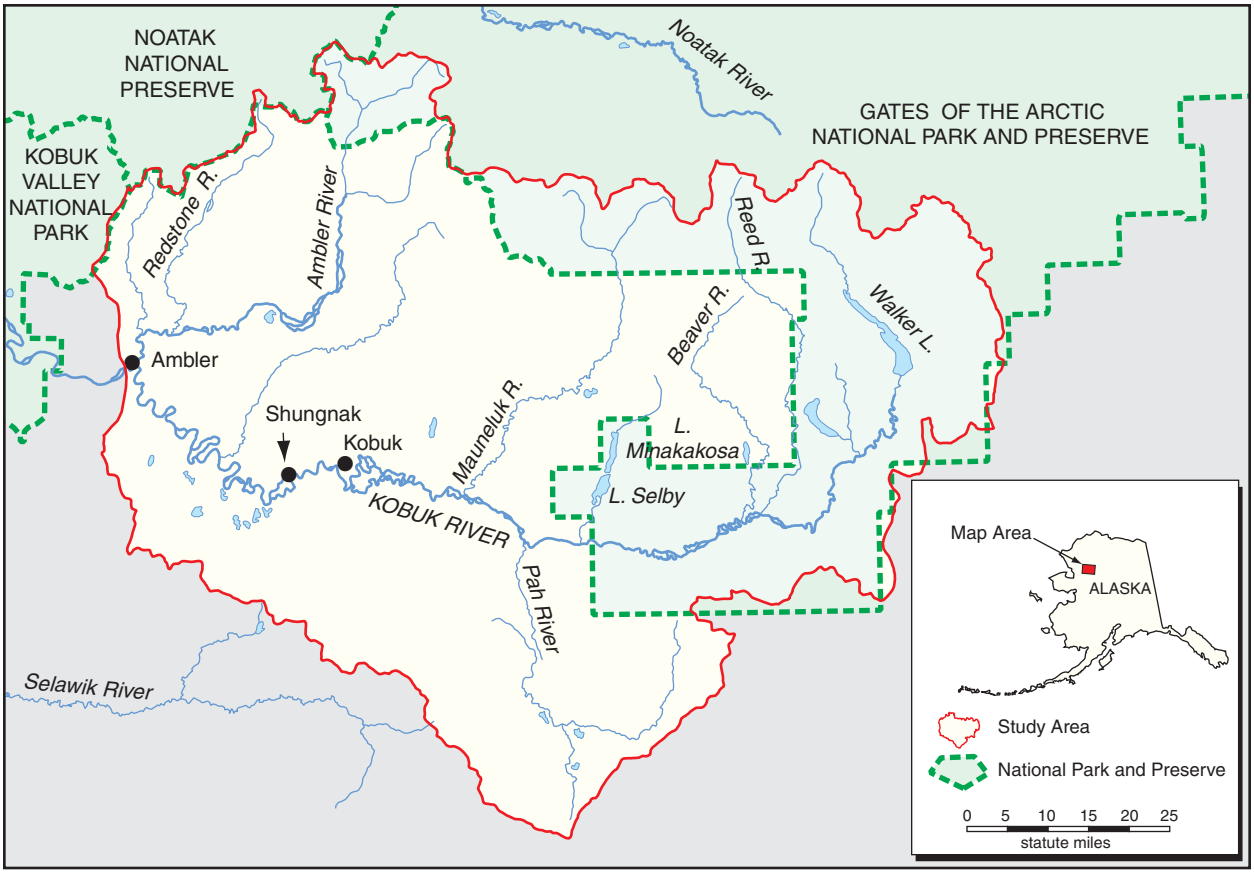


Figure 3-1. The Study Area. The study area included the Kobuk River watershed upstream from the confluence of the Ambler and Kobuk rivers. The study area coincided with the nineteen century Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut *nation.*

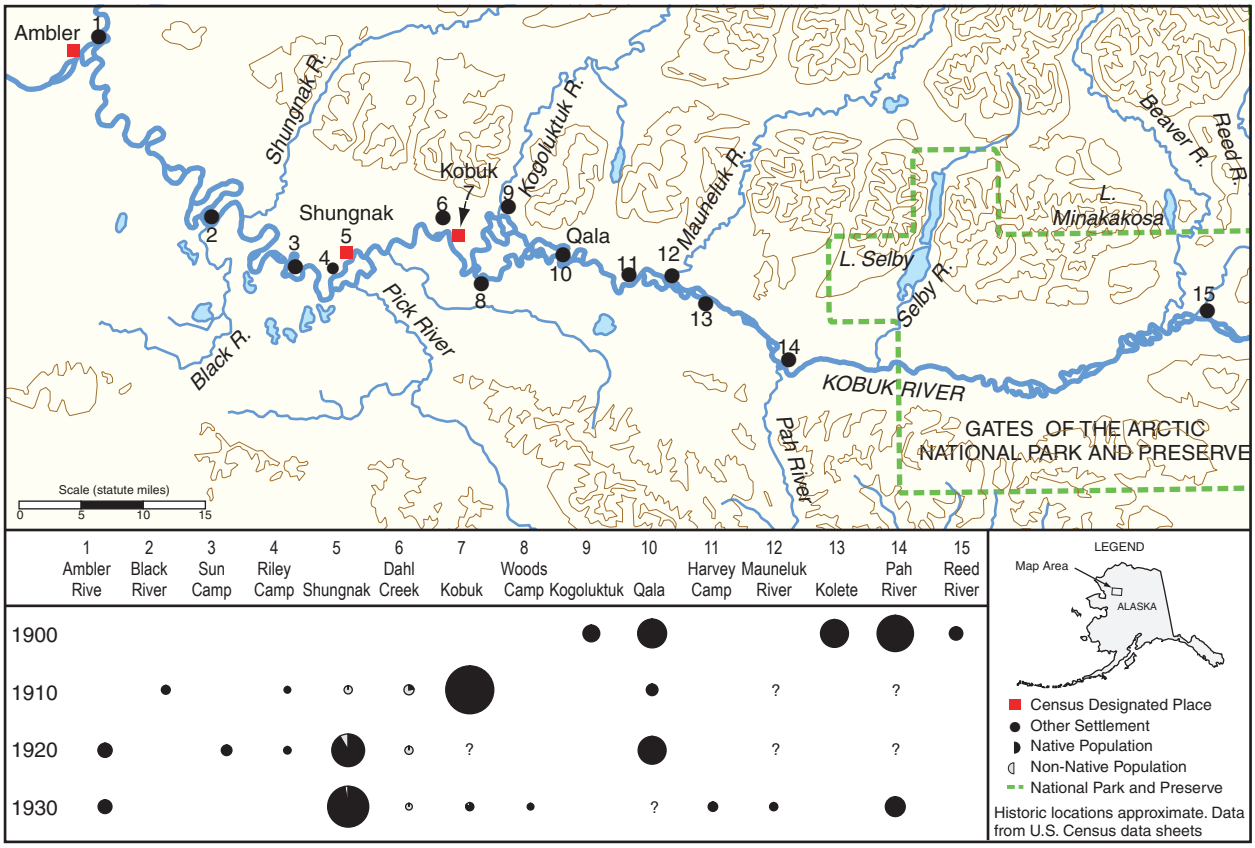


Figure 3-2. Historic Settlements 1900-1930. The circles below the map are scaled to the population of each place. The largest community on the upper Kobuk River in 1900 was at the mouth of the Pah River (14) with 117 people. Over the next three decades, the population shifted down river. By 1930, 149 people lived in Shungak and only 35 at Pah.

square miles including the Mauneluk, Pah, Selby, Beaver, and Reed rivers. They were semi-nomadic, moving seasonally to fish and hunt at various locations, returning usually to the same winter settlements. In addition to the upper Kobuk watershed, *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* also ventured north into the upper Noatak watershed to hunt caribou and sheep. Burch listed eleven *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* settlements for 1870, with a total population of 624-680 people (Burch 1998a:137).

At the time of this study, the same area was inhabited by 674 people, roughly the same number of people Burch estimated for 1870. Virtually all lived in one of three communities: Ambler (1998 population 315), Shungnak (population 257), and Kobuk (population 102). Ninety one percent were *Iñupiaq* Eskimo, most descended directly from or related by marriage to the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut*.

Figure 3-2 shows the locations and the populations of settlements on the upper Kobuk from 1900 through 1930. These data were gathered from the original census sheets, which are released to the public 70 years after each census. Published census records after 1900 listed only Kobuk and Shungnak populations. Despite their absence from the published record, *Qala* persisted until at least 1920 and Pah persisted through 1930, the most recent available data. The trend over time, though, was a shift in population down river, from the Qala-Pah area to the Shungnak-Kobuk area. That would be even more pronounced if the table continued after 1957, when Ambler was settled.

Beginning at the turn of the century and continuing through the present, considerable mineral exploration has occurred in the area, especially in the Shungnak, Kogoluktuk, and Mauneluk river valleys.

Actual mining, though, has been concentrated in the vicinity of the community of Kobuk, where placer gold mines operated during the early decades of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, Kennecott Mining sank a deep shaft at Bornite, about 10 miles north of Kobuk, to extract copper ore. The Bornite mine flooded before going into full production, and was abandoned. No mines were active in the area at the time of this study. An unmaintained gravel road connected Kobuk with Bornite; otherwise the entire area was without roads.

After the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed by Congress in 1971, *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* became minority land owners in their homeland. The federal government owned about 50 percent of the land; the state government about 40 percent. About 10 percent of the land in the area was private, owned by the NANA Regional Corporation – a native profit corporation created by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act to manage native lands and resources in northwest Alaska. Individuals owned less than 1 percent of the area, mostly as native allotments. The National Park Service managed three different units in the area: the Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, the Kobuk Valley National Park, and the Noatak National Preserve (Fig 3.1).

All the lands and waters in the study area were open to subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering, and to sport fishing. There were, however, two different subsistence management systems. Not all areas were open to all users.

The federal government managed subsistence hunting and fishing on federal public lands, including all the National Park Service lands. Only local rural residents could hunt under federal subsistence regulations. Subsistence hunting in the national parks was further limited to residents of resident zone communities as specified in the Alaska National Interest Lands Act. The three communities in the study area – Ambler, Shungnak, and Kobuk – were named as resident zone communities for both the Kobuk Valley and Gates of the Arctic National Parks. Residents of these communities could hunt and fish for subsistence throughout the study area.

The state government managed subsistence hunting and fishing on all other lands, including native lands. These lands also were open to recreational hunting. However, access to native-owned lands was controlled by NANA Regional Corporation and by individual allotment owners. Thus recreational hunting occurred on state and some federal lands (such as the Gates of the Arctic National Preserve), but not in national parks or on native lands.

Along the Upper Kobuk River

Subsequent chapters in this report discuss activities along the upper Kobuk River in some detail. Figure 3-3 shows the Kobuk River between Kobuk village and the Pah River mouth. The narrative in this section takes the reader from Kobuk, up river to the mouth of the Pah, as if one were traveling east by boat in summer, and discusses some of the significant places on this route. Miles are river miles from Kobuk village. The place names come from locally annotated USGS 1:63,360 maps in the Shungnak City Office, and from *Kuuvaŋmiit* (Anderson et al 1998).

Three miles upstream from Kobuk is "Cut Bank (*Itqiliqłuk*)" where the river broadens, flows around a wide bend, and erodes the south bank, hence the name. At mile 4.5, the river divides into two channels. "Old Channel" is on the north and drains the Kogoluktuk River; "New Channel" is on the south. At this writing, a wide gravel bar obstructed the entrance to the upriver end of the old channel, making it passable only at higher water levels. Old Channel was slightly shorter than New Channel, 13.5 river miles compared with 15.1 river miles.

As the name implies, Old Channel probably was used more in the past. Shorter and shallower than New Channel, Old Channel would have been easier to navigate when boats were paddled, poled, or pulled by dogs, but more difficult to navigate with propeller-driven boats, and impossible to pass through in low water. New Channel was navigable in all normal water conditions. Consequently, in the early 2000s, most of the boat traffic on the river used New Channel.

Following Old Channel upriver, the Kogoluktuk River (*Quġluqtuq*) drains into Old Channel through three separate mouths, all of which are navigable at least part of the year. The first mouth, *Quġluqtum Paaġruaŋa*, enters 8.7 miles above Kobuk, the

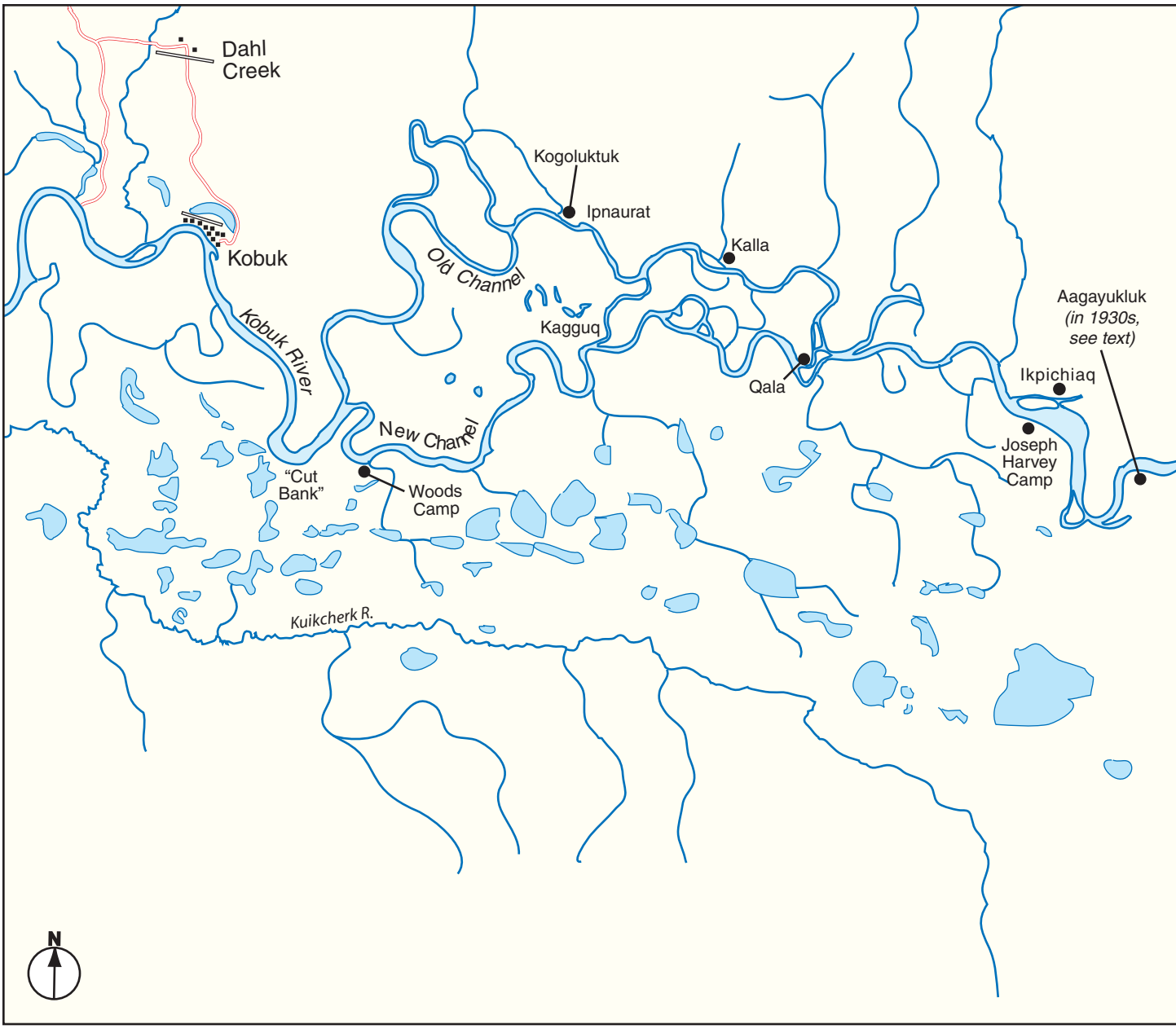
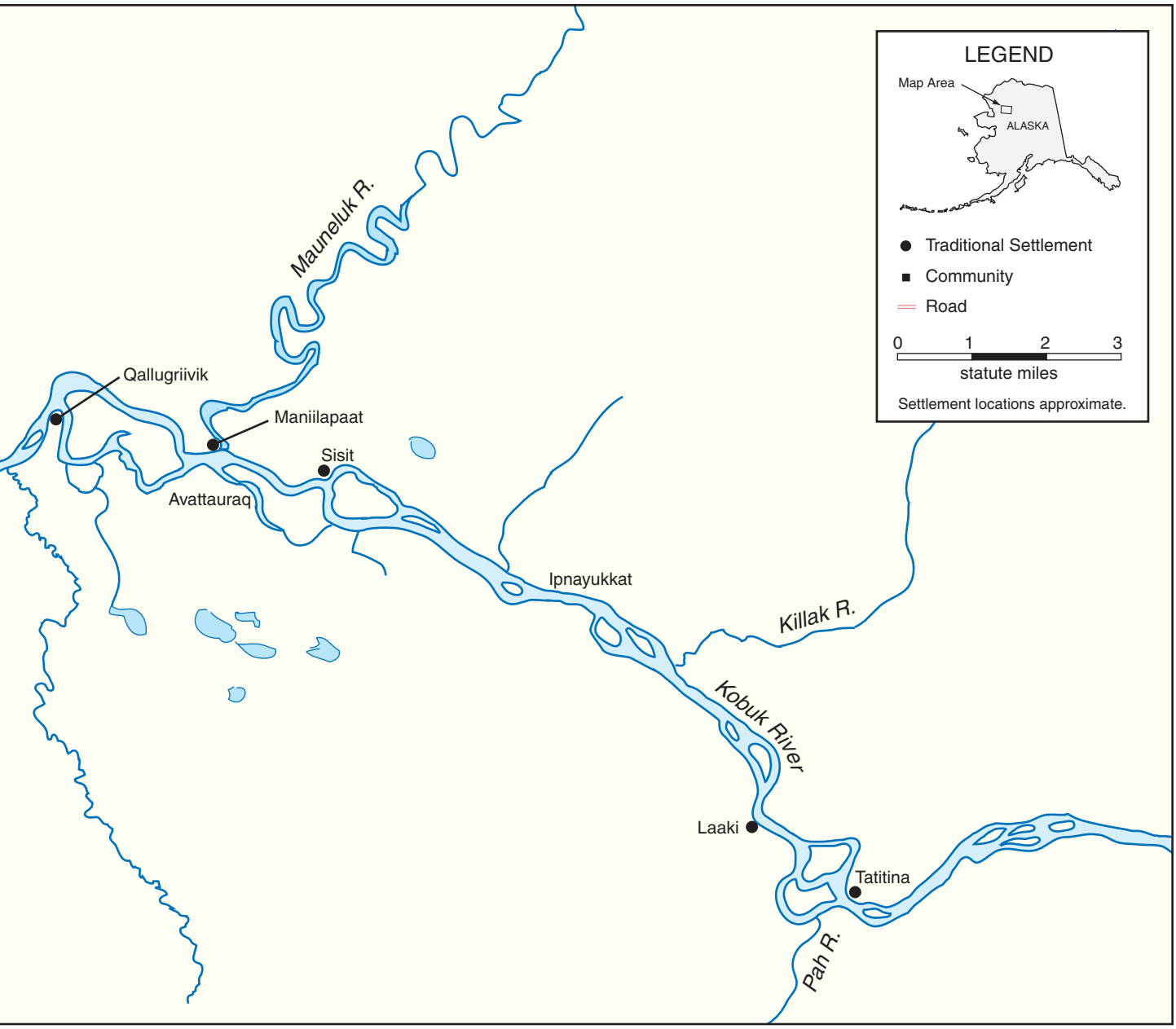


Figure 3-3. The Kobuk River from Kobuk to Pah River.

second mouth at 11.3 miles, and the third mouth at 11.5 miles. The current in the Old Channel is slow until one reaches the uppermost Kogoluktuk River mouth, then the gradient increases. The 1900 census counted a village at Kogoluktuk; its exact location is unknown at this time.

At mile 12, just above the Kogoluktuk River, Old Channel runs along low wooded bluffs on the north side of the river, called *Ipnaurat*. At 13.75 above Kobuk, a narrow 1.5-mile passage, *Kagguq*, connects Old Channel and New Channel.

At mile 15.5 is Kalla, a village visited by Lt. G.M Stoney in 1885 and counted in the 1900 census. It is the only USGS site name on Old Channel (Orth 1971:489). The exact location of the old village is uncertain. At mile 19, another passage (*Kakitligutik*) connects Old Channel and New Channel. In the days of kayaks, the two passages above and below Kalla would have made it easy to travel back and forth



between Old Channel and New Channel. They were not always passable by motor boat in the 2000s.

At 22.5 river miles above Kobuk, at *Niuḷak,* Old Channel converges with New Channel and the Kobuk River flows in a single course again. Travelers have a different view on New Channel compared with Old Channel. Where Old Channel runs through spruce and birch woods tucked up against the slopes of the mountains, New Channel runs out along the tundra lowlands, intermittently breaking out of the south edge of the spruce groves to give travelers long glimpses across the flat, wet Kobuk Valley to the south.

Along this channel in 2000 were the active fish camps, beginning with Daisy and Wilson Tickett's camp at *Akisaqpauraq*, 7 miles above Kobuk. Florence Douglas' family new camp was at 11.1 miles, on a sandbar about a mile below an older Douglas' camp and allotment, which was eroding away. At 14.3 miles was the south entrance to *Kagguq*, a

passage to Old Channel. At 18. 6 miles was Elmer and Rosie Ward's camp, *Putu*, and at 19 miles was Florence and Margaret's Camp, *Qala*.

In 2000, the term *Qala* seemed to refer to the general area around the large island formed by Old Channel, New Channel, and *Kagguq* passage. This included "Kalla," the old village on Old Channel, Neal and Margaret's camp, and Daisy Tickett's old camp across from the channel divide (where the city office map located *Qala*). One respondent suggested that *Qala* referred to a whirlpool that used to appear at the point where the Kobuk River separated into old and new channels, but was now gone. ("*Qala*" means "whirlpool" in *Iñupiaq*.)

New Channel converges on Old Channel at 18.7 miles above Kobuk. All subsequent distances are the distance from Kobuk via New Channel.

Above the *Qala* area, the next contemporary camps were the Harvey's: Joseph Harvey, his sister, Mildred Black, and Mildred's daughter, Miki Jones, all located 25 to 26 river miles above Kobuk. Mildred's camp, which was at several different locations on this stretch of river in the 1990s, was known as *Aaġayukłuk*.

At 27 miles was Vera Douglas' camp, and at 29.5 miles was Josephine Wood's camp, *Qallugrivik*. There were several places in the study area called *Qallugrivik*, which means "salmon spawning place." This site was the most commonly used in the 2000s. At *Qallugrivik*, the Kobuk divided again into two channels; the north channel was main channel. The channels converged again at 33 miles.

At 33.3 miles, the Mauneluk River entered the Kobuk River from the North. On the northwest side of the confluence was *Maniiḷapaat*, a multi-family settlement for much of the first half of the 20th century. Henry and Susie Stocking (*Naaluŋaiq* and *Anigniq*) raised their families here, as did Roxie and Maude Douglas (*Iyaġak* and *Qapqana*). At various times it also was home to William Ward's family (*Qaksri*) and Paul Tickett's family (*Tikilipiaq*).

In the 2000s, most of the *Maniiḷapaat* site had eroded away. Magdalene Lee had a fish camp on the northeast side of the confluence. On the south side of the Kobuk River, across from *Maniiḷapaat,* was an extremely productive chum salmon spawning area as well as a whitefish seining area, *Avattauraq* slough. All the families in the vicinity seined periodically at *Avattauraq* and in fall a gill net often would be set from the point at the slough entrance.

At 34.8 miles, the channel divided again, with the main river on the south, and a smaller, slower channel on the north that continued for about three miles, but that shallowed in its upper reaches and was passable only in higher water. At the entrance to this channel was a cabin built by Nelson Walker of Kotzebue as a guide camp. At 39 miles, just above Walker's cabin, was *Ipnayukkat*, which means "bluffs," on the north shore. About 41 miles was the mouth to *Killak* Creek, hidden in lower water levels by a wide mud bar.

Finally, 43 miles above Kobuk was *Łaaki*, where there was a deep pool of still water at the foot of a bluff on the southwest side of the river. Sheefish congregated in the pool, and it was a popular fishing spot. In the early years of the century, the families of the Pah area congregated here in fall to put sheefish away for the winter. More recently, air taxi transporters preferred to land here to pick up their clients.

The Pah River enters the Kobuk a mile above *Łaaki* and 44 miles above Kobuk village. For newcomers, the mouth can be hard to locate as the Kobuk braids around several islands. On the north shore just above the mouth of the Pah is *Tatitina*, an old settlement with an Indian name. More recently it was used by dog musher Ed Iten (chapter 4) and by big game guide Art Mortfedt.

In the narratives, some locations mentioned by elders seemed inconsistent. For example, when Daisy Tickett passed through *Aaġayukłuk* about 1930, it was on an island on the south side of the river near Vera Douglas' camp. In 2002, a map in the Shungnak city office located *Aaġayukłuk* on the north side of the river about a mile downstream. Researchers also heard the name used to describe a third location, a mile further downstream. The consistent feature of *Aaġayukłuk* was its occupancy by the Harvey family. Researchers came to think of *Aaġayukłuk* as the Harvey camp in this vicinity, a variable site in a general area rather than a specific site.

4
Life History and Interviews

The first two years of the project focused on activities in the early part of the twentieth century. The third year continues that focus with Rose Custer, and expands it to include two additional kinds of activities: settlement entry by non-local residents, and commercial services for non-local hunters and fishers. In the third year of this project, researchers recorded an oral life history with one elder Shungnak respondent, Rose Custer (*Natiġvik*), and recorded interviews with two younger respondents, Ed Iten and Raymond Woods, who provided information about changing land-use patterns on the upper Kobuk in recent years.

Since the last report in this series was published, two of the elder respondents passed away. Wesley Woods (*Qaulġutaiłaq*), interviewed in April of 2000, died on September 4, 2003. Wilson Tickett (*Aliqsi*), interviewed in November of 2000, died on November 17, 2003. Wilson was buried in Shungnak. Wesley was buried on the hillside across from his families camp at *Qalugrivik*, on the north side of the Kobuk River about two miles west of the mouth of the Mauneluk River.

Rose Custer was the daughter of Paul and Mrs. Tickett (*Tikiq* and *Iyagalook*) and younger sister of Wilson Tickett. Rose's husband, Herbert Custer (*Qutana*), was deceased at the time of the interviews. At the time of his interviews Wilson's memory was failing. Rose was able to remember more about their family's early activities, but her hearing aide was not working well, which made interviewing difficult.

Ed Iten was of interest to this project because he was one of several non-local people who settled in the upper Kobuk area in the 1970s and because of his friendship with *Iñupiaq* elder Joseph Harvey. Ed helped Joseph build a cabin in 1977, spent the winter there with Joseph in 1978-79, and then built another cabin on Joseph's allotment inside Mauneluk River.

Raymond Woods is the son of Wesley and Josephine Woods (*Qaulġutaiłaq* and *Qupilguraq*), who were interviewed in the first year of this project. In 1996, Raymond started a small business transporting sport hunters and fishers from Shungnak to the upper Kobuk River. Other people had provided similar services for recreational users of the upper Kobuk for several decades, notably several air taxis operating out of Bettles. But Raymond was the first local Native resident of the area to do so.

This chapter presents an oral life history for Rose Custer, whose translated interviews appear in Appendix 3. The chapter also summarizes interviews with Ed Iten and Raymond Woods, whose interview transcripts appear in Appendices 4 and 5.

*Rose Custer (*Natiġvik*)*

Rose was born on September 10, 1914, at *Paukviraq*, a camp on the north side of the Kobuk River about 21 river miles above Kobuk. Rose's parents, *Tiqiq* and *Iyaġaaluk*, probably had camped there for fall fishing, soon to return to their winter home in Kobuk where her brother Wilson had been born two years earlier.

Wilson remembered that the Kobuk home was a winter home only, that the family spent much of the year in the country. But most of Rose's early memories are of life in Kobuk village.

"Somebody was carrying me out of a house," Rose said, recalling when she "became aware" of life around her. "They carried me down along the river, then turned on a path away from the river. My parents lived back there, on the back of town. When I looked down the river, I could see lots of lights. There used to be many people in Kobuk. Now, they're gone."

The Tickett family was still in Kobuk when Rose started attending school in about 1920. Living next door to the school was Rose's girl friend (*umaa*),

Clara Ward (*Paniyaaq*). "When we came out of the school, we raced to our homes. We went to school close by her house, in a large cabin, owned by northern Seward Peninsula people (*Sakmaliq*)."

One day, Rose recalled, "I was standing on a chopping log with my girl friend. Then, as I looked back, there was a house burning. I became afraid and started to tremble."

The house belonged to Clara's father, William Ward (*Qaksri*). "I saw Fay Ward (*Uyugaq*, Clara's sister) standing there. They had put Beatrice Mouse's (*Anausuk*) parka on her. Nellie Gray's (*Nigraugruk*) parka was in that house, and it burned. We were really afraid of that fire." The fire obviously made a big impression on the family; Wilson Tickett described the same fire in his life history (Magdanz et al 2003:27).

The Tickett family stayed at least part of the summer in Kobuk when Rose was young. "I began to be helpful to my parents by carrying water," she said. "When they went someplace, I began to follow. When my two sisters were going seining, I followed them. When they found I was able to handle the lines from the shore, I became the *qulliqsruqti* (a person who handles the shore lines of a seine)."

"One time, when we went seining up there, we seined on the sandbar across from the village where my parents spent the summer. All we had to do was cross to that sandbar and seine. We could see Kobuk below us. I was holding the line for my two sisters, Beulah (*Niqigrauq*) and Irene (*Manuluk*), who were seining."

Two visitors from Kotzebue arrived to watch the seining operation, *Takpauruk* and *Panikpiraaq*. *Takpaurak* was of mixed race, Caucasian and *Iñupiaq.*

The three sisters set the seine, and pulled in a school of humpback whitefish. "That half-white one was eating the eyes out of them. He would pull out the eye and eat it." Rose chuckled as she remembered it.

"Because they were fresh, I was afraid he might get sick and throw up. They lingered a while, then when daylight started to fade, they went back down to where they came from. We just went back across to Kobuk.

"In those days, we were gathering and saving food. I was beginning to help them at this time. I got pretty good at holding the line from the shore."



Figure 4-1. Rose Custer (Natiġvik*).*

Later in the summer, most Kobuk families left the village and moved upriver to fish. "All the sandbars would have people camping on them," Rose said. "They would spend their time seining from the sandbars. Mostly, this was for salmon. They waited for a certain part of the evening. The salmon like to stay in the slow water. They would set the seine for those that stopped.

"Way down here (near Kobuk) was never the place to camp for us. Our parents took us way up river. They always stopped at *Qala*, but sometimes they took us way past it, way up. Sometimes they went all the way up to *Qalugrivik* to spend the last part of the summer. Up there we would set a net and, sometimes, seine. Some of my other siblings stayed with us sometimes, Irene Tickett (*Manuuluk*) and Martha Nanginok (*Nuiraq*)." Martha was Rose's sister-in-law, her brother Herman's wife.

"Catching fish was only the women's task," Rose said. "Ever since I become aware, men fished rarely, if ever, because they hunted on the slope.

Also, they went up to the headwaters of the Kobuk River for hunting.

"After hunting, when they wanted to go home, they built a raft and shoved off. They put all the meat they caught on the raft. They made a small raft, one layer (of logs). They called them *umiaqlauchiat*. They tied logs across to hold them together. The hunters always made small rafts like that. Those people who used big logs, good sized logs, they called the big raft, *umaigluk."*

One summer at *Qalugriuvik*, Rose recalled, "We caught nothing but whitefish. We made dried fish (*qalviraq*) out of whitefish. Lots, up to that high." Rose indicated about five feet above the floor. "They made strings of fish. Piles (*puptiichirut.*) They brought them back inside the willows, where there was a store room (*sayyut*) that belonged to Mike Commack (*Qakiq*) and *Ulaagrauq (*Mike's mother*).*

"One time, I had followed my parents, who went seining upriver. While we were gone, the dogs were barking in the back. The children who were there went to bed and covered themselves. Those kids were afraid of the dogs barking in the back.

"When evening came, we came back from seining up river. As soon as we got home, Dad went back to check on the fish. Those strings of fish that had been placed in there, there were quite a few missing," Rose said. "We called them "raiders" (*aŋuyaich*, *iñiqqutit*). They took a lot of strings of fish."

At the end of the fishing season in late September, the Tickett family boated back down the river to Kobuk, passing other camps along the way.

"Because my parents were always seining upriver, they weren't with the people who used weirs. On our way down river, we always came to the people doing this type of fishing," Rose recalled. "They set poles (*paukkat*) in the river bottom. Those poles were placed pretty sturdily so they won't tip over in the current. There was a rope, used for an anchor, on each side of the river. They would get cottonwood, straight ones, thin. They placed those thin cottonwoods straight, side-by-side," Rose said.

This type of fishing is described in *Kuuvaŋmiit Subsistence* (Andersen et al 1998:150-151). The weir Rose describes would be catching sheefish on their way downstream just before freeze up.

"They looked for a specific location, like the end of a sand bar, that would be suitable for seining (*argumisruk*). Then, when there were lots of sheefish there, they would set a seine and pull them up. They caught lots.

"They would take down part of the weir, and put a boat at the opening on the downstream side of the weir. When the fish went by, they would spear them. "Every time they speared one, they would say, 'Uu'ii.' Even in the evenings, you could hear them shouting. Those who were pretty good at using that spear usually got lots.

"When they finished right there, they probably split their shares. So that's how they used a weir for fishing," Rose concluded.

Rose remembered berry picking also, in many different areas. "Sometimes they are far away, although some are close by. In some places, you have to penetrate the thick forest. The flat areas are good. It's ideal for cranberries on those small rises (*piñuqsraichaiq*). Salmonberries are sometimes in brushy areas, and sometimes in lowlands next to marshes. Salmonberries are kind of scarce up river," she said.

"One time during the middle of summer, before fall time started," Rose said, "I followed my parents when they went to pick berries across from Kobuk. I saw them putting away berries. They usually covered blueberries in a hole (*qalliviŋmun*, literally, a place for fish) for the winter. Covered them with dirt. Behind Kobuk (*Laugvik*) is a place where they stored salmonberries for the winter, in the past. They would put them underground in those days. There were salmonberry patches back there.

"One time, Daisy's mother (i.e. Susie Stocking) stored blueberries in a barrel. They filled a whole barrel, then they buried it. So when they came down river, they stopped at our place, and then they went to get that barrel. They were in good condition. Upriver they usually buried them to use for later.

"In fall, they would store them (blueberries) off the ground, wrapped up with spruce boughs. They would look for a group of spruce trees, and they would store them in there. (*Qiliqsrautat*, spruce trees growing in a tight bundle. *Qiliq* means tied up.) That's how they stored cranberries, too, hanging high up there. They cleared an area in which to

put their things.

"They stored their berries that way in the fall so they don't have to worry about mice getting into them. Spruce needles are too sharp for mice. They always poke them. Mice always burst the berries. That's how they put food away when I was growing up," Rose said, "But (now) they are always taking them home." Rose remembers picking berries as far downriver as Ambler River, and also remembers camping up at Pah River and Mauneluk River.

One time, Rose remembered, her parents went up the Mauneluk River to a salmon spawning place (*Qalugriuvik*), a good place for hunting bear in the fall. Her sister Irene stayed with the people at the mouth of Mauneluk, but she and Wilson followed her parents. "We were fishing (*niksiksuq*, hooking) while Papa was walking, hunting for the one who walks (*pisruktauni*, i.e. brown bear).

"Wilson and I were there with a small boat, at *Qalugriivik.* There were lots of grayling there. We started hooking for grayling. While fishing, I did something. Wilson started to holler, '*Arii*.' When I looked at him, I had hooked him somewhere. Whenever I jerked my hook, he was hollering. I wonder how we took the hook off. How silly we were!"

When Rose was a teenager, the school in Kobuk was moved 12 miles downriver to the site that was to become Shungnak. The exact year is uncertain; it was sometime in the late 1920s. Some Kobuk residents followed the school to Shungnak and settled there. A few families stayed in Kobuk. And several families, including Rose's, began spending their winters up river again.

Her older sister, Irene didn't follow. "When they moved to Shungnak," Rose said, "she began fishing with gillnets and spent her summers there and did not stay with us anymore. But we always had others staying with us, like Beulah (her older sister) and our sister-in-law, Martha (*Niuraq*).

Later, Rose realized that the move from Kobuk would be the end of her formal schooling. "We were leaving school behind," she said.

They made their home in the *Qala* area, at *Tulukkaligauraq*, on the north bank of the Kobuk just above the entrance to Old Channel, or at *Agaiyukłuk*, on the south bank of the Kobuk just below the entrance to Old Channel. Rose mentions both places.

"We had two sod homes," Rose said. "Next door was Albert Commack (*Ulaaq*). Further over, in the back area of the upper part of the sandbar was the sod house of Roxie and Maude Douglas (*Iyaġaq* and *Qapqana*), parents of Tommy Douglas (*Paaniikalaiq*)." Other families in the area included Joseph and Belle Black (*Utikruraq* and *Aviluqtaq*), Peter Riley (*Qaayaqpaq*), Lake Wood (*Narvaq*) with his mother (*Qauliik*), and Georgie and Kittie Harvey (*Aqpiksraqpauraq* and *Saiḷaqpak*).

"Yes, many families," Rose said. "They spent the summer there and also spent the winter, probably two winters. Some families left before freeze up, after spending just the fall season there and moving. They did not stay in one place then. When the trail was good to travel, they left to hunt. The hunters, they always went outside the Kobuk valley (*Silialiniq*)."

In the spring, most of these families moved still farther upriver to several adjacent spring camps inside the Pah River, where they joined families from other upper Kobuk settlements to trap muskrat. "Many families would move up in the spring for camping," Rose said. "My parents spring camped there, too. Annie Mark (*Nataġnaq*) spent spring camp there, too. There were many. Frank and Dora Tobuk (*Aqlaqniq* and *Kuutuuq*) were back by place called *Tiqlikvik* (lit. "where you stole"). Further back, my parents and I stayed at *Paqittaurami* (lit. "where found"). John and Irene Douglas (*Unaviqsrauq* and *Manuluk*) were with us. Herman and Martha were back with people of *Tiqlikvik* that spring. Further up the river were Charlie Custer (*Pigligiaq*), Robert Cleveland (*Nasrualuk*), and other families.

"Then at *Kakitmi* (lit. "safety pin") were Johnny Hobson's (*Sailauraq*) and Peter Woods' (*Inuŋiḷaq*) families. Then further back there was Charles Nonganok's (*Naŋinaq*) family. Lots of families came for spring camping that spring. It was that spring that Louie Commack (*Aquppak*) was courting Annie Nanginaq (*Nauyauraq*, Charles' daughter) to marry her. He came over from Allakaket that spring."

Rose remembered the place where her family camped inside Pah River as *Tulukkam pañani* (lit. "mouth of a raven"). She thought the *Savaqsigiaq* camping was most important for muskrat hunting,

rather than fishing. When people stopped hunting muskrats, use of the Pah camps ended.

The Tickett family spent several winters upriver about 1930, then moved back to the little house in Kobuk to spend the winters. Shortly after that, Rose married Herbert Custer (*Qutana*). "We did not get married the way it should be, but we were made to be married by the City Council. There were quite a few of us that got married then. The city council was strong then, and got us married. We, the ones who got pregnant. My girlfriends got married, too. I was not the only one," Rose recalled.

Herbert's parents were Charlie and Alice Custer (*Pigligiaq* and *Amiiłiq*). Born on December 11, 1911, Herbert was three years older than Rose. Their families had lived and camped in the same places for many years. They had nine children together, and adopted a tenth.

By the time of Rose's interview in 2002, Herbert had passed away. Of their nine natural children, only Larry Custer (*Tikikpak*) survived. In her interviews, Rose focused primarily on her childhood, and not on her married life.

In the later 1930s, Rose recalled a time when her mother and older sister, Lena, left their camp early to pick salmonberries. As they reached a section of the channel called *Agiak* (lit. "file"), they saw "a camp fire on a knoll, smothered with some dirt but smoking." Her mother, *Iyagaaluk,* wanted to go on. But her sister, Lena, was frightened by the fire and did not want to continue, so they returned to camp.

"When I got up and learned that they had already gone," Rose said, "I decided to take my family up the river. There were my two boys. We were going to pick berries up river below *Avalluq*, around *Qakiaq* to one of the hills.

"We got there and went up the hill. We saw hoards of smoke across there. Soon after that, my mom and Lena appeared, coming toward us. We don't know who started the fire. I think it was the little people (*añuiyaks*).

"One time, we spent the spring by end of *Agiaq*, a stream over towards the far end of the lake. There was a small creek, and on one side was a small hill (*pinnuqsraitchauraq*). There, on top of that hill, was a fireplace. There were skewers (*qaulġugauraq*) made from willow sticks to roast a meal stuck around the side, with the pointed side up. I wonder who or what went there to have fire?"

During her interviews, Rose talked briefly about a site in the vicinity of Selby River, *Tiqałauna*. "A few river bends in from the mouth and on the hillside are old house spots. They say that these houses were attached to each other. They are from the side of the pathway through the trees in the slopes. They are up on the side of the hill (*ikpik*). The trail goes by them (*kipłaaq*) when you leave the river to go up the hill. You can see the dents on the ground. I was told that these were houses attached to each other, when and from where the wars were fought.

When the hunters are coming home late from hunting, they must pass these old homes at night," Rose chuckled, perhaps thinking of the hunters having an eerie feeling. "The hunters were on foot and they always hunted in that direction. They hunted for bears at Selby River in the fall. They would use binoculars from their camps. When they sighted the bears, they would leave to hunt or wait for them."

Researchers asked Rose about an Indian presence in the upper Kobuk. "There were Indians occupying the area long ago," Rose said. "They came over through *Tanniguuq* to our country. They only came and visited during spring and then left.

"The ones coming from Allakaket are Kobuk people (*Kuuvaŋmiut*), *Iñupiat*. They moved and lived over there. They were not Indians. *Aqiiḷaq* (Bessie Tobuk's husband) was one, and also Oscar Nictune (*Qayaq*). They always came back to visit, too. They also visited from Huslia and then returned, too.

"My *uuma*, Faith Tulugaq Moyer, and I always were there, watching and looking. They always talked, but we could not understand."

Ed Iten

Ed Iten was born in Anchorage, Alaska, on March 9, 1953. His father, Robert Steinbrecker, was a mechanic for Northern Consolidated Airlines, a predecessor to Wien Air Alaska. His mother, Marjorie Heaser, was a registered nurse. His father was killed in an airplane accident in 1954, when Ed was only one year old. Ed's mother subsequently moved back to her home state of Minnesota with Ed and Ed's older sister Janice.

Ed finished high school and began college in

Minnesota. In his second year, he transferred to the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, and graduated with a degree in wildlife biology in 1976.

With his girlfriend, Carol Gravesen, Ed took several wilderness float trips on Canada's Athabasca, Bell, and Porcupine rivers. "My girl friend and I decided we weren't ready to take jobs," Ed said, "and wanted to spend another year in the bush." After their experiences floating remote northern rivers, Ed said, "We knew we had to get farther away from Fairbanks to enjoy it."

As luck would have it, Ed had a childhood friend from Minnesota teaching school in Selawik, Joe Ostrowski. Joe had been planning to spend a year out in the bush. He'd accumulated all the necessary equipment. But then he got "crosswise with the principal in the school there, so was having to move on for a year before things settled down. Rather than lose his outfit," Ed said, he offered it to Ed.

"It was his boat, his home-made wood stove, his dog sled," Ed said. "It was his entire outfit. Being that we didn't have any money for a motor or anything else to speak of, it worked out fine."

Neither Ed nor Carol had ever been in northwest Alaska before. "We dug out the maps and picked out the upper Kobuk as an interesting spot."

They flew to Selawik in July of 1977. Ed, Carol, and Joe loaded all the supplies – stove, tools, nails, dog sled, and three Malemute dogs – into an 18-foot river boat with a 25-hp motor and set out across Selawik Lake, so heavy and underpowered that they couldn't even begin to get the boat to plane, as they say, "up on step."

The trio was "just barging along" Ed recalled. "When the willows looked like they were too slow, we'd take out another box of nails and set it on the bank. Hopefully they were by fish camps where people got some use out of them. We eventually hit the bank at Shungnak," he said, and met Leonard Douglas.

"He took one look at our outfit in the boat, and says, 'Well looks like you're planning to stay a while. Fall's coming on. You might as well get on up there around Pah River. That's about as far as you're gonna get.'

"We were trying to be as unobtrusive as we could. So we thanked him and moseyed on up to Kobuk,

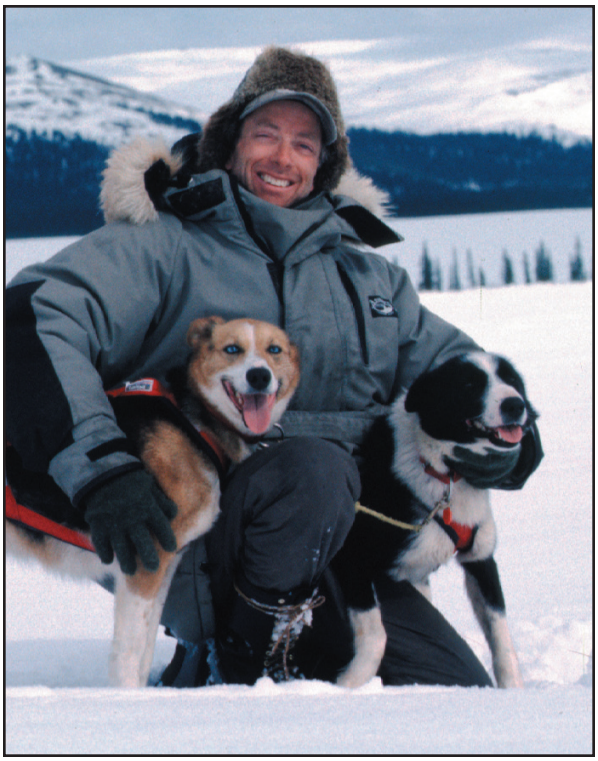


Figure 4-2. Ed Iten.

where we had mailed a few things." There, they met Guy Moyer, the postmaster.

"He walked to the river bank, took one look at our outfit, and basically gave us the same advice. He even offered a place. He said we might move into Johnson's sod igloo up at Pah River, because we wouldn't have time to build a place.

"So we thanked him and continued to barge up and plow through every little riffle we could find there. Our 25-horse had cotter pins at the time, so it tended to sheer them quite often. We had a big can of nails there. We were actually getting pretty low on nails by the time we got to what turned out to be Pah River. We saw the dark river water coming in there, and considered it might be Pah, but actually expected more of a river.

"So we were trying to get beyond that, and kept hitting a riffle there to the point where we just weren't going to get any farther. So we decided that we'd just put up a shelter for the winter there."

As they sat on the bank, they saw some poles that had been barked, back in the trees on the other side of the river. They crossed, and found a cache and

a small sod house, Johnson's place. The Johnson family had built the house, lived there several years, and then moved on. Locally, the site was known as *Tautitina*.

"We dropped everything on the bank," Ed recalled, and "took Joe back down to Kobuk so he could fly out to his teaching job." They made several trips to freight supplies from Kobuk village up to *Tautitina*.

On the last trip down, they met Joseph Harvey, who had set up a saw mill on the bank of the Kobuk River just above Kobuk village. He told Ed of his plans to build a cabin near *Kigvalluat,* about 15 miles downstream from *Tautitina.* Shortly before freeze-up, Joseph logged some trees off the island across from *Tautitina*.

Joseph, a solitary bachelor and an extremely self-reliant man even for an *Iñupiaq*, would have been 56 years old in the fall of 1977. Later Ed was to get to know Joseph well. But at the time, Ed and Carol were just trying to put food away for the winter.

"We didn't own a net. We just had a couple fishing poles. So we were trying put fish up for the dogs. So we all congregated down at the big fishing hole (*Ł̣aaki*). It was a tremendously deep hole packed full of sheefish.

"Bernice Custer was there with Old Man (Charlie) Horner and his boys (Jack and Henry). Joseph ended up camping there. Thomas Mouse was a constant there. Then, Louise Woods (*Saiḷaq)* was Bernice's traveling partner. That was pretty much the main camp. A few other people would come up to fish, just for a couple days, from Kobuk. I believe the Wards came up. The Ticketts (Daisy and Wilson, *Aliqsi* and *Qaluvik*) might have come up to get a load of sheefish, because it was a quick and easy way to do it," Ed said.

The camp was on the south side of the Kobuk, on flat ground about a hundred yards upriver from the bluffs. In fall, an east wind comes cold, straight down the river at *Ł̣aaki*, so the campers built a large windbreak of willow and alder to shelter their canvas wall tents. Bernice set up a large cook tent right behind the windbreak; one or two smaller tents were set beyond that.

"People might have brought seines up, and they would go up to the mouth of Pah, which was shallow enough to seine," Ed recalled, "But there basically wasn't any need for it. Just having a (gill) net out there was more fish than anyone really needed. Folks would come up, put out a net over night, and the next morning they had all the fish they wanted, or basically all the fish you could put in a boat. These boats would leave right to the gunwales, going down river, you know, putzing along with a little 15-horse."

"We spent the whole fall there, just having a blast. By the time we were done, we just had the stubs of two rods and our reels. The fish had busted off every last inch of rod, we just had the handles and about six inches. But it didn't really matter. There were so many fish."

It was a short two-mile run upriver from to *Tautitina.* "We'd take as many (fish) as we could go up against the current with. Ended up, in the course of those couple weeks, catching enough for the whole winter for ourselves and our dogs."

While Ed and Carol were fishing at *Ł̣aaki*, Old Man (Charlie) Horner, Thomas (Mouse), Joseph (Harvey), and some younger men went up to the Reed and Beaver rivers to get firewood for the winter. "They brought down a huge raft of dead wood. They were gone for several days. They came back and they had at least one brown bear and, I believe, a caribou and a moose, all on this raft."

It was a large raft, Ed remembered. "To my eye, it was going to get jammed in any of the narrow channels. They actually did get stuck once. I never did figure out how they got something like that unstuck. But I would say they were big trees. There were a dozen, sixteen, and they were probably in that vicinity of 30 feet long, some longer. They were equivalent to cabin logs, except they were using them for a winter's worth of firewood.

"They just tied it up like another horse on a tree stump out in front of camp. It stayed there until they were ready to go down for the fall. They loaded up all the fish that Bernice had, and whatever else people couldn't get in the boats," Ed said.

"Everyone was at *Ł̣aaki*. It was a kind of like a little paradise. It was just wonderful there," Ed recalled.

Other than local people, Ed saw only two people during the fall, a pair of kayakers coming down from Selby River. "They were kind of pioneers



Figure 4-3. Joseph Harvey's sawmill near Kobuk, 1978. Ed Iten met Joseph here in the fall of 1977. This is probably the same mill used in a number of different logging operations on the upper Kobuk dating at least back into the 1940s.

then. They were the only people we saw on the river," Ed said.

"Then it was getting close to freeze-up. The slush ice was starting to run. The fish were starting to spawn. We made one last run down (to Kobuk), and Vera Douglas warned us that we had to get out of there immediately, because the ice was going to run.

"We didn't think much of it. You looked out front and there wasn't hardly a bit of ice. We got about where Joseph Harvey's camp was and we hit heavy ice. Cakes of ice. We had to fight to get through it. It was coming out of the mouth of Mauneluk. We got above that, and we got home. The next night, the river froze up.

"Vera was right on the money," Ed said. "That was my first introduction to, keep your mouth shut and keep your ears open. We obviously had no idea what the country was capable of doing.

"I remember that night, because we were laying in bed. Somewhere in the middle of the night we thought we were going to get run over by a freight train. It was just this incredible roaring. We knew we weren't in an avalanche chute. It was so loud that you just couldn't hear anything. It sounded like you might have been in the Chicago stock yards or something.

"It lasted for, I don't know how many minutes. Then suddenly, it stopped. The igloo had a little crawl-in entrance. So we crawled out, and took a look.

"The river ice had broken from a jam, and about five miles of ice came careening down. We had cakes of ice all the way up to the top of the bank. It was just this jumble of ice from one end to the other. That is what we heard, this whole river full of ice careening down and re-jamming on the bend at Pah River."

The ice froze in place for the winter, all jumbled up. Then, there was hardly any snow. That "made river travel pretty much impossible," Ed said.

"I went hunting that fall up at the head waters of the *Killaq* (River). We got a bear to eat, and a moose to eat. So that was our winter feed. Packed them in with our pack dogs."

With a good supply of food, in late October Ed



Figure 4-4. Bernice Custer, 1978. Bernice guides a log into the blade at Joseph Harvey's sawmill.



Figure 4-5. Joseph Harvey, 1978. Joseph mans the throttle on the mill engine, watching Bernice run the logs.

decided to walk down river and help Joseph Harvey build his log cabin. He left Carol at the cabin, walked down the north side of the Kobuk River to *Ł̨aaki*, crossed the frozen river, and then walked on tundra south of the river to Joseph's place, about 12 miles to the west northwest.

"I basically went due west right down the plains, counting the drainages and trying to line it up with the right drainage. Then I walked over to the river. It took a bit finding his camp from the tundra side, because I'd never gotten that view of it before, and I had pretty shaky directions from Joseph.

"I met Joseph. He was out hunting. He was as surprised as I was. He was pretty impressed.

"I spent ten days there with him, putting up his little cabin. That was an interesting experience. At the time, he was living in a lean-to with some sod on the roof, sod about halfway up the walls. The rest was basically an open-air shack. No matter which way you looked at night, you could see stars out.

"Of course there's mice running all over in the middle of the night in there. Every now and then I'd hear this incredible splashing. I couldn't quite figure it out. I figured we'd take a look at it in the morning. In the morning there were probably 20 dead mice in a wash basin half full of water. He had a little plank with a piece of bait off the end of that on a piece of string. That was his mousetrap.

We slept in his little shack there, and worked on the cabin there until we finished it. Then I walked back up to Pah and we settled in for the winter. Basically, we didn't see another person until Christmas," Ed said, "when Joseph brought our mail up from Kobuk.

"Watching him come up the river was pretty interesting. We could hear a snow go, which was the first thing we'd heard all fall. We saw two airplanes that winter. Joseph came up with his snow go, which was an old Polaris with a cardboard box over the engine. He didn't have a cowling for it; the cardboard box was his cowling.

"We just had a wonderful Christmas with him. He spent about four days with us. Of course it snowed and snowed and snowed.

"The day it was time for him to leave, he got up real early and put on snowshoes, and spent a half a

day making a trail from our little igloo there to the bluffs on top of *Ł̨aaki*, just for his snow machine.

"That was an introduction to the old ways for me. He showed me the importance of not only making a snowshoe track, but also making it three wide, whether it's for a snow go or for a dog team," Ed said.

Ed made some trails and set traps around the Pah. "We actually did pretty well with marten and lynx and a wolverine," he said.

He and Carol made two or three trips that winter down to visit Kobuk and Shungnak. They hooked the three malamutes to their sled, and skied along after it. "We had little Thumper for a leader. Basically, he decided he was going to be the leader. He would just look back over his shoulder at us. If we'd pick a different tack, he would start going that way. He'd always stay about 50 yards ahead of us.

"It was never a problem until we came across a moose. Then it was just a matter of bush whacking about half a mile and dragging them back out of the willows, and reorienting everything. Because every time they'd see a moose in our crossing there, they'd take off after him," Ed said.

"We always skied. In those days, it would take us two days to go to Kobuk or Shungnak. We would camp out, usually on the creek there. That was a full day. Second day would get us into town. It worked out well. There was always good dry wood there. It really was about halfway between.

"In later years, I eventually accumulated some cast-off village dogs from Leonard and Vera and various other people and cut that two-day trip down to four hours with 12 village dogs.

"That was my introduction to dogs, I guess. Malamutes didn't really count. Malamutes were more like a traveling dog fight. They'd pick on each other until something else came along. Then they'd gang up on that, and then they'd go back to stretching each other out. It was a good lesson in patience."

Other than Joseph Harvey and one visit by Leonard Douglas, Ed and Carol didn't see anyone else on the Pah that winter. When the river broke up that spring, they loaded up their boat and headed down to Kotzebue.

"I found work," Ed said, "and Carol went off to school to finish her degree. That pretty much set the hook for the country up here. That was enough adventures in one year to realize I had a lot more to chase down."

Ed had planned to take a boat back up the Kobuk at the end of the construction season in Kotzebue. "But we were doing a school project. By the time we finished the project, we got an early freeze in Kotzebue. September 21 (1978). The sound froze. So at the end of September, I chartered Johnny Walker with some very basic provisions and five dogs, and we flew a (Cessna) 185 in on a gravel bar below Joseph's."

"We buzzed his cabin and he came out. We did another circle, and then dipped over the bar which was like two miles below Joseph's. The river was still flowing up there at that time. It was right at freeze-up. So he came down in the boat and picked me up. And we dug in for the winter there." In the spring, Ed had mentioned to Joseph that he would be back in the fall. But that had been the extent of their communication.

"I don't think he really expected I was going to show up, because Joseph was true to form. He had a few little bundles of dried fish out on the rack. Actually, he didn't even have a fish rack at the time. He just had them tied on the alder bushes around the cabin there. He was really into simplicity.

"So we had no dog food. Basically, no provisions, other than some staples that I brought up. I guess I had a little bit of commercial (dog food) there. We dug around and he had a bunch of old, old, old moldy whitefish and salmon stored in his cache. So we used that for dog feed."

Ed "spent the next year living with Joseph, learning some of the older, simpler ways. We did a lot of trapping and traveling around together. Pretty much spent the whole year together, traveling around that area."

A few days after he arrived, Joseph and Ed shot a bull caribou on high ground across from Joseph's cabin and packed it in with dogs. The river was barely frozen, so they had to edge across from pan to pan.

"Butchering the caribou was a new thing for me, because Joseph didn't throw out anything. The first thing Joseph cooked up was the kidneys. This caribou was a bull and in full rut. Boy, if there is a

concentration of caribou musk, it is in the kidneys. There was enough to make your eyes water. I've never been able to eat a rutty caribou since.

"So we proceeded from there to get a moose directly thereafter, and ate pretty well. That brought us up to Thanksgiving at Kobuk. That was a big thing down there at time."

