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are probably doing well or poorly in accordance with your awareness of this. In recent years wide-spread concern has been expressed over the low level of economic literacy of the general voting public who are assumed to be capable of coming to sound conclusions on an increasingly wide range of economic matters. For about a decade the American Economic Association in cooperation with other academic, business and labor associations has been engaged in a study of this problem and experiments in means of making the American public economically literate. The most important and continuing efforts have been directed toward high school teachers. Since only a small portion of all future citizen-voters will ever take as much as one introductory economics course in college (less than 50% of all present high school students will enter college and only about one-fourth of these will take even one economics course), attention has focused on the possibility of developing at least a modicum of economic understanding through teaching in high schools.

In 1963 copies of an important report, *Economics in the Schools*, were distributed to all high schools in the United States. This attempted to describe the "minimum understanding of economics essential for good citizenship and attainable by high school students," to evaluate the general level of teaching of economics ("distressing in its absence and unfortunate when attempted"), and to suggest means for improvement and expansion. The bulk of the report was concerned with the findings of a textbook study launched in 1959 and covering what must have been all or most of the textbooks in use in high school courses in economics, social problems and U.S. history. The last category, U.S. history was the one to which most attention was given. In the words of the report: "Textbooks for courses in U.S. history are not designed primarily to delineate economic principles. Yet so few high school students take a formal course in economics that much of their economic knowledge must be derived from such ancillary courses as problems of American democracy, civics, geography, world history, and United States history. United States history is an especially significant source of economic understanding to examine because it is taken by almost all students. Explaining the structures and operations of the economy and charting the course of our nation's history are far from identical tasks. Yet much of the history of the United States is to an appreciable degree economic in nature, and any substantial text in this area should include sound economic as well as social and political analysis." 10

Although the texts generally recognized those economic forces which "could hardly be ignored in any treatment of the nation's historical development," the sub-committee found that important topics were omitted altogether, analysis was sparse and inaccurate, there was serious

imbalance in the topics treated, etc. But I will skip the bill of particulars and specific recommendations and jump to the general conclusions.

"The subcommittee is convinced that the subject matter of the course in United States history provides fertile ground for planting and nourishing seeds of economic understanding. Hamilton's financial program, the opposition to centralized banking, the demands for cheap money, the changing role of government, the rise of big business and organized labor, the farm problem, tariffs and international trade, and the Great Depression are only a few of the many topics which provide opportunities for the development of economic understanding."

"If these opportunities are to be exploited on the basis of the textbooks examined, however, the move must come largely from the teacher or supplementary materials; there is little economic life in the texts . . . The subcommittee's findings do suggest several important areas in which the United States history textbooks should be strengthened . . . In the last analysis, however, individual teachers must be sufficiently convinced of the importance of economic education to allocate classroom time to this area, to seek out curriculum opportunities for teaching economics, and to develop more fully their own economic knowledge and teaching skills. The need for widespread understanding of basic economic relations is urgent. The opportunities for teaching economics through the course in United States history are numerous and exciting. They await exploitation." 11

At the outset I said the purpose of this Conference was to evaluate Alaskan historical scholarship, which I never did. But I hope you find that this has been some contribution to the promotion of the second of the "objectives" of the Conference as listed on the back page of the program: "To clarify the status of Alaskan history (in this case, economic history) for public school teachers and encourage closer attention to historical scholarship by social studies instructors in general." Let me recapitulate my principle points.

The first is that we must shed any narrow preconceptions we may have on economic history as being simply the pursuit of the past for its own sake, and of being insignificant or of minor importance because of the relatively small numbers engaged in the field. Its status is not to be judged in terms of number, but in terms of a re-examination and re-defining of purpose or objectives of the study of economic history in the light of the critical need to understand the phenomena of economic growth and change. This gives the subject and its practitioners a status of contemporary importance and influence far beyond their numbers and their output. Even what appears to be overly specific or trivial research

I say you shall remember them. I say
 When night has fallen on your loneliness
 And the deep wood beyond the ruined wall
 Seems to step forward swiftly with the dusk,
 You shall remember them. You shall not see
 Water or wheat or axe-mark on the tree
 And not remember them.
 You shall not win without remembering them,
 For they won every shadow of the moon,
 All the vast shadows, and you shall not lose
 Without a dark remembrance of their loss
 For they lost all and none remembered them.

Hear the wind
 Blow through the buffalo-grass,
 Blow over wild-grape and brier.
 This was frontier, and this,
 And this, your house, was frontier.
 There were footprints upon the hill
 And men lie buried under,
 Tamers of earth and rivers.
 They died at the end of labor,
 Forgotten is the name.

Now, in full summer, by the Eastern shore,
 Between the seamount and the roads going West,
 I call two oceans to remember them.
 I fill the hollow darkness with their names.

—Stephen Vincent Benet
Western Star

cause — the student of our economic history has a unique opportunity, now, to recreate the significant past and place it in the service of the present. After all, socio-economic conditions change rapidly in Alaska. A careful study, by a master's candidate for example, of the impact on Anchorage, of the arrival of the Army ground and air forces in 1940 would contribute a good deal to preparing us for any future similar development. There is no suggestion here for either "new" or "old" economic historians to abandon their techniques of researching, writing, or teaching. It is always an historian's purpose to analyze as well as to construct a narrative. Now is the time when the economic historian's analysis should be useful in formulating policies for the future. The historian studies the past and lives in the present, therefore he is best equipped to tell us which of the factors shaping Alaska's previous economic development are relevant to our own time and would appear to be binding upon the future as well.

There is a risk involved, the risk anyone runs when he finds that it may be necessary for him to deny conventional wisdom, established truths, and cherished myths. The risk for the economic historian is not that he will be denounced, but rather that he will be ignored. I'll have more to say about the latter danger — the risk of being ignored — near the conclusion of my remarks.

Our economic historian must make his effort and take his risks, anyway, an effort, I hope, that will have five good effects, provided he appreciates what a few fine economic historians have accomplished before him. I shall take up these five effects in turn, realizing all the while that your list may be shorter, or longer, and certainly better, than mine. These remarks should also fulfill the purpose of the conference in a small way by commenting on some Alaskan historical writing.

First, the study of our economic history should serve to join the Russian and American periods more closely together, and by doing so, reveal the relevance of the Russian experience. Few historians, other than textbook writers, have dealt with both eras, and even most textbook authors treat the two periods as separate developments that happened to occupy the same geographic area and that touched, briefly and colorfully, at the time of the purchase and transfer. There are reasons for this division between historians of the two eras. Those who come to Alaska history through a study of United States history, like myself, are put off by the formidable language barrier one must surmount if he is to do any primary work in the Russian period. Historians who approach Alaska by way of Slavic studies have little interest in acquiring the background information and knowledge of sources required for serious study of the American period. Yet it seems, to even a casual student of Russian Alaska,

that the Russians experienced some enduring political and economic problems. Under Russia, Alaska's central government was distant and its control for many years was monopolistic. The Russian-American Company and its predecessors discovered that Alaska was a high cost area best exploited, from their viewpoint, for quick profits. The Russians had serious trouble with their mining and agricultural enterprises, and found it difficult to penetrate the interior and maintain themselves in it. Edward L. Keithan, in "Alaska Ice, Inc." has shown us a group of American capitalists shipping ice to San Francisco during the last years of the Russian period and discovering how much Alaska industry was at the mercy of transportation improvements (the completion of the Southern Pacific railroad brought natural ice from the Sierras) and technological advances (artificial ice). Finally, the Russians learned that Alaska, though remote, was easily accessible and of potential economic and strategic value to others. And that keeping it meant diverting much energy to its defense. ³

This brief catalogue of Russian experiences, not so different from subsequent American ones, is a possible beginning for a topical, comparative study of both eras, by someone qualified to undertake the work.

Second, certain studies could tell us to what degree the Alaska economy is *sui generis*, or is similar to those of other parts of North America. We Alaskans like to have it both ways. Our pitch to the prospective tourist stresses the romance of early trading, trapping, and prospecting, while our appeal to the possibly permanent settler is more likely to emphasize familiar and recent economic developments, to assure him he will not leave behind the TV stations, department stores, and other comforts he knew in the lower states. Referring to some of the literature, we find the authors of *The Federal Lands: Their Use and Management*, specifically excluding Alaska from their study because, they write, its climate, terrain and economy are radically different from the rest of the United States. Richard A. Cooley's *Alaska: A Challenge in Conservation*, a study in land and other resource use, would seem to confirm the view that Alaska has special resource problems and opportunities. On the other hand, Dr. Rogers and Cooley, in *Alaska's Population and Economy*, have developed a case for some parallels between Alaska's population growth, urbanization, labor force characteristics, and income changes, and those of the far west and mountain states.⁴

The economic historian could be useful here with comparative studies of, let's say, mining companies. The University of Alaska archives and other depositories have gathered records of Alaska mining companies. Rodman Paul and others have studied mining rushes and mining companies elsewhere. The economic historian should now be able to say how,

PRAGMATISM ON THE FRONTIER



Two California historians speak to the Times. (left to right) Tod C. Hincley, San Jose State, and Rodman W. Paul, Cal Tech, share insights with Frank Busko of the Anchorage Daily Times.



Searching the professional and popular journals. (see page 27 and 28)

or whether, Alaska mining companies differed in their capital formation, methods of extraction, general operations, and costs from companies in other parts of this country and Canada. Unless circumstances have changed radically, the study should begin to establish the extent of Alaska's "differentness," and suggest how new enterprises must plan to cope with it.⁵

Third, the economic historian should be able to tell us what the real requirements for successful operation in and around Alaska were, and what the real value of some Alaska resources was. The attacks upon the Alaska Steamship Company for its overall conduct — attacks amazing to the non-Alaskan, both in their volume and their vituperation — assume those requirements to have been not so different from requirements elsewhere. A careful study of Alaska Steam based on its own records, would tell us much about the necessity for the company's high rates. How much did those rates reflect a desire to make a lot of money, and to fleece Alaska in the bargain? How much of the high rates and the reputedly poor service may be traced to the high costs of the Alaska trade, such as the expense of serving the small concentrations of Alaska's scattered population from inadequately equipped docks? How much to the lack of a government subsidy, because the Alaska trade was considered coastwise and not international shipping?

To cite one specific incident, what may be said about Alaska Steam's carrying British Columbia coal north to Alaska ports in the 1930's? You know we had the Cordova Coal Party over that, a generation before. Was it part of a gigantic plot to strangle Alaska, masterminded by distant financial interests, as anyone sharing the old muckraking mentality would have us believe? Was it an example of a powerful quasimonopoly using its special political and economic position to do what it willed, at the expense of Alaska's development, as contemporary critics charged? Was it to make some money, as officials of the steamship company admitted? Was it to provide ballast on northbound trips so that bulky, heavy items could be carried on deck, and not dismantled, stowed in the hold, and charged a higher rate, as company officials insisted they would have been? What about the company's offer to carry Alaska coal south to the same ports at equitable rates, if Alaska coal could be had? And what does the lack of that coal say about the quality, quantity, and production costs of coal in Alaska? Which returns us to the first proposition, now cast as a question: would this study, and many more studies of large Alaska companies, confirm or deny the persistent allegations of overcharging and indifference to Alaska's vital needs and potentials?

These questions and many more like them may now be answered only partially or not at all, but by wrestling with them, the economic historian would, I believe, produce my fourth hoped-for good effect. That is, to raise and tentatively answer the questions, how and why do we want to develop Alaska, and to whom do we assign the benefits and costs of that development? In answering these questions, the economic historian would do well to take his cue from Dr. Rogers' expressions of social concern in the works already mentioned and in his excellent studies, *Alaska in Transition, the Southeast Region*, and *The Future of Alaska: the Economic Consequences of Statehood*. I think it is a fair summary of Dr. Rogers' views to say that national and regional economies exist to bring the greatest possible material and spiritual benefit to the people living within those economies, and that we study economies to achieve a better distribution of benefits. To put it another way, Dr. Rogers is biased in favor of people. It is a proper bias for any scholar. Let's assume, then, that our economic historian studying Alaska Steam concludes that, given the conditions of the Alaska trade and the private enterprise system, the company would have had to charge about the rates it did in order to survive. Let's also assume that he finds that those rates did indeed hamper small entrepreneurial developments in Alaska. What then? It is within the province of our economic historian to suggest alternatives — let's say, subventions. He may suggest government subsidies for, or even government operation at a loss, of water and perhaps other carriers, provided the object is to develop Alaska for those who live in it. He could suggest, as Dr. Rogers has done, that some way should be found to include the native population more fully in the spread of benefits. Perhaps the monetary costs would outweigh the social gains for the relatively few who would have received, or would receive them.⁶

My fifth and final hope for the economic historian is that he will have an audience, that people will listen to him. He has not been well heeded thus far, if the impact on thought and policy of historical writing about the Matanuska Valley and its agriculture is any measure. Several historians, and others with other professional labels, have made excursions into history to study the Matanuska Valley Colony. Clarence C. Hulley's "Historical Survey of the Matanuska Valley Settlement in Alaska" appeared in the October, 1949 *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*. About the same time Kirk H. Stone published his longer *Alaskan Group Settlement: The Matanuska Valley Colony*. In 1955, Hugh A. Johnson's and Keith L. Stanton's *Matanuska Valley Memoir* appeared, followed eight years later by Louise Potter's *A Study of A Frontier Town in Alaska, Wasilla to 1959*, a book larger in scope than its title indicates. In 1965 Orlando Miller completed his scholarly study, *The Frontier in Alaska*

and the Matanuska Colony. It is presently in the form of his doctoral dissertation, and is a work that ranges, as the title suggests, far beyond the Matanuska Valley. The most recent book-length study we have is Evangeline Atwood's *We Shall Be Remembered*.⁷

Each of these authors has written the blend of economic, political, and social history that the subject requires. Each has written from his own viewpoint, and to his own audience. Each has written from sources similar, but not identical to those of the others. Yet it would seem to the open-minded reader, whatever his sympathies, that commercial agriculture in Alaska was a dubious proposition, a few producers in specialized lines excepted. My own research convinces me that the obstacles to Alaska agriculture known now, were well understood by 1918, after the Alaskan Engineering Commission had tried to develop a brisk local and export market for the some 400 settlers then in the Valley and had completely failed. Most of the historical writing on the Valley is available to those who today argue for the bright future or the great potential of Alaska agriculture. This failure to apply the past sensibly to the present and future may be the result of our boundless optimism, or possibly of our unlimited capacity for self-delusion.

Hopefully, we shall move from mere optimism, or self-delusion, or perhaps indifference, to the realism required for writing, reading, teaching and applying Alaska's economic history. There is no better time than now.

REFERENCES CITED

¹ Victor Fischer is director of the Institute and editor of the *Alaska Monthly Review of Business and Economic Conditions*. The Jones article appeared in *Alaska Review* (Fall and Winter 1966-67), II, 1-38, and the Rogers piece in (Spring and Summer 1967), 49-61.

² The *Sherwood* volume was published by the University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1967.

³ For the Kelthan article see the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXVI (April, 1945), 121-131 or *Sherwood*, 173-186.

⁴ Marion Clawson and Burnell Held, *The Federal Lands: Their Use and Management* (reprint ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, n. d.). The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, published the Cooley book in 1966. The two volume Rogers and Cooley study was published by the University of Alaska, Institute of Business, Economics and Government Research, College, Alaska, 1963.

⁵ Rodman Paul's books include *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (reprint ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964); and *Mining Frontiers of the Far West 1848-1880*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963).

⁶ Both Rogers books were published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, the first in 1960, the second in 1962.

⁷ For Hulley's article see also *Sherwood*, 409-428. The Bureau of Land Management published Stone's study in 1949. Johnson's and Stanton's work appeared as Bulletin 18, Alaska Agricultural Experiment Station, Palmer. Miss Potter privately published her book at Thetford Center, Vermont. The Miller dissertation was done for a Columbia University degree. Alaska Methodist University Press, Anchorage, published Mrs. Atwood's book in 1966.

sharp practices in the mines, and for long and costly lawsuits when disputes were shifted over to the regular state courts.

The California gold rush brought to California more than ten times as many people as the Mormon exodus carried to the Utah Zion; it produced far more wealth and far more waste; it gave rise to a much higher technology; it established one great city, San Francisco, which developed a far more lively cultural life than anything produced at Salt Lake; and yet on the whole, the gold rush created communities that were far less permanent than Utah's and of course much less orderly.

If the miners were extemporizing a way of life based on exploiting the public domain without benefit of Congressional statutes, so did our third group, the cattlemen of the Great Plains. Here the origins were mixed. Up in the northern plains, along the much-traveled Oregon Trail, a scattering of cattle ranches developed to supply fresh livestock to the emigrants who were plodding over the trail. Down in Southern Texas, in the meantime, there were some real ranches staffed by Spanish-speaking people, around San Antonio, and further north and east, in Texas, Arkansas and Missouri, there were farms and plantations where Americans were getting a good deal of experience handling cattle and horses, although in partially timbered country rather than out on the prairies and plains.

Then came the interruption of the Civil War, and immediately after it the thrust westward of several railroads that originated in the Mississippi valley. The men who returned to Texas from service in the Confederate army found that their livestock had run wild during the war and had multiplied. Wild cattle were so numerous that beef scarcely had a price in Texas. But suppose one were to drive his cattle northward to feed the mining camps of Colorado; or to sell to the Indian reservations; or better still, suppose one were to drive the cattle north to Kansas to intersect one of the new railroads that led straight back to big urban markets like St. Louis and Chicago? Cattle that were worth only \$3 or \$4 per head in Texas were worth \$30 or \$40 in northern markets.

So began the famous Long Drive, one of the best known and most romanticized episodes in western history. Each spring, starting with 1866, Texas ranchers would put together herds of perhaps 2500 head of the tough, hardy Texas longhorn cattle. With a trail crew consisting of the boss or a foreman, eight or nine cowboys, a cook and a horse wrangler, the herd would head north, on a trip that would take three

PATTERNS OF CULTURE IN THE AMERICAN WEST

RODMAN WILSON PAUL

To any one who has even glanced at the program for this conference, it should be obvious that my talk tonight is the one inexplicable element in an otherwise logical and cohesive scheme. Every one else has discussed some aspect of Alaskan history or anthropology, and every one else has participated because he had special qualifications in some field of Alaskan studies. When Professors Sherwood and Frederick invited me to come here, I protested that I am not well informed about Alaskan history. Professors Sherwood and Frederick quickly reassured me. They said that I was being invited precisely because of my ignorance. This flattering assurance was based upon the notion that after two days of examining Alaskan history, you might be ready to hear about the history of a part of the nation that has had experiences that are in some respects similar to Alaska's, and that might perhaps serve as suggestive parallels.

This concept for tonight's talk fits in with my own preoccupations. What I am going to say grows directly out of thoughts generated while planning a book that I now have under construction. Briefly stated, it seems to me that we have been too ready to accept easy generalizations about the settlement of the American west, generalizations that may be true as far as they go, but that do not penetrate deeply enough. Tonight, as a means of gaining a deeper insight, I want to ask you to examine the rich variety of social and economic patterns that Americans developed when faced by the need for supporting themselves in the nineteenth century west. This means studying some distinctive communities that were as remote and primitive as anything found here in Alaska in this state's early days.

I want to discuss four instances: the Mormon farmers in the arid Great Basin of Utah; the gold miners in the forested foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountains of California; the cattlemen on the treeless, semi-arid Great Plains; and certain lumber corporations in the well-

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of a type that had been known ever since the Middle Ages. But thereafter, as the more easily worked gold deposits were exhausted, something more elaborate became necessary.

The early California mining men were scornful about what might be learned from university-trained geologists and engineers. Most of the technical gains during the 1850's were the result of trial-and-error experimenting by ingenious Yankees, although some important advances, especially in metallurgy, were contributed by a few well-trained Germans, and Cornishmen taught them about underground mining. With justification, the Californians could boast at the end of the 1850's that they had advanced the state of mechanical engineering as applied to mining by more than had been achieved during several centuries in Europe and Spanish America. They had not made comparable gains in metallurgy or underground operations.

They could claim by far the biggest output of gold that had ever been taken from any part of the earth's surface in so short a time. In the first dozen years California probably produced over \$600,000,000 worth of gold — an almost incredible performance. On the negative side, this vast fortune was won in a most wasteful fashion. Claims were worked in the quickest rather than the most efficient fashion. A high percentage of the gold was lost — thrown out with the debris. The whole countryside was literally dug up and turned upside down. The trees were stripped from the hills to be used for construction and fuel.

In their social relations the miners' record was uneven. Simple rules for determining ownership of claims and permissible dimensions of claims were learned from those same Georgians, Cornishmen, or Spanish Americans. Enforcement was more difficult. Lacking legal governmental agencies, the miners of each newly discovered area assembled in open meeting and declared themselves a self-governing "district". They drafted a code of rules for determining ownership of claims, based primarily upon discovery and actual use. The miners provided that disputes should be tried before a popularly chosen jury or judge, or even before the whole camp. Crimes were handled in the same fashion, with attorneys, a judge, and jury chosen from the crowd.

This system of do-it-yourself jurisprudence worked fairly well for several years. Thereafter it developed increasing difficulties. In the field of crime, this self-constituted system should have yielded place to the new legitimate agencies of the state, but once established in a weakly governed society, lynch law and vigilanteism proved very difficult to check. In the field of mining law the showing was better, but as the gold rush receded, the surviving miners became careless and failed to keep their records and rules up-to-date. Thereby they opened the way for fraud and

strangers to one another. Most of them expected to return to their homes in the east, or Europe, or Latin America, or Asia, as soon as they got rich or got tired.

They had little sense of loyalty to the new community of gold-rush California, and little sense of responsibility for what happened in the public sector of their lives — for example, in maintaining law and order. Their mining towns and camps were haphazard. When some one discovered gold in a new district, a crowd would rush in and lay claim to all the available ground. A merchant or saloon keeper would set himself up in business at some casually chosen point, and around that store or saloon a settlement would develop, with tents, hovels, and cabins strewn around in erratic fashion, and the ground littered with empty bottles, tin cans, old clothes, and garbage.

Amidst all this activity, there was suffering, hardship, and disease, but the relatively mild climate of the Sierra Nevada foothills, and the freedom from rain in summer, made life a good deal easier than was to be true of later similar mining booms in harsher regions such as the northern Rockies or southern Arizona.

In California the gold rush crowd found only a most limited existing government. In 1848-49 California was being ruled by a weak American military regime that had been superimposed on top of the old Mexican local government. After 1849 California had its own state government, but it took months to organize county and town administrations; it took several years to get the new state statutes into print and into general circulation. And the voting public was exceedingly careless about the quality and honesty of its elected officials.

On top of the governmental uncertainty that this implies, there was the further difficulty that gold mining was taking place on land that was part of the public domain of the United States. But just as Congress failed to extend the Federal land laws to Utah until 1869, so did it fail to make any provision for granting title to mineral lands or mining claims until 1866. Even then, only one type of mining claim was covered, quartz or vein, until a second statute was passed in 1872.

This all means that the Californians faced simultaneously the problems of learning how to mine, deciding how to establish title to mining claims, and maintaining enough of a semblance of law and order to make life endurable. All of these requirements they managed to supply on a do-it-yourself basis.

They learned how to mine by copying the few experienced hands from Georgia, Spanish America, or Cornwall. They were fortunate in that early mining was relatively simple. For several years it was possible to earn a living by using rudimentary techniques and primitive equipment

watered, heavily forested Pacific Northwest. Chronologically we will be talking of the half century from 1847 to about 1900. The four instances have been chosen precisely because they are so different from one another. Two of them, the miners and the lumbermen, have an obvious relevance for Alaskan history.

In each case we will be looking to see how men sought to use the natural resources; how much ingenuity they had to show; and how much they had to adapt their accustomed social, economic, and technological patterns to the demands of the physiographic environment.

The Mormons were simple people of predominantly New England origins. Upstate New York, where Mormonism was founded, was heavily settled by a transplanted New England population. For example, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young were born in Vermont, of poor families that had migrated from Massachusetts, and were presently to move on to New York State.

These Mormons were dominated by the older pattern of New England thinking that was more characteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than of the nineteenth. Where most nineteenth century Americans were breaking loose and seeking their fortunes as individuals and in accordance with notions of *laissez faire*, these simple, poorly educated Mormons still thought in the older New England tradition that stressed the community rather than the individual. To this unifying inheritance the Mormons added the cementing force of an authoritarian religious organization — a theocracy — that reached into every phase of life. And to it they added the further unifying influence of sharing in the common memory of having been persecuted together.

It was persecution, of course, that sent the Mormons on their long journey from the Mississippi Valley to Great Salt Lake. Their move to the Great Basin and their colonization of that unpromising region was a triumph of disciplined effort. Their very able leader, Brigham Young, had to transport 16,000 people a distance of 1200 miles across the plains and the Rockies, and there settle them in new homes. Each wagon train was carefully organized, firmly led, and its daily routine specified in detail. Once in the Great Basin, each new settlement, starting with Salt Lake City, was provided initially with a balanced population that included men designated as leaders, an assortment of craftsmen such as blacksmiths and carpenters, experienced farmers, a school teacher, a few people of relatively substantial means who could support themselves, and the rank and file who might need varying degrees of help. This was precisely the way in which New England towns were founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Each town was laid out according to the old New England pattern. The actual residences were clustered together on neat, orderly house lots in the center of town, so that the families could enjoy each other's company and support, and could share in common cultural and business facilities. The farm lots, on which the crops were grown, lay beyond the residential area, while still a third body of land was set aside as a common pasture.

This whole scheme of orderly settlement was carried out under the leadership of the heads of the Mormon church. But though the church was the central, controlling force in all things, there was no professional priesthood. Instead, all male Mormons were priests. Any man might hold any office in the church, if his abilities attracted attention.

The most intriguing of all Mormon achievements was their successful resort to irrigation. Ninety-five percent of the Great Basin is desert or mountain. The Wasatch mountains above Salt Lake City catch rain and snow in ample amounts, and small streams bring the water down toward Salt Lake. Altitude makes a tremendous difference in regard to water supply in the west. At the 10,000 foot level in the Wasatch, the average annual precipitation is 30 to 40 inches per year; 40 miles west of the mountain crest, the precipitation is only 6 inches per year. At the foot of the Wasatch there is a narrow belt of good alluvial soil awaiting water.

Irrigation was a familiar practice in some parts of the world, such as the Middle East, but no significant body of English-speaking peoples had ever before lived in a climate that required it. Our cultural background is that of a humid-land people. How and why did these simple, poorly educated, transplanted New England folk happen to start irrigation? That is the sort of fundamental question a historian yearns to answer. We have a diary kept by a Mormon pioneer, Orson Pratt. Describing activities on the morning after the advance party reached Salt Lake, Pratt stated:

We appointed various committees to attend to different branches of business, preparatory to putting in crops, and in about two hours after our arrival we began to plow, and the same afternoon built a dam to irrigate the soil, which at the spot where we were plowing was exceedingly dry.

That's all the explanation there is. The ground was dry, so they irrigated. For a historian, this is utterly frustrating.

Experience in Utah soon proved that water was the key to life in the Great Basin. These simple settlers had manpower but little money.

So they organized cooperatively. Committees were chosen to supervise construction of dams and ditches. The labor was contributed by the men who expected to use the water. In this way thousands of miles of canals were built with no bonded debt at all. When each dam and canal was completed, a watermaster was elected to regulate the distribution of water.

All of this settlement was on the public domain, but because the Mormons were polygamous, and thus unpopular politically, Congress waited until 1869 to extend to Utah the operation of the normal United States land laws. By that time Utah had a population of 86,000, and yet there had never been a means of acquiring legal title to land. Therefore for 22 years the Mormons themselves distributed the lands and decided on titles according to their own locally made rules.

The church saw to it that irrigable land was distributed only in small tracts. The church asserted the basic principle that the water belonged to the community, not to individuals, and therefore the territorial legislature and county courts could decide how that water was to be used. Until 1880 the courts normally required that the right to use the water should go with the right to use the land. When disputes arose, the county courts handled them quickly and inexpensively. Yet individual rights were safeguarded.

The Mormons were a case of a highly organized, old-fashioned people who were led by their church into a cooperation that was ideally suited to the demands of an unusually exacting climatic region. Settlement on a purely individual basis would probably have failed. To study individualism at work, one must turn to a totally different sort of pioneer — the gold miners. I have suggested that farming with irrigation was a new experience for English-speaking people. So was gold mining. Before the discovery of gold in California in 1848, a few Americans had done small-scale, primitive gold mining in Georgia and the Carolinas, and there were Cornishmen, Welshmen, Germans, and Irishmen whose families had been miners of one sort or another for many generations.

But for most of the men who hurried to California in 1848, '49, and the early '50's mining was entirely new. Yet at least a quarter of a million men rushed to California during the first five years of the Gold Rush. Not all actually became miners, though most tried it for at least a time. By the middle to late 1850's nearly 100,000 men in California described themselves as "miners".

There could hardly be a greater contrast than between the miners and the Mormons. The miners were decisively 19th century individualists. They had been swept into the rush to California by a desire to get rich and a love of excitement and change. They came from all parts of the world, including even China, and from all levels of society. They were



An economist speaks his mind. George W. Rogers (facing camera), Morgan Sherwood (left, back to camera), Robert Frederick (right, back to camera), and engrossed participants.

or four months, or longer. After a few years' experience, the Texans reduced the whole venture to a simple but effective routine. Their worst enemies were farmers, Indians, thunderstorms that stampeded the cattle, and uncertainty as to grass and water.

At first the objective of the Long Drive was nearly always one of the railroad towns in Kansas, such as Abilene or Dodge City. In the fifteen years from 1866 to 1880, 4¼ million Texas cattle were driven north to Kansas rail points.

Soon it became evident that if cattle could be grown profitably on the Texas plains, so could they on the more northerly plains of Colorado, western Nebraska, Wyoming, the western Dakotas, and eastern Montana. So some of the Texas drives were pointed well to the north to stock these new ranges. Within fifteen years' time the short-grass plains were occupied all the way from southern Texas up into southern Canada. This was the cattle kingdom.

The setting for both the Long Drive and the new ranches was a special one: the Great Plains. Until now no one had regarded the Great Plains as anything but a difficult barrier that had to be crossed in order to get from east to west. It was buffalo country, without visible commercial use. The limiting characteristic of the Great Plains was deficient rainfall. The eastern boundary of the plains proper is at a most important climatic dividing point: the line of semi-aridity. This occurs approximately along the 98th or 100th meridian. West of that line the rainfall is less than 20 inches per year. Crops cannot ordinarily be grown without irrigation where there is less than 20 inches; a cow will require 30 acres' grazing per year in such a region. To give you a basis for comparison, the United States east of the Mississippi has from two to four times as much precipitation.

Reflecting this deficient rainfall, the Great Plains offered almost no trees for building purposes or fuel. The cowboy found fuel for his campfire by burning what he called "buffalo chips" — a euphemism for cow flop. But the ground was covered with short grass. Grass and water were the two natural resources the cattleman wanted. Our English-speaking ancestors had lived for centuries in a forested environment. The western cattleman was the first to develop a way of life based on exploiting semi-arid grasslands. This was an old story to Spanish-speaking peoples. It was from the Mexicans by way of Texans that the techniques of driving and herding cattle on open lands were learned.

Of the cowboy Philip Ashton Rollins has written:

To the Mexicans the American cowboy owed his vocation. For his character he was indebted to no one He obtained from Mexican sources all the tools of his trade, all the technic of his craft, the very words by which he designated his utensils, the very animals with which he dealt; but, as one of the dominant figures in the development of the United States, he was self-made.

Most of the cowboys were American born, with an especially large number from Texas and western Missouri, but Mexicans, American Indians, and a few European immigrants were always to be found among them. The ranchers, that is, the employer class, were much more varied. They came from every part of the United States, from Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe. Unlike their hired hands, they represented every level of culture from virtual illiteracy to college degrees.

As they changed from being cattle drovers to settling down as ranchers, the cattlemen faced the problem of land titles. The basis of their industry was the free use, without permission, of the Federal public domain. The chief exceptions were in Colorado, where some Mexican land grants existed, and Texas, where the public domain belonged to the state rather than the federal government.

Most cattlemen simply picked out a stretch of unoccupied public domain that had a source of water. There were no Federal statutes aimed especially at the cattleman's needs, but there were laws such as the Homestead Act, intended to encourage farmers. The cattleman quickly learned how to distort these statutes to meet his requirements. The rancher himself would locate a homestead claim, carefully situated so as to monopolize the principal source of water. He would pay his cowboys to file claims that blanketed the remaining sources. Never mind if the cowboys had to swear false oaths before the land agent; on the Great Plains the important consideration is control of the water.

With all water supplies safely seized, the cattleman could count on unchallenged use of the surrounding open range. But this sort of arrangement was never quite airtight. Determined newcomers kept trying to thrust their way into a profitable business. As the land became more crowded, troubles multiplied. The cattle strayed onto adjacent ranges and had to be separated out in periodic roundups. There had to be rules for conducting roundups, there had to be a record of brands, a record of what was called the "accustomed range" of each cattleman, and a means of arbitrating disputes. There had to be a means of joint action to discourage such nuisances as cattle thieves, Indians, and farmers. Finally,

EPILOGUE

in a rather primitive stage when the Weyerhaeusers first arrived. They moved into lumber manufacturing far more slowly than into land acquisition, and with huge holdings to protect, they became a major force in pushing the northwest into establishing fire precautions and conservation measures. When the state of Washington proved slow in appropriating enough money for fire wardens, the Weyerhaeusers took the lead in forming a private association of lumbermen to raise money each year and hire rangers and fire wardens. The association set and enforced standards for disposing of slash. Meantime the Weyerhaeusers have developed a philosophy and a practice for sustained, long-term use of the timber lands. The smaller firms protest that they can't afford such measures, since all of their capital is tied up in their timber.

To summarize the four instances I have chosen, we have seen that in each case the early comers, the pioneers, found no suitable Federal statutes under which they could legally engross parts of the public domain. So in each instance the expectant capitalists devised their own rules and operated under them for years. All but the Mormons were notably wasteful in their use of the natural resources. The purpose was to achieve a quick return and then move on, there was little thought to the future. In two cases, the Mormons and the cattlemen, the requirements and potentialities of a new environment inspired the invention of a way of life that was unlike anything practiced hitherto among English-speaking peoples. The miners made a comparable break with precedent. Their achievement was partly technological, partly the creation of a large economic surplus in what would otherwise have been a poor land. The lumbermen seem to have been much less innovative than the miners, and no more permanent in the settlements that they inspired. Thus it is a varied picture that we find when we probe into actual cases of pioneering in the American west. The truth is much more complicated than the familiar generalizations to which we have all been accustomed. Would it not be appropriate to make similar studies of Alaska's experience? Surely here, too, we would find patterns of culture that would tell much about our national ability to adapt to a strikingly new environment.

there had to be some way of preventing excessive overgrazing of the public domain.

So the cattlemen formed local associations to regulate such problems. The associations took shape rather slowly. Unlike the Mormons, who came west with cooperation already established as a habit, and unlike the miners, who from the beginning found themselves forced into self-constituted local districts, the cattlemen preferred isolation and resorted to cooperative effort only when the presence of too many unwanted neighbors compelled them to do so. Ultimately local associations of cattlemen were expanded to have jurisdiction over entire states or territories. In Wyoming, where there were no sizeable farming or mining groups to check them, the Stock Growers' Association came virtually to dominate the government and politics of the territory.

Cattlemen's associations accomplished many things, but preventing overgrazing was not one of them. Too much new money was coming in for investment, and too many newcomers were seeking pasture. The wiser men realized what was happening, and began to transform their open range operations into something more permanent. The invention of barbed wire back in Illinois in 1873-74 at last gave them a fencing material that they could afford, on the treeless plains, and they started fencing off both the land they owned and the public domain that they were accustomed to use. They imported pure-bred bulls to improve the quality of their stock. From railroad land grants and speculators they bought land, and by more twisting of the Federal statutes they got further chunks of the Federal domain.

In short, even before disaster struck, the open range was passing. Like the early mining districts, it was proving to be a temporary phase. Then a hot, dry summer that stunted the grass was followed by a severe winter in 1886-87. Tens of thousands of emaciated cattle died in the winter blizzards, and hundreds of newly rich cattle barons suddenly found themselves poor.

The cattlemen, like the miners, had been not only using but depleting a great natural resource that didn't belong to them. Much the same was true of the lumbermen of the Pacific Northwest, who constitute our fourth and final group. A lumber industry began to develop on Puget Sound as soon as the California gold rush created a demand for forest products. Unlike any of the regions we have discussed so far, Puget Sound had a good annual rainfall and dense forests that grew down to the water's edge. Precisely because of the heavy forests, the area was difficult to clear for farming, but for lumbering the combination of dense stands of timber and easy access to salt water transportation was ideal.

