

THE FUR TRADE OF COOK INLET

1867-1900

It was furs that brought about the rapid exploration and colonization of what is now Alaska after the country was discovered by Vitus Bering in 1741, and furs continued to be both a magnet and a source of wealth during the early years of the American occupation. It was not until the final decade of the 19th century that furs were outstripped by fish and minerals in dollar volume of Alaska exports.

It is sometimes supposed that the Russians denuded Alaska of its furs -- the most easily harvested of the natural resources -- then sold to the United States what was thought to be a valueless husk. The reasons for the sale of Alaska appear to be many and varied and need not concern us here, but depletion of the fur resources was hardly one of them.

This is not to deny that there was ruthless overexploitation of those fur resources during the 18th century. There was. Those were the years of savage competition among a number of Russian fur companies and many individual hunters and traders. This rivalry was brought to an abrupt halt in 1799 when the Russian-American Company was organized and granted a monopoly in all of Alaska, much as the Hudson's Bay Company had earlier been granted a monopoly in much of Canada. There were, in fact, many similarities between the two firms.

Not very many years after the Russian-American Company was organized, its managers realized that the furs of Alaska, and especially the two maritime species that were also the most valued -- the sea otter and the fur seal -- were becoming depleted. The harvest was curtailed thereafter

and some conservation practices were instituted, particularly with regard to the seal and sea otter. Both species were returned to a high level of abundance and, by holding the annual harvest to something less than half the former production, were kept at that level. It is less easy to determine, from data now available, how successful the conservation measures were with regard to land-dwelling fur-bearers. It can be said, however, that there was a great deal of fur available when the United States took over the country.

The conservation practices of the Russian-American Company were quickly discarded after the transfer to the United States, and furs were again harvested with wild abandon. Actual production figures are the best evidence of this. The "Report of the Tenth Census" (1880) ^{1/} and the "Report of the Eleventh Census" (1890) ^{2/} together provide production figures for the entire Russian period of Alaskan history and for the first 23 years under the American flag, enabling these comparisons:

Fur Production in Alaska

	<u>Russian</u>	<u>American</u>
	Last 23 Years <u>1845-1867</u>	First 23 Years <u>1868-1890</u>
Fur Seal	536,589	2,411,099
Sea Otter	34,250	100,333
Land Otter	187,989	61,827
Beaver	167,396	119,198
Marten	12,743	233,521
Fox	<u>166,861</u>	<u>330,383</u>
Total Pelts	1,107,828	3,256,361

Of the greatly increased harvest of furs in Alaska after its transfer to the United States, Henry W. Elliott, a naturalist and agent of the U. S. Treasury Department who spent much of his life studying marine fur-bearers, wrote in 1874:

"When the Territory came into our possession the Russians were taking between four and five hundred sea-otters from the Aleutian Islands and south of the peninsula of Alaska, with perhaps a hundred and fifty more from Kenai, Yakutat and the Sitkan district; the Hudson's Bay Company and other traders getting about two hundred more from the coast of Queen Charlotte's and Vancouver's Islands, and off Gray's Harbor, Washington Territory.

"Now, during the last season, 1873, instead of less than seven hundred skins, as obtained by the Russians, our traders secured not much less than four thousand skins. This immense difference is not due to the fact of there being a proportionate increase of sea-otters, but to the organization of hunting-parties in the same spirit and fashion as in the early [Russian] days." 3/

Regarding the production of furs in the Kodiak District, which included Prince William Sound, Cook Inlet, and a portion of the Alaska Peninsula, during the latter part of the Russian regime, Elliott wrote:

"The yield of this district under Russian control is given for 20 years, 1842-1861, inclusive, as follows: Sea otters, 5809; beaver, 85,381; marten, 14,295; minks, 1,175; musk-rats, 14,313; wolverine, 1,276; marmots, 752; wolves, 58." 4/

Most of the furs found in Alaska were available around Cook Inlet, the exceptions being the polar bear and some species of foxes. The fur distribution maps included with the Petroff report 5/ show the presence of sea otter, beaver, land otter, brown bear, black bear, cross fox, silver fox, mink and marten. The sea otter grounds, according to this source, extended from Cape Douglas and Cape Elizabeth up the inlet as far as the Forelands.

Fur Trails to Cook Inlet

The pelt of the sea otter was by far the most valuable single item in the fur trade along Alaska's Pacific shores west of Cape St. Elias during the years 1867-1900. Without the sea otter, in fact, it is probable that few of the coastal fur trading stations would have been established.

The sea otter was important on Cook Inlet, too, and especially in the southern part of the inlet, but it was relatively less important on the inlet than elsewhere along this southern coast of Alaska. This was because the inlet, penetrating far into the interior, has a vast hinterland, most of which was populated, in those years, by a variety of fur-bearing animals -- several kinds of foxes, mink, marten, land otter, beaver, muskrat, bears, lynx and wolverine -- and had, as well, a human population that was capable of harvesting the furs and eager to exchange them with the traders for necessities and gewgaws.

Several natural trade routes tended to funnel the upland furs of a very large area toward Cook Inlet. One of these was the valley of the Matanuska River, used by Indians from as far away as the headwaters of the Copper River when they came to deal with trading schooners and later to trade at Knik Station after it was established. The Susitna River and its tributaries, draining a vast stretch of country, formed another natural highway and carried other trappers and hunters toward Tyonek where a station was built at an early date, and later to Susitna Station on the Susitna River. On a smaller scale the Kenai River and its lake system drained the fur from much of the Kenai Peninsula toward the fur station at the river's mouth, while on the western side of the inlet there were a number of small trade routes, the most important of which was probably the portage from Iliamna Lake.

Harvesting the Furs

As a broad generalization, it can be said that the northern part of Cook Inlet was inhabited by an Indian people who lived largely on the upland and who harvested upland animals, while in the southern portion of the inlet dwelt a people closely related to the Aleuts and Eskimos. These people lived close to and on the sea and they harvested sea creatures, including seals, sea lions and sea otters as well as various fishes and shellfishes.

The methods and tools of the upland hunters and trappers were age-old and nearly world-wide. They included bows and arrows, spears, snares, traps, and deadfalls, augmented occasionally, and increasingly as the years passed, by modern innovations such as guns and steel traps.

In the southern part of the inlet the Natives sometimes caught the sea otter with tangle nets, but more often the animals were hunted down and killed with harpoons or bows and arrows. The hunters used light, skin-covered two-hatch and three-hatch bidarkas, and five or six bidarkas usually worked together in stalking, surrounding and finally killing the valuable animals. The use of guns was prohibited by regulation or law during most of the years after 1867, but they were used, at times by the Natives and almost entirely by whites who were, in many instances, forbidden the taking of furs by any methods.

In the early days of the American occupation of Alaska, the maritime fur hunters lived, as they had for centuries past, in many small villages scattered along the shore at places where there was a good beach for the bidarkas, a supply of fresh water, and a clam bed or some other special attraction. As time passed, however, the seacoast people began to congregate in fewer and larger villages.

Two separate influences seem to have been at work here. One was the Russian Orthodox Church. Nearly all of the Natives of this part of the Alaska coast were Christians by the time the United States bought the country, and members of the Russian Church, the only one which had yet reached the area. They were under some pressure to attend church regularly, but the churches or chapels were built only in the largest villages. The second influence was the traders who preferred to do their business in central locations rather than running around to many small villages. When the traders began establishing permanent trading posts in the larger villages, these at once became magnets to further increase the population of these villages.

In the years of many small and scattered villages, hunting pressures were somewhat near equal along all sections of the coast. The migration to larger centers changed this. Soon the wildlife populations, including the sea otter and other valuable fur-bearers, began to dwindle around the large villages. As a result, the fur hunters, and especially the sea otter hunters, moved out into camps during the hunting season. For the sea otter, this season was customarily from early spring until late fall, although in some localities hunting was carried on, as weather permitted, all winter.

As the sea otter population dwindled, the hunting camps had to be moved frequently. In many instances the hunters were spending more time moving camp than hunting, and this was bad for the fur trade. To overcome it, the traders began to take a hand in the camp moving, using their trading vessels. This practice soon developed into a pattern in which the trading schooner provided all transportation except for the actual hunting, kept the camps supplied with food and other necessities, and picked up the furs at regular intervals.

The sea otter continued to dwindle in number and yet another hunting method was devised. In this the hunters did not make camp ashore but lived aboard the vessels. They were thus freed from such unproductive chores as making and breaking camp and rustling firewood and could devote most of their waking hours to hunting. When one hunting ground was depopulated, the entire outfit could move quickly to another. Too, the hunters could range much farther seaward than was possible from a land base. This was especially true in Cook Inlet. The sea otter, which lives on shellfish and prefers the sea urchin, is seldom found in waters more than 50 fathoms in depth. This probably represents the greatest depth to which it can readily dive for food. Along much of the southern coast of Alaska, the 50-fathom curve is quite close to shore, but nearly all of Cook Inlet is within that depth. Using a floating base, the hunters could, and did, sweep the entire inlet.

The vessels first used as mother ships for otter hunters were likely those of the fur traders, but there were also vessels not otherwise connected with the fur trade that began carrying otter-hunting parties. Depending upon the size of the vessel, they carried from three or four up to 20 bidarkas, with two men to each bidarka.

Nor was this mothership arrangement for otter hunting confined to vessels with Native hunters. White hunters sailing from San Francisco, Victoria and other Pacific Coast ports began at least as early as 1870 to hunt the sea otter along the Alaska coast, in the Kurile Islands and around the northern islands of Japan. Some of them were only part-time otter hunters, devoting most of their attention to the fur seal, but others sought only the sea otter. In Alaska the hunting of any fur-bearers by Whites was illegal, but in a number of areas the animals were to be found outside the three-mile limit. There was likely a good deal of poaching inside the limit, too, as law enforcement was scanty at best. No reports have been found of vessels with white hunters taking sea otter inside Cook Inlet, but otter hunters were not by any means publicity seekers. Too, there were no extensive investigations of the sea otter business as there were of pelagic sealing, and our sources of information are few. 6/

Fur Laws and Regulations

Following the purchase of Alaska by the United States, the first Alaska legislation enacted by Congress was the Customs Act of July 27, 1868. This extended over Alaska the laws regarding customs, commerce and navigation; prohibited the importation and sale of breechloading firearms and distilled liquors; and provided for the prosecution of offenders. ^{7/}

Section 6 of the Act provided:

"It shall be unlawful for any person or persons to kill any otter, mink, marten, sable or fur-seal or any other fur-bearing animal within the limits of the said territory or in the waters thereof."

The Act did, however, give the Secretary of the Treasury the authority to modify this section.

Few Alaskans observed the prohibition. For most of them, furs were the sole source of income. The officers of the Customs and the U. S. Revenue Marine were generally too busy trying to stop the smuggling of whiskey and guns to pay a whole lot of attention to the fur laws, but there apparently was an effort to enforce this law at Kodiak, if nowhere else.

The Secretary of the Treasury did to some degree modify the ban on fur taking, under date of July 6, 1870:

". . . permission is hereby given to the inhabitants of Alaska to kill the sea otter." 8/

Notice of the modification was slow in reaching far corners of Alaska, however, and on September 5, 1870, S. Sussman, agent for Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. at Kodiak, was complaining to the Collector at Sitka that Kodiak deputy Collector Luke Sheeran was trying to stop otter hunting by Natives and threatening to break up their bidarkas if they did not stop. ^{9/}

In 1879 another modification came from Washington:

"No furbearing animals will be allowed to be killed by persons other than natives. The use of firearms by natives in killing otter is prohibited from May until September. No vessels are allowed to anchor on the sea-otter grounds except those which may carry parties of natives to or from such grounds. White men lawfully married to natives and residing within the Territory are considered natives within the meaning of this order." 10/

The last sentence of the order apparently resulted from a number of petitions, received by the Secretary during the previous two years, from white men, resident in Alaska, who asserted that they were lawfully married to Natives and that they were unable to make a living except by sea otter hunting. 11/

The actual effect of the order of April 21, 1879, was to open sea otter hunting to all comers. If a white man ~~claimed~~ to be hunting otters by virtue of a Native wife in some distant village, it was next to impossible for the enforcement officers, who were few at best, to prove otherwise. At the same time, the order certainly did nothing to discourage mixed marriages in Alaska.