Joseph's snowmachine wasn't in good enough shape to make the trip over a rough early winter trail all the way to Kobuk. So instead of relying on his snowmachine, Ed said, "Joseph walked everywhere. He would walk to Kobuk. He would walk to Pah. He did several trips across towards Mauneluk and those hills."

But Ed had five dogs, and a short little sled with the runners toed out instead of in, "that went everywhere but straight." Ed recalled that, "Joseph thought that was going to be pretty cool. He hopped in the sled and waited for me to hook up dogs. He pointed the way. We went from his place down the river, and took a right over on the Qala branch.

"He was pointing out Tommy Douglas' saw mill site, which was a grove of heavy spruce trees. The dogs all looked that way as well, and just started putting their hackles up, and growling low, and looking over their shoulders. I had never seen them react like that before. I thought it was pretty interesting, but I couldn't see anything. It was fresh snow, and there were no tracks.

"We went another half mile around the bend and here were some huge grizzly tracks, where he had been pawing in the slough trying to get old salmon. We realized pretty quick that we had just passed a grizzly and he was up on the bank we just drove under. But we didn't think much more of it."

Joseph and Ed continued down river to Kobuk, attended the Thanksgiving feast, and returned to camp about four days later. They had left their caribou sleeping skins outside the cabin to dry. Now there was nothing left of the skins but tufts of hair. "There were huge bear beds, outside the cabin, on the cabin roof, in the alder all the way around the cabin." Apparently, the bear they had passed on the way down river had paid them a visit.

"Talking it over that night," Ed said, "we realized it wasn't going to be safe stepping out of the cabin very far. By that time we had a lot of snow, it was well froze up. So the next day, we put on snowshoes, sorted out the tracks, finally jumped him, shot him in a slough about four miles away from Joseph. He was just a sack of bones, shaggy hide, no teeth. He was just a bear that wasn't going to make the winter.

"It was interesting tracking the bear with Joseph. He had an old 30-30 that belonged to his father, and then to his uncle, and passed on to him. It was pretty much just silver and bleached wood at this point. He carried a little ball-peen hammer along with him. The ejector spring on those is a top ejector. To get his ejector spring to work, he would take a shot, and then take his ball peen hammer out of his pocket, and drive the ejector spring, which was broken, down over the cartridge head. Then he could jack the shell out, and put in another one. So essentially he had a single-shot 30-30.

"He did pretty well with that rifle. Once we had some bulls crossing a sandbar. I was amazed how fast he could get some shots off with that. He looked like a little tinsmith out there, tapping away and blasting."

Joseph lived a simple life, and made do with simple tools. Ed recalled how he drilled a 2" hole in a tree with a T-handled auger, packed it with bait, and set a trap for wolverine. "It was pretty ingenious, in terms of its simplicity. Yet it was fool proof. There was no way for a wolverine to get the bait without stepping in the trap."

Although Ed was keenly interested in all that Joseph knew, language was a barrier. In the beginning, Ed neither spoke nor understood *Iñupiaq*. Joseph understood some English, but it was difficult for him to speak. "Throughout the winter, I would ask him any questions I could think of, because he was just a vessel of knowledge. In answering me, he would often start answering in *Iñupiaq*, then realize that I was lost, try in English, then kind of give me a mixture of both, doing a real good job in English, but obviously doing a better job in his Native tongue."

At first, their conversations were pretty basic, but over time Ed learned more *Iñupiaq* and no doubt Joseph picked up some English from Ed. By the end of the winter, "he was explaining a lot of things in *Iñupiaq*. Because we had gone through it so many times I was starting to understand it. I was still lousy

in speaking it. But it got to the point where I'd ask him in English and he would answer in a mixture of English and then get into an *Iñupiaq* explanation that was a little more thorough. It was a tremendous teaching tool for me. I didn't realize it at the time. He was spoon feeding me his Native language.

"It got to the point, when we'd get down to the village and there was a conversation going on I would probably grasp the better part of it, just sitting around with them. Then they would give me a little English interpretation for my benefit. Their interpretation pretty much matched everything I'd just heard, sometimes a little shy of what I thought I heard.

"I think about 90 percent of everything he taught me started out with 'Uncle always say…'" Ed remembered. Joseph's uncle was Lake Wood (*Narvak*), his mother's brother. In the 1940 census, when Joseph was 18, Lake was living in Joseph's household.

"It was obvious that he was raised by his uncle, at least in his formative years and well into young adulthood, and traveled extensively with his uncle around the country there. He was just passing on what he learned from his uncle, who obviously learned it from the past generation.

"I think the biggest thing was animal habits and terrain, where and when different animals can be expected, and what habits, what traits they have, was a lot of the focus of his life. That and fish, of course. The fish were a mainstay. He knew every species and about the day of the month they were going to show up and the day they were going to leave.

"The things that really concerned Joseph were the everyday things they lived on around there. He was real big on rabbits. And fish was a real big thing. And fur was a real big thing.

"He wasn't a big hunter. He would get something if he needed it. But he lived on such basic staples that his trips were never hunting trips. They were exploring trips. He always had a fascination with Old Man Mountain. That was right out his back door and looked over everything.

I don't really know how much he knew about gold. But he knew the old prospectors. He'd hung around with them. So that was just a fascination of his. On Mauneluk he always wanted me to go check out every obscure canyon, and look for gold," Ed said. Ironically, "he could have cared less about money. He had more money than he ever wanted to spend. He just lived so simply, he didn't see any need to spend money. It was never a money issue. It was the exploring. He was just fascinated by the country.

"Joseph was forever walking. I know he was somewhat interested in minerals, just seeing what he could find. He probably covered all of that ground in his younger years with his uncle. That's what he knew as far as getting around. He walked everywhere. He just loved to explore. He didn't need a reason to go walk somewhere. Just seeing what was over the next hump was enough for him. That's just something you don't see people do anymore.

"He would take his boat, go somewhere, park it, and walk for three days, with everyone wondering what happened to him. Show up again, and go back to camp again as if nothing happened.

"To see him go on his little walks, he never took anything. Now we have our big packs; he carried a little pack. He never carried a blanket. Sometimes he carried a little sleeping bag. He alternated between that single-shot 30-30 and a little .300 Savage, never any big bear rifle or anything. He just never gave it a second thought. If he wanted to go somewhere, he just up and went. I was always fascinated by that.

"An interesting thing – I really regret never taking the walk with him – was his search for a fruit tree. The fruit was described as a resembling a pear, and pulpy like, laying on the ground all around this tree. Joseph knew about it from his uncle, and walked and found it once. He wanted to go up and show it to me. It would have been a summer-time affair, and it just never worked out. But that was just Joseph."

In the 19th century, the settlements on the upper Kobuk would have been connected with a network of trails, which Lake Wood would have known and some of which Joseph probably learned from his uncle. Ed knew where one of the old trails portaged a creek draining Angutikada Peak ("Old Man Mountain").

The trails, Ed said, "bypassed a lot of bad ice so people could travel all the time. The trails were used so much that it wasn't uncommon to run from the mouth of Mauneluk down to Kobuk. They were



Figure 4-6. Joseph Harvey's camp, 1978. Joseph lived simply and traveled light. This shelter was made from two small poles, two canvas tarps, and plastic sheeting. On the left behind the tent, a salmon dries on a tree branch.

hard-packed trails. You just ran, with mukluks, right on the trails."

Joseph and Ed followed an old trail into the Mauneluk that probably began in the Qala area, followed higher ground across the river by Joseph's cabin, where they picked it up, and over into the Mauneluk valley. "We walked over there and walked that out," Ed said. "It was still visible. You could see a definite change in vegetation and growth where it had been brushed out, a whole different group of alders and no large trees and everything."

On one trip that winter, Joseph and Ed snowshoed 20 miles north into the Mauneluk River valley, where Joseph had staked a Native allotment at the narrowest portion of the valley. "He wanted me to build my own cabin site. He felt that it was an ideal spot because of the game coming up and down river there had to pass right by his cabin site right there. So he took me up there, and showed me where to log and where to build. The following year, I went up to start my own cabin there."

With Joseph's encouragement, he cut and milled the lumber to build a tent frame, covered it with insulation, and built a plank cabin around that. "It became a 14x16 tent cabin, I guess," he said.

During the winter of 1979-80, Ed lived alone on the Mauneluk, but stayed in touch with Joseph. "I had frequent trips down to see him and he would come up to see me. It seemed like anytime we were in the area, we had frequent contact."

In the fall of 1981, Ed camped at *Ł̨aaki* again, just four years after his arrival at *Tautitina*. "I brought my parents up. We camped at *Ł̨aaki* there, and spent about 10 days living with Bernice and everyone. My dad had great fun catching big fish. We had just a real enjoyable time.

One day, Ed walked up the river from *Ł̨aaki* to the old sod house at *Tautitina*. "There was an incredible footpath along the edge. I mean, the vegetation was all gone, it looked like a big old bear trail, except it



Figure 4-7. Joseph Harvey's grave, 2003. Joseph died in September, 1998. After freezup, villagers carried him up river and buried him on high ground across from his cabin, with a panoramic view of the country and Old Man Mountain.

was all hip boots and what not, and there was one airplane tied up there.

"You could just see it was the changing of the times. Because in the past, there just was nothing up there. There were no Outside people at all. There was no airplane traffic, there were no boats, other than the local people," Ed recalled.

"Even in '81 a lot of people would still come up from Shungnak and Kobuk and go up to the Selby slough and maybe as far as the Reed or Beaver to hunt bear and stuff. As late as '81, there was still no other traffic that wasn't local, when we were there."

In 1985, Ed met a teacher in Kotzebue, Ruth Marucci, and they were married the following year, 1986. In the fall of 1988, the two of them moved back up to Joseph's allotment to spend the winter. "That was one of the most memorable years we had, the first year on Mauneluk. It was just pristine. There was absolutely no one coming through, except for the spring beaver hunters. It was so quiet that it was noisy. Just one of them special winters," Ed said.

Ed and Ruth lived back and forth between Kotzebue (for summer work) and the upper Kobuk for nearly a decade, living variously on the Mauneluk River, in Ambler, and on the Kobuk near Joseph's cabin. In the mid-1990s, they bought land 25 miles northeast of Kotzebue and built a homestead there.

*Raymond Woods (*Qalaiqraitchauraq*)*

Raymond Woods (*Qalaiqraitchauraq*) was born in Shungnak on September 12, 1955, to Wesley and Josephine Woods (*Qaulġutaiłiaq* and *Qupilġuraq*). He lived in Shungnak until he graduated from the eighth grade and then, like so many of rural students, left home to further his education.

"My first year," Raymond said, "I went all the way down to Chemawa Indian High School in Salem, Oregon. As a 14-year-old, it was not like my first two weeks was not learning, going to school. I was thinking about going home. That was the biggest thing. After a while, you get used to it."

After one year in Oregon, Raymond transferred back to Alaska and spent two more years at Mt. Edgecumbe High School in Sitka. Raymond's older

brother, Tommy, also was attending Mt. Edgecumbe. "I kind of got recruited to Mt. Edgecumbe," Raymond said, "to run with my brothers. We had a good racing title there, cross country." He graduated from Mt. Edgecumbe in May 1974.

A month before he graduated, Raymond enlisted in the U.S. Army. After a short visit home, he reported for duty on July 8. "When I told my Dad I was joining, he didn't question me at all. It was more to him that I am doing something with my life. He knew that I was probably coming back anyway. Which I did."

Raymond spent three years on active duty with the Army, including a tour in Korea, and then came home to Shungnak. Within a month of his discharge, he joined the National Guard as a commissioned officer, which allowed him to continue his military career while living in Shungnak.

"Then (we) went through trapping, and we went through a lot of hunting and mushing. I spent a lot of time with my Dad. That's the reason I know how to do all the survival stuff outside right now, because of my Dad. I am happy I went back to the village and spent time with my Dad."

Although he was home, Raymond took a different course than many of his peers. At a time when virtually everyone had abandoned sled dogs for snow machines, Raymond began breeding a kennel of sled dogs. Rather than move into government subsidized housing, he built a log cabin for himself in the woods on the south edge of town. He was one of the first in Shungnak to use outboard jet motors, which allowed him to get farther back into the country than would be possible with a propeller-driven boat. With his dogs, his snowmachines, and his boats, he loved to spend time out in the country, hunting, trapping, and fishing.

At the same time, he continued to rise through ranks in the military. "After I got commissioned in 1977, I went back to the Alaska Military Academy. I was a full-time tactical officer for candidates to become Lieutenant. I graduated (from) six classes there over the years from the late '70s to early '90s."

Rising in the ranks also meant more responsibility. Over the next two decades, Raymond transferred from Shungnak to Kotzebue, and eventually to Anchorage. At the end of his service he was the Battalion S3 for the First Scout Battalion, which included all of Arctic Alaska and the west coast as far south as Stebbins, basically all the *Iñupiaq* and St. Lawerence Island *Yu'pik* communities in Alaska. "The Battalion S3 is the training officer," Raymond said. "I knew about the military, what training they need."

His military job required him to be a cultural broker between the mostly non-Native, non-Alaskan career commissioned officers and the mostly Native Alaskan non-commissioned officers in the bush. It required good interpersonal skills, continuing education, constant reading, masses of paperwork, and complex scheduling.

In 1992, Raymond met Stephanie Spencer, a dental hygienist with the Maniiḷaq Association in Kotzebue, who had grown up in Texas. They were married in 1994, and moved to Anchorage where Raymond continued his work with the National Guard.

In 1996, after 22 years of military service, Raymond retired from the Guard and went to work for Purcell Security, a subsidiary of NANA Regional Corporations. Purcell sent him to work as a security guard on the North Slope. But he missed his family and he missed the upper Kobuk country, so he returned home as often as he could. And he began thinking about an idea he had been considering for some time.

"After I got out of the military and joined the National Guard," Raymond recalled, "I had extra time to do something with my life. I spent a lot of time up on the Kobuk River in those days, dog mushing, fur trapping, and fishing. During those years, in the early 80s, I saw that there were a lot of Outsiders, floaters or drifters or whatever, on the Kobuk River. I started thinking, maybe I can be part of this, make some of the money that the Outsiders are, transporting, or setting up a tour, guiding, fish guiding, and all that.

"Fifteen years ago, I asked a lot of questions about what would it take to run a guiding business, like a transporter or a fish guide. At first it looked like it was an easy business to get involved with. Money was there. A lot of Outsiders were looking at the Kobuk River at the time. I started thinking,

maybe us locals can do this business. If they can do it, we definitely can do it. We know the river. I know the river, I spend a lot of time on it. I know every channel on the river from Shungnak on up to Beaver River. I know the channels of the river, the depth, where the good fishing spots are."

"The business itself is there. There's a lot of hunters or tourists or sightseers or fishermen that want to go to the Kobuk River. The Kobuk River is now one of the last frontiers of this country. It's a still a wide spread of land. The business, like I said, is good."

From his research, Raymond knew there was more to a business than customers. He needed a business license and a Coast Guard license. To transport or guide fishermen, he needed a sport fish guide permit. To transport hunters, he needed a transporter permit. And to guide big game hunters, he needed to apprentice himself to a big game guide for several years, pass a written exam, and get recommendations from master guides. Getting a big game guide license was a major proposition, and so Raymond focused on sport fish guiding and transporting.

"The biggest part is insurance. That's where a lot of the money (goes) nowadays," he said. And buying insurance for a new small business carrying paying customers in small boats on a remote and wild Alaska river was more challenging than buying insurance for most small businesses.

"You just can't go in the office and buy it," Raymond said, "You got to have (a) fairly good record of what you are doing, what your business is for, before insurance (will) insure you. I think that's the biggest downfall for locals to start. If you don't have that, your business won't go."

Raymond also wanted to be legal. In the early 1990s, one of Raymond's brothers-in-law invited a friend from Oregon to visit. Raymond took the friend on a boat trip up the Mauneluk River, and shot a brown bear. The friend took the hide back to Oregon and told his friends that he had shot the bear. That story made its way back to the Alaska Department of Public Safety, where game wardens accused Raymond of illegally guiding a non-Alaskan on a brown bear hunt. Raymond insisted that he, not the Oregon man, had shot the bear. The case never went to court, but his defense cost Raymond a lot of time and money and left a bitter taste.

By the mid 1990s, Raymond was poised to begin a transporting and sport fish guiding business, but still didn't have all the licenses and permits that were needed, and had not been actively promoting his services. As it turned out, the Kobuk River didn't need much promotion, at least among Alaskans.

In the fall of 1995, Shungnak store owner Doug Walker and Fairbanks air taxi operator Art Warbelow began offering hunting services in Shungnak to non-local hunters. Warbelow sold hunters seats on Warbelow's Air Ventures scheduled flights from Fairbanks to Shungnak; Walker sold hunters lodging at his father-in-law's store in Shungnak. The hunters then hired local boats and boat operators for a couple hundred dollars a day. While Warbelow's and Walker's operations were perfectly legal, the local boats and operators were not licensed or insured. Some operators appeared to be providing (unlicensed) guiding services.

Raymond was in Shungnak that fall, and saw what was happening. "I did not transport for Doug. I knew what it would take to do that (i.e., licenses and permits). I mean, why jeopardize a $6,000 boat? If you get caught doing it, that will be confiscated. It wasn't worth it, for $250. The locals were doing it because it was fast money. The guys who were generating this business, knowing it was illegal, were doing it. It was fast cash for people who needed it.

"It's probably still going on. They learned how to make fast cash without spending to get legal. I try not even to think about them. I try not to get involved with them. I have studied my business. I know what's wrong. I know what's right. I know what it takes to satisfy a client."

The next year, 1996, Doug Walker decided not to continue serving hunters. He told researchers it was just too much hassle working with trophy hunters who wanted to give away most of their meat in the village. But Warbelow's Air Ventures was still interested in transporting hunters.

It was a perfect business opportunity for Raymond. By now, Raymond had his business license, his Coast Guard six-pack license, his sport fish guiding permit, and his insurance. He knew the Kobuk River country as well as anyone his age. He



Figure 4-8. Raymond Woods. From a hill overlooking the Mauneluk River, Raymond Woods scans for moose. He was on a fall hunting trip with his parents, Wesley and Josephine Woods. In the background is Mauneluk Mountain.

had years of experience working with high-ranking non-Natives in the military, and was used to taking charge of a situation.

In the fall of 1996, Raymond began transporting the hunters coming in on Warbelow's. Instead of housing them in Shungnak, as Doug had, Raymond transported them upriver and dropped them off to hunt on their own. Unlike some of the previous year's operators, Raymond operated strictly as a transporter, and did not stay in the field with his hunting clients. This kept his operation legal, but required that his clients have more wilderness survival skills.

"When we first started out six years ago," Raymond recalled, "We started out with a lot of locals, residents of Alaska. We did business with only locals for about the first two years to get a feeling of what it takes. Non-residents don't know what the wilderness really is."

Fresh in Raymond's mind was a 50-year flood in 1994, when Raymond helped search for a German rafter who drowned in the Lower Canyon of the Kokuk about 50 miles east of Shungnak. "The Kobuk River can get dangerous in floods," he said. "There's a lot of risk in it. You have to study it. You have to make sure everybody is safe. To run this business, you have to sound off about safety."

Raymond's approach was to let his clients build his business. "A lot of my clients is word of mouth. I'll bring locals, local residents from Alaska. Then next year they'll come back with their grandfather or next year they'll come back with their father. It's a family thing, word of mouth, or a family thing. I have had some very good clients who become like a family-type thing with us that's been coming every year."

Business was good enough that Raymond purchased a new 230-hp inboard jet boat. The boat had a canopy, a heater, and a VHF radio. Raymond could carry five passengers from Kobuk village to the Pah River in about half the time as the open skiff he had been using. Although it was a major investment, it offered a far more comfortable ride for his clients, and for him.

"Most of my clients are returns. My limited time in transporting is only like three to four weeks. Lot



Figure 4-9. Raymond Woods and hunter clients. Raymond (in dark jacket in back row) poses with five clients following their successful caribou hunt. In the left background is the boat Raymond uses. (Photo courtesy Raymond Woods)

of the locals are occupying that, residents of Alaska. Every year, coming off the boat, when the hunting season is over for them, they will put down a deposit and say, 'Same time, same guys, same place.' I mean, they don't want to lose that spot. Guys who live in Fairbanks do that."

"When we do have guys from the Outside, we always make sure that there's somebody resident with that group. In the past, we did put hunters from the lower 48 without any (Alaska) resident. They did OK, but they had a lot of questions. When you put somebody there with a local resident, it's a lot safer."

The number of parties is also a limiting factor, Raymond said. "If I have a group out there, or two, I can monitor them. If you drop out, like three groups, that's way too many for safety. If the river goes bad, you worry about, if there's three groups, you worry about 12 people. That's a lot of people.

"I can only haul five on the boat, well six, if I have to, under my Coast Guard license. You got to make sure there's some means of safety for the people you got out there. I'm also up and down the river throughout the whole duration of the hunting season anyway. I go by my clients up and down the river. If they do need medical help or somebody got hurt, they can easily wave me down.

Sometimes, he finds people in trouble. "I've seen floaters on the river that were four days late from their pickup because of weather. The floaters will run out of food. They've been out in the rain. The biggest factor is weather. When the weather comes in the fall, it's the rainy season. A pup tent doesn't keep you dry after three or four days out there. Somebody will get sick.

"A lot of clients on the Kobuk River have been dropped off and neglected," Raymond said. He has clients "who come with me because I have rescued them before. They went out there with somebody else. There were getting into danger, the way they



Figure 4-10. Fishing clients of Raymond Woods. A prinsipal attraction of the Kobuk River to sport fishers are sheefish, which routinely grow to 25 pounds. (Photo courtesy Raymond Woods)

were left out. I offered them, 'I can do this for you. I can help you. I can drive you down to my camp. You guys at least can dry up there. Then we can go from there.'"

He doesn't charge for transporting people when safety is involved. "For me, it's like a courtesy to the other transporters to help out. If clients get stranded or get hurt out there, it affects my business. Somebody got hurt on the Kobuk River, transported out there. Somebody else's mistake will affect my business.

"We learned that five days is a long time. Sometimes before I drop clients out, I'll say, 'You guys got five days. There's going to be caribou. Watch your time on how long you're going to keep that caribou. If you're out there and you shoot a moose tomorrow, or you shoot a caribou tomorrow, with this weather we got right now,' I'll tell them that, 'it's not going to last. It's going to waste. So you need to think about that.'

"Clients need to know how long (they can keep meat), because they don't know our weather. They came from a place three or four thousand miles away. Here they don't know how best to keep the meat from spoiling. They need to know all this information."

Raymond felt that ADF&G could do a better job of informing hunters about how to care for meat in the field. "I don't know why we don't put it on Fish and Game (regulation book). Put a little statement on the bottom, temperatures need to be this much to preserve the meat."

Handling meat is one of the complications of transporting hunters. Recently adopted regulations requiring meat to be left on the bone (to reduce spoilage in the field and to assist in enforcing salvage requirements), added to the weight in the boat.

"It's no problem with us transporters, because you charge the client more. It's just more money for the client. We're used to bringing in the just the meat

and antlers in the past. Now you have to bring the bones. It's half of the weight of the animal.

"You don't just bring it into camp and call it waste, because a lot of families use it. The bone marrow, and all that. Last summer, I had a moose carcass, made the trip down, landed right there in Kobuk.

"I said, 'I got a whole bunch of moose bones right here.' It was like a gift to them.

"They said, 'Oh yeah! It's ready to hang up and dry.'

"That's the best part of the meat anyway, the meat on the bone, when it's dried out. That's the diet," Raymond said.

"When I bring in meat to the villages, I will pass it on to the elders who needed meat or the families that needed meat. A lot of times, when I walk into an elders house and say, 'Hey, I got some meat for you, I got excess, it's ready to go in the freezer.'

"First thing they want to say is, 'I'll eat it with pride.' It's a way of helping each others. They're happy because they got meat for the winter. It's not me, because I have extra meat to go give them. They're happy because now they got it. If I didn't walk in that day, they would still be happy. But walking it in there, and sharing, a way of life, of passing on a tradition is part of that. That's the way I look at it."

"If Fish and Game called me now and said, 'Ray, if you keep bringing guys next year, moose hunters, that would be that much less moose, and then it's going to hurt my people,' (then) I would stop. I am not letting my people go hungry, trying to make money off of other people. I won't make my people, my tribe, competition to my business. Because that's a way of life," he said.

But that's only one view. Some of Raymond's Shungnak neighbors disparage his business, and Raymond hears from them, too. "A lot of the locals look at me (as if) I am the only person that brings in all the Outsiders to the Kobuk River. Every time they see a floater or a hunter on the Kobuk River, they will think that, 'Oh yeah, that's Raymond's client.' They forget about Brooks Aviation, Bettles Lodge, or North Pole, or Fairbanks, or whatever ways and means to transport people to the Kobuk River.

"It's something you have to think about. When you are trying to do the right thing in life, especially for this business, you have to have everything current, your license, everything, all the paperwork has to be updated and all that. To do it legally, you have to know the requirements, what this business takes to run it. I think if you overcome all that, and then you meet all the standards that are required to run a business and be safe, and keep the clients happy, I think the business would go on."

"If I were to bring in clients who just wanted to go for the antlers, it would hurt my business. Because (local) people would see only antlers getting on the airplanes. When people see meat is being brought out and get on the airplanes and leave, there'll be less talk about 'Raymond's clients are just hunting for antlers.'

"For the first two years, if somebody found a carcass up on the Kobuk River, they'll say, 'Oh, it's Raymond's client. It's Raymond's client. Raymond is the one.' Because they see me with the boat. It's not like Brooks Aviation or Bettles Lodge is bringing in people. It's Raymond. If they find a dead animal out there, it's Raymond's client.

"I have (received) calls from the Nome Fish and Game office (saying), 'There's complaints you're transporting illegally up there.' I told that commissioner, or whoever he is, I said, 'Come out here and get on my boat. You go show me where that animal is, and I'll tell you whose it is and whose it's not.' I will work with them.

"The locals are looking at me now, like, 'Ray is not doing it. Ray is licensed to do all this. You showed us, both the locals and the Outside and the law, Ray is doing what he is supposed to do to run the business.'"

In 1998, several of Raymond's clients were among four parties of non-local hunters who were robbed at gunpoint by five armed men from Shungnak, who stole guns, knives, binoculars, cameras, and other items. The incident received statewide media coverage. For his role, the state trooper involved received a national "Top Cop" award from President Bill Clinton at the White House the following year. The five men were convicted of assault, robbery, and other charges. This incident is discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter.

Raymond said the incident did not seem to affect

the demand for his services. "Actually, it didn't affect my business," he said. "We still have people coming in. People know about it. Every time they call Fish and Game here, they know about it.

"We can't hide information from our clients. If something happened on the river, we need to let them know. We need to tell them, there's already been a solution. It hasn't happened for the last ten years, or five years, or however long. You need to tell them the truth. You just can't fool somebody. They'll find out one way or another once they're landed here in the region. Word gets around."

Looking back on his business, Raymond credited the military for some of his success. "Being in the military, as a commander in the military, I learned my people skills, how to work with people, how to counsel people, how to learn a project, learn the product, learn how to explain it, and learn the best way to deal with this stuff. And how to take charge. You need to know how to take charge.

"When I put clients in my boat, I'm in charge of their safety. I need to let them know what the policy is in my boat. I need to let them know where all the fire extinguishers are located, what the boat does, what we're going to be traveling on.

"Let's say a client shot a caribou by mistake, two caribou standing together, I will have to turn you in. I am the law here. I am the transporter, but I am also the law here to protect the animals, to protect, I mean, to enforce the law here. If I start breaking it, everybody will break it. Because, it easy to say, well, this transporter does this anyway. I learn all that from the military. You got to set the example."

"I want my business to grow. One way to do it (is) to travel the United States and go to sport shows, like Denver sport show, Houston sport show, and advertise your business. If I wanted to grow, I would."

Although Raymond didn't say what proportion of his business came from hunting and what proportion from fishing, he has found that his fishing clients are mostly interested in the experience, in sightseeing. "If they want to catch a big fish," he said, "they can go to Seward and catch a big old halibut and catch a big old king salmon. It's not what they are coming here for. The biggest sport here is sheefish. But a lot of people who come up here to fish don't know sheefish anyway. They come up here, because it's pristine. It's because of the wilderness, because of the mountains, because of the animals."

Raymond has thought about building a lodge on the Kobuk River, but that would be a big commitment. He looks at lodges as "warehousing people and taking them fishing. Like any other Native *Iñupiaq* from the region, I don't have time to do that. Life is too short. I can see the money. I probably can do it. But, as of right now, I don't look at it that way. Because there are other things I want to do," Raymond said.

"It took me six years to really feel how my business is running now. I'm comfortable running it now. I ask questions. If a new law or regulation comes around, I ask questions. What is the best thing for me to do?"

"My wife Stephanie has been a big help to me, because she is from a business family. She does the books for me, and also she does the accounting, the business thing. Without her, in some areas, I would be slow. But she keeps it rolling.

"There's a lot of things involved in being a guiding business with animals. Because you have to know the law, fish and game regulations, you have to know the business regulations. It's not like putting an item in the store and leaving it there until somebody comes and buys it. You have to sell, and keep updating yourself with the ongoing changes in the system, with the game regulations, with the new laws. You have to keep changing with them. That's the biggest frustration.

"That's why a lot of the locals don't really look at it. It's not like, I'm going to buy a boat and start transporting, Ray."

Since he started transporting, Raymond and Stephanie have lived in Shungnak, Anchorage, Texas, and even New Zealand (where Stephanie was attending dental school). Every summer, Raymond has come back to Shungnak to run his business, often accompanied by Stephanie and their son, Spencer, born in 1998. Transporting has yet to support the family. For that Raymond has worked as a security guard and a carpenter. But transporting has paid for Raymond's boat, and for his annual trips back home to Shungnak.

"Being a transporter or a fishing guide doesn't take care of your year-round bills. It's just a short

period of time here that you get involved, that you do the business," Raymond said. "In order to make money as a transporter, you need to do it year round. You need to have winter recreation. You need to get into snow machine transporting or dog team transporting." Whether he operates 3 weeks or 43 weeks, many fixed costs don't change. There's a Coast Guard license for $300, a transporting permit for $200, insurance, amortization on the boat.

"The way I look at it," Raymond said, "is I am just giving Outsiders competition. To have local transporters. To be role models to young people that, yes, we can have our own local business here."

5
Changes and Conflicts

During the 20th century, patterns of human use on the upper Kobuk River changed substantially. At the turn of the century, the largest human settlement on the upper Kobuk was at the mouth of the Pah River. As has been described by the elders interviewed in this project, a semi-nomadic community of people occupied and used the area intensively through 1930, and even petitioned BIA for a school.

By 1950, all but one of the upriver families had moved down river to Kobuk and Shungnak. After 1950, the area continued to be used seasonally by residents of Shungnak, Kobuk, and Ambler, who set fish camps at or near the old settlements, hunted bear in salmon spawning areas like Selby River, and rafted logs down from the islands between Selby and Beaver rivers.

In the 1980s, non-local traffic began to increase. This traffic involved hunting and fishing, as well as recreational use in both federal and state jurisdictions. Compared with more accessible areas of Alaska, the number of non-local users was low. The trend, however, was up. Between 1995 and 2000, non-local moose hunting effort increased by an average of 21 percent a year. In 1995, 40 non-local moose hunters reported using the area, compared with 85 in 2000. This was a significant change in the level of competition.

The increasing use of the upper Kobuk River by non-local hunters and fishers was a frequent topic of discussion at community and regional meetings in the late 1990s, including the Gates of the Arctic Subsistence Resource Council, the upper Kobuk Fish and Game Advisory Committee, and the Northwest Subsistence Regional Advisory Council. Local complaints could be described in three general categories: (1) wasted meat, (2) spatial conflicts with subsistence activities, and (3) reduced wildlife populations.

Residents of the upper Kobuk responded to the competition in two diametrically opposed ways. On Labor Day weekend in 1998, five intoxicated and armed Shungnak men accosted four separate parties of non-local hunters, robbed them of firearms and other gear, and threatened to kill them. Three years, later, the upper Kobuk Advisory Committee, a citizens group representing Ambler, Kobuk, and Shungnak, submitted a proposal to the Alaska Board of Game to limit aircraft and jet boat access to the area.

Neither response seemed to affect patterns of non-local hunting and fishing. The Shungnak men all were arrested the day after the robberies, convicted, and sentenced to jail for periods ranging from 2 to 18 years. The regulatory proposal was considered at length by the Alaska Board of Game during two different meetings, but was not adopted.

Conflicts between local and non-local hunters and fishers were not unique to the upper Kobuk River. Similar conflicts have been reported on the Noatak River, the Koyukuk River, the Unalakleet River, and the Kuskokwim River. On the Noatak and Koyukuk rivers, the Alaska Board of Game adopted controlled use areas (CUAs) which limit or prohibit the use of aircraft for hunting purposes during a portion of the fall hunting season.

The upper Kobuk provided a case example of the frustrations and challenges local residents experienced in the face of expanding and competing uses of fish and game by non-local residents. This project's approach has been to document the different experiences of different users at different times. Whereas previous reports and most of the previous chapter in this report focused on historical uses, this chapter looks at contemporary uses. It begins with a discussion of the growing use of the upper Kobuk River in the 1980s and 1990s. The next section summarizes the Labor Day incidents in 1998, based on court records, published news accounts,

interviews with law enforcement officials, and materials provided to researchers by one of the defendants. The final section summarizes the discussions surrounding a controlled use area proposal in 2001, including transcripts from a Board of Game meeting in January 2002 (Appendix 6).

Changes in Uses

No single event or particular circumstance precipitated a major change in the patterns of human activities on the upper Kobuk River during the 20th century. Still, it is hard to underestimate the affect of two federal laws, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971 and the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) of 1981. Although ANCSA and ANILCA were adopted at particular times, the changes they set in motion took much longer to manifest themselves.

The relinquishment of Native title to lands and the extinguishment of aboriginal hunting and fishing rights under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971 set the stage for the changes that were to follow. Although virtually all Kobuk residents were aware of ANCSA corporations, and some knew where corporate lands were located, many seemed to not understand what ANCSA meant for lands outside Native control. Local people continued to argue for rights to public lands and resources that had been extinguished or relinquished with ANCSA.

For a brief period following ANCSA, some lands were open to settlement entry on the Kobuk, Mauneluk and Ambler Rivers. About half a dozen non-local people staked 2- to 15-acre claims, mostly on the Mauneluk River. Most wanted to live a log-cabin, back-to-the-land life. There was a flurry of local opposition to these settlements; the Mauneluk River was prime bear hunting habitat. But 15 years later, most of these residents had moved on, save one who persisted until a flood in 1994 carried away his cabin logs and Super Cub. He then moved to Nome.

In 1981, ten years after ANCSA, the Alaska National Interest Lands Act (ANILCA) may have precipitated a movement of non-local people out of the newly created park and monument lands, where non-subsistence hunting was not allowed, into public lands on the upper Kobuk River, where hunting was allowed. Talkeetna pilot Randy Kilbourn testified to the Alaska Board of Game that his family began hunting moose in the Pah River Flats at that time because their former hunting camp was inside one of the new parks (Appendix 6, public testimony). ANILCA also increased the visibility of Alaska to recreational users outside the state.

The area that was the focus of this project, the Pah River area, was in effect a "donut hole" between ANCSA land on the west and ANILCA lands on the east. NANA corporate lands began a few miles below the Mauneluk River. Gates of the Arctic National Preserve began a few miles above the Selby River. Except for a string of Native allotments along the river corridors, the lands in between, including major parts of the Mauneluk and Pah River, were state lands. Alaskans strongly favored keeping public lands open-to-entry, and the state constitution reserved renewable natural resources for the common use.

Settling Native land claims was a secondary purpose of ANCSA; it's principal purpose was to allow construction of the Alaska pipeline. The first oil flowed through the pipeline on June 20, 1977, ushering in an era of prosperity for the state. Thanks in large measure to the state's oil wealth, Alaska's population doubled between 1970 and 2000, from 302,173 to 626,932. So did the population of Fairbanks, the population center closest to the upper Kobuk, growing from 14,771 to 30,224. Another 52,000 people lived in the Fairbanks North Star Borough outside the city boundaries (U.S. Census Bureau 2001:9,123).

Prudhoe Bay oil also increased Alaskans' personal wealth. During the latter decades of the 20th century, Alaskans had more disposable income to spend on recreation pursuits, including hunting, fishing, rafting, and even aircraft. From Fairbanks, the Pah River was well within the range of a float-equipped Cessna 185 with long-range tanks.

No one disputed that non-local use of the upper Kobuk River increased during the last two decades. In the 1970s, a very small number of independent non-local floaters, hunters, and fishers passed through the Pah area. In his interview, Ed Iten remembered only two floaters passing the Pah in the fall of 1977. One researcher on this project was

in a fish camp below the Mauneluk River for two weeks in the fall of 1979, and saw no hunter, fisher, or floater traffic on the river during that time.

During the 1980s, that use began to grow, primarily supported by air taxi operators in Bettles and, to a lesser extent in Ambler and Kotzebue. Most of the non-local traffic on the upper Kobuk River arrived by airplane, mostly from Bettles, about 100 miles to the east. Air taxi operators dropped off hunters, fishers, and recreational users in the headwaters. They floated down to be picked up at the Pah or in Kobuk village. Private pilots with float planes also flew in, especially for sheefish fishing near the Pah River mouth, but also for hunting at places like Avaaraat Lake in the Mauneluk River valley, Kolliaksak Lake, and the Pah River Flats.

As more people used the area, word of mouth and occasional news accounts generated more traffic. In 1992, Alaska Magazine and Grays Sporting Journal both published articles and photographs describing sheefish fishing on the upper Kobuk River (Minard 2001). In 2000, Alaska Governor Tony Knowles flew out from Bettles with Miami Dolphins star Larry Csonka and landed at *Ł̣aaki* to film a segment on sheefish for Csonka's syndicated television program.

For the most part, this aircraft-supported traffic was not evident from Shungnak, and was evident from Kobuk only when parties of paddlers arrived for their pickup. Non-local users who flew out up river might not come in contact with local people at all. But it was evident to the families who continued to hunt and fish at Pah River and above.

At the close of the 1980s, the primary complaint from local residents was about sport fishing for sheefish (Georgette and Loon, 1991). The conflicts were most intense around *Łaaki,* where Ed Iten reported fishing with Bernice Custer, Joseph Harvey, and other families in 1977 and 1981. *Ł̣aaki*was not only a hot spot for sheefish, it also offered the most dependable float plane access on the upper river. The water there was deep, slow, straight, and free of rocks. The sheefish themselves appeared to be abundant (Taubee and Wutig 1996, 1997, 1998). The conflicts were over use of particular sites and fishing practices (Georgette and Loon 1991).

At the same time non-local, aircraft-supported uses were growing on the upper Kobuk, they were growing at least as fast, if not faster, on the Noatak. In 1984, the Noatak-Kivalina Fish and Game Advisory Committee submitted a proposal to the Alaska Board of Game to create a controlled use area prohibiting the use of aircraft in support of hunting along the Noatak River. Initially rejected, the advisory committee persisted until, four years later, the Board of Game adopted a Controlled Use Area on the middle Noatak River. The CUA later was expanded to include a corridor five miles on either side of the Noatak River from the Noatak mouth to the mouth of Sapun Creek, closed to the use of aircraft from August 25 through September 15.

Members of the Noatak-Kivalina Fish and Game Advisory Committee believe that the Noatak CUA has been very successful. But one affect of the Noatak CUA was to displace non-local hunters to other parts of the unit. A CUA also was adopted on the Koyukuk River in 1979, which was similarly successful for local residents, but also may have displaced non-local hunters to other areas.

In 1995, two businessmen pioneered a new approach to hunter services on the upper Kobuk River. Instead of using floatplanes to drop small groups with rafts on the headwaters, Art Warbelow used twin engine commuter aircraft to fly them to Shungnak from Fairbanks on his company's regularly scheduled mail route. Doug Walker put them up in his father-in-law's lodge. It was an immediate success, offering a hunt that was cheaper and easier than anything previously available on the river.

Both men were very familiar with the Kobuk River. Art Warbelow's parents taught in Shungnak it the late 1940s, and later started an air taxi that provided scheduled service throughout the Interior. Doug Walker had taught in Shungnak in the early 1980s. He married Carolee Commack, whose father Albert Commack owned a small store. Walker expanded the store ten fold, building a store-apartment-hotel facility that could house about 15 people.

The new venture served both business. Warbelow's filled seats on their twin-engine Piper Navajos for several weeks. Walker filled up rooms at Commack's store.

But there was a problem. The hunters relied on local people to take them out on the river, local people

who were not licensed as guides or transporters. Walker told researchers that he saw his business as a way to put money in local pockets, and it was up the local people to make sure they were legal. As far as researchers could determine, few, if any, were.

The following year, 1996, Walker decided not to continue the venture. As Raymond Woods described in the previous chapter, Warbelow's started directing hunters to Woods instead, and Woods' young transporting business prospered.

Meanwhile, Joe and Robbie Jackson started another transporting-outfitting company, Wild Kobuk River Runners, offering similar services out of Kobuk. They partnered with Ambler Air Service to drop their clients off upriver, often at Minakakosa Lake, to float back to Kobuk in Jackson's rafts. And several air taxis from Bettles continued to drop hunters in the headwaters to float down for pickups at Pah River or Kobuk village.

With traffic on the river increasing, conflicts between local and non-local residents increased. Local residents were especially angered by evidence of waste. Brown bears were managed as a trophy animal, so state regulations required salvage of the hide but not of the meat. Local people hunted brown bear for food, and were angered when they found bear carcasses abandoned (Loon and Georgette 1989). There was nothing illegal about it.

But there was also wanton waste. One of the more flagrant cases occurred in September, 1995. While boating upstream of Kobuk village, Shungnak resident Willard Commack encountered two Ohio men floating in a raft, with a moose antlers and no meat. They told Commack that they had left the carcass up river and he was welcome to it. Willard reported the abandoned moose to the Fish and Wildlife officer in Kotzebue, who investigated. One of the men, a police officer from Ohio, was found guilty of wanton waste and fined $500.

Although use was clearly increasing, the increase was difficult to quantify. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game, the National Park Service, and the Alaska Department of Commerce and Economic Development each documented some of the uses. Commercial operators reported to NPS and DCED, hunters and fishers reported to ADF&G, while recreational users were not required to report. Depending on how they accessed the area, one hunter's activities would be triple reported to ADF&G, NPS, and DCED, while another hunter's traffic would be reported only to ADF&G. It was virtually impossible to reconcile different agency's records and calculate total use by year. The data were consistent in showing a steady increase in use.

The National Park Service, with a ranger stationed above Selby River during the fall hunting season, made an extensive effort to document use. Between August 28 and September 21,1999, rangers interviewed 18 parties; in 2000, they interviewed 15 parties; and in 2001 they interviewed 22 parties (Andersen 2002). During the same three-year period, Alaska Department of Fish and Game records showed 65, 59, and 85 non-local moose hunters on the upper Kobuk River above Ambler River. If the parties contained an average of three people, both the volume and pattern of non-local use over these three years was consistent.

Compared to many other areas of Alaska, this volume of hunter traffic was low. Twenty-two parties in a month would mean an average of less than one party a day floating past, for example, Selby River mouth. But the rate of change was more telling. Between 1995 and 2001, the number of moose hunters on the upper Kobuk River increased by an average of 21 percent annually, and by 135 percent over the six-year period.

Figure 5-1 (top) shows the number of hunters who reported hunting moose in the Kobuk River above Ambler from 1989 to 2001. The lowest effort occurred in 1994, when many hunters' plans were disrupted by a 50-year flood in August. The highest effort occurred in 2000-2001 season (i.e. the fall of 2000), when 94 people reported hunting this area. The trend shown in these data is consistent with anecdotal observations that use increase following 1995.

From 1989 through 1994, an average of 54 people hunted moose each year. From 1995 to 2000, an average of 80 people hunted moose each year. But moose harvests increased only slightly, from an average of 23 moose annually in the earlier period to an average of 25.8 in the later period. In words, hunter success has declined, from 42 percent in the earlier period, to 31 percent more recently.

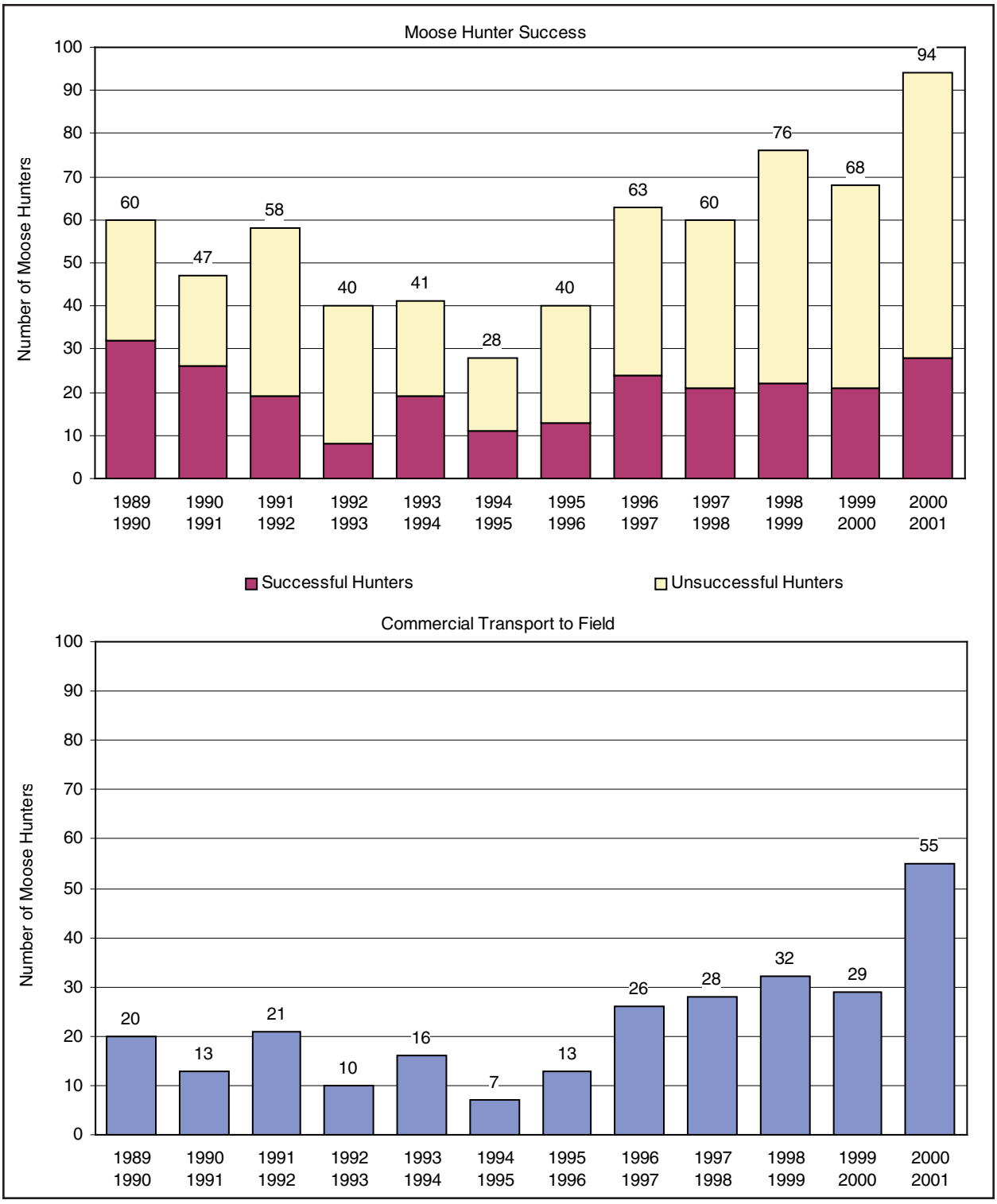


Figure 5-1. Moose Hunting Success and Transport, 1989-2001. Beginning with the 1995 seasons, the number of moose hunters on the upper Kobuk River began increasing by an average of 21 percent annually, but success rates delined. Use of commercial transporters to access the field mirrored the increase in effort.

Over the last 12 years, about half the moose hunters in this area used commercial services (Figure 5-1, bottom). The expansion of the transporter industry beginning in 1995 is evident. Before 1995, about 20 hunters used commercial services each year, on average. After 1995, an average of 37 hunters used commercial services. The number of hunters who reported not using commercial services was 16 in the earlier period, and 17 in the later period, not a significant change. In other words, the growth in non-local moose hunter numbers in the area appears to be directly related to the growth in commercial transportation services.

Labor Day 1998

Labor Day weekend was a prime time for hunters and fishers on the upper Kobuk. Salmon and sheefish were spawning or about to spawn. Moose and caribou were in prime condition, but not yet in rut. Bear were fat from a summer diet of berries and salmon. Local families were in their camps putting away fish and meat for the winter. Non-local residents took advantage of the long weekend and short work week to fly in from Bettles or Fairbanks.

On Sunday, September 6, 1998, Josephine Woods, Vera Douglas, and other members of their families were in two family fish camps, located about three and four miles, respectively, downstream from Mauneluk River mouth. At the mouth of the Pah River there was a party of four hunters from Fairbanks and Montana who had been dropped off by Raymond Woods. A little further up, a few miles above Selby River, there were three hunters from Tennessee and New York, who had been dropped off by Bettles Air Service. Further upstream, three more parties were still in their camps, spread along the Kobuk River approximately 10 to 20 miles below the Beaver River. There was a party of two men from Alaska and Arizona, a party of four men from Iowa who had been dropped off by Bettles Lodge at Lake Minakakosa, and a party of four men from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Colorado who had been dropped off by Brooks Range Aviation. The National Park Service had a temporary ranger station, a tent camp, a few miles above Selby River. The ranger on duty was Dan McRoberts.

About 8:00 a.m. Sunday morning, five men from Shungnak stopped and visited with ranger McRoberts. They included Vera Douglas' son, Henry Douglas, 39; Allen Tickett, 36; Danny Custer, 29; Larry Custer Jr., 22; and Tony Tickett, 19.

"They said they were up to hunt and spoke belligerently of the sport hunters that hunt on the Kobuk River, which they referred to as 'their land,'" McRoberts said. McRoberts saw the men pass around a bottle of alcohol. The men told McRoberts that some sport hunters down river had a rack and no meat. McRoberts said he would check it out.

Then the Shungnak men left the ranger camp and continued up river. From that point forward, there were two versions of events. One version came from four separate parties of non-local hunters. The other version of events came from Henry Douglas.

In a letter to the *Tundra Drums* newspaper three years later, Henry Douglas said that he and his four companions were going up river to hunt moose and caribou (Douglas 2001). Along the way, he encountered "big game hunters all along the river with several day-old kills of caribou and moose and about 60 fish rotting on the beach… One moose was already spoiled and worms were all over everything. As any Native who depends on these traditional foods, I was very disturbed seeing so much of it going to waste."

Douglas said he "was unaware that some of the hunters were giving some of the village hunters guns, one being a 12-gauge shotgun and also a .45-caliber pistol and box of slugs. I stated that we did not need any shotgun so we gave it back. They also gave us beer and some high-quality smokes and a box of wine. By this time we're feeling good and high. Stopping at another camp there was two more big game hunters who had a moose and a bear. I was unaware that one of the guys picked up a rifle and put it in my boat."

The hunters' accounts differed from Douglas'. Over the next two days, 12 hunters in four separate parties reported to four different law enforcement officers in two different venues that the five Shungnak men had robbed them at gunpoint and threatened to kill them. The hunters initial statements were made in three different locations to two different law enforcement officers, and were consistent with one another and consistent with subsequent statements

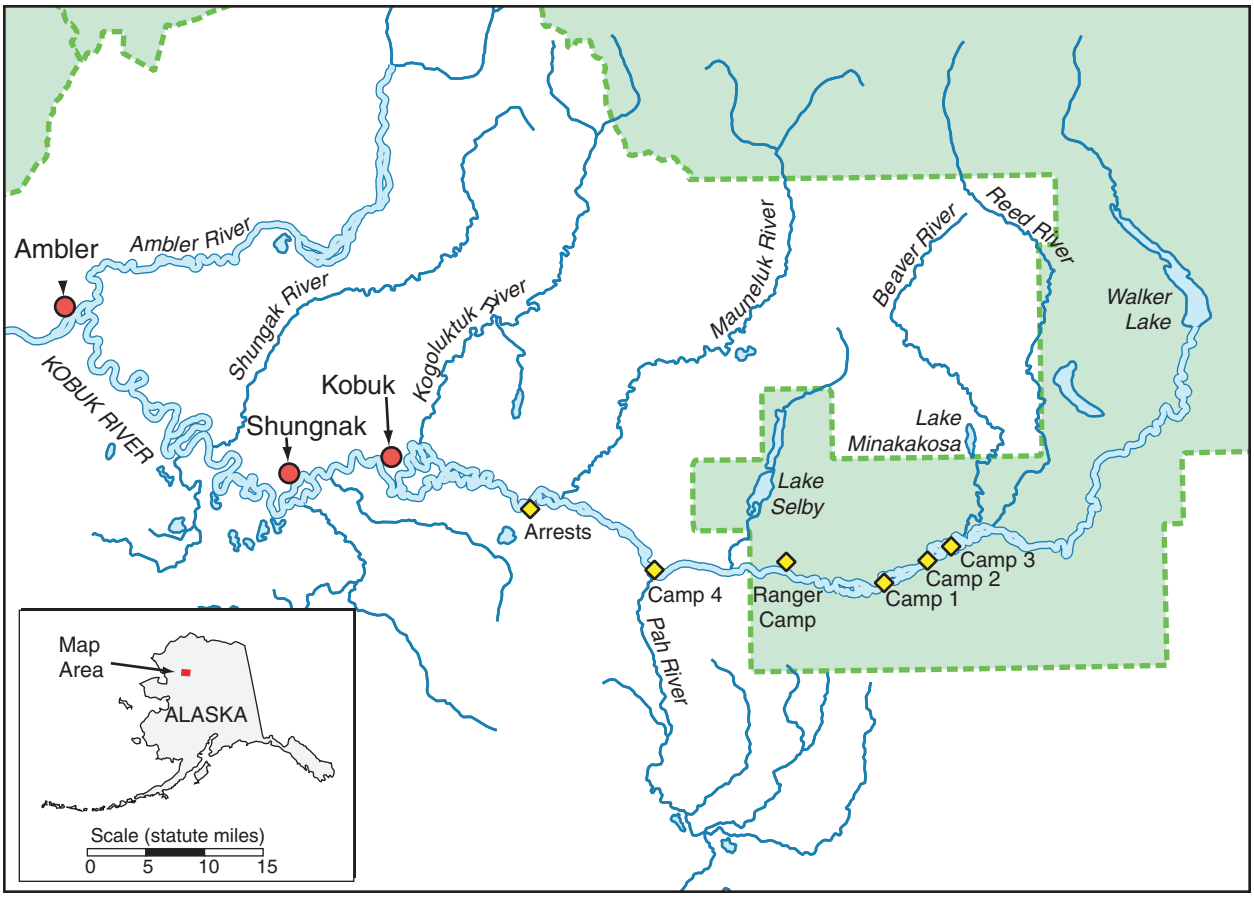


Figure 5-2. Locations of Incidents on Labor Day Weekend, 1998. Map shows camps where five Shungnak men robbed and threatened four parties of non-local hunters, and where they were arrested. Camp locations are approximate.

to additional law enforcement officers. Later, two of the five Shungnak men corroborated the hunters' reports.

The first incident involved four Iowa hunters: Richard Riggenbach, Riley Jolly, Garry Knapp, and Roger Knapp. About 10:00 a.m. Sunday, the five Shungnak men landed their boats at a camp where the Riggenbach party was cutting up a moose. Riggenbach said the Shungnak men were friendly at first, asking them who they were and where they were from. Then, a man later identified as Henry Douglas told the hunters to give them something in return for using their land.

At that point, Riggenbach said, the other four Shungnak men pointed guns at the men in his party. Riggenbach later told the investigating trooper, Barry Croy, that Douglas told him it would be easy to kill them and leave them in the woods for bears. He said the hunters had to give them something to ensure their safe passage down the river. Then Douglas searched through their gear bag, and took a dry bag, a tarp, and a watch. Riggenbach said all five of the Shungnak men appeared to be drunk, and he was afraid for his life.

The Shungnak men left the Riggenbach group and continued upriver. Anchorage resident Paul Gauthier and Arizona resident Donald Henderson were breaking camp and had most of their gear packed away when the Shungnak boats approached about noon. They waved at the boaters, and the boaters pulled in to their camp. Again, initial greetings were friendly, according to Henderson.

Then, according to Henderson, one of the Shungnak man asked them what they were doing on their land. They asked what the hunters had for them. Henderson said that he told the men to meet them

in Kobuk at the end of the trip, that they could have some of their meat or gear. Henry Douglas told Henderson they wanted it now, and at that point the other four men pointed their rifles at the two hunters. Henderson said Douglas wanted his rifle, but Henderson was reluctant to give it to him.

Douglas reportedly told another Shungnak man to shoot Gauthier, but he did not. Douglas finally took a pair of RayBan sunglasses. Gauther said the men told him "You guys are open game for me. It's open season for white guys on the Kobuk." The Shungnak men appeared to be drunk, Henderson said.

A short distance up river, Massachusetts resident James Craig, his son Peter Craig, David Burda, and Hindrick Mulder also were breaking camp. The Shungnak men landed at their camp, obviously intoxicated, Craig said. Initially, they were friendly but they "slowly surrounded" Craig's party. Then Henry Douglas told them they were trespassing and threatened to kill them. The other four Shungnak men were pointing rifles at the hunters. Henry searched through their gear, then "marched" them to their meat cache. Henry "got really mad" when he saw that some of their meat had spoiled. One of the younger men took David Burda's .270 rifle. They also took several other items of camping gear – dry bag, fly rod case, hatchet – and a box of white wine.

The Shungnak boats left, and Craig's party heard a shot fired. Ten minutes later, the Shungnak men came back. Henry got out of the boat, returned Dave Burda's .270 rifle, and asked for a shotgun. More camping gear was taken, then the Shungnak men left, according to Craig.

While the Shungnak men were traveling up river, National Park Service ranger Dan McRoberts had gone on patrol. He first went downriver, and about 11:30 a.m. encountered three hunters in a raft. They had taken a caribou and a brown bear, and their meat was stored in a nylon bag in the direct sun. McRoberts told them it was their responsibility to get the meat out unspoiled. They concurred, then they told McRoberts they had been "harassed" by several Native people in a green boat.