The most interesting feature of the Puget Sound industry was the extent to which it was absentee-owned and was developed by corporations, rather than by individuals or cooperative effort. The reason was simply that from 1849 onward San Francisco was easily the dominant market for the whole Pacific Coast, and San Francisco was decades ahead of the Northwest in developing capital, business managers, sources of machinery and skilled labor, and sea-going transportation.

But in using the term San Francisco, it is well to distinguish between lumber operations that were distinctively Californian, and those that owed their origins to eastern interests, even though they worked through San Francisco. One of the earliest firms to operate on Puget Sound was Pope & Talbot. This firm was founded in San Francisco in 1851 by men from East Machias, Maine, where their families had been in the lumber and shipbuilding business for several generations.

To begin their venture on Puget Sound, the Pope and Talbot group went back to Maine and took command of two ships built in their families' East Machias yards. They loaded into the ships a set of saw-milling equipment (Down East pattern), and a crew of experienced mill hands from East Machias. They even brought with them enough ready-to-use Down East building lumber to construct their first sawmill and bunkhouse. Once operations were well started on Puget Sound, subsequent ships brought out more machinery and more mill workers from East Machias. On Puget Sound they created a transplanted Maine town, characterized by a strongly clannish feeling. The story is told that one day a man fell off the wharf and was drowning. Nobody paid any attention to him until suddenly they realized the poor fellow was from East Machias. Then they consented to rescue him.

The loggers and teamsters doing manual work out in the woods often were local western men, but the bosses, foremen, mill hands, mechanics, and clerks all came from East Machias. They lived in a company town, they were served by a company store, and in lieu of alarm clocks were awakened by a steam whistle at 5:20 every morning, so that they would be at work by 6.

By 1858 the Pope & Talbot mill was by far the biggest enterprise on Puget Sound. Its main market was San Francisco, but since the San Francisco market often became overstocked, Pope & Talbot ships also carried cargoes to Hawaii, the Philippines, Australia, and South America. The firm's original investment of \$30,000 appears to have grown to half a million dollars within ten years, and to have gone well into the millions thereafter.

For years Pope & Talbot bought their raw logs from hand loggers, who cut timber near the water's edge and floated it in rafts to the

Pope & Talbot mills. The purchasers seem to have asked no questions about the source of the logs. Most must have come from the public domain. But realizing that free public timber would not last forever, Pope & Talbot began acquiring title to land. Congress had never voted statutes to help the lumbermen, any more than to help the cattlemen. As the noted reform editor, E. L. Godkin, remarked, it was practically impossible to make an honest purchase of timber land from the public domain.

But like the cattlemen, the lumbermen found it possible to acquire title by various means — some legitimate, some extremely dubious. They bought land from the grants that had been made to the states for educational and other purposes, and they bought out individuals who had taken out claims under the Homestead and other acts. Just as the cattlemen had their cowboys enter questionable claims under the Homestead Act, so Pope & Talbot had the sailors from their lumber ships make false claims under the Timber and Stone Act, which had been passed to help actual farm settlers.

When overproduction became a serious problem in the 1880's, Pope & Talbot joined other San Francisco lumbermen in forming a "pool", that is, a cooperative arrangement to regulate distribution in the San Francisco market and production at the competing mills on Puget Sound. The pool not only specified the maximum number of hours that a mill might operate each week, but it also had its own inspectors to see that the agreement was obeyed.

This interesting transfer of a whole scheme of operations from the coast of Maine to Puget Sound was duplicated on a bigger scale at the close of the century. Middle Westerners who had made fortunes while denuding the upper Great Lakes states of trees, now began to shift their money, men, and machinery to the Pacific Northwest, which was now being put into direct contact with the whole nation by railroad.

The greatest transfer by far was that started by the Weyerhaeuser interests, one of the most successful of all the firms in the upper Great Lakes regions. In a single purchase in 1900 Frederick Weyerhaeuser and his associates bought from the Northern Pacific Railroad 900,000 acres of timber land, for \$5,400,000. Subsequent purchases brought the Weyerhaeuser holdings to over 2,000,000 acres in Washington, Oregon, California, and Idaho by 1914. The Weyerhaeuser people assert that all of their lands were obtained by legitimate purchase, and I presume that is true. The dishonesty had occurred one stage earlier, when the sellers had secured their original titles from the federal government.

Regardless of the ancestry of their titles, the Weyerhaeusers have become a progressive firm on the Pacific Coast. By their Great Lakes standards, the lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest seemed to them

Emanuel Leutze painted the famous "Purchase of Alaska" several years later. It was presented to William Seward for his service to the State Department.¹⁸ That such an artist, whose work on territorial expansion graced the Capitol, was commissioned to record the Purchase, suggests that the terms "Alaska" and "frontier" were not unrelated.

ALASKA: GATEWAY TO THE PAST

Alaska's past makes the North Pacific archipelago of prime importance in the history of man. As the prehistoric gateway from Asia to America it is both the *first frontier* in the New World and a *last frontier*. It has the unique distinction of being an *eastern frontier* and a *western frontier*. It is both the *oldest frontier* and the *newest frontier* of this continent. That its *prehistory* and *history* deserve serious research and writing is manifest.

Our preoccupation with the coming of Western civilization to this hemisphere is not an unmixed blessing. The Atlantic frontier is known to every schoolboy. At Jamestown John Donne's words (from his 1622 sermon to members of the London Company) are preserved in stone:

You have made this land, which is but the suburb
of the Old World a bridge and gallery to the New.

But what of *prehistory's* bridges? Anthropologists generally agree that man first entered the New World from the east. And although there have been several eastern approaches suggested, the Bering Platform offers the best argument. Digging and research in recent years seem to confirm the hypothesis

If Alaska forms the New World anchor of the Bering Platform, then it follows that the study of its prehistory and ethnology assumes new significance since it is an older bridge than the Atlantic, reaching beyond centuries into millennia. The research of the prehistorian and historian converges at the point where man leaves his primitive state and enters that of civilization. Each specialist asks what traits and development form the prerequisites of civilization. Generalization must be built upon specifics. If tracking the Bering route by physical evidence is partially convincing, perhaps a study of the migration of ideas (as traced through aboriginal legend) may yield light. However important prehistoric bridges might be, it is the traveler and his baggage that count. Here the physical anthropologist and the ethnographer join talents in the reconstruction of the train of ideas, inventions, viewpoints, and values which the New World has inherited from the Old. It may

Star-rocket, bursting when the dawn was grey,
Will-o'-the-wisp that led the riflemen
Westward and westward, killing down the day,
Until, at last, they had to turn again,
Burnt out like their own powder in the quest
Because there was no longer any West.

Only the treeless ocean, and the shock
Of the long roller, breaking from Japan,
The black sea-lion, roaring on his rock,
But never a quarry for a rifleman
Until the windy night came down once more
And the sea rustled like a forest-floor.

Then it arose, beyond the last dark wave,
Mockingly near, unmercifully far,
Cold with enchantment, naked from the grave,
The free-born image, the outlier's star,
The loadstone of the iron in the breast,
Never to be forgotten or possessed.

—Stephen Vincent Benet
Western Star

Were the day clear I could see Mount McKinley from the window. As I picture in my mind its stupendous height, I compare it to our science. Many have assailed its flanks; some have proclaimed untruths about it; some have climbed by great effort well up the slopes; a very few, the best by natural selection, have reached the summit and there attained the broad vision denied those at lower altitudes. As for me, I am satisfied to have been able to traverse the great lowland to the base and to climb the foothills.

— Alfred Hulse Brooks
Quoted in Morgan Sherwood,
Exploration of Alaska 1865-1900

Hitler's invasion of Eastern Europe but by the year 2000 the U.S. population will probably reach three hundred forty-four million.¹⁴ In the next thirty years, the world population will more than double, reaching a figure of 7.4 billion.¹⁵ Living space will be an increasingly expensive and precious commodity. The millions spent on outer space will for a time seem as nothing compared to that which will be appropriated for inner space. Inner space, yet available in colder, warmer, wetter, and dryer climes is also a natural resource offered by the world's frontiers. Wherever available, sparse settlement will prove increasingly attractive as did older frontiers in comparable situations. The limitation of any area, especially Alaska's colder weather and the lack of cultivable land available at lower latitudes, is traded for the luxury of spaciousness.

It is ironic that Turner, Webb, and many of the Frontier School of American historians could use climate and agriculture as the *sine qua non* of a frontier experience. Exceptions were found in the continental territories. Mining frontiers have seldom been hospitable to farming.¹⁶ Yet many great American cities are located in mountainous areas, desert, or dry plains. Mormons chose a difficult salt-ridden area to irrigate. True, they would turn the arid land into an oasis for agriculture. The point is that the area chosen was a stubborn one. Prehistorians and anthropologists note that such was often true with primitive societies and civilizations. In his *Origin of Civilized Societies*, Rushton Coulborn declares that civilized man has frequently settled in unfriendly and difficult environments.¹⁷ It is puzzling that historians who have written of the individualism of frontiersmen and frontiers overlook the truth that in any age, different pioneers make different concessions for different goals, and that new ages bring new conditions and compromises. But *geographic frontiers still exist on the planet Earth in the closing decades of the twentieth century. And their history will also have meaning for the history of the frontier.*

Above the west staircase to the Visitor's Gallery of the House of Representatives is a large mural painted by Emanuel Leutze in 1862. Entitled "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way", its foreground depicts pioneers struggling across a rugged divide while in the expansive background mountains with snow open to vast plains and gilded skies. Beneath the mural the artist placed these words.

The Spirit grows with its allotted spaces.
The Mind is narrow in narrow spheres.

ON IMAGINATION AND NEW PATHS

Webb to reject Alaska as a frontier.¹⁰ Treating such "handicapped" geographic frontiers as vestigial remains, Webb pronounces the last words over the corpse. "If the frontier is gone, we should have the courage to recognize the fact, cease to cry for what we have lost, and devote our energy to finding solutions to the problems that now face a frontierless society."¹¹ And with that Webb gives the *Great Frontier* a premature burial.

Seventy-two years after Turner's 1893 address, an Alaskan scholar checked the same census report which seemed to terminate frontier America. His discovery makes Turner's earlier generalizations less assured. For the Superintendent of the Eleventh Census also observed, "This remote portion of our territory [Alaska] presents difficulties in the way of enumeration scarcely conceivable in the older portion of the country. On an estimated area greater than that of all the states north of Tennessee and east of the Mississippi there is a population less than in most single countries of the populous east."¹² And Morgan Sherwood wrote, "The American frontier had not, of course, vanished; the coast line of all Alaska was still a frontier."¹³

ALASKA: THE GREAT LAND

Today Alaska's population is approximately 273,000. One hundred years following its purchase from Russia, the population equals that estimated in 1700 for the Atlantic frontier after a century of settlement. As the Superintendent of the Eleventh Census observed, these people live in a region of 586,400 square miles, an area one-fifth the size of the contiguous forty-eight states. Ninety-nine percent of the land is still public domain, a legacy in which every American shares. Alaska's natural wealth is diverse encompassing a variety of precious minerals, metals, oil, coal, timber, and furs. Her lakes and streams teem with high-grade fish while off-shore marine life includes, halibut, squid, octopus, porpoise, shrimp, and clams. The world's finest salmon and king crab are to be found here. Whales abound in Alaskan waters.

As in other land west of the hundredth meridian, America's far northern frontier possesses grandeur of incomparable magnitude. In a hundred-mile stretch of highway from Cook Inlet to Seward is scenery reminiscent of Norway's fiords, and the Austrian and Swiss alps. At Sitka, snowcapped Mt. Edgcombe rivals Fujiyama. Monarch of the Alaska Range, Grand McKinley is North America's Everest. Surely spectacular beauty is to be counted a natural resource of untold worth.

The global population explosion brings a new meaning to the space race. "Lebensraum" may only have been an excuse for Adolf

ON IMAGINATION AND NEW PATHS

OUR MULTI-FRONTIER IN THE FAR NORTH

ROBERT A. FREDERICK

Among the tombs at Westminster this inscription heralds an Elizabethan scholar whose chronicles promoted global discovery and exploration.

RICHARD HAKLYT

Queen's Scholar of Westminster School
Student of Christ Church, Oxford
Archdeacon of Westminster
Thirty Years Prebendary of the Cathedral

His studious Imagination discovered new Paths for geographical Science and his Patriotic labours rescued from Oblivion not a few of those who went down to the sea in ships to the Harbingers of Empire, descrying new Lands and finding new Room for the Race.

ALASKA: THE FORGOTTEN FRONTIER

Historians of European and American civilization have neglected the study of Alaskan history. During the 126 years of Russian rule, imperial nonchalance with its New World frontier was characterized by the old provincial expression, "heaven is high, and the Tsar is far away." St. Petersburg's disinterest, fear, and ignorance culminated

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Senator Ernest Gruening and Robert A. Frederick

ROBERT A. FREDERICK, Director of the Conference on Alaskan History, is Coordinator and Professor of History at Alaska Methodist University (Anchorage). He received his doctorate from Indiana University. In the same year (1960), he joined the first faculty of AMU in establishing the College of Liberal Arts. Accredited in 1964, AMU is the only private institution of higher learning in the forty-ninth state offering both undergraduate degrees and the master of arts in teaching. Since 1960, five historians have been added to the department: LOWELL RAGATZ, Professor emeritus, Ohio State University; M. DAVID YAMAMOTO, Kwansai Gakuin (Japan) and Ohio State University, now on leave as AMU Exchange Professor at Nagoya Gakuin (Japan); TSUGUO ARAI, Kwansai Gakuin (Japan) and the University of Toronto; and JUSTIN J. STAUTER, University of Washington. FANG-QUEI QUO, Formosan scholar, now at the University of Lethbridge (Alberta), served from 1962 until 1964. Frederick, a specialist in Russian history, colonial and recent America, entered the study of Alaskan history with the publication of a bibliography, "Caches of Alaska: Library and Archival Sources of Alaskan History" (Alaska Review II-3, 1966-67). With a special interest in the conservation movement, he is currently working on a biography, "Richard Lieber and the Preservation of American Landscape."

in the sale of Russian America to the United States. Seward's purchase of Alaska was so controversial and the "icebox" myth so widely believed that the far northern frontier entered the Union under a cloud if not a glacier. Some who came north and many former Russian Americans who remained substituted "Washington" in the old saying. However, recent historians have pointed to the preoccupation of Washington with problems of reconstruction in the South, the difficulty of travel to remote Alaska, diminished interest in frontier living, etc. One historian has declared that all that could be done by the federal government at the time was accomplished.¹ Washington sent the Army to occupy certain posts, the Navy to patrol coastal waters, and scientists to survey its uncharted wilderness and estimate its natural wealth.

Most difficult to understand is the near universal omission of Alaska from serious consideration by historians, particularly those interested in frontier history.² This may be accounted for by Frederick Jackson Turner's *initial view of the frontier*. At the outset of his famous 1893 paper, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, he quoted the Superintendent of the Census for 1890. "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports."³ Turner concludes, "This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement."⁴ Turner seems to have believed that the end of a *frontier line* meant the end of a *frontier*.⁵ And yet, in the business of defining a frontier, he avoided the concept of "evenness".⁶ The frontier was neither Hadrian's Wall nor could it be a "European frontier running through dense populations." Indeed, he boldly stated, "The most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land."⁷

Perhaps the key to the forgotten frontier is the word "west". One frontier scholar writes that "westward movement was of paramount importance from the middle of the eighteenth century to the 1890's when free lands disappeared."⁸ A Homestead Act offering "free land" is still in force in the Forty-Ninth State and has been for years. True, the generalizations of the western frontier do not always fit the north. Professor Ray Allen Billington's hero is "the hard-working farmer who, ax in hand, marched ever westward until the boundaries of his nation touched the Pacific."⁹ Trappers, mountain-men, and prospectors come out second best. The farmer is not the hero of the northern frontier. Climate has dictated otherwise. Climate led the late Walter Prescott

Today good prehistories, histories, monographs, biographies, and surveys on the Alaskan past and present are scarce. Before masterful analyses, helpful generalizations, and syntheses can be attempted, more responsible writing is needed. Before the contribution of any people, age, institution, or movement can be appreciated, those *on location* must record and communicate their discovery. The best writing makes use of both stone and rainbow—the paper trail (documentation) and intuitive truth (imagination). The goal of the historian is to tell a *true story* insofar as his material, understanding, and vision allow. And while one must keep *proportion, balance, and detachment* before him—acknowledging the warnings of Plutarch, Becker, and Beard—there is really no substitute for the *insight* which the *participating historian* may provide.³² In *Vistas of History*, Samuel Eliot Morison uses this concept. He chose Francis Parkman as his inspiration because the colorful historian of New France was first an outdoorsman who visited every scene of the action he described. "His histories not only are so well documented that seldom can any critic find his facts at fault; they also breathe the aroma of the forest and wilderness trail, they re-create the atmosphere in which his characters live and move, so that the reader has a sense of participation in the drama of a great nation conquering the wilderness."³³ In his own life as an historian-of-action, Morison learned the importance of oral testimony and visual observation—that frequently documents are overstressed and are not themselves facts, but symbols of facts—"for a participating historian, it often became clear that things did not run as smoothly as they appeared in the official document . . ."³⁴ In his introduction to *Breaking New Ground* (which every historian should read), Gifford Pinchot warns that unless an eyewitness sets forth the circumstances of the times, the condition of public opinion, a true picture is hard to get. "And for drawing that picture personal experience beats documentary history all hollow."³⁵ "The common statement that actions or events cannot be properly appraised until after generations have passed has always seemed to me pure nonsense. If it means anything, it means that actions and events cannot be understood until there is nobody left alive who knows the inside causes which produced them, or the true conditions which gave them their meaning."³⁶

Our communication and transportation revolution, rapid rate of social transition, and the population explosion, make the writing of contemporary history both difficult and timely. Insights must be shared that solutions to pressing current problems be quickly reached. Like earlier frontiers of this planet, Alaska is not an *armchair wilderness*. Her history cannot easily be written without first-hand appreciation of her *geographic character and personality*.

be at this passageway that the concepts of an "Asian mind", "European mind", and "American mind" can be examined in transition, mutation, or metamorphosis. For many can claim participation in the ages of the Great Land. Eskimo, Aleut, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Spaniard, Russian, Canadian, Englishman, American (travelling aboard New England whalers, Seattle freighters or overland), Scandinavian, and Japanese — have made Alaska a multi-ethnic, international corridor — a key to the past and most certainly an aid in the future.

ALASKA: MULTI-FRONTIER IN THE DYNAMIC PRESENT

One can only speculate why it took Frederick Jackson Turner a quarter of a century to acknowledge an *expanded view of the frontier* on the North American continent. Addressing the University of Washington's Class of 1914 in the very summer which would also witness the commencement of the First World War, the graying scholar prophesied change in our domestic and foreign relations. He saw great change, too, on the nation's periphery.

If we turn to the Northern border, where we are about to celebrate a century of peace with England, we see in progress, like a belated procession of our own history the spread of pioneers, the opening of new wildernesses, the building of new cities, the growth of a new and mighty nation. That old American advance of the wheat farmer from the Connecticut to the Mohawk, and the Genesee, from the Great Valley of the Pennsylvania to the Ohio Valley and the prairies of the Middle West, is now by its own momentum and under the stimulus of Canadian homesteads and the high price of wheat, carried across the national border to the once lone plains where the Hudson [']s] Bay dog trains crossed the desolate snows of the wild North Land. In the Pacific Northwest the era of construction has not ended, but it is so rapidly in progress that we can already see the closing of the age of the pioneer.¹⁹

Then he described a long omitted possession.

AMERICA'S FAR NORTHERN FRONTIER

Already Alaska beckons on the north, and pointing to her wealth of natural resources asks the nation on what new terms the new age will deal with her.²⁰

When Turner spoke these words Alaska's population was about 65,000. The territory had reached the older level required for an enabling act but such would not be realized for another 45 years. Gradually the United States became aware of Alaska's importance as a great storehouse of natural wealth and a strategic military position. Today its treasures and location increase its value. Here, living space is still available for those strong enough to seek it. On this as older frontiers, the individual counts for much and the tasks always exceed the available pioneers. To the industries of fishing, furs, timber, mining, transport, tourism, water power, and wildlife, has been added petroleum extraction. All of these make Alaska especially attractive to Americans and also another community of which Turner saw Alaska a member.

THE PACIFIC FRONTIER

Across the Pacific looms Asia, no longer a remote vision and a symbol of the unchanging, but borne as by mirage close to our shores and raising grave questions of the common destiny of the people of the ocean. The dreams of Benton and of Seward of a regenerated Orient, when the long march of westward civilization should complete its circle, seem almost to be in process of realization. The age of the Pacific Ocean begins, mysterious and unfathomable in its meaning for our own future.²¹

Alaska reaches far across the Pacific Basin to Asia and with Hawaii and our other possessions makes the United States a partner in the political and economic life of this great maritime community. While Guam, Midway, and Hawaii commit us to the South and Central Pacific, Alaska fixes our interest in the North Pacific. Here, on the seagirt frontier at the old gateway to the New World, is to be found the new gateway to the Old World. Kipling is mocked. *East is West*.

Perhaps it is just this Pacific Frontier which now offers the best opportunity for man to achieve "the balance of ideology".²² Here Orient and Occident face common problems. Each is borne close to the shores of each. Here each *might* bring that force of reason, scientific temper, faith, and new concern for unity which Barbara Ward would have us implement. "Hitherto, distances have held men apart. Scarcity has driven them to competition and enmity But now the distances are abolished. It is at least possible that our new technological resources, properly deployed, will conquer ancient short-

climate disallows agriculture in any proportion which would be helpful to the economy of the frontier. The great bulk of meat and vegetables is still shipped into Alaska and will be for many years. If the farmer is not to be the hero of this frontier, then Alaska must seek another.

The hero of the multi-frontier which is Alaska will be as much a pioneer and an individualist as his forbears, but will not conquer the Great Land on the same terms or by the same means. Hard work and initiative will be required but Alaska will yield her resources in the future only with the imagination of a new kind of pioneer following new paths. The nature of Alaska will necessitate the cooperation of institutionalized America and technological America. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century our intelligence of Alaska was collected by waves of pioneers familiar to the western movement: the Indian, trapper, trader, company manager, prospector, homesteader, whaler, fisherman, sailor, soldier, and scientist. Today the majority of Alaskans are part of corporate America and the *frontier process* which they are using is also *corporate*.³⁰ The process will require all the genius of Henry Clay's "American System" and more!

WRITING ALASKAN HISTORY

In an age which no longer waits patiently through this life for the rewards of the next, it is a crushing spiritual blow to lose one's sense of participation in mankind's journey, and to see only a huge milling-around, a collective living-out of lives with no larger purpose than the days which each accumulates. When we estrange ourselves from history we do not enlarge, we diminish ourselves, even as individuals If we are to meet, endure, and transcend the trials and defeats of the future — for trials and defeats there are certain to be — it can only be from the point of view which, seeing the future as part of the sweep of history, enables us to establish our place in the immense procession in which is incorporated whatever hope humankind may have.³¹

With these thoughts Professor Robert L. Heilbroner concludes his famous study of *The Future as History*. His exhortation should be heeded by every Alaskan as a *corporate pioneer* in this dynamic multi-frontier. But for the historian or future historian of Alaska, Heilbroner's words carry a double charge — not only to *participate* in the Great Land's history, but to *write* it.

When Walter Prescott Webb (as the historian of the *Great Frontier*) dismisses a piece of North American real estate well over twice the size of his native Texas as not meeting his description of a frontier due to its variation from temperate zones, he has overlooked or dismissed Turner's observation: "*The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; . . .*" [my italics] And it is the balance of this statement which makes the settlement of the twentieth century's *circular frontiers* so important to our future, ". . . the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, *in spite of environment, and in spite of custom* [my italics], each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraints and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier".²⁹

As a multi-frontier of the twentieth century, with interests in the American Union, the Pacific Basin, and the Arctic Community, Alaska's helpfulness in generating a world patriotism will depend upon the *uniqueness of her frontier process*. To what extent will she use imagination to discover new paths to solutions of the problems which plagued other frontiers: remoteness, roadlessness, high freight rates, the sensible utilization and development of natural resources, the distribution and settlement of the land, air and water pollution, and most difficult, lifting the indigenous population from the Stone Age to the twentieth century? For it is Alaska's native peoples, so rich in heritage and so poor in the material wealth of modern society, who present what could be an Achilles heel. They must be workers not wards. As before, they must actively participate in Alaska's history. Destitution is to be found in the villages and twentieth century frontiersmen are aware that poverty is not simply an economic condition but also a state of mind. Native claims in Alaska must be settled with much more care and imagination than in other states. The solution must be equitable not only to the natives but to their fellow non-native citizens. For justice can work injustice and every citizen, native and non-native, can wonder if there is a statute of limitations which favors some and impoverishes others. Surely at some point in time the ancestors of every member of the human race have been alienated from their "rightful share" of global real estate.

Imagination is needed to overcome the misconception that Alaska can be settled as a farmer's frontier of the twentieth century. Although a homestead act was passed for Alaska it is quite obsolete except as a legal means for misappropriation of public domain. Homesteads of 160 acres are given under the guise of creating an agrarian economy when the

age. Can we not at such a time realize the moral unity of our human experience and make it the basis of a patriotism for the world itself?"²³

Today Japanese capital is invested in Alaskan industry. The University of Alaska's Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research is particularly interested in Japanese-Alaskan economics. Alaska Methodist University has inaugurated a North Pacific Studies program with Nagoya Gakuin University which provides for the exchange of faculty and students between Nipon's industrial center and the Great Land's largest city. Representatives of Alaska's business and governmental agencies often visit Japan on trade missions. Japanese businessmen are a familiar sight in Alaskan cities. Here, indeed, East is West.

THE ARCTIC FRONTIER

We have not come to the northward limit of commercial progress. There was many a pause but no stop to the westward course of empire until we came to the place where East is West. In that sense only is there a northward limit to progress. Corner lots in Rome were precious when the banks of the Thames had no value; the products of Canada were little beyond furs and fish when the British and French agreed in preferring Guadeloupe. But values have shifted north since then and times have changed. Times will continue to change. There is no northern boundary beyond which productive enterprise cannot go till North meets North on the opposite shores of the Arctic Ocean as East has met West on the Pacific.²⁴

Written in 1922, these words encompass the magnificent literary and scientific career of America's best known Arctic explorer, Vilhjalmur Stefansson. One of twenty-four books and 400 manuscripts which record eighty-three years of discovery, *The Northward Course of Empire*, argues that the "path of supremacy" among civilizations, from Upper Egypt in the 34th century BC to the present, reveals in fact a northerly course. Its frontispiece bears a graphic illustration of this climatic and geographic path. Time and mean annual temperature coordinates are traversed by a sinuous line of civilization which does trace a northerly direction. It is interesting that Stefansson's "path of supremacy" (drawn in 1920) is poised before Berlin, Boston, Chicago, Copenhagen, Toronto, Montreal, Riga, Stockholm, Quebec, Moscow, Petrograd, and Winnipeg!

Stefansson's exploration and scientific work in sub-polar and polar regions was not in vain. Today Canadian and U.S. scholars working under the auspices of the Arctic Institute of North America have enlarged man's knowledge of the Basin. This institute is for high latitudes what Richard Hakluyt was to newly discovered lands of the Elizabethan age. Michael Marsden (Sir George Williams University, Montreal) sums the ignorance of many when he writes, "It is difficult to impress upon the public and industry at large that the most essential quality of the Arctic is not cold, or gold, or polar bears, but a central position in the world community."²⁵ And John E. Sater (University of Alaska) expands upon the frontier's economic and geopolitical importance.

. . . In ancient times the known world centered around the Mediterranean Sea; today the most highly developed cultures encircle the Arctic Basin. Almost eighty per cent of the population of the earth inhabits the northern hemisphere between approximately the thirtieth and sixtieth parallels. Routes over the Arctic Basin have become increasingly important channels for air transportation, since aircraft, unlike surface vehicles, are free to traverse the shortest routes between two points. The airlines for destructive forces in time of war may also cross the Arctic Basin in the future, and the territories fringing the Arctic Ocean serve today as bases for networks of advance warning installations essential in the military control of the strategic areas that guard the "roof entrances" to both the North American and Eurasian continents. These factors emphasize the need for greater knowledge of the Arctic as a field of operations.²⁶

Like the Pacific Basin, the Arctic Rim contains a community of nations — Canada, the United States (Alaska), the Soviet Union, Denmark (Greenland), Iceland, and Norway — whose possession of Arctic territory make necessary the solution of common geographic, political, and economic problems.

Alaska bridges the two northern giants, Canada and Russia. In this position on the Arctic Frontier she already has become a new crossroads of the world in the jet age. A dozen airlines — Asian, European, and American — serve the world through Alaskan cities. Generally Canadian-Alaskan relations have been cordial and cooperation most gratifying. Construction and development in the Soviet Far East is moving forward on a grand scale. Alaska, as the U.S. Arctic frontier, may provide an opportunity for meaningful regional relationships with the Soviet

Union as it has with Canada and Japan. It is through such local interaction and progress that ideological isolation is breached. Louis XIV's dictum that "Nations touch only at their tops," receives an ironic twist in the frequent international encounter on all levels at the world's roof.

THE FUTURE OF ALASKAN HISTORY

For America, from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, the frontier was the focus of abundance — physically because the land was virgin and culturally because the Anglo-Americans of that time were particularly apt at exploiting the new country. At this lowest threshold of access to abundance, the pioneers found an individualism and a nationalism which they might not have found at other thresholds. But though physically the frontier remained the site of virgin land, cultural changes gave to the people an aptitude for exploiting new industrial potentialities and thus drew the focus of abundance away from the frontier. But this change of focus itself perpetuated and reinforced the habits of fluidity, of mobility, of change, of the expectation of progress, which have been regarded as distinctive frontier traits.²⁷

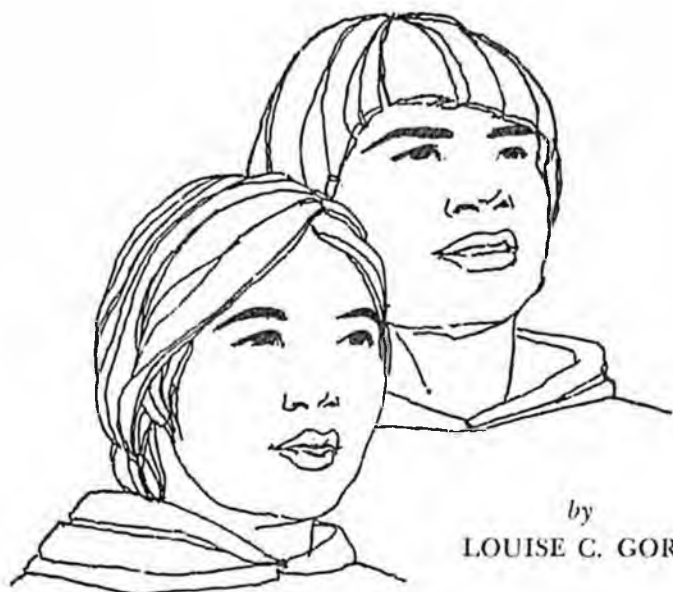
PROBLEMS AND PROMISE

A Stanford historian, Professor David Potter has studied the relationship between economic abundance and the American character. In the above passage quoted from his *People of Plenty*, cultural change and a pragmatic approach are seen as characteristic of the frontier experience. Turner also described the results. "Moving westward, the frontier became more and more American. As successive terminal moraines result from successive glaciations, so each frontier leaves its traces behind it, and when it becomes a settled area the region still partakes of the frontier characteristic."²⁸ Such argument links frontier experience with its aftermath. It is strange, indeed, that scholars of the frontier have been so quick to pronounce its death when the frontier in North America shifted from a *linear* advance to a *circular* one. For if the *frontier process* is a key to the understanding of the American character and culture and a fountainhead of future success, the presence of geographic frontiers becomes all the more important for the historian to recognize.

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ALASKA METHODIST UNIVERSITY PRESS

Happily, the Purchase Centennial is a milepost on the highroad of Alaskan historical writing. The university presses of Washington, Yale, Alaska, Oxford, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Alaska Methodist have joined World, Knopf, Holt-Rinehart-Winston, Doubleday, and Little, Brown in an unprecedented pageant of publication upon Alaskan history. AMU's *Alaska Review* published centennial issues with articles of consequence. The centennial year witnessed the founding of a new Alaska State Historical Society. The publication, *Alaska Northern Lights Quarterly* launched in 1966, has become an important Alaskan periodical. During the year papers were read in panels on Alaskan history at the annual professional meetings of the Western History Association (San Francisco), the Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA (Stanford University), and the American Historical Association (Toronto, Canada). The first Conference on Alaskan History (June 8-10, 1967) was held on the campus of Alaska Methodist University under grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Historical Association. This publication constitutes the proceedings of that conference.

Other milestones beckon. On the way we must encourage those into whose custody is entrusted the stuff of history (family papers, records, diaries, manuscripts, journals, letters, etc.) to place such collections in archives (Alaska Methodist University, Anchorage; the University of Alaska, Fairbanks; Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka; and the State Historical Library, Juneau) for safekeeping against the day they will be needed. As we journey we must note the fallacies which have been chronicled and by correcting the misconceptions, close one path toward error and open the road to truth. Where reinterpretations are justified we must supply them. When we discover caches of Alaskana, we ought to work the claims or disclose them.³⁷ When possible we should suggest new directions research and writing should take for the timely development of our multi-frontier as it seeks to continue its dynamic role in the American Union, the Pacific Basin, the Arctic Community, and the World-at-Large. Much of the journey will present the difficult task of negotiating unfamiliar ground as "hills peep o'er hills and alps on alps arise." As the Queen's Scholar of Westminster — examining the uncharted — we must employ experience and intuition, stone and rainbow, fact and imagination to discover "New Room for the Race." And if our civilization is not at meridian but only "first light" — the cock-crowing and the morning star — then it is the best part of the day to continue the climb.

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- 1 Morgan B. Sherwood, *Exploration of Alaska 1865-1900* (New Haven, 1965), 191-192.
- 2 Leading general frontier histories, old and new, which do not mention Alaska are Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier 1763-1893* (Boston, 1924); Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York, 1967), third edition; Thomas D. Clark, *Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement* (New York, 1959). It is difficult to excuse the omission of Alaska from a history of the Northwest of which Alaska has been an important economic part as in George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1959), second edition revised, even though the author gives special emphasis on the Inland Empire. It seems somewhat less excusable that two historians of western universities, LeRoy R. Hafen (University of Denver) and Carl Coke Rister (University of Oklahoma) in their *Western America: The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi* (Englewood Cliffs, 1950), second edition, yield in two sentences Cook's visit and the Hudson's Bay Company's sale of flour to the Russians in Alaska. A general frontier history of long standing underwent major revision in 1964 when Robert G. Athearn (University of Colorado) joined Robert E. Riegel (Dartmouth College) in writing the fourth edition of *America Moves West*. While earlier editions had omitted Alaska, the fourth edition includes a discussion of the Yukon and Alaska in a chapter on "Mining Advances." Histories of the Pacific Northwest which acknowledge Alaska's importance through numerous references are Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest: A History* (New York, 1950) second edition revised and enlarged; and Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1957). In his unique study on an expanded regional concept, Earl Pomeroy synthesizes Far Western history. He includes material on Alaska's fishing, gold rush, and trade as well as Spanish exploration and Russian occupation. See Earl Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, & Nevada* (New York 1965). It should be noted that these four authors have lived or taught in the Northwest.
- 3 Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 1.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 *Ibid.*, 9.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 3, 16.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 8 Thomas D. Clark, *Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement* (New York, 1959), v.
- 9 Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York, 1967), third edition, 11.
- 10 Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Austin, 1964), 284-287.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 302.
- 12 Morgan B. Sherwood, *Op. cit.*, 63.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *Population Crisis, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, 85th Congress, First Session on S. 1676, Part 1, 1965, 389.*
- 15 *Ibid.*, Part 3-B, 1965, 389.
- 16 See Rodman W. Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880* (New York, 1963).
- 17 Rushton Coulborn, *The Origin of Civilized Societies* (Princeton, 1959), 13-14.
- 18 Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *William Henry Seward* (New York, 1967), 544. Emanuel Leutze (1816-1886) was born in Gmund, Wurttemberg, but soon after his family emigrated to Fredericksburg, Va., because of political oppression in Germany. When the family moved to Philadelphia, Emanuel gained the patronage and encouragement of Edward L. Carey. He proceeded to Dusseldorf in 1841 and became a pupil of Karl Friedrich Lessing. His first historical painting "Columbus Before the Council of Salamanca" was so well received that it was purchased by the Art Union of Dusseldorf. In 1859, Leutze returned to the United States where he continued a long series of large historical compositions among which are: "Washington Crossing the Delaware," "The Landing of the Norsemen," "The Settlement of Maryland," "Washington at Monmouth," "The Storming of Teocalli, Mexico," and "Cromwell and Milton." Among his many portraits are Lincoln, Grant, Burnside, Seward (Purchase), and Nathaniel Hawthorne. The "Purchase of Alaska" was completed in the last year of his life.
- 19 Frederick Jackson Turner, *Op. Cit.*, 296.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Ibid.*, 296-297
- 22 Barbara Ward, *Spaceship Earth* (New York, 1966), 107-148.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 148.
- 24 Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Northward Course of Empire* (New York, 1924), 19.
- 25 R. St. J. Macdonald, editor, *The Arctic Frontier* (Toronto, 1966), forward, i.
- 26 John E. Sater, coordinator, *The Arctic Basin* (Centreville, Maryland, 1963), preface, ii.
- 27 David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago, 1954), 164-165.
- 28 Frederick Jackson Turner, *Op. cit.*, 4.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 30 Many of the ideas and phrases of this paragraph were taken from a provocative paper submitted to my Freshman Seminar in History (an alternative for Fundamentals of English Composition offered to AMU freshmen) by Kathleen Milner. The seminar topic was "Alaska and the American Character."
- 31 Robert L. Heilbroner, *The Future as History* (New York, 1959), 209.
- 32 In his biographical sketch of Pericles, Plutarch writes: "So it is difficult to come at the truth in the walk of history since, if the writers live after the events they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of facts, and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred or by interest and friendship to vitiate and pervert the truth." See Eduard C. Lindeman, ed., *Life Stories of Men Who Shaped History from Plutarch's Lives* (New York, 1950), 75. See also Cushing Strout, *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History: Carl Becker and Charles Beard* (Ithaca, 1966).
- 33 Samuel Eliot Morison, *Vistas of History* (New York, 1964), 25, 26.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 33, 34.
- 35 Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York, 1947), xv.
- 36 *Ibid.*, xvii.
- 37 See Robert A. Frederick, "Caches of Alaskana: Library and Archival Sources of Alaskan History" in the *Alaska Review*, (Alaska Methodist University, Anchorage) II-3, fall and winter 1966-1967, 39-79. For one full year, January to December, 1965, the holdings of three hundred institutions were surveyed. Included were university libraries, public libraries, research libraries, state and federal archives, city and state historical society libraries, and the libraries of state and federal agencies. The sources reported include books, pamphlets, printed documents, manuscripts, newspapers, transcriptions, pictorial collections, photographs, and maps.