As for the guns, while circumstances may have differed in other districts, in the Kodiak-Cook Inlet area at least the Native hunters preferred to stay with their ancient, and silent, weapons. Gunfire, they discovered, frightened away the otters for many miles around. At Kodiak some of the Natives complained about the use of guns to the Customs officer, who wrote in 1888: "Natives who hunt otter in Cook Inlet and Shelikoff Strait protest that white hunters cruise along the shore using guns and scare the otter to sea beyond the reach of natives who use bows and arrows only." 12/

Following the order of 1879, above quoted, the fur-taking regulations for Alaska remained without substantial change for a dozen years. Then, early in 1893, alarmed by reports of a rapidly declining sea otter population, the Secretary of the Treasury imposed some tight restrictions. The new order provided that:

"No fur-bearing animal will be allowed to be killed by persons, other than natives, within the limits of Alaska Territory or in the waters thereof.

"White men married to natives and residing within the Territory will not be entitled to the privilege of natives under this order.

"The use of rifles, shotguns, or other firearms by the natives in killing sea otter, or the use of nets in taking them, is hereby prohibited.

"No vessel except United States revenue cutters will be allowed to transport parties of natives to or from localities where sea otter are found." 13/

The final paragraph above seems to have been a direct result of a Cook Inlet incident of the previous year. A United States patrol ship seized three vessels which were engaged in transporting native sea otter hunters and charged them with illegal hunting, since none of the white skippers was married to a Native. The three vessels were well inside Cook Inlet, but operating outside the three-mile limit. The U. S. District Court at Sitka, although asserting jurisdiction in the area of seizure, acquitted the three skippers on the grounds that they were not actually engaged in hunting but only in transporting hunters. 14/

Had the order of January 19, 1893, been enforced, sea otter hunting in Alaska would have all but ended. For one thing, the number of hunters would have been very considerably curtailed. For another, the animals were becoming so scarce that hunting parties had to do a lot of traveling to make profitable catches. There were few Revenue Cutters in Alaskan waters then, and the few had many duties -- too many to spend their time transporting otter hunters.

The prohibition against transporting hunters was the first part of the new regulation to be revoked. This was on May 14, 1893, but in the meanwhile it was observed, at least on Cook Inlet. Reporting to the Secretary of the Treasury on June 13, 1893, Captain C. L. Hooper of the Revenue Cutter Richard Rush wrote that on June 9 he had overhauled the schooner Olga in the entrance to the inlet. Said the captain:

"The Olga was built for a sea otter hunter, but upon the receipt of the circular from the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury prohibiting vessels other than Revenue Cutters transporting hunting parties, has sought other employment. Upon being informed by us that that order had been revoked, she kept away for Kodiak to procure a party of native hunters." 15/

Later on the same day, the Rush pulled in to the settlement of Alexandrovsk, on Port Graham, Cook Inlet, and of this visit Captain Hooper wrote:

"We found the hunters all at home and in bad humor because they could not be taken to the otter grounds by vessels as before. The circular issued by the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury, dated May 14, 1893, governing the killing of fur-bearing animals in Alaska, was given to Mr. Cohen, the resident agent of the Alaska Commercial Co., the only white man there, and its contents explained to the hunters, which appeared to put them in a better frame of mind." 16/

Fur Seals in Cook Inlet

Although Cook Inlet is somewhat off the migration route of the Pribilof Island fur seal herd, some of the animals strayed into the inlet each spring as they made their way north and west to their island breeding grounds. They apparently did not enter the inlet in great numbers, did not travel very far up the inlet, and were not systematically hunted there by either whites or Natives.

Maxwell Cohen, agent for the Alaska Commercial Company at English Bay (sometimes known as Fort Alexander), stated in 1892 that in 22 years of residence there he had never observed a fur seal above Anchor Point. ^{17/} This is approximately 40 miles inside Cape Elizabeth. This statement was confirmed by James Wilson of Kenai who said in 1892 that he had lived in Alaska "for the past 23 years, chiefly in this region." ^{18/}

In that same year, 1892, Natives living at English Bay and Seldovia made sworn statements that although they hunted the sea otter and other fur-bearing animals, they did not hunt the fur seal. ^{19/} The reason they did not hunt the fur seal as they did the sea otter seems clear. A wounded fur seal often attacked the hunter's boat and although they did little damage to wooden craft, they could tear a skin boat to shreds in very short order.

There were, however, plenty of wooden sealing boats afloat in the Gulf of Alaska in the years from around 1885 until 1911. American and Canadian hunters, using small vessels, mostly sail but some with steam auxiliary power, annually pursued the seal herds up the Pacific Coast, across the Gulf of Alaska, and into Bering Sea, killing as many of them as possible with shotguns and rifles. By Act of Congress approved December 29, 1897, this

business was prohibited to American vessels and American citizens, but Canadian and other foreign vessels continued it until 1911 when, by treaty, Canada, Japan and Russia joined with the United States in a prohibition of pelagic seal hunting.

The curtailment and eventual termination of pelagic sealing in the North Pacific was brought about by long proceedings which produced a great many hearings, studies and reports, so that there is extensive documentation of all aspects of the business, including the daily logs of a great many vessels. Although as many as 120 schooners were engaged in North Pacific pelagic sealing in some seasons, no report has been found of a sealing vessel entering Cook Inlet in pursuit of the fur seal. The reason for this is not clear, but it is a fact that most of the sealers took great care to stay out of territorial waters and they may well have considered Cook Inlet to be in that category. On the other hand, the inlet may have held too few seals at any one time to make it an attractive hunting area.

The Sea Otter Fleet

Although the killing of the sea otter in the waters surrounding Alaska was prohibited at about the same time the fur seal treaty went into effect, this action was not preceded by the voluminous studies and reports that had marked the fur seal transactions. The literature on sea otter hunting by vessels is almost non-existent, and this seems especially true of Cook Inlet. The area was rarely visited by Revenue Cutters or other government vessels, and until after 1900 had no regular mail routes or other communications system.

The vessels owned by the fur companies and used principally to supply the trading stations were also used as tenders for Native sea otter camps, moving the hunters from one point to another during the season. Some of these vessels also served as motherships for otter hunters, carrying the bidarkas on deck when they were not in use and serving as living quarters for the men.

In addition to the company-owned vessels, there were a number of independents, small schooners and sloops, that carried sea otter hunters and worked in Cook Inlet waters at least a part of the time. Mentions of them are found in occasional newspaper stories, reports of the Revenue Cutters that did enter the inlet, logs of the fur trading stations, and not infrequently in wreck reports filed with the Collector of Customs at Sitka.

Three vessels that definitely did hunt sea otter in Cook Inlet were the schooners Kodiak and Lettie and the steamer Jennie, in June, 1892. All three vessels were working on June 6 to the northeastward of Cape Douglas and from nine to 24 miles offshore when they were placed under arrest and charged with "violation of Article 1956, Revised Statutes." ^{20/} The arresting officer was Commander Henry L. Johnson, USN, commanding the U.S.S. Mohican, one of several Navy vessels assigned that season to the Bering Sea Patrol which was then in command of Commander Robley D. Evans.

The schooner Kodiak was the first to be boarded and seized. She was a vessel of 102 tons gross, 93.8 feet long by Customs measurement, built at San Francisco in 1881, and owned by the Alaska Commercial Company. She was a familiar vessel on Cook Inlet where for many years she had been employed as a tender for the company's several fur trading station -- supplying them with merchandise and carrying away their accumulated inventory of furs. In all probability she was so engaged in June of 1892 and combined that job with part-time otter hunting. Her skipper was Captain J. E. Hansen and she had eight men aboard and was approximately 24 miles off the Cape Douglas shore at 11:45 a.m. when the Mohican hove to near by and sent over a boarding party. ^{21/} The boarding officer found 15 sea otter skins on the Kodiak, requested the vessel's papers, and took them back to the Mohican. In a few minutes he returned and asked Captain Hansen to go aboard the Navy ship. There the captain was informed that his vessel was under seizure and would be sent to Sitka. Captain Hansen was returned to the Kodiak with a prize master and crew consisting of Lieut. H. R. Walker, USN, and four enlisted men. They started at once for Sitka. ^{22/}

The Mohican, after the Kodiak had sailed for Sitka, steamed to the southwestward, in the direction of Cape Douglas, until she came up to the steamer Jennie, about nine miles offshore. ^{23/} The Jennie was a wooden steam tug, built at Benicia, California, in 1889, as a cannery tender for the Northern Packing Company which a year earlier had established a salmon cannery at Kenai on Cook Inlet. She was 72.9 feet in length and measured 74 tons gross. She had been used in general cannery work each season since her building until this year, when the Kenai cannery did not operate. Rather than have the vessel idle and to give some employment to Natives at Kenai, the owners loaded some hunters and their bidarkas aboard and sent her out in charge of Captain R. A. Harding. She, too, was listed as having aboard a crew of eight when the Mohican sent over a boarding party about 4 p.m., but whether this included her entire complement of otter hunters is not known. She had three otter pelts on board. The same procedure was followed as with the Kodiak, and the Jennie was soon on her way to Sitka in charge of of Lieut. A. F. Techteler, USN, as prize master, with a crew of five, the added man being a machinist rating to serve as engineer. ^{24/}

On leaving the Jennie, at 4:48 p.m., the Mohican sighted another vessel to northward and steamed about nine miles in that direction to come up with the schooner Lettie which was about 16 miles southeast of Augustine Island and approximately 20 miles northeast of Cape Douglas. ^{25/} The Lettie, like the Kodiak, was owned by the Alaska Commercial Company, but was a smaller vessel. Built at Kodiak in 1888, she measured 29 tons gross with a length of 53.3 feet. Like the Kodiak, she served as a tender for the company's trading stations on Cook Inlet and elsewhere, and she engaged in both sea

otter and fur seal hunting when not otherwise occupied. She was in charge of Captain William Rodie (or Rohde; the name appears with both spellings) and according to Commander Johnson's report had a crew of four and four sea otter skins aboard. ^{26/} There is a note in the Mohican's log, however, that "17 Indian hunters left her." Where they went is not stated; perhaps they had their homes at Cape Douglas village or one of the other villages in that vicinity. Ensign James Beale, USN, was placed aboard the Lettie as prize master, with four enlisted men as crew, and she also headed for Sitka.

The Jennie reached Sitka first, on June 12, the two schooners arriving together three days later. ^{27/} The three were released on bond, U. S. District Judge Warren Truitt ordering them to appear before the Court at its fall term on October 3, 1892.

The first case tried in October was U. S. vs. Schooner Kodiak. Chief counsel for the defense was John S. Bugbee, who had preceded Judge Truitt on the bench of the Alaska District Court. Following the trial it was agreed by Judge Bugbee and U. S. Attorney Charles S. Johnson that the other two cases would abide by Judge Truitt's decision in the Kodiak case. ^{28/}

Judge Truitt's decision, rendered on December 5, was reported, in part, by the Sitka newspaper:

"The facts disclosed by the evidence, as briefly stated, are - that each of the three vessels had on board natives who engaged in hunting and killing sea otter, and were found to have on board their respective ships sea otter skins which had been taken during the voyage. It appeared, however, that none of the animals, whose skins were taken, had been killed by fire arms. None of the white men on board had been engaged in killing sea otter. That on each of the ships during the voyage, the natives were allowed to remain on board while not out hunting, and that they were supplied by the master of the vessel with necessary food and clothing during the trip, the natives doing their own cooking. The fact was further established that the native hunters were not in the employ of the owners of the vessels, that the latter parties had no claim or lien

on the skins whatever, and that these constituted property of the natives over which they had full control, the owners of the ships having solely been granted the privilege of purchasing the skins, if a satisfactory price could be agreed upon.

"In his decision, which is identical for the three vessels, as they were all seized under the same circumstances, His Honor Judge Warren Truitt decreed:

"1st. That the Court had jurisdiction in the case.

"2d. That the facts in the case, as established, did not constitute a violation of the Statute as alleged in the libel information.

"3. That there was probabe cause of making the seizure." 29/

So far as is known, the Kodiak, the Lettie and the Jennie were the only vessels arrested on Cook Inlet in connection with sea otter hunting. At least one other vessel, the schooner Mary^HAnderson, was apparently hunting on the inlet at the time the Mohican made her visit, and there seem to have been others earlier in the year. On May 2, 1892, the trader at the Cape Douglas station of the Alaska Commercial Company noted in his log book: "Report is many schooner in Kamishak [Bay] and no sea otter." 30/ The Cape Douglas trader, who apparently had a good view out across Cook Inlet, often noted the presence of one or more hunting vessels.

Each Alaska Commercial Company trader was required to keep a daily log and in some of these are occasional notes regarding otter hunting parties. Thus, the schooner Eudora left English Bay on May 2, 1877, for "Chonoborough" (St. Augustine) Island with a hunting party, and at the same station on June 12, 1877, "Arrived, eight bydarkas of Nuchek Indians to hunt otter." The entry does not state whether they came on a vessel or under their own power, but Nuchek, or Port Etches, on Hinchinbrook Island is more than 200 miles to eastward of English Bay, and most of the distance is open ocean.