McRoberts turned and went upriver. About 2:00 p.m., he met the Riggenbach party, who told him they had been robbed and threatened at gun point. Half an hour later, McRoberts met the Craig party, who reported similar events. And at the same place, Henderson and Gauthier told McRoberts they had been robbed and threatened. All three parties of hunters continued down river to the ranger camp to spend the night.

As the only law enforcement officer on the river, McRoberts called for assistance. He flagged down big game guide Art Mortvedt, who was flying in the area, and asked him to tell the National Park Service in Bettles to send a plane to the ranger camp. He sent out a radio message that was relayed to the Alaska State Troopers in Fairbanks.

At 5:00 p.m., NPS pilot Buster Points and Dan LeMay arrived from Bettles at McRoberts camp in an NPS Cessna 185. Points observed a skiff matching the description of the Shungnak men's boat at the mouth of the Beaver River. Sunday evening, Alaska State Trooper Barry Croy received a call about the situation at his home in Galena.

On Monday morning, Labor Day, Croy chartered a plane to Bettles. He was briefed there by NPS staff, then departed for the Kobuk River with Jay Jesperson of Brooks Range Aviation and NPS ranger Jeff Mow.

About the same time Jesperson departed Bettles, the five Shungnak men passed McRobert's ranger camp, now headed down river. They gestured obscenely at the campers, but did not stop. About an hour and a half later, trooper Croy arrived and began taking statements from the hunters.

Shortly after 11:00 a.m., unaware that a trooper was on his way, the Shungnak men stopped at the mouth of the Pah River, where four more hunters were camped. Only one, Ralph Nestor of Fairbanks, was in the camp at the time. He was unaware of the events that had taken place upriver the day before.

When the two boats floated into view, he was skinning a bear. He waved. The Shungnak men started their motors and came over to his camp. When the men got out of the boats, Nestor realized they were drunk. While one man pointed a rifle at Nestor, another went into a tent and emerged with a rifle that belonged to one of Nestor's companions, Bob Flesch.

Several men yelled at him that he was trespassing. Nestor replied that he was on state land and had

been dropped off by Raymond Woods. According to Nestor, the man replied "F--- Ray Woods. He is dead meat. The f--- sold out to the white man."

One of the men asked Nestor if he had a license. Nestor said it was in his tent, and he went into the tent where he had a .44 mag pistol. Before he could reach the pistol, one of the men stuck a rifle in his back. A younger man went in the tent and got the pistol. The men pushed Nestor around, he said, then started rummaging through their gear.

In a moment of confusion, Nestor turned and ran up a nearby hill. The men did not follow. They rummaged through the camp for several minutes more, then prepared to leave. One of them fired a shot. After they had been gone for ten minutes, Nestor returned to his camp, picked up his rifle, and began cleaning up the camp. His companions returned about four hours later.

A few miles upriver, trooper Croy and the rangers were unaware of this fourth incident. When they finished their interviews, Croy, Mow, and McRoberts left in Brooks Range Aviation's airplane and flew down river. They landed at Josephine Woods' fish camp, and learned that the Shungnak men had just floated by in two boats, out of gas. The trooper and rangers flew a mile downriver to Vera Douglas' camp, where the two boats had just landed. Larry Custer Jr., Allan Ticket, and Tony Tickett were on shore. They were arrested and handcuffed without incident. Danny Custer was in one of the boats, not responsive. He was arrested and handcuffed. Henry Douglas was also in a boat, and he resisted arrest. Trooper Croy drew his service revolver, then discharged a capstun pepper spray at Douglas. Ranger Mow assisted Croy in subduing Douglas.

They found some of the stolen items in the boats. Still unaware of the Nestor incident, they did not confiscate guns stolen from Nestor's party. The next day, Nestor's party came down to Kobuk, contacted the Kotzebue office of the Alaska State Troopers, and filed a separate report on the incident. Villagers found the guns stolen from Nestor's camp in Danny Custer's boat, and turned them in to the troopers.

The five men were transported back to the ranger camp and identified by the hunters. Then all five men were transported to Fairbanks. Tony Tickett, the youngest of the suspects, confirmed the hunters' accounts. He told troopers that they had robbed the hunters, that they had been drinking, that their guns had been loaded, that he had been scared, and that it was lucky no one had gotten hurt.

In a 21-count indictment, the five men were charged with robbery, theft, assault, and misconduct involving weapons. Henry Douglas also was charged with solicitation to commit assault and resisting arrest. All the defendants were convicted, and sentenced to terms ranging from 2 years to 18 years. Because all accounts indicated he was the leader of the group, and because he had 18 prior convictions (including driving while intoxicated, felony drug possession, shoplifting, marijuana possession, burglary, community harassment, and contributing to the delinquency of a minor), Henry Douglas received the stiffest sentence, 10 years in prison and 8 years on probation. He was still in prison at this writing.

For his role in the incident, Alaska state trooper Barry Croy was named one of the nation's 32 "Top Cops" in 1999. He was lauded by President Bill Clinton, and presented with his award during ceremonies in Washington, D.C., the following October (Whitney 1999). Several national news accounts featured Croy first among the 32 awardees, and described the Kobuk River incidents.

In his sentencing appearance before the court, Henry Douglas said that he and Danny Custer had brought the alcohol up river. He expressed remorse for what had happened. In his statement, Judge Ben Esch said "I understand the frustration that people in our rural areas have when they see people from Outside come and hunt and take the Native re – the natural resources from our area that so many of us count on. But the way to deal with that is not to get drunk and take a gun... The record reflects that you were clearly the leader of this group… Race was clearly the motivating factor for these individuals being assaulted, and there were multiple victims and multiple different assaults and robberies. To say it's spur of the moment might go for the first one, but then there was the second and the third and the fourth… It was just stupidly senseless… I mean it just – it's just beyond senseless."

Controlled Use Area Proposals

On May 16, 2001, the Upper Kobuk Fish and Game Advisory Committee met in Ambler to discuss regulatory proposals for the Alaska Board of Game meeting scheduled for November (Appendix 6). Attending were Louie Commack, Frank Downey, and Marvin Joe Cleveland of Ambler, Frank Commack and Sally Custer of Shungnak, and Elmer Ward of Kobuk. The meeting also was attended by ADF&G area biologist Jim Dau and boards' coordinator Susan Bucknell, both of Kotzebue.

At the meeting, Frank Downey suggested that the upper Kobuk River be closed to trophy hunting, or that sport hunting should be delayed until after subsistence hunters have a chance to get their winter meat. Louie Commack said they had previously discussed controlled use areas, but had not submitted a proposal because they didn't think one would be adopted. The committee discussed the conflicts between local and non-local hunters, then decided unanimously to submit a proposal to the Board of Game (Appendix 6, Proposal 37).

The proposal would establish a controlled use area five miles on either side of the Kobuk River from Hunt River to Walker Lake including all rivers that drain into the Kobuk River in that area (Figure 5-3). If the Board adopted the proposal as regulation as written, the controlled use area would be in effect from August 1 through September 30 each year, and would prohibit the use of airplanes or jet driven boats for hunting. It would prevent air taxis from dropping off hunters on all rivers during August and September, and it would prevent Raymond Woods from using his jet boat to transport hunters. It would still be legal to transport hunters with propeller-driven boats.

The Board of Game's fall 2001 meeting originally had been scheduled to occur at the National Guard Armory in Kotzebue. But after the September 11 terrorism incident, the armory was not available. No other suitable meeting space could be located on short notice, so the meeting was rescheduled for Anchorage.

On November 2-6, 2001, the Board met in Anchorage to consider proposal 37, along with 37 other regulatory proposals for western and northern Alaska. Several people testified on proposal 37, including Frank Downey for the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee, Joseph Jackson for his business, Kobuk Wild River Runners, Hilda Woods Haas, Robert Spencer and Larry Rodrigis for Raymond Woods, and Robert Hardy for the Alaska Professional Hunters Association. Raymond Woods was working in Texas and was unable to attend.

The Board gives considerable deference to proposals from the citizen fish and game advisory committees. In this instance, though, the Board heard strong opposition to proposal 37 from Raymond Woods' representatives and from Joe Jackson, who characterized the controlled use area as "a guillotine, putting a strangle-hold on all of northwest Alaska."

When faced with complicated issues, the Board often encourages stakeholders to meet with a committee of several Board members in an open public discussion away from the Board table. Before it began deliberations, the Board convened a committee, which met with members of the public in a work session to review proposal 37. The consensus of the workgroup was to amend proposal 37 to reduce the size of the controlled use area.

The amended area would extend three miles either side of the Kobuk River from three miles below the mouth of the Mauneluk River to 3 miles above the mouth of the Selby River. It would be in effect from August 15 through September 20, and prohibit the use of airplanes, airboats, and inboard jet boats (Figure 5-4)

Before the amended proposal could come before the Board, Robert Spencer, an attorney for Raymond Woods, pointed out that the proposed amendment's inboard jet boat prohibition targeted a single individual, Raymond Woods. Spencer argued that the Board could not adopt a regulation targeting a single individual, a contention with which the Department of Law representative at the meeting concurred.

Before deliberations began, the upper Kobuk advisory committee representative left the meeting and went home. Thus, no advocates for proposal 37 remained at the meeting to participate in informal discussions among other stakeholders, staff, and Board members as deliberations approached.

When the Board reached proposal 37 in its deliberations, Board members noted that the workgroup's

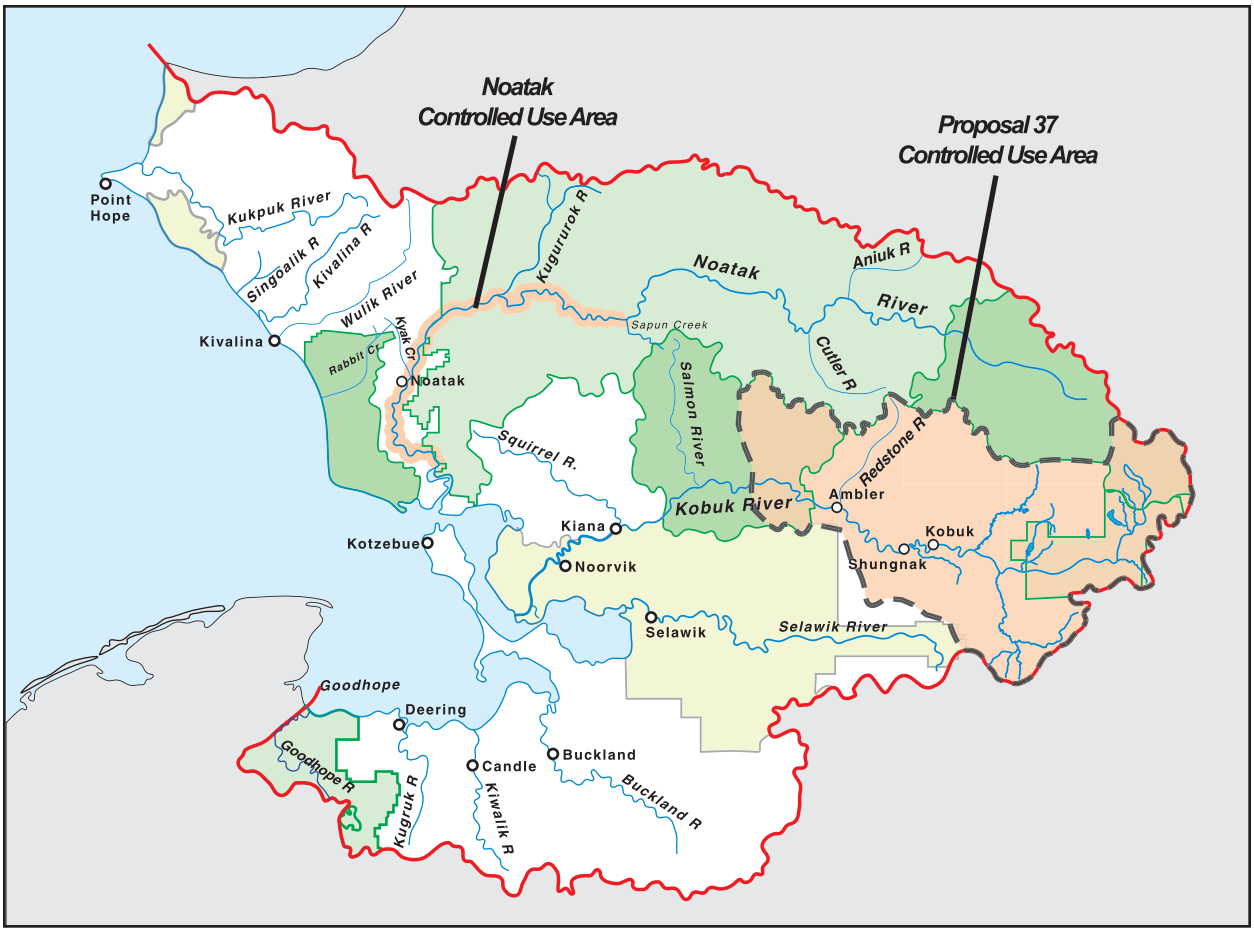


Figure 5-3. Controlled Use Area as Proposed by the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee, May 2001. The committee wanted to prohibit the use of airplanes and jetboats for hunting in all lands on five miles of either side of the Kobuk river and its tributaries above the Hunt River, an area estimated at 5,400 square miles. This was Proposal 37.

amended proposal differed significantly from the original proposal. After deliberating on the amended proposal, the Board decided to defer final action to its January 2002 meeting to give the public additional opportunity to comment. The Board republished the original proposal and the proposed amendment, with a note that the amended proposal was the product of the workgroup and did not represent the opinion of the Board (Appendix 6, Proposal 55).

On January 8, 2002, the upper Kobuk Fish and Game Advisory Committee met in Shungnak to consider the workgroup's amendment to its proposal (Appendix 6). Board of Game member Walter Sampson attended to explain the Board's actions in November. On the committee, Louie Commack and Frank Downey represented Ambler, Neal Sheldon represented Shungnak, and Elmer Ward and Henry Horner represented Kobuk. About 30 members of the public were in attendance, most from Shungnak.

The committee met for three hours; most of that time was spent discussing proposal 55. Several hunters noted that they used jet motors for subsistence hunting, and could be adversely affected by the proposal. Committee members engaged Raymond Woods' brother Tommy in a discussion about modifications that could reduce noise (Raymond was still working in Texas). Frank Downey moved to amend the proposal to remove jet boats, but keep airplanes and airboats, and the committee adopted that amendment unanimously.

The committee did not agree with the much re-

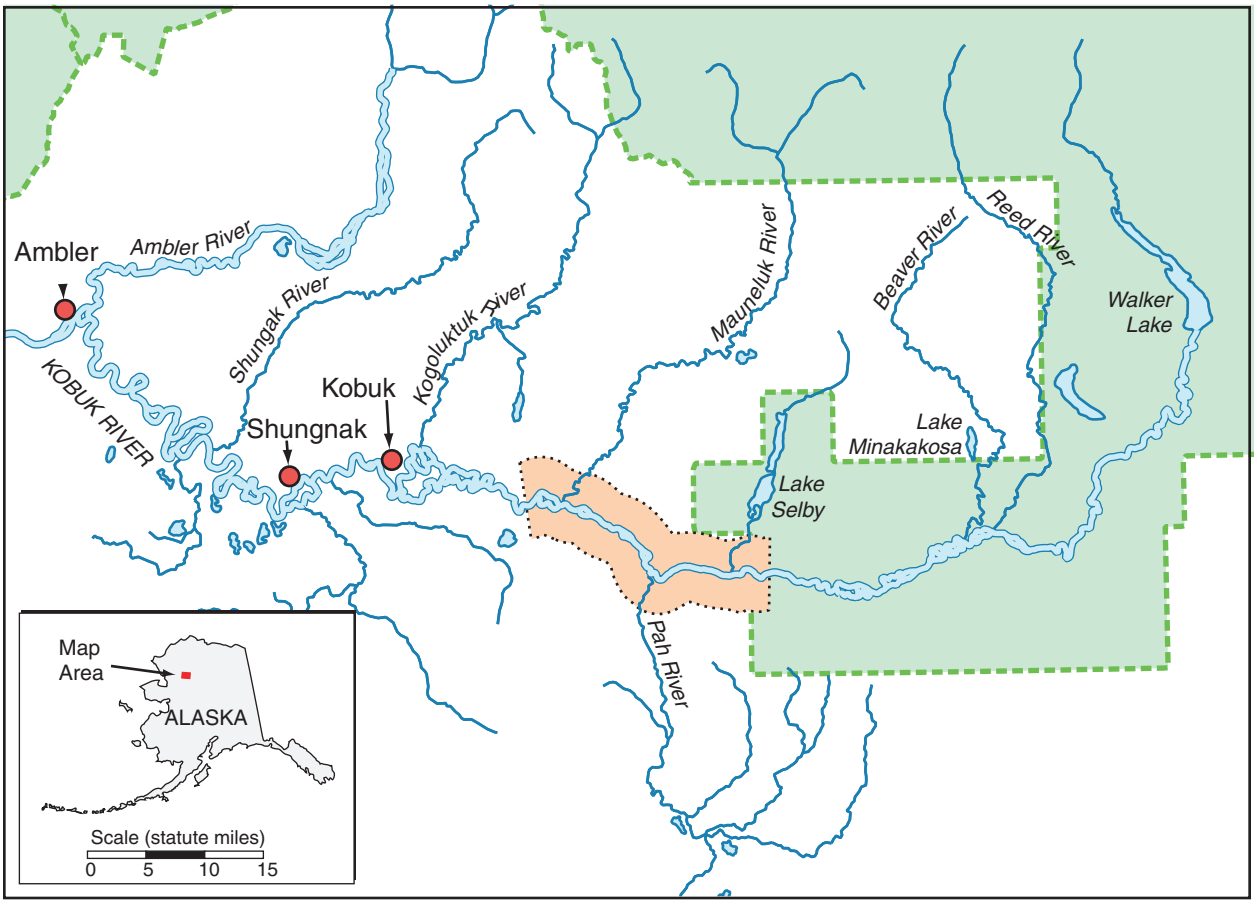


Figure 5-4. Proposal 37 as Amended by the the Workgroup in Anchorage, November 2001. Republished as Proposal 55, this proposal included three miles on either side of the Kobuk River, from three miles below the Mauneluk River to three miles above the Selby River. The total area was about 150 square miles.

duced area in proposal 55. Henry Horner said the upper boundary should be the Reed River instead of Selby River. Greg Loughridge suggested moving the upper boundary even further upriver to Walker Lake. Henry Horner moved to amend the area in the proposal to include the mouth of the Mauneluk to the mouth of Reed, and that amendment was adopted unanimously.

The committee supported the dates in proposal 55, which reduced the time the CUA would be in effect by about three weeks. Then the committee voted unanimously to support Proposal 55 as amended by the committee (Figure 5-5).

The Board of Game convened in Anchorage January 18-23, 2002, to consider 61 statewide regulation proposals, and took public testimony the next day, January 19 (Appendix 6). On behalf of the upper Kobuk Advisory Committee, Henry Horner testified in favor of proposal 55 and explained the amendments they were requesting. He was the only person to testify in favor of Proposal 55. Fred Andersen testified for the National Park Service, which was neutral. Joe Jackson said he had "acquiesced" to proposal 55. Mike Griffin, Robbie Jackson, Randy Kilbourn, and Raymond Woods testified in opposition to Proposal 55.

The first public comment was from Talkeetna pilot Randy Kilbourn, who had hunted moose successfully from a camp in the Pah River for 23 successive seasons (Figure 5-6). "When we first started hunting there," he said, "there was hardly any usage at all. He believed the increase had been caused by access restrictions in other areas, and by transporters. "If there weren't any transporters

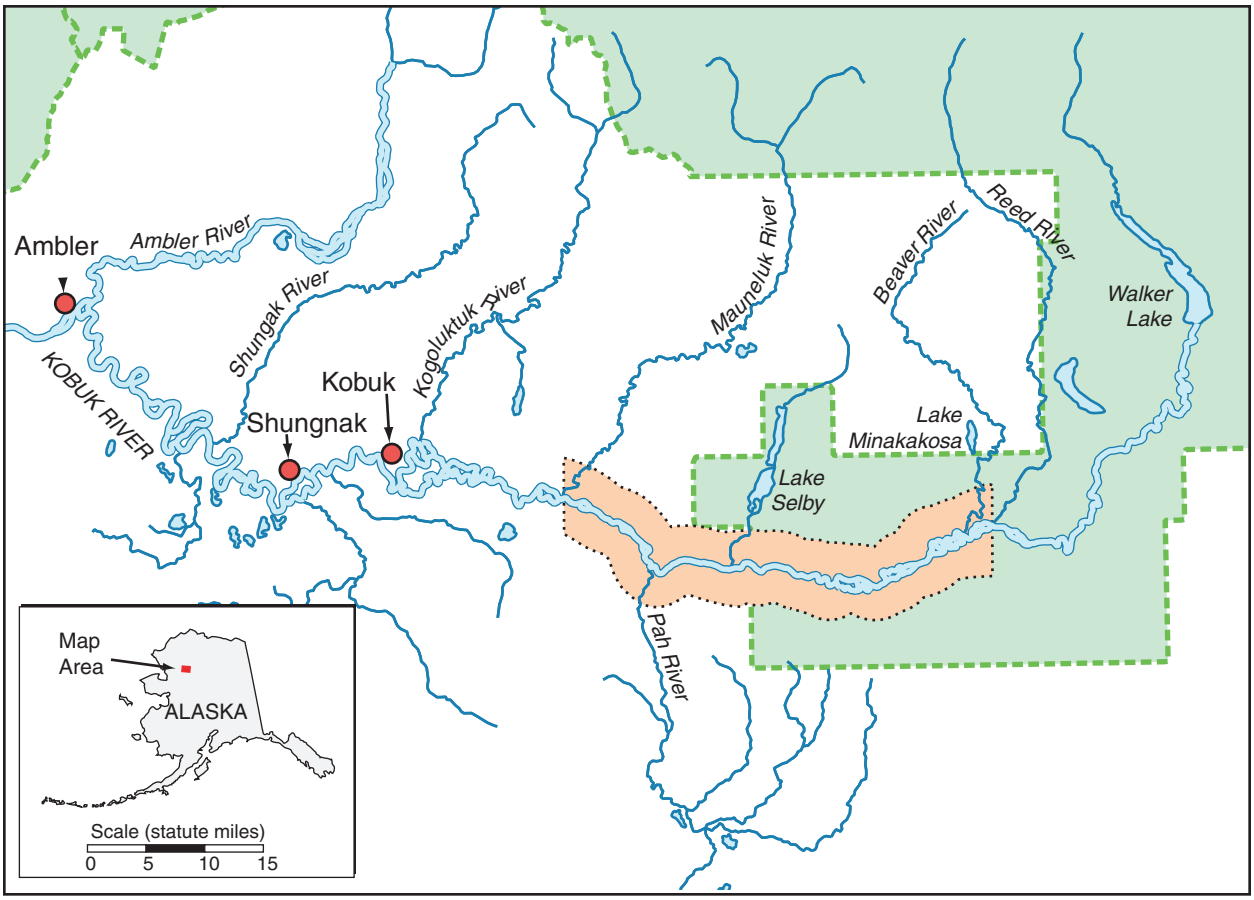


Figure 5-5. Proposal 55 as Amended by the Upper Kobuk Advisory Comitttee, January 2002. The committee wanted to enlarge the workgroup proposal by extending the controlled use area up to the Reed River. This proposal would have included about 300 square miles, about five percent of the area included in the committee's original proposal.

operating there, there wouldn't be any impact at all, other than a few people like myself lucky enough to have their own airplane." He urged the board to regulate transporters' activities.

Anchorage resident Mike Griffin, who hunts with Kilbourn in the same area, also opposed proposal 55. He noted that in eight years of hunting on the Pah, "I've never seen a trooper, warden in that area, and my colleagues that hunt with me have not." Given declining state revenues, he was not optimistic that would change.

Joe Jackson said he was opposed to proposal 37 as original drafted, but had "acquiesced" to the amended version, proposal 55. He supported the advisory committee recommendation to delete the jet boat restriction entirely. He noted that "your own Department of Fish and Game biologist stated that (there is) no biological reason to support this proposal. Fish and Wildlife Protection has remained neutral on this proposal. Fish and Wildlife would not have the staff to police this controlled use area."

Jackson criticized area biologist Jim Dau and subsistence resource specialist Jim Magdanz for what he called "a breach of ethics." He accused them of "pushing personal agendas during the meeting, and otherwise influencing or setting the tone of the meeting. I think there is a significant conflict of interest when you have facilitators at these meetings that own cabins right smack dab in the proposed conditional use area."

Henry Horner testified for the advisory committee, and following Board procedures reviewed the minutes of the January 8 meeting (Appendix 6). He noted the increasing non-local use, reports of waste,



Figure 5-6. Randy Kilbourn's Camp on the Pah River. Kilbourn, a Talkeetna pilot, moved his camp to the Pah when his previous hunting camp was consumed by the Gates of the Arctic National Park. Kilbourn testified that this was a meat-hunting, not a trophy-hunting camp, and that was evident from the modest size of the antlers at the camp.

noise from Wood's inboard jet boat. He discussed the committee's decision to recommend expanding the area identified by proposal 55, and to drop the jet-boat prohibition. He noted that, "I am new to this advisory committee and this is the first time I (have) testified to some people like this." Board member Greg Streveler asked Horner if local people were ready for the Board to take action, or needed more time, but Henry's answer was not specific.

Testifying for the National Park Service, biologist Fred Andersen told the Board that although NPS was "sympathetic with the local concerns brought forward by this proposal," the Park Service was neutral on proposal 55. He reported on surveys conducted by their rangers in the fall of 1999, 2000, and 2001. "In 1999, there were a total of 18 parties interviewed, 3 of which gained access to the area affected by this proposal by aircraft" and five flew out," he said. "The next year, none of the 15 parties interviewed gained access by aircraft, and 8 flew out, mostly out of the Pah River area. This past year, 2001, there were 22 parties interviewed. One of those gained access by flying into the Kobuk River within the affected area, and six flew out.

"So the affect of the proposal by the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee would be the elimination of six or seven flights a year," Anderson concluded. Board member Julie Maier commented, "Those are interesting numbers."

Raymond Woods traveled to Anchorage from his winter home in Texas to attend the Board meeting. In his testimony, he talked about the support he received for his transporter business from regional organizations, about the challenges of running the business, and about the financial and other contributions his business makes to the local communities.

"Change is inevitable no matter how hard we try to fight it," Woods told the board. "Tourism is a big part of the state's revenue. We can chose to take part in it now or watch it pass us by. My business is a prime example of the kind of opportunities available in the country, and what good old-fashioned hard work can do to become successful."

Board members asked Woods about the noise of this boat, and whether he could modify it to reduce noise. Woods said he had explored that, it would

involve an expensive engine swap, and it probably would be better to buy a new boat.

He also told the board, "My operation is 75 miles up river from the village of Shungnak. The reason I bring my clients so far up river on state land is to stay away from local hunters. Now if they would somehow close that on jet boats up on the Kobuk River, between Mauneluk River and Reed River, they would have to force me down to Shungnak just around the bend from the village on the sand bars where it is legal for my clients to hunt. I don't want to that because it would cause a bigger conflict."

The last witness to testify on proposal 55 was Robbie Jackson, of Anchorage, who grew up in Kobuk. A partner in Kobuk Wild River Runners with her husband Joe, she objected to the process. "I feel that all the players are not involved in this. We need to go back to the advisory committee and have the commercial users involved in the meetings. Anytime you get into a small community, there is a particular group that dominates. I feel like that we are getting shoved in this direction.

"I totally understand the frustration of the people up there, because I am from there," Robbie Jackson said. "But I think on something like this it is pretty extreme. Like Mr. Woods had to say, we are new in the business and there because we are part of the community and like to see the people come up there and see that part of the country and enjoy it and utilize the opportunity to make some money."

The next day, January 20, the Board entered deliberations. Two board members, Dana Pruhs and Greg Streveler, joined a group of stakeholders for lunch about an hour before proposal 55 was addressed. There was an open discussion about the situation. As in November, however, the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee representative had left the meeting before deliberations began, and did not participate in the discussions.

When deliberations began that afternoon, ADF&G area biologist Jim Dau gave the board a 10-minute summary of the situation. He noted that the controlled use area in the original proposal 37 encompassed 225 river miles and when all the tributaries were included, the controlled area would be "huge, 5,400 square miles." Proposal 55 reduced that to 25 river miles and about 150 square miles. The January recommendations from the advisory committee increased that to about 50 river miles and 300 square miles.

Board member Mike Fleagle repeated the numbers that NPS' Fred Andersen had provided the board. "Six to seven flights a year, that, to me, isn't really that many," he said.

"Those numbers that you just read to me don't really jive with what I have heard from other people," Dau replied. "Just over lunch time, we had a guide tells us quite different numbers than that. The numbers I hear aren't lower, they're higher."

Board member Greg Streveler narrowed the discussion to two questions. "One was," he said, "what happens at the mouth of the Pah? The other one is, what happens to the overall density of use along the corridor we have identified?" Then he asked how long a controlled use area would have to be to deal only with the Pah River mouth issues.

Dau thought such a small area wouldn't be very effective. "I do know from my experience on the Noatak that if you make an area that is very small in miles or very short in duration, that the commercial operators will circumvent that really easily. They land their clients just above it. They float down into. The day it goes away, they pick them up. For all intents and purposes, you have kept them out of there, you've kept the airplanes out of there, when it's in effect, but you haven't reduced the use at all."

Streveler still wondered if reduced landings at the Pah River mouth would be significant. "I think so," Dau replied. "That mouth of the Pah is such a critical spot, that I think people up there would see that as a benefit. That's exactly where people in Kobuk and Shungnak want to go seine whitefish and sheefish." Figure (5-7)

Dau also said that the Pah area was valuable to transporters. "They go there because it is the only place where they have dependable deep water to pick people up. If you identify just a little small area it impacts them just as much as a great big area."

Board member Dana Pruhs wondered whether the growth of non-local hunting on the upper Kobuk was related to "other closures or controlled management units in the northwest up there" like the Noatak.

"I have been told that the Noatak Controlled Use Area probably displaced people to the upper Kobuk.



Figure 5-7. A DeHaviland Beaver Taxis into Łaaki. *This site, about a mile below the confluence of the Pah and Kobuk rivers was both a productive sheefish fishing site and a dependable float plane landing site. Bettles air taxi operators often picked up their clients at* Łaaki. *Local people felt they had been displaced from the site.*

Recently, I was told that the suite of regulations on the Koyukuk displaced hunters out of the Koyukuk and into the Kobuk," Pruhs said.

Pruhs followed this line of thought, asking, "If this (controlled use area) was enacted, would it force more pressure someplace else in the area that we'd be dealing with maybe in a year or two or three or four, similar to a domino effect?"

"I don't think people are going to quit hunting by any means," Dau said. "The guys who are accessing the upper Kobuk from Bettles are probably going to go to different units, 21, 24. Guys coming straight out of Fairbanks are probably going to go to the Selawik. They are going to go somewhere."

Since the Noatak controlled use area was established, Dau, said, he had thought that "these types of issues really require a comprehensive approach. All these individual controlled use areas are a finger-in-the-dike approach to a much bigger problem."

Finished with their questions on Jim Dau's report, the Board then heard from Jim Magdanz, the ADF&G subsistence resource specialist based in Kotzebue. Magdanz reviewed the history of human use of the upper Kobuk Area, drawing on material gathered for the first two reports in this project (Appendix 6).

Board member Streveler noted that although the controlled use area in Proposal 55 was much smaller than the one Proposal 37, it affected a critical area. Lands below the Proposal 55 CUA belonged to NANA Regional Corporation. Lands above the CUA were managed by the National Park Service. "That's a little piece of sausage there," Streveler said, "but it's basically the only piece of sausage left. Would you comment on that?"

Magdanz replied that "One of the challenges of managing in a situation where we have mixed land ownership is some managers have more authorities than others. When two land owners have the ability to manage that traffic in one (area), and the third does not, whatever the Park Service does or whatever NANA does, really focuses the problem on the unregulated area. The controlled use area, by design, gives to the board a method to manage use in that area so that we can work in concert with NANA and the Park Service."

Board member Julie Maier expressed her concern about the issue. "I feel sorry that this is occurring. If we are willing to increase regulation on this state land in order to help these people out, are they potentially willing to relax regulations on their lands to help? I am very concerned about the out-of-area residents being slowly but surely squeezed out of most of Alaska."

Board chair Greg Roczicka agreed with Dana Pruhs that "We're fast running out of dominoes."

Board member Pruhs commented that, "It's a benefit for the few at the expense of the many." He also expressed concern about the issue Raymond Woods raised in his public testimony, that a CUA would just force him to operate closer to the village and create more, not less, conflict. "We know it's going to impact," Pruhs said, "we don't know where, what, and to what affect. "More people will go to Kobuk. Are they (Kobuk people) prepared for that? There's just a lot of questions; it seems to be harder and harder to come up with a supportive solution."

Board member Fleagle began building a record for his decision. "Where we do use controlled use areas," he said, "they are largely put into place to minimize user conflicts during a short opening for harvest. I don't know that it is justifiable to restrict or eliminate other users when we have such liberal seasons and bag limits yet in the area." He noted that the Unit 23 caribou bag limit was five caribou per day, with no closed seasons for bulls. The Unit 23 moose season runs from August 1 to March 31. "I just don't think we are quite at a situation here where we need to make this restriction," Fleagle said.

Board member Streveler continued to try to craft an amendment "to protect only the Pah land, only the *Ł̨aaki* area, from aircraft landing." So the board took a 10 minute break while staff and the public huddled to discuss the issue. Again, the absence of the advisory committee representative was noted.

When the Board come back to the table, Jim Dau reported on the results of the staff discussion. "We think that the minimum area that you would need to include in the controlled use area would be mouth of Mauneluk River to mouth of Selby River, to give you both landmarks and protect the mouth of the Pah."

Streveler explored the availability of other landing areas, then Board member Ben Grussendorf began building a record for his decision. "I look at the controlled use area for biological reasons, not necessarily shifting around of allocations and things. The moose population herd is not stressed. The caribou herd appears to be very healthy. I am hesitant about going into a controlled use area for the purposes that we are presently discussing unless there is some biological concern to it," Grussendorf said.

Board Member Maier wondered, "Is there an issue in terms of harvesting of fish? Are they being displaced from areas of fishing, or are they just being displaced from their favorite camping spot?"

Jim Magdanz said, "They are being clearly displaced from *Łaaki*, which was a camp used for subsistence fishing, and hunting up into the early 1990s. And it's rarely used that way, in my observation, by local people since then. While people have been displaced from *Łaaki*, *Ł̨aaki* is not the only good fishing site. It is a particularly good fishing site, but there other particularly good fishing sites as well." (Figure 5-7)

Board chair Roczicka responded to Grussendorf's comments. "I guess I see it from the other side. A controlled use area is most definitely appropriate and maybe more rightly used to reduce user conflicts when and where we can, and also to prevent ourselves getting ourselves into a biological problem. It is one of the few tools the Board does have left to use."

Then Streveler looked at the issue from a broader perspective. "These kinds of votes are very painful for me," he said. "If one applies the greatest good to the greatest number formula, which on the face of it always seems really like the most equitable possible thing to do, in Alaska the greatest number does not lie in rural areas.

"We are stuck with this dilemma. It doesn't seem like we are faithful to the constitution, it doesn't seem like we are faithful to a very equitable principal if we help rural people out. On the other hand, the consequence of not helping rural people out is that we basically end up slowly but surely steamrolling them over.

"That picture of the float plane landing there, it hits me right in the guts, because I live in a place

where that sort of thing is closing in on us, too. That sort of thing is just as dear to many people as not having it is dear to me.

"I know that there are going to be more Beavers, and less upper Kobuk people in wild country every day. That's just the way the world is going. I don't like it, but I'm just running out of options here of what to do about it in this instance," Streveler said.

Board members rehashed with the staff some of the earlier discussion, alternative landing sites and safety. Board member Julie Maier wondered whether an alternative approach would be to issue camping permits, and thus limit access to the area.

The assistant attorney general assigned to the Board of Game, Kevin Saxby, strongly discouraged the Board from taking that approach. He also represents the Department of Natural Resources, which also has authority to limit access. "DNR is at least as gun shy as the Board is at restricting access, probably more so. They have had their budget cut and relatively restrictive bills passed, because legislators feared they were being far too willing to restrict access in places like state parks."

Jim Dau offered support for Maier's observation. "I think you hit on an important concept," he said. "I struggle a lot with controlled use areas, trying to make something work, because they just have so many problems. You wonder, why are we even considering controlled use areas with all these problems. The reason why, it's the only tool we have.

"As the Chair pointed out, they say repeatedly, we don't want to exclude everybody. There should be opportunity for people from Fairbanks and Anchorage and other places to come here and hunt.

"What they (local people) object to is just being overwhelmed. If they could just get a handle on the numbers of people, I think they'd even put up with some activity right at the mouth of the Pah. But they see it right now as totally uncontrolled. It's driving them out of areas that they have used for many, many generations.

"If we could control numbers of people, we could let them hunt for a month and get there in a Beaver if they wanted to. But you can't do both, and still allow for subsistence as people practice it now."

The board then voted on Proposal 55. Of the seven board members, only Roczicka and Streveler favored establishing a controlled use area on the upper Kobuk River. The proposal failed, by a vote of 2 to 5.

6
Discussion

The course of human-land relationships on the upper Kobuk River during the 20th century was not unique. Throughout rural Alaska, the residents of small isolated Native settlements have coalesced into larger communities to take advantage of public services like schools and airports. They have continued to use traditional territories, but no longer live scattered widely across them. From first contact, members of indigenous communities began to explore extensions of, and alternatives to, traditional subsistence living. They obtained trade goods, sought wage labor, and started their own businesses. The ideal pursuits improved one's standard of living while one lived at home doing something one enjoyed.

This series of reports examined one small area in northwest Alaska, a corridor along the Kobuk River from Kogoluktuk River to Mauneluk River, Pah River, and Selby River, where as many as several hundred Native Alaskans subsisted for generations. For a variety of reasons – miners discovered gold in Dahl Creek, missionaries built a school in Kobuk, the river above Kobuk was too shallow for barges, the Bureau of Indian Affairs moved the school further down river to Shungnak – families that lived in the area during the first half of the 20th century gradually moved down to Shungnak, Kobuk, and Ambler. But family members still returned to the Pah area in winter to hunt and trap furbearers and in the summer and fall to fish.

Because of its distance from the communities and its lack of mineral resources, the Pah area was not among the lands selected by NANA Regional Corporation. Nor was it among the lands withdrawn for parks and preserves by the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act. Small tracts were selected by individuals as allotments or remote cabin sites, but most land in the Pah area was selected by the state or remained as unrestricted federal public lands.

As a result, a 25-mile river corridor from Mauneluk River past the Pah River and up to Selby River became one of the most accessible and least controlled lands and waters on the upper Kobuk River. It became an area in which changes in human uses could occur more easily, and when negative changes occurred, local people and land managers had fewer effective responses.

Local people's concerns at meetings about increasing non-local uses were duly noted by government agencies. NANA closed its lands to non-shareholders, and the National Park Service stepped up its management of commercial services. But the Pah corridor was not within the purview of NANA or NPS, so those actions only served to concentrate activity in the Mauneluk-Pah-Selby corridor.

As non-local uses increased, some local people went elsewhere to hunt and fish. Beginning in 1995, a few local people took a different approach, and developed small businesses to serve, rather than protest, the non-local users. Those business prospered, but also contributed to conflicts that culminated first with the Labor Day confrontations in 1998 and then in a controlled use area proposal to the Alaska Board of Game in 2001.

This final chapter explores several dimensions of the situation. It begins with a review of the history of the area, then discusses some of the challenges local transporters faced in addressing their own communities needs.

Historical Considerations

Daisy Tickett's accounts of the years 1927 to 1930 describe a small group of families who functioned as a self-sufficient, semi-nomadic community. They occupied several different settlements in the course of a year, ranging along the Kobuk River from the mouth of the Mauneluk to the mouth of the Selby rivers, and up the Pah River into the Pah River Flats.

Their patterned seasonal movement took advantage of the seasonal availability of whitefish, salmon, muskrat, as well as river levels and ice conditions.

Even when they were dispersed, for example, around the Pah River Flats, they seemed to be in almost constant contact among themselves. They had much less contact with the families who had settled in the villages of Kobuk or Alatna. Indeed, during the 1930s, Daisy's memory is that the children almost never went into villages, except for an occasional and memorable Christmas visit. The adults went to Kobuk to resupply or sell their furs. Some of the men – Daisy's father Dick White among them – found summer work in Kobuk or Kotzebue. The other men, the women, and the children lived mostly amongst themselves.

Daisy paints a detailed picture of her father, Dick White (*Naalunaiq*), as a skilled, resourceful, meticulous, and humorous man. He quickly adapted to the opportunities presented by contact. He became a helmsman on a river boat. He set a neat tent. He teased Johnny Hobson about his dog skills. He brought modern medical supplies home from his journeys, and helped treat injuries and heal illnesses in his community. The deaths of his three young daughters may have been a strong incentive to learn about medicine.

Daisy's memories of her father were the most detailed of any respondent in the project. It is easy to imagine that when her father died in 1931, nine-year-old Daisy clung to every memory she had of her father. Those memories stayed with her the rest of her life. Most of Daisy's long and detailed narratives document her life with Dick White, and relatively fewer document her life with her step-father, Henry Stocking. Although Daisy and Vera Douglas had the most detailed memories of the Pah River society, other elders' accounts provided additional detail.

The elders interviewed in this project – Rose Custer, Leonard and Vera Douglas, Neal and Margaret Sheldon, Wilson and Daisy Tickett, and Wesley and Josephine Woods – had much in common. This was expected, of course, for not only were they all lifelong residents of the upper Kobuk, but they were also associated during at least part of their lives with the semi-nomadic society that inhabited the Qala and Pah River areas in the first part of the 20th century.

Beyond that, there were important similarities that distinguished their lives from the lives of their children and grand children. First, family structures changed substantially as a result of improved health care, and this impacted the ability of families to live in remote camps.

All had many fond memories of their childhoods, yet their early lives were difficult and not infrequently tragic. Before reaching adulthood, Daisy Tickett lost her father and three of her five siblings. Neal Sheldon lost both his mother and his father, and as an orphaned teenager grew up downriver far from his siblings. Although he didn't report on the incident in his recorded life history, Wilson lost his father. Margaret Sheldon helped bury her sister's premature baby on a hill below Mauneluk River.

Of the elder respondents, only Margaret Sheldon reached adulthood in the company of both parents. Wesley, Daisy, Neal, Rose, and Wilson all lost their fathers while children. Leonard lost his mother as an infant. Josephine's father was not involved in her life. Vera's parents moved to Kiana; she was raised by a great aunt. In most cases, the elders' parents died young and tragically. In contrast, all the elders survived to raise not only their children, but in most cases grandchildren and great grandchildren.

Most of the elder respondents grew up in relatively small families with widely spaced siblings. For most of her childhood, Daisy Tickett lived with her sister Dora (14 years older) and her brother Ray (4 years younger). Her parents had at least eight children, but three died young and a fourth was adopted out. Margaret Sheldon grew up with three siblings. Leonard Douglas with two. In most cases, more children were born into these families. But, like their parents, many died.

In contrast, most of the elder respondents raised relatively large families with closely spaced children, also a consequence of improved health care. Wilson and Daisy had 13 children. Rose had 9. Leonard and Vera had 11. To a much greater extent than their parents, the elder respondents were constrained to life in town, not only by the size of the family but by compulsory education and community services like electricity and water that made it possible to care for a dozen children and grandchildren at once.

Family tragedies also may be related in part to shortages of food. During this period, caribou were scarce and moose were only just beginning to populate the upper Kobuk. At one point about 1950, salmon runs failed. Food shortages were a real concern for the respondent's parents. Daisy related a long story from her mother of starvation deaths in 1898 (Volume 2, Appendix 4 of this series). People responded to the food shortages by dispersing their homes across the country and ranging great distances to find food.

As late as the 1950s, extended families like the Lees, the Stockings, and the Ticketts basically lived in the country, in seasonal camps of half a dozen to 30 people, located from below the Mauneluk River to the mouth of Selby River and far up into the Pah River flats, rarely going to the villages downriver, moving every few months to take advantage of changing food availability.

In quest of food and fur, men were gone from their families for months at a time. Daisy tells of Kobuk hunters seeking moose east of Alatna in the 1920s. Neal describes arduous winter trips to the edge of the North Slope in the 1940s and 1950s. Families occupied three or four different camps in the course of the year – winter, spring, summer, and fall – and had no permanent home.

Through it all, yet, there seemed to be a strong sense of community, perhaps even a stronger sense of community than in Shungnak and Kobuk. Daisy was moved by the invitation from Kobuk for her family to come down to the village Christmas celebration in 1929, and describes a semi-comic competition between Dick White and Johnny Hobson to be first into town.

Neal and Leonard described the community of men who camped every winter in the early 1950s in the Pah River flats, hunting and trapping of course, but also visiting from camp to camp, playing cards, and laughing at their foibles. Every respondent seemed to have spent at least some springs in the Pah River flats, a seasonal trapping and fishing encampment that in some years must have been as populous as modern-day Kobuk.

Respondents described a quiet country, no motors, no generators, where human voices could be heard at a great distance. Wilson talked about how his elders knew where to build winter camps that were protected from the weather, where snow drifted straight down among the spruce trees while a blizzard raged nearby on the tundra.

Vera Douglas dreamed about having a cabin at her fish camp and living up there in the country of her childhood. But by the time she was free of parental obligations, Leonard's health and then her own health deteriorated to the point the living out was no longer an option.

Even though all had moved to town, the emotional attachments to the country were strong. Vera Douglas described Susie Stocking's (*Anigniq*) final visit to the grave of her first husband, Dick White (*Naalunaiq*) and two young daughters, probably in the summer of 1978. The girls *Utuayukpak* and *Inuqtuaq* died one day after the other, shortly after Christmas in 1924. Their father died five years later, in the spring of 1929. They all were buried on a tundra hill across from their winter home at Pah.

"Susie had told us during spring time that she would like to spend her last summer in our *Qala* camp," Vera said. "She wanted to step on the ground of her first husband, which was at the mouth of Pah River. By that time our children were well grown, like Mabel, Michael and Henry. We went with our big boat, and loaded our grandmother (i.e. Susie), and took off to the place where she wished to go.

"When we got there the portage was very slanted, and it would be hard for the old lady. So the boys put her on a winter caribou skin. It was uneven on the way, with lots of tussocks. Somehow every one was overcome by laughing and had to set grandma down. She was the culprit, who probably said something very funny. She was laughing herself, too. They had not gone far with her. But when they went again they got to where she wanted to go.

"She walked, sometimes crawled, the rest of the way up to the graves. We stayed there the whole day, as it was her last time up here," Vera remembered.

"After spending time having a snack, we took her down river again. We painted the cross and the little shelter of the grave. We covered her up, trying to protect her from the wind. But she would uncover herself, and protest being covered up, saying not to obstruct her because she want to see what was being done.

"After this, she said she seemed to have no more worries. Finally she had accomplished the last thing on her mind," Vera said, "This was really the last time she was able to go."

The grave houses are still there. From the top of the small cemetery hill, one can look over the homeland of the Pah River people, up river to where the Pah enters the Kobuk after flowing some 50 miles from *Niksiksugvik*, down river to where the Kobuk bends around at *Łaaki*, and across the island to *Ukivigrauk* where depressions in the willows still mark the winter homes of Daisy and Vera's childhood.

The Transporter Businesses

In many ways, offering guiding and transporting services was a perfect opportunity for local Native people. Native knowledge of the local environments is unequalled, and interest in "wild" Alaska extends around the world. Demand for guide and transportation services in Alaska was growing. Expanding urban populations find it ever more difficult to hunt and fish and enjoy solitude near their homes. Developing transportation services have made it much easier to access remote parts of the state. State and federal agencies encouraged these adventures, touting Alaska's wild lands, and promoting Alaska's hunting and fishing opportunities.

Most of "wild" Alaska, though, already is occupied and used by indigenous people. While there was ample room for non-local people to hunt, fish, and recreate, and while many local people were most gracious in sharing the wealth of natural resources, there were limits to how many people the country could absorb.

Non-local users rarely were aware of local hunting and fishing patterns, so they inadvertently displaced local people. Some sport practices, such as catch-and-release fishing and trophy hunting, offended many indigenous people (Georgette 1990, Wolfe 1988). It was considered disrespectful to "play" with fish. Hunting regulations allowed hunters to salvage either the hide and skull of a bear, or the meat, but not both. Most non-local hunters took only the hide and skull, leaving the meat to rot. Local people valued the meat as food, and considered this wanton waste (Loon and Georgette 1989). Numbers of non-local users have been increasing for the past two decades (e.g. non-local moose hunting effort in the Northwest Arctic Borough has grown about 15 percent annually since 1980). It seemed inevitable that non-local users would aggravate and sometimes infuriate local people.

If part of the problem was meshing non-local and local uses in compatible ways, then local transporters should be in the best position to do that. Having grown up in the area, Raymond Woods and Robbie Jackson knew virtually everyone on the upper Kobuk River, knew whose camps were where, and where local people preferred to hunt. Their use of boats also should be a step in the right direction, given rural animosity towards aircraft-supported hunting and fishing. So it was interesting that local transporter activities seemed to have precipitated even more conflicts in their communities than non-local transporters had.

Visibility was an issue. While local transporters may have been better able to distribute clients across the country, the clients themselves were far more visible to the communities of Shungnak and Kobuk. Rather than being dropped off in a remote headwaters lake and being picked up at the Pah River, they were coming in on the mail plane and wandering around the village.

Noise was an issue. The typical boats on the upper Kobuk River in 2000 were 18-to-21-foot open aluminum or fiberglass skiffs with 50-to-90 hp outboards. One of the local transporters used a 350 inboard jet boat that carried clients more comfortably and quickly to their destination, but created far more noise and wake than any other boats on that part of the river. The jet emitted a low frequency noise which carried so well that, on a still fall morning, one could hear it start three miles away.

Safety was an issue. One guide described a hunt with a client from Mexico. They spotted a caribou on a sandbar in the middle of the river, below *Łaaki*. As the client aimed, Vera Douglas' boat appeared coming up river on the far side of the bar. The guide saw her immediately, but his client's eyes were fixed on the caribou, and he fired. No one was hurt, but the guide was shaken. It could happen either way. Local hunters could fire in the direction of non-local hunters, although Native hunters usually were

keenly observant. Regardless, more people on the river meant more risk.

Meat use was an issue. Out-of-state hunters, especially, gave away substantial amounts of meat, sometimes in mediocre condition, but treated antlers with great care, behavior that some found offensive. When air taxi transporters picked up clients upriver, this was almost invisible. When boat transporters brought clients back to a village, it was very visible.

Regulations were an issue. If harvests – whether local or non-local –approached the harvestable surplus of a wildlife population, mangers reduced seasons and bag limits. Noatak and Kotzebue residents lost two weeks of moose hunting in September when managers closed the season partly in response to constantly increasing non-local hunting pressure. Similar closures occurred around Buckland in 2003.

Money was an issue. One transporter charged $500 a person, minimum three people, to transport hunters up the river and back. If a client shot a moose, that was another $300. It was a reasonable charge, given the investment in equipment, the costs of operation, the services provided, and the short transporting season. Moreover, clients seemed more than willing to pay. But in a community where some people have trouble finding $25 to fill a 6-gallon cruise tank, $1,500 to $1,800 for a trip up and a trip down the river seemed like pretty good money. While transporters did hire other people to help in their operations, they usually were close relatives.

Thus there were a number of costs of having non-local hunters on the river: conflicting values, noise, crowding, safety, more regulations. One the one hand, everyone in the communities bore these costs, but the benefit, the money, accrued to only a few families. On the other hand, as Raymond Woods pointed out in his interview, once the village-based transporter model was developed by Doug Walker and Art Warbelow in 1995, the demand had been created. Opportunity existed and someone would take advantage of it. Raymond decided that it was better for someone from Shungnak to do it than for Outsiders. Although the two local families directly involved in transporting on the upper Kobuk River still lived in the communities, the members of those families who started and operated the transporting businesses did not.

When the Board of Game wrestled with the controlled use area proposal in 2002, several board members expressed concerns about maintaining urban residents' access to rural Alaska. The Alaska Legislature clearly favors open access. In 1996 both houses of the legislature passed a bill that prevented the Department of Natural Resources from limiting "traditional access" on state lands, including access by all-terrain vehicles, airplanes, boats, or any other means that has been in regular use. If land managers want to restrict access, Rep. Beverly Masek said, "They need to come to elected officials to do that" (Rinehart 1996).

Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut *Territory*

Burch and Ray have described the metes and bounds of traditional territories in northwest Alaska, Burch going so far as to call them "*Iñupiaq* nations." The societies occupying these nations defended their borders against encroachment, formed alliances with neighbors, and attacked unallied strangers found within national boundaries. Local animosity in recent years towards non-local users on the upper Kobuk, however it may be viewed in contemporary legal frameworks, was well within traditional *Iñupiaq* social norms.

During the 20th century, traditional *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* territory was apportioned among several governments, a regional Native corporation, and numerous individuals. In approximate order of holdings, these included: the federal government, the State of Alaska, the NANA Regional Corporation, the Northwest Arctic Borough (selections pending), Native allotment owners, and other private landowners. Because of the locations of contemporary communities, *Paamiut* and *Qalamiut* homelands were not among the lands selected under ANCSA, and wound up primarily under state control.

These lands and resources were managed by various state, federal, and local entities, including the National Park Service and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game. Where the *Kuuvaum Kaŋiaġmiut* once had dominion over their homeland, controlling access to and activities within their domain, they became a minority voice, a potentially potent voice,

but still relegated to the role of advisors in the use of and access to their traditional territory.

It was interesting to speculate on the course of local history had the BIA responded to the Pah River families' request to build a school near the mouth of the Pah in the 1930s. A school there would have anchored those families to the site, as schools did in Shungnak and hundreds of other Alaska communities. The resulting village would have been eligible to select lands under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971, which no doubt would have encompassed much of the area proposed for the controlled use area in 2001. The conflicts described in this report would not have happened, or at least, they would not have happened at the mouth of the Pah.

At a Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve Subsistence Resource Commission meeting in the early 1990s, before his transporting business developed, Raymond Woods was among those opposed to the increasing non-local uses of the upper Kobuk River. One of the things that changed his perspective, he told researchers, was the realization that because of the changed land status, his people could no longer legally control non-local activities around the Pah. The next best approach, as he said in his interview for this project, was for local people to become involved in the transporting business and direct people into areas where the conflicts would be minimized. What he had not anticipated were the conflicts that developed in his own community. Raymond's own father was among those who initially supported the Board of Game proposal eliminating jet boats from the river.

Nothing captured local sentiment as well as this exchange between elder Wesley Woods and researcher Linda Lee during the first year of this project. Wesley commented to Linda that "Pah River up to *Aqusriqvik* was where the *Kuuvaŋmiut* really lived. There were hardly any living down river. Now we hear that the white people are taking over our first stepping grounds."

Linda Lee replied, "They have taken it already."

"What?" Wesley asked.

"They have taken it already," Linda repeated.

"They got it already," Wesley said.

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Appendix 1
Consent and Release Form

CONSENT AND RELEASE

HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER REGION

The Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the National Park Service (NPS) are studying how residents of the upper Kobuk River used their region during their life times. This paper explains the project. On the back is a section that you must sign before we may publish any of the information you provide to us.

Do I have to do this?

No. You do not have to participate in this project. If you decide to participate, we will purchase limited rights to use your information. Copyright will remain with you.

Why are you doing this project?

We are concerned about the conflicts created when people come from outside the region to hunt and fish. To provide for subsistence and reduce conflicts, we think it is very important to understand the history of the river, and how it has been used by local people. Therefore, we want to know more about the history of upper Kobuk River people. Especially, we want to know how upper Kobuk River people survived when you were young. We are interested knowing which places are especially important to you, and why.

This project has several other purposes. We are interested in writing down elders' knowledge, in both *Iñupiaq* and English. We would like to help elders pass that knowledge on to children and grandchildren. We want to make elders' information available in schools and libraries.

What do you want us to do?

We would like you to talk about your life, especially when you were younger. We would like to talk about places where you lived or camped on the upper Kobuk and upper Noatak rivers. We will record our talks on a tape recorder. We will print what you say in a report, along with pictures and maps. Later, we may also put what you say in a book or in a computer program.

You decide what you want to tell us about your life. We will ask questions, but the answers are up to you. You do not have to answer any question if you do not want to.

What are you going to do with my information?

After the tapes are translated and transcribed, we will put the translations in a preliminary report, which will be sent to the National Park Service. These reports will be stored in NPS and ADF&G files, and will be available to other researchers in the future. If funding becomes available, we may do more. For example, we may try to put some interviews in a computer program, which may include elders' speaking in *Iñupiaq*.

What will happen to the tapes?

Each elder will get a copy of his or her own tapes. A copy will remain with Fish and Game, a copy will remain with the National Park Service, and a copy will remain with the Shungnak IRA. There is a section on the back for you to decide who gets the original tapes.

Who is doing this project?

The National Park Service, the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, and the Shungnak IRA. Jim Magdanz, Eileen Devinney, David Krupa are in charge of the project. Linda Lee, Mildred Black, Bertha Sheldon, Barbara Armstrong, Jonas Ramoth, Mildred Black, and Hannah Loon have done translations for the project. The Shungnak IRA pays elders, interviewers, and translators, and reviews the reports before they are published.

AGREEMENTS AND GRANT OF LIMITED RIGHTS

This is an agreement between you, the National Park Service (NPS) and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G). It describes the use and publication of interviews and other materials gathered in this project. "Other materials" may include but are not limited to maps, drawings, and photographs that you may provide to the researchers for this project.

NPS and ADF&G agree…

- To pay you for the use of your material.
- To include a copyright notice in your name on transcripts and project reports.
- To give you an opportunity to edit your interview transcripts and to remove materials from the project collection before they are released to the public.
- To provide you copies of audio tapes, translations, and project reports.
- Not to resell or otherwise transfer any rights to your interviews or other material.

You agree…

- To be interviewed by the researchers.
- To transfer to NPS and ADF&G limited, non-exclusive, non-transferable, irrevocable, worldwide, editorial and educational rights to publish the interviews and other materials in reports and other media such as magazine articles, audio tapes, and computer programs.
- That NPS and ADF&G may keep audio tapes, translations, transcripts, other materials, and project reports on file and available to the public.
- That once you have approved the interview transcripts and the use of other materials gathered in this project, you may not change your mind.