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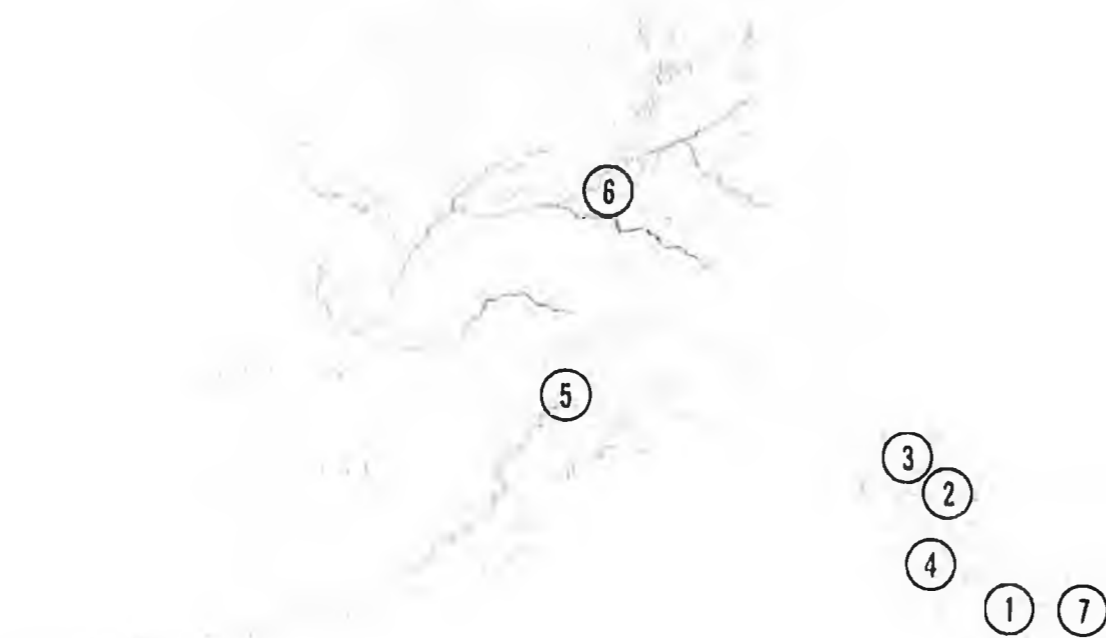
The
Alaska
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Journal



Richard W. Montague

Our Lady of Perpetual Help. Fifteenth century, bronze and enamel icon. Also used in Western Church.

STORY REFERENCE MAP



1. HADLEY—Prince of Wales Island on the east side of Kasaan Peninsula—page 2
2. THE FIRST BLOOM OF ALASKA STATEHOOD: 1915-1916—Juneau—page 8
3. ECLIPSE AT CHILKAT—on the east shore of Chilkat Inlet, Chilkat Peninsula, 2 miles south of Haines—page 18
4. ALASKA'S RUSSIAN GOVERNORS: KUPREIANOV—Sitka—page 21
5. SCULPTRESS IN SOAPSTONE—Anchorage—page 38
6. JUDGE BALLOU OF RAMPART—Eighty miles northwest of Fairbanks, on the Yukon River—page 41
7. THE PETER MARTIN CASE—The Alaska-Canada boundary area between Portland Canal and Mount St. Elias—page 48

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Authors' Roundup

Richard Bloedel ("The First Bloom of Alaska Statehood," page 8), makes his debut in print in this issue of the JOURNAL. Born in 1939, he was granted a B.A. by the University of Colorado (1962) and an M.A. (1966) and Ph.D. (1968) by the University of Washington. He is presently completing a history of the Alaska statehood movement in connection with his work for the Ph.D. When he completes that work, he plans to teach and to continue to research the history of Alaska. He spent the summer of 1969 at Juneau where he carried on research in the Alaska Historical Library.

Voula B. Crouch ("Sculptress in Soapstone," page 38), was born in Ontario, Oregon, and lived in the valley of the Snake River until she went off to college in Colorado. She received the degree of Associate of Arts from the then Colorado Women's College in Denver, now Temple Buell College, and followed this with a B.S. degree in nursing from the University of Colorado. After post-graduate work in pediatrics she became one of the first Pediatric Nurse Practitioners in the country. Her husband, Dr. D. B. Crouch, chose Alaska for his Air Force assignment and they were at Eielson Air Force Base near Fairbanks for two years and a half and covered much of the state by plane, car, kayak and on foot. They have two sons, Brent and Spencer, ages four years and eighteen months, and are temporarily absent from Alaska while Dr. Crouch does a residency in anesthesiology at the University of Utah Medical Center.

William R. Hunt ("Judge Ballou of Rampart," page 41) is a Professor of History at the University of Alaska, College, and authored "Harry De Windt: He Blew It At Chilkoot Pass," in our Summer, 1971, issue. Born in Seattle, he received his education at

Seattle University and the University of Washington. He served in the Army, taught in the Seattle School System and as an exchange teacher in Kobe, Japan, before he came north in 1967. He is editor of *The Northern Engineer* and has authored several books, including "Handbook of Alaska," which is now being published.

Pat McCollom ("The Story of Icons," page 25), grew up in Wenatchee, Washington, and later moved to Seattle where she met her husband. His oceanographic work has taken them across the United States and up and down both coasts. A summer in Nova Scotia prompted her to write a short history of the Acadians who first settled there. The article was published in Britain's leading historical magazine, *History Today*. Other articles by Mrs. McCollom have appeared in *ALASKA* magazine and several "little" magazines. The McColloms moved to Anchorage in June, 1970, and hope to settle down there and make it their home. Pat, the mother of three school-age children, recently returned to school at the University of Alaska, Anchorage, where she is studying history, art and anthropology. She also paints in her "spare" time and has had paintings exhibited at the Vera La Zuke Gallery on Long Island, New York, and at the Anchorage Historical and Fine Arts Museum.

Keith A. Murray ("The Peter Martin Case," page 48) is chairman of the Department of History at Western Washington State College at Bellingham. This article was prepared as a paper for the 1971 Pacific Northwest History Conference and presented at Seattle last April. Professor Murray was born in Nez Perce, Idaho, in 1910, received his B.A. from Whitworth College in 1935, his M.A. (1940) and his Ph.D. (1946)

from the University of Washington. In 1937 he married Olive M. Clarke and they have three children. After serving as director of public relations at Whitworth College from 1936 to 1939, he taught for five years in the public schools of Washington state and has been at the college at Bellingham since 1946. He is the author of "The MODOCS and Their War," published in 1959.

Richard A. Pierce ("Alaska's Russian Governors," page 21) with this article makes his fifth appearance in the JOURNAL. A Professor of History at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, he traveled to Europe with his wife and daughter last summer and was able to visit England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Finland and Russia. In Finland, whence came many Alaskans both in Russian days and later, he found some material that may result in future articles for the JOURNAL. His series on the Chief Managers of the Russian-American Company will continue in future issues.

Patricia Roppel ("Hadley," page 2), grew up near Ellensburg, Washington, graduated from Oregon State University at Corvallis, and came north to Ketchikan, Alaska, immediately after graduation. There she taught home economics and English in the school system for a number of years and became interested in the histories of the many abandoned mining camps and towns of Southeastern Alaska. In the past year and a half, during which she has lived in California, Mrs. Roppel has been able to continue her research in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley and other repositories of Alaskan material. This is Mrs. Roppel's third article in the JOURNAL. Earlier ones were "Sealevel" and "Sumdum." She has also had articles in *ALASKA* magazine and *The New Alaskan*, and other publications. Pat and her husband, Frank, and their two young children recently returned to Ketchikan when he was named manager of the Ketchikan Spruce Mills. Another of Mrs. Roppel's mining stories, this one on the Jualin Mine, north of Juneau, will appear in a future issue. ■



which should certainly have filled many of our homes."

Gibbs starts his narrative of the *Islander* wreck with a fairy tale about gold dust that might have been swept from the ship, lying in more than 300 feet of water, and up onto a beach some twenty miles away, where it was found by an aged prospector. Gibbs does, however, mention the belief of some *Islander* passengers that the ship had hit the rocks of Douglas Island rather than an iceberg, as was claimed. He fails to add a statement by Captain Henry Finch, the Seattle diver who reached the wreck in 1902, that he found that the damage was in the ship's bottom rather than at the bow, as would have been the case had she hit an iceberg.

The cutlines above the picture of the *Islander* on page 164 are wrong on a couple of counts. The picture was taken on July 24, 1892, at Sitka, where the ship had arrived from Glacier Bay with two blades of each of her two propellers broken off. She was beached in front of the town for repairs.

The author has difficulty in distinguishing between Lynn Canal and Stephens Passage in this narrative, and in fact has some difficulty with Alaskan geography throughout. He places the wreck of the *Ancon* more than 200 miles from the actual location, and moves the site of the wreck of the schooner *W. H. Dimond* some 1,000 miles to the eastward.

In his list of coincidences in connection with the wreck of the *Princess Sophia*, Gibbs might well have included the fact that the steamer, on April 14, 1913, banged into Sentinel Island Reef, only four miles from where she later went down with all hands. Space will not permit a review of all the small errors in this account of that wreck, but one point requires clarification: "Several hours before the *Sophia* went down, the late Captain L. H. (Kinky) Bayers, was returning from Peril Strait in the gas schooner *Anita Phillips* when he was 'flagged down' at Shoal Point by Capt. Ed McDougal of the *Amy*." That seems, at least to me, to imply that "Kinky" was skipper of the *Anita Phillips*. Fact is that he had just passed his seventh birthday and was with his father, Harry "Pay" Bayers, captain of the *Anita Phillips*.

All of the pictures in the Alaska section are old familiars, and the information Gibbs supplies with them is mostly accurate. There are these exceptions:

Page 141, the *Delhi* is shown floating on her side in Tongass Narrows in front of Ketchikan, where she had been towed from Sumner Strait.

Page 153, the *Yacatan* was not lost "for good" in Alaskan waters in 1913 or any other time. I am not sure what finally became of her, but in 1916 she

was owned by the Robert Dollar interests of San Francisco.

Page 154, *Mariposa's* wreck site was nearer to 55 than to five miles west of Wrangell.

Page 161, the *Prince George*, instead of stranding in a fog and having "a fuel tank explode," was actually fast to the Ketchikan Wharf Company dock in Ketchikan, on a clear morning and with her passengers ashore, when one of her furnaces blew back as it was being lighted. This writer was on the Tongass Dock, next door, at the moment. The vessel was towed away from the dock and eventually beached on Gravina Island.

Page 161, the *Northwestern* was deliberately beached at Eagle River, north of Juneau, after she had struck Sentinel Island Reef in clear weather, despite the fact that the lighthouse keeper on the island turned on his fog signal to warn her off.



Page 163, the *Admiral Rodman* was actually ashore on Cape Calvert, just north of Queen Charlotte Sound, when this picture was taken.

Page 171, the barge *Skookum* was built for freighting rather than fishing and carried a cargo of lumber when she went ashore at Nome.

Author Gibbs, in his text, puts together some rather strange word combinations, and that is, of course, his prerogative and I have no objections until he comes up with "the infamous Alexander Baranof." Perhaps we Alaskans have made a folk hero of the first chief manager, a hard man in many ways but not, to most Alaskans at least, "of very bad report; held in abhorrence; notoriously base; scandalous to the last degree."

This book is chiefly valuable for the large number of excellent photographs it has wrapped together in one set of covers. Frayn Printing Company of Seattle has done an excellent job of reproducing them. Now, if the publisher will hire an editor and upgrade the contents of his books to the level of the printing, he will begin to make a real contribution to Northwest history.

—R. N. De Armond

PEOPLE OF THE BERING SEA, by Ted Bank II. 101 pages. Paper covers. MSS Educational Publishing Company, Inc., New York, 1971. \$3.50.

Despite the title, the three excerpts in this paperback are primarily about the Aleuts, and are reprinted from *The Explorers Journal*, *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, and the book "Birthplace of the Winds," dated 1962, 1958, and 1956, respectively. Although the booklet purports to be "Readings in Anthropology," it contains a number of interpretations invidious to American Natives and whites alike, such as, "Perhaps in the end, man will have to follow the example of the American Indian and Eskimo. He will have no recourse but to admit his own inadequacy, and to allow himself and his civilization to be molded by his environment" (page 18). Or, the Aleuts were "a once-hardy, populous group, admirably adapted physically and culturally to a rigorous environment—now impoverished, diseased, and spiritually weakened, their numbers alarmingly reduced and their former culture all but destroyed, [doomed] to extinction before our very eyes" (page 30, repeated on page 44). Yet, thirteen years after the author wrote this, the Aleuts are not dying out. Indeed, at this moment they are vigorously protesting the taking of their aboriginal lands in a case pending before the Indian Claims Commission.

More than two-thirds of this booklet contains facsimile pages from "Birthplace of the Winds," a popularized account of the author's adventures in the Aleutian Islands as a young graduate student in 1948. It is not readily apparent why this section is entitled "Acculturation" unless it is from his newly added introduction of twenty-five lines in which he quotes Robert Redfield and Margaret Mead; perhaps it is because he shares with us, from his book of 1956, the "bad" behavior of the Aleuts in 1948: "Gonna invite the Army men, too. Betcher see a lot of drunks, huh?" and "The immorality extended to the children, too;" and, "At Atka we learned that a high percentage of children born there recently were fathered by Army personnel," etc. (pages 66, 71, 72).

All of the excerpts are lithographed reproductions of the original pages in different type faces and sizes, with type-written additions or corrections, but this is a trivial shortcoming in view of the much more serious ones of the text and the bibliography. The latter omits all of the important and indispensable studies about the Aleuts published during the past ten years by the anthropologists Don E. Dumond, Margaret Lantis, and W. S. Laughlin.

—Dorothy Jean Ray ■

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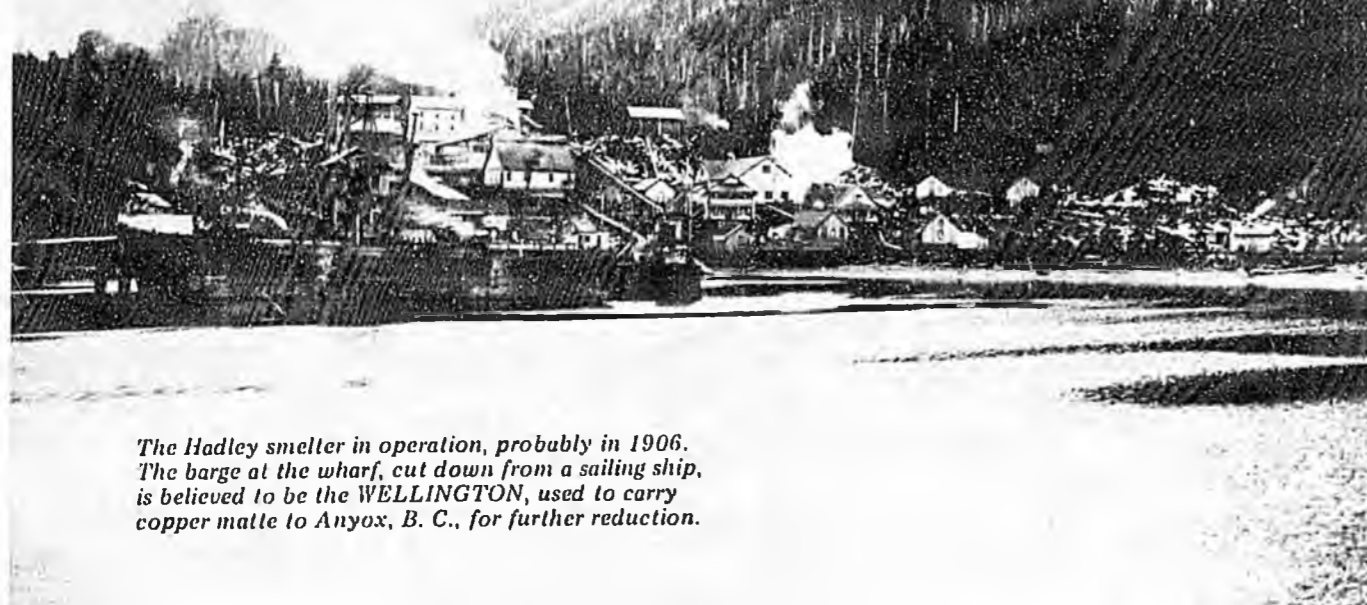
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HADLEY

By PAT ROPPEL



The Hadley smelter in operation, probably in 1906. The barge at the wharf, cut down from a sailing ship, is believed to be the WELLINGTON, used to carry copper matte to Anyox, B. C., for further reduction.

Alaska Historical Library

Hadley seemed on the high road to prosperity in those years when it was the biggest copper mining town in the southeastern part of Alaska if not in the entire territory. Complete with a big hotel, a general store, a sawmill and a working copper smelter, the town appeared assured of a long and bright future. But, like so many mining communities through the West, it passed rather quickly into oblivion, leaving only traces of its existence.

The Kasaan Peninsula is a steep, highly timbered mountain ridge on the eastern side of Prince of Wales Island and at the turn of the century it was the scene of much prospecting, trenching, tunneling and promoting. The occurrence of copper ore in the area was known as early as 1867 when Charles Vincent Baronovich located the Copper Queen claim near the present village of Kasaan, but it was not until 1900 that active mine development began.

Among the copper prospects and mines to be opened in the area were the Rush and Brown, Salt Chuck, It, Uncle Sam, Poor Man, Rich Hill, Stevenstown, Mount Andrew, and Mamie. It was the Mamie that was responsible for the founding of Hadley on the eastern side of the peninsula.

There are conflicting accounts as to the year the Mamie was first located. A special issue of Ketchikan's *Mining Journal* in January, 1907, mentions 1897 as the year of discovery. The August, 1920, *Pathfinder* gives the year as 1899. And John Bufvers, in his "History of the Mines and Prospects of the Ketchikan District Prior to 1952," states that it was 1902.

Most versions agree that C. W. Fickett, who had prospected in the States before he came to Alaska, was hauling freight in a sailing sloop, the *Mamie*, from Wrangell to Mount Andrew, one of the prospects on Kasaan Peninsula, when he made the discovery. While his boat was being unloaded, he prospected one of the timbered mountains

and came upon an outcropping of copper ore at the 700-foot level, about a mile from tidewater.

Robert Allison, who owned an interest in the sloop, became half owner in the Mamie claims. Later both men sold their interests. Allison's went to James Freeburn who had mined in Montana and was later to become well-known as the manager of the Chichagof gold mine. Fickett sold to Sam Silverman, a mining promoter and operator who subsequently purchased Freeburn's share. Development work soon began to determine the extent and quality of the ore body. *The Douglas Island News*, October 8, 1902, reported that the crosscut tunnel driven in 1902 went through thirty-nine feet of solid ore, but in general the ores were low grade, mostly chalcopyrite and containing considerable magnetite.

Soon after he determined that the Mamie deposit was worth extensive development, Silverman began to enlist the capital necessary to make it into

particularly in the northern areas, is weak. The end paper map, unfortunately, does not show one Hudson's Bay post, Fort Stickeen, at all and places another, Fort Durham, at the mouth of the Stikine River rather than on Taku Harbor.

The book's sub-title, "The Ship That Saved the West," is a little hard to understand until one realizes that this is a peculiarly Canadian point of view. What seems to be meant is that the *Beaver* saved the West, or at least a part of it, for Canada, preserving it from inroads by the United States and Russia.



ETHNOHISTORY IN SOUTHWESTERN ALASKA AND THE SOUTHERN YUKON: Method and Content. Margaret Lantis, editor. Preface, appendix; photographs and maps in text, 311 pages. Studies in Anthropology, 7. The University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, Kentucky, 1970, \$9.75.

The several contributors to this book reveal new methods by which the history of the Alaskan Natives may be pushed back into a past which once seemed impenetrable. Blending information derived from all possible source data, from the descriptions by Russian fur traders and other Europeans of the 1700's to those of modern archeologists and ethnographers, they re-emphasize the variety of cultures in aboriginal Alaska, and show how further research may be carried out.

Robert E. Ackerman and his team mapped the village of Goodnews Bay, took inventories of house contents, and studied surrounding areas. They persuaded old-timers to draw maps of earlier house locations, list the occupants of each dwelling, and recall the village life of their youth. The non-specialist may sometimes stumble over Ackerman's professional terminology, but he shows clearly the link-up of the modern village with that of pit dwellings of early historic or prehistoric times on the same spot. Study of why the modern villagers locate their houses where they do, how they live, and why they store or discard things, gave clues to the layout and ways of earlier times. An inventory of a prosaic trash heap at an abandoned fish camp helped to show

"patterns of artifact discarding." "House spatial analysis" showed various "actively areas" even in a one-room dwelling: the cooking area, the bed (used for sleeping, eating, bathing, work and play), and "sex-linked spatial control" (storage of items specific to male or female activities), which reveal a "woman's corner" and a "man's corner," also discernable in former structures.

Focusing on the Eskimos of the Nushagak River region, James W. Van Stone shows how a similar combination of source study and field research can be used to work out the aboriginal baseline culture, and the subcultural system later introduced by the Russians and the Americans.

Joan B. Townsend, studying the Tanaina Indians of Cook Inlet, finds changes in social organization and in inheritance and residence patterns closely tied to the heyday and decline of the fur trade. Nevertheless, the persistence of certain traditions has caused the Tanaina to experience less social disorganization in the face of changing times than certain other groups.

Catherine McClellan shows how Indian stories about the first whites in Northwestern America can supplement the accounts of early Europeans and Americans, thereby further illuminating the culture of the Native peoples at the time of initial contact with outsiders.

The editor of the volume, Margaret Lantis, professor of anthropology at the University of Kentucky, comments that the four papers will serve as guides for beginning field workers and show the worth of studying all existing records before starting field work. She demonstrates this by a lengthy bibliographical essay on the Aleut social system, from 1750 to 1810, as shown by early historical sources.

It should be pointed out that the claim (p. 155) that Grigorii Shelikhov plagiarized from the *Neue Nachrichten*... of the anonymous "J. L. S." was disproved long ago by Avrahm Yarmolinsky in "Shelekhov's voyage to Alaska; a bibliographical note," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, XXXVI, March, 1932, pp. 141-148. And the alleged copy of Father Juvenal's "journal," cited (pp. 82, 84) as a source on the Hiamna Indians, is almost certainly bogus, concocted by Hubert Howe Bancroft's resourceful assistant, Ivan Petrof.

—R. A. Pierce

Editor's note: Dr. Pierce teaches history at Queens University, Kingston, Ontario.

DISASTER LOG OF SHIPS, by Jim Gibbs. 176 pages, many photographs, index. Superior Publishing Co., Seattle, Washington, 1971. \$12.95.

This book, which is in the familiar Superior slick-paper format, is divided into five chapters, one for each California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and Alaska. This review will deal only with the Alaska chapter.

As are the other four chapters, this one is made up of a combination of photographs, with extensive cutlines, and text. But so far as the Alaska chapter is concerned, at least, both in subject matter and in treatment, it might have been well to stick strictly to the picture approach. Most, although not all, of the information that accompanies the pictures is correct. Much of the text is devoted to a rehash of the oft-told stories of the wrecks of the *Islander* and *Princess Sophia*, and historical accuracy is in scant supply.

Take, for example, the story of the sinking of the Canadian Pacific Navigation Company steamer *Islander* on August 15, 1901, while bound south from Skagway. She carried, says Gibbs, "a quantity of gold from the fields at the other end of Stampede Pass." Somehow or other I thought Stampede Pass is in the state of Washington.

Gibbs says further: "A gay crowd celebrated until the vessel made her usual stop at Juneau a few hours later. In command of Captain H. R. Foote, the *Islander* steamed out of Juneau around midnight."



The fact is that the *Islander* did not stop at Juneau. For one thing, she went down before such a call was possible. For another, she was not scheduled to make a Juneau stop. This can be documented by at least two sources:

1. An advertisement in *The Alaskan*, the Skagway daily paper, on August 11, 1901, reads: "Canadian Pacific Nav. Co., (Limited), Direct Service, No Intermediate Call, to Vancouver, Victoria, Seattle. SS. ISLANDER, Sails Aug. 14 and Aug. 24 at 6 p.m."

2. *The Daily Alaska Dispatch*, published at Juneau, in an editorial on August 16, deploring the wreck, said: "Fortunately for this community the ill-fated steamer was not a caller at this port, thereby relieving the anguish

and this heavy reliance on three authors has resulted in some repetition of the main arguments. Since all three write extremely well, however, this really is not important.

Disappointing is the haste with which the book was produced. Upon opening my copy of the volume, the first few pages, together with the errata sheet, fell out. There are two different pages 65, and if there was proofreading, it was careless. There should have been some uniformity in footnote citations. Some footnotes are unclear.



The introductory piece by Morehouse and Harrison on state government and economic development in Alaska, although of necessity brief, ably summarizes Alaskan history to the present, lists the major problems, and provides the basic framework for the volume. One may criticize the use of social science jargon, such as "infrastructural" on page 21, in a book designed for a wide and hopefully largely non-academic readership. Simple and clear English will make the desired points just as well. The author's assertion that the Alaska Organic Act of 1884 provided the legal foundation for the Native land claims issue (page 38) is debatable. Others have stated that in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, 1823, the Supreme Court of the United States, through Chief Justice John Marshall, laid the basis for all aboriginal possession cases today. Essentially, that decision placed upon the United States government the burden of either granting title to Natives or extinguishing it altogether. Others have traced the legal foundations of Alaska's Native land claims to Article 3 of the Treaty of Cession of Russian America to the United States, 1867.

Scott R. Pearson's article follows the introductory piece. It is practically unintelligible. The author's thesis seems to be that, since there are conflicting ideas as to how Alaska's land and natural resources are to be used, alternatives of multiple use schemes should be projected into the future. From among these, policy makers can then select those which permit a political compromise. It is difficult, however, to decipher a sentence like this:

The production technology adopted plus the input prices and

quantities of outputs produced together determine the kinds of factors of production and materials that will be employed and the amounts of factor and material payments that will be made by the producing firm during the relevant production period. (page 61)

In addition, the copious use of social science jargon such as "positive and negative externalities" contribute to the indigestibility of this particular creation. Pearson's main arguments, however, are valuable and interesting and could have been displayed more actively by careful editing.

George W. Rogers' articles are graced by very readable writing and lucid arguments. In addition, Rogers is one economist who is concerned with real people and their hopes and dreams rather than solely with abstract models and systems.

Arlon Tussing's pieces are primarily concerned with issues of land use in Alaska and how these are affected by Native claims and the land freeze. In "Oil and Alaska's Economy," Tussing convincingly shows how the defense construction industry has been a powerful inflationary factor in the state, and anyone building a private dwelling is painfully familiar with the extraordinary costs. Tussing probably offends the sensibilities of many Alaska boosters by stating that the state's future prosperity will depend largely upon the amount of revenue it receives from its gas and oil leases and the way it spends those funds rather than upon the relatively few new jobs created by the oil boom or the additional business generated for Alaskan enterprises. (Rogers makes a similar point in "International Petroleum and Alaska," pp. 186-187).

Robert Weeden, in his contributions, alerts the reader to the very real environmental dangers posed by economic growth in the North. Weeden's "Man in Nature" is particularly appealing to this reviewer, especially his vision of Alaska "as a place where people elect to withhold the full force of their technical and procreative powers so as to reap the rich harvest of tangible and intellectual resources the wild north can promise." (page 261)

Arthur E. Hippler's piece on migration, urbanization, and acculturation of Alaska's Natives, although interesting, fits only marginally into the section on rural economic development. Gregg K. Erickson's careful exploration and analysis of Alaska's petroleum leasing policy is informative and closely argued. It makes the reader aware of the complexity of this subject.

In summary, the various authors in this volume have important ideas to share with Alaska's citizens. The policy decisions which will be made in the next few years undoubtedly will shape Alaska's future decisively. One only hopes that lay readers and policy makers alike will pick up the book and study it. Informed thought and discussion are urgently needed at this juncture in Alaska's history.

—Claus-M. Naske

Editor's note: Dr. Naske teaches history at the University of Alaska, College.

S. S. BEAVER: The Ship That Saved the West, by Derek Pethick. 160 pages, drawings, photographs, bibliography, index, end paper map. Mitchell Press, Vancouver, B. C. \$9.75.

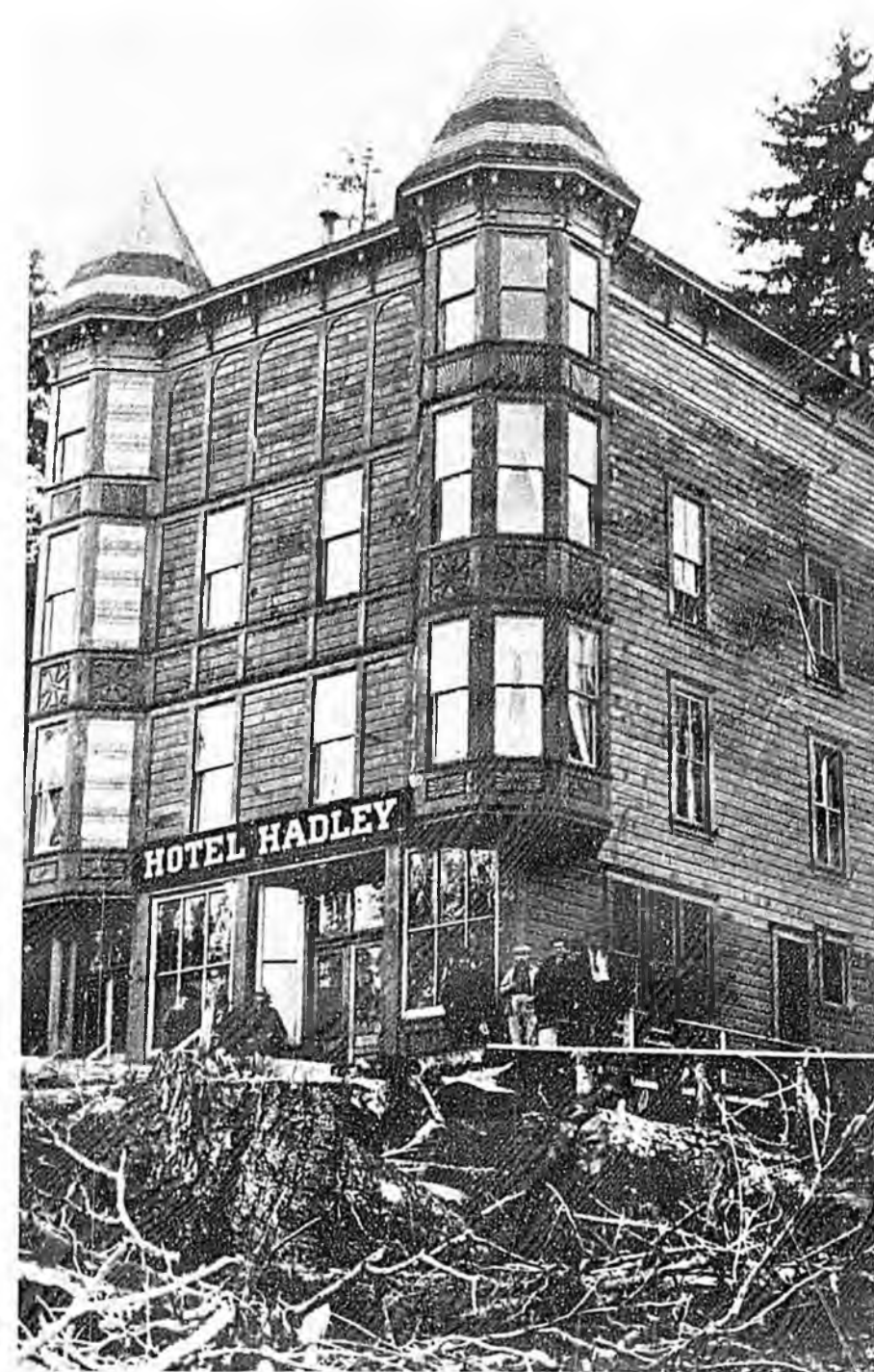
Much has been written about the *Beaver* since she sailed out from England in 1835 to have her steam plant installed at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, and begin her career of more than half a century along the North Pacific Coast. This is, however, the most comprehensive work about her so far produced and seems likely to stand as the definitive one unless somehow her missing log books turn up. They could well add a chapter or two to the history of the region.



The *Beaver* was not a handsome vessel, nor a fast one. In her earliest years she carried more wood-cutters than other crewmen and it was said that she steamed for one day and anchored up for two while the fuel supply was replenished. But she was propelled by steam and hence not at the mercy of the wind and currents of the Inside Passage. This gave her owners, the Hudson's Bay Company, an advantage over other traders.

The ship's first visit to Alaskan waters was in the summer of 1836; her last apparently was during the Cassiar gold rush of the 1870's. During her years afloat she served as a trading vessel, survey steamer, tug, and mail and passenger carrier.

The author has researched his subject well, although his geography,



Tongass Historical Society, Ketchikan
Hans Anderson's Hotel Hadley was the pride of the mining camp.

a producing mine. He had previously attempted to consolidate and finance mines at Coppermount and Hollis, also on Prince of Wales Island, and this time his promotion was successful. Said *The Mining Journal* at Ketchikan on September 8, 1904: "Sam T. Silverman evidently knew what he was about when he bonded the Mamie group of mining locations from the original

locators, and proceeded to enlist the capital necessary for their development. . . . His representation concerning the prospective great value of the property in question resulted in the organization of the Brown-Alaska Company and two or three kindred industrial corporations. . . ."

The "Brown" of Brown-Alaska was B. D. Brown, a New York financier who was

associated with the Howe Scale Company, and once Silverman had this capital behind him, he went east to arrange for the construction of a smelter to treat ores from the Mamie and possibly from other mines on the Kasaa Peninsula. Among the "kindred corporations" was the Alaska Smelting and Refining Company whose purpose was to build and operate a smelter.

Up until this time there were no smelters in Southeastern Alaska. Ore from the area that required smelting was generally shipped to plants at Tacoma, Washington, or to Anyox, Crofton or Ladysmith, British Columbia. The Alaska Copper Company, at its mine and company town of Coppermount on the other side of Prince of Wales Island, broke ground for a smelter in 1902 and when it was blown in, in 1905, it was the first smelter in Alaska to produce copper matte.

There is no indication that the Brown-Alaska Company ever considered shipping its ore to the Coppermount smelter. Silverman, in announcing plans for the erection of a smelter, told *The Mining Journal* on January 10, 1903, that one of the deciding factors for building a smelter close to the mine was the saving in transportation costs. Copper matte was much less bulky than the unprocessed ore.