The Mary E. Anderson mentioned above was a 40-ton schooner built at San Francisco in 1860. In 1891 she was owned by the North American Commercial Company, a rival of the Alaska Commercial Company, with headquarters at Wood Island, near Kodiak. Captain Stephen Cullie was in command that year and the next, when she was hunting otter around Cook Inlet and Kodiak Island. On June 9, 1893, the schooner was overhauled by the Revenue Cutter Richard Rush, Captain C. L. Hooper, "about 12 miles off Port Graham" in Cook Inlet. She was then in command of Captain A. Green and was hunting sea otter with five bidarkas and ten hunters from Kenai. She had 10 skins aboard. 31/

No report has been found of the Mary E. Anderson's activities in 1894, but on March 7, 1895, the log at the Seldovia station of the Alaska Commercial Co. noted that she had arrived from Kodiak that day with a hunting party to hunt in the inlet. She may have changed owners as she appears to have been hunting for the Alaska Commercial Company at this time. On the 12th of March she sailed for the hunting grounds with five bidarkas and on the 24th she "arrived from hunting. Nothing." She then apparently returned to Kodiak but was back at Seldovia on June 29 and on July 2 "sailed with six bidarkas, sea otter hunting." Better luck attended this trip -- she returned on the 12th with one sea otter pelt. She was in again on July 26, this time with six skins, but on her next trip, ended August 10th, she again had "nothing." 32/

Some of the other vessels reported at one time or another as having hunted sea otter in Cook Inlet included:

The schooner Alice, of Sitka, 13 tons, used primarily for halibut fishing and fur seal hunting. In 1894, when she was owned by George W. Torrey of Sitka, with John D. Boland as master, she went after sea otter and was at Kodiak on June 13. She sailed that day for Cook Inlet where on July 10 at 3 p.m. she drifted ashore at Anchor Point in a moderately heavy southwest blow. Three men aboard were taken off by the schooner Ethel and the Alice broke up. ^{32/} The Ethel may also have been after sea otter. Earlier in the year she had been hunting fur seal off Cape Ommaney, in Southeastern Alaska, but she was reported at Seldovia in June. ^{33/}

The schooner Flying Scud, 26 tons, was built at Kodiak in 1881 and owned by Henry Anderson of that port. She engaged in both trading and hunting around Kodiak Island, along the Alaska Peninsula, and in Cook Inlet. In the fall of 1886 she had hunting parties working in the vicinity of Cape Douglas and was then in command of Captain Nels Hansen. On November 14, ending the hunting season, she called at the Alaska Commercial Company's Cape Douglas station and picked up the wife and five children of the trader, John W. Smith, to take them to Kodiak. The vessel was not seen again, nor were any of the 24 people aboard, and it was believed that she foundered in Shelikof Strait. ^{34/}

The schooner Lydia, 39 tons, was built at Benicia, California, in 1889 and was in Alaskan waters at least as early as the spring of 1891 when she was in command of Captain H. R. Bowen who was well known on Cook Inlet. The following year she was purchased by Andrew Anderson and Harold Vanelius of Kodiak and was sea otter hunting with 10 bidarkas, Anderson as master, and a total complement of 24. ^{35/} In later years she hunted mainly around the Aleutian Islands and she continued in the business through the season of 1907. On March 30, 1908, while on a visit to Puget Sound, she collided with the steamer Chippewa and went to the bottom with the loss of two of the ten people aboard.

The American Fur TradersHutchinson, Kohl & Co. - Alaska Commercial Co.

As soon as the sale of Russian American to the United States had been confirmed, the Chief Manager of the Russian-American Company acted quickly to dispose of the company's Alaskan property, including its vessels and trading stations, merchandise and fur inventories. There was a scramble for most the property and the adept scambler proved to be a man named Hayward M. Hutchinson who, during the War of the Rebellion, had made some money as a supplier of the Union armies. Hutchinson and some men associated with him bought most of the Russian-American Company's properties and organized the firm of Hutchinson, Kohl & Company. The firm established offices at 425 Sacramento Street in San Francisco and after a short time it bid on and was awarded a twenty-year contract for the exclusive taking of fur seals on the Pribilof Islands in Bering Sea. The principals of Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. then formed a second firm, the Alaska Commercial Company, with offices at 310 Sansome Street in San Francisco. After about five years this firm took over the Alaska operations and the parent company became inactive. 36/

Exactly what trading posts or other properties on Cook Inlet were acquired by Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. from the Russians is not now certain. The Russians are known to have built at least three trading posts on the inlet and perhaps built a fourth, but is not certain that all were still in operation at the time of the sale to the American firm.

The Shelikof-Golikof Company, one of the principal firms that later united as the Russian-American Company, built a fortified post just inside the entrance to Port Graham, not far from the southwestern tip of Kenai Peninsula. Apparently this was in the late summer of 1786. ^{37/} The post was named Alexandrovsk and later, after the American occupation, it became known as English Bay.

That same year, 1786, Peredovchik Kolomin of the rival Lebedef-Lastochkin Company arrived at the mouth of the Kasilof River with the vessel St. Paul and 38 men. A fort consisting of two log buildings protected by a stockade was erected on a bluff on the left or south bank of the river, close to its mouth. It was named St. George. ^{38/}

The ship St. George of the Lebedef-Lastochkin Company arrived at the mouth of the Kaknu or Kenai River, a dozen miles north of the Kasilof, in August, 1791. The vessel was in command of Grigor Konovalof and he built a trading post on the bank of the river and name it St. Nicholas. ^{39/} Following the transfer of Alaska to the United States an Army post was established there for a short time and was called Fort Kenay.

If there was a fourth Russian post on Cook Inlet it was known as St. Paul and it was perhaps located somewhere near the present village of Tyonek. ^{40/} Captain George Vancouver, on his chart dated 1794, shows a Russian redoubt or fort in that approximate location, but no other information has been discovered about it.

Reports on Cook Inlet trading posts at the time of the transfer and in the early years of American rule are conflicting. Captain C. M. Scammon of the United States Revenue Marine Service, who in 1865 and 1866 acted as Chief of Marine for the Western Union Telegraph Expedition to Russian America and Siberia, prepared "Notes on the Russian American Company's trading posts" and listed only one post for Cook Inlet. This was Fort St. Nicholas on the "Kakanow" (Kenai) River. 41/

Writing in the first edition of the "Coast Pilot of Alaska," however, George Davidson of the United States Coast Survey said that "in Graham or English Harbor . . . There is a Russian station and an Aleutian village on Russian Point." 42/ This was the settlement the Russians had named Alexandrovsk and which became known as English Bay.

Where Davidson secured his information is not known. During the summer of 1867 he visited much of Southeastern Alaska aboard the Revenue Cutter Lincoln, Captain J. W. White, gathering data for the mariners' guide, but although the Lincoln did go to Kodiak and other western points that summer, Davidson did not accompany her on that portion of her cruise and she did not enter Cook Inlet. It seems probable that Davidson secured his Cook Inlet information from Captain White, who did visit the inlet in 1868 with the Revenue Cutter Wayanda.

The Wayanda arrived at English Bay on June 4 and at 8:30 a.m. "came to anchor off the coal mine (long since abandoned as such, now occupied by an American Fur Co.). Capt. White with several officers visited the post and examined the premises, found the store house and dwellings locked up, in charge of the Chief, Constantine Kal-iv." 43/

At English Bay the Wayanda "took three Indians as pilots to Kenay," and at 2:10 p.m. the same day "came to anchor at Keney in 10 fathoms water. Capt. White with two officers visited the shore to examine for coal, brought several specimens on board." 44/

On the following day, still at "Fort Kaney," they made some harbor surveys and brought off a ton of coal. It is clear from the log entries that the Wayanda was not at the location now known as Kenai but was somewhere in the vicinity of the present site of Homer, on Kachemak Bay. This confusion as to the name of the place was no doubt occasioned by the fact that the Army had decided to built a port on the inlet and name it Fort Kenay. Whether Captain White had been informed that the post would be built on Kachemak Bay, or whether he was guessing at its site, is not known, but the Army did, in fact, change its target location after the first supply ship was wrecked later in the summer of 1868. This wreck delayed the construction of Fort Kenay for nearly a year and may have resulted in the apparent location change.

After spending a couple of days at Kachemak Bay, the Wayanda steamed up the inlet, past Anchor Point and "Ne-nil-chick" and "steamed into mouth of Kakny River, off Fort St. Nicholas and let go both anchors in $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms water." 45/

Unfortunately, the Wayanda's log entries give no details about Fort St. Nicholas, and if Captain White reported more extensively elsewhere, the report has not been located.

The Revenue Cutter Lincoln did make a visit to Cook Inlet during the summer of 1869 and on board her was General G. H. Thomas, U. S. Army, on an inspection tour of Army posts in Alaska. General Thomas wrote in his report:

"Left Sitka July 25, and arrived at Kenay, about one hundred miles up Cook's Inlet, on the 30th. This is the old Russian-American trading post of Fort Nicholas, and is now occupied by one company of artillery. The only white inhabitants besides the garrison are the representatives of the two trading houses of Hutchinson, Kohl & Co., and Captain Levy. There is a village of Aleuts, numbering about two hundred, near by; another small village a few miles below; and a settlement of some half dozen Russian families thirty miles below. There are no other settlements, either white or Indian, near." 46/

The Lincoln did not call at English Bay and although General Thomas mentions the place in his report, he says nothing regarding a trading post.

Although the two names, Hutchinson, Kohl & Company and Alaska Commercial Company seem to have been used pretty much interchangeably, at least in the firm's Kodiak district, until about 1872, the latter name will be employed henceforth in this study for all operations of the firm.

Records of the Cook Inlet operations of the firm during its very early years are scanty indeed, and those that have been discovered have to do, for the most part, with vessels and shipping, including shipwrecks. The company suffered losses by two shipwrecks, at least, in those years.

In the spring of 1869 the 11-tons sloop Jabez Howes was leaving the inlet with a cargo of furs valued at \$14,000 when she piled up on one of the Barren Islands which lie nearly in the middle of the entrance. What happened to the crew is not clear from the report, but the vessel and her cargo were abandoned and given up as a total loss. 47/ Then, in August, Fred Sargent of Kodiak was carrying Army freight to Kenai in the schooner Pioneer when he

sighted the sloop's hull, barely afloat, drifting in the inlet. He put a tow line on it and finally worked it into Kodiak. The furs were still aboard and according to a newspaper story were "in good condition." Sargent was willing, however, to accept \$350 for his salvage work, indicating that the value of the furs was probably small. 48/

The next shipwreck reported in the inlet involved another small company-owned sloop, the Sea Otter, which was used out of Kenai, apparently for trading around the inlet. On or about June 7, 1870, she was driven ashore some thirty miles above Kenai and became a total loss. 49/

Starting with not more than three and probably only two stations on Cook Inlet in 1868, the Alaska Commercial Company gradually added new ones until, just before the end of the century, it had an even dozen, extending from Cape Douglas in the south to the head of Knik Arm in the north.

The records available in Alaska on the Cook Inlet operations commence in 1871, but there were few stations during the 1870s, and few records remain for those that were operated. The records for the next two decades, the 1880s and 1890s, on the other hand, are voluminous although incomplete. 50/ The following stations are covered by this group of records:

Douglas Station -- On the western side of the entrance to Cook Inlet, a short distance north of Cape Douglas, this station was in the middle of a long stretch of coast populated by sea otters and sea otter hunters. Hunters from the coastal villages of Swikshak and Kaguyak to the west and Kamishak, Chenik and Amakdedori to the north traded there, as did the land-fur trappers from what was described, in the station log books, only as "the interior village."

Some of the records of Douglas Station date back to 1878, but it is not clear whether the Alaska Commercial Company established its own station there originally or whether it acquired the station from an independent trader. By reason of its location, the fur inventories at Douglas Station ran proportionately more heavily to sea otter than did those of other Cook Inlet stations, but there was trade in most other local varieties as well.

On April 1, 1884, the fur inventory at the station showed on hand a total of 76 sea otter pelts for which had been paid from \$4 to \$50 each, with most of them in the \$30 and \$40 class; four brown bear skins at \$7.50, 3 land otter at \$7, 84 mink at 50¢, 65 red fox at \$1, one cross fox at \$1.50, 2 wolverine at \$1 and 2 lynx at \$1.

The number of sea otter pelts in the inventories dwindled year after year, and prices for individual pelts tended to rise. Top price was \$50 in 1884, went to \$75 by 1890 and was up to \$100 by 1894.