If you accept these agreements between you and the researchers and are willing to grant the limited rights as described above, please sign.

Respondent (signature)	Date	Researcher (signature)	Date
Respondent (printed name)		Researcher (printed name)	

STORAGE OF ORIGINAL TAPES

We would like to send the original tapes to University of Alaska in Fairbanks. The university archives can keep them safe for generations, help preserve the *Iñupiaq* language, teach students from the region, and teach people in general about *Iñupiat* use of the region. If you do not want your tapes sent to the university, we can give them to another organization, or we can send them back to you. Please initial ONE of the boxes to indicate who should have the original tapes.

☐	**University of Alaska Archives**	☐	National Park Service
☐	Return original tapes to me.	☐	NWAB School District
☐	Other (specify)_____		

Appendix 2
Interview Guide

Interview Guide for Places

Before this interview, respondent and interviewer should mark on a map each permanent home in which the respondent lived during their life. Also mark seasonal camps that were used in multiple years, for example fish camps and trapping camps. Record the dates of use or occupancy, or if dates are uncertain, the sequence in which these homes and camps were first used. Make a list of these places, and for each place, explore the following questions…

When and How Long Were You in this Place…

About how old were you when you first started living at this place?

How many years did you live at this place? (age of first occupancy? age of last occupancy?)

What time of year did you move there? (how – dog team, boat?).

Did you live here all year, or just part of the year?

When and why did you leave this place?

Who was there…

Who else was living at this place with you (family, others)?

Was anyone born at this place while you lived there?

Did anyone die at this place while you lived there? (If so, where were they buried?)

Neighbors – what was the next camp or settlement down river? up river?

Did people from other places visit you here (from other camps, from the villages, from Kotzebue, Fairbanks, or elsewhere)?

Why did they visit?

How did they come (boats, dog teams, airplane)

Did you ever see airplanes flying around this place? If so, who and what were they doing.

What was it like…

Draw a quick map of site. (show river, sandbar (if any), and location of dwelling)

Was there more than one structure there? (If so, add locations of other houses, caches, meat racks, etc.)

What kind of house did your family have at this place? (Who built it, what kind of material, how big, how many rooms)

What kind of houses did other people have at this place?

What did you do here…

What did you and your family do at this place? (what kind of fishing, hunting, etc)

Social Activities (story telling, feasts, holidays, funerals)

Non-Local Foods and Tools?

What kind of store-bought things did your family use at this place? (for example, canvas tents, metal stoves, wooden boats, outboard motors?)

What kind of store-bought foods did your family use at this place?

Why this Place?

Why did you think your family lived at this place?

What was good about it?

What was not so good about it?

Appendix 3
Transcripts
Rose Custer



Natigvik

The Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project explored human-land relationships through oral life histories of elder Inupiaq Eskimo residents of the upper Kobuk River area. The project was a cooperative effort funded by the National Park Service (NPS) and conducted by the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the Shungnak IRA Council. The elders interviewed for this project granted permission to NPS and ADF&G to make copies of their recordings, translations, and transcriptions, and to make those copies accessible to the public for educational and scientific purposes. They gave NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts in project reports for scientific and educational purposes, and in some cases additional rights to publish material in other formats. Copies of their consent and release forms are included in this appendix. While these materials are available to the public to hear, read, and study, copyright to these materials remains with the elder authors. Individuals or organizations wishing to republish portions of the tapes, transcripts, or translations must obtain permission from the elder authors. The project was directed by James Magdanz, Division of Subsistence, ADF&G.

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CONSENT AND RELEASE

HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UPPER KOBUK RIVER REGION

The Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the National Park Service (NPS) are studying how residents of the upper Kobuk River used their region during their life times. A project overview is attached to this document. This form is an agreement between you (as an interview respondent), NPS, and ADF&G.

- You agree that your interviews may be recorded on audio tape, video tape, or computer files. Your interviews may be translated from Iñupiaq into English, and written down in both Iñupiaq and English. They may be included in one or more project reports.
- You give NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts of your interviews in project reports for scientific and educational purposes. NPS and ADF&G may keep audio tapes, computer files, transcripts, and the project reports on file and available to the public. ADF&G agrees to provide you copies of audio tapes, transcriptions, translations, and project reports before they are released to the public.
- ADF&G agrees to pay you for each interview.

If you copyright your interviews, NPS and ADF&G will include a copyright notice on transcripts and on project reports. If you do not copyright your interviews, they may be published by other people without your permission. If you wish to copyright your interviews, please initial the yes box below:

☒ YES ☐ NO I want to copyright my interviews in my name. Copyright protection ordinarily lasts for the author's life plus 70 years.

If you do copyright your interviews, then NPS and ADF&G will need your permission to use your interview or portions of your interview in books, on the radio, or on computers. Initial each box below to give or withhold permission for NPS and ADF&G to use your interviews.

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use in journals, magazines, books, or other printed formats for scientific or educational purposes.

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use in programs on radio, television, audio, or video cassettes.

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use in computer programs with limited audiences for scientific or educational purposes (for example, a school district local area network).

☒ YES ☐ NO OK to use on CD-ROMs or the Internet (world wide web).

Rose Custer — 19 APR 200

Respondent (signature) Date — Researcher (signature) Date

Rose Custer 19 APR 2002 — JIM MAGDANZ

Respondent (printed name) — Researcher (printed name)

Tape 1

(Recorded March 20, 2002, in the Iñupiaq language in Kotzebue, Alaska, with Rose Custer, Jonas Ramoth, Vernetta Nay-Moberly, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq *into English by Jonas Ramoth.)*

SIDE A

JIM MAGDANZ (English) This is Jim Magdanz. I am in Kotzebue, Alaska. Today is March 20, 2002. I am in the Kotzebue Senior Center with Rose Custer, Jonas Ramoth, and Vernetta Nay Moberly. We are here to do an overview interview with Rose, as part of the Kobuk Human-Land Relationships Project.

Rose has… Yesterday we talked with Rose in Iñupiaq about the purpose for the project, what we would like to do. She is interested, but is still uncertain about whether she wants to sign the consent and release. So we are going to do a little taping and get a feel for how this all works, and then if Rose decides that she wants to continue, we'll do a consent and release form at that time. So, for the moment, this tape is not released for public use.

At this point, I am going to turn it over to Jonas for a life history discussion with Rose.

ANNOTATION *Rose signed a consent and release form during a second taping session a month later, April 19, 2002.*

JONAS RAMOTH Now it's up to us.

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH Now, say your name in English and Eskimo. Say your age and how old you are, and where you were born. Now you can talk about your life in your own way, from when you began to be aware, how you understood it, and in what place. Now you can start talking.

Who are you?

ROSE CUSTER My name is Rose Custer. My maiden name was Rose Tickett, now Custer. In Eskimo, they call me *Natigvik*.

Annotation Natigvik *means "drifting snow."*

ROSE CUSTER In Kobuk, I became aware. I was born up there at *Paugviirami.*

Annotation Paugviirami *is just above* Qalla.

ROSE CUSTER (E) Up river, Kobuk, up river.

ROSE CUSTER I was born at *Paugviirami*. I was told I was born there.

JONAS RAMOTH — *Paugviirami*?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, *Paugviirami*.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — And, I was born in 1914, in those days. What next?

JONAS RAMOTH — You began helping here, probably with nets. You were probably starting to help someone (unintelligible).

ROSE CUSTER — I became fully aware in Kobuk. Somebody was carrying me out of a house. They carried me down along the river, then turned on a path away from the river. Back there, on the back of town, my parents lived. They took me home, back there. When I looked down the river, I could see lots of lights. There were used to be many people in Kobuk. Now, they're gone.

Right there, I became fully aware. I found out later on there was a barge on the bank. It was facing this way, and that barge belonged to the Ferguson family. Herman (Rose's older brother, *Aumaaluun*) took me out from there. Right there, I remember being taken home. After that I don't remember. After that, I remember being in school, seems like I was in school. I went out of the school with Clara, my girl friend (*umaa*). When we came out of the school, we raced to our home.

JONAS RAMOTH — Was that *Paniyauraq*?

ROSE CUSTER — *Paniyaaq*. My home was way down in the back, and hers was close by. We went to school close by her house, in a large cabin, owned by *Sakmaliqs* (northern Seward Peninsula people). Over there was the school, a high one.

JONAS RAMOTH — Who were these *Sakmaliqs*, and why were they be called *Sakmaliqs*? Where were they from?

ROSE CUSTER — *Kanautkut* family. *Sailaagrutkut* and Beatrice Mouse (*Anausuk*) were called *Sakmaliq* by up-river people.

Annotation — *The* Kanautkut *family was among the Deering families who were relocated to the Kobuk River by Friends missionaries about 1917. Rose and Clara were attending school in a cabin that had been abandoned by the* Kanautkut *family.*

JONAS RAMOTH — So that's who the *Sakmaliq* were.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, that's the *Sakmaliq*. This is when I became aware. And then I wasn't aware again. Then one time, I became aware again.

I was standing on a chopping log with my girl friend. I became

aware when we were standing on that log, and then as I looked back, there was a house burning. I became afraid and started to shake. I saw Fay Ward (*Uyugaq*) standing there. They had put Beatrice Mouse's (*Anausruk*) parka on her. That house was burning, William Ward's (*Qaqsri*) house. His children were with him. Beulah's (her sister, *Niqigraugrauq*) parka was in that house, and it burned. I became aware from time to time.

JONAS RAMOTH — You are now entering (*pitaaq*, lit. chopping a hole into the ice) into your life.

ROSE CUSTER — (Chuckles.) We were really afraid of that fire.

I became aware from time to time and tried to live. Finally, I began to be helpful to my parents by carrying water. When they went someplace, I began to follow, like when they were going seining. When my two sisters were going seining, I followed them. When they found I was able to handle the lines from the shore, I became the *qulliqsruqti* (person who handles the shore lines of a seine). One time, when we went seining, up there, they seined on the sandbar across from the village where my parents spent the summer. All we had to do was cross to that sandbar, and seine. (unintelligible). We can see Kobuk below us. They called it *Laugviik* (Long Beach) in those days.

We were seining, and it got dark. I was holding the line for my two sisters, Beulah (*Nigigrauq*) and Irene (*Manuluk*), who were seining. When we set the seine, one of the two who came was mixed race.

JONAS RAMOTH — Who?

ROSE CUSTER — Part white.

JONAS RAMOTH — You mean Irene*?*

ROSE CUSTER — Irene was my sister. The other one was Beulah, the younger one. And I am still younger. Of those two who came, one of them was half white. The other was *Inupiat*. That half-white one was *Takpauruk.*

JONAS RAMOTH — Was it a man?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, man. That man was *Takpauruk*, who was going up to Kobuk often. The other one was *Panikpiraaq*. They called him *Panikpiraaq*.

Annotation — Takpauruk *may be Elmer Green from Kotzebue. Rose did not know the English name of either* Takpauruk *or* Panikpiraaq.

ROSE CUSTER — We set the seine. *Qaliiraq* (a small whitefish, rough on top of the scales, common at *Anigak*). That half-white one was eating the eyes out of them. He would pull out the eye and eat it. (*Chuckled*.) "Here we just seined them." Because they were fresh, I was afraid he might

get sick and throw up. They lingered a while, then when daylight started to fade, they went back down to where they came from. We just went back across to Kobuk.

In those days, we were gathering and saving food. I was beginning to help them at this time. I got pretty good at holding the line from the shore. In summer, they would seine up river to gather fish.

JONAS RAMOTH — Before they start going way up river, there were probably fish anywhere they set.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. When fall came, most of the people would finish their summer up river, although there would still be some people in the village. All the sandbars would have people camping on them. Each sandbar would have some people camping on them. And they would spend their time seining from the sandbars.

JONAS RAMOTH — Did they catch salmon, too?

ROSE CUSTER — Mostly, this was for salmon. They waited for a certain part of the evening. They always got them in the evenings, on the (salmon's) way up. That's how they caught them, they seined for them in the evenings. The salmon like to stay in the slow water. They would set the seine for those that stopped.

There were many people on every sandbar. We would see them when we went up river.

JONAS RAMOTH — As long as a sandbar was there, there were people?

ROSE CUSTER — And there were many sandbars going up river. Way down here (near Kobuk) was never the place to camp for us. Our parents took us way up river. Our parents would take us way up river. They always stopped at *Qalla,* but sometimes they take us way past it, way up. We stopped at *Qalla* there, but most of the time, they go way up river, way up to *Qalugriivik*. Sometimes they go all the way up to *Qalugrivik* to spend the last part of the summer. Then up there, we would set a net, and sometimes seine. Some of my other siblings stayed with us sometimes, Irene (*Manuuluk*) and Martha (*Nuiraq*).

Annotation — *The place name* Qalla *was used to refer to a general area about 20 miles east of Kobuk just below the place where the Kobuk River separates into an "old channel" and a "new channel." The "Kalla" on USGS maps locates a settlement visited by Stoney in 1885, and is on the old channel. In the year 2000, most people used the term "Qalla" to refer to an area on the new channel around Neal and Margaret Sheldon's camp. The term* Qalla *means "whirlpool."*

In response to later questions, Rose said she was talking about the "old Qalla" where she lived with her husband. Rose's eyesight is

not good, and she preferred to describe locations rather than locate them on a map. From her descriptions, researchers understood that her Qalla site was located on the old channel.

Rose used the place name Qalugriivik *to refer to at least three different areas used by her family. The term* Qalugriivik *meant "salmon spawning place." Rose said the "oldest"* Qalugriivik *was between old Qalla and Kogoluktuk on the old channel. The* Qalugriivik *where her parents spent many summers was about five miles below the mouth of the Mauneluk River, the site of Wesley and Josephine Woods' camp was in the late 20th century. A third* Qalugriivik *was located inside the Mauneluk River, but Rose was uncertain how far up.*

JONAS RAMOTH — Was that Martha (*Nuiraq*), Herman Tickett's (*Amaluurak*) first wife?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. We spent the summers trying to catch fish.

JONAS RAMOTH — Were they mostly women?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — Probably the men were hunting on the slope?

ROSE CUSTER — Catching fish was only the women's task. The men hardly ever fished. Ever since I become aware in those days, men hardly fished, if ever, because they hunted on the slope. Also, they went up to the headwaters of the Kobuk River for hunting. After hunting, when they wanted to go home, they built a raft and shoved off. They put all the meat they caught on the raft. They made a small raft, one layer (of logs). They call them *umiallauchiaq*. They tied them together, tied logs across to hold them together. The hunters always made small rafts like that. Those people who used big logs, good sized logs, they called the big raft, "*umialluk"*.

JONAS RAMOTH — They usually cut them, don't they?

That is, the men could build a small raft from fallen trees and driftwood. But to build a big raft, the men would have to cut trees down.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. What else do you want?

JONAS RAMOTH — You must be a teenager by this time? You're becoming a big young lady.

ROSE CUSTER — My parents often spent the summer upriver, at *Qallugrivik*.

When we spent the summer upriver, (unintelligible), they went seining even further up. There were no salmon there. It was one of those times when salmon did not reach there. They never even filled one pole of the rack, even though they had a net set all summer, be-

cause the salmon did not go up.

Annotation — *Rose now begins to talk about one particular summer, when the salmon run failed and people had to depend upon whitefish. There are a number of* Qallugrivik *place names on the upper Kobuk. The one Rose is referring to here is about 5 miles below Mauneluk River mouth, the site of Wesley and Josephine Wood's fish camp in the late 20th century..* Qallugrivik *means "salmon spawning area."*

JONAS RAMOTH — When that happened, did they have the option of catching other fish?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — Probably they used nets for others?

ROSE CUSTER — They set nets for whitefish (*qalgik*), and in fall time, they'd catch sheefish.

Is that it?

Annotation — *Rose is asking about the proper distance to keep between her and the microphone.*

JONAS RAMOTH — Looks like when I get closer (to the microphone), it's not working very good.

Annotation — *The microphones are adjusted, and Rose continues…*

ROSE CUSTER — When we spent the summer that time at *Qallugrivik*, we caught nothing but whitefish (*siraichaiq*). We made dried fish (*qalviraq*) out of whitefish. Lots, up to that high (Rose indicated about five feet above the floor). They made strings of fish. Piles (*puptiichirut.*)

JONAS RAMOTH — Did they make them into bundles (*itmuktuq*)?

Annotation — *Rose was not familiar with* itmuktuq*, a Selawik term.*

ROSE CUSTER — They brought them back inside the willows, where there was a store room (*sayutit*) that belonged to Mike Commack (*Qakiq*) and *Ulaarauq (*Mike Commack's mother*)*.

JONAS RAMOTH — Is the correct pronunciation *sayurauq*?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, but *sayut*.

JONAS RAMOTH — What are they?

ROSE CUSTER — Store room. A store room made of vertical logs. They put a roof on it. And they are called *sayut*. They only caught whitefish that time.

One time, I had followed my parents who had gone seining upriver. I was holding the line on the side (of the seine). While we were gone, the dogs were barking in the back. They were terrified. The children who were there went to bed and covered themselves. Those kids were afraid of the dogs barking in the back.

Up where we were, we called them "raiders" (*aŋuyaich*, *iniqkutit*).

When evening came, we came back from seining up river. As soon as we got home, Dad went back to check on the fish. Those strings of fish that had been placed in there, there were quite a few missing.

JONAS RAMOTH — So there were robbers, too.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, they were robbers. They took a lot of strings of fish.

From time to time, I would become aware, and I remember helping my parents in subsistence gathering.

One time, we made a weir. We were catching sheefish that way. Because my parents were always seining upriver, they weren't with the people who used weirs (*pauktauni*). On our way down river, we always came to the people doing this type of fishing. Our parents would usually stop there, and sometimes we stayed overnight. After spending the night, they would keep going down river, all the way to Kobuk.

JONAS RAMOTH — When you say "*pauktaut*" do you mean, they used a wier?

ROSE CUSTER — They blocked the river all the way across. (she made a motion, pointing out the angle of the wier).

JONAS RAMOTH — Was there a "dip net" (*qalu*) on the end?

ROSE CUSTER — Do you know anything about weir fishing (*pauk*)?

JONAS RAMOTH — I don't.

ROSE CUSTER — They set poles (*napaġiak*) in the river bottom. Those poles were placed pretty sturdily so they won't tip over in the current. There was a rope, used for an anchor, on each side of the river. They would get cottonwood, straight ones, thin. They placed those thin cottonwoods straight side by side.

You're making me lie now (*suglu*, to not tell the truth) (laughs).

Annotation — *Rose was concerned that she might not remember everything. This type of fishing is described in Anderson et al 1998:150-151. The weir Rose describes would be catching sheefish on their way downstream just before freeze up.*

ROSE CUSTER — They looked for a specific location, like the end of a sand bar, that would be suitable for seining. Then when there were lots of sheefish there, they would set a seine and pull them up. So they seined that end

of the weir. They caught lots.

They would take down part of the weir, and put a boat at the opening on the downstream side of the weir. When the fish went by, they would spear them. Every time they speared one, they would say, "Uu'ii."

VERNETTA NAY-MOBERLY — They must have had fun!

JONAS RAMOTH — What a joyful time they're having!

ROSE CUSTER — Even in the evenings, you could hear them shouting. Those who were pretty good at using that spear usually got lots. When they finished right there, they probably split their shares. So that's how they used a weir for fishing. That's the method they used for catching fish, those ancient people.

JONAS RAMOTH — What do they call the weir they use at Ambler today?

ROSE CUSTER — That's different.

JONAS RAMOTH — What do they call them?

ROSE CUSTER — *Saputit*. That's a fall time fishing method, only done after freeze-up. They cut spruce, and shove them through the hole upside down. They call them *qalġiqsiitit.*

Annotation — *This type of fishing is described in Anderson et al 1998:152.*

When the sheefish go by already, the whitefish will be next to come down river, after the sheefish.

JONAS RAMOTH — It was awesome for me to see this type of fishing.

Annotation — *Jonas saw people fishing this way in Ambler in the late 1990s. When the river freezes just right, the ice gets about three, four, six inches thick, and is free of snow. This is a prime time; whitefish are coming down river.*

ROSE CUSTER (26:00) — They put a dip net on the end. In Shungnak, when Evans Commack (*Iknaurak*) was in charge of that weir, I was there. My uncle (Evans) did not give me a share. When it freezes early, they will be catching small whitefish for drying (*qalgirik*). They used a weir called *saputit* for catching whitefish. The used a weir called *pautiit* for sheefish. In a *saputit* weir they used a dip net (*qalu*). They used a net after making an exit. They used a very small mesh on the dip net.

Annotation — *This type of dip net* (qalu) *is illustrated in Anderson et al 1998:153. The bag on this net can be eight feet long. Jonas once counted 300*

whitefish caught in one pull of a dip net. The dip net has to be set right in the current coming through the weir opening. If the fish sense danger, they will face upstream and drift downstream. That's bad because then can instantly swim out of the net if they detect its presence.

JONAS RAMOTH — Now we can tell which type is used for which fish.

ROSE CUSTER — For this type, people will just see (the fish swimming into the dip net). A person will be watching. When whitefish pass by, people say "*kutraaq"* instead of "*apgusraaq*." After the fish pass by, they will pull the net up, many fish all at once. When they get them out of the water, and spill them on the ice, the top of the ice will be squirming with fish.

JONAS RAMOTH — They are beautiful to look at., especially when they get lot of them all at once.

ROSE CUSTER — (*unintelligible*.) One time they were still out (*at the weir*), even though they (*the fish*) were not coming any more. They saw something passing by with long hair. That thing just slowly passed by. That's the kind they saw, because they were still at it even though there were no fish (*implying, perhaps, they should have quit fishing*). It had long, flowing hair. That was the end of the fish. We don't know what it was.

SIDE B

ROSE CUSTER — What else do you want? Is it ready?

JIM MAGDANZ — Ready.

JONAS RAMOTH — Thank you. Ready. I'm glad to have the explanations of fishing. I took some video of the weir in Ambler, and I think Park Service has copies of what I did. It was awesome for me to see this for the first time. It was great.

ROSE CUSTER — It's good.

JONAS RAMOTH — How good they were to eat frozen (*quaq*), caught this way. They were different than the ones caught with a net.

ROSE CUSTER — They are really fresh. But they don't have eggs in them.

JONAS RAMOTH — This is the time when they have already spawned. Perhaps that is why they are so good.

When they are trying to catch sheefish with a weir (*pautiit*), and every time they go by, they spear them without using a dip net (*qalu*).

ROSE CUSTER — They use a seine, right in that corner of the shallow water, right by the

	sand bar. Lot of men standing around…
Annotation	*Rose gestures to indicate a lot of men, and accidentally bumps microphone.*
ROSE CUSTER	Trying to wreck it (*the microphone*). (*Laughs*.) Wrong time for me to wave.
VERNETTE NAY-MOBERLY	It's good. Were those men standing in a group?
ROSE CUSTER	They are standing side by side, holding lanterns.
JONAS RAMOTH	Do they fish even at night?
ROSE CUSTER	They sure do. Even at night. They are spearing them right there.
JONAS RAMOTH	Is this after they have spawned? Or do they have fish eggs?
ROSE CUSTER	Sure. This is the time they are going downstream.
Annotation	*Although it was not clear which of Jonas' two questions Rose was answering, Jonas understood Rose to mean that the sheefish still had fish eggs.*
JONAS RAMOTH	Usually some are very big.
ROSE CUSTER	Yes, usually some are very big. But are some are small, and we call them *mayauyuk*. Those little ones are the first ones they speared.
JONAS RAMOTH	After it freezes and the ice becomes stable, they use nets under the ice, don't they?
ROSE CUSTER	Where the current is slow, below Shungnak (*Nuviiruk*), that's where they set their nets.
JONAS RAMOTH	Fishing may not be the only...
ROSE CUSTER	(Interrupts) Fishing is not the only thing they do, because the current is too strong.
JONAS RAMOTH	How about when it's middle of summer, when the berries are ripe? When salmonberries and blueberries are ripe, maybe you pick berries, too.
ROSE CUSTER	Yes, we do berry picking, but they are far away. Sometimes they are far away, although some are close by. In some places, you have to penetrate the thick forest. The flat areas are good. It's ideal for cranberries on those small rises (*piŋuqsraichaiq*). Salmonberries are sometimes in

brush areas, and sometimes in lowlands next to marshes. Salmonberries are kind of scarce up river.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes. Probably different on the blueberries, though.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, most likely they are everywhere. Also the cranberries.

JONAS RAMOTH — You can never preserve blueberries to last until winter. There must be a way you can do that. How do you store them, when you do?

ROSE CUSTER — We put them away, to eat later.

One time during the middle of summer, before fall time started, I followed my parents when they went to pick berries across from Kobuk. I saw them putting away berries. They dug a hole in the ground. And after they dug a hole in the ground, they got birch bark and made a container. They put the berries in that container, and covered them with sod again. Later they went to get them, but I'm not sure when.

JONAS RAMOTH — They must be old and frozen.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. Usually, pretty good.

JONAS RAMOTH — When they do it in Selawik, when they put them in barrels, they liquify.

ROSE CUSTER — Do they cover them with dirt?

JONAS RAMOTH — No. probably no one knows how to store berries for the winter.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — When I was growing up, I never ate blueberries that had been stored for the winter.

ROSE CUSTER — They usually covered the blueberries for the winter.

JONAS RAMOTH — So that's how they do it.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, they usually covered blueberries in a hole (*qalliviŋmun*, literally, a place for fish) for the winter. Covered them with dirt. Behind Kobuk (*Laugvik*) is a place where they stored salmonberries for the winter, in the past. They would put them underground in those days. There were salmonberry patches back there.

Susie Stocking? (whom she calls *Aviuktuk*,) Daisy's mother, one time stored blueberries in a barrel. They filled a whole barrel, then they buried it. So when they came down river, they stopped at our place, and then they went to get that barrel. They were in good condition. Upriver they usually buried them to use for later.

JONAS RAMOTH — Because it's too hot in summer.

ROSE CUSTER — It's too hot in summer.

In fall, they would store them (blueberries) off the ground, wrapped up with spruce boughs. They would look for a group of spruce trees, and they would store them in there. (*Qiliqsrautaq*, spruce trees growing in a tight bundle. *Qiliq* means tied up.) They stored their berries that way in the fall so they don't have to worry about mice getting into them. (unintelligible.) That's how they stored cranberries, too, hanging high up there. They cleared an area in which to put their things. Spruce needles are too sharp for mice. They always poke them. Mice always burst the berries.

Annotation — *The berries were in some kind of container -- barrel, birch bark, seal skin poke -- before being hoisted off the ground. The spruce needle wrap kept out rodents. Vera Douglas told Jonas that her grandmother, Annie* Natagnak *Mark, used a similar technique.*

JONAS RAMOTH — (Unintelligble.)

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. They were always eating cranberries. Mice always busted the berries. That's how they put food away when I was growing up. But they are always taking them home (now).

JONAS RAMOTH — To freezers?

ROSE CUSTER — Now they're freezing them.

JONAS RAMOTH — How easy it is now.

ROSE CUSTER — Upriver at Pah, I stayed with Herman (*Aumaaluk*) all summer. When fall came, we went berry picking with Effie Hobson (Tavsuraq) and Ikaaq (no English name, daughter of Susie Stocking and Dick White). (Unintelligible, describing other participants). When Effie asked me to go, I followed. They went down to the Ambler River to pick berries. I started to pick berries, too. My container was an empty flour sack. I took that flour sack to empty my berries into.

JONAS RAMOTH — Were they cranberries?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, they took us to pick berries, cranberries. We also took our children along. I filled that flour sack full enough to tie it. Then we left them down there, but we made sure we wouldn't have to worry about them. Effie made sure they were properly put away, and we left them. My poor flour sack, those were the first berries I was able to put away.

JONAS RAMOTH — You must think about that occasionally.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. So up there we were staying with Herman until it was time to travel (that is, until after freeze-up). Herman made me go down river with a small dog team and a small sled. Frank Tobuk and his girl friend (Dora Tobuk) were going down river to get married. It was going to happen at Pah. Pah was the place where they were staying. So I went traveling with these two.

JONAS RAMOTH — You didn't have a husband?

ROSE CUSTER — No husband, but I am becoming an adult.

VERNETTA NAY-MOBERLY — (unintelligible)

ROSE CUSTER — I left my berries. There must have been a time when they go get their berries, mine included. Or they may have given them to Martha Tickett (Nuilaq), who would accept them.

JONAS RAMOTH — That Herbert (Custer, her future husband) must have had his eyes on you by then!

ROSE CUSTER — Probably so. But he was out hunting (*qaki*) on the slope. He always followed the hunting parties. He would go with old people, mostly.

Enough?

JONAS RAMOTH — Do you want to take a break?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

Annotation — *Tape paused for a few minutes.*

ROSE CUSTER — My family went upriver again, to the Mauneluk River. They went inside Mauneluk to do some more hunting in the fall. I did not know this when I followed. Irene (*Manuuluk,* Rose's older sister) went over to stay with the people at the mouth of the Mauneluk. The people I followed went into Mauneluk, all the way to *Qalugrivik*, and stopped. My parents had gone upriver. When they got there, my Dad was doing his additional hunting.

One time Wilson (*Aliqsi*, her brother) and I were there with a small boat, at *Qalugriivik.* There were lots of grayling there. We started hooking for grayling. There was hardly any current there. While was fishing, I did something.

Wilson started to holler, "Arii."

When I looked at him, I had hooked him somewhere. Whenever I jerked my hook, he was hollering. I wonder how that happened?

JONAS RAMOTH — There must have been no ice when you were there.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, there was no ice. It was fall time. My Dad was doing a lot of

walking to hunt. He took us upriver there. I am not sure why they went up there. So both of us started hooking. That's how I hooked him. I wonder how we took the hook off. How silly we were!

JONAS RAMOH — Were you younger? Was he older than you?

ROSE CUSTER — He was my older brother. I am younger than he is. When he got bigger, he hardly ever stayed with us anymore. He was never there in the summer.

JONAS RAMOTH — Probably when he was pretty much a young man on his own.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, I think he stayed with Charlie Coffin (*Qupapquq*), his uncle.

JONAS RAMOTH — Who are your parents?

ROSE CUSTER — *Iyaaguk* (no English name) was my mother. My father was Paul Tickett (*Tikilipiaq*). George Kobuk (*Tinuulak*) who lived here was my father's sibling. Do you know anyone with that name?

JONAS RAMOTH — One of Jimmy Kiana's (*Kuugnaq*) daughter's was named *Tinulaaq*. That's *Aksuvaagruk* (Jimmy Kiana's proper name).

ROSE CUSTER — *Tinulaaq* was the one who lived in the Kobuk area, my dad's sibling. He left home to live in another village.

JONAS RAMOTH — One of your grandchildren here in Kotzebue, who had a baby recently, named her baby *Tinulaaq*. She's one of the little ladies who is always working her; she looks part white. When I see her, I always say, "Ruuraq!" (A mock scolding word.)

I forgot to ask you who your parents were, so I asked it. Now I distracted you from what you were saying.

ROSE CUSTER — I forget again.

JONAS RAMOTH — That was my fault.

ROSE CUSTER — Tell me what to say next.

JONAS RAMOTH — You were on the Mauneluk River, doing something?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, we were on the Mauneluk River. We were fishing (*niksik*, hooking) while Papa was walking, hunting for the one who walks (*pisruktauni*, brown bear). After staying there, they went down river to the mouth of Mauneluk.

JONAS RAMOTH — Were guns available then?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. When we got to Mauneluk mouth, Irene (*Manuuluk*, Rose's sister) was there. She and Alice Custer (*Amiłłik*) came running toward us as we landed. I can still see them in my mind.

JONAS RAMOTH — They are going to give you this tape when it's done. It will be interpreted to English. I will be doing the translating if he (Jim Magdanz) needs me to do that. Your grandchildren will hear you in English. When we were interviewing Leonard Douglas, I teased him a little sometimes. I told him to tell about everything, but he said he would not tell his secrets.

ROSE CUSTER — Was that Daisy? (Jonas used Leonard's English name, which Rose didn't recognize.)

JONAS RAMOTH — No, it was *Aakuq* (Leonard Douglas).

You may talk about advice you want to give in your lifetime, advice you heard when you were growing up. If you're talking about fishing, be sure to mention place names, like Pah River, *Qalugrivik,* Mauneluk River, just mention them. This is what you did in this place.

ROSE CUSTER — It's not easy to remember things.

JONAS RAMOTH — Did white men come around when you were a young lady?

ROSE CUSTER — White people?

VERNETTA NAY-MOBERLY — A while ago, you mentioned there were part-white children.

JONAS RAMOTH — How about Harry Brown, or others?

ROSE CUSTER — He was already there. He was living in Shungnak, and moved to Kobuk.

JONAS RAMOTH — How about the Ferguson family?

ROSE CUSTER — They were at California Creek. In the winter, they always came down.

JONAS RAMOTH — Was it Fergusons?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, they always come down. They had dogs.

VERNETTE NAY-MOBERLY — (Unintelligible.)

JONAS RAMOTH — Was their father a store keeper?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. They were running a store there. They had moved there at one time. Also, down there along the river, then they moved back again later. They usually spent the summer at California Creek, but some-

times they spent the summer here, too. Dahl Creek, back there, always had people, too.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes, Dahl Creek.

ROSE CUSTER — Some one who wore a squirrel parka (*Siksrikpalitkutnik*) stayed back there. (Unintelligible, Rose seems to be speaking of white people by describing their appearances.) That's the kind of white people we had in those days. After staying back there, they would come down in their leisure in the winter, probably to get groceries.

JONAS RAMOTH — Where there any school teachers?

ROSE CUSTER — We did not have teachers in Kobuk. They had moved them. I don't know when they moved the school.

JONAS RAMOTH — Did they it move it to Shungnak (*Nuviruk*)?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, Shungnak. When they moved the school, we spent winters above Kobuk. I don't know how many times we spent the winter up there.

JONAS RAMOTH — Your parents?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. My parents, Faith Moyer's parents, Lake Wood, and Kittie Wood (*Sailaqpatkut*). Also at *Agayuɬɬuk*, I don't know how many times.

Annotation — Agayuɬɬuk *is a settlement across the river and a little below Elmer and Rosie Ward's camp* (Putu).

ROSE CUSTER — I found out later, we were leaving school behind. Then we didn't go to school, we stayed up there. Faith Ward (*Tulugak*) did not go to school for a good while, also. Wilson (*Aliqsi*, her brother) was not there. Maybe he was at school.

JONAS RAMOTH — Was Joe Field (*Katigurak,* Vernetta's father) every around there?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. We never saw him around.

JONAS RAMOTH — It's a long time ago.

ROSE CUSTER — But one time, after my parents moved there, he came from Noorvik, with a dog team. He came from this side (meaning the lower Kobuk River, because Rose was doing the interview in Kotzebue). He had an old lady passenger, *Umaq.* She was from Allakaket. She was returning home. I wonder how long ago he got down there. They stopped at our place to stay with us. (unintelligible) while we were still going to school.

JONAS RAMOTH	Was Joe's passenger Athabaskan (*Itkilḷik*)?
ROSE CUSTER	No. This lady was from down there (down river).
VERNETTA NAY-MOBERLY	(Unintelligible.)
ROSE CUSTER	She was *Iyaġaichaiq's* mother. Don't you know who?
JONAS RAMOTH	I knew Joe Field. He was married to my uncle's daughter.
ROSE CUSTER	Who?
JONAS RAMOTH	Joe Field. Her (Vernetta's) father.
ROSE CUSTER	That's when I saw him. In summer, he started to come around in a boat.
JONAS RAMOTH	He also had his own boat. It looked like two-masted type, but it didn't have masts (i.e. it was a big boat with a rounded hull, like a sailing ship, but without sails).
ROSE CUSTER	I forget what I was talking about.
JONAS RAMOTH	Because the school was relocated, you didn't go to school.
ROSE CUSTER	After staying upriver for a while, my parents went back to Kobuk to their little house. We started spending the winters there. My girl friend and I were pretty good sized by that time, Faith and I.
JONAS RAMOH	Faith was probably working on her future husband, Jonas Ward (*Aakataq*). Weren't you talking about Faith?
ROSE CUSTER	Yes.

End of tape

Tape 2

Recorded April 19, 2002, in the Iñupiaq language in Kotzebue, Alaska, with Rose Custer, Jonas Ramoth, Vernetta Nay-Moberly, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Barbara Armstrong.

SIDE A

JONAS RAMOTH — Our subject for this morning will be your stays at *Qalla*. How old were you when you began staying at *Qalla*?

ROSE CUSTER — I can't remember.

JONAS RAMOTH — What about how long you stayed there? At *Qalla*? Probably with your parents then.

ROSE CUSTER — During the summer.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — During summer or probably winter time, whichever. That is what the topic will be about.

ROSE CUSTER — Sometime later in the years when my parents began camping there, we began spending the summers there.

JONAS RAMOTH — It probably is noticeable now about your age when mentioning "able to get around" not a child anymore. Were you "aware" then and a young girl?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, in the later years.

JONAS RAMOTH — If you were quite aware then, you were probably 12 or 13 and probably a helper now?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — The girls are more apt to become helpers sooner then the boys. What about these, Jack Frost. Jack Frost.

JONAS RAMOTH (English) — Who was Jack Frost, Jim? Did he have an Iñupiaq name?

JIM MAGDANZ — Just a second…

Jim Magdanz opens a genealogical database on his computer. Before the interview, Jim Magdanz and Jonas Ramoth had discussed ways to help Rose remember her time at Qalla. Other respondents had mentioned the Frost family living in the Qalla area during the 1930s. As Jonas inquires about the Frost family, it takes a minute to get the fam-

ily straight. In the following exchange, Inupiaq names are not translated.

JONAS RAMOTH — Do you know of a person who has the name Jack Frost?

ROSE CUSTER — *Piilairauq*.

JONAS RAMOTH — What, *Piilairauq*, that's his name?

ROSE CUSTER — Jack Frost?

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — *Iyagiaq*.

ROSE CUSTER — The older brother, Joe Frost, is *Piilairaunuraq*.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes, *Piilairaunuraq,* his brother.

ROSE CUSTER — Jim Frost is *Itiqsraq*.

JONAS RAMOTH — Jack.

ROSE CUSTER — Jim Frost.

JONAS RAMOTH — Jim Frost, *Itiqsraq*.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, their oldest brother.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) — I have…

ROSE CUSTER — Their oldest brother.

JIM MAGDANZ — …in my notebook (computer), Charlie Frost and…

ROSE CUSTER — *Immaq*.

JIM MAGDANZ — …Tunusruk, Mary, his wife, and their sons, *Piilairuq, Iyagaiq, Itiqsraq, Aqpalikkaq*.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, woman.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ — *Aqpalikkaaq* was a woman?

ROSE CUSTER (English) — Yeah, *Aqpallikaaq*. A young lady.

JONAS RAMOTH (English) — They lived at Qalla, too, during that time.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) In that area.

ROSE CUSTER Also, there is also their youngest sibling, I think their youngest is *Uutauyukpak*.

JONAS RAMOTH (English) Youngest probably was Utauyukpak.

ROSE CUSTER Bedridden.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, can't get up.

ROSE CUSTER Can't get up.

JONAS RAMOTH He (Jim Magdanz) bought that forward for asking using them like a borderline, maybe wanting to know if they lived in *Qalla* too. Probably, wonder why.

Jonas was explaining why they digressed into a discussion of the Frost family. To summarize, Charlie Frost (Immayauluk) *and Mary Frost* (Tunusruk) *had three sons and one daughter. The sons were Joe* (Piilarauq)*, Jack* (Iyagaik)*, and Jim* (Itiqsraq)*. The daughter's English name, if she had one, is unknown. Her Iñupiaq name was* Aqpalikkaaq*. Other information on the Frost family came from Margaret and Neal Sheldon and BIA school records, and was consistent with Rose's account.*

ROSE CUSTER Oh, I wondered why.

JONAS RAMOTH Also, there was a school, and it was closed at Shungnak or up there. Did you know when it was closed?

ROSE CUSTER No, I did not know.

JONAS RAMOTH OK.

JONAS RAMOTH Do you remember the year that you were at Qalla? Any memory?

JONAS RAMOTH (English) What year?

ROSE CUSTER No.

JONAS RAMOTH Nineteen-what were you born?

ROSE CUSTER Fourteen.

JONAS RAMOTH 1914, it was about around that time. You may have been 12 years old around 1926.

ROSE CUSTER — We were further up river when I became aware. Then (my parents) they started settling at *Qalla* when they became older. The upper part of the sandbar, *Tulukaligauraq*, but still in *Qalla* was where they stayed, the upper part of the old channel, there. They camped there. When the river got high, we lost some of our belongings to it.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes. Somewhere around 1930, you would be 16 years old. You are now a young woman in 1930.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — You are agile, doing things, a good mind then.

ROSE CUSTER — My parents always camped in *Tulukkaligauraq*.

JONAS RAMOTH — At *Qalla*.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, *Tulukaligauraq* is there at *Qalla*, the upper part on the other side.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — They used to summer camp there too.

JONAS RAMOTH — How did they get there, by boat, dog team?

ROSE CUSTER — They always went by boat up river through *Kuuqpik* where the current is slow, then come up on below the sandbar there.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — *Tulukaligauraq* is on the upper part to the main river of *Kuuqpik*.

JONAS RAMOTH — Summer camping place is *Tulukaligauraq*.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, there at *Tulukaligauraq*. Some used to camp there periodically, then. My parents used to camp there too.

JONAS RAMOTH — When they camped there, are they in one group or dispersed?

ROSE CUSTER — All in one group together there.

JONAS RAMOTH — Close together?

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — Close together?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER Because there is sandbar here, another one here and there, all summer campers.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes. They always just spend the summers there? No one stays for the winter? Annual stay, just during the summer?

ROSE CUSTER Yes. Just the summer camping was done up there. After getting fresh fish to ferment in the fall, they come back down river.

JONAS RAMOTH When they do this, you must always follow. Then they leave their camp?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, they go down river leaving their camp grounds after fishing and return to Kobuk. The school was there then. When they moved the school, my parents still continued to stop there, because they did not have a house at Shungnak.

JONAS RAMOTH When you lived with your parents, were your other siblings there too?

ROSE CUSTER No, some were always gone and some were always there. Irene (*Manuluk*) often stayed with our parents, too. But when they moved to Shungnak, she just began fishing with gillnets and spent her summers there and did not stay with us anymore. But we always had others staying with us, like Beulah (her older sister) and our sister-in-law, Martha (*Niuraq*).

JONAS RAMOTH When you lived there, were there anyone born there that you know of, any of your siblings, any being born there? Or pregnancy occurs or give birth?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, Beulah had a child there though also Martha had a child with her when we camped up there. (*These were not babies being born. These were already children*)

JONAS RAMOTH Were there any babies born there, any of your siblings?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, I do not know of any babies being born up there.

JONAS RAMOTH What about deaths, you must have some deaths, too?

ROSE CUSTER I don't know. I am not aware of that.

JONAS RAMOTH When you camped there, do you ever receive any guest outside the *Iñupiat* from up there. Maybe white people?

ROSE CUSTER When we camp there?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER No, but people going up river always go by.

JONAS RAMOTH Not stopping?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, because they are on their way to their camps too.

JONAS RAMOTH All by boats?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, by boat.

JONAS RAMOTH While you were there. Did you ever hear any planes flying or see any? Were there any planes then?

ROSE CUSTER No planes. There was a plane that came from up river while we were at Shungnak. *Nulaiyuk* (*from Selawik*) was the guide. A white man came from up river, the plane had no house (*i.e. open cockpit*).

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, no house. *Iñupiaq* guide.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, *Nulaiyuk* from Alaska was his passenger.

JONAS RAMOTH Who now, *Nulailuk*?

ROSE CUSTER Nu-lai-yuk.

JONAS RAMOTH *Nulaiyuk*, yeah. *Nulaiyuk*. An *Iñupiaq* flying?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, all belted up. *Nulaiyuk* was *Umiaq's* husband.

JONAS RAMOTH What?

ROSE CUSTER *Nulaiyuk* is *Umiaq's* husband.

JONAS RAMOTH Oh.

ROSE CUSTER Living in Alaska.

JONAS RAMOTH When they asked, "Who knows about the Kobuk?" they probably pointed him out.

ROSE CUSTER Has to be. He would be one of the Kobuk people that went over there.

JONAS RAMOTH Was he from the Kobuk?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, he was the guide, because he knew it.

There is some confusion about Nulaiyuk's *natal community. He may*

originally have been from Selawik. Daisy Tickett also mentioned him. Umiaq *is ancestor of the Sampson family.*

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes, someone who knows it.

JONAS RAMOTH — They probably had just summer camping there at *Qalla*. No permanent homes.

ROSE CUSTER — No, no houses. But further over and in the thickets and brushes are the old winter settlements. The homes of the *Qalla* people (*Qallamiut*) long ago.

JONAS RAMOTH — Ancestors.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, our ancestors. It is in that area that we always go and pick. What now?

JONAS RAMOTH — Grass berries.

ROSE CUSTER — Devil berries (raspberries).

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — That kind of berries.

ROSE CUSTER — They always grow inside the thickets.

JONAS RAMOTH — They grow amongst the grass, very good.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, that was the place of the *Qalla* people.

JONAS RAMOTH — They always grow in old settlement grounds, in the old places.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, old places.

JONAS RAMOTH — Devil berries.

JONAS RAMOTH — But there were no homes there in your time, that they were using?

ROSE CUSTER — No, no new ones.

JONAS RAMOTH — They had left it then, too?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, they left it a long time ago.

JONAS RAMOTH — What were you doing there, are you fishing, fall fishing?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH What do you do in the evenings? What do they do for fun, when they are not busy or doing anything? Do they talk, talk or whatever?

ROSE CUSTER Yes. They probably talked, but I never understood them.

JONAS RAMOTH They probably were so busy subsisting, they probably did not have the time to do anything else.

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH Was there any commercial food then, when you were there?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, commercial food was already here when we camped up there.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, so commercial food was there then?

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH Tents, stoves?

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH What about outboard motors (*Evinrude*) for traveling?

ROSE CUSTER In later years, we got outboard motors, too.

JONAS RAMOTH What did you purchase from store?

ROSE CUSTER What, flour?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, flour maybe sugar.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, flour, sugar, coffee, tea, oatmeal, and rice. Those were the staples that were purchased and nothing outside of that. And including lard, salt, and soda.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes. These were considered the basics already and purchased regularly as needed.

ROSE CUSTER Yes. They say that white men came up the river back in 19… they always say …'98. They always talk about '98, they are always saying when the white men came in '98, or back in '98.

JONAS RAMOTH They probably began getting commercial food then afterwards.

ROSE CUSTER Yes. The white men always give some round shaped things to the natives but they always Frisbeed them (laughs).

JONAS RAMOTH — Oh, crackers.

Rose is describing how people played with large, round, hard "Pilot Crackers," tossing them like Frisbees.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. Crackers and they would continue to Frisbee them.

JONAS RAMOTH — So that is where that story came from.

ROSE CUSTER — They always tell that story up there, too. Do they talk about them down there, too?

JONAS RAMOTH — I was not sure where they talked about this. So it was in the upper Kobuk that they did this. What they bought to us, what we adjusted to using, was very helpful to us.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — The commercial food. When they were going anywhere, they made sure that sugar, salt, tea and coffee was there.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, those were the basic staples they made sure were there. Those were our only commercial foods when we were growing up.

JONAS RAMOTH (English) — (*To Jim Magdanz.*) "Why this place?" I think it tells it the way it was used for fishing and everything. That one was already told, and I didn't want to repeat some of these things.

Jonas had been asking questions from the interview guide about food, equipment, airplanes, etc. When he came to the question, "Why this place," he felt Rose already had addressed that issue. He was reluctant to ask Rose this question, and was explaining that to Jim.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) — Right. Leonard (*Douglas*) was born in 1929. Does she remember, was she there when Leonard was born?

JONAS RAMOTH (English) — 1929? Yeah.

JONAS RAMOTH — When Leonard was born, it says that he was born in *Qalla*. Do you know when he was born?

Jim thought Leonard Douglas was born at Qalla*. Jim was confused. Leonard's mother Beulah Tickett died at Qalla a few months after Leonard was born. But she was in Kobuk when Leonard was born. Beulah was Rose's older sister. Rose gently corrects Jim on this point.*

ROSE CUSTER — Leonard?

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — I do not know where he was born, but I thought he was born in Kobuk. They said that he was born in the Spring. We were living down in Shungnak then and she was staying with her older sister at Kobuk and he was born then. She was staying with Irene and them.

JONAS RAMOTH — He is Beulah's son, Leonard?

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — Beulah is his mother?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, that's his mother, Beulah. Beulah was mother to Alfred, Arthur, and Leonard. The younger boys were adopted by Irene Douglas when she died. Alfred (*Misruk*) stayed with his grandparents... *unintelligible*

JONAS RAMOTH — Who?

ROSE CUSTER — Alfred (*Misruk*).

JONAS RAMOTH — Alfred.

ROSE CUSTER — Alfred. He was named after a shaman.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) — Shall we pause for a moment?

JONAS RAMOTH (English) — Yeah.

There were long pauses in Rose's responses. Jim suggested pausing the tape to give Rose time to rest and think, and to talk with Jonas about the direction of the interview. Jim suggested they talk about her transition from living at home with her parents to living with Herbert Custer, her husband. When and where did the young couple establish a home of their own?

JIM MAGDANZ — OK.(*Tape recorder is back on.*)

JONAS RAMOTH — (*Laughing, not sure how to bring the subject up.*) We are going to ask about old man Herbert. You were a young maiden. Others see you too, the young men (*Jonas is teasing gently. Rose chuckles*). Also, Herbert, going together, and finally gotten married. We want you to expound on this.

ROSE CUSTER — (*Pauses, and laughs quietly*)

JONAS RAMOTH — You don't have to answer if you don't want to.

ROSE CUSTER (*Pauses again, and laughs quietly*)

JONAS RAMOTH He mostly wants your life with him, when you married him, when you no longer lived with your parents, having your children.

ROSE CUSTER We did not get married the way it should be, but we were made to be married by the City Council. We had conceived a child.

JONAS RAMOTH That was how they were back then. The city council had power.

ROSE CUSTER Yes. There were quite a few of us that got married then. The city council was strong then, and got us married. We, the ones who got pregnant. My girlfriends got married, too. I was not the only one.

JONAS RAMOTH The city council in Selawik was strong too, tough, and not to be played with. They got some couples married, too. They are still doing some of that today.

ROSE CUSTER The city council at home has no power anymore.

JONAS RAMOTH How many children did you have?

ROSE CUSTER Nine, but it became ten when we adopted Herbert. I forgot to mention him recently when we were talking about Junior.

ROSE CUSTER I said Herbert Cleveland. (*She is correcting a mistake. She has a grandson Miles Cleveland, Jr.*) We had nine children and only one is left now. All our kids died.

JONAS RAMOTH Larry is the only one left?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, Larry is the only one left.

JONAS RAMOTH (English) (*To Jim Magdanz*) You wanted to get the birth dates and things?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) We can do that after we finish.

JONAS RAMOTH You began living separately when you got married?

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH You began living separately when you got married?

ROSE CUSTER Yes. In the spring we would go and live with the reindeer herders with the reindeer. He (*Herbert Custer*) was a herder. After spring, I would move back to the village, sometimes he would continue to stay with the reindeer, herding them, watching them with the others.

JONAS RAMOTH You always went back to your parents to fish or whatever?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, sometimes I stayed with my parents. One time I tried staying below Shungnak with his family at their camp. I could not stand it, could not take it (*laughs*). It took too much work, not like the upper Kobuk. I did not camp there again, but began going up river since then.

JONAS RAMOTH To what you were accustomed to.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, sometimes up there, we always really seined a lot of fish. When our timing was right. Then we saved, hung, and dried each and every edible food.

JONAS RAMOTH For winter food…

ROSE CUSTER Winter food. Food for dogs. Dry salmon heads split in half, we hung and dried the eggs. When the eggs were half dry, we wrapped them in old gillnet and hung them so the flies won't be able to lay eggs on them.

JONAS RAMOTH I can envision that now, too, when they used to do that at home.

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH Work cannot be done, wherever the people work, saving to preserve.

ROSE CUSTER We always hung the dried backbone of the whitefish by stringing them through the eyes.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER From the whitefish.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH Then the time came when your children grew up and became helpers.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, some died while they were infants. Some of them when they were five years old. The younger ones grew up to be adults and got married, but they died too. They died in accidents by drowning, from gunshots, and one died in a plane crash. That is how they died, the ones that became adults, by accidents. They died in sudden accidents.

SIDE B

JONAS RAMOTH The old settlements, old wintering places.

ROSE CUSTER At *Qalla*.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes, can you talk about them, since when they began?

ROSE CUSTER — At one time, at Christmas, they came down from up there. Napoleon Black was a baby then. They said he was born in *Qalla*. Maybe, he was born there at old settlements at *Qalla*. I think that place has always had old settlements.

JONAS RAMOTH — About when was that? You were a young girl when you saw them, when they were not being used anymore? It was probably that the old homes were still used if they were in good shape and some probably lived in them?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — About when, what year? You were a young girl then, and saw them when the old wintering homes were not already in use.

ROSE CUSTER — I have seen Napoleon *Iyaġaluraq* Black when they came, he was newborn, a baby. He had been born just the day before, when they took him down. They said that they came from *Qalla*. Maybe the old settlements were occupied then, where I said the old settlements were. I'm pretty sure those are old settlements.

JONAS RAMOTH — Your family wintered there too, or thereabouts. The sod house that your dad made. Was it close to the old wintering homes? Or thereabouts?

ROSE CUSTER — Who?

JONAS RAMOTH — The sod house that your spent winter in.

ROSE CUSTER — At *Agaiyukluk*?

JONAS RAMOTH — At *Qalla*. Did you spend some winters at Qalla too.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, but over by *Tulukkaligauraq*, further up and near, behind the cut bank. We had a house in which we spent winters. We had two sod homes. Next door were Albert Commack (ck this one, I am not sure, could not understand her but Albert was first married to her sister, Lena Tickett). Further over, in the back area of the upper part of the sandbar was the sod house of Roxie and Maude Douglas, parents of Tommy Douglas. We had sod houses there. We spent the winter. They always spent winters there.

JONAS RAMOTH (English) — *Untelligible.*

JIM MAGDANZ (English) *Untelligible.*

JONAS RAMOTH Would you describe yourself as being from *Qalla*, call yourself *Qallamiu*?

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH Would you describe yourself as being from *Qalla*.

ROSE CUSTER (laughs) Maybe.

JONAS RAMOTH Who are from *Qalla*. Like who are the people who can be said to be "from *Qalla,*" *Qallamiut*.

ROSE CUSTER I don't quite know who. They always call some *Qallamiut* though. They always call them *Qallamiut*. I don't know who they are.

JONAS RAMOTH What about Herbert's parents (*her in-laws*)? They are not from there?

ROSE CUSTER No.

JONAS RAMOTH Alice *Amiilik* Custer and Charlie *Pigliġiaq* Custer.

ROSE CUSTER I do not know about long ago.

JONAS RAMOTH But there are people from *Qalla*.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, they are called *Qallamiut* (*from Qalla*). Wherever they have stayed or lived, they are called *Qallamiut*. Like there are also *Pahmiut* (*from Pah River*).

JONAS RAMOTH The people that you mentioned who lived there can be called *Qallamiut*. Parents of Tommy Douglas' family?

ROSE CUSTER To say *Maniilapaqmiut* (mouth of Maniilaq River).

Rose would not to commit to describing others as "from Qalla*." There are certain feelings among us for others to call us from there or certain places. It would be due respect of those themselves to call themselves that. When Jonas asked whether she was from* Qalla*, she said "maybe". Basically when Jonas asked her about Roxie and Maude to be from* Qalla*, she resorted to* Maniilapaqmiut*. My grandparents have lived the longest in mouth of Maniilaq. I think it would be because that there are some "remarks" that were made about the people that were from* Qalla*. The one that I have heard but the so-called* Qallamiut *rejected and spoke out openly were that* Qallamiut *were late sleepers, snorers, and lazy. I would think that would have been said in humor because if you think of the families that lived there then and how much*

hard workers that they are, it's untrue. Each name has its character, mannerism about it that it stays. So, I would think that this would kind of a silent know of the individuals. But its up to each to call themselves that. I will say this: Rose is from Qalla*. We are from* Qalla*. Although my uncle, Tommy Douglas, calls himself* Maniilapaqmiu*, he is also* Qallamiu*. -- Barb Armstrong*

JONAS RAMOTH — Is *Agaiyukluk* close to *Qalla*? *Agaiyukluk*.

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — Where is *Agaiyukluk*, the land.

ROSE CUSTER — It is above *Qalla* -- just so many bends up river, across from *Putu*, a sandbar. But maybe the sandbar is gone.

JONAS RAMOTH — It has old winter settlements, too?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. It had old winter settlements. But they have been washed away because some were close to the shore, beach.

JONAS RAMOTH — *Putu* was close, too.

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — *Putu* was close.

ROSE CUSTER — *Putu* is across the river, a sandbar, just up there is called *Putu*.

JONAS RAMOTH — I'm not as (*unintelligible*) as I want to be today, Jim (*Nukutpiaq*). I don't know why?

JIM MAGDANZ — Napoleon's biological parents.

JONAS RAMOTH — Napoleon Black's biological parents are written as Lawrence & Stella Black. Do you know their *Iñupiaq* names.

ROSE CUSTER — *Masruana* is his dad and *Mikiaqpauraq* is his mom.

JONAS RAMOTH — *Mikiaqpak* is his mom and *Masruana* is his dad.

ROSE CUSTER — *Mikiana*. *Aquuraq's* sibling? The one up there (*probably meaning Peter Atoruk at Kiana*.)

JONAS RAMOTH — Oh, *Masruana* is from Kiana.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH	Oh, no wonder that Filipino look was noticeable with him. (*Jonas is teasing. Napoleon probably teased Jonas -- Barbara Armstrong*).
ROSE CUSTER	Mother of Ella Black, *Atoruk's* daughter? *Mikiana* (Stella) is *Atoruk's* daughter.
JONAS RAMOTH	The one they called John Atoruk?
ROSE CUSTER	Stella's dad is *Atoraq*.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	*Masruana*, that is not Daisy's sister? Different Masruana?
JONAS RAMOTH	*Masruana* is male?
ROSE CUSTER	What?
JONAS RAMOTH	*Masruana* is male?
ROSE CUSTER	*Masruana* is male, brother of David *Aquuti* Black. Joseph *Utikruraq* Black is their dad. Belle *Qaviluqtaq* Black is their mother and they lived up there.
JONAS RAMOTH	To whom did they give Napoleon for adoption?
ROSE CUSTER	*Tiriq*
JONAS RAMOTH	What?
ROSE CUSTER	*Tiriq*, Mary Ward
JONAS RAMOTH	Yeah, he has that written down (*meaning Jim Magdanz*). *Qaqsri's* wife?
ROSE CUSTER	*Qaqsri's* wife, the last one.
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	Are you getting it all Jim?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	I have other *Masruana*'s in the (*genealogy*) file, and I just want to make sure that... Jenny Jackson is *Masruana*, too. Then I have a *Masruana* who was father to *Nataagnak*, and *Itnaurak*, and *Qakiq*. That's not Lawrence.
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	No.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Different *Masruana*?
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	Yes. He's the father to *Qakiq*?