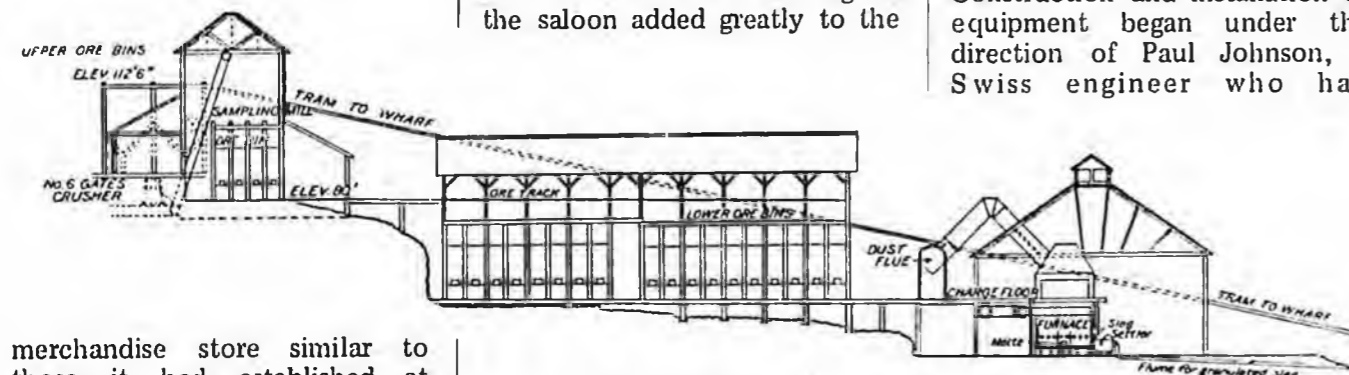
By May of 1903, Silverman, with the title of manager of the Brown-Alaska Company, had a force of men clearing a site for the smelter on the shore of a small bay called Lyman Anchorage. This opens into Clarence Strait and is twenty-six miles from Ketchikan which at that time was fast becoming the distribution center for many mining camps in the area.

With the arrival of working men, a town began to take form at the site on Lyman Anchorage. The owners of the Mamie property decided to name the new settlement "Brown" in honor of B. D. Brown. *The Mining Journal*, Ketchikan, on May 23, 1903, indicated that an application for a post office was

to be made in that name. But for some undisclosed reason, the name was changed and the same newspaper reported on June 13, 1903, that the owners had finally decided upon "Hadley" as the name for their town. "It will be so named in honor of 'Uncle' John Hadley, who built the first cabin and was the first man to stake a claim on the Kasaan Peninsula, though perhaps not the original discoverer of copper in the vicinity," said the paper.

By September, 1903, a steam-powered sawmill had been completed and was cutting timbers at the rate of twenty-five to thirty thousand feet a day. With plenty of lumber available, a flurry of building began. J. R. Heckman, of Ketchikan and Loring, took a contract for the construction of the wharf, which had a 450-foot frontage.

Unlike Sumdum, Sea Level, and many other mining camps in Southeastern Alaska, Hadley was to become more than just a company-owned camp. Private homes were built by many of the workmen who brought their families to the new community, and several private businesses flourished. One was the Heckman Trading Company, which built a large general



Section of the Hadley smelter.

merchandise store similar to those it had established at Ketchikan and Hollis. This store, under the management of Fred Heckman, did a thriving business for years.

Another Hadley businessman was Hans Anderson, a Ketchikan saloon keeper who could see the possibilities for hotel and saloon facilities in this new boom town. He let a contract to Axel Osberg

and his partner, O. Schmidt, to build the Hotel Hadley, a three-story building reputedly costing \$50,000. It had thirty-five rooms plus a kitchen, dining room, recreation rooms, and a saloon. The latter was finished first so money from it would help pay for the rest of the building. A dining wing was soon added and could accommodate two hundred men for meals. "It is believed to be the largest hostelry in Alaska this side of Juneau," said *The Mining Journal*, Ketchikan, on September 12, 1903.

In December, 1906, Anderson was ordered by the U. S. Forest Supervisor to close the Hadley saloon, according to *The Mining Journal*. There was no indication as to why, or where the supervisor got authority to issue the order. The move caused some inconvenience because the bar room was also the hotel sitting room, and with its closure there was no place for the miners to congregate before and after meals and in the evenings. The newspaper soon reported that until the saloon could be reopened in another building adjoining the hotel, the song "Oh, Gee, But This Is A Lonesome Town" was sung by many a miner. It was also mentioned that the moving of the saloon added greatly to the

comfort of people staying in the hotel. Perhaps the Forest Supervisor had spent a sleepless night there.

The Brown-Alaska Company established an eight-bed hospital which, until a more suitable place was built, occupied the rooms used by the engineers and

draftsmen. Dr. D. W. Figgins was in charge of the hospital.

An electric light plant at the smelter furnished electricity for the town, while water was brought by flume from a never-failing creek a half mile distant. This filled an 18,000-gallon tank at the smelter and the overflow was utilized by homes and business houses. The entire community was connected by a series of boardwalks, some of them many feet above the ground.

During this period of Hadley's formation, work for the company included building a surface tramway for delivery of supplies, and an aerial tramway to carry ore from the mine, high on the mountain top, to the mill on the beach, a distance of a mile and a quarter.

In 1904 the Alaska Smelting and Refining Company made a mortgage at the People's Trust Company in Brooklyn, New York, to secure \$50,000 in bonds payable in five years. The Hadley smelter moved toward reality. Among the contracts let by the company were one to Allis Chalmers Company to supply engines and a fifteen-ton blower, and one to Moran Bros. of Seattle, Washington, to furnish stacks and chimneys. Construction and installation of equipment began under the direction of Paul Johnson, a Swiss engineer who had

graduated from the Royal Technical High School and Mining School in Stockholm, Sweden. The assistant construction engineer was Rudolph Liden.

The building for the furnace was wholly of iron and steel, and the remainder of the smelter



BOOK REVIEWS & NOTICES

A TOURIST GUIDE TO MOUNT MCKINLEY, by Bradford Washburn. Black and white and color photographs, endpaper map, distance table, historical chronology, bibliography. 80 pages. Alaska Northwest Publishing Co., Box 4-EEE, Anchorage, Alaska 99509. \$4.20 softbound; \$7.75 hardbound, postpaid.

This is a guide book to more than Mount McKinley, although a land mass of its dimensions must dominate even the title of a work like this. It is more than a tourist handbook, too. The detailed work that went into this book is more clear when you learn that the author even arranged to set the mileposts in order to complete the job properly. His observations are those of an extremely sensitive outdoorsman, with a keen love for this particular area. His writing maintains an air of supreme confidence about the mountain which he conquered so many times, and there is probably no other person with such intimate knowledge of the great mass or of the events that have taken place on its periphery.

Perhaps the book does not make adequately clear that the mountain is invisible much of the time, or portray the overwhelming impact of the mountain on campers at Wonder Lake when it suddenly clears, but it does rather well in telling the reader that the magnificent natural panorama, including wildlife, can fully compensate for a failure to view the summit.

Any such compilation is apt to have minor errors; they are few here: Bering did not actually name Mount St. Elias, although the name came from the cape which he did name; the naming of what is known as Turnagain Arm by Captain Cook needs some clarification. But the excellent accounts of the early survey parties and climbing expeditions throw these slips into insignificance.

While most climbers seem to have a reverence for accounts of parties which reached the summit, Washburn has ignored this and includes the picture of the men who cut the footsteps for others to follow. The frustration of the Parker-Brown

Expedition of 1912 is eminently clear when it is compared to the Stuck-Karstens party of 1913. The latter, which made the first ascent to the summit, did so on a windless and sunny day; a year earlier blizzards beset the Parker party day after day. On McKinley the last two hundred yards is as critical as the first 20,000 feet.

A reader might wonder why Joe and Fanny Quigley rated an entry for 1920, or why Ben Eielson deserved the naming of a mountain for him because he landed a prospector at Copper Mountain. It is only when you comprehend the remoteness of the region at that time that you can understand these things.

It is noticeable, in the historical chronology, that after 1950 the number of climbing parties increased and the listings became simply record entries. Even the tragedy of 1967 receives only a terse paragraph. Six men of that party reached the summit and reported their success by radio while a seventh remained at the 19,000-foot level and died there with the other six during the great storm that followed. While the seven men lay dead, just over the ridge two more climbing parties reached the top, unaware of what had happened. Bill Babcock was the first to investigate the accident, eleven days later. Vin Hoeman and Ray Genet led a search party to the site five weeks later only to find a heavy blanket of snow had buried the bodies forever. It is left for us to know only that the seven young men with the lofty goal of climbing the great mountain were lost while reaching for the stars.

The guided climbs of McKinley, led today by Ray Genet, make the achievement seem small; the unnecessary "solo" climbs make the efforts seem gimmicky, but to the large number of us who will view the activities from a distance, Brad Washburn has made the monster more understandable and more personal.

—George A. Hall

Editor's note: Mr. Hall was superintendent of Mount McKinley National Park from 1967 to 1970. For the past two years he has served as president of the Alaska Historical Society.

ALASKA PUBLIC POLICY: Current Problems and Issues. Gordon Scott Harrison, editor. 325 pages. College, Alaska: Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, University of Alaska, 1971. \$5.00

"Publish and flourish" is the battle cry among academicians, and although much research is sterile and non-publishable, everyone still desires to flourish. Therefore, many academicians, desiring to be authors and yet not having much to say themselves, and being resourceful, discovered a way out of their dilemma. Writing introductions to other people's essays and then glueing them together into a collection has become an important type of academic research as well as big business. In addition to an introduction by the editor, the articles in these collections, often of questionable value, usually are preceded by a little summarization of the author's thesis, a task the reader could just as easily perform for himself.

Happily, the volume under discussion is an exception to this rule. Gordon S. Harrison, the editor, not only is involved in interesting research himself (rural Alaskan communications patterns and the history and organization of Alaskan Native politics, among others), but has rendered a distinct service in putting together this collection.

The book is divided into four sections. The first provides the reader with a brief summary of one of Alaska's major problems: economic development. The others deal with land, petroleum, and rural development, as well as environmental quality. Thus, Alaska's natural resources and the various plans for their utilization link the pieces together. A suggestion for further reading at the end of each section is useful.

Of the seventeen articles, five were authored by George W. Rogers, dean of Alaskan economists; four by Arlon Tussing, also a professor of the dismal science; and three by Robert Weeden, professor of Wildlife Management at the University of Alaska. Actually, the book might have been more appropriately titled "Rogers, Tussing and Weeden on Alaska Public Policy,"

In 1965 Mr. Schallerer sold his business to Mr. and Mrs. Fred Grueter and retired. He spent the next several years traveling and died at Colorado Springs, Colorado, on July 5, 1968.

"During his years in Ketchikan, Mr. Schallerer played a significant part in recording photographically the beauties and history of this area," said Mrs. Donald McGillivray, Director of the Tongass Historical Society Museum.

Addenda and Errata: Author Dick Pierce advises that Baron Wrangell, on his Arctic expedition of 1820-1824 (Autumn, 1971, issue, page 41) actually got as far as 70 degrees 51 minutes North latitude and traveled eastward to 175 degrees 27 minutes East longitude.

In the same issue, the photo credit on page 46 should have read "W. H. Case." Mr. Case was a very active photographer at and after the turn of the century, both on his own account and as a member of the firm of Case & Draper. A great many of his glass plate negatives have been deposited in the Alaska State Museum by his daughter, Mrs. Hugh J. Wade of Juneau.

And several sharp-eyed readers have pointed out that on page 42 of the Summer, 1971, issue, the pictured double-headed eagle is the one in the Smithsonian Institution (see page 51, same issue), rather than the one in the Alaska State Museum (Winter, 1971, issue, page 2).

We hope that covers everything in this category to date. The editor and the publisher both aim to make this a journal of accurate information, and to that end corrections, comments and suggestions from readers are always welcomed.

Another version of the Lincoln Totem story (ALASKA JOURNAL, Summer, 1971) has been provided us by Lawrence Rakestraw, Professor of Forest History at Michigan Technological University, Houghton, Michigan. It is in the form of a letter written on February 9, 1950, by George L. Drake of the Simpson Logging Company, Shelton, Washington, and addressed to B. Frank Heintzleman, at that time Regional Forester for Alaska. Drake wrote:

"In the February 11th issue of *The Saturday Evening Post* on page 94 there is an article by Mabel Powers, 'How Old Abe Got on a Totem Pole.' It is a very interesting story, and apparently the material came from the Forest Service as the photograph is so credited.

"But it isn't as I heard it.

"In the summer of 1915 I did some work around Portland Canal with the *Ranger 4*. To assist me I hired an Indian at Ketchikan, who was a man of good education and familiar with that part of the National Forest. One night we anchored in front of the old village on Tongass Island, went ashore and looked over the totem poles in the abandoned village. It was very dilapidated and no one apparently had lived there for many years. Among the totem poles still standing was the one mentioned in this article.

"I noted that the figure on the pole resembled very much pictures and statues of Abraham Lincoln, and so remarked to the Indian. He said that was not the case as the totem was supposed to be a resemblance of the first Customs officer stationed at old Fort Tongass. This was soon after we took over Alaska. The government sent troops to Tongass Island and built a wooden fort and established a Customs office. This was a logical location at that time as it was the first anchorage encountered upon entering American territory for boats traveling north through British Columbia waters. This Indian stated that this Customs man was very popular with the Indians and after he left they erected this totem in his honor.

"I am sorry to be classed among those who delight in debunking

history, but I do feel the story rings more true than the tale involving Lincoln. This is one of the prerogatives of being an elder statesman or at least an old-timer."

The Saturday Evening Post story of 1950, it might be added, varied only minutely from the *Sunset Magazine* story of February, 1924.

William L. Paul, Sr., author of "The Real Story of the Lincoln Totem," was recently recipient of an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Whitworth College at Spokane, Washington. Mr. Paul graduated from that institution in 1909.

"Historic Houses of America," an *American Heritage* Guide, has just been published. The 320-page book, with flexible covers, is of a handy size for carrying around and the contents is arranged alphabetically by states and by towns within the states. The "houses" listed are those that are open to the public, at least at times. Four Alaska towns are included: Juneau with the Governor's Mansion and Wickersham House; Kodiak with the Baranof-Erskine House; Skagway, with its historic district that includes several buildings, and Wrangell with the Tribal House of the Bear, more commonly known in Alaska as Chief Shakes' House.



"For forty years we logged with steers, and then we got a donkey," went the old loggers' ditty. Not many oxen were used in Alaska logging, but that there were some is clearly evidenced by this picture, taken on the Stikine River in the 1890's. The logs were probably destined for the Wilson & Sylvester sawmill at Wrangell.

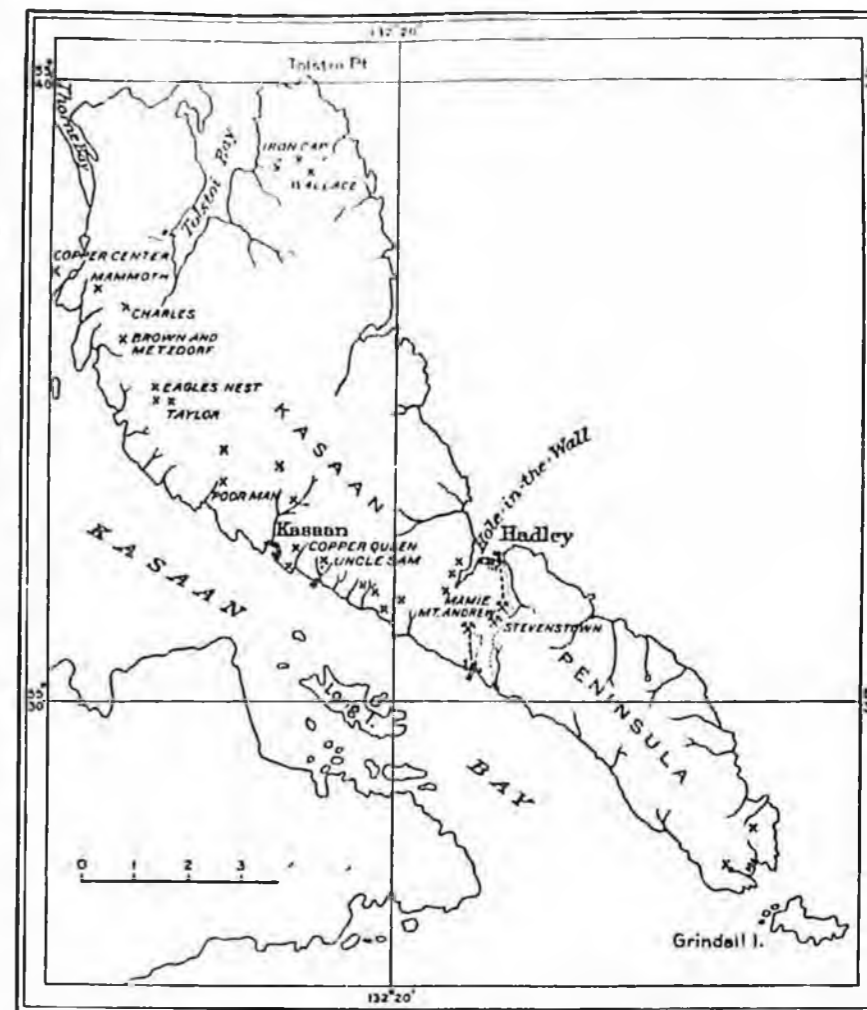
utilized more than a million feet of timbers and lumber. Once work began on the smelter, it progressed at a rapid rate. Completion of the 400-ton capacity plant came within a year but it was not blown in until there were many tons of ore in reserve. It was hoped that the operation would be continuous, without relying on ore from sources other than the Mamie. Because of this, the mine foreman, a Mr. Bell, had crews keeping the powerful compressor plant at the mine working day and night, with the machine drills busy blocking out ore.

Finally, on December 5, 1905, the smelter was blown in for the first time. Ore was transported from the mine by a double rope aerial tramway to a sampling mill. Then it was stored in one of four 10,000-ton capacity bunkers until actual smelting began. The blast furnace, specially designed by Paul Johnson, reduced the ore to a matte carrying, supposedly, forty-five percent copper and some other trace mineral values such as silver and gold. The granulated slag was carried to the shore where it provides today one of the few sandy beaches in the area.

The copper matte was shipped to the Britannia Smelting Company at Crofton, British Columbia, where it was converted to blister copper for shipment to New York. The first shipment consisted of 490 tons and was valued at \$100,000.

During 1906 the smelter ran most of the time. The January, 1907, special issue of *The Mining Journal* gave these production figures: "From the date of blowing in (December 5, 1905) to December 21 (1906) the furnace was in operation 228 days and smelted 73,000 tons of ore, producing 3,525,000 pounds of copper, 2,600 ounces of gold, and 18,600 ounces of silver for a total gross value of \$870,000."

Although the company had hoped that the ore from the Mamie would keep the smelter operating full time, this did not prove to be the case. Therefore,



Kasaan Peninsula of Prince of Wales Island, showing mine locations.

ore was shipped to Hadley from the company's mine at Maple Bay, on the Canadian side of Portland Canal. The neighboring claim, the Stevenstown, which could be reached by tunnel from the Mamie, also provided ore, as did several other small claims on Kasaan Peninsula.

Work in these mines, as in most others, was at times hazardous. A slide in the glory hole at the Mamie killed one man and seriously injured another in December, 1906. The slide sent down fifty to seventy-five tons of rock, completely covering the men.

The smelter at Hadley ran periodically during 1907, but lack of coal and coke hampered operations. Both of these had to be shipped in from Puget Sound or Vancouver Island. One of the problems in bringing coke from British Columbia was the duty of twenty percent collected by the

government. Valuation of the coke was arbitrary with the Customs officers, and this involved the Brown-Alaska Company in a lawsuit with the United States. The Customs Service insisted that 1906 shipments of coke had been undervalued, and in the long run the company found it less expensive to purchase coke from the Puget Sound area.

In 1907 Thomas Kiddie became the new manager of the company and he planned to solve the problem of lack of coal for steaming purposes by burning wood in the boiler, combining it with gas supplied by a process he had invented. An attempt was made to remodel the smelter to install what *The Ketchikan Miner*, on September 28, 1907, termed "a Kiddie hot blast system designed to economize on fuel and effect an increase in product."

Evidently there wasn't economy enough, because on October 26, 1907, the same newspaper reported that "Federal courts granted an order authorizing the receiver to sell coal and copper matte belonging to the smelter and devote the proceedings to paying the September labor force."

At some time prior to this, B. D. Brown had disposed of his interests in the Brown-Alaska Company and the Alaska Smelting and Refining Company to one G. D. Munford, who represented stockholders of both companies. No change of management was made, and the exact effect of the new financial arrangement can only be speculated upon.

It is evident, however, that no solution to the companies' problems was forthcoming. *The Ketchikan Miner*, on April 18, 1908, disclosed that the smelter, but not the mine, had been sold under sealed bids in New York City "to John A. Mead and Co. for an amount variously stated to be from \$75,000 to \$135,000. . . . It is understood that the sale to the above firm amounts practically to a bidding in of the property by a portion of the former owners."

Soon after this, the Mamie property was sold at a receiver's sale. The successful bidder was Sam Silverman, who had sold his interests in the Brown-Alaska Company sometime previously. At the time he purchased the Mamie, he was president of the Hadley Consolidated Copper Company, which owned the neighboring Stevenstown claim. This claim was connected with the Mamie's aerial tramway by a 700-foot surface tramway.

Silverman immediately secured a lease on the smelter and it was reconditioned under the supervision of B. H. Bennett. George E. Green, who had done much of the original work at the Mamie, became the mine's superintendent again, and Robert Bollack resumed his position as foreman of the Stevenstown.

Bennett found that the blast furnace had been torn apart by Kiddie to be rebuilt for hot blast, but he and his crew managed to get it working, apparently in its previous condition, in only thirty days. In September, 1908, the smelter was reblown. *The Ketchikan Miner* on September 5 painted a picture of renewed activity at the mining town where uncertainty and inactivity had reigned for a year. A hundred and forty men were on the payroll, eighty of them at the mine, the others at the smelter. Many of them had worked for the company previously. The bunkers and ore bins were full and the company announced it would take custom ore from any mine in the area. The barge *Hayden Brown* brought in a load of coke. The smelter treated 360 tons of ore a day and a shipment of matte went out that month.



But good fortune did not last. The price of copper changed frequently and sometimes dropped to a few cents a pound. This fluctuation in price finally forced Silverman to shut down both the smelter and the mines at the end of 1908. It was the final closure for the Hadley smelter.

The United States Signal Corps had established a cable station, with telephone and telegraph communication with all the mining camps in the area, in 1907. With the closure of the smelter, this service was discontinued and was not reestablished until 1913 when the sawmill and the mines were again working.

Although several hundred people resided in and around Hadley, getting a post office had taken several years. The first attempt seems to have been

made in December, 1906, when the "Hadleyville" post office was authorized with Richard Bushnell as postmaster. Before it could be opened, however, the order was rescinded the following April. A month later, G. Fred Heckman was named postmaster for "Port Hadley," but he declined the appointment and the office was not opened. It was not until November, 1912, that the "Hadley" post office was established with Aage K. Foss as postmistress. The office remained in operation until 1918.

In 1913 the Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting, and Power Company, a Canadian corporation, took over the Mamie and Stevenstown mines. In addition to doing development work at the mines, the company had A. W. Herdman and a force of men rebuilding the wharf and bunkhouses, repairing the aerial tramway, and putting the mining plant in running order. By April, 1915, the mines were producing an average of 200 tons of ore a day, but the smelter was not operated. Instead, the ore was shipped to Anyox, British Columbia, where it was used as a fluxing ore in a smelter there.

Between the closure of the smelter at Hadley in 1908 and the reopening of the mine by Granby in 1914, the town was not abandoned, although the population probably dwindled. The sawmill, built originally by the New York-Alaska Development Company, another of the Brown-Alaska Company affiliates, had been idled after the big construction boom. Late in 1911 or early in 1912 the mill was purchased by Stanley Oaksmith, Sr., a longtime resident of the town. He interested A. K. Foss of Foss Bros. and Co. in the mill's possibilities. The sawmill was refurbished and the circular saws were replaced by a bandsaw, while the entire plant was enlarged to facilitate the making of wooden salmon boxes which were in demand by the growing

Just a year ago, in our first issue, we sadly reported the burning of the 150-year-old Russian Orthodox Chapel at Fort Ross, California. That fire occurred on October 5, 1970. On July 11, 1971, fire again visited the historic site and this time destroyed the roof of the Fort Ross Museum and damaged other structures. The museum building was 159 years old and was originally occupied by the commandant of the Russian fort and trading post. Fortunately, the artifacts inside the building suffered only minimal damage from water. The fire was believed to have been set by an arsonist.

Fort Ross was established in 1812 by the Russian-American Company, then under the management of Alexander Baranof. During the twenty-nine years the Russian flag flew there it served as a headquarters for sea otter hunters and as a center for an agricultural community. Some shipbuilding was also done there. In 1841 the company sold the property to John Sutter of Sacramento. It is now owned by the State of California and maintained as an historical monument.

The Finnish American Historical Society of the West has published as a special issue of its journal a translation of the "Wilhelm Basi Diary on 1898 Yukon Rescue." This operation, which was in charge of Dr. Sheldon Jackson, was mounted because of a mistaken notion that Klondike miners faced starvation. It brought reindeer and reindeer herders and their families from Norway to Alaska and it turned into a nearly complete fiasco during the overland trek from Haines to the Yukon. It was the reindeer rather than the miners that starved. But many of the herders remained in Alaska, some for several years, some permanently. They were active both in the infant reindeer industry and in gold prospecting and mining at Nome and elsewhere on Seward Peninsula.

The magnitude of the expedition, in terms of people, is shown by this listing of those involved: Total of 113: made up of 43 native Lapp herders, 16 native Lapp women and 19 native Lapp children; 15 Norwegian herders, 3 Norwegian women and 7 Norwegian children; and 10 Finnish herders.

The portion of the Wilhelm Basi diary concerned with the reindeer expedition and Alaska covers the period from November 3, 1897, to October 18, 1899. It continues after that with scattered entries made in Washington and Oregon, until 1947. There are a number of photographs,

mostly of the reindeer expedition and the people who were part of it. There is a roster of Lapland herders and of some of the others who took part.

Walter Mattila, editor of the *Journal*, has added notations about Sheldon Jackson and such other familiar names as Jafet Lindeberg, Dr. A. N. Kittelsen, John Brynteson, William Kjellmann, Samuel Balto and others of the Gold Rush era.

Copies of the issue may be obtained by mail at \$1 each from The Finnish American Historical Society of the West, P.O. Box 3515, Portland, Oregon 97208.



Diagram: Thiede

In Alaska's long maritime history, the *Dora* is perhaps second only to the Revenue Cutter *Bear* in fame, although no books about her have yet been published. There have, however, been many magazine and newspaper articles. One of the most recent of these, by Wilson Fiske Erskine, appeared in the June, 1971, issue of *Explorers Journal*, published by The Explorers Club. Titled "The Big Drift," the article recounts the events of the winter of 1905-1906 when the *Dora's* machinery broke down and she drifted about in the North Pacific for more than two months before she reached Puget Sound with the aid of sails and a repaired power plant. This account by Captain Erskine is based largely upon a diary kept by Howard Shipman, who was a cabin boy on the *Dora*.

The author, a retired mariner, grew up on Kodiak Island where his father, the late William J. Erskine, was agent for the Alaska Commercial Company, then bought the business there and operated it under his own name. Captain Erskine is author of a number of magazine articles and books on Alaskan subjects. He now lives in Connecticut.

The design of the Russian eagle on the plaque pictured on page 57 of our Autumn issue shows definitely that it was made in the period 1890-1917, according to Alexander Doll, our editorial adviser who makes his home in South Laguna, California. He writes:

"The design of the Russian government insignia on seals, coins, etc., underwent constant change from

1472 to the end of the empire in 1917, so it is comparatively easy to establish the date of any particular design of the two-headed eagle. In this design, in the claws of the eagle are an axe in one and an anchor in the other, and this proves beyond doubt that this was the official insignia of the Ministry of the roads of communication (pootei soobehenia), to which belonged the building and maintenance of and jurisdiction over highways and railroads. The technicians and construction engineers under this ministry used to wear a small insignia of crossed axe and anchor on their caps. It is difficult to determine where this pewter insignia of the ministry was used, but it was perhaps on an exhibit somewhere in this country. Perhaps it was at the Chicago World Fair in 1893. Or perhaps the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco in 1915. It is definitely not a land claim or discovery plate."

Perhaps with these clues our readers can offer further information or informed guesses.

A collection of photographs by the late Otto C. Schallerer has been donated to the Tongass Historical Society at Ketchikan. The collection was purchased at an estate sale by James C. Moody of Anchorage. Mr. Moody, the chief planning engineer for the state Division of Aviation, is a third generation Alaskan and is interested in Alaska history and photography. He felt that the Schallerer collection should be kept intact in the location where the photographer lived and worked for many years.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, in 1884, Mr. Schallerer came north to Alaska in 1909 and landed at Unga, then a center for the codfishing business. He remained there for several years in the fishing industry, then moved to Seward where he ran The Alaska Store, including a photograph shop. In the early 1930's he left Seward and went to Ketchikan where he became associated with a widely known Alaska photographer, J. E. Thwaites. When Thwaites retired a few years later, Schallerer purchased the business and operated it as Schallerer's Photo Shop.

During his Seward years, Mr. Schallerer formed a friendship with Sydney Laurence, Alaska's most famous painter. He collected many Laurence originals and made photographic reproductions of them. A collection of nearly forty of these black and white photographs is included in the donation by Mr. Moody.

NOTES

Ronald Miller of Portland, Oregon, writes:

I should like to nominate for the top of that totem pole to honor those who helped abolish slavery in Alaska (THE ALASKA JOURNAL, Summer, 1971, page 15), Commander Henry Glass, U. S. Navy. On May 9, 1881, while stationed at Sitka in command of the U. S. S. *Jamestown*, Commander Glass reported to the Secretary of the Navy as follows:

"Finding that a system existed among the Alaska tribes of making slaves of prisoners of war, or of hostages held for payment of claims for injuries, I have determined to suppress it, if possible, and have made a beginning at Sitka.

"At this place I found in the Indian village seventeen persons of various ages held, or claimed, as slaves, some by purchase, others by inheritance. With the aid of an interpreter I investigated each case, and released all the slaves in the presence of their former owners, giving to each a certificate to that effect, and warning all Indians not to injure or molest any one formerly a slave under pain of severe punishment.

"I have sent letters to the leading chiefs of all the other tribes in southeast Alaska, directing the slaves to be set free at once, and I trust my direction will be obeyed. On my recent visit to the mining region I saw the chiefs of two of the principal tribes, and was assured of compliance with my orders."

Does any reader know of the present existence of one of the certificates or manumission papers signed by Commander Glass?

John Bufvers, longtime Alaska miner, prospector and mining historian, now a resident of Seattle, Washington, sends along the following information:

The book, "A Golden Cross," by Charles Henry Remington who was sometimes known as "Copper River Joe," was published in Los Angeles in 1939 and contains a good deal of information about the Valdez Glacier and Klutina Lake route to the Interior, used in 1898.

In that year a party from San Jose, California, traveled over the glacier and built a two-masted schooner at Saw Mill Landing, six miles above the head of Klutina Lake. After getting

the schooner down to the lake it was used much of that summer for general transportation, carrying prospectors and freight from the upper end of the lake to the lower or east end.

The charge was five dollars one way and a certain amount of freight was allowed each passenger without extra charge. The schooner was named *Admiral Dewey* and was captained by Chris Tjosevig, a Norwegian who had been on yachts around New York City before he came to Alaska. In later years he and his brother owned copper claims in the vicinity of McCarthy and Kennecott. In the fall of 1899 the *Admiral Dewey* was beached near the mouth of Salmon Creek which flows into the lake at its lower end.



Diane Thiede

In 1898 Remington and "Shorty" Wagey were camped at the upper end of Klutina Lake and decided to explore to the eastward. They walked across country until they struck Greyling Creek, then followed it to where it flows into the lower end of Tonsina Lake. There they camped overnight. Next morning they started to walk the beach of Tonsina Lake to the other end but found steep bluffs extending out into the lake and difficult to get around.

After about a mile of walking, they built a raft of six drift logs. They had no nails or rope and fastened the logs together with shoots of red willow, roasting the shoots over a fire first until the bark cracked and the wood became less brittle.

Using a small piece of canvas for a sail and rough-hewn oars, they made it to the upper end of the lake in less than three hours. In a rocky gulch they did some panning, but did not get any colors. The return trip took longer as they had to paddle against a head wind and the raft almost came apart. This was in August, 1898, and it was said to be the first navigation of Tonsina Lake by white men.

On September 17 and 18, 1898, Remington and other prospectors staked claims on Quartz Creek, which

also enters the lower end of Tonsina Lake. Shortly before this some gold had been found in the creek bottom, including a nugget valued at four dollars. Remington and a man named Brehame also staked bench claims on the east side of Quartz Creek nearly opposite the mouth of Bear Creek. They also staked Snow Gulch, a narrow ravine on the left bank of Bear Creek, running to the divide between Quartz and Bear Creeks.

In the fall of 1899 Remington returned to Quartz Creek to do assessment work on his claims and at that time there were several hundred feet of sluice boxes below the forks of Quartz and Bear Creeks. In that season only about \$300 was taken out, but the following year, 1900, some \$800 was recovered.

One of the people on Quartz Creek in the fall of 1899 was Mrs. Rose Johnson, who was later well known in Valdez. She was said to have been the first white child born in the Copper River Valley. Mrs. Johnson lived in Valdez in 1914 and was the mother of two girls about sixteen and eighteen years old.

Northwest of Klutina Lake is St. Anne Lake. This was known, in early years, as Hudson Lake and was said to have been named after a Professor Hudson of the Smithsonian Institution who visited that district in 1898. Flowing from the lake and into Klutina Lake is a creek which the miners named St. Anne Creek after Mrs. Anne Barrett. With her husband she had come over Valdez Glacier in April, 1898. They were from Chicago, Illinois, where he had been a school janitor.

Remington spent the winter of 1898-99 on the north side of Klutina River, just below the lake, where he built a cabin. Just across the river were the cabins of his brother, Grant Remington, Mr. and Mrs. Barrett, and several others. Klutina City was a settlement on the north shore at the lower end of the lake and in September, 1898, it had a population of about 300. There were also a number of cabins on the river bank just above the rapids, about five miles below the lake. This place was known as Eighmieg's Landing, but the reason for the name is unknown.

According to local tradition, a number of Russians had been killed by the Indians somewhere on St. Anne Creek in earlier years, but how much earlier is not known. Anne Barrett, for whom this creek was said to have been named, was living in Valdez in 1912 and was then married to a man named Edwards and known as "Black Leg" Edwards.

canning industry. Logs were obtained from a company camp at Windfall Harbor, and the mill was reported to require from fifty to seventy thousand feet a day. When more capital was needed for the enterprise, the company was reorganized in 1914 as the Alaska Lumber and Box Company.

With the box factory, sawmill, and mines all working, Hadley seemed to have developed enough industrial diversity to assure permanence. Then two disastrous blows fell.

Saturday, May 29, 1915, dawned another of a succession of hot, dry days. The sawmill and box factory were running full bore and at first no one noticed the sparks falling between the two smokestacks. When the alarm was finally given, the fire had a good start. Buckets of salt water were relayed from the beach nearby, but it was to no avail and the fire spread quickly. By the end of the day one of Hadley's major industries lay in a smoldering heap. The sawmill, box factory, planing mill, boiler room and powerhouse were wiped out. *The Ketchikan Miner* on June 3 put the loss at \$120,000, with \$90,000 of insurance. The inventory left untouched, valued at \$30,000, included lumber, the lumberyard, wharf and dock house, and the oil house.

With little fire-fighting equipment and lack of adequate water storage, fire in remote towns and mining camps was often disastrous, and fire struck again at Hadley. On July 4, 1918, while a majority of the miners were celebrating in Ketchikan, fire started at the Mamie mine. The powerhouse, blacksmith shop, warehouse, oil house and dry room were destroyed. This loss, coupled with another drastic drop in copper prices, caused Granby to shut down the mine and dismantle its plants at the Mamie and a neighboring prospect, the It.

On February 28, 1920, *The Ketchikan Alaska Chronicle*

reported that the gasboat *Azurite* with the scow *Maud* in tow had taken most of the smelter machinery from Hadley to Anyox, British Columbia. That was the end of the smelter and there was little hope that the mines, which soon flooded, would again be opened.