The merchandise inventories include not only such staples as powder, caps, lead, fine shot, buckshot, fish nets, sea otter nets, tobacco, tea, sugar, pilot bread, and candles, but also, at Douglas as at other stations, quantities of holy pictures, finger rings, dress combs, fine fancy combs, watch charms, vermillion, and so forth. These latter items may account, at

least in part, for the fact that apparently every sea otter hunter in the area was in debt to the station and that, on the whole, the individual debts grew larger rather than smaller with the passing years.

There was a good deal more marine traffic at Douglas than at most of the other stations on Cook Inlet. There were many schooners operated both by the company and by rival trading firms. The former called to leave merchandise and to pick up the furs, and at times they brought in hunting parties or picked up hunters from Cape Douglas village. The rival vessels called now and then, apparently just out of sociability. The station buildings must have been situated to afford a view over a large section of the inlet -- the station logs are filled with entries such as "a schooner passed by here at 3 p.m.," "two schooners sighted," "one schooner hunting off the station," "a small schooner passed," and "dory in sight, heading for Cape Douglas."

The bidarkas were constantly traveling, too: "Three bydarkas arrived from Kogok," "bidarkas left for Swikshak," "bidarka brought report there is no sea otter in Kamishak," "four bidarka arrive from Ikuk Island, no see sea otter," and "two bidarka arrive from Coal Bay." This latter entry was dated June 4, 1892, but there are enough similar ones over the years to show that the little skin boats were not used solely along the shores but at times crossed the width of the broad inlet itself.

Not all of the marine entries in the log book at the Douglas station were happy ones. On November 14, 1886, Agent John W. Smith wrote: "Schooner Flying Scud came from Kukak and took my family to Kodiak. Wind Southwest, moderate." Then, on April 16, 1887: "This day schooner Kodiak arrived and discharged and left for Kodiak. Also heard that the schooner Flying Scud

had not arrived at Kodiak since leaving here November 14, 1886, with my wife and five children on board. Wind Northwest, light."

Just how long the Douglas station continued in operation has not been learned, but the last items in the "Records" date no later than 1900. By that time the sea otter was all but gone from Cook Inlet waters and the station probably closed that year or very soon afterward.

English Bay was the American name for the old Russian-American Company post of Alexandrovsk at the entrance to Port Graham near the southwestern end of the Kenai Peninsula. The Alaska Commercial Company seems not only to have taken over the Russian post but to have acquired an early American station built by another firm. An 1879 inventory of company property at English Bay included a dwelling, a store and a barn, total value \$300, but marked "abandoned." At a guess, these were the old Russian buildings, no longer usable. Then there was a store house at \$100, a dwelling at \$185, and a second store house at \$40, the latter marked "Tittel & Co." Tittle & Company, a San Francisco firm, had established a post there in 1869 ^{51/} but this entry is the only discovered evidence that it had been sold to the Alaska Commercial Company.

Also carried on the books at English Bay were a store house, worth \$30, at "Ostrovsky" and another, value \$20, at "Illiada." The former was a village on Seldovia Bay. The latter has not been positively identified but was perhaps the village shown on some early maps as Alaida, at Anchor Point.

The station at English Bay served a wide trade area. Frank Lowell, the first American known to have settled on Resurrection Bay, near the present city of Seward, had an account with the Alaska Commercial Company at English Bay in the 1870s and 1880s when he was engaged in otter hunting. And hunters sometimes came there from even farther away: In June, 1877, the English Bay agent noted in the station log: "Arrived today 8 bydarkas of Nuchek Indians to hunt otter." The company had a station -- its most easterly station -- at Nuchek on Hinchinbrook Island in Prince William Sound, but in 1877 the hunting was evidently more promising in Cook Inlet.

For many years the Alaska Commercial Company agent at English Bay was Maxwell Cohen, a native of Berlin who lived long enough on Cook Inlet to have an island there named for him after his death. He seems to have been an energetic trader and went out after business when it did not come to him. His expense accounts show trips to "Kinay," "Catchimac," "Aichmilick," "Ostrovsky" and "Illiava," all for the purpose of trading for furs.

The Native otter hunters who traded at English Bay favored three principal hunting areas: Up the eastern shore of Cook Inlet to Anchor Point and beyond; southward and eastward around Kenai Peninsula at least as far as Nuka Bay; and across the inlet to what the station log called "Chonoborough" Island. It is now known as Augustine Island. Otter hunting schooners and hunting parties passed back and forth between the station and "Chonoborough" with some frequency, but the island also appeared in the station log for another reason. On October 6, 1883, the entry said, in part:

"This morning at 8:15 o'clock four tidal waves flowed with a westerly current, one following the other at the rate of 30 miles an hour into the shore, the sea rising 20 feet above the usual level. At the same time the air became black and foggy and it began to thunder. It began to rain a finely powdered brimstone ashes, which lasted for about 10 minutes and which covered the ground to a depth of over one-quarter inch. Clearing at 9 a.m. Caused by eruption of volcano on Chonoborough Island."

It there was damage at the station as a result of the "tidal waves" the log does not report it.

There was a good deal of marine activity at and past this station, too. Included were the usual vessels in the fur trade, an occasional call by a United States Revenue Cutter, vessels engaged in the coal trade at or near the present site of Homer, the annual cannery ship or bark heading up the inlet toward Kasilof in the spring and bound out for San Francisco in the fall, and in later years the sloops, schooners, steamers and whatnot carrying gold-seekers to Turnagain Arm. But each year the fur shipments from English Bay declined, as they did from all the other stations, and there was less and less reason for keeping it going.

The "Records" at College for the English Bay station run to November 12, 1898. The station probably closed about then. In 1901 the Alaska Commercial Company bought business licenses for ten stations in the Kodiak District, but English Bay was not one of them. ^{52/} On January 3, 1912, the directors at San Francisco approved the sale of the company property at Port Graham, consisting of a wharf and four warehouses, to the Alaska Coast Company. This was a transportation company which had previously purchased at least two of the Alaska Commercial Company's steamers. ^{53/}

Seldovia became an Alaska Commercial Company station in 1894. It was not far from English Bay and it served the same customers, but it was established after the rival North American Commercial Company opened a station there and hired John W. Smith, a long-time Alaska Commercial Company agent who had most recently been at Douglas station, to run it. To counteract Smith's influence, the Alaska Commercial Company brought in one of its most experienced agents. He was Adam Bloch, who had landed at Sitka as a soldier on October 18, 1867. Following his discharge he went to work for the A. C. Company and was in charge of its stations at Unga and Attu before he moved to Seldovia. He was to spend the remainder of his life there.

By the time the Seldovia station opened its doors, the sea otter was becoming scarce indeed in those waters. Many fur shipments from Seldovia to the Kodiak depot contained no sea otter pelts at all, and the station log has already been quoted, in connection with the schooner Mary E. Anderson, to show that some hunting trips were completely unsuccessful.

There were some rather surprising items in the shipments from Seldovia. The May 9, 1895, invoice that went out on the schooner St. Paul included, along with a variety of land furs, one pair of moose horns at \$20 and seven pairs of sheep horns, five of them at \$12 and two at \$10 each. Nor did these represent an isolated shipment; trophy horns continued to have a market at the station. The only explanation that seems reasonable for the market and for the relatively high prices is that it was the period when museums all over the United States and in other countries were building their wildlife exhibits.

In 1900 the Alaska Commercial Company sold the trading station and two dwellings at Seldovia to J. A. Herbert.

Anchor Point: Almost no information has been discovered about this station and the sole records of it in the collection at the University of Alaska are not very enlightening. They consist of a "Blotter 1882-3" and "Stock a/c Anchor Point Apr 23, 1899." The station may have been set up temporarily on each occasion. There were some efforts to mine coal in the Anchor Point area in the early 1880s, and in the late 1890s there was a little beach mining for gold.

Kasilof, like Seldovia, was a late-comer to the list of Alaska Commercial Company stations, and it may have been established for the same reason as the Seldovia station -- to foil competition. The initial entry, dated May 3, 1893, in the station log^s is: "Opened the store this morning to commence business. Sold \$72.25 merchandise, bought one lynx skin." The lynx pelt was purchased for cash; most of the merchandise was sold on credit, and that pretty well tells the story of the Kasilof station. The last entries in the record were made in 1901 and the store may have been sold to H. M. Weatherbee, who seems to have been associated with the salmon cannery at Kasilof and who got into the merchandise business at about that date.

Kenai was one of the oldest of the Alaska Commercial Company stations on Cook Inlet, having been purchased from the Russian-American Company in 1868, but except for its earliest years under the American flag, it may have been one of the least profitable. At the time the company took it over it commanded the trade of the entire upper inlet, including the villages of the Tyonek area and in the drainages of the Susitna, Knik and Matanuska Rivers. Captain James Wilson, who was in charge at Kenai for many years, traveled the upper inlet during the summer months with a sloop, picking up furs.

Kenai had some disadvantages, however, that were difficult to overcome. Its location on a river with a shallow entrance channel, making it a difficult place to reach with sailing schooners, was one. In addition, it was on the extreme upper edge of the sea otter range, so that few of those valuable pelts reached it. Finally, during several months of each year Kenai was locked in by ice, and it is probable that little if any of the trade from Tyonek and the Susitna reached it during the winters.

With the building of a station at Tyonek, about 1875, the importance of the Kenai station dwindled and there are, in fact, indications that it was closed entirely for a couple of years, 1877 to 1879. ^{54/}

Commercial salmon fishing undoubtedly generated some business at the Kenai station. This began before 1880, when some salting was done there, but it was greatly increased after the building of the cannery down at Kasilof in 1882. It may have been a salmon cannery, however, that ultimately put the Alaska Commercial Company's Kenai station out of business. The Pacific Steam Whaling Company opened a cannery at Kenai in 1898 and, as at all of its canneries, it also opened a large store. ^{55/} The people of

the Kenai area were beginning to turn from furs to fish as their main money crop, and it was natural for them to do their buying at the salmon company's store. The Alaska Commercial Company either closed or sold its Kenai station in 1901.

Iliamna: The Alaska Commercial Company records at the University of Alaska include "Accounts and Inventories" for this station for the years 1890-1899, but there are no station logs and little to tell about the operation of the station itself. Even the location is in some doubt: It was presumably on what became known locally as AC Point, on the north side of Iliamna Bay ^{56/} but some mentions seem to place it on the Iliamna River at the place now known as "Old Iliamna." For the years it existed, at any rate, the station served the vast Iliamna Lake region and possibly some of the seacoast as well.

Hope and Sunrise need scarcely be mentioned here as both were much more concerned with mining than with the fur trade. Both stations were established in 1898 when the Cook Inlet gold excitement was still high, and both were on Turnagain Arm. At the end of 1906 when the company proposed to sell most of its stations in the Kodiak district to W. J. Erskine and Omar J. Humphrey, the value of the Hope station was placed at \$1,000 and that of the Sunrise station at \$3,500. This sale was not consummated and both stations were later sold to George Roll, a local merchant, the Hope station in 1910 and the Sunrise station two years later.

Tyonek: Although it was a long distance from the sea otter grounds and ice-locked during several months of each year, upper Cook Inlet had enough fur business to support several trading stations in the vicinity of Tyonek in early years. One was owned by Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co. (latter succeeded by Western Fur & Trading Company) and it was apparently established before the Alaska Commercial Company moved in, about 1875. Faulkner, Bell & Co. and C. D. Ladd were the other station owners. The Alaska Commercial Company seems to have had its station on Beshta Bay, a place now known as Old Tyonek; Ladd was at the mouth of the Chuitna River; the locations of the others have not been determined.

Much of the trade of the Tyonek station of the Alaska Commercial Company, as reflected in the station log books, was with the Native people who dwelt to the North -- the "Kinnick" and "Suchntine" people, as Knik and Susitna were usually written by the keepers of these records.

"The company bidarka and the Western Fur & Trading Company bidaree arrived from their trading trip at Suchntine," according to the log entry for June 25, 1881. This seems to indicate that the two trading parties, although rivals for the business, may have been traveling together for mutual protection. They were dealing here not with the docile "Eskimos" of the lower inlet, but with Athabaskan Indians who were sometimes hostile, as the trader at Knik learned, at the cost of his life, a few years later.

Reported the Tyonek station logs in other entries: "The Kinick and Suchntine people left today for home," and "Six sleds arrived from Suchntine to trade." Sleds from Knik Arm and the Susitna River Valley, and perhaps from other places as well, were constantly coming and going at the Tyonek station during the winter months and it is possible that the trade was more brisk then than during the summers -- a reversal of conditions on the lower inlet.