Tape 2

JIM MAGDANZ (English)	I have *Qakiq's* father as *Masruana,* and his mother as *Ulaaq.*
JONAS RAMOTH	*Aullaq*. Is this one different? *Qakiq*?
ROSE CUSTER	He is different. This is *Utikruraq* and his wife's son, *Masruana*.
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	*Utikruraq*, Joseph Black, was *Masruana's* father.
JONAS RAMOTH	Luke Black is *Aliqsi*. His name is *Aliqsi*, Luke Black.
ROSE CUSTER	Yes.
JONAS RAMOTH	Is that his brother or his son?
ROSE CUSTER	Who? What?
JONAS RAMOTH	Is Luke Black the son of *Utikruraq*, too?
ROSE CUSTER	*Masruana* is the son of *Utikruraq* and his wife.
JONAS RAMOTH	Oh.
ROSE CUSTER	Luke Black is *Masruana's* son. *Masruana* is father of Ella Black, *Tatqavina*, rather a step dad. Her dad is a white man. (*Ella lives in Fairbanks*)
JIM MAGDANZ	So *Masruana's* father is Joseph Black.
JONAS RAMOTH	Yeah.
JIM MAGDANZ	*Utikruraq*.
JONAS RAMOTH (ENGLISH)	Yeah.
JIM MAGDANZ	Do we know Masuauna's mother?
JONAS RAMOTH	Do you know *Masruana's* mother's name?
ROSE CUSTER	Q*avilugtaq*.
JONAS RAMOTH	*Utikruraq's* wife
ROSE CUSTER	Yes, his wife. They call her Belle? Belle Black? Belle Black, probably so.
JONAS RAMOTH	She has a namesake, Billy Black is named after her.
ROSE CUSTER	Up there.

JONAS RAMOTH	Yes, he is *Qavilugtaq*, yeah, I think that he is named after her.
JIM MAGDANZ (ENGLISH)	Belle Black was Lawrence's mother.
JONAS RAMOTH (ENGLISH)	Belle.
JIM MAGDANZ	*Qavilugtaq*. Do we know Stella, *Mikiana*'s, mom and dad.
JONAS RAMOTH	Do you know Stella's parents?
ROSE CUSTER	They always say that her dad is *Atoraq*. I don't know who her mom would be.
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	*Atoraq* was *Mikiana*'s father.
JIM MAGDANZ	*Atoraq*?
JONAS RAMOTH	Yeah.
ROSE CUSTER	I do not know his mom because she would be from Kiana. They are from Kiana.
JONAS RAMOTH	Maybe he is *Aquuraq's* dad. Named John Atoruk. *Atoraq* is John's name. *Aquuraq's* son, my age-mate friend (*suunaq*). Roger Atoruk is *Atoraq* and says his grandpa was John.
ROSE CUSTER	Yes.
JONAS RAMOTH	Roger was named after *Atoraq*, so that would be John Atoruk.
JIM MAGDANZ	So that would be Stella, *Mikiana's* dad.
JONAS RAMOTH	Yes, but she doesn't know her mom.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Was John's last name Black or Atoruk, in English, anyway?
	Stella's maiden name would be Atoruk *and married name is Black when she married* Masruana *Black. The surname of* Atoraq *and his English name to be John. What would be his surname, didn't have one? Barbara Armstrong.*
ROSE CUSTER	They probably gave him his *Iñupiaq* name for surname.
JONAS RAMOTH	Yes.
ROSE CUSTER	Because that family has *Atoruk* for a surname.
JONAS RAMOTH	Yes, their surname is *Atoruk*.

ROSE CUSTER — They probably use his *Iñupiaq* name for surname.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes. That is what I am thinking, too. Did Stella (*Mikiana*)and *Masruana* have other children besides Napoleon?

ROSE CUSTER — *Masruana* and them?

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — *Aliqsaiyaq*, Luke Black is also their son. Ella Black, that Ella that lives in Fairbanks. Ella Wright used to be, but maybe has a different surname now (*She had been married to John* Aullachiruraq *Wright from the Bernhardt family, Mildred Black's family, but they divorced*). Then Napoleon Black. Whose son is Billy Black? Stella's son?

JONAS RAMOTH — I wonder which one. Maybe Luke, his last name is Black.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — He (Jim Magdanz) wants to know if Napoleon's parents had other children.

ROSE CUSTER — They lived in Kiana but *Masruana* would travel up here to his parents. I think Luke Black was the eldest

JONAS RAMOTH — What about *Aviluqtaq*, Billy Black is his dad, living in Noorvik.

ROSE CUSTER — *Aviluqtaq*, Billy Black, is *Masruana's* son. He is his son.

JONAS RAMOTH — Please say again the names of *Masruana's* and *Mikian's* children beside Napoleon.

ROSE CUSTER — They probably do not have any but Luke (*Aliqsi*) and Ella (*Tatqavin*) were the children when they were up river. Oh, there is *Niqluq*.

JONAS RAMOTH — What?

ROSE CUSTER — *Niqluq*

JONAS RAMOTH — *Niqluq* and *Aliqsauraq*?

ROSE CUSTER — *Aliqsi*

JONAS RAMOTH — *Niqluq*, *Aliqsi*, Napoleon somewhere through that

ROSE CUSTER — Ella at Fairbanks, *Tatqavina*

JONAS RAMOTH — Ella is *Tatqavina*, Luke is *Aliqsi*, Nap is *Iyagaichiaq*, *Iyagaluk*?

ROSE CUSTER	*Aliqsi*, *Tatqavina* and *Niqluq*
JONAS RAMOTH	*Naliq*
ROSE CUSTER	*Niqluq*
JONAS RAMOTH	What was *Niqluq's* English name?
ROSE CUSTER	I don't know. He was a little boy when they were up there. They were the three children that I knew when they were up there, and Nap.
JONAS RAMOTH	The fourth one.
ROSE CUSTER	Do they have *Atoraq*?
JONAS RAMOTH	I do not know.
ROSE CUSTER	I think they had *Atoraq*, those I know, they moved to Kiana.
JIM MAGDANZ	Were they originally from upper Kobuk and then they moved down to Kiana? Or were they temporarily in the upper Kobuk?
JONAS RAMOTH	Are they from Kiana, also *Aquuti*?
ROSE CUSTER	Who?
JONAS RAMOTH	The Blacks.
ROSE CUSTER	They are from up river.
JONAS RAMOTH	From the upper Kobuk (*Kuvaanmiit*).
ROSE CUSTER	*Masruana* went down and married in to Kiana.
JONAS RAMOTH	Yes.
ROSE CUSTER	They are from upper Kobuk.
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	Oh. They are from the upper Kobuk. I always thought they were from Kiana.
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Masruana is from upper Kobuk.
JONAS RAMOTH	Mikiana is from up there.
ROSE CUSTER	Who?
JONAS RAMOTH	Mikiana.

Tape 2

ROSE CUSTER	She is from Kiana.
Tape Paused	*From the previous interview, it seemed as if Rose's family had left Kobuk to live up river at* Agaiyukluk *because the school was moved from Kobuk down to Shungnak. Jim asked Jonas to inquire about this.*
JONAS RAMOTH	*Agaiyukluk*. The name of a place where you used to live before. He (Jim Magdanz) wants you to tell us more about it. When they moved the school.
ROSE CUSTER	What?
JONAS RAMOTH	When they moved the school down to Shungnak.
ROSE CUSTER	Yes.
JONAS RAMOTH	I think you said that when the school was moved to Shungnak, you moved to *Agaiyukluk*, that place where you had been. He (*Jim Magdanz*) wants you to talk more about it.
ROSE CUSTER	Oh.
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	(To Jim Magdanz) In what way?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Can she tell us about when they wintered up there? Did they build a sod or log house? Were they alone or were other families with them?
JONAS RAMOTH	When you moved there, was it in winter or summer time.
ROSE CUSTER	At *Agaiyukluk*?
JONAS RAMOTH	Yes.
ROSE CUSTER	My parents and us spent the winter there.
JONAS RAMOTH	You must have had a house.
ROSE CUSTER	A sod house (*iglooraq*). There were quite a few families that spent the winter at *Agaiyukluk*.
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	(To Jim Magdanz) Did you have a question?
JIM MAGDANZ (English)	Were there other families?
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	Yes, she said there were other families.
JIM MAGDANZ	Who were those other families?

JONAS RAMOTH Can you remember who the other families were?

ROSE CUSTER Further over there was Joseph *Utikruraq* Black's family.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER Then Peter Riley, next to us. The Tickett family, back there. Then further down the way was Lake Wood and his mother. Then *Aqpiksraq-pauratkuk* (Henry Sheldon?).

JONAS RAMOTH There were quite a few of you, then.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, many families. They spent the summer there and also spent the winter, probably two winters. Some families left before freeze up, after spending just the fall season there and moving. They did not stay in one place then. When the trail was good to travel, they left to hunt. The hunters, they always went outside the Kobuk valley (*Silialiniq*).

The Black family was large. David *Aquuti* Black's family was there, too. Also *Masruana* was there with his parents.

JONAS RAMOTH They called him *Aquun*. (David Black?).

ROSE CUSTER Yes, Aquun. The large family stayed there together.

JONAS RAMOTH They were real upper Kobuk River people (*Kuvaqmiu*).

ROSE CUSTER Yeah, and then Peter Riley's family (*Qayaqpatkut*)

JONAS RAMOTH The Peter Riley family.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, when the days got longer, they would be gone. But I clearly remember Roxie and Maude Douglas were there.

JONAS RAMOTH While you were young?

ROSE CUSTER We were small, sort of small (in age, size). We were not fully grown yet. There were Faith (*Tulugaq*), me, Ella (*Igluguq*), and Agnes (*Aimaq*).

JONAS RAMOTH They are also busy during the winter time probably snaring or doing other things.

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH Snaring, eating rabbits, ptarmigan.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, eating ptarmigan, rabbits, spruce hens. We were inside the spruce trees. The trees are probably all gone now.

JONAS RAMOTH It probably got pretty cold, too.

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH When they moved the school, you moved up river. Was that the same reason the other families moved too.

ROSE CUSTER Probably. We spent two winters at *Agaiyukluk*. When we moved back to Kobuk, the school was gone.

JONAS RAMOTH Oh.

ROSE CUSTER They probably moved it then. Kobuk's occupants were elders: the Black family, Mary Jack's (*Qalinnak*) grandmother, (unknown)'s family (*Anatrasuratkut*), *Utigrauq*'s family (*Utikruratkut*), our family, Mary Sheldon's family (*Nunagiatkut*), and (unknown)'s family (*Avluratkuq*) were there. The elders were left alone.

JONAS RAMOTH The families with school age children probably moved.

ROSE CUSTER Yes. We were quite big already without schooling. They settled at Kobuk when we returned from *Agaiyukluk*. I think we spent two winters again here.

JONAS RAMOTH The extended families, the families that were at *Agaiyukluk*, once they left, did any return back up?

ROSE CUSTER Here at Kobuk?

JONAS RAMOTH No, at *Agaiyukluk*?

ROSE CUSTER They always returned in spring time for spring camping

JONAS RAMOTH The ones that were there?

ROSE CUSTER Yes. All the families would leave Kobuk in spring time to move to spring camp.

JONAS RAMOTH Then returned to Kobuk for the winter?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, for winter, they returned there.

JONAS RAMOTH Then when they quit spending winter there, they would spend it elsewhere?

ROSE CUSTER Kobuk. They returned back down to Kobuk. They were always busy, never stayed still then. They never stayed in one place, they would leave in the spring, then return to Kobuk when the fish arrived, then

move back up river for summer camping. Then when they were done fishing, fall fishing, they moved to their winter homes. Then when the trail got good for travel, they would leave to hunt again. That was how they were. They were never confined to one place.

JONAS RAMOTH That was their way. It was their way of life, living that way.

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

End of Tape

Tape 3

Recorded April 19, 2002, in the Iñupiaq language in Kotzebue, Alaska, with Rose Custer, Jonas Ramoth, Vernetta Nay-Moberly, and James Magdanz. Translated from Iñupiaq into English by Barbara Armstrong.

SIDE A

JONAS RAMOTH — You may say, so I wonder what happened to them? Or if you should have any questions about anything, he wants you to ask them.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH — Or maybe say, what should I do? But you have instilled joy in us. I probably would have been lazy, but I came because I enjoy your stories.

ROSE CUSTER — Because you are an old man now. (Laughing.)

JONAS RAMOTH — (Laughing.) Your have left your stories with me, for me to pass on.

ROSE CUSTER — (Laughs)

JONAS RAMOTH — She says I must be getting old.

JIM MAGDANZ — Tell her she's free to ask about anything.

JONAS RAMOTH — If you want to ask us anything . What we are doing, check with us on anything that we are doing, you may do so.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) — Let's talk then about Qalukrivik. Some of the usual questions. This is the site below Maniilaq River. When your and your parents spent summers. Who was there? Did they hunt? What did they do there? What months they were there? Did your father walk up to the mountains like the other men.

Jim is asking about a specific qalukrivik*, the site of Wesley Woods' camp in the 1990s, about three miles below the confluence of the Kobuk and Mauneluk Rivers. In general,* qalukrivik *(lit. "where salmon are made") means a place where salmon spawn and die in abundance. Bears come to feed on salmon in these places. Neal Sheldon said Wesley Woods' camp site was such a place long ago, was given that name, and has been called that since. There were several other* qalukriviks *on the upper Kobuk River. -- Neal Sheldon, through Barbara Armstrong.*

JONAS RAMOTH (English) — The mouth of Maniilaq River (*Maniilapat*)? There is a *qalukrivik*

there?

JIM MAGDANZ (English) — My understanding is that there are several *qalukriviks*. One is inside *Maniiḷaq*. One is where Wesley Woods' camp site is. This is where she (Rose) spent time with her parents. There's one down by Kogoluktuk (*Quqluqtuq*) on the old channel below Qalla. The one that we are interested in is the Wesley Woods site, where she spent time with her parents. Make sure that is the one we are talking about, that site.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes. He wants to learn and understand more about *Qalukrivik-qalukraulik*.

ROSE CUSTER — About the place where fish were made (*Qalukrivikmik*)?

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes, the place where your parents were, where you have lived before. Wesley Woods family probably are camping at this site now.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, that is where they are now. That family, it's their camp now.

JONAS RAMOTH — How your dad hunted by foot, what they dine while living there, he wants you to talk more about it. You may begin anywhere, when you were young.

Rose is adjusting her hearing aide.

JONAS RAMOTH — It probably needs a new battery.

ROSE CUSTER — My hearing aid keeps sounding off. It's not working properly.

JONAS RAMOTH — Is it OK now?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, for now.

JONAS RAMOTH — OK, how you lived at *Qalukrivik*, your dad's hunting. Also tell each thing that happened during spring, summer or…

ROSE CUSTER — My parents would stay here and there, then also spend summer camps in different places. They were always moving to different sites. That was their way of life.

JONAS RAMOTH — When you were there? Did you fish?

ROSE CUSTER — At *Qalukrivik*?

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER	Yes, they always fished using gillnets in eddies around the area, getting to them by boat.
JONAS RAMOTH	What about your dad, what did he do?
ROSE CUSTER	My dad?
JONAS RAMOTH	Yes.
ROSE CUSTER	Sometimes he followed, sometimes he didn't. When fall came and the bears became prime, they always went inside Maniilaq River to hunt. There is also a *Qalukrivik* inside the Maniilaq river. I was never really aware of where they went.
JONAS RAMOTH	To the places they called *qalukriviks*, he goes back and forth between them. The one inside Maniilaq and the present one.
ROSE CUSTER	What is it?
JONAS RAMOTH	Does he go to the *Qalukrivik* inside the *Maniiḷaq* river?
ROSE CUSTER	Our summer camp site.
JONAS RAMOTH	The one further up.
ROSE CUSTER	The one inside the *Maniiḷaq* river. I myself have only been there once and have never been back since. (*She does not seem to be clear about the question*).
JONAS RAMOTH	not audible-speaking in English
ROSE CUSTER	My hearing aid needs a new battery.
JONAS RAMOTH	What?
ROSE CUSTER	My battery is hot again, I guess.
JONAS RAMOTH	Is it getting better?
ROSE CUSTER	I think they are old and get hot when used?
JONAS RAMOTH	The batteries?
ROSE CUSTER	Yes, they bought me quite a few, but I have finished using them again. I keep changing them.
JONAS RAMOTH (English)	Looks like she needs a supply of batteries. She used them up.

JIM MAGDANZ (English) Do you want to run across the street and get her batteries?

VERNETTA NAY-MOBERLY I will. How much are the batteries?

Tape paused.

JONAS RAMOTH He wants to hear about what you did at *Qalukrivik*, berry picking or whatever you did. Hunting…

ROSE CUSTER *Qalukrivik*?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, berry picking or whatever you did, hunting, gathering.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, there is a cranberry picking place near there for campers. Further up from there, above the eroding sandy cut bank (*sisuġalaaq*), going further over, is a spot to pick cranberries.

JONAS RAMOTH That would be about now (April), picking in spring time when the melted spots open in the snow.

ROSE CUSTER Yes. Michael *Nakuqłuk* Moran's family used to go, too. It is further over from the sandy cut bank.

Rose is describing a cranberry picking place above Qalukrivik. *The Woods go to this place to pick cranberries. Spring time picking is done when berries are needed for meals. Most cranberry picking is done in the fall. -- Barbara Armstrong*

JONAS RAMOTH Did you spend spring time here, too?

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH Did you spend spring time here, too? Did you go there in the spring?

ROSE CUSTER No, we did not go there during spring.

JONAS RAMOTH It was during summer only?

ROSE CUSTER My parents went there only during the summer. But in later years, they quit going there, too.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER Also, across from *Agaiyukluk,* across through the old channel, there are old camp places, too. They always camped there in the spring.

JONAS RAMOTH To where the muskrats are?

ROSE CUSTER — It's a tundra, over in the old channel. I think it's called *Tirravak* (lit. "big sand bar").

JONAS RAMOTH — To where they hunted for muskrats?

ROSE CUSTER — No, there are no muskrats there. I think that there are no muskrats maybe because there is just one large lake, *Narvasruqruk*, back in the tundra. Maybe that's why. That used to be one of the places to spring camp. It has some nice sloughs (*Piŋuqsraichiaq*) there. That is where I used to see an old cache on stilts (*uŋalu*). It belonged to my parents. It is now gone.

JONAS RAMOTH — It has disintegrated.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, it has disappeared, disintegrated. That is where they spring camped. Then they moved back down when the ice went.

JONAS RAMOTH — If there were no muskrats, then maybe they hunted beaver.

ROSE CUSTER — That place especially hardly had muskrats, except here and there. It's not like Selawik, there are hardly any.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — It only had muskrats every now and then.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes, but maybe some ducks and geese, though.

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — Maybe ducks and geese, though.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, only ducks and geese. Lots of ducks. The large lake was accessible from the camping area. That probably was the place they hunted ducks. They always hunted at *Narvasrugruk*.

JONAS RAMOTH — To our *Narvasrugruk*?

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — To a large lake that is above Selawik. They call it *Narvasrugruk* too.

ROSE CUSTER — No.

JONAS RAMOTH — We also have a large lake further up from Selawik called that.

ROSE CUSTER — This large lake is way up there, across the way from *Agaiyukluk*. Up there, somewhere. I really do not know where, but I always heard

about a large lake. They always hunt to it in the spring.

JONAS RAMOTH (English) (*to Jim Magdanz*) It seems like not much was happening.

JONAS RAMOTH (*To Rose Custer*) When you were at *Qalukrivik*, were there other campers near you, either up or below your camp while you were there?

ROSE CUSTER There were other campers, too.

JONAS RAMOTH Above your camp?

ROSE CUSTER There were always summer campers at mouth of *Maniiḷaq* River. The mouth of *Maniiḷaq* has always been a camping place.

JONAS RAMOTH Who camped with you there.

ROSE CUSTER Where?

JONAS RAMOTH At *Qalukrivik*. At *Maniiḷaqpat*.

ROSE CUSTER Charlie Custer and Hope *Amiilik* Thomas (*brother and sister*) used to camp there during the summer. Then when fall came, people gathered there in fall to catch fish to ferment (*aiparruqniaq*). Then they would leave soon after to other places, some up river, some down river.

JONAS RAMOTH You do not recall who they were?

ROSE CUSTER At times, there would be many who passed there to go further up to catch fresh fish to ferment. The people always moved up further the Kobuk river to fish in the fall, where the swift currents are. The fish are not that abundant on slow currents, but it's good for whitefish. Sheefish always spawn in swift, fast currents. They always moved further up river, where the currents are swift, when fishing for sheefish.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes. Were your siblings there with you and your parents then?

ROSE CUSTER At one time, when we summer camped, my older sisters, Lena and Irene, and her husband camped with us. Our sister-in-law, Martha *Nuiraq* Tickett, spent that summer with us. They caught only white fish that summer. Salmon did not come up that year. My parents fished with a gillnet the whole summer, but they barely filled one pole of salmon to dry.

JONAS RAMOTH What year was that? Do you remember?

ROSE CUSTER What?

Tape 3

JONAS RAMOTH — The year?

ROSE CUSTER — I don't know the year. I could not write then.

JONAS RAMOTH — The salmon then did not come up at all or it did happen?

ROSE CUSTER — The salmon did not come up the Kobuk, then. I don't know why. My mother always said that. Even though they fished with gill nets all summer, they barely filled one pole. She told this whenever she remembered it. The salmon did not come up the Kobuk that year.

JONAS RAMOTH — What about the sheefish?

ROSE CUSTER — I don't know about the sheefish. Whitefish were abundant. They got lot of whitefish that summer.

JONAS RAMOTH — When you say that not filling the pole, was it not filled?

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — The pole not filled with salmon, it was not filled?

ROSE CUSTER — No, it barely got filled (*Inisaq Imipqauragaq*). But they got a lot of whitefish. They made whitefish strings (*uyuraichiaq*).

Whitefish take up less space if they are strung before storing, so upper Kobuk women usually string whitefish as they are drying. If the weather is good and breezy, whitefish dry quickly It is better to string them before they completely dry. When whitefish have dried on a pole for three days (usually), a woman will pile all the fish in one spot, sit down before the pile, take one fish, and remove the backbone. Then she will work on the body part, fold it, uluk it, make it pliable, and open it. Using a homemade pick made from a caribou horn tine, she will poke a hole in the upper end towards the tail. Then she will take another fish, fold it, uluk it, and repeat until she has strung four fish. She will make two sets of four fish each, then connect the two sets. When done, she will have strings of eight whitefish each. Twenty five strings (uyuraichiat) *make a bundle (*qiliqtat*) -- Barbara Armstrong*

JONAS RAMOTH — Those are so good.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, then they stored them in piles in a storage place (*saiyuraq, a storage place on the ground not completely sealed*).

JONAS RAMOTH — In Selawik, they call them *itmaktat.*

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH Twenty two strings of whitefish were called *itmaktat.*

ROSE CUSTER Strung whitefish.

JONAS RAMOTH Here is a bundle, 22 strung whitefish. We always carried the bundles to the cache for storage.

ROSE CUSTER Strung whitefish.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, a bundle tied together. We always hauled them.

ROSE CUSTER *Qiliqtat* means a bundle of strung whitefish.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, carried them to the cache.

ROSE CUSTER That's *qiliqtat*. How many? Twenty two?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, 22.

ROSE CUSTER Oh

JONAS RAMOTH They are so fat, the fat turns yellow fast.

ROSE CUSTER *Qaqinniliq*, they taste old when the fat turns yellow.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, but we always like them.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, they are good.

JONAS RAMOTH When you are hungry and keep eating them, they never last through the winter.

ROSE CUSTER When fall arrives and it freezes, they always catch burbot up river. They use burbot traps to get them.

JONAS RAMOTH Burbot.

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH Then during summer too, the birds molt up river. You feed on them too? The geese?

ROSE CUSTER Maybe. We always eat some in the spring, but not too much. I think some do hunt molting birds.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, when they molt, they always go to the river above us. When they become goslings, they molt.

ROSE CUSTER They say they are fast runners.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, they are fast runners.

JONAS RAMOTH You talked a little about *Saqvaqsigiaq.*

Saqvaqsigiaq *(lit. where you go to drift down with the current,* saqvaq *means to drift,* -sigiaq *means you are going there to do it.) is a name for both a campsite inside Pah River and for the Pah River itself. People used log rafts to drift down Pah River from their spring camps after break-up.*

ROSE CUSTER What did I do?

JONAS RAMOTH When you were talking, you touched a bit on when you stayed at *Saqvaqsigiaq*. Were you often there, or was that the only time?

ROSE CUSTER They always went spring camping up there.

JONAS RAMOTH To *Savaqsigiaq*?

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER Just for spring camping.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER But trappers often spent the winter there, throughout the year, back then. While they trapped.

JONAS RAMOTH You spent only spring there

ROSE CUSTER Yes… We only spent spring camping there, the ones that did not trap.

JONAS RAMOTH How old were you then?

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH How old were you then?

ROSE CUSTER I don't know. At times, there would be many families that camped there. There used to be a lot of muskrat then. Maybe it's not the same anymore. They don't spend spring camp anymore. They don't hunt muskrat anymore.

JONAS RAMOTH They don't hunt muskrat anymore?

ROSE CUSTER They don't hunt for skins anymore.

JONAS RAMOTH That is why they are gone now. We hunted lots then, and still they were abundant.

ROSE CUSTER Muskrats.

JONAS RAMOTH When spring came and we went out, they would be abundant again.

ROSE CUSTER They would abundant again.

JONAS RAMOTH They probably quit growing when we quit hunting them.

ROSE CUSTER But I think there are a lot of beaver though.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, even in Selawik. They are abundant now. Were they abundant in *Saqvaqsigiaq* back then?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, there were many.

JONAS RAMOTH Names of the spring campers who were there?

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH Names of the spring campers.

ROSE CUSTER Johnny Hobson always stayed there, even spent some winters with his wife, Effie.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER Herman Tickett and his family also spent the winter there. John and Irene Douglas also spent the winter, including spring. Many families would move up in the spring for camping.

My parents spring camped there too. Robert and Flora Cleveland's family. Annie *Nataġnaq* Mark spent spring camp there, too. There were many. Frank and Dora Tobuk too, they were back by place called *Tiqliqvik* (lit. "where you stole"). Further back, we, my parents and I, stayed at *Paqittaurami* (lit. "where found"). John and Irene Douglas were with us. Herman and Martha were back with people of *Tiqliqvik* that spring. Further up the river were Charlie Custer, Robert Cleveland and other families.

JONAS RAMOTH Above Pah?

ROSE CUSTER Inside *Savaqsigiaq* (that is, Pah River).

JONAS RAMOTH Oh, in there.

ROSE CUSTER *Tulukkam pahnani* (lit. "mouth of a raven"), somewhere around there.

Annie Mark and her family spent the spring there. Her sons, Henry Sheldon, Charlie Sheldon, and Harry Mark took their mom spring camping. Their youngest Harry was the same age as I am. Then at *Kakitmi* ("safety pin") were Johnny Hobson's and Peter *Inunniliaq* Woods' families. Then further back there was Charles *Naninaq* Nanganok's family. Lots of families came for spring camping that spring. It was that spring that Louie Commack was courting Annie *Nauyauraq* Nanganok (Charle's daughter) to marry her. He came over from Allakaket that spring.

ANNOTATION

In the section below, Rose and Jones discuss place names. Uumaq *means "green tree." This kind of tree is used in wood-burning stoves. The heat and warmth stay longer. But they always say that you have to know what kind of green tree to get. There are differences in the spruce trees altogether, even barking. You have to know the trees.*

Uumaq *has been used as a place name for the country used for trapping in the upper Kobuk. Neal Sheldon said that all the country beginning from Pah River on up, the open country over to the Selawik Hot Springs, was called* Uumaq *by the trappers, because it had a lot of spruce trees, a lot of uumaq.*

Quqsiliat is *a trapping area which is inside but kind of outside the perimeters of Pah River up there. The name is for the low mountains that are in there.*

Natchaqiya *is a trapping area between the Kobuk and Pah Rivers. I think these names were given by the Indians, long ago.*

The Selawik Hot Springs he called Siku-srui-liat*, which means "not able to freeze." He thinks that Selawik people might have trapped that area. But he stated again that wide-open country, including the hot springs above Pah River, is called* Uumaq*, "green tree."*

JONAS RAMOTH *Uumaq*?

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH Where is *Uumaq*? It's called *Uumaq*?

ROSE CUSTER Who?

JONAS RAMOTH *Uumaq*, a place the Selawik people always call. It's probably inside the Pah river

ROSE CUSTER Oh. (*just acknowledging, she does not know*)

JONAS RAMOTH They always call it *Uumaq*, a trapping place, where they trapped from Selawik area.

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH A trapping place, the Selawik people call it that.

ROSE CUSTER Maybe so, *Amivaluk.*

JONAS RAMOTH That was where they went trapping long ago then.

JONAS RAMOTH When my uncle, Herman, married Ada Ballot he told a story. Once when he went trapping, he took Martha, his first wife with him. They wintered in a sod house with window on top. In the morning, she was never up for breakfast, she always sleep. He would eat and leave while she is sound asleep. So tiring of this, one day, he covered their window with a caribou skin.

ROSE CUSTER Were they in a sod house?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, he said that she must have slept for a very long time because it never became light for her and he chuckled.

JONAS & ROSE *Laughing*

ROSE CUSTER At *Saqvaqsigiaq*?

JONAS RAMOTH At *Uumaq* or there about. Up there somewhere.

ROSE CUSTER Oh.

JONAS RAMOTH Probably around there somewhere. There used to be a lot of people spring camping there.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, there used to be many campers.

JONAS RAMOTH Then they moved home later.

ROSE CUSTER When the river is ice free, they begin to go down…

JONAS RAMOTH Rafting.

ROSE CUSTER …in rafts and boats. At one time, they went down with a boat named *Isinnauraq*. They went and got the boat. The boat was owned by the Fergusons. Robert Cleveland was the caretaker.

JONAS RAMOTH The boat, a scow?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, did Robert and his brother buy the boat?

JONAS RAMOTH I don't know, this is the first I have heard of it.

ROSE CUSTER I wonder.

JONAS RAMOTH I've heard of Jopatna, the large scows.

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH It probably had fares.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, they probably had fares.

JONAS RAMOTH In English that I could not decipher.
When they began to move to spring camps, how did they travel? Dogteams?

ROSE CUSTER To spring camps?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER They leave by dog teams in April.

JONAS RAMOTH With sled, dog teams?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, with sleds and dogs-dogteam. There, they spend the spring.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER When ice goes.

SIDE B

ANNOTATION *This interview was done at the Kotzebue Senior Center in Kotzebue. Sometimes she gives directions from Kotzebue instead of Kobuk, where she is originally from.*

JONAS RAMOTH They probably ate *Ittukpalik.*

ANNOTATION Ittukpalak *is whipped fish eggs and cranberries, a favorite traditional dessert. The eggs may be from any fish except salmon. Breaking the tough little eggs is the tricky part. You must mash the eggs well and remove the stringy membranes, add and mash the cranberries, mix and whip them together using your hand, a fork, eggbeater, or electric mixer. When it gets frothy, it is done and ready to eat right away. Many eat this without sugar; others stir in the sugar just before eating. The pink dessert doesn't keep, so eat it up. After a while, it falls and the air in the foam oxidizes the eggs, giving it an old taste.* Ittukpalak *has also come to mean the color pink. Note that Jonas pronounced the word as* Ittukpalik *while Rose said* Ittupalak. *BARBARA ARMSTRONG.*

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH They probably ate *Ittukpalik*, too.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, they ate *Ittukpalak* with berries picked in the spring.

JONAS RAMOTH *Unintelligible.*

ROSE CUSTER With pike eggs. Then when summer comes they begin eating the sucker (*kaviqsuaq*) eggs.

JONAS RAMOTH What we call *milugiaq*?

ROSE CUSTER But the round whitefish (*guptik*) eggs are not favored for *Ittukpalak.* The fish parks itself on the red-orange colored sand in the winter and stays there. Then its eggs get the taste of metal (*savilhaqsunniliq*). They have told us this. *Ittukpalak* always loses its frothiness when cooling off and turns dark.

JONAS RAMOTH I have mashed fish eggs with a spoon. Across there, they are saying that there a lot of blackberries that have not been picked.

ROSE CUSTER Across there.

JONAS RAMOTH And the snow covering them has melted in spots, across there. The ducks will feed on them when they arrive.

ROSE CUSTER At Sisaulik?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER They say that blackberries are abundant at Sisaulik?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER Up river, blackberries grow on good land, *pinuqsraitchiaqs* (*that is, distinctive, attractive, well-drained, low hills covered with birch, spruce trees with lichen, and mossy ground*).

JONAS RAMOTH And some salmonberries, too?

ROSE CUSTER The salmonberries always grow on the sides of the slopes and tundra where it's damp. Then the mountain sides, the sides of the slopes of the river, always have blackberries. What else?

ANNOTATION *She finally asked what you asked her to do two tapes ago. She is comfortable and I guess this surprised Jonas too. He snickered. BARBARA ARMSTRONG*

JONAS RAMOTH There used to be a lot of families that used to go *Savaqsigiaq*. Why is

it today that they do not go up there anymore? To *Savaqsigiaq*?

ROSE CUSTER — When they quit hunting for muskrats. They don't hunt muskrats anymore.

JONAS RAMOTH — So they did not fish in *Savaqsigiaq*?

ROSE CUSTER — No, they did not fish there. But it has place for ice fishing during the winter. The mouth area is called *Niksiksuqvik,* a place to fish (with hooks).

There is a small tributary stream inside *Saqvaqsigiaq* that they used for gillnet fishing. The mouth of *Savaqsigiaq* is called *Niksiksuqvik* and locally called "*Niksiksuqviim pahna,*" even though it is the mouth of the Pah River. This is where they spend their spring camps and using that tributary stream further inside for fishing.

The tributary stream has its origins from lakes back there and they say that there are old spring camp places there too. I have never been there and do not know their exact whereabouts.

JONAS RAMOTH — They probably were never lonely (*tagaila*, meaning lonely, lonesome, homesick, missing someone), because there were so many campers.

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — They are never lonely being here and there during this time of the year.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. Up there, there are lots of lakes and rough country. The mouth of Pah river has moving currents and inside the Pah has very slow currents. The south side of the river has *ikpiks,* high and kind of steep with some rock sides, not fluffing sand. Trees, willows, birch all over. The area of the north side is low, grassy, rough country.

ANNOTATION — *I only now am picturing it since I have been there once with Rosie and Elmer. I called Rosie and she said that its English name is Pah. So it came to my being after I talked with her and lot of what Aana was saying began to make sense. Good country, though.)*

There are some place names given by Indians, too.

JONAS RAMOTH — Indians?

ROSE CUSTER — Long ago, they say that there was an Indian who was traveling by this river and by this hill (*Ikpik*) with a *qayaq*. The place has been named after him. *Ti-na-ka-ti-sruk*.

JONAS RAMOTH *Si-na-ka-tu-sru?*

ROSE CUSTER *Ti-na-ka-ti-sruk.*

JONAS RAMOTH *Ti-na-ti-sru?*

ROSE CUSTER *Tinakatisru.*

JONAS RAMOTH *Ti-na-qu-ti-su?*

ROSE CUSTER *Tinakatisru.*

JONAS RAMOTH I did not put my hearing aid on.

VERNETTA NAY-MOBERLY *Ti-na-ka-ti-su?*

ROSE CUSTER *Tinakatisru.*

VERNETTA NAY-MOBERLY *Ti-na-ka-ti-su.*

ROSE CUSTER *Tinakatisru*, yes. They call it *Tinakatisru*, I am pretty sure. They always go and pick bearberries (*tinnik*) there. There are places there called '*taqsrukpaich*" that they go to pick bearberries. In early fall when they ripe, the campers from mouth of Maniilaq River always travel up by boat to pick bearberries. The campers there.

JONAS RAMOTH By tracking the boat, maybe

ROSE CUSTER Yes, by tracking the boat. Then further up or just above Selby River (*Silupaugaqtuuq,* lit. where there are lots of grayling), there is also another place to pick bearberries. I think they call it *Tinniktauq*?

JONAS RAMOTH I don't know, you are talking about the country that I do not know about and you don't need to ask me. (*They laughed*.) I have learned some from your people from upper Kobuk river, some like *Ti-qa-ɬau-raq*, but I could not say that you are in error. (*They laughed again.*)

ANNOTATION *My mother (Sophie Cleveland) said that place is called Ti-na-ka-ti-sruk, with a "k." Rose seemed to pronounce it without the k, but maybe I did not hear her correctly. I specifically asked mom and pronounced it to her. She was definite that it ended with a "k." She agreed with Rose's story that it was an Indian name. She had heard that, too. It has a high side where rocks slide. This is where she picks chips of shale to sharpen her ulus. She says that they are very good to use for that purpose.*

Since Rose mentioned that campers from Maniilaq went to pick bearberries at a place called Taksrukpaich *inside* Saqvaqsigiaq, *I asked mom about this place. She said that she had been there with*

her mother, Maude Douglas, to pick bearberries when she was quite young.

I asked my mom about Ti-qa-łau-raq *the pronunciation of which Rose was uncertain. Mom said there is such a place above Selby River where they went to pick bearberries, too. It is called* Tin-nit-tau-ġa. BARBARA ARMSTRONG.

ROSE CUSTER — *Ti-qa-lau-na*. A few river bends in from the mouth and on the hillside are old house spots. They say that these houses were attached to each other. They are from the side of the pathway through the trees in the slopes. They are in there.

JONAS RAMOTH — Homes of your ancestors?

ROSE CUSTER — What?

JONAS RAMOTH — Homes of your ancestors?

ROSE CUSTER — They are up on the hillside of the hill, *ikpik*. The trail, pathway goes by (*kipyaq*) them when you leave the river to go up the hill. You can see the dents on the ground. I was told that these were houses attached to each other, when and where the wars were fought from.

JONAS RAMOTH — The homes of the ancestors (*taipcho*)?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, homes of the ancestors during their war times, built by attaching them together (*perhaps like a fort*). When the hunters are coming home late from hunting, they must pass these old homes at night. (she snickers, perhaps they were scared, or had an eerie feeling.) The hunters were on foot and they always hunted in that direction. They hunted for bears at Selby River in the fall. They would use binoculars from their camps. When they sighted the bears, they would leave to hunt or wait for them.

JONAS RAMOTH — They did not use the excuse of saying that it is too far yet.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes and they got to them on foot. They did not complain about not having a way to get there.

JONAS RAMOTH (English) — (To Jim Magdanz). About the Indians.

JONAS RAMOTH — Were there a lot Indians then, long ago?

ROSE CUSTER — It had what?

JONAS RAMOTH — Indians. Indians.

ROSE CUSTER — Yes, there were Indians occupying the area long ago. They came over

through *Tanniguuq* (*I am not certain of this pronounciation*) to our country. They used to come over in the spring time to Kobuk.

JONAS RAMOTH — To live?

ROSE CUSTER — No, to visit.

JONAS RAMOTH — Oscar *Qayaq* Nictune's kids. They (the researchers) want to learn about Dick *Naalunaiq* White and Mike *Qakiq* Commack.

ROSE CUSTER — Who, him? (Meaning Jim Magdanz.)

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes. *Naalunaiq* , did he have Indian blood.

ROSE CUSTER — *Naalunaiq*?

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER — When we spent the winter at *Agaiyukłuk,* Dick White's (*Naalunaiq*) family spent the winter somewhere above us, and lost two children there. (*This would have been in 1924, and has also been described by Daisy Tickett*). Then they went to Allakaket in the spring. They stayed for some time over there, and came back later during the spring.

Dick White is a Kobuk person (*Kuvakmii*), Daisy Tickett's father. They spent a long time in the Allakaket area and then came back. When they came back, Frank Tobuk came back with them, and became their son-in-law.

JONAS RAMOTH — Is he Indian? Is Dick White an Indian? Or kind of an Indian, part Indian or *Iñupiaq*?

ROSE CUSTER — He is not Indian. He is *Iñupiaq*. He is the brother of Walter *Aula* Gray.

JONAS RAMOTH — Oh.

ROSE CUSTER — *Aula* Gray always said that he is their brother. Mable *Katinniq* Commack was Dick White's sister. He married Susie *Aniqniq* Wood. They called him Dick White.

JONAS RAMOTH — Big White?

ROSE CUSTER — Yes. (*Rose did not catch Jonas' mispronounciation.*) He is *Naalunaiq.* Their daughters are Dora White and Daisy Tickett.

ANNOTATION — *I think that Dick White, Walter Gray, and Mabel Commack are siblings. Rose was calling her "Mabel Stocking." Perhaps she was married to Henry Stocking, then died. Susie Wood was married to Dick White first. When he died, she married Henry Stocking. BARBARA*

ARMSTRONG

JONAS RAMOTH The one who became Dora Tobuk?

ROSE CUSTER Who?

JONAS RAMOTH The one who became Dora Tobuk?

ROSE CUSTER Dora?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes.

ROSE CUSTER Dora Tobuk, she died a few years ago. *Kuutulauraq*. They are not Indians. They only went over to live there, and came back.

JONAS RAMOTH When you were young, were the Indians living amongst you then?

ROSE CUSTER Can't do what?

JONAS RAMOTH Did the Indians continue to be amongst you, when you were young and growing up?

ROSE CUSTER They can't dance?

JONAS RAMOTH Were the Indians among you, be among you (*akungu*)

ROSE CUSTER They only visited and then left. They only came and visited during spring and then left. They also came from Allakaket and left again. The ones coming from Allakaket are Kobuk people (*Kuuvanmiut*), then leave to return again, too. *Iñupiat*. They moved and lived over there. They are not Indians.

Aqiiliaq (Bessie Tobuk's husband) was one, and also Oscar *Qayaq* Nictune. They always came back to visit, too. They also visited from Huslia and then returned, too. They always came and visited. My uuma, Faith *Tulugaq* Moyer, and I always were there, watching and looking. They always talked, but we could not understand. Their language could not be understood.

JONAS RAMOTH So you came after their wars ended?

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH You came when they had no wars anymore?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, they had no wars anymore, when we came. But I think we heard twigs breaking in the brush behind our camps when they are passing our camps (*uliqqa*-little people).

One time, my mom and my older sister, Lena, went across from

our camp to go berry picking on a small channel. On the side of the channel, there was tundra in the back, and some hills. As they appeared on one section of the channel called *Agiak* ("file"), there was a camp fire on a knoll, smothered with some dirt but smoking.

They were going to pick salmonberries, leaving camp early in the morning. They saw it. Her mom wanted to go on. But her daughter, Lena, did not want to. She got scared. So they started back.

When I got up and learned that they had already gone, I decided to take my family up the river. There were my two boys. We were going to pick berries up river but below *Avalluq*, around *Qakiaq* to one of the hills.

We got there and went up the hill. We saw the hoards of smoke across there. Here it was that camp fire by someone that they had left. Soon after that, my mom and Lena appeared, coming toward us. They came up to us. Albert Commack, Lena's husband, stayed behind. The smoke from that camp fire was heavy. We don't know who started the fire. I think it was the *aŋŋuyaks*, the little people.

One time, we spent the spring by end of *Agiaq,* a stream over towards the far end of the lake. There was a small creek and on one side was a small hill (*pinnuqsraitchauraq*), a good-sized small hill. There, on top of that hill, was a fireplace. Then there were skewers (*qaulġugauraq*) made from willow sticks to roast a meal stuck around the side with the pointed side up. I wonder who or what went there to have fire?

JONAS RAMOTH Probably those who are passing by.

ANNOTATION *Jonas avoids saying "little people" directly. They are not sure, but indirectly assuming, although they know, it's the little people. BARBARA ARMSTRONG.*

ROSE CUSTER Probably when they return, too. I think that creek had some fish.

JONAS RAMOTH They had some roasted fish on skewers over open fire (*qauraq*).

ROSE CUSTER Yes, they had roasted fish.

JONAS RAMOTH It is always the feeling to jab those skewers in to the ground by the fireplace.

ROSE CUSTER That was what was done here, the skewers were jabbed in to the ground by the fireplace.

JONAS RAMOTH At Selawik, they have asked not to do that anymore.

ROSE CUSTER Why?

JONAS RAMOTH One time, there was an area where grass had grown over a fireplace

and the skewers. Someone walking through accidentally fell, stabbed himself on one of the skewers, and died instantly. When this happened, they asked not to do it anymore. But, traditionally, that has always been the initial feeling, to do that.

ROSE CUSTER Because they are sharp and harden to get tough when they dry.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, is it ok? (*Asking about her hearing aid*.)

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH Is that one OK?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, it is doing OK. It is staying good for a while now.

JONAS RAMOTH Who is Joe *Immaluraq* Sun's father?

ROSE CUSTER *Siqinaluraq*, Old Man Sun

JONAS RAMOTH *Siqinaluraq*, Old Man Sun?

ROSE CUSTER Yes.

JONAS RAMOTH What about his mom?

ROSE CUSTER Kitty Sun (*Nasruk*)

JONAS RAMOTH *Nasruk*, Yes

ROSE CUSTER She is John *Patkuraq* Brown's mom, too.

JONAS RAMOTH John (*Patkuraq*) and Joe (*Immaluraq*) have the same mother?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, Annie *Naanu* Sun. Joe *Immaq* Sun, John *Patkuraq* Brown and Mary *Panikaluk* Billy.

JONAS RAMOTH I think they are *qatannuns* to my dad. He was born there at Coal Mine, too.

ROSE CUSTER That one, I do not know who Kitty's (*Nasruk*) first husband was.

JONAS RAMOTH It's not *Nuqaqsrauraq*?

ROSE CUSTER *Siqinaluraq*, Old Man Sun

JONAS RAMOTH Have you heard of *Nuqaqsrauraq*? He is my dad's, *Siqupsiraq*'s dad.

ROSE CUSTER Oh.

JONAS RAMOTH — John (*Patkuraq*) always told me that his family's dad and my dad have been born from one woman.

ROSE CUSTER — Harry *Tuksruk* Brown, Daniel *Aniqniq* Brown, Mary *Panikaluk* Billy, John *Patkuraq* Brown, and the youngest is Annie *Naanu* Sun. Bessie *Matuliġauraq* Sheldon, Joe *Imaaq* Sun, and Pancy *Iñigak* Berry are Old Man Sun's children, and Annie *Naanu* Sun.

ANNOTATION — *Rose's Old Man Sun genealogy is consistent with one published in Joe Sun's autobiography. Several Shungnak respondents in this project provided an alternative genealogy, in which Joe Sun's biological father was a Koyukon Indian, also Joe Beetus' father. Jim and Jonas inquire about that below, and Rose offers yet a third alternative explanation.*

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes, what about Daniel (*Aniqniq*)?

ROSE CUSTER — He is a sibling of John (*Patkuraq*). Harry (*Tuksruk*), Daniel (*Aniqniq*), John (*Patkuraq*), Mary (*Panikaluk*), and someone else. I do not know how many there are but I only know of these.

JONAS RAMOTH — My uncle John (*Patkuraq*) tells of his foot race event with his brother, Daniel (*Aniqniq*). Is he older or younger?

ROSE CUSTER — Younger.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes, he says he ran behind him but keeping up, he thought to try to pass him but his soles were slippery. He always regret that he should have tried passing him, make him work for it.

ROSE CUSTER — By trying to pass him.

JONAS RAYMOTH — Yes. but the siblings were not being aggressive against each other. (*just a game*). But he regrets…

JIM MAGDANZ (English) — I have heard that Joe Beetus was related to Joe Sun. Does she know how that relationship, whether that was true, and if so, how?

JONAS RAMOTH — Do you know who Joe Beetus is?

ROSE CUSTER — Joe Beetus, the Indian. I have seen him.

JONAS RAMOTH — Is he Joe Sun's brother or what?

ROSE CUSTER — I have only heard that he is a son of *Siqinaluraq*.

JONAS RAMOTH — Yes.

ROSE CUSTER	Maybe he fathered him over there. They have a resemblance; Joe Beetus looks like Joe Sun.
ANNOTATION	*Rose speculates that Siqinaluraq fathered Joe Beetus over in his country. BARBARA ARMSTRONG.*
JONAS RAMOTH	Yes, small in stature too.
ROSE CUSTER	Yes
VERNETTA NAY-MOBERLY	(English) Now, we know.
JONAS RAMOTH	Now, we know.
ROSE CUSTER	Susie Williams is different.
JONAS RAMOTH	Who?
ROSE CUSTER	Susie Williams is different. She is probably an older sister of Joe Beetus.
JONAS RAMOTH	Maybe she is a full-blooded Indian.
ROSE CUSTER	Yes, she is a full-blooded Indian.
ANNOTATION	*We were not born when this happened. We have been told that Joe Beetus' dad was with Nasruk in the upper Kobuk River country when Joe Sun was conceived. In those years, there often were such relationships between married couples. I asked Clara Lee of Ambler about this, and she said that the Indians knew of this, too. I mentioned to Clara that Rose understood that Joe Beetus was fathered by Siqinaluraq. She did not say anything to contradict Rose's story, out of respect for an elder. She only told what she had heard and that was it. BARBARA ARMSTRONG*
JONAS RAMOTH	Do you know Herbert Custer's family? His family?
ROSE CUSTER	What?
JONAS RAMOTH	Do you know the family of Herbert Custer and his siblings?
ROSE CUSTER	His dad is Charlie *Piqligiaq* Custer, and his mom is Alice *Amiiłłik*. Custer. Vera *Nasruk* Custer is the oldest. Nora *Naulik* Custer is younger. They had a younger sister, *Tuuyuq*, who died. I think these are the only ones.
JONAS RAMOTH	They are not a large family.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, because their dad married a young girl. He had been married before.

JONAS RAMOTH Herbert?

ROSE CUSTER Charlie?

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, Charlie.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, he had Vera with first wife, then maybe Tuuyuq, then Herbert and Nora. They are a small family.

JONAS RAMOTH Your children?

ROSE CUSTER I had nine children.

JONAS RAMOTH Nine?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, and number 10 when we adopted a boy from our son, Larry (*Tikilipiaq*).

JONAS RAMOTH Larry is the only one left?

ROSE CUSTER What?

JONAS RAMOTH Larry is the only one left?

ROSE CUSTER Yes, *Tikilipiaq*, but he is called *Tikiqpak* (big pointer finger).

JONAS RAMOTH Oh, Tikiqpak.

ROSE CUSTER Yes, Tikiqpak.

JONAS RAMOTH Larry.

ROSE CUSTER Larry. He is the only one left now.

JONAS RAMOTH Yes, he always teases me. I call him my brother-in-law because his wife, Bessie, is my first cousin. So how did most of your children die, while they were infants?

ROSE CUSTER Some while they were infants. The ones who became adults died in tragic accidents.

JONAS RAMOTH Oh.

ROSE CUSTER One was shot.

End of Tape

Appendix 4
Transcripts
Ed Iten



Ed Iten

The Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project explored human-land relationships through oral life histories of elder Inupiaq Eskimo and other residents of the upper Kobuk River area. The project was a cooperative effort funded by the National Park Service (NPS) and conducted by the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the Shungnak IRA Council. The interviewees for this project granted permission to NPS and ADF&G to make copies of their recordings, translations, and transcriptions, and to make those copies accessible to the public for educational and scientific purposes. They gave NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts in project reports for scientific and educational purposes, and in some cases additional rights to publish material in other formats. Copies of their consent and release forms are included in this appendix. While these materials are available to the public to hear, read, and study, copyright to these materials remains with the interviewees. Individuals or organizations wishing to republish portions of the tapes, transcripts, or translations must obtain permission from the interviews. The project was directed by James Magdanz, Division of Subsistence, ADF&G.

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Ed Iten	9/24/03		9-29-03
Respondent (signature)	Date	Researcher (signature)	Date
ED ITEN	9/24/03		9-29-03
Respondent (printed name)		Researcher (printed name)	

Storage of Original Tapes

We would like to send the original tapes to University of Alaska in Fairbanks. The university archives can keep them safe for generations, help preserve the *Iñupiaq* language, teach students from the region, and teach people in general about *Iñupiat* use of the region. If you do not want your tapes sent to the university, we can give them to another organization, or we can send them back to you. Please initial ONE of the boxes to indicate who should have the original tapes.

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Tape 1

Recorded May 11, 2001, at Iten's Camp near Kotzebue, Alaska, with Ed Iten and James Magdanz.

SIDE A

JIM MAGDANZ — This is Jim Magdanz. I am with Ed Iten in his camp. It is May 11, 2001. We're here to talk with Ed about his time at the Pah River in the late 1970s. This project… This is for the Kobuk Human-Land Relationships Project. Ed has not signed a consent and release at this point. So this tape and transcript are not available for use until he signs that release.

ANNOTATION — *Ed signed a consent and release on September 24, 2003.*

I guess what I'd like to start with is, just, when you were born, where you born, and just a short summary of your life up until you moved to the Pah River.

ED ITEM — OK. I was born in Anchorage March 9, 1953. My parents had come up separately. My father hitchhiked when he was 16. My mom came up as a nurse in the Army. She was an RN. He was a mechanic for Great Northern. They guided in the fall out at Rainey Pass.

He was eventually killed in an airplane accident. We moved to Minnesota when I was quite young with my sister. I was raised there and went through high school, then came back up. My second year of college, I transferred to Fairbanks to continue living up here.

In '76, I graduated from college in Fairbanks. We did a four-month river trip on the Athabasca, through Canada, and came out on the Yukon. I guess at that time my girl friend and I decided we weren't ready to take jobs, and wanted to spend another year in the bush.

I happened to have a good friend of mine teaching school in Selawik, and (he) convinced us to come up here and borrow his boat and his outfit for a winter. He would just kind of ride along for the trip. We dug out the maps and picked out the upper Kobuk as an interesting spot.

JIM MAGDANZ — Then you had never been on the Kobuk before?

ED ITEN — No. We had never been in this part of Alaska. We just… After coming through the upper end of Alaska there on the Bell and the Porcupine and so forth, we just, we knew we had to get farther away from Fairbanks to enjoy it.

So we flew into Selawik with three Malemutes, my girl friend and I. It was July of '77. We got in a little flat-bottomed 18-foot boat, with three Malemutes, two of us, about half a year's worth of supplies, a barrel wood stove, a dog sled. We were pretty much up to the gunwales with a little 25-horse. We were told we could never cross

Selawik Lake, so of course we had to try it.

We sailed off into the sunset. It was a beautiful evening, just flat calm. We got over to the Nazruk Channel and started our sojourn up the river, which took several days because we had to cache a couple things along the way. We were just so overloaded, we couldn't even…

JIM MAGDANZ — Could you get up on step?

ED ITEN — Oh No. We couldn't even begin to get up on step.

JIM MAGDANZ — Just a barge up the river?

ED ITEN — Just barging along. When the willows looked like they were too slow, we'd take out another box of nails and set it on the bank. Hopefully they were by fish camps where people got some use out of them.

We eventually hit the bank at Shungnak. There is, who turned out later to be Leonard Douglas. True to form, he was just a little wise cracker about then, too.

He took one look at our outfit in the boat, and says, 'Well looks like you're planning to stay a while. Fall's coming on. You might as well get on up there around Pah River. That's about as far as you're gonna get.'

You know, we were trying to be as unobtrusive as we could. So we thanked him and moseyed on up to Kobuk, where we had mailed a few things.

We met Guy Moyer. He was the postmaster back then. He was just a great old fellow. He walked to the river bank, and took one look at our outfit, and basically gave us the same advice. He even offered a place. He said we might even move into Johnson's sod igloo up at Pah River, because we wouldn't have time to build a place.

So we thanked him and continued to barge up and plow through every little riffle we could find there. Our 25-horse had cotter pins at the time, so it tended to sheer them quite often. We had a big can of nails there. We were actually getting pretty low on nails by the time we got to what turned out to be Pah River. We never did really, we saw the dark river water coming in there, and considered it might be Pah, but actually expected more of a river, so we were trying to get beyond that, and kept hitting a riffle there to the point where we just weren't going to get any farther. So we decided that we'd just put up a shelter for the winter there.

As we were sitting on the bank, we happened to look across. Back in the trees, it looked like some skinned poles. So we moseyed across the river there. It turned out to be a cache, and what had become known as Johnson's igloo. It was a sod house and a nice cache. He and his family had spent some years there prior to us, and had moved out. So we dropped everything on the bank, took Joe back down to Kobuk, so he could fly out to his teaching job…

JIM MAGDANZ Now, Joe was your friend from Selawik?

ED ITEN Yeah, Joe was my friend from Selawik, who was actually a childhood buddy from Minnesota who lived with us in Fairbanks and then got a teaching job in Selawik. That's how we kind of got back together.

JIM MAGDANZ So he was with you on the whole trip?

ED ITEN He was with Carol and I on the run up the river from Selawik to Pah River.

JIM MAGDANZ Now, was that his boat you were traveling with?

ED ITEN It was. It was the tub. It was his boat, his home-made wood stove, his dog sled. It was his entire outfit. He had wanted to spend the year out in the bush. He'd got crosswise with the principal in the school there, so was having to move on for a year before things settled down. Rather than lose his outfit, he, that was his alter motive for talking us into coming up here and taking care of it for him. Being that we didn't have any money for a motor or anything else to speak of, it worked out fine.

So we dropped him off at Kobuk and made a few more trips up there. Finally our last trip down to take up a few of the last supplies, we got to meet Joe Harvey, who was on the river bank there. We got to meet him a little bit.

JIM MAGDANZ He was in his camp?

ED ITEN At that time he was at his sawmill, right above Kobuk. He was telling me of his plans of building a cabin and working in the saw mill and stuff. Sure enough, he came up shortly before freeze-up -- had to have been early September -- and logged on the island right across from the cabin there because there were some nice standing trees there.

At that time, we were, we didn't own a net. We just had a couple fishing poles, so we were trying put fish up for the dogs. So we all congregated down at the big fishing hole, which is what, Ḷaaki?