There had been a school at Hadley for several years, with grades one through eight being taught. In 1918 Mrs. Dorothy Hofstad was the teacher and two girls graduated from the eighth grade: Helen and Dorothy Gould. But people began to move away after the fires and by the fall of 1919 there were not enough children to maintain the school and it was closed. And the closing of the school hastened the exodus, as families with children moved to Ketchikan where there were schools.



The Heckman store passed into the hands of Hank Roselle and Arthur Propp, who tore down the building. The big hotel building, except for the dining wing, was loaded on a barge and hauled to Ketchikan where it became the Harris and later the Ayson Hotel. The dining wing, left behind at Hadley, collapsed and rotted away. The smelter building was eventually destroyed by fire, and other buildings fell into ruin. It did not take long for timber and brush to reclaim the area.

The Hadley townsite changed hands several times. In 1922 the Ketchikan Power Company secured title. At some later date Pacific American Fisheries, Inc. purchased it, and when that company liquidated many of its Alaskan holdings in 1965, the site was purchased by the family of Stanley Oaksmith, Sr.

The ghost town of Hadley is now the scene of activity again. The Oaksmith family has built summer cabins near the original family home. Stanley Oaksmith, Sr., did not live to see the day when his children would return there, but his wife, Martine, who had first come to Hadley in 1906, returned to the townsite. There she pointed out the locations of many of the old buildings to her children, Stanley, Jr., Elizabeth, and Maurice, who were too young to remember much about life in the copper smelting town so many years before.

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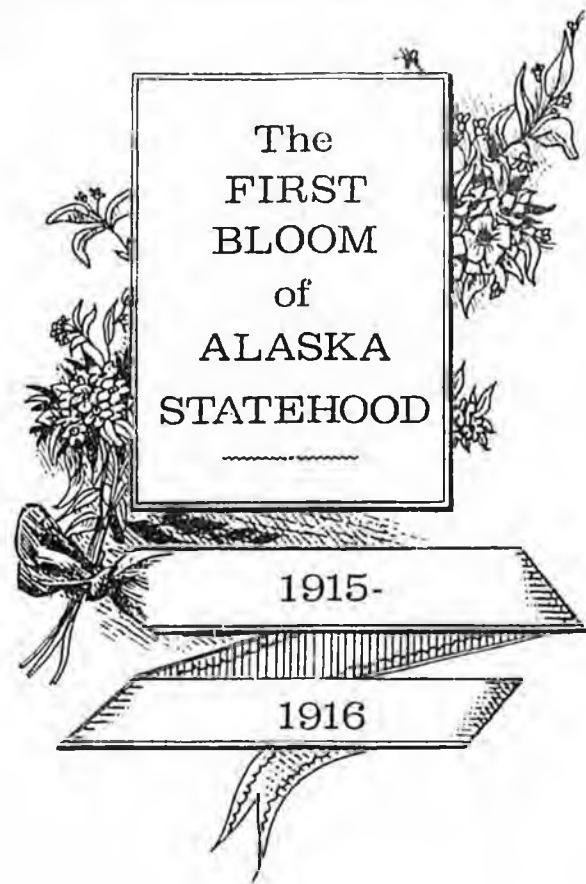
The Douglas Island News, October 8, 1902; November 28, 1906.

The Ketchikan Alaska Chronicle, February 28, 1920; April 15, 1922.

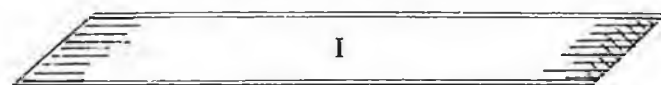
The Ketchikan Miner, April 27, May 25, July 13, September 28, 1907; April 18, July 4, August 8, September 5, September 26, 1908; September 13, 1912; June 3, August 12, 1915.

The Mining Journal, Ketchikan, January 10, May 23, June 13, 20, September 12, October 10, 17, 31, 1903; January 30, February 27, September 3, 10, 24, 1904; February 24, December 8, 22, 1906.

Taped interviews with Mrs. Stanley (Martine) Oaksmith, Sr., Ketchikan. On file at Tongass Historical Society, Ketchikan.



By RICHARD H. BLOEDEL



The political agitation which led to statehood for Alaska in 1959 spanned nearly twenty years, but that was just its modern phase. Statehood first stirred Alaskans in 1915 and 1916, when James Wickersham sat in Congress as their non-voting delegate. He had authored the Organic Act of 1912, the Congressional act which had provided the Territory with a legislature of its own.¹

Although the Organic Act substantially advanced self-government in Alaska, it also contained many prohibitions. For example, unlike the legislatures of all previous American territories, that of Alaska was denied jurisdiction over its fish, fur, and game resources. This limitation was written into the measure at the request of the canned-salmon industry of Alaska and the United States Department of Commerce and Labor. Congress had levied license taxes on the businesses of the Territory in 1899 and 1900, and these were not to be altered by the legislature. Salmon canners, miners, and businessmen in general desired that taxes be kept low. To allay their anxieties, Territorial property taxes were restricted to one percent of assessed valuation and required to accord with the "actual value" of the property; municipal taxes were limited to two percent of assessed valuation. Wickersham and the business community had both worried that the legislature would plunge the Territory into debt.² As a result, neither the legislature nor the government of any

municipality in Alaska was permitted to assume bonded indebtedness without the consent of Congress. Fearing that county government would be ruinously expensive, the Delegate also arranged that no legislative act organizing county government would become effective without affirmative action by Congress.³

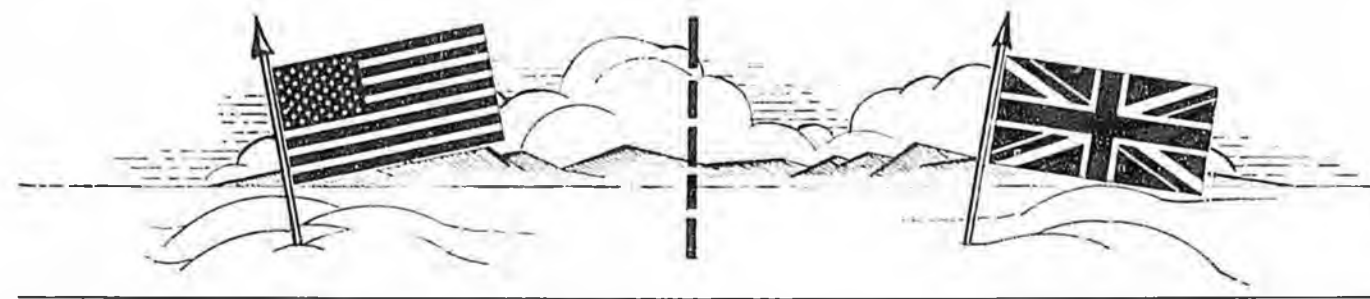
One of the most vociferous critics of the Organic Act was John Troy, who had gone to Alaska from the state of Washington in 1897. Two years later he became editor of the *Skagway Daily Alaskan* and stayed in that position until the newspaper was sold in 1907. He then returned to Washington, where he continued to interest himself in Northern affairs and worked actively for the Democratic Party. In 1913 Troy was back in the Territory as editor of the recently-founded *Juneau Alaska Daily Empire*. He would remain its editor until 1933, when Franklin Roosevelt appointed him governor of Alaska.

Troy had promoted "home rule" ever since 1899; after passage of the Organic Act, he pressed for what he called a "full territorial form of government." This was the government which, according to Troy, Wickersham had not quite obtained in 1912. Part of the accumulating differences between Wickersham and Troy derived from the latter's genuine concern for Territorial government; more important, however, were partisan considerations. Troy was a staunch Democrat, while Wickersham was a Republican, sometimes regular and sometimes maverick. The Delegate defended the Organic Act, which was the brightest gem in his diadem of accomplishments. One of Troy's objectives, therefore, was to lessen the prestige of Wickersham with the voters.

Wickersham had first attracted public attention as a courageous and efficient judge in mining regions of the Interior. Later he became known also as a dynamic champion of the people against the Alaska Syndicate, the Morgan-Guggenheim complex of copper mining, railroad, steamship, and salmon-canning enterprises in Alaska. He had a devoted following in a Territory in which the voters ranked personality, self-interest, and Territorial interest ahead of party affiliation. In 1910 this political chameleon had run for office as an "insurgent" Republican. Two years later he helped to nominate Theodore Roosevelt for the presidency on the Progressive, or "Bull Moose," Party ticket. That same year Wickersham ran as a Progressive-Democrat in the Third Division (southcentral) Alaska and as an "independent" in the other three judicial divisions.⁴ Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat, won the presidency because Roosevelt and Taft divided his opposition between them; Wickersham won the delegateship because he ran against a field of four competitors.

"Home rule" received national recognition when President Wilson delivered his first address on the state of the Union. It included a request from

9. Thornton to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, January 15, 1877, *F. O. 5/1640*; Eckstein, David [U. S. Consul, Victoria, British Columbia], to J. S. Cadwalader [Assistant Secretary of State], Dispatch No. 321, December 29, 1876, *U. S. Consul Dispatches, Victoria, Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C.*
10. Classen, "Thrust and Counterthrust," p. 303.
11. Humphrey, A. A., to United States Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, January 29, 1873; Thornton to Foreign Office, February 15, 1873, *F. O. 5/1639*.
12. Thornton to Earl of Derby, December 4, 1876, *F. O. 5/1639*.
13. Thornton to Earl of Derby, January 15, 1877, *F. O. 5/1640*.
14. Eckstein, David, to J. S. Cadwalader, Disp. No. 319, October 12, 1876, *Consul Dispatches, Archives of B. C.*; Classen, "Thrust and Counterthrust," p. 284; *Daily British Colonist, Victoria, B. C.*, October 1, 1876, p. 3.
15. Eckstein to Cadwalader, Disp. No. 322, December 5, 1876, and No. 323, December 20, 1876, *Consul Dispatches, Archives of B. C.*
16. Scott, R. W. [Canadian Secretary of State], to Lieut. Governor Richards, December 21, 1876, quoting Lovell, *British Columbia Lieutenant Governor's Papers, Archives of B. C.*; Thornton to Earl of Derby, January 15, 1877, enclosing note from Lovell to Jocelyn, September, 1876, *F. O. 5/1640*.
17. Scott to Richards, enclosing copy of letter, Justice Gray to Hon. Alex Mackenzie, November 13, 1876, *B. C. Lieut. Governor Papers, Archives of B. C.*
18. Most of the material related to Martin's conflict with Began can be found in the testimony given at the trial in Victoria. Judge H. P. P. Crease, Bench Book, Saturday, December 16, 1876, *R. v. Peter Martin, Vol. 4, April 1875—January 1877, pp. 509-553*.
19. Classen, "Thrust and Counterthrust," pp. 285-288.
20. Thornton to Derby, January 15, 1877, *F. O. 5/1640*; *Daily British Colonist, October 1, 1876, "Ruffianism at Cassiar."*
21. Gray, Justice J. H., to Attorney General [British Columbia] A. C. Elliott, September 22, 1876, *H. P. P. Crease Papers, Archives of B. C.*; Martin to Jocelyn (undated) requesting aid, and reply September 22, 1876, Eckstein to Cadwalader, Dispatch No. 319, October 12, 1876, *Consul Dispatches, Archives of B. C.*
22. Jocelyn to Eckstein, September 23, 1876, Dispatch No. 319, *Consul Dispatches, Archives of B. C.*
23. Eckstein to Cadwalader, Dispatch No. 319, October 12, 1876, *Consul Dispatches, Archives of B. C.*
24. "Red Top on Trial," *Daily British Colonist, October 5, 1876, p. 3*.
25. *Ibid., Loc. Cit.*
26. *Daily British Colonist, October 11, 1876, p. 3*.
27. *Op. Cit.*, October 25, 1876, p. 3.
28. *Op. Cit.*, November 10, 1876, p. 3.
29. *Op. Cit.*, December 17, 1876, p. 3; Notes, Judge H. P. P. Crease, Bench Book, Saturday, 16 December, 1876.
30. Eckstein to Cadwalader, December 5, 1876, Dispatch No. 322, *Consul Dispatches, Archives of British Columbia*.
31. *Daily Standard, Victoria, December 16, 1876*. For a full transcript of Crease's charge to the jury see, Alaska Boundary Tribunal, 58 Congress, 2d Session, Senate Document No. 162, "Proceedings of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal," Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904, Vol. III, Part II, "(Appendix) to the Case of His Majesty's Government before the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal," pp. 206ff. (Hereafter cited as A. B. T.).
32. Notes, December 16, 1876, *Crease Papers, Archives of B. C.*
33. *Daily British Colonist, December 21, 1876, p. 3*, "Black Wednesday in the Court of Assize."
34. A. B. T., v. III, Part II, p. 194, 198. Fish to Thornton, December 6, 1876; January 10, 1877.
35. Fish to Thornton, November 2, 1876; Thornton to Earl of Dufferin, November 6, 1876; Fish Note, December 6, 1876; Scott to Lieut. Governor (B. C.), December 21, 1876, *B. C. Lieut. Governor Papers, Archives of B. C.*; There were also a dozen pages of notes and letters recorded in A. B. T., v. III, Part II, pp. 186-198.
36. Attorney General A. C. Elliott to Lieut. Governor, January 23, 1877, *B. C. Executive Council Papers, Archives of B. C.*; *Executive Council (B. C.) Minutes, January 30, 1877, A. B. T., v. III, Part II, p. 202*.
37. A. B. T., vol. VII, *Minutes of Proceedings of the Alaskan Boundary Tribunal Held at the Foreign Office, Downing Street, London, p. 805*.
38. Thornton to Derby, January 15, 1877, *F. O. 5/1640*.
39. Fish to Thornton, January 10, 1877, *B. C. Lieut. Governor's Papers, Archives of B. C.*
40. Thornton to Fish, January 15, 1877, *F. O. 5/1640*; see also A. B. T., v. VI, "Minutes," p. 312.
41. Privy Council "Minutes," [Canada] and report to Governor-General, February 10, 1877, *F. O. 5/1640*; A. B. T. v. III, Part II, p. 213.
42. Opinion, British Columbia Supreme Court to R. W. Scott, Secretary of State for Canada, February 16, 1877. Copy of statement from Justice Harvey P. Crease, *F. O. 5/1640*.
43. Privy Council "Minutes," March 31, 1877, *F. O. 5/1650*.
44. A. B. T., v. III, Part II, p. 224.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 226-231.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
47. A. B. T., v. VII, p. 806.
48. Scott to Lieut. Governor (B.C.), "Copy of a Report of the Honorable the Privy Council, approved by His Honor the Deputy of the Governor-General on the 19th of September, 1877." *B. C. Lieut. Governor Papers, Archives of British Columbia; A. B. T., Letter Carnarvon to Dufferin, August 16, 1877, v. VIII, p. 805*.
49. A. B. T., v. VIII, part II, p. 233.
50. *Daily British Colonist, Victoria, "Pardoned," September 23, 1877*.
51. A. B. T., v. VII, p. 782.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 806.



8½ miles within the United States Territory of Alaska."⁴⁷

When Hunter's conclusions were made known, the Secretary of State for Colonies raised the question of the Martin case in an official cabinet meeting in London on August 16, 1877. The cabinet referred the issue to the Department of Justice in Ottawa after a brief discussion of the matter. This body reached "the painful conclusion" on September 19 that the position taken by the British Columbia government was indefensible. It agreed that the treaty of 1825 provided for "free navigation" of the Stikine, and gave the opinion that conveying "a prisoner" was not related to purely commercial matters. The court also accepted Hunter's findings which placed the Martin incident in United States territory. While it made no concession that Hunter's opinion settled the boundary, it recommended that the remainder of the Laketon sentence be commuted and that the entire action of the Victoria trial be nullified so that the prisoner could be released.⁴⁸

Secretary of State for Canada Scott sent the findings of the court to the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, recommending that since both London and Ottawa disapproved of Judge Crease's

JUDGE CREASE

position and sentence, there was nothing to do but to release Martin. At the same time, the Canadian Minister of Justice urged that when "Redtop" was freed, the Canadian government should concede nothing about this action confirming the location of the boundary on the Stikine.⁴⁹ Two days later, the Victoria *Daily British Colonist* printed a brief news item:

"**PARDONED.** Mr. Sheriff Harris received a telegram from the Secretary of State on Friday instructing him to liberate Peter Martin, the 'international' prisoner, who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for assaulting an officer while on the way down from Stickeen a year ago. Martin is now at Liberty."⁵⁰

It would be pleasant to report that Martin led an exemplary and peaceful life after his release, but there is no evidence to support such a report. In fact, there is no way of knowing what happened to him, for his subsequent career seems to have made no impression on history. He was only a symbol, in any event, for a much larger issue than his assault, and he would never have received so much attention from the governments of two nations and three subordinate jurisdictions had it not been for the boundary dispute involved.

The importance of the case may be understood when one examines the record of the hearings and arguments by the legal councils of the United

States, Great Britain, and Canada during the Alaska Boundary Tribunal deliberations in 1903. More than sixty pages of the records were devoted to the issues created by the Martin matter. The United States government rested part of its case for putting the boundary ten marine leagues inland on the Hunter survey. It also argued that the action of the Canadian and British Columbia governments in releasing Martin was the result of Hunter's advice, and conceded an inland boundary line. The American position may best be summarized in the words of the American advocate who supported his presentation by noting that since the American government insisted that Martin had been recaptured on American soil and for that reason he had been pardoned, this "would preclude the possibility of drawing a line anywhere between that point and the coast."⁵¹ Britain's rebuttal claimed that Hunter's opinion had never been accepted officially, nor was he expected to decide where the boundary would eventually be settled.⁵² This may have been true, technically, but since Martin had been freed on the basis of this opinion, the Americans used the Hunter survey as best they could.

The final settlement of the Alaska boundary was, of course, the product of forces other than Martin's arrest, imprisonment, and release. These international cross currents have been the subject of chapters in several books, and numerous scholarly articles. It cannot be denied, however, that as a *cause celebre*, Martin played a significant role in the resolution of the boundary issue.

NOTES

1. Neuber, Ella Mae, *The Alaska Boundary*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1934, p. 18; Document, "Transfer of Alaska to the United States," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 3:1, October, 1908, pp. 83-92; Farrar, Victor J., "Senator Cole and the Purchase of Alaska," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 14:4, October, 1923, pp. 243-247; Farrar, Victor J., "The Background of the Purchase of Alaska," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 13:2, April, 1922, pp. 93-104.
2. Memorandum, Major C. W. Wilson, October 27, 1875, sent to Lord Tenterden March 13, 1876, *File 5/1639, Foreign Office Records*, Public Records Office, London. (Hereafter referred to by file number as "F. O.")
3. Neuber, Ella Mae, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
4. Classen, H. George, "Thrust and Counterthrust; The Genesis of the Canada-United States Boundary," Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967, p. 301.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
6. Graham, James A., Victoria, to Hudson's Bay Company Headquarters, London, October 27, 1873. *Hudson's Bay Company File A 8/21*, pp. 63-65, Hudson's Bay Archives, London.
7. Thornton, Sir Edward [British Ambassador to United States] to Earl of Derby, September 27, 1875, *F. O. 5/1639*.
8. Thornton to Earl of Derby, December 4, 1876, *F. O. 5/1639*.

certain Democrats in Juneau for a "full territorial form of government" for Alaska. Calling it the one false note in the message, Wickersham countered that, except for a territorial supreme court, such a government already existed. When John Troy referred to a "full territorial form of government," he was thinking of the circumscribed powers of the legislature. Wickersham replied that such restrictions have nothing to do with such a government. Viewing the matter structurally, he maintained that a "full territorial form of government" consists of an appointive governor, an elective legislature, and a system of courts with appointive judges.⁵ As for the provisions of the Organic Act, Troy was looking at the powers denied, Wickersham asserted, instead of the powers bestowed. The act was more permissive than it might have seemed. All that was needed, according to the Delegate, was a little knowledge of law and a little imagination.⁶



The argument between Wickersham and Troy did not affect the legislature when it convened, for the first time, in 1913. Within two more years the *Empire* had become the leading newspaper in Alaska and political lines had become more clearly defined. On March 1, 1915, the second session of the legislature commenced at Juneau on the third floor of the Goldstein Block. In his address to the lawmakers, Governor John F. A. Strong compared the powers of the Alaska legislature unfavorably to those of earlier territorial legislatures and even those of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The legislators should therefore take steps to induce Congress to enlarge Alaska's jurisdiction. Statehood was a different matter; the Governor did not foresee speedy admission into the Union. A prolonged struggle must precede it, he said, principally because Alaska does not abut other American territory.⁷

Following the lead of the Governor, Arthur Shoup, a youthful Republican representative from Sitka, introduced a joint memorial in the House. It enumerated many of the privileges and powers which the Organic Act denied to the legislature and requested Congress to repeal the restraints. The memorial passed the House by the vote of 11-5 and went to the Senate, where it came up for debate on March 30.⁸ Here the issue between Wickersham and Troy would be argued by their partisans.

The Senate consisted of eight members, three of whom were Democrats. One was Josiah M. Tanner, the sixty-five year old merchant and civic leader from Skagway. Another was Charles Sulzer, a mining operator from the Southeastern Alaska town of Sulzer. A ready debater, he had spoken for "home rule" ever since arriving in Alaska in 1903. The third was Thomas McGann of Nome, who had been victorious in a by-election held on



James Wickersham

Courtesy Alaska Historical Library



John F. A. Strong

Courtesy Alaska Historical Library

February 27. He arrived in Juneau at the end of the fourth week of the session, following a record-breaking dash by dog sled to Fairbanks, by automobile to Chitina, by train to Cordova, and by steamship to Juneau.⁹ He took little part in the debate over statehood and pursued a rather independent course.

All of the other five senators were Republicans, although most of them had campaigned under the Non-Partisan banner. For them personality, faction, self-interest, and issues were more important than party allegiance. Three of the Republicans, Oliver Hubbard, Dan Sutherland, and Ole Gaustad, were close supporters of Wickersham. Hubbard was an attorney and railroad promoter of Valdez and the only senator who had never mined. In 1912 he had joined Wickersham as a delegate to the national convention of the Progressive Party; two years later he was elected to the Senate on the Progressive-Democratic Party ticket. Dan Sutherland, from Ruby, in the Interior, was president of the Senate and a campaign manager of Delegate Wickersham. A popular individual, Sutherland would become the delegate of Alaska in the 1920's. Wickersham's third ally in the Senate was Ole Gaustad of Fairbanks, a Norwegian-born miner and businessman who would soon become editor and manager of the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*.

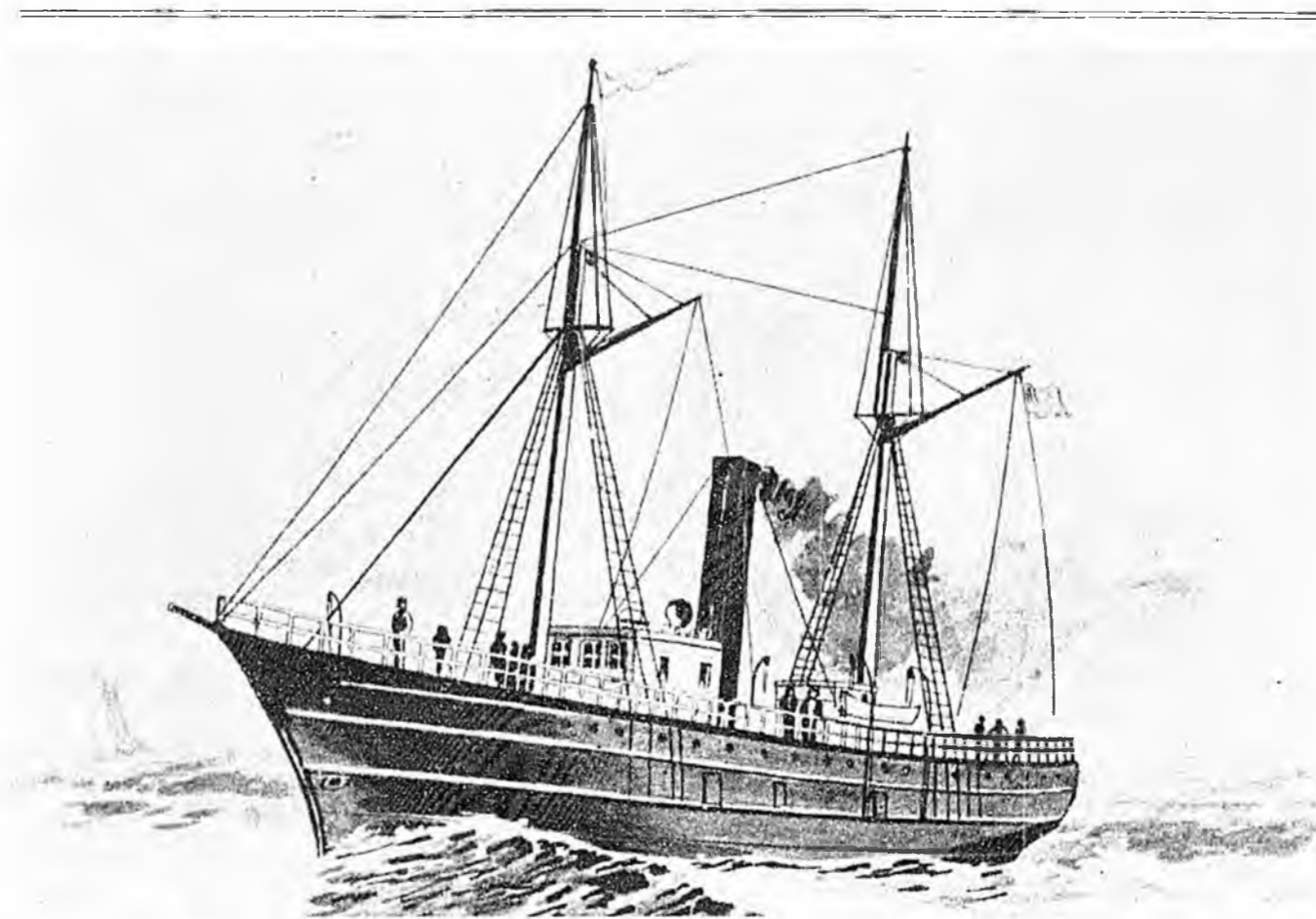
Of the Republican senators who were not in the Wickersham camp, one was Benjamin Millard, an influential mining promoter and rival of Hubbard in the town of Valdez. The other, Frank Aldrich, was a Nomeite who called himself an "Independent Democrat." He voted with the Wickersham faction in organizing the Senate and received as his reward the chairmanships of two important committees.¹⁰

When the Shoup memorial was brought up for debate, Hubbard, like Wickersham, protested that Alaska already had a complete system of territorial government. Besides, assumption of federal activities like the management of the fish and fur animals would be an intolerable expense. He was immediately challenged by Charles Sulzer, who noted that Alaska had not increased in population during the previous ten years. This lack of growth he attributed not to the passing of the Gold Rush, but to long-distance government, noting that few Congressmen knew anything about the North. As Sulzer viewed the matter, "home rule" remained the cure.¹¹

Before the end of the legislative day, the senators laid aside the Shoup memorial and substituted for it a joint memorial which had been introduced earlier in the session by Senator Benjamin Millard.¹² His memorial, narrower than Shoup's, made three requests of Congress. First, it petitioned to allow the legislature to alter or abolish the business and trade license taxes which Congress had imposed specifically on enterprises in Alaska. Wherever such taxes were collected from outside of incorporated municipalities, they were deposited in a special United States Treasury account known as the Alaska Fund. Second, the memorial requested that the legislature be authorized to control the



Courtesy Alaska Historical Library
Arthur G. Shoup



Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest

The steamer GUSSIE TELFAIR.

shores." It asserted further that no one knew exactly where the boundary was, that no one knew exactly where Martin and Beegan had fought, that Martin was a man of poor reputation, and that it would be better to dismiss the entire matter. It concluded with the comment that if Fish were encouraged in any way, it might jeopardize Canadian interests for a final boundary settlement. The Privy Council sent the Governor-General a full transcript of the case.⁴¹

Approximately a week later, the Colonial Secretary in London was informed of American objection to Judge Crease's instruction to the jury and he requested the judge to send him more information. Justice Crease replied in forthright terms:

*"... Victoria itself, whatever may be its ultimate destiny, is at present but a valuable outpost and feeder to the huge commerce of San Francisco. Cassiar in Columbia is as much American, as far as friendly feeling and the ties of mercantile and social intercourse extend, as Wrangel, and Oregon and Washington territories which furnish all Cassiar's chief supplies."*⁴²

In March, the British Privy Council noted that "this Government never agreed to any line" that

permitted the Americans to claim thirty-two miles inland from the coast before the boundary was officially surveyed.⁴³

Meanwhile, Martin remained in prison, probably unaware of the diplomatic correspondence his violence had occasioned.

On March 3, 1877, the Canadian government took action to determine on its own responsibility something of the facts of the Stikine boundary. A Canadian civil engineer named Joseph Hunter was commissioned by the Canadian Surveyor-General, J. S. Dennis, to locate the probable Canadian-Alaska border in the river valley, and incidentally to ascertain, if possible, on which side of the probable border Martin and Beegan fought.⁴⁴ Hunter left Victoria at the end of March, and throughout April surveyed and mapped the Stikine Valley. In his report, written in June, 1877,⁴⁵ he stated that the rugged nature of the mountain ranges was so chaotic that there was no clearly defined ridge to form a line along "the summit of the mountains" as ordered in the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825. He concluded, accordingly, that the ten-marine-league line would almost necessarily become the boundary. Given this fact, the assault by Martin undoubtedly took place on American soil,⁴⁶ "13 miles from the mouth of the Stikine, and at least

Washington of 1871. He asserted that the phrase "shall be drawn" regarding a projected boundary survey meant that the entire Alaskan panhandle was British, since neither the Russians nor the Americans had yet made a survey. He insisted that "commerce" protected by the Washington agreement certainly included the right to protect commerce from criminals who might prey upon it, though just how getting into a brawl in the Cassiar constituted preying upon commerce, he did not say. Finally, he directed the jury to disregard where the attempted escape and subsequent fight between Martin and Beegan had occurred, but to decide only whether or not there had been a fight, an attempted escape and recapture, and if such events were found to have taken place, to proceed as though the altercation had been on British soil. Since no witness had denied in any testimony that such a struggle had occurred, the jury, understandably, brought in a verdict of "Guilty."

In his personal notes on the affair, the judge conceded that he had thought a great deal about what he would say, and that Martin's guilt or innocence was not nearly as important as the larger issue about the location of the British Columbia-Alaska boundary. He further noted that he had to assert British-Canadian authority over the banks of the Stikine, or would have lacked jurisdiction to try the case.³²

HAMILTON FISH

On December 20, the judge sentenced the defendant to an additional year and nine months imprisonment, to be served at the end of the time he was already serving for his offense in Laketon. Thus, Martin was taken back to prison to serve a total of three years in jail.³³

At the time Martin was sentenced, the United States Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, was well aware of the implications that could be drawn from Judge Crease's arguments, and he wrote that he specifically dissented from them.³⁴ As early as November 2, Fish wrote the British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Edward Thornton, that in the light of Martin's impending trial, the Americans needed to know how the British government would act if the defendant were found guilty. Sir Edward asserted that Lovell's request to transport the prisoner through American territory was perfectly in order and that it should be considered non-controversial since no question of international law was involved. At the same time, however, he informed the Canadian government that the American government was officially interested in the outcome of the case and would not accept a decision that jeopardized their claims to the Alaska panhandle. Even before Martin was finally sentenced, therefore, both Ottawa and Victoria authorities were alerted to the fact that Martin's was more than a routine case of breach of the peace.³⁵

In response to official letters of inquiry as to whether Lovell's note to Captain Jocelyn had actually compromised the British interests in the

CAPTAIN JOCELYN

final boundary settlement, Mr. A. C. Elliott, the Attorney General for British Columbia, gave his firm opinion that since Lovell was only a peace officer, he in no way committed the British government to conceding the American claim by acknowledging the boundary to be west of "Buck's."³⁶ In a subsequent letter, Elliott also stressed the need to use the Stikine to transport prisoners, since there was no road through the interior of British Columbia by way of Prince George. In any case, even if such a route were to be built through the wilderness in the future, the cost of transporting felons to Victoria by this route would be prohibitively expensive. Therefore, the Attorney General contended, Judge Crease's position that the Americans could not prevent the British peace officers from using the Stikine as a water highway to the coast was the only practical position possible. But he skirted the basic issue. At no time had Fish objected to using the Stikine as a transportation route, even for British criminals. He had objected to Martin's forcible detention, as an American, by British officers on American soil.³⁷

Ambassador Thornton warned his government, however, that precedent did not favor the British Columbia Attorney General's argument. In September, 1873, in a similar situation, he noted, one Samuel Joy of New Brunswick had been released because of his contact with American soil.³⁸

Fish wrote Thornton with some asperity about a line of reasoning being expressed in Victoria. Some Victorians were claiming that the American holdings, purchased from Russia, consisted of only an extremely narrow strip of land extending from the high tide line to the summit of the first mountains rising from the edge of the beach. This would have limited the United States mainland possessions, in this area, to a tiny strip of sand or rock, in most cases only a few hundred yards wide, rather than the ten leagues which the Americans claimed. In this part of Alaska the mountains rise precipitously from the high tide mark.³⁹ Although Thornton expressed his doubts to his own superiors about the soundness of the Canadian position, he wrote Fish that he supported the government of British Columbia,⁴⁰ in spite of the Secretary's "explicit dissent" from such a wild idea.