Although Tyonek did not have sea otter, it did have a great variety of products to ship to Kodiak. On September 23, 1886, the station shipped on the schooner Kodiak this invoice of products of the region:

334 marten, \$504.90; 29 mink, \$14.20; 2 cross fox, \$1.30; 8 red fox, \$8; 30 muskrat, \$1.50; 18 land otter, \$51.20; 14 lynx, \$12.50; 1 marmot blanket, \$1; 15 wolverine, \$15; 356 beaver, \$504.80; 31 black bear, \$98.25; 2 brown bear, \$4.50; 13 squirrel parkas, \$37.20; 146 buckskins, \$78.20; 36 lb. sinew, \$3.60; 20 lb. bear gall, \$7.60; 150 beaver castors, \$7.50; 17 laftack (sealskins) \$6; 17 kamleyca (gut parka), \$27.75; 87 fathom bear gut, \$4.09; 1 canoe, \$17.50.

There was a certain amount of fishery business at Tyonek, too, during the summers. The salmon cannery at Kasilof, established in 1882, soon began sending fishermen, equipped with boats and nets, to fish the Chuitna and other rivers in the Tyonek area, and the steam tug Novelty arrived regularly to pick up their catches. In 1893, C. D. Ladd, who had opened a trading station a year or two earlier, established a salmon saltery at the mouth of the Chuitna, and in 1900 a salmon cannery was built on that site. Although this cannery operated for only three seasons, it contributed to the over-all economy of the area during that time. 57/

The Turnagain Arm gold rush of 1895-98 also generated business at the Tyonek station. It became an outfitting point for many prospectors, as well as a transfer point. Deep draft vessels anchored there to unload passengers and cargo on smaller craft for the remainder of the trip to the diggings.

Long after the fur stations on the lower inlet had been closed or sold, Tyonek was still doing a substantial fur business each year. A valuation of \$1,000 was placed on the station in 1906 negotiations for the sale of company properties, but the sale did not go through and the Tyonek station operated under the Alaska Commercial Company bannery for several more years.

Knik Station was located on the south shore of Knik Arm near its head -- not far from the place now known as Eklutna -- and although surviving records of the station date back only to 1882, it may have been established several years earlier. ^{58/} That it was a lonesome place in which to live is indicated by a log book entry on September 3, 1890: "Finished unloading merchandise. The last mail until next April or May."

This was the only Alaska Commercial Company station on Cook Inlet, so far as the record shows, at which the agent met violent death. The event was recorded by the Tyonek agent in his own log book, December 26, 1885:

"Come Natives from Kenick tell one Copper River natives killing Agent of Kenick, Mr. Hold, Morning 18th Dec. 15th Dec. came two Copper Natives, sales his fur, one Natives start to succeed, Agent to throw him out from store, after that three day him quiet, 18th Dec. Morning, Agent come out from house, that moment Natives killing him from Doble Gun, Natives shot him the back and bullet to trace out through to breast. Natives to watch him from woods. Kenick, Shuchitna and Tyoonock natives is fear that Copper Natives go killing all natives."

The "Mr. Hold" was C. G. Holt, also known as George Holt, a long-time resident of Alaska, reported to have been the first white man to cross Chilkoot Pass to the headwaters of the Yukon. He had prospected in many parts of Alaska, including the Kenai and Susitna Rivers, before going to work for the Alaska Commercial Company at Knik. ^{59/}

Another agent, well armed, was sent to Knik and he carried on trade as before, much of it with the Copper River Indians who came overland via the Matanuska Valley.

Some years after the Holt killing, George W. Palmer, who had arrived in the Turnagain Arm gold diggings before the rush started, took over the Knik station as agent. He soon moved the station across the arm to the site

that was to become the town of Knik, and a few years later he bought the station and ~~its~~ inventory from the company. 60/

Susitna Station was the most northerly of the trading stations built by the Alaska Commercial Company in the Cook Inlet district, and it was actually not on the inlet but several miles up the Susitna River which flows into the inlet. The station was dependent upon Cook Inlet water transportation and, with its location on the shallow river, there was always something of a problem in getting merchandise to the station and fur shipments out. At Tyonek or elsewhere on deep water the goods had to be unloaded from company schooners and placed on small river craft in summer or on sleds in winter for the final leg of the trip.

Although the Susitna station was established about 1895 and was built strictly for the fur business, there being no other activity of consequence in the area at that time, it reached its greatest importance some years later as an outfitting point and transportation center for gold miners.

It appears that the company made no effort to sell the Susitna branch when it put the other Cook Inlet stations on the block in 1906, and not long after that it increased its Susitna investment by building a shallow-draft sternwheel river boat, the Jane, to handle cargo and passengers on the river both below and above the station. 61/

After the famed Iditarod Trail was opened, about 1911, to provide a winter route from the Iditarod country to the coast, Susitna Station became one of the principal stopping points on the route and the largest settlement between Knik and the Iditarod. This gave it both a summer and a winter business and the Alaska Commercial Company continued to operate its station there at least until the opening of World War I. 62/

Tittle and Levy

This was an early rival of the Alaska Commercial Company, on Cook Inlet and at some other locations on the southern coast of Alaska. The firm name seems actually to have been F. E. G. Tittle & Co., but it is referred to, in the Customs records and the newspaper at Sitka, as "Levy & Co." In addition to F. E. G. Tittle of San Francisco the members of the firm were Benjamin Levy of Sitka, Captain Marquis Levy whose home address is unknown, and possibly Aaron Levy, also of Sitka.

Benjamin and Aaron Levy were at Sitka at least as early as November 8, 1867, when they signed a petition for a municipal government, ^{63/} and they ran a general store there. Marquis Levy arrived at Sitka on December 26, 1868, in command of the 55-ton schooner General Harney which he registered at the Customs House that day, listing F. E. G. Tittle as the owner. ^{64/}

The General Harney sailed north from Sitka in April, 1869, and "will establish two or three trading posts." ^{65/} Posts were established either on that voyage or subsequently at Unalaska, Kenai, English Bay and Nuchek on Hinchinbrook Island. Aaron Levy remained in Sitka and Benjamin went to Unalaska. ^{66/} The General Harney arrived back at Sitka on September 13, 1869, "making the trip down from Kenai in eight days," and bringing in "a good load of furs." ^{67/} Captain Levy left her at Sitka, went south on another vessel, and is not again heard from in the Alaska fur trade. It appears, however, that the captain may have been having some crew trouble. A former steward on the vessel, Francis Hill, informed a Customs officer that the vessel had carried two barrels of whiskey on her voyage north and that some of it had been sold to Natives at Kenai. ^{68/}

The General Harney went back to Kenai after Captain Levy left her, being towed out of the harbor at Sitka at the start of the voyage by the Army transport Newbern. She was next reported at Sitka on January 26, 1870, when she came in from San Francisco laden with trade goods for the various stations of Tittle & Co. and in command of Captain Thomas K. Lee. The Customs Office had meanwhile received a tip that the vessel would be carrying a still and a cargo of molasses and was going to Cook Inlet to convert the molasses to alcohol. Collector William Kapus had her completely unloaded and searched at Sitka but neither a still nor any immoderate quantity of molasses was turned up. 69/

Early the following year, 1871, deputy Collector Luke Sheeran at Kodiak had two pieces of news concerning the General Harney and her owner. On January 15 he wrote that the schooner was going to English Bay to load coal for San Francisco, and that her owner "has dissolved partnerships with the Levi parties -- Levi, Lee & Co." 70/ This apparently took Mr. Tittle out of the fur business in Alaska, and it seems to have put Captain Lee in it as a partner. But the captain was not permanently placed, either, and a couple of years later he was working for Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co. in the ill-fated Urania. Levy & Co. remained in business at least until 1876, when word reached Sitka that the firm's schooner "Annie Martin" arrived at Kodiak with 2,000 assorted furs and expects to leave soon for San Francisco."

At some subsequent date, and perhaps not long after 1876, Levy & Co. sold its Kenai trading post, and probably its other posts as well, to Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co.

Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co.

This was one of the most successful of the independent trading firms on Cook Inlet in the yearly years under the American flag, and the success came despite some bad luck with floating equipment, culminating in a disaster that wiped out the majority of the firm's members.

David Shirpser, who had been in business at Victoria, B.C., since 1861, ^{72/} was said to have arrived at Sitka in June, 1867, several months before the actual transfer from Russia to the United States. ^{73/} He was joined at Sitka by a brother, Emanuel, and they opened a general store at Sitka and another at Kodiak. As part of this business they traded in furs, as did nearly all Alaska merchants in those years.

Late in 1869 or early in 1870 the brothers joined forces with Abraham Haritonoff, a master mariner who had been operating in the fur trade around Kodiak under the name Jansen, Haritonoff & Co. ^{74/} Another Shirpser, Herman, joined the firm and was placed in charge of the Kodiak store. He also served as Kodiak's postmaster from August 1, 1871, until his death at the end of 1873. ^{75/}

Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co., soon after it was organized, purchased the 37-ton schooner Clara L. West which was skippered by Haritonoff and operated along the coast of South-Central Alaska. A shore station was established just inside Cape Douglas, at the western entrance to Cook Inlet. This seems to have been not only the first trading post built at the cape but the first on the western side of the inlet by an American firm. The Russians may have had one in the Tyonek area before 1794.

The Clara L. West served as a tender for the Douglas station, carrying merchandise to it and taking away the accumulated inventory of furs two or three times each year. She also traded along the shores of the inlet, crossing back and forth from village to village, from sea otter camp to sea otter camp in the highly competitive business of gathering furs. She went at least as far up the inlet as the villages of Kustatan and Tyonek, and perhaps into Knik Arm. Then, on April 8, 1871, the schooner was wrecked near Cape Douglas and became a total loss. 76/

The West was replaced by the 20-ton Petaluma which took over the trading and transport duties on Cook Inlet and elsewhere. She must have been an old vessel when they got her; at any rate, she was declared to be "totally unseaworthy" late in 1873 or early in 1874 and was broken up by her owners at Kodiak. 77/ The schooner Urania took the place of the Petaluma, but whether under the ownership of the firm or under charter is not clear. She was a vessel of 80 tons, substantially larger than either the Clara L. West or the Petaluma, and was skippered by Captain Thomas K. Lee who had been associated with the Levy brothers in fur trading operations at Kenai, English Bay and other posts. Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co. acquired the Kenai trading post from the Levys and about the same time entered into a working arrangement with Faulkner, Bell & Co. of San Francisco to transport supplies to that firm's new trading post at or near the village of Tyonek.

To take charge of its Kenai station, the firm hired Harry P. Cope, an Englishman who had come north to Kodiak at about the time of the transfer of Alaska to the American flag and had been the town's first postmaster. He managed the Kenai station of the Shirpser company and of its successor, the

Western Fur & Trading Company, for a number of years, then returned to Kodiak and either opened or took over a merchandise business. In 1891 he was again appointed Kodiak postmaster and he served in the office until his death in 1913. 78/

The firm of Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co. suffered a blow at the end of 1873 when Herman Shirpser died at San Francisco, but an even more severe blow was in store. Just before the end of the year 1875 the schooner Urania was loaded with furs at Kodiak for her annual trip to San Francisco. She took aboard a number of passengers and sailed from Kodiak on December 29. She was never heard from again. Aboard, in addition to Captain Thomas K. Lee, his wife and their two-year-old son, were a crew of six men; the brothers David and Emanuel Shirpser; a man listed as "C. Haritonoff," and the man's adopted son; R. L. Williams, trader for Faulkner, Bell & Co. at Tyonek; and Luke Sheeran, who had not long since resigned as deputy Collector of Customs at Kodiak. 79/

The tragedy wiped out at least two and probably three of the surviving partners in the firm of Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co. The firm did carry on, but just who was in charge is not clear from available sources. A new schooner, the C. S. Fowler, a 35-ton vessel built at Humboldt Bay, California, in 1874, was purchased and thereafter was frequently reported on Cook Inlet, delivering merchandise to the stations at Kenai and Tyonek and stopping at other villages to trade for furs. 80/

In 1879, after approximately ten years of operation, Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co. was either completely reorganized with a new name or sold to a new firm -- the Western Fur & Trading Company of San Francisco.