JIM MAGDANZ Ḷaaki. It's by the bluffs, that long straight stretch of river that ends at the bluffs.

ED ITEN Right. It was a tremendously deep hole packed full of sheefish. Bernice Custer was there with Old Man Jackson and his boys.

Annotation *Ed meant to say "Old Man Horner." Charlie Horner resembled Ray Jackson of Kiana, where Ed recently had been working.*

Thomas Mouse was there. Joe ended up camping there. So we just spent the whole fall there, just having a blast. Never saw another

person, with the exception of Cliff Hyatt and Audrey, who I know now to this day through another connection, came down in a kayak from Selby. They were kind of pioneers then. They were the only people we saw on the river.

We spent the whole fall there fishing at *Ļaaki*, Carol and I with rods and reels. By the time we were done, we just had the stubs of two rods and our reels. The fish had busted off every last inch of rod, we just had the handles and about six inches. But it didn't really matter. There were so many fish. As long as you got it over the boat and into the hull, you had a fish on. We'd take as many as we could go up against the current with. Ended up, in the course of those couple weeks, catching enough for the whole winter for ourselves and our dogs.

JIM MAGDANZ — Did you guys camp down there at *Ļaaki*, or were you running back and forth?

ED ITEN — No, we camped at *Ļaaki* with Bernice and everyone else, and just kind of stockpiled up at the igloo.

JIM MAGDANZ — So there was, Bernice Custer was there, and Jackson...

ED ITEN — Yeah, her father, I believe it was her father, Old Man Jackson (*i.e. Charlie Horner*). Then the boys would come up periodically. Thomas Mouse was a constant there. Then, Louis Woods, *Saiļuq*, was Bernice's traveling partner. That was pretty much the main camp. A few other people would come up to fish, just for a couple days, from Kobuk. I believe the Wards came up. At that time, the Ticketts might have come up, just to get a load of sheefish, because it...

JIM MAGDANZ — Daisy and Wilson?

ED ITEN — Daisy and Wilson. It was a quick and easy way to do it.

JIM MAGDANZ — They were all at *Ļaaki*?

ED ITEN — Everyone was at *Ļaaki*. So it was a kind of like a little paradise. It was just wonderful there. Then it was getting close to freeze-up. The slush ice was starting to run. The fish were starting to spawn. We made one last run down, and then got the warning we'd better get back up river.

JIM MAGDANZ — You ran down the Kobuk?

ED ITEN — We ran down the Kobuk to Kobuk. Vera Douglas warned us that we had to get out of there immediately, because the ice was going to run. We didn't think much of it. You looked out front and there wasn't hardly a bit of ice. Turned out we got about where Joe Harvey's camp was…

JIM MAGDANZ His sawmill or his more recent camp.

ED ITEN His upper camp there. And we hit heavy ice. Just cakes of ice. We just had to fight to get through it. Finally, it turned out it was coming out of the mouth of Mauneluk. We got above that, and we got home. The next night, the river froze up.

JIM MAGDANZ Vera was right.

ED ITEN Vera was right on the money on it. That was kind of my first introduction to, keep your mouth shut and keep your ears open. We obviously had no idea what the country we were now in was capable of doing.

I just remember that night, because we were… The sod igloo was probably eight feet by nine feet floor space inside, so there wasn't much for anything. It had a little raised bed in there. We were laying in bed. Somewhere about the middle of the night we thought we were going to get run over by a freight train. It was just this incredible roaring. We knew we weren't in an avalanche chute. It was so loud that you just couldn't hear anything. It sounded like you might have been in the Chicago stock yards or something.

JIM MAGDANZ And you were inside the igloo.

ED ITEN Inside the igloo, it was like you were inside a drum. You just had no idea what was going on. And it lasted for, I don't know how many minutes. Then it suddenly stopped. So we, course the igloo had a little crawl-in entrance. So we crawled out, took a look. What had happened is the river ice had broken from a jam and of course about five miles of ice came careening down. We had cakes of ice all the way up to the top of the bank. It was just this jumble of ice from one end to the other. That is what we had heard, this whole river full of ice just careening down, and re-jamming on the bend at Pah River.

JIM MAGDANZ So freeze-up was, it didn't just freeze. It froze and broke, froze and broke.

ED ITEN Froze and broke. So it was a real jumbled winter that way. Made river travel pretty much impossible. So then we went into freeze up, and got used to all the lakes popping and cracking. We used our dogs for pack dogs. I went hunting that fall up at the head waters of the Killak. We got a bear to eat, and a moose to eat. So that was our winter feed. Packed them in with our pack dogs. Right after that, I left Carol for about ten days, and walked the back way down to Joseph's camp to help him with his little log cabin.

JIM MAGDANZ Now this would have been like November.

ED ITEN Yeah, it was, probably, yeah, it was well before Christmas. There was

hardly any snow. So it was probably closer to late October, mid October. It took a bit finding his camp from the tundra side, because I'd never gotten that view of it before, and I had pretty shaky directions from Joseph.

JIM MAGDANZ — So you walked across the Kobuk.

ED ITEN — I walked across the Kobuk there at *Ł̨aaki*, then up that bluff, then basically went due west right down the plains, counting the drainages and trying to line it up with the right drainage. Then I walked over to the river. I met Joseph. He was out hunting. He was as surprised as I was. He was pretty impressed.

So I spent ten days there with him, putting up his little cabin. That was an interesting experience. At the time, he was living in basically a lean-to with some sod on the roof, sod about halfway up the walls. The rest was basically an open-air shack. We laid down, he had some bear skins in there. No matter which way you looked at night, you could see stars out.

Course there's mice running all over in the middle of the night in there. Every now and then I'd hear this incredible splashing. I couldn't quite figure it out. I figured we'd take a look at it in the morning. In the morning there were probably 20 dead mice in a wash basin half full of water. He had a little plank with a piece of bait off the end of that on a piece of string. That was his mousetrap.

We slept in his little shack there, and worked on the cabin there until we finished it.

Then I walked back up to Pah and we settled in for the winter. Basically, we didn't see another person until Christmas, when Joseph brought our mail up from Kobuk.

Watching him come up the river was pretty interesting. We could hear a snow go, which was the first thing we'd heard all fall. We saw two airplanes that winter. Joseph came up with his snow go, which was an old Polaris, with a cardboard box over the engine, he didn't have a cowling for it. The cardboard box was his cowling.

REID MAGDANZ — Dad, have you been sitting here and talking for the last two hours?

ED ITEN — Yeah, Joe came up on his snow machine with his big cardboard box for a cowling. He had a little bit of mail for us. We just had a wonderful Christmas with him. He spent about four days with us. Of course it snowed and snowed and snowed.

So the day it was time for him to leave, he got up real early and put on snowshoes, and spent a half a day making a trail from our little igloo there to the bluffs on top of *Ł̨aaki*, just for his snow machine.

JIM MAGDANZ — All the way up the bluff.

ED ITEN

All the way up. All the way down the river, across the back swamps there, and up to the top of the bluff where all that snow was wind-blown again.

That was an introduction to the old ways for me. My impression of a snow machine is you get on one and you go cross country. He showed me the importance of not only making a snowshoe track, but also making it three wide whether it's for a snow go or for a dog team.

He went back down to Kobuk. Then we went down a couple times that winter. I think two or three times we went down to visit in Kobuk and Shungnak.

We had a little sled we called the bullet. When it was made, the maker had an idea to toe the runners, but he didn't happen to ask around long enough to find out which way you toed them. For whatever reason, he decided that you would toe the runners out. We ended up calling it the bullet, because it was, it just had a tremendous propensity to jump off the trail and hit every tree that came along. It would do anything but track. Which ever way the trail slanted, it would grab that runner and off it would go.

I used it for trapping up there. We actually did pretty well with marten and lynx and a wolverine.

But when we'd go to Kobuk, we'd hook the three malamutes to it. And then we would both ski, and just put our load on the sled. We had little Thumper for a leader. Basically, he decided he was going to be the leader. He would just look back over his shoulder at us. If we'd pick a different tack, he would start going that way. He'd always stay about 50 yards ahead of us.

It was never a problem until we came across a moose. Usually we came across moose on the Old Man Creek. Then it was just a matter of bush whacking about half a mile and dragging them back out of the willows, and reorienting everything. Because every time they'd see a moose in our crossing there, they'd take off after him.

JIM MAGDANZ

When you say Old Man Creek…

ED ITEN

Yeah, it's, for lack of a better name, it's the drainage that comes down from what we call Old Man Mountain.

JIM MAGDANZ

Oh, that long one that comes in below Mauneluk.

ED ITEN

It comes in below Mauneluk, and right above Joseph's, about half way between the two. And it comes in from the south there.

JIM MAGDANZ

Yeah, there's. Well, I can look on map, but there's one that I remember that comes in just below the channel divide there, where it goes around the island. There's one that comes in there. Then there's the one that comes in just above Vera's camp. Could be one of those.

ED ITEN — No, it's the one that comes in just above Vera's camp. I don't know what the name was. Joseph would always just call it Old Man Creek and Old Man Mountain

JIM MAGDANZ — You guys are on snowshoes?

ED ITEN — No, we're on skis. We always skied. In those days, it would take us two days to go to Kobuk or Shungnak. We would camp out, usually on the creek there. That was a full day. Second day would get us into town. It worked out well. There was always good dry wood there. It really was about halfway between.

In later years, I eventually accumulated some cast-off village dogs from Leonard and Vera and various other people and cut that two-day trip down to four hours with 12 village dogs.

That was my introduction to dogs, I guess. Malamutes didn't really count. Malamutes were more like a traveling dog fight. They'd pick on each other until something else came along, then they'd gang up on that, and then they'd go back to stretching each other out. It was a good lesson in patience.

JIM MAGDANZ — So you made that trip down to Kobuk a couple times?

ED ITEN — Probably twice in the winter, then one last time in the spring.

JIM MAGDANZ — Were people, in the winter time, were you seeing people on snow machines up there besides Joe?

ED ITEN — No we never saw another snow machine up there, other than Leonard Douglas came up to visit us in the spring. He made one trip up and actually took some sheefish because I told him on our last trip that we would actually have a little bit left over. So he came up to pick up some of those. That winter we never saw another person up there, other than Joseph, and Leonard once in the spring. Then we came down after break up that spring. It would have been some time in June. (We) took our dogs and our boat down to Kotzebue, just to find work for the summer.

JIM MAGDANZ — So the boat all the way down to Kotzebue.

ED ITEN — Yeah, that was, the river wasn't bad, but I'd never, I guess we got lucky on our first introduction to Selawik Lake (actually, Hotham Inlet). So when we got down to the Riley Channel there, it happened to be what now turns out to be a good west wind of about 20 knots. We snuck out to take a look at it there. We stopped at the shelter cabin. I had been on enough lakes in the past to think I had a handle on what conditions you could cross in. It looked like a big lake to me. It was white capping out there. Ah, it's just white capping. I don't see anything beyond that. So we started across in that little flat bottom

plywood boat.

We couldn't been half a mile off shore and I realized we were two things at once. We were committed and we were also in trouble. Because the waves were just huge. Because it was so shallow. They were scraping bottom and cresting off the top. So there was, we were going cross ways to them, and there was no way to turn around without getting swamped. So we had to just keep quartering into and surfing up and down them, and going for the nearest point across, which was basically Nimiuk Point, course, not knowing the topography. We made it across, with Carol bailing the whole way.

Then we tried to go in to, oh, within a few hundred yards off the peninsula side from Nimiuk Point. About half way, half way through that trip we came surfing down a wave and hit bottom. We bottomed out. It knocked the motor up, knocked it off. It locked in the up position. Here comes a wave crashing down on us. Somehow instead of swamping us, it picked us up. Next thing we knew we were upside crossways on top of another wave, with the motor still up in the air and shut off. That was my introduction to Kobuk Lake.

We got the motor started, and went out to deeper water, and surfed all the way over to Pipe Spit. At that time, it looked like a haven. We got around the point of that, and it was just calm on the inside. Lena Satterly was over by her house. There was a bunch of mallards on the beach. We shot a couple ducks, then went over and spent the night with Lena. Got our ear talked off, and just had a great night there. That was our introduction to the salt water side of the thing.

I guess between the two, then we moseyed into Kotzebue. I found work, and Carol went off to school to finish her degree. So that pretty much set the hook for the country up here. That was enough adventures in one year to realize I had a lot more to chase down.

JIM MAGDANZ Let me flip the tape, because we're right up at the end of it.

SIDE B

JIM MAGDANZ So that was your first winter. Did you go back to that igloo again? Did you stay up there again after that first winter?

ED ITEN No, I didn't. Actually, I got work in town through the fall, and then went up and spent the next year living with Joseph at his cabin there and basically just learning some of the older, simpler ways. We did a lot of trapping and traveling around together. Just pretty much spent the whole year together, traveling around that area.

JIM MAGDANZ Let's back up for a minute, and talk again about the fall, the first fall you were up at Pah River and then come back to Joe. My interest in

understanding how much activity was going on up there, and who was up there and when they were up there. You talked about the activity at *Ł̨aaki* with Bernice Custer and her Dad and a couple other people that came up there. They came up, they set up a wall tent? Couple wall tents?

ED ITEN — Yeah we had… Of course it's a windy area there. The wind comes straight down out of the Pah. What was constructed was a large windbreak out of willows and alders, with Bernice's big main cook tent right behind that. Then we had a little 8x10 behind that. Thomas Mouse had a little tent. As far as Joseph, he might have slept in the big tent or with Thomas, I can't remember what he had. But there were always two or three tents there.

JIM MAGDANZ — Now, were you on the south side of the river or the north side?

ED ITEN — We were on the south side.

JIM MAGDANZ — Kind of on that low, at *Ł̨aaki*...

ED ITEN — Yeah, at *Ł̨aaki* there, under the bluffs, there is a little slough that swings back. Then just up from that…

JIM MAGDANZ — On the point there…

ED ITEN — Just up from the point, there is a nice flat area. That was the main…

JIM MAGDANZ — So that's where you guys were camped.

ED ITEN — Yup.

JIM MAGDANZ — Were people seining, or set netting, or both?

ED ITEN — Most people just ran a…at that, that place was too deep to seine. People might have brought seines up, and they would go up to the mouth of Pah, which was shallow enough to seine. But there basically wasn't any need for it. Just having a net out there was more fish than anyone really needed. Folks would come up over night, put out a net, and the next morning they had all the fish they wanted, or basically all the fish you could put in a boat. These boats would leave right to the gunwales, going down river, you know, putzing along with a little 15-horse.

JIM MAGDANZ — We're talking…

ED ITEN — We're talking long, lean boats that are displacement hulls, but several hundred pounds of fish.

The other thing that was, that first fall there, was old man Horner

and Thomas (Mouse) and Joseph and a couple of the boys went up to the Reed and the Beaver to get the winter firewood for the winter in Kobuk. They brought down a huge raft of dead wood. I thought that was really interesting. They were gone for several days, and they came back and they had at least one brown bear, and a I believe a caribou and a moose, all on this raft.

They just tied it up like another horse on a tree stump out in front of camp. It stayed there until they were ready to go down for the fall. They loaded up all the fish that Bernice had, and whatever else people couldn't get in the boats.

I believe Thomas and old man Horner were the ones who took the raft down to Kobuk.

JIM MAGDANZ Now, how big a raft was this?

ED ITEN Oh, it had to have been over a dozen logs wide, and basically, you know, full length, in terms of, upwards of 20 to 30 feet. I mean, to my eye it was going to get jammed in any of the narrow channels. They actually did get stuck once. I never did figure out how they got something like that unstuck. But I would say, they were big trees. There were a dozen, sixteen, and they were probably in that vicinity of 30 feet long, some longer.

JIM MAGDANZ Twelve to 16-inch diameter logs.

ED ITEN Oh, easily. Or better. Big. You know, around here you can get 25-inch butts. That Reed and Beaver are noted to have big timber. They were equivalent to cabin logs, except they were using them for a winter's worth of firewood.

JIM MAGDANZ So you want to take a break here?

ED ITEN Yeah, let's take a little break.

Tape paused.

JIM MAGDANZ We're back taping now after about an hour's interruption. We were talking about *Ł̨aaki*. You know, now in 2000, there's a lot of aircraft activity in and out of *Ł̨aaki* in the fall time. I wondered, in the year you were up there, 1977, that fall?

ED ITEN Yeah, '77 and then I actually went back up a couple different times over the next several years. I believe '81 was the next time I camped at *Ł̨aaki*. It was either '80 or '81. At that time, it was still pretty good, but the thing I noticed was, as I was walking, I walked up to Pah and over to the igloo, there was an incredible footpath along the edge. I mean, the vegetation was all gone, looked like a big old bear trail, except it was all hip boots and what not, and there was one airplane

tied up there. You could just see it was the, kind of the changing of the times. Because in the past, there just was nothing up there.

JIM MAGDANZ — Now in ’77, was, did you, did an airplane land at all or fly over? Well, let’s say, land at *Ḷaaki*. Were aircraft landing?

ED ITEN — No, there was... It was unknown at that time, in terms of anyone beyond the river, I believe. Literally, the only people we saw that winter, or that fall, was Bernice and her crew, or people that would come up from either Shungnak or Kobuk. And Stanley Johnson actually came up from Ambler to get some sheefish.

JIM MAGDANZ — He was still doing that 12 or 15 years later.

ED ITEN — Right. I was there in again ’81, and I believe he came up that time as well.

JIM MAGDANZ — He was there in ’89 when Susan (Georgette) did her work.

ED ITEN — But there were no outside people at all. There was no airplane traffic, there were no boats, other than the local people. I don’t know, recently, like I said, I haven’t been up there since, oh probably, I went up there after freeze-up in ’84 maybe. But that was about the last time.

JIM MAGDANZ — What about after freeze-up? Any non-local traffic after freeze-up.

ED ITEN — No. There was no traffic at all at that point. Like I said, that first winter, the only two people that came near Pah that we crossed trails on were Joseph and Leonard Douglas.

JIM MAGDANZ — You mentioned in the fall that there was a floater, someone floated out of Selawik, kayaks.

ED ITEN — Yeah, it was, turned out, his name was Cliff Hyatt and Audrey, who was his wife. They’ve actually, I’ve ended up working for their company, in they’re, they’re sponsors of ours in the Iditarod now. They’ve just been really interesting outdoor people, doing, going anywhere from Patagonia to you name to try to find interesting places where people haven’t been. They had flown into Selby and kayaked down and stopped by our igloo there at Pah. We had coffee with them, and spent the afternoon. At that time, I didn’t know them. They were the only people we saw on the river that year, other than the people coming up to hunt.

JIM MAGDANZ — So from July to freeze-up...

ED ITEN — Yeah. There were…

JIM MAGDANZ …and when you say people come up to hunt, you mean people from Shungnak, Kobuk.

ED ITEN Shungnak, Kobuk. The local people. Even like in ’81 a lot of people would still come up from Shungnak and Kobuk and go up to the Selby slough and maybe as far as the Reed or Beaver to hunt bear and stuff. As late as ’81, there was still no other traffic that wasn’t local, when we were there. Because we camped, I brought my parents up. We through to Kobuk and then Joseph and Billy Bernhardt took my parents and myself up. We camped at *Ł̣aaki* there, and spent about 10 days living with Bernice and everyone. My dad had great fun catching big fish. We had just a real enjoyable time. But there wasn’t any traffic yet.

JIM MAGDANZ Do you have any idea when that traffic picked up and why?

ED ITEN Well, I have heard rumors why, but I don’t really know any specific dates.

Tape paused.

JIM MAGDANZ We’re going to talk about Joe Harvey. Joe lived above Shungnak, just below the mouth of Mauneluk River, in a cabin there. He lived out his whole life, until the end of his life, living out on the land. He was one of the very last people to live out like that. And Ed was with him for a winter there. So I guess what I’d like to do is, we’ve talked already about when you went down and helped him build his cabin, you came back up from Kotzebue, after you worked in Kotzebue that following summer, the summer of ’78. So at some point you came back and basically moved in with Joe?

ED ITEN Yeah, we, I had hoped to get out of here that fall and go back up. But we were doing a school project and by the time we finished the project, we got an early freeze here in Kotzebue. It was September 21. The sound froze. There actually were several of us who got stuck here. I was going to go up and spend the winter with Joe. Dave Flemming and Tom McKenna were going to go up and spend the winter at Kappakavik, Pete McManus’ old site. They basically got froze in, because they had several, they had a dozen dogs and a big boat. At that time, I didn’t have any dogs down here, other than a leader. But I was going to house sit for the winter five dogs from Doug and Christy Karns. So at the end of September after it was froze up here, I chartered Johnny Walker, with some very basic provisions and five dogs, we flew a 185 in on a gravel bar below Joseph’s. This was after freeze-up. We landed there.

JIM MAGDANZ Did you arrange that with Joseph?

ED ITEN

No. The only word I had with Joseph was that following spring I'd told him I'd be back up that fall. That was all we'd communicated. We buzzed his cabin and he came out. We did another circle, and then dipped over the bar which was like two miles below Joseph's. The river was still flowing up there at that time. It was right at freeze-up. So he came down in the boat and picked me up. And we dug in for the winter there.

I don't think he really expected I was going to show up, because Joseph was true to form. He had a few little bundles of dried fish out on the rack. Actually, he didn't even have a fish rack at the time. He just had them tied on the alder bushes around the cabin there. He was really into simplicity. So we had no dog food. Basically, no provisions, other than some staples that I brought up. I guess I had a little bit of commercial (dog food) there. So we dug around and he had a bunch of old, old, old moldy whitefish and salmon stored in his cache, so we used that for dog feed.

We proceeded to go look for caribou within a day or two. Of course by then, in that area, this was early October, the caribou had been in there pretty thick. You now, lots of tracks, no fur. Finally on the bluffs across from Joseph's, we were up pretty high, and we jumped one old lonely bull caribou. I shot it. We thought that was pretty great. Went and got the dogs, and took the caribou back to his place. We could get across the river by then, it was pretty nip and tuck. It was just froze up. You were kind of going on pan ice that was slushed together.

Of course, butchering the caribou was a new thing for me, because Joseph didn't throw out anything. Turned out his favorite were kidneys, which I've never been fond of in the first place. Couple that with the fact this caribou was a bull and in full rut. I've never been able to eat a rutty caribou since, because we had to live on that caribou until it was gone. The first thing Joseph cooked up was the kidneys. Boy, if there is a concentration of caribou musk, it is in the kidneys. There was enough to make your eyes water. So we proceeded from there to get a moose directly thereafter, and ate pretty well. That brought us up to Thanksgiving at Kobuk. That was a big thing down there at time.

JIM MAGDANZ

Joe didn't have any dogs then…

ED ITEN

No…

JIM MAGDANZ

…he had a snowmachine?

ED ITEN

Joe had a pretty sad looking, he still had that same old Polaris snowmachine. His theory was you only need to use it when you absolutely have to and then only in perfect conditions, and he was right because running that on any marginal conditions would have destroyed it.

At that point, Joseph walked everywhere. He would walk to

Kobuk. He would walk to Pah. He did several trips across towards Mauneluk and those hills. So our little sojourn down to Kobuk for Thanksgiving, the river ice was just frozen with a lot of open holes in it. I had five dogs, little short sled, bullet yet, the one that went everywhere but straight.

Joseph thought that was going to be pretty cool. He hopped in the sled and waited for me to hook up dogs. He was ready to be treated like a king.

He pointed the way. We went from his place down the river, and took a right over on the Qala branch. I remember distinctly we were on the Qala side, which is basically that time of year more like a slough. He was pointing out Tommy Douglas' saw mill site, which was a grove of heavy spruce trees.

About that time, the dogs all looked that way as well, and just started putting their hackles up, and growling low, and looking over their shoulders. I had never seen them react like that before. I thought it was pretty interesting, but I couldn't see anything. It was fresh snow, and there were no tracks.

We went another half mile around the bend and here were some huge grizzly tracks, where he had been pawing in the slough trying to get old salmon. We realized pretty quick that we had just passed a grizzly and he was up on the bank we just drove under. But we didn't think much more of it. We went down to Kobuk for Thanksgiving. Then back up river. Returned about four days later.

All the sleeping skins we had put outside the cabin to dry were gone, except for little chunks of fur here and there. There were these huge bear beds, outside the cabin, on the cabin roof. There were a half a dozen of them in the alder all the way around the cabin. It became apparent that the grizzly tracks we had crossed earlier went up to the cabin. Since our caribou skins were the closest thing to food, he had camped out there.

Talking it over that night, we realized it wasn't going to be safe stepping out of the cabin very far because he was obviously right there in the thick brush, hanging out. By that time we had a lot of snow, it was well froze up.

So the next day, we put on snowshoes, sorted out the tracks, finally jumped him, shot him in a slough about four miles away from Joseph. He looked like an old range cow. He was just a sack of bones, shaggy hide, no teeth. He was just a bear that wasn't going to make the winter. But it was interesting tracking the bear with Joe, because he had an old 30-30 that belonged to his father, and then to his uncle, and passed on to him. It was pretty much just silver and bleached wood at this point. He carried a little ball-peen hammer along with him. The ejector spring on those is a top ejector. It's got a little dish in the top of the bolt where. To get his ejector spring to work, he would take a shot, and then take his ball peen hammer out of his pocket, and drive the ejector spring, which was broken, down over the cartridge

head. Then he could jack the shell out, and put in another one. So essentially he had a single-shot 30-30.

Tracking this bear this entire time, we could always see the brush move ahead of us. He was always pushing me ahead of him. I had a little bit bigger rifle, but not by much. But he did pretty well with that rifle. I saw him get a few odd things with it. It was always a single shot. He had his ball-peen hammer there. Once we had some bulls crossing a sandbar. I was amazed how fast he could get some shots off with that. He looked like a little tinsmith out there, tapping away and blasting.

Well, let's see. From there we did some trapping around his place. He showed me several of his uncle's old trapping methods. One, which was real interesting, was a huge double handled auger bit, probably two inches in diameter, two-feet long with a big wooden handle maybe 14, 16 inches across…

JIM MAGDANZ A T-handle.

ED ITEN …big T-handled auger. He took me out in the woods and showed me exactly what kind of tree and exactly what lean you needed because of the weather patterns. He would auger a hole in the tree, and of course pack bait in there, and show me how to position the trap. That was another thing that was always passed down from his uncle. I have never since seen it. But it was pretty ingenious, in terms of its simplicity, and yet it was fool proof. There was no way for a wolverine to get the bait without stepping in the trap. The way he watched the weather, there was never any need to worry about exotic trap coverings or anything that professional trappers use now-a-days. He was pretty fun in the simplicity ways.

We snowshoed all the way up inside, we took dogs as far as we could inside Mauneluk, and then he wanted me to build my own cabin site. He picked out the 40-acres inside Mauneluk between the two canyons. He felt that it was an ideal spot because of the game coming up and down river there had to pass right by his cabin site right there. So he took me up there, and showed me where to log and where to build. The following year, I went up to start my own cabin there.

QUINN ITEN What are you guys doing?

ED ITEN We're doing a recording here for Jim. If you guys are real quiet you can hang around for a little bit, and we're going to finish up. Then you can have your game back and shout and holler and what not, OK?

JIM MAGDANZ You know, I've always felt that Joe was a glimpse of the past. He lived as people lived fifty and a hundred years before, to a much greater degree than anybody up there at his time or since. One of the things that I get a sense of from talking to old people is how much people

just walked. They walked up to the Noatak. They walked up and down the Kobuk. They walked over to the Pah. It sounds like that was what Joe was doing, too. So I wondered if you could talk a bit about that, the trails where he walked, the kind of places he would walk to.

ED ITEN

Yeah. Well, Joseph was a big help to me up there because of the dangerous river ice. In my years up there, going up into the, I guess, early nineties, late eighties, I managed to go through the river three different times, and pretty much didn't think I would get out on any of the three times. Most of those cases were just a matter of bum luck and the river shifting in the course of a couple days and washing the ice out.

But talking with Joseph, you know, the people lived at Pah River and on Mauneluk. In his younger days, they just didn't live down at the villages. So there were some real established routes or trails, I guess, that bypassed a lot of this bad ice just so people could travel all the time. The trails were used so much that he talks about, it wasn't uncommon to run from the mouth of Mauneluk down to Kobuk. They were hard-packed trails. You just ran on, with mukluks right on the trails.

JIM MAGDANZ

You don't mean run dogs, you mean run.

ED ITEN

Running with mukluks. Just literally running. It gives you an idea about how much traffic probably was, was used. Also, gives you an idea to have that kind of trail, everybody used them. Most of those trails… One that is still in existence, is a short little portage that goes through Old Man creek there. That's been a forever trail to get up to the Pah, over the back way. There were…

To get into the Mauneluk, though, there's a tremendous amount of dangerous ice, say from the mouth of the Mauneluk all the way (to) down below Joseph's camp. To bypass that, they had a regular route that probably came up the river from *Qala*, then just swung around to the bluffs across the river from his place, skirted the bluffs behind Wesley Wood's place, and then rolled over the hills right into Mauneluk and also bypassed a lot of the bends on Mauneluk. He used to live up at *Avaaraagat*, which is up above the canyon there.

I never did find the remaining route from say, mid-Mauneluk on up. We made our own to get off the river.

But the earlier one, across the river from Joseph's along the bluffs, we walked over there and walked that out. It was still visible. You could see a definite change in vegetation and growth where it had been brushed out, a whole different group of alders and no large trees and everything. As far as…

Tape ends.

Tape 2

Recorded May 11, 2001, at Iten's Camp near Kotzebue, Alaska, with Ed Iten and James Magdanz.

SIDE A

JIM MAGDANZ You were saying, that from Mauneluk up to Pah…

ED ITEN Yeah, from Mauneluk to Pah I never did… The only trail I have ever known was the back way on the south side along the tundra, which made the most sense, it was the straightest shot. But I don't know early on whether they traveled that stretch on the river or not.

But as far as walking, Joseph was forever walking. I know he was somewhat interested in minerals, in terms of just seeing what he could find.

An interesting thing, and I really regret never taking the walk with him, was his search for a fruit tree. It was, the fruit on that tree was described as a resembling a pear, and pulpy like, and being, laying on the ground all around this tree, just in a mushy state. Joseph knew about it from his uncle, and walked and found it once. He wanted to go up and show it to me. We just…. It always would have been a summer-time affair, and it just never worked out. But that was just Joseph.

In terms of, I think his interest in walking is, he probably covered all of that ground in his younger years with his uncle. Because they were raised on Mauneluk and then went down to the Kobuk there. That's what he knew as far as getting around. He walked everywhere. He just loved to explore. He didn't need a reason to go walk somewhere. Just the fact of seeing what was over the next hump was enough for him. That's just something you don't see people do anymore.

He would take his boat, go somewhere, park it, and walk for three days, with everyone wondering what happened to him. Show up again, and go back to camp again as if nothing happened.

To see him go on his little walks… He never took anything. Now we got to have our big packs, he carried a little pack. He never carried a blanket. Sometimes he carried a little sleeping bag. He alternated between that single-shot 30-30 and a little .300 Savage. Never any big bear rifle or anything. He just never gave it a second thought.

If he wanted to go somewhere, he just up and went. I was always fascinated by that. He wasn't a spring chicken anymore. He stayed really active.

Of course, everyone knows about his road development on his home site there that was an on-going project of his. The tundra in the woods behind his place was somewhat mushy, and he had several caches back in the woods. Then also to look for caribou on the back tundra, he had a trail cut through the woods. He took it upon himself that he wanted a gravel trail, everywhere. Throughout the years there that I knew him, he cut a big trench down through the river bank,

down to the sandbar, used a wheelbarrow, and proceeded to haul in an immense amount of gravel, down the gravel bar and up the river bank and back into the woods, and laying down a gravel bed. I think for no other reason than to stay really active, and to have something to show for being active, too.

JIM MAGDANZ — How much could you talk with Joe? He was not very fluent in English at all, to the end of his life.

ED ITEN — No, he was pretty limited. Throughout the winter that I spent with him it seemed like I would ask him any questions I could think of, just because he was just a vessel of knowledge. And he just had the simplest, easy way to do everything. That's what he knew.

In answering me, he would often start answering in *Iñupiat*, then realize that I was lost, try in English, then kind of give me a mixture of both, doing a real good job in English, but obviously doing a better job in his Native tongue. It got to a point, it became less difficult for me to understand. It seemed like our conversations started out that fall as being pretty basic, trying to come to some terms of communication.

We went to a point to where I actually ended up realizing that he was explaining a lot of things in Iŋupiat by the end of the year, just because I was, we had gone through it so many times I was starting to understand it. I was still lousy in speaking it. But it got to the point where he could… I'd ask him in English and he would answer in a mixture of English and then get into an Iŋupiaq explanation that was a little more thorough. It was a tremendous teaching tool for me. I didn't realize it at the time. He was spoon feeding me his Native language.

It got to the point, when we'd get down to the village and there was a conversation going on I would probably grasp the better part of it, just sitting around with them. Then they would give me a little English interpretation for my benefit. We'd go see all his old buddies, and have coffee everywhere. I always found it was interesting that their little English interpretation for my benefit pretty much matched everything that I'd just heard, and sometimes a little shy of what I thought I heard. I don't know, it was probably good on the whole.

I really felt that any continued contact would have given me a mastery of the language without trying. As it was, I would have had to really work at keeping it up. Once you don't hear it every day, you start losing it again.

JIM MAGDANZ — What kinds of things would Joe talk to you about? Was it setting traps, or where the caribou go?

ED ITEN — Pretty much everything that he knew that he thought would be of interest. I think about 90 percent of everything he taught me started out with 'Uncle always say…' It was obvious that he was raised by his uncle, at least in his formative years and well into young adulthood,

and traveled extensively with his uncle around the country there. He was just passing on what he learned from his uncle, who was, who obviously learned it from the past generation.

JIM MAGDANZ — Joe never had any children, did he?

ED ITEN — Not to my knowledge, no. It varied, it was everything from, I think less on trapping techniques. Trapping to me was just a little bit of income for the winter to take the pressure off in the spring to go get another job. So it was nice to get a few skins.

I think the biggest thing was animal habits and terrain, where and when different animals can be expected, and what habits, what traits they have, was a lot of the focus of his life. That and the fish, of course. I mean, the people, the fish were a mainstay. He knew every species and about the day of the month they were going to show up and the day they were going to leave. That was a given. The caribou and the moose came in, maybe in the forties for the moose. I don't know when the caribou first arrived.

Talking with old man Herbert Custer and old man Horner, and Joseph, they speak of taking dog teams up into the headwaters of the Noatak to get caribou.

I don't know if it was Joseph's uncle or some close acquaintance there, of course everybody knew everybody, who shot the first moose on the river. But they didn't know what it was. They needed food and it was a big animal, and they shot it. So that was, as far as the bigger game, that was all kind of later years.

The things that really concerned Joseph were the everyday things they always lived on around there. He was real big on rabbits. And the fish was a real big thing. And the fur was a real big thing.

He always had a fascination with Old Man Mountain. Part of that, that was right out his back door and that looked over everything. If I get some more time, that's an area I want to go take a look at a little deeper.

JIM MAGDANZ — One of my memories up there is meeting Joe coming back from Old Man Mountain on this old derelict snowmachine. We were on the trail to Shungnak from Jones camp. He was coming straight across, with Old Man Mountain to his back. He'd been up there on the Mountain looking for something.

ED ITEN — Yeah, like I said, he wasn't a big hunter. He would get something if he needed it. But he lived on such basic staples that his trips were never hunting trips. They were always exploring trips.

I don't really know how much he knew about gold. But he knew the old prospectors, he'd hung around with them. So that was just a fascination of his. On Mauneluk he always wanted me to go check out every obscure canyon, and look for gold.

JIM MAGDANZ He lived such a simple life, you'd think, even if he'd found gold...

ED ITEN Aw, it wouldn't have made any difference.

JIM MAGDANZ It wouldn't have made any difference.

ED ITEN Nah. He could have cared less about money. He had more money than he ever wanted to spend. He just lived so simply, he didn't see any need to spend money. Like I said, it was never a money issue. It was the exploring. He was just fascinated by the country.

JIM MAGDANZ So you spent that one winter there?

ED ITEN I spent one winter with him there. Then the next year I came up and I started logging and building on Mauneluk on his home site there, which he willed to me for my use. So then I had frequent trips down to see him and he would come up to see me. It seemed like anytime we were in the area, we had frequent contact.

JIM MAGDANZ So you built a cabin, or that house. It's a wall tent framed in, isn't it?

ED ITEN Yeah. I put up a frame, had a big wall tent on it. Winter was coming on. I had some insulation. So I insulated the thing, planked a bunch of log, and just basically built a cabin around that. It became a 14-by-6 tent cabin, I guess.

JIM MAGDANZ So then, that next winter, you built that structure.

ED ITEN Right. And then the next year I met Ruthie. We got married, and moved up there that year, and continued to have contact… That was one of the most memorable years we had, was the first year on Mauneluk. It was just pristine. There was absolutely no-one coming through, except for in the spring the spring beaver hunters would come up. It was so quiet that it was noisy, I think. Of course you had old and barren caribou going up and down the valley. Just one of them special winters. Every now and then Joseph would show up.

JIM MAGDANZ *Tara*? (Done?)

ED ITEN *Tara*. (Done.)

Tape ends.

Appendix 5
Transcripts
Raymond Woods



Raymond Woods

The Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project explored human-land relationships through oral life histories of elder Inupiaq Eskimo and other residents of the upper Kobuk River area. The project was a cooperative effort funded by the National Park Service (NPS) and conducted by the Division of Subsistence of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) and the Shungnak IRA Council. The interviewees for this project granted permission to NPS and ADF&G to make copies of their recordings, translations, and transcriptions, and to make those copies accessible to the public for educational and scientific purposes. They gave NPS and ADF&G limited rights to publish transcripts or portions of transcripts in project reports for scientific and educational purposes, and in some cases additional rights to publish material in other formats. Copies of their consent and release forms are included in this appendix. While these materials are available to the public to hear, read, and study, copyright to these materials remains with the interviewees. Individuals or organizations wishing to republish portions of the tapes, transcripts, or translations must obtain permission from the interviews. The project was directed by James Magdanz, Division of Subsistence, ADF&G.

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[signature] 9-14-04	[signature] 9.14.04
Respondent (signature) Date	Researcher (signature) Date
RAYMOND WOODS	JIM MAGDANZ
Respondent (printed name)	Researcher (printed name)

STORAGE OF ORIGINAL TAPES

We would like to send the original tapes to University of Alaska in Fairbanks. The university archives can keep them safe for generations, help preserve the *Iñupiaq* language, teach students from the region, and teach people in general about *Iñupiat* use of the region. If you do not want your tapes sent to the university, we can give them to another organization, or we can send them back to you. Please initial ONE of the boxes to indicate who should have the original tapes.

[ ]	**University of Alaska Archives**	[ ]	National Park Service
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Tape 1

Recorded February 16, 2003, at James Magdanz' house in Kotzebue, Alaska, with Raymond Woods and James Magdanz.

SIDE A

JIM MAGDANZ

This is Jim Magdanz. I am in Kotzebue, Alaska, on February 16, with Raymond Woods. We're tape recording an interview for the Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project. What I wanted to talk with Raymond about is the business he has on the upper Kobuk. It is a sport fish guiding and transporting business. I wanted to talk about how his business got started and some of the challenges that he has faced in running that business.

Before we started the tape, Raymond and I talked about releases. Raymond has not signed a release for this tape, so this tape is not for public use. I am going to type up transcript of this tape, send that to Raymond for his approval. Until he has signed a release for this tape, it is not for public approval, for publication.

ANNOTATION

Raymond signed a consent and release on…

That's the introduction. I guess what I'd like to do, Ray, is think back now to when you first started thinking about running your business. When did you get the idea of offering services out of Shungnak?

RAYMOND WOODS

After retiring from the military in the early 80s, after I got out of the military from the prior service and then joined the National Guard, I had extra time that I can do something else for… to do something with my life. I spent a lot of time up on the Kobuk River in those days, dog mushing, fur trapping, and fishing most of the summer for the long winter use for the dog team and for the family.

During those years in the early 80s, I saw that there were a lot of Outsiders which, if you will call them, or floaters, or drifters, or whatever, on the Kobuk River. I started thinking, maybe, I can be part of this, to make some of the money that the Outsiders are doing, transporting, or setting up a tour, guiding, fish guiding, and all that. So I looked into it.

Mainly why I started was, Jim, it went back to you and I, about 15 years ago we used to talk about how we can start doing, well, I asked you a lot of questions about what would it take to run a guiding business, like a transporter or a fish guide. I looked into it, and at first it didn't take much to get going. Only thing I needed was my business license, my coast guard license, of course, to carry people in the boat, and then insurance and all that. Have to get it all involved and permit and stuff.

At first it looked like it was an easy business to get involved with. Money was there, because a lot of Outsiders was looking at the Kobuk River at the time. There were a lot of Outsiders doing the business,

like from Bettles, Fairbanks, North Pole. I started thinking maybe us locals can do this business. If they can do it, we definitely can do it. We know the river. As myself, I know the river, I spend a lot of time on it. I know every channel on the river from Shungnak on up to Beaver River. I know the channels of the river, the depth, where the good fishing spots are.

I started that business to give Outsiders competition. While I was doing that, the business was doing good in just transporting, hunters, of course. There comes a time when a lot of paper work is involved, Having your administrative paper work updated. For instance, everything has to be current, like the coast guard license, the business license, the permits, keep up to date with the fish and game laws, regulations. You got to know all that stuff to do the business.

The good part of it was, the business itself is there. There's a lot of hunters or tourists or sightseers or fishermen that want to go to the Kobuk River. Kobuk River is now one of the last frontiers of this country. It kind of border lines from the Arctic Circle on up. It's a still a wide spread of land. Some may not be untouched, or a man hasn't walked on. But our people went a long ways back, to show us that we've been here.

The business again, like I said, is good. The business will never die out because there's millions and millions of people that want to go fishing or hunting on the Kobuk River or for the sightseeing in the great wilderness.

There is a lot of downfall also within this business. Among the people who I was raised with. The people I live with or I hunt with to survive on the Kobuk River. A lot of the locals look at me that, in somewhat, I am the only person that brings in all the Outsiders to the Kobuk River. Every time they see a floater or a hunter on the Kobuk River, they will think that, "Oh yeah, that's Raymond's client."

They will kind of tunnel vision as to who is the guide, instead of... They forget about the Bettles, Brooks Aviation, Bettles Lodge, or North Pole, or Fairbanks, or whatever ways and means to transport people to the Kobuk River.

It never makes the business any harder, but it's something you have to think about. When you are trying to do the right thing in life, especially for this business, you have to have everything current, your license, everything, all the paperwork has to be updated and all that. To do it legally, you have to know the requirements, what this business takes to run it. I think if you overcome all that, and then you meet all the standards that are required to run a business and be safe, and keep the clients happy, I think the business would go on.

JIM MAGDANZ Where do your people come from? Are most of them from out of Alaska or a mix of Alaskans and others?

RAYMOND WOODS When we first started out six years ago, we started out with a lot of

locals.

JIM MAGDANZ "Local" being Alaskans…

RAYMOND WOODS Residents of Alaska. And we do business with only locals for about the first two years to get a feeling of what it takes. My biggest thing was taking non-residents out there that doesn't know what the wilderness really is.

JIM MAGDANZ There's some risk in there.

RAYMOND WOODS Right. There's some risk in there. You need… A lot of my clients have been briefed very well… To run this business, you have to sound off about safety. You have to, you got to know the river.

JIM MAGDANZ You're dropping people off. They're not supported, once you get them out there they're not supported by you, at least the hunting clients aren't…

RAYMOND WOODS Well, they got to, they need to know where to be dropped off. They need to know already the Kobuk River. They need to know where to go. They need to know, by another friend. OK, when they call me up they need to say, 'OK, so and so said that you brought them here.' As a transporter I have to use these rules. I can't get nobody who doesn't know the Kobuk River and say, I know where to go drop you off. That's illegal. So they need to know where to go. They either got to have a destination. And then a lot of my clients is word of mouth. I'll bring locals, local residents from Alaska and then next year they'll come back with their grandfather or next year they'll come back with their father. It's a family thing. Word of mouth or a family thing. I have had some very good clients who become like a family-type thing with us that's been coming every year.

JIM MAGDANZ So they come back year after year after year?

RAYMOND WOODS Yes. They would talk about it. When they call me and say we're bringing another person. They would describe the person, and who is he, who he is, and say, 'Ray, he's OK. We won't have any problems with him.' We definitely don't want to have any problems. See, they don't want me to get in trouble. Because it they lose me, who else would they find on the Kobuk River right now?

To them, the only way to the Kobuk River, and being safe, and getting involved with the locals, I'm local. I can talk and explain to the locals what I am doing. To the local side here, there's an obstacle between them and me, because I am the only one transporting or fishing guiding on the Kobuk. A few people have done it, but it's hard to say if they are legal or not.

To run this business, you need, well, any business in the State of

Alaska, you need to have a business license, you need to know what you are doing. You have to know every root of where this paperwork is coming from.

Now, the biggest part is insurance. That's where a lot of the money nowadays, even the air transporters, insurance is something that you just can't go in the office and buy it. You got to have some sort of fairly good record of what you are going, what your business is for, for insurance to insure you.

I think that's the biggest downfall for locals to start. If they were trained in starting a business and gaining their Coast Guard license and how to do the taxes, well business and accounting, that's the biggest downfall. If you don't have that, your business won't go. There's people out there, well, I can put it this way, there's clients out there in this business, like you know Jim, it took me six years to really feel how my business is running now.

I'm comfortable in running it now. I don't hide anything of wrongdoing, or anything. I'm up front with it. I ask questions. OK, if a new law or regulation comes around, I ask questions. What is the best thing for me to do. I can't, like for instance, now the Fish and Game wants all meat on the carcass and for transporters to do that, OK?

JIM MAGDANZ — Before the antler.

Jim wasn't listening carefully. Raymond is talking about a new Fish and Game regulation requiring hunters to keep the meat on the bone in the field.

RAYMOND WOOD — Before the antler. It's no problem with us transporters, because you charge the client more. It's just more money for the client. Yes, we're so used to bringing in the just the meat and antlers in the past. Now you have to bring the bones. What are you going to bring it in for?

JIM MAGDANZ — This is, you were affected by the meat-on-the-bone regulation, too, then. The extra weight.

RAYMOND WOODS — Yes, it's an extra weight. It's half of the weight of the animal.

JIM MAGDANZ — Just so I get this on tape, last year, Fish and Game, the Board of Fish… Board of Game (*Board of Game is correct*) passed a regulation requiring meat-on-the-bone in unit 23, because there has been a lot of waste. So that added to your load. I know that affected the air taxis, too.

RAYMOND WOODS — It's not a waste because, once you bring it in, you don't call it, to us you don't just bring it into camp and call it waste, because a lot of families use it. The bone marrow, and all that.

There's a lot of things that... Like last summer, some of the

families in Kobuk. I had a moose carcass, made the trip down, landed right there in Kobuk. I said, 'I got a whole bunch of moose bones right here.' It was like a gift to them.

They said, 'Oh yeah! It's ready to hang up and dry.'

That's the best part of the meat anyway, the meat on the bone, when it's dried out. That's the diet.

JIM MAGDANZ — What percentage of your clients are coming from Outside (Alaska)? Do you have half Outside now, or a quarter Outside?

RAYMOND WOODS — Well, we were half. But now that, you see, my clients are limited. Most of my clients are returns. What I am saying is, they come back every year. My limited time in transporting is only like three weeks, three to four weeks, maybe even three weeks for hunting. Lot of the locals are occupying that, the residents…

JIM MAGDANZ — Residents, that is, your client.

RAYMOND WOODS — …of Alaska. Every year, coming off the boat, when the hunting season is over for them, they will put down a deposit and say, 'Same time, same guys, same place.' I mean, they don't want to lose that spot. Guys who live in Fairbanks do that. We got no problems of putting a new guy on the river.

When we do have guys from the Outside, we always make sure that there's somebody resident with that group and the new hunter. In the past, we did put hunters from lower-48 without any resident. They did OK. But they had a lot of questions. When you put somebody there with a local resident, like from Anchorage or Fairbanks who decided to bring their family the next year, after they went through with it, it's a lot safer. Because the Kobuk River can get dangerous in floods. It can get dangerous with… It's just a way of life now a days. There's a lot of risks in it. You have to study it. You have to make sure everybody is safe.

JIM MAGDANZ — Have you ever had clients get in trouble that…

RAYMOND WOODS — No, I…

JIM MAGDANZ — …you ever had to bring them out for safety reasons?

RAYMOND WOODS — No. We never had that for the last six years I have been doing it. The reason being, I think, is they know what they are doing up there. You see, running a boat, weather doesn't stop the boat. I'm also up and down the river throughout the whole duration of the hunting season anyway. Then I go by my clients up and down the river. If they do need medical help or somebody got hurt, they can easily wave me down.

Now I have seen other clients on the river who have been in

trouble before, that's been dropped off by other transporters and never see them for a week. For instance, I've seen floaters on the river that was four days late from their pickup because of weather. The floaters will run out of food. They've been out in the rain.

The biggest factor is weather. When the weather comes in the fall, it's the rainy season. If you're just out there in a pup tent, that's only, you're just talking about just a nylon with a piece of, rots. That doesn't keep you dry after three or four days out there. Somebody will get sick.

Those are the things I have seen and observed. A lot of clients on the Kobuk River have been dropped off and neglected, actually, neglected their safety. I have done a lot of rescues on that. I got clients now who come with me because I have rescued them before. That's how the clients want to feel.

JIM MAGDANZ There was somebody else. They came some other way and then you helped the out…

RAYMOND WOODS Right.

JIM MAGDANZ …and they came back to you.

RAYMOND WOODS Right. They went out there with somebody else. I saw there was a danger. They were getting into danger, the way they were left out. I offered them, 'I can do this for you. I can help you. I can drive you down to my camp. You guys at least can dry up there. Then we can go from there.'

When they're safety, I don't charge. For me, it's like a loyal courtesy to the other transporters to help out. If any word goes out, like…

The way I believe, the way I look at it is, if clients get stranded or get hurt out there, it affects my business. Somebody got hurt on the Kobuk River, transported our there. See, somebody else's mistake will affect my business. I try and help out other transporters. I question them a lot.

JIM MAGDANZ Did those robberies affect your business?

RAYMOND WOODS Say what?

JIM MAGDANZ You know, when Henry and Allen went up there and robbed those people, did that affect your business?

RAYMOND WOODS Actually, it didn't affect my business. We still have people coming in. There's questions…

JIM MAGDANZ Do people know about that? Have they heard about it?

RAYMOND WOODS Yeah, the people know about it. Every time they call Fish and Game

here, they know about it. It's good that, because, we can't hide information from our clients. If something happened on the river, we need to let them know. We need to tell them, there's already been a solution. It's been solved. Let them know it hasn't happened for the last ten years, or five years, or however long. But if you keep hiding something, it'll expose. Somebody will, they'll find out one way or another once they're landed here in the region. Word gets around.

JIM MAGDANZ Right.

RAYMOND WOODS You need to tell them the truth. You just can't fool somebody. You call a client, tell them what's out there, take their money, and then leave. You just can't do that. Because it will affect your next… They will… word will get around. This client do this, I mean, this transporter do this. You got to be real careful. What you need to do is satisfy your client.

JIM MAGDANZ About how many people do you take out? In the last couple years, what has your volume been, total all summer?

RAYMOND WOODS It varies. It all depends on my time. If I was to go full time on my transporting, I could easily have a lot of numbers. But it's limited, like I said.

I will take out, I don't like to put too many groups out there. It's best for me, I found out, if I would have a group out there, or two, I can stay within safety of them, and monitor them. If you drop out like three groups, that's way too many, for safety. If the river goes bad, you worry about, if there's three groups, you worry about 12 people. Groups of four, in each group. That's a lot of people.

I can only haul five on the boat, well six, if I have to, under my Coast Guard license. You got to make sure there's some means of safety for the people you got out there.

So I learned that over the years, if I can put two or three groups out there, I got to make sure that if something goes wrong, I can easily take them to safety.

JIM MAGDANZ How long do they usually stay out, once you drop them off? Are they there for…

RAYMOND WOODS Once you drop them off, now that we learned, again, with the business, that five days is a long time. Five days, a client can have enough time to fish. Reason being why we shortened our time is, again, we're looking at waste meat. There's a lot of hunters who really, even the locals here, or anybody a hunt, really doesn't know the right means of preserving meat. You'll get Outsiders who do that. So it all depends on how the weather is.

Sometimes I'll start, before I drop clients out, I'll say, 'You guys

got five days. There's going to be caribou. Watch your time on how long you're going to keep that caribou. If you're out there and you shoot a moose tomorrow, or you shoot a caribou tomorrow, with this weather we got right now,' I'll tell them that, 'it's not going to last. It's going to waste. So you need to think about that.'

They need to know that. Because, clients need to know how long, because they don't know our weather. They came from a place three or four thousand miles away. Here they don't know how best to keep the meat from spoiling. They need to know all this information. They need more information on that.

I don't know why we don't put it on Fish and Game laws. Put a little statement on the bottom, say in this area, the temperatures need to be this much to preserve the meat. We don't have it. So therefore, clients, I mean transporters or guides need to get that information. Sometimes you're just limited in what you can do, or give our information to clients, especially as a transporter.

Noise on tape as Jim's children come into the house.

JIM MAGDANZ — You guys are better outside, OK? We're recording. If you guys come in, you need to go in the back.

What would you say the mix is, of fishing and hunting clients? Do you have many fishing only clients? Are they mostly hunting? Or do you have some people who come up just to photograph?

RAYMOND WOODS — We do. Most of our fishing is mostly sightseeing, also. They kind of combine together. If they want to do some fishing, and catch a big fish, they can go to Seward and catch a big old halibut and catch a big old king salmon, and that. It's not what they are coming here for.

Sheefish. The biggest sport here is sheefishing. But a lot of people who come up here to fish don't know sheefish anyway. We have to explain to them. We have to give them information about what a sheefish is.

They come up here for… Yeah, of course, they know what they come up here for. There's chum salmon. There's grayling. There's dolly varden. But they come up here, actually, because it's pristine. It's because of the wilderness, because of the mountains, because of the animals.

So we got clients, fishing clients… Then again, it's my time that… I'm not going to…

JIM MAGANZ — Fishing takes more time?

RAYMOND WOODS — Being a transporter, or being a fishing guide, doesn't take care of your year-round bills. It's just a short period of time here that you get involved, that you do the business.

JIM MAGDANZ Have you actually made money doing this? It's paid you some wages, so to speak.

RAYMOND WOODS Yes. It got me a new boat (laughing).

JIM MAGDANZ` But after the boat's bought, is there any money left over to buy groceries?

RAYMOND WOODS Well, it doesn't, you got to know how you use…

End of side A.

SIDE B

JIM MAGDANZ So you were saying, at least you paid for the boat.

RAYMOND WOODS Yes. I mean. There's no extra money, there's no time. In order to make money as a transporter, you need to do it year round. You have to actually… the way I looked at it is, you need to go full time. You need to get, winter time, you need to have winter recreation. You need to get into snow machine transporting or dog team transporting. You got to have something year round. This three weeks out of a year being a transporter and trying to keep your insurance going and trying to keep your permits going, and trying to keep your Coast Guard license updated. It takes money. It takes money. For instance, to renew your Coast Guard license every three years, by the time you get it renewed, you're going to spend $300. To get your transporter license every other year, that's another $200 to $300 just for the paperwork. Everything gets involved. All that work is…

What I am doing right now is… The way I look at it is, I am just giving Outsiders competition. To have local transporters. To be somewhat role models to young people, that yes we can have our own local business here.

JIM MAGDANZ I wanted to for a minute, and just put on tape what I saw at the very beginning of the boat transporting business up there, and then if I don't have this right, feel free to jump in.

RAYMOND WOODS OK.

JIM MAGDANZ Because this predates what you started doing. But you were there and you saw all this. What I saw, I think it was the fall of '95, Susan and I and the boys and I were up at camp. We came down to Shungnak in mid September, and saw some non-local hunters outside Commack's Store.

Jim Magdanz and his wife Susan Georgette have a camp just inside the Mauneluk River, about 25 miles east of Shungnak. They usually

spent several weeks to a month during August and September at their camp. They were in their camp every fall between 1989 and 1997.

RAYMOND WOODS — Uh huh.

JIM MAGDANZ — They were dressed in camo gear. They had racks all mounted up with the cardboard on the tips to protect them. There was a bunch of meat hanging there. Doug Walker had started a business with his lodge, where Warbelow's air taxi flew hunters up from Fairbanks, Doug put them up in the lodge, then Doug connected them with people in Shungnak who would drive them around in their boats.

So Doug provided lodging and food, and he made his money off the food and lodging business at his store. Warbelows made his money off of the transporting, the air taxi business, and then people were paying, as I remember, $200 a day to an individual.

RAYMOND WOODS — I talked to one of the transporters who worked for Doug, and that was about the amount of money. I think that…

JIM MAGDANZ — And the transporters…

RAYMOND WOODS — I think it all depends on who he is. There are better hunters, there's worse hunters. And then…

JIM MAGDANZ — Right.

RAYMOND WOODS — This guy can do better, I don't know how Doug stretches his payments.

JIM MAGDANZ — I talked to Doug a little bit about this because, unlike you, these guys didn't have six-pack licenses, the local people who were boating hunters around didn't have six-pack license, they didn't have insurance, they weren't registered as transporters, all the things they were legally required to do, they weren't doing. But they were getting this $200 from the hunter. I remember talking to Doug about it and talking to other people about it, that what they were doing wasn't legal and in some cases was not safe. In addition, some of these guys were actually staying with the hunting clients during the entire hunt, they'd take them down in the morning, they'd stay with them all day, and then they'd come back to the village, in what was the kind of service an assistance guide would normally provide.

Just a second… Well, the kids just came in. Now they're gone.

I guess the whole business in 1995, what I saw was something very close to guiding that those guys were doing. The businessmen involved, Doug Walker and Art Warbelow, had set up this business that depended on local people providing this guiding service. But they weren't, they themselves were protected from the law. Nothing Doug was doing was illegal. Nothing Warbelow was doing was illegal. They

could wash their hands of what local people were doing guiding these guys around.

If the game wardens came into town, the guys that would get stung are the local people who are driving the boats, who are just looking for $200. They were really getting, these guys were spending several thousand dollars to come out to hunt, and most of that money was going to Art Warbelow and Doug Walker, and not very much of it was going into the local community. That is what I saw happening in '95 and '96.

RAYMOND WOODS Well yes, I saw that and I observed it. But it made me feel like, why am I spending so much money to have all this Coast Guard license and businesses to be legal?