The Privy Council of Canada discussed the Martin case at meetings in both January and February, 1877. On February 10, it submitted a report to the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of the Dominion, that "the right to navigate a river includes the power to make some use of the

spending of the proceeds of the Alaska Fund. The Nelson Act of 1905 had prescribed that five percent of its revenue should be spent on the care of the insane; twenty-five percent on the education of white children and "children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life," and seventy percent on the construction of wagon roads, bridges, and trails. Third, Congress was asked to grant the legislature jurisdiction over the public schools which were located outside of incorporated municipalities. These derived their support from the Alaska Fund, in other words, from revenue generated within Alaska.¹³

That night Hubbard returned to his desk in the Senate chamber to write a concurrent resolution.¹⁴ It declared that "the restrictions and limitations inherent in a territorial form of government are unavoidably oppressive and annoying..." Since Alaskans had advanced to the stage where they were entitled to enter the Union, the legislature should set up a special committee to draft a memorial asking for statehood. It should also, the resolution continued, divide the Territory into at least ten counties. Finally, a plebiscite should be held on the Fourth of July to inquire of the voters whether they wanted statehood and where the state capital should be located.¹⁵ The following day, March 31, Hubbard introduced the resolution into the Senate and moved that the Millard memorial be returned to committee and replaced by his own resolution.¹⁶

Senator Millard correctly charged Hubbard with trying to scuttle his memorial requesting broader legislative powers. "There is not a man here who believes Alaska could secure Statehood, in ten, or in twenty years," he exclaimed, "and we might as well try to fly over this bay, as attempt to get it." Hubbard disagreed, saying that it was perhaps only three years away. Sulzer subscribed to Millard's belief that the purpose of the resolution was to throttle the memorial. To him, statehood would be impossible to achieve before full territoriality. Further debate followed, and Hubbard finally withdrew his motion. The Hubbard resolution was sent to committee without instructions; the Millard memorial was passed by the vote of 6-2. Oliver Hubbard and Dan Sutherland, both of them close associates of Wickersham, were the two who cast the negative votes.¹⁷ On April 8 the House, after some dissent, would vote 9-7 for the Millard memorial.¹⁸

It had been a tense day in the legislature, made more exciting by the noon arrival of Delegate Wickersham. He disembarked from the steamship *Jefferson* just a few hours after Hubbard had introduced his surprise resolution. Wickersham was on the way from Washington, D.C., to his home in Fairbanks, where he intended to spend the summer. When an *Empire* reporter invited a comment from him, Wickersham said, "I am in favor of a full territorial form of government for Alaska."¹⁹

Friends of the Delegate converged on the hotel where he and Mrs. Wickersham had arranged to stay. In the lobby Wickersham averred that Alaska was "entitled to the very fullest form of home rule" and was ready to accept it. Only through statehood "could local government in the



Courtesy Alaska Historical Library
Josiah M. Tanner

highest sense in which it has been developed under our form of government, be enjoyed." He revealed that, at the next session of Congress, he would introduce a bill to admit Alaska to the Union. The next morning the *Juneau Daily Alaska Dispatch* became the first newspaper in Alaska to editorialize in favor of immediate statehood. The *Dispatch* was published by Ed Russell, who took his political leads from Wickersham. Thenceforth, the newspaper announced, it would devote its energies to the advancement of statehood. Only through that status could the people secure a "full form of home rule."²⁰ Thus, within a period of twenty-four hours, Hubbard had introduced a statehood resolution, Wickersham had announced a forthcoming Alaska statehood bill, and Russell had editorialized in favor of statehood. John Troy, the adversary of Wickersham and Russell on the other side of town, answered them by noting that the day was April Fool's.²¹

Not long afterward Hubbard's statehood resolution was reported to the Senate without recommendation. On April 6 the senators debated it throughout the forenoon and most of the afternoon. Hubbard repeated his contention that Alaskans must have statehood in order to progress. Their legislature possessed as many powers, he asserted, as that of any other legislature which Congress had created; additional powers would come only with statehood.²² Hubbard was again supported by Dan Sutherland, who pointed out that statehood would bring them control of the tidelands and fisheries. In 1898 Congress had provided that the tidelands of Alaska, which lie between mean high tide and mean low tide, would be held in trust by the United States for the people of the future state. Until then the Department of the Interior would grant special use permits for the construction of temporary improvements on fills and pilings.²³ With control of its tidelands and fisheries, Alaska could bear the burdens of statehood, Sutherland declared. Ole Gaustad, of Fairbanks, said that the Territory was unready for statehood. But since a half dozen years might pass before its arrival, the time had come to begin pressing for it.²⁴

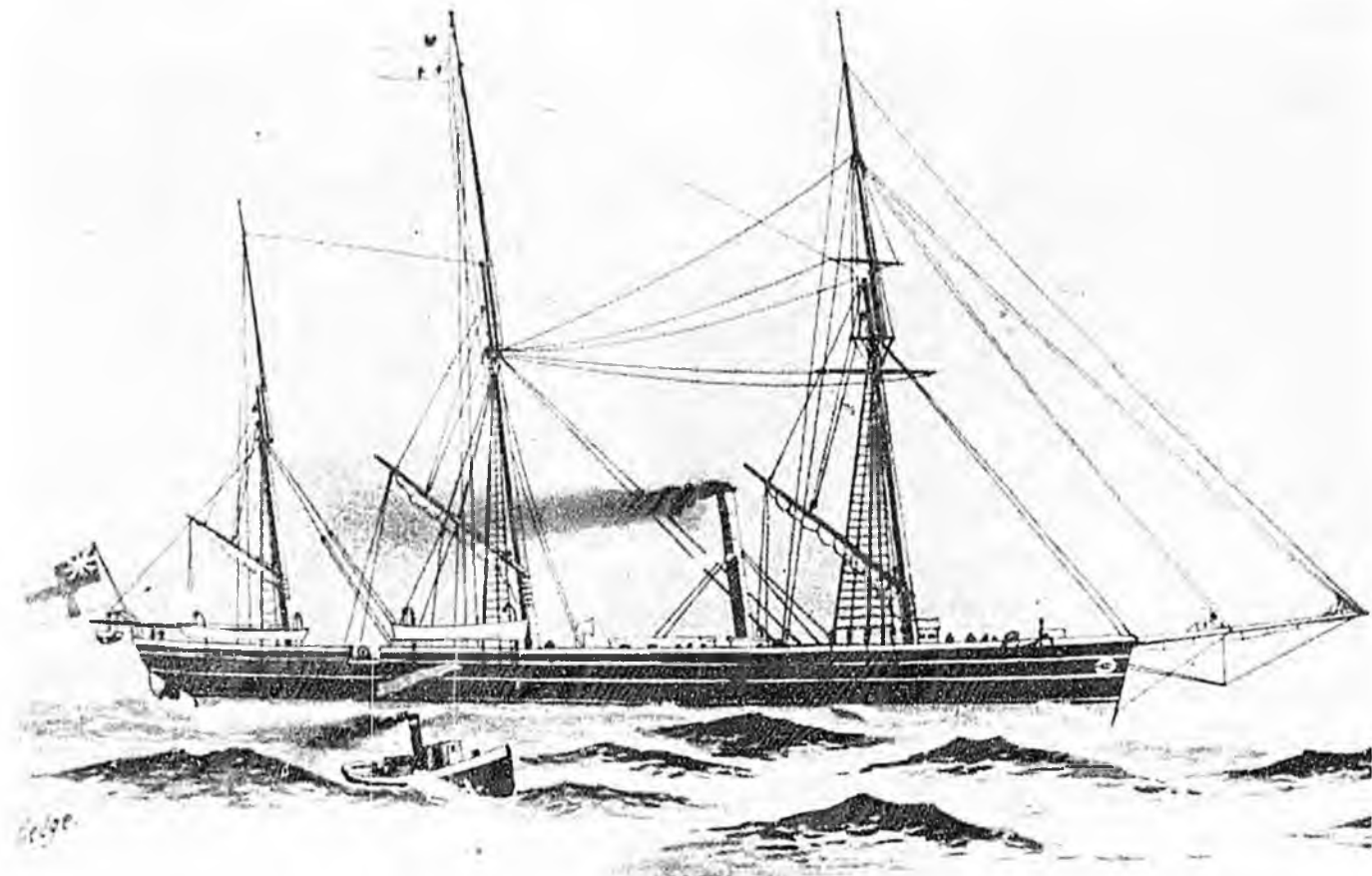
The "Wickite" trio which argued for the resolution was again challenged by Senator Sulzer. Statehood was not in sight, he said; they should strive, therefore, to enlarge the powers of the existing legislature.²⁵ Josiah Tanner, his fellow Democrat, vigorously asserted that Alaska was no closer to statehood than it was to the moon: "argument in favor of statehood is like Allcock's plasters, full of holes." Sulzer and Aldrich both said that they opposed requesting Congress for statehood just after sending to it the Millard memorial.²⁶

The Hubbard resolution was held over for voting until a later day. Meanwhile, Wickersham had arranged to speak before a large crowd which gathered to hear him at the Jaxon Rink on the night of April 7. In a rousing two-hour address, the Delegate told of the efforts which he had devoted to securing passage of the Organic Act.²⁷ He contrasted the work with that of John Troy and the Democrats in the legislature. All these "reactionaries" ever did was "howl" for a "full



Dan A. Sutherland

Courtesy Alaska Historical Library



The steamer GRAPPLER.

Lewis & Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest

questions of international importance far transcending Martin's guilt or innocence.

The submission of testimony and the cross examination of witnesses took only a few hours. Much of the exchange between Martin and the prosecutor was related to the question of whether or not Beegan had been drunk, and whether he had mistreated his prisoner. Martin wandered into a genuine irrelevancy when he spent considerable time arguing that Beegan's shoulder had not actually been broken. The pioneer Victoria physician, Dr. John Helmcken, testified that it had indeed been broken, and that matter was settled. More relevantly, Martin insisted that as an American citizen, he had been held in custody illegally by British police on American soil, and that his attempt to escape and subsequent resistance was merely self-defense against a band of kidnappers. When he was asked why he had not obtained a writ of *habeas corpus* from Alaska officials, he retorted that he needed no such writ when the whole action against him was illegal. In the consular report, Eckstein expressed his opinion that Martin defended himself "very poorly."³⁰ It was ineffective, it is true, but Martin did understand the importance of the boundary issue and he used it constantly. Interestingly enough,

Special Constable Richardson's testimony was critical of Beegan and somewhat favorable to Martin.

Judge Crease was also aware of the implications raised by the prisoner's defense. In his charge to the jury he took the matter quite seriously. He directed the jury to disregard Constable Richardson's testimony, favorable to Martin, as being "unworthy of credit," although he gave no reason for making this charge. He praised the American passenger, Hall, for giving impartial testimony. He told the jury that "Bricktop" was at fault for not appealing to Alaska authorities for a writ of *habeas corpus*, and ignored the fact that Martin had appealed to Jocelyn for aid and had been spurned.³¹ Just how he expected the prisoner to obtain a judicial writ in the Stikine wilderness, while handcuffed and in leg irons, Justice Crease did not say, nor did he mention the fact that there were then no court and no judges in all of Alaska. He asserted that Martin's failure to obtain a writ was tantamount to accepting British jurisdiction along the banks of the Stikine southwest of Choquette's saloon.

The judge then moved on to an even more controversial position. He reviewed the British-Russian Treaty of 1825 and the Treaty of

warned, "You are in American territory, be careful what you do."

Beegan's first reaction was to order Richardson, whose carelessness had allowed Martin to seize the gun, to recapture the prisoner. Richardson firmly declined, however, on the ground that Martin was Beegan's prisoner, not his. Beegan demanded Richardson's pistol, which the deputy happily handed to him. During this exchange, Martin was entering the forest. As Beegan advanced toward him, the prisoner ducked behind a tree. Unfortunately for him, his leg irons got caught on a log and he tripped and fell. Before he could get up, Beegan was on him. Both men fired and both missed, though Beegan was superficially wounded



Fort Wrangell, Alaska, in 1876.

on the cheek by a flying pellet. As the two men grappled, Martin resisted recapture furiously, smashing the gun repeatedly against Beegan and cutting his scalp as well as further splitting his cheek. Martin's final blow cracked Beegan's shoulder, but it also broke the gun. Richardson, who had been cautiously observing the fight, now approached and with the aid of one of the Indians, disarmed and subdued Martin. The prisoner was hustled into the canoe and taken the remainder of the way to Fort Wrangell under the baleful eye of the furious and injured Beegan.

At the Army post, Captain Jocelyn offered the use of the guardhouse for Martin and the services of the military doctor to treat Beegan's injuries.²¹ Although Martin appealed to Jocelyn for release as an American citizen attacked on United States soil by British law officers, Jocelyn was completely unsympathetic and refused to give him any assistance.²² Beegan refused the fort facilities to imprison Martin, for he understood the legal complications that could result from accepting. Instead, he saw that the prisoner was lodged in the brig of the steamer *Grappler*, which carried Martin to Victoria. Beegan followed shortly afterward in the *Gussie Telfair*.

When the steamers reached Victoria on September 30, Martin was placed in prison. Since Jocelyn had informed him in Wrangell that if he wanted any aid he should apply to civilian authorities, Martin turned to the United States consul in Victoria, David Eckstein. He asked him to come to the jail, which Eckstein did.²³ After he talked with Martin, Eckstein promised to contact proper authorities in Washington.

On October 4, Martin was taken into court for a preliminary hearing to answer the charges of violent resistance to an officer, and attempt to kill the constable. It is quite clear from his plea that he was a clever and intelligent man. He entered a plea of innocent on the grounds that the British lacked jurisdiction over an alleged crime committed on American soil.²⁴

In Martin's strategy, he asked the court to read the law under which he was charged. The judge read the law and the prisoner then asked whether it applied only to British territory. The trial judge agreed that it did, but ruled that while the assault occurred on American territory, Martin's objection was immaterial.²⁵ Beegan, however, did not appear for testimony because he was recovering from his injuries and Richardson could not be located, so the case was continued for a week.

On October 11, Martin again appeared in court. Once more he argued that he had merely defended himself against a brutal and drunken police officer who wanted to kill him. The judge ruled once more that reference to Beegan's drinking habits had nothing to do with the case.²⁶ Captain H. D. Devereux of the *Grappler* insisted that Martin had not been brutally treated and Martin was returned to prison for another hearing on October 20.²⁷ On November 9 the Grand Jury ordered Martin tried at the next regular court session which assigned the Martin case to the docket of December 16.²⁸

The trial itself was brief. Martin had no lawyer and was allowed to act as his own attorney. He was given the privilege of challenging jurors, and did so in three cases.²⁹ The Crown challenged no one and twelve of the first fifteen called for jury service were seated and the trial began. Martin once again pleaded "Not guilty" and asked that as an American citizen he be assisted in his defense by the American consul. Judge H. P. P. Crease denied his motion, but summoned Consul Eckstein and asked him to sit beside him on the judge's bench to see that Martin was treated fairly.

Eckstein was already aware of the complexities of the case, and had written a number of dispatches to appropriate officials in the United States capital for guidance. He realized that Martin's defense was certainly going to be based on the location of the Alaska boundary. On his own responsibility he had consulted with Martin, and he also had Jocelyn's letter which warned of potential

territorial form of government." Wickersham proceeded to demonstrate that the act was not nearly so restrictive as Troy would have them think, but he said that the time had come to move on to statehood. The legislators should do all that they can to further a full territorial government, but he hoped that they would also go on record for eventual statehood.²⁸

On the day after Wickersham's address, the Senate acted on the Hubbard resolution, voting 4-4 on it. Salzer, one of those who voted against it, reiterated his stand that full territoriality must precede statehood. Aldrich and Tanner opposed the resolution on the ground that it would interfere with the quest of additional powers. Millard, making no apologies, announced simply that he was opposed to statehood.²⁹

The failure of the resolution to pass did not quite end the matter. On April 13 Hubbard introduced a joint resolution which called for a plebiscite to be held at the 1916 election for delegate. It would give the voters the opportunity to vote "For Full Territorial Government" or "For Immediate Statehood."³⁰ When the resolution came up for debate, it was rejected on a point of order. Senator Millard protested that the Senate had already disposed of the matter, and President Sutherland agreed.³¹

III

James Wickersham had been well received at Juneau, but he recognized that the incessant "howling" of John Troy was harming him politically. The Delegate evidently felt that he could no longer reject Troy's cry by merely obfuscating its meaning. Wickersham left Fairbanks in the fall to return to Washington, D.C., stopping en route at the town of Cordova. There he announced that he would try to secure more powers for the legislature, especially in regard to fish and game. He had originally accepted the limitations of the Organic Act in order to obtain its passage, he said, but now he would work to repeal them.³² Upon reaching Seattle, the Delegate reportedly said that he would agitate for statehood in order to pry from Congress a "full territorial form of government."³³

On January 4, 1916, Wickersham, as he had promised, introduced a bill to enlarge the powers of the Alaska legislature. If that body decided to establish counties, Congressional consent would not be needed. Federal appointments in Alaska would be reduced by allowing the legislature to designate the method of selecting Territorial, township, district, and county officers. Wickersham's definition of a "full territorial form of government" would be met through the creation of a Territorial supreme court, which would have appellate jurisdiction in all cases which were not distinctly federal. Most important of all, jurisdiction over the fish and wildlife would be relinquished to the legislature. These and other provisions contained in the bill would leave intact a number of less controversial restrictions.³⁴



Courtesy Alaska Historical Library
Benjamin F. Millard

The *Empire* welcomed the bill but soon reminded Wickersham that introducing it was not enough; he must also work for its consideration and enactment. The newspaper accused him of introducing bills relating to almost every "emergency" in the North merely to obtain low-cost campaign documents to mail at public expense. The same applied to the letters which he occasionally wrote to committee chairmen and executive officers.³⁵ Troy had grounds to suspect the Delegate's sincerity. In August, 1916, Wickersham told an audience at Anchorage: "Even when I have doubted the value of some of the suggestions [for amending the Organic Act] I have given the benefit of the doubt to the people of the territory and sought to secure a wider range of power for our legislature, even though [in] my judgment, it already exists in statutes which are not heeded."³⁶ The proposal that the fish and fur-bearing animals be transferred to Territorial control, which Wickersham did favor, was opposed as unwise by the United States Bureau of Fisheries.³⁷ The bill was never enacted into law.

The important government bill of the year, however, looked not to improving the Territorial government but to abolishing it. Once before, Wickersham had mentioned that he would introduce such a bill. He had announced the intention in a short article which had appeared in the August, 1910, issue of *Collier's* magazine. In it the Delegate claimed both the right and the readiness of Alaska to enter the Union and stated his "purpose to offer a bill at the December meeting of Congress to organize the State of Alaska."³⁸ On November 8 of that year the *Dispatch* printed a news release from Seattle which reported that he would introduce the bill on the opening day of Congress. He also claimed, the report continued, that statehood was more justified for Alaska than for New Mexico, Arizona, or Nevada.³⁹ When the opening day of Congress arrived, the promised bill did not appear. Whether Wickersham's objective had been to compromise for the enactment of the Organic Act can only be conjectured.

The year 1916 was to be different. Wickersham started to draft an enabling bill in January, modeling it upon the 1906 act for the state of Oklahoma. This act was chosen because it was recent and because it had bestowed liberal grants of land and money upon the new member of the Union. Besides, he wrote in his diary, Oklahoma was democratic, as were both houses of Congress and President Wilson.⁴⁰ The Delegate did not introduce the bill immediately but waited until March 30, the forty-ninth anniversary of the signing of the treaty for the purchase of Alaska.

The bill may be divided into three parts.⁴¹ The first provided for holding a constitutional convention, at which the fundamental law of the state would be drafted. The second would convey title, with some exceptions, to four of the thirty-six sections of land in every township of Alaska. When leased or sold, these and certain other grants of land which would also be conveyed would bring revenue to finance schools and other state institutions. The concluding part of the bill concerned the disposition of pending legal cases and the new United



Courtesy Alaska Historical Library
Frank A. Aldrich

more and more annoyed with Martin. Possibly he recognized that his own conviviality was going to make them late reaching Glenora. On the second day out, Martin's horse began to run. It is quite possible that it was urged to do so by Martin himself. Beegan drew his pistol and fired at the prisoner.

"You come pretty near combing my hair, didn't you?" was Martin's wry comment as he permitted himself to be taken into custody once more.¹⁹ He made no further efforts to run away at this time.

At Telegraph Creek on the Stikine the three men had a room to themselves, but the miners sought excitement and soon the room was packed with convivial guests. Visitors, prisoner, and policemen drank heavily, and all became intoxicated to some degree. Everyone played a card game known as "whiskey cinch." As the party became more and more disorderly, with shouts, curses, and songs such as "Whiskey, you're the devil, drunk or sober," Beegan abruptly decided to end the socializing. He ordered everyone to leave, and after some delay he cleared the room, to the accompaniment of loud curses from Martin. According to Martin's subsequent testimony, not denied by Richardson, Beegan finally invited Martin to try to escape once more so he could have the pleasure of shooting him, thus saving the bother of a trip to Victoria. Martin turned down the invitation.

Because they were delayed, the two constables and Martin did not reach Glenora until September 18. The river boat had already left, so Beegan hired several Indians to paddle the three men to Wrangell. There they could still connect with a steamer for Victoria. Accordingly, on September 19, four Indians, an American passenger named Hall, and the three men from the Cassiar climbed into a dugout canoe and headed downriver.

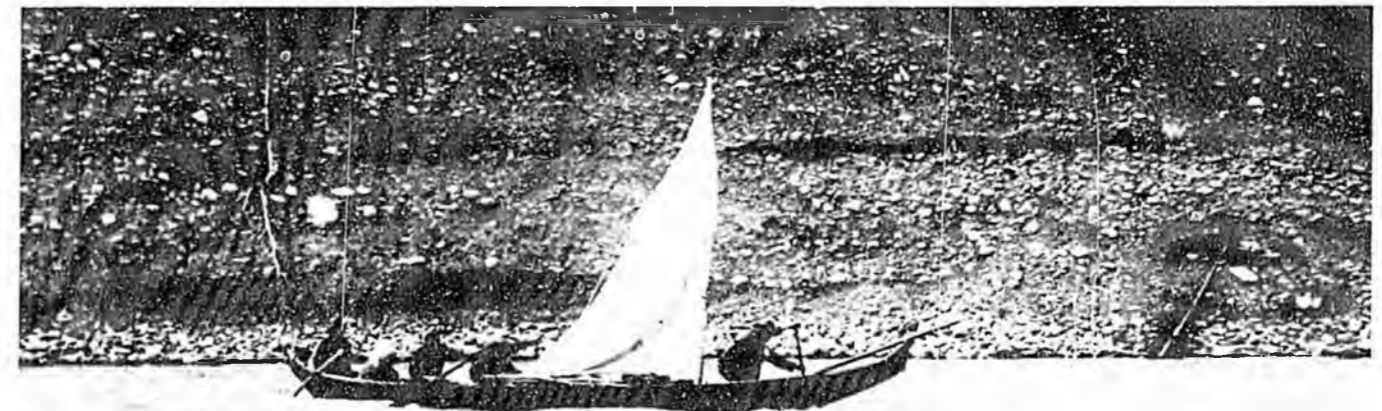
Because he had already tried to escape, Martin was tied, handcuffed, or placed in leg irons during the entire journey.

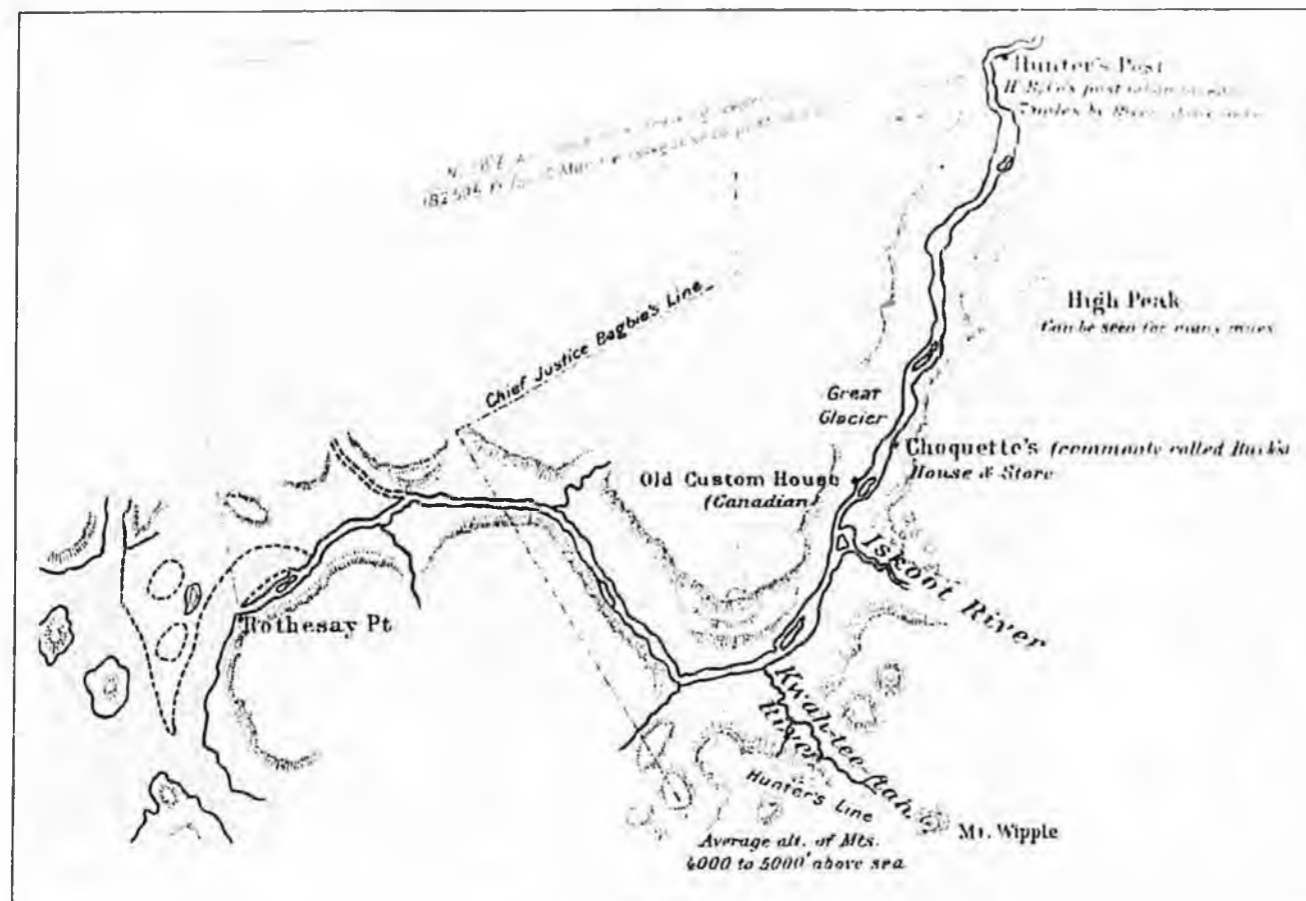
When night fell on the 19th, Beegan instructed the Indians to tie up the canoe, and everyone camped for the night. Since no one knew where the British Columbia border was, no one raised any question as to jurisdiction at this first campsite. The next day the party reached "Buck's" and remained overnight in what was generally accepted as being British territory.

During the evening of September 21 the travelers continued their trip in a heavy downpour of rain. By noon everyone was wet and chilled to the bone. Beegan again instructed the Indians to put ashore so they could light a fire, dry out, and cook lunch. The Treaty of Washington had no provision for such a decision.²⁰

The Indians followed instructions and helped to start the fire. After everyone else had eaten, Beegan started to eat his own lunch. Martin had already informed him that anything downstream from "Buck's" was American soil, and he demanded a warrant to hold him. Beegan treated this demand with contempt and Martin quieted down. As Beegan ate his lunch, he told Richardson in an offhand way to guard the prisoner. He leaned his single-shot gun against a tree about ten feet from the fire, then stooped over the blaze to pour himself a cup of tea. Although he was hampered by leg irons, Martin suddenly dashed for the gun, scooped it up in a rush, and began backing as rapidly as possible for the forest, which was only a few yards distant. Beegan's first warning came from one of the Indians who shouted, "He's gone!" As Beegan whirled to reach for his gun, he heard Martin's exulting cry, "Now I've got you, you S.O.B.'s!" Then, more formally, Martin

Tlingit dugout canoe of the kind used to transport Peter Martin to Fort Wrangell.





The lower portion of the Stikine River as of 1877.

To this point, the Martin case was a routine matter of breach of the peace. Martin's citizenship, however, was in limbo. He had been born in Ireland, but in Seattle on August 8, 1871, he had declared his intention to renounce his allegiance to Queen Victoria and to become an American citizen. Although he had not taken final action, he was generally recognized in Washington Territory as a naturalized American.¹⁵

To conduct Martin from Laketon to prison in Victoria meant a trip of several hundred miles, first down the Stikine River to Wrangell, then by sea to Vancouver Island and Victoria. This meant also that British officers would be in control of a presumed American citizen during that part of the trip that crossed American territory, as well as the part that was in British Columbia. The British authorities were aware of this problem, and for that reason Magistrate John B. Lovell wrote a note to Captain Stephan P. Jocelyn at Fort Wrangell expressing regret at the illegal, though necessary, action. He concluded, "I hope you will excuse the liberty we take in forwarding him through United States territory without special permission."¹⁶ Lovell did not mention the point along the river where Martin and his guardians would enter American territory because he did not know where it was.

A provision of the Treaty of Washington of May, 1871, which had settled the *Alabama* claims and the San Juan boundary dispute, provided for British rights to use the Stikine for "commercial purposes." This was a navigation right only, and made no mention of any kind of criminal jurisdiction in the area by British police traveling through American territory.¹⁷ It is obvious that Martin was fully aware of the problems inherent in his situation.

The two British constables who were escorting Martin to Victoria were either uncomprehending of the diplomatic problems they were facing or lacking in common sense. By their actions, they created a minor international crisis.

Martin was placed under the authority of Francis Beegan, a conscientious¹⁸ but dull police officer who seems to have been addicted to violence and strong drink. He was assisted by Special Constable Henry Richardson who was deputized for the occasion. They planned to ride by horseback to Glenora on the Stikine, then to put their prisoner on the river boat for Fort Wrangell where they would meet the mail steamer to Victoria. The three men set out on September 11, but did not maintain their schedule. They stopped frequently at mining camps and prospectors' cabins for food, whiskey, sociability or rest. As the delays mounted, Beegan became

States district court which would be created in the state.

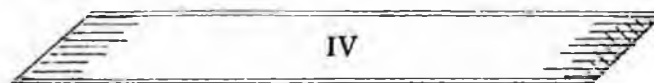
Also included in the bill were two provisions which the *Empire* regarded as "ridiculous."⁴² One of them would appropriate from the Treasury of the United States the entire sum which had been collected since 1867 from the leasing of the Pribilof seal rookery and the royalties on the skins and seal oil. This money, to be paid in twenty annual installments, would be distributed in equal proportions to each of the four judicial divisions into which the Territory was divided. One-third of the amount would be devoted to the improvement of public roads and two-thirds to the support of the public schools. What made the provision seem extraordinary was the magnitude of the grant, about \$29 million.⁴³ Such a gift would disregard the heavy costs which the federal government had incurred in connection with regulating the sealing and protecting the herd. The other curious provision of the bill was that the state would be allotted in the House of Representatives not one, but four, congressmen, one from each judicial division. With only 64,356 inhabitants in 1910, Alaska was far from entitled to even one congressman on the basis of population alone.

Wickersham was a realistic politician. He knew that neither the Territory nor Congress was ready for Alaska statehood. Operating the courts, enforcing the penal statutes, and paying the operating expenses of the legislature and the executive officers in the North cost \$500,000 or more a year. The federal government bore these costs, since it was Congress, not the Territorial legislature, which had enacted the bills which entailed these expenses. Congress would not, of course, pay for operating the legislature, executive office, and judiciary of a state.

Wickersham's reasons for introducing the bill are unclear. He had sat in Congress during the debates over statehood for New Mexico and Arizona and may well have been excited by them. These new members of the Union had been separate territories for nearly half a century. But Wickersham's statement that Alaska should start its campaign for statehood early because admission was unlikely to be won "in a year or a few years" does not adequately explain why he introduced the bill.⁴⁴ No hearings were held on it by the House Committee on the Territories; Wickersham himself seems to have dropped the matter, in spite of the enthusiasm for it of some of his supporters. Introduction of the bill became another of the "firsts" for which Wickersham, who had a keen sense of his place in history, had already become famous.

The *Dispatch* pointed out that the Wilson administration was taking good care of Democrats in Alaska who had been "true and tried in the faith." These Democrats promoted a "full territorial form of government," the newspaper

alleged, because they were afraid of losing their patronage appointments. The open political competition which statehood would bring entailed the risk of losing their jobs.⁴⁵ It is true the Republicans resented the recent diversion of patronage from members of their own party to Democrats. But the United States was preponderantly Republican, and there was no assurance that Wilson would remain in the White House beyond his first term. Since statehood was not imminent, Republicans would again occupy patronage positions. The *Empire* thought that statehood was being agitated for its political potential. It might become necessary to re-elect the Delegate a few more times before the goal could be achieved.⁴⁶ Wickersham undoubtedly hoped to gain political capital by his promotion of it, but his primary motive may have been negative. He had announced his intention to introduce the statehood bill near the height of Troy's attack on the unamended Organic Act. Wickersham thus appears to have employed statehood as a lance against the rhetoric of the Democratic Party for a "full territorial form of government." In 1916, a year after Wickersham had announced that he would introduce the bill, statehood may have seemed less useful to him, although he unquestionably looked forward to its eventual attainment.



In the midst of the boomlet which had been launched for statehood, the *Forty-Ninth Star* was born. This newspaper was a weekly which was published at Valdez, seat of the Third Division district court and a spawning ground of Alaska politicians. Its editor, John Frame, was a former attorney and newspaperman. Drawn northward from the state of Washington by the Gold Rush, he became a political ally of Hubbard and Wickersham and chairman of the Progressive-Democratic Party. During 1915-1917 he founded and edited newspapers at the recently-founded town of Anchorage in addition to the one at Valdez. The Valdez paper was being established, Frame announced, for the purpose of advocating statehood for Alaska. Until it was achieved, the *Forty-Ninth Star* would "twinkle continuously and everlastingly, not for a 'fuller Territorial form of government,' but a BETTER Territorial government. It is too 'full' already, that is, full of officers who are not representatives of the people of Alaska." Statehood was especially important, he wrote, because it would bring to the municipalities control of their tidelands and stream beds.⁴⁷

Frame's ambition received further impetus when a public meeting was held at the Valdez town hall on February 16, 1916, to organize Statehood Club No. 1. Oliver Hubbard was elected president

and authorized to nominate an executive committee, publicity committee, and organization committee. In addition, a constitution, written by Hubbard, and bylaws were adopted. It was hoped that other statehood clubs would be formed and that all of them would adopt the Hubbard constitution. Frame urged the people of Valdez to sign the document and to work for statehood, but many held back. One of its articles proclaimed that the club endorsed and approved both the concurrent resolution which Hubbard had introduced in the Second Territorial Legislature and the statehood bill which Wickersham would introduce in Congress. The bylaws of the club described the organization as non-partisan, but "a number of people" viewed it as political. They opposed statehood, Frame wrote, only because Wickersham was for it.⁴⁸

Frame editorialized persistently for statehood, but the popular spirit fell short of his own. He lamented: "If Valdez only had more public spirited men who would reach and grab old Opportunity by the forelock rather than all the time be looking down the bay for a squaw coming up from Tetitlick in her bidarka to buy a red shawl or a dill pickle, a mighty city would be established here on Valdez bay."⁴⁹ By the time Wickersham had introduced his statehood bill, Frame had done

what he could at Valdez. He would visit Seward and Selkovia, Anchorage, and other towns on Cook Inlet, he informed his readers, "to urge Alaskans to petition Congress for self government."⁵⁰ Primarily, however, he was going on a business and political trip. In May, 1916, the *Forty-Ninth Star* was relocated at Anchorage. Its last issue appeared on February 25, 1917; when the newspaper was sold on the following day, it ceased to twinkle under the original name.⁵¹ Thereafter it was known as the *Anchorage Weekly Democrat*, which did not survive beyond a few more weeks. Frame himself remained committed to statehood until his death in 1939.⁵²



The year 1916 was an election year. On April 15 John Frame's Progressive-Democratic Party again nominated James Wickersham for delegate, by acclamation, and endorsed the statehood bill he had introduced. A few days later the Territorial Republicans held their own meeting at the town of Seward. Wickersham had, on the same day that he had introduced the enabling bill, appealed to the Republican delegates to endorse his candidacy.⁵³ They declined to nominate him or anyone else.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the first plank in their platform of April 19 read: "We believe that the Territory of Alaska is entitled to more extended powers, and pledge our support to Statehood for the whole or part of the Territory."⁵⁵

Not until May 26 did the Territorial Democrats adopt their own platform. Naturally, they viewed a "full territorial form of government" as the most urgent of needs. The delegates also declared that their party stood for statehood, although they recognized that the struggle to secure it would be long.⁵⁶ Both of these positions were consistent with the Democratic platform adopted at Skagway in 1914. At that time the party had pledged itself to work for a full territorial government in the immediate future. It had also promised to work for statehood when the population of Alaska reached 200,000, which was somewhat under the average number of people represented then by a United States congressman.⁵⁷

Wickersham ran for re-election in 1916 but wrote his own platform. It ambiguously announced that he favored the "enactment of laws by Congress extending the powers of our Legislature so as to permit the full development of an American type of Territorial government in Alaska . . ." He also stood for statehood "as soon as it can be organized in the interest and to the advantage of the people."⁵⁸ The implication of these planks was clear: the bloom of statehood had begun to wilt. Some Alaskans had cultivated it seriously, but most had paid it little heed. It was a perennial, though, and would appear again when the climate was right.

Wrangell, agreed informally with local British officials that "Buck's" would be treated as being on Canadian soil, whether it actually turned out to be or not.⁹

The American Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, did not make any official protest to the British government about the location of "Buck's" until the following year. His action was prompted by the fact that other British subjects were constructing cabins at "Buck's" and unless he noted it, his silence would be interpreted as consent. Since these cabin builders were applying to British Columbia authorities for land titles, the United States could not remain silent. Fish, accordingly, urged that the British require their subjects to move farther up the river to undisputed land. The British, on the other hand, refused to concede Fish's position that "Buck's" was in Alaska until the ten-marine-league line had actually been surveyed. When American officers entered Choquette's saloon and closed the bar until he moved farther upstream, the grumbling proprietor yielded.¹⁰

In the mid-1870s, the United States was in an economic depression. The Army engineers estimated that it would cost a million and a half dollars to make an official survey of the

boundary.¹¹ Congress, therefore, refused to appropriate funds to determine the actual location of the Alaska-British Columbia line. Although the British Admiralty urged Her Majesty's Government to undertake a unilateral survey, warning that the aggressive Yankees were much more difficult to deal with than the indolent Russians, the Foreign Office took the attitude that in the absence of any survey, the United States bore the burden of proving where the boundary was. They insisted that any townsites or Custom houses or trading posts that were built on the Stikine were to be undisturbed until the Americans were willing to finance the survey.¹² They ignored expressed fears of the Admiralty office that some incident might disturb the calm and abrade tempers to the point that settlement would be difficult to reach.