Western Fur & Trading Company

This firm was organized at San Francisco in March, 1879, with authorized capital stock of \$500,000. "The Alaska Appeal," published at San Francisco, stated that "This is simply a change of name of the concern heretofore known as Shirpser, Haritonoff & Co." 81/

The new firm's manager on Cook Inlet was an energetic man named Captain H. R. Bowen who expanded the fur-buying operations and branched out into the salting of salmon at Kenai and Kasilof. 82/ In addition to the existing shore stations at Kenai, Douglas and Tyonek, he opened another at English Bay, 83/ and possibly a fifth at Kasilof where there seems not to have previously been a station. Captain Bowen also brought in the small schooner Diomedes Herman and put her to making the rounds of the smaller village and the scattered otter hunting camps. 84/

The schooner O. S. Fowler, which had been taken over with the other assets of the Shirpser firm, was employed by Western Fur & Trading Co. on Cook Inlet for a season or two and thereafter worked in Bering Sea and as a transport between San Francisco and Alaska. The schooners Louise and St. Paul, both small vessels, were also used on Cook Inlet. 85/ The company schooner Ounalaska, 54 tons, was used mostly between Kodiak and San Francisco and for trading in Bering Sea and along the Aleutian chain as far west as Attu, but she was reported at Kodiak on May 26, 1880, bound for Cook Inlet. 86/

Another of the company's vessels was the 69-ton schooner Pauline Collins. In 1879 she was trading around St. Lawrence Island in Bering Sea in command of Captain J. J. Nye. ^{87/} She was recorded visiting stations on Cook Inlet in May, 1880, and June, 1881, and probably did so at other times. ^{88/} Then, on the evening of October 6, 1881, while in command of Captain H. R. Bowen, she piled up on the rocks near Karluk, Kodiak Island. The loss was total, with the value placed at \$7,000. ^{89/}

All in all, Western Fur & Trading Company appears to have been an aggressive firm and it probably was the most competitive of all of the early rivals of the Alaska Commercial Company. The final result of this appears in the "Minutes of the Stockholders' Meeting of the Alaska Commercial Company" at San Francisco on March 16, 1883: "Agreement has been reached by the company directors for the purchase of Western Fur and Trading Company for \$175,000. Included is all the property of that company in Alaska except the schooners Czar and Ounalaska." ^{90/}

Taylor & Bendel

This was a firm of San Francisco wholesale grocers, importers and liquor dealers with a place of business at 409-415 Clay Street. ^{91/} The principal partners were Thomas Taylor and Herman Bendel and they got into the Alaska fur trade very soon after the transfer in 1867, establishing a number of stations which were, as a Sitka newspaper put it, "north and west of here." ^{92/} One of the stations was at Unalaska. Another may have been on Cook Inlet, but this has not been certainly established.

Thomas Taylor was at Sitka in April, 1868, with the schooner Page, Captain C. P. Halcomb, enroute to the company's stations. ^{93/} The schooner remained in the North until August, when she returned to San Francisco. Taylor & Bendel also had the schooner Thomas Woodward on a fishing and trading voyage in northern waters in 1868. ^{94/} In the meanwhile, the firm's Bernard Bendel was stationed at Sitka where he worked closely with the local merchandise firm of Storer & Bingham. Samuel Storer was listed as managing owner of the 37-ton schooner Nor'wester which made trading voyages out of Sitka, usually with Bernard Bendel aboard. Some of these voyages were limited to Southeastern Alaska waters, but in 1868 she cleared on at least one voyage "to Prince William Sound, Cook Inlet and other western waters," as the Customs clearance clerk phrased it. ^{95/} She probably made other voyages to that area, too, before she was lost at sea on December 9, 1870, but after 1868 vessels on intra-Alaska voyages were no longer required to clear and enter through Customs on each trip and the available records of such comings and goings become scanty.

At Unalaska in the summer of 1869 Taylor & Bendel purchased the 18-ton schooner Lizzie Sha, newly built at San Francisco, from her owner, Captain James W. Murdock. She was listed later that year as sailing with B. Bendel as master and James Wilner as sailing master. ^{96/} In the summer of 1870 the schooner was reported at Kodiak, bound for Cook Inlet, but whether she was tending a station there or merely on a trading voyage is not shown by the record. ^{97/} In 1871 the Lizzie Sha was being skippered by Captain Ernest Henning and Bendel remained at Unalaska.

Just how much of the Alaska fur business Taylor & Bendel captured is not known, but it must have been enough to bother the Alaska Commercial Company, which was still known in some areas at Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. In February, 1872, the Customs officer at Unalaska reported that "The firm of Taylor & Bendel has sold their business in this Territory to Hutchinson, Kohl & Co. and sold the Lizzie Sha to her skipper, Captain E. Henning." ^{98/}

North American Commercial Company

This firm was organized at San Francisco on April 15, 1890, for the purpose of bidding on a new twenty-year contract for the exclusive privilege of harvesting fur seal pelts on the Pribilof Islands. One of the seven firms that made offerings, it entered the high bid and won the contract. ^{99/}

Although the company was new to the Alaska field in the summer of 1890 when its sealing contract took effect, one of its principal organizers was not. He was Herman Liebes, a native of Prussia who, with Charles J. Biehlow as a partner, had entered the fur business in San Francisco in 1864. ^{100/} Within a few years after the purchase of Alaska by the United States the firm, known as H. Liebes & Co., was sending trading vessels to Bering Sea and the Arctic for furs, ivory and whalebone. With the growth of pelagic sealing after 1870, the firm became a large buyer of fur seal pelts, and Liebes was asserted to have been a shareholder in some of the sealing schooners. ^{101/} The company's Alaska fur buying, however, was confined to the far Northwest.

The new North American Commercial Company maintained no such limitation. In addition to taking over the Pribilof Islands from the Alaska Commercial Company, it moved to challenge the supremacy of the big firm in other areas, including the Aleutians, Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak Island and Cook Inlet. It stayed out of the Arctic and the Yukon River, but H. Liebes & Co. continued to operate in the Arctic.

The principal depot of the North American Commercial Company was built at Dutch Harbor, ^{102/} and there was a second depot at Wood Island (today known as Woody Island) near Kodiak.

Wrote the governor of Alaska of the Wood Island installation:

"There they have a store, warehouses, and a dwelling house in which William C. Greenfield, the principal agent, resides. They have a stock of goods of the value of \$30,000. The business has received a great impetus since the last season. They have substations at Afognak and Seldovia, in Cooks Inlet. The value of the furs purchased this season, between April and July, was eight-fold greater than the whole of last year's purchases. They employ one schooner for the local business." 103/

Afognak is not, of course, on Cook Inlet. The Seldovia station, which is on the inlet, seems to have been the first trading post to be established at that village. The company actually had two schooners working out of Kodiak at the time Governor Knapp mentioned -- the Mary E. Anderson and the Seventy-six. -- but the former seems to have been used mostly for sea otter hunting while the Seventy-six tended the trading stations and perhaps did some hunting on the side.

In 1891 the North American Commercial Company added a new line of business when it bid on and was awarded the first contract for carrying the United States mail west of Sitka. Under the contract terms the firm was "to carry the mails from Sitka by Yakutat, Nutchek, Kodiak, Unga, Humboldt Harbor, and Belkofsky to Unalaska, Alaska, from April 1 to October 31 of each year, from July 1, 1891, to June 30, 1894." 105/

This service provided the first regular transportation link between Southeastern Alaska and Western Alaska, and within a short while a surprising volume of business developed. In 1891 and 1892 the mail run was handled by the little steamer Elsie, first under Captain J. E. Lenman, then under Captain W. Thomas. Only 77 feet in length, she was adequate for carrying the mails but there were complaints about her lack of passenger accommodations. 106/

It is probable that the company had not realized how much passenger business would be offered, because after 1892 the 145-foot Crescent City took over the route.

When the westward mail contract went into effect there was as yet no post office on Cook Inlet, and no calls at inlet ports were called for in the contract. The mail boat did stop at Seldovia, where the company had a trading post, on most of its trips and this increased the towns growing importance as a trade center. 107/

The North American Commercial Company established its second Cook Inlet trading station at or near the village of Tyonek. The date of this has not been determined but it is thought to have been in 1894 when the Alaska Commercial Company agent at Tyonek wrote, on April 4: "Opposition agent, Mr. Howe, getting out house logs." 108/

More vessels were sent into Cook Inlet, too, both to supply the stations with trade goods and to transport sea otter hunters from one place to another and make sure, when the hunts were successful, that the pelts did not go to the wrong trader. In addition to the Mary E. Anderson and the Seventy-six, these vessels included the schooners F. F. Feeney, Alexander, Gen'l. Siglin, Hero and Prosper, and the 91-ton steamer Francis Cutting. The steamer could get up and down the inlet early in the spring and late in the fall when ice was likely to hinder the schooners.

Some old hands in the Cook Inlet fur business joined the North American Commercial Company. John W. Smith, who had been with the Alaska Commercial Company for more than 20 years, many of them at its Cape Douglas station, took charge of the Seldovia station of the new company. 109/ And Captain H. R. Bowen, who had been in charge of the Cook Inlet operations of the old Western Fur & Trading Company and afterward had skippered trading schooners along the coast, was in command of the steamer Francis Cutting until, in the

winter of 1895-96, he sailed as a passenger on the company's schooner Seventy-six, bound from Kodiak for Kayak Island, and went missing with her and all hands. 110/

The North American Commercial Company's business on Cook Inlet got a boost in the years 1895 through 1897 from the Turnagain Arm gold rush. Using the steamer Francis Cutting and probably other vessels as well, it carried eager gold-seekers to the diggings and took away the disappointed ones, and it transported a great deal of merchandise to the gold camps. Apparently it did not open stores of its own there, as the Alaska Commercial Company did, but sold goods at wholesale to independent merchants who had established themselves at Hope and Sunrise.

On the whole, however, the company did not greatly prosper. It had arrived on the scene too late to cash in on the Alaska fur bonanza of the 1870s and 1880s. By the 1890s the government was beginning to curtail the fur seal kill on the Pribilof Islands to try to save the depleted herds, while over-hunting of the sea otter all along the Alaska coast had drastically reduced the annual take of that mainstay of the coastal fur-trading stations.

The North American Commercial Company lost the westward mail contract in 1894 to the Alaska Commercial Company 111/ and subsequently it suffered two marine casualties in addition to the loss of the schooner Seventy-six, previously mentioned. On September 23, 1896, Agent Wm. C. Greenfield reported to the Customs officer at Kodiak the loss of the schooner Hero with a cargo of furs. 112/ Details of the wreck were not included in the report. Then, on March 13, 1897, the schooner Gen'l. Siglin sailed from San Francisco with a cargo of merchandise for the depot at Wood Island. In June

her derelict hull was towed to Sitka by the Revenue Cutter Thomas Corwin. 113/

Having failed to enter the fur trade of the Yukon Valley, the North American Commercial Company was not in a position to benefit to any great degree from the Klondike gold rush. The coastal fur business continued its decline and the company closed its two trading stations on Cook Inlet before the turn of the century. By 1903 it was maintaining only the depot at Dutch Harbor.

Other Independent Traders

Smaller independent fur traders who operated on Cook Inlet -- some of them very briefly -- included the following:

Kinkead & Louthan was a Sitka mercantile firm, one of whose members, John H. Kinkead, later became Alaska's first governor. The firm owned the 10-ton schooner Sweepstakes for a time and operated her in the fur trade. Most of her trading voyages were among the islands of Southeastern Alaska, but in 1869 she was sent on at least one trip to Prince William Sound and Cook Inlet. ^{114/}

Faulkner & Bell had its headquarters at San Francisco, owned a trading station on upper Cook Inlet somewhere in the vicinity of Tyonek for at least a couple of years, and had the schooner Louisa Morrison on the inlet in 1876 and 1877 and perhaps in other years. ^{115/} Nothing else regarding this firm has been discovered.

John Malawanski & Co. was based at Sitka, the principal owner having arrived there from Victoria in the fall of 1867. In April, 1868, he sent the 16-ton schooner Langley to Cook Inlet in command of Captain Antonio Cozian who had previously piloted vessels for the Russian-American Company. The Langley returned to Sitka in the fall with a sizeable inventory of marten, land and sea otter, fur seal, beaver and mink pelts. ^{116/} The Langley was wrecked in Chatham Strait, Southeastern Alaska, the following year and Malawanski's name disappears from the record about the same time.

Vincent Baronovitch, of Kasaan, on Prince of Wales Island, Southeastern Alaska, owned the 33-ton schooner Pioneer which he sent out in June, 1868, on a trading voyage "to the Northwest Coast" in command of Captain John Kashevaroff. 117/ She was on Cook Inlet both that season and in 1869. In the latter year she was mainly engaged in carrying freight from the Army post at Kodiak to the new Cook Inlet post, Fort Kenay, but she returned to Sitka in the fall with some furs. 118/

William Phillipson was one of the builders of the 26-ton schooner Nellie Edes, launched at Sitka in 1872. In 1877 Phillipson sent her to Cook Inlet in charge of a Captain Phillips. 119/ She was reported at Tyonek in May and again in September. "She sails out to meet the hunters and buys most of the skins," complained the Alaska Commercial Company agent at Tyonek in May. 120/ The vessel was sold at Kodiak a year or two later and thereafter was used for sea otter hunting around the Shumagins and other western islands.