JIM MAGDANZ Right.

RAYMOND WOODS While these guys are… There's a purpose to it. It's against the law to do what they were doing. Then again, if Doug Walker would have hired me during that time, it would have cost them money because

JIM MAGDANZ I don't do this for $200 a day.

RAYMOND WOODS I don't do this for $250. I do it for more, to cover my expenses. It doesn't take $250. That's pretty much your gas money, or whatever. Doug didn't come to talk to me about it. He knows what I was doing. He never even questioned me once what I was doing, what it takes to do that. Because he knew what I was doing. If I was competition to him, I was competition to him. If I wasn't, I wasn't. But he never came around and said, "OK, how much does it take to hire you to take these guys out?"

JIM MAGDANZ Did you have a six-pack license back in then '95.

RAYMOND WOODS I started my business after I got my six-pack license. I wouldn't do it without it.

JIM MAGDANZ I don't remember that you transported, you didn't transport for Doug. My memory is that you didn't start transporting until after Doug's business started, after '95. Maybe I'm not correct about that.

RAYMOND WOODS Yes, I started in '96, on transporting. The summer of '96 I think. No, I did not transport for Doug. I knew what it would take to do that. I mean, it was a risk these guys were taking. Why jeopardize a $6,000 boat. If you get caught doing it, that will be confiscated.

JIM MAGDANZ They could.

RAYMOND WOODS It wasn't worth it, for $250. The locals were doing it because it was

fast money. The guys who were generating this business, knowing that it was illegal, were doing it. It was fast cash for people who needed it. And that's the way it went.

As of right now, it's probably still going on. Because they learned how to do it. They learned how to make fast cash without spending to get legal.

I try not even to think about them. I try not to get involved with them. Because of what I thought might be a misunderstanding between them and my business.

I am not trying to hog everything on the Kobuk River, saying "I'm the only legal guy on the Kobuk River, and then I'm the only one that can do it." I am not going to advertise my business that way.

My business has been.

I have studied my business. I know what's wrong. I know what's right. I know what it takes to satisfy a client. If I were to put "Kobuk River Professionals in Fish Guiding" I would, on my boat. Because, I am the only one legally licensed to do so.

I learned not to brag about something that you can do. In other words, you can't put somebody down to make yourself better. You just can't do it.

JIM MAGDANZ — Do you think your military and Prudhoe Bay (oil field security guard) work helped?

RAYMOND WOODS — A lot. Most part of it, being an officer in the military. That's where I learned my people skills. That's where I learned the Outside influences. That's where I learned the wrong doing and the right doing. Being in the military, as a commander in the military, I learned my people skills, how to work with people, how to counsel people, how to learn a project, and learn the product, and learn how to explain it, and learn the best way to deal with this stuff.

JIM MAGDANZ — And how to take charge?

RAYMOND WOODS — And how to take charge. That's it. You need to know how to take charge. When I put clients in my boat, I'm in charge of their safety. I need to let them know what the policy is in my boat. I need to let them know where all the fire extinguishers are located, what the boat does, what we're going to be traveling on.

By law, they need to know, well myself, I let my clients know that I'm only a transporter. I'm just like Warbelow's taking you from A to B. I'm not here to tell you where the caribou is. You already know where to go from your other partners who has been up here.

If there's any law-breaking condition, and you're my client. Let's say a client shot a caribou by mistake, two caribou standing together, I will have to turn you in. I am the law here. I am the transporter, but I am also the law here to protect the animals, to protect, I mean, to

enforce the law here. If I start breaking it, everybody will break it. Because, it easy to say, well, this transporter does this anyway.

I learn all that from the military. You got to set the example.

JIM MAGDANZ You retired as a major?

RAYMOND WOODS I retired from as a major.

JIM MAGDANZ From the National Guard. Then did you have active duty Army?

RAYMOND WOODS I have active duty Army, overseas, Korea.

JIM MAGDANZ For, like, four years?

RAYMOND WOODS I've been to foreign countries before. I've seen the ways of life, how foreign people work. Right now, I'm on my way to New Zealand.

JIM MAGDANZ Let's take a sidetrack here, and talk just briefly about… You grew up in Shungnak. You went to Edgecumbe.

RAYMOND WOODS Mt. Edgecumbe.

JIM MAGDANZ Mt. Edgecumbe. You graduated from eighth grade in Shungnak?

RAYMOND WOODS Yes, I graduated from grade school, Shungnak day school. My first year I went all the way down to Chemawa Indian High School, which was located down in Salem, Oregon. As a 14-year-old, it was not like my first two weeks was not learning, going to school. I was thinking about going home. That was the biggest thing. After a while, you get used to it. I got transferred back to Mt. Edgecumbe because of sports.

JIM MAGDANZ After how long in Chemawa?

RAYMOND WOODS A year. My freshman year in…

JIM MAGDANZ Your freshman year in Chemawa and then sophomore year in Edgecumbe.

RAYMOND WOODS Then I finished my high school in Mt. Edgecumbe.

JIM MAGDANZ OK

RAYMOND WOODS My brothers were running cross country in Mt. Edgecumbe High School. I kind of got recruited to Mt. Edgecumbe to run with my brothers. We run the, we had a good racing title there, cross country.

JIM MAGDANZ Which brother was that?

RAYMOND WOODS With Tommy.

JIM MAGDANZ Then after Edgecumbe? When did you join the army?

RAYMOND WOODS I enlisted before I graduated from high school.

JIM MAGDANZ OK.

RAYMOND WOODS I enlisted in April, and I graduated from high school May 17.

JIM MAGDANZ What year?

RAYMOND WOODS ’74, 1974.

JIM MAGDANZ May ’74 you graduated from high school.

RAYMOND WOODS Right. I was at boot camp July 8. I just got a small break after high school.

JIM MAGDANZ How did your Dad react to that? Was he supportive of your doing military service? Here you have been gone for years, and he wants you back. Or he says, ‘Ray, go for it.’

RAYMOND WOODS See, I got other brothers who took over the chores at home. I have two or three brothers younger than I am. When I told my Dad I was joining the military, he didn’t question me at all, why am I doing it. It was more to him that I am doing something with my life, instead of going back to Shungnak.

To him, it was important to him that we go back to Shungnak and learn the traditional lifestyle. He knew that, in a way, that I was probably coming back anyway. Which I did. Then him and I went through trapping, and we went through a lot of hunting and mushing. I spent a lot of time with my Dad. That where, right now, that’s the reason I know how to do all the survival stuff outside right now, because of my Dad. I benefited out of it. I am happy to, after my military, or during my military, I went back to the village and spent time with my Dad.

JIM MAGDANZ So how long were you in the Army?

RAYMOND WOODS I am prior service. I went in for three years, regular Army. I got out of the regular Army, joined the National Guard within a month so my reserve continued and I got commissioned in 1977. I have been an officer…

JIM MAGDANZ …of the Guard.

RAYMOND WOODS …of the Guard since 1977.

JIM MAGDANZ Then you basically did 20 years with the Guard?

RAYMOND WOODS Yes. I retired in ’98. I actually have 22 years in the military altogether, with my prior service.

JIM MAGDANZ So at the end… What was your rank and position at the end of your service?

RAYMOND WOODS I was the Battalion S3, that was for the First Battalion.

JIM MAGDANZ That covers the NANA Region?

RAYMOND WOODS That carries the whole upper Arctic, above the Arctic Circle

JIM MAGDANZ So it includes all the NANA Region. How about the North Slope?

RAYMOND WOODS All the way to St. Lawrence Island. Shishmaref. Little Diomede. Barrow. The First Battalion. And I was the Battalion S3. The Battalion S3 is actually the training officer. I actually was the, knew about the military, what training they need, the First Battalion to the commander.

JIM MAGDANZ This is basically the *Iñupiaq* part of the National Guard in Alaska, right…

RAYMOND WOODS It is.

JIM MAGDANZ …plus the Siberian Yup’ik part.

RAYMOND WOODS Yes.

JIM MAGDANZ St. Lawrence Island. You were stationed in Kotzebue for a while, and then in Anchorage in the end, right?

RAYMOND WOODS Yes. Actually, after I got commissioned in 1977, I went back the Alaska Military Acadamy, and I was a full-time tactical officer for candidates to become Lieutenant. I graduated six classes there over the years from 1980 to, well, late ‘70s to early ‘90s.

JIM MAGDANZ What other things do you think have helped you in running your business, besides your military experience?

RAYMOND WOODS A lot of schooling, and a lot of reading. You just can’t… I think most part of it is being in the military. I mean, know now to turn in paperwork on time. Know how to fill it out. Administratively, you need to know the system of a business.

Like, if I were to, right now, if I want my business to grow, one way to do it was to travel the United States and go to sport shows, like Denver sport show, Houston sport show and advertise your business.

If I wanted to grow, I would. If I wanted residual income from my business, I would have to build a lodge to do that. But building a lodge on the Kobuk River would… you have to look at a higher level of business...

JIM MAGDANZ A big investment.

RAYMOND WOODS …of warehousing people. Warehousing people, and taking them fishing. It would be a bigger investment. Like any other Native *Iñupiaq* from the region, I don't have time to do that, so to speak. Life is too short. I would. I can see the money. I can see my investment toward that business after what I went through with the experience of it and learn about it, I probably can do it. But, as of right now, I don't look at it that way. Because there are other means of things I want to do also.

JIM MAGDANZ What about the role of Stephanie's family? They're business people. Have they been helpful to you?

RAYMOND WOODS Yes. My wife Stephanie has been a big help to me because she is from a business family. She keeps track…

JIM MAGDANZ Does she do the books for you?

RAYMOND WOODS She does the books for me, and also she does the accounting, the business thing. Without her, in some areas, I would be slow. But she keeps it rolling also.

I have to oversee all that. I have to see to make sure everything is, there's a checklist you have to follow to run a business, everything is timely, updated. Make sure you read about the regulations. There's a lot of things involved in being a guiding business with animals. Because you have to know the law, fish and game regulations, you have to know the business regulations, you have to know… It's not like putting an item in store and leaving it there until somebody comes and buys it. You have to sell, and keep updating yourself with the ongoing changes in the system, with the game regulations, with the new laws. You have to keep changing with them. That's the biggest frustration.

That's why a lot of the locals don't really look at is as. When you really look at it… If I handed a local Native right now what I do, he would probably turn away and walk away after he look at the checklist of what I do to keep up this business.

It's not like, I'm going to buy a boat and start transporting, Ray.

JIM MAGDANZ Does it have to be that way? Your experience as a transporter is different from mine on the management side. Yeah, I work for Fish and Game, but I don't know what it's like to be a transporter. What could they do away with? Is it the actual paperwork that frustrates you? Or is it that the system is so slow at getting the paperwork out. Or that

permits are so expensive? Or that there are so many from so many different people? What is it that is wrong with the system?

RAYMOND WOODS

To tell you the truth, I think that it's not so much the paperwork, it's not so much knowing the population of the animals, it's the overall thing of information that people need to know about. I think that's it. I think paperwork with the Fish and Game. Paperwork with the updated new regulations with the Fish and Game.

I mean, if your job didn't exist, my job would be difficult because I wouldn't know which way to say, 'Well, this year we're going to shoot this much animals, tomorrow we're going to shoot this much animals.' I can't justify that. I need to read it on a paper to see what the population is: 'Next year, the population will be the same as this year, because just looking at the caribou movement and the animals in the area…' It helps me.

If the Fish and Game call me now and say, 'Ray, if you keep bringing guys next year, like three or four groups a year, bringing in 25 people, if they're moose hunters, that would be that much less moose, and then it's going to hurt my people,' I would stop. I am not letting my people go hungry, trying to make money off of other people. Say, hey. I won't make my people, my tribe, competition to my business, because that's a way of life.

When you hunt for… When I bring in meat to the villages from the clients that I sign for that they won't take everything, I will pass it on to the elders who needed meat or the families that needed meat.

A lot of times, when I walk into an elders house and say, 'Hey, I got some meat for you, I got excess, it's ready to go in the freezer.'

First thing they want to say out of their mouth is, 'I'll eat it with pride.' Because it's a way of helping each others. They're happy because they got meat for the winter. It's not me, because I have extra meat to go give them. They're happy because now they got it.

If I didn't walk in that day, they would still be happy. But walking it in there, and sharing, a way of life, of passing on a tradition is part of that. That's the way I look at it.

JIM MAGDANZ

Do you have clients that come up to hunt meat, or do most of them interested in the antlers? What's your sense of that?

RAYMOND WOODS

Being a transporter this long myself, I can tell by the tone of voice. I will screen out a client, and I can tell if he's just coming for the antlers. If he just start, 'Oh, I'm not interested in the money part of bringing the meat in,' you know he's gonna come for the antlers.

To us… If there's another… If I were to bring in all the clients who just wanted to go for the antlers, it would hurt my business. Because people would see only antlers getting on the airplanes, locals. OK. When people see meat is being brought out and get on the airplanes and leave, there'll be less talk about 'Raymond's clients are just

hunting for antlers.'

For the first two years, it was like, if somebody find a carcass up on the Kobuk River, they'll say, 'Oh, it's Raymond's client. It's Raymond's client. Raymond is the one.' Because they see me with the boat. It's not like Brooks Aviation or Bettles Lodge is bringing in people. It's Raymond. If they finds a dead animal out there, it's Raymond's client. It's just the way of people, how they pass on information. And that information…

I have calls from the Nome Fish and Game office, from overheads asking me questions, that there's complains you're transporting illegally up there.

I told that commissioner, or whoever he is, I said 'Come out here and get on my boat. You go show me where that animal is, and I'll tell you whose it is and whose it's not.' I will work with them.

The locals are looking at me now, like, 'Ray is not doing it. Ray is licensed to do all this. You showed us, both the locals and the Outside and the Law, Ray is doing what he is supposed to do to run the business.'

End of Tape.

Appendix 6
Upper Kobuk River Controlled Use Area

The Kobuk Human-Land Relationships project explored human-land relationships through oral life histories of elder Inupiaq Eskimo residents of the upper Kobuk River area. A major purpose of this project was to help resolve user conflicts in the upper Kobuk River region. During the project, the upper Kobuk Fish and Game Advisory Committee submitted a proposal to the Alaska Board of Game to create a controlled use area that would prohibit the use of aircraft and jet boats in support of hunting in the upper Kobuk River watershed. This was considered as Proposal 37 during the Board's November 2001 meeting. The Board convened a committee to discuss the proposal, then decided to defer a decision until the Board's January 2002 meeting. A revised version of Proposal 37, numbered as Proposal 55, was submitted for the January meeting. Proposal 55 recommended establishing a much smaller controlled use area. This appendix contains material related to Proposals 37 and 55, including transcripts of portions of the January 2002 meeting.

Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee Meeting
May 16th, 2001, 1:00 p.m.
Tribal Building, Ambler
Draft minutes, unapproved, 4 pages.

Louie Commack, Frank Downey, Marvin Joe Cleveland, Elmer Ward, Frank Commack, Sally Custer for Wesley Woods and Neal Sheldon.

Jim Dau and Susan Bucknell from ADF&G, Kotzebue.

Merrill Mereno, Nelson Greist, Sr., Harry Douglas and Rene Douglas in the audience.

Chairman Louie Commack called the meeting to order at 1:00 p.m. Quorum confirmed. Agenda approved. Minutes of last meeting approved. Sally Custer and Susan Bucknell to take minutes.

Elections: Louie Commack reminded people that the three Ambler members had been re-elected at an IRA meeting last year. They will provide a record of that. Frank Downey suggested that the Ambler terms should be staggered. Louie Commack drew the one year term, Marvin Joe Cleveland two and Frank Downey three years. Election of officers: Frank Commack, chair, Frank Downey, vice chair, Louie Commack, secretary.

Game Issues: Jim Dau reminded people about the August 10th, 2001 deadline. He said the department probably wasn't going to submit proposals on it's own, there were some proposals other AC's are thinking of submitting, they might be submitted jointly between AC's and the department. He asked if people there had any ideas for proposals.

Louie Commack asked about beaver regulations, and Jim reviewed that now there's a hunting season as well as trapping, no closed season, no limit, and no sealing requirement. Legally, need to salvage the hide or the meat.

Frank Commack asked the discussion be translated for elders. Sally translated, and discussed with Nelson and Merrill what was being talked about.

Frank Commack asked if people had any proposal ideas.

Harry Douglas asked about maps. He mentioned some of the problems of people who come in to hunt camping on private lands and sensitive areas. He said they usually have the 1952 maps that don't show allotments, archeological sites, cemeteries, other sensitive sites and private lands. He asked if there's some way the AC can get together with NANA or the Borough or someone to get funding to produce maps to distribute to users so they'll know where they can camp.

Jim Dau said F&G had worked with the Alaska State Department of Natural Resources, had produced maps for the Upper Kobuk area showing some of what Harry requested. He'll send some up to each village, and to transporters. So far, there's just big wall maps, it would be good to make small ones on Rite-in-the-Rain paper that people could take with them in the field.

Merrill asked about the prohibition on selling caribou antlers. Jim Dau said when there were antler buyers on the river, they had so many reports of "head hunting". Marvin Joe Cleveland said it was pretty bad, one time ten headless caribou left by the river. Sally Custer said it was pretty bad, cowboys out there making a fast buck. Jim Dau said this is the only area of the state where there's a situation for such abuse. People can sell handicrafts made of antler.

Frank Downey said a lot of the hunters from downriver just want meat, they leave the hide, the legs, the head, the best parts. He said why not have better enforcement against headhunting-- let the ones who are doing the wrong suffer, instead of all the people. Frank Commack said the other year the Shungnak IRA had $5,000 from Maniilaq to monitor the hunters and floaters for wanton waste, trash, etc.

Frank Downey said they see floaters go by with antlers they picked up. Jim Dau said it's legal to pick up discarded antlers on state land, but not federal land. Responding to Frank Downey's previous question, Jim Dau said it's really hard to catch "headhunters." Discussed that people could submit a proposal to change the antler sale regulation. Sally Custer said let's take the question back to the villages, let more people give some input.

Rene Douglas asked about rod-and-reel for subsistence. Current regulations, and the recent changes made in Kuskokwim and Norton Sound areas, were discussed. Currently the law requires a sport fish license to rod-and-reel. Proposals to change that have passed in the Kuskokwim and the Nome areas. People should think about all the pros and cons and how to regulate it if they want to change it for this region. Committee will think about the matter for the next fish cycle.

Frank Commack asked again if people had ideas for game proposals? Marvin Joe said it would be good to review all the current regulations. Jim Dau went briefly through the regulation book for Unit 23 for each species.

Frank Downey said a lot of Ambler people aren't getting their harvest on moose, fall-time, there's not too many moose around. He suggested Upper Kobuk be closed to trophy hunting, or that sport hunting should be delayed until after subsistence hunters have a chance to get their winter meat.

Louie Commack said they'd discussed trying for a controlled use area, were always told it wouldn't pass; maybe they could propose it anyway. Discussion of where people hunt and where NANA land starts. Frank Downey said they go all the way up to the Reed River. Louie Commack said if they ask for too much, they'll get more opposition—there's lots of traffic from Bettles to the Upper Kobuk.

Jim Dau said when the Noatak CUA passed, it was for one-tenth of the area requested, then later it was expanded. The Noatak CUA was proposed several times before it passed. He said he didn't want to encourage them or to discourage them, but to be realistic.

Louie Commack said he thought they should try it now, but be realistic in how much area to include.

Jim Dau said to think about dates as well as area, and understand the board can amend their proposal.

Louie Commack and Frank Commack said they should take time to think about it, before the proposal deadline.

Jim Dau said at the last User Issues meeting in Shungnak, Levi Cleveland proposed a certain area. The transporters present didn't respond at the time, but later they did. They worry they could be put out of business, and they've put their hearts and souls into their business. The more the committee can work with those guys, get their input, the better chance the proposal will have in front of the board.

Louie Commack said they were lucky about the antler issue, that transporters could have tried to make local people look really bad about the headhunting issue.

Discussed how to write a CUA proposal. Jim Dau pointed out that from his perspective, caribou are high, moose are not high but there's a good bull/cow ratio.

Frank Downey said if local guys could take out sport hunters, they could use the meat locally. Louie said it's a good idea, but what if you get 20 people doing it?

Jim Dau remarked that when people don't buy hunting licenses, it could look like there's not many people locally depending on the resource.

Jim Dau brought up lynx regulations. Unit 23 is restricted since lynx numbers got low during the last rabbit crash. Now there's more lynx, the regulations could be liberalized. Fish and Game might propose that if no AC does.

Committee members decided unanimously to submit a proposal from the Upper Kobuk AC for a controlled use area. No need to meet again until September. They'll meet in Kobuk after the BOG proposal book is out. Kobuk will hold elections for two AC members then.

PROPOSAL 37 - 5 AAC 92.540(9). CONTROLLED USE AREAS. Create a new controlled use area in Unit 23 as follows:

Five miles either side of the Kobuk River from Hunt River to Walker Lake including all rivers that drain into the Kobuk River in that area: Hunt River, Redstone River, Shungnak River, Kogoluktuk River, Maunelik River, Pah River, Beaver River and Reed River. No use of airplanes or jet driven boats for hunting during Aug. 1—Sept. 30.

ISSUE: Continued interruptions from low flying airplanes and jet-driven motorboats to point of scaring game from near shore. Sport hunters camp on Native allotments and leave trash behind.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF NOTHING IS DONE? Continued interruption of subsistence hunting and fishing.

WILL THE QUALITY OF THE RESOURCE HARVESTED OR PRODUCTS PRODUCED BE IMPROVED?

WHO IS LIKELY TO BENEFIT? The local area subsistence users.

WHO IS LIKELY TO SUFFER? Guides for fishing and hunting and weekend fly in fishers and hunters, day fishers and sightseers.

OTHER SOLUTIONS CONSIDERED? None, all that has been done is talked about. No one sat down to get the necessary paperwork done for desire of controlled use area.

PROPOSED BY: Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee (HQ-01F-G-040)

PROPOSAL 55 - 5 AAC 92.540(9). CONTROLLED USE AREAS. Create a new controlled use area in Unit 23 as follows:

Five miles either side of the Kobuk River from Hunt River to Walker Lake including all rivers that drain into the Kobuk River in that area: Hunt River, Redstone River, Shungnak River, Kogoluktuk River, Mauneluk River, Pah River, Beaver River and Reed River. No use of airplanes or jet driven boats for hunting during Aug. 1—Sept. 30.

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PROPOSED BY: Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee (HQ-01F-G-040)

NOTE: This proposal was deferred by the Board of Game. During its November, 2001, meeting a Board work group that included advisory committee representatives, representatives of guiding and outfitting industry representatives, Alaska Department of Fish and Game staff, and members of the public discussed Proposal 37. The Board work group discussed a number of different other area boundaries and time periods, and heard comments that problems were centered around the confluence of the Pah and Kobuk Rivers. The work group recommended amending proposal 37 to create a controlled use area as follows:

> **Extending three miles either side of the Kobuk River from 3 miles below the mouth of the Mauneluk River to 3 miles above the mouth of Selby River. No use of airplanes, air boats, inboard jet boats, and two-cycle outboard motors with jet units for hunting from August 15 through September 20.**

Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee Meeting
Shungnak Coffee House, Tuesday January 8, 2002 12:00 Noon to 3:00 p.m.
Draft minutes, unapproved 4pp including sign-in sheet

I. AC Members Present: Louie Commack, Jr, Frank Downey, Neal Sheldon, Ray Snyder, Henry Horner, Sr. Also present was alternate Elmer Ward from Kobuk. Quorum confirmed.

II. People introduced themselves all around. ADF&G staff: Jim Magdanz, Division of Subsistence, Jim Dau, Division of Wildlife Conservation, Susan Bucknell, Boards Support. Federal staff: Barb Armstrong, USFWS RAC Coordinator, Kotzebue; Jimmy Fox, USFWS, Kotzebue; Charlie Lean, NPS, Nome. Maniilaq Association Subsistence Division, Enoch Shiedt; Raymond Stoney of Lower Kobuk Advisory Committee. See sign in sheet for others present.

III. Agenda: Louie asked that Federal Subsistence Board Proposal #40 asking for a controlled use area on the Selawik River be added to the agenda under VII, Wildlife. Agenda approved.

IV. Minutes of the last meeting were approved.

V. The regional coordinator reminded the advisory committee that they can elect a non-voting secretary to take minutes if they like. Group discussed asking the NANA Resource Specialists in each village to be the minutes takers, decided the regional coordinator should take minutes for this meeting, since Sally wasn't there.

VI. A. Chair Frank Downey opened the floor for nominations for Shungnak members. George Douglas, Fred Sun and Warren Douglas were nominated. Secret ballots gave George 3 votes, Fred 4 and Warren 6, so Warren Douglas will take Frank Commack's vacant seat on the AC, and Fred Sun replaces Michael Ticket as alternate, for three year terms.

B. Election of Officers: Louie Commack was elected chair by unanimous consent, Henry Horner Vice Chair, and Warren Douglas was persuaded to be secretary.

C. WACH Rep: The committee agreed to keep Henry Horner as the Upper Kobuk representative on the Western Arctic Caribou Herd Working Group, with Sally Custer as alternate.

VII. A. Board of Game Proposal #55: Approved as amended (unanimous)
Amended: -reference to jetboats was removed: aircraft and airboats would be restricted
-area would be from the mouth of the Mauneluk to the mouth of the Reed River

Chair Louie Commack said that Walter Sampson, Jim Dau and Jim Magdanz would provide information about the proposal, and that everyone present would have opportunity to speak.

Walter Sampson addressed the meeting in Iñupiaq, providing background about the Board of Game, the Noatak Controlled Use Area and the proposed Upper Kobuk controlled use area. He described how the original proposal had changed, and that the board could further amend it. There was extensive freewheeling discussion, summarized below under GENERAL, JETBOATS, AREA, and DATES.

GENERAL: Neal Sheldon said that fish spawn from Qalla up, big motors in shallow water destroy the eggs. There was discussion of areas where salmon spawn, there's lots of spawning at the mouths of tributaries, and jet boats are getting to areas that props didn't go.

Fred Sun reminded people this proposal is about hunter success, not fish.

Jim Dau described the Koyukuk moose hunters plan, with two types of permits and the destroy trophy value provision; the group can consider other options besides restricting transport by means of a controlled use area.

Fred Sun asked how many people thought there's too many outside hunters --almost all hands raise; he asks how many people think the proposed controlled use area would change that --very few hands. He suggested something like the Koyukuk plan would be better for improving local hunting success.

Jim Magdanz said since there is no rural or native priority, a CUA is one tool to manage increasing hunting pressure. He mentioned the population is approaching pre-contact levels.

Elmer Ward reported that at the mouth of Beaver Creek, last summer, they found four caribou carcasses with just the heads and skins taken. It wasn't floaters, there were just airplane tire tracks on the gravel. People discussed law enforcement.

Rosa Horner said that it would be good if in the future they could have the destroy trophy value provision, they've seen hunters just come for the antlers, sometimes leave the meat or just cut the head off.

JETBOATS: The chair invited anyone else who has a jet unit to make comments.

Fred Sun said local jet boats are not the problem, it's the people getting dropped off and floating down. He said his jet is a four-cycle, so he wouldn't be restricted, but it would affect others. If the Noatak CUA is working, try similar CUA here, see if it's successful before asking for more restrictions.

Greg Laughridge commented on limiting the size of jets; his 90-horse has not been a problem, for years; any jet under 90 hp wasn't enough to haul game. Frank Downey said they had discussed size of jets in Anchorage and elsewhere, agreed four cycles are pretty quiet. Warren Douglas said he has a 50-horse two-stroke jet, it's pretty quiet if you're careful with the tilt and trim, he hadn't had any complaints about noise.

Barb Armstrong said on the federal side they understand including jet boats is why the BOG balked at this in November.

Fred Sun said Raymonds' type of boat is singled out; Raymond mostly takes fishermen.

Jim Magdanz said that in Anchorage people testified that this seems to target one operator, the BOG wants to avoid that.

Louie Commack wondered if Tommy Woods, Raymond's brother, wanted to speak, since Raymond Woods had been mentioned. Tommy Woods said that he has a jet on his boat. He said that if Raymond was stopped, guiding will still go on. Walter Sampson said they're not trying to stop people; it's only for hunting, only a five-week time is being considered, and those dates can be discussed too.

Louie Commack said Raymond had called him a month or so ago; Raymond's willing to work something out, if his boat is too loud. Rosie Ward said that's really good, if Raymond could lower the noise, that's the problem.

Louie Commack asked Tommy to relay to Raymond that the committee is willing to work with him.

Frank Downey moved to amend the proposal to remove mention of jet boats, keep airplanes and airboats. Seconded by Warren Douglas and Henry Horner. There was mention of including hovercraft also, as there is a hovercraft in Kiana; concensus was that hovercraft are included in airboats.

Vote on amendment: Passes unanimously.

AREA: Henry Horner said the upper boundary should be the Reed River, not Selby. Greg Laughridge Scott Ravenscroft, Raymond Woods and Joe Jackson are not the only people transporting; there's float planes from Bettles and Fairbanks dropping hunters --they're after big moose. Joe Jackson uses (Ambler Air Service) to fly clients to Minakakosa, this proposed CUA wouldn't affect him at all. There is a new guy setting up camp between Shungnak and Ambler, the prime caribou hunting area. Greg suggested the CUA should extend from 3 miles below the Mauneluk mouth to Walker Lake. The congestion with campers is mostly Selby down, but this proposal lets people get dropped just above Selby and float down through the

most congested problem area.

Walter Sampson said that people have a right to access, and that sand bars are public land.

Fred Sun said the amount of people camping in traditional hunting areas is a problem. Walter Sampson said that trend would continue, increase.

Fred Sun asked for an explanation of the boundaries, why "three miles below" Mauneluk.

Henry Horner said when Bornite was open there were camps on the Kogoluktuk, which could affect the caribou migration; they need to discuss the tributaries. Raymond Stoney said there were four camps from Bettles on the Kogoluktuk last year, commercial operators.

Henry Horner said that's why Shungnak guys hardly saw caribou last fall.

Frank Downey said the proposal had been reduced to the main stem because the greatest problems are on the main stem.

Jim Magdanz said there will be planes, where is the least harmful place to have them? Below Mauneluk, above Selby, good place to concentrate them, least impact.

Henry Horner said, speaking for others who hunt up there, that up to the Selby is not enough; above the Reed River would really quiet down some of the areas where people go to hunt and fish.

Oscar Griest agreed the Reed River would be good.

The group discussed how much territory that would add, and landmarks; Jim Magdanz said the Board of Game wants recognizeable boundaries. Discussed float plane traffic may concentrate just outside the boundaries, would Kobuk village people prefer that most people get picked up below the Mauneluk mouth, or would they rather have them come through the village?

Warren Douglas said if they came in to town they'd get their trash to town, instead of leave it on the river.

Greg Laughridge said asking for too much might get nothing; mouth of Mauneluk now, in two years consider a"koyukuk" type plan, with the checkpoint in Kobuk.

Henry Horner moved to amend the area in the proposal to "mouth of the Mauneluk to the mouth of Reed river" Unanimous.

DATES: The chair asked the group if the dates 8/15-9/20 are okay. Fred Sun said he hunts and fishes up there every fall, those dates are good. Rosie Ward agreed.

Unanimous support for Proposal 55 as amended.

VII B.1. Reauthorize Antlerless Moose Season Passed unanimously

Jim Dau introduced the topic. Henry Horner moved and Warren Douglas seconded the proposal.

B.2. Reauthorize Brown Bear Tag Fee Exemption. Passed unanimously

Jim Dau introduced the topic. Henry Horner moved, Frank Downey seconded the proposal.

B.3. Louie Commack brought up federal proposal #40, a controlled use area on the Selawik River. Copies of the proposal were distributed, but the committee didn't take any action.

VIII Henry Horner reported on the Western Arctic Caribou Herd Working Group meeting he attended in December in Anchorage. He described the group, and described presentations at the meeting about where the herd was concentrating. During round-table discussions he told the group that this year the caribou were late and few in this area. He said the next meeting will probably be in April, and any information he gets from people around here he can contribute to the WACH working group. He was impressed with how many users there are for the caribou herd.

The group discussed caribou herd movement. They discussed enforcement if the CUA is established.

The chair suggested another AC meeting later on this spring. He thanked Walter Sampson and thanked everyone who attended. Meeting adjourned around 3:00 p.m.

Recorded during the regular winter meeting of the Alaska Board of Game in Anchorage, January 19, 2002. Transcript includes selected portions of the public testimony related to proposal 55. Tape numbers and counter values are from the official tape log kept during the meeting by Board staff.

TAPE 5A (071)

RANDY KILBOURN

Randy Kilbourn. I live in Talkeetna. I'm here to present opinion on proposal number 55, the controlled use area for unit 23. I submitted written comments a couple weeks ago that should be in your packets.

I've lived in Alaska over 40 years. I've been hunting and fishing in the Brooks Range since the early '70s. I've hunted moose in this particular area, around the Pah River and the Kobuk River, successfully for the last 23 consecutive seasons. So I have seen the impact in recent years of the problems that the advisory board, advisory councils in that area are talking about when they proposed this controlled use area.

When we first started hunting there, there was hardly any usage at all. My opinion is that impact to that area has been caused mostly by restrictions of access to other areas. My experience is that most of the impact, most of the usage of that area is local residents. There's a few non-local residents such as myself. I would say, that vary, count them on one hand, maybe. And a lot of out-of-state hunters that are using the local transporters from the villages and from Bettles.

I think that probably 90 percent of the hunters in the area are transported into the area by the commercial transporters, both by boat from the Kobuk and Shungnak villages and by air from various places, including Bettles.

I agree that some of the impact is probably negative. But I do oppose the proposal as stated. First off, the proposal is a little vague, as far as usage. They want to restrict jet boats and airboats and airplanes and allow propeller driven boats to still operate.

I have been flying around this state for a long time. The issues are: scaring game from the subsistence hunters, and that some of the hunters are camping in Native lands and leaving trash. I've been flying this state for a long time, and generally big game, to me, my experience is, the game doesn't shy away from aircraft unless they are being buzzed. If you maintain the FAA regulations of keeping minimum distances away from animals and people, my experience is that animals are not necessarily disturbed.

As far as boats go for scaring game, my experience is that it's not necessarily the high noise levels will scare them right away. Usually, when you are going up and down the river in a boat, if there's a big game animal on the shore, the sound is what gets their attention. But they don't really move until they identify the source of the sound. So it's the motion of the boat that they see that will scare them away. In

that regard, my opinion is that, jet boats and propeller-driven boats and rafts, for that matter, have no difference as far as scaring the game away. So my question is, why ban one type of water transportation and not ban all.

The trash issue. As far as that goes, there are other Native organizations, other areas of the state, have come up with permitting programs for land users. I would think that the Natives in this area could do the same sort of thing, just regulate, self regulation of their own lands. As far as leaving trash on public lands, I would, my suggestion would be to increase enforcement from the regulatory agencies.

The corridor, establishing a controlled use area, in my opinion, just merely moves the impact of the transporters outside the area. The airplanes are still going to land and drop off hunters, but they are just going to land outside the corridor, and the people are still going to be going down through the areas. In that regard, I don't think you are going to reduce the impact of intrusion on the river at all.

Thank you.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Thank you, Mr. Kilbourn. Questions, Board members. Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Thank you. I read your letter, and found it very thoughtful. You seem to agree that some of the impacts suggested are real. I understand, I think, some of your thoughts about the proposal as perhaps kind of missing the point.

If you were to redesign something from scratch, if you were to assume that those impacts they're talking about are real, what would you do in our shoes, what kind of regime would you design, to give the folks some relief?

RANDY KILBOURN — Well, I think a lot of the impact, negative impacts there is born by the local transporters. Some of those guys there are their own worst enemies. In that regard, I would regulate the transporters, both the airborne and waterborne, by permit, and just give them a quota of hunters to drop off and that sort of thing, and then try to maybe give them some designated areas to operate out of. The impact is coming from the fact that there are transporters operating in the area. If there weren't any transporters operating there, there wouldn't be any impact at all, other than a few people like myself lucky enough to have their own airplane. Very few people, such as myself and the people I hunt with, are going to that area. Mostly commercial transporters. So to answer the question, I would try to regulate the transporters activities.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Anything further?

RANDY KILBOURN — I want to add one thing there. It's fairly common knowledge, I think, that there is probably some illegal transporting going on, too.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Thank you for your testimony.

RANDY KILBOURN Thank you.

TAPE 7A (224-335)

MIKE GRIFFIN Mr. Chairman, acting executive director, board members, and staff, I'm Mike Griffin, and reside here in Anchorage. I'm here because of proposal number 55, which I oppose. This morning my friend and hunting partner, Randy Kilbourn, spoke to you, first thing this morning.

We are, I am a relatively new part of this hunting group of eight years. But the core group has been hunting in this area for 27 years, originally starting back in the Gates of Arctic. In the Jimmy Carter administration, we were relocated to another spot. We have been on the Pah River for 23 years in the same camp site. Our kids have grown up, our boys have cut their teeth on camping and moose hunting in this area. We're very respective of the Pah River. It's a very pretty area. That entire area is absolutely wonderful.

We harvest two to three moose a year, more on the, two moose a year to fill our freezers between five of us. We use float planes, and we have a boat that we do keep in Kobuk. We are up there for approximately eight to ten days, depending on the weather. We are up there in the summer. We normally spend a long week end at Selby Lake, and fish the Pah, right at the mouth of the Pah, sheefish.

This area is very sensitive. We understand that. Our concern, or at least my concern, personally, is access to the Pah River. If this, Proposal 55 goes through and it is a controlled use area, we will not have access with our boat to the Pah River.

The other thing, it will dislocate hunters that normally are in this area to the periphery of the area. I don't see, personally, the need for this area I think it's more some regulations that need to be looked at and an enforcement issue.

There are several comments that I have read, input to this, about garbage on the riverbanks, that sort of thing. Yeah, I think we all could do a better job. I think the locals also could do a better job. I see gillnets, buckets, and all sorts of things. So I think we are all somewhat at fault.

The area, the statement says it's a "heavily used" float plane base at the mouth of the Pah River. I have seen planes. We have put planes in there once in a while. What does heavily used mean? I guess I don't quite understand what "heavily used" is.

Toward the end of the comments, it says the accumulation of nonlocal hunters, transporters, and guides using the area have displaced local people form some areas customarily and traditional used for subsistence. What does "some" mean? I think I'd feel more comfortable if we had some numbers.

The other, friction has developed within the communities between the entrepreneurs and some other residents. Again what does "some" mean?

I could most likely call Kotzebue today or during a work day, and talk to those folks, and ask some questions. They would probably tell me it's not a safe or a good place to hunt because of what has happened the last two or three years up there.

So I think there's some underlying issues we need, or you folks, I would like you to look at. I could tell you, over the years we have some very good friends, in Kobuk, when I'm the one that normally with another person, takes the boat up river or down river and if we stop and have lunch some of the locals will stop and see if we have problems, out of courtesy whether we are going up or down river. We have good friends from the postmistress in Kobuk to some of the locals and we do business at the store.

I think the economic impact, we are always talking about economic impact in these communities, we have some economics for these communities. Just to sum up, I'm concerned about displacement of the hunters' access. It's like the nose of the camel under the tent, what the next step for displacement for control? Thank you.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Thank you sir, questions? Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If you were on this side of the table, and you were told by local folks that increases… that use from outside is increasing on them, and that it's concentrating in areas that have traditionally been very important that to the point they are beginning to fell unwelcomed in their own back yard, what would you do?

MIKE GRIFFIN — There are some areas within the state, that there's a permit, for camping. I think that maybe that could be looked at. I think that we have to look at economic development and that's part of it. I think it's an enforcement issue. We're talking about wanton waste of game. I think that's granted, in all due respect to the public safety, I've never seen in eight years, I've never seen a trooper, warden in that area, and my colleges that hunt with me have not. I think that's an issue. I think that's probably going to get worse before the state budget may bring these up. So that's a problem.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Matz?

GEORGE MATZ — Correct me if I'm wrong, but my recollection, especially for the last Board of Game meeting where we discussed this, is that you wouldn't be precluded from using the area, if you have a boat in Kobuk. What kind of boat is it?

MIKE GRIFFIN — Jet drive. It's ajon boat, 20-foot jon boat with a jet unit on it.

GEORGE MATZ — Let's see, one of the testimonies we have, one of the advisory committees is suggesting an amendment that leaves out the jet drive and just has air boats. So, does that make any difference in terms of your (unintelligible).

MIKE GRIFFIN — That, and use an air boat?

GEORGE MATZ — It would limit airboats and airplanes, and not jet boats, one of the amendments that's being proposed. Does that changes things for you?

MIKE GRIFFIN — That would help. The next issue, we folks that are fortunate enough to have an airplane to get in and out.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Any questions. Thank you.

MIKE GRIFFIN — Thank you.

TAPE 7B (350-512

JOE JACKSON — Good afternoon Mr. Chair, Greg Roczicka, distinguished board members, ladies and gentlemen. My name is Joe Jackson. I am here to testify on Proposal 55, establishing a controlled use area in the Kobuk River. In November, I participated in a workshop, along with my wife and several other people and board members.

As a point of clarity, I am opposed to proposal 55 as originally drafted under proposal 37. I have however asked to the amended proposal that is in this winter's meeting book. I recognize the need and the challenges between the Mauneluk and the Pah River.

I applaud the Kobuk Advisory Committee for deleting the jet-boat provision and the reason I applaud them for doing that is, Raymond Woods is an *Iñupiaq* man and he's a good positive role model for Native young men and women in bush Alaska, to see this entrepreneurial spirit that young people need to see for future opportunities and to see somebody succeeding in that.

Moving on, I would like review some of my family's background. For some of you, this will be redundant. My wife, Robbie Jackson, and our children operate two businesses on the Kobuk. I bring my wife Robbie in tow. She generally, I been told as a Tlingit man sometimes I get inflammatory and confrontational. I found it is good to have her to temper and moderate my behavior. She will be testifying later today. She operates the, is the owner and operator of the store. It has been in her family over seventy years. The family collectively operates the rafting company, we rent out to rafters.

I have flown the entire state. I've learned one thing, that nothing beats the beauty of the Kobuk River Valley. It's one of the best kept secrets in Alaska.

I testify representing a group of users that has not been represent-

ed, and that is the floaters, rafters, kayakers, that come up to enjoy the Kobuk and the National Park structure and the Northwest Alaska.

A consideration that this board has been wrestling with, is that adopting the conditional use area this might sent a very disturbing message to other Alaskans, other Americans, and other international guests, that you are not welcome. That is my big concern about this proposal.

Having close family connections along the Kobuk River, it makes no sense for us to exploit or abuse these resources.

I can proudly say that our rafting company enjoys a good positive respectful relationship with the people of the region, the regional corporation, the National Park Service. We do well to brief our customers on leaving the area as they found it, clean up after themselves, and respect Native allotments. We try to meet on regular basis with the regional corporation and go over the Native allotments and pass that on to our users. More importantly, we listen to the villagers on how we could be better neighbors.

Talk a little bit about rural economies. Since statehood, and prior to statehood, one of the predominant questions is how to develop and promote economic opportunities in predominately rural Alaska. This still remains a big challenge. These village economies are still extremely fragile. Any slight disruptions can cause their collapse.

Management tools of control use area is usually used in most dire circumstances, I am sure you are aware. Does management area 23 have biological threat to the subsistence resources? Your own department in Fish and Game biologist have recorded and stated that no biological reason to support this proposal. The Governor's Subsistence Task Force provides provision to support rural priorities.

I would like to take a moment to highlight some of the November meeting and January meetings. Fish and Wildlife Protection has remained neutral on this proposal. They stated that the hunting corridors have always increased the numbers and create enforcements problems. The bottom line is that Fish and Wildlife would not have the staff to police this controlled use area.

Your own department of law has made some attention grabbing comments about control use area being a lighting rods and the state legislature has threaten to strip the Board of Game of the conditional use language,as a results of a lawsuits over the Noatak Conditional Use areas. Possibly we need to look at stronger case history, as pointed out. The Board of Game cannot regulate public safety issues. The National Park Service doesn't support a conditional use area unless there is a biological threat.

There was some dissention among the Lower Kobuk Advisory Committee not supporting proposal 37 or 55 saying it would be a much larger area and worried about overlapping and hunters moving downstream.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Conclude your statements, please.

Annotation — *The Board limits public testimony to 5 minutes and advisory committee testimony to 15 minutes. The chair is reminding Mr. Jackson that his 5 minutes have expired.*

JOE JACKSON — OK. The Alaska Department of Fish and Game Conservation, as I said they say there is no biological reason to support this.

I think, for the Board of Game to consider adopting proposal 57 as it was originally written, it is imperative that you have overwhelming support from the Department of Law, the Public Safety, Fish and Game, and the user groups up there. I don't, quite frankly, think you have that yet.

We all need to be reading from the same music sheet. Please don't make your decisions based on race or intolerance. Don't make these decisions based on a few screaming voices, that they just don't like the other user groups. This is not a *Iñupiaq* attitude shared by all the NANA region.

I would like to talk about the board of ethics disclosure…

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — OK. Your time is complete. Board members, have any questions?

DANA PRUHS — I would like to hear him continue his testimony.

JOE JACKSON — Thank you.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — No objections? Go ahead.

JOE JACKSON — You heard most of my testimony, on previous, I kind of clarified my position.

But something I need to bring to light I feel strongly about, is the Board of Ethics Disclosure that you start each meeting with. I don't think there is any ethics problems with this Board. At each meeting, each of the Board members swears that there is no conflict of interest that exists as to impair or affect their impartiality of that board member's ability to preside over hearings on proposals before them. The Board and the public take these ethics disclosures very seriously, as they should.

Addressing specifically Proposal 55, the conditional use area on the Kobuk River, I, Joe Jackson, pray that the Board of Game will thoroughly investigate a breach of ethics by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game's Kotzebue office, where two employees employed by this Department and this Board have possibly not disclosed their financial and otherwise interests in property on the Kobuk and Maunelluk River.

There's a couple gentlemen up there that are very articulate, intelligent and persuasive. They have facilitated and moderated various

Kobuk Advisory Committee meetings in Kobuk, Shungnak, and Kiana. Terms that come to mind are pushing personal agendas during the meeting, and otherwise influencing or setting the tone of the meeting. I think there is a significant conflict of interest when you have facilitators at these meeting that own cabins right smack dab in the proposed conditional use area.

I wrote letters to the Director, Wayne Regelin, that I think they ought to have different facilitators. I think that a lot of this has been incited unnecessarily.

When I reviewed the draft recommendation for the Board of Game proposals, there was some very disturbing, I read through this and read through the rationales, and I realize the rational are just comments made by the support staff. But I read through each one of the rationales on each one of these proposals and looked for some objectivity. Obviously I am very passionate about 55. But I look at Proposal 55, and it is very inflammatory. It does not have anything to substantiate facts, figures and games. When we look at managing fish and game what we really ought to be looking at is not so much, excusive me for the rhetoric, the people. But we ought to be looking at bag and season limits.

I encourage you to read through the, I won't read it verbatim, but please read through the department, the rationale on Proposal 55, and spend a few minutes, before you deliberate on it and then, I am sure you have looked at others. This just doesn't belong in here, this type of attitude. It's inflammatory. It's divisive. And we don't like it. Thank you.

Annotation

In his comments about Department of Fish and Game staff, Jackson is referring to Jim Dau and Jim Magdanz. Dau, the ADF&G area biologist for Unit 23, facilitated a series of user conflict meetings in Unit 23. Jim Magdanz, an ADF&G subsistence resource specialist for Unit 23, is the author-editor of this report. Jim Dau owns a cabin on the Kobuk River between Mauneluk and Pah Rivers. Jim Magdanz owns a cabin on the Mauneluk River several miles above the confluence with the Kobuk River. Before the Board deliberated on Proposal 55, assistant Attorney General Kevin Saxby and Board Chair Greg Roczicka responded to Jackson's comments.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA

Questions? Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER

As you said Joe, you were part of the work group that hashed this over. If I understood you at the beginning of your testimony, you said that you acquiesced to the result of that. There has been time for the local folks to chew this over since then, have the feathers settled pretty good, do you think? Are we on the right track here?

JOE JACKSON

Yeah. I have been informed on what the Kobuk Advisory Committee

had said as they, like I said, they had dropped out the jet boat provision. I think that was good, good for the community.

Now keep in mind that when we started this dialogue, it was what, 5,400 square miles, originally? We narrowed it down to 135 square miles, into the real problem or the conflict use area between the Mauneluk and the Pah Rivers. My only, I guess bone of contention, would be extending it up back to the Reed River. It is not that I question customary and traditional use, but there is some question that I have on overlapping jurisdiction, state overlapping into federal, I don't know. If I looked at the map, Reed River is within the Gates of the Arctic National Park.

I think the amended verbiage, just dealing with Mauneluk and the Selby, will cover all the needs of the Kobuk River people. When you say acquiesced, yeah, I worked with these people and recognize the need.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Any other questions. Mr. Matz.

GEORGE MATZ — Joe, remember the meeting in November, with that late night session we had, drawing all the lines on a map and everything. Some people, trying to visualize some of those maps again, buts some people testified that this proposal involves all state land? Is that, well, comments I heard before that this involves all state land, and then you get beyond the critical, proposed critical use area and it's all federal land, and the implication is they couldn't be able to use that land.

So I am a little confused about that. I mean that, can you still land a float plane in the federal area? Can't you?

JOE JACKSON — Yes you could, but then it becomes safety issues. For these float plane operators above the Selby, just wouldn't to much of that. Like we use a float plane operator for our float trips, and he just basically goes into Minakokosa Lake, which is in federal lands.

GEORGE MATZ — So float planes would be excluded from the federal areas and the ideal landing areas are in the state-owned portion of the river. Is that, do have that right?

JOE JACKSON — Well probably some of the ideal, in that area between the Mauneluk and Selby, the only real workable areas are both at the Mauneluk and the Pah, that I can really clearly identify. The only reason that, most of the identified issues, the conflict issues were between Mauneluk and the Pah River. How we came with Selby had to do with the migration of the fish up the Selby Creek, as I remember. This seem to uniformly fit into the map that it was state property.

I talked a little bit with Raymond Woods on how many people actually get above the Selby River on a regular and frequent basis, not too many upper Kobuk people do, because you need jet units to get up

there. I think, for the most part, by leaving the way it was amended, I think this Board would accomplish what it needs to do.

I don't like the idea of conditional use areas, but I am willing to work with it. That is all about I have to say on it.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Julie did you have something?

JOE JACKSON — Thank you very much for your time.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Thank you, Mr. Jackson.

TAPE 8A (230-455)

HENRY HORNER — My name is Henry Horner. I am from Kobuk. I am with the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee, which consists of members from Shungnak, Ambler and Kobuk. This being the first day my testimony will under RC 31.

We had our meeting in Shungnak on January 8. There was discussions and I got to that meeting kind of late. There was discussions on Game Proposal 55. During that discussion an amendment was made by that committee, stating that aircraft and air boats would be restricted, and to remove the jet boat from there.

Also on the controlled use area, there was a discussion about it and that meeting I looked at it from past hunting of my own, from what I learned about 40 years ago, which was taught to me. After I looked at that area I realized that area was not enough for some of us. So I deferred that we have that control use area from mouth of the Mauneluk River and to the mouth of the Reed River. For the location, actually they had like 3 miles below Mauneluk River and 3 miles above Selby Creek. But then if you look at the map you would want to hope that our 3 miles would be like that and there was discussion on the jet boats.

There are a number of us that run jet unit boats, that would refer to us, too, also on the jet boats, so it was option to remove the jet boat for the time being. But then if it became an issue that we would like to bring that back up again.

Fred Sun had asked the committee how many people thought there were too many outside hunters and almost all hands were raised. Also, if the proposed controlled use area would change that, but very few thought so.

A guy from Kobuk reported that he was at the mouth of the Beaver Creek last summer and he found 4 caribou carcasses, with the head and skin taken, no meat was taken. It was not floaters and there was just airplane tire tracks on the gravel.

After the discussions, Rosa Horner said that in the future they should have a destruction of trophy value provision, they seen hunter come just for antlers and sometimes take meat or just cut their head

off.

I guess that we need to be discussing more in the committees, in the future. Like maybe having what the Koyukuk have in their plan. There was a discussion to also to have a central point to where people who are hunting in an area, report there and when they return , report what they get and what for ,subsistence or trophy. If it is for subsistence use and if they say they take it for trophy value, you know the antler will be still cut up so the trophy value will not be there. There was some discussion on that and also that on the jet boats , the local jet boats are not a problem. If people get dropped off and float down river, I think on that it was for two cycle jet boat and inboard boats. The topic was on that and after a lengthy discussion, since it would affect the local people, that was dropped off.

We will probably bring that issue back up if it becomes a problem again. This is just for the inboard users. It was okay for the local people if the noise problem was minimized, you know, maybe fixing mufflers on the boats or something like that. For the time being they had to remove that.

Also there was guy that said there were three guys that are operating like Scott Ravenscroft, Raymond Woods, and Joe Jackson and they are not the only ones. There are also float planes from Bettles, Fairbanks dropping hunter and they are after big moose. There is one who is operating between Ambler and Shungnak.

I guess in the first Proposal on 55, they started the area from Hunt River to Pah River and after a lengthy discussion, we decided the area be from mouth of Mauneluk to the mouth of the Reed.

Like I mentioned, 40 years ago when I first start going up there we did not have this CUA and when I hunted up there I very seldom see people or airplanes and there was mostly the local peoples. Getting back to this , we were unfortunate last fall that the caribou migration and we were wondering how it would effect us, due to late migration, the local hunter did not bag their limits.

We plan to have meeting more. There was some talk about fish, too. But we told the people that this was for hunting issue problem right now, but we would be able to discuss the other issues later.

The group discussed how much territory that would add, land marks like it would move from the current, land mark like three miles below mouth of Mauneluk to three miles above Selby, those were discussed. But then even though a few hunt way above the Reed, you know the local people use that area and when the local people hunting in that area we try not to go in that area, where they are hunting. We tend to move further up and that is why the area was extended up the Reed River.

There was discussions about float plane traffic may concentrate just outside the boundary from the control use area. The Kobuk River village people prefer that the people get picked up below the Mauneluk River or would rather have them come through the village. Some

discussed that those people coming to town should bring their trash to town, instead of leaving on the river. I guess this is an issue for all users, you know if you use the land that we should be able to clean up after ourself, this would help the people using that area.

I guess they mentioned in about 3 years to consider the Koyukuk type plan with the check point being in Kobuk , so I guess that will be a topic for that committee in the future. I think that most who rely the hunting areas that we were taught and this was how I use that area, myself and it was taught to me, so I plan to teach this to the younger people, even though we don't use this area that much now do to gas prices.

Your luxury of having $1.50 gallon down here and at home we pay like $3.50 per gallon for gas, but then still we are able to buy gas and do our hunting.

Our hunting is mostly for subsistence use and that is why with a wide area like that from the mouth of Mauneluk to Reed River. It would be fairer even though there are some people that come in, for floating and hunting and they are in the area that we hunt, we will decide to check to see which area they are not in, to locally hunting.

I am new to this advisory committee and for your information to, this is the first time I testify to some people like this. But then you know for the people they used the area since I have known. We use to never have these problems cause, till our River was one of the wild scenic river couple years back, maybe. That is when it was opened up, maybe.

But then we should be able to work with each other, in order to fulfill their hunting needs. Instead of just trying to say, blame someone and say that the locals do it or maybe the locals will say that outside hunters do this.

If there is a way that we can work these out that way your hunting would be great, instead of not being on the other side.

Also the committee reauthorized the antlerless moose season, which passed unanimously.

Also reauthorized the brown bear tag exemption , those passed unanimously.

Our representative of the western arctic caribou herd working group met last month, made a report on that too.

Later this spring the group plan to meet again. We have some people coming, to help us from Kotzebue like Jim Dau, Jim Magdanz, Susan Bucknell and some others, and some other some people from other organizations from Kotzebue.

That is pretty much my testimony from our advisory committee meeting.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Thank you, Henry. Any questions, board members? Mr. Steveler.

GREG STREVELER Thank you. When you think back on all that you said, has the issue got

clear enough for the people up there now, that they are ready to act on it or do you think they need more time to go round and round.

HENRY HORNER

When the issue, you know there were 3 issues before we were trying to amend, on Proposal 55 the issues were like for airplanes, air boats, also jet boats, and also the locations, like from the mouth of the Maun-eluk River to the Selby, those were discussed. Then for the time we had to meet with those people that came into help us on this meeting, if we kept talking you know it would have been late, for some others.

So we decided to take off the jet boats for the time being and just work and see how the airplane and air boats issue would come up. The reason we left those on is, what if someone came with a hover craft one of these day. That is why we decided to see how that issue would work on airplanes and air boats first. In the future, if the jet boats and stuff become a problem, maybe we will decide to start discussing those issues again.

Does that answer your question?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA

Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER

Part ways. But I guess what I am wondering is, in addition to what you said, you think the that local people have had come to a clear enough and reading the minds on it , that we should go ahead and enact some-thing or do you need more time on the local area to talk about it.

HENRY HORNER

I think that they were the conclusion that it would be good, but then, no, the future that were able to amend to the current issues, that you guys act on , you know maybe, that is why they dropped some issues off, so that if we are able to amend to that one you guys passed, you know that would probably work for us.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA

Any other questions? If not, thank you, Henry, for your speech.

HENRY HORNER

Thanks.

TAPE 8B (303-383)

FRED ANDERSEN

Thank you Mr. Chairman. My name is Fred Andersen, and I work for the National Park Service in Fairbanks, primarily as a fishery biologist. But from time to time I deal with wildlife issues as they affect the Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve or the Yukon-Charley National Preserve.

My testimony here today will be very brief, and is directed to Proposal 55 only.

Before you figure this out on your own, I am going to say that my understanding of this issue is somewhat superficial. I have never worked in this part of the state. I have never been on the ground in this particular area. Most of what I know, or think I know, about the issue

is somewhat second hand.

The National Park Service is sympathetic with the local concerns embodied, brought forward by this proposal. We commend them, and this Board as well, for spending as much time as has been and will have been spent on this issue trying to come to a fair and equitable settlement.

Having said that, the Park Service is neutral on this proposal. We have no recommendations, in part because, at least with respect to the proposal's effect on users whose trips originate within the Park preserve, the effect is very limited, would be very limited.

For the past three years, the Park Service has had people in the field in this area, inside the Preserve, on the Kobuk River itself, a couple miles upstream from the, a few miles upstream from the Selby River confluence. They were there for the purpose of interviewing folks as they floated through the area, and determining where they were from and what they were up there, and levels of harvest, and some enforcement aspects I suppose.

In looking at this data, just real briefly, in 1999, and this is exclusive of local parties that were encountered up there in this area. These interviews, by the way, were conducted during the hunting season between late August, 28th of August and September 21st, sort of the peak of the hunting season. It does not include, again, it does not include encounters with local folks, nor does it include people who were sight-seeing or sport fishing only. Only those that might be affected by a proposal of this sort.

In 1999, there were a total of 18 parties interviewed, 3 of which gained access to the area affected by this proposal by aircraft. That year, 5 of the 18 parties flew out of the affected area by aircraft.

The next year, none of the 15 parties interviewed, and I'm sure that we didn't get all the folks that were passing through there, but of this sample, this relatively small sample, 15 parties, none gained access by aircraft, and 8 flew out, mostly out of the Pah River area. The ones that flew out of the affected area did so from near the mouth of the Pah.

This past year, 2001, there were 22 parties interviewed. One of those gained access by flying into the Kobuk River within the affected area, and six flew out.

So the affect of the proposal as written, recommended I should say, by the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee would be the elimination of six or seven flights a year.

Realizing that a great deal of the air traffic is generated by sport fishermen in the vicinity of the mouth of the Pah River, that the overall noise level, impact of crowding, would be very little, seems to me, would be very little affected by adoption of the proposal.

That's all I had. If there are questions I will try to answer them. Those are my comments.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Thanks, Mr. Andersen. Questions Board members? Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Fred, when you're citing the proposal are you using the boundary the way that we had it when the work group left, or does it now go up to the Reed?

FRED ANDERSEN — When I went through these numbers, I included the amended, amended upstream boundary, which is the mouth of the Reed River. But in thinking about that, only a few of the people entered the river upstream from the mouth of the Selby. It didn't make much difference, no.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Julie.

JULIE MAIER — Those are interesting numbers. Maybe you said it and I didn't hear. How are those people getting there, generally?

FRED ANDERSEN — For the most part, they are using air taxi operators out of Bettles and out of Kotzebue. For the most part, they are flying into Minakakosa Lake and Nuktuvukti Lake, and, to a lesser extent, Selby and Walker Lakes. Those four lakes are all outside of the proposed corridor.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Anybody else?

The various parties that you mentioned being interviewed, if they were not taken out of the proposed controlled use area, would they have floated on down part there then and been picked up…

FRED ANDERSEN — Well, presumably, they would have had to exit the area… Excuse me (*the chair had not finished his question*).

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — …down at Kobuk, or the village of Kobuk?

FRED ANDERSEN — Well, presumably, they would have had to exit the area downstream from the Mauneluk, the lower boundary, that's common to the two amended forms of the proposal, which would add another, I defer to Jim Magdanz or one of the local guys, but it might add half a days float or so. It might lengthen the trip by about that amount.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — OK. We went over that at our work session (unintelligible). Any other questions?

FRED ANDERSEN — Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

TAPE 9A (028-230)

RAYMOND WOODS — Mr. Chairman, board members, good afternoon. My name is Raymond Woods. I am an *Iñupiaq* Eskimo from the Kobuk River from the village of Shungnak, born and raised there pretty much all my life.

My father, a little bit background on my father, and my people on the Kobuk River. My father was, my grandfather was a reindeer herder and my father and he (unintelligible) his reindeer herd from Nome to Canada across the Brooks range which most part of the Kobuk River.

So most of my knowledge in hunting, trapping and fishing I learned, it was taught to me by my father on the Kobuk River. And if you look around this room right now, I've spent more time on that river than anybody else here with the exception of Henry Horner who is the representative of NANA.

But, anyway, get back to the, I'm here to oppose Proposal 55 on prohibiting jet boats. What I am going to do is go ahead and read the letter that I sent here for somebody to read for me, to represent me in November.

In 1996 when I retired from the Alaska National Guard, after 22 years of service, I was not only supported but encouraged by the NANA Corporation and the Northwest Arctic Borough leaders to start my fishing and transporting business on the Kobuk River. I felt that this would be a great way help my village economically. But most of all I wanted to provide some competition to the outsiders who have been bringing people to hunt on the Kobuk River for many many years.

To some people what I do may appear to be easy , but I have had to overcome many challenges just to get my business started and I had to have a lot of requirements to meet and a lot to follow. I have had to obtain a Coast Guard License and keep it current. I have had to get a transporter and business license. I have had to get a land-use permit on native land, state land and federal waters. I have invested over $50,000 in supplies, equipment and advertisement to start this business. Now that this is established I am able to support my family with a striving business. This is one of the most basic foundations of our nation, the American dream.

I have averaged more than 100 hour a season in my 350-horse-power jet inboard operating between the village of Kobuk and the Selby River. I personally see wildlife everyday and I have numerous pictures and video footage to prove it and show it to my clients.

I also used my boat this past season, putting an extra 50 hours on it , by donating weeks of my time and fuel to help the search and rescue of drowning victims.

However when I am transporting I see very few local natives hunting up river between the Mauneluk River and the Pah River because of the river get so shallow to run boats with conventional lower unit outboards. At times when I am alone I wonder why natives are not hunting when there are so much game available.

I have concerns of the noise from airplanes and hope my business will minimize the number of airplanes operating in the area and protect the animals and ensure the welfare of my people.

Nevertheless change is inevitable no matter how hard we try to

fight it. Tourism is a big part of the state's revenue. We can chose to take part in it now or watch it pass us by, better yet we can chose local people to be successful.

It is inevitable that the Outside people will take the opportunity. I for one do not want sit back and watch opportunity pass by me.

In closing, I like for you to consider the future of our children. How can we tell them to get a good education and strife for success and then say, but don't try to come back and to be successful to start your own business because you may or may not get support. You may close down if some people do not agree with your success.

I am trying to set a good example for our children and show them that you can be successful and not be doomed to a life poverty, drugs and alcohol. My business not only benefits me , but also benefits America, our state, our children, and my people as well.

Same sorts of people create from my business have brought increase purchase of gas, groceries, crafts, and transportation (boats and planes) at the local stores and businesses. My business is a prime example of the kind of opportunities that is available in the country and what good old fashioned hard work can do to become successful.

That pretty much concludes my presentation on the proposal 55.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Any questions for Raymond?

DANA PRUHS — You said you started your business in 1996? Is that correct?

RAYMOND WOODS — Yes, I started the study to see what I can do and I had, like two groups of clients. I studied my business before I opened it up.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Follow up?

DANA PRUSHS — Yes. If not for proprietary information how many people do you transport up?

RAYMOND WOODS — On an average? Average now after pretty much of five years of it, I now, hunters and fisherman together I average like about 45 people, 45 to 50 people per season, that is two months.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Miss Julie Maier, and Mr. Streveler.

JULIE MAIER — To Raymond, thank you for you talking to us. You might be aware or not that the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee had ask us to amend Proposal 55 to take out the mention of jet boats.

RAYMOND WOODS — Yes Ma'am.

JULIE MAIER — You still oppose proposal 55?.

RAYMOND WOODS — Yes, not only on the jet boats , that is the reason I came here. I talked

with Henry Horner who is the representative of NANA and he said that I can work with him on the lowering the noise. So I am doing a research on it and I have some lead way on in taking care of the noise, it by lowering the diesel size engine and put a bigger pump on the jet unit. I got a 350 jet with a 3 stage Kodiak and I have to run high RPM's in order to stay on float, on step.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Thank you Mr. Chairman. Julie pretty much covered what I want. Except, I thought that I heard you say that you were thinking of installing underwater exhaust on your boats to cut the noise down, is that something you thinking of.

RAYMOND WOODS — Actually, my inboard do have a underwater exhaust, right now. The reason we need to run high RPM's is it got a smaller pump, jet unit pump. I have called around and called the maker of Aurora jet boats and they said that we need to get you into diesel to satisfy the people in your area with a smaller engine with a bigger pump let noise and more efficient on gas/fuel.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Continue, Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Not getting into proprietary stuff, is that economically feasible?

RAYMOND WOODS — I'm sorry, can you repeat that?

GREG STREVELER — Is it economically feasible to make that switch to diesel?

RAYMOND WOODS — Uh some sort of manufacturing stuff?

GREG STREVELER — Can you afford to switch to diesel?

RAYMOND WOODS — Actually in doing that I would have to sell my boat, find a buyer on the Kobuk River. Who is not a transporter like me making all that noise and just use for recreational use and if he can afford it. Then I would have change over to diesel to make the noise lower. I would like to bring up another thing Mr. Chairman on that point, uh my operation is 75 miles up river from the village of Shungnak , the reason I bring my clients so far up river on state land is to stay away from local hunters. Now if they would somehow close that on jet boats up on the Kobuk River , between Mauneluk River and Reed River, they would have to force me down to Shungnak just around the bend from the village on the sand bars where it is legal for my clients to hunt. I don't want to that because it would cause a bigger conflict.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Any questions? Thanks for coming. Raymond. Thank you.

TAPE 9A (230-301)

ROBBIE JACKSON

Good afternoon thank you for having me or hearing my testimony. I just have a couple comments, and it's real short. I'm Robbie Jackson from Kobuk Wild Kobuk Runners, which is a recreational business, strictly, pretty much.

I oppose Proposal 55. Basically, I feel that all the players are not involved in this. In order to move forward, we need to go back to the advisory committee and have the commercial users involved in the meetings and the process of this and I don't feel like that we have been included in these meetings.

I don't know how many of you lived in a small community, the singles, probably, familiar with this. But anytime you get into a small community and you have these types of issues come up, generally there is a particular group that dominates and I feel like that we are getting shoved in this direction. So I'm frustrated here today. For the Board's information, I think you need to go back to the drawing board on a lot of these issues and involve everyone.

I guess I have a question for you folks. Before you move forward on something like this, what has to be involved? How much input do you have to have on it? On the case like this?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA

We are legally prepared to go forward as we fit as a board. We have already deferred this proposal once to gain that precedence. But we certainly provided public extra amount of time to comment. That's as far as it goes with anyone's guess this year. Any questions on Jackson's testimony? Streveler.

GREG STREVELER

Robbie, can you be exclusive as to which group you think have been sort of short changed so far in the process? Uh you and Joe have been involved quite a bit, huh?

ROBBIE JACKSON

Yes down here at Anchorage. You know I would have liked to have been involved with the Advisory Committee meeting that took place in Shungnak. I really feel that for the committee like this totally fair to all involved that there should be couple seat open to users like ourselves that are in business, rather then a group of just local individuals making these decisions. How can we work together if we are not there to have input on something like this, it just doesn't make sense to me. I guess I am strictly talking on the commercial end of it.

I totally understand the frustration of the people up there, because I am from there. But I think on something like this it is pretty extreme and so, like Mr. Woods had to say, we are new in the business and there because we are part of the community and like to see the people come up there and see that part of the country and enjoy it and utilize the opportunity to make some money.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Mr. Pruhs.

DANA PRUHS Thank you . Do your business use boats, airplanes at all with your business, basically for your clients?

ROBBIE JACKSON Basically, they come into Kobuk, generally out of Fairbanks with Warbelow's, and we have Ambler Air Service pick up our clients from Kobuk and take them up to Lake Minakokosa for the drop off and they float the rivers. They float down the Beaver River into the Kobuk River and down to the village of Kobuk, where their trip ends. Yes we are using air taxi out of Ambler to transport our clients up to the lake.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA No other questions? Thank you for coming. Robbie. Thank you.

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TAPE 12A (303)

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Grussendorf.

BEN GRUSSENDORFT — Thank you, Mr. Chair. We'll move to one that isn't quite as controversial. (laughter) At this time, I move to adopt proposal number 55 creating a controlled area use on the Kobuk Area, unit 23.

JULIE MAIER — Second.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Ms. Wheeler.

POLLY WHEELER — Thank you Mr. Chair. Mr. Magdanz does have a presentation prepared for this. He went out, I guess the Board copier is currently not working, so went out to make copies of it. He will be back shortly. But I understand that Mr. Dau has a presentation also on this proposal. So hopefully he will be back, soon.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Thank you. Mr. Dau. Mr. Dau, whenever you're ready, take it away.

JIM DAU — Thank you Mr. Chair. My name is Jim Dau. I am the Unit 23 area biologist.

Proposal 55 would create a new controlled use area restricting the use of airplanes, airboats, and 2-cycle outboard or inboard jet-driven boats for hunting in the middle and upper Kobuk River drainage during August 15 through September 30.

The Department has no recommendation. There is no biological reason to support or oppose a controlled use area in the upper Kobuk River drainage. The Board may want to consider an amendment to proposal 55, submitted by the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee.

What I thought I'd do is just get everybody up to speed. I'd show you the chronology of how we got here today to talk about this.

This is record copy 75, I just learned. I'll give Peter just one minute to show on the screen as well.

Annotation — *Jim is waiting for Peter Bente to get his maps and figures on the projector so the board and audience can see them.*

JIM DAU — Proposal 37 was submitted by the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee for the November 2001 Board of Game meeting. At that November meeting, an amendment to proposal 55 (Jim meant to say proposal 37) was developed during an informal meeting work session by Board of Game members, advisory committee representatives, department staff,

and individuals representing commercial operators.

This amendment to proposal 37 differed substantially from the original proposal. Therefore, the Board of Game deferred proposal 37 to this meeting, the January 2002 meeting to provide additional opportunity for public comment.

As soon as I got back from the November meeting, I draft a letter and sent it to all commercial operators who work in Unit 23 that described the amended proposal. I provided the original proposal, and I gave them instructions for submitting comments to the Board of Game.

This proposal booklet that you're considering now was published, and in this booklet it's proposal 55 that deals with the amendment to the upper Kobuk original proposal 37.

On January 8, there was an advisory committee meeting. The upper Kobuk Advisory Committee met. That advisory committee and residents of up-river villages developed two amendments to proposal 55.

The first was to apply the restriction only to airplane and airboats, that is, they dropped all reference to jet boats. The reason for that was that the jet boat restriction would impact too many local subsistence hunters. Secondly, they felt that restriction would unfairly impact only one transporter who uses an inboard jet boat. They said at the advisory committee meeting that individual had talked to the chairman of the advisory committee and offered to try and modify his boat and make it quieter. Therefore, they dropped the reference to jet boats.

The second proposed amendment they would like you to consider, that they would propose, is to increase the size of the controlled use area. The roughly doubled the length of river miles. The reason for that, they said, the area included in Proposal 55 would not be large enough to adequately protect subsistence uses. Then the second thing was, they wanted to have an area delineated by boundaries that would be recognizable from the river by people who may not be familiar with the area. So they wanted to have landmarks, instead of an area starting three miles below or three miles above some river.

Next slide (table comparing proposals)

What I have done here, is summarized in a table, several things. The first column is for proposal 37, that was the original proposal you considered last November. The middle column is proposal 55, that is published in this book. Then the last column on the right are the amendments proposed by the upper Kobuk Advisory Committee.

Proposal 37: The area description was five miles either side of the Kobuk River and all its tributaries from the Hunt River to its headwaters in the Kobuk. That was about 225 river miles for the main stem of the Kobuk. The area was huge, 5,400 square miles and the dates that it would have been effective was August 1 through September 30. The original proposal would have affected airplanes and jet boats.

This proposal, 55, that came from the work session back in

November. The size of the area was substantially reduced. It would extend only three miles either side from the main stem of the Kobuk from three miles below the Mauneluk River mouth to three miles above the mouth of the Selby River. That's only about 25 river miles along the main stem of the Kobuk. The area was 150 square miles. And the duration of the controlled use area was shortened as well, by about two weeks, it would have been August 15 through September 30.

The restrictions were actually broadened, it would include airplanes, airboats, two-cycle and inboard jet boats. The amendments that the upper Kobuk Advisory Committee would like you to consider: They have changed the area from proposal 55, they have about doubled the size of the area. They would have it go from three miles either side of the main stem of the Kobuk River from the mouth of the Mauneluk river to the mouth of the Reed River.

That's about 50 river miles, or 50 straight line miles along the main stem of the Kobuk River. The area is 300 square miles. The same dates, August 15 through September 30. And as I said, they have restricted only airplanes and airboats.

Next slide (map of the upper Kobuk area).

This is probably the most meaningful slide. What we have done here is, this is proposal 55, this is the area described by proposal 55 in the green. That's three miles above the mouth of the Selby. That's three miles below the mouth of the Mauneluk.

What the upper Kobuk Advisory Committee would like you to consider as a possible amendment is the mouth of Mauneluk River to the Selby, I'm sorry, mouth of the Reed River.

What we have done here is we've added longitude lines to make it easier for people to kind of understand where the area would be. So that's all this is, is just the longitude lines, we didn't include latitude lines.

The last thing I'll say is, I think there are really two components, or primary components to the issue up there. One is just aircraft activity at the mouth of the Pah River. The mouth of the Pah River is really an important subsistence use area in the fall for both fishing and hunting.

The second major component of the problem, I think though, is more general. It just has to do with numbers of people in this stretch of the river, regardless of how they got there, whether they are floaters or got their with an airplane.

That's all I have.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Thank you Jim. I might ask if anyone has any questions of Mr. Dau of what he has provided so far. Mr. Fleagle.

MIKE FLEAGLE: I'm just wondering if this proposed change that comes before us here would affect the numbers that Fred Andersen gave us from the Na-

tional Park Service aircraft contact up in there? I think those numbers are going to be germane to this whole question, too. I don't know, Jim, if you have that or not. But I notice Fred is still in the audience.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Dau.

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair. Mr. Fleagle. I guess I'm not sure what Fred presented. I'd better not try and answer that.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — What I'd like you to respond to here as well, it was mentioned several times in testimony both here and prior that, again, this is only going to affect hunting and it wouldn't affect those who are accessing the area by aircraft for fishing purposes, which in some people's minds far outweigh the number of people who are coming in for hunting. So as far as any practical effect about reducing the amount of traffic in the area, what practical purpose would it serve.

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair. When I got to Kotzebue in '88, the mouth of the Pah and conflicts between local subsistence fishermen and people who live outside the area coming there to sport fish for sheefish was really the only issue that I ever heard about. I didn't really hear about hunting at all.

The hunting component has probably just surfaced in the last five or six years. But it surfaced in a big way. I guess I don't want you to have the impression that 90 percent of the problem is fishermen just right there. I don't think it is. I think there is enough hunting activity in September, at least from the phone calls I get in my office, that that is a major component of the problem as well. But it's not the only component, as you correctly point out.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Back to the heart of it. Even if we did pass this, will it substantially reduce the amount of airplane traffic?

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair. As long as the area included that section of the Pah and it was long enough so that somebody couldn't land just barely above it and float through it, you know, I don't think you give them the option of landing at the mouth of the Pah. So yes, I think it would in that area make a big difference. Whether or not you really reduce overall numbers of people or aircraft activity in the entire upper Kobuk, I'm not as certain there that you will have any effect. But I think this proposal or amendment really would reduce congestion right at the mouth of the Pah.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Fleagle.

MIKE FLEAGLE — OK, I can probably rephrase my question, or Jim can might be able to give a better answer, too.

According to the testimony from Mr. Andersen yesterday, for the

past three years, we've been able to document three out of 18 hunters in 1999 were flown in, five were flown out. In 2000, zero were flown in; eight were flown out. In 2001, one was flown in; six were flown out. So estimating six to seven flights a year, that, to me, isn't really that many.

I'm just wondering, if we were to, based on your knowledge of this upper Kobuk and the attention that it's receiving now, are we going to see an explosive rate of increase, in your best guess, in the next several years or the next couple of years?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Dau.

JIM DAU — Mr Chair. Mr. Fleagle. I guess those numbers that you just read to me don't really jive with what I have heard from other people. Just over lunch time, we had a guide tells us quite different numbers than that. The numbers I hear aren't lower, they're higher. The little bit I've been up there in the fall flying around, I would say there is probably more airplane activity than those number. But maybe I am misinterpreting what you said.

As far as whether there is going to be a huge increase, an explosion in the next few years, I would guess probably not an explosion, but what we have seen, and what I showed you in November, I showed you a chart with just a linear increase in numbers of people who don't live in unit 23 coming there to hunt. I think that is going to continue. I think with more and more focus on the Western Arctic Herd, and more and more caribou hunters. I had data, comparable data for caribou - that graph I showed you was only for moose hunters - if I could include caribou hunters I think you see a non-linear growth. It would be much steeper.

So I don't look for that trend to change any time soon. I think it's going to continue. But I don't think it's going to explode in the next two years.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Jim, over lunch, as you know, we chewed on this some. You started out by phrasing the two questions that you thought this resolved itself into. One was, what happens at the mouth of the Pah. The other one is, what happens to the overall density of use along the corridor we have identified.

With regard to the first one, the one having to do strictly with the Pah, in your estimation, how long a strip would we have to deal with that focuses on the Pah in order to avoid, in order to have the effect we want, of actually reducing the use on that little spot at the mouth of the Pah itself, i.e. do we need the whole piece from the Mauneluk to the Selby like we were talking about, or can we reduce it from that and have the same effect?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Mr. Dau.

JIM DAU Mr. Chair. Mr. Streveler.

The mouth of the Pah is, here's the Pah right here, here's the mouth. It's an excellent question, Mr. Streveler, and I think you might get a different question from me than if you asked the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee. Part of the reason, the rationale, for describing this area or extending it up, is that it's not big enough. If you don't go, if you just go three miles above the mouth of the Selby, they're going to land right there, and they can just get to the mouth of the Pah so quick, it's not going to make any difference.

I don't have a real clear answer for you. I don't know exactly. But I do know from my experience on the Noatak that if you make an area that is very small in miles or very short in duration, that the commercial operators will circumvent that really easily. They land their clients just above it. They float down into. The day it goes away, they pick them up. For all intents and purposes, you have kept them out of there, you've kept the airplanes out of there, when it's in effect, but you haven't reduced the use at all.

I suspect, if you really squeeze this down much below what they've done here, that you're going to have the same thing. That you'll have the same numbers of people in here. But again, as long as you don't allow them to land right at the mouth of the Pah, that seems to be a real hot, a real sensitive place in the minds of the upper Kobuk people.

I guess it's hard for me to guess how many miles above or below the Pah you would have to draw the line before you would really achieve a substantial reduction in the numbers of people.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER So then, we sort of divide that issue into two pieces. One is what happens, what impact is it from float planes landing right at that spot? And what impact is there from people floating through and stopping there?

So it sounds like you are saying, in order to deal with the second limb of that, with the people floating through and stopping there, you've got to have something more or less as long as we've dealt with already, as we see before us on the map there. But that if we had a postage stamp, we could actually affect landings of craft, aircraft, at the spot itself. In the hypothetical instance that we made that postage stamp and stopped those landings, is that significant for the local people.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Go ahead, Jim.

JIM DAU Mr. Chair. Mr. Streveler.

I think so. That mouth of the Pah is such a critical spot, that I think people up there would see that as a benefit. Part of the problem with that being a pick-up spot is that in times of bad weather, the floaters get down to there, there's no plane. They sit and wait for the plane. They might wait for three, four, five, six days. So people keep piling up, piling up, right there. And that's exactly where people in Kobuk and Shungnak want to go seine whitefish and sheefish. So if you did just come up with a postage stamp spot, and it really didn't reduce numbers of people at all but it protected that one little spot, I think that would be seen as a benefit by people on the upper Kobuk. It would reduce some of the conflict.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Mr. Matz

GEORGE MATZ Jim, I guess what you're say is that if a plane can't land at the Pah for a pickup, then those who are floating by will continue on down to Kobuk and they would be piling up there, and that's a major part of the problem.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Go ahead, Jim.

JIM DAU Could you ask me that again. Sorry.

GEORGE MATZ Well, some of the pickups are taking place at the Pah and people are floating down and the weather is bad or something, if the plane isn't there, they have to wait, and other people come, and it gets congested. It's also a primary area for the locals in terms of their hunting. But if that opportunity, if that were closed out for a pickup, people would continue floating on down. They wouldn't pile up there. They would float down the Kobuk. You wouldn't have that pile up occurring. Is that what I am hearing you say?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Mr. Dau.

JIM DAU Mr. Chair. Mr. Matz.

Yes, that's right. People would either stop above the little postage stamp area, or they'd float below it. Now the one thing I don't have as good of information about, but I am told by some of the transporters out of Bettles that the reason they go to the mouth of the Pah is not to rub salt in an open would with local people. They go there because it is the only place where they have dependable deep water to pick people up. And so they may say if you identify just a little small area it impacts them just as much as a great big area. That's what they tell me on the phone.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA Mr. Pruhs.

DANA PRUHS Thank you. Does the additional pressure on this area correlate to an

increase because of any other closures or controlled management units in the northwest up there, (unintelligble) the Noatak. Do you see a correlation with the last five or six years with t he increase in pressure?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Dau.

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair. Mr. Pruhs.

I have been told that the Noatak probably, the Noatak Controlled Use Area probably displaced people to the upper Kobuk. Recently, I was told that the suite of regulations on the Koyukuk displaced hunters out of the Koyukuk and into the Kobuk.. Really, that's a short little distance there. And then the other thing I wanted to say though is just what is happening with moose populations in the rest of the unit. They're declining substantially in parts of the Noatak. Other things we have done besides controlled use areas, such as total closures for two weeks on the Noatak., that's probably contributed to numbers of people on the upper Kobuk. I think there's a number of things, not to mention closures in the rest of the state to sport hunters where they can go for combination hunts. There's a bunch of things that are kind of pushing people into the Kobuk and Selawik.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Follow up there, Mr. Pruhs?

DANA PRUHS — So if this CMU was enacted, would the pressure reduced in this area, would it force more pressure someplace else in the area that we'd be dealing with maybe in a year or two or three or four, similar to a domino effect? Where would you say that this activity would be reduced, which is the, I guess, the reason why this proposal is in front of us. Where would they go? What, in your best estimation, where would they go and would that cause a (unintelligible) ripple effect?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Dau.

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair. Mr. Pruhs.

Yeah, I don't think people are going to quit hunting by any means. The guys who are accessing the upper Kobuk from Bettles are probably going to go to different units, 21, 24. Guys coming straight out of Fairbanks are probably going to go to the Selawik. I can tell you right now, there already is proposal on the federal side for a controlled use are in the Selawik drainage as well. So, you're absolutely right. They are going to go somewhere.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Well, Jim, trying to distill this down some. Will you give us a little guidance. I am going to throw out a sort of stream of consciousness, and I'd like to see when I'm done with it if it makes any sense. If we wish to do the maximum good for the people on the Kobuk, with-

out disturbing the dominoes that I think Dana very validly points to, anymore than we have to. Have we begun to sort of maximize the cost benefit thing, if we try to do our best to protect that Pah confluence, but back off on the other objective, which was to reduce overall use, i.e. what we would end up doing, hopefully, if this works, would be to even out the use some, and to cut out the opportunity for it to close in on local people at the one place they most care about it closing in on. The other side is, the deference to the population of people at large, is that we don't try to close anybody out of the larger area. Is that a reasonable set of inferences?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Dau.

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair. Mr. Streveler.

Yeah, I think that is reasonable, and that is where my mind has been going for two years. I have thought in my mind since the Noatak Controlled Use Area issue was up that these types of issues really require a comprehensive approach, and all these individual controlled use areas are a finger-in-the-dike approach to a much bigger problem. So, no, I think your logic is good.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — No more questions, there. I understand that Subsistence, Mr. Magdanz is here now. Do you need a little bit of time to set up here.

JIM MAGDANZ` — Well, Mr. Chair, it may go quite quickly. There we go. (pause) Looks like we are there, Mr. Chair.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Proceed.

JIM MAGDANZ — The slides are in RC 71, which was handed in a few minutes ago. There are some copies of it on the back table as well.

Mr. Chair, my name is Jim Magdanz. I work with the Subsistence Division in Kotzebue. I have lived in northwest Alaska for approximately 20 years.

I don't usually begin with an ethics disclosure…

Annotation — *The tape ran out and the specifics of Jim's disclosure were not recorded. By the time Boards staff turned the tape over and restarted it, Jim was beginning his presentation. In his disclosure, Jim reported that he and his wife jointly own a cabin on 15 acres about three miles inside the Mauneluk River. Further, Jim reported that he uses a boat with a four-cycle outboard jet to access the cabin. If proposal 55 were adopted as written, Jim would pass through the controlled use area on his way to their cabin. Thus proposal 55 would limit the use of his jet boat for hunting from his cabin.*

TAPE 12B (0)

JIM MAGDANZ

What I have here for you in RC 71 is a general summary of human activities on the upper Kobuk River, some historical information, gathered through recorded and published interviews with Shungnak elders, and also I have statistical information from ADF&G and from the Department of Community and Regional Affairs, Occupational Licensing group which collects activity reports from guides and transporters.

One of the challenges of a proposal like this is it doesn't lend itself to statistical analysis, because the conflicts involve both hunting and fishing, and recreational use. It's difficult for our records, or any other agencies' records, to give a comprehensive picture of what has happened up there. But we will do what we can.

Slide 2 is a map of the upper Kobuk River drainage. Today there are three communities on this stretch of the river, Ambler, Shungnak, and Kobuk, which are the red dots on the left side of the map. But a hundred years ago, these communities didn't exist. Most Kobuk River people lived farther upstream. The 1900 census listed 315 people in five settlements, which are the green triangles on this map.

Kobuk was founded in 1900, by gold miners and missionaries. Although it wasn't a traditional site, some Kobuk people moved into Kobuk. Other people stayed upstream in several small settlements, some with a single family, others with many. They are shown here as yellow squares. The last family left the last settlement upriver, at the mouth of the Mauneluk, in the early 1950s.

So over time, the population center on the upper Kobuk gradually moved from upriver, from Qala, Mauneluk, Pah, Selby, downriver to Ambler, Kobuk, and Shungnak. Today only one family lives up there year round, just below the mouth of the Mauneluk.

Slide 3, briefly, is a population history of the upper Kobuk River. Pre-contact, and then the censuses beginning in 1900. The 1910, '20, '30, even perhaps the '40 data, is probably incomplete, because those families upriver, those settlements upriver, were not part of the census.

This is a map of some of the camps and cabins and commercial use sites in the upper Kobuk today. I've just included the ones upriver from Kobuk. There are more down below.

The yellow diamonds are fish camps maintained by families from Shungnak and Kobuk. Also shown in this slide are the camps used by transporters and big game guides. One transporter operates out of his family fish camp, shown here as a green and yellow square. That fish camp was established back in the 1970s.

Finally, the blue, upside down triangles are remote cabins, most dating from the 1970s, and owned by people living outside the area. Most of those are on the Mauneluk river, and only a few are regularly used.

For most of the historic period, the people hunting in the upper Kobuk River were local residents. They hunt big game with small boats along the Kobuk and its tributaries. This is a picture on the Mauneluk River. The unit 23 residents who hunt in the proposed

controlled use are primarily from Shungnak and Kobuk and, less frequently, from Ambler.

The proposed controlled use are is not the only area upper Kobuk River residents use for big game hunting. Most fall caribou hunting occurs closer to the communities in major crossing areas. The Kobuk River residents more commonly use the proposed controlled use area for hunting moose, brown bear, and black bear.

For many years, there also has been a small number of hunters in this area from outside of unit 23. Most rely upon aircraft, and tend to land in the headwater areas, and float downstream toward the communities. This is a Beaver landing on the Kobuk just below Pah at a site locally know as Ļaaki. It's one of the most frequently used pickup areas for rafters. It's also a popular sheefishing site. And it is in the center of the proposed controlled use area.

A traditional village, Pah village, was just upstream from this site. The people who lived there used the Ļaaki site for fishing both in the fall and through the ice in the winter. That use continued up into the 1990s. People would come up and seine and set gillnets at Ļaaki, but in the last few years, it's hard to put an exact date on it, but in the 1990s, at some point the traffic at Ļaaki from airplanes and rafters became such that it's been five or six years since I have seen a set gill net there or seen people at Ļaaki.

About 1995, a store owner in Shungnak began working with an air tax to provide hunter services. The air taxi flew the hunters into Shungnak on the mail plane. The store owner rented rooms above the store, and he put the hunters in touch with Shungnak boat owners for transportation. He later ceased his operations, but other operators began providing similar services, based in the communities.

This change in entry points, from the up-river headwater areas to the village itself increased hunter traffic and also increased visibility and the potential for spatial conflicts.

Slide 7 shows where hunters on the upper Kobuk come from. Because of the way the data are organized and collected, it is hard to know, it is difficult to answer the question for all hunters, plus fishermen. So the most complete data set that we have is for moose. That gives some sense of the mix of people using the river. The harvest report data, as I have mentioned before, understates harvest by local residents. So I have expanded, as best I could, the unit 23 residents' portion of the pie. I show it here as 22 percent. It could be 30, 40, or even 50 percent of the harvest in some years. The remainder, about a quarter comes from non-residents, and up to have from residents, mostly from urban areas of Alaska.

This is the number of successful and unsuccessful moose hunters who reported hunting on the upper Kobuk River or its tributaries above Ambler, which is the area we've shown on the earlier maps. The lowest effort occurred in '94, which was the year of 50-year flood up there. The highest effort occurred in 2000, 2001. The trends shown

in these data are consistent with the anecdotal observations that use increased following 1995.

But more hunters has not meant more moose killed. Over time, moose hunter success has apparently declined. From 1989 through 94, 42 percent of the moose hunters were successful. But from '95 through 2000, 31 percent of moose hunters were successful.

Slide 9 shows the same dataset, but this time the question was, "Did you use commercial services." Over the last 12 years, about half of moose hunters did use commercial services. Before 1990, about 20 used services on the average. After '95, an average of 37 hunters used commercial services. The number of hunters who did not use commercial services stayed the same for those two periods.

Most, this is a type, on slide 10, of commercial services used. The majority of the use was "transport to the field." The data do not tell us if they used an aircraft or a boat. So what I know is that the increase is in transport to the field.

Finally, Slide 11 shows the controlled use area outline in proposal 55. This is my final slide. RC 71 also contains a map that shows the original area in proposal 37, as well as the recent recommendation of the Upper Kobuk Advisory Committee, which would extend the area up to the Reed and restrict the operations of aircraft and airboats but not of jet boats.

So in sum, we have two user groups, with different patterns of uses, different kinds of equipment, competing for a limited number of hunting opportunities. It's not a biological problem, as caribou and bear are abundant. Moose populations are believed to be sufficient. The users themselves are coming into conflict, and this is the area where the conflict has been occurring.

Mr. Chairman, that concludes my report.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Magdanz. Before we go into questions here, just in reference to your opening statement about a conflict of interest statement. I appreciate your offering that, certainly. It's something, it's useful to know, and we can understand it. But at the same time, I don't see where they would really be any conflict, any further than any individual within the state. Mr. Saxby tells us when we give our conflict of interest statements it's specifically recognized in the administrative procedures act that people within this state have very many different interests and they can't help but being involved and being affected personally in many different ways. That is specifically recognized. I don't know if Mr. Saxby wants to offer anything or not. I don't see that there is any conflict here at all. I appreciate your offering that.

JIM MAGDANZ — Thank you, Mr. Chair.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Open it up here for questions. Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER

Jim, one of the things that we see if we look at a little bigger picture than you have on here, is if you look at the Kobuk River in general, that there is a heck of a lot of National Park lands. One often hears from people that this section of river that is in white on your slide here is basically the only part of the river left that is kind of, you might say, common-purpose lands. In addition, beyond that, there is quite a bit of Native corporation lands on there. So people say, OK, but that's a little piece of sausage there, but it's basically the only piece of sausage left. Would you comment on t hat?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA

Mr. Magdanz.

JIM MAGDANZ

Mr. Chair. Mr. Streveler

We have talked about that. The advisory committee has talked about that. The committee has talked about that. One of the challenges of managing in a situation where we have mixed land ownership is some managers have more authorities than others. In this case, the Park Service has considerable leeway to restrict the use of, what they call individual business permits, the number of operators, the number of people those operators can, that they can allow into the Park. NANA Regional Corporation, which owns land below this, also has been actively enforcing trespass on their properties.

There's concern among many people, as we've heard at this meeting, about the volume of commercial services and people support by commercial services growing here.

But when two land owners have the ability to manage that traffic in one, and the third does not, whatever the Park Service does, or whatever NANA does, really focuses the problem on the unregulated area. The controlled use area, by design, based on discussions that I have heard, gives to the board a method to manage use in that area so that we can work in concert with NANA and the Park Service.

I think people realize there will be non-local use up there. The challenge for all of us is to manage cooperatively, so what the Park Service does, what NANA does, doesn't create this locus of a problem in one particular area. So what we're trying to do, I think, with the proposal, is provide a tool for the state here.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA

Mr. Matz, then Ms. Maier.

GEORGE MATZ

Jim, in the Gates of the Arctic there, is that Park or Preserve?

JIM MAGDANZ

The portion that we're looking at there is Preserve. The Park boundary is not shown on this map. It's up in the vicinity of Walker Lake. Walker Lake is inside the Park, is my memory. So there is not a park boundary on the map. The river portion that is involved in the controlled use area proposal by the committee is Preserve.

GEORGE MATZ — Let's see, a Preserve you can have sport hunting. So how much sport hunting takes place? how many float planes land in that area? Can, if float planes can have access, maybe they need a concessionaires license or permit from the Park Service so they can use that area?

JIM MAGDANZ — Mr. Chair, the Preserve can be accessed for hunting. The state manages hunting in the preserve portion. It can be accessed by float planes. As for the number, we don't have any idea how many fishermen are coming into the area. That's not tracked at all. What we can say, the moose hunting effort here looked to be somewhat on the order of perhaps 75 percent of the people were coming of the region. The most we see is 100, so that would be 75 people. But I have heard testimony from other operators that their numbers are larger than that, but that could include other kinds of uses.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Julie.

JULIE MAIER — Appreciate both of your presentations. They were really informative.

What you just mentioned, Mr. Magdanz, was that it's difficult to have this very small area, about 25 miles of river, be unregulated in the presence of all that regulated land around it. So my question, and a comment, are the members that will benefit if we do put this controlled, are the people who will benefit, are they members of NANA, first of all?

JIM MAGDANZ — The population of those villages is 90 to 95 percent Iñupiaq Eskimo, and they are all shareholders of NANA. The people who come in from outside the region probably are predominantly non-shareholders.

JULIE MAIER — I must say, I definitely am concerned about the issues that are brought before us. I feel sorry that this is occurring. If we are willing to increase regulation on this state land in order to help these people out, are they potentially willing to relax regulations on their lands to help. I am very concerned about the out-of-area residents being slowly but surely squeezed out of most of Alaska. Can you comment?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Magdanz.

JIM MAGDANZ — Mr. Chair. Ms. Maier. I couldn't speak on behalf of NANA, who would have to make that determination. But the problem that you mentioned is real. I recognize it.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Anybody else?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — I'll just offer the observation that was brought up, Mr. Dau mentioned it, and it's been mentioned, referenced by other board members as well, this whole domino effect of squeezing people into other areas. We're fast running out of dominoes. There's certainly ways that,

where opportunity could be increased in other areas, and this domino effect wouldn't have to occur. That's a whole other issue, but it's part of this one (unintelligible).

Mr. Pruhs.

DANA PRUHS

It's amazing. I look at this and that 75 percent jumps out at me like a big Mack truck. It's a benefit for the few at the expense of the many. It seems to affect the commercial and economic impact of the area, which we don't have any idea what that ultimately is. Maybe that's something better for big game commercial services board, if we ever have one. The impact, if this is adopted, is unknown. We know it's going to impact, we don't know where, what, and to what affect. That's a pretty tough thing to support, if you don't know what the ultimate impact is going to be, and who what residents, local residents of the state will be impacted next. Then just the idea of local resident against other Alaska resident. This is a typical scenario where, makes a big impact, whether it's a small area around the Pah, or it's the 25-mile stretch of river or the 50-mile stretch of river, it's going to impact the village of Kobuk. More people will go to Kobuk. Are they prepared for that? There's just a lot of questions that, it seems to be harder and harder to come up with a supportive solution for (unintelligible).

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA

Mr. Fleagle, then Mr. Streveler.

MIKE FLEAGLE

Thank you Mr. Chair. Well, this is probably one of the most difficult decisions I am going to have to make at this meeting. Given the arguments for and against this controlled use area, proposed controlled use area. I think I am just going to lay some record, and say that I don't intend to support it.

The reason, I think a lot of the reasons I am going to raise I think were probably said at the last meeting when this first came up, and maybe a couple of new items. We have, I think, Let me back up just a bit.

Where we do use controlled use areas, they are largely put into place to minimize user conflicts during a short opening for harvest. Everybody's banging all in one spot at one time. I realize the intent of local area residents to minimize that conflict during a period of time is there. I don't know that it is justifiable to restrict or eliminate other users when we have such liberal seasons and bag limits yet in the area. That may change. But for right now, we're looking at Unit 23 caribou, five caribou per day, no closed seasons for bulls, July 1 to May 15 for cows. Moose, we have a season that goes from August 1 to March 31 for bulls, September 1 to September 20 for non-residents. So there would be a potential decrease in effort by the non-residents, I suppose. I think that just with the temporal diversity that we have in the seasons up here yet, we can maybe justify not putting spatial restrictions on. I guess that's why I'm leaning that way.

Another idea, too. When I saw the slide of the Beaver, it kind of just really almost threw me the other way. I hate seeing those doggone Beavers flying in with plane loads. They can carry four or five hunters per trip, some of them. I've seen areas of the state where they just get swamped with them. But then I just have to step back and say, well, whether it's a Beaver or a 185 doesn't really matter. They're going in.

I'm just wondering, if we were to wait and see what this legislature about requiring moose hunters, non-resident moose hunters, to be guided, what impact that would have. We have the chart here that says that a quarter of the harvest is by non-residents. I know, by and large, the transporter industry will take anybody who wants to give 'em their two or five hundred bucks or whatever it costs to fly them out there. But by and large, there's a lot of them who are non-residents. If that measure passes, which personally I hope it does, then we may be looking a substantial reduction in that 25 percent harvest, which may work toward reducing this spatial conflict.

I think that's about all I got right now. I might want to throw something out later. I just don't think we are quite at a situation here where we need to close this restriction, make this restriction.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICK — Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Well, at first I was tempted to make a general comment about the rural-urban dilemma we have, but I think I'll stick with the specifics here, and ask you two guys, maybe all three of you, if a person was going to try and craft an amendment to this 55, as suggested to be amended already, to protect only the Pah land, only the *Łaaki* area, from aircraft landing, how would you suggest we craft the boundaries?

Annotation — *30 seconds of silence on tape.*

CHAIR GREG ROCZICK — Mr. Magdanz.

JIM MAGDANZ — Mr. Chair. Mr. Dau and Mr. Bente and I just huddled briefly. I am not a float plane pilot, so I can't, that part of judging, I can't judge float plane landing ability.

It would be possible, perhaps, to identify a single point and then have a radius around that point that was closed. But the challenge there is the same one that we have with the three miles below Mauneluk and three miles above Selby, then it becomes a challenge for the user to know where that three-mile point actually is. I think just in our brief conversation here, we still favor a landmark approach, where you identify some specific landmark at the bottom and at the top. The challenge there is finding a land mark that works.

Below Pah there is a small creek that is on USGS maps, Killak Creek, that is, what, four miles below Pah maybe? So that would be probably the first landmark below Mauneluk, I meant below Pah,

excuse me. Above Pah, I can't think of a stream until you get to Selby that is of any consequence. But we could look more closely on inch-to-the-mile maps to see if there is a similar stream.

Killak Creek below would be a possibility, above, it may still be that the Selby is the best alternative.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Go ahead, Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Well, I don't know if we need an at-ease or what. I'd like find some way, I guess, of getting some sentiment from the board if I'm barking up a tree here people would care to follow or not. I don't want to waste the Board's time if this isn't considered productive. But if it is, I guess I would like to suggest either deferral or a brief at-ease until you guys could give us a landmark for the upper end of it and then put it out as an amendment. But I'll leave it to your pleasure, Mr. Chair.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — I have gotten an indication (unintelligible) that there is an interest in taking a look at that. So we will step down for ten minutes, and see if we can come up with something, and maybe put this thing to rest.

Annotation — *Board takes a 10-minute break while staff huddles over maps and discusses boundaries.*

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Dau and Mr. Magdanz. Did you come up with a response for Mr. Streveler.

JIM DAU — Thank you Mr. Chair. We think that the minimum area that you would need to include in the controlled use area would be mouth of Mauneluk River to mouth of Selby River, to give you both landmarks and protect the mouth of the Pah. Really, when you are inside, within Mauneluk to Selby, there just aren't any other landmarks in there besides the mouth of the Pah. You've got people cruising by the mouth of the Pah, and they miss it as it is. Anything smaller than Mauneluk river or Selby River, they're not going to get it. So that's our recommendation. There may be other views in the room, but that's the best we could come up with.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — That would be like a 22-stretch or so, the 25 miles minus the three that we had before.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Jim

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair, Mr. Streveler. That's correct. The original Proposal 55 was 25 miles along the river. You're cutting out basically six of those, so just under 20 miles long.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Go ahead, Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Just to flesh this out a little more then, OK, so then between the western edge of this piece of sausage we just talked about now, and the town of Kobuk, what are there in the way of landing opportunities that we have left open?

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair, Mr. Streveler. I was just talking with Raymond Woods about that. Your opportunities depend totally on water levels. When the water's high, you can land all over the place with a float plane. When the water's low, there's bars. So there's probably no consistently good float plane spot or no consistently good wheel plane spot. But in that stretch, one of the other should be available depending on what the water's doing.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Grussendorf and then Mr. Fleagle.

BEN GRUSSENDORF — Yes. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I had wanted to make this comment before we broke or took a recess. I know the tremendous amount of work that has been put into this particular proposal, and greatly appreciate the amount of work, but I want the other board members and others to understand where I am coming from at this point, so if they are thinking about adjusting this proposal they can take that into consideration.

I take controlled use areas, the designation, very seriously. But I always look at the controlled use area in terms of the, for biological reasons, not necessarily shifting around of allocations and things. At this point, my undersstanding has been for the last week or so is that the moose population herd is not stressed, that the caribou herd appears to be very healthy, and I am hesitant about going into a controlled use area for the purposes that we are presently discussing, unless there is some biological concern to it. And with that, Mr. Chairman, other board members I guess know where I am coming from and we can go from there.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Fleagle.

MIKE FLEAGLE — Thank you, Mr. Chair. On the break it was pointed out to me that I erred in my rationale on the non-resident harvest. That graph that I was looking at that was presented by Mr. Magdanz was talking about hunters, 25 percent of the hunters are non-resident, not necessarily 25 percent of the harvest. But that doesn't change my position any. So I just thought I would mention that. I did make that mistake.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Ms. Maier.

JULIE MAIER — I am just curious, if, I mean there is not a biological issue as far as wildlife is concerned, is there an issue in terms of harvesting of fish?

Are they able to, are they being displaced from areas of fishing, or are they just being displaced from their favorite camping spot? The locals, I am talking about.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Magdanz.

JIM MAGDANZ — Mr. Chair. Ms. Maier. They are being clearly displaced from *Łaaki*, which was a camp used for subsistence fishing, and hunting up into the early 1990s. And it's rarely used that way, in my observation, by local people since then. There are other places along the river that are used. In fact, the camps are all, the permanent camps are all below *Łaaki*. The next site is at the mouth of the Mauneluk, then they are several camps three and five and six and eight miles down below Mauneluk. People have nets set either right in front of their camps or near their camps, and there are seining opportunities on bars along that whole stretch of river for whitefish, so while *Łaaki*, while people have been displaced from *Łaaki*, *Łaaki* is not the only good fishing site. It is a particularly good fishing site, but there other particularly good fishing sites as well. It is not a unique location.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Any one else? Just in response to what Mr. Grussendorf, what you just laid out in your rationale for a controlled use area. I guess I see it from the other side, a controlled use area is something that is most definitely appropriate and maybe more rightly so to be used to reduce user conflicts when and where we can, and also to prevent ourselves getting ourselves into a biological problem. It is one of the few tools the Board does have left to use. In the absence of any kind of active management anywhere else, to help prevent it, it's something this Board is going to have to be faced with more and more, and it's going to be in front of us at every meeting from here on out until such time as we can expand that reasonable opportunity in other areas that disappeared in the last decade.

Mr. Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Well, I'm going to beat my gums a little bit more on this. I think I know where I am going to end up. I want to say that these kinds of votes are very painful for me. As a rural resident myself, to use the cliché, the rural-urban divide, I think one of the things that drives that is the, if one applies the greatest good to the greatest number formula, which on the face of it always seems really like the most equitable possible thing to do, by definition in Alaska more so, the greatest number does not lie in rural areas. So more and more we are stuck with this dilemma, that it doesn't seem like we are faithful to the constitution, it doesn't seem like we are faithful to a very equitable principal if we help rural people out. On the other hand, the consequence of not helping rural people out is that we basically end up slowly but surely steamrolling them over. It's a very tough one for me. I have a hard

time hanging my hat on any really obvious boundary, any obvious positive that we are gaining out of this.

Yet that picture of the float plane landing there, I mean, it hits me right in the guts, because I live in a place where that sort of thing is closing in on us, too. That sort of thing is just as dear to many people as not having it is dear to me. I don't know how to cut that. I know that there are going to be more Beavers, and less upper Kobuk people in wild country every day. That's just the way the world is going. I don't like it, but I'm just running out of options here of what to do about it in this instance.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA

I'm reminded, too, that when this was put before us again back in November, we had substantial testimony from residents, local residents of that area, that they weren't looking to eliminate people coming in from outside for that use. It was the aggravation and displacement, primarily right around the Pah, the amount of planes that were coming in there. Even if we can accommodate that to some degree, and still have the access through there, for people to be able to come in and hunt the area, as many people from around the state have done essentially for their whole lifetimes as well, it's certainly worthwhile to do so.

What does worry me, though, and it was addressed somewhat here, that there may be landing spaces, whether by wheel plane or float plane, but I'd hate to make the problem worse by, if somebody does get brought in by a float plane and they expect to get picked up by a float plane, and the water drops, which in rivers of this nature, I'm not sure about the Kobuk, but certainly down in the middle Kuskokwim and the tributaries that flow in there, their water drops real fast. I mean, overnight you can lose two or three feet of water. So they wouldn't be able to be picked up.

And in that case, what we may up causing, is people having to put an extra couple days on their float and it gets back into, if they caught an animal, it's going to be sitting in the bottom of their raft for a couple more days, going bad, going stink, turning to slime. And we're going to have those people parked on the beach in Kobuk, which is going to make the problem even worse, as far as the perception of people seeing the waste that goes on, the waste that occurs.

Let me ask again, in the Mauneluk River, would there be sufficient deep water to, or sufficient water, to still provide an access point there?

JIM DAU

Mr. Chair. I am a float plane driver. I probably should have disclosed my ethics, too. We own a cabin up there, and that's how I access it, by a float plane. But it's a PA-18, it's not a Beaver. Again, as Raymond Woods said, in exceptionally low water you may not be able to land at the mouth of the Mauneluk with a Beaver or a 185. Under average conditions or even sort of low water, I think there'd be plenty of water to land there. Certainly with a cub. That's my best guess. But that last

thing I'll say, even though I own a cabin up there, I've never gone there in September. I go there in August to pick berries, but I stay out of their in September because of the issues.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Something in the neighborhood of three miles above and three miles below, just choosing the three miles that was put out as a buffer zone, three miles above and three miles below the Pah, that wouldn't work either?

JIM DAU — Mr. Chair. The problem with three miles above and three miles below is you've got people from New Jersey and, heck, maybe even Fairbanks, floating past the mouth of the Pah right now. They miss it. If they can miss the Pah, they sure as can miss some spot that is arbitrarily three miles above or three miles below. It would be really hard for a floater to know that he's three miles above anything unless he can say with his GPS that he's there.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Pruhs.

DANA PRUHS — Thank you, Mr. Chairman. This is one of those unique rivers that, as a 30-some year float plane driver that I would say that anybody would be crazy, if it was subject to be low, to go in there and risk, not only damage to an asset, but to life and limb.

It also strikes me that regardless of the size of the postage stamp that this board considers, that effectively you are, in my mind, eliminating the 50 miles. And it is going to put the pressure downstream. It may force the commercial users to drop off downstream, which would be in conflict more with local property owners. And I just don't think that Kobuk would have, has an idea, I haven't got a sense that they understand the ramifications to that. I go back to the scenario that, without even considering the safety issue of not having a landing space at the Pah, that when you do something like that, the downstream effect will be a lot worse than the existing problem is today.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — I'd like to follow up with one more question, staff. Prior to getting to Kobuk, but perhaps into NANA grounds, is there any other place where there is a fairly consistent landing area that might be able to be utilized, that we could take a look at. As a staging area or a take-out site?

JIM MAGDANZ — Well, Mr. Chair. I think Jim put his finger on the problem. It's not that there aren't perhaps places that a float plane pilot could land. There's a small stream, that flows in below Mauneluk a few miles that consistently has a Beaver sport fishing there every fall. That's the only plane that I've ever seen there. But he comes in there all the time. The challenge is, the clients have to be able to find the place. Other than these

major tributaries, a GPS location is really the only way I can think of that they could find that and that assumes your GPS is working at the time. So that's why the Department is interested in these key landmarks. Where does this client go? That's kind of the problem we have in identifying landmarks, not that you couldn't land there, but how do people find it?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — I guess I'm just, again, I don't presume that river is that big, but I expect it would be possible to do the same thing they do for commercial fishing district boundaries, is to put big signs up in fluorescent paint on either side of the river, saying you have just, you are now leaving this controlled use area, something along that line. Anyway.

I'm rambling here. Ms. Maier.

JULIE MAIER — There was testimony, and I agree that this may be a case where we would need the use of a big game commercial services board, because it's brought to my attention that there actually is only one guide in the area who brings in about two hunters a year, moose hunters that is. So most of these hunters using commercial services are being brought in by transporters. There's nothing you can do about that, currently. But eventually, hopefully, we'll be able to do permits and keep the numbers down, or whatever.

There was one issue that someone brough up, I don't remember who it was, about giving camping permits. That's done in other places, so that you have to get a permit to go in and camp somewhere. I don't know if that would affect the problems or not, if we could only give out so many camping permits.

I don't know. What do you guys think?

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Mr. Magdanz.

JIM MAGDANZ — Are you think that it would be permits from private land owners, allotment owners or NANA, or from DNR that would identify camp sites on state land or Park Service identified camp sites?

JULIE MAIER — I was thinking about state lands. I wasn't expecting you to answer for the private land holders since you can't do that.

JIM MAGDANZ — I am sure that camp sites could be identified. I don't know if it would be regulatory process. I'm not familiar with how land management occurs there. Or whether people would be required to use these camp sites or whether you would just identify camp sites and then operators would inform them, that when you come to this place or that place that is an appropriate place to camp. I am sure camp sites could be identified in one way or another. The mechanism I am less…

ANNOTATION — *Tape ends. A few seconds of the record are missing.*

TAPE 13A (0)

KEVIN SAXBY

DNR is at least as gun shy as the Board is at restricting access, probably more so. They have had their budget cut any number of times and any number of relatively restrictive bills passed, because the legislatures feared they were being far too willing to restrict access in places like state parks. In the absence of an LDA, a Legislatively Designated Area, and clear authority on point, I think they'd be very reluctant ļ I represent DNR, too, by the way ļ I think they'd be very reluctant to, on their own, or even at the instigation of the board, or the joint board, come up with a new program that required recreational camping permits on state land. If you were talking about, there are permit systems in place for commercial uses like guide camps and stuff like that. You presumably are not talking about that.

If the board attempts to venture into that area, it's very risky because the board doesn't have authority to regulate to control camping. It has the authority to regulate to control hunting. You could try to expand your definition beyond what it is now, where you include the transportation of hunters. But, as an experienced litigator who has depended the board a number of times, that very expansive definition, my sense of things, is it's ben stretched about as far as it can go, probably.

I think transportation, we've got enough good case precedent in place to continue to convince courts that transportation is a necessary aspect of hunting. Clearly, sleeping and eating are, too. But it's different enough that I think some courts would start drawing lines there. I'd just caution you to tread carefully if you are going to go in that area.

JAMES DAU

Mr. Chair. Ms. Maier. I think you hit on an important concept. It's one we talked about a little bit at the last advisory committee on the upper Kobuk, the concept of permits, just limiting numbers of people. Really, I struggle a lot with controlled use areas and trying to make something work, cause they just have so many problems. They have problems for local people. They have problems for airplane drivers who don't live in the area. Gosh, you wonder, why are we even considering controlled use areas with all these problems.

The reason why, as you guys all know, it's the only tool we have. But the other tool we may have, that they've used on the Koyukuk, is just permit hunts to limit numbers of people. And the people on the upper Kobuk really wanted to explore that more. They knew they couldn't do that for this meeting. But it may be an alternative to a controlled use area, or something to do in conjunction with a controlled use area.

As the Chair pointed out, they say repeatedly, we don't' want to exclude everybody. We want, there should be opportunity for people from Fairbanks and Anchorage and other places to come here and

hunt. What they object to is just being overwhelmed. If they could just get a handle on the numbers of people, I think they'd even put up with some activity right at the mouth of the Pah. But they see it right now as totally uncontrolled. It's driving them out of areas that they have used for many, many generations.

My point is, in bringing all this up, is that permits limiting opportunity in the future than squeezing people into ten-day hunts or eliminating uses of aircraft and these other things. If we could control numbers of people, Hell, we could let them hunt for a month and get there in a Beaver if they wanted to. But you can't do both, and still allow for subsistence as people practice it now.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Anybody else?

DANA PRUHS (?) — I call for the question.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Question's been called. Anything further to offer before we do so? Ms. Maier.

JULIE MAIER — Well, I'm not sure which direction this is necessarily going to go. The Board has considered any and all costs to private parties presented in deliberations on this matter (unintelligible).

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Question has been called on Proposal 55. Mr. Marcotte.

JIM MARCOTTE — On adoption of Proposal 55. Maier.

JULIE MAIER — No.

JIM MARCOTTE — Roczicka.

CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA — Yes.

JIM MARCOTTE — Matz.

GEORGE MATZ — No.

JIM MARCOTTE — Streveler.

GREG STREVELER — Yes.

JIM MARCOTTE — Pruhs.

DANA PRUHS — No.

JIM MARCOTTE — Fleagle.

MIKE FLEAGLE — No.

JIM MARCOTTE	Grussendorf.
BEN GRUSSENDORF	No.
JIM MARCOTTE	The motion fails, two-five, Mr. Chair.
CHAIR GREG ROCZICKA	Moving to our new section here, for anyone who wasn't here previously. And thank you, Jim and Jim.
JIM MAGDANZ	Thank you, Mr. Chair, members of the Board.