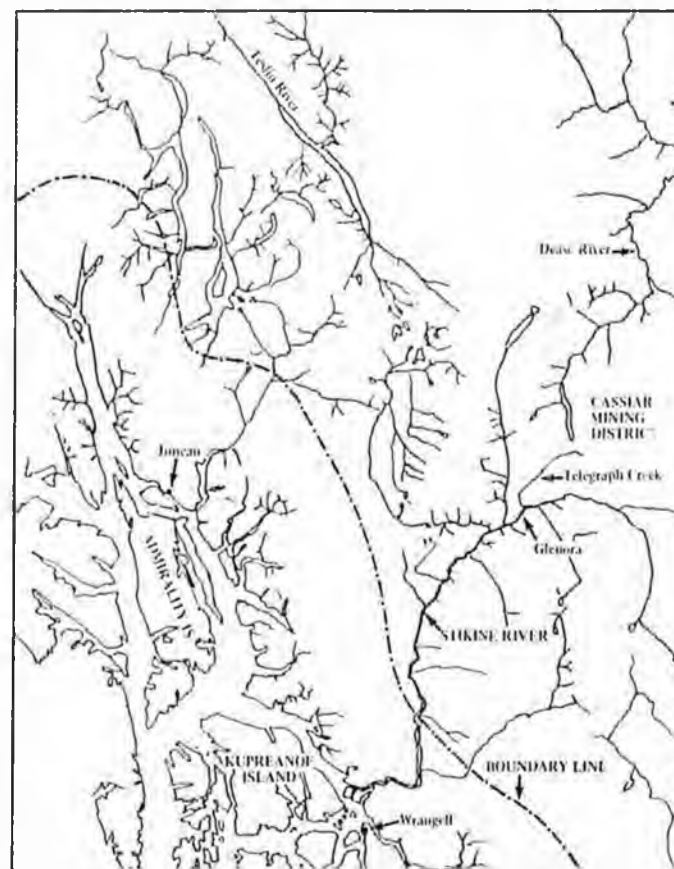
"BRICKTOP" MARTIN

The incident that the two governments dreaded took place in September, 1876, in the Cassiar mining district, when one of the miners, a red-haired Irishman named Peter Martin and known also as "Bricktop" Martin, was involved in a fight with a fellow miner. This was not the first time it had happened, for according to the local authorities, Martin was well known for his violent actions and his quick temper. In order to cool the hot temper, his fellow miners proposed that he be locked in the storeroom of a local merchant in Laketon, on Dease Lake, by Peace Officer Redgrave.¹³ Martin was not allowed to post bail, and the stipendiary magistrate, A. W. Vowell of Cassiar, ordered that he be confined in the impromptu jail for several days.

But Martin was an enterprising man. Since there were no toilet facilities in his prison, he demanded the right to go outside the building. Redgrave accompanied him, but as soon as Martin got outside, he broke away and began to run, hotly pursued by the officer. Redgrave overtook Martin and after a short but fierce struggle, overpowered him and forced him back to the "jail."

On September 6, the Hon. Justice J. H. Gray, Justice of the British Columbia Supreme Court, on circuit of the province, held court in Laketon. Martin was produced as a malefactor charged with "escape from custody and prison breach," and with "assaulting an officer in the execution of his duty." These were far more serious offenses than fighting, and Martin was found guilty and sentenced to three months in a genuine prison for jail break, with an additional twelve months for fighting with Redgrave. The only prison available for this kind of sentence was in Victoria, and Judge Gray ordered Martin taken there to serve his time.¹⁴

A portion of Southeastern Alaska, the Stikine River and the Cassiar, showing the approximate position of the boundary as of 1903.



First Move For Statehood

The 49th Star takes great pleasure in printing at this time the bill for Statehood, introduced by Senator O. P. Hubbard, in the second legislature of the Territory of Alaska. It is a document that will go down into history as the first official kick against this most unsatisfactory government by men who are not elected by the people governed: Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 8, Territory of Alaska, Second Session.

WHEREAS, The unalienable rights with which the Creator of the universe has endowed all men can best be obtained and exercised through the medium of a sovereign and independent state, with the full and complete powers enjoyed by other states, and

WHEREAS, The people of the Territory of Alaska are free-born, patriotic citizens of the United States possessing all the high and ennobling qualities and attributes of free men and women and,

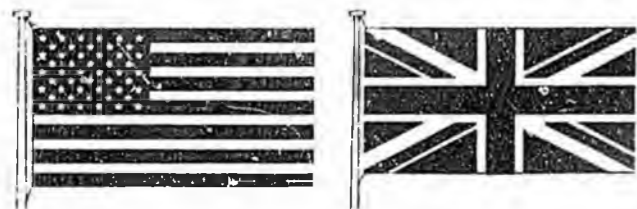
WHEREAS, The restrictions and limitations inherent in a Territorial form of government are unavoidably oppressive and annoying, and are not conducive to the full development of the

Stand for Statehood

Such has been the demand for copies of the first issue of The 49th Star that the supply has been entirely exhausted and orders from all parts of the Territory are still pouring in upon us. If any one has a copy of No. 1 that he does not care to keep we will send him The 49th Star one month free for it. Wrap it carefully and mail it us at once. Most of the people asking for this copy of The 49th Star say that they are going to keep a complete file of the paper as they are much interested in Statehood and are ready to enlist as a "Forty-niner." We still have a number of the copies of the second issue of the paper as we printed many more. We will try and get a copy of the preceding issues for all those who wish to keep a file of the "Forty-niner." It is going to contain much Alaskan history.

Delegate Wickersham is going to make the fight of his life to place that 49th star on the flag before he closes his official career. He has promised us some very interesting articles on that subject, and you should not miss reading them. Subscribe now and file every number away, for they will make interesting reading for your children and grandchildren.

THE PETER MARTIN CASE



By KEITH A. MURRAY

On March 30, 1867, the Imperial Russian government ceded its North American possessions to the United States for \$7,200,000 in gold.¹ By purchasing Alaska, the American government came into possession of an uncertain boundary between Portland Canal and Mount St. Elias, the area known today as Southeastern Alaska or The Panhandle. The boundary problem undermined amicable relations between Great Britain and the United States for almost forty years. The final settlement did not take place until 1903, after years of governmental procrastination, political oratory, and a commission that examined volumes of evidence and listened to months of expert legal and scientific testimony. The first dramatic confrontation over the issue, however, began in 1876 in what is known as the Peter Martin case.

The roots of the problem lay in the ambiguous wording of the Anglo-Russian convention of 1825, which provided that the boundary between Russian and British possessions in North America should be placed "at the summit of the mountains" inland from the coast, and that if the summit could not be determined, the line should be fixed not more than ten marine leagues inland. This line should follow the "sinuosities of the coast" until it met the 141st meridian.

Since Great Britain was concerned in 1825 only with settling marine questions, and was almost indifferent to land boundaries, it accepted this vague Russian wording. As time passed, however, it became obvious that no one knew where the summit of the mountains was or, indeed, which

mountains the Russians were referring to. No one even agreed upon the dimensions of a league,² though it was accepted as at least three miles. In addition, no one decided whether the word "sinuosities" meant that the border should follow every inlet or bay, or whether it should mean a line drawn from headland to headland. There were no maps that were specifically drawn to mark the boundary.³ After 1867, the Americans had no better idea of the dividing line than the Russians or the British had had forty-two years earlier.

Gold was discovered in the Stikine River valley in 1861.⁴ Prospectors continued their search for gold, and in July, 1872, a more valuable deposit was found in the Cassiar District north of the Stikine.⁵ The easiest way to get to this remote area in that decade was to follow the river from its mouth, near American-occupied Fort Wrangell, and to travel through an American corridor of unknown width until reaching either Glenora or Telegraph Creek, known to be in British territory. From there a short overland journey took them to Dease Lake and the Cassiar, which was also known to lie east of the boundary line. Just how far east, no one really knew. Although American authorities at Wrangell were uncooperative at first when British and American prospectors used the river as the highway to the gold fields, they obeyed direct orders from their superiors which permitted access to the Cassiar.⁶ They did, however, insist upon enforcing Customs regulations and collecting duty on certain goods.

"BUCK" CHOQUETTE

In May, 1874, through an informal British and American local agreement, it was announced that a tent-store constructed of logs and canvas and belonging to one A. Choquette, known to his associates as "Buck" Choquette, located about fifteen miles upstream from the river's mouth, would be the unofficial British Custom House in the future. All goods intended for the Cassiar were to be cleared at this point, where duty could be paid. The Americans at Sitka complained that "Buck's," as the tiny settlement was known, was located on United States soil.⁷ Choquette, however, insisted that his tent was two miles east of the British Columbia border. The United States Secretary of the Treasury denied this claim and instructed the Alaska Collector of Customs to treat "Buck's" as though it were on American soil.⁸ While the unilateral action of the Treasury Secretary was based only on an opinion, an admission that the British Custom House was east of the border would have been a *de facto* location of the boundary. Since there was no survey for use for authority, Major Berry, the commander at Fort

THE FORTY-NINTH STAR

VOLUME ONE

VALDEZ, ALASKA, DECEMBER 4, 1915.

NUMBER ONE

Those Tax

Case Appeals

There has been so much talk about these appeals from the Equalization Board of the taxes for the year 1915, that we will give the facts.

George Treat owns the lot on the corner where Tony's saloon was before the fire. Heretofore the lot has been assessed at

work all the time for a bare existence!!

The Valdez Dock company has built a wharf at the end of one of the principal streets of the town. It not only built its approach to the meander line, but built diagonally across the street within the corporate limits of the town 380 feet more of approach without asking the town authorities or any one else for the privilege. On this approach beyond the meander line, which is designated as the boundary

Goring the Wrong Ox

In the tax cases George Treat testified that property on Broadway avenue, which has no dock, was worth just as much for taxable purposes as the property on Alaska avenue on which the Valdez dock is situated. When the dock case was on for trial and Treat's attorney was endeavoring to establish the fact that the discontinuance of that wharf would ruin the values of property on Alaska avenue, Treat testified that his property

The Balance Sheet

In City's Favor

The Prospector features the dock decision in glaring headlines. It shows plainly that its heart lies with the corporations. It ridicules the council's endeavor to have the corporations and banks pay their proportion of the taxes.

But, let us see what the council has really done. Let us make

NOTES

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2. *Alaska Daily Empire* (Juneau), 8 April 1915.
3. *Daily Alaska Empire* (Juneau), 26 October 1928.
4. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 11 February 1915, 2 July 1914, 8 March 1915.
5. *Ibid.*, 29 September 1914.
6. *Daily Alaska Dispatch* (Juneau), 9 April 1915.
7. Territory of Alaska, *The Journal of the House of Representatives of the Second Legislative Assembly of Alaska* (1915), 11.
8. H.J.M. No. 3, as printed in *Ibid.*, 53-54, 89.
9. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 27 March 1915.
10. *Ibid.*, 4 March 1915.
11. *Ibid.*, 30 March 1915.
12. S.J.M. No. 2, Territory of Alaska, *Senate Journal of the Second Legislature of the Territory of Alaska* (1915), 95.
13. S.J.M. No. 2, as printed in U.S., Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., 1915, 53, pt. 1: 214.
14. Oliver Hubbard, as quoted in *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 7 April 1915.
15. S.C.R. No. 8, as printed in *Forty-Ninth Star* (Valdez), 18 December 1915.
16. Territory of Alaska, *Senate Journal* (1915), 98, 100.
17. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 31 March 1915.
18. Territory of Alaska, *Senate Journal* (1915), 126, 131, 150.
19. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 31 March 1915.
20. *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 1 April 1915.
21. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 1 April 1915.
22. *Ibid.*, 6 April 1915; *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 7 April 1915.
23. Hugh A. Johnson and Harold T. Jorgenson, *The Land Resources of Alaska* (New York: University Publishers, 1963), 424.
24. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 6 April 1915.
25. *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 7 April 1915.
26. *Ibid.*, 7 April 1915.
27. *Ibid.*, 8 April 1915; *Alaska Daily Empire*, 8 April 1915.
28. *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 9 April 1915.
29. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1915.
30. S.J.R. No. 7, Territory of Alaska, *Senate Journal* (1915), 137; *Alaska Daily Empire*, 13 April 1915.
31. Territory of Alaska, *Senate Journal* (1915), 192-193.
32. *Cordova Times*, quoted in *Alaska Daily Empire*, 20 November 1915.
33. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 9 December 1915.
34. H.R. 6887, as printed in U.S., Congress, House, *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., 1916, 53, pt. 1: 471; pt. 15 (Appendix): 1519.
35. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 31 August 1916.
36. *Anchorage Daily Times and Cook Inlet Pioneer*, 23 August 1916.
37. H.M. Smith to A.L. Thurman, 12 January 1916, as printed in U.S., Congress, *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., 1916, 53, Part 15 (Appendix), 1520.
38. James Wickersham, "The Forty-Ninth Star: The Next and Perhaps the Last State To Be Admitted to the Union Will Be Alaska," *Collier's*, V. 45, No. 20 (6 August 1910), 17.
39. *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 8 November 1910.
40. Selections from the diary of James Wickersham, quoted in *Jessen's Weekly* (Fairbanks), 23 April 1948.
41. 64th Cong., 1st sess., H.R. 13978, 30 March 1916.
42. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 17 October 1916.
43. *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 31 March 1916.
44. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 31 March 1916.
45. *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 2 April 1915, 26 May 1916, 15 October 1915.
46. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 20 October 1915.
47. *Forty-Ninth Star*, 4 December 1915.
48. *Ibid.*, 19 February 1916; Constitution of Statehood Club No. 1, as printed in *Ibid.*, 4 March 1916.
49. *Ibid.*, 25 March 1916.
50. *Ibid.*, 1 April 1916.
51. Evangeline Atwood, *Forty-Ninth Star* (Anchorage), 10 February 1946; Robert N. De Armond, personal letter, 12 April 1971.
52. John E. Pegues, *Jessen's Weekly*, 2 May 1947.
53. *Forty-Ninth Star*, 15 April 1916.
54. *Alaska Daily Empire*, 20 April 1916.
55. Alaska Territorial Republican platform of 1916, as printed in *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 5 May 1916.
56. Alaska Territorial Democratic platform of 1916, as printed in *Alaska Daily Empire*, 26 May 1916.
57. *Ibid.*, 7 August 1914.
58. James Wickersham platform of 1916, as printed in *Daily Alaska Dispatch*, 1 September 1916. ■

ECLIPSE AT CHILKAT

By FREDERICK W. SEWARD

When William H. Seward, the former Secretary of State, and his party visited Southeastern Alaska on the steamer ACTIVE in the summer of 1869, a stop was made at the mouth of the Chilkat River. George Davidson of the U. S. Coast Survey and other scientists were camped a short distance up the river, waiting to observe an eclipse of the sun. Seward, his son Frederick, and others of the party were invited to visit the camp and see the eclipse from that vantage point. Frederick W. Seward wrote about it in "Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State," published in 1891:

The excursion party was soon made up, Seward, General Davis, and others going in one of the

Active's boats. Pulling rapidly up the river, they soon lost sight of the steamer, as she came cautiously along behind them, feeling her way with the lead, in unknown waters. A few hours sufficed to bring them to their destination. They were heartily welcomed on shore by Mr. Davidson and by the Chilkat chief, who had placed one of his great lodges at the service of the scientific party, and another at that of the "Great Tyee" and the "General." Here they supped upon fresh fish and game, cooked at the blazing fire in the center of the lodge, and passed a comfortable night, with semi-civilized, semi-savage surroundings, wrapped in bear-skins and army blankets.

The eclipse was to occur on the 7th [of August], and when

Mr. Davidson commenced posting his assistants at different standpoints, one armed with a telescope, another with a sextant, another with a camera, another with the chronometer, and another with pencil and note-book, all gazing intently at the sun, and pointing their mysterious instruments toward him, it seemed proof positive, to the uneducated Indian mind, that they were a sort of sharpshooters taking aim at that luminary. When, at the time announced, the first faint line of obscuration began to appear on the disc of the sun, stolidity and incredulity gave way to visible anxiety; and the Indians silently gathered more closely round the little circles of observers. When these were shifting their instruments and noting their observations, and Davidson was passing rapidly and quietly from one to another, giving directions and receiving reports, it certainly looked as if the "Boston men" were personally conducting the exhibition.

The shadow had crept about half-way over the face of the sun, when the Chilcats began to expostulate. They said they were convinced of the "Boston men's" skill; but they had seen enough now, and they feared bad consequences if the thing went further. But the observers were too busy to listen or explain.

The black shadow crept steadily on and on, over the sun. The weird, unusual light, which was neither day nor night, settled down over mountain, river, and forest. Birds and insects were hushed, and sombre silence gradually covered the scene.

Apprehension had been entertained that cloudy weather might frustrate all the labors of the expedition. But the clouds, just in time, rolled aside, and

their lives. Her threat came from her dramatic flair, Ballou decided, but soon after this she shot herself.

The incident may have decided Ballou to abandon the life of Rampart's leading gallant. That fall he visited his family in Vermont, then returned to Rampart in the spring with a bride.

For the next few years, Ballou worked on in the Rampart region. Occasionally he would go farther afield to prospect, but he always returned to his claims at Rampart. He enjoyed the pleasures of family life but became more and more disenchanted with mining. "I have little to show for years of hard work," he reported in 1906.

At other times things looked somewhat better and he was able to invest his earnings in his brother's business in Vermont. In 1906 he was also appointed United States Commissioner at Rampart, a position of respect but with light duties. As Commissioner he acted as justice of the peace and recorder and was known as Judge Ballou.

Still, each year he considered whether he should leave Alaska for good. "Hope to leave mining and go outside," he wrote in 1909. In 1910 he thought he might move instead to the new mining center of Iditarod. By 1911 he had "been studying, rather than to go on working and handing profits to the Northern Commercial Company."

Ballou made a winter visit to his family in Vermont and in the spring returned to Rampart with a bride.

University of Alaska Archives



That fall he did go out to San Francisco for the winter, taking his family with him. The family now included a son. But he was not content there, either: "San Francisco is a lonesome town. Wish I was back on the Yukon. No good red hot stove in the Post Office as at Rampart, where a fellow can start a good argument on most any subject. People are too busy here." After looking around for some investment property in the Bay area, the Ballous returned to Rampart.

In 1915 the residents made an effort to get the school, which had been forced to close with the decline in population, reopened. The attempt failed and Ballou was concerned about the education of his son. "The boy is seven, and by the time he is nine we will have to rope and tie him to get him to school unless we go Outside." This was probably one reason why, at long last, Ballou sold his Rampart interests and moved to Seattle in 1917. He tried to enlist in the Army but was over the age limit. For a time he had an automobile sales business; then he traded it for a sixty-acre farm outside Seattle. Next he got a "soft job" as a supervisor with an auditing firm.

The aging Sourdough settled into his new life and the lure of Alaska's gold no longer moved him. Judge Ballou, for so many years one of Rampart's leading citizens, never returned to the North.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

The letters of William B. Ballou, recently acquired by the University of Alaska Archives, provided most of the material used here. References to Tex Rickard are based on Charles Samuel's biography, "The Magnificent Rube," and those to Rex Beach upon his autobiography, "Personal Exposures." Also consulted were Donald Orth's "Dictionary of Alaska Place Names" and *The Alaska Forum*, Rampart's weekly newspaper, published from September 27, 1900, to July 7, 1906. There is no published history of the mining camps of the interior of Alaska. A recent book, Richard Mathew's "The Yukon," does not even mention the town of Rampart, and the story of Fairbanks has never seen print in book form. ■



William H. Seward

young lady. But Ballou was out-manuevered. After establishing the girl in his town cabin, he had to spend some time at his mine. On his return to town he found the girl betrothed to another man, one Durfee, a friend of Ballou's and the wastrel son of a big Wisconsin lumber tycoon. With some reluctance Ballou gave the couple his blessing.

For a time the town's "400," as Ballou liked to term the social leaders, ostracized him. He was blamed for the match-making between a woman of dubious reputation and the wayward young man. The displaced lover assuaged his disappointment with work. There was always plenty to do on the various claims.

Sometimes, unnecessarily, Ballou apologized to his brother for the lack of literary talent in his letters. It wasn't easy to write gracefully while living in a 16-by-18-foot cabin with six or eight other men. Yet such company also added a measure to life. These were men who called the world their home. Their stories revealed a rich variety of experiences. Ballou admired these men for all their characteristics save one, "that everlasting craving for change, travel and excitement which keeps them always on the go and always broke." But, he asked his brother, "Do you wonder I like this life with these free and careless people, any one of whom... will take their winter wages next spring and buck the first gambling table until not a dollar is left, and move up or down the river to another camp?"

In the summer of 1902 Ballou took a temporary job with the Northern Commercial Company. The firm was closing down its store at Fort Hamlin, an old trading station on the Yukon forty miles northeast of Rampart. Ballou figured his bookkeeping was equal to the task since all the records were encompassed in a cash book. He found it "restful to be out of the whirl of big Rampart." The town

by then may have had a population of 500 or fewer.

A little romantic musing enlivens a correspondence, and Ballou enjoyed titillating his brother at times with alluring images of the free and untrammelled life on the banks of the Yukon. His experience did

humble home out in God's beautiful country." The rheumatism to which all miners seemed prey affected his mood that winter. He could do no more than hobble about.

Then word reached him that his friend and rival, Durfee, had died and left a lonely widow.



The business district of Rampart, with the Northern Commercial Company store almost in the center of the picture.

not include any observations of Turkish harems, except, possibly, through the pages of Sunday newspaper supplements, but still he could make comparisons:

"We see a fair maiden with black, sparkling eyes, her red lips and row of white teeth shining through the everlasting smile, dressed in her bright calico dress, without corset or underclothes, and seated in the doorway of her tent on a pile of luxurious fur robes and blankets, doing beadwork and making a picture similar to what you see of the harem in Turkey and those eastern countries. The maidens have such a pleasant, although rather bold (at least, it would be bold in Boston), way of blushing, very coy like..."

In the winter of 1903 Ballou liked the Yukon country less. "I'm getting to hate this desolate waste of a country pretty fierce, and long for even a quiet little

The widow took charge of nursing Ballou's rheumatism and, for a time, all was blissful in the town cabin. Unfortunately, this did not last. The young woman was pregnant by her dead husband, and badly addicted to dope. Ballou tried to keep her off the dope and to ration her formidable booze consumption, without much success. Her baby was born but lived only a short time.

Money was sent from her in-laws in Wisconsin and Ballou submitted a bill for her use of his cabin. "My deed was horrible and disgusting and against the rules of the underworld," he wrote, blaming the hard life in the North for his cold-blooded attitude on this occasion. She put him out of the house. After a few weeks she demanded that he find some dope for her, and when he refused she brandished a revolver and threatened both



Frederick W. Seward

excellent observations were taken. For additional precaution, Davidson had posted a second party on the mountain side, a mile or two away. These now telegraphed, by signal fires, that their view also was unobstructed.

On board the *Active*, still other scientific observers were posted. The unscientific were also gazing at the phenomenon through smoked glass and in buckets of water placed on the deck. When the eclipse became total, the chickens in the coop went to roost, the cow laid down contentedly for the night, and some of the Sitka Indians, who had been taught by the Russians, fell on their knees, and fervently repeated the Lord's Prayer in Greek.

There were unmistakable signs and exclamations of relief, when the shadow began to pass away. The Indians were now convinced that the "Boston men" were taking it off, as skillfully and methodically as they had put it

on. The Coast Survey party were highly pleased with the successful termination of their long enterprise; and general cheerfulness came back with the sunshine.

Shortly before the time appointed for returning on board, the Chilcat chief invited his guests to come to his lodge, to meet the principal people of his tribe. The assemblage numbered two or three hundred. The chiefs, of greater or less degree, the warriors, the medicine men, and the women, stood, in grave, passive rows, all around the sides of the building, the chief (Klakautch) and his guests being seated in the center.

The latter had not quite understood whether this gathering was for a formal and ceremonious greeting, or for some other purpose. They were not left long in doubt.

As soon as all had assembled, Klakautch rose, and uttered a few emphatic sentences, which

the interpreter proceeded to translate.

"Some time ago, the Kalosh (Sitka Indians) killed three of the Chilcats. Now the Great Tyee has come, we have gathered to ask him—What is he going to do about it?"

So sudden and direct a demand seemed to require a categorical answer; and Seward had never even heard of the case. He asked:

"When did this killing take place?"

Question and answer were translated by the interpreter. The date was given, in Indian fashion, reckoning by "suns" and "moons." It appeared that it happened nine or ten years before.

"Then it happened," Seward replied, "when this country belonged to the Emperor of Russia, long before it became the property of the United States. He was a great sovereign, who listened to the Indians, and treated them with kindness. This demand should have been made to him."

Evidently this reply was not at all satisfactory. The chiefs consulted together; and presently their answer came back, through the interpreter:

"We did appeal to the Emperor of Russia, but he gave us no redress. Perhaps he was too poor. We know he was poor; because he had to sell his land to the great 'Tyee.' But now the great 'Tyee' himself is here, in his stead. And we want to know what he is going to do about it?"

Seward conferred with General Davis, and then asked:

"How many men were murdered?"

"Three," was the answer.

"And what sort of redress do you yourselves desire?"

There was visible brightening up in the faces of the Indians at this. They consulted as before; and presently came their response:

"A life for a life is the Indian law; and always has been. But as

these three Chilcats were of the chief's family, we reckon each of their lives to be equal to the lives of three common Indians. What we want, then, is, the great 'Tyee's' permission to send our warriors down to kill nine of the Kalosh (Sitkas), in order to avenge the death of the Chilcats."

To this Seward replied with promptness, that it was not to be thought of. No killing would be allowed. He then asked:

"Is there any other form of reparation that you think might be made?"

The faces of the Indians beamed with satisfaction when this was translated to them. It

Territory. He thought it advisable, however, to give the adjustment greater solemnity and effect by requiring the Chilcats to appoint commissioners to proceed to Sitka; and there to receive the blankets for their tribe, and exchange tokens of amity with the Sitka Indians.

This arrangement proved highly satisfactory all around. The Chilcats, who hitherto could not safely venture into the region occupied by their enemies, were glad of an opportunity to visit Sitka, see its wonders, and make friends with its Indians. So the meeting broke up with mutual congratulations. The climax was added to the general rejoicing,

whole company; but it was entirely in accordance with Indian usage that the six chiefs should sit in state at the cabin table, while their wives and attendant warriors gathered on deck round the open skylight, through which the viands were passed out to them; while they had full view of the proceedings below.

The chiefs had, for the most part, discarded savage ornament, and wore such clothes as white men, Klakautch especially astonishing his hosts by appearing accurately attired in a neat suit of black broadcloth. On deck there was merriment with the feasting; in the cabin all was grave and decorous, with little conversation, until the principal courses had been disposed of.

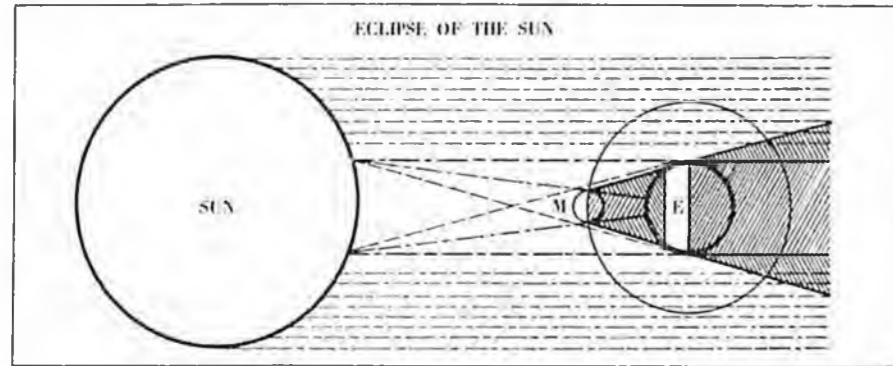
After the exchange of various information about the territory and the government, Seward inquired if there was anything further that the chiefs would like to ask? They consulted, according to their wont, and presently answered, through their interpreter, that they would like to have the great Tyee tell them about the eclipse.

Seward accordingly proceeded to explain the phenomenon in the simplest language possible, using as illustrations the cabin lamp to represent the sun, and an orange and an apple to represent earth and moon. When he had finished, he inquired if the chiefs had understood his explanation?

After conference, as before, the reply came back:

"The chiefs have understood much, though not all, the great Tyee has told them. They understand him as saying that the eclipse was produced by the Great Spirit, and not by man. Since he says so, they will believe it. They have noticed, however, that the Great Spirit generally does whatever the 'Boston men' want him to."

With this shrewd comment on ethics and astronomy, the feast ended and with cordial salutations, the Chilcats embarked in their canoes.



began to look like business. They consulted as usual, and answered:

"We know that the 'Boston men' are averse to any killing, except by their own soldiers. So we have sometimes consented to take pay in blankets. We think that the life of each Indian is worth about four blankets. Nine times four blankets, if the great 'Tyee' chooses to give them to us, would be full redress, and make our hearts glad; and we should henceforth regard the Kalosh (or Sitkas) as our friends and brothers."

"Well, General," said Seward, "there you have the conclusion of the case. I think we can afford to give them thirty-six blankets to make peace between the tribes. Shall I tell them you will send them up?"

The General was very well pleased, as this would end the last of the Indian disputes, and establish peace throughout the

when the Chilcat chiefs were invited to row down to the *Active*, and dine there with the General and the great Tyee.

Toward evening a picturesque sight was seen from the *Active's* deck. Round the bend of the river a flotilla came sweeping downstream, the ship's boats leading with measured strokes, then the boats bringing the Coast Survey party with their equipage and baggage, and behind and around them all the brightly-colored and gayly-decorated canoes of the Chilcats. Arrived on board, the stewards and cook went busily to work to meet the responsibilities imposed upon them; and soon a banquet was spread, bewildering in its variety, considering the limited resources of the ship's larder and the Sitka market; and lavish in its quantity, since all who were to partake of it were blessed with good appetites. The cabin was too small to accommodate the

the local gossip: "My friend, Tommy McGraw, went to Short and Dirty instead of Scar Face Ellen as was his habit on reaching town. Passing Ellen's cabin later, she took three shots at him with a .44 Colt, carefully missing but getting him to beg for his life. He spent the night with her. Morale: Don't play with the affections of a squaw. He is trying to keep it quiet."

Judge Wickersham, the pioneer jurist of the interior of Alaska whose circuit covered an immense area, convened federal court in Rampart for the first time that spring. Wickersham's resident courthouse was in Eagle, but he made sweeps down the Yukon to hold court in Circle and Rampart. Dog sled journeys of up to a thousand miles were involved, and Ballou praised Wickersham's efforts,

center of the original Klondike Rush. The town was less lively in 1901 than in earlier years, but it was still the metropolis of the Yukon and offered more of the amenities of life than the much smaller towns along the river. Three dance halls entertained the stomping miners. They bought four chips for a dollar. One of these went to the dance partner, one to the house, and the other two could be redeemed in drinks at the bar.

"One has no idea what excesses a man will go to until seeing a western dance hall," wrote Ballou, who could not imagine miners throwing away a hard earned twenty dollars to gain one little kiss from a show girl.

But the miners weren't the only ones with money to blow. Soon after the big rush began,

Ballou and was determined to run through his money before he had to return. It didn't take long. The soldier danced every dance until 5 a.m., and threw down a drink after each whirl. Two Mounties tried to match him but had to be put to bed by 2 a.m., Ballou reported with some national pride.

Young Ballou found romance on this Dawson trip. It all began with a tear in the eye of Miss Corrine Gray, caused by the harassment of the Mounties. The Mounties had it in for Miss Gray because one of their officers had committed suicide as a result of his unrequited love for her. Her professional interests suffered because of this police interference and she was sinking into debt. Jail threatened. Would Ballou save her?

Indeed he would, and just before his steamer was to embark for the voyage back downriver to Rampart, he smuggled the girl into his cabin. Clearing Dawson was no problem but by the time the steamer reached Fortymile, the last stop before the border was reached, the Mounties on duty there had a telegram telling them of Miss Gray's departure. A boarding party searched the ship from stem to stern. In Ballou's cabin they found a sleeper they could not rouse; an empty whiskey bottle protruding from under his pillow told the story. The Mounties gave up and the girl, who had been under the blankets, came up for air.

Sheer delight attended the remainder of the voyage. Ballou would have been "perfectly willing to sail on like that for ages." They discussed the future. She decided to open a sporting house in Rampart, where he could "go for a home whenever he wished." Though the risks of running afoul the Mounties had been considerable, Ballou enjoyed the adventure and the affections of the grateful Miss Gray.

Lots of gossip attended the arrival of the steamer at Rampart where the small community watched the proud man disembark with his attractive

Mining claim in the Rampart District, probably on Little Minook Junior.

Photo by Mrs. Henry Wallack



particularly as in another dispute over a mining claim the judge had found in his favor. "I now call the judge a nice fellow."

Though clearly an earnest and hard-working young man, Ballou did take some time for recreation. In September of 1901 he took a holiday in Dawson, the

Uncle Sam established military posts on the Yukon at Eagle and Tanana, with a contingent at Rampart. Soldiers on the upper river naturally looked to Dawson as their leave town. An Army lieutenant hit the Canadian metropolis, with \$500 in quarterly pay, the same time as

ALASKA'S RUSSIAN GOVERNORS

Ivan Kupreianov

By RICHARD A. PIERCE

Editor's note: Dr. Pierce commenced this series on the Chief Managers of the Russian-American Company in our second issue, and it will be continued in future issues until completed.

On October 29, 1835, four days after his arrival in Sitka, Captain First Rank Ivan Kupreianov succeeded Baron F. P. Wrangel as Chief Manager of the Russian-American Company colonies. Kupreianov was born about 1799 and entered the naval academy ten years later, in April, 1809. He later served on various vessels based on the Baltic Sea.



Shaman's Rattle.

In 1819, Kupreianov was assigned as a midshipman on the sloop *Mirnyi*, under Lieutenant M. P. Lazarev, to accompany the sloop *Vostok*, under Captain Second Rank Bellingshausen, on a voyage to the Antarctic. The two vessels left Kronshtadt on July 4 and in a notable chapter in the history of exploration they circled Antarctica, touching at several points on its coast. They then discovered a number of islands in the South Pacific and returned to Kronshtadt in August, 1821.

On June 24, 1822, Kupreianov began another long voyage. This was on the frigate *Kreiser*, again under Lieutenant Lazarev, and they carried cargo for Kamchatka and Russian America. The ship returned to Kronshtadt on August 24, 1825.

Then, for awhile, Kupreianov took part in hydrographic surveys of the Gulf of Finland, and in 1828, with the rank of Captain-Lieutenant, he commanded a frigate during operations in the Black Sea against Turkey. In 1829 he served as adjutant to the Naval Chief of Staff, Prince Menshikov. He then had various duties in the Baltic until August 29, 1834, when as Captain First Rank he was appointed to the post of Chief Manager of the Russian colonies. He and his wife accordingly set out across Siberia to Okhotsk, where, on August 28, 1835, they boarded the Russian-American Company ship *Sitka*. After a stormy passage they arrived at Sitka on October 25.

As Chief Manager, Kupreianov made annual trips to different parts of his vast jurisdiction. In 1836 he visited Kodiak Island, and in 1837 was at Atkha and Unalaska. In 1838 he went on the company steamer *Nikolai* to the Redoubt St. Dionysius near the mouth of the Stikine River, and made a voyage to Yakutat Bay.



Native Chief of Sitka.

At the same time, Kupreianov carried out company policy by promoting the study of the region. In 1836 a company employee, Kolmakov, ascended

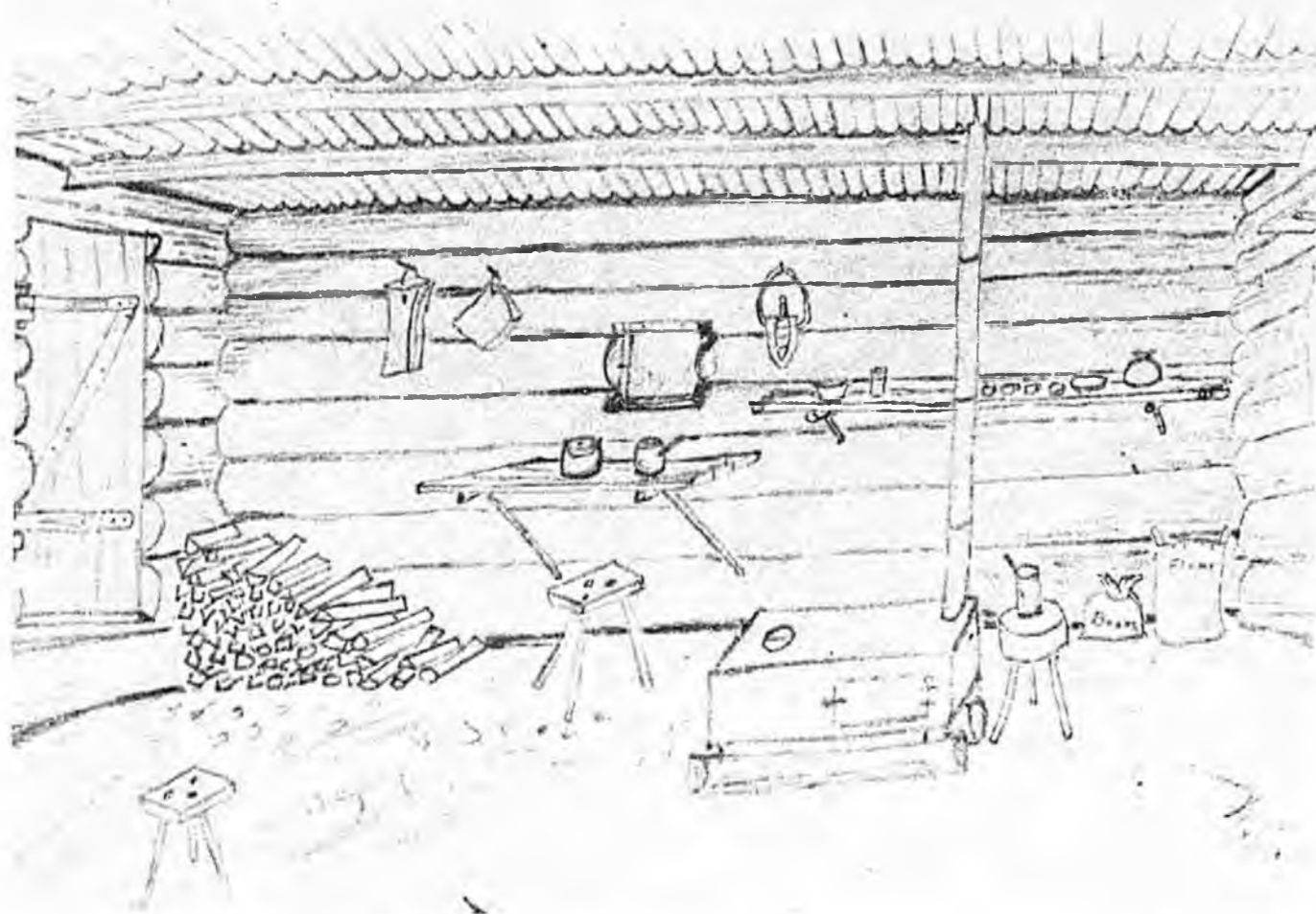
the Kuskokwim River in baidarkas, and Lieutenant Voronkovskii studied the south coast of the Alaska Peninsula. In 1838, Kupreianov sent out A. F. Kashevarov with the company ship *Polifem* on an expedition during which he studied the easternmost coasts of Siberia and the north coast of Alaska to a point thirty miles beyond Point Barrow.



Grave House.

During Kupreianov's time as Chief Manager, the supply ship *Elena*, under Lieutenant Tebenkov, which had left Kronshtadt on August 5, 1835, arrived safely at Sitka on April 14, 1836, an unusually quick passage. In 1836 the garrison at Redoubt St. Michael repelled a Native attack. In the same year, Sitka was on short rations because of a crop failure at the Ross settlement in California, and there was a smallpox epidemic.

In 1837, the schooner *Chilka*, under Lieutenant Voronkovskii, returning to Sitka after a voyage to the Kurile Islands, was wrecked on Baranov Island and all hands were lost. In December of that same year, Father Herman, the oldest missionary in the colonies, died on Spruce Island, near Kodiak, at the age of eighty-one. He had just completed a shrine in memory of Archimandrite



Kitchen portion of the cabin on Claim No. 21, Little Minook Junior, 1901.

University of Alaska Archives

Ballou felt relaxed. "After three such summers I think I would lose all desire to go back and would get me a squaw and have 18 children like Captain Mayhev (Mayo), who has been here for thirty-two years," he wrote.

But this mood passed and as fall approached he set to work. From the original fourteen men his crew jumped to twenty-two, and in addition he had two women cooks at work. "Working two dozen men for the winter without a dollar in my pocket and no cash credit is something you can't do back in careful old New England, eh?" he chided his brother, Walt.

"Big or bust this year," was Ballou's motto, and if he busted he would head for Nome. More and more good news coming up from that camp made him restless.

Through that winter Ballou was occupied by his work and

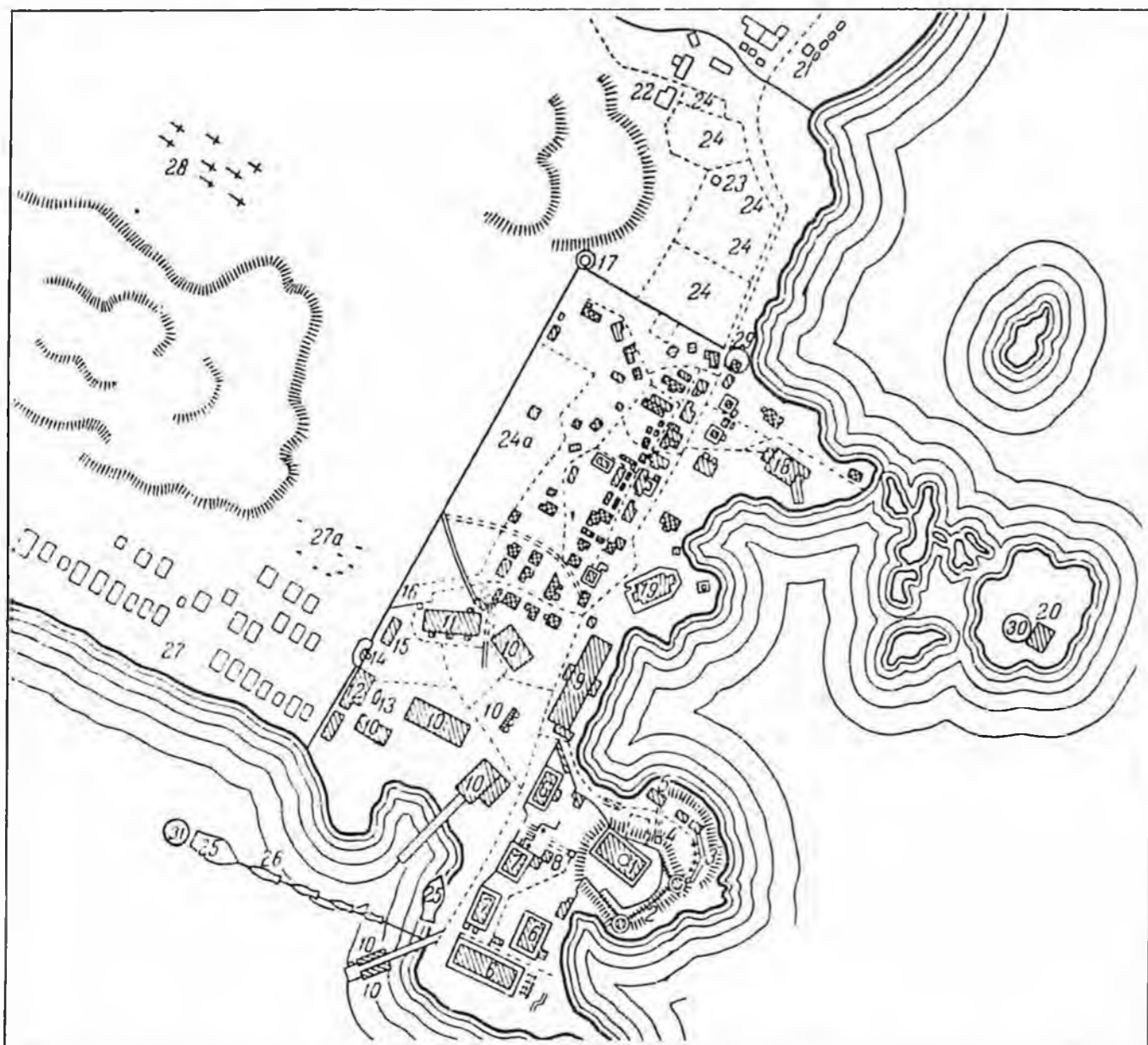
the successful sale of one claim which enabled him to get out of debt. Legal matters occupied him as well. Twice he had to defend his claims in court against jumpers. The second time he handled his own case and won.

That winter saw the great exodus down the river to Nome. On one day more than a hundred dog teams halted in Rampart for a rest before they pushed on. Men came on foot, they came on bicycles, and they came "necking" their own sleds. Many chroniclers have recorded the journey from Dyea and Skagway over the mountains to the Klondike country, but little has been written on the 1,700-mile winter trek down the Yukon from Dawson to Nome in the winter of 1899-1900, and it must have been nearly as arduous for those without dogs. Ballou was astonished when a neighbor of his, sixty years old, insisted upon

setting out down the river when the temperature hovered at twenty below zero. Such was the lure of Nome, where Tex Rickard's gambling saloon was already making a mint and where Rex Beach, too, was to strike it rich.

With the opening of steamboat traffic on the river in June, Ballou followed the crowd to Nome, but after three days in the booming camp he decided to go on to Seattle. "This is a hot camp, but see no show for a mining man here. Everything is taken. There have been three fatal shootings here since I arrived so we have had a dead man for breakfast most every morning."

After a winter back in Vermont, Ballou returned to Rampart in the spring of 1901. His zest for the community had not faded. He regaled Walt with



Alexander Doll

Map of the town of Sitka in 1836, by Edward Leontief Blashke, surgeon of the ship NICKOLAI. The numbered structures are: 1. House of the chief manager. 2. Fort, with watchtowers. 3. Shore battery. 4. Northern trap door (evidently an entry to the fort). 5. Bathhouse for employees. 6. Warehouses. 7. Houses for employees. 8. Arsenal. 9. Barracks for married employees and orphanage for girl orphans. 10. Admiralty buildings and shops. 11. Officers' quarters. 12. Naval school with dormitories for boys. 13. Model of a ship (perhaps used in connection with the school). 14. Battery. 15. Kitchen for employees. 16. Koloshin (Indian) marketplace. 17. Tower

with guns. 18. Hospital. 19. St. Michael's Church (predecessor of the cathedral). 20. Warehouse for salted fish. 21. Shops for making rope. 22. Cattle yard. 23. Icehouse, dug into the ground. 24. Vegetable gardens, company and private. 24a. Vegetable garden of the chief manager. 25. Ship's hull used as a warehouse. 26. Warship. 27. Indian houses. 27a. Tlingit cemetery. 28. Russian cemetery. 29, 30, 31. Places from which an artist, I. G. Voznesensky, made drawings of the town. It should be noted that the town, enclosed by a stockade, did not extend very far east of the later site of St. Michael's Cathedral.

Ioasaf, with whom he had come as a member of the original group of missionaries in 1794.

A view of Sitka in Kupreianov's time is provided by Captain Edward Belcher, commander of Her Majesty's ship *Sulphur*, which performed hydrographic surveys in the Pacific between 1836 and 1842,

and was the first foreign warship ever to visit Sitka.

The *Sulphur* arrived off Sitka on September 12 (new style) 1837, and Kupreianov's secretary went out in a baidarka to meet her, followed by a pilot. The wind failed, so the assistant governor, Lieutenant Rosenberg, went out with several boats to

tow them in. The tide, however, proved too strong; darkness fell, and they dropped anchor about two miles from the fort. Belcher and Rosenberg went ashore in the ship's gig to call on Kupreianov, who, Belcher wrote, "received me in the warmest manner, and tendered all the facilities which the port or arsenal could afford."

for the homesick young man until April. Then he received a bundle of sixteen letters at once and devoured them greedily.

In the spring, Ballou and his two partners hit pay dirt on one of the claims they worked on the creek known as Little Minook Junior, getting up to two dollars to the pan. No wild dash to town to buy drinks for the house attended their discovery. Instead, they worked on, talked to no one, and bought up several more claims in the vicinity. Their very caginess and reticence was enough to spark a small stampede and soon newcomers had staked the entire hillside rising up from the creek.

"The Silent Three," as the eastern boys were called by some of the other miners, burned fires day and night to sink their shafts down through the permafrost to bedrock where the substantial pay dirt would be found. Feeling expansive, they hired six men to help out on their Little Minook Junior claims, and two others to prospect for them on another stream that was said to be promising.

the disease which affected miners as much as it did sailors. Rampart's graveyard held only one occupant when Ballou and his party arrived; now it contained a more substantial population. Heart disease and scurvy were the chief killers, but, over the winter, there had also been one suicide and seven men had been frozen to death on the trail. Ballou's recovery followed rapidly on his return to town where fresh foods were available.

He planted a garden and reflected upon his good fortune. Rampart's population had peaked at somewhere between two and three thousand, but only a few of the miners had been successful. Hundreds left daily for Nome or for the Outside. Ballou's concern was that all those joining the exodus would give Rampart a bad name. The country "is all right for the right class of people: hustling and hard working. But there are too many kid-glove, lead pencil miners, and the sooner they get out, the better," he wrote.

the work is too hard for this chicken to get nothing but a living out of it."

The same refrain would occasionally punctuate Ballou's letters to his brother for many years before he finally made up his mind to leave. His lament expressed the situation of most miners in Alaska. Only a few men struck it rich; the great majority of those who stayed on had to work hard on their claims to make expenses and subsistence. And most of them eventually sold out to large operators who came in with dredging equipment. From that point, if the miners remained, they worked as employees of the corporations.

Ballou did no more work on the claims during that summer and fall. Instead, he sat around the Post Office, showed samples of nuggets, boasted a little, and hoped the word of his success would spread. With the next spring, outsiders would come flocking in and the younger miner hoped to unload his claims upon some of them at a profit.

In September, 1899, Ballou's two partners left for the South, but he decided to carry on. He hired fourteen men who were willing to risk waiting for their pay until bedrock proved rich, if it did prove rich. And he was able to get credit to purchase a steam thawer, a winch, and the other necessary machinery. Only he knew what a desperate gamble was involved, but he counted upon eventually receiving aid from a financial backer in the East.

News of the golden beaches of Nome floated up the river. It sounded ridiculously easy, in the telling, to make a fortune on the Seward Peninsula. All a man had to do was stand on the beach with a primitive rocker. There was no back-breaking shovel work, no thawing or shoring, no hoisting of heavy muck up a shaft. That was the way the story went, but it was a dream to which Ballou did not succumb. He figured Nome was overrated.

After a leisurely summer of fishing, hunting and boating,



The Rex Beach cabin at Rampart in 1922.

Photo from Mrs. Albert Guetz

By the end of May they finished their clean-up, the sluicing of the thawed muck that had been hauled up the shafts during the months of hard work. The return heartened them. Though far from being millionaires, they had a good gain for their winter's labors.

Then Ballou fell ill with scurvy. The winter's diet of bacon and beans left him prey to

But the results of the season's second wash-up almost crushed Ballou. His share amounted to a meager \$100. Naturally his mood shifted abruptly from the euphoria he expressed earlier in the spring. Now, he wrote his brother Walt, he felt disposed to jump the country for the "Outside." "Don't be foolish and come here," he warned. "This country has been boomed and

washer, a Klondike stove, or a dog team with one lame dog which would get well by tomorrow."

While waiting for his ship to the North, Ballou had time for a visit to San Francisco which he found to be as wicked as its reputation, even outdoing New York in venality. "All the women paint," he noted, and added that the girls of Chinatown dispensed their favors at very modest rates.

Back in Seattle, Ballou joined a group heading for the Tanana country. Their steamer carried them to St. Michael where they made connection with a Yukon steamboat. On the way up the river, Ballou heard about the Rampart strike and decided to bypass the Tanana and go on to the new camp. His river voyage was mostly comfortable, although the boat did run hard aground at one point. On that occasion mutiny threatened and brewed among the disgruntled passengers, ninety-nine of them, who agreed to depose the vessel's officers and take over themselves. All signed an agreement to stand by their elected leaders in any eventuality; then they set to work to unload the steamer and the barge it was pushing, in hope of floating them free of the sandbar. It didn't work. After several days of hard work, the steamer and barge remained aground, so the new order dissolved. Authority was restored to the officers and they eventually got the steamer moving upriver again.

Once ashore at Rampart, Ballou bought a town lot for \$50, a price low enough to indicate how early an arrival he was. Building a log cabin was the first job for Ballou and his partner. Timber of sufficient length had to be secured two miles up the river, floated down in a raft, then man-handled up the thirty-foot bank upon which the town was built.

In mid-September, with the cabin built, a winter's supply of firewood cut and stacked, and a cache full of provisions, the newcomers were not dismayed

FRIDAY, MARCH 18, 1898.

SOMERVILLE TO KLONDIKE.

Two Bold Parties Quit This City to Try Life Among the Gold Hills — They Are Young, Energetic and Well Equipped to Wrest Wealth from the Rocks.



A KLONDIKE RAINY DAISY.

It isn't every day in his life that a man can run out with a coal hod and pick it half full of pure gold nuggets in a forenoon, but when such a chance comes there are men in Somerville just smart enough to jump at it promptly. A complete list of the Somerville argonauts who have gone or are preparing soon to go to the Alaskan gold fields would be difficult to obtain. They go not with the



MR. BALLOU IN WINTER COSTUME.

Lipsett of Broadway and Peter M. Basboe of Washington st., this city.

Mr. Byrns, the senior member, is the well-known fireman and war veteran who recently resigned his position as engineer of steamer 1 after 20 years' service in the Somerville department.

Mr. Lipsett has been employed as a clerk in Carl's Gilman Sq. market about eight

University of Alaska Archives

William B. Ballou's home town newspaper.

by the first snowfall. They were comfortable and ready to try their fortunes in the gold fields. Since all the streams in the vicinity had already been staked by the time they arrived, they purchased claims from others who had decided to give up and take the last steamboat down the river.

It seemed a good life to the eastern boy. There was lots of hard work and this promoted a huge appetite which he was able to satisfy, until freeze-up, with luscious salmon he netted in the river. Each day his net yielded four or five fifteen-pounders and he was able to sell some of them to the local restaurants. For variety, moose meat could be purchased at a dollar a pound.

Ballou enjoyed the sense of freedom this life offered, recognizing that his contemporaries back home were much more restricted.

Soon the river froze. No tooting steamboats disturbed the calm as winter asserted itself in the vast country. Ballou marveled at the display of the Aurora Borealis and wondered about the tales told of the season's severity. He need not have worried on that account. He suffered no hardship from the weather but was bothered by the absence of news from home.

All of the Yukon gold camps were served by the dog team mail carriers who came down from Dawson, but they had nothing

Governor Kupreianov told Belcher to consider himself at home and to make his arrangements as to the selection of a site of an observatory or any other pursuits. "He speaks English well, and with true English feeling acted up to all he professed; indeed his civilities were overpowering," wrote Belcher.

The *Sulphur* was warped to within a cable's length of the arsenal, the observatory was landed on the island opposite, and "we had the good fortune to obtain complete sights and secure our meridian before midnight."

The Natives visited the ship, taking to it salmon and some furs, but the governor had already given the Englishmen more fish than they could consume, and Captain Belcher forbade any traffic in furs since this was expressly forbidden by the laws of the colony. Probably to discourage further contacts with the Tlingits, Kupreianov informed Belcher that even in his time, two years, their fortress had been threatened and that, "although seven hundred only were now in our neighborhood, seven thousand might arrive in a few hours."

The fortifications of the Russian establishment, wrote Belcher, cut off all contact with the Tlingits "except through a portcullis door, admitting into a railed yard those bringing goods to market. This door is closely watched by two or three guards, who, upon the least noise or dispute in the market, drop the portcullis, and proceed summarily with the delinquents."

Trade was generally conducted by Native women and children, and as the Russians employed women as spies in the Native village, they were always warned of any hostility. The Russians also had Kodiak Islanders, who conducted the greater part of the traffic with the Tlingits and who caught and cured fish for general consumption.

The governor's mansion, which would replace the earlier structure dating from Murav'ev's time, was then nearing completion. Belcher describes it as being about 140 feet in length, by seventy feet wide, two stories high, and capped by a lighthouse in the center of the roof. The building was of logs, "some of the logs measuring 76 and 80 feet in length, and squaring one foot. They half dovetail over each other at the angles and are treenailed together vertically. The roof is pitched, and covered with sheet iron."

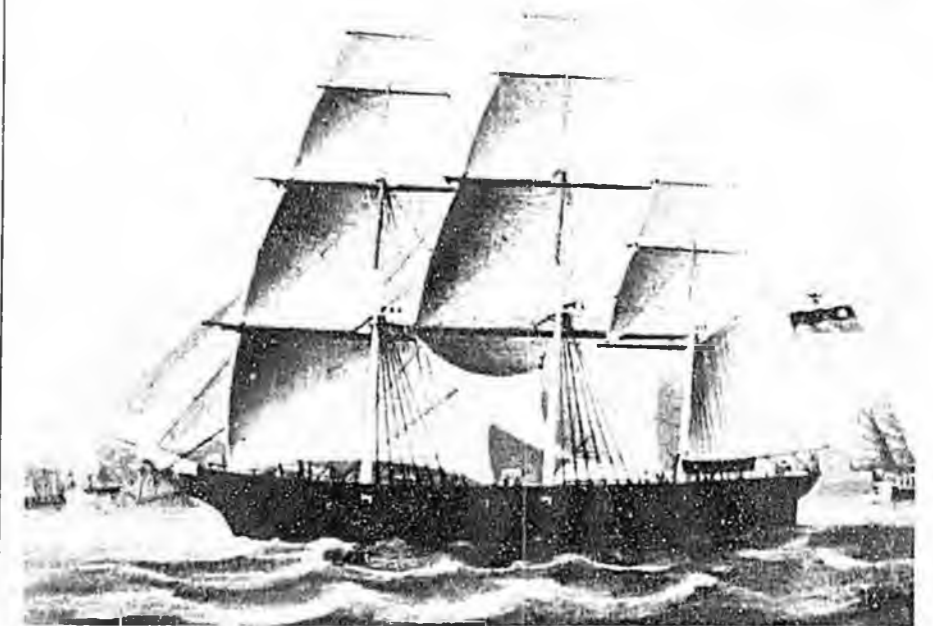
Fortifications, then being rebuilt, would comprise forty pieces of cannon, principally old ship's guns, varying from twelve to twenty-four pounders. The arsenal on the low ground at the foot of the "castle" was "well stored with cordage of every description, and of very superior quality. The cables and large rope came by sea, but the yarn, in packages of 56 pounds, is transported through Siberia."

wood was "a very fine-grained bright-yellow cypress, of which they built boats, and export the plank to the Sandwich Islands. They have a building slip, protected by a house, similar to those in our dockyards, and here, I am informed, built one very fine vessel."

Few able-bodied men were visible, most being absent on the company vessels, collecting furs. As soon as they returned the vessels would be laid up until the following spring.

Although admitting that the town's standards of cleanliness were not altogether those of a man-of-war, Belcher wrote that he witnessed "comparative cleanliness and comfort, and found much to admire, particularly in the school and hospital."

Attending a church service, Belcher found the interior of the edifice "splendid, quite beyond conception in such a place as this." The padre, Father Veniaminov, "who officiated in



Russian-American Company's ship NICKOLAI, from a painting by an unknown artist.

They had many craftsmen, Belcher reported, and their work was of high quality.

There was a sawmill, powered by water, at the Redoubt, about halfway down the south side of the sound. The most valuable

his splendid robes, was a very powerful athletic man, about forty-five years of age, and standing in his boots (which appear to be part of his costume) about six feet three inches; quite Herculean, and very clever. I



"View of the Arsenal and Lighthouse, Sitka, New Archangel" is the title of this steel engraving from the narrative of the voyage of the *SULPHUR*. The ship, in command of Sir Edward Belcher, R.N., was at Sitka in September, 1837.

took a very great liking to him, and was permitted to examine his workshop, in which I noticed a good barrel-organ, a barometer, and several other articles of his own manufacture. He was kind enough to volunteer his services on one or two of our sick barometers, and succeeded effectually. Notwithstanding he spoke only Russian, of which I knew nothing, we managed to become great allies."

On Sundays, civil as well as military officers dined at the governor's house. "They reassemble at five, take tea, and remain until supper, at ten or eleven, during which interval cards or billiards occupy their time."

"The chiefs having pestered the Governor to ask permission to visit the *Sulphur*," Belcher writes, he consented to a party of thirty-seven "of the best characters. They observed great ceremony in their approach, and were dressed in the most fantastic garb imaginable, being generally painted with scores of vermillion. . . . Some had helmets of wood, carved in imitation of frogs, seals, fish, or birds' heads. Others wore the very sensible plain conical hat without rim, which serves effectually to ward off sun or rain; and the generality wore, or carried with them, their native shawl, which is very laboriously worked into carpet figures, from the wool of some animal which I could not ascertain. One or two had cloaks of American sables, which were very handsome, but far inferior to those of Siberia." Most of the party wore ermine skins, tied

loosely about them, which were imported from Siberia. "The canoes were as fantastic as their occupants. They were carved in grotesque figures, and remarkably well handled."

After circling the ship, "singing and gesticulating, as if she was to become a good prize, they at length came on board, and were severally presented by the Governor." The party had by now swelled to nearly a hundred, including wives and hangers-on. They were seated on tables ranged on the main deck and were treated to a feast of rice and molasses, after which they were served with previously diluted grog (in a four to one ratio), "then a second dose of rice and molasses, then more grog, then more rice, and finally yet a third helping of grog."

The guests then put on one or two dances to their own music, "with clapping, yelling, etc.," using a species of tambourine and "a musical instrument composed of three hoops with a cross in the center, the circumference being closely strung with the beaks of the *Alca arctica*."

The night before the *Sulphur's* departure, on September 25, "the Governor gave an evening party and dance, to show us the female society of Sitka. The evening passed most delightfully; and although the ladies were almost self-taught, they acquitted themselves with all the ease, and I may add elegance, communicated by European instruction. Although few could converse with their

partners, they still contrived to get through the dance without the slightest difficulty. Quadrilles and waltzing were kept up with great spirit, and I was not a little surprised to learn from our good friend and host, that many of the ladies then moving before us with easy and graceful air, had not an idea of dancing twelve months previous. I believe that the society is indebted principally to the Governor's elegant and accomplished lady for much of this polish."

On May 1, 1840, Kupreianov's replacement, Captain Second Rank Etholen, arrived on the company ship *Nikolai*, and took over command of the colonies. Kupreianov and his wife stayed on until September 30 when they left for Russia on the *Nikolai*. Sailing by way of San Francisco, Valparaiso, Cape Horn, and Rio de Janeiro, they arrived in Kronshtadt on June 13, 1841.

During the remainder of his service, Kupreianov commanded frigates on the Baltic. In October, 1852, he was made Vice Admiral. He died on April 30, 1857. His widow lived on until March 12, 1894, when she died at the age of 82.

Kupreianov's name is perpetuated in a number of places on the map of Alaska: by Kupreanof Harbor, an anchorage between Paul and Jacob Islands in the Aleutians and by nearby Kupreanof Peninsula; by Kupreanof Island, Peninsula, Point, Strait and Mountain in the Alexander Archipelago; and by Kupreanof Mountain on the north coast of Kodiak Island. ■

JUDGE BALLOU OF RAMPART

By WILLIAM R. HUNT



Photo by Mrs. Henry Wallick

The home of John Minook, or Manook, who first discovered gold in what became the Rampart District. Minook Creek and tributaries were named for him.

About eighty miles northwest of Fairbanks, along the banks of the Yukon, slumbers the little village of Rampart and its forty-nine souls. It was not always thus. Once Rampart was a booming mining center, with its own newspapers and a resident population of between two and three thousand.

Its citizens in its boom days included Tex Rickard, who gained fame as a boxing promoter, was responsible for the first "million dollar" gate, and built New York's Madison Square Garden. It was in Rampart that Rickard cut his teeth in the fight game, sponsoring matches in the saloon he operated there. Earlier, he had owned the prosperous Northern Saloon in Dawson, but an unfortunate turn of a card lost him the place. The Rampart phase of Rickard's career was not exactly a high point and when

Rampart on the Yukon.



news of the gold discoveries at Nome reached the river community, he pulled up stakes and, almost broke, headed west. There he opened a new Northern Saloon and again prospered.

Another illustrious son of Rampart was Rex Beach, whose stories and novels set in the North have been second only to Jack London's in popularity. Probably the best known is "The Spoilers," based on a conspiracy to grab disputed mining claims in the Nome area. Another of his novels, still in print, is "The Iron Trail," the story of the building of the Copper River and Northwestern Railway. But, alas for the claims of Rampart's literary historians, Beach also deserted the Yukon Valley and followed the lure of gold to Seward Peninsula.

The residents of gold camps along the Yukon, and elsewhere, were characteristically a restless

lot, quick to respond to the word of each new strike and to set off in pursuit of the will-o'-the-wisp. But a few put down roots and stayed with the claims they had developed, figuring, probably correctly, that it was more profitable to stick to productive mines than to move, even though the yield gave no promise of reaching bonanza proportions.

One such Rampart pioneer was William B. Ballou, a young Ninety-eighter from Vermont who came West to make his fortune. The young man was delighted with Seattle, the chief port of embarkation for the Klondike and Alaska. Prices seemed reasonable. One had a bed for fifty cents a night and good meals for from twenty to twenty-five cents. Hustle and bustle characterized the scene as thousands of stampedees purchased their outfits from "fakers trying to sell you a gold

Mary is a completely self-taught artist. She had never seen soapstone carved before she began. When she and her family moved to Alaska three years ago, a friend suggested she try soapstone carving because this stone is indigenous to the state. Mary bought a small piece of the stone and carved a seal out of it, using her wood carving tools. When she showed the completed seal to her husband, he asked, "Who shot it?"

Using the trial and error method, she persevered and soon began turning out sculptures people were interested in buying.

"Wood carving is much more difficult," she reflected, "and much harder on you, physically. At least, it's harder on me. I cut myself much more with a knife when I was carving wood. Now I just get surface cuts from the saw while working with soapstone.

"It takes so long to be a self-taught artist," Mary laments. "You have to learn everything the hard way. Then you reach a point where you can go no further. You need some education. That's where I am now. I want to be able to tell others why something in a sculpture is right or wrong, why it must be carved this way and not that way. I can't tell people the reasons now; I can't even tell myself, and I want to be able to."

When Mary gave a sculpture demonstration at the Anchorage Fine Arts Museum, I was able to observe her at work.

On a large rectangular table were two bow saws, one large, one smaller; a small box of assorted files, rasps, hammer and chisel, and a large piece of raw soapstone. Mary explained that she first cuts the basic shape from the stone, sawing out the rough shape by guesswork. She had an intent, knowing look on her face as she slowly turned the stone, looking at it from all angles. Then, holding the stone firmly with one hand, she picked up the larger bow saw and went to work. Soon there were several good-sized chunks of stone lying on the table. These are later used for small figures, such as owls, rabbits and penguins. She utilizes about fifty percent of the stone. The remainder becomes dust and chips.

The sculpture Mary was sawing on was to be two Eskimo boys sitting on a rock and playing with their puppies. She talked as she continued working, developing a good rapport with her audience with her friendly, open, disarming manner. She put down the saw and began chipping with the hammer and chisel. The rough outline of a head began to appear. Soapstone,

like wood, has a grain and will split if not properly handled. Some colors of the stone, such as the brown, are fragile and will split despite all precautions. Freezing and thawing will also cause splitting. Mary buys her

soapstone, by the ton, from a small quarry near Palmer and stores it in her yard. In six months she carved almost all of a ton of stone.

Continuing with her demonstration, Mary picked up a large rasp and worked vigorously on the head. Despite this apparently rough handling, a nicely rounded and smooth head began to take shape under her guiding hands. For her early carving, Mary used woodworking tools. Now she works with stone files and recently she ordered diamond cutting tools for use on jade, which is a harder stone.

Soapstone, the common name for the soft stone that has a soapy feel, is a composite of talc or chlorite mixed with various quantities of other minerals. The characteristic greasy feel of the material is caused by loose, flat molecules which quickly adjust to line up with the direction of rubbing. Soapstone, which is often a single, solid color, may be multi-colored, mottled or striated. The color may range from pale to dark green, blue-green, olive-green, yellowish, yellow-brown, brownish, black, grey, or white. Spots in the stone may be black or rust; the rust is iron oxide. These color variations are caused by chemical and mineral content and are normal in soapstone. The color beneath the surface of the stone is often only discovered with final polishing.

Switching to a partially finished figure of a falcon in black speckled soapstone, Mary demonstrated how she sculpts fine detail with various sizes of rasps and files. To obtain a smooth finish on the sculpture, she uses a fine wood rasp, then sands with 240 grade wet/dry sandpaper. To remove fine scratches and imperfections, she finishes with 600 grade wet/dry sandpaper. This gives the object a soft, dry, hard finish.

As a final step, boiled linseed oil is applied sparingly, rubbed in well, and allowed to soak in. A second light coat is applied in the same manner. When the oil has dried, the sculpture will have a shiny, dry surface. Buffing with a lamb's wool buffer attached to a small electric drill completes the finishing process.

And with that, Mary Annis is ready to start eyeing another piece of raw soapstone, pondering and studying to determine what figure rests within the stone, waiting to be released from its prison. ■

The Story of Icons



This 18th century Madonna and Child appears to have Oriental influences which may have come from the admixture of painters in Russia during later centuries.

By PAT McCOLLOM

Color photographs by Richard W. Montague from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Warren Nystrom, Anchorage, Alaska.

On any given day in Alaska the average visitor or the cheechako may look upon an icon and walk away unimpressed. To all but the acquainted eye the flat, two-dimensional paintings look alike, the imposing medieval past lost beneath the metal covers that often obscure them. For centuries these religious works have been ignored as an art form and only recently have been recognized by connoisseurs as quality works in a class with the world's masters. Art, the depository of invaluable historical data, is difficult to decode without at least a rudimentary understanding of the social and cultural background that helped create it, and there is no better example of this than the story behind the icon.

Little is known about Christian art before Constantine the Great moved the Roman capital to the old Greek town of Byzantium, renamed it Constantinople, and designated Christianity the state religion in 323 A.D. Several years were spent in completing the transfer and in constructing vast basilicas where faithful subjects could gather and worship. Pagan idols were destroyed and replaced by ceiling frescoes testifying to the eminent power possessed by the true deity.

At that time the acknowledged vestryman was the Bishop of Rome, who received his authority from St. Peter, Pope of the Christian Church. Constantine appointed a Patriarch of Constantinople, and this led to a doctrinal dispute which ultimately split the diocese into Catholicism in the West and Orthodoxy in the East.



1. Virgin and Child. 18th century. Very popular icon of Western influence done in metal. Usually appears unpainted. Colors here probably were applied more recently.
2. Entry into Jerusalem.
3. Virgin of the Sign. 15th century. Worn on chain (about 1 inch square). Enamel on bronze.



2. 3.

husband, a resident forester, was away often and to pass the time Mary began carving. After her first experiments with the animals, she carved two six-foot totem poles. A man in the community had made a dugout canoe. It sounded like fun, so Mary made one, too. Some of the men cut a yellow cedar and hauled it to the camp for her. The canoe, twenty-eight feet long, took three months to complete. It is still afloat somewhere in that area.

Although she then enjoyed carving wood, Mary doesn't think she could go back to it with the same joy. "Stone is a much more exciting medium. I suppose, if stone were not available, I'd go back to wood, but I wouldn't like it."

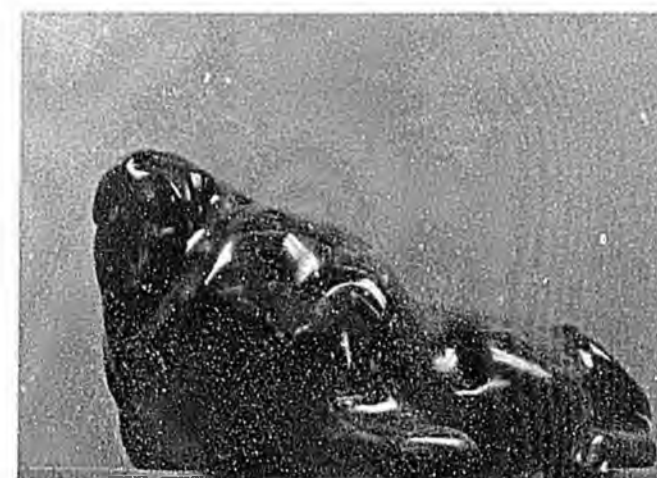
What is the creative process?

Mary places one or two large hunks of raw soapstone in her kitchen. She looks at the stone several times each day. Images begin forming in her mind. She mulls over many figures which might be suitable for this particular stone. After

three to four weeks, the image of what this piece of stone will become is fully formed. When she begins carving she completes the sculpture quickly, often in a day or two.

"The actual labor is a very secondary thing, although it's hard work," Mary explains. "The idea has to be right for the rock. That takes a lot more time. I've had a piece of stone sitting in my kitchen for as long as two months before the right idea for it developed in my mind."

Recently Mary completed a course in abstract sculpture at Anchorage Community College. Of it she says, "I think in realistic terms. It's very difficult for me to break away and express excitement, say, with a line. Toward the end of the course I was beginning to be able to work and express myself more freely. But I did very little soapstone sculpture during that time. Now I'm doing more. If I'm thinking in abstract terms, I can't think in realistic terms at the same time."



1. Study of Eskimo woman, with child, in green soapstone. Approximately 15 inches high.
2. Bear, in black and brown striated soapstone.

3. Walrus, in brown soapstone, approximately 12 inches long.
4. Penguins, carved from light brown soapstone.