C. D. Ladd of San Francisco opened a trading station at the mouth of the Chuitna River, near the village of Tyonek, but the date of this event has not been learned. It may have been in 1892, which was the year he bought the schooner Anna Matilda, a vessel of 34 tons, from the Arctic Fishing Company which operated a salmon cannery at Kasilof. J. B. Ballou may have been a partner with Ladd in the vessel; he was, at any rate, her skipper that year. ^{121/} In the spring of 1893 the schooner was fur seal hunting on the lower coast, in charge of Captain Thomas Walsh, but she was on Cook Inlet in June to pick up furs from Ladd's station and carry them to San Francisco. ^{122/} Thereafter she appears to have spent more time fur sealing than fur trading and she was on the sealing grounds off the coast of Japan in the season of 1894. ^{123/}

Ladd branched out into the salmon saling business at his Chuitna River station, commencing in 1893 and putting up packs in that and several subsequent seasons. In 1899 he sold the station to the Alaska Salmon Association of San Francisco, which built a cannery there. ^{124/} This firm apparently did not continue the fur station.

John B. Ballou, sometimes referred to as "Dr. Ballou," was agent for the Alaska Commercial Company at its Knik station in 1886, where he signed the station log book on September 20. ^{125/} Subsequently he either went into business for himself or joined another company. That he was a thoroughly unprincipaled fellow is indicated by an entry in the log book at Knik (agent's name unknown) on December 1, 1890: "Dr. Ballou is at Tyonek with a large stock of merchandise. He has raised the price of furs and lowered the price of merchandise. ^{126/}

The deputy Collector of Customs at Kodiak charged him with more serious crimes. He wrote: "On November 7, 1890, Dr. J. B. Bellew came to Chuitna in Cook Inlet on the schooner Lillie L. from San Francisco, bringing with him 19 Winchester rifles and ammunition and 40 gallons of whiskey, all of which he sold to the Indians there. On July 26, 1891, he left again for San Francisco on the steam schooner Jennie." ^{127/} Breech-loading rifles, ammunition to fit such rifles, and whiskey were all contraband in Alaska at that time.

In the summer of 1892, as mentioned previously, Ballou was skipper of the schooner Anna Mathilda, but nothing has been learned of him after that date.

Furs in the Twentieth Century

As the larger Cook Inlet villages became more firmly established and their populations grew, the general merchandise store which handled furs merely as a side line began to supplant the old time trading post which was oriented almost exclusively toward furs. And, although the sea otter had all but disappeared from inlet waters by the early years of the 20th century, there was still a sizeable, although diminishing, harvest of land furs each season. Many of these furs went to the local merchants. Others were sold to itinerant fur buyers who began to appear more and more frequently as transportation facilities improved. And, increasingly as time passed, many trappers and other fur producers began making shipments by mail or express directly to fur houses in Seattle, San Francisco, St. Louis and New York.

Another development in the fur business which had its Cook Inlet beginnings in the 1890s but did not greatly expand until after 1900 was fur farming. In the early years this consisted almost exclusively of raising foxes, either blue or one of several color varieties of the red fox. Although the Russians may have done some experimenting with fur raising, the first record that has been found fox farming in Alaska dates to 1880 when Captain F. F. Feeney of Kodiak placed a pair of black foxes on Long Island, near Kodiak. The success of his initial effort is unknown. 128/

To the best of available information, fox farming began on Cook Inlet in 1894 when E. Petellin (sometimes written Pettellan) placed 18 pairs of blue foxes on Perl Island, one of the Chugach group at the entrance to the inlet. In 1898 he was reported to have harvested 31 fox pelts and to have had about 400 foxes on the island in 1899. ^{129/} In early reports the name of the island is often shown as "Pearl," but it was actually named for Perl D. Blodgett, a Kodiak businessman who was manager of the Semidi Propagating Company. This was a large firm and stocked quite a number of islands with foxes. The fact that this island was named for him, and apparently at about the time the foxes were placed there, may indicate that Mr. Blodgett had an interest in the enterprise, but no other evidence has been found of this.

In 1900 it was reported that the two remaining islands of the Chugach group, at the entrance to Cook Inlet, had been taken for fox farming. A. C. Goss leased East Chugach Island for the year 1901 and planned to stock it with 20 pairs of foxes. Elizabeth Island was leased by M. F. Wright from October 1, 1900. He planned to put 25 pairs of foxes on it. ^{130/}

The above reports on fox farming were made by a special agent of the Treasury Department, but after 1900 this subject was no longer treated in his annual reports, and it was not until the year 1913 that reporting on fur farming was resumed, this time by the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries. At that time Perl Island and Elizabeth Island still appear to have been under lease for fox farming ^{131/} but no further report of either the success of these two island fox farms has been found.

In 1918 the annual Bureau of Fisheries report for Alaska contained this item:

"Sholin Bros. & Co., of Homer, report satisfactory progress in fur farming. Operations were begun in 1915 with 3 pairs of silver-black foxes; there was no increase in 1916, but in 1917 there were two litters of 5 each which were raised successfully. Sixteen pups were successfully reared in 1918." 132/

The 1919 report of the Bureau added this information:

"Sholin Bros. & Co. of Homer, report encouraging results in the rearing of silver-black foxes in corrals. At the beginning of 1919 they had 12 pairs of breeders, 9 of which produced young, the litters varying from 2 to 5 pups each. The total increase was 28, all of which were successfully raised. Fifteen pairs are being held for breeders in 1920.

"F. Berry, 12 miles northeast of Homer, is also breeding foxes in corrals. He started business in 1918 in partnership with Dr. E. F. German, of Anchorage, with one pair of silver-black foxes.

"In the fall of 1918, Albraham Ericksson, at Kenai, purchased two pairs of silver foxes at a cost of \$1,700 and placed them in pens. During the year both males killed their mates. In October he traded one male for a female, thus giving him a pair for breeding in 1920.

"Joseph Falardeau, operating a fox farm at the head of Kachemak Bay, reports encouraging results in 1919. At the beginning of the year he had on hand five male and seven female silver foxes. Three pair of these produced a total of nine pups, five being males and four females. This enabled him to increase his breeding stock to nine pairs.

"Passage Island, situated in the entrance of Port Graham, is used as a blue-fox farm by J. A. Herbert of Seldovia. This farm was established several years ago and has been fairly successful. At the beginning of 1919 the stock consisted of 25 pairs. These produced about 100 pups, but heavy losses occurred, as approximately 80 per cent of the young were killed and carried away by eagles. Only 23 pups reached maturity. Twenty-seven foxes were sold for breeding purposes, 25 were killed for their pelts, and 10 pairs were held as stock for 1920.

"Hesketh and Yukon Islands, in Kachemak Bay, are used for fox-breeding purposes by U. S. Ritchie, who began this work more than 20 years ago. His foxes run at large, and can pass from one island to the other at low water.

"D. F. Dunagan, H. H. Waller, and J. L. Waller took over the fox corrals of N. P. Shular at Anchor Point and will continue operations under the name of the Anchor Point Silver Fox Farm. When owned by Mr. Shular, this farm was reputed to be the most successful one in Alaska handling black and silver foxes."

133/

The only other item regarding Cook Inlet fur farming in this report did not concern foxes:

"A. F. Piper, of Seldovia, reports that he has started a skunk farm with eight animals which were shipped from the States."

Unfortunately, the Bureau of Fisheries also went out of the fur farm reporting business, turning it over to the Bureau of Biological Survey, a branch of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and if that agency issued printed reports on its Alaska work, they have not been discovered.

REFERENCES

1. Petroff, Ivan, Special Agent, "Report on the Population, Industries, and Resources of Alaska," Washington, D.C., 1882. Hereafter cited as "Petroff." Fur production figures are on pages 61-66, inc. [State of Alaska No. 37]
2. "Report on Population and Resources of Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890," Census Office, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 1893. Hereafter cited as "Eleventh Census Report." Fur production figures appear on pages 215 and 216. [State of Alaska No. 38]
3. Elliott, Henry W., "A Report Upon the Condition of Affairs in the Territory of Alaska," Washington, D.C., 1875, pp. 55-56.
4. Ibid., p. 50
5. Petroff, op. cit. Fur distribution maps appear opposite pages 55, 57, 58 and 59.
6. The included information comes from Elliott, Henry W. (State of Alaska No. 5); from the census reports of 1880 and 1890 (State of Alaska Nos. 37 and 38; from correspondence of the Deputy Collectors of Customs at Kodiak, Unalaska and Sand Point (in Alaska Historical Library, Juneau); and from "Adventures of Carl Rydell - the Autobiography of a Seafaring Man," edited by Elmer Green, Edward Arnold & Co., London, 1924. Rydell hunted sea otter on the Alaska coast from 1890 through 1893, was a keen observer and of an inquiring nature, and wrote rather extensively about what he observed and heard.
7. Nichols, Jeanette P., "History of Alaska Under Rule of the United States," Cleveland, 1924, p. 47. The Act became Sec. 1954 of the Revised Statutes, Vol. I, p. 95. [State of Alaska No. 116]
8. Boutwell, George S., Secretary of the Treasury, copy of order with letter to Wm. Kapus, Collector of Customs, Sitka, in Customs Letter, Received, Sitka, Vol. 8, No. 155, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 113]
9. Sussman, S., letter to Collector of Customs, Sitka, September 5, 1870, in Customs Letters, Misc. Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 6, No. 504; also Huchinson, Kohl & Co. to Collector, same date, Vol. 6, No. 64; Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 114]
10. Sherman, John, Secretary of the Treasury, Treasury Order dated April 21, 1879; in Customs Letters, Received, Sitka, Vol. 9, items not numbered, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
11. French, H. H., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, letter to Collector of Customs, Sitka, July 16, 1877, in Customs Letters, Received, Sitka, Vol. 11, items not numbered, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 118]
12. Finnegan, James, deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, to Collector, Sitka, December 4, 1888, Customs Letters, Received, Sitka, Vol. 14, No. 171, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.

13. Spaulding, O. L., Acting Secretary of the Treasury, Department Circular No. 11, Washington, D.C., January 19, 1893.
14. The vessels seized were the schooners Kodiak and Lettie, both owned by the Alaska Commercial Company, and the steam tug Jennie, owned by the Northern Packing Company which had a salmon cannery at Kenai but was not operating that year.
15. Letters of the Revenue Cutter Service, Microfile No. 641, Roll 3, Frame 230, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
16. Ibid., Frame 231.
17. Deposition before Joseph Murray, United States Treasury Agent, in "Fur Seal Arbitration," Vol. III, Washington, D.C., 1895, p. 225.
[State of Alaska No. 117]
18. Ibid., page 228.
19. Ibid., pp. 224-231.
20. Johnson, Commander Henry L., USN, letter dated Port Etches, Alaska, June 16, 1892, to Commander R. D. Evans, USN, Commanding U.S. Naval Forces in Bering Sea, Microcopy No. 625, Roll 302, Frames 446-447, National Archives.
21. The Kodiak was at 59°09' N. Latitude, 152°41' W. Longitude, according to the report of Commander Johnson, National Archives, Microcopy No. 625, Roll 302, Frame 483.
22. Log of the U.S.S. Mohican, Monday, June 6, 1892. Original log in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.
23. The position of the Jennie was given by the Mohican as 59°01' N. Latitude, 153°05' W. Longitude. National Archives, Microcopy No. 625, Roll 302, Frame 483.
24. Log of the Mohican, op. cit.
25. The position of the Lettie was given by the Mohican as 59°10' N. Latitude, 153°00' W. Longitude. National Archives, Microcopy No. 625, Roll 302, Frame 483.
26. Ibid.
27. "The Alaskan," (Sitka), Vol. VII, No. 22, page 3, column 2. [State of Alaska No. 48]
28. "The Alaskan," (Sitka) Vol. VII, No. 38, page 2, column 3. [State of Alaska No. 48]
29. "The Alaskan," (Sitka), Vol. VII, No. 47, page 3, column 3. [State of Alaska No. 48]

30. Station Log, Cape Douglas Station, Alaska Commercial Co. Records of the Kodiak Division of the Alaska Commercial Co., which included Cook Inlet, are in the Archives of the University of Alaska Library at College, Alaska, where they are listed as "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911." A register of the material, arranged by trading stations and, within each station group, by type of record, has been prepared by Dr. Wendell H. Oswalt and published by the University with the aid of a grant from the Northern Commercial Company, Seattle. The material includes accounts and inventories, manifests of cargo on company-owned vessels, cash books, fur records, copies of letters, invoices, requisitions, station logs, a few vessels' logs, and miscellaneous "papers." Cited hereafter as "Alaska Commercial Co. Records."
31. Hooper, Captain C. L., Revenue Cutter Service, letter dated from Kodiak, June 13, 1893, to Secretary of the Treasury, Microcopy No. 641, Roll 3, Frame 230.
31. Alaska Commercial Company Records, logs of Seldovia station, dates shows.
32. U. S. Customs Records, Wreck Reports, Alaska, 1892-1905, page 10, at Federal Records Center, Sand Point, Washington.
33. Alaska Commercial Company Records, log of Seldovia station, June 20.
34. U. S. Customs Records, Wreck Reports, Alaska, 1875-1891, page 19, at Federal Records Center, Sand Point, Washington.
35. Revenue Cutter Service, Letters and Reports, Microcopy No. 641, Roll 1, Frame 497.
36. Kitchener, L. D., "Flag Over the North - the Story of the Northern Commercial Company," Seattle, Wash., 1954, pp. 30-43.
37. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, "History of Alaska, 1730-1885," San Francisco, Calif., 1890, pages 321 and 334. [State of Alaska No. 100]
38. Ibid., p. 334.
39. Ibid., p. 335.
40. Ibid., footnote, p. 414. Bancroft here quotes P. Tikhmenef, "Historical Review of the Origin of the Russian-American Company," published at St. Petersburg in 1861-63 in two volumes. Tikhmenef says that in 1803 the Russian-American Company occupied twelve fortified stations, including "three on the gulf of Kenai Bay -- forts St. George, St. Paul and St. Nicholas . . . and Cape Kenai, the last being named Fort Alexander."
41. Included in letter from Charles S. Buckley, Engineer-in-Chief, Russo-American Telegraph, to N. P. Banks, Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, dated San Francisco, Cal., November 20, 1867, printed as House Miscellaneous Document No. 131, 40th Congress, 2d Session, page 12. [State of Alaska No. 103]

42. Davidson, George, "Coast Pilot of Alaska (First Part) from Southern Boundary to Cook's Inlet," Washington, D.C., 1869, p. 183.
43. Logbook of U. S. Revenue Cutter Wayanda, 1868, unpagged, Thursday, June 4, 1868, in National Archives, Washington, D.C.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., Sunday, June 7, 1868.
46. Thomas, Major General George H., Headquarters, Military Division of the Pacific, San Francisco, Calif., September 27, 1869; in "Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1869," p. 116. [State of Alaska No. 119]
47. Sheeran, Luke, deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, October 31, 1869; Customs Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 4, No. 21, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 125]
48. "Alaska Times," Sitka, Vol. I, No. 18, August 27, 1869.
- ✓ 49. Sheeran, Luke, deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, June 22, 1870; Customs Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 5, No. 146.
50. See note 30.
51. "Alaska Times," Sitka, Vol. I, No. 2, April 30, 1869, and Vol. I, No. 22, September 25, 1869.
52. Brady, John G., "Report of the Governor of Alaska, 1902," Appendix AA, page 137.
53. Minute Book, Stockholders' Meetings of the Alaska Commercial Company, University of Alaska Library, College. Louis Greenbaum, secretary of the company, was authorized on February 21, 1906, to sell the steamers Bertha and Portland. Both were purchased by the Alaska Coast Company.
54. "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911," Station logs, Kenai Station, entries for May 17, 1877, and May 7, 1879.
55. Cobb, John N., "Pacific Salmon Fisheries," U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 839, Washington, D.C., 1917, p. 53.
56. The name "AC Point" seems to have first been published on Coast & Geodetic Survey Chart No. 8665 in 1907.
57. Murray, Joseph, Special Agent of the Treasury Department, "Report on the Salmon Fisheries in Alaska," Washington, D.C., 1896, p. 28; Cobb, John H., op. cit., p. 53.

58. Entries in the log of the Tyonek Station in 1877 point to the existence of a station at Knik at that time.
59. The story of the murder of George Holt also appeared in "The Alaskan," Sitka, Vol. I, No. 37, July 17, 1886, p. 1.
60. Reeder, A. W., "Knik," Alaska Sportsman, Vol. XXX, No. 1, January, 1964, p. 14.
61. Minutes of the stockholders' meeting of the Alaska Commercial Company, November 18, 1908, include the item: "Decided it advisable to construct a stern wheel river boat for the Susitna for the best interests of the company." University of Alaska Library.
62. "Polk's Alaska-Yukon Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1915-16," lists the Alaska Commercial Company as engaged in the general merchandise business at Susitna, with Edward T. McNally as agent.
63. "Records of the Sitka Common Council, 1867-1870," in Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
64. "Register of Vessels - Sitka," Customs Records, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
65. "Alaska Times," Sitka, Vol. I, No. 2, April 30, 1869.
66. Ibid. Vol. I, No. 22, September 25, 1869.
67. Ibid., Vol. I, No. 21, September 18, 1869.
68. Hill, Francis, "Late Steward of Schooner 'General Harney,'" affidavit, "Customs Letters Received, Sitka," Vol. 3, No. 133, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 120]
69. Kapus, William, Collector of Customs, Sitka, letter to Collector, San Francisco, April 30, 1870. Letterpress copy in Customs Letters, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
70. Sheeran, Luke, deputy Collector, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, January 15, 1871, Customs Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 7, No. 14, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 122]
71. "The Sitka Post," Vol. I, No. 3, November 20, 1876: "News from Kodiak."
72. Glanz, Rudolf, "The Jews in American Alaska," New York, 1953, p. 18

73. "Alaska Times," Sitka, Vol. I, No. 23, October 2, 1869.
74. Sheeran, Luke, deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, October 31, 1869, in Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 4, No. 21, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 125]
75. Ricks, Melvin B., "Directory of Alaska Post Offices and Postmaster," Ketchikan, 1965, p. 35. Herman Shirpser's death was announced in "The Alaska Herald," San Francisco, July 13, 1873, p. 1.
76. Kapus, William, Collector of Customs, Sitka, letter to Collector, San Francisco, August 8, 1871. Letterpress copy in Customs Letters, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
77. Sheeran, Luke, deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, July 1, 1874; Customs Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 10, No. 92, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 123]
78. "The Daily Alaskan," Cordova, March 1, 1913.
79. King, John A., deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, April 6, 1876, Customs Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 14, No. 21, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. also, Wright, E. W., ed, "Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest," Portland, Oregon, 1895, p. 246. [King letter - State of Alaska No. 124]
80. "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911," Station logs, English Bay, Kenai, Tyonek, 1876, 1877, 1879, Archives of University of Alaska, College.
81. "The Alaska Appeal," San Francisco, Vol. I, No. 2, March 22, 1879.
82. Bean, Tarleton H., "The Fishery Resources and Fishing-Grounds of Alaska," pp. 90-94. Appeared as Section C of "The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States," by George Brown Goode, Section III, 47th Congress, 1st Session, Misc. House Document No. 124, Part 4, Washington, D.C., 1887.
83. "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911," Station Log, English Bay, November 13, 1882. Archives Section, University of Alaska Library, College.
84. Ibid., Station Log, English Bay, August 23, 1882; Station Log, Tyonek, October 29, 1881.
85. Ibid., Station Log, English Bay, May 23 and November 13, 1882.
86. Craven, Louis S., deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, June 5, 1880; Customs Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 13, No. 44. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.

87. Ball, Mottrom D., Collector of Customs, Sitka, to Secretary of the Treasury, September 4, 1879. Letterpress copy in Customs Letters, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
88. "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911," Station Log, Kenai, May 28, 1880; Station Log, Tyonek, June 23, 1881. University of Alaska Library, College.
89. "List of Wrecks in Alaskan Waters, from Pacific Fisherman," in "The Washington Historical Quarterly," Vol. VII, No. 1, January, 1916, p. 46.
90. The Minute Book in at the University of Alaska Library, College.
91. "Alaska Times," Sitka, Vol. I, No. 18, August 27, 1869.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., Vol. I, No. 1, April 23, 1869.
94. "The Alaska Herald," San Francisco, April 1, 1868.
95. Clearance Book, Records of Sitka Customs Office, Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
96. LaGrange, L. A., deputy Collector of Customs, Unalaska, letter to Collector, Sitka, July 22, 1869, Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 3, No. 52; same, January 9, 1870, Vol. 5, No. 110. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
97. Sheeran, Luke, deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, July 7, 1870, Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 6, No. 52. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
98. Wagner, C. T., deputy Collector of Customs, Unalaska, letter to Collector, Sitka, February 15, 1872, Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 8, No. 87. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska, No. 121]
99. Belden, A. L., "The Fur Trade in America," New York, 1917, p. 123.
100. Ibid., p. 89.
101. Martin, Fredericka, "Sea Bears - the Story of the Fur Seal," Philadelphia, 1960, p. 109.
102. Knapp, Lyman E., "Report of the Governor of Alaska for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1892," Washington, 1892, p. 33. [State of Alaska No. 115]

103. Ibid., p. 34.
104. Colwell, Wm. A., Kodiak, letter to Governor Lyman E. Knapp, Sitka, July 18, 1892, Ibid., p. 65.
105. "The Alaskan" Sitka, Vol. VI, No. 283, June 13, 1891, p. 2.
106. Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 285, June 27, 1891, p. 3.
107. "The Alaskan," Sitka, Vol. VI, No. 294, August 29, 1891; p. 3; same, Vol. IX, No. 16, June 2, 1894, p. 3.
108. "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911," Station Log, Tyonek, date indicated. University of Alaska Library, College.
109. "Fur Seal Arbitration," Vol. III, Washington, D.C., 1895, pp. 232-233. [State of Alaska No. 117]
110. Thomas, W. G., deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letters to Collector, Sitka, July 25 and August 4, 1896, Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 18, Nos. 56 and 64. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 127]
111. "The Alaskan," Sitka, Vol. IX, No. 16, June 2, 1893, p. 3.
112. Thomas, W. G., deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, September 23, 1896, Kodiak Letters, unnumbered volume, No. 82. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
113. "The Alaskan," Sitka, Vol. XII, No. 28, June 14, 1897, p. 3.
114. "Alaska Times," Sitka, Vol. I, No. 9, June 25, 1869.
115. King, John A., deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, June 14, 1876, Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 14, No. 58. Alaska Historical Library; "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911," Station Log, Tyonek Station, October 11 and 13, 1877. University of Alaska, College.
116. "Customs Clearance and Entry Records, Port of Sitka, 1868." Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
117. "Customs Clearance and Entry Records, Port of Sitka, 1868," Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
118. Sheeran, Luke, deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, October 31, 1869, Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 4, No. 21. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 125]

119. "The Sitka Post," Vol. I, No. 12, April 20, 1877.
120. "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911," Station Log, Tyonek Station, May 24, 1877. University of Alaska Library, College.
121. Hooper, Captain C. L., U.S. Revenue Marine, report to Secretary of the Treasury, July 5, 1892. Microcopy No. 625, Roll 303, Frame 79. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
122. "The Alaskan," Sitka, Vol. VIII, No. 22, June 17, 1893, p. 3.
123. Jordan, David Starr, and others, "The Fur Seals and Fur-Seal Islands of the North Pacific Ocean," Washington, D.C. Treasury Department Document 2017, Vol. 4, p. 198.
124. Cobb, John N., "Pacific Salmon Fisheries," U. S. Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 902, Third Edition, Washington, D.C., 1921, p. 51.
125. "Alaska Commercial Company Records: 1868-1911," Station Log, Knik Station, date indicated. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau.
126. Ibid.
127. Bretherton, B. J., deputy Collector of Customs, Kodiak, letter to Collector, Sitka, Agusut 18, 1891, Misc. Letters Received, Sitka, Vol. 1. Alaska Historical Library, Juneau. [State of Alaska No. 126]
128. Bower, Ward T., "Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1915," U. S. Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 834, Washington, D.C., 1917, p. 133.
129. Kutchin, Howard M., "Report of the Special Agent for the Protection of the Alaska Salmon Fisheries," Senate Document 153, 56th Congress, 1st Session, Washington, D.C., 1900, p. 57.
130. Kutchin, Howard M., "Report on the Salmon Fisheries of Alaska, 1900," Senate Document 168, 56th Congress, 2d Session, Washington, D.C., 1901, p. 63.
131. Evermann, Barton W., "Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1913," U. S. Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 797, Washington, D.C., 1914, p. 19.
132. Bower, Ward T., "Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1918," U. S. Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 872, Washington, D. C., 1919, p. 72.
133. Bower, Ward T., "Alaska Fisheries and Fur Industries in 1919," U. S. Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 891, Washington, 1920, pages 66-